

INSTRUMENTS OF EMPIRE: COLONIAL ELITES AND U.S. GOVERNANCE IN
EARLY NATIONAL LOUISIANA, 1803-1820

A Dissertation

by

MICHAEL KELLY BEAUCHAMP

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

December 2009

Major Subject: History

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Approved by:

Chair of Committee,	April Hatfield
Committee Members,	Walter Kamphoefner
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ABSTRACT

Instruments of Empire: Colonial Elites and U.S. Governance in Early National Louisiana,
1803-1820. (December 2009)

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The United States confronted new problems of territorial expansion with the Louisiana Purchase, as it involved, for the first time, the transfer in sovereignty of a territory that contained a population who by birth, language and religion differed substantially from the inhabitants of the United States, but who had been guaranteed the rights of full citizens. A series of other colonial powers faced these same problems on the North American continent, notably the Spanish in Louisiana. As with those earlier powers, ultimately the United States pursued processes that both brought Louisiana government and law into line with its institutions, and allowed for continued local control. County and parish officeholders through their interactions with U.S. authorities prove especially useful for an examination of the processes that gradually integrated the Territory of Orleans into the United States. Neither a study of high political figures in Washington nor marginalized groups in Louisiana can accurately demonstrate how this process of accommodation worked. Local elites and U.S. officials served as the middlemen who oversaw the implementation of new policy and therefore were in a position to obstruct these policies if they so chose. Native-born Louisiana elites confronted significant

challenges in dealing with a U.S. administration that in some areas chose to accommodate them, but in many others chose to implement policies through Anglo-American or foreign French newcomers to the territory. The change in sovereignty to the United States offered many individuals from local elites new pathways to power in the territorial legislature, and later in a stronger state legislature. Local governance played a central role in the success of U.S. sovereignty within Louisiana.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee chair, Dr. April Hatfield, and my committee members, Dr. James Rosenheim, Dr. Walter Kamphoefner, and Dr. Colleen Murphy, for their guidance and support throughout the course of this research. All of them significantly improved the dissertation with their comments, recommendations, and corrections. Of course any shortcomings or mistakes within the dissertation are wholly my own. I owe a particular debt of gratitude that I can never repay to Professor Hatfield and Professor Rosenheim; it is doubtful that I ever could have completed my degree if not for numerous small and large acts of kindness on both of their parts. I would also like to thank Dr. R. J. Q. Adams, Dr. Jonathan Phillips, Dr. Rebecca Schloss, Dr. David Vaught, and Dr. John H. Lenihan for their encouragement and help in making me a better historian and teacher.

Graduate education in the humanities is a luxury with a dubious market value at best. My parents Brian and Margaret Beauchamp, and my grandmother Margaret Beauchamp have offered an immense amount of support, both emotional and financial without which I never would have been able to undertake or finish my course of study. Thanks also go to many other family members: Alexander Beauchamp for his love, humor, and as the source of numerous heated arguments that I think improve both of our positions if not our dispositions, Brentt and Elizabeth Brown of San Francisco for their love and encouragement, Patrick and Michelle Beauchamp and their son Robert for their hospitality in numerous stays in New Orleans and invitations to God knows how many

restaurants and bars, and numerous other relatives, grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins in California, Louisiana, Texas, and Washington D. C.

I also would like to thank many friends associated with the history graduate program at Texas A&M. One of the department's few strengths in my time there was that its graduate students subscribed to the view that misery loves company. Brian Neumann, Phil Smith, Ryan Wadle, Jenny Whisenhunt, Ashley Blair Chadwick, Roger Horky, Tracey Hayes, Derek Mallett, Paul Springer, Catherine Minerich, Jon Beall, Lori Henning, Ralph Morales, Mathew Keyworth, Delilah Besah, Rian Bobal, Chris Thomas, Tara Scamardo, Victoria Eastes, and Damon Bach and many other graduate students made my time in the History Department and College Station far better. I also owe a large debt to Kamran and Cynthia Omidvar, Stephen Frisbie and the incomparable Lee Daub for their encouragement, friendship, support and advice throughout my life.

Finally, I am deeply indebted to Sudina Paungpetch as a source of inspiration, not for a dissertation, but for daily existence, and for her infinite patience and understanding, which I hope would include patience and understanding over receiving such a maudlin acknowledgement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION	1
II THE ACADIAN AND GERMAN COASTS.....	27
III IBERVILLE, POINTE COUPEE, AND WEST BATON ROUGE....	87
IV ATTAKAPAS AND OPELOUSAS	139
V THE NORTH.....	194
VI LAFOURCHE AND ORLEANS.....	253
VII WEST FLORIDA.....	287
VIII CONCLUSION.....	339
BIBLIOGRAPHY	347
APPENDIX A.....	371
VITA.....	372

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		Page
1	Map of Territory of Orleans 1810	21
2	Map of State of Louisiana 1820	23
3	Map of Acadian and German Coasts in the Territory of Orleans 1810.....	28
4	Map of Iberville, Pointe Coupee, and West Baton Rouge in the Territory of Orleans 1810	88
5	Map of Attakapas and Opelousas in the State of Louisiana 1820	140
6	Map of the North in the Territory of Orleans 1810	195
7	Map of Lafourche and Orleans in the State of Louisiana 1820.....	254
8	Map of West Florida and the Territory of Orleans 1810.....	288

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		Page
1	Acadian Coast Officials, Slave Holdings.....	48
2	Acadian Coast Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings	50
3	Sixth Militia Regiment, Slave Holdings	51
4	German Coast Officials, Slave Holdings.....	54
5	German Coast Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings.....	61
6	Fifth Militia Regiment, Slave Holdings.....	62
7	Iberville Officials, Slave Holdings.....	102
8	Iberville Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings.....	103
9	Seventh Militia Regiment, Slave Holdings.....	105
10	Pointe Coupee Officials, Slave Holdings.....	117
11	Pointe Coupee Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings.....	122
12	Ninth Militia Regiment, Slave Holdings.....	128
13	West Baton Rouge Officials, Slaveholdings.....	131
14	Attakapas Officials, Land and Slave Holdings.....	174
15	Attakapas Elected Representatives, Land and Slave Holdings.....	176
16	St. Martin and St. Mary Officials, Land and Slave Holdings.....	179
17	Opelousas/St. Landry Officials, Land and Slave Holdings.....	186
18	Opelousas Elected Officials, Land and Slave Holdings.....	190
19	Eighth Militia Regiment, Slave Holdings.....	192

TABLE	Page
20 Natchitoches Officials, Slave Holdings.....	211
21 Natchitoches Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings.....	212
22 Rapides Officials, Slave Holdings.....	229
23 Rapides Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings.....	231
24 Catahoula Officials, Slave Holdings.....	234
25 Avoyelles Officials, Slave Holdings.....	239
26 Avoyelles Elected Representative, Slave Holdings.....	239
27 Concordia Officials, Taxes, Land, and Slave Holdings.....	243
28 Concordia Elected Representatives, Taxes, Land, and Slaveholdings.....	244
29 Ouachita Officials, Slave Holdings.....	246
30 Ouachita Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings.....	247
31 Tenth Militia Regiment, Slave Holdings.....	250
32 Lafourche Officials.....	264
33 Lafourche Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings.....	267
34 Assumption Parish Officials, Slave Holdings.....	269
35 St. Bernard Parish Officials, Slave Holdings.....	273
36 Orleans Elected Representatives.....	276
37 Plaquemines Officials, Slave Holdings.....	281
38 East Baton Rouge Officials, Slave Holdings.....	314
39 East Baton Rouge Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings.....	316
40 Feliciana Officials.....	323

TABLE		Page
41	Feliciana Elected Representatives.....	325
42	St. Helena Officials.....	328
43	St. Helena Elected Representatives.....	329
44	St. Tammany Officials, Slave Holdings and Taxes.....	334
45	St. Tammany Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings and Taxes.....	335

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The United States confronted new problems of territorial expansion with the Louisiana Purchase, as it involved, for the first time, the transfer in sovereignty of a territory that contained a population who by birth, language and religion differed substantially from the inhabitants of the United States, but who had been guaranteed the rights of full citizens. A series of other colonial powers had faced these same problems on the North American continent, notably the Spanish in Louisiana. As with those earlier powers, ultimately the United States pursued processes that both brought Louisiana government and law into line with its institutions, and allowed for continued local control. County and parish officeholders through their interactions with U.S. authorities prove especially useful for an examination of the processes that gradually integrated the Territory of Orleans into the American nation. Local elites and U.S. officials served as the middlemen who oversaw the implementation of new policy and therefore were in a position to obstruct these policies if they so chose. Native born Louisiana elites confronted significant challenges in dealing with a U.S. administration that in some areas chose to accommodate them, but in many others chose to implement policies through Anglo-American or foreign French newcomers to the territory. At the same time, however, the change in sovereignty to the United States offered many of these individuals from local elites new pathways to power in the territorial legislature, and later in a stronger state legislature. Local governance played a central role in the success of U.S. sovereignty within Louisiana.

This dissertation follows the model of the *Journal of Military History*.

The history of early national Louisiana remains mired in nineteenth-century interpretations that presupposed political divisions along ethnic lines. Recent works have begun to reevaluate this portrayal of Louisiana politics, but their focus remains primarily on high political actors in the territorial and state governments and on politics as viewed from New Orleans. This dissertation's examination will reveal how politics within the parishes worked in ways that transcended local divisions, how local appointees and elected officials interacted with the political center at New Orleans, and how parishes differed from one another, in both their internal makeup and in their relationship to United States authorities in New Orleans. An exploration of political behavior in the parishes of Louisiana will allow for an evaluation of inter-ethnic political alliances and of the success of U.S. administration of the new territory in meeting the demands of the local populace while pursuing a policy that implemented representative assemblies and a jury system. While the governor's administration in New Orleans held broad executive and appointive powers, its actual power beyond the city of New Orleans depended on local officials' actions and reactions within their parishes, where the relationships between race, ethnicity, economics and politics often differed from New Orleans.

The Louisiana Purchase placed a largely foreign population, for the most part of French ancestry, under U.S. sovereignty. The United States faced several difficulties in governing this population as it established a new system of law based on the jury system, a republican form of government that offered local representation in making decisions, a stricter slave code that reduced emancipations, and freedom of choice in religion in both practice and law; at the same time the United States promised to grant this population all

the rights and privileges of citizens. In addition, its own territorial policy guaranteed that once a territorial population reached sixty thousand it could apply for statehood, and territories rapidly achieved statehood. The large population of Louisiana posed several problems for U.S. governance that could frustrate the treaty obligations of the United States and its own territorial policy.¹ The population of the Territory of Orleans at the time of the transfer in 1803 was predominantly Francophone and it would remain so well through the 1830s. A census of 1806 suggests that more than half the white population of twenty-six thousand (free people of color and slaves amounted to over another twenty-seven thousand) were native Louisianans mostly of French ancestry.² The governor of the territory, William Charles Cole Claiborne estimated in 1809 that around two thirds of the new immigrant population between 1806 and 1809 came from the United States, which raised the United States immigrant population of the territory to approximately six thousand of the thirty thousand white populace. Thus, the population from the United States constituted but a fifth of the white populace of the territory. In 1809 there was a large influx from Cuba, as refugees from Saint Domingue moved on to Louisiana. Historian Paul F. LaChance in a more thorough examination estimates that within New Orleans in 1809 at most ten percent of the white population spoke English and sixty to eighty percent French: “The ratio was so much in favor of the French that French preponderance was almost inevitable for another decade.”³ The French-speaking

¹ For an appraisal of the difficulties posed to the United States with the purchase, see Roy F. Nicholas, “Challenge and Stimulus to American Democracy,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 38 (1995): 1-25.

² William Charles Cole Claiborne to Robert Smith, 18 May 1809, *Official Letter Books of W.C.C. Claiborne, 1801-1816*, ed. Dunbar Rowland (Jackson: Mississippi State Department of Archives and History, 1917) (hereafter cited as *Letter Books*), 4:361.

³ Paul F. LaChance, “The 1809 Immigration of Saint-Domingue Refugees to New Orleans: Reception, Integration and Impact,” in *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History, Vol. X, A Refuge for All Ages: Immigration in Louisiana History*, ed. Carl A. Brasseaux (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1996), 277.

majority, estimated to be sixty to seventy-five percent among whites in 1809, increased by approximately another ten thousand individuals as Saint-Domingue refugees expelled from Cuba were transported to New Orleans. As a result of this influx the 1810 census counted over seventy-six thousand persons in the territory with over thirty-four thousand of that number as slaves and over seventy-five hundred, or nearly one-tenth, as free persons of color.⁴ By 1820 the population had more than doubled to approximately one hundred and forty three thousand.⁵ In 1810 the population of the parish of Orleans was over twenty-four thousand, approximately a third of the population of the territory.

With a population in 1810 almost one third the territorial total, New Orleans dominates the historiography of the territory and state because of its position as both the economic and political capital over the course of the early national period. Yet the parishes outside New Orleans that made up the majority of the population affected territorial politics and posed challenges for United States governance, in part because of their distance from the political and economic center. Each parish contained its own internal dynamics, which U.S. officials struggled to understand. Local elites wanted the United States to address security concerns involving the Spanish, Native Americans, and large slave populations. Parishes also often requested assistance in infrastructure projects and in assuaging some of the requirements of the new U.S. government with the transition to U.S. law and administration. When these needs were met, parishes proved far more cooperative with U.S. officials and policies.

The first historians of Louisiana fashioned a nostalgic interpretation of the historiography of their section before the purchase in 1803, which portrayed Anglo-

⁴ *Aggregate Amount of Persons Within the United States in the Year 1810* (Washington D. C.: Census Office, 1811).

American immigration into the territory after 1803 as that of a largely hostile, uncultured, and colonizing population. This interpretation arose from the works of three nineteenth-century historians (all of French speaking ancestries) whose work reflected their social and ethnic backgrounds as well as their scholarly interests. Francois Xavier Martin's 1827 book, Charles E. Gayarre's 1866 volume, and Alcee Fortier's 1904 work, each with the title *History of Louisiana*, idealized the Creole population while portraying Anglo-American immigration and the United States territorial government as a source of discord.⁶ This interpretation of a Creole-American dichotomy was furthered in the popular imagination by the late nineteenth-century literary works of George Washington Cable. Unlike Gayarre, Martin and Fortier, Cable criticized the Creoles and lauded the United States immigrants and administration, but he nevertheless wrote within the same larger paradigm that viewed the early national period of Louisiana as one of ethnic conflict.⁷ In her twentieth-century fictional and historical works, New Orleans native Grace King perpetuated the idea of ethnic discord while countering Cable's interpretation

⁵ *Census for 1820* (Washington D. C.: Gales & Seaton, 1821).

⁶ Francois Xavier Martin, *The History of Louisiana* (New Orleans: Lyman and Beardslee, 1827). Martin was a French immigrant to Martinique and then to Louisiana, who became a longstanding member of the Supreme Court of the state. Charles E. Gayarre, *History of Louisiana* (New Orleans: Armand Hawkins, 1866). Gayarre's maternal grandfather, Etienne Bore, was a large sugar planter just outside of New Orleans on the land that would come to be Audubon Park. Gayarre served in the state House of Representatives, as the State Attorney General and a city court judge in New Orleans before his election to the United States Senate. Alcee Fortier, *A History of Louisiana*, (New York: Manzi, Joyan & Co., 1904). Fortier came from a Francophone family in St. James Parish. Both his grandfathers and his father owned sugar plantations and he went on to serve as a law clerk before becoming a professor of French at Tulane University.

The term Creole is a source of extensive debate, insofar as it is employed exclusively or inclusively along racial, ethnic or class lines. It is used here in an expansive sense to mean the French-speaking inhabitants of Louisiana before the transfer to the United States. For further discussion of the issue see Carl A. Brasseaux, *French, Cajun, Creole, Houma: A Primer in Francophone Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005).

⁷ George Washington Cable, *Old Creole Days* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1879). Cable called for improvement in the south's treatment of blacks and recognition of their civil rights in *The Silent South* (Montclair: Patterson Smith, 1885). Ultimately Cable moved to New England because of his increasing unpopularity throughout the south given his progressive positions on race relations.

of Creoles.⁸ King maintained the Francophile interpretation that disparaged both the Spanish colonial period and the American presence after the purchase, and highlighted the French-speaking Creole disdain for both.

For much of the twentieth century, scholars wrote little about Louisiana politics in the territorial and early state periods, but historians of the Jacksonian period perpetuated an ethnic understanding of political divisions within Louisiana and attributed the origin of ethnic cleavages to the influx of Anglo-Americans that followed Louisiana's transfer to the United States. Joseph G. Tregle, projecting back from the Jacksonian era to the early territorial period, has argued for such an interpretation from his 1954 dissertation to the most recent incarnation of his argument in 1999: "The very population itself fragmented into a variety of groups and shadings of groups, whose suspicions and hatreds fed on the isolation from each other occasioned by differences of language and tradition and battered on the resentments bred by inevitable competition for political and economic power."⁹ Perry H. Howard's treatment of the period in his 1957 overview of Louisiana state politics followed Tregle's interpretation for the early national period: "The first few gubernatorial elections were in the nature of a skirmish between local factions, although cutting across this, the struggle for power between Frenchmen and Americans could be detected."¹⁰ Scholars of the Jacksonian era have represented the two-party politics that arrived in Louisiana after 1824 as an improvement or as a more mature form of political development. This interpretation is in part due to an assumption that parties are less self-

⁸ Grace King wrote numerous short stories and novels, in addition to historical works like *Creole Families of New Orleans*, (New York: Macmillan, 1921).

⁹ Joseph G. Tregle Jr. *Louisiana in the Age of Jackson: A Clash of Cultures and Personalities* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999), 23. See also Tregle, "Louisiana in the Age of Jackson, A Study in Ego-Politics" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1954).

¹⁰ Perry H. Howard, *Political Tendencies in Louisiana* (1957; revised ed., Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), 27.

interested and more ideologically centered than smaller factional groupings. At the same time, this interpretation also reflects a whig reading of history that regards the parties of the second American party system as more democratic and efficient vehicles for the advancement of political agendas and the expression of the popular will.

Jacksonian scholars' denigration of early national Louisiana politics as deeply personal persists, as demonstrated most recently by John M. Sacher's *A Perfect War of Politics*, which traces the development of parties in Louisiana from 1824 to 1860 and maintains that it was in line generally with the trajectory of the second party system within the south.¹¹ Existing historiography treats early national Louisiana politics as not only ethnically based, but also as highly personal and factional, rather than viewing conflicts as struggles between discrete institutional political parties.¹² Louisiana politics were more complicated than a simple ethnic dichotomy suggests. Neither ethnic groups nor parties alone guided voters, and a great deal of inter-ethnic cooperation existed over the early national period in Louisiana. Economic interests and evolving racial identities frequently bridged ethnic divisions in Louisiana politics. Likewise, portrayals of

¹¹ John M. Sacher, *A Perfect War of Politics: Parties, Politicians, and Democracy in Louisiana, 1824-1861* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003). Sacher's argument finds itself largely in line with Michael F. Holt's general work on the second party system, see *The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party: Jacksonian Politics and the Onset of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

¹² This approach parallels the larger historiographic consensus about the nature of the first American party system, which while tracing the development of a party system also recognizes the greater party rigidity of the second party system. See H. James Henderson, *Party Politics in the Continental Congress* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), which views voting blocks within the Continental Congress as proto-political parties; Joseph Charles, *The Origins of the American Party System* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961); William Nisbet Chambers, *Political Parties in a New Nation: The American Experience 1776-1809* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963); Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, *The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic, 1788-1800* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); James Roger Sharp, *American Politics in the Early Republic: The New Nation in Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Joanne B. Freeman, *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001). For examinations of the roles and expression of party identity among the populace at large see Simon P. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997) and David Waldstreicher, *In the*

Louisiana politics as consisting entirely of two opposing and mutually exclusive factions, when read back into the first two decades after the transfer or applied from other parts of the United States hinder our understanding of cross-ethnic political and familial alliances. This interpretation of ethnic conflict possessed elements of truth, but an examination from the parish level illustrates that the original Francophone inhabitants of the territory, and more recent Anglo-American newcomers often cooperated, both in implementing the measures of the new territorial government and in opposing them.

Moreover, the earlier scholarship oversimplifies Louisiana society by grouping the foreign French (refugees from Saint Domingue, the Caribbean, and France itself) with longer-standing Creole and Cajun communities, with which they had less in common with than many outside observers recognized. In addition to the Francophone community, Louisiana contained a white population made up of Germans, Spaniards, Irishmen, Britons, Canary Islanders, and numerous other communities whose members also could claim U.S. citizenship. A bifurcated system of politics in terms of both ethnicity and party was not present before the Jacksonian age in Louisiana. The political alignments then were far more fluid, personal and included significant inter-ethnic cooperation in some parishes. In many ways a personal system of politics that dealt with advancing individual and community interests provided better opportunities than a party system for those who sought accommodation with the new U.S. government of Louisiana. In turn this system facilitated territorial policies in Louisiana that introduced United States law and government.

The first works that began to move beyond the nineteenth-century ethnic conflict paradigm explored processes of negotiation and accommodation between Creoles and more recent Anglo-American arrivals.¹³ George Dargo in 1975 traced the cultural clash between the Anglo-American and Creole populations through the prism of the conflict over whether U.S. common law would replace civil law in Louisiana. The creation of a system of Louisiana civil law that continued to operate within the United States demonstrated both limitations to, and degrees of tolerance within U.S. imperialism, by choosing to recognize regional and cultural differences.¹⁴ Dargo's served as one of the first works to seriously examine the process of negotiation between Anglo-Americans and Louisianans in the aftermath of the cession. More recently historian Peter Kastor refutes the filiopietist interpretation that historians of the age of Jackson continue to maintain, by arguing that ethnic divisions during the first two decades under American control were always more apparent than real: "Louisianians and Americans often came to blows, but this contest was never a simple battle for ethnic supremacy. I draw this conclusion from casting Louisiana in a national context, for just as Louisiana provides insights to the early republic, so too does a national perspective demand a more complex interpretation of Louisiana's internal history. What looks like ethnic hatred at close range becomes a struggle over citizenship, nationhood, and the status of territories when seen alongside similar contests in the rest of the United States."¹⁵ Kastor, instead of arguing for an ethnically French attempt to preserve the status quo ante, as the filiopietists had, or

¹³ For an example of a work that treats the process as one of transformation to U.S. processes and standards requiring change on the part of Louisianans see also Lewis William Newton, "The Americanization of French Louisiana: A Study of the Process of Adjustment Between the French and the Anglo-American Populations of Louisiana, 1803-1860," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1929).

¹⁴ George Dargo, *Jefferson's Louisiana: Politics and the Clash of Legal Traditions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975).

viewing the political process as one of Americanization, as many historians of the Jacksonian period had, argues that real political cooperation took place across ethnic lines. Rather than seeing the formation of a national identity over a short period of time, Kastor argues that both the ethnically Francophone community and other groups gradually formed an attachment to the greater American nation through interactions with both the federal government and individual United States citizens.¹⁶ Kastor's argument reorients Louisiana history for the early national period away from ethnic discord to a more complex system of politics and the formation of national identity. Nevertheless, given the international and diplomatic focus of Kastor, the relevance of his conclusions about politics and identity for the territory and state as a whole remain unexplored on the local level beyond New Orleans.

Other scholars also have concluded that nineteenth and early twentieth-century studies exaggerated the degree of ethnic discord in Louisiana. Sarah Paradise Russell in her examination of the planter class in the sugar parishes of Ascencion, Assumption, Iberville, St. James and St. Mary between 1795 and 1853, focuses on economics and class formation, and comes to much the same conclusion as Kastor, though from a different approach. Russell's analysis of plantation records reveals the construction of an oppressive slave regime in Louisiana's sugar producing areas and the consolidation of a class that saw its interests in economic and racial terms, but decidedly not ethnic ones:

¹⁵ Peter Kastor, *The Nation's Crucible: The Louisiana Purchase and the Creation of America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 12.

¹⁶ The white Creole elite was far more successful in bridging the cultural and power gaps created by the transfer through processes of accommodation than were slaves, Indians, or free people of color. Indeed, because of revolutionary disruptions in Saint Domingue and immigration from the Caribbean into Louisiana, the presence of a large slave community made many white French speakers understandably support American authority, which appealed to this group in part because it maintained a hard racial separation that identified citizenship with whiteness, in contrast to the Spanish and French colonial experiences.

“Although dissent emerged in the political arena in the early nineteenth century, French Louisianian planters and Anglo-American newcomers ignored their ethnic differences, those of language, religion, and custom, and found consensus in their shared efforts to build and fortify a slave-driven sugar plantation economy.”¹⁷ In Russell’s view the political economy of sugar-producing parishes mitigated any potential discord of an ethnic nature.

The state of the United States’ governance of the territory made it difficult to discern the extent to which the non-English speaking population approved of U.S. governmental structures. The territorial government, in existence from 1804 to 1812, was far from democratic, and political participation, whether in appeals to the national government or service in appointed positions, did not necessitate a conversion or commitment to U.S. identity.

Historian Perry Howard conceived of Louisiana politics as the confrontation between multiple dichotomies, and pointed to conflicts over political economy with New Orleans vs. country parishes, planter parishes vs. farmer parishes as well as demographic dichotomies like French vs. American, black vs. white, native vs. immigrant (often all of these conflicts of interest occurred at the same time).¹⁸ The period between 1803 and 1820 was the formative period for American governance in Louisiana as an older colonial elite adjusted to United States law, government, and increasing Anglo-American immigration, while U.S. officials in turn came to terms with the governing of that older colonial population. This process required accommodation on both sides, and in large

¹⁷ Sarah Paradise Russell, “Cultural Conflicts and Common Interests: The Making of the Sugar Planter Class in Louisiana, 1795-1853,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 2000), abstract.

¹⁸ Perry H. Howard, *Political Tendencies in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), 22-26.

part that is what much of the recent historiography has focused on. At the same time, however, there was a clear power dynamic at play. It is important to remember that for all the examples of cultural continuity there was an expansion of power on the part of the United States inherent in the annexation of the territory.¹⁹ As Jack Greene offers in a brief essay surveying changes of sovereignty in North America between colonial powers and cultural perseverance: “Negotiating power is almost never equal. As early modern Americanists lovingly construct histories of the many worlds we have lost, they need to keep in mind the disproportionate role of power in the creation of the Americas.”²⁰ There is a large historiography on American empire from 1898 to the present, but fewer works on the nature of American empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²¹ From 1989 with the fall of the Berlin Wall until today a growing number of works deal with issues of United States hegemony and empire. A large number of works began to examine United States’ empire, with a first wave, which constructed a positive vision of U.S. power and called for greater U.S. intervention abroad. This trend of works focusing on empire has accelerated, while changing in tone with the U.S. experience in Iraq.²²

¹⁹ See Jay Larry Gitlin, “Negotiating the Course of Empire: The French Bourgeois Frontier and the Emergence of Mid-America, 1763-1863,” (Ph.D. diss., Yale, 2002) on Francophone perseverance throughout the Mississippi Valley.

²⁰ Jack P. Greene, “The Cultural Dimensions of Political Transfers: An Aspect of the European Occupation of the Americas,” *Early American Studies* 6 (2008): 26.

²¹ A number of works on American empire of the new left were shaped by both earlier Marxist critiques and the contemporary American experience in Vietnam. See William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1959); *The Roots of the Modern American Empire: A Study of the Growth and Shaping of Social Consciousness in a Marketplace Society* (New York: Random House, 1969) and *Empire as a Way of Life: An Essay on the Causes and Character of America’s Present Predicament, Along with a Few Thoughts About an Alternative* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Gabriel Kolko, *The Roots of American Foreign Policy: An Analysis of Power and Purpose* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969).

²² See Max Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2002); Niall Ferguson, *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2003) and *Colossus: The Rise and Fall of The American Empire* (New York: Penguin, 2004); Richard N. Haass, *Intervention: The Use of American Military Force in the Post Cold War World* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999); Michael Ignatief, *Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond* (London: Metropolitan Books, 2000) and

While the period from 1898 on is often viewed as an era of U.S. imperialism, fewer authors have viewed the earlier nineteenth century phase of U.S. expansion as an imperial effort, since continental territories ultimately entered the union as fully represented states. Still a few historians have forthrightly argued for the first phase of U.S. expansion as an imperial project. Notably Thomas Hietala and more recently Robert Kagan have produced works that outline a process of U.S. imperialism in the first centuries of expansion.²³ Hietala in his 1985 examination of U.S. expansion in the 1840's asserted:

“The fact that the United States acquired contiguous rather than noncontiguous territory

Empire-Lite: Nation-Building in Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan (London: Penguin, 2003); Robert D. Kaplan, *Warrior Politics: Why Leadership Demands a Pagan Ethos* (New York: Random House, 2002). Deepak Lal, *In Defense of Empires* (Washington D. C.: American Enterprise Institute, 2002). Though to be sure the new left revisionist critique continues as well see William Blum, *Rogue State: A Guide to the World's Only Superpower* (Monroe ME: Common Courage Press, 2005) and Michael Hudson, *Super Imperialism: The Origin and Fundamentals of U. S. World Dominance* (New York: Pluto Press, 2003). A paleoconservative critique of empire perseveres, see Patrick J. Buchanan, *A Republic Not an Empire* (Washington: Regnery Publishing, 1999). There are also a number of criticisms from literary quarters harder to locate on the political spectrum like Gore Vidal, *The Decline and Fall of the American Empire* (Berkeley: Odonian Press, 1992); *The Last Empire: Essays* (New York: Doubleday, 2001) *Imperial America: Reflections on the United States of Amnesia* (New York: Nation Books, 2004). For a Marxist reappraisal of the meaning of empire that argues that globalization and supranational bodies have created a new form of empire, see Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000) and their followup that examines conflicts and the growth of democracy within that imperial context, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (New York: Penguin, 2004).

²³ Thomas R. Hietala, *Manifest Design: American Exceptionalism & Empire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985). Robert Kagan, *Dangerous Nation: America's Foreign Policy from Its Earliest Days to the Dawn of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Random House, 2006). Early national leaders faced a series of internal conflicts that created centrifugal pressures within the nation and a long-term foreign policy crisis in North America with the weakening Spanish Empire. As a result early national U.S. leaders often pursued expansion to stave off threats to the Union from both without and within. See James E. Lewis Jr., *The American Union and the Problem of Neighborhood: The United States and the Collapse of the Spanish Empire, 1783-1829* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998). For an examination of Jeffersonian imperialism in Louisiana see Alexander DeConde, “The Imperial Thrust,” *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History, Vol. 3, The Louisiana Purchase and Its Aftermath, 1800-1830* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1998): 609-619. For a broader take on the question of the United States and empire that places it in historical perspective see Charles S. Maier, *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and Its Predecessors* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2006). Amy Chua, *Day of Empire: How Hyperpowers Rise to Global Dominance and Why They Fail* (New York: Doubleday, 2007), points to the value of tolerance as an often-ignored quality of successful empires. Pekka Hamalainen's *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008) has recently turned the idea of European expansion and empire on its head by tracing the rise of Comanche dominance at the expense of European colonists. For examinations of connections between American identity, race and imperialism from specialists in early American literature see David Kazanjian, *The Colonizing Trick: National Culture and Imperial Citizenship in Early America* (Minneapolis:

makes American aggrandizement no less imperial than that of other empires of the mid-nineteenth century.”²⁴ The differences between the first and second phases of U.S. imperialism demonstrate important changes within the American nation, both positive and negative. Continuities are important too, however, and the nature of early American expansion as the United States began the process of annexation that brought earlier European colonial populations into the nation needs to be more fully examined. That process, as so many have noted, was far from unique. The process of expansion itself, however, can serve as a bridge between the early national period and the colonial. Greene in an earlier essay wrote: “The combination of insights from postcolonial and state formation studies opens up the possibility for a fundamentally different approach, one built on a recognition of the profound continuities between the colonial and national segments of the American past. This approach would involve a massive extension of the colonial perspective into the national era: a colonization, as it were, of American national history.”²⁵ The early national United States engaged in a process of colonization across the western frontier, but particularly in Louisiana and other areas where it encountered a European population that had been promised the rights of citizens within the republic. Certainly some Americans of the time recognized this as a colonial process; Federalist Senator William Plumer of New Hampshire, wrote of the bill that set up the first territorial government of Louisiana: “In thus passing this bill we commit an act of practical tyranny. The bill contains incongruous articles—establishment of courts—juries—numerous laws—prohibition of slavery etc. This is a Colonial system of

University of Minnesota Press, 2003) and Amy Doolen, *Fugitive Empire: Locating Early American Imperialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

²⁴ Thomas R. Hietala, *Manifest Design: American Exceptionalism & Empire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 263.

government—It is a bad precedent—the U. S. in time will have many colonies—precedents are therefore important.”²⁶ Although the ostensibly more democratic Jeffersonian Republican Party oversaw the acquisition of Louisiana, some Federalists quickly grasped and criticized the non-democratic elements for United States governance in Louisiana.

Despite the contributions that individual studies of Louisiana or American empire have made to our understanding of early national Louisiana, they often fail to grasp fully the multiple dynamics at play. The United States government instituted a territorial government in Louisiana in 1804 to which the previously Spanish and French-governed populations adapted. The United States created a new judicial system and militia regiments, both manned at the higher levels for the most part by recent immigrants from the United States, the Caribbean, and Europe. At the same time, notwithstanding adaptations and cooperation, Louisianans of various stripes also resisted the new U.S. system. Both Anglophones and the established Creole community frequently chose to violate the 1807 U. S. embargo on foreign trade and federal prohibitions against the international slave trade.²⁷ In violating these latter prohibitions, they were joined by émigrés from the Caribbean, who sought to bring in their own slaves. The U.S. territorial government in New Orleans instituted a harder racial regime, with the creation of a black code, which although more liberal than elsewhere in the United States, proved to be far stricter than the Spanish regime’s slave system. The black code increasingly identified

²⁵ Jack P. Greene, “Reflection on a Continuing Problem,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser. 65 (2007): 248-249.

²⁶ William Plumer, *William Plumer’s Memorandum of Proceedings of the United State Senate, 1803-1807*, ed. Everett Somerville Brown (New York: 1923), 145.

²⁷ For an examination of the continuation of the international slave trade in the United States after its prohibition in federal law (though exaggerating its volume), see Ernest Obadele-Starks, *Freebooters and*

slavery with race and reduced emancipations. This policy sparked unhappiness, particularly among the large population of free people of color. Anglophone Americans in Louisiana spearheaded efforts to create a public education system that the state legislature frustrated by denying the system funding.²⁸ On a number of issues Louisianans chose to either oppose or resist policies that came from the new territorial government. The policies of the new U.S. government raised issues of law, government and trade that were complicated further by a political language that all sides used to claim treatment as citizens rather than as subjects.²⁹

The manner in which the U.S. Congress and Presidency initially acted after the cession of the territory by France exacerbated these issues. The U.S. took control of the administration of the Louisiana Purchase in December of 1803 and vested Territorial Governor William Charles Cole Claiborne with executive and legislative powers.³⁰ Immediately after the transfer of sovereignty, the United States established its authority on the local level outside of New Orleans through the appointment of commandants for existing communities, who served until their replacement by judges ten months later. The commandants exercised police and judicial functions within their area, and Governor W. C. C. Claiborne chose them based on their social position within their communities and their attitude toward the United States, except in parishes along frontiers with

Smugglers: The Foreign Slave Trade in the United States after 1808 (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2007).

²⁸ Peter J. Kastor, “‘An Apprenticeship to Liberty’: The Incorporation of Louisiana and the Struggle for Nationhood in the Early American Republic, 1803-1820” (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1999), 207-225.

²⁹ Peter J. Kastor, *The Nation’s Crucible: The Louisiana Purchase and the Creation of America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

³⁰ In March of 1804 the United States Congress established two territorial governments from the Louisiana Purchase, the southern territory became the territory of Orleans and had much the same borders as present day Louisiana excluding the west Florida parishes and a western boundary that still was undefined in 1804. The legislative functions of the new territory would be exercised by a Legislative

Spanish territory, where he turned to U.S. military officers. Many of the men appointed had held analogous offices under the Spanish government, denoting continuity in local politics regardless of the national transfer.

In October 1804 the newly created Legislative Council divided the territory into twelve counties. In some cases a county in its boundaries replicated an already existing ecclesiastical parish, but in other cases it might contain two or three such parishes. The county system itself illustrated U.S. attempts to make Louisiana conform to practices and institutions found in the rest of the United States. Each county had a judge, sheriff, clerk, treasurer, and justices of the peace. This system replaced the government by commandants, though in many cases commandants became judges under the new system. In theory all these appointments from judges to justices of the peace came from the governor, but in practice Claiborne tended to make the lower appointments of sheriffs and justices within the counties based on the recommendations of the judges. In March 1805, in reaction to numerous complaints and remonstrances by the inhabitants of the territory over the lack of representation, the United States Congress allowed citizens of the territory of Orleans to elect a lower house that could propose a slate of ten candidates for the Legislative Council from which the President selected five who then had to be confirmed by the U.S. Senate.³¹ The lower house in Orleans, the House of Representatives, was made up of just twenty-five members elected from electoral districts

Council made up of the governor and thirteen members appointed by the President, though in practice they tended to be chosen from lists of nominees prepared by Claiborne.

³¹ *The Orleans Gazette—Extra* [New Orleans], 11 June 1805; An Act for the Government of Orleans Territory, 2 March 1805, *Territorial Papers of the United States, vol. IX, The Territory of Orleans, 1803-1812*, Clarence Edwin Carter, editor (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1940) (hereafter cited as *Territorial Papers*), 405-407; *View of the Political and Civil Situation of Louisiana from the Thirtieth of November 1803 to the First of October 1804, by a Native* (Philadelphia, 1804). For an examination of the Anglo-Americans and Francophones involved in the remonstrance, see Julien Paul

that matched up with the twelve counties and together with the Legislative Council served as the legislature of the territory.

The number of representatives for each county was based roughly on population levels: the county of Orleans, which contained New Orleans, elected seven representatives, seven counties had two representatives and the four northernmost counties had one each. Unsurprisingly given their representation, New Orleans natives tended to dominate the lower-house nominees to the Legislative Council. The county structure proved short-lived; the scattered populations of many counties hindered the formation of a sense of community, whereas ecclesiastical parishes that brought people together at regular intervals for church could be replicated in their jurisdictions in the political realm to greater effect, as they had under the French and Spanish in Louisiana. The counties had never existed as political units before the cession to the United States, and the imposition of counties from the new territorial government failed to make the populations within them begin to view the counties as the basis for political community. The county system lasted but three years. In 1807 the legislature recognized nineteen parishes and granted each parish a judge and organized five superior court districts; this new system replaced the county court system for local police and judicial functions, although the counties continued to be electoral districts and used as the bases for taxes on land and slaves during the territorial period. As with the county system, parishes in addition to judges contained sheriffs and justices, appointed by the governor, though often upon judicial recommendations. An advisory body to the judge made up of local prominent citizens, the police jury, was also brought into existence. After statehood

Vernet, ““Strangers on Their Native Soil?” Opposition to United States Territorial Government in Orleans, 1803-1809” (Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 2002), 127-144.

police juries increasingly took on the powers of a city council with control over public safety, internal regulations, and appointive powers for the parish treasurers and road overseers, giving them wide power over parish finances. The shift back to parishes reflected the influence of the prior infrastructure and demonstrated a willingness on the part of the territorial government to respond to the wishes of the inhabitants, particularly the older Francophone inhabitants, since the older jurisdictions held little meaning for the more recent Anglo-American immigrants. Parishes relieved many of the problems of the county court system by reducing the number of cases for judges and the court costs that litigants had to endure. Only after statehood in 1812 did the parishes fully begin to supersede counties for tax purposes, although the fourteen-member state senate (which replaced the Legislative Council as the upper legislative body after statehood) continued to be chosen from senatorial districts that mirrored the counties, with Orleans divided so as to receive two seats.

These were not the only changes made with statehood in 1812. The earlier franchise for the territorial House of Representatives had been based on Mississippi's voter qualifications. The state constitution of 1812 allowed voters to elect the governor for the first time, though it kept limits on the franchise. Only white males, of at least twenty-one years of age, who had resided in the state for a year, and paid state taxes six months before an election could vote.³² The legislature elected the governor from the top two candidates selected by the electorate at large and the governor retained the broad appointment powers that the office held in the territorial period.³³ As in much of the rest

³² *Constitution or Form of Government of the State of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1812).

³³ Lee Hargrave, *The Louisiana State Constitution: A Reference Guide* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 2-3; Warren M. Billings and Edward F. Haas, editors, *In Search of Fundamental Law, Louisiana's*

of the nation, this was an electoral system that benefited the elite, and in particular the landed elite, who paid taxes on land and slaves. The individuals who served in the county and parish governmental system and the territorial and then state legislature came from older local colonial elites, and more recent immigrants from the U.S., Europe, and the Caribbean. These men made up the political elite of their sections and their appointments and elections demonstrate the levels of change and continuity among the leadership of the territory and by extension the changing nature of Louisiana politics and society.

The backgrounds and attitudes of these appointed and elected officials determined their approach to the new U.S. territorial government. In order to understand these elites this study will assess the geography and political economy of each locality. This work will also examine the parishes through the use of the United States censuses from 1810 and 1820, and will draw on surname analysis to allow for an approximation of the ethnic makeup of each parish. A similar examination of marriages within the parishes will explore levels of interethnic cooperation or divisions. Elites play a key role in the political life of any time, but particularly in early nineteenth century Louisiana given the political life of the early republic, the agrarian nature of society and the territorial and state constitutions. Economic and political elites essentially were the same class, often overcoming ethnic differences and places of origin to form a clear leadership group. Thus, this study of local elites allows us to understand the nature of U.S. governance in Louisiana in a way that previous studies, focused on the territorial government in New Orleans or invested in anachronistic ethnic allegiances, have not done. Parish records,

tax records in particular, offer an insight into the property and social standing of parish officeholders. The most comprehensive sources for an understanding of territorial and early state politics remain the *Territorial Papers of the United States* and *Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne*, but those sources offer a clear U.S. administrative perspective.³⁴

That perspective allows one to come to a clear understanding of the difficulties faced by United States civil and military officials in governing the Territory of Orleans.

Unfortunately there are far fewer sources that offer the direct perspective of local officeholders, but it is possible to discern local concerns and the difficulties of local appointees through their communication with that U.S. administrative center.

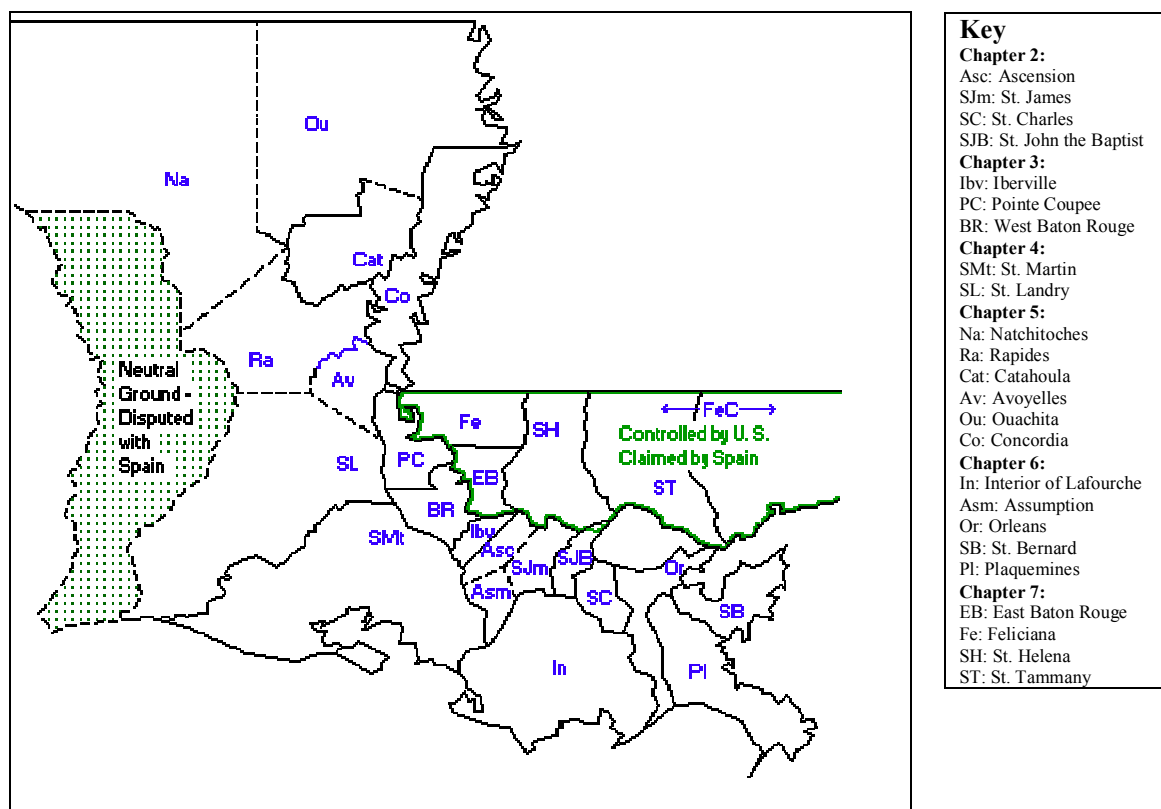


Fig. 1. Map of Territory of Orleans 1810.³⁵

³⁴ *Territorial Papers; Letter Books.*

³⁵ mylouisianagenealogy.com (2009).

This study will examine the importance of local governance in the parishes and how local elites and the recently established United States government negotiated such issues. Local issues, when successfully negotiated, could advance individual interests while gaining adherents to United States sovereignty. Consequently this study takes a geographic organization. It begins with the parishes to the north of New Orleans along the Mississippi River, the Acadian and German Coasts, which bordered one another, and frequently were mentioned in tandem at the time of the cession (see figure 1). The next chapter moves further north along the Mississippi to examine the counties of Iberville and Pointe Coupee, with its parish of West Baton Rouge. These areas, though along the Mississippi, differed in their ethnic makeup and concerns from those to the south. The study then shifts to the southwestern counties of Attakapas and Opelousas, which like the Acadian and German Coasts, contemporaries often mentioned with one another. These parishes held positions near the Spanish frontier to the west, contained scattered populations, and remained isolated from the east and the territorial center of New Orleans. The fourth chapter will focus on the northern counties of Natchitoches, Rapides, Concordia and Ouachita. These four counties were far less populated, as demonstrated by their being the only counties entitled to just one representative each in the territorial legislature.³⁶ The sixth chapter shifts to the south and the parishes in Orleans County of Plaquemines and St. Bernard and the County of Lafourche. Given their proximity to the capital, New Orleans influenced these parishes in their economic and political life far more than other parishes. The final section examines the West Florida Parishes that formed a coherent geographic and political entity as they continued to be held by the

Spanish crown at the point of the U.S. cession in 1804 until the West Florida Rebellion of 1810 when the area that came to include the parishes of East Baton Rouge, Feliciana, St. Tammany and St. Helena was annexed by the United States and attached to the Territory of Orleans (see figure 2).

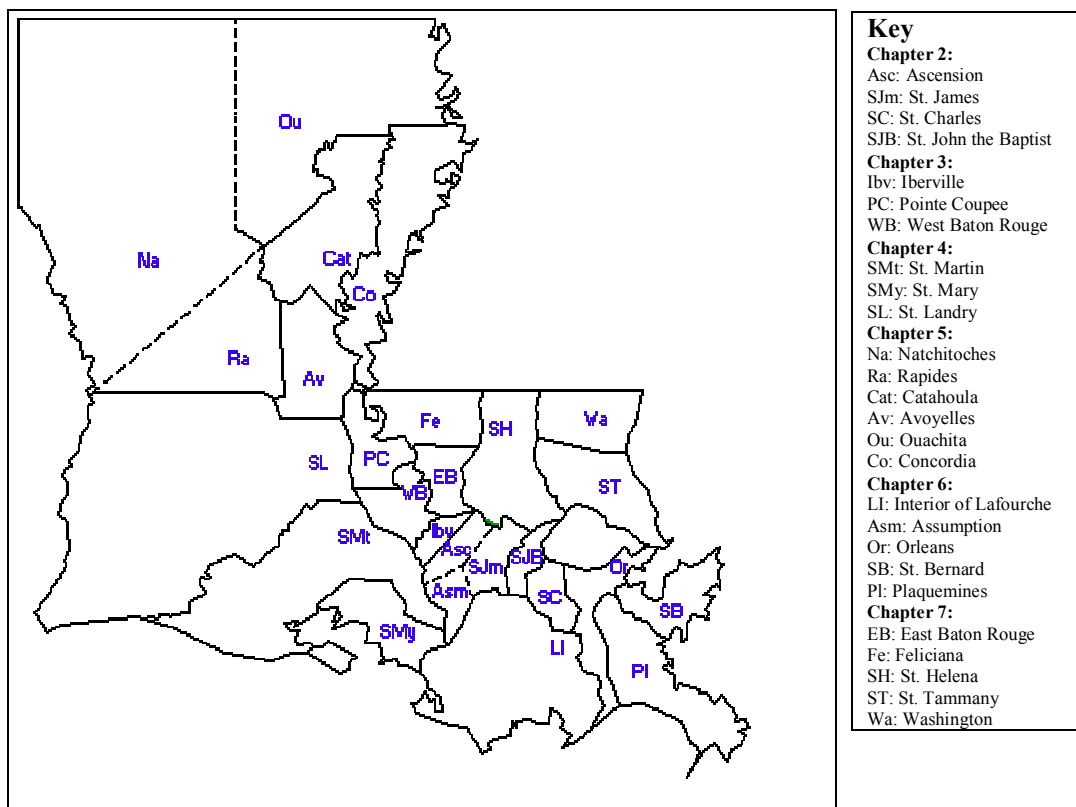


Fig. 2. Map of State of Louisiana 1820.³⁷

Louisiana, like future acquisitions in Florida, Texas, New Mexico, and California, contained large populations whose inclusion within the new nation as citizens required that they shift allegiances, but also that they adjust to different legal and political systems conducted in a new language. This period of expansion links the United States with the decidedly colonial past of North America, with multiple legal systems, languages, and

³⁶ Proclamation by Governor Claiborne, July 26, 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:478-481.

³⁷ mylouisianagenealogy.com (2009).

allegiances, and with populations and sovereignty frequently changing hands. Indeed Louisiana had already been through such a process from France to Spain and then back to France again (however briefly), before its annexation by the United States. By viewing the U.S. effort in Louisiana from the point of view of the appointees who actually made the system itself work, as well as from the perspective of the administration that appointed them, we can learn how the United States approached governing this colonial population, and how it both differed from and resembled its colonial forbears in the same region. With the Louisiana Purchase, the United States gained a territory with a population similar enough to its own in culture and law that it was willing to grant citizenship, but different enough to require significant adaptations from both the government and population. Much of this process has been described from the perspective of policy makers in Washington or New Orleans or, in the more recent historiography, from the perspectives of slaves, free people of color, yeoman farmers and Native Americans. None of those approaches adequately appreciate the efforts of the individuals who actually enacted this process of accommodation and empire on the ground, at the local level, among and face to face with new United States citizens, new Louisianans and a host of others.³⁸ More so than high policy makers in Washington or disenfranchised local groups, local elites made this process function.³⁹ These individuals

³⁸ In general U.S. historians remain either transfixed by high policy makers when dealing with these issues of empire or correcting what they view as an earlier obsession with high politics by focusing on low politics. Scholars of early modern Europe have done a far better job of examining the sort of individuals who actually make policy work, as noted by Paul Kennedy as he too has turned to examining these middling figures in his coming work on World War II, "History from the Middle? The Case of the Second World War," (George C. Marshall Lecture, Sponsored by the Society for Military History and the George C. Marshall Foundation at the AHA, 4 January 2009).

³⁹ The same historical events since 1989 that have seen the rise in the study of American empire have also resulted in the resurgence of elite studies. Elite theory began with the works of Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Masco, and to a lesser extent Robert Michels, all of whom from the beginning of the twentieth century until World War II posited an alternative to Marxist theorists on the nature of society and history and the phenomena of political and regime change. See Vilfredo Pareto *The Rise and Fall of Elites: An*

confronted real challenges with a U.S. administration that in some areas chose to accommodate them and turned to them for local offices, but in many other cases chose to turn to Anglo-American or foreign French newcomers to the territory who might fail to recognize local priorities. These officials, both already established elites and newcomers, made the transition to the U.S. regime function and their motivations were legion, but they worked most effectively when they could bridge the needs of the U.S. territorial government in New Orleans while meeting the needs and concerns of their localities. Individual officeholders, particularly judges, who could establish relationships with local elites proved far more successful in instituting new U.S. land laws, the jury system, and representative government. At the same time U.S. territorial officials could provide for local security concerns in dealing with large slave populations, the Spanish, and Native Americans. Parishes that had their interests recognized and legitimized by the

Application of Theoretical Sociology (1901, reprint, New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1991); *The Mind and Society: A Treatise on General Sociology* (1916, reprint, New York: Dover, 1935); *The Transformation of Democracy* (New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Books, 1984), Gaetano Mosca *The Ruling Class* (1896, reprint, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939) and Robert Michels *Political Parties* (Glencoe IL: Free Press, 1949). In the aftermath of World War II a number of figures began to apply many of the concepts from elite studies to the history and contemporary society of the United States, the most well known being C. Wright Mills *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956); though others explored many of the same concepts like Floyd Hunter *Top Leadership U.S.A.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959). Increasingly elite studies focused on the manner by which technocrats and managers increasingly became decision makers rather than political figures, see James Burnham *The Managerial Revolution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1941); *The Machiavellians* (New York: Gateway, 1943); and Robert Putnam *The Comparative Study of Political Elites* (Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice Hall, 1976). For an overview of elite theory and the United States see Kenneth Prewitt and Alan Stone *The Ruling Elites: Elite Theory, Power, and American Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973) and more recently John Higley and Michael Burton's *Elite Foundations of Liberal Democracy* (Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006). Philip H. Burch Jr. *Elites in American History* 3 vols. (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1981) examines American elites within Presidential administrations through American history from Washington to Carter. For developments in elite case studies and a survey of the state of the field see John Higley and Gwen Moore "Political Elite Studies at the Year 2000," *International Review of Sociology* 11 (2001); Michael Burton and John Higley "The Study of Political Elite Transformation," *International Review of Sociology*, *International Review of Sociology* 11 (2001). For an examination of the culture of the early national American political elite, see Joanne B. Freeman *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

government in New Orleans proved the most cooperative with the American regime to the betterment of both local elites and the United States in Louisiana.

CHAPTER II

THE ACADIAN AND GERMAN COASTS

The German and Acadian Coasts of the Territory of Orleans contained large Creole populations that in 1803 many in Washington D. C. presumed would prove unreceptive to U.S. government. In fact, though, the German and Acadian Coasts proved among the most acquiescent to U.S. governance, in large part because of the individual parish officeholders selected by territorial authorities. Local officials oversaw the transition to a jury system and representative government along with enacting a far stronger slave code, of particular importance in the German and Acadian Coasts given their large slave populations. These appointees balanced the required changes that U.S. governance entailed while continuing to maintain their own popularity and authority within their parishes. By acting in this manner, local officials kept the trust of their constituents while enjoying the benefits of U.S. patronage. Local officials better served U.S. interests as local populations were familiar with them and used to obeying them. Local elites could take direction from U.S. authorities as easily as they had from the Spanish. In turn the territorial government both recognized the specific needs of the German and Acadian coasts' officials and populations and met those needs in order to assure an orderly transition to U.S. governance. U.S. authorities could afford to be generous, and officials quickly realized that by meeting the demands of the local populace they inculcated an acceptance of the territorial government. The United States also could provide a greater sense of security given the large slave population of the area, by helping to provide arms to the white population, and in the case of a slave revolt, federal troops. The German Coast slave rebellion of 1811 only confirmed the validity of fears of slave revolts for both

Creole and Anglo-American whites in the Acadian and German Coasts. United States security muted a great deal of local criticism; when criticism of the American administration of the territory emerged in the Acadian and German Coasts, it tended to come from Anglo-American newcomers and Creoles who had been passed over for appointments who wanted patronage and power to flow their way. At the same time, established Creole elites often faced difficulties with the shift to U.S. jurisprudence. The presence of well-established elites and the specific demographics of the German and Acadian Coasts, which contained white communities that differed from the Creole populace in the rest of Louisiana, and large slave populations, rather than frustrating the U.S. administration of these parishes, actually facilitated it.

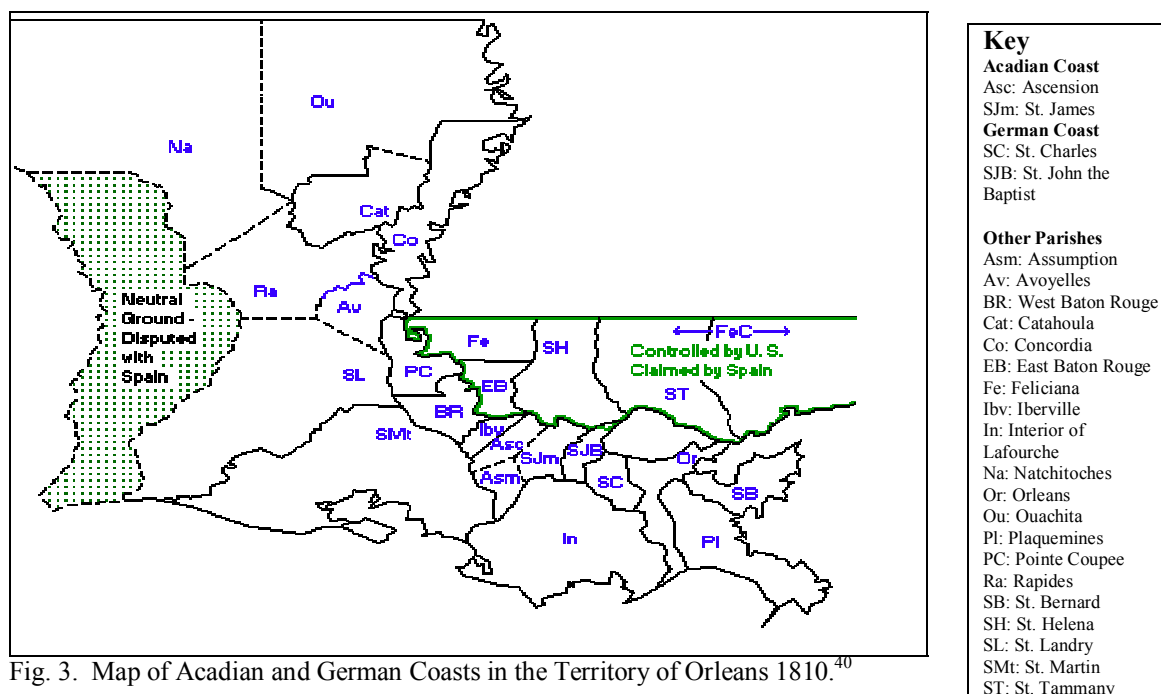


Fig. 3. Map of Acadian and German Coasts in the Territory of Orleans 1810.⁴⁰

The German Coast, which lies north and west of New Orleans along the Mississippi River, was named for the German immigrants who settled the parishes of St. Charles,

⁴⁰ mylouisianagenealogy.com (2009).

often referred to as the first German Coast because it was closer to New Orleans, and St. John the Baptist, the second German Coast because it was farther upriver (see figure 3). John Law and the Company of the Indies had successfully marketed Louisiana as a virtual wonderland to the populations of Central Europe in order to encourage immigration, but when the German immigrants arrived they found an environment of horrible conditions that threatened them with malaria and yellow fever. After French officials abandoned the German settlers on the Arkansas River bereft of supplies, many of the settlers made their way to New Orleans and attempted to secure passage back to Europe. Instead the French gave them small land grants along the Mississippi River north of New Orleans.⁴¹ The first commandant of the area during the French colonial period was Chevalier d'Arensbourg, a Swede in the French service. The French colony charged commandants with duties as both civil and military officials. In addition to settling disputes and defending their territory, the commandants inspected and saw to the repair of the levees, river roads, bridges, and ditches throughout their parishes. These repairs became a priority particularly on the east bank of the Mississippi as the river could flood to take a shorter path through Lake Pontchartrain, flooding parts of the German Coast parishes.⁴² Commandants also acted as judges for local disputes and served as the leaders of local militia companies.

The German settlers worked hard to clear the land and farm, and as a result their communities thrived. The first German immigrants established small farms, grew crops for sale down river, and raised cattle, largely for export to New Orleans. By the time of U.S. control, however, cultural and economic changes had transformed the region; the

⁴¹ Francois Xavier Martin, *The History of Louisiana: From the Earliest Period* (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Company, 1963 [1827]), 148.

descendants of the German immigrants became French speakers and plantation agriculture overtook yeoman farms. The settlement of Germans in an overwhelmingly French province resulted in the decline of the German language and some of their traditions; intermarriage with the local French populace greatly facilitated this process.⁴³ The Germans tended to immigrate as families whereas the local French immigrant population was short of women; consequently intermarriage rates proved to be high between the two populations.⁴⁴ Upon the transfer to the United States in 1803, the population was Francophone; however, bilingual Germans could still be found in the territory of Orleans, and some continued to be able to write in German as well.⁴⁵ German immigration to the United States increased with the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, and many German immigrants entered through the port of New Orleans, but the primary concentration of German immigrants in Louisiana outside of New Orleans remained the German Coast.⁴⁶ Thus, while the German immigrant population became largely Francophone, some German cultural tropes persevered, providing for a somewhat different identity from the larger Louisiana Creole population. Thus, within the German Coast, a Creole class had emerged, but it differed slightly from other Creole populations in its ancestry and some of its traditions, though no longer in its language.

⁴² Ellen C. Merrill, *Germans of Louisiana*, (Gretna LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 2005), 38.

⁴³ Ellen C. Merrill, *Germans of Louisiana*, (Gretna LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 2005), 42-43.

⁴⁴ Louis Voss, *The German Coast of Louisiana*, (Hoboken NJ: The Concord Society, 1928), 17-18.

⁴⁵ An indication of the decline of the German language and traditions is best demonstrated by the shift within German names toward Gallicized versions, some not based on common sounds, but rather direct translations so that while Schaf became Chauffe, Zweig became Labranche such that German settlers could be considered local French speakers. See Rene Le Conte, "The German in Louisiana in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History, Volume X, A Refuge for All Ages: Immigration in Louisiana History* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1996), 39; Marcia C. Gaudet, *Tales from the Levee: The Folklore of St. John the Baptist* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1984), viii.

⁴⁶ Ellen C. Merrill, *Germans of Louisiana*, (Gretna LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 2005), 49-50.

The thriving trade with New Orleans, dependent on the upriver parishes for food, led to the continued development of the German Coast over the eighteenth century. A few major planters produced tobacco and indigo, but trade policy and a series of crop failures led to their decline, while planters turned back to supplying New Orleans with food and necessities: livestock, vegetables, wheat, corn, and timber.⁴⁷ Settlers from the Caribbean introduced sugar to the colony, and it made headway over the course of the 1790's.⁴⁸ The crop brought prosperity to the territory and the German Coast in particular, which benefited from it far more than their Acadian neighbors to the north. As a consequence of the growth of sugar plantations and the continued strong trade with New Orleans the slave population grew. St. Charles contained far more planters engaged in sugar production than St. John the Baptist Parish; St. Charles had planters with larger holdings in both land and the slaves essential for the labor intensive planting of sugar, far more than indigo production.⁴⁹ William Darby in his survey of Louisiana's geography published in 1816, noted too that in St. John's Parish: "Cotton is now more, and sugar less cultivated than nearer New Orleans."⁵⁰ The smaller planters of St. John the Baptist parish upriver did not own as many slaves and persisted in their efforts to provide New Orleans with staples like grain, corn, cotton, lumber and, in a few cases, indigo.

⁴⁷ Ellen C. Merrill, *Germans of Louisiana*, (Gretna LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 2005), 40; Helmut Blume, *The German Coast During the Colonial Era, 1722-1803: The Evolution of a Distinct Cultural Landscape in the Lower Mississippi Delta during the Colonial Era: With Special Reference to the Development of Louisiana's German Coast*, Trans., ed. and annotator Ellen C. Merrill (Destrehan LA: The German-Acadian Coast Historical and Genealogical Society, 1990), 92-102.

⁴⁸ For the transformative effects of sugar on Louisiana agriculture and society see J. Carlye Sitterson, *Sugar Country: The Cane Sugar Industry in the South, 1759-1950* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953) and *The Sugar Masters: Planters and Slaves in Louisiana's Cane World, 1820-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005). For the growth of sugar and its connection to slavery, industry, and capitalism, see Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin, 1986).

⁴⁹ Ellen C. Merrill, *Germans of Louisiana*, (Gretna LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 2005), 45-47.

⁵⁰ William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), 190.

The German Coast proved to be an extremely successful region agriculturally and came to be known as the cote d'or in the late eighteenth century.⁵¹ A small French fort secured that success. The French had built it on the German Coast in order to protect the local inhabitants from Native Americans, but also as part of a larger system of forts designed to protect New Orleans from both European and native threats. The forts and militia were essential during the colonial period, when the Natchez and Choctaw attacked areas of the German Coast several times. The last such attack occurred in 1777; during the U.S. territorial government the Indians never reconstituted themselves as a threat to these parishes, given their dwindling population in the area.

To the north the Acadian Coast, made up of the parishes of Ascension and St. James, was settled later than the German Coast, and did not achieve the same level of economic success as its neighbors to the south. Plantation agriculture never took off at the same rate as in the German Coast, though the Acadian Coast's economy also focused on exportation to New Orleans.⁵² Similar to their neighbors to the south the settlers of the Acadian Coasts immigrated as refugees. In 1755 some five thousand Acadians, French colonists who had settled in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island were expelled from their homes.⁵³ The French government granted land to the recent arrivals on both sides of the river above the German Coast. In addition to land north of the

⁵¹ Marietta Marie LeBreton, "A History of the Territory of Orleans, 1803-1812," (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1969), 17-18.

⁵² Marietta Marie LeBreton, "A History of the Territory of Orleans, 1803-1812," (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1969), 18.

⁵³ The British had decided that such a large French speaking population represented too great a threat to leave in place and as a result the British seized their land and sent the Acadians south to other British colonies in North America. While many colonial legislatures offered Acadians land grants, and many Acadians spent time in Quebec and other American colonies from Massachusetts to Georgia, most Acadians were unwilling to settle in places with such different cultures and many eventually made their way to New Orleans. Robert G. Leblanc, "The Acadian Migrations," in *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History, Volume X, A Refuge for All Ages: Immigration in Louisiana History* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1996), 120.

German Coast, the French government provided the Acadian immigrants with farming tools and supplies for the first years after their arrival.⁵⁴ Thus, the French could turn their losses in Canada into assets for the development and better security of French power in Louisiana. The Acadian Coast served as a key development, linking New Orleans and the German Coast with the French settlements further to the north at Pointe Coupee and West Baton Rouge.

Some third of the Acadian diaspora found its way to the United States, but the vast majority went to Louisiana, and within the territory of Orleans they settled in the Acadian Coast and in the Attakapas country.⁵⁵ Much like the Germans to the south, the Acadians intermarried with the local Creole populace. Those on the Acadian Coast intermarried at a far greater rate than other Acadians, the women at a far greater rate than the men.⁵⁶ The Acadian Coast like the German Coast was linked to New Orleans by the river and economics, since they produced vegetables and other crops for New Orleans before later turning to cotton and sugar production.⁵⁷ The Acadian people became some of the most productive within the colony and produced the first textile manufacturing in Louisiana with their homespun.⁵⁸ Their dispersal as a group also gave the local Acadians mercantile connections in France, the United States and throughout the Caribbean. The Acadians who settled in the parishes of Ascension and St. James remained small farmers

⁵⁴ Francois Xavier Martin, *The History of Louisiana: From the Earliest Period* (1827; reprint, New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Company, 1963), 188.

⁵⁵ John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2005), 451. For a work on more recent Cajun history see Shane K. Bernard, *The Cajuns: Americanization of a People* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003). Many Acadians also found their way back to France, the French Caribbean or South America. See Chris Hodson "'A Bondage So Harsh': Acadian Labor in the French Caribbean, 1763-1766," *Early American Studies* 5 (2007): 95-131.

⁵⁶ John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2005), 451.

⁵⁷ William Darby in his visit noted the Acadian economy's dependence on sugar and cotton. William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), 191.

⁵⁸ Francois Xavier Martin, *The History of Louisiana: From the Earliest Period* (1827; reprint, New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Company, 1963), 317.

who focused on building levees and growing their crops, in contrast to the Acadians who settled in Attakapas and raised livestock. The Spanish hoped to use the Acadians as a buffer against further British involvement in the area from their territory in West Florida, but the Acadian French identity, while an advantage in blocking British encroachment in Louisiana, could be a real obstacle to control as Acadian participation in a rebellion against Spanish authority in 1768 illustrated.⁵⁹

In contrast to the opposition to Spanish sovereignty, the transfer to U.S. authority within the Acadian and German Coasts was notable for its passivity. In 1768 Creole inhabitants and settlers in the German and Acadian Coasts, who opposed the transfer to Spain and the consequent end of trade with France and French colonies, participated in a New Orleans centered rebellion against Spanish authority that forced Governor Antonio de Ulloa from Louisiana. During the rebellion inhabitants of the German and Acadian coasts, some of them armed, marched to New Orleans.⁶⁰ A new Governor and Captain General Alexander O'Reilly put down the rebellion the following year, executing five of the main conspirators and imprisoning another five. At the time of the transfer to the United States, however, the German and Acadian Coasts proved far more receptive to the change in sovereignty.

The German and Acadian Coasts' seemingly easy acceptance of United States control surprised U.S. officials who expected the overwhelmingly French-speaking population to resist adjusting to U.S. policy and allegiance. The United States control over the area led to increased immigration of Anglo-Americans into the parishes, but not in great numbers

⁵⁹ John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2005), 431-432; Sidney A. Marchand, *Acadian Exiles in the Golden Coast of Louisiana* (Donaldsonville LA: Marchand, 1943), 36; J. Hanno Deiler, *The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1969), 42-46.

and the Acadian and German Coasts retained their ethnic composition well into the period of Louisiana statehood. The 1810 United States census illustrates that in Ascension Parish British surnames made up just over twelve percent of the white population in comparison to the French, Spanish and German majority. Similarly in St. James the Anglo population in 1810 was just three percent, in St. John the Baptist two percent and in St. Charles one percent; by 1820 these percentages had changed, but not significantly; in Ascension the Anglophone population now made up just over eight percent of the white population of the parish, their numbers had increased, but not at as great a rate as the majority populace; similarly in St. James the Anglo population sank to just over two percent; in St. John the Baptist it increased to just over four percent and in St. Charles to four percent.⁶¹ The German Coast, with its proximity to New Orleans, saw

⁶⁰ Francois Xavier Martin, *The History of Louisiana: From the Earliest Period* (1827; reprint, New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Company, 1963), 204.

⁶¹ These figures are based on surname analysis of census transcriptions taken from Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977). In some cases Ardoin's figures differ slightly from the totals offered in the censuses. Surname determinations made using Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com/Default.aspx>; John Ayto, *Encyclopedia of Surnames* (London: A & C Black, 2007); Lillian C. Bourgeois, *Cabanocey: The History, Customs and Folklore of St. James Parish* (Gretna LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 1957); Shirley Chaisson Bourquard, *Early Settlers on the Delta: Families of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, and Orleans Parishes Louisiana* (Arabi LA: Bourquard, 1987); Glenn R. Conrad, *The First Families of Louisiana 2 vols.* (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Publishing Division, 1970); Brian J. Costello, *A History of Pointe Coupee Parish Louisiana* (New Roads LA: Costello, 1999); Albert Dauzat, *Les Noms de Famille de France* (Paris: Payot, 1949); Winston De Ville, *First Settlers of Pointe Coupee: A Study, Based on Early Louisiana Church Records* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1974); Winston De Ville, ed., *Rapides Post on Red River: Census and Military Documents for Central Louisiana, 1769-1800* (Ville Platte LA: De Ville, 1985); Winston De Ville, ed., *The Parish of St. James in the Province of Louisiana: Genealogical Abstracts from the Spanish Census of 1777* (Ville Platte LA: Provincial Press, 1987); Winston De Ville, *The Ste. Catherine Colonists, 1719-1720: Early Settlers of Natchez and Pointe Coupee in the French Province of Louisiana* (Ville Platte LA: De Ville, 1991); J. Hanno Deiler, *The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana and the Creoles of German Descent* (Philadelphia: American Germanica Press, 1909); Von Max Gottschald, *Deutsche Namenkunde* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1971); William Nelson Gremillion Sr. and Loucille Edwards Gremillion, *Some Early Families of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana: Genealogical Studies of the Early Generations of 36 Families* (Eunice LA: Hebert Publications, 1980); Harry Lewis Griffin, *The Attakapas Country* (Gretna LA: Firebird Press, 1999); Virginia Lobdell Jennings, *The Plains and the People: A History of Upper East Baton Rouge Parish* (Gretna LA: Pelican, 1998); George F. Jones, *German-American Names* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1990); Carol Young Knight, *My Young Family of Catahoula* (Aledo TX: C.Y. Knight, 1994); Bertram Wallace Korn, *The Early Jews of*

a relative increase in the English-speaking population while the Acadian Coast actually saw a relative decrease. French immigration from the French Caribbean and France itself continued to have a substantial demographic impact on southern Louisiana well into the 1850's.⁶² For the majority of the inhabitants of the Acadian and German Coasts the new United States administration of Louisiana represented truly foreign governance, as the German and French ancestries of the population gave them little cultural connection to the United States. Local elites, however, had already grown accustomed to dealing with such a disconnection under Spain.

Marriage records also illustrate the predominance of the Francophone population; in Ascension between 1803 and 1820 only seven marriages or seven percent of the marriages in the parish involved an Anglo name and only one of those cases involved an endogamous marriage. Between 1767 and 1803 there had been only one marriage involving a British surname in Ascension, so despite a growing Anglo-American

New Orleans (Waltham MA: American Jewish Historical Society, 1969); Jeraldine Dufour Lacour, *Dufour, Les Creoles des Avoyelles* (Bunkie LA: Lacour, 1980); Sidney A. Marchand, *Acadian Exiles in the Golden Coast of Louisiana* (Donaldsonville: Marchand, 1943); Sidney A. Marchand, *An Attempt to Re-Assemble the Old Settlers in Family Groups* (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Book Store, 1965); Ellen C. Merrill, *Germans of Louisiana* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 2005); Elton J. Oubre, *Vacherie: St. James Parish, Louisiana: History and Genealogy* (Thibadaux, LA: Oubre's Books, 2002); Brenda F. Perkins, *Armand Duplantier en Amerique: A Biographical Time Line* (Baton Rouge: Vintage Research, 2003); Robert J. Quintin, *French-Canadian Surnames: Aliases, Alterations and Anglicizations* (Pawtucket, RI: Quintin, 1993); William A. Read, *Louisiana-French* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963); P. H. Reaney, *A Dictionary of British Surnames* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977); Albert J. Robichaux Jr., *German Coast Families: European Origins and Settlement in Colonial Louisiana* (Rayne LA: Hebert Publications, 1997); Mary Elizabeth Sanders, *Annotated Abstracts of the Successions of St. Mary Parish, LA., 1811-1834* (Sanders, 1972); William R. Stringfield, *Le Pays des Fleurs Oranges: A Genealogical Study of Creole Families of Plaquemines Parish, Louisiana* vol. 1 (Baltimore: Stringfield, 2001); Robert C. West, *An Atlas of Louisiana Surnames of French and Spanish Origin* (Baton Rouge: Geoscience Publications, Louisiana State University, 1986); Frederick William Williamson and George T. Goodman, *Eastern Louisiana: A History of the Watershed of the Ouachita River and the Florida Parishes* 3 vols. (Louisville: The Historical Record Association, 1939); Richard D. Woods and Grace Alvarez-Altman, *Spanish Surnames in the Southwestern United States: A Dictionary* (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1978); Henry E. Yoes III, *Louisiana's German Coast: A History of St. Charles Parish* (Lake Charles LA: Racing Pigeon Digest Publishing Company, 2005).

⁶² Carl A. Brasseaux, "French Immigration 1820-1839," in *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History, Volume X, A Refuge for All Ages: Immigration in Louisiana History* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1996), 323-349.

presence, families clearly chose to marry into the local French (and German) community.⁶³ These numbers illustrate the multiethnic reality of the parish, but also emphasize the absence within the parish of a firm Anglo-American faction, a discrete and exclusive Anglo group well-positioned to receive territorial patronage from an U.S. governor in New Orleans. In St. James, where an even smaller English-speaking presence existed, higher rates of intermarriage occurred. Between 1718 and 1796 there were two recorded Anglo marriages, one exogamous and one endogamous, making up around fifteen percent of the total marriages recorded during this earlier period, but between 1803 and 1820 there were six more making up some eight percent of the total. All but one of these involved Anglo grooms and Francophone brides.⁶⁴ Likewise in St. Charles between 1741 and 1803 there were but two marriages involving English names, making up just under four percent of the total marriages, but between 1803 and 1820 there were two more such marriages, this time making up just under nine percent of the total.⁶⁵ There are no marriage records for St. John the Baptist from the period, but given its similar ethnic makeup to St. Charles it seems reasonable to assume that its marriage rates would be in line with its neighboring parish. In sum the Acadian and German Coasts held but small populations of English-speakers, many of who chose to marry into the local populace. Despite continued U.S. control from 1803 to 1820 there was only a slight increase in marriage rates involving Anglo surnames.

⁶³ *Ascension Parish Louisiana: Computer Indexed Marriage Records* (Salt Lake City: Hunting for Bears, 2007); *General Index to Marriages, Ascension Parish Louisiana, 1770-1963* (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1964). Surname determination made from same manner as with the census.

⁶⁴ This probably denotes greater male immigration into the territory. *St. James Parish: Computer Indexed Marriage Records*, (Salt Lake City: Hunting for Bears, 2007). Surname determination made from same manner as with the census.

⁶⁵ *St. Charles Parish: Computer Indexed Marriage Records*, (Salt Lake City: Hunting for Bears, 2007). Surname determination made from same manner as with the census.

Given the foreign nature of U.S. governance and the Acadian and German Coasts' earlier history of opposition to the Spanish takeover of the territory one might expect that they would be among the more difficult areas of Louisiana for the United States to govern. That was not the case, however, as the Acadian and German Coasts proved to be among the most supportive of the U.S. administration. The rebellion against the Spanish occurred a generation before the cession to the United States, and the service of local elites to the Spanish government after the rebellion suggests a level of flexibility that served well in dealing with the United States. One reason why territorial administration worked was because it operated in the area through already established channels. The first officials selected were commandants, who held the same powers as Spanish commandants, and who in many cases were the same men, and with the transition to judges personnel often remained much the same. When in 1804 Claiborne and the Legislative Council divided the territory into twelve counties Michel Cantrelle served as the first county judge for the County of Acadia, made up of the parishes of Ascension and St. James. Cantrelle represented the old local elite of the Acadian Coast. He had been the commandant for the same area under the Spanish and served in the Spanish army and the colonial militia. He served in a Spanish Louisiana infantry regiment active during the American Revolution in the capture of Baton Rouge and Mobile. His family had long been preeminent in the Acadian Coast; before his appointment as commandant, his brother-in-law Nicholas Verret held the position, and Verret had succeeded Michel's father Jacques Cantrelle.⁶⁶ The Cantrelle family held property in New Orleans,

⁶⁶ Jared Williams Bradley, "Biographical Sketch: Michel Cantrelle," *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 570.

facilitating their relatively quick integration into the new regime.⁶⁷ From the settlement of St. James until the Spanish gained control of Louisiana, Cantrelle's father and his two son-in-laws Verret and Judice controlled the largest amount of land in the parish, with a large swath along the east bank of the river.⁶⁸ Cantrelle, a large sugar planter, owned a sugar mill and a lumber mill, making him an extremely influential individual in his section because lesser planters could make use of his mills. The Cantrelle family also was active in the Catholic Church and provided the land to erect the church of St. Michael in St. James in 1809.⁶⁹

Cantrelle's military experience, in which he had led his fellow Acadians against the British, his family's tradition of leadership along the coast, and his own economic status as a large planter secured Cantrelle a key place in the leadership of his region of Louisiana and a key link in the governing of the French speaking populace. Cantrelle remained widely respected within the Acadian Coast and demonstrated fairness in his actions while holding his post, such that both Anglo-Americans and Creoles expressed satisfaction. General Wilkinson in a letter to President Thomas Jefferson on July 1st 1804 described Cantrelle as: "Commandant of the German or Acadien Coast time immemorial, a man universally revered but understands the French and Spanish languages only."⁷⁰ Cantrelle's lack of English concerned Claiborne and Jefferson, but given that the area was so heavily Francophone and in the absence of better alternatives, Cantrelle suited the needs of both the locality and U.S. authorities. Claiborne was notorious within the

⁶⁷ Marie McDowell Pilkington Campbell, *Nostalgic Notes on St. James Parish, Louisiana: Then and Now* (Baton Rouge: Instant Print Centers, 1981), 33.

⁶⁸ Lillian C. Bourgeois, *Cabanocey: The History, Customs and Folklore of St. James Parish*, (Gretna LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 1998), 19-20.

⁶⁹ Leonce Haydel, *La Paroisse de St. Jacques: A History in Words and Photographs* (Baton Rouge: Pelican Management Corporation, 1988), 5.

territory for his inability to speak French, but unlike Cantrelle it never proved that serious an impediment in the eyes of U.S. authorities in Washington, which illustrates that for all the elements of French or Louisianan cultural persistence, there were clear power dynamics at play in framing Anglo-American and U.S. language and culture, a process made possible by the presence of sufficient bilingual brokers and go betweens.

Cantrelle came recommended from several quarters. Thomas Jefferson himself directed Claiborne to appoint three of the five individuals to the Legislative Council, and Cantrelle was one of these; the lack of familiarity with English was not necessarily a bar to the position in Jefferson's view: "In chusing [sic] these characters it has been an object of considerable attention to chuse [sic] French who speak the American language, & Americans who speak the French. yet I have not made the want of the two languages an absolute exclusion. But it should be earnestly recommended to all persons concerned in the business of the government, to acquire the other language, & generally to inculcate the advantage of every person's possessing both, and of regarding both equally as the language of the territory."⁷¹ Claiborne's own lack of facility with French or Spanish had not been an impediment to his securing the appointment as governor, though it frustrated him in the course of his duties and became a constant source of criticism.⁷² Cantrelle scrupulously observed the letter of the law to dispense justice impartially. In 1806 after his son-in-law, Anselm Roman, was charged with assault and found guilty by a jury, Cantrelle sentenced him to a month in prison and a fine of five hundred dollars. U.S.

⁷⁰ James Wilkinson to the President, Characterization of New Orleans Residents, 1 July 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:255.

⁷¹ The President to Governor Claiborne, 30 August 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:283.

⁷² Joseph T. Hatfield, *William Claiborne: Jeffersonian Centurion in the American Southwest* (Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1976), 119. For a critical appraisal of Claiborne's administration, see Gerard Joseph Toups, "The Provincial, Territorial, and State Administrations of William C. C. Claiborne, Governor of Louisiana, 1803-1816" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1979).

officials hailed the case as demonstrating the impartiality and justice of the law and customs of the United States over the previous regimes in Louisiana. Governor Claiborne in an 1806 letter to Thomas Jefferson used the case as an example of successes in Louisiana: “This occurrence has served to raise our Government in the estimation of the Citizens; it has shown them that Justice is distributed with an impartial hand; It was indeed a novel spectacle to a people, who were lately Spanish subjects, to hear a Judge pronouncing a sentence against the husband of his Daughter.”⁷³ The incident raised Cantrelle’s profile with the U.S. government in New Orleans and within his parish, though probably not with his son-in-law.

The incident with Cantrelle’s son-in-law illuminates a number of elements with the governmental transition. Cantrelle’s actions were in keeping with U.S. law. Rather than deciding guilt or innocence, a task left to a jury under U. S. law, after a conviction he was expected to mete out an appropriate punishment. The sentencing of a relative to jail time helped him appear impartial in the eyes of people within the parish perhaps, but more importantly with U.S. officials and Anglo-Americans watching French speaking officials for signs of partiality, as Claiborne demonstrated in his letter to Jefferson. The changing nature of Louisiana law and society was more apparent than real, however. Shortly after the conviction Claiborne pardoned Cantrelle’s son-in-law, Anselm Roman, and remitted the five hundred dollar fee to him: “for divers [sic] good reasons me thereunto moving.”⁷⁴ For all the talk about the impartiality of justice, Roman remained the son-in-law of the judge of the parish and an important U.S. ally as Cantrelle had recently demonstrated. Consequently Roman was given special treatment, with Claiborne personally writing to

⁷³ Governor Claiborne to the President, 15 July 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:674.

⁷⁴ William C. C. Claiborne to the Sheriff of Acadia County, 13 July 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:693.

the sheriff to release him.⁷⁵ Claiborne did not feel the need to note the pardon in his regular letters to the President, in contrast to his account of Roman's conviction. Cantrelle managed to get his son-in-law released from the judgment that he felt he had to make. Claiborne issued the pardon, but only after Cantrelle laid the situation out to him. In a sense it was business as usual, with U. S. officials continuing to protect local elite prerogatives. Claiborne had drawn a false contrast between French, Spanish, and U. S. levels of corruption. Even so, Cantrelle followed American forms, which deeply impressed Claiborne. It was not the impartiality, honesty and justice that so pleased U.S. officials in New Orleans, but rather the acceptance of U.S. law and Cantrelle's scrupulous regard for its forms by abiding by the ruling of the jury. U.S. law could prove technically and linguistically challenging for Creole elites.

U.S. officials were not the only ones concerned about these shortcomings; local appointees were also quite conscious of their ignorance. Cantrelle, uncomfortable with rising too high within the U.S. government, remained a parish official and turned down a proffered seat on the Legislative Council. His judgeship involved a local preeminence that he and his family enjoyed, but he refused to leave the parish to represent it on the council. In part this hesitation stemmed from a lack of facility with the English language and law. Though official acts were printed in both English and French, knowledge of English remained essential given that most of the major law books were written in English.⁷⁶ Cantrelle, despite his achievements, remained ill at ease with his responsibilities under the U.S. government, according to Claiborne: "He is a native of the

⁷⁵ W. C. C. Claiborne to the Sheriff of Acadia County, 13 July 1806. *Letter Books*, 3:366-367.

⁷⁶ See Warren M. Billings, "A Course of Legal Studies: Books that Shaped Louisiana Law" in *A Law Unto Itself: Essays in the New Louisiana Legal History*, eds., Warren M. Billings and Mark F. Fernandez (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001).

Province, and has for forty years been a favorite of the people; he is a just, and human[e] man; in his Character as Judge of the County he gives universal satisfaction; but is very uneasy, lest his proceedings may be marked with some illegality, and the Lawyers may bring him into difficulties; this fear extends generally to all the Civil officers, and occasions frequent resignations.”⁷⁷ The foreign nature of U.S. law posed difficulties in all the parishes of Orleans, not just for Cantrelle, and presumably there could well be some monetary or other loss for officials who made mistakes with the new and unfamiliar legal theories and practices. Resignations from the U.S. service did not all occur solely from these motives though. Too great a connection to the U.S. administration could weaken officials’ positions within their parishes and in other quarters as well.

Cantrelle’s reluctance to enter the legislature also may have been due to the uncertain future of the territory itself. The Spanish minister for the transfer of Louisiana to France and then commissioner to establish the western boundary of Louisiana, the Marquis de Casa Calvo remained in New Orleans until 1806, and he furthered rumors that the Territory of Orleans might be returned to his nation. Figures, who had held positions under the Spanish, often proved reluctant to serve too prominently under the U.S. regime lest they lost their status should the territory return to Spain.⁷⁸ While Cantrelle’s family participated in the rebellion against the Spanish, the family had escaped punishment and gone on to hold the commandant position within the parish, but others had not been as lucky. The Spanish executed or imprisoned others involved in the rebellion, and many in

⁷⁷ Governor Claiborne to the President, 15 July 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:674.

⁷⁸ Jared Williams Bradley, “Biographical Sketch: Michel Cantrelle,” *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 571-572.

the Acadian Coast remembered this.⁷⁹ Cantrelle also held an appointment as a deputy register of the Acadian Coast under Orleans Territory Attorney General John Gurley.⁸⁰ Given his stature Cantrelle appeared a natural choice to serve as a representative of St. James Parish at Louisiana's Constitutional Convention in 1811. Claiborne visited Cantrelle's home and knew him personally and trusted his judgment.⁸¹ This was not a judgment born of necessity; Governor Claiborne remained familiar with Acadia and other prominent figures within the parish.⁸²

The unwillingness of some former officeholders to follow Cantrelle into U.S. service stemmed in part from problems over technical knowledge of U.S. law and the persistent Spanish presence, but surely some of it was also disappointment with the new method of doing things, and concern that old privileges might not be respected. There was good reason for this concern as Anglo-Americans criticized Louisianan (French) culture as undemocratic and rife with corruption and favoritism. The native-born Louisianans and the Anglo-American newcomers maintained different visions of what constituted good government. The previous rule-set had depended on petitions and grants from superiors, which Claiborne still operated under in many cases, but the notion that U.S. law would be instituted regardless of position proved worrisome to older elites. It was through individuals like Cantrelle that the United States government would be established, but only because they understood that Claiborne and U.S. officials would meet their obligations. Thus, Cantrelle would enforce U.S. law, and the U.S. officials in turn

⁷⁹ Jared Williams Bradley, "Biographical Sketch: Michel Cantrelle," *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 573.

⁸⁰ John W. Gurley to the Secretary of the Treasury, 24 July 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:677.

⁸¹ W. C. C. Claiborne to the Mayor of New Orleans, 23 July 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:134-135.

⁸² On one of his visits to Acadia upon taking slightly ill he stayed with another planter Mr. Barranger. Barranger represented the changing nature of the area given the growth of sugar up the Mississippi.

continued to respect the privileges of local notables who enforced that law, which in certain cases, like that of Roman, mandated overturning rulings made in line with U.S. jurisprudence in order to keep relationships with local elites strong. This hypocrisy was the compliment that necessity paid to U.S. ideals. To be sure, elite influence existed elsewhere in the United States, but in the territory of Orleans it involved Federal officials compromising to meet local ideals. Everyone involved benefited in cases like these: Cantrelle, in the minds of U.S. officials in the territory, became trustworthy and a man of integrity, while U.S. officials, in the minds of Cantrelle and others of his position, garnered much the same reputation.

Local officials also served as intermediaries with the small, remaining population of Native Americans in the Acadian Coast. Defense and good relations continued to be of importance to them and to U.S. officials. Claiborne took particular interest in the militia and concerned himself with local officer appointments as well. The governor made sure to keep good relations with the Houmas Indians of Acadia. Claiborne sent two uniform coats to them, informing the federal government while sending them vouchers.⁸³ Native Americans continued to retain a large presence to the north, but had by and large withdrawn from the most fertile land along the Mississippi in the German and Acadian Coasts with its ready access to markets. Commandants and judges often managed relations with these local tribes in the absence of federal Indian agents.

Judges came from the elite of the parish, and in St. James both Cantrelle and his successor Augustin D. Tureaud worked to retain stability while overseeing the change to different modes of law and government. Cantrelle continued to serve as the county judge

Claiborne wrote to Thomas Jefferson of Barranger's home built in the "Italian mode" and his sugar production. See W. C. C. Claiborne to Thomas Jefferson, 15 July 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:369.

and then as the parish judge of St. James until 1812 when Tureaud became the judge of St. James, continuing until 1826.⁸⁴ Tureaud, like Cantrelle, was of the elite of the parish, though his family did not go back as far. Neither man was among the largest landholders or slaveholders in the parish, (though Cantrelle was certainly in the top tier). The average slaveholding rate in St. James Parish in 1810 was just over five slaves per head of household, Cantrelle held sixty in 1810. By 1820 when the average increased to just over nine slaves per head of family, Tureaud held fifteen slaves in addition to seven free colored persons in his household, but his extended family had fifty-six slaves.⁸⁵ Cantrelle was a far more established figure while Tureaud strove to acquire more land and slaves. Between 1806 and 1811 Tureaud paid land registration fees four times in the amount of \$4.30, over the same period Cantrelle paid nothing, illustrating less involvement in gaining further property.⁸⁶ Tureaud was an exile from St. Domingue who through marriage had allied himself with the Bringier family in the parish, who had substantial holdings and positions within the militia.⁸⁷ Tureaud benefited greatly from U.S. patronage and received appointments as treasurer, militia captain, and auctioneer before becoming judge of the parish. Lower level officials owned lesser holdings. The judges, given their longevity in office, links to the parish, and support for Claiborne, insured that St. James remained stable as they introduced U.S. government and law.

⁸³ W. C. C. Claiborne to Henry Dearborn, 4 April 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:347.

⁸⁴ Cantrelle died soon after in 1814.

⁸⁵ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977).

⁸⁶ Acadian Parish Records, Land Registry, MSS 23 f1, 1806, 1807, 1808; MSS 23 f2 1809, 1810, 1811, Historic New Orleans Collection.

⁸⁷ Jared William Bradley, Note 2, *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 124.

In contrast to St. James, Ascension Parish saw a wider access to the important offices of commandant and judge, with appointments going to individuals from both inside and outside the parish. Joseph Landry served briefly as commandant before going on to be a justice of the peace in 1805 and then a legislator. Landry was an Acadian who after the expulsion spent time in Maryland before moving to Louisiana in the 1760's; he had been active in the Spanish militia and served the Spanish as an interim commandant.⁸⁸ As with Cantrelle, the territorial government in the immediate aftermath of the turnover turned to the previous local leadership. After the Legislative Council granted the parishes their own judges in 1807, Edward D. Turner became the judge of Ascension. Turner was a U.S. army officer from Massachusetts whom Claiborne had earlier appointed to a judgeship in the north, in Natchitoches, but after Turner left the army and started his own plantation Claiborne appointed him to the judgeship of Ascension.⁸⁹ Turner proved a capable officer in Natchitoches where experienced civil officers proved hard to come by, but he had no real roots in Ascension. More troubling for Claiborne was the fact that shortly after the appointment Turner established a business venture, a large sugar plantation, with one of Claiborne's major political opponents within the territory, Daniel Clark.⁹⁰ Clark had served as the U.S. consul in New Orleans before the transfer, addressing American commercial concerns within the city while continuing to keep the United States federal government apprized of the local political situation.⁹¹ Clark's

⁸⁸ Glenn R. Conrad, editor, *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 480.

⁸⁹ Jared Williams Bradley, "Biographical Sketch: Edward D. Turner," *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 567-568.

⁹⁰ Sidney A. Marchand, *The Flight of a Century* (Donaldsonville LA: Marchand, 1936), 26.

⁹¹ See "Despatches from the United States Consulate in New Orleans, 1801-1803," *American Historical Review* 32 (1927): 801-824.

criticism of Claiborne in 1807 led to a duel between the two men, which resulted in the governor being shot.

Turner served but three years in the position before he succumbed to yellow fever and was succeeded upon his death by Philip Cartier D’Autremer. D’Autremer, like Cantrelle, had a distinguished pedigree as his ancestor had served as an earlier commandant of the Acadian Coast. The selection of D’Autremer illustrates again the importance of appointing local notables. He would serve as judge until 1826. These two higher-level officials acquired large slaveholdings (see table 1). The average slaveholder in 1810 in Ascension held just over five slaves; as indicated below, high-level officials in Ascension had far more while lower positions within the parishes illustrate a clear class difference. Sheriffs generally were not great planters. The known justices of the peace in Ascension illustrate this as well. The office of justice was often a starting point for entering political life, but the justices of Ascension on the whole were not great planters.

Table 1. Acadian Coast Officials, Slave Holdings

Name	Office	1810	1820	Parish
Joseph Landry	Commandant, Justice 1805	10		Ascension
Edward D. Turner	Judge 1807-1810	39		Ascension
Philip D’Autremer	Judge 1810-1826		34	Ascension
Walter H. Mears	Sheriff 1813-1816			Ascension
William S. Watkins	Sheriff 1816-1820, Justice 1813	4		Ascension
Victor Maurin	Sheriff 1820-27		4	Ascension
Oliver Terrio	Justice 1806		2	Ascension
Joseph Landry	Justice			Ascension
Thomas C. Nicholas	Justice		3	Ascension
Loroque Turgeau	Justice			Ascension
W. C. Rudell	Justice 1813			Ascension
Pierre Francois Missone	Justice			Ascension
St. Marie Charre	Justice		0	Ascension
Michel Cantrelle	County and Parish Judge -1812 (resigned)	60		St. James
Augustin D. Tureaud	Parish Judge 1812-1826		15	St. James
Antoine Maurin	Sheriff 1815-1817		18	St. James
Charles Andre Cerisay	Sheriff 1817-1830’s			St. James
Pierre Manade	Justice 1812			St. James

Table data based on.⁹²

⁹² Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977); St. James Parish Conveyance Records, 1809-1820; St. James Parish Acts, 1808-1820. No. 13 7-8-12 A-600, St. John the Baptist Parish Original Acts, Glenn R. Conrad, *The German Coast, Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1804-*

The elected representatives of the Acadian Coast, far more than the parish officials, represented the elite of the parish. Joseph Landry had served briefly as commandant. Cantrelle though he refused to serve in the legislature did agree to represent the county at the first Constitutional Convention, alongside others, including Armant, yet another of his sons-in-law.⁹³ These individuals in general had far larger slave holdings than those selected by the governor to be sheriffs and justices of the peace. Despite the large Francophone majority, Anglo-Americans could secure election as representatives. James Mather, who represented Acadia in the House, was a large sugar planter; his plantation produced 70,000 pounds of sugar in 1804.⁹⁴ James Mather had emigrated from England and possessed large holdings throughout southern Louisiana in addition to his mercantile business with George Morgan.⁹⁵ The Acadian Coast also had regular circulation in its legislative makeup with individuals not holding office for more than two terms. Joseph Landry, after serving in the territorial legislature, went on to represent the Acadian Coast in the state senate at the first session (see table 2).⁹⁶ Landry reportedly became so disgusted with the election of Claiborne as the first governor that he promptly resigned,

1812 (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1981), 191; *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 27 June 1813; *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], June 27, 1813; *Louisiana Gazette* [New Orleans], 25 March 1812; Ascension Parish Conveyance Records 1807-1820. There are four Joseph Landry's listed on the 1810 census.

⁹³ *Moniteur de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 24 September 1811; Glenn R. Conrad, editor, *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 19.

⁹⁴ No. 1982 May 1804, St. Charles Parish Original Acts, in Glenn R. Conrad, *The German Coast, Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1804-1812* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1981), 5. Mather served in the third session, briefly until his election was held to be null since he had failed to meet the residency requirement. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814) (hereafter cited as *House Journal* with legislature number followed by session number), 9.

⁹⁵ Glenn R. Conrad, editor, *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 356-357; Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977). His son George Mather, held eighty-eight slaves in 1820.

⁹⁶ *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812) (hereafter cited as *Senate Journal* with legislature number followed by session number), 3.

using the same tactic that he had earlier employed in the territorial legislature.⁹⁷ In 1812

Landry had supported Claiborne's Creole opponent, Jacques Villere.

Table 2. Acadian Coast Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings

Name	Position and term	1810	1820
Joseph Landry	Territorial Leg. 1805-1807, Senate 1:1 (resigned)		
William Conway	Territorial Leg. 1805-1809	27	
William Donaldson	Territorial Leg. 1807-09		
Joseph F. Favre	Territorial Leg. 1809-1811		
Samuel Ker	Territorial Leg. 1809-1811		
Michel Cantrelle	Constitutional Convention	60	
Genezi Roussin	Constitutional Convention, House 1:1 (resigned)	8	
J. M. Reynaud	Constitutional Convention		
Jean Armant (not on Constitution)	Constitutional Convention	5	
Stephen A. Hopkins	House 1:1-1:3	2	
James Mather	House 1:2-1:3 (election invalid)		
Louis Fortin	House 1:3-2		
Francois M. Guerin	House 2-3		134
Ferdinand Landry	House 3	0	8
McDavid	House 4		
A. Randall	House 4		
Bienvenu Roman	House 4		
Jacques Vitau	Senate 1-2		11
Antoine Maurin	Senate 3-4		18

Table data based on.⁹⁸

Militia units as with other institutions retained a Creole component. Claiborne was in no position to create a strictly Anglo militia and in the Acadian and German Coast the militia officers tended to come from the Creole elite.⁹⁹ John B. Armant, a New Orleans native, served as the first colonel and Marius P. Bringier and Joseph Landry as Majors

⁹⁷ Sidney A. Marchand, *The Flight of a Century* (Donaldsonville LA: Marchand, 1936), 35.

⁹⁸ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977); *Mississippi Messenger* [Natchez], 3 December 1805; *The Louisiana Gazette* [New Orleans], 12 January 1807 (New Orleans); *Courier de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 18 January 1809 (New Orleans); *Moniteur de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 24 September 1811; *Constitution or Form of Government of the State of Louisiana*; *House Journal 1:1*, 1-2. Mather replaced Roussin after he resigned following the resignation of senator Landry of Acadia. *House Journal 1:2*, 3, 30; *House Journal 1:3*, 54; *House Journal 2:1*, 3; *House Journal 2:2*, 3; *House Journal 3:1*, 3; *House Journal 3:2*, 3; *House Journal 4:1*, 3, 9; *House Journal 4:2*, 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3; *Senate Journal 1:3*, 43; *Senate Journal 2:1*; *Senate Journal 2:2*, 3; *Senate Journal 3:1*, 3; *Senate Journal 3:2*, 3; *Senate Journal 4:1*, 3; *Senate Journal 4:2*. Sidney A. Marchand, *The Flight of a Century* (Donaldsonville LA: Marchand, 1936), 35. Though he does not show up on the census, Donaldson was a significant landholder within the parish, in 1806 and 1807 and 1809 and 1810 Donaldson paid land registration fees in the amount of three dollars every year. There are multiple Joseph Landry's listed for the 1810 census in Ascension

⁹⁹ For an overview of Claiborne's militia policy, specifically as it related to the Creole Battalion d'Orleans of New Orleans, see Paul D. Gelpi Jr. "Mr. Jefferson's Creoles: The Battalion d'Orleans and the Americanization of Creole Louisiana, 1803-1815" *Louisiana History* 48 (2007): 295-316.

(see table 3).¹⁰⁰ Thus, there was considerable crossover between appointed, elected and militia officials as illustrated by Landry. In addition to depending on the local Creole elite to man the militia, Claiborne in some cases issued instructions to the head of the militia in order to secure Anglo appointments, as when he instructed Colonel Henry Hopkins to appoint John W. Scott as a captain in the militia.¹⁰¹ These instructions demonstrate a greater willingness on Claiborne's part to promote Anglo-Americans within the militia.

Table 3. Sixth Militia Regiment, Slave Holdings

Name	Rank	1810	1820	Parish
Jean B. Armant	Colonel	49	80	St. James
Marius P. Bringer	Major	68		St. James
Joseph Landry	Major	59		Ascension
John B. Cantrell	Captain	13		St. James
Pierre Perret	Captain			
Jean Reynauld	Captain			
Joseph Comes	Captain			
Oliver Theriot	Captain		2	Ascension
John W. Scott	Captain			
John B. Bonois	Captain			
Pierre Theriot	Captain	16	41	St. James
Victorin Romain	1 st Lt.			
James Cantrell Jr.	1 st Lt.			
Louis Mollere	1 st Lt.	38	31	Ascension
Louis Landry	1 st Lt. (Col. 1813)	11	30	Ascension
Ferdinand Landry	1 st Lt.	0	8	Ascension
Louis Bringier	1 st Lt.		56	St. James
Joseph Landry Jr.	1 st Lt.			
Justin Perret	1 st Lt.			
Paul Eber (Hebert)	1 st Lt. and Adj		25	St. James
Casamiere Cantrell	2 nd Lt.			
Jerome Gaudet	2 nd Lt.		51	St. James
Raymond Braux	2 nd Lt.	5	5	St. James
John Birjot	2 nd Lt.			
Michel Braux	2 nd Lt.	4/5		Ascension
Robert Wetherstrand	2 nd Lt.			
Benjamin Mir	2 nd Lt.		10	St. James
Joseph Michel	2 nd Lt.	8		St. James
Lavasseur Cantrell	Ensign			
John Conway	Ensign			
Dorsdeo Bringer	Major (1813)			
William S. Watkins	Major (1813)			

Table data based on.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Register of Appointments in the Militia of the Territory of Orleans, May 8, 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:636. Armant continued to hold the post of colonel three years later, List of the Principal officers in the Territory of Orleans, 21 April 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:838.

¹⁰¹ W. C. C. Claiborne to Colonel Henry Hopkins, 24 November 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:237.

¹⁰² Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977); Register of Appointments in the Militia of the Territory of Orleans, May 8, 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:636; *Moniteur de la Louisiane*, April 1, 1813 (New Orleans); A Pierre Theriot the son in 1820 held two slaves; Pere Bringier of St. James held sixty-eight slaves in 1810; of four

The German Coast like the Acadian Coast demonstrated a high level of local elite control in parish offices. Manuel Andry served as the first commandant though he refused reappointment, at which point the county judge became Achilles Trouard, who continued as the parish judge of St. John the Baptist until 1813.¹⁰³ Trouard was French, but like Tureaud he married into a prominent local Creole Francophone family and lived in Louisiana prior to the U.S. takeover. Trouard was a large landowner; the average tax in St. John the Baptist in 1812 was \$9.43 on slaves and land, Trouard was assessed for \$50.50.¹⁰⁴ In addition, Trouard financed several mortgages in St. Charles.¹⁰⁵ Terense Leblanc succeeded Trouard, and went on to serve into the 1820's. Both of these men were members of the Francophone community in the parish though there was a significant difference in their class. Leblanc, unlike Trouard, was not as great a planter and was assessed for four dollars in 1812.¹⁰⁶ The following year he still owned the same number of slaves in his household.¹⁰⁷ Despite that difference in standing though, Leblanc was still a slaveholder from the Francophone community of the parish. The average slaveholder in the 1820 census for St. John the Baptist parish held over seven slaves and Leblanc exceeded that average.

Lesser officials came for the most part from the same Creole community. St. John the Baptist sheriffs had smaller holdings on the whole, but justices of the peace there differed

Joseph Landrys of Ascension in 1810 one held 59 slaves another 12; another 2; and another 1; Michel Braud Junior held five slaves in 1810 and his father four in 1810 in Ascension; A William Conway of Ascension held twenty-seven slaves in 1810.

¹⁰³ Glenn R. Conrad, editor, *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 15.

¹⁰⁴ Etat de la Louisiane Paroisse St. Jean Baptiste, MSS 22 f2, Historic New Orleans Collection.

¹⁰⁵ Tableau de hypotheques qui existent sur lest proprietes de la paroisse St. Charles Comte des Allemands 1806-1853, St. Charles Parish Courthouse Archives.

¹⁰⁶ Etat de la Louisiane Paroisse St. Jean Baptiste, MSS 22 f2, Historic New Orleans Collection.

¹⁰⁷ Recensement General de l'annee 1813, MSS 22 f3, Historic New Orleans Collection.

substantially from those in the Acadian Coast because they included far more large slaveholders and men with substantial property. The position could serve as a stepping-stone to something better, but in St. John the Baptist parish, justices of the peace were often the same men who served in the legislature, and in many cases had more slaves and property than judges.

In St. Charles Parish the judgeship had a far higher circulation rate than in St. John the Baptist, and not all judges left of their own accord. Pierre Bauchet St. Martin succeeded Trouard when the territorial government created parish judges in 1807. Andre Latour in turn succeeded him in 1811, Francois Bazile succeeded Latour in 1813 and was replaced by Claude Dejan in 1816. Latour's replacement by Bazile resulted in a petition from over seventy citizens (most of them with French surnames) of St. Charles to the governor requesting that Latour continue to keep his post.¹⁰⁸ Latour's response to this petition also illustrated his sense of injustice at the hands of the government of the state: "I may be of some use to you, if not as a magistrate at least as a private citizen. In a country like this where every thing is cabal and intrigue, this last title is the only one which an honored man may boast of and enjoy . . . What little consideration your representatives had for you and for myself."¹⁰⁹ Latour had been removed, rather than willingly giving up the office, and it is notable how quickly the Francophone inhabitants embraced the political language of the United States. The local inhabitants protested and Latour's response stressed the poor judgment of the people's representatives, given that the people, based on their protest, were with him.

¹⁰⁸ *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 17 March 1813.

¹⁰⁹ *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 2 April 1813.

Judges within St. Charles differed also in their class standing. The mean slave rate for heads of household in 1810 was eighteen and in 1820 was just over twenty-seven.¹¹⁰ None of the judges exceeded the average. The judgeships of the German Coast, in contrast to those upriver on the Acadian Coast, did not go to great planters, but to men of more middling status; men who therefore were far more dependent on the territorial government (see table 4). Instead of judicial service, when the great planters entered politics they gravitated toward the legislature in addition to holding the position of justice of the peace. This was in contrast to the way the judicial office was perceived in the Acadian Coast.

Table 4. German Coast Officials, Slave Holdings

Name	Office	1810	1812	1820	County/Parish
Manuel Andry	Commandant	86			St. John the Baptist
Achilles Trouard	County and Parish Judge -1813		37		St. John the Baptist
Terense Leblanc	Parish Judge 1813		4	9	St. John the Baptist
Pierre Bauchet St. Martin	Judge 1807-1811/Justice 1805-1807			21	St. Charles
Andre Latour	Judge 1811-1813	8			St. Charles
Francois Bazile	Judge 1813-1816				St. Charles
Claude Dejean	Judge 1816			9	St. Charles
Louis Le Carpentier	Sheriff 1814				St. John the Baptist
William S. Watkins	Sheriff 1814-1815				St. John the Baptist
G. W. Morgan	Sheriff 1815				St. John the Baptist
Pierre Montegut	Sheriff 1816				St. John the Baptist
Norbert Trepagnier	Sheriff 1820			5	St. John the Baptist
Louis Poulain	Sheriff 1811				St. Charles
Francois St. Martin	Justice	24			St. John the Baptist
Perilloux	Justice				St. John the Baptist
Marmillion	Justice 1806-1807	88			St. John the Baptist
Jacob Ursin	Justice				St. John the Baptist
Alexandre Leblanc	Justice				St. John the Baptist
Norbert Boudousquie	Justice			62	St. John the Baptist
Eugene Barre	Justice 1811	15			St. John the Baptist
Alexander Labranche	Justice 1805-1808	83		102	St. Charles

Table data based on.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977).

¹¹¹ Etat de la Louisiane Paroisse St. Jean Baptiste, MSS 22 f2, Historic New Orleans Collection; St. Charles Parish Original Acts; Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977); *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans] 19 May 1817; Tableau de hypotheques qui existent sur lest proprietes de la paroisse St. Charles Comte des Allemands 1806-1853, St. Charles Parish Courthouse Archives; St. John the Baptist Parish Original Acts; No. 45 9-21-06; No. 14 10-20-07; No. 10 12-7-11 St. John the Baptist Parish Original Acts, and No. 1982 May 1804, No. 10 9-18-05, No. 17 10-9-05; No. 18 6-15-07; No. 38 6-1-08, St. Charles Parish Original Acts, Glenn R. Conrad, *The German Coast, Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1804-1812* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1981), 5, 149, 156, 186. Leblanc in

For the most part territorial officials within the Acadian and German Coasts came from within those communities and when all levels of government are taken into account they represented a range of classes. Even with local control, however, U.S. officials continued to intervene within the parishes on a host of issues. When in 1805 levees in St. John the Baptist parish became a source of concern, the governor ordered Manuel Andry, the Commandant to enforce repairs at the expense of those who had the land where the levees were located; in the same letter Andry received instructions to repair his parish roads.¹¹² U.S. officials also secured further appointments on the federal level for local officeholders. Several local officials received additional appointments from John W. Gurley, the territory's land commissioner, as deputy registers of the parish. Gurley wrote to Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, of Trouard and Cantrelle: "I can only say that they have exercised the office of the Judges in their respective Counties under the American Government, that they are antient [sic] inhabitants and highly respected in their districts."¹¹³ Gurley in the same letter wrote that he had hoped to avoid appointing a deputy within the German Coast given its proximity to New Orleans, but that the locals wanted their own deputy register.¹¹⁴ That the inhabitants of the German Coast wanted their own deputy just as other areas had illustrates their desire for independence from New Orleans and for local control. Even more importantly, however, it illustrates their desire to have their property assessed by one of their neighbors, whom they knew and

1820 in addition to other holdings, his household included ten free colored persons. Norbert Trepagnier's family's plantations were large, with Pierre and Francois Trepagnier both producing 50,000 pounds of sugar in 1804, in addition Francois and Norbert Trepagnier also provided financing for mortgages in St. Charles as did Montegut, Alexandre LeBlanc, the Boudouquie Family, Godefroi, in particular, and Latour.

¹¹² Governor Claiborne to Manuel Andry, 16 April 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:435.

¹¹³ John W. Gurley to the Secretary of the Treasury, 24 July 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:677.

¹¹⁴ John W. Gurley to the Secretary of the Treasury, 24 July 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:677.

could probably be counted upon to give them far more leeway on an assessment than a federal appointee from New Orleans.

Creoles in both appointed and elected positions often came in for criticism from Anglo-Americans within the territory. Jean Noel Destrehan and Manuel Andry represented the German Coast at the first Territorial Legislature.¹¹⁵ Andry had been the first commandant of the St. John the Baptist parish and Jean Noel Destrehan had been one of the first Creoles to protest the first form of U.S. government, protests that eventually led to the creation of the territorial legislature.¹¹⁶ This election of Creole representatives from the Acadian and German Coasts disappointed some Anglo-Americans within the territory.

James Brown, the first secretary of the territory, and in 1805 the U.S. District Attorney of the territory, and a critic of Claiborne, wrote to John Breckinridge over his concerns about the election: "I anticipate the election of Representatives not one of whom can speak the English language, and most of whom ardently pant for the fraternal embrace of the French Empire. God grant that I may be mistaken, but if I am you shall early be possessed of the agreeable intelligence."¹¹⁷ Brown like many of the other Anglo-Americans in the territory, including Claiborne, came from Virginia by way of Kentucky, where he had been secretary of state. His brother served as an U.S. senator from Kentucky. The Jefferson administration helped to secure Brown appointments in the territorial government (Brown's wife's sister was married to Henry Clay, further assuring

¹¹⁵ *Mississippi Messenger* [Natchez], 3 December 1805.

¹¹⁶ Glenn R. Conrad, editor, *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 242; The Destrehan plantation produced 205,000 pounds of sugar in 1804. See No. 1982 May 1804, St. Charles Parish Original Acts, Glenn R. Conrad, *The German Coast, Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1804-1812* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1981), 5.

¹¹⁷ James Brown to John Breckinridge, 17 September 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:511.

Brown influence in the capital as time went on). President Jefferson appointed Brown to the position of Secretary of the Territory and also to the position of Judge of the Supreme Court of the territory. Brown in quick order resigned his post as Secretary and refused the judgeship given the office's limited recompense, but appointments continued to flow his way through Washington, in large part due to his brother's patronage. He received an appointment as a district attorney for New Orleans, another as a land agent, and yet another to the University of Orleans.¹¹⁸ In addition to these federal plums, he held a position in the territorial militia and served as a justice of the peace. Claiborne and Brown were not fond of one another. Claiborne was critical of Brown's work on the *Digest of the Civil Laws Now in Force in the Territory of Orleans, with Alterations and Amendments to Its Present System of Government*, while Brown was a frequent critic of the governor, particularly for his lack of facility with the French language. Brown's constant criticism to federal authorities in Washington can give the impression that Brown himself felt he should hold the governorship, though Brown himself never explicitly stated this. Brown and other Anglo-American critics of Claiborne often seized on Creole appointed officials in their letters to Washington, which influenced how federal officials perceived Louisiana and how historians shaped the historiography.

Brown thought of the French-speaking Creole notables that Claiborne depended upon as congenitally unfit to participate in or to understand republican government. This was the view, not just of Brown, but of many other Anglo-Americans. While few Creoles called for a return to France, Brown correctly argued that the populace possessed no experience with republican government. These doubts had a large influence on

¹¹⁸ Jared William Bradley, "Biographical Sketch: James Brown," *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 258-265.

policymakers in Washington and contributed to the late entry of Louisiana as a state. Brown followed his assessment of the Creoles with a footnote that referred to the sort of figures that Brown spoke of: “I attended the election for German Coast County yesterday—Destrehan & Andre are elected—My Predictions are so far verified.”¹¹⁹ Brown remained deeply dissatisfied with the sort of individuals elected, but those individuals had been chosen by their constituencies in the very process that the U.S. government repeatedly stressed was at the heart of republican government and its supposed superiority over its Spanish and French predecessors within the territory. Brown, who criticized Claiborne’s failure to speak French and Spanish, also apparently felt that a lack of English was a disqualification for election to the Louisiana legislature. Brown’s view was consistent in his criticism of Claiborne, though far less so in arguing that French was essential for government service, though there were obvious advantages in Louisiana of being trilingual. Despite Brown’s misgivings, however, Destrehan and Andry secured reelection and Alexander Labranche joined them to serve as representatives from the German Coast to the Territorial Legislature in 1809.¹²⁰

Though conflicts could be expected to emerge over changes in sovereignty, a surprising number involved Anglo-Americans at odds with the territorial government, in this case exacerbated by the personalities of Claiborne and Brown. Brown served as a particularly vexing critic for Claiborne because while many Americans needed Claiborne to secure an appointment, Brown did not. Several Anglo-Americans within the territory had alternate routes to leadership and many who could not receive election from their communities or through Claiborne (who strove to garner local support), could turn to

¹¹⁹ James Brown to John Breckinridge, 17 September 1805, footnote, *Territorial Papers*, 9:511.

¹²⁰ *Courier de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 18 January 1809 (New Orleans).

federal patronage. Brown as an Anglo-newcomer failed to immediately garner local support from the Francophone populace and his relationship with Claiborne barred him from a gubernatorial appointment. Instead, Brown received his appointments on the basis of his own channels to Washington, not through Claiborne. His influence with the White House remained less impressive than Claiborne's but his knowledge of the French and Spanish languages exceeded the governor's. Brown, despite his family connections, did not stand as high in Thomas Jefferson and James Madison's estimation for a number of reasons. Brown was a friend of Edward Livingston, an opponent of Jefferson, and General James Wilkinson cast doubt over Brown's conduct during Aaron Burr's expedition toward New Orleans.¹²¹

Just as Brown's prospects with federal officials declined, however, he began to make inroads with the local Creole population of the German Coast. Brown, like Cantrelle and the men he criticized for election, was a citizen of the German Coast. Shortly after moving to the territory he and his nephew purchased a plantation in the county. In 1811 the German Coast elected him to the colonial legislature. In addition, after Louisiana's 1812 admittance as a state, Brown's family and connections made him a natural choice for election from the legislature to the United States Senate. Brown thus could gather some popular support, not just from the legislature, but from the populace of the German Coast itself in 1811. Brown's election, despite his own earlier criticism that the parish preferred to elect less experienced Francophones, illustrates an ability on the part of English speakers to succeed politically. Brown had been wrong about local voters. Even

¹²¹ Jared William Bradley, "Biographical Sketch: James Brown," *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 262-264. Whatever Burr's motives in his western expedition that led to his arrest in Mississippi, Jefferson had him

so, he was a more natural fit to represent the territory in Washington than his community in the Louisiana legislature.

For the most part, however, local representatives tended to come from the Creole population. Manuel Andry's service as the commandant of St. Charles made him a prominent figure.¹²² Labranche was a large slaveholder and deeply involved in land sales in St. Charles (see table 5).¹²³ Destrehan and both Alexander and Louis Labranche, all large slaveholders, provided financing for mortgages in St. Charles.¹²⁴ Destrehan put himself forth as a candidate for governor in 1812 and 1816 and would go on to be elected the third governor of Louisiana in 1820.¹²⁵ The German Coast had a series of Francophone representatives, with the exception of McCutcheon. These individuals all possessed longstanding roots in the parish and in most cases substantial holdings of property and or slaves. Many of these representatives were also large sugar producers.¹²⁶

prosecuted for treason. Though Wilkinson had far better connections to Burr than Brown did, Wilkinson continued to retain his position and the trust of prominent Republicans in the administration.

¹²² In addition Andry frequently served as a witness or bondsman for civil acts and stayed involved in a number of purchases and sales of slaves and land in St. Charles Parish and St. John the Baptist over the course of the decade. See No. 2029 2-15-05; No. 2030 2-10-05; No. 63 11-26-10; No. 1 1-7-12, St. Charles Parish Original Acts, Glenn R. Conrad, *The German Coast, Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1804-1812* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1981), 11; 98; 114; No. 13 12-27-07; No. 20 6-30-07; No. 29 9-3-07; No. 1 1-11-08; No. 31 8-1-08; No. 37 10-25-08; No. 16 5-27-09; No. 7 1-18-10, St. John the Baptist Parish Original Acts, 1804-1812, *The German Coast, Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1804-1812* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1981), 156;157; 158; 162; 163; 167;175.

¹²³ No. 54 6-15-09; No. 72 12-14-10; No. 4 1-28-11 St. Charles Parish Original Acts, Glenn R. Conrad, *The German Coast, Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1804-1812* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1981), 80; 99; 102-103.

¹²⁴ Tableau de hypotheques qui existent sur lest proprietes de la paroisse St. Charles Comte des Allemands 1806-1853, St. Charles Parish Courthouse Archives.

¹²⁵ Destrehan came in for criticism on a variety of counts in 1820, from not providing enough entertainment to the citizens of St. Charles to ethnic issues with some voters refusing to vote for a Creole and others for an American. *Louisiana Gazette* [New Orleans], 12 May 1820; 18 May 1820; 29 May 1820; 3 July 1820; *Orleans Gazette and Commercial Advertizer* [New Orleans], 28 April 1820; 5 May 1820; 10 May 1820; 15 May 1820

¹²⁶ The Labranche plantation in 1804 produced 103,000 pounds of sugar, Bernoudy's plantation 50,000, Habine's 70,000, the Aime's 8000 and they financed mortgages in St. Charles. See No. 1982 May 1804, St. Charles Parish Original Acts, Glenn R. Conrad, *The German Coast, Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1804-1812* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1981), 5; Tableau de hypotheques qui existent sur lest proprietes de la paroisse St. Charles Comte des Allemands

Table 5. German Coast Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings

Name	Position and term	1810	1812	1820
Jean Noel Destrehan	Territorial Legislature 1805-/Con.Convention			20
Joseph Manuel Andry	Territorial Legislature 1805-	86		
Alexander Labranche	Territorial Legislature 1809-, Con.Conv., Senate 2:2-4	83		102
James Brown	Constitutional Convention	60		
Pierre St. Martin	House 1:1 (resigned)			21
Jean Arnauld	House 1:1 (resigned)	40		63
Achilles Trouard	House 1:2			
Sam McCutcheon	House 1:2			110
Louis Labranche	House 1:3-2			140
Jean Noel Destrehan	House 1:3-3:1 (resigned)			104
Jacques Deslondes	House 2-3:1 (resigned)	13	33	
Alexander Leblanc	House 3:2			
Clairville Bernoudy	House 3:2			
Norbert Boudousquie	House 4		50	62
Michel Aime	House 4			56
Louis Habine	Senate 1-2:1			115

Table data based on.¹²⁷

The German Coast militia like that of the Acadian Coast reflected the planter class and the Creole elite of the parish in its officers. In 1805 Jacques Fortier became the colonel of the local militia with Manuel Andrie and Antoine St. Amant as majors.¹²⁸ A few years

1806-1853, St. Charles Parish Courthouse Archives. Every member of the German Coast delegation in both the state house and senate was involved in the sale of land and or slaves over the territorial period.

¹²⁷ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977); *Etat de la Louisiane Paroisse St. Jean Baptiste*, MSS 22 f2, Historic New Orleans Collection; Pierre St. Martin served as the President of the first house. *Constitution or Form of Government of the State of Louisiana; House Journal 1:1, 1-2; Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 25-26; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 7; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3, 7; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3-4; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 50; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 43; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 4; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3.

¹²⁸ Register of Appointments in the Militia of the Territory of Orleans, May 8, 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:635-636.

later, Louisiana native Andry, served as the colonel of the regiment (see table 6).¹²⁹ As with the Acadian Coast there was a heavy overlap between service in the militia and elected and appointed offices in the German Coast.

Table 6. Fifth Militia Regiment, Slave Holdings

Name	Rank	1810	1820
Jaques Fortier	Colonel	76	
Manuel Andry	Major (later Colonel)	86	
Antoine St. Amant	Major	42	48
Adelard Fortier	Captain (Major 1813)		
Louis Foucher	Captain	2	
Michael Andre	Captain		
Leonard Perelloux	Captain	1	
Charles Massicot	Captain		
Pierre St. Martin	Captain		21
Pierre Beaussic Jr.	Captain		
Christopher Heydelle	Captain		
Louis Blanchard	1 st Lt.		4
Etienne Trepagnier	1 st Lt.		41
Andre Deslondes	1 st Lt.		
Pelbert or Guilbert Andry	1 st Lt.		
Augustin Massicot	1 st Lt.		80
Lalaude Dapremon	1 st Lt.	8	
Pierre Macmillon	1 st Lt.		
Mathias Russel	1 st Lt.		
Rene Trudeau	1 st Lt.		
Jean Etienne Destrehan	2 nd Lt.		
Alexander Delhomme	2 nd Lt.		
Jean Pierre Folse	2 nd Lt.	12	12
Alexander Chenet	2 nd Lt.	6	
George Pickner Jr.	2 nd Lt.		
Charles D' Arensbourg	2 nd Lt.	8	
Firmin Songis	2 nd Lt.		7
Jean Jaques Hydel	2 nd Lt.		
Pierre St. Martin Jr.	Ensign		
Trouard Jr.	Ensign		
Augustin Massicot	Captain 1808		
L. M. St. Martin	Captain 1808		
Andre Deslondes	Captain 1808		
Guilbert Andry	Captain 1808		
Michel Carentin	1 st Lt. 1808		
Severe St. Amand	1 st Lt. 1808		
P. St. Martin	1 st Lt. 1808		
Jean J. Hydel	1 st Lt. 1808		
J. E. Destrehan	1 st Lt. 1808		
Jean Folse	1 st Lt. 1808		
Alex. Chenet	1 st Lt. 1808		
Labatut fils	2 nd Lt. 1808		
Joseph Lamore	2 nd Lt. 1808		
Maximilien Baenal	2 nd Lt. 1808		
Maurice Chanette	2 nd Lt. 1808		
Bertin	Surgeon 1808	1	
Jean. L. Maillard	Ensign 1808	2	
Alexandre Labranche	Colonel 1813		
Chalres Serret	Major 1813		

Table data based on.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ List of the Principal officers in the Territory of Orleans, April 21, 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:838.

¹³⁰ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977); Register of Appointments in the Militia of the Territory of Orleans,

In contrast to the relatively smooth transition in the Acadian Coast with Cantrelle, the new American government faced some personnel difficulties in the county of the German Coast early on. The commandant that Claiborne selected came from a review of the parish by Dr. John Watkins, a Virginian who had lived in the Illinois country before coming to Spanish Louisiana and who had received an appointment to the New Orleans city council under the brief French tenure under Pierre Clement de Laussat. When the United States took control, Watkins was well-placed and became a resource for Claiborne, and he rose to be mayor of New Orleans.¹³¹ In 1804 Claiborne made Watkins his first emissary to parishes along the Mississippi to introduce U.S. authority. Watkins apprized Claiborne of local conditions and the parish leaders of U.S. intentions, reporting back to the governor in enthusiastic terms on local leaders in the German Coast. He wrote of the commandant of St. Charles, St. Amand: “He had no hesitation in taking the oath of allegiance to the United States, or that of his office, and having communicated to

8 May 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:635-636; Return of the Civil Appointments, Pardons & Proclamations for the last 6 months of 1808, *Territorial Papers*, 9:826; *Moniteur de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 1 April 1813. Of two Jean Jacques & company in 1820 in St. John the Baptist held forty-four and sixty-five slaves and a Jacques Hydel sixteen slaves. See Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977). The widow of the Massicot family in 1804 produced 65,000 pounds of sugar, the Massicots also financed a number of mortgages in St. Charles. See No. 1982 May 1804, St. Charles Parish Original Acts, Glenn R. Conrad, *The German Coast, Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1804-1812* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1981), 5; Tableau de hypotheques qui existent sur lest proprietes de la paroisse St. Charles Comte des Allemands 1806-1853, St. Charles Parish Courthouse Archives. The Delhomme's had a major plantation that produced 26,000 pounds of sugar in 1804. See No. 1982 May 1804, St. Charles Parish Original Acts, Glenn R. Conrad, *The German Coast, Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1804-1812* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1981), 5. The Saint Amand family was prominent in the parish with Pierre Saint Amand producing 50,000 pounds of sugar in 1804 and another Saint Amand producing another 60,000 and financing mortgages in St. Charles. See No. 1982 May 1804, St. Charles Parish Original Acts, Glenn R. Conrad, *The German Coast, Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1804-1812* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1981), 5.

¹³¹ Watkins served as mayor until 1807 when Claiborne removed him over disagreements arising out of Watkins critiques of General Wilkinson's conduct during the Burr Conspiracy. See Jared William Bradley, “Biographical Sketch: John Watkins,” *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 299-371.

him the submissive of your Excellency's instructions, and received assurances on his part of the good disposition of the inhabitants of his district, towards the Government of the United States."¹³² Watkins's survey of the territory helped to find the sort of individuals the U.S. government wanted as partners for the territorial government to be able to govern in the countryside. St. Amand proved to be an effective commandant, and he clearly possessed the respect of the local populace. In addition, Watkins wrote about the second German Coast's commandant, Manuel Andry, reporting to the governor: "He expressed great satisfaction in this proof of the confidence reposed in him by your Excellency, rejoiced at the annexation of the Countries to the Dominion of the United States, and begged me to assure you that he entered with pleasure into the necessary obligation of his Office, and that nothing on his part should be wanting to promote the happiness and prosperity of the Country, by a cheerful Co-operation in all the measures which the wisdom of its rulers might think proper to adopt."¹³³ Andry, like so many of the commandants appointed throughout the territory, was a practical man; he was eager to please. He appeared as a rational selection from the U.S. perspective as he had exercised power in the German Coast previously under the Spanish. Andry, in turn, wished to retain his position within the parish. The local population knew him and was accustomed to obeying him, and he appeared perfectly willing to take orders from Governor Claiborne as easily as he had from his predecessors. This willingness to serve might appear surprising and mercenary, but was in keeping with flexibility of Francophone local appointees under the Spanish. As a French-speaking populace that had been under the governorship of Spain since 1763, dealing with distant authorities of another language

¹³² Dr. Watkins Report, 2 February 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:3.

¹³³ Dr. Watkins Report, 2 February 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:3-4.

had been commonplace for some time. Still, in the long term individuals like Andry and St. Amand, given their previous connections and sense of entitlement, lacked the talents of middle management required for their positions that men like Cantrelle showed in such abundance, specifically the ability to please U.S. authorities in New Orleans while continuing to keep order on the parish level and hold the loyalty of the local population.

U.S. authorities did not simply turn to local officials and then defer to them, they were frequently replaced, and their communities contained other individuals willing to serve. In 1805 Claiborne wrote to Trouard of the German Coast about problems over official papers. The earlier commandants of the German Coast refused to turn over public documents in their possession. Claiborne wrote to Trouard regretting the situation over the papers with Andry and St. Amand and promising to instruct the two of them to turn over their papers and “So soon as it can conveniently be done I will prepare and forward to you Commissions for those Gentlemen, whom you have recommended as Justices of the peace, and with their aid I flatter myself you will be able to get the Judicial Authority of your County into complete operation.”¹³⁴ There clearly had been problems in setting up governmental authority in the German Coast, and in particular with the individuals that Claiborne appointed. He shortly thereafter wrote to St. Amand, ordering him to turn over the papers in his possession to the newly appointed judicial authority.¹³⁵ In addition, Manuel Andry, who had served as the Commandant of the Second German Coast, refused a proffered appointment.¹³⁶ Claiborne continued to support Trouard while he established authority in his parish and commended his behavior in not pressing the issue over the documents: “You certainly had power to compel a delivery of the Records, but

¹³⁴ W. C. C. Claiborne to the Judge of German Coast County, 29 June 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:106.

¹³⁵ W. C. C. Claiborne to Mr. St. Amand, 9 July 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:117-118.

your forbearance was wise, and I accord with you in opinion that the Constituted Authorities should act with mildness, and use every Honorable expedient to attach the affections and confidence of the People to the new order of things.”¹³⁷ Claiborne instructed the judge to deliver his orders to St. Amand and Andry, but the transfer of power within the German Coast was contentious, and the new U.S. order provoked problems for officials with the local populace. After the transfer of authority, new officials continued to have problems in establishing their authority in part due to the presence of former leaders within the counties who refused to accept appointments from Claiborne. Local officials did not always wish to take new instructions from the territorial government or to force changes on the local populace.

In 1806 Claiborne stayed at the German Coast home of Judge Trouard. He believed the Parisian born judge to be an advocate of American law and wrote to President Thomas Jefferson: “he, alike with his guests, professed to be admirers of the principles of our Government, but were of opinion that the American Judiciary was not adapted to the present state of the Territory; they thought the Trial by Jury, was not desirable, and complained most heavily of the conduct of the Lawyers.”¹³⁸ Trouard though not a Creole, had married into the local populace and realized the local inhabitants did not support the change in legal systems.¹³⁹ Judges like Trouard and Cantrelle supported the

¹³⁶ W. C. C. Claiborne to Manuel Andry, 9 July 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:118.

¹³⁷ W. C. C. Claiborne to the Judge of German Coast County, 9 July 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:118-119.

¹³⁸ W. C. C. Claiborne to Thomas Jefferson, 11 July 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:365.

¹³⁹ Appointments within the parish would flow in large part through Trouard, in addition to being the judge he was a Captain of Horse attached to the second militia brigade. When Claiborne sent Henry Hopkins through the parishes to organize the militia of the territory he instructed him to grant commissions to certain individuals; Claiborne also had Hopkins sent with blank commissions to be given to whomever Trouard instructed for the ranks of second Lieutenant and Cornet, W. C. C. Claiborne to Colonel Henry Hopkins, 24 November 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:235-237.

U.S. territorial administration; they were U.S. appointees, yet they were aware that the jury system and U.S. law had failed to work out in the parishes in practice.

Resistance to U.S. legal structures in Acadia and the German Coast remained largely a Creole opposition that found the transition to the jury system in the civil law needlessly complicated and expensive. It gradually became clear to territorial officials, as was immediately clear to local officials, that the U.S. system of jurisprudence was not widely accepted by the local populace, although the same officials hoped the growing Anglo-American presence in the county increased support for the U.S. jury system. In the same letter to Jefferson, Claiborne made sure to note the presence and success of two Anglo-American sugar planters in the county, Mr. Butler from the Mississippi Territory and James Brown from Kentucky.¹⁴⁰ U.S. officials hoped these newly arrived Anglo-Americans would help to change the character of the country.

Governor Claiborne's charged his cousin Richard Claiborne in 1806 with distributing copies of the acts of the legislature requiring a census and detailing required taxes.¹⁴¹ In the course of his duties he traveled throughout the territory and became an important source of information for the state of the county. In particular, U.S. officials checked with Richard to make sure that the local authorities kept the county in a state of readiness. The Spanish to the east and to the west and Native American tribes might pose a military threat in many parts of the territory, but for the Acadian and German Coasts the need for readiness focused on the slave population. Claiborne specifically mentioned that he worried about the threat that the slaves represented in New Orleans, and inquired of Richard Claiborne: "Whether there is at present a due degree of care observed by the City

¹⁴⁰ W. C. C. Claiborne to Thomas Jefferson, 11 July 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:366.

¹⁴¹ W. C. C. Claiborne to R. Claiborne, 9 July 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:358-359.

Police with respect to the assembling and the conduct of negro Slaves. If you should learn that the police is not sufficiently vigilant you will communicate the information which you may receive to the Mayor of New Orleans and the Judge of the County.”¹⁴²

Anglo-American citizens like Richard Claiborne served as key informants for the United States, allowing officials to gauge the level local officials obeyed the instructions issued to them by the governor and the legislature, particularly on an issue of such importance to the safety of the territory as a whole. In 1806 the Territorial Legislature passed the Black Code and in 1808 the Louisiana Civil Law Digest, which instituted a harder racial regime than had existed under the Spanish or French.¹⁴³ The net effect of these laws and others was to separate slaves as a discrete class and to restrict the growth of the population of free persons of color, as well as instituting a harsher slave regime.

The large slave population on the German Coast worried local territorial officials, and the governor made efforts to secure the county and New Orleans from the potential danger of a slave revolt. In 1807 he instructed General Wilkinson to distribute muskets and ammunition to the population: “In the first County of German Coast, the first County above Orleans, there are 555 freemen, & 3,285 Slaves . . . I therefore advise General, that one thousand Stands of Muskets, & a suitable quantity of Ball Cartridges be put on board the Schooner Rivenge, for the purpose of being delivered to the several Colonels of Militia, and by them distributed among the privates, in such manner, as I shall direct.”¹⁴⁴

The United States could help to address local concerns through the federal armed forces.

¹⁴² W. C. C. Claiborne to R. Claiborne, 10 July 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:359.

¹⁴³ Peter J. Kastor, *The Nation's Crucible: The Louisiana Purchase and the Creation of America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 80-86.

¹⁴⁴ W. C. C. Claiborne to James Wilkinson, 4 January 1807, *Letter Books*, 4:80.

At other times, U.S. officials intervened with the United States military on behalf of inhabitants of the German Coast. The military could provide for the safety of citizens, but U.S. officers failed to deal expertly with the locals. Given the fears of slave revolts, naval officers kept guard against suspicious slave activity, which may have led to an incident. On October 11, 1808, Mr. Picou of the German Coast was making his way back home after a visit to New Orleans in a pirogue with four slaves aboard. A United States gunboat fired about the pirogue after its passengers failed to respond to a verbal request to state their intentions. The navy then detained passengers and questioned them further before their release. The incident made its way to Claiborne who wrote to Commodore Porter at New Orleans with an account and complaint from Judge St. Martin of St. Charles Parish of the German Coast: "Permit me to suggest as a means, that in all cases where it may be deemed necessary to inspect Pirogues or small Boats ascending or descending the River, that the same may be visited by an officer from the Gun Boat. It will be recollected, that many of the Pirogues or small Boats on the Mississippi are navigated by persons whose Language is French, and that if after being hailed & ordered to come to, they (for non compliance) be fired at and detained, it may often happen, as was the case with Mr. Picou, that peaceful and unoffending Citizens, may be unnecessarily alarmed and unjustly deal with."¹⁴⁵ Picou was a figure of some substance, with a plantation that produced six thousand pounds of sugar in 1804, who had been fired upon when he failed to understand a directive in English.¹⁴⁶ Judges like St. Martin were key figures who kept U.S. officials apprized of incidents that could damage U.S.

¹⁴⁵ W. C. C. Claiborne to Commodore Porter, 21 October 1808, *Letter Books*, 4:229.

¹⁴⁶ No. 1982 May 1804, St. Charles Parish Original Acts, Glenn R. Conrad, *The German Coast, Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1804-1812* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1981), 5.

authority in the parishes, and as in the case of Picou, officials intervened to set matters back to normal, while assuring federal authorities that it did not undercut U.S. control.

Claiborne could solve many of these minor problems through his appointees. Where more serious opposition to the territorial government in the locality revealed itself was in the legislature. In 1806 Joseph Landry resigned from his seat as a Representative from Acadia in the territorial legislature, and Claiborne promptly issued instructions for a new election to the judges of the parishes of Ascension and St. James and to the sheriff of the county.¹⁴⁷ Joseph Landry when he was elected to the state assembly repeated his action, again resigning upon Claiborne's election as governor.¹⁴⁸ Landry had been passed over for the judge position with Cantrelle's selection, and his resignation in 1805 was over the general political situation, though given his later resignation in disgust at Claiborne's election and his earlier demotion from civil commandant, it appears that he disagreed with Claiborne's administration.¹⁴⁹ Genezi Roussin, also of Acadia, followed Landry in suit by resigning his seat in the General Assembly in 1812.¹⁵⁰ Claiborne had consistent problems in appointing officials in Acadia. The German Coast like the Acadian Coast had problems in keeping/retaining elected officeholders. The representatives P. B. St. Martin and T. E. Arnauld also resigned their seats in 1812, requiring Claiborne to call yet another election for the German Coast.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ W. C. C. Claiborne to the Sheriff of Acadia County, 15 June 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:327-328.

¹⁴⁸ W. C. C. Claiborne to Cartier D'Outremer and A. D. Tureaud, 11 September 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:177.

¹⁴⁹ Sidney A. Marchand, *The Flight of a Century* (Donaldsonville LA: Marchand, 1936), 18.

¹⁵⁰ W. C. C. Claiborne to Cartier D'Outremer and A. D. Tureaud, 11 September 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:197-198.

¹⁵¹ W. C. C. Claiborne to Andrew Latour and Achille Trouard, 6 October 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:187 and W. C. C. Claiborne Writ of Election to Andrew Latour and Achille Trouard, 6 November 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:196-197.

The U.S. administration in New Orleans governed the Acadian and German Coasts without major incidents in part because they chose the right instruments as judges, men who maintained strong community ties and popularity, but also by intervening with federal authorities to secure better treatment on the behalf of the local populace. Another reason for the relative acquiescence to American control and the absence of complaint coming from the German and Acadian coasts was the need for stability, given local fears over the large slave population. In 1810 the population of St. Charles was over seventy percent slave, by 1820 it was over seventy-six percent slave, Ascension was forty-six percent slave in 1810, but by 1820 all of the four parishes had slave populations over fifty percent.¹⁵² The German Coast had grave public safety concerns given their large slave population, and ultimately a massive slave rebellion did erupt, by some authorities' estimation the largest in the history of the United States.¹⁵³ Both the harsh nature of slavery in the territory and the recent increase in immigration of foreign slaves from the Caribbean and the United States contributed to the revolt.

Though discipline and harsh punishments buttressed the entire slave system at times, these methods came up against the economic rationale for slavery. Slaveholders often wished their own slaves to be pardoned, rather than lose their property in the name of maintaining public order. On June, 22 1805 John W. Gurley, Claiborne's Attorney General wrote to Governor Claiborne after reviewing a judgment of the county court

¹⁵² Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977).

¹⁵³ See Lubin F. Laurent, "History of St. John the Baptist Parish," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 7 (1924); John S. Kendall, "Shadow Over the City," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 22 (1939); James H. Dormon, "The Persistent Specter: Slave Rebellion in Territorial Louisiana," *Louisiana History* 18 (1977); Nathan A. Buman, "To Kill Whites: The 1811 Louisiana Slave Insurrection" (Master's thesis, Louisiana State University, 2008).

against seven slaves that belonged to James Roman.¹⁵⁴ In addition, two other slaves, Thelamque, who belonged to Alexis Miller, and Caudio, whose owner was Pierre Cantrelle, were involved. Gurley believed the judgment should stand and recommended that the sentence be executed as quickly as possible, given the attitude within the parish.¹⁵⁵ Cantrelle had written to Claiborne, and Claiborne informed him that it was the judgment of the court and to be executed by the sheriff.¹⁵⁶ Cantrelle's letter to Claiborne has not been found, but it appears likely that given the sequence of the exchanges and Gurley and Claiborne's letters that Cantrelle had made a decision (as with the case of his son-in-law) that he hoped the governor would overturn, since some of the slaves belonged to his extended family. In order to keep good relations with local elites, Claiborne was not above hearing such requests, nor were local elites shy about making them, although in this case Claiborne did not grant clemency.

Runaways and slave conspiracies occurred throughout the area and served as a source of real fear for the white populace, which now depended on U.S. arms to secure its safety. In 1809 there were reports in New Orleans of slave disorders in the German Coast.¹⁵⁷ On January 8, 1811 slaves at the plantation of Manuel Andry, a colonel in the militia and a former commandant, began a revolt on the German Coast.¹⁵⁸ The slave Charles Deslondes, who worked on Andry's plantation, led the rebellion. Deslondes was on loan to Andry, but was owned by the Widow Deslondes, thereby giving him access and reason

¹⁵⁴ The slaves were Babet, Baptiste, Julie, Son Soucie, Petit Marie Venus, Milanese and LaFleur.

¹⁵⁵ John W. Gurley to W. C. C. Claiborne, 22 July 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:133.

¹⁵⁶ W. C. C. Claiborne to M. Cantrelle, 23 July 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:134.

¹⁵⁷ Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (1943; reprint, New York: International Publishers, 1993), 243.

¹⁵⁸ Francois Xavier Martin's account of the rebellion can be found in, *The History of Louisiana: From the Earliest Period* (1827; reprint, New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Company, 1963), 349. Yet another treatment of the slave revolt can be found in: Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (1943; New York: International Publishers, 1993), 249-251.

to communicate with slaves on two plantations.¹⁵⁹ Deslondes's revolt killed Andry's son Gilbert in the initial fight. The slaves involved in the conspiracy at the Andry plantation gathered weapons from within the plantation, which may have been stockpiled (possibly due to Andry's connection to the Burr conspiracy).¹⁶⁰ Andry himself thus may have been less than full committed to the U.S. government, which in this case provided opportunities for slaves. Deslondes's leadership of the revolt demonstrated a level of military sophistication: he divided his forces into units and appointed officers, and those who did not have actual weapons had farming tools. Deslondes's force then went on to attack other nearby plantations, gathering together more slaves, but whites, by now alerted to the revolt, fled before there were higher casualties. Estimates of the number of participants in the rebellion differ widely from one hundred to up to five hundred.¹⁶¹ Deslondes's force gathered strength at each plantation, while killing those planters it encountered such as Jean Trepagnier who died after refusing to flee his home. Slaves captured after the rebellion claimed Deslondes tortured and killed any slaves who refused to join. Others argued successfully that Deslondes threatened them into accompanying

¹⁵⁹ Charles Deslondes was previously thought to have come into the territory with other St. Domingue refugees in 1809, possibly as a free man. More recently Gwendolyn Midlo Hall has conclusively shown that he was a Creole mulatto slave born from the Deslondes plantation. See Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, "Franco-African Peoples of Haiti and Louisiana," *Southern Quarterly* (Spring 2007); Nathan A. Buman, "To Kill Whites: The 1811 Louisiana Slave Insurrection" (Master's thesis, Louisiana State University, 2008), 68.

¹⁶⁰ That the weapons may have been stored for Burr's efforts was an allegation put forth in the *Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, see Thomas Marshall Thompson, "National Newspaper and Legislative Reactions to Louisiana's Deslondes Slave Revolt of 1811," *Louisiana History* 33 (1992): 7. The two primary monographs on the Burr conspiracy remain Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *The Burr Conspiracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954) and Walter Flavius McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy* (New York: Wilson: Erickson Inc., 1936). For more recent treatments of Burr see Nancy Isenberg, *Fallen Founder: The Life of Aaron Burr* (New York: Viking, 2007).

¹⁶¹ Thomas Marshall Thompson, "National Newspaper and Legislative Reactions to Louisiana's Deslondes Slave Revolt of 1811," *Louisiana History* 33 (1992): 8.

his force.¹⁶² Slaves from both Creole and Anglo-American plantations participated in the revolt. Potential and actual slave revolts generated fears under both the French and Spanish, but U.S. government created a far less fluid racial regime that heightened these fears as well as the incentive for slaves to revolt. In addition, the Haitian rebellion loomed large in the minds of both blacks and whites. The exact program of the insurrection remains murky, but Deslondes had timed it perfectly, in that U.S. military forces remained in West Florida, after its recent annexation, clearing the way for the slaves' march toward New Orleans.

Claiborne quickly reported to the Secretary of State the details of the rebellion.¹⁶³ The march toward New Orleans demonstrated that the slaves wished to attack the political and economic center of the territory and reveals a political goal, to seize the territorial capital where they located the evils of the slave regime.¹⁶⁴ Aside from that, the slaves' program remained murky, however, and it is unclear what they wished to erect in the stead of the U.S. territorial regime. They selected New Orleans rather than aiming for Spanish territory to the east or west, which many runaway slaves chose as their destination. That Deslondes picked to march on New Orleans confirmed the worst fears of U.S. officials and local Creole elites about opposition to the hardening slave regime of the United States in the territory of Orleans. Claiborne and the territorial leadership dispatched two companies of militia and thirty federal troops led by General Wade Hampton to intercept the slave force headed toward the city. In St. Charles parish the force under Hampton in combination with forces from Baton Rouge and locals from St.

¹⁶² No. 20. 25 February 1811, St. Charles Parish Original Acts, Glenn R. Conrad, *The German Coast, Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. Charles and S. John the Baptist Parishes, 1804-1812* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1981), 108.

¹⁶³ W. C. C. Claiborne to the Secretary of State, 9 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:95.

Charles like Andry easily put down the revolt at the plantation of Fortier on the morning of January 10th.¹⁶⁵ Some sixty-six slaves were killed, others captured, and for days afterward U.S. citizens of the German Coast, both Francophones and Anglos, hired Native Americans to track down those that had fled.¹⁶⁶ This method demonstrated continued cooperation between local authorities and Native Americans, which had existed under the Spanish and continued under the U.S. regime. The authorities ultimately questioned some seventy slaves. Judge Pierre Bauchet Saint Martin empanelled a tribunal of local plantation owners, which ordered the execution of twenty-one slaves, whose heads were cut off and placed along the Mississippi River at regular intervals as a warning against further revolts.¹⁶⁷ The slave revolt may have generated white unity in the face of an immediate threat, but it also revealed divisions within the parishes along ethnic lines. Rather than pointing to the evils of the slave system itself as the cause, local inhabitants, territorial officials, and the national press looked for other potential scapegoats. These ranged from Spanish officials and the French to local Creoles like Barthelemy Macarty, who was rumored to have refused supplies to the

¹⁶⁴ Peter J. Kastor, *The Nation's Crucible: The Louisiana Purchase and the Creation of America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 127-131.

¹⁶⁵ For extracts from Andry to Claiborne see *Moniteur de la Louisiane*, 15 January 1811 (New Orleans).

¹⁶⁶ Andry on whose plantation the incident started was instrumental in its suppression kept in contact with the governor on the course of events, with his letters published in the local papers, *Moniteur de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 15 January 1811.

¹⁶⁷ The panel consisted of Jean Noel Destrehan, Alexandre Labranche, Pierre-Marie Cabaret de Treppe, Adelard Fortier and Edmond Fortier all of whom had lost property at the hands of Deslondes' revolt with the possible exception of Cabaret. St. Charles Parish Original Acts Book 41 2 January 1811, Glenn Conrad, *The German Coast: Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1804-1812* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1981), 100-102; Nathan A. Buman, "To Kill Whites: The 1811 Louisiana Slave Insurrection" (Master's thesis, Louisiana State University, 2008), 72-73. The Saint Martin plantation was listed in an 1804 census that held that it produced 25,000 pounds of sugar a year. See No. 1982 May 1804, St. Charles Parish Original Acts, Glenn R. Conrad, *The German Coast, Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1804-1812* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1981), 5; Thomas Marshall Thompson, "National Newspaper and Legislative Reactions to Louisiana's Deslondes Slave Revolt of 1811," *Louisiana History* vol. XXXIII no. 1 (Winter 1992): 9-10; Henry E. Yoes III, *Louisiana's German Coast: A History of St. Charles Parish* (Lake Charles LA: Racing Pigeon Digest Publishing Company, 2005), 87.

soldiers who put down the rebellion.¹⁶⁸ Others including Claiborne tended to blame the revolt on slaves coming in from the West Indies, in part because rumors persisted that Deslondes came from Saint Domingue. Other slaves quickly took up arms as well, but St. Domingue as both an example and the purported source for the contagion received the most criticism.¹⁶⁹ Other observers blamed the slave trade for the revolt, particularly given the slaves introduced most recently along with white immigration from Saint Domingue.¹⁷⁰ Following the Haitian Revolution, slave regimes suspected slaves from the Caribbean of infection with revolutionary principles. In addition, Claiborne also had doubts over the character of slaves from the United States: “It is a fact of notoriety that negroes of Character the most desperate and conduct the most infamous.—Convicts pardoned on condition of transportation, the refuse of jails, are frequently introduced into this Territory.”¹⁷¹ U.S. officials blamed slaves from the Caribbean or immoral elements from the other states that had been sold into Louisiana as responsible for the insurrection, not the injustices of the slave system itself or changes to the slave system that accompanied the U. S. acquisition.

¹⁶⁸ It was later shown, however, that he had in fact provided supplies and Macarty threatened those who accused him to face him and repeat the accusations at the risk of a duel. Thomas Marshall Thompson, “National Newspaper and Legislative Reactions to Louisiana’s Deslondes Slave Revolt of 1811,” *Louisiana History* 33 (1992): 20.

¹⁶⁹ See David Patrick Geggus, *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002); David Barry Gaspar and David Patrick Geggus, editors, *A Turbulent Time: The Revolution and Greater Caribbean* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003); John D. Garrigus, *Before Haiti: Race and Citizenship in French Saint-Domingue* (New York: Palgrave, 2006); Laurent Dubois and John D. Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean, 1789-1804: A Brief History with Documents* (New York: Palgrave, 2006); Ashli White, “The Limits of Fear: The Saint Dominguan Challenge to Slave Trade Abolition in the United States” *Early American Studies* 2 (2004): 362-397.

¹⁷⁰ For the immigration into Louisiana from Saint Domingue, see Carl A. Brasseaux and Glenn R. Conrad editors, *The Road to Louisiana: The Saint-Domingue Refugees, 1792-1809* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1992).

¹⁷¹ W. C. C. Claiborne Speech to Both Houses of the Legislative Body of the Territory of Orleans, 29 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:123.

The militia came in for a great deal of criticism in the aftermath of the rebellion as well. Many considered the militia to be generally ineffective, in part due to its amateur nature, but also its ethnic divisions.¹⁷² Territorial officials regarded the use of the regular army as telling, since they believed the territorial militia should have been able to keep the peace in the German Coast. Claiborne had frequently inquired of local officials and militia officers about the policing of slaves in the area in the past. Claiborne instructed parish judges and militia commanders throughout the territory to increase their patrols in order to prevent the revolt from spreading and assured them that New Orleans remained under the control of the territorial government.¹⁷³ Claiborne made certain to keep in communication with the Secretary of State with updates after the dispersal, reassuring him that the revolt did not spread.¹⁷⁴ Andry had not been particularly close to Claiborne, and his connection to Aaron Burr made him suspect, but the insurrection elided many of these differences as white solidarity trumped political disputes and Claiborne sent his sympathies over the loss of Andry's son.¹⁷⁵ That the revolt began on Andry's plantation raised doubts over his plantation management, and the cache of arms, but Claiborne still praised the planters' response to the revolt.

Rather than just trusting in planters' increased vigilance, Claiborne took a series of steps to strengthen the slave regime. He steered a stronger militia law through the legislature and instructed local officials to continue slave patrols.¹⁷⁶ The revolt shook Louisiana planters. While it ultimately failed, its level of organization and its focus on

¹⁷² Junius P. Rodriguez, "Always 'En Garde': The Effects of Slave Insurrection upon the Louisiana Mentality," *Louisiana History* 33 (1992).

¹⁷³ W. C. C. Claiborne to Several Colonels of Regiments; and the Several Parish Judges on the Coast, 10 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:96.

¹⁷⁴ W. C. C. Claiborne to the Secretary of State, 11 January 1811 and W. C. C. Claiborne to the Secretary of State, 12 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:96-97.

¹⁷⁵ W. C. C. Claiborne to Col: Andre, 13 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:97.

New Orleans surprised the white populace. Rather than simply leaving and fleeing to Spanish controlled territory or attempting to establish a maroon community, the rebel slaves chose to march on the capital, demonstrating an effort to achieve a political objective, through the destruction of the capital. The notion that slaves could and would plan for such an objective frightened local authorities.

Claiborne wrote to local officials praising their conduct while issuing further instructions on handling the slave regime in the parish to avoid another such revolt. He wrote to Judge St. Martin of St. Charles parish praising him for his role during the revolt and instructing him on trying slaves involved in the rebellion who were captured later.¹⁷⁷ Claiborne also wrote to Colonel John Ballinger, in command of U.S. troops at Baton Rouge that, in a sense, the revolt could be interpreted as a good thing, because it could help to better prepare the territory for future such crises: “The occurrence has awakened a spirit of vigilance . . . I hope also it will induce the Legislature to give us a more energetic Militia System, and to interpose some check to that indiscriminate importation of Slaves from the southern States.”¹⁷⁸ In this letter Claiborne blamed the uprising not on St. Domingue slaves, but those from the southern United States. This reflects a concern over the growing number of slaves and the knowledge that Anglo-American slaves had joined French and Spanish slaves in the revolt. At the same time, it also illustrates the manner in which Claiborne could change his pitch depending on the audience. He and others often blamed St. Domingue slaves for the revolt, but in other instances in writing to local officeholders he blamed immigration from or through the United States.

¹⁷⁶ W. C. C. Claiborne to Major St. Amand and Col: Andre, 14 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:99.

¹⁷⁷ W. C. C. Claiborne to Judge St. Martin, 19 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:104.

The insurrection demonstrated the complicated nature of Louisiana slavery. Though Louisiana and the Gulf Coast possessed sugar plantations built on extremely harsh slave regimes, they also had significant free black populations: in 1810 free people of color made up almost ten percent of the population of Louisiana as a whole and in 1820 over six percent.¹⁷⁹ During the German Coast slave revolt those free black Louisianans did not side with their fellow African-Americans in their desire to overthrow the U.S. administration. Claiborne commended to the legislature the free blacks of the territory who supported their fellow free men during the insurrection. Claiborne learned of the actions of free blacks through letters from Francophone and English speaking citizens of St. Charles Parish.¹⁸⁰ The free men of color's militia had offered their services to Claiborne, and one company was placed under the command of Peter F. Dubourg to guard the city of New Orleans along with the militia at large that was called up during the insurrection.¹⁸¹

Local military officers, with Claiborne's encouragement, began to distribute arms and powder to local whites in order to avoid another insurrection. This was a policy that Claiborne started well before the revolt in the German Coast: "I approve of the distribution you made of powder and arms to the Citizens, and with regard to the public muskets, which will still remain in your possession, I would wish you to distribute them among the freemen who reside in the Parish of St. Charles, taking a memorandum of the

¹⁷⁸ W. C. C. Claiborne to Col: John Ballinger, 20 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:108-109.

¹⁷⁹ 1810 Census; 1820 Census.

¹⁸⁰ W. C. C. Claiborne Message to the Legislative Council and House of Representatives, 15 February 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:163.

¹⁸¹ Roland C. McConnell, *Negro Troops of Antebellum Louisiana: A History of Free Men of Color* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), 49. For the Louisiana militia under Spanish sovereignty, see Jack D. L. Holmes, *Honor and Fidelity: The Louisiana Infantry Regiment and the Louisiana Militia Companies, 1766-1821* (Birmingham AL: Holmes, 1965).

name of each Individual to who a musket is delivered.”¹⁸² Claiborne would go on to urge Major St. Amand to keep the militia in good condition and to continue to distribute powder. The perceived threat of insurrection still remained so real as to mandate government arming of the free population within the county. Claiborne similarly kept the Secretary of War informed, making sure to note that while the militia did not require any payment from the government they would need federal funding for the policy of arms distribution that he pursued. Claiborne informed him that what the territorial government took from the army would not be terribly expensive, with his estimate at somewhere between twelve and fourteen hundred dollars.¹⁸³

Claiborne remained concerned with the condition of slaves in the area after the revolt ended. He made sure that future precautions would be in place and did his best to meet the needs of individuals who lost property because of the revolt. Once the leaders of the insurrection were punished, many counseled a more moderate stance. In a letter to John M. Destrehan, Claiborne wrote: “Justice, policy, our future safety required that the guilty should suffer; for the sake of humanity however it is greatly to be desired, that the list of the guilty may not be found still greater.”¹⁸⁴ U.S. authority depended on assuring justice on issues of public safety, but within limits. Claiborne intervened in the judicial process to protect the property of friends. For instance, he intervened to have a slave released

¹⁸² W. C. C. Claiborne to Major St. Amand, 20 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:110. Whether this included free blacks is an open question, though there continued to be a free black militia force. Free people of color came in for a great deal of praise from the governor in the aftermath of the 1811 insurrection and volunteered to defend New Orleans. The state legislature authorized in 1812 the militia battalion of the free men of color; though to be sure this force was not sent to put down the insurrection. See Roland C. McConnell, *Negro Troops of Antebellum Louisiana: A History of Free Men of Color* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), 33-55. See also Donald E. Everett, “Emigres and Militiamen: Free Persons of Color in New Orleans, 1803-1815,” *The Journal of Negro History* 37 (1916), 394

¹⁸³ W. C. C. Claiborne to the Secretary of War, 20 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:110-111.

¹⁸⁴ W. C. C. Claiborne to John M. Destrehan, 19 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:107.

from prison and returned to his owner Mr. Bernady, as he did not appear to be implicated in the conspiracy, despite his capture. Similarly Claiborne arranged for a slave of Major Trask who had been sentenced to death for his part in the conspiracy to be pardoned.¹⁸⁵ While the revolt posed a serious threat to the security of the territory, officials still made exceptions for slaves who were a part of it when they were the property of officials and friends of the governor, whether Francophone or Anglo-American. After the revolt, officials occasionally stressed the virtues of clemency, but it also appears that friends' economic interests could trump security concerns.

In the short term the governor instituted a system of slave patrols, but as the situation again stabilized and time passed, the territory returned to normal and fear subsided. By January 30, 1811, less than a month later, Claiborne wrote to General Thomas that the use of militia patrols was no longer required, but at the discretion of local authorities within the parishes.¹⁸⁶ Indeed, according to Claiborne the entire episode proved much to the credit of local authorities. Despite the level of organization and level of military sophistication on the part of the slaves and the fearful reactions of the local populace, how the government had handled the revolt was to the credit of local police, and also to his own efforts and response in Claiborne's view. He wrote to Martin Duralde Senior, a former Spanish commandant from Attakapas and his father-in-law: "Of the rise, progress and termination of the Insurrection among the Negroes on the German Coast. This affair gave me much trouble; but I am more than compensated by the consciousness I feel that I faithfully discharged my duty; and contributed in some degree to the safety of the

¹⁸⁵ W. C. C. Claiborne to Judge Moreau Lislet, 20 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:112.

¹⁸⁶ W. C. C. Claiborne to General Thomas, 30 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:135-136.

territory.”¹⁸⁷ The slave revolt proved disruptive, but Claiborne felt that the incident had been handled well. The judges of New Orleans, St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parish eventually gauged the estimate of the damages endured, and the governor then forwarded them on to the legislature.¹⁸⁸ Claiborne also did his best to assure that local citizens would be compensated for the loss of property, regardless of ethnicity, and though not legally required he asked the legislature to explore the issue.¹⁸⁹ The revolt contributed to white racial solidarity as it continued to raise the specter of future slave revolts.¹⁹⁰ The legislature compensated parishes damaged in the slave revolt as the governor informed the Legislative Council and the House of Representatives of the losses in St. Charles and St. John the Baptist.¹⁹¹ In addition, Claiborne offered rewards for the capture of any other leaders of the rebellion. The bounty had yet to be claimed, but Claiborne felt that citizens within the German Coast would do so soon enough.¹⁹² The revolt resulted in heightened security throughout the territory, but United States officials and local elites also pursued a more conciliatory course to continue to build local Creole support.

During the War of 1812, U.S. officials kept the militias of the Acadian and German Coasts in a state of preparation for the war effort. This pressure on local government resulted in part because the militias proved insufficient during the revolt. The failure of

¹⁸⁷ W. C. C. Claiborne to Mr. Duralde Sr., 1 February 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:142.

¹⁸⁸ W. C. C. Claiborne Message to the Legislative Council and the House of Representatives, 12 March 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:179.

¹⁸⁹ W. C. C. Claiborne Speech to Both Houses of the Legislative Council and of the House of Representatives, 29 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:123.

¹⁹⁰ Sarah Paradise Russell, “Cultural Conflicts and Common Interests: The Making of the Sugar Planter Class in Louisiana, 1795-1853” (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 2000), 156-157.

¹⁹¹ W. C. C. Claiborne, Message to the Legislative Council and House of Representatives, 12 March 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:179.

¹⁹² W. C. C. Claiborne, Message to the Legislative Council and House of Representatives, 19 April 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:214.

local policing demonstrated by the German Coast revolt remained a source of continual concern, especially once the War of 1812 began. Yet it is possible that increased policing might have caused the uprising. During the War of 1812 the militia forces throughout the state had two duties: the continuation of slave patrols to avoid another rebellion, and to guard against a potential British invasion, which would finally emerge in 1815. Though contemporaries recognized the necessity of the first of these charges, U.S. officials continued to pressure local authorities in order to safeguard the territory. Indeed, Claiborne made note of the former shortcomings of the militia from the German Coast, and promised to add additional support should there be a need: “there was not as speedy a movement on the part of the Militia, as was desired . . . As regards German Coast, I know its exposed situation, and so far from weakening it, if the occasion demands, an auxiliary force, shall be sent to your aid.—The prejudice of the people against a draft, seems to me to be very unfounded; It is nothing more, than determining by lot on whom the first tour of duty shall fall.”¹⁹³ Many United States citizens in New Orleans feared an attack by the British and correctly felt that local forces as they currently existed might not be sufficient to stop such a threat. Claiborne believed, however, that the excursion would not occur for three years, and would not fall on the German Coast, and therefore he could afford to leave local forces to their own devices, while strengthening them, insofar as he could, given internal security concerns.

Native tribes remained an added concern for the inhabitants of the German Coast during the War of 1812. The governor acted to insure the safety of the inhabitants by reconstituting an U.S. army position at an older French fort. Claiborne, in this instance,

¹⁹³ W. C. C. Claiborne to W. L. Andrews, 28 July 1813, *Letter Books*, 6:248.

reacted not because of pressure from federal authorities, but to letters from the local populace in its multiple ethnicities: “Recent information of the unfriendly disposition of the Chactaws, induces me to suggest for your Consideration, the expediency of sending there, a subaltern & fifteen or twenty men. It would I am sure give much satisfaction to the inhabitants on German Coast, several of whom have expressed to me, their great desire to see the position occupied.”¹⁹⁴ The federal government thus also used the army in a time of war to respond to the threats to the local populace, even as the militia from the same parishes continued to oversee local security concerns.

The Acadian and German Coasts acceded to U.S. control, proving cooperative in meeting territorial requirements, while remaining politically unified. The Creole elite continued to hold important local offices and regularly secured representation in the legislature. It was largely Anglo-Americans such as Brown and the occasional Creole passed over, like Landry, who failed to support the territorial government, and that opposition arose, at least in part, from a lack of patronage. The white population of the Acadian and German Coasts were actually among the most receptive parishes for U.S. government and displayed little political opposition to the territorial government. Officials who did oppose the administration chose to resign their elected offices rather than remain in office. U.S. governance in the area worked for a number of reasons. First Claiborne selected local officials with roots within their parishes. In the Acadian and German coasts, only one Anglo-American judge who served for three years did not have roots in the parish either by birth or marriage. Those officials appointed proved adept at keeping their local popularity while shifting to U.S. modes of governance. Second,

¹⁹⁴ W. C. C. Claiborne to General James Wilkinson, 15 August 15, *Letter Books*, 6:140.

Claiborne quickly responded to the needs communicated to him by those officials, whether to help them personally or to help their parishes with money and instructions for arms, or levees or roads. Third, the threat posed by slavery unified the white population of the parish (and demonstrated that slaves cooperated across linguistic lines in their revolt in much the same way). The German and Acadian Coasts had been in the forefront of opposition to Spanish control, but they proved quite receptive to United States sovereignty, in part because sugar and slavery had transformed their region in the last decades of the eighteenth century. Local or Creole elites who chose to cooperate with the U.S. territorial government continued to exercise traditional authority while taking direction from a foreign power, much as they had under the Spanish. Planters also desperately needed outside help as demonstrated by the 1811 revolt. Thus, the German and Acadian coasts largely acquiesced to the U.S. administration, despite the difficulties outlined, and over the course of U.S. control there was an evolutionary shift toward the U.S. political system. The revolt obviously demonstrated slave opposition, but surprisingly, even with a hardening racial regime it demonstrated free black support for U.S. control.

The first judges came from the planter elite, and often they and their families enjoyed a preeminent position before the American arrival, but the second and third cycle of judges in the Acadian and German coasts saw more middling men come to the fore as judges. The planter class instead was increasingly drawn to the legislature rather than to judicial positions. The German and Acadian coasts thus proved largely receptive to U.S. governance. Other parishes proved less so, and these often were parishes with larger Anglo-American populations. The most virulent opposition to the territorial

administration actually tended to come from fellow Anglo-Americans, not the Creole populations present in parishes like the German and Acadian Coasts.

CHAPTER III

IBERVILLE, POINTE COUPEE, AND WEST BATON ROUGE

Upriver, to the north of the German and Acadian coasts was the county of Iberville and then further to the north Pointe Coupee. Iberville County was simply Iberville Parish while Pointe Coupee included its eponymous parish and the parish of West Baton Rouge. Iberville and Pointe Coupee counties differed from those downriver in that their later settlement and proximity to West Florida meant that they contained larger populations of Anglophone settlers. The manner in which the local Francophone elite integrated those settlers differed substantially between Iberville and Pointe Coupee. Iberville included both French and English-speaking officials, and the county posed few problems for U.S. territorial government. Pointe Coupee also had both English-speaking and Creole officials, but it divided along factional lines that had an ethnic dimension. Personal politics and the manner in which U.S. officials and Anglo-American settlers dealt with one another helps to explain the difference between Pointe Coupee and Iberville. The English speaking populace in Pointe Coupee, rather than proving a boon for U.S. governance in Louisiana, actually required constant intervention on the part of U.S. administrators in local disputes between two factions. The proximity of these parishes to Spanish West Florida further complicated the position of local officials, who had a foreign affairs dimension to their duties, in that they needed to keep peace with the Spanish (see figure 4). Many figures from the elite recently served as officeholders under the Spanish government, and the presence of U.S. troops frequently caused problems with the local populace as a whole, requiring the careful selection and monitoring of local appointees. Given Spanish proximity and large slave populations, older colonial elites

worried over security and wished for a smooth transition toward U.S. governance and law, which was complicated by more recent Anglo-American arrivals in the parish and their Creole allies, who expected patronage to flow their way. Iberville and Pointe Coupee reveal the potential difficulties in governing more heterogeneous populations. U.S. territorial governance proved more difficult when it had to garner the support of both older colonial elites and accommodate the political demands of more recent Anglo-American inhabitants; in Iberville officials managed to do both of these, but in Pointe Coupee these two roles came up against one another.

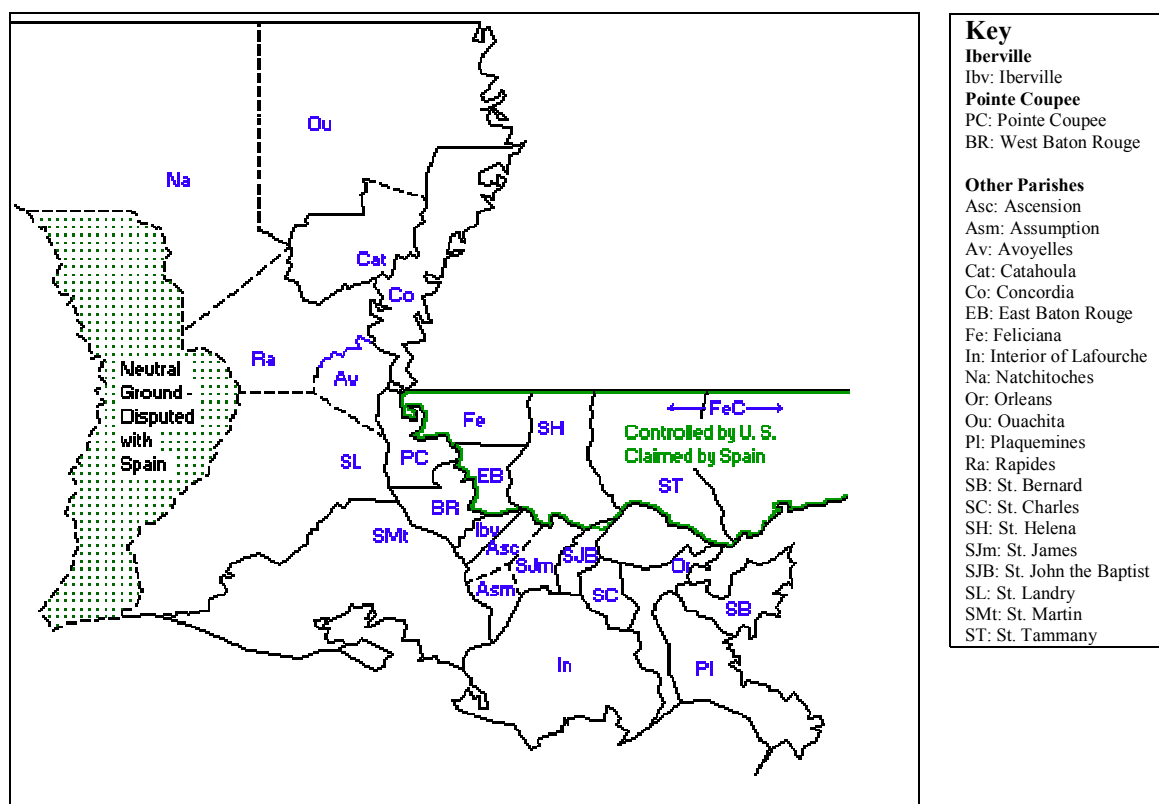


Fig. 4. Map of Iberville, Pointe Coupee, and West Baton Rouge in the Territory of Orleans 1810.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ mylouisianagenealogy.com (2009).

Iberville, lying to the north of the Acadian coast and settled after the Spanish control of Louisiana, resembled the Acadian and German Coasts in its settlement pattern. The French failed to make settlement of the area a priority: it was too far to the north along the river for easy access, and the French could barely attract European settlers to the German and Acadian Coasts and the smaller settlement of Pointe Coupee to the north. After 1763, settlement became imperative for the Spanish as the Iberville River became the border between the British and Spanish territory in the area separating British West Florida from Spanish Louisiana.¹⁹⁶ Acadians first settled the area in 1767, and the Spanish built a fort in Iberville called St. Gabriel to protect those settlers from attacks by Native Americans, but also to secure the area from potential British threats. Many of the first settlers were Acadians who had resided for a period in Maryland, though later settlers included Anglo-Americans from Maryland and German immigrants as well.¹⁹⁷ Iberville resembled the Acadian Coast in its population, which included many Acadians, but also in its larger white population, making up fifty-three percent of the total population in 1810.¹⁹⁸ There were a large number of small farmers and fewer large planters.¹⁹⁹

North of Iberville along the Mississippi River, Pointe Coupee differed from its neighbor to the south in that it contained a larger slave population. Its white population in 1810 was just twenty-seven percent of the population and by 1820 it was almost twenty-three percent, making the slave population by 1820 over three times the white

¹⁹⁶ Roger Baudier, *St. Gabriel of Iberville, 1773-1953* (Iberville: Kleinpeter, 1953), 6.

¹⁹⁷ Judy Riffel, editor, *Iberville Parish History* (Baton Rouge: Le Comite' des Archives de la Louisiane), 5.

¹⁹⁸ 1810 Census.

¹⁹⁹ Marietta Marie LeBreton, "A History of the Territory of Orleans, 1803-1812," (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1969), 18.

population in the parish.²⁰⁰ The parish had more plantations than Iberville, though in contrast to the German and Acadian Coasts the plantations in Pointe Coupee primarily focused on cotton production rather than sugar. Pointe Coupee was founded in 1720, with its first settlers coming from Belgium. Later settlers (to Pointe Coupee) came from France, Canada, Belgium, Switzerland, but also a significant contingent from the German Coast and New Orleans.²⁰¹ Anglo-Americans in particular engaged in cotton production. During the French period, fears of Native American attacks required the construction of a small fort at Pointe Coupee.²⁰² By 1803 Native Americans no longer represented much of a threat (to Pointe Coupee), as their numbers had been much reduced; the largest Native American presence around the parish remained just north of Pointe Coupee where there were approximately fifty Tunica Indians.²⁰³

The Anglo populations of Iberville and Pointe Coupee counties were greater than those down river in the German and Acadian Coasts, though still fairly small. In Iberville in 1810, based on surname analysis, the Anglos made up just nineteen percent of the white population and by 1820 it was just under seventeen percent.²⁰⁴ Pointe Coupee similarly had a high Anglo population, in 1810 over nineteen percent of the white population and in 1820 it was just thirteen percent.²⁰⁵ West Baton Rouge within the county of Pointe Coupee, given its proximity to West Florida, also had a number of

²⁰⁰ 1810 Census; 1820 Census.

²⁰¹ Brian J. Costello, *A History of Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana* (New Roads LA: Costello, 1999), 22.

²⁰² Brian J. Costello, *A History of Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana* (New Roads LA: Costello, 1999), 22-23.

²⁰³ Daniel Clark, An Account of the Indian Tribes of Louisiana, 29 September 1803, *Territorial Papers*, 9:63.

²⁰⁴ These figures are based on surname analysis of census transcriptions taken from *Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977). In some cases Ardoin's figures differ slightly from the totals offered in the censuses. Surname determinations made on same basis as previous chapter.

Anglo immigrants; they made up over thirteen percent of the 1810 white population and in 1820 it too declined slightly to just over twelve percent.²⁰⁶ Thus, while these upriver parishes contained higher Anglo populations than the parishes downriver, over the first decades of U.S. control the Anglo percentage of the white population actually declined, similar to parishes downriver, where Francophones continued to immigrate to the territory.

With the existence of this Anglo minority there were higher intermarriage rates in the parishes than the Acadian and German Coasts. In Iberville from the transfer through 1820, nineteen percent of all recorded marriages involved Anglo names and French, Spanish or German Creole names in the parish, up from twelve percent of exogamous marriages before the transfer.²⁰⁷ Pointe Coupee, however, had lower rates of intermarriage with Francophone-Anglo marriages making up over seven percent of all marriages between 1803 and 1820, an increase from all previous marriage records of five percent, just five cases, in all five cases Anglo grooms with French brides.²⁰⁸ In West Baton Rouge of only eight marriages recorded between 1816 and 1820 three were mixed Anglo-French marriages (an exogamous rate of thirty-eight percent).²⁰⁹ By the time of the U.S. turnover, Pointe Coupee attracted settlers from across the river in British West Florida, giving the area more Anglo immigration than the Acadian and German Coasts to

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ *Iberville Parish Louisiana: Computer Indexed Marriage* (Salt Lake City: Hunting for Bears, 2007). Surname determination made from same manner as with the census.

²⁰⁸ *Pointe Coupee Parish Louisiana: Computer Indexed Marriage Records* (Salt Lake City: Hunting for Bears, 2007). Surname determination made from same manner as with the census.

²⁰⁹ *West Baton Rouge Parish Louisiana: Computer Indexed Marriage Records* (Salt Lake City: Hunting for Bears, 2007). Surname determination made in same manner as with the census.

the south.²¹⁰ Even so, Pointe Coupee throughout the Spanish period continued to be ruled through local French-speaking commandants, and the Spanish language itself made few inroads in the parish.²¹¹

Sugar production was just starting to take off at the time of the U.S. control, replacing the earlier agricultural focus on indigo and tobacco production.²¹² Geographer William Darby wrote of Pointe Coupee: “This is one of the most wealthy and best cultivated settlements on the Mississippi.”²¹³ Cotton cultivation, and then sugar, gradually transformed the nature of Pointe Coupee so that it increasingly came to resemble the more prosperous downriver parishes. Although Pointe Coupee grew to become a comparatively wealthy and prosperous parish, many in New Orleans considered it provincial because of its distance from the capitol. As Claiborne pointed out to the President: “In the settlement of Point Coupee where the Society is esteemed wealthy and polished, that not a third of the free Inhabitants can write their names and among the illiterate, are those, whose annual income exceeds \$6000: my informant adds, that Mental Ignorance pervades the other parts of the Province in an equal, and he believes in a greater degree.”²¹⁴ Despite Claiborne’s observations, Pointe Coupee became an innovative and progressive parish on education, with three public schools in operation by 1811, the only such parish in Louisiana.²¹⁵ Pointe Coupee, with its own strong economy

²¹⁰ Brian J. Costello, *A History of Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana* (New Roads LA: Costello, 1999), 35.

²¹¹ Brian J. Costello, *A History of Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana* (New Roads LA: Costello, 1999), 47.

²¹² Brian J. Costello, *A History of Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana* (New Roads LA: Costello, 1999), 58.

²¹³ William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), 218.

²¹⁴ Governor Claiborne to the President, 29 September 1803, *Territorial Papers*, 9:60.

²¹⁵ Brian J. Costello, *A History of Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana* (New Roads LA: Costello, 1999), 88.

and a clear planter elite, which needed to be taken into account by territorial officials, could pose difficulties for U.S. territorial government.

Iberville possessed a smaller population than Pointe Coupee to the north or the German and Acadian Coasts to the south, in part because plantation agriculture failed to make the same inroads that it had to the north in Pointe Coupee. Iberville contained more small holders and was slightly less prosperous than its neighbors to the south in the Acadian Coast. As an example the average land fee between 1806 and 1811 was \$3.81 for Iberville in contrast to \$4.13 for Ascension and \$4.44 for St. James.²¹⁶ The United States replaced the commandant of Iberville, Francis Rivas because he refused to serve, so in contrast to other parishes, Iberville did not retain continuity in officeholders in the aftermath of the cession. Dr. John Watkins in his report to Governor Claiborne recommended Nicholas Rousseau as a potential appointee: “Has resided upward of twenty years in the Country, speaks the English and French Languages, and possesses with the Esteem of his Neighbors, the reputation of an Honest intelligent Man.”²¹⁷ Rivas deliberately chose not to serve the incoming government. The same calculations that might have guided Cantrelle to limit his involvement, that the Spanish might return, led Rivas to opt out altogether: “He expressed in the strongest terms his regret at not being able to continue in Office, and begged me to assure you that the American Government might calculate upon his cordial support, and as it was his intention shortly to withdraw from the Spanish Service, he would then, and even in the meantime as far as it was in his power, and consistent with his situation, offer his services to the Government and do

²¹⁶ Acadian Parish Records, Land Registry, MSS 23 f1, 1806,1807,1808; MSS 23 f2 1809,1810,1811, Historic New Orleans Collection.

²¹⁷ Dr. Watkins Report, 2 March 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:6.

every thing to assist his successor which might be required of him.”²¹⁸ Rivas found himself in a difficult position, and may have decided to hedge his bets by promising his loyalty to the United States, but refusing to serve lest the Spanish return to the territory. Even though Rivas did not serve, however, he continued to be a leading figure within the parish, given his previous position. Despite Watkins’s preference to appoint Rousseau, the long-term choice of commandant fell to Claiborne, and he appointed the individual whom Francis Rivas recommended, Francis Connell.²¹⁹ Thus, even though Rivas refused to serve, he still got to decide who would, and Claiborne ratified that local judgment. Local influence and rules remained intact with the U.S. choosing to operate through longer standing hierarchies.

Francis Connell as commandant shortly proved unpopular with the populace of Iberville, requiring U.S. officials to intervene in a series of parish controversies. Shortly after the commandant appointment Claiborne wrote to Connell, to release John Baptiste Laurier, whom Connell had placed in prison: “John Baptiste Laurier has sufficiently suffered for the offences committed in the affair of the exchange of horses, by the Length of time he has remained in confinement . . . Should there be any difficulties remaining in the affair you will do well to have them decided by arbitration and transmit to me the result thereof.”²²⁰ Connell’s legal authority in the parish was almost absolute as the commandant, but Claiborne remained as an authority to appeal to, and he felt no compunction about intervening in local judicial rulings in Iberville. This intervention was not an isolated incident, however, as Governor Claiborne began to receive a series of complaints over the administration of justice within the territory. Claiborne responded to

²¹⁸ Dr. Watkins Report, 2 March 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:6.

²¹⁹ W. C. C. Claiborne to Francis Rivas, 20 April 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:106-107.

such complaints, which may have encouraged further entreaties, but Connell actually appears to have committed abuses, which exacerbated conflicts within the parish. Eligius Fromentin complained to the governor over the cruel treatment of prisoners, and Claiborne in his response wrote sympathetically, encouraging Fromentin to help bring individuals who committed abuses to justice.²²¹ The commandant posts, though powerful positions, still required the understanding and support of the local populace. Connell lacked the skill to build such support, resulting in a series of interventions by U.S. officials in order to redress abuses and garner the support of Iberville's population for the territorial government.

Claiborne chose Pierre Bailly to replace Connell, for a brief period before judges replaced commandants.²²² The situation deteriorated to the point that Connell actually chose to leave the territory rather than staying to transfer the records of the parish, requiring Bailly to seize control of Connell's house.²²³ Bailly, a free mulatto born in France or French Louisiana, had come to Iberville in 1776 and acquired several tracts of land along the Mississippi River and married a Jamaican slave with whom he had six daughters, all of whom he emancipated.²²⁴ Despite his race, Bailly was among the elite

²²⁰ W. C. C. Claiborne to Francis Connell, 26 July 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:269.

²²¹ W. C. C. Claiborne to Mr. Fromentin, 5 February 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:258.

²²² Governor Claiborne to Monsieur Bailey, 14 March 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:417.

²²³ Governor Claiborne to Monsieur Bailey, 14 March 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:417-418.

²²⁴ Judy Riffel, editor, *Iberville Parish History* (Baton Rouge: Le Comite' des Archives de la Louisiane), 166-167. Some sources trace Bailly's birth place to Blaye France, but other sources give his birthplace as in Louisiana in 1749. See Glenn R. Conrad, editor, *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 29-30. According to Riffel, Bailly left his wife one fourth of his estate on his death, so it appears probable that she too was emancipated at some point. The emancipations demonstrate that the methods of emancipation in Pointe Coupee that Gwendolyn Midlo Hall noted in *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 274, lasted into the American period as well, if only for a period.

of the parish.²²⁵ The average slaveholder in Iberville Parish held over six slaves in 1810 and over nine slaves in 1820; Bailly in 1810 owned eighty-five slaves.²²⁶ Bailly became an early supporter of the U.S. administration. He and other free men of color petitioned Claiborne early in 1804 offering their support and services to the U.S. regime.²²⁷ This was surprising given the harder racial laws of the United States when compared to Spanish colonies. At the same time given the cession to the United States there was little downside in offering support in 1804 before the United States began to enact structural changes to Louisiana law and society.

Bailly had served in Spanish militia regiments, but had been imprisoned in Havana because of his support for the French Revolution and for statements he and others made advocating a move against the Spanish in Louisiana, though he had been released and returned to Iberville before the U.S. turnover.²²⁸ Many free men of color, like Bailly, supported the U.S. occupation, though comparatively speaking the Spanish regime improved the treatment of both slaves and free persons of color in law over the French regime.²²⁹ Despite the improvements under Spain, Bailly objected to Spanish

²²⁵ For other works on free people of color in Louisiana, see David O. Whitten, *Andrew Durnford: A Black Sugar Planter in the Antebellum South* (New Brunswick NJ: Transaction, 1995); Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, editors, *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992); Caryn Cosse Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana, 1718-1868* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004); Susan E. Dollar, "'Black, White, or Indifferent': Race Identity and Americanization in Creole Louisiana" (PhD. Dissertation, University of Arkansas, 1994). Dollar points out the importance of differences within the free colored community of Louisiana based on ethnicity, though in general she argues that Creole free people of color had much the same resentments against changes within Louisiana under the U.S. as white Creoles during the territorial period, as well as resentment over the biracial sentiment of U.S. arrivals who identified blackness with slavery and the subsequent changes in Louisiana law.

²²⁶ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977).

²²⁷ Address from the Free People of Color, January 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:174-175.

²²⁸ Jared William Bradley, "Biographical Sketch: Pierre Bailly," *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 587-588.

²²⁹ See Gilbert C. Din's *Spaniards, Planters, and Slaves: The Spanish Regulation of Slavery in Louisiana, 1763-1803* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999). For an examination of the

government and imagined that the United States might be able to remove racial or class strictures from free men with property. Bailly and other free men of color, often did not object to slavery as such (indeed Bailly was a slaveowner), but they opposed racial bars on officeholding and, under the United States, the right to vote. As a group these propertied free men of color constituted a category of elite, and could achieve civil and militia posts under the Spanish. Still, they hoped to overcome racial bars with the change in sovereignty. For Bailly there was some truth to this supposition that the United States might improve the status of free person of color, for a time at least. Pierre Bailly went on to be the first judge of Iberville in 1805 though Nathan Meriam became the judge in 1807 and served until 1813.²³⁰ Bailly's appointment serves as one of the best examples of Jeffersonian flexibility in governing Louisiana. The 1806 black code, passed by an Orleans territorial legislature with both Creole and Anglo-American members, however, restricted the growth of the free black population, a population whose future Bailly helped to create through the emancipation of his six daughters.

As a judge Bailly proved to be a disappointment, and the mistreatment of prisoners that Connell allegedly authorized continued under Bailly, as did territorial intercessions. In 1806, Claiborne received complaints, again from Eligius Fromentin, a local grandee who in 1813 would become a U.S. Senator from Louisiana, that the judge of the county, Bailly, was to blame. Claiborne's response to Fromentin questioned where blame should be placed: "As under the Law the sheriff is the officer who has the custody of

changes in sovereignty and their effect on the free people of color of New Orleans and on interracial unions in law and society see, Jennifer M. Spear, *Race Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009).

²³⁰ Judy Riffel, editor, *Iberville Parish History* (Baton Rouge: Le Comite' des Archives de la Louisiane), 92.

Prisoners . . . I am convinced from your letter that it is proper for me to interfere:-But I wish not to act, without a full Knowledge of the transactions.”²³¹ Even so, the judge issued instructions to the sheriff, though as Claiborne pointed out, the sheriff had failed in his duty as well, since sheriffs were charged with oversight over prisoner treatment. It would be two years before Bailly left his office despite these issues. Just two months later Claiborne sent further evidence to his attorney general J. W. Gurley, instructing: “I inclose you certain Papers which implicate the conduct of the Judge Yberville; If you suppose, there be ground for a prosecution against him, it will be your duty to take legal measure to that effect.”²³² Claiborne did not move against the judge precipitously, but rather went through the appropriate channels by asking his attorney general for advice. Still, it was clear that the judge’s actions concerned U.S. officials enough that rather than just request his resignation the governor considered legal action.

One of the problems that Claiborne faced when considering moves against judges, however, was that he remained unsure of his own authority as governor. Despite the many charges that the U.S. administration acted arbitrarily and that the governor could act as he desired, Claiborne did not move against Bailly without further guidance from the territorial Attorney General John W. Gurley. He wrote to Gurley again over the summer concerning the affair in Iberville: “I cannot but express a wish that every person, who should abuse a public Trust, should be arraigned, and punished according to Law. I cannot too earnestly press you for an opinion as to the power of the executive to remove a County Judge . . . I know that Judge Prevost was once of opinion, (at least he so expressed himself) that the Governor could not remove a County Judge; his opinion is not

²³¹ W. C. C. Claiborne to Mr. Fromentin, 5 February 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:258-259.

²³² W. C. C. Claiborne to J. W. Gurley, 28 April 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:292.

with me a very high authority; but it makes me the more desirous, to reflect maturely previous my acting.”²³³ Judges retained four-year terms and it remained unknown whether the governor, though he possessed the power to appoint them, also could remove them. While Claiborne requested a legal ruling from his Attorney General giving him the power to remove Bailly he also made his case with the legislature, securing legislation that judges were subject to the law and could be prosecuted for misconduct while in office. He also not so subtly encouraged Gurley to take legal action against Bailly. Complaints over judicial abuses came from fellow Creoles, not Anglo-American newcomers for the most part, but they were leveled against Creoles in the case of Bailly or men married into Creole families as in the case of Connell.

Claiborne after 1806 took far more of an interest in the Parish of Iberville, and to set things right appointed Judge Nathaniel Meriam, who served until 1813. Meriam differed substantially in his socioeconomic position within the parish: while Bailly had eighty-five slaves in 1810, Meriam had three slaves, well below the average slaveholder in the parish.²³⁴ In addition, Claiborne specified a series of officials for appointment to the lesser offices within the parish, the sort of decisions that in other parishes often were left to the discretion of the local judge.²³⁵ These directions demonstrate greater territorial involvement than in other parishes, perhaps because of the previous problems or in order to insure that Creoles received appointments or because Meriam lacked greater economic status within the parish. Claiborne, as a frequent visitor to Iberville, regularly carried on

²³³ W. C. C. Claiborne to J. W. Gurley, 29 July 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:374.

²³⁴ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee and Rapides Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1972).

²³⁵ Claiborne named Bush and Landry as justices of the peace and Brown as sheriff. See W. C. C. Claiborne to Judge Meriam, 22 November 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:384.

government business from there, which also helps to explain his greater intervention.²³⁶ The travel of the governor into Iberville became a subject of discussion for those in New Orleans as Governor Claiborne noted in a letter to James Madison.²³⁷ This letter was composed when Claiborne visited Iberville, something he did on occasion to keep contact with the other parishes, but also because the air and the environment proved to be far healthier than downriver at New Orleans. Meriam's origins (remain uncertain), but given his name he was probably Anglo, differing therefore in both his class and his ethnicity from Bailly. Meriam thus represented a shift away from the Creole appointees and their disputes in the parish, and towards newcomers, individuals less established within Iberville and its divisions.²³⁸

As in the rest of the territory, resignations posed a problem within the county of Iberville. On April 6th of 1812 Claiborne accepted the resignation of Judge Meriam, but instructed him that he would need to continue to serve until a suitable replacement was appointed. Meriam continued to be of importance, since Claiborne had no one in mind to replace him and he asked Meriam for recommendations.²³⁹ Meriam essentially picked his own successor. The selection of Anglos for the judicial positions offers a contrast to the dependence on local elites found in the Acadian and German Coasts, and Claiborne's earlier choice of Bailly. Meriam's resignation placed Claiborne in something of a bind such that he actually selected someone from another parish, though a neighboring one,

²³⁶ W. C. C. Claiborne to James Monroe, 28 February 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:61; W. C. C. Claiborne to Mr. Smith, Collector of the Revenue, *Letter Books*, 6:361-362; W. C. C. Claiborne to Daniel L. Patterson, 25 October 1815, *Letter Books*, 6:387.

²³⁷ W. C. C. Claiborne to James Madison, 17 October 1807, *Letter Books*, 4:135.

²³⁸ Some sources trace his origins from Massachusetts. Judy Riffel, editor, *Iberville Parish History* (Baton Rouge: Le Comite' des Archives de la Louisiane), 300.

²³⁹ W. C. C. Claiborne to Judge Meriam, 6 April 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:69.

John Dutton of Pointe Coupee.²⁴⁰ Dutton came from the planter class though he was by no means as great a planter as Bailly; in 1820 Dutton had twenty-eight slaves in Iberville.²⁴¹ Dutton provided greater stability in the parish, serving in his position into the 1840's.

Nathan Meriam served as the first sheriff of the parish before going on to his judgeship; other major early officials in Iberville included Pierre Sigur as Treasurer and H. H. Gurley the Attorney General of Louisiana, who purchased property in Iberville.²⁴² Sheriffs tended to come from the smaller planter class, and in Iberville they included both Anglo newcomers and older Francophone residents; for instance the Dupuy family, whose members served as the sheriff, justices, and legislators, had been among the first Acadian immigrants to the parish.²⁴³ The treasurer, Sigur, came from the Francophone great planter class (see table 7). William Wykoff Junior served as a deputy register for Pointe Coupee and portions of Iberville.²⁴⁴ A number of Anglo appointees served as justices. Thomas Pipkin, a native of Tennessee, immigrated during the American period and married into a Francophone family and opened a tavern before he became a justice.²⁴⁵ Philip Winfree, a Virginian, left prior to the American Revolution and went to

²⁴⁰ W. C. C. Claiborne to the Gentlemen of the Senate, 4 September 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:172.

²⁴¹ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee and Rapides Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1972).

²⁴² W. C. C. Claiborne to Judge Meriam, 22 November 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:384. Judy Riffel, editor, *Iberville Parish History* (Baton Rouge: Le Comite' des Archives de la Louisiane), 92; Sheriff's Sales *Louisiana Courier* November 19, 1810;]; Judy Riffel, editor, Book of Oaths I in *Iberville Parish Records* vol. 1 (Baton Rouge: Riffel, 1981).

²⁴³ Judy Riffel, editor, *Iberville Parish History* (Baton Rouge: Le Comite' des Archives de la Louisiane), 214, 216.

²⁴⁴ Judy Riffel, editor, *Iberville Parish History* (Baton Rouge: Le Comite' des Archives de la Louisiane), 92.

²⁴⁵ Judy Riffel, editor, *Iberville Parish History* (Baton Rouge: Le Comite' des Archives de la Louisiane), 315.

the British West Indies before coming to Louisiana and becoming a justice.²⁴⁶

Francophones also secured justice appointments. Pierre Joseph Landry, from France, in addition to his civilian appointment as a justice served in the War of 1812 and became Captain Landry.²⁴⁷ As with the sheriffs these men tended to come from the smaller planter class. Iberville officials thus came from both the Anglo-American and Francophone communities.

Table 7. Iberville Officials, Slave Holdings

Name	Office	1810	1820
Francis Connell	Commandant		
Pierre Bailly	Commandant/Judge /1805-1807	85	
Nathan Meriam	Sheriff/Judge 1807-	3	
John Dutton	Judge		28
N. Crupper	Sheriff 1810	13	7
Daniel Brown	Sheriff 1811-1819		
Balthazar Dupuy	Sheriff 1819-		4
Pierre Sigur	Treasurer	24	43
Joseph Henry	Justice	5	5
Aubry Dupuy	Justice	10	
Simon Richard	Justice	6	7
M. Read	Justice		
John Baptiste Dupuy	Justice		0
Philip Winfree	Justice	18	36
John Lewis Bush	Justice	6	
Pierre Joseph Landry	Justice	7	12
Elijah Coates	Justice 1819		
William Wykoff	Clerk		
Thomas B. Pipkin	Clerk 1816/Justice 1816-1817		

Table data based on.²⁴⁸

In contrast to the large Anglo component in appointed positions, elected representatives tended to have a heavier Creole component, with more representatives from the local Francophone elite. As in other parishes, frequent turnover in elected representatives occurred. In 1806 Claiborne had to order an election to replace Joseph Le

²⁴⁶ Judy Riffel, editor, *Iberville Parish History* (Baton Rouge: Le Comite' des Archives de la Louisiane), 352-353.

²⁴⁷ His parents were expelled Acadians who returned to France before resettling in Louisiana. See Judy Riffel, editor, *Iberville Parish History* (Baton Rouge: Le Comite' des Archives de la Louisiane), 274-275.

²⁴⁸ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee and Rapides Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1972); W. C. C. Claiborne to Judge Meriam, 22 November 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:384. Judy Riffel, editor, *Iberville Parish History* (Baton Rouge: Le Comite' des Archives de la Louisiane), 92; *L'Ami des Lois*, March 4, 1819; Sheriff's Sales *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 19 November 1810 (New Orleans); Judy Riffel, editor, Book of Oaths I in *Iberville Parish Records* vol. 1 (Baton Rouge: Riffel, 1981); Iberville Parish Coneveyance Records.

Blanc after he resigned from the territorial House of Representatives (see table 8).²⁴⁹

Nathaniel Meriam in addition to his judicial duties represented Iberville in the state senate at the first four legislatures and was elected as president of the senate at the second legislature's second session and again for the third and fourth, though he finally lost the presidency of the senate to Julien Poydras at the second session of the fourth legislature.²⁵⁰

Table 8. Iberville Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings

Name	Position and term	1810	1820
Joseph Leblanc	Territorial Legislature 1805-1807 (resigned)		
Felix Bernard	Territorial Legislature 1805-/ House 1		
Amant Hebert	Territorial Legislature 1807-, Const. Conv.		
William Wikoff Jr.	Constitutional Convention		
Valerien Allain	Constitutional Convention		
Aubry Dupuy	House 1	10	
Favrotte	House 2	27	
A. Landry	House 2		
Achille Sigur	House 3:1 (resigned)		43
Thomas Hayet	House 3		
J. Arandez	House 3:2	1	
Victor Hebert	House 4		35
Winfrey	House 4		18
Nathaniel Meriam	Senate 1-4	3	

Table data based on.²⁵¹

²⁴⁹ William C. C. Claiborne to the Sheriff of Iberville County, 4 November 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:696. Le Blanc came from another prominent and longstanding family within Pointe Coupee and West Baton Rouge. See Stanley Clisby Arthur and George Campbell Hucet de Kernion, *Old Families of Louisiana* (Gretna LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 1998), 35-41.

²⁵⁰ *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 50; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 43; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3-4; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3, 7; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3, 7; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3.

²⁵¹ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee and Rapides Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1972); *Mississippi Messenger*, 3 December 1805 (Natchez); *The Louisiana Gazette*, 12 January 1807 (New Orleans); *Courier de la Louisiane*, 18 January 1809 (New Orleans); *Moniteur de la Louisiane*, 12 October 1811; *Constitution or Form of Government of the State of Louisiana*; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 1; *Journal of the House of Representative of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3; *Journal of the House*

Those men appointed to lead the militia reflected the same pattern, with the sort of men who served as judges at the higher grades and smaller planters among the lesser officers. The militia officers, much like the parish officers, illustrate a larger number of Anglo appointees when compared to the Acadian and German Coasts. Service within the militia as soldiers proved far less popular, both Iberville and Concordia required a draft to raise the quota for the militia required for the territory.²⁵² The seventh regiment of the territorial militia included the area from Iberville and West Baton Rouge to Lafourche and was led by William Wikoff Junior as a colonel, Pierre Allain and Thomas Villanueva served as majors (see table 9).²⁵³

of Representatives of the State of Louisiana, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3, 7; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 50; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 43; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3-4; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3, 7; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3, 7; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3. There are two Joseph Leblancs in both the 1810 and 1820 censuses for Iberville.

²⁵² W. C. C. Claiborne to Henry Dearborn, 14 February 1809, *Letter Books*, 4:317.

²⁵³ Register of Appointments in the Militia of the Territory of Orleans, 8 May 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:636-637; List of the Principal officers in the Territory of Orleans, 21 April 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:838.

Table 9. Seventh Militia Regiment, Slave Holdings

Name	Rank	1810	1820	Parish
William Wykoff Jr.	Colonel 1806	26		West Baton Rouge
Pierre Allain	Major 1806	27		West Baton Rouge
Thomas Villanueva	Major 1806			
Joseph Molere	Captain 1806	50		Iberville
Barnard D'Otrive	Captain 1806			
Vallerian Allain	Captain 1806	31	102	West Baton Rouge
Francois Rivas	Captain 1806	33		Iberville
Antonio Vivez	Captain 1806			
Louis Verret	Captain 1806			
Henry Thibodau	Captain 1806			
Jaques Verret	Captain 1806			
Pierre Joseph Landry	1 st Lieutenant 1806	7	12	Iberville
Aubrie Dupuis	1 st Lieutenant 1806	10		Iberville
Gerome Perrin	1 st Lieutenant 1806			
Timoleon Lesassier	1 st Lieutenant 1806		27	Iberville
John Landry	1 st Lieutenant 1806			
Joachin Porche	1 st Lieutenant 1806			
Pierre Aubert	1 st Lieutenant 1806			
Pierre Daspit	1 st Lieutenant 1806			
Joseph Orellon	2 nd Lieutenant 1806	14	47	Iberville
Armand Hebert	2 nd Lieutenant 1806			
Polain Allain	2 nd Lieutenant 1806			
Joseph Buau	2 nd Lieutenant 1806			
Luke Landry	2 nd Lieutenant 1806			
Marcelin Verret	2 nd Lieutenant 1806			
Valentine Solet	2 nd Lieutenant 1806			
Victor Coulon	2 nd Lieutenant 1806			
Armand Reigeau	Ensigns 1806			
Godefrois Verret	Ensigns 1806			
Jean B. Hebert	Captain 1808	0	1	Iberville
Victor Hebert	1 st Lieutenant 1808	2	22	West Baton Rouge
Alexis Trudeau	2 nd Lieutenant 1808	4	7	West Baton Rouge
Soneteur Babin	2 nd Lieutenant 1808	7	9	Iberville
Bart Hamilton	2 nd Lieutenant 1808	6		Iberville
Louis Farrot	Ensign 1808			
Martial le Boeuf	Colonel 1813			
Pierre Aucoin	Major 1813			
Victor Coullon	Major 1813			

Table data based on.²⁵⁴

Iberville reflected a more interethnic political culture than that found in the Acadian or German Coasts with both Anglo-Americans and Creole inhabitants holding offices at all levels. To be sure the territorial government faced difficulties in selecting personnel within the parish, and the last two individuals that Claiborne selected as judges were Anglo-Americans from outside the parish. The parish remained divided, though not ethnically so, requiring the appointment of outsiders if not Anglo-Americans as judges. Fromentin complained against a fellow Creole, Bailly, though an individual of another

²⁵⁴ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee and Rapides Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1972); Register of Appointments in the Militia of the Territory of Orleans, May 8, 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:636-637; Return of the Civil Appointments, Pardons & Proclamations for the last 6 months of 1808, *Territorial Papers*, 9:826; *Moniteur de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 1 April 1813. Some Iberville officials saw service in the 8th militia regiment. Nathan Meriam was a Brigadier General in the militia; Janvier Allain in 1816 was appointed 2nd Lieutenant of the 8th regiment, Simon Landry was a Captain in the 8th Regiment See Judy

race. The U.S. regime could appeal to free people of color at the time of the turnover, as despite whatever opportunities existed for them under the Spanish government there were still real limits, particularly for individuals like Bailly sidelined by the Spanish because of their criticism. The United States offered unknown possibilities. Free blacks welcomed the change of sovereignty, though this did not last as the U.S. government began to construct a far less fluid racial regime than had existed under the Spanish.²⁵⁵ Fromentin's enmity did not originate from just a racial bias, as he made the same complaints over Bailly's predecessor, Connell, and his conduct.

Pointe Coupee like Iberville possessed a substantial Anglo minority, but with a larger population and a plantation oriented economy. Pointe Coupee failed to reflect the same sort of circulation in office observed in Iberville. In contrast to Iberville, elections and competition for appointments demonstrated a clear ethnic dimension. The most important political figure in Pointe Coupee parish, and one of the most important in the territory and state, was Julien Poydras, a Frenchman who quickly became one of Claiborne's allies in the region. Poydras came recommended to General James Wilkinson in 1804 by Evan Jones who characterized him as: "In conduct and sentiment a Republican,—of immense fortune—of education and travel—He speaks the three languages of the Province and is fond of politics."²⁵⁶ Poydras became the first commandant of Pointe Coupee, served through much of 1804, and was succeeded in late 1804 by Alexandre Leblanc, with Simon Croizet exercising the prerogatives of the post

Riffel, editor, Book of Oaths I in *Iberville Parish Records* vol. 1 (Baton Rouge: Riffel, 1981). Allain had eight slaves in 1820 while Landry had five slaves in 1810 and nine in 1820.

²⁵⁵ See Address from the Free Persons of Color, 17 January 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:174-175.

²⁵⁶ Characterization of New Orleans Residents, 1 July 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:254-255.

when Leblanc was gone.²⁵⁷ The powers of commandants remained wide as Claiborne made a clear point of in his letter of appointment, yet at the same time he wrote that: “Doubtful questions and cases of great importance, which can admit of delay are to be reported to me, and I shall thereupon transmit you particular instructions.”²⁵⁸ The instructions make clear that while Poydras retained authority, he should take direction from Claiborne on any major issue. Claiborne’s letters also make clear that Poydras proclaimed his loyalty to his new nation and of the loyal and objective manner in which he would carry out the requirements of his new office.²⁵⁹ Claiborne gave Poydras directions instructing him to make Captain Allon his deputy in charge during his absences to New Orleans.²⁶⁰ This sort of instruction demonstrates the level to which territorial officials directed appointees within the parish.

Poydras, originally from Nantes, had served France as a sailor during the Seven Years War, but was captured by the British; he escaped and made his way to Santo Domingo and then on to Louisiana around 1768.²⁶¹ Poydras by the time of the U. S. acquisition had resided in the parish so long as to be considered a local. He sold goods throughout Louisiana, giving him a wide range of mercantile connections, and he then set up a store in Pointe Coupee.²⁶² His business sold his neighbors’ goods and transported their products downriver to New Orleans. His first land purchase occurred in 1775, and he

²⁵⁷ Judy Riffel, editor, *A History of Pointe Coupee and Its Families* (Baton Rouge: Le Comite’ des Archives de la Louisiane, 1983), 19.

²⁵⁸ W. C. C. Claiborne to Julien Poydras, 14 January 1804, *Letter Books*, 1:333-334.

²⁵⁹ W. C. C. Claiborne to Julien Poydras, 25 February 1804, *Letter Books*, 1:384-385.

²⁶⁰ W. C. C. Claiborne to Julien Poydras, 25 February 1804, *Letter Books*, 1:384.

²⁶¹ Jared William Bradley, Note 2, *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 69. See also Brian J. Costello, *The Life, Family and Legacy of Julien Poydras*, (New Roads LA: Costello, 2001).

²⁶² Brian J. Costello, *A History of Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana* (New Roads LA: Costello, 1999), 7.

made many others.²⁶³ Poydras became involved in at least twenty-six separate known transactions involving slaves or land in Pointe Coupee between 1762 and 1823, more than any other figure within the parish.²⁶⁴ Poydras held a position at the center of the economic elite of Pointe Coupee. The average slaveholder in Pointe Coupee held over sixteen slaves in 1810 and nineteen slaves in 1820.²⁶⁵ Poydras's position remained well above that average, with one hundred and twenty-two slaves in 1810 and one hundred and forty-one in 1820.²⁶⁶ In addition, Poydras held property in New Orleans.²⁶⁷ Poydras's merchant house made him a natural choice as president of the first Louisiana Bank chartered in 1805, in which position he served until 1809, when he was elected to Congress.²⁶⁸ Poydras also advanced education in the parish, donating land and money to fund a school.²⁶⁹

The change for the local populace of Pointe Coupee during the U.S. takeover could be eased when locals like Poydras exercised power in order to represent local interests to U.S. authorities and intervene on their behalf. Poydras went on to be the first judge of the parish and was succeeded by Peter Dormenon, who served from 1807 to 1810 and then again from 1818 through 1832. Richard Cocke served in 1810, and then Robert

²⁶³ Brian J. Costello, *A History of Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana* (New Roads LA: Costello, 1999), 11.

²⁶⁴ Winston De Ville, editor, *Slaves and Masters of Pointe Coupee, Louisiana: A Calendar of Civil Records, 1762-1823* (Ville Platte LA: De Ville, 1988).

²⁶⁵ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee and Rapides Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1972).

²⁶⁶ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee and Rapides Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1972).

²⁶⁷ Brian J. Costello, *A History of Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana* (New Roads LA: Costello, 1999), 15.

²⁶⁸ Brian J. Costello, *A History of Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana* (New Roads LA: Costello, 1999), 9.

²⁶⁹ Brian J. Costello, *A History of Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana* (New Roads LA: Costello, 1999), 41.

MacShane briefly in 1811 before his death on October 19 of that year.²⁷⁰ Upon Judge MacShane's death Claiborne appointed John H. Ludeling, a French émigré, to the office of judge in the county and he served until 1818.²⁷¹ Many of the Pointe Coupee's judges did not have the same large slaveholdings as Poydras, but they were of the slaveholder class. Ludeling had a connection to Poydras; he mortgaged sixty-six slaves with Julien Poydras in return for \$33,000.²⁷² So even after Poydras moved on to other positions, judges continued to have ties to him. More recent Anglo-American immigrants who secured appointments possessed significantly smaller slaveholdings than locals. The selections also indicate the economic integration of, and Anglo dependence on, an older Creole elite in economic terms if not in the political arena.

When the county made the transition from commandants to judges Poydras served in that post until his election to the Legislative Council when the House of Representatives in 1806 recommended him as a councilor. Poydras's acceptance of a Legislative Council seat served as something of a coup for Claiborne, and Poydras became the president of the last Legislative Council and met with the approval of the Governor.²⁷³ From Poydras's perspective he had to accept, writing that if he excused himself: "I should not act the part of a Patriot.—A beginning must be made; we must be initiated in the sacred Duties of Freeman and the Practices of Liberty."²⁷⁴ Poydras's language evoked exactly the sort of sentiments U.S. officials wanted to hear and indeed, Claiborne quoted it

²⁷⁰ Judy Riffel, editor, *A History of Pointe Coupee and Its Families* (Baton Rouge: Le Comite' des Archives de la Louisiane, 1983), 19; *Moniteur de la Louisiane*, October 29, 1811.

²⁷¹ W. C. C. Claiborne to John H. Ludeling, 8 November 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:373; Judy Riffel, editor, *A History of Pointe Coupee and Its Families* (Baton Rouge: Le Comite' des Archives de la Louisiane, 1983), 19.

²⁷² 3 June 1818, *Slaves and Masters of Pointe Coupee, Louisiana: A Calendar of Civil Records, 1762-1823*, Winston De Ville, Editor (Ville Platte LA: De Ville, 1988), 43.

²⁷³ W. C. C. Claiborne to Thomas Jefferson, 3 April 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:284.

extensively in a letter to James Madison. Poydras's acceptance proved all the more important to Claiborne as several Anglo-American individuals, such as Evan Jones and Daniel Clark, refused to join the Legislative Council, which proved an embarrassment for the U.S. administration of the territory. Claiborne found it shocking that anyone offered the positions actually chose to refuse.²⁷⁵ The party motives that precipitated the refusals did not derive from fully constituted political parties, nor from the Republican and Federalist party divide that existed in the east, but rather from pro and anti-administration factions within the new territory. Individuals who opposed Claiborne often seized on U.S. centralization or ethnic issues as grounds for the opposition, but generally divisions emerged over patronage.

Poydras shared the same political opponents as the governor on the Legislative Council. In the major court case of the territorial period, he brought suit against Edward Livingston, who claimed ownership of a batture (the land between a river and levees), in New Orleans and began to dig a canal across it. Poydras and others in several newspapers argued that the land belonged to the public not an individual.²⁷⁶ Ultimately, after those landowners with land across from the batture achieved legal ownership, Poydras and a number of others petitioned the governor to be given land that they had taken from the river through levees as well.²⁷⁷ Poydras's court case was in keeping with a defense of his material interests, but it also put him at odds with an Anglo-American critic of Claiborne.

²⁷⁴ W. C. C. Claiborne to James Madison, 5 November 1804, quoting Julien Poydras, *Letter Books*, 2:391.

²⁷⁵ W. C. C. Claiborne to James Madison, 5 November 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:391.

²⁷⁶ *Moniteur de la Louisiane*, 2 May 1810. For other portrayals of Livingston's efforts see *Louisiana Courier*, 19 November 1810, 22 October 1813.

²⁷⁷ Memorial to Congress from Inhabitants of Pointe Coupee, 9 June 1808, *Territorial Papers*, 9:789-791.

Poydras also served as a member of the Louisiana Constitutional Convention at Claiborne's urging. Claiborne attempted to recruit him in the summer of 1811, referring to a number of the governor's political opponents that might secure election: "Good Men, wish your election, and you will disappoint your friends, if you do not become a Candidate for the County of Pointe Coupee. Here Sir, Intrigue is the order of the day! We have Candidates innumerable! among many others, Livingston, Massero, Moreau Lislet, Fromentin, Dubigny, James Brown and Watkins have their partisans, & will I am told be warmly supported! How far the Planters may be opposed to their election I know not!"²⁷⁸ Claiborne referred to planters, again stressing the political importance of local elites, men with land and dependents. In Claiborne's estimation the planters remained an unknown quantity and the group that he needed to appeal to. At the time of the convention in November 1811, Claiborne and Poydras had become staunch political allies. In addition, Claiborne reached out to Poydras to secure the election of one of Poydras's friends from the County of Rapides, Alexander Plauche of Avoyelles.²⁷⁹

Not all of the appointees cooperated with the territorial government as Poydras did. Some Anglo-American appointees in Pointe Coupee politically opposed the governor, and it gave the conflict within the parish an ethnic overtone, with a number of Anglo-Americans on one side and Poydras on the other. One of the main complaints of Charles Morgan and other Anglo-Americans centered on the sheriff James Petronny, appointed in 1808 to the 3rd Superior Court district. Claiborne responded to Morgan's concerns explaining the manner in which he approached appointments and Petronny in particular:

²⁷⁸ W. C. C. Claiborne to Julien Poydras, 18 July 1811, W. C. C. Claiborne to Gideon Granger, 23 November 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:307.

²⁷⁹ W. C. C. Claiborne to Julien Poydras, 18 July 1811, W. C. C. Claiborne to Gideon Granger, 23 November 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:308.

“the circumstances of his not being born ‘an American’, is not considered an objection to him: I certainly feel for my Countrymen, the native Citizens of the U. States, a sincere and ardent attachment, nor is it possible for me, in any situation, or under any circumstance to be unjust toward them. But in my official Character, I can acknowledge no other distinction, between the Inhabitants of this Territory, who by birth or the Treaty of Session, are entitled to the rights of Citizenship, than personal merit.”²⁸⁰ Claiborne’s actions reveal an appointment practice based on co-opting the French-speaking elite in communities; the territorial government needed these individuals. In Pointe Coupee, Anglo-Americans expected appointments to go to individuals in their own ethnic community, given the presence of an Anglophone governor in New Orleans who could not speak French. Even so, Claiborne, while reaffirming his faith in the appointments of Petronny, also gave Morgan advice on a better tack to bring about the removal of the sheriff: “The more correct mode of proceeding would be to exhibit specific charges, together with the proof in support thereof; In this way, the Executive, would be enabled to act with the more promptitude, and the more certainty of rendering Justice as well to the party complaining, as to the person complained against.”²⁸¹ This was how critics of Connell and Bailly approached the governor. Claiborne in writing to Morgan attempted to ease the ethnic tensions in Pointe Coupee, but also offered better advice to Morgan in how to handle the problems within his own parish to advance what might be termed the American party.

Another conflict that brought about the interference of the governor concerned public buildings in the parish. At Pointe Coupee, a small fort and its buildings first came under

²⁸⁰ W. C. C. Claiborne to Charles Morgan, 6 November 1808, *Letter Books*, 4:242.

²⁸¹ W. C. C. Claiborne to Charles Morgan, 6 November 1808, *Letter Books*, 4:243.

the stewardship of Poydras as commandant, then that of the United States army, and then of the local judge, Pierre Dornemon. When in the care of the U.S. army, local officials carefully supervised the use of public or government property within the parish.²⁸²

Dornemon in 1808 found the buildings occupied by private citizens: Charles Morgan, a Dr. Goforth, and Ebenezer Cooley, none of whom possessed authorization to take occupation.²⁸³ Claiborne directed authorities to retake the facilities; Cooley, Goforth, Morgan, and Anglo-American immigrants, objected.²⁸⁴ Claiborne clearly preferred that government officials (in this case a Francophone judge) control the fort rather than private Anglo-American rivals. But these were military buildings, and Cooley and Morgan in an effort to retain possession contacted General James Wilkinson and Secretary of War Henry Dearborn. Dearborn claimed that Claiborne, as a civil authority, exceeded his proper sphere in trying to take possession. Morgan wrote to the Secretary of War, stating that the fort had been given into his care by General Wilkinson and that: “Our governor has thought proper to Issue an order to one of his petty Judges to take it and apply it to the use of the District, this order I have Refused to Comply with—so far as delivering the property to the Civil department, tho as the Judge tells me he is Civil & Military--& Knows no other orders Except from the Governor.”²⁸⁵ No mention was made of ethnicity or language, nor did the Secretary of War view the issue through such a lens. The Secretary of War viewed the fort as Department of War property and told Morgan not to give it up, forcing Claiborne to justify his course of action to the administration in Washington. Claiborne argued that regardless of who charged them

²⁸² W. C. C. Claiborne to Colonel Freeman, 22 June 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:102-103.

²⁸³ Morgan was a county surveyor, but that position would not have given him any authority over the fort.

²⁸⁴ Governor Claiborne to the Secretary of War, 9 March 1808, *Territorial Papers*, 9:775-777.

with the care of the facility, Cooley and Morgan retained no military authority themselves, and he maintained that the buildings should be given over to his care unless and until they were transferred back to military purposes.²⁸⁶

The issue raised by custody of the fort also involved local as opposed to territorial land use. Some of the people of Pointe Coupee wanted those buildings under local control, at the urging of Morgan, Cooley, and their allies. They put forth a proposal to buy the buildings to be used for public purposes, which led Claiborne to further explain the local divisions to the Secretary of War: “At Point Coupee there are two parties—the one headed by Julian Poydras President of the Legislative Council, and Mr. Dormenon the Parish Judge, who have with them more than two thirds of the People; the other party is headed by a Colonel of Militia, to whom Morgan, a Mr. Cooley and the other Americans there 5 or 6 in number have attached themselves.—The Colonel of Militia calculated (I believe) on being appointed the Parish Judge, and Cooley lately lost his election to the assembly—I do not know the particular cause of Morgan’s displeasure—But his conduct as relates to the public’ [sic] Building proceeds from party Spirit.”²⁸⁷ Claiborne’s perspective of the conflict as a party split between Creole elites, whom the U.S. government appointed, and disgruntled Anglo-Americans, helped to justify his conduct, as he remained under no compunction to reach out to Anglo-Americans in the same manner as he did to Creoles. The two-thirds number that Claiborne approximated appears optimistic, considering that individuals from the other faction achieved election to the legislature in their own right; they clearly could move beyond the remaining one third, and well above the eight men or nine men Claiborne credits them with (assuming

²⁸⁵ Charles Morgan to the Secretary of War, 1 September 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:762.

²⁸⁶ Governor Claiborne to the Secretary of War, 9 March 1808, *Territorial Papers*, 9:777.

Claiborne identified electors with the people). According to Claiborne, the factions within Pointe Coupee were ethnic and the split was due to the fact that he and the U.S. government at New Orleans appointed Francophone officers rather than arrivals from the United States. Those Anglo-Americans who complained, however, thought that they would receive a U.S. audience willing to listen to their complaints at the federal level. Though the split within the parish was not strictly ethnic there was a clear factional division within Pointe Coupee. The large slave population failed to create a sense of solidarity in Pointe Coupee as it had within the Acadian and German Coasts, perhaps due to a more contentious Anglo-American minority, which assumed appointments would come their way. Still, lower level offices illustrate that Anglo-Americans could secure appointments within Pointe Coupee.

Lower level officers came from both Creole and Anglo backgrounds. Sheriff Charles Morgan (not to be confused with Dr. Morgan) also had a business connection to Poydras, with whose nephew Benjamin, he bought and sold slaves.²⁸⁸ As in Iberville, sheriffs tended to be smaller slaveholders than those men appointed to judicial positions. Claiborne kept a close eye on the parish, and regularly intervened to garner greater support for the United States. Claiborne informed Isaac Camp that he appointed another man as sheriff in the county after Camp chose to leave the county and his office without

²⁸⁷ Governor Claiborne to the Secretary of War, 9 March 1808, *Territorial Papers*, 9:777.

²⁸⁸ 26 April 1820, Sale, thirty five slaves, Negro men, women and children, "slaves for life," by Benjamin W. S. Cabell to Charles Morgan and Benjamin Poydras; 28 May 1821, Sale, Negress Grasse and her Child, by Charles Morgan and Benjamin Poydras to Marguerite Olinde, wife of Jean Baptiste Fillon, \$1250; 29 April 1822, Sale, American Negro Abraham, by Benjamin Poydras and Charles Morgan to Darius Stoddert, \$1446.66; 30 April 1822, Mortgage, 2159.80, on American negress Fanie and her two children, by Joseph Jeannot, favor of Benjamin Poydras and Charles Morgan, *Slaves and Masters of Pointe Coupee, Louisiana: A Calendar of Civil Records, 1762-1823*, Winston De Ville, Editor (Ville Platte LA: De Ville, 1988), 50, 54, 56, 57. Morgan would later become active in the steamboat business.

giving any bond (security) as required by law.²⁸⁹ Lower level appointments and policy generally went through Poydras and Dormenon. When a Mr. Miller began to operate a ferry Claiborne instructed the local militia officer, Colonel Freeman, that Miller needed the permission from the local county judge in order to do so. Many of those appointed sheriff do not even appear in the 1810 and 1820 censuses, with Charles Morgan as the one clear exception as a large slaveholder. Justices came from a range of classes, though those that appear on the census tended to own holdings above the average. In sum, of those justices listed in the census only two held below the average number of slaves. In contrast to the sheriffs, some justices came from the large planter class. Many of these justices served among the first Pointe Coupee police jurors. What differentiates the individuals on the police jury who served as justices from other police jurors was the number of slaves; every police juror who went on to serve as justice exceeded the average in 1810 or 1820 (see table 10).

²⁸⁹ W. C. C. Claiborne to Isaac Camp, 24 June 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:343-344.

Table 10. Pointe Coupee Officials, Slave Holdings

Name	Office	1810	1820
Julien Poydras	Commandant/Judge -1807	122	141
Alexander Leblanc	Commandant, Justice c. 1805-1811	92	
Pierre Dormenon	Judge 1807-1810, 1818-1832	10	16
Richard Cocke	Judge 1810		
Robert MacShane	Judge 1811	2	
John H. Ludeling	Judge 1811-1818	42	73
Alexander Plauche	Sheriff 1805		
Isaac Camp	Sheriff 1806		
Towls	Sheriff 1806		
Denis Remondet	Sheriff 1811	0	
William Taylor	Sheriff 1811-1813		
Charles Gross	Sheriff 1814-1816		
Charles Morgan	Sheriff c. 1820, Police Juror	24	84
J. P. Monchosse	Justice, c. 1805-1811		
Etienne Major	Justice, c. 1805-1811	56	63
Ebenezer Cooley	Justice, c. 1805-1811, Clerk	20	
William LeBeuff	Justice, c. 1805-1811		
Joseph Dearier	Justice, c. 1805-1811		
Martin Bourgeat	Justice, c. 1805-1811	29	
Martin Grand Maison	Justice, c. 1805-1811		
Guillaume Andre	Justice, c. 1805-1811		14
Simon Croizet	Justice, c. 1805-1811	48	38 (widow)
Arnaud Beauvais Sr.	Justice 1820	21	35
Etienne Guillaume Martin	Justice 1820		
Louis Chenevert	Police Juror/Justice 1820		11
Jean Baptiste Saizon	Police Juror/Justice 1820		32
Benjamin Poydras De LaLande	Justice 1820		
Charles Gremillion	Police Juror/Justice 1820	23	20
P. Connelly	Clerk		
James Mitchell	Police Juror		3
Zenon Ledoux	Police Juror		
Armand Beauvais	Police Juror		
Valerie Ledoux	Police Juror		3
Pierre Lhermite	Police Juror		
Jean Baptiste Bergeron Jr.	Police Juror	8	16
Laurent Chutz	Police Juror		
Celestin Porche	Police Juror		
Jean Laurans	Police Juror		

Table data based on.²⁹⁰

Legislators like lower level officials included both Creoles and Anglo-Americans, but as elected officials they better reveal parish divisions. Claiborne supported Poydras, Dormenon, and Beauvais, all local Creoles and administration allies. In contrast political opposition often came from Anglo-American immigrants and their local Francophone

²⁹⁰ Pointe Coupee Parish Conveyance Records, 1810-1820; Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee and Rapides Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1972); Judy Riffel, editor, *A History of Pointe Coupee and Its Families* (Baton Rouge: Le Comite' des Archives de la Louisiane, 1983), 19-20; Etienne Major had freed a slave. See 10 November 1819, Petition by Etienne Major for the freedom of mulatress Caroline, his slave, and orders for advertisement; 20 April 1820, Freedom, mulatress Caroline, by Etienne Major and Magdelaine Guerin, his wife; Dormenon had freed a former slave and her children; Ludeling too freed a mulatress, see March 3, 1817, *Slaves and Masters of Pointe Coupee, Louisiana: A Calendar of Civil Records, 1762-1823*, Winston De Ville, Editor (Ville Platte LA: De Ville, 1988), 41, 43, 46, 48, 50. There are two Zenon Ledoux's listed in 1810 one with eleven and one with fourteen in 1820 Ledoux held thirteen; a Baptiste Bergeron had eight slaves in 1810 and a Jean Baptiste had sixteen in 1820.

Creole allies. Elections in Pointe Coupee illustrate the divisions between the two parties, with legislators from both factions securing election. Though Poydras's faction won more elections, occasionally delegations were split or the opposition faction managed to achieve a victory. These occasional victories suggest that Claiborne may have been wrong about the extent of Poydras's party. In general, men from the faction opposed to Poydras locally also opposed Claiborne's governorship and wished to reorient territorial and later state patronage within the parish to their supporters, while also criticizing the slow movement toward statehood, restrictions on the slave trade, and other policies. Ebenezer Cooley, an American from the opposition faction, and Simon Croizet represented Pointe Coupee at the first territorial legislature.²⁹¹ As in the German and Acadian Coasts, the opposition to Claiborne and his appointees often chose to resign from legislative posts rather than continuing to oppose the administration given his allies' legislative majority. For instance, Croizet resigned, requiring a new election in 1806.²⁹² In addition to Poydras's service as President of the Legislative Council, Pointe Coupee in 1809 had Arnaud Beauvais and Eugene D'Orsiere to represent its interest at the territorial legislature.²⁹³ Claiborne held Beauvais, who was born in the parish and purchased his family's plantation on his father's death, in high esteem: "Mr. Arnaud Beauvais is a Cotton Planter . . . is a young man of great Integrity, & I believe much esteemed in his Country;—he speaks French and English."²⁹⁴ Claiborne thus remained consistent in favoring what he identified as the Creole faction within Pointe Coupee.

²⁹¹ *Mississippi Messenger* [Natchez], 3 December 1805.

²⁹² W. C. C. Claiborne to the Sheriff of Pointe Coupee, 20 June 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:336-337.

²⁹³ *Courier de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 18 January 1809.

²⁹⁴ Governor Claiborne to the President, 4 March 1810, *Territorial Papers*, 9:870; Glenn R. Conrad, editor, *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 55.

Another conflict within Pointe Coupee that illustrated that favoritism involved disagreements over the Catholic Church in 1808 and 1809. The disagreement arose over who could have the key to the parish church as well as repeated complaints over the conduct of the parish judge.²⁹⁵ With the cession to the United States, for the first time in Louisiana the Catholic Church lost its place within the territory as the only recognized religion, though in practice other faiths had been given leeway under both the French and Spanish.²⁹⁶ The Louisiana Catholic Church also came under the purview of the center of U.S. Catholicism in Baltimore and a largely Irish-American church hierarchy. This new hierarchy led to a number of disputes over the appointment of priests and the use of churches within the territory as the Irish-American hierarchy came up against French and Spanish priests. In Pointe Coupee the local priest fell out with the local judge over the use of the church, though both men were Francophones. Violence occurred over the use of the church, and Claiborne made sure to note the impropriety of governmental involvement in such disputes in his letter to the judge and justices of the peace of the county, yet order had to be maintained: “If the good people of Point Coupee, would for a moment consult their Judg’ments, they would be convinced that it was far better to apply to the constituted authorities for a redress of grievances, than to attempt to prescribe a remedy for themselves: But if unfortunately there should be found Individuals still indisposed to respect the good order of Society, I shall look to you for a faithful discharge of your duties, and shall expect, that you will resort to such penal and preventive

²⁹⁵ W. C. C. Claiborne to the Parish Judge & Justices of the Peace of Point Coupee Parish, 26 May 1809, *Letter Books*, 4:368-370.

²⁹⁶ See Julia Huston Nguyen, “Worldly Rites: The Social and Political Significance of Religious Services in Louisiana” (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 2001).

measures as the Law prescribes in cases of a Breach of the Peace.”²⁹⁷ Serious factional discord persisted in Pointe Coupee. The disturbances became so great that Claiborne himself intervened by visiting the parish. He noted that the recent violence in the county could be attributed to a disagreement between the judge and the priest over the use of the church building.²⁹⁸ While Morgan and other Anglo-Americans gave an ethnic dimension to the conflict in Pointe Coupee, it was actually just as much an internecine dispute since the leaders of the contending parties, the parish judge and parish priest, were both French by birth, and each had an ethnically mixed group of followers. The parish judge, Pierre Dormenon, was: “supported by Mr. Poydras and a majority of the Planters of the Parish,” while the parish priest was, “patronized by a few respectable Creole families, and some native Americans who have recently emigrated to the Territory.”²⁹⁹ Thus, the conflict, which became another touchstone for the political divisions within the parish, had an ethnic dimension, but not one that defined it. The citizens of the parish split, but the sheriff backed the judge, so charges could easily be brought against the other faction.³⁰⁰

Both parties made every effort to establish a legal argument for their actions.³⁰¹ The Poydras faction sent a petition to Claiborne proclaiming that they wished to act in a strictly legal fashion, despite the wishes of the other faction.³⁰² U.S. territorial officials struggled to find a way to peacefully resolve the issue and please officials in Washington and more recent immigrants while still governing efficiently. One party wanted the priest removed, something that Claiborne could not do, while the other faction wanted the judge

²⁹⁷ W. C. C. Claiborne to the Parish Judge & Justices of the Peace of Point Coupee Parish, 26 May 1809, *Letter Books*, 4:369-370.

²⁹⁸ Governor Claiborne to Robert Smith, 2 April 1809, *Letter Books*, 4:341.

²⁹⁹ Governor Claiborne to Robert Smith, 21 April 1809, *Letter Books*, 4:344.

³⁰⁰ Governor Claiborne to Robert Smith, 21 April 1809, *Letter Books*, 4:345.

³⁰¹ Governor Claiborne to Robert Smith, 21 April 1809, *Letter Books*, 4:345.

removed, which Claiborne could do, but which would result in a victory for the Morgan faction over the pro-Claiborne Poydras faction within Pointe Coupee. In the end, the controversy at Pointe Coupee could ultimately only be overcome through the removal of the local priest. Though Claiborne could not remove a priest directly, he had the necessary influence to bring it about with the highest Catholic authority in New Orleans, the Vicar General, and he was instrumental in this, as he wrote to Julien Poydras.³⁰³ Claiborne clearly supported Poydras's faction, a group that tried to secure the moral and legal high ground with U.S. authorities in the matter; although it appears that this faction involved itself in the use of a private church building, technically beyond the authority of a local judge. The judge, Dormenon, continued to receive the support of the territorial government and secured election to legislative office.

Pierre Dormenon represented Pointe Coupee in the first state House of Representatives.³⁰⁴ Ill feeling between the two factions persisted, however, and a number of citizens from the county urged that the election be overturned because of irregularities.³⁰⁵ The complaints alleged that underage voters, voters from the parish of Feliciana, voters who had not paid the state tax, and voters who had no taxable property were all allowed to vote; in addition, the polling places were moved and the election judges refused to fix their seals to the election box.³⁰⁶ Subsequently at the second

³⁰² Petition to Governor Claiborne by the Inhabitants of Pointe Coupee, 24 March 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:831-832.

³⁰³ Governor Claiborne to Julien Poydras, 4 June 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:843.

³⁰⁴ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, 1st Legislature, 1st Session (New Orleans, 1812), 1; *Journal of the House of Representative of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3.

³⁰⁵ The Memorial was sent by Gongis Majora, Jh, Decuir, Jn. Bte Seizan, H. Decoux, Ternant pere, Paulin Chistra, J. Cte. Alin, Joseph Patin, though the House upheld Dormenon's election, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, 1st Legislature, 1st Session (New Orleans, 1812), 9-11.

³⁰⁶ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, 1st Legislature, 1st Session (New Orleans, 1812), 9-11.

legislature Arnaud Beauvais, one of Dormenon's opponents in the last election (as was S. Hiriart), represented Pointe Coupee in the House.³⁰⁷ Dormenon and Beauvais continued to represent Pointe Coupee, illustrating circulation in office, but circulation among a fairly circumscribed group. In the state senate Poydras and Sebastien Hiriart represented Pointe Coupee (see table 11).

Table 11. Pointe Coupee Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings

Name	Position and term	1810	1820
Ebenezer Cooley	Territorial Legislature 1805-	20	
Simon Croizet	Territorial Legislature, 1805-1806 (resigned)	48	
Arnaud Beauvais	Territorial Leg. 1809-/ House 2, 4		35
Eugene D'Orsiere	Territorial Legislature 1809		
Julien Poydras	Leg. Council/Constitutional Convention/Senate 1, 4	122	141
Pierre Dormenon	House 1, 3	10	
Sebastien Hiriart	Constitutional Convention/Senate 2, 3	4	

Table data based on.³⁰⁸

Poydras served as the representative of the Territory of Orleans to Congress where he helped secure the admission of Louisiana as a state in 1812. This course brought him and Louisiana statehood in for some criticism, though others wrote in editorials in the *Louisiana Gazette* endorsing statehood that whatever extra expenses it entailed, at least it secured the area a vote in the national decision making process.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁷ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 4.

³⁰⁸ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee and Rapides Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1972); *Moniteur de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 12 October 1811; *Constitution or Form of Government of the State of Louisiana*; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 5; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 3-4; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 43; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815); *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 9; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 9; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3-4.

³⁰⁹ Solon, *Louisiana Gazette* [New Orleans], 25 October 1811.

Poydras served an important role not just as a local grandee, but as an administration ally respected in his region; someone who connected New Orleans to the parishes and who clearly threw his lot in with the U.S. administration. Poydras, given this link, provided a real contrast to another Pointe Coupee landowner whom Claiborne had recommended for the legislative council, Samuel Young: “An American, a rich planter Speaks French; but not favorite, at least in New-Orleans.”³¹⁰ Ultimately, though, Claiborne given this reservations decided against him: “he also is a man of fortune; But I do not think his appointment would be pleasing; Mr. Young is much disliked in this City, & and I have lately learned, that he considers himself a Citizen of the Mississippi Territory, where he has a large Estate.”³¹¹ Francophone allies proved essential in gathering local support for U.S. governance.

Poydras’s status with Claiborne and his advancement of U.S. positions in his parish and territorial offices brought him into conflicts with his fellow citizens, not all of whom were Anglo-Americans. Alexander Planchet in particular, criticized Poydras as a judge. Claiborne wrote to Poydras in 1806 to console him over these troubles: “Altho’ our services may not be gratefully appreciated by our fellow Citizens, we nevertheless find great consolation from the reflection that we have faithfully done our duty. The conduct of Mr. Planchet is not approved. His language concerning you is unjust and disrespectful.”³¹² Alexander Planchet in his role as an auctioneer had a disagreement

³¹⁰ W. C. C. Claiborne, People Recommended by Governor Claiborne for Members of the Legislative Council for the Orleans Territory, *Territorial Papers*, 9:278.

³¹¹ Governor Claiborne to the President, 30 August 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:284.

³¹² W. C. C. Claiborne to Julien Poidrass, 26 May 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:314.

with Poydras, and Claiborne as a result promised to consult the Attorney General and then to inform Alexander Planchet as to the limits of his office.³¹³

Pointe Coupee's factions did not divide along strictly ethnic divisions among the English and French speaking populations, although Claiborne portrayed the opposition faction as such: "the Society of Point Coupee, is still devided [sic] into parties" and he worried "that there should be so much Jealousy between the American and French population. Or to speak more properly between the modern and the ancient Louisianans. I trust however, that these little local divisions, and unfortunate suspicions will soon subside, and that good Men of all parties will unite in restoring harmony & mutual confidence."³¹⁴ The phrase "ancient Louisianans" was one Claiborne used frequently. It illustrates not just that they resided in Louisiana first; it also implies his view that the Creole class was antiquated in its outlook, and in the long run would not survive. While this might have been a politic statement to a fellow Anglo-American, in the short term the ancient inhabitants in Pointe Coupee clearly received Claiborne's favoritism in terms of appointments and other patronage. The divisions within Pointe Coupee, which had a heavy linguistic component, persisted nevertheless, even while it was in Claiborne's interest to overcome them.

Whatever the situation in Pointe Coupee, however, it did not reflect the same divisions within the territory at large. Claiborne's administration and his appointments reflected a view of Louisiana that was multiethnic, not necessarily out of any idealism (though Claiborne happily claimed idealistic motives), but out of practicality: there was no way to govern the territory with strictly English speaking Anglo-American appointees. In Pointe

³¹³ W. C. C. Claiborne to Julien Poidrass, 26 May 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:314.

³¹⁴ W. C. C. Claiborne to Charles Morgan, 6 November 1808, *Letter Books*, 4:242.

Coupee one could see the limitations of such a system that turned to Creoles for important local offices; Anglo-American immigrants in particular, expressed dissatisfaction with appointment practices, particularly high level parish appointments such as sheriff and judge, going to what Claiborne referred to as the ancient inhabitants of Louisiana. Often Anglo-Americans expressed anger born of ethnic prejudices and simple jealousy that became entangled with disagreements over policies that restricted the slave trade and slowed Louisiana's accession to statehood. The U.S. territorial government retained some Anglo-American allies within the parish, though. Shortly after problems began within the parish, one of Claiborne's most important American militia appointees, Colonel Henry Hopkins moved to Pointe Coupee and purchased a cotton plantation.³¹⁵

U.S. officials struggled to please Anglo-Americans and more recent emigrants while still managing to effectively govern Louisiana. Claiborne wrote to Secretary of State Robert Smith: "To conciliate the population generally, and Indeed to be just to the old Inhabitants, I must fill a portion of the offices of honor and profit with those whose native language is french [sic]; But this policy is much censured by some of my fellow Citizens, and made a cause of opposition to my administration."³¹⁶ That the governor referred to Anglo-American immigrants as fellow citizens was telling: by the terms of the cession treaty with France, they were all citizens, but clearly Claiborne, much like his opponents who accused him of favoritism toward the Creoles, thought of them on some level as foreign. Claiborne also included a list, which he told Smith demonstrated that his appointments had been fair and if anything preferential to Anglo-Americans in key

³¹⁵ W. C. C. Claiborne to Col. H. Hopkins, 8 December 1808, *Letter Books*, 4:265.

³¹⁶ Governor Claiborne to Robert Smith, 21 April 1809, *Letter Books*, 4:345. Claiborne frequently differentiated between original Creole inhabitants and the foreign French, but here he notes the

positions. The fact that Claiborne felt the need to defend himself to Smith shows his concern that the criticism over his appointment practices reached federal authorities. One way in which the governor could build local support was through ombudsmanship and intervention with federal authorities and the dispersal of federal patronage.

As in every parish, the U.S. government strove to provide favors and appointments for prominent individuals. William M. Johnson received an appointment as postmaster when the governor interceded with the postmaster general, as he requested a new post office.³¹⁷ Claiborne also interceded with local parish officials on behalf of supplicants within the parish. Given the almost limitless power of local judges, who in practice often named the sheriffs and justices who received the governor's appointments, abuse of authority could be a problem. Claiborne interceded on behalf of Francis Duplessis who had a dispute with Judge Ludeling's brother-in-law: "I am assured you will use such influence as you may possess, to bring about between the parties an amicable adjustment either by themselves or Arbitrators of their choice.—But if this cannot be effected, & a Law process be preferred [sic], surely there can be no obstacle to your acting, in the event, that the parties themselves do not object."³¹⁸ While Ludeling could still act in his capacity as judge, the governor did make a point of mentioning Duplessis's worries. In the same letter Claiborne brought up a Mr. Lanusse who had similar issues with the judge over a monetary matter. Claiborne stressed that Ludeling should act objectively, but also to make sure that no further problems emerged in an already troubled parish: "My great solicitude to preserve, that happy tranquility at Point Coupee which has followed your

American/Francophone divide, and at least in part notes that French was an advantage in achieving appointment, regardless of origin.

³¹⁷ W. C. C. Claiborne to Gideon Granger, 23 November 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:385-386.

³¹⁸ W. C. C. Claiborne to Judge Ludeling, 22 April 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:87.

appointment to office, & to put down all germs of discontent has induced me to name to you this subject.”³¹⁹ The two cases belied the supposed tranquility that reigned in Pointe Coupee. In April of 1812 U.S. authorities pardoned a Doctor Holmes who was imprisoned in the Pointe Coupee jail.³²⁰ The U.S. territorial government also replaced LeBlanc as head of the public schools in Pointe Coupee with Judge Ludeling.³²¹ In the spring of 1812 Croizet and Herriart competed in a hotly contested election resulting in an electoral deadlock.³²² Claiborne informed Ludeling that he did not care to find a replacement for him, to discourage him from running for the legislature.³²³ In the long run Claiborne’s interventions met with some public approval, based on electoral returns, since Pointe Coupee voted for Claiborne in the gubernatorial election of 1812.³²⁴ In addition, Claiborne’s ally Poydras secured election to the State Senate.³²⁵ Other prominent local figures often received federal appointments as well. John W. Gurley appointed several individuals as deputy registers for the Treasury Department, including William Wykoff, Jr. for Pointe Coupee, and Cantrell and Trouard for Iberville as well as the Acadian and German Coasts.³²⁶ At other times Claiborne carried out favors for the administration. He made sure for President Thomas Jefferson that General Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette, received land in the vicinity of Pointe Coupee and that other land claims to the same land would be overcome.”³²⁷ Interventions within the parish from the territorial government helped garner greater support and helped to correct

³¹⁹ W. C. C. Claiborne to Judge Ludeiling, 22 April 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:87.

³²⁰ W. C. C. Claiborne to Frederick A. Sumner, Daniel Brunson & H. Harrison, 20 April 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:83.

³²¹ W. C. C. Claiborne to Judge Ludeiling, 21 April 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:85.

³²² W. C. C. Claiborne to Judge Ludeiling, 13 April 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:78-79.

³²³ W. C. C. Claiborne to Judge Ludeling, 13 April 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:79.

³²⁴ W. C. C. Claiborne to Albert Gallatin, 6 July 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:121.

³²⁵ W. C. C. Claiborne to Albert Gallatin, 20 July 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:131.

³²⁶ John W. Gurley to the Secretary of the Treasury, 24 July 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:676-677.

local abuses, which given the factional divisions within Pointe Coupee, may have been more frequent than in other parishes.

Pointe Coupee's militia officers reflect the same leadership as that found among civil officials within the parish, with both Anglo-Americans and Creoles choosing to serve. The ninth militia regiment included men from Pointe Coupee and Concordia. In 1805 Alexander Leblanc, a Louisiana native, served as its colonel, while Zenon Allain and William Nicholas served as its majors.³²⁸ Leblanc like other high militia officers in parishes was a large slaveholder (see table 12).

Table 12. Ninth Militia Regiment, Slave Holdings

Name	Rank	1810	1820	Parish
Alexander Leblanc	Colonel	92		Pointe Coupee
Zenon Allain	Major			
William Nicholas	Major			
David B. Morgan	Captain (Major 1813)	59		Concordia
Samuel Mahon	Captain			
William Blunt	Captain	4		Concordia
Henry Trent	Captain	11		Concordia
Gabriel Winters	1 st Lieutenant			
Francis Henderson Archibald	1 st Lieutenant	7		Concordia
Douglas	1 st Lieutenant	6		Concordia
John S. Blunt	1 st Lieutenant			
William C. Middleton	1 st Lieutenant	50		Concordia
John Carnahan	1 st Lieutenant	1		Concordia
Robinson	1 st Lieutenant			
Thomas Kenner	1 st Lieutenant			
Ambrose Foster	Ensign	3		Concordia
Alexander Blanche	Captain			
Jacques Tarreau	Captain			
Vincent Ternant	Captain			
Gabriel Fusilier	Captain			
Baptiste Barra	1 st Lieutenant			
Pierre Dispan	1 st Lieutenant			
Antoine Descuir	1 st Lieutenant	80		Pointe Coupee
Bernard Touinoir	1 st Lieutenant and adjutant	42		Pointe Coupee
Francis Chesse	1 st Lieutenant and Quartermaster			
Nicholas Lacour	2 nd Lieutenant	15	16	Pointe Coupee
Louis Chenevert	2 nd Lieutenant		11	Pointe Coupee
Francis Lebeau	2 nd Lieutenant	18		Pointe Coupee
Baptiste Saisan	2 nd Lieutenant	25	32	Pointe Coupee
Benjamin Poydras	Colonel 1813			
Bowie?	Major 1813			

Table data based on.³²⁹

³²⁷ W. C. C. Claiborne to James Madison, 8 June 1808, *Letter Books*, 4:176.

³²⁸ Register of Appointments in the Militia of the Territory of Orleans, 8 May 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:638; List of the Principal officers in the Territory of Orleans, 21 April 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:838.

³²⁹ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee and Rapides Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1972); 1810 Census Concordia. Abstracted by Carol Walker from public records. Edited and reformatted by Maggie Stewart, December 2005. Submitted by Carol Walker. <http://www.usgwarchives.net/copyright.htm>; *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans] 5 April 1816; Register of Appointments in the Militia of the Territory of Orleans, May 8, 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:638; Return of Appointments in the Militia of the Territory of Orleans, from the 1st day of July 1806 to the 31st day of December 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:699; *Moniteur de la*

As in other parishes the militia provided domestic security in case of a slave revolt. Many inhabitants of Pointe Coupee harbored fears of slave rebellion. In 1804 just after the cession, citizens of Pointe Coupee sent the territorial government a petition for a military force and a cache of arms because: “The news of the revolution of St. Domingo and other Places has become common amongst ours Blacks—and some here who relate The Tragical [sic] history of the Revolution of That Island With The General Disposition of The most of our Slaves has become very serious—A Spirit of Revolt and Mutiny has Crept in amongst Them—A few Day since we happily Discovered a Plan for our Destruction.”³³⁰ The petition contained one hundred and six names, men from both factions, Francophone names for the most part, though there were Anglo names as well. Local fears over a potential slave revolt, as with parishes downriver, suggest how the U.S. government in New Orleans could garner greater support by providing for increased security in the form of federal troops, a harsher slave code, limits to the slave trade, and if need be arms for the local citizenry.

West Baton Rouge as part of Pointe Coupee County held similar concerns over security and slave revolts. Yet as a smaller parish it attained far greater stability and longevity in its officeholders and avoided the problems of factionalism that beset Pointe Coupee. Before the turnover to the United States, West Baton Rouge had been administered from East Baton Rouge, so unlike in other parishes there was no resident commandant for U.S. officials to entrust with authority. In 1804 Dr. John Watkins appointed an Anglo-American, William Wikoff Sr. as a civil commandant, “remarkable

Louisiane [New Orleans], 1 April 1813. In 1810 Vincent Ternant the father held seventy-five slaves and the son eighteen slaves, though Ternant owed back taxes for both 1814 and 1815 in West Baton Rouge Parish as a non-resident.

for his attachment to the Government.”³³¹ Wykoff like most of the commandants could speak French in addition to being a large planter.³³² In West Baton Rouge, the United States government directed patronage toward Anglo-Americans with the son of the commandant William Wykoff Jr. as the first judge of West Baton Rouge. In 1809 Claiborne recommended him as one of two potential candidates to fill a Legislative Council seat, calling him: “A very honest man—is held in high estimation by his neighbors and is now & has been for some time past the Judge of his Parish,” Claiborne added a command of language that differentiated him from the other potential nominee, Colonel Manuel Andry, who spoke French alone, “Colo: Wykoff speaks English, French & Spanish.”³³³ William Wykoff Jr. would serve as the parish judge from 1807 to 1819, to be replaced by Philogene Favrot; whereas in the post of sheriff William Marson served from 1813 to 1818, to be succeeded by Richard Deval Jr. who served from 1818 to 1824 (see table 13).³³⁴ The average slaveholder in West Baton Rouge in 1810 held over seven slaves, and in 1820 it increased to over nine.³³⁵ West Baton Rouge as a smaller parish within Pointe Coupee County had a smaller population and fewer large slaveholders, though more than the county of Iberville.

³³⁰ Petition to Governor Claiborne by Inhabitants of Pointe Coupee, 9 November 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:326.

³³¹ Dr. Watkins Report, 2 February 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:6-7.

³³² Joseph Briggs to the President, 17 August 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:278.

³³³ W. C. C. Claiborne to Robert Smith, 1 June 1809, *Letter Books*, 4:376; Wykoff was also essential for Claiborne in garnering information on the opposite shore, controlled by the Spanish, particularly during the seizure of West Florida in 1810. W. C. C. Claiborne to William Wykoff, 14 June 1810, *Letter Books*, 5:31-34.

³³⁴ West Baton Rouge Parish Records; Elizabeth Kellough and Leona Mayeux, *Chronicles of West Baton Rouge* (Unkown: Kennedy Print Shop, 1979).

³³⁵ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977).

Table 13. West Baton Rouge Officials, Slaveholdings

Name	Office	1810	1820
William Wykoff Jr.	Judge, 1807-1819	26	35
Philogene Favrot	Judge, 1819-		6
William Marson	Sheriff, 1813-1818		
Richard Deveal Jr.	Sheriff, 1818-1824		20

Table data based on.³³⁶

William Wykoff Jr. served as a firm ally of Claiborne and advanced in part given the pro-administration positions his father took by choosing to serve on the Legislative Council. At the time of the cession, though, no one was sure of Wykoff's politics: "William Wykoff Senior and Theophilus Collins of Opelousas are Native Americans, Men of clear property, sense and Integrity;—of their political sentiments I have no knowledge."³³⁷ Another ally of Claiborne in West Baton Rouge was Felix Bernard, a man of longer standing within the parish: "came to Louisiana about twenty or twenty five years ago; he is a farmer and resides nearly opposite to Baton Rouge. Mr. Bernard has been a Member of the House of Representatives for the last five years, & is esteemed an honest man."³³⁸ Another potential U.S. ally in Baton Rouge was Duplantier: "Aid de Camp to the Marquis de la Fayette towards the close of our Revolution, holds with the principles of those times,—His fortune and influence are very extensive—of good understanding, and speaks the three languages of the Province."³³⁹ Thus, in West Baton Rouge a number of Anglo-American figures were already well placed in the parish to meet Claiborne's needs, both Creoles and Anglo-Americans, though the government chose to work primarily through Wykoff.

³³⁶ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820 (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977); West Baton Rouge Conveyance Records.

³³⁷ Governor Claiborne to the President, 30 August 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:285.

³³⁸ Governor Claiborne to the President, 4 March 1810, *Territorial Papers*, 9:871.

³³⁹ James Wilkinson to the President, Characterization of New Orleans Residents, 1 July 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:255.

Iberville and Pointe Coupee Counties held key strategic positions within the territory given their proximity to Spanish West Florida. The commandants, and later judges, often exercised many of the skills of a diplomat in dealing with prisoners fleeing one jurisdiction for another, and by keeping in contact with individuals in West Florida friendly to the United States. Poydras played an instrumental role in cooperating with the authorities in West Florida and in frustrating the ambitions of freebooters like Reuben Kemper, who attempted to overthrow Spanish authority in West Florida.³⁴⁰ Creole officials within Pointe Coupee could serve as far better instruments for suppressing such endeavors than Anglo-Americans who already did not wish to take direction from Claiborne, and who if they did, would have to prosecute fellow Anglos involved in filibustering efforts. Figures like Poydras operated under Spanish government long enough that cooperating across the border with Spanish authority in West Florida proved less difficult than it did for others, nor did figures like Poydras hold any particular interest in Anglo-American expansion or compunction about preventing Anglo-Americans from engaging in it.

U.S. officials believed correctly that in the long term West Florida would fall to the United States, but they did not wish to foment a war in order to bring this about, so Claiborne wrote to the Spanish commissioner to establish the western boundary of Louisiana, Sebastien Calvo de la Puerta y O'Faril, the Marques de Casa Calvo, reassuring him that the United States did not countenance Mr. Kemper's enterprise.³⁴¹ The Spanish suspected U.S. authorities in the parishes across the river in Pointe Coupee and Iberville.

³⁴⁰ W. C. C. Claiborne to Julien Poydrass, 6 August 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:293-295.

³⁴¹ W. C. C. Claiborne to Marquis of Casa Calvo, 27 August 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:309. For Claiborne's difficult relationship with Spanish officials who remained in New Orleans, see Jared W. Bradley, "W. C. C. Claiborne and Spain: Foreign Affairs Under Jefferson and Madison, 1801-1811," *The Louisiana Purchase*

Claiborne went on to specifically note that the commandant of Pointe Coupee, Poydras, did not aid Kemper's enterprise in any way. Claiborne carefully sent on to Madison his letter to Casa Calvo and also his letter to Poydras as well, to demonstrate that he had not caused any diplomatic contretemps.³⁴² Even so, Claiborne went on to cover any appearance of impropriety in the matter by further instructing Poydras: "Some serious acts of insurrection have been committed in West Florida, by certain armed bodies of Malcontents, permit me to suggest to you the propriety of using all the means in your power to prevent Citizens of your District from aiding the Insurgents."³⁴³ The event ended, and Poydras acted appropriately, but Claiborne made yet another warning just to guard against any future incidents, and in order to further emphasize to Madison and Calvo that he and his subordinates behaved in a strictly legal manner.

Pointe Coupee as a county and parish on the frontier remained involved in affairs far beyond its own internal interests in its dealings with West Florida. The recent incident with West Florida would be referenced by Claiborne in future communications to outline the need for his position to retain the authority at critical junctures to operate with military forces without reference to the Secretary of War: "In this remote Territory, when events might arise which would require not only an immediate movement of the regular Troops but the co-operation of the Militia as was lately the case at Pointe Coupee, it might be inexpedient to await the decision of the Secretary at War."³⁴⁴ Claiborne's position, as Peter Kastor and others have pointed out, gave his job a foreign affairs dimension, which funneled down to those below him on the parish judge and sheriff

Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History, Volume III: The Louisiana Purchase and its Aftermath, 1800-1830. Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1998): 110-137.

³⁴² W. C. C. Claiborne to James Madison, 30 August 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:312.

³⁴³ W. C. C. Claiborne to Julien Poydras, 30 August 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:313.

level; parish officers in Pointe Coupee also had a foreign dimension to their job as a matter of course, with Spanish authorities right across the border, and some officers' situation remained complicated by the fact that they recently served under the Spanish government.

The need for federal troops along the border with the Spanish sometimes posed problems with the local populace, and Claiborne carefully instructed Colonel Freeman in 1805, as troops took up their positions at the fort at Pointe Coupee: "To manifest a respect for, and to cultivate a good understanding with the civil authorities, and that every caution be used on their parts to prevent the Soldiery from offering insult or injury to the Citizens."³⁴⁵ Pointe Coupee served as the jumping off point for moves into East Baton Rouge in 1810 during the West Florida rebellion.³⁴⁶ Pointe Coupee officials assumed that West Florida would be attached to Pointe Coupee's circuit court as well, though ultimately Claiborne created a separate court, and informed the sheriff of the seventh district shortly after it was formed.³⁴⁷ Anglo-American ambitions in Spanish territory did not end with the annexation of West Florida; in 1815 Claiborne again wrote to James Monroe from Iberville warning of potential filibustering expeditions coming from Louisiana into Mexico.³⁴⁸

Slaves naturally wished to improve their condition, particularly given the harsher slave regime that emerged with the Black Code of 1806. The Spanish proximity to

³⁴⁴ W. C. C. Claiborne to James Madison, 6 June 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:78.

³⁴⁵ W. C. C. Claiborne to Colonel Freeman, 20 June 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:100. Claiborne also informed Freeman that Dr. Cooley at Point Coupee could be trusted to treat any troops that required it.

³⁴⁶ W. C. C. Claiborne to Colonel Covington, 1 December 1810 and 2 December 1810, *Letter Books*, 5:36-39. Claiborne himself also moved into West Florida through Pointe Coupee as well See W. C. C. Claiborne to Audley L. Osborn, 5 December 1810, *Letter Books*, 5:44-46.

³⁴⁷ W. C. C. Claiborne to John H. Johnson, 8 February 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:149-150; W. C. C. Claiborne to John H. Johnson, 28 September 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:359-360.

³⁴⁸ W. C. C. Claiborne to James Monroe, 26 July 1815, *Letter Books*, 6:359-360.

Louisiana offered real alternatives for slaves that chose to flee the territory. The presence of Spanish territory as a potential safe haven for runaway slaves necessitated stricter slave patrols, and in 1804 Claiborne mandated that white citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five arrest any blacks without passes after a nine p.m. curfew.³⁴⁹ The Spanish authorities at Nacogdoches actually welcomed slaves that fled from the territory, a particular concern for parishes near Spanish territory, like Point Coupee.³⁵⁰ Claiborne interceded by writing to Caso Calvo requesting the return of such slaves, lest Pointe Coupee rise in rebellion as slaves continued to receive word of the Spanish policy.³⁵¹ Claiborne immediately organized the areas he felt in danger by organizing the militia in Natchitoches, but also by detaching additional forces from twenty-five to thirty men to Pointe Coupee to further secure the parish from any potential rebellion as he noted in a letter to the commandant of Natchitoches Edward Turner.³⁵² The troops dispatched served as a core, which the militia of the parish could supplement in case of a crisis, and this action quieted the parish.³⁵³ In the aftermath of the Kemper incident when filibusters moved into Spanish West Florida, Claiborne wrote to William Wilson that: “in the event of Hostilities against the Garrison of Point Coupee the militia of the settlement ought to

³⁴⁹ W. C. C. Claiborne to Julien Poydrass, 6 August 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:293-295.

³⁵⁰ The policy was set in motion by the viceroy of New Spain, which posed problems for officials in Nacogdoches. The Marquis de Caso Calvo, acting as commissioner of the King of Spain for the transfer of Louisiana to France instructed the commandant of Nacogdoches to stop the practice, but slaves continued to flee to the area. See J. Edward Townes, “Invisible Lines: The Life and Death of a Borderland,” (Ph.D. diss., Texas Christian University, 2008), 138-140. See also Francois Xavier Martin, *The History of Louisiana* (New Orleans: Lyman and Beardslee, 1827), 333; Felix D. Almaraz, Jr. *Tragic Cavalier: Governor Manuel Salcedo of Texas, 1808-1813* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991), 28-29.

³⁵¹ W. C. C. Claiborne to Caso Calvo, 8 November 1804, *Letter Books*, 3:5-6.

³⁵² W. C. C. Claiborne to Edward Turner, 8 November 1804, *Letter Books*, 3:6-7.

³⁵³ W. C. C. Claiborne to James Madison, 15 December 1804, *Letter Books*, 3:26-28.

be called in to your assistance.”³⁵⁴ In addition, Claiborne promised to journey as soon as his health permitted to Pointe Coupee himself in order to take command.

Problems for local elites with the slave population prefigured the Black Code in Pointe Coupee. In 1795 a major slave conspiracy had been uncovered, the center of it located within Julien Poydras’s plantation.³⁵⁵ The conspiracy itself was multiracial in character, and its goal was to abolish slavery within Louisiana through violence against both masters and slaves who refused to cooperate. Ultimately fifty-seven slaves and three whites were convicted.³⁵⁶ Fears of slave revolt remained/ persisted long after 1795 just as they did downriver, and it is notable that Poydras served as one of the main proponents of U.S. government in Louisiana, a regime far stricter in its racial vision of slavery than the Spanish. In 1804 Claiborne requested more forces from James Madison and further boats in the area, given the dangers of slave revolt and the insubordination engendered by information that arrived from Nacogdoches in Texas among the slaves that Spain would welcome them.³⁵⁷ Given continuing fears of slave revolt, in 1807 Claiborne made arrangements with the army so that local militia would receive muskets and ammunition.³⁵⁸ Local citizens remained concerned that there would be another slave revolt at Pointe Coupee. Indeed, Henry Hopkins, the head of the militia, made certain that should a slave revolt occur within the parish, they would immediately alert neighboring militia commanders so that they could provide aid.³⁵⁹ Hopkins also made certain to secure lines of communication between New Orleans and Pointe Coupee and

³⁵⁴ W. C. C. Claiborne to William Wilson, 9 September 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:184.

³⁵⁵ Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 344-374.

³⁵⁶ Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 344.

³⁵⁷ W. C. C. Claiborne to James Madison, 8 November 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:394.

³⁵⁸ W. C. C. Claiborne to James Wilkinson, 4 January 1807, *Letter Books*, 4:80.

the parishes in between, with reports between undertaken at least biweekly.³⁶⁰ In essence, Pointe Coupee served as a northern stronghold should the territory be threatened.

These concerns over security were not just those of officials in New Orleans or appointed militiamen, but also those of the citizens of Pointe Coupee itself. Though it had a white majority, Iberville had similar concerns over a potential slave rebellion. Its position between Pointe Coupee and the Acadian Parishes, parishes that had slave majorities, exacerbated those fears. In the aftermath of the Pointe Coupee slave rebellion of 1795 the citizens in Iberville proved particularly cooperative in protecting the slave regime, maintaining that dangerous slaves be used on public works projects regardless of their owners feeling in the matter.³⁶¹

The counties of Iberville and Pointe Coupee differed substantially from the German and Acadian Coasts to the south in that they contained larger Anglophone minorities. The two counties differed from one another in how well integrated that Anglo minority was into the parish elite. Pointe Coupee's plantation economy in the first two decades of U.S. control did not prevent parish divisions along ethnic lines. The dispersal of patronage to French speakers in the parish alienated Anglo-American arrivals and created two factions with strong ethnic dimensions within the parish. In contrast Iberville, with lesser land values than the Acadian Coast to the south and lower slaveholding rates, managed to integrate Anglo-American arrivals into the parish elite. The fear of a potential slave revolt remained far greater within Pointe Coupee than Iberville given the 1795 revolt, but even this failed to assuage factional disturbances. Pointe Coupee failed

³⁵⁹ Henry Hopkins, General Orders, 7 January 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:716.

³⁶⁰ Henry Hopkins, General Orders, 5 January 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:715.

³⁶¹ Gilbert C. Din, *Spaniards, Planters and Slaves* (College Station: Texas A&M University, 1999), 170-171.

to come to terms with that vocal Anglo-American minority, in part because it did not have to, as the territorial government chose to direct its patronage toward Poydras and his allies. Those same allies could deal better with Anglo-American filibustering efforts as well. An Anglo-American minority with Creole allies remained at odds with Claiborne's appointees within Pointe Coupee. In point of fact the U.S. territorial presence within Pointe Coupee in comparison to the parishes downriver proved if anything more difficult for governance on the part of officials in New Orleans. In Iberville, local divisions actually paved the way for Anglo-American newcomers to advance as outsiders to factional disputes, and in some cases even to elected positions in a majority Francophone parish. U.S. territorial government failed to achieve the same levels of accord in Pointe Coupee as it had in the Acadian and German Coasts, in large part because of a vocal Anglo-American minority dissatisfied with Claiborne's appointment practices that worked so successfully in other parishes. U.S. territorial governance found it difficult to balance the needs of older colonial elites and the demands of Anglo-American newcomers.

CHAPTER IV

ATTAKAPAS AND OPELOUSAS

The southwestern counties of Attakapas and Opelousas raised different geographic and demographic concerns than the parishes to the east, and the U.S. administration in New Orleans recognized these different concerns (see figure 5). The presence of a more significant Anglo population than that found in other parishes obviated the need for some of the appointment practices that U.S. officials utilized to the east, as they did not have to win over a homogenous community. Rather than turning to local elites for commandant and judicial positions, Governor Claiborne instead chose to entrust outsiders from the United States with those posts for the most part. Even so, within the southwestern counties local officials saw to it that the local Francophone population achieved appointments in lesser county and parish positions. At the same time the U.S. government attempted to address the local population's needs in terms of services, justice and defense. Claiborne and local officials strove to secure stable relations with local native tribes, like the Caddo and the remaining Attakapas, in order to assure a stable Spanish frontier. The southwestern counties changed over the course of the territorial and early statehood period as slavery and plantation agriculture to produce cotton, and to a lesser extent sugar, made real inroads. The political culture of Attakapas and Opelousas became far more Anglo-American both in its demographics and its officials than the parishes to the east. In Attakapas and Opelousas local communities needed U.S. authority to ensure a stable frontier in which fears of Spanish invasion and violence between Native Americans and local citizens could be eliminated or reduced to such a level that public safety and commerce could be secured. Changes in law and doubts over

clear land titles brought about by U.S. land policy exacerbated the problems brought on by U.S. settlers, traders, speculators and others that frustrated relations with native groups, the Spanish and the older colonial elites of Attakapas and Opelousas. The U.S. government attempted to ease these disturbances, caused by Anglo-American immigration into the southwestern counties; as a result political conflicts and relations between the local populace and officials differed substantially from those in the parishes to the east.

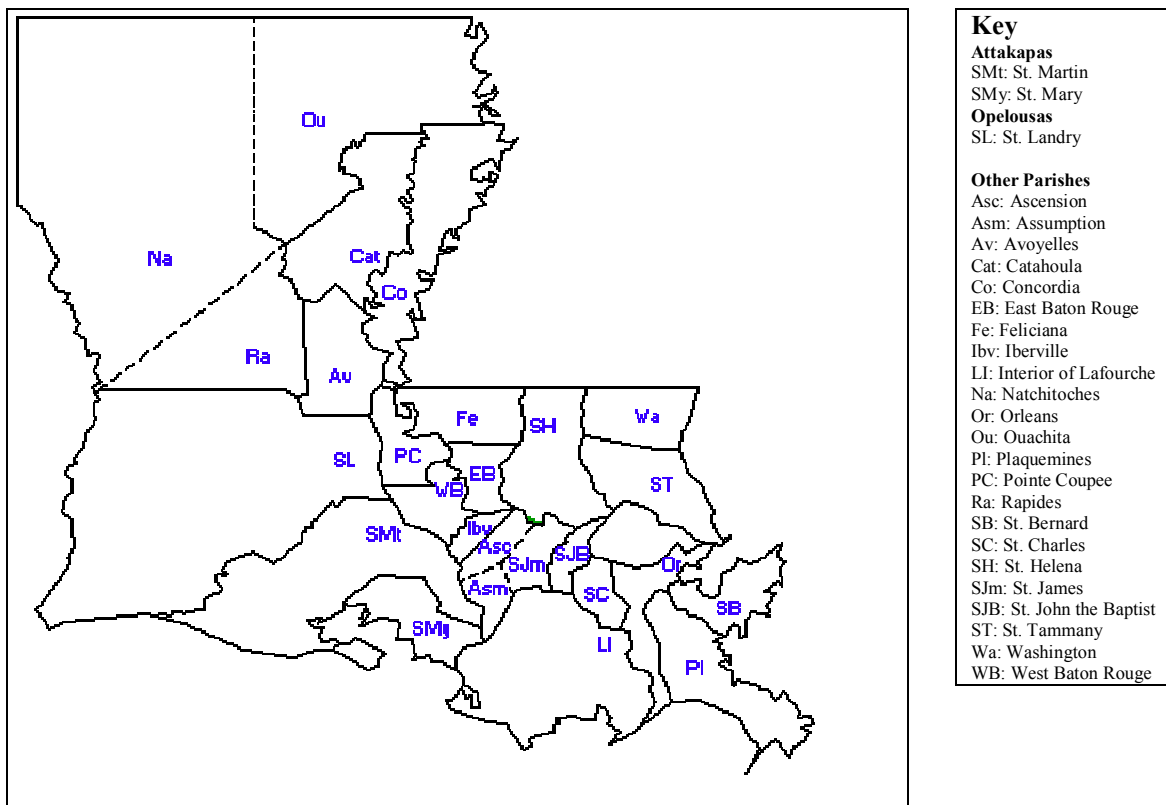


Fig. 5. Map of Attakapas and Opelousas in the State of Louisiana 1820.³⁶²

To the west of the parishes along the Mississippi River in the southwestern portion of the territory lay the bayous and prairie lands of the Attakapas and Opelousas country.

³⁶² mylouisianagenealogy.com (2009).

The Vermillion River ran through the Attakapas country and the Bayou Teche gave the land a similar character to that of the areas along the Mississippi (and of French America in general) in terms of settlement patterns, with individuals making their homes along the rivers. These area produced cotton, but throughout the colonial period the importance of cattle increased. William Darby in his geographic study of the state of Louisiana published in 1816 wrote of Attakapas: “Nature has been more than usually beneficent to the Attacapas, the fertility of the land is excessive, and the facility of navigation is seldom exceeded. It demands comparatively but little from the hand of art to complete the benefits of this favored spot.”³⁶³ Attakapas and Opelousas proved to be prosperous regions. H. M. Brackenridge, who came to the lower Mississippi in 1810 and remained over two years before publishing his survey of the Louisiana Purchase, wrote: “The inhabitants of the Attakapas are generally wealthy, and live as luxuriously as the planter of the Mississippi . . . it is destined to become one of the riches districts of Lousiana.” He then went on to praise Opelousas as “the healthiest land in the state.”³⁶⁴ To the north and west of Attakapas lay the Opelousas country, which resembled Attakapas in its land and people. Indeed, officials and commentators frequently grouped the two together, given their similar geography, Darby wrote: “Viewing a map of Opelousas, and Attakapas, the most remarkable features in their geography are those prairies, naturally divided into eight grand divisions.”³⁶⁵ The two counties were separated by a series of hills and

³⁶³ William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), 73.

³⁶⁴ H. M. Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana; Containing Geographical, Statistical and Historical Notices of the Vast and Important Portion of America* (Baltimore: Schaeffer & Maund, 1817), 298-299.

³⁶⁵ William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), 76.

bayous, the largest the Bayou Fusilier.³⁶⁶ The Opelousas provided good land for hunting, farming and fishing while also being high enough to avoid floods from the nearby Red River. The Attakapas and Opelousas areas took their names from Indian tribes that had inhabited the area.

Under the French tenure a small settlement emerged at St. Martinville in the Attakapas country, though immigration proved limited. Settlers from St. James Parish, Jean and Marin Mouton were among the first settlers to Attakapas.³⁶⁷ The French government neglected the territory of western Louisiana, and its population remained largely undirected. The French Commandant at Natchitoches set up trading missions and then posts at Opelousas and Attakapas to trade with the Native American tribes of those names, at their invitation, and the first European settlements grew up around those posts.³⁶⁸ In theory the French posts existed to impede Spanish aggression into the area, particularly Opelousas as it lay along the French-Spanish border.³⁶⁹ The Spanish kept these posts after the transfer to secure native relations, and attempted to further develop the regions by encouraging Acadian immigration into the area over the course of the 1760's.³⁷⁰

Under the Spanish, commandants governed the posts with troops, essentially making them small garrisons. Immigration also increased under the Spanish. In the aftermath of

³⁶⁶ William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), 114.

³⁶⁷ Harry Lewis Griffin, *The Attakapas Country* (Gretna LA: Firebird Press, 1999), 72.

³⁶⁸ Daniel H. Usner Jr. *Indians, Settlers & Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina University Press, 1992), 100-101.

³⁶⁹ See Winston De Ville, *Opelousas: The History of a French and Spanish Military Post in America, 1716-1803* (Cottonport LA: Polyanthos, 1973).

³⁷⁰ Daniel H. Usner Jr. *Indians, Settlers & Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina University Press, 1992), 109-110.

the Seven Years War a number of Cajuns poured into the Attakapas country, many of whom earlier had settled in the United States or the Caribbean, and the French Revolution further drew royalist families to the area.³⁷¹ The Cajun immigrants engaged in the fur trade and began the cattle industry in Attakapas and Opelousas, and it became a primary occupation in the area as it came to supply New Orleans and the parishes to the east.³⁷² The importance of the cattle industry for the region was reflected in the tax lists of the parishes as well as the brand books for Attakapas and Opelousas.³⁷³ The prairies of Opelousas and Attakapas proved ideally suited for raising cattle. Settlers who moved into the Attakapas region over the 1750s and 1760s brought with them more slaves and cattle.³⁷⁴ The Spanish encouraged immigration to the area to a far greater extent, increasing Acadian and Canary Islander immigration.³⁷⁵

Under the Spanish, increased immigration transformed the Opelousas and Attakapas into more settled territories and led to the persistent growth of the cattle industry for market in New Orleans; at the time of the American takeover there were 50,000 head of cattle in Opelousas excluding wild cattle.³⁷⁶ In addition to cattle-raising the people of Opelousas and Attakapas engaged in extensive agriculture concentrated largely on cotton, though sugar grew in importance over the course of the 1790's.

³⁷¹ Harry Lewis Griffin, *The Attakapas Country* (Gretna LA: Firebird Press, 1999), 15.

³⁷² Harry Lewis Griffin, *The Attakapas Country* (Gretna LA: Firebird Press, 1999), 15.

³⁷³ *Brand Book for the Attakapas and Opelousas District 1739 to 1888*; Ramona A. Smith, compiler and ed., *Landholders of Southwest Louisiana: Tax Lists for St. Landry Parish, 1817 and 1818* (Ville Platte LA: De Ville, 1990).

³⁷⁴ Betty Pourciaux, *St. Martin Parish History* (Baton Rouge: Let Comite' des Archives de la Louisiane, 1985), 3.

³⁷⁵ Betty Pourciaux, *St. Martin Parish History* (Baton Rouge: Let Comite' des Archives de la Louisiane, 1985), 3-4.

³⁷⁶ Winston De Ville, *Opelousas: The History of a French and Spanish Military Post in America, 1716-1803* (Cottonport LA: Polyanthos, 1973), 92.

Attakapas was an agriculturally rich country as Claiborne frequently mentioned in his letters during his visits there. He wrote to Thomas Jefferson describing the country as: “the most beautiful I ever beheld; the Pra’aries are extensive; replenished with the riches Verdure, and affording Food for numerous stocks of Cattle.”³⁷⁷ The bayous likewise provided for fertile farmland: “On the Tache, the Citizens are for the most part settled, and I have observed many well improved Farms.—the inhabitants generally cultivate Cotton, Corn and Rice; several are preparing for the culture of the Sugar Cane, to which the Climate and Soil are said to be favorable, but I do not learn, that the Planters are in general, inclined to abandon the raising of Cotton.”³⁷⁸ Sugar gradually transformed the Attakapas and to a lesser extent the Opelousas country, but at the time of the U.S. cession it had just begun to take off. As a result the counties and parishes of the southwest possessed different concerns from the areas to the east.

Under the territorial government of the United States, Opelousas and Attakapas became counties, with Opelousas including the Parish of St. Landry, sometimes referred to as Opelousas parish, while Attakapas County consisted of St. Martin and St. Mary Parishes. The area was distant from New Orleans, separated by a series of swamps and lakes. That made communication and oversight more difficult and gave local officials far wider discretion than parishes closer to New Orleans to deal with a host of issues. Travel and communication occurred across a complicated and large system of bayous that attached Attakapas and Opelousas through the Atchafalya River basin to Bayou

³⁷⁷ Governor Claiborne to the President, 25 July 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:678.

³⁷⁸ Governor Claiborne to the President, 25 July 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:678.

Lafourche, and Bayou Plaquemine to the East and the Gulf of Mexico.³⁷⁹ This distance gave local officials more discretion. Claiborne advised appointees on general policies to follow, and stepped in to issue specific instructions or to lobby the federal government when problems emerged.

The population of Opelousas and Attakapas differed from the counties to the east, because under the Spanish, immigration from Britain and the United States created a far larger Anglo population and while Opelousas and Attkapas contained large slave populations, they were not majority slave areas.³⁸⁰ In 1810 Attakapas was the second largest county in the territory after Orleans, with (seven thousand three hundred and sixty- nine people), over forty-two percent slaves, while Opelousas was the third largest county with (five thousand and forty-eight) people and just over a third of them slaves.³⁸¹ Though large counties in terms of population, it should be remembered that they were geographically quite large as well, making the population density far lower than in parishes to the east. By 1820 Attakapas was the third largest county in the territory with twelve thousand four hundred and nine people, almost forty-six percent of them slaves, while Opelousas was the fourth largest county with ten thousand two hundred and ninety-nine people, over thirty-eight percent of them slaves.³⁸² Thus while Anglo immigration increased throughout the period, so did the slave population. A significant number of those immigrants came from the United States as British loyalists who left in the

³⁷⁹ Carl A. Brasseaux and Keith P. Fontenot, *Steamboats on Louisiana's Bayous: A History and Directory* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 36-78. The bayous of the area given seasonal changes in water levels and problems of navigation posed problems for steamboat travel.

³⁸⁰ For this Anglo immigration see, Glenn R. Conrad, "Some Observations on Anglo-Saxon Settlers in Colonial Attakapas" in *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History, Volume IX, A Refuge for All Ages: Immigration in Louisiana History* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1996), 231-238.

³⁸¹ 1810 Census.

³⁸² 1820 Census.

aftermath of the American Revolution.³⁸³ In addition to the loyalists, groups of United States citizens immigrated after the cession, inundating the previously sparse French population.³⁸⁴ Attakapas and Opelousas proved particularly attractive to immigrants from the Mississippi Territory.³⁸⁵ Immigrants from the United States moving to the west gravitated to areas where they could readily secure land rather than to the relatively more settled parishes to the east. Thus, the Anglo population like the Francophone was heterogeneous, with multiple nationalities and experiences. St. Landry had a far higher percentage of Anglo immigrants than the parishes to the east based on surname analysis. In 1810 the white population of the parish had thirty-four percent with Anglo surnames, and that population controlled twenty-six percent of the slaves.³⁸⁶ By 1820 that Anglo population increased within the parish to forty-two percent, though Creoles continued to hold a higher number of slaves, with Anglos accounting for only thirty-five percent of all slaves. In St. Landry parish seventeen percent of two hundred and thirty marriages between 1807 and 1820 involved couples with British and Creole surnames.³⁸⁷ Opelousas had a far higher Anglo population than its neighbors to the east and given the similar geographic positions of the counties and immigration patterns it appears likely that this would be the case for Attakapas as well.³⁸⁸ Glenn Conrad estimates that between 1804 and 1818 in St Martin Acadians controlled just over fifty percent of all estates, non-

³⁸³ Winston Deville, *Opelousas: The History of a French and Spanish Military Post in America, 1716-1803* (Cottonport LA: Polyanthos, 1973), 37.

³⁸⁴ Mariette Marie LeBreton, "A History of the Territory of Orleans, 1803-1812." (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1969), 21-22.

³⁸⁵ Robert Williams to the President, 2 November 1811, *Territorial Papers*, 9:952-953.

³⁸⁶ These figures are based on surname analysis of census transcriptions taken from Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 1, Avoyelles and St. Landry Parish, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970). In some cases Ardoin's figures differ slightly from the totals offered in the censuses. Surname determinations made on same basis as previous chapter.

³⁸⁷ *St. Landry Parish Louisiana, Marriage Index, 1817-1892, vols. 1-3* (Salt Lake City UT: Hunting for Bears, 2007). Surname analysis made on same basis as census.

³⁸⁸ While censuses exist for the county, there are as yet no transcriptions for the parishes in Attakapas.

Acadian French just over thirty percent and Anglo-Americans just over nineteen percent.³⁸⁹ Given Attakapas's position to the south and east of Opelousas, it seems likely that its Anglo population was somewhat smaller than Opelousas, though greater than that of the parishes along the Mississippi River. Attakapas taken as a whole shows a similar marriage pattern to Opelousas. St. Martin Parish marriages had relatively low rates of intermarriage. Out of some seventy-nine marriages between 1803 and 1820, over twelve percent were between persons with Anglo and French surnames; by way of comparison of the ninety-six marriages between 1760 and 1802, over four percent were Anglo-French mixed marriages.³⁹⁰ St. Mary Parish had a higher rate of Anglo-French surname intermarriages, of ninety-six marriages in the parish between 1807 and 1820, twenty-four percent were exogamous marriages.³⁹¹

The population of Attakapas and Opelousas was far more heterogeneous than those to the east, which posed difficulties for the U. S. administration. As territories to the west and removed from the Mississippi the area posed greater difficulties of governance, but the problem was not strictly geographic, it was also demographic. Evan Jones, who had served as the United States consul at New Orleans before the transfer, described the population and the difficulties of governance: "Settlements having been originally form'd from the overflowings of the Capital, and by emigrants from other Countries, contain, . . . but few men, if any, capable of exercising advantageously, the small portion of authority which the constitution and laws of the U.S. put into the hands of the ordinary

³⁸⁹ Glenn R. Conrad, *Land Records of the Attakapas District, Vol. 2, Part 2: Attakapas – St. Martin Estates, 1804-1818* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1993), x-xii. It should be noted that though the Non-Acadian French held less of the total they had larger estates on average, making them the richest of the three groups.

³⁹⁰ *St. Martin Parish Louisiana, Marriage Index, 1760-1900* (Salt Lake City UT: Hunting for Bears, 2007). Surname analysis made on same basis as census.

majistrates.”³⁹² The southwestern counties differed significantly from the parishes along the Mississippi River in their demographics, and this impacted the manner in which the United States governed. Given the obsession of so many Anglo-Americans over the doubtful loyalty of the Creole population, at first glance it seems like the larger Anglo population might lessen many of the problems that the U.S. administration in New Orleans faced in other parishes. The pattern of appointments Claiborne utilized in Attakapas and Opelousas reveal a habit of turning to Anglo-Americans, generally recent arrivals, in far larger numbers than in the parishes to the east. At the same time, though, the larger Anglo populations could create far more divided communities politically than some of those to the east. This was also because Claiborne and U.S. officials often chose to exercise far less discretion in meeting the needs of the Francophone communities in Attakapas and Opelousas than they did with parishes elsewhere in Louisiana.

Land titles provided a major area of contention within Attakapas and Opelousas. The land office in the territory set up two districts, the eastern centered at New Orleans that managed claims up and down the river and a second western district centered at Opelousas. A number of applicants sought positions as land commissioners in the land office and the appointed register of the land office, John Thompson, communicated problems over appointments and retention to Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin, and he passed them on to the President.³⁹³ James Brown noted the problems in retaining a surveyor from the land office, Benjamin Porter: “He has practiced with great success in the inferior courts, and has been lately engaged in making arrangements for establishing

³⁹¹ *St. Mary Parish Louisiana, Marriage Index, 1739-1892* (Salt Lake City UT: Hunting for Bears, 2007). Surname analysis made on same basis as census.

³⁹² Hints of Even Jones: Administration of Justice, *Territorial Papers*, 9:83.

³⁹³ The Secretary of the Treasury to the President, 19 March 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:612-613.

himself in New Orleans, but may be induced by the appointment to remain in Opelousas until the land claims are adjusted.”³⁹⁴ Benjamin F. Porter became the attorney for Opelousas and went on to be a representative in the state legislature.³⁹⁵ Allan B. Magruder, originally of Kentucky, was appointed in 1805 to the same surveyor position.³⁹⁶ Magruder too saw service in a host of appointments in the parish. The federal appointments tended to go to Anglo-Americans, but afforded the individuals appointed with an entrée into local politics. A number of patronage seekers attempted to secure the positions Magruder and Porter held. For instance a Mr. Lee wanted the job, and he had friends in high places as the son of the former governor of Maryland.³⁹⁷ As in other areas the shift to U.S. law and sovereignty proved problematic as the Creole population adjusted to a new rule set. U.S. attorneys came in for a lot of blame on the part of Louisiana Creoles: “These men are said to encourage litigation; to extort from their clients heavy fees; and when the judgment of the Court and costs of suit come to be paid, they the Lawyers are not unfrequently the only monied men who attend the Sheriff’s sales. At least such is the information which is brought me from Opelousas and other Counties.”³⁹⁸ These men were not necessarily synonymous with Anglo-American immigrants, but they were men familiar with U.S. law. This was not Claiborne’s opinion, necessarily, though he reported what he heard from these counties.

Land claims within western Louisiana and Attakapas and Opelousas stayed in a state of flux as Anglo-American speculators arrived and began to buy up land in the area, and

³⁹⁴ James Brown to the Secretary of the Treasury, 29 May 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:742.

³⁹⁵ Register of Civil Appointments, 30 June 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:662-663.

³⁹⁶ The Secretary of the Treasury to Allan B. Magruder, James Brown and Felix Grundy, 8 July 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:468-469.

³⁹⁷ The Secretary of the Treasury to the President, 12 March 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:718-719.

³⁹⁸ William C. C. Claiborne Governor of the Territory of Orleans to the Sheriff of the County of Orleans and others whom it may concern, 16 June 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:333-334.

the presence of a new system of law and sheriffs' sales of lands accelerated this process.³⁹⁹ Small landholders, often Acadians, lost out in this process. According to Glenn Conrad this could be traced to the change from Spanish to U.S. land practices. The Spanish gave land away from the royal domain when it held petitioners for it to be worthy; the U.S. government in contrast, "was not interested in giving away land; rather; it sought to determine the size of the public domain so that it could be surveyed, platted, and sold to the public for cold cash."⁴⁰⁰ In addition, some inhabitants doubted with good reason that U.S. authorities would respect titles to land given under the Spanish and French. If someone contested an individual's claim of a grant from the French or Spanish they had to prove their title. Secretary of the Treasury Gallatin in instructions to land commissioners of the eastern district of the Territory of Orleans, noted that in the absence of clear land titles the United States recognized land claims in three cases: "1, order of survey—2nd permission to settle—3rd Possession for ten consecutive years prior to the 20th December 1803."⁴⁰¹ If the land was surveyed prior to 1800, there was no limit on how much land could be validated, but if only settled prior to 1803 tracts were limited to

³⁹⁹ Some authorities have argued that this American immigration and speculation displaced Acadians to the worst areas of land, while Anglo-Americans took the more profitable sugar producing regions, with outlets to markets. See Malcolm L. Comeaux, *Atchafalaya Swamp Life: Settlement and Folk Occupations*, vol. 2 of *Geosciences and Man*, Bob F. Perkins, editor (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972) and "Louisiana's Acadians: The Environmental Impact," in Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *The Cajuns: Essays on Their History and Culture* (Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978); William Faulkner Ruston, *The Acadians: From Acadia to Louisiana* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1979). James H. Dormon notes a split between Acadians able to fit into the new Creole-Anglo sugar agriculture and another group of Acadians displaced by these ethnic and market changes. See James H. Dormon, *The People Called Cajuns: An Introduction to an Ethnohistory* (Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1983). Glenn R. Conrad opposes this simple thesis of ethnic conflict and then dispersal, but he too notes the increasing American land sales in *Land Grants of the Attakapas District*, vol. 1 *The Attakapas Domesday Book: Land Grants, Claims and Confirmations in the Attakapas District, 1764-1826* (Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1990).

⁴⁰⁰ Glenn R. Conrad, *Land Grants of the Attakapas District vol. 1: The Attakapas Domesday Book: Land Grants, Claims and Confirmations in the Attakapas District, 1764-1826* (Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1990), xvii.

⁴⁰¹ The Secretary of the Treasury to Levin Wailes, William Garrard and Gideon Fitz, 24 May 1811, *Territorial Papers*, 9:934.

six hundred and forty acres, with additional acreage for wives and children, and if settled ten years prior to 1803, to two thousand acres.⁴⁰² As a result, individuals without clear title could lose their land, with older titles retaining greater validity in the eyes of the United States government. Major Amos Stoddard, who served as the French commandant for upper Louisiana (modern day Missouri), who continued in this position for the U.S. in 1804 at the time of the transfer, explained that the Spanish made a number of large land grants after officials learned of the territory's transfer to France and explained why it could be difficult to establish the validity of many of the titles: "Under the Spanish government, individual claims were never recorded till after the surveys were made."⁴⁰³ Thus, many individuals possessed claims to concessions that had yet to be recorded in Louisiana. Stoddard dealt with claims in Upper Louisiana, but he notes that in Lower Louisiana there were many more such claims in Attakapas, Opelousas and Ouachita, where there had been less settlement.⁴⁰⁴ William Garrard, when serving as land commissioner, led a U.S. delegation to Attakapas in order to assuage locals' suspicions of U.S. motives and to settle questions of title.⁴⁰⁵ Claiborne directed Hopkins not to allow the surveyor to act until a tribunal could be established to deal with competing claims.⁴⁰⁶ The worries over the legitimacy of land titles and the inability of some cash-poor citizens to pay their taxes, which resulted in land seizures, created even greater discord within Attakapas and Opelousas.⁴⁰⁷ Indeed, this was another reason why

⁴⁰² The Secretary of the Treasury to Levin Wailes, William Garrard and Gideon Fitz, 24 May 1811, *Territorial Papers*, 9:934-936.

⁴⁰³ Major Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana*, (Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1812), 259.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁵ William Garrard to the President, 20 January 1812, *Territorial Papers*, 9:988.

⁴⁰⁶ To Henry Hopkins, 31 July 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:282-283.

⁴⁰⁷ The United States would face similar problems with Spanish land grants, questions over race and citizenship, runaway slaves, and Indian relations with the annexation of Florida in 1821. See Philip

territorial officials visited the area so often. Issues over legitimate land titles made U.S. governance more difficult for local appointees who strove to meet the needs of their constituents while enforcing federal land policies.

Another concern of the citizens of both Attakapas and Opelousas counties was the United States relations with local Native American tribes, the Attakapas, Opelousas, Chitimachas and the Caddo.⁴⁰⁸ European settlers in Attakapas and Opelousas posts engaged in the Indian trade under the Spanish.⁴⁰⁹ In contrast to more warlike tribes such as the Caddo and Choctaw in the territory of Louisiana, the Attakapas posed no real problem to European settlement. The numbers of Attakapas and Opelousas Indian had been greatly reduced by the time of the cession of Orleans to the United States.

Attakapas County had some one hundred Attakapas natives as well as a smaller number of other tribes, around fifty Biloxi and Choctaws, whereas Opelousas had around a hundred Alabamas and around three hundred and fifty Conchates.⁴¹⁰ The land office located in Opelousas could cause problems not just for men seeking sinecures, debtors and land speculators but also for Native Americans. U.S. officials attempted to assure the Native Americans that their land had to be surveyed, but that it would not be taken.⁴¹¹

Both Louisianans and Native Americans wanted assurances from the new United States

Mathew Smith, "*Persistent Borderland: Freedom and Citizenship in Territorial Florida*" (Ph.D. diss., Texas A&M University, 2007), 35-88.

⁴⁰⁸ Attakapas and Opelousas took their names from Indian tribes that the Caddo had begun to displace by the time of French colonization, though in the southwestern parishes bands of Attakapas and the other prominent tribe of the area, the Chitimachas, persisted, though hostile relations had ceased, see Betty Pourciaux, *St. Martin Parish History* (Baton Rouge: Let Comite' des Archives de la Louisiane, 1985), 2. The different tribes within the state belonged to a number of linguistic families aside from the Attakapas and one of these separate linguistic groups maintained a presence in Attakapas in St. Mary's Parish. See Albert S. Gatschet, "The Shetimasha Indians of St. Mary Parish, Southern Louisiana," in *Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Washington*, volume II, 7 February 1882 to 15 May 1882, 148-160.

⁴⁰⁹ Daniel H. Usner Jr., *Indians, Settlers & Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 254.

⁴¹⁰ Daniel Clark to the Secretary of State, 29 September 1803, *Territorial Papers*, 9:63.

⁴¹¹ The Secretary of War to John Sibley, 25 May 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:450.

government that their land titles remained secure, and frequently the land office failed to provide such assurance.

The Opelousas tribe's numbers declined over the course of the United States territorial period.⁴¹² In 1715 in Opelousas there were just one hundred and thirty Opelousas Indians and by 1815 there were just twenty.⁴¹³ Relations with natives were of far greater importance in the territories to the west than those along the Mississippi by the time of the U.S. transfer. The United States faced a western frontier increasingly controlled on the southern plains by the Comanche. The United States wanted a stable frontier and cultivated local tribes. At the same time the territorial government in Louisiana and Indian commissioners endeavored to maintain good diplomatic and market relations with the Comanche, which the Comanche reciprocated in order to bypass the Wichita.⁴¹⁴ The United States attempted to keep tribes of Louisiana within its political and diplomatic orbit, while maintaining trade and diplomacy with an expansionist Indian power to the west. Individual Native Americans had options, and many chose to simply leave and join the Comanche Nation.⁴¹⁵ Thus U.S. officials needed to continue to cultivate Native Americans within the territory. Commandant Hopkins refused to allow any land sales by natives without direct instructions from the governor, and Claiborne approved of that plan.⁴¹⁶ George King as judge of Opelousas received appointments for Daniel Sutton to serve as a point man for Claiborne in order to assure the Alabamas that Claiborne would

⁴¹² The Opelousas may have been a branch of Attakapas Indians.

⁴¹³ Winston Deville, *Opelousas: The History of a French and Spanish Military Post in America, 1716-1803* (Cottonport LA: Polyanthos, 1973), 17.

⁴¹⁴ Pekka Hamalainen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 147-149.

⁴¹⁵ Pekka Hamalainen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 174-175.

⁴¹⁶ Governor Claiborne to Henry Hopkins, 22 April 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:440. Despite Hopkins and Claiborne's opinions on the matter, however such sales did occur, see *Land Records of the Attakapas District, vol. 2, part 1: Conveyance Records of Attakapas County*, Glenn R. Conrad, ed. (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1992).

obtain a land grant of up to three thousand acres in the area for their tribe.⁴¹⁷ The importance of the commandants and judges in maintaining good relations with natives cannot be over-emphasized as these officials maintained local order and dispensed justice. U.S. immigrants disregarded Indian land claims more frequently than longtime residents of the territory who already owned their land.

Growing populations that intruded upon their lands further aggravated Native American concerns over the security of their land titles, and frequently such intrusions resulted in violence. Governor Claiborne intervened on a regular basis to assuage the conflicts that arose between settlers and Native Americans. Incidents of violence occurred regularly within the two counties as demonstrated by the number of assault and battery charges within the parishes. This same violence endangered American-Indian relations. The chief of the Choctaw, Tom Boling, made complaint against William Thomas for the murder of a member of the tribe.⁴¹⁸ Thomas was one of many repeat violent offenders within St. Landry.⁴¹⁹ Thomas ultimately delivered himself up to Judge Collins while Lieutenant Henry Hopkins made every effort to stop any reprisals by offering the relatives of the murdered man money.⁴²⁰ The trial for Thomas did occur, but there was not enough evidence available at the time to secure a conviction.⁴²¹ Two years later the Choctaw still demanded justice. Claiborne sent a message to the Choctaw

⁴¹⁷ To Judge King, 1 November 1808, *Letter Books*, 4:236.

⁴¹⁸ Opelousas 10 March 1807 in *Calendar of St. Landry Parish Louisiana, Civil Records vol. 1, 1803-1819*, Judy Riffel ed. (Baton Rouge: Le Comité des Archives de la Louisiane, 1995), 86.

⁴¹⁹ He had been charged earlier for assault and battery on Rolan Cason. Opelousas July 1806 in *Calendar of St. Landry Parish Louisiana, Civil Records vol. 1, 1803-1819*, Judy Riffel ed. (Baton Rouge: Le Comité des Archives de la Louisiane, 1995), 77.

⁴²⁰ Governor Claiborne to John Sibley, 25 July 1807 and A Talk from William C. C. Claiborne Governor of the Territory of Orleans, and Commander in Chief of the Militia thereof to the Family, and Nearest Relation of the Choctaw Indian, who Was Killed by a White Man of the Name of Thomas, *Territorial Papers*, 9:759-760.

⁴²¹ Opelousas 14 June 1806 in *Calendar of St. Landry Parish Louisiana, Civil Records vol. 1, 1803-1819*, Judy Riffel ed. (Baton Rouge: Le Comité des Archives de la Louisiane, 1995), 75.

promising to deliver up Thomas when new testimony emerged from a white man, which resulted in Judge King ordering Thomas to be arrested again and tried.⁴²² Thomas by then had left the area, and in order to retain good relations, the governor ordered the distribution of blankets and other goods to the deceased man's wife and children.⁴²³ The territorial government pursued law and order, but more importantly, it wished to retain good relations and avoid further violence with the Choctaw. Local officials therefore faced multiple pressures, from local inhabitants who wanted justice, from Creoles who wanted to retain their land, from Anglo-Americans who desired land, and from the territorial government interested in amity within parishes and between parish inhabitants and local Indian tribes.

The road from Natchitoches to Opelousas was dangerous and often those who traveled on it were subject to attacks.⁴²⁴ Claiborne issued an apology to the natives around Opelousas for the crime committed by Thomas: "Brothers! You know well the Inhabitants of Opelousas, & you have long lived good neighbours with them; they have never injured you, and are very sorry, for what has happened to one of your warriors."⁴²⁵ Two years later the situation was reversed when local officials arrested five Alabamas for the murder of white men near Opelousas.⁴²⁶ Ultimately a jury convicted four Alabamas of murder, though Claiborne, in order to exercise leniency, and to preserve order, pardoned two of those four.⁴²⁷ When the Alabamas committed those acts of violence in 1808 the Attakapas sent a delegation led by their chief to Governor Claiborne expressing their regret and concern, and when Claiborne issued a pardon he noted that both

⁴²² *The Orleans Gazette* [New Orleans], 3 September 1808.

⁴²³ *The Orleans Gazette* [New Orleans], 3 September 1808.

⁴²⁴ Governor Claiborne to the Secretary of War, 25 July 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:756-757.

⁴²⁵ Address to Indians, 28 September 1806, *Letter Books*, 4:22.

Creoles and Anglo-Americans of Opelousas interceded with him on their behalf despite the death of two Americans.⁴²⁸ Claiborne's language to the Indians was interesting because in noting that both French and Anglo-Americans interceded on their behalf he acknowledged the ethnic divisions within the territory, and clearly knew that Native Americans grasped that distinction. By stressing that both Creoles and Anglo-Americans spoke with one voice, he wanted to stress to the Alabamas that in relations with them those two ethnicities took the same view. Indeed, the good will of the tribes served as a component of security and necessitated the policies and methods U.S. officials used in placating native grievances and avoiding further causes of disturbance. Native American violence could complicate relations with the Spanish to the west and disrupt trade.

As western territories bordering the Spanish, the counties of Opelousas and Attakapas, became constant worries for United States military and civil officials given international tensions. Even so, some Creole inhabitants maintained commercial ties with the Spanish across the border, connections that had been created while Louisiana was a Spanish province.⁴²⁹ Claiborne and United States officials worried a great deal over the potential for a Spanish invasion, particularly given a large Francophone population that had lived under Spanish administration for the last forty years. This population now had to adjust to an administration with a far more commercially oriented land policy and a new legal system that advanced that policy. The Spanish and Comanche remained to the west, and

⁴²⁶ To James Madison, 10 July 1808; 11 July 1808, *Letter Books*, 4:182-185.

⁴²⁷ To Thomas Jefferson, 5 October 1808, *Letter Books*, 4:222-223.

⁴²⁸ *Orleans Gazette* [New Orleans], 3 September 1808.

⁴²⁹ For instance, Louisianans had purchased livestock in Spanish America. See Armando C. Alonzo, "A History of Ranching in Nuevo Santander's Villas del Norte, 1730's-1848," in *Coastal Encounters: The Transformation of the Gulf South in the Eighteenth Century*, Richmond F. Brown ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 194. The Acadian immigrants were involved in the cattle trade with Spanish Texas, see Daniel H. Usner Jr., *Indians Settlers & Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 179-180.

offered alternatives to Creoles and Native Americans. Claiborne in particular worried over the absence of a large cavalry force within his territory, which could be of great use on the prairie lands of the Attakapas and Opelousas.⁴³⁰ In counties along that Spanish frontier the potential threat appeared quite real. The possibility that the Francophone population might be disloyal caused less concern in these more Anglo territories, in comparison to the larger Francophone population to the east, but the proximity to the Spanish and the number and strength of Indian tribes, which was even greater to the north in other frontier counties, served as additional sources of concern. The third group that United States officials feared might welcome a Spanish invasion in the case of a conflict was the large slave population of the territory, a growing element in Attakapas and Opelousas as illustrated by census numbers. Even in parishes of western Louisiana such as Opelousas, which contained smaller Francophone populations, greater Anglo-American immigration, and minority slave populations, these fears persisted among United States government officials and local officeholders. Fear of slave revolts might not have been as powerful a force in the western territories as it was along the Mississippi, but fear of the Spanish to the west influenced U.S. policy. The close proximity to the Spanish posed problems for local officials as it served as a refuge for slaves.⁴³¹ The Spanish welcomed slaves fleeing Louisiana, and this encouraged more refugees, such that not only was it more difficult for Attakapas and Opelousas to hold their own slaves, slaves from other areas could flee to the Spanish through their territory.⁴³²

⁴³⁰ To Henry Dearborn, 4 September 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:399.

⁴³¹ To James Madison, 21 June 1808, *Letter Books*, 4:179.

⁴³² The number of slaves that fled from the territory to Spanish territory remains unknown, and Casa Calvo informed Claiborne that it would not be Spanish practice to welcome freed slaves. See J. Edward

The Spanish and U.S. borders and the zone between them encouraged criminal groups whose operations often spilled over into the western counties of Louisiana. Banditry posed a problem in these western parishes. These groups often preyed on individuals within the western areas of Louisiana and then fled to the Spanish. In one incident after a gang of bandits robbed Mr. Lyon of Attakapas, they fled to Galveztown only to be pursued and eventually handed over at Galveztown by John Lafitte to Captain Madison of the U. S. Schooner Lynx.⁴³³ To actually arrest such individuals, however, required the cooperation of local Spanish authorities, a goal that Claiborne assiduously pursued, and one that could be made easier by the behavior of officials on the county and parish levels. The banditry of the area also reinforced for citizens of all ethnicities the importance of U.S. protection, particularly when those duties of law and order fell on a national navy as it did in the case of the attack on Mr. Lyon.

Given these multiple fears over potential threats posed by the Spanish, Native Americans, Creoles, slaves, and bandits, the Burr conspiracy and the controversy over the Sabine border in 1806 heightened officials' alarm. After Jefferson replaced Vice President Aaron Burr with George Clinton in the election of 1804, and Alexander Hamilton's death in their duel finished Burr's career in New York politics, Burr began to visit the west and the Mississippi Valley, staying three weeks in New Orleans. Whatever his aim, whether a separatist plot or a filibustering expedition, a number of prominent citizens in the west and in Orleans met with him, among them Governor Claiborne,

Townes, "Invisible Lines: The Life and Death of a Borderland," (Ph.D. diss., Texas Christian University, 2008), 138-140. See also Francois Xavier Martin, *The History of Louisiana* (New Orleans: Lyman and Beardslee, 1827), 333; Felix D. Almaraz, Jr. *Tragic Cavalier: Governor Manuel Salcedo of Texas, 1808-1813* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991), 28-29.

⁴³³ *Orleans Gazette and Commercial Advertiser* [New Orleans], 24 November 1819.

Daniel Clark and others.⁴³⁴ In 1806 just as Burr descended toward New Orleans with a small force, a Spanish army began to move toward the neutral zone between the Territory of Orleans and Mexico. General Wilkinson led a U.S. army contingent to counter this Spanish force. Wilkinson had been in long contact with Burr as well, and the two had known one another since the ill-fated Quebec expedition of the American Revolution. Wilkinson ultimately chose to make a settlement with the opposing Spanish commander and wrote to the President denouncing Burr. The maneuvers of contesting armies along the Sabine in 1806 had made all too real the potential for armed conflict between Spain and the United States.⁴³⁵ Burr's actions also alarmed United States officials within Louisiana given the recent change in sovereignty and the tendency on the part of U.S. immigrants to Louisiana to look askance at the older inhabitants of the territory. Many Anglo-American immigrants and U.S. officials viewed the Creoles as potentially disloyal, and this fear was heightened given Spanish armed forces to the west at the time of the Burr Conspiracy. Claiborne wrote to Judge Thomas Collins of Opelousas in 1806 in the aftermath of the Burr conspiracy: "The reluctance of the ancient Louisianans to rally at the Call of their country is seen and regretted, but I pray that this conduct may not occasion reproach from the native Americans—but on the contrary that they may continue to extend towards them every act of civility and kindness. I am disposed to make great allowances for the unwillingness of the Louisianians to enter at this crisis in the service of the U. S. they have been educated in a belief that the Spanish Monarchy

⁴³⁴ On the conspiracy and Burr's possible intentions see Walter Flavius McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy* (New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1936) and *New Light on Aaron Burr* (Austin: Texas Quarterly Studies, 1963); Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *The Burr Conspiracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954); Buckner F. Melton Jr., *Aaron Burr: Conspiracy to Treason* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002).

⁴³⁵ It appears that the Burr conspiracy itself was all that drew Wilkinson back away from the border and to the United States (or as is now known the motivation may have been Wilkinson's position as a pensioner of Spain).

was the most power on earth.”⁴³⁶ Collins and local officials may have felt some rancor at the lack of support from the Francophone inhabitants, but they still needed to continue to attempt to build popular support for the United States. Claiborne’s instructions again illustrate the policy of his administration not to encourage divisions, particularly in the western parishes. Collins, even though he resided in a parish with a larger Anglo population than those to the east, did not feel in a position to ignore the needs or criticize the behavior of the Francophone inhabitants because of the proximity to the border and the persistent Spanish presence.

Claiborne turned to U.S. immigrants in far greater numbers in Attakapas and Opelousas than in the Acadian and German Coast or Iberville and Pointe Coupee. For commandant of both Attakapas and Opelousas, the first important local positions in the area, Claiborne appointed Lieutenant Henry Hopkins, an army officer from Maryland rather than a member of the local elite. The area’s location next to larger Native American populations and the Spanish encouraged Claiborne to appoint military officers to civilian positions in Attakapas and Opelousas, and other positions along the Spanish frontier. In 1805 Captain John Bowyer, another American army officer, took over Hopkins’ duties as the commandant of Opelousas. Despite their shared backgrounds, the two men failed to get along or share information with one another.⁴³⁷ Their disagreements in part could be traced to conflicting personalities, but Hopkins also opposed the policy of Bowyer and other officials who chose to recognize the legality of land sales from local tribes to U.S. citizens. Hopkins, concerned that such sales would lead to conflicts with the local tribes), opposed the practice. Claiborne sympathized with

⁴³⁶ To Judge Collins, 24 September 1806, *Letter Books*, 4:19.

Hopkins, but did not side with him over Bowyer, though he instructed him not to approve any conveyances of land sold by Native Americans.⁴³⁸ Territorial officials, whatever the desires of the local populace, did not wish to create problems with local tribes. The disagreements continued as long as the two men remained in office; however, Claiborne mediated these as best he could.⁴³⁹ The issues could have national implications in the case of an Indian war, but on the ground local officials oversaw the process. A change in administration meant that Native American tribes, the Caddo and remaining Attakapas, had to deal with yet another nation claiming sovereignty, while local Creoles now faced new Indian agents and traders that they had to come to terms with. The change in administration coincided with increased immigration that continued to bring pressure on Indian lands in the area. The issues at play with Native Americans were in keeping with those of a frontier constabulary, but the local political problems within the parishes posed greater difficulties for army officers. While he remained in the army, as a civil commandant Hopkins faced a number of political challenges for which his military service had not prepared him. Local political difficulties could not be handled through the chain of command. Neither Hopkins nor Bowyer came from the counties they governed, and both were unfamiliar with local elites on their arrival. Even so, Claiborne thought he had done well in selecting Hopkins, as he wrote to James Madison: “He is a young Man of prudence, good information, and possesses some knowledge of the French language.”⁴⁴⁰ Both men chose to stay within their parishes, though neither proved particularly economically successful. John Bowyer is listed in the 1810 census for St.

⁴³⁷ Jared William Bradley, Note 4, *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 196.

⁴³⁸ W. C. C. Claiborne to Henry Hopkins, 22 April 1805, *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 236.

Landry and he had no slaves; this was by no means the only measure of success, particularly for an officer like Bowyer, but they do illustrate to what extent he attempted to fit into the local elite.⁴⁴¹ Anglo-American immigration into the area posed problems for good relations with Native American tribes as it placed added pressure on lands, and Bowyer failed to stem this process; rather he tried to facilitate it.

Hopkins replaced a member of the local elite as the civil commandant of Attakapas and Opelousas, Louis-Charles Le Blanc, a Creole born in Natchitoches, who had served as the Commandant of Natchitoches and as the last Commandant of Attakapas under the Spanish.⁴⁴² Even so, Le Blanc still continued to exercise power under Hopkins as a civil commandant. Upon Hopkins' appointment Claiborne informed him that the area was divided into two parties and instructed him to treat both equally, something he claimed Le Blanc had failed to do as a member of one of the parties. Le Blanc had authorized the arrest of a member of the community, St. Julien, which provided the initial cause of the split, and the French removed him as commandant after the Spanish cession of Louisiana to France.⁴⁴³ Le Blanc had been an early advocate of U.S. governance in his letters to Claiborne, and his selection under Hopkins proved politic given his popularity among some of the local French speaking populace.⁴⁴⁴ In Attakapas the community divided over the St. Julien criminal case. This party division centered on a Creole, St. Julien, accused under the Spanish of having murdered his wife, and though charged under the Spanish, he

⁴³⁹ Governor Claiborne to Henry Hopkins, 22 April 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:440.

⁴⁴⁰ To James Madison, 24 January 1804, *Letter Books*, 1:347.

⁴⁴¹ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 1, Avoyelles and St. Landry Parish, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1995).

⁴⁴² Register of Civil Appointments in the Territory of Orleans, 13 February 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:602; Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 223.

⁴⁴³ To Henry Hopkins, 20 January 1804, *Letter Books*, 1:336-338; To James Madison, 24 January 1804, *Letter Books*, 1:344-349.

was released during the brief turnover to France that preceded the cession of Louisiana to the United States. Pierre Clément de Laussat, the French governor of Louisiana felt that St. Julien was the victim of intrigues by Martin Duralde, Bronier, and the local priest of Attakapas, Bernard Barrère. Laussat described the murder of St. Julien's wife:

Saint Julien was taking a little fresh air with him [sic] wife out on his gallery. Suddenly he noticed the muzzle of a gun pointed at his chest, and his first impulse was to push it away. The gun went off and struck his wife. He tried to snatch the gun from the assassin's hand; but during the tussle, another shot went off and grazed his head, setting his hair on fire. He fell, was pounced upon, and left for dead. He recovered. The Spanish inveighed against Saint-Julien.⁴⁴⁵

Laussat set St. Julien free because he felt that St. Julien was a victim of Spanish intrigue and abuse of executive authority. Even so the circumstances appeared quite odd, and no other suspect was arrested. A number of Attakapas inhabitants, including a local leader, Captain Alexander Declouet, wanted him to be tried under the newly established U.S. regime.⁴⁴⁶ Claiborne selected Hopkins as an Anglo-American, but more importantly as an outsider to ease the sense of party that had developed in the area.

The controversy surrounding St. Julien had a national dimension in that the Spanish government jailed him and the French government freed him, with the French local prefect disparaging Spanish law in the process. Thus a number of citizens of Spanish ancestry as well as plenty of U.S. arrivals wanted another trial. Many men of French ancestry within Attakapas also believed in St. Julien's guilt, while others supported him, with St. Julien and his supporters in one party and Declouet, a local militia captain and slaveholder, and his faction in the other. Declouet's family had received a great deal of

⁴⁴⁴ To Lewis Deblanc, 5 February 1804, *Letter Books*, 1:362-363.

⁴⁴⁵ Pierre Clément de Laussat, *Memoirs of My Life*, Agnes-Josephine Pastwa trans. and ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 83.

⁴⁴⁶ To Henry Hopkins, 20 January 1804, *Letter Books*, 1:336-338.

patronage from the Spanish.⁴⁴⁷ Claiborne ordered St. Julien to appear before Hopkins in Attakapas.⁴⁴⁸ The Spanish Minister Casa Calvo also intervened, writing to Claiborne that citizens complained to him and that the French governor, Pierre Clement de Laussat, miscarried justice by freeing St. Julien.⁴⁴⁹ Ultimately St. Julien appeared before Hopkins to be deposed as ordered, but Declouet and other accusers failed to appear, resulting in St. Julien's continued freedom.⁴⁵⁰ Hopkins resolved the conflict locally, though how he got Declouet and others not to proceed is unclear. In the long run Hopkins felt it better to leave things as they were, rather than continue to feed the conflict. St. Julien appeared more popular, but Declouet and Le Blanc appear to have had power themselves: "St. Julien has many friends, and the general Sentiment is greatly in his favour: his accusers however have great wealth, and stand high in the confidence of the Spanish Government."⁴⁵¹ Declouet and a Mr. Pedesclaux who were removed by Laussat during the affair, appealed not just to the Spanish, but to President Jefferson himself. Secretary of State James Madison instructed Claiborne to inform Declouet that the issue remained a judicial one, and that any loss Pedesclaux felt he incurred should be addressed not to the Presidency, but to the national legislature.⁴⁵² St. Julien retained his freedom, and Claiborne felt he would continue to retain it in case of a trial, a trial Hopkins did not appear likely to press.⁴⁵³ Though the main goal remained public order, U.S. territorial officials also did not want to take direction from Casa Calvo or to aid Spanish parties in these political disputes, especially in territory so near the Spanish border. Thus, the

⁴⁴⁷ Claiborne to Andrew Jackson, 15 November 1814, *Letter Books*, 6:310-312.

⁴⁴⁸ William C. C. Claiborne Governor of the Mississippi Territory, exercising the powers of Governor General and Intendant of the Province of Louisiana, *Letter Books*, 1:349.

⁴⁴⁹ From the Marquis of Casa Calvo to Governor Claiborne, *Letter Books*, 2:155-158.

⁴⁵⁰ To the Marquis of Casa Calvo, 22 May 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:158-159.

⁴⁵¹ To James Madison, 24 May 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:165.

⁴⁵² From James Madison to Governor Claiborne, 19 June 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:278-279.

territorial government tended to side with St. Julien as the Spanish government continued to press the issue, but U.S. officials also wished to garner a reputation for impartiality so as to hold the respect of all factions within the parish.

Local U.S. officials often fulfilled the requests of other U.S. citizens from outside the territory against local inhabitants. For instance Governor Claiborne charged Hopkins with aiding a Captain Worthington, a Kentucky Revolutionary War soldier, to secure money he was owed by a citizen of Attakapas; in this task Claiborne made sure to instruct Hopkins to act in a just manner through due process.⁴⁵⁴ Hopkins needed to meet his goal, but not to act in an arbitrary fashion that could upset locals and violate their rights as U.S. citizens. Perhaps as a result Henry Hopkins's efforts to settle Worthington's debt dispute proved unsatisfactory, and ultimately Claiborne ordered Hopkins to order the two to come before him to settle their dispute.⁴⁵⁵ U.S. officials chose to intervene within the locality on issues like this, which could further upset local opinion.

Hopkins also intervened in a violent religious dispute within a divided Catholic congregation. The church dispute also stemmed from the St. Julien murder. The local priest, Father Michael Bernard Barrier, secured his position in 1795 and became involved in local politics and the murder controversy that surrounded St. Julien.⁴⁵⁶ Laussat as a result removed Barrier and replaced him with a Father Veal. After the French turned authority over to the United States, both priests, each with their supporters, claimed to be the parish priest.⁴⁵⁷ The violence that resulted forced Hopkins to close the church for a period while the head of the Catholic Church in Louisiana, the Irish born and Spanish

⁴⁵³ To James Madison, 9 August 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:299-301.

⁴⁵⁴ To Henry Hopkins, 20 January 1804, *Letter Books*, 1:336-338.

⁴⁵⁵ To Henry Hopkins, 22 May 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:155.

educated Vicar General Patrick Walsh, settled the issue. The decision was in Walsh's hands, and territorial officials preferred this, rather than have Hopkins settle it, given that both priests had their partisans and Hopkins needed to be able to continue to work within the parish.⁴⁵⁸ Hopkins's decision prompted some protest as when the newly established U.S. government briefly stopped Catholic worship in the area, but it was done in the name of public safety given the possibility of further violence between the two factions should one priest begin to say mass again. Walsh settled the issue by giving Barrier the church key, but Claiborne instructed Hopkins to take back the key if public disorder reemerged, cautioning "this step must not be taken, unless it should be absolutely necessary to the preservation of peace and good order."⁴⁵⁹ Claiborne did his best to maintain good relations with the Catholic Church, through both the Ursuline nuns and the Vicar General, using his connections to request a commission from Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn, for Walsh's brother in the United States army.⁴⁶⁰ Hopkins was committed to freedom of worship, though when religious disagreements in Attakapas reached a point where violence disrupted the social order, it necessitated Hopkins's closing the church.

Hopkins's decision to preserve public order while allowing local Catholic officials to handle internecine disputes, and to refrain from prosecuting St. Julien, remained in

⁴⁵⁶ Note 1, Alexandre Barde, *The Vigilante Committees of the Attakapas: An Eyewitness Account of Banditry and Backlash in Southwestern Louisiana* (Lafayette: Acadiana Press, 1981), 277.

⁴⁵⁷ To James Madison, 29 May 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:170-171.

⁴⁵⁸ To Henry Hopkins, 29 May 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:169-170. On Patrick Walsh see Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 2 (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 822.

⁴⁵⁹ To Henry Hopkins, 28 July 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:275. The situation and Walsh's actions as Vicar General in Attakapas would be mirrored the following year in New Orleans when he made himself rector of St. Louis Cathedral and caused a local controversy between himself and Father Antonio de Sedella, requiring Caso Calvo and the Mayor of New Orleans to intervene. Walsh died in 1806, inadvertently helping to resolve the controversy.

⁴⁶⁰ To Henry Dearborn, 7 July 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:240.

keeping with the general tenor of the United States approach in Attakapas. When Hopkins arrested two citizens just after the cession in 1804, he called on Claiborne for advice. Hopkins failed to note their crime, so Claiborne instructed him to send them to New Orleans if they committed murder, and that otherwise mercy should be what Louisianans would first associate with U.S. rule. Claiborne instructed Hopkins to exercise lenience if it was a crime of a lesser nature.⁴⁶¹ The territorial government desired law and order, but it did not want to engender resistance and as a result commandants needed to tread softly in carrying out police and judicial duties. Claiborne did not desire U. S. territorial involvement in internecine disputes. Though Hopkins initially served in Attakapas as an army officer dispatched by General James Wilkinson, he remained as the Commandant at Attakapas because as Claiborne explained to Madison, he could not divide the parish further by favoring one party over another; an outsider was an ideal choice and petitions from Attakapas citizens regarding Hopkins' ability confirmed this judgment.⁴⁶² Hopkins's decisions had often been heavy handed, leading to arrests, the closing of a church (however brief), and appeals to the territorial government, but Hopkins strove to be impartial and tried not to favor the advancement of one faction over another.

Hopkins was a notable exception as a military officer serving in a civilian post, and it required special explanation to Madison to allow him to continue. The governor requested an extension from General James Wilkinson, after Hopkins's supervising army officer in the territory, Colonel Freeman, moved to reassign Hopkins.⁴⁶³ When the army

⁴⁶¹ To Henry Hopkins, 1 August 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:283.

⁴⁶² To James Madison, 9 August 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:298-299.

⁴⁶³ To Colonel Freeman, 16 June 1804 *Letter Books*, 2:209; To General Wilkinson, 10 August 1804, *Letter Books*, 304-306.

eventually did reassign Hopkins, to Detroit, Claiborne informed Hopkins that if he wanted to resign from the army “I should be happy to confer on you some civil appointment worthy your acceptance.”⁴⁶⁴ Hopkins accepted the offer and went on to appointments in other parishes and command of the territorial militia because he retained Claiborne’s confidence, though he often came in for criticism from other quarters, including General James Wilkinson.

As in other parishes, the governor intervened in court cases to grant clemency to men he felt deserved it or who were politically connected. Agricole Landry had been convicted of an assault and battery charge and fined fifty dollars. Claiborne instructed the sheriff to pardon him and remit the fee describing Landry as “a poor distressed man, and deserving of mercy.”⁴⁶⁵ Shortly thereafter in a similar crime in Attakapas the governor pardoned Robert Armstrong, sentenced to imprisonment and a fifty dollar fine for assault.⁴⁶⁶ When local Attakapas inhabitants petitioned the United States for help during a time of severe shortage the governor arranged for flour to be shipped to them. The petition proved particularly persuasive given that a local luminary’s name, Dominique Prevost, appeared on the list.⁴⁶⁷ The residents suffered from a shortage and badly needed barrels of flour, and the territorial government responded and supplied the provisions. This effort, like the policy of commutations, better cemented the loyalty of the local populace to its new government.

After the transitional period, as judges replaced commandants, Hopkins went to the east while Edward C. Nichols replaced him in Attakapas as the appointed judge in

⁴⁶⁴ W. C. C. Claiborne to Henry Hopkins, 22 April 1805, *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 238.

⁴⁶⁵ Pardon of Agricole Landry, 24 May 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:667.

⁴⁶⁶ Pardon of Robert Armstrong, 29 September 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:694

1805.⁴⁶⁸ Like Hopkins, Nichols was a francophone but not a local. He was born in England, but educated in France and trained by Jesuits for the priesthood; he then settled in Maryland after leaving his religious education and immigrated to New Orleans after the cession.⁴⁶⁹ Nichols as an Anglo with knowledge of the local language advanced quickly, and on the surface seemed a prudent choice to U.S. officials. Tax records in 1808 show Nichols with seven slaves and eleven arpents of land and the tax record from 1810 show an E. Nicholas with five slaves and seven arpents of land.⁴⁷⁰ Those levels of wealth would make Nichols someone of substance, but not a great planter.

Nichols proved unpopular with many of the citizens of Attakapas, furthering the factional problems already present. Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin, who was familiar with Louisiana problems from his appointees made clear that he traced the problems within Attakapas to Nicholas, as local judge. James Brown in his report to the Secretary of the Treasury wrote: “The County of Attacapas, where the extortions resistance of law, and oppressive acts of the County Judge Edward Nichols are said to have rendered the presence of the Executive necessary in order to tranquilize the public mind. The conduct of Mr. Nichols has excited much clamor; and were you to credit one half the rumors respecting him, you would believe that the barbarities and extortions of Verres in Sicily were outdone by this dilapedor of the Attacapas.”⁴⁷¹ Divisions within

⁴⁶⁷ To William Brown, 22 November 1808; 16 December 1808, *Letter Books*, 4:256-257; 271.

⁴⁶⁸ Register of Civil Appointments in the Territory of Orleans, 13 February 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:598-600; Betty Pourciaux, *St. Martin Parish History* (Baton Rouge: Let Comite’ des Archives de la Louisiane, 1985), 10-14.

⁴⁶⁹ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 2 (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 602-603.

⁴⁷⁰ Attakapas County Papers, Attakapas Tax Rolls 1808-1810, Mss. 10 A:17, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collection, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge LA.

⁴⁷¹ Gaius Verres became infamous as a Roman governor of Sicily who extorted and stole from his province. The conduct of Verres was not exceptional, but the degree was beyond the norm. Marcus Tullius Cicero, who had earlier served as a Roman quaestor in Sicily prosecuted Verres. The prosecution was so successful that Verres chose to leave Rome rather than await the verdict. The case was an important

the county of Attakapas reemerged once Hopkins left. As Claiborne pointed out to Madison: “The gentlemen whom . . . I appointed to Offices within Atachapas, have not profited by Mr. Hopkin’s good example;--on the contrary they have neither commanded, for themselves, or for the Law, the public respect; and such is (at this time) the state of things.”⁴⁷² The divisions as Claiborne observed, arose out of the St. Julien incident and subsequent church incident, which divided Creoles who held better connections and positions under the Spanish from those with less. These political divisions could in some cases involve violence, though not to the point of murder. In addition, some of the citizens of the parish remained concerned over titles to land rights granted by the Spanish and held the same complaints with the newly erected U.S. system of law that the Francophone inhabitants of the eastern parishes had.

Despite the distance and inconvenience of travel, Claiborne made frequent trips to Attakapas and knew the area. In late 1805 Claiborne journeyed to Attakapas and Opelousas in order to deal with disagreements within the county between the factions that Nichols failed to ease. In explaining his need to go there personally to James Madison, Claiborne noted the importance of the two counties: “Next to the Island of New Orleans, Opelousas and Attackapas are the most important Districts of the Territory;--the Land is fertile, and well adapted to Cultivation;--the Improvements are considerable and the Settlers numerous and respectable.”⁴⁷³ Claiborne believed his visit to the area helped assuage worries within the parishes over land rights and other issues, as he explained to Madison: “The Civil Authorities were again put in motion; the Militia officers

step in Cicero’s career, and the publication of his orations against Verres helped promote his advance up the *cursus honorum*. Brown’s use of the analogy demonstrates the manner in which United States citizens viewed their Republic’s administration of Louisiana. James Brown to the Secretary of the Treasury, 11 December 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:547.

commissioned; such explanations given of the Land Law, as were calculated to check discontents; and every effort made to attach the Citizens to the Government of the United States.”⁴⁷⁴ Claiborne thought the visit eased some of the tensions in Attakapas that existed from the land scare and the St. Julien parties: “The warmth of party spirit in this County, seems to be subsiding; but harmony in the society is not yet restored.—Here also, the Judicial system of the Territory is a source of complaint, and the lawyers are much feared by the People.—It is probable, there will be considerable emigration from Attackapas And Oppelousas to the Spanish settlement on the Trinity; several families have already emigrated, and many are preparing to follow.”⁴⁷⁵ Le Blanc and Declouet remained, but given the Spanish connections of those who favored St. Julien’s prosecution and their support for their original priest, there were members of Attakapas who preferred Spanish governance to that of the United States, and some expressed that preference with their feet.

Nichols’s problems and the factional disputes within the parish, which required the Governor’s visits to the area, proved surprisingly beneficial for Claiborne personally as he met his second wife in the Attakapas. Claiborne married Clarissa Duralde, a Creole, in 1806, and political patronage flowed to the Duralde family as a result.⁴⁷⁶ Her father Martin Milony Duralde, born in France and a local grandee, served as another commandant under the Spanish regime and received a number of land grants. This connection gave Claiborne a greater knowledge of the territory, and the Duralde family

⁴⁷² Governor Claiborne to the Secretary of State, 4 December 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:540-541.

⁴⁷³ Governor Claiborne to the Secretary of State, December 15, 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:550.

⁴⁷⁴ Governor Claiborne to the Secretary of State, 8 January 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:560.

⁴⁷⁵ Governor Claiborne to the President, 25 July 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:678. Claiborne’s efforts in Attakapas and Opelousas came at a personal cost of some \$200.00, which the federal government refused to compensate him for. See, The Secretary of State to Governor Claiborne, 28 February 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:711.

benefited from the connection as well, though often with federal patronage rather than in local appointments. By 1810 Duralde had doubled his holdings from fifty to a hundred arpents in two years along with fifty-five slaves.⁴⁷⁷ In addition, the connection also benefited Claiborne by improving his popularity in the French and Spanish communities of Louisiana. Claiborne never spoke French with any facility and the marriage into a Francophone family helped him to forge a connection to the local Creole community.

Nichols's successor on the court was Judge James White, an Anglo-American from Philadelphia who had moved on to North Carolina where he served in the state Assembly and was a delegate to the Continental Congress. After the Revolution he had been a Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the southern district; he probably received the judicial position on Nichols' recommendation as he too had attended the College of St. Omer in France. Also like Nichols he had moved to Louisiana around 1799 and in addition, was familiar with the Spanish in Louisiana through contacts with them as Superintendent of Indian Affairs.⁴⁷⁸ White, like Nicholas was not a local grandee, but he appeared an ideal choice for much the same reasons as Nichols, but with even greater experience in dealing with the Spanish and with Indians, two key components in Attakapas. As superintendent, White helped to negotiate several treaties with the Cherokees, giving him experience in Native American diplomacy.

After White's death in 1809, Claiborne turned to yet another Anglo-American, Seth Lewis of Massachusetts, who had served as the Chief Justice of Mississippi when Claiborne was governor there. Claiborne appointed him as the County Judge of

⁴⁷⁶ Harry Lewis Griffin, *The Attakapas Country* (Gretna LA: Firebird Press, 1999), 1806.

⁴⁷⁷ Attakapas County Papers, Attakapas Tax Rolls 1808-1810, Mss. 10 A:17, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collection, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge LA.

Attakapas, a position he served in from 1810 to 1813 when he became a District Court Judge in the state, a position he held until 1840.⁴⁷⁹ When geographer William Darby toured Louisiana, Lewis told him that he planned on introducing sugar cane into the area, which was one of Darby's larger questions as to how far to the west and north could sugar grow.⁴⁸⁰ Lewis thus had plans to join the planter class. Attakapas commandants and judges were all U.S. born English-speaking newcomers to the area rather than the sort of local Creole grandees selected in the east.

Lower officials within Attakapas on the other hand came from within the county and better reflected the longer standing, Francophone local elite. In 1808 the average taxpayer had over six slaves and over two arpents of land; by 1810 a far larger tax pool revealed that the average taxpayer held over two slaves and just over one arpent of land.⁴⁸¹ The sheriffs and clerks generally owned holdings, though not large ones, with Anglo-Americans regularly securing the sheriff and clerk posts. Though such Anglo-Americans could have local ties. For instance an American Cornelius Voorhies who served as clerk of court married into the local Gradenigo family. Justices within Attakapas attained much larger holdings than judges and sheriffs, generally well above the average. Anglo-Americans could thus also have ties to the local Francophone elite, in contrast to the Anglo newcomers who held the higher judicial appointments. Thus, while the judges and sheriffs tended to have modest to middling holdings, justices were more likely to come from the local elites (see table 14). It was far easier for Anglo-American

⁴⁷⁸ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 2 (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 840-841.

⁴⁷⁹ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 512.

⁴⁸⁰ William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), 106.

newcomers with lower land and slaveholdings to achieve appointments than the older Francophone inhabitants in Attakapas.

Table 14. Attakapas Officials, Land and Slave Holdings

Name	Office	Tax 1808	Tax 1810
Henry Hopkins	Commandant		
Louis De Blanc	Civil Commandant/Deputy Comm.		
Edward C. Nichols	Judge 1805-	7 slaves, 11 arp.	5 slaves, 7 arp.
James White	Judge	3 slaves, 10 arp.	3 slaves, 10 arp.
Seth Lewis	Judge		
Isaac Camp	Sheriff		
John Stein	Sheriff		4 slaves, 5 arp.
C. M. Audibert	Clerk		
Cornelius Voorhies	Clerk		
Dominique Prevost	Treasurer/Justice 1807	3 slaves, 56 arp.	3 slaves, 56 arp.
David Rees	Justice 1807	5 slaves, 20 arp.	
L. C. De Blanc	Justice 1807	18 slaves, 91.5 arp.	18 slaves, 90.5 arp.
Alexander Declouet	Justice 1807	36 slaves, 45 arp.	37 slaves, 40 arp.
Olivier Fils	Justice 1807		16 slaves, 135 arp.
Joseph Sorrel	Justice 1807	62 slaves, 120 arp.	63 slaves, 120 arp.
Fusileer	Justice 1807		
Francois Gonsoulin	Justice 1809	8 slaves, 84 arp.	
P. F. Reguier	Justice 1809	9 slaves, 20 arp.	
Morfite	Justice 1809		

Table data based on.⁴⁸²

It proved particularly difficult to find men from Attakapas to serve on the Legislative Council. A Mr. Roman had been recommended to President Thomas Jefferson and James Wilkinson in his initial overview of the territory and its notable inhabitants informed him: “A man of considerable fortune and influence in that settlement, and is reputed a man of sound character without ambition.”⁴⁸³ Roman also secured a place on the list of names that Jefferson sent to Claiborne from which he selected the members of the Legislative Council.⁴⁸⁴ Though Jefferson wanted a majority of Anglo-Americans on

⁴⁸¹ Attakapas County Papers, Attakapas Tax Rolls 1808-1810, Mss. 10 A:17, Records, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collection, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge LA.

⁴⁸² Attakapas County Papers, Attakapas Tax Rolls 1808-1810, Mss. 10 A:17, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collection, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge LA; Register of Civil Appointments in the Territory of Orleans, 13 February 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:598-602; Register of Civil Appointments, 30 June 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:749-750; Civil Appointments, *Letter Books*, 4:236; St. Martin Parish Conveyances Records, 1806-1820; Betty Pourciaux, *St. Martin Parish History* (Baton Rouge: Let Comite’ des Archives de la Louisiane, 1985), 10-14. See also *Annotated Abstracts of the Successions of St. Mary Parish, LA, 1811-1834*, Mary Elizabeth Sanders, comp. (Sanders, 1972). Declouet’s property in two different holdings; there were a number of Fusiliers in Attakapas, Agricole Fusilier held forty-six slaves and twenty-two arpents in 1810 and a Gabriel Fusilier held nineteen slaves and ten arpents.

⁴⁸³ James Wilkinson to the President, Characterization of New Orleans Residents, 1 July 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:256.

⁴⁸⁴ The President to Governor Claiborne, 30 August 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:283.

the council, his assumption that Roman was one was mistaken as Claiborne wrote in his response to the President: “This Gentleman is a native of Louisiana, and cannot speak a word of English.”⁴⁸⁵ Claiborne ultimately, recommended several persons from Attakapas for nomination to the Legislative Council. Only one of them was familiar with English: “Messrs Loviell, Dubuche, and Foutenet french planters of long and good standing, said to be opulent but do not understand English. Also Mr. Durall who Speaks English, a man of high respectability.”⁴⁸⁶ A reputation for wealth may not have been a requirement for office, but for Francophones especially it demonstrated a position within the local economic elite, which contributed to selection for an appointment.

Elected officials far more than appointed officials tended to come from the Francophone inhabitants of Attakapas. The first representatives elected from Attakapas to the Territorial Legislature were Joseph Sorrel and Martin Duralde, who became Claiborne’s father in-law in 1806.⁴⁸⁷ Other elected representatives similarly tended to come from the Francophone elite of the parish rather than Anglo-American newcomers at first. For instance Joseph Sorrel arrived in the area before the transfer to Spain as a member of the French army and established a “Vacherie” to ship cattle to New Orleans.⁴⁸⁸ Still by 1812 Anglo-Americans began to secure election to the Louisiana legislature from Attakapas. Among their numbers, Colonel Joshua Baker had served in the Revolutionary War and the Kentucky Constitutional Convention.⁴⁸⁹ David Rees

⁴⁸⁵ Governor Claiborne to the President, 5 October 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:308.

⁴⁸⁶ Joseph Briggs to the President, 17 August 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:278. See also Governor Claiborne to the President, 29 August 1804 and 30 August 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:281, 285.

⁴⁸⁷ *Mississippi Messenger* [Natchez], 3 December 1805.

⁴⁸⁸ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 2 (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 754-755.

⁴⁸⁹ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 31.

similarly was a Revolutionary War veteran, but from Pennsylvania.⁴⁹⁰ Louis E. Le Blanc had been the last commandant under the Spanish.⁴⁹¹ Nathaniel Kemper had become an advocate for rebellion in Spanish Florida and along with his brothers led numerous filibustering expeditions.⁴⁹² Thus, Attakapas in its delegation to the state legislature elected Creoles and American of various political stripes and histories (see table 15).

Table 15. Attakapas Elected Representatives, Land and Slave Holdings

Name	Position and term	Tax 1808	Tax 1810	Tax 1812	Tax 1813
Joseph Sorrel	Territorial Leg. 1805-			72 slaves	
Martin Duralde	Ter. Leg. 1805/Senate 1:1-1:2			58 slaves	
Alexander Declouet	Territorial Leg. 1809			40 slaves	
F. Gonsoulin	Territorial Leg. 1809			9 slaves	
John Romain	Legislative Council				
Louis De Blanc	Constitutional Convention				
Henry Johnson	Constitutional Convention				
W. C. Maquille	Constitutional Convention	17 slaves, 18 arp.	0 slaves, 13 arp.		
Chas. Olivier	Constitutional Convention	16 slaves, 139 arp.			
Alexander Porter	Constitutional Convention		0 slaves, 10 arp.		
Joshua Baker	House 1				32 slaves
John Duhamel	House 1				
David Reese	House 1	5 slaves, 20 arp.		7 slaves	
Thomas	House 2				37 slaves
Alexander Thomas	House 2-3:1				
Charles Porter	House 2				
Louis E. Le Blanc	House 2-3/Senate 4:2				
Al Porter Jr.	House 3				
Charles Olivier Devizin	House 3:2				
Charles Pottier	House 4			4 slaves	
P. Olivier Declouet	House 4				
Isaac L. Baker	House 4				
Nathaniel Kemper	Senate 1:3-3				5 slaves

Table data based on.⁴⁹³

⁴⁹⁰ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 2 (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 676.

⁴⁹¹ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 223.

⁴⁹² Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 456.

⁴⁹³ Attakapas County Papers, Attakapas Tax Rolls 1808-1810, Mss. 10 A:17, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collection, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge LA; St. Mary Parish 1813 Tax List in Mary Elizabeth Sanders comp., *Records of Attakapas District, Louisiana 1739-1811* (Franklin LA: Sanders, 1962); *Courier de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 18 January 1809; *Moniteur de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 1 October 1811; *Constitution or Form of Government of the State of Louisiana*; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 2-3, 9; *Journal of the House of Representative of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 8, 14; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 7-8; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3, 7, 10; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3;

When Attakapas split into two parishes for governmental purposes, much the same Anglo appointee trend continued in St. Mary Parish.⁴⁹⁴ The first judge selected in St. Mary Parish, Judge Henry Johnson, held the position until 1813.⁴⁹⁵ Johnson went on to election to the United States Senate in 1819 and then election as governor in 1824.⁴⁹⁶ Claiborne had asked for Lewis's recommendation for the position of Judge of St. Mary when the two parishes divided.⁴⁹⁷ Lewis effectively chose the judge for St. Mary. Shortly thereafter Henry Johnson received his appointment as judge, and Judge Lewis administered his oath of office.⁴⁹⁸ Johnson, another Anglo-American from Virginia, arrived in the territory around 1809, served as a clerk to the Second Superior Court, and then became the judge for St. Mary.⁴⁹⁹ The average taxpayer in 1813 had over five slaves, and Johnson was well beneath that number in his own property.⁵⁰⁰ Anglo-Americans with few local connections and limited wealth achieved appointments on the county level, and this trend continued with parish judicial appointments. As in other areas judges had some of their subordinate appointees selected without consultation, as

Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 4; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 28; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 43; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3.

⁴⁹⁴ For a brief overview of St. Mary's History see Bernard Broussard, *A History of St. Mary Parish* (Franklin LA: Broussard, 1977).

⁴⁹⁵ Return of Civil Appointments made in the Territory of Orleans from the 1st January 1811 to the 31 December of the same year, *Territorial Papers*, 9:984.

⁴⁹⁶ Bernard Broussard, *A History of St. Mary Parish* (Broussard, 1977), 13.

⁴⁹⁷ To Judge Lewis, 19 April 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:213-214.

⁴⁹⁸ To Henry Johnson Esqre. 1 May 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:222.

⁴⁹⁹ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 437.

⁵⁰⁰ Mary Elizabeth Sanders comp., St. Mary Parish 1813 Tax List in *Records of Attakapas District, Louisiana 1739-1811* (Franklin LA: Sanders, 1962), 92-93.

when in 1811 Claiborne directed Judge Johnson to make sure his friend Colonel Baker was made a justice, and a month later that a Mr. Riggs receive an appointment.⁵⁰¹

Judge Henry Johnson had the backing of the territorial governor in his quest for further offices as a territorial representative for St. Mary. Governor Claiborne also used Johnson to direct his political aims in the parish; when Duralde and Major Charles Olivier became potential senate candidates in 1812, Claiborne wrote to Johnson to get one or the other to drop out.⁵⁰² Given his strong endorsement of Olivier in the letter it is not entirely clear whether he wanted Johnson to remove Duralde, Claiborne's former father-in-law, or Olivier from seeking office.⁵⁰³ Some members of the Creole community of St. Mary criticized Claiborne for comments he had made because: "It had been asserted, that I had in the most positive & solemn manner promised the appointment of sheriff to a Creole Gentleman, & the very next day nominated G. W. Morgan."⁵⁰⁴ Thus, Creoles noted the tendency of the territorial government to turn to Anglo outsiders to the parish. In this case the Creole community accused Claiborne of rescinding an appointment proffered to a Creole and then given to an Anglo-American: notably, the sheriffs for St. Mary after Morgan remained Creole. In judicial positions, however, the United States continued to appoint Anglo-Americans with Judge John Wilkinson succeeding Judge Johnson in St. Mary. He was a man of some property, but not one of the larger landholders of the parish.⁵⁰⁵ Both Anglo-American and Creole appointees held

⁵⁰¹ To Judge Johnson, 15 June 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:277; To Judge Johnson, 20 July 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:310.

⁵⁰² Clarisse Duralde Claiborne died in 1808. Claiborne married Sophronia Bosque in 1812, which helps to explain Claiborne's indifference over Duralde's prospects. See Stanley Clisby Arthur and George Campbell Huchet de Kernion, *Old Families of Louisiana*, (Gretna LA: Pelican, 1998 [1931]), 146-147.

⁵⁰³ To Judge Johnson, 26 May 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:106-108.

⁵⁰⁴ To Judge Johnson, 26 May 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:106-108.

⁵⁰⁵ St. Mary Parish 1813 Tax List in *Records of Attakapas District, Louisiana 1739-1811* Compiled by Mary Elizabeth Sanders (Franklin LA: Sanders, 1962), 92-93.

appointments as justices. The justice appointments again illustrate that the territorial government turned to a number of Creole appointees, though the appointment of Biggs and Baker demonstrate that Anglos achieved such positions as well. In general Anglo appointees tended to own smaller slaveholdings within the parish. Justices, just as in Attakapas County, often had more substantial holdings than judges or sheriffs (see table 16).

Table 16. St. Martin and St. Mary Officials, Land and Slave Holdings

Name	Office	Tax 1808 Land and Slaves	Tax 1809 Slaves	Tax 1810 Slaves	Tax 1812 Slaves	Tax 1813 Slaves	Parish
Henry Johnson	Judge 1813					0	St. Mary
Ransom Easton	Judge 1813-1815				0		St. Martin
Paul L. Briant	Shf. 1813-15/Judge 1815-45						St. Martin
Bryan	Sheriff						St. Mary
Morgan	Sheriff						St. Mary
J. Charpentier	Sheriff						St. Mary
Thomas B. Brashear	Sheriff 1815-1822						St. Martin
P. F. Regnier	Justice 1811						St. Mary
Samuel Cook	Justice 1811						St. Mary
John Wilkinson	Justice 1811						St. Mary
John Olivier	Justice 1811						St. Mary
Joshua Baker	Justice 1811					32	St. Mary
William Biggs	Justice 1811	27 arpents				2	St. Mary
Dominique Prevost	Justice						St. Martin
David Rees	Justice						St. Martin
L. C. DeBlanc	Justice						St. Martin
Alexandre de Clouet	Justice				40		St. Martin
Olivier de Clouet	Justice						St. Martin
Fergus Fusilier	Justice						St. Martin
H. Eastin	Clerk 1813-1818						St. Martin
Ransom Eastin	Clerk 1819-1820						St. Martin
Mathew Nemo	Police Juror 1811						St. Martin
John Montet	Police Juror 1811				1		St. Martin
J. C. Perillot	Police Juror 1811				0		St. Martin
Francois Prince	Police Juror 1811	0 slaves		0			St. Martin
Dousouchet	Police Juror 1811	1 slave		1			St. Martin
Jacques Aigairde	Police Juror 1811	0 slaves		0			St. Martin
Francis Joiderie	Police Juror 1811						St. Martin
Baptiste Bonarie	Police Juror 1811						St. Martin
John Doucet	Police Juror 1811	0 slaves		0	0		St. Martin
H. Theale	Police Juror 1811			2			St. Martin
Daniel Norton	Police Juror 1811			2			St. Martin
John Bernard	Police Juror 1811		9				St. Martin
Devince	Police Juror 1811						St. Martin
Mathew Cellers	Police Juror 1811						St. Martin
Hypolite Trahan	Police Juror 1811	0 slaves		0			St. Martin
Louis St. Julien	Police Juror 1811	0 slaves					St. Martin
James Clark	Police Juror 1811	0 slaves		0			St. Martin
Lewis Broussard	Police Juror 1811						St. Martin
Elois Landry	Police Juror 1811			0			St. Martin
Anacelt Broussard	Police Juror 1811						St. Martin
Francis Provost	Police Juror 1811			15			St. Martin
John Taylor	Police Juror 1811						St. Martin
Sun. Bossier	Police Juror 1811						St. Martin
Jean Mouton	Police Juror 1811						St. Martin
Charles Babinau	Police Juror 1811	0 slaves		0	0		St. Martin

Table data based on.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁶ Attakapas County Papers, Attakapas Tax Rolls 1808-1810, St. Martin Tax List 1812, Mss. 10, 13 A:17, Records, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collection, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge LA; St. Martin Parish Conveyances Records, 1806-1820; St. Martin Parish Sheriff's Book, 1814-1820; *Louisiana*

In St. Martin the same dominance of Anglo-Americans in judgeships was not as prevalent as it was in St. Mary or as it had been under the county of Attakapas. In St. Martin, Ransom Easton took the place of Seth Lewis who moved on to the circuit court.⁵⁰⁷ Judge Ransom Easton served from 1813 to 1815 and was replaced by a Francophone Judge Paul L. Briant who served from 1815 to 1845, when his son succeeded him. Briant was born in Saint Domingue, had served in the French army and gone on to Jamaica and then to New Orleans before the U.S. cession. He operated as a merchant in St. Martin Parish and then began to practice law before going on to serve as sheriff.⁵⁰⁸ The average slaveholder in St. Martin in 1812 had over three slaves.⁵⁰⁹ In 1812 Ransom Easton held none.⁵¹⁰ St. Martin Parish sheriffs and justices like St. Mary included Anglo-Americans and Francophones. The justices listed clearly on tax lists reflect the same trend as the justices in the greater county of Attakapas, with more landholders with larger holdings serving as justices more frequently than in higher level judicial appointments. The police jurors appear to have been selected from among lesser property holders for the most part, with a few larger property holders sitting as well.

Gazette [New Orleans], 12 March 1812.; *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 26 November 1813; St. Mary Parish Conveyances, 1807-1820; St. Mary Parish Mortgages, 1811-1820; St. Mary Parish Minute Books, 1811-1820; 5 April 1816 and 8 April 1816; Return of Civil Appointments made in the Territory of Orleans from the 1st January 1811 to the 31st December of the same year, *Territorial Papers*, 9:985-986; Opelousas 2 February 1811, in *Calendar of St. Landry Parish Louisiana, Civil Records vol. 1, 1803-1819*, Judy Riffel ed. (Baton Rouge: Le Comité des Archives de la Louisiane, 1995), 125. Betty Pourciaux, *St. Martin Parish History* (Baton Rouge: Let Comité des Archives de la Louisiane, 1985), 10-14. Of three Jean Moutons listed in 1812 one had seven one had twenty-eight and one had zero slaves and of those Moutons another owed taxes as a nonresident in St. Landry from 1810 and 1811. John Olivier along with his brothers held land comparable to their fathers with sixteen slaves and one hundred and thirty-five arpents of land in 1810, William Biggs had held twenty-seven arpents of land in 1808.

⁵⁰⁷ A Message from the Governor, Making Several Nominations, 4 September 1812, *Letter Books*, 5:172.

⁵⁰⁸ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 109-110.

⁵⁰⁹ Attakapas County Papers, St. Martin Tax List 1812, Mss. 13 A:17, Records, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collection, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge LA.

⁵¹⁰ Attakapas County Papers, St. Martin Tax List 1812, Mss. 13 A:17, Records, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collection, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge LA.

The U.S. territorial government did not feel a need to appoint Creoles to the same extent in Attakapas as it did in parishes to the east. The Attakapas parishes in turn cast votes for Anglos at the state level. Nowhere was this preference for Anglos more clear than in the 1816 Governor's election, in which Jacques Villere ran against Joshua Lewis. Both of the Attakapas parishes voted for Lewis over Villere. St. Martin cast two hundred and nineteen votes for Lewis and one hundred and eighty-one for Villere while electing De Blanc and Porter as representatives (covering both linguistic groups) while St. Mary cast seventy-one votes for Lewis and thirty-nine for Villere while electing A. Thomas as their representative.⁵¹¹ The close gubernatorial race reflects a significant Anglo population within the parish. Villere won the governor's race in 1816, but without the support of the Attakapas country, which chose to cast its vote for the Anglo candidate. Given these totals it appears that the Anglo population of the two Attakapas parishes made up the majority of voters or that Francophones in the parishes did not vote along linguistic lines.

The county of Opelousas and the parish of St. Landry reflected much the same trend in terms of appointments. The Opelousas post commandant after Henry Hopkins in 1805, John Bowyer had problems with Hopkins, the commandant of Attakapas, at times over authority and police powers within their two parishes.⁵¹² Though Claiborne never criticized Bowyer's conduct, he failed to sympathize with him as he did Lieutenant Hopkins. Bowyer also appeared to have had problems with the locals, particularly one Robert Rogers charged by the territory for assaulting the captain in the territory.⁵¹³

⁵¹¹ *Louisiana Gazette and Mercantile Advertiser* [New Orleans], 7 July 1816.

⁵¹² Governor Claiborne to John Bowyer, 23 March 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:422.

⁵¹³ Judy Riffel, ed., Opelousas 5 July 1806 in *Calendar of St. Landry Parish Louisiana, Civil Records vol. 1, 1803-1819* (Baton Rouge: Le Comité des Archives de la Louisiane, 1995), 77.

Rogers had a bit of a violent streak as he was also charged for assault and battery against a James Reed the same year.⁵¹⁴ Rogers was a prominent landholder in the area, and these violent acts did not prohibit him from serving in public office later. When John Bowyer was involved in a court martial Claiborne briefly appointed Theophilus Collins as the commandant of Opelousas in his stead.⁵¹⁵

As in St. Mary, Anglo-American judges were the rule in Opelousas and St. Landry. The Anglo-American judges appointed reflect a decision on the part of Claiborne to turn to outsiders, military officials and more recent Anglo-American immigrants, often men of a lower economic position in the parish, rather than local grandees. As in the Attakapas country, lower level officials better represented the local elite. In 1807 with just four hundred and sixty-nine taxpayers there were one hundred and eighteen slaves, making the average slaveholding rate for taxpayers in 1807 at just a quarter of a percent; those same one hundred and eighteen tax payers held on average eight hundred and thirteen arpents of land.⁵¹⁶ In 1817 the average amount of acreage per taxpayer was five hundred and nine acres and three slaves; and by 1818 the average amount of acreage a taxpayer had was four hundred and seventy-five acres and over three slaves.⁵¹⁷ These trends illustrate a growing population that had to divide a finite amount of usable land, but also the inroads that plantation agriculture and slavery made within the region.

St. Landry officials had lower levels of turnover in office. The judges from the parish of St. Landry included Thomas Collins, 1805-1807, John Thompson 1807-1812 and

⁵¹⁴ Judy Riffel, ed., Opelousas 1806, in *Calendar of St. Landry Parish Louisiana, Civil Records vol. 1, 1803-1819* (Baton Rouge: Le Comité des Archives de la Louisiane, 1995), 79.

⁵¹⁵ Governor Claiborne to John Bowyer, 19 April 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:437.

⁵¹⁶ Averages based on totals from Winston De Ville, *Southwest Louisiana in 1807: The Land and Slave Tax of Landry Parish in the Territory of Orleans* (Ville Platte LA: De Ville, 1993), 37.

George R. King, 1812-1842.⁵¹⁸ None of these men belonged to the local Francophone elite. In making militia commissions Hopkins was left to his own discretion within Attakapas, though in Opelousas Claiborne instructed him to take the advice of Judge Collins and to commission Mr. Elmer a colonel in the militia.⁵¹⁹ George King had immigrated to Louisiana from Virginia by way of Kentucky. He had been on diplomatic missions to New Orleans and in 1794 had fought alongside General Anthony Wayne in the Old Northwest Territory before moving to New Orleans around 1795; he was the clerk for Opelousas County and a major in the eighth militia regiment, before becoming the local judge.⁵²⁰ Though King held slaves and lands well above the average there were far more prominent planters within the parish. King proved to be not particularly conscientious in his tax collecting duties, and the State House of Representatives recommended that he be removed from office in 1818 because of this negligence.⁵²¹ Just as with Collins, local militia appointments and lesser offices flowed through George King, as illustrated by his securing a militia position for Fontenot as a major as well as other captains and lieutenants.⁵²²

Collins, Thompson and King did not use their positions to create an Anglo-American party within the parish to control parish offices; Creoles predominantly controlled lower level positions. Nor did Anglo-Americans receive extra protection. Judge King removed

⁵¹⁷ Averages based on totals from Ramona A. Smith, ed., *Landholders of Southwest Louisiana: Tax Lists for St. Landry Parish, 1817 and 1818* (Ville Platte LA: De Ville, 1990), Appendix C and Appendix D, 58-59.

⁵¹⁸ Register of Civil Appointments in the Territory of Orleans, 13 February 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:598-599.

⁵¹⁹ To Colonel Henry Hopkins, 24 November 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:236.

⁵²⁰ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 465; List of Civil and Military Officers, 21 April 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:835.

⁵²¹ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 35.

⁵²² To Col. George King, 13 November 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:378-379.

Kentuckian Cornelius Voorhies as local tax collector, for holding on to public money too long without turning it over to Colonel Wykoff as instructed by the territorial Treasurer.⁵²³ Though this did not prevent Voorhies from serving in similar posts, Voorhies needed to explain his conduct to the governor, and the state legislature was kept apprized of his lack of action.⁵²⁴ As clerk of court for St. Landry, John Thompson was charged with the blank commissions that Claiborne sent out.⁵²⁵ Thompson served in the militia as a colonel before Claiborne eventually named him to the judiciary.⁵²⁶ The clerk of court post was a stepping-stone, with both King and Thompson moving on to judgeships and Sutton serving in a variety of positions.

Sheriffs in Opelousas like sheriffs in Attakapas tended to come from far more modest backgrounds. Sheriff Cornelius Voorhies with his connection to his wife's family exceeded the average land and slaveholdings as did another sheriff, Theophilus Collins, but the rest of the sheriffs owned smaller holdings. Lower level policing appointments, as could be expected, tended to come by and large from men of lesser means, though men with more property used the positions as a stepping-stone to something greater. Justices of the peace and police jurors within St. Landry often attained far larger holdings than the judges, sheriffs and lesser police officials. They came from both Anglo-American and Francophone groups. As with other officials in Opelousas several of the justices were

⁵²³ To Judge King, 17 May 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:243; Harry Lewis Griffin, *The Attakapas Country* (Gretna LA: Firebird Press, 1999), 195-196. Though an American King had married into a prominent local Italian family the Gradenigos.

⁵²⁴ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 16.

⁵²⁵ A Register of Civil Appointment, 30 June 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:749-751.

⁵²⁶ A Register of Civil Appointments, 30 June 1807, William Garrard to the President, 20 January 1812, *Territorial Papers*, 9:749. Thompson would serve until he shot himself in 1812. See *Territorial Papers*, 9:988.

involved in violent altercations.⁵²⁷ Another justice from 1806, Jacob Lavender, pressed charges against Thomas Seaman for assault and battery; Seaman had attacked another man, Charles Johnson, who himself had been charged for assaulting Stephen Lamorandier.⁵²⁸ The large number of charges for assault and battery that involved public officials within St. Landry, either as victims or perpetrators, reveals the frontier nature of the parish where violence was commonplace, which could degrade respect for U.S. law. This sort of violence both by and upon officials created struggles between individuals, but they did not appear to bar men from further offices. Known justices for St. Landry also reflect a higher proportion of elite members and larger slaveholders in line with Attakapas, but also with their neighbors to the east along the river. Police jurors for St. Landry reflected much the same trend with several prominent planters serving. At the same time, as a larger body the police jury proved more diverse in terms of class and ethnicity. Rogers's indictment for assault against the former commandant clearly did not bar him from public office within the eyes of the local judge, as he served as a police juror. Although Rogers was a large property holder, however, the police jury was the highest political position he would hold within the parish.⁵²⁹ Figures like Jany, who served as a police juror, moved on to higher offices, but for most of the men police jury

⁵²⁷ In 1806 constable William Montgomery was charged with assault and battery by Barteas Lavergne and in 1811 sheriff Cornelius Voorhies was charged with assault and battery of a Mr. James Murphy. See Opelousas 21 May 1806 and Opelousas 1811, in Judy Riffel ed., *Calendar of St. Landry Parish Louisiana, Civil Records vol. 1, 1803-1819* (Baton Rouge: Le Comité des Archives de la Louisiane, 1995), 76; 118.

⁵²⁸ Opelousas 4 May 1806; 18 May 1806; 21 May 1806 in Judy Riffel, ed., *Calendar of St. Landry Parish Louisiana, Civil Records vol. 1, 1803-1819* (Baton Rouge: Le Comité des Archives de la Louisiane, 1995), 72-73.

⁵²⁹ Nor did the failure to pay taxes appear to bar one from juror service, as Bossman Hays owed back taxes as a non-resident for land in St. Landry in 1810. See Winston De Ville, ed., *Southwest Louisiana in 1807: The Land and Slave Tax of St. Landry Parish in the Territory of Orleans* (Ville Platte LA: De Ville, 1993); Ramona A. Smith, ed., *Landholders of Southwest Louisiana: Tax Lists for St. Landry Parish, 1817 and 1818* (Ville Platte LA: De Ville, 1990); Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 1, Avoyelles and St. Landry Parish, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1995); *Louisiana Gazette*, 12 March 1812.

service remained the only public service they engaged in. The available information for the police jurors of 1811 illustrates the growth of slavery within the parish, particularly among the elite landholders of the parish. Thus, known police jurors for the most part illustrate higher numbers of large land and slaveholders, though to be sure as a group they were more diverse in class background than the justices (see table 17).

Table 17. Opelousas/St. Landry Officials, Land and Slave Holdings

Name	Office	Tax 1807		Census 1810 Slaves	Tax 1817-1818		Census 1820 Slaves
		Arpents	Slaves		Arpents	Slaves	
Thomas Collins	Judge 1805-1807						
John Thompson	Judge 1807-1812, Justice 1814-15	2	1		3870	10	
George R. King	Clerk 1805-1807/Judge 1812-42	1760	5	14	3910	8	13
Daniel J. Sutton	Clerk 1807-1810/Justice 1806, 1813				2360	1	
John Bowyer	Commandant/Sheriff 1805-1807			0			
Elisha Owens	Sheriff 1807-1810	643	1				
Cornelius Voorhies	Sheriff 1810-1815	30	1	4			
Samuel McIntire	Sheriff 1815-1818/Police Juror 1809				640	0	
Hubert Jany	Sheriff 1818-1819	156	0	2	1021	2	4
Theophilus Collins	Sheriff 1819-1821	3770	16		0	2	10
Samuel Hamilton	Const. 1813/Dep. Sheriff 1815, 1819				2 tw n lots	0	0
Howell Jones	Constable 1813						
Joseph L. Hanchett	Constable 1814						
James Ray	Deputy Sheriff 1817						
William Davis	Constable 1817				0	3/2	
David Rohrer	Constable 1818				0		
Anthony Montpelier	Dep. Sheriff 1818, 1819						0
Andrew J. Thompson	Dep. Sheriff 1806						
Joseph Reeves	Dep. Constable 1806				130	0	
Pierre Lacombe	Constable 1818						
M. Dejeane	Justice 1806	5140	27				
C. Cretion	Justice 1806						
John Andrews	Justice 1806						
L. Fonteneau	Justice 1806						
Thomas Elmer	Justice 1806	1476	2				
Jacob Lavender	Justice 1808						
Francis Robin	Justice 1809	648	8	36		47	45
Martin Allen	Justice 1811						
Benjamin A. Smith	Justice 1813	720	20	34	1280	19	
Jean M. Debaillon	Justice 1813			9	500	8	16
Samuel Laughlin	Justice 1813			0	570	2	6
Celestin Lavergne	Juror 1813, 1818 (res.)/Justice 1814				480	1	7
Joseph E. Andrus	Police Juror 1813 (res.)/Justice 1814	5880	42	47	9035/7175	51/27	44
Jacob Harman	Justice 1814/Juror 1811, 1816 (res.)						
Hubert Jany	Justice 1814						
Etienne Fusilier	Justice 1814				180	2	3
Francois Coulon DeVilliers	Justice 1814	116			400	4	11
Luke Lesassier	Justice 1815		1		480	9	8
Allan Magruder	Police Juror 1816/Justice 1816						
Urban Plauche	Justice 1817						
Robert Morrow	Justice 1817				80	0	
Benjamin Miller	Justice 1817						
Evan Baker	Justice 1817						
Mark Eliche	Justice 1817						
Francois Tournier	Justice 1817						
Robert Rousseau	Justice 1817						
Guy Hamilton Bell	Justice 1818				400	0	
Garrigues de Flaujac	Justice 1818	200		10	3020 /1580	30	41
Hackaliah Theall	Police Juror 1809		6				
Cesar Hanchett	Police Juror 1809, 1816			1	195	2	3
Samuel Laughlin	Police Juror 1809			0	570	2	6
Robert Rogers	Police Juror 1809						
Bosman Hayes	Police Juror 1809, 1816	2940	8	9	2480/2480	28/25	35
James L. Johnson	Police Juror 1809	800	3	6	800	/10	0
Charles Peck	Police Juror 1809						
George Forem	Police Juror 1809						
William Hays	Police Juror 1809	64	0	1			

Table 17 Continued.

Name	Office	Tax 1807		Census 1810 Slaves	Tax 1817-1818		Census 1820 Slaves
		Arpents	Slaves		Arpents	Slaves	
Solomon Cole	Police Juror 1809	200	0	0	640/640		
John P. Bily.	Police Juror 1809	640	0	1			1
Jean Pierre Doucet	Police Juror 1811	2		0			
Pierre B. Fontenot fils	Police Juror 1811	480	0	1	620	4	6
Louis Guillory	Police Juror 1811	586	5				
Jean Joubert	Police Juror 1811	360	0	10	1680/1680	13/15	16
Alexander Rozat	Police Juror 1811			0	300/300	4	
Baptiste Richard	Police Juror 1811						0
Baptiste Vidrine	Police Juror 1811, 1814	1000		1	1430/1430	10/10	11
Francois Fontenot	Police Juror 1811						
Lewis Soileau	Police Juror 1811	400	0	1	520/520	4/5	0
Piere Potier	Police Juror 1811	120	0	0	120/120	7/7	8
William Gilchrist	Police Juror 1811			5	340/340	8/8	
John B. Mayer	Police Juror 1811	640	0	1	640/640	7/7	6
Joseph Lejeune	Police Juror 1811			0			
Andre Weaver	Police Juror 1811, 1813				1440/1440	11/11	
Augustin Guillory	Police Juror 1811						
Michel Prudhomme fils	Police Juror 1811			0	400/400	5/6	5
Joseph Matt	Police Juror 1811			5			
Jean B. Figurant	Police Juror 1811	200	0		440/440		0
Jacob Bihm	Police Juror 1811	876	8	8	350/400	2/2	10
Joaquin Ortego	Police Juror 1811, 1814			1	1700/	3/	5
Francois Richard	Police Juror 1811	600	1	10	0	4/4	
Louis Belair Fontenot	Police Juror 1811	370	0	2	150/150	4/4	
William Moore	Police Juror 1813, 1818 (res.)	720	5	8	1000/1000	11	15
Peter Christien	Police Juror 1813	80	0		/662	/3	7
Jean Castille	Police Juror 1813	1000					
William Harthom	Police Juror 1813 (res.)		7		628/628	18/18	
Laurent Dupre	Police Juror 1813	600			640/640	0/0	0
Michel Carriere	Police Juror 1813	1120	3	6	/1600	11	17
Dennis McDaniel	Police Juror 1813	1280	0	6			
Jean Ponsony	Police Juror 1813		0	0	2007/2007	1	4
Philip J. L. Fontenot	Police Juror 1813 (res.)				340/	1/	3
Honore Delachaise	Police Juror 1814	120					16
Raphael Smith	Police Juror 1814	1600	3	5	/105	/6	
John Clark Littell	Police Juror 1814		0		/2400	/10	32
Dominique Richard	Police Juror 1814			0			
David Todd	Police Juror 1815				120/120	0/0	1
Elias Stein	Police Juror 1815-16				5.5/19	8	10
Jacques Dupre	Police Juror 1815			0	0/	5/	
Andrew Deshotels	Police Juror 1815			8	/4247	/29	43
Jean J. Rousseau	Police Juror 1815				/400	/1	2
William Lyons	Police Juror 1816			0	/920	/5	
Baptist Johnson	Police Juror 1816	480	0		0/0	24/24	
Francois C. Villier	Police Juror 1816			7	/950	/42	
Charles Fusilier	Police Juror 1816				/72		
Valery Bordelon	Police Juror 1817						0
Narcisse Mayeux	Police Juror 1817						
William Reed	Police Juror 1817				/200	0/0	0
J. J. Louaillier	Police Juror 1818						6
Jacques Arnaud	Police Juror 1818				/120	/1	7
Gabriel Lyons	Police Juror 1818	320	0	2	/320	/5	12
Joseph L. Fontenot	Police Juror 1818 (res.)	3040	15	21	/5040	/36	47
Alex B. Fontenot	Police Juror 1818	420	4	6	/160		10

Table data based on.⁵³⁰

⁵³⁰ Winston De Ville, ed., *Southwest Louisiana in 1807: The Land and Slave Tax of Landry Parish in the Territory of Orleans* (Ville Platte LA: De Ville, 1993); Ramona A. Smith, ed., *Landholders of Southwest Louisiana: Tax Lists for St. Landry Parish, 1817 and 1818* (Ville Platte LA: De Ville, 1990); Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 1, Avoyelles and St. Landry Parish, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970). Calendar of St. Landry Parish Louisiana, Civil Records vol. 1, 1803-1819 Edited by Judy Riffel (Baton Rouge: Le Comité des Archives de la Louisiane, 1995), 61, 73, 77, 109, 125, 166-168, 172-174, 176, 179, 183, 189, 190, 192, 193, 202; Register of Civil Appointments in the Territory of Orleans, February 13, 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:598-599. Secretary Robertson to the Secretary of State, January 17, 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:824; Return of Civil Appointments Made in the Territory of Orleans from the 1st January 1811 to the 31st of December of the Same Year, *Territorial Papers*, 9:984; Civil Appointments, *Letter Books*, 4:386; Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Louisiana (Shreveport LA: J. & W. Enterprises, 1990), 4; Keith P. Fontenot, *Southwest Louisiana Courthouse*

Other prominent Opelousas citizens included William Wikoff, whom the President recommended for the Legislative Council.⁵³¹ William Darby in his examination of the prairies of Opelousas and the land used for cattle wrote: “It may be presumed that Mr. Wikoff is at this time the greatest pastoral farmer in the United States.”⁵³² Wikoff was one of the first people to be recommended to the U.S. government. General James Wilkinson enclosed a letter from Villere to the President: “Wikoff of the Appalousas an American is reputed, the man of first fortune and influence there (for in Louisiana they are inseparable) and it is certain he was among the most early settlers, but He is ignorant.”⁵³³ The comment linking fortune and influence, describes the wide power that large planters yielded within their community. Despite the statement about his ignorance,

Inventory, volume 1, St. Landry Parish Louisiana, (Rayne LA: Hebert Publications, 1996), 373, 382. The fact that the tax lists for Opelousas show cattle is telling, as some other parishes tax lists do not, which demonstrates that types of wealth varied in Opelousas along with the demographics in contrast to parishes to the east. By 1818 of three John Thompsons listed the largest holding increased to over three thousand nine hundred and seventy and ten slaves, by 1820 of the three John Thompsons listed one held twenty-two slaves, the other two John Thompsons had one and three. Lejeune, Gilchrist and Richard’s are all in two holdings, Lejeune Sr; by 1810 Robin had increased his slaveholdings substantially to thirty-six slaves and by 1820 that number had increased to forty-five while his son had another eighteen; in 1807 Jacob Harman Sr. held one thousand four hundred and forty arpents as did his son, though Harman Sr. held seven slaves as opposed to the two of his son, by 1817 and 1818 Jacob Harmon had three thousand seven hundred and twenty acres with six slaves and in 1820 eight slaves; by 1818 the older Michel Carriere held two hundred and forty acres and five slaves while the son held four hundred and forty acres and two slaves, in 1820 both father and son had four slaves; The Louaillier family had significant holdings though none listed specifically under J. J on the tax lists, in 1820 though Louaillier had six slaves. A Grand Jury found Sutton guilty of neglecting his duties as a constable. See Opelousas 22 July 1806 in *Calendar of St. Landry Parish Louisiana, Civil Records vol. 1, 1803-1819*, Judy Riffel ed. (Baton Rouge: Le Comité des Archives de la Louisiane, 1995), 79. Even so this did not stop Sutton from receiving further appointments like his appointment as a clerk of court the following year. Sutton was a prominent dealer in land and frequently found himself pursuing cases against his fellow citizens in order to collect debts. See Opelousas, 1806-1807; Opelousas 13 November 1811; Opelousas 28 August 1811 in *Calendar of St. Landry Parish Louisiana, Civil Records vol. 1, 1803-1819*, Judy Riffel ed. (Baton Rouge: Le Comité des Archives de la Louisiane, 1995), 84; 136; 137.

⁵³¹ The President to Governor Claiborne, 30 August 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:283. Wikoff also received an appointment as an auctioneer and as one of the Treasurers of Opelousas along with Thomas Elmer. See Register of Civil Appointments in the Territory of Orleans, 13 February 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:601.

⁵³² Winston De Ville, ed., *Southwest Louisiana in 1807: The Land and Slave Tax of Landry Parish in the Territory of Orleans* (Ville Platte LA: De Ville, 1993); William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), 89.

⁵³³ James Wilkinson to the President, 1 July 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:256.

Claiborne recommended both Wikoff and Collins to the President for appointments.⁵³⁴ Claiborne described them as: “Native Americans, Men of clear property, sense and Integrity;--of their political sentiments I have no knowledge.”⁵³⁵ The political positions of appointees seem like important information, but in Louisiana, particularly in the first years after the transfer, local Creole elites’ opinions on Republicanism and Federalism proved of far less importance than that the education, wealth, personal or factional loyalty, and national origin of the individual suit the appointment, an occasional “ignorant” notwithstanding. In large part this proved true because so few Federalists could be found within the territory. Wikoff as a man of great wealth and influence and an Anglo-American immigrant to the territory served as an important Claiborne ally. It is also possible that the potential appointees were not good Republicans and Claiborne chose to keep Jefferson ignorant of such knowledge. Given the various calculations and factions within both the Francophone and Anglo communities, the partisan conflict frequently remained an afterthought, but it could prove important in several parishes to divide the Anglo-American appointees from other Anglo-American immigrants into the territory. The Republican/Federalist divide remained important to some individuals, and of great importance to the administration in Washington, but it was not the primary focus of territorial officials.

Representatives from Opelousas came from both the Anglo and Francophone communities. The most longstanding legislator for the period from Opelousas was Garrigues Flaujac who represented Opelousas at the first, second, third and fourth state

⁵³⁴ Persons Recommended by Governor Claiborne for Members of the Legislative Council of the Orleans Territory in Joseph Briggs to the President, 17 August 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:277.

⁵³⁵ Governor Claiborne to the President, 30 August 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:285.

senates.⁵³⁶ Garrigues Flaugac had served as a French infantry officer in Europe and then Saint Domingue before immigrating to Opelousas and marrying into the Fontenot family. Flaujac became a brigadier general in the Louisiana militia in 1812.⁵³⁷ Garrigues Flaujac served as Opelousas's only state senator throughout the period, providing continuity for Opelousas and illustrating that more recent Francophone immigrants to the territory could secure election (see table 18). These same figures also often proved more willing to cooperate with U.S. territorial officials than native-born Francophone Louisianans.

Table 18. Opelousas Elected Officials, Land and Slave Holdings

Name	Office	Tax 1807		Census 1810 Slaves	Tax 1817		Tax 1818		Census 1820 Slaves
		Arp.	Slaves		Arp.	Slaves	Arp.	Slaves	
Louis Fontenot	Ter. Leg., 1805-1806	720	5	8					
Luke Collins	Ter. Leg., 1805-1809	2240	4	4					0
Joseph O. Parrot	Ter. Leg., 1807-1809								
Joachim Ortego	Ter. Leg., 1809-	600	1	10	0	4	0	4	
Francois Robin	Ter. Leg., 1809-	648	8	36				47	
Allan B. Magruder	Con. Conv./House 2:2, 4:2				1200		1200	0	
D. J. Sutton	Con. Conv./House 2				2360	1			
John Thompson	Con. Conv./House 1,4	2	1				3870	10	
Lewis Louallier	House 1-2:1	45	4						
C. Lavergne	House 3-4:1	840	4				160	2	6
Jacques Dupre	House 3						4000	29	43
Gerard Chrestien	House 3								
David L. Todd	House 4						19	8	10
Garrigues Flaujac	Senate 1-4	200	6		3000	30			41

Table data based on.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁶ *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 4; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 43; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815); *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 8; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 13; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820).

⁵³⁷ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 336.

⁵³⁸ Winston De Ville, ed., *Southwest Louisiana in 1807: The Land and Slave Tax of Landry Parish in the Territory of Orleans* (Ville Platte LA: De Ville, 1993); Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 1, Avoyelles and St. Landry Parish, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970); Ramona A. Smith, ed., *Landholders of Southwest Louisiana: Tax Lists for St. Landry Parish, 1817 and 1818* (Ville Platte LA: De Ville, 1990); *Mississippi Messenger* [Natchez], 3 December 1805; To the Sheriff of the County of Opelousas; and all others concerned, 20 June 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:337; *Courier de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 18 January 1809; *Constitution or Form of Government of the State of Louisiana*; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 2; *The Louisiana Gazette* [New Orleans], 12 January 1807; *Journal of the House of Representative of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813),

The Eighth Regiment of the Territorial and state militia was drawn largely from Attakapas and Opelousas. In 1805 John Thompson, originally from Virginia became the colonel of the eighth militia regiment and George King and Charles Oliver served as majors (see table 19).⁵³⁹

3; Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 3, 8; Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3; Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3; Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3; Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 4; Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3; Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 43; Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815); Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 8; Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3; Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 13; Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820). Parrot owed back taxes as a non-resident in St. Landry from 1807-1812 see *Louisiana Gazette* [New Orleans], 12 March 1812.

⁵³⁹ Register of Appointments in the Militia of the Territory of Orleans, 8 May 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:637-638; List of the Principal officers in the Territory of Orleans, 21 April 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:838.

Table 19. Eighth Militia Regiment, Slave Holdings

Name	Rank	1808	1810	1812	1813	1820	Parish/County
John Thompson	Colonel						St. Landry
George King	Major		14			13	St. Landry
Charles Oliver	Major	16			0		St. Mary
Alexander Declouet	Captain	0		40			Attakapas
Clair	Captain						
Dubuclay	Captain				0		St. Mary
David Rees	Captain						
Agricola Fusilier	Captain				0		St. Mary
Theophilus Elmer	Captain		5			5	St. Landry
Ancelot Cormier	Captain		7				St. Landry
Raphael Smith	Captain					32	St. Landry
Louis Fontenot	Captain						St. Landry
Alexander Delhomme	1 st Lieutenant						
Despanet Deblanc	1 st Lieutenant						
Maxemilion Judice	1 st Lieutenant			4			St. Martin
Godefrois Decuire	1 st Lieutenant						
Louis Tauriac	1 st Lieutenant					5	St. Landry
Etienne Lamorandier	1 st Lieutenant						
David Guidry	1 st Lieutenant		17			52	St. Landry
Louis Carrier	1 st Lieutenant		5			8	St. Landry
William Montgomery	1 st Lieutenant and adjutant						
Joseph Lathiolais Archile	2 nd Lieutenant			15			St. Martin
Berard	2 nd Lieutenant				3		St. Mary
Baptist Bonin	2 nd Lieutenant						
Vincent Labbe	2 nd Lieutenant			8			St. Martin
Joseph Gradinigo	2 nd Lieutenant		10			33	St. Landry
Pierre Chritien	2 nd Lieutenant		35				St. Landry
Cadet Potier	2 nd Lieutenant						
Jaques Dupres	2 nd Lieutenant		12			43	St. Landry
Hypolite Chritien	Ensign					51	St. Landry
Alexander Delahoussay	Ensign						
Edmond Thoulson	Captain						
John McClelland	1 st Lieutenant		0				St. Landry
John Dorman	2 nd Lieutenant					2	St. Landry
Joseph Richard	2 nd Lieutenant						
Chritien	2 nd Lieutenant						
William Wikoff	Colonel 1813						
Pierre Allain	Major 1813						
Nathan Meriam	Major 1813						

Table data based on.⁵⁴⁰

The demography and geography of Attakapas and Opelousas led to different appointment policies on the part of W. C. C. Claiborne and the territorial government than they had used in the parishes to the east, given the presence of a larger Anglo population, the proximity of the Spanish to the west, and divisions within local communities. In the case of Attakapas, U.S. officials on the whole chose to appoint

⁵⁴⁰ Of two John Thompsons listed from St. Landry in 1810 one had six slaves and the other none, while in 1820 of three listed one had three, one nine and one twelve; of four Louis Fontenots listed in 1810 one had zero, one four, one eight and one forty; Lamorandier Senior of St. Landry held six slaves in 1810 and nine in 1820 while his son held fourteen in 1810 and twenty in 1820; Delahoussay's heirs in 1813 held none, though by 1816 the same heirs of Delahoussay owed taxes as a non-resident in 1816. Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 1, Avoyelles and St. Landry Parish, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1995); Attakapas County Papers, Attakapas Tax Rolls 1808-1810, St. Martin Tax List 1812, Mss. 10, 13 A:17, Records, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collection, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge LA; St. Mary Parish 1813 Tax List in Mary Elizabeth Sanders, comp., *Records of Attakapas District, Louisiana 1739-1811* (Franklin LA: Sanders, 1962); Register of Appointments in the Militia of the Territory of Orleans, 8 May 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:637-638; Return

Anglo outsiders to commandant and judicial positions. At the same time, however, territorial and local officials consciously selected local Francophone grandes as justices of the peace in order to better meet the needs of the local population, including Native Americans, for justice and security. The position of Attakapas and Opelousas along with the Spanish frontier and the existence of Native American tribes within the area required the U.S. government and local Anglo-American officials to pursue policies and strategies that would unify the local population and make allowances for Francophone and native inhabitants of the area. Judges and high local officials generally were Anglo-American newcomers to the parishes, but Claiborne and those judges then selected prominent Creoles for lower level positions in order to continue to garner Creole support for U.S. sovereignty in an area where (despite the larger Anglo population when compared to parishes to the east) it was less secure. The need to address the concerns of locals and Native American tribes proved all the more necessary because of increased U.S. immigration into the area. U.S. settlers, speculators, and traders all placed new pressures on land, exchange, and security that the territorial government had to address in order to keep public order with older established groups concerned by the changes brought about by U.S. sovereignty. Thus, Anglo-American newcomers to the area far more than older established groups caused the problems of U.S. governance in Attakapas and Opelousas.

of Appointments in the Militia of the Territory of Orleans, from the 1st day of July 1806, to the 31st day of December 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:699; *Moniteur de la Louisiane*, 1 April 1813.

CHAPTER V

THE NORTH

Parishes to the north of Attakapas and Opelousas resembled them in that they were located along frontiers that bordered Spanish territories and contained a significant Native American presence (see figure 6). The northern parishes differed substantially from those to the south in other respects, however, in that they tended to have fewer slaves and larger Anglo-American populations. These two qualities at first made the parishes of lesser concern for the government in New Orleans, as they reduced worries over the loyalty of the population and security. In the long term, however, Anglo-American immigration proved problematic in terms of keeping the peace between the newcomers and older Creole inhabitants and between different factions of Anglo-Americans. The presence of the Spanish and of native tribes necessitated the appointment of military commandants at the beginning of the U.S. cession and raised concerns for territorial officials over the competence of Indian agents and local militias, particularly in the northernmost counties of Natchitoches in the west and Ouachita in the east. Anglo-American settlers and land speculators disrupted relations between older Creole elites and Native Americans in the north. At the same time, the presence of a contested Spanish frontier and Anglo-American bandits and filibusters who operated within it endangered local security and trade. U.S. officials assumed that Creole populations would prove difficult to govern, but in reality it was Anglo-American immigration into these parishes that disrupted older arrangements over land and law while complicating relations with Native Americans and the Spanish to the west. The transfer to U.S. sovereignty and Anglo-American immigration created new security

problems along the frontier that U.S. officials in the northern parishes struggled to solve by balancing the concerns of the Creole and Native American populations with those of new Anglo-American settlers while continuing to keep peace along the borders.

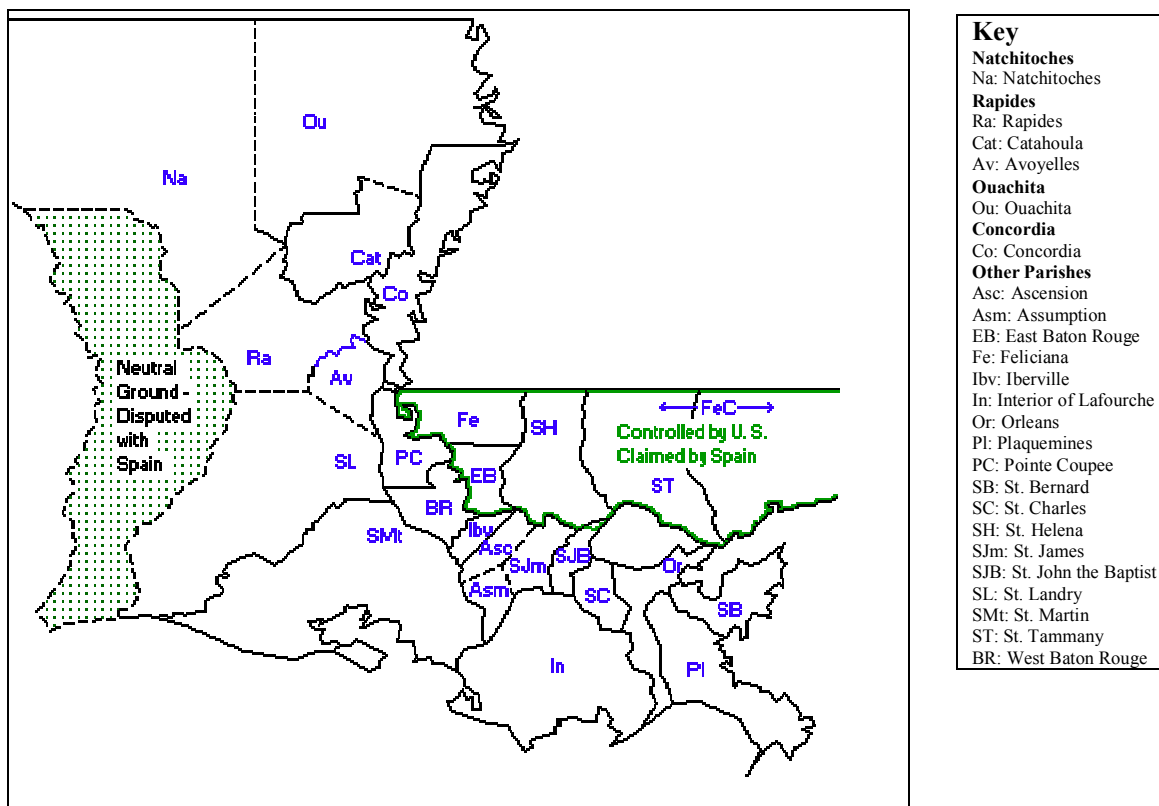


Fig. 6. Map of the North in the Territory of Orleans 1810.⁵⁴¹

The counties of Natchitoches and Rapides, which included the (noncontiguous) parishes of Catahoula and Avoyelles, lay to the north of the Opelousas country along the Red River. The two counties had smaller populations than those to the east, but saw tremendous growth over the first two decades of American control. Natchitoches was founded in 1714, earlier than New Orleans. The area retained a large Indian population

⁵⁴¹ mylouisianagenealogy.com (2009).

and the trade with the Caddo, Comanche, and other tribes became one of the primary occupations for settlers, along with the farming of corn, cotton and tobacco.⁵⁴² The United States Indian Factory and private Anglo-American and Creole traders exchanged blankets, firearms and luxury items for bear and deer-skins.⁵⁴³ Natchitoches was the center for Spanish and French power in northern Louisiana, serving as a midpoint between New Orleans and Spanish possessions in Mexico and the west. Under the United States Natchitoches continued to trade with the Spanish and the Caddo and other tribes in the area, but it also exported tobacco and livestock to New Orleans. To the east of Natchitoches lay two newer and smaller settlements that also became counties. Concordia was a small settlement in the north of Louisiana on the western bank of the Mississippi opposite the Spanish post of Natchez. To the north of Concordia was the settlement of Ouachita alongside its eponymous river. Ouachita's inhabitants farmed, but as in Natchitoches, Creole and Anglo-American settlers engaged in the Indian trade with the Choctaw and other local tribes. Both Concordia and Ouachita had small, dispersed populations a great distance from other areas, but the two parishes rapidly grew in population and importance over the course of the territory's development. After the cession, settlers from the Carolinas and Tennessee began to pour into these areas of north Louisiana.⁵⁴⁴ These northern settlements, with the exception of Natchitoches, contained

⁵⁴² Mariette Marie LeBreton, *A History of the Territory of Orleans, 1803-1812* (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1969), 21-22.

⁵⁴³ Pekka Hamalainen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 147-150, 189; Susan E. Dollar, "'Black, White, or Indifferent?': Race, Identity and Americanization in Creole Louisiana" (Ph.D. diss., University of Arkansas, 2004), 126. For the Indian trade out of Natchitoches under the French and Spanish see H. Sophie Burton and F. Todd Smith, *Colonial Natchitoches: A Creole Community on the Louisiana-Texas Frontier* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2008), 105-126.

⁵⁴⁴ Philip C. Cook "The North Louisiana Upland Frontier: The First Three Decades," in *North Louisiana vol. 1: To 1865 Essays on the Region and Its History*, B. H. Gilley ed. (Ruston LA: McGinty Trust Fund Publications, 1984), 23.

small populations before the cession. The Anglo-American immigration made these northern parishes differ substantially from parishes to the south. Many observers assumed that sugar would not be able to make inroads in these northern parishes. While some planters eventually introduced the crop, it never took off in the same manner that it did in the south. Geographer William Darby wrote: “Much of the upper part of the state consists of land of second quality, but yet strong enough to produce excellent crops of small grain.”⁵⁴⁵ Though Darby went on to note that while the climate was not necessarily conducive to large-scale agriculture; it was healthier than the parishes to the south.

The populations of Natchitoches, Rapides, Catahoula and Avoyelles developed significant slave holdings. Natchitoches in 1810 had a population of two thousand eight hundred and seventy, fifty-one percent of whom were slaves, by 1820 the total population increased by a factor of three to eight thousand six hundred and fifty-three and a slave population that was just twenty-seven percent of that total.⁵⁴⁶ The Anglo-American population influx was so great that the slave population failed to keep pace and declined as a percentage of the total. Rapides in contrast saw an opposite trend that pushed it to become a majority slave area. In 1810 Rapides had two thousand and two hundred people, forty-nine percent of them slaves; by 1820 the population increased to six thousand one hundred and forty-seven with fifty-seven percent of them slaves.⁵⁴⁷ In contrast Catahoula had one thousand one hundred and sixty-four people in 1810, thirty percent of them slaves. By 1820 the population had nearly doubled to two thousand three hundred and twenty-three, and its slave percentage increased slightly to thirty-two

⁵⁴⁵ William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), 248.

⁵⁴⁶ 1810 and 1820 Censuses.

⁵⁴⁷ 1810 and 1820 Censuses.

percent. That marginal increase distinguished Catahoula from its neighbors within Rapides. Avoyelles saw the same trend that occurred within Natchitoches with its rapid population growth reducing its slave proportion as a percentage of the total population. In 1810 Avoyelles had a population of one thousand two hundred and nine, fifty-one percent of it slaves, by 1820 the population of Avoyelles was two thousand two hundred and ninety-one, but the slave percentage was reduced to thirty-four percent.⁵⁴⁸ Thus, Avoyelles, like Natchitoches, saw a significant increase in its population, but the slave rate failed to keep pace. The counties of Natchitoches and Rapides, with its parishes of Catahoula and Avoyelles, shared a western frontier with the Spanish. The frontier created a tense atmosphere exacerbated through 1810 by the large slave population of Natchitoches and the presence of a number of Indian tribes.⁵⁴⁹ Given these security concerns in the area, United States officials appointed a greater number of Creole figures in Natchitoches with its larger population and longer-standing local elite.

Concordia and Ouachita in the northeast of Louisiana had not been important settlements under the Spanish, but saw rapid growth under U.S. control. Concordia along the Mississippi River most closely resembled the plantation parishes of lower Louisiana, despite its large area and smaller population. Concordia contained a population of two thousand eight hundred and ninety-five people in 1810, but by 1820 the population had decreased to two thousand six hundred and forty-nine; the population was heavily Anglo and contained a large slave population, which was fifty-five percent of the population in

⁵⁴⁸ 1810 and 1820 Censuses.

⁵⁴⁹ A census from 1766 of Natchitoches Indian tribes counted ten Natchitoches, twenty Apalaches, around thirty Yatazees, around forty Pequenos Nakodoches, around thirty Pequenos naacos or Nesates, around thirty three Pequenos Cadox, around one hundred and fifty five Grandes Cadox, around thirty-five Kidesingues, around four hundred Kuakanas, Chekaniches, & Kaunion united, around seven hundred Kuayaches & L'Uachitas, one hundred Kankaguayes, and fourteen thousand Laitanos. 1766 Census of

1810 and by 1820 sixty-seven percent.⁵⁵⁰ William Darby in his geographic tract wrote of the area around Concordia: “Since the acquisition of the west bank . . . establishments have been made on the river and lakes in its vicinity, by adventurers from several places and amongst others the Mississippi territory. The Mississippi had on its west border, the parishes of Concordia and Warren Great damage has been done to this range by the floods of 1811, 1812 and 1813, particularly the latter.”⁵⁵¹ The area’s recent settlement and the damage done by the series of floods help to explain the depopulation of Concordia. Ouachita had a smaller population with fewer slaves, at one thousand and seventy seven individuals in 1810 with 26% of them slaves, by 1820 the population increased to two thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven people, with twenty-eight percent of them slaves.⁵⁵² The parishes of northern Louisiana held smaller populations, with smaller slaveholdings. Rapides and Concordia alone had majority slave populations throughout the period of U.S. control, while Catahoula and Ouachita had minority slave populations through the first two decades of the nineteenth century. On the other hand Natchitoches and Avoyelles over the period of U.S. control had such an influx of Anglo-American immigrants without slaves that the slave population shifted from a majority to a minority within those areas. Northern Louisiana also differed from the south through its larger Anglo population.

Natchitoches in 1810 had a small Anglo population making up just 15% of the total white population, and they held nine percent of all slaves. By 1820 the Anglo population made up thirty-one percent of the white population with control of sixteen percent of the

Natchitoches Indian Tribes, in *Natchitoches Colonials: Censuses, Military Rolls and Tax Lists, 1722-1803*, Elizabeth Shown Mills, ed. (Chicago: Adams Press, 1981), 21-22.

⁵⁵⁰ 1810 and 1820 Censuses.

slave population of the county of Natchitoches.⁵⁵³ Natchitoches had few exogamous marriages: of seventy-eight recorded marriages between 1800 and 1820 only five or six percent were mixed Anglo-Francophone marriages, though that rate increased over the next three decades.⁵⁵⁴ Rapides had a far higher Anglo population, indeed it had a majority Anglo population in 1810 with some sixty-eight percent having Anglo surnames and holding sixty percent of the slave population; as in other parishes this rate increased in 1820 with eighty percent of the population Anglo, and the Anglo population controlled seventy-six percent of the slave population of the parish of Rapides.⁵⁵⁵ Catahoula similarly had a majority Anglo population. In 1810 it had a Creole population that made up just fourteen percent and less than five percent of the slave population of the parish with the rest as Anglo.⁵⁵⁶ The only documented marriage during the time period for Catahoula, was between two individuals with Anglo surnames.⁵⁵⁷ In 1810 Avoyelles had an Anglo population that was twenty-four percent of the total white population, while Anglos owned only seventeen percent of all slaves, by 1820 the Anglo population had

⁵⁵¹ William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), 49.

⁵⁵² 1810 and 1820 Censuses.

⁵⁵³ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee, and Rapides Parish* (Baltimore Genealogical Company, 1972). In some cases Ardoin's figures differ slightly from the totals offered in the censuses. Surname determinations made on same basis as previous chapter.

⁵⁵⁴ *Natchitoches Parish Louisiana, Marriage Index, 1817-1900* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Hunting for Bears, 2007); Elizabeth Shown Mills, *Natchitoches Church Marriages, 1818-1850* (Tuscaloosa: Mills Historical Press, 1985), xiv. Surname analysis made in same manner as with census. No marriage data exists for Rapides Parish from the period as its courthouse was destroyed during the Civil War. Surname analysis made on same basis as with census.

⁵⁵⁵ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee, and Rapides Parish* (Baltimore Genealogical Company, 1995). Surname analysis made on same basis as with census.

⁵⁵⁶ 1810 Census Catahoula Parish. This Census was transcribed by Carol Walker <carola@bellsouth.net> and proofread by Angela Walker <angelaw@bellsouth.net> for the USGenWeb Archives Census Project <http://www.usgenweb.org/census>. Surname analysis made on same basis as with census.

⁵⁵⁷ *Catahoula Parish Louisiana, Marriage Index, 1809-1900* (Salt Lake City UT: Hunting for Bears, 2007). Surname analysis made on same basis as with census.

increased to thirty-five percent and held twenty-six percent of the slave population.⁵⁵⁸ In Avoyelles of one hundred and twenty five marriages between 1803 and 1820 only twelve or around ten percent were mixed Anglo-French marriages. Of ninety-one marriages between 1763 and 1800 only four or four percent were Anglo-French marriages.⁵⁵⁹ The shift upward represents the growing Anglo population, but it should be noted that it is well beneath the intermarriage rates in many other areas. Concordia in 1810 had a Francophone population that was just fourteen percent of the total population, though they controlled twenty percent of the slaves of the parish, with the rest of the white population as Anglo.⁵⁶⁰ Anglo immigrants coming in to the parish had lesser slave-holdings. Of seventeen documented marriages in Concordia between 1776 and 1820 only one, in the final year was an Anglo-Francophone marriage, but that was one of the fourteen marriages between 1803 and 1820, which makes the mixed marriage rate at just over seven percent.⁵⁶¹ Ouachita had a Creole majority in 1810, but just barely, at fifty-one percent of the white population and that population owned fifty-four percent of the slaves of Ouachita.⁵⁶² In Ouachita of 108 marriages between 1808 and 1820 twenty-seven were mixed ethnic marriages, the only marriage before 1808 (in 1767) was also

⁵⁵⁸ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 1, Avoyelles and St. Landry Parish, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1995). Surname analysis made on same basis as with census.

⁵⁵⁹ *Avoyelles Parish Louisiana Marriages Index, 1763-1900* (Salt Lake City UT: Hunting for Bears, 2007). Surname analysis made on same basis as with census.

⁵⁶⁰ 1810 Census Concordia. Abstracted by Carol Walker from public records. Edited and reformatted by Maggie Stewart, December 2005. Submitted by Carol Walker. <http://www.usgwarchives.net/copyright.htm>. Surname analysis made on same basis as with census.

⁵⁶¹ *Concordia Parish Louisiana, Marriage Index, 1776-1900* (Salt Lake City UT: Hunting for Bears, 2007). Surname analysis made on same basis as with census.

⁵⁶² 1810 Census Ouachita Census. Abstracted by Carol Walker from public records. Edited and reformatted by Maggie Stewart, September 2002. This work follows all guidelines of the USGW Census Project, <http://www.usgwcensus.org/>. Surname analysis made on same basis as with census.

mixed.⁵⁶³ The Ouachita case was unique for the area in that all the other northern parishes had exogamous marriage rates between four and fifteen percent, Ouachita had larger exogamous marriage rates. The northern parishes both in the west and east, had larger Anglo populations, in the case of Rapides, Catahoula, and Concordia majority Anglo populations, and in several of those parishes slavery while prominent was of less importance than in the parishes to the south.

Natchitoches served as a center for the Indian trade in the northwest of Louisiana for both the Spanish and the French and became the largest settlement in northern Louisiana. After the U.S. cession Captain Edward Dumaresque Turner served as the first commandant for Natchitoches while J. J. Paillette served as the civil commandant of the county.⁵⁶⁴ Turner served in the political post while he remained an officer in the United States army, his selection demonstrated the military and diplomatic aspects of the position of commandant in frontier areas. At the same time, however, Claiborne selected Paillette as a representative of local elites. The average slaveholder in 1810 in Natchitoches held over five slaves, by 1820 that average was lower at just over three slaves a person.⁵⁶⁵ In 1810 Paillette was well above that average as he had nineteen slaves.⁵⁶⁶ On appointing Edward Turner as commandant of Natchitoches Claiborne wrote: “The attachment of the people of Louisiana generally to the Government of the United States, is an important object, but the Friendly disposition of the more remote and

⁵⁶³ *Ouachita Parish Louisiana, Marriage Index, 1813-1900* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Hunting for Bears, 2007). Surname analysis made in same manner as with census.

⁵⁶⁴ Governor Claiborne to Judge Prevost, 2 February 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:389.

⁵⁶⁵ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee, and Rapides Parish* (Baltimore Genealogical Company, 1995).

⁵⁶⁶ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee, and Rapides Parish* (Baltimore Genealogical Company, 1995).

frontier Settlements, is particularly desirable.”⁵⁶⁷ The commandants of Natchitoches were charged with far more duties than other commandants given the location of the county next to the border with the Spanish and the large Indian population of the area. Given the distance from New Orleans, territorial authorities needed to be able to trust officials appointed to Natchitoches. William Darby noted that: “The common time necessary to make a voyage from Natchitoches, to and from New Orleans, is from thirty to forty days.”⁵⁶⁸ If a crisis arose it could take as long as a month for word to get back to New Orleans, thus, officials in Natchitoches received less oversight than their fellow officeholders to the south.

As in Attakapas and Opelousas to the south, the presence of the Spaniards to the west was a concern in Natchitoches. The Spanish in Nacogdoches in 1804 welcomed escaped slaves and offered them freedom if they reached their territory and proclaimed their Catholicism.⁵⁶⁹ This was in keeping with earlier Spanish sanctuary policies as practiced in Spanish Florida to draw slaves away from British Carolina.⁵⁷⁰ As a result slaves within Louisiana often attempted to immigrate to the Spanish west, and many succeeded. Once they arrived in Spanish territory it was difficult for their former owners, both newly arrived and older residents, to retrieve them. Natchitoches had its own large slave population to worry about, as other parishes did, but those worries were compounded by its location next to Spanish territory. Commandant Edward Turner attempted to obstruct any slaves coming through his territory and at the time of the cession Turner retained the confidence of both Governor Claiborne and General James Wilkinson. In 1804

⁵⁶⁷ To Edward Turner, 25 February 1804, *Letter Books*, 1:386.

⁵⁶⁸ William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), 211.

Wilkinson thought Turner exceptionally capable of the sort of command that Natchitoches demanded: “Turner is the only officer who can be trusted, with the distant & delicate command at Natchitoches.”⁵⁷¹ The worries over the dangers of the Spanish and the slave population of Natchitoches, one thousand four hundred and seventy-six slaves in 1810 and two thousand three hundred and twenty-six slaves in 1820, were not solely the concern of U.S. officials.⁵⁷² The citizens of Natchitoches, Creole and Anglo-Americans, felt a need for increased security, and the U.S. government obliged them. Local inhabitants in 1804 petitioned Turner to enforce strict slave laws and to have a police patrol.⁵⁷³ Casa Calvo, the Commissioner of the King of Spain for the transfer of Louisiana to France and then Commissioner to Establish the Western Boundary of Louisiana, also promised Claiborne to intervene to get any such slaves returned, though on the promise that such slaves not be injured if returned.⁵⁷⁴ Some of these slaves were returned to Natchitoches from Nacogdoches, but Claiborne instructed Turner to keep them confined, and, if already released and a source of unease in the community, to arrest them.⁵⁷⁵ Ultimately, Turner only confined for trial returned slaves who had stolen property; the remainder went back to their owners.⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁶⁹ J. Edward Townes, “Invisible Lines: The Life and Death of a Borderland” (Ph.D. diss., Texas Christian University, 2008), 138.

⁵⁷⁰ Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 26-60.

⁵⁷¹ James Wilkinson to the Secretary of War, 3 January 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:151. A year later Wilkinson received allegations concerning Turner’s conduct. Turner turned over three documents, including one with testimonials from local inhabitants. See Annette Carpenter Womack, *Captain Edward D. Turner’s Company of the 2nd Regiment of the United States Army, Stationed in the Territory of Orleans of the Louisiana Purchase, 1802-1805* (Bowie MD: Heritage Books, 2000), 17.

⁵⁷² 1810 and 1820 Censuses.

⁵⁷³ Petition to Edward Turner by the Inhabitants of the District of Natchitoches, 29 July 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:273-274. The original of the petition that contained the signatures has not been found.

⁵⁷⁴ The Marquis of Casa Calvo to Governor Claiborne, 6 November 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:321-324; The Marquis of Casa Calvo to Governor Claiborne, 10 November 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:329-332.

⁵⁷⁵ Governor Claiborne to Edward D. Turner, 1 February 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:388.

⁵⁷⁶ Edward D. Turner to Governor Claiborne, 21 November 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:335.

Claiborne protested the Spanish policies, and the Marquis of Casa Calvo wrote to Claiborne that encouraging fugitive slaves was not Spanish practice, that any slaves would be returned, and that he had instructed local Spanish officials that this was not Spanish policy.⁵⁷⁷ Casa Calvo, rather than going through the proper channel, the Viceroy in Mexico, simply informed the commandant at Natchitoches to cease the process.⁵⁷⁸ Still little could be done to stem the misconception harbored by escaped slaves, and the Spanish appeared to continue to encourage the actions as well, if only in the minds of Natchitoches inhabitants. The Spanish actions remained a concern to Indian Agent John Sibley, who three years after the Spanish assurance sent a petition from local inhabitants to the governor and asserted that: “The Spanish government have lately given new proofs of their unneighborly conduct in encouraging our negroes to desert to Nacogdoches, & not only Protecting them on their arrival, but protecting them in the enjoyment of the fruits of their thefts and robberies from us.”⁵⁷⁹ Natchitoches as an isolated western post faced unique concerns over security, and contained a large bonded population. Slaves from parishes to the east consistently fled through the region to Spanish territory.⁵⁸⁰ U.S. officials not only had to worry over the Spanish and slaves, but also Native Americans. U.S. Indian Agents gave the situation greater importance as they competed with the

⁵⁷⁷ The Marquis of Casa Calvo to Governor Claiborne, 9 November 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:328-329.

⁵⁷⁸ The Marquis de Casa Calvo, acting as commissioner of the King of Spain for the transfer of Louisiana to France instructed the commandant of Nacogdoches to stop the practice, but slaves continued to flee to the area. See J. Edward Townes, “Invisible Lines: The Life and Death of a Borderland,” (Ph.D. Diss., Texas Christian University, 2008), 138-140. See also Francois Xavier Martin, *The History of Louisiana* (New Orleans: Lyman and Beardslee, 1827), 333; Felix D. Almaraz, Jr. *Tragic Cavalier: Governor Manuel Salcedo of Texas, 1808-1813* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991), 28-29.

⁵⁷⁹ John Sibley, “Letter of Dr. John Sibley, August 6, 1807,” in *Louisiana History* 22, (1988): 380-381.

⁵⁸⁰ Americans captured slaves traversing the area, but exact numbers and locations remain unknown.

Spanish for influence over local tribes and had no desire to see Nacogdoches in Spanish territory grow or prosper.

U.S. officials also feared the Spain might constitute a more conventional threat, by undertaking an invasion. The exact boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase remained vague, with many French and U.S. officials claiming that the purchase extended to the Rio Grande, and then later to the Colorado River and the Sabine, while the Spanish held that the boundary was further to the east at the Hondo River; this left an effective neutral zone between U.S. territory in Louisiana at Natchitoches and Spanish settlements at Nacogdoches and Los Adais.⁵⁸¹ The potential threat from the Spanish demonstrated itself most clearly to the United States in 1806 in a controversy over the Spanish-United States border along the Sabine.⁵⁸² General Wilkinson came to an agreement with the Spanish and both United States and Spanish armies turned back. Still, an invasion of Louisiana appeared a real threat, and U.S. officials worried over the loyalty of the local Creole population. The potential invasion in 1806 came to nothing, so U.S. officials could not be certain about their worries over Creole loyalty, but some Creoles became unhappy enough with the United States regime to immigrate to Spanish territory. Commandant Turner informed Claiborne that he believed Spanish agents informed the Catholic citizens of Natchitoches that Spain might soon return, and spread rumors that the government of the United States would not respect their religion.⁵⁸³ U.S. officials suspected that the Spanish sowed doubts over French and Spanish land titles, a constant worry throughout

⁵⁸¹ Donald William Meinig, *The Shaping of America* vol. 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 36.

⁵⁸² Governor Claiborne to the Secretary of State, 29 March 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:618.

⁵⁸³ To James Madison, 6 June 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:80-83.

the territory after the regime change. As a result some older Francophone inhabitants chose to immigrate to the west; Anglo-American arrivals contributed to this movement.

Immigrants who arrived to speculate in western lands posed another difficulty for U.S. territorial government. Claiborne sympathized with older Francophone inhabitants, writing to Secretary of State Madison that: “Some of these hungry Parasites have, I am told fattened on the labors of these ancient Louisianans who have and are about to emigrate to the Trinity. It is probable that many persons who also emigrate to the Trinity from the Counties of Natchitoches and Rapids. They are dissatisfied with our Court System; fear Taxation; and are made to believe by Spanish Partizans that their fortunes will be benefited by a removal.”⁵⁸⁴ Claiborne did not specify which Spanish partisans he was referring to, but it is likely he was referring to Casa Calvo and Edward Murphy. Casa Calvo arrived in Natchitoches in January of 1806, putatively on an expedition to examine the boundary and to benefit his health; while Murphy was a Natchitoches local who served as an agent for Spain.⁵⁸⁵ The Anglo-American immigration served to push some Creole citizens out of the western portions of Louisiana as the shift to U.S. law and government and the arrival of Anglo-American settlers ready to purchase land made the older inhabitants reconsider immigration, with many choosing to sell out to the new arrivals. Appointees took care to see that the legal system and land titles were fairly carried out; but even so local public and private lands grants were not always respected as the United States began to build a local garrison, Fort Claiborne and an Indian factory.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸⁴ To James Madison, 15 June 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:331-332.

⁵⁸⁵ Jared William Bradley, “Biographical Sketch: Casa Calvo,” *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 491-492.

⁵⁸⁶ Susan E. Dollar, “‘Black, White, or Indifferent’: Race Identity and Americanization in Creole Louisiana” (Ph.D. diss., University of Arkansas, 2004), 121-130.

Despite these concerns and the proximity to the border, U.S. officials eventually came to respect the loyalty of the population of the area, Claiborne in 1806 wrote after the Burr Conspiracy and Spanish invasion scare: “When first I visited Natchitoches, I doubted the fidelity of the ancient Louisianians; but subsequent events have shown that my suspicions were incorrect. How far the Louisianians would be disposed to march out of their own Territory, I cannot undertake to say; But I have every reason to believe, that a very great majority, would resist with firmness any Invader.”⁵⁸⁷ Claiborne’s comments still illustrate a modicum of doubt; he assumed Creoles would protect their own homes, but doubted their willingness to undertake action on behalf of the United States. U.S. officials’ doubts over Creole loyalty proved a potential problem when it came to appointments, which might explain the territorial government’s willingness to turn to Anglo-Americans over the older inhabitants in appointments, though as elsewhere, Claiborne opted for Creole representation at the lower levels of governance. In areas with so many security concerns the administration demonstrated a preference for Anglo-American appointments.

The problem was twofold. In addition to U.S. officials’ concerns over loyalty, inhabitants in Natchitoches proved unwilling to serve in local government. Consequently, the U.S. territorial government found it difficult to find anyone to serve in Natchitoches in the posts of sheriff, coroner and treasurer in 1807, a situation exacerbated by the limited compensation for holding the posts.⁵⁸⁸ Even so, Claiborne on several occasions observed that the locals proved both capable and loyal. In a letter to Colonel Cushing on September 9th of 1806 he noted his surprise at the level of support from the

⁵⁸⁷ To Henry Dearborn, October 19, 1806, *Letter Books*, 4:31.

local population after visiting the area and again in a letter to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn a month later he wrote: “When I first went to Natchitoches, I did distrust the fidelity of the Louisianans in that quarter, & indeed every American residing there, with whom I conversed, agreed in opinion, that the French part of the society was generally disaffected. But I trust, we shall all be disappointed; of one thing, I am convinced, that the Louisianans who are not for us, will remain neutral.”⁵⁸⁹ Less than a stellar endorsement to be sure, but a sentiment that illustrates a growing confidence by U.S. officials of their control.

Given the concerns over Creole loyalty before the Burr Conspiracy and the crisis on the Sabine, Claiborne appointed a recent Anglo-American arrival, John Alexander, as the first judge of the county of Natchitoches in 1805.⁵⁹⁰ Claiborne wrote to Alexander as to the sort of people he should appoint with his blank commissions, because of Alexander’s lack of familiarity with the area, informing him that the coroner and treasurer and two justices should be “ancient Louisianans,” and two of the justices Anglo-Americans.⁵⁹¹ These instructions stressed Claiborne’s perception that local appointments should attempt to balance ethnic divisions within parish, entrusting the highest position in the county to an Anglo-American, while making certain that local Creoles received lower level positions. The instructions explicitly reveal a conscious effort to balance numbers of appointments by national origin. When Alexander quickly left the position, Claiborne turned back to the old commandant as the next judge, making Edward Turner judge of the

⁵⁸⁸ Gentleman of the Legislative Council, & of the House of Representatives, 10 February 1807, *Letter Books*, 4:116-117.

⁵⁸⁹ To Colonel Cushing, 9 September 1806; To Henry Dearborn, 12 October 1806, *Letter Books*, 4:6-7; 29.

⁵⁹⁰ To Captain Turner, 7 May 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:41-42; Register of Civil Appointments in the Territory of Orleans, *Territorial Papers*, 9:598-602.

⁵⁹¹ To John W. Alexander, 7 May 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:42-43.

parish on January 23, 1806.⁵⁹² Turner served for a year until 1807 when John C. Carr became the judge of the parish.⁵⁹³ Carr, like Alexander and Turner, was an Anglo who came from outside the parish. Carr, originally from England via Kentucky, became a prominent member of the community and a large slaveholder in Natchitoches.⁵⁹⁴ The territorial governor turned to Carr, an Englishman, rather than a member of the Francophone native elite, even with the worsening international context between the United States and Britain throughout his term from 1807-1812. When Carr left his position with Louisiana's statehood, Claiborne nominated the first Creole to a judicial position in Natchitoches, Evariste Lauve.⁵⁹⁵ The appointment demonstrated the growing level of trust toward the Creole population at both the national level and from New Orleans. Lauve served but briefly and was replaced by P. D. Gailleau Lafontaine, another Creole, who served from 1813-1819. Charles Slocum, though not a large planter, succeeded Lafontaine and served from 1819 through 1821.

The individuals selected for the sheriff's office, as elsewhere, tended to be lesser landholders, though Bartholomew Fleming and L. S. Hazelton had significant slave holdings. Justices better represented local elites and contained more Francophone individuals, often appointed at the territorial government's direction, as when Claiborne specifically instructed Carr to appoint Dumas as a justice of the peace.⁵⁹⁶ Every justice of the peace for whom census records are available had more slaves than the average slaveholder. Some lesser offices, like the position of the clerk of court within Natchitoches, often proved to be stepping-stones to higher office. The first clerk of court

⁵⁹² Register of Civil Appointments, 1 January-30 June 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:662-663.

⁵⁹³ Register of Civil Appointments, June 30, 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:749-751.

⁵⁹⁴ List of Civil and Military Officers, April 21, 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:835.

was Thomas C. Scott, but when elected to the legislature he resigned. Francis Duplessis served as the first treasurer though he resigned on June 10 of 1806.⁵⁹⁷ John C. Carr served as the clerk of court in 1805 before ascending to be judge of the parish (see table 20).⁵⁹⁸ Other clerks included Samuel Hopkins Sibley, the son of prominent Indian agent Dr. Sibley.

Table 20. Natchitoches Officials, Slave Holdings

Name	Office	1810	1820
Edward Turner	Commandant/Judge 1806-1807		
John Alexander	Judge		
John C. Carr	Judge 1807-1812	7	11
Evariste Lauve	Judge 1812-1813	19	10
P. D. Gailleau Lafontaine	Judge 1813-1819		
Charles Slocum	Judge 1819-1821		2
Andrew Price	Sheriff 1805		
John Nancarrow	Sheriff 1806		
Stephen Wells	Sheriff		
R. Sackett	Sheriff 1812		
Patrick Murphy	Sheriff 1813-1814		
Bartholomew Fleming	Sheriff 1814		7
James Locard	Sheriff 1815-1818		
L. S. Hazelton	Sheriff 1818-		12
John Sibley	Justice 1805	30	
Francois C. Bossier	Justice 1805	13	17
Joseph Gillard	Justice 1805		
Placide Bossier	Justice 1805	8	21
Louis Derbanne	Justice 1805	10	20
Francois Bellabre Dumas Remy	Justice 1805		
Perault	Justice 1805	7	
Bartholmew Shaumberg	Justice 1805, 1808	13	
Pierre Jorge Paillet	Justice 1807	19	
Francois Rouquier	Justice 1807	29	21
David Case	Justice 1810	7	4
M. Manuel de Soto	Justice 1812		12

Table data based on.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁵ A Message from the Governor, Making Several Nominations, 4 September 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:172.

⁵⁹⁶ To John C. Kerr, 14 November 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:232-233.

⁵⁹⁷ Register of Civil Appointments, 1 January – 30 June 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:662-663.

⁵⁹⁸ Register of Civil Appointments in the Territory of Orleans, *Territorial Papers*, 9:598-602.

⁵⁹⁹ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee, and Rapides Parish* (Baltimore Genealogical Company, 1995); Register of Civil Appointments in the Territory of Orleans, *Territorial Papers*, 9:598-602; Register of Civil Appointments, 1 January – 30 June 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:662-663; Register of Civil Appointments, 30 June 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:749-751; Return of Proclamations, Pardons, and Appointments, 30 June 1808, *Territorial Papers*, 9:796; Natchitoches Parish Records, Notarial Acts, 19 August 1810, MSS 480, 876, 929, 940, 961, LSU Hill Memorial Library, Baton Rouge LA; To Dr. John Sibley, 16 November 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:200. By 1817 Nancarrow had land to the east in Ouachita where he owed back taxes on forty arpents. See *Louisiana Courier*, May 5, 1817. A Marcel De Soto in 1820 held twelve slaves though a Michel Soto held none in the same year; Natchitoches Parish Conveyance Records, 1812; Natchitoches Succession Records, 1813-1816; Louis Raphael Nardini Sr., *My Historic Natchitoches, Louisiana and Its Environment* (Natchitoches: Nardini, 1963), 106.

As in other parishes, the men elected to the legislature from Natchitoches included greater number of Creoles and tended to be larger planters than the individuals in appointed positions (see table 21). For instance, J. Prudhomme's father had been a prominent local planter and physician who had been active in the militia.⁶⁰⁰ Representatives also reflect the dominance of slaveholders and the planter class.

Table 21. Natchitoches Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings

Name	Position and term	1810	1820
Emanuel Prudhomme	Territorial Legislature 1805-09/Senate 2 nd -3 rd Legislatures	58	73
John Nancarrow	Territorial Legislature 1809-		
Francois P. Bossier	Constitutional Convention	13	
J. Prudhomme	Constitutional Convention	1	
Placide Bossier	House 1 st Legislature/Senate 4 th Legislature	8	21
Paillette	House 2 nd Legislature	19	
Charles Pavie	House 3 rd Legislature	13	
John Sibley	House 4 th Legislature	30	8
Samuel Davenport	House 4 th Legislature		30
Evariste Lauve	Senate 1 st Legislature		

Table data based on.⁶⁰¹

One of the most prominent individuals within Natchitoches was Dr. John Sibley, a correspondent of the governor who frequently provided him with information on

⁶⁰⁰ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 2 (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 666-667.

⁶⁰¹ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee, and Rapides Parish* (Baltimore Genealogical Company, 1995); *Mississippi Messenger*, 3 December 1805 (Natchez); *Courier de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 18 January 1809; *Constitution or Form of Government of the State of Louisiana*; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 1; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 14; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 12; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 4; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 14; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 43; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815); *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 18; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 10; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3; J. Fair Hardin, *Northwestern Louisiana: A History of the Watershed of the Red River*, 3 vols. (Shreveport: Historical Record Association, 1939), 380. Bossier does not appear to have attended the second session.

Natchitoches.⁶⁰² Before coming to Louisiana, Sibley moved his family to North Carolina where he started a paper, but during his tenure there his wife died and he remarried, but he left his new family to pursue opportunities in Louisiana.⁶⁰³ As a measure of his esteem for the Doctor, Claiborne recommended him to the Legislative Council, describing him to Jefferson as: “a Man of Science and a true Republican; I have understood that previous to his leaving the United States his Affairs were much embarrassed;--But during his residence at Natchitoches, he is said to have acquired some valuable landed property.”⁶⁰⁴ Sibley received the offered appointment from the President and Claiborne only after three members refused to serve on the council, illustrating significant opposition to U.S. territorial administration.⁶⁰⁵ Sibley by accepting proved himself a firm ally of the U.S. territorial government and its officials. In addition, Sibley served as the Indian Agent for the territory, in which position he made his most valuable contributions to the U.S. effort in creating and maintaining relationship with Indian tribes in Louisiana and beyond.⁶⁰⁶

Sibley did well in Natchitoches and by 1810 had accumulated thirty slaves, though by 1820 that number was down to eight.⁶⁰⁷ Claiborne did favors for Sibley, aiding Sibley’s

⁶⁰² Sibley was born in Massachusetts and had served in the Continental Army as a surgeon’s mate and then practiced medicine in Massachusetts and South Carolina, he was active in shipping cotton from the Red River to New Orleans and set up a salt works. Governor Claiborne to the President, 24 August 1803; 29 September 1803, *Territorial Papers*, 9:16, 58; Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography vol. 2* (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 743.

⁶⁰³ Penny S. Brandt, Introduction “A Letter of Dr. John Sibley, Indian Agent,” *Louisiana History* 29 (1988): 367.

⁶⁰⁴ Governor Claiborne to the President, 30 August 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:285. See also Joseph Briggs to the President, 17 August 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:277.

⁶⁰⁵ The President to Governor Claiborne, 2 December 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:343.

⁶⁰⁶ The Secretary of War to John Sibley, 17 October 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:514-515.

⁶⁰⁷ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee, and Rapides Parish* (Baltimore Genealogical Company, 1995).

friends, just as he did for other officeholders.⁶⁰⁸ A relative of Dr. Sibley was arrested in Florida and sent on to Havana, and Claiborne intervened, writing to secure his release.⁶⁰⁹ To be sure, the favors did not all go one way. Claiborne met administration requests as well. The administration found places for its friends within Natchitoches. Jefferson's friend Mr. Riebelt was made the United States factor at Natchitoches, before going on to a more substantial appointment as a judge.⁶¹⁰

Sibley, like many of the friends whom Claiborne helped, faced problems within the territory. Rumors of marital infidelity and potentially bigamy tarnished Sibley's reputation, and Claiborne in order to protect the doctor requested that the editor of the *Orleans Gazette* not print any of the stories then circulating.⁶¹¹ By the time Sibley's character became known he already secured his appointments. Ultimately, Jefferson chose to keep him in office, pointing particularly to Sibley's reports on the Indians of the area, and because the allegations: "1. That he left his wife but it does not appear whether the separation was through the fault or the will of her or him. 2. That he attempted to marry again—this is a charge of weight, but no proof being adduced, it cannot weigh against the integrity of his character affirmed by others, and his unquestionable good sense and information."⁶¹² Sibley proved to be an effective Indian agent in Natchitoches, a post of great import within the county given the large native population.

⁶⁰⁸ One such person, a Mr. Matthias Barker, was released from jail on the word of Dr. Sibley that he would repay a debt once he sold his cargo in New Orleans, but Barker skipped town without paying his creditors and consequently Claiborne ordered Edward Turner to arrest him. To Edward D. Turner, 6 May 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:131-132.

⁶⁰⁹ To Doctor Sibley, 10 March 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:176.

⁶¹⁰ Governor Claiborne to the President, 4 June 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:657-658.

⁶¹¹ Governor Claiborne to the President, 10 January 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:367-368.

⁶¹² The President to Governor Claiborne, 26 May 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:450-453.

In the north and west of Louisiana there was a far stronger Indian presence, including a large Caddo presence slightly north of Natchitoches, than elsewhere in Louisiana.⁶¹³ Local tribes like the Caddo also acted with far greater leeway than elsewhere in the territory given the position of the Spanish and the disputed boundary. Both nations in effect wanted their support.⁶¹⁴ The Caddo proved receptive to U.S. expansion into Louisiana as the Spanish had proved incapable of preventing Osage expansion into their territory and they hoped the United States might prove more capable in providing aid.⁶¹⁵ As a result the Caddo managed to maintain their independence, culture and religion while stemming the population decline that had plagued the tribe in the eighteenth century.⁶¹⁶ Just as U.S. officials feared that the Spanish encouraged fugitive slaves and Creole disloyalty, Claiborne worried in 1804 that the Spanish might incite the Indians to rebel: “An Indian War would be peculiarly embarrassing to our Frontier Settlers, and would be attended with injury and expense How far the Spanish may encourage to hostilities, time will evince.”⁶¹⁷ In 1807 when a Mr. Watson killed a Native American, his tribe the Coushatta protested to Dr. Sibley to receive satisfaction, causing fears of reprisals.⁶¹⁸ As in Attakapas and Opelousas, the presence of the Caddo posed problems for locals in judicial disputes, but also in land policy. Dr. Sibley wrote to federal officials in order to secure land for the Natchitoches Indians as he felt this was the best way to avoid

⁶¹³ Daniel Clark to the Secretary of State, 29 September 1803, *An Account of the Indian Tribes in Louisiana, Territorial Papers*, 9:63.

⁶¹⁴ The Caddo chief, Dehahuit, proved adept at garnering the favor of both the Spanish and the United States. F. Todd Smith, *The Caddo Indians: Tribes at the Convergence of Empires, 1542-1854* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 85.

⁶¹⁵ F. Todd Smith, *The Caddo Indians: Tribes at the Convergence of Empires, 1542-1854* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 83.

⁶¹⁶ F. Todd Smith, *The Caddo Indians: Tribes at the Convergence of Empires, 1542-1854* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 103-109.

⁶¹⁷ To Edward D. Turner, 28 September 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:342.

⁶¹⁸ Governor Claiborne to the Secretary of War, 25 July 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:756.

problems between the white inhabitants and the tribes: “I should feel particularly gratified should government think proper to appropriate some Lands for those Indians in the quarter who have none; in their present Situation they are a great nuisance to the white Inhabitants, & ungovernable—and Instead of improving in the Arts of Civilization are growing Worse.”⁶¹⁹ Native American concerns that the United States might not recognize their tribal land rights resulted from Anglo-American immigrants and a U.S. land policy that encouraged both settlement and speculation. In Sibley’s view, land and clear title to it would go a long way towards better relations. Sibley’s comments on the need for clear titles for Native American lands contributed to a general sense that he was too pro-Native American in the minds of United States officials and led to his replacement as an Indian agent in 1815.⁶²⁰ Territorial officials balanced competing agendas in Louisiana. Many territorial and federal officials wanted stability, but Anglo-American immigrants and many local officials wanted to continue to place pressure on Indian lands for private gain.

In general, Sibley and Claiborne pursued peaceful means in the disputes that arose between the Creoles and Anglo-Americans and the tribes in the area. Sibley also heard complaints over Indian concerns over the presence of bandits in the neutral zone and helped to establish better relations between the Caddo and the Choctaw.⁶²¹ Natchitoches remained the center for dealings with northwestern tribes in Louisiana, as it had been with the French and the Spanish. Major Amos Stoddard actually recommended moving the Indian trade away from U.S. settlements like Natchitoches: “The privations they

⁶¹⁹ John Sibley to the Secretary of War, 20 March 1810, *Territorial Papers*, 9:879.

⁶²⁰ F. Todd Smith, *The Caddo Indians: Tribes at the Convergence of Empire, 1542-1854* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 106-107.

[Native Americans] in consequence of receiving their annuities and other goods in our settlements, are of a serious nature, and demand our interpositions. Our citizens are often disturbed by their drunken revels, particularly those at Natchitoches, where the troops are frequently summoned to repress the riots and disorders occasioned by them.”⁶²² Stoddard and Sibley were not alone; the local judge P. D. Caileau Lafontaine in 1813 wrote to the Secretary of War with a petition from the police jury and a local Catholic congregation requesting that the U.S. Indian agency and factory be removed. This petition followed earlier local land disputes over the placement of both the local U.S. fort and the Indian factory, the latter located on land owned by the Catholic Church.⁶²³ Yet the violence that occurred at Natchitoches paled in comparison to that which happened in the countryside, and when violence between Native Americans and whites did occur often a settlement was negotiated at Natchitoches. On one occasion some Coushatta killed two Americans; Claiborne in response recommended a conference at Natchitoches lest an outright war break out. To prevent the conflict the governor attempted to pacify the Indians through the distribution of presents, though the Choctaw tribe offered their services in order to punish the Coushatta.⁶²⁴ Homicides held the potential to lead to wider conflicts: “a cross cultural killing could be either a murder or the first casualty of war.”⁶²⁵ Avoiding wider

⁶²¹ F. Todd Smith, *The Caddo Indians: Tribes at the Convergence of Empires, 1542-1854* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 98.

⁶²² Major Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1812), 457.

⁶²³ Susan E. Dollar, “‘Black, White, or Indifferent’: Race Identity and Americanization in Creole Louisiana” (Ph.D. diss., University of Arkansas, 2004), 121-130. The petition also pointed to public drunkenness as a reason to place the Indian factory elsewhere, though it is notable that while locals might want control of the land, they had no wish to see the fort replaced though that too was not Federal land. Ultimately in 1817 the factory was moved out of town to the north, though the fort and the Indian agency remained until 1819.

⁶²⁴ Governor Claiborne to the President, 28 June 1807; Governor Claiborne to the Secretary of War, July 23, 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:744-746; 754-755.

⁶²⁵ Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 112.

conflicts over such deaths was one of the key roles of Indian agents, since the United States was in no position to pursue a conflict with Indians in northwest Louisiana. At the same time though, local communities, both Indian and white demanded justice after these incidents. In 1807 Sibley wrote to the governor: “The Conchetta [Coushatta] who murdered the young man ONeal on the road leading from Oplolousas to Nacogdoches has fled from the village on the Savine where he lived to the Accokesaws. I have sent to the chief of that village advising him to give him up.”⁶²⁶ The attacks of Indians and bandits made the area extremely dangerous, and men who styled themselves Natchitoches merchants, largely Creoles, sent a memorial in 1812 to Governor Claiborne to step up patrols in the area.⁶²⁷ Attacks and the roles of immigrants and illegal traders in the region, who disrupted older trade relationships and land arrangements, made the area much more dangerous for both Native Americans and whites throughout the territorial period, and encouraged further contacts between the Caddo and the Spanish.⁶²⁸

Anglo-American settlers also posed problems for peace on the border. The close proximity to Spanish territory made Natchitoches a potential staging area for expeditions, and the neutral zone between U.S. and Spanish territory became a center for bandit activity, which potentially could involve the United States in conflicts with Spain.

Natchitoches served as the source for intelligence for Indian relations with Spain as well. In 1818 Louisiana papers reported on Comanche raids into Spanish territory as far south as San Antonio that impeded the cattle trade between Spanish territory and Louisiana.⁶²⁹

Sibley also pointed out the dangers of bandit groups, in particular one led by James

⁶²⁶ John Sibley, Letter of Dr. John Sibley, 6 August 1807 in *Louisiana History* 29 (1988): 379-380.

⁶²⁷ John C. Carr to Governor Claiborne, 7 January 1812, *Territorial Papers*, 9:975-978.

⁶²⁸ F. Todd Smith, *The Caddo Indians: Tribes at the Convergence of Empires, 1542-1854* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 107-109.

Elliot, another Anglo-American, who earlier accused Louis Fontenot, a justice of the peace, legislator, and militia officer of Opelousas, of selling powder to the Spanish.⁶³⁰ Elliot continued to engage in robberies and other crimes, preying on native tribes. Sibley received complaints from local “inhabitants losing their horses and the Indians came in & told me they would go out & kill Elliot if I would not do something about it,” so Sibley, “took Elliot & some others of the party with about 20 horses and brought them in. . . but having so many accomplices he was soon out & made his escape . . . Some government ought to exercise jurisdiction on this side the Sabine, we either ought to suffer the Spaniards to do it or do it ourselves.”⁶³¹ Sibley did not state who these accomplices were, though they may have been other members of the Anglo community, given that Elliot earlier accused Creoles of being Spanish agents. Sibley’s difficulties illustrate the problems of the frontier and imperialism.⁶³² Areas where U.S. authority did not extend became centers for those dissatisfied with U.S. governance, whether slaves, bandits, or

⁶²⁹ *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 12 August 1818.

⁶³⁰ John Sibley, Letter of Dr. John Sibley, 6 August 1807, *Louisiana History* 29 (1988): 382-383.

⁶³⁰ John Sibley, Letter of Dr. John Sibley, 6 August 6, 1807, *Louisiana History* 29 (1988): 381. In Brandt’s view this charge of Elliot’s was probably why Fontenot resigned his seat in the Territorial House of Representatives in 1806.

⁶³¹ John Sibley, Letter of Dr. John Sibley, 6 August 1807, *Louisiana History* 29 (1988), 382-383.

⁶³² Frontier has a problematic history as a word and concept. In Natchitoches it can refer to both the frontier of American settlement in a Turnerian sense and the frontier as an area of both neutral and consensual relations between different individuals of different nationalities and contested sovereignty between the Spanish and American nation-states as well as the Caddo, Comanche and lesser native groups in the region. See Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920); Herbert E. Bolton, “The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies,” *American Historical Review* 23 (1917); Leonard Thompson, ed., *The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981); David Weber, “Turner, the Boltonians, and the Borderlands,” *American Historical Review* 91 (1986); Patricia Limerick *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987); David Thelen, “Of Audiences, Borderlands and Comparisons: Toward the Internationalization of American History,” *Journal of American History* 79 (1992); William Cronon, ed., *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America’s Western Past* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1993); Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, “From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and Peoples in Between in North American History,” *American Historical Review* 104 (1999); Michiel Baum and Willem van Schendel, “Towards a Comparative History of Borderlands,” *Journal of World History* 8 (1997); Thomas D. Hall, “World-Systems, Frontiers, and Ethnogenesis: Incorporation and Resistance to State Expansion,” *Proto Sociology: An International Journal of Interdisciplinary Research* 15 (2001).

Creoles. Problems that emerged within the neutral zone could then serve as a further incentive for territorial expansion. The difficulties of maintaining law and order were complicated further by a Creole population that Anglo-American officials distrusted, which Elliot exploited in making accusations against Fontenot. On the one hand Sibley kept the peace on his side of the neutral zone; indeed the threat of a potential Indian action against the bandits became an incentive to move against those bandits, as he could not allow the local tribes to do so. On the other hand he could not manage to hold on to Elliot and his group, and the neutral zone limited his actions, providing a haven for the sort of criminals that complicated relations with the natives and the Spanish. Bandit attacks continued throughout the territorial period between the Hondo and the Sabine, the space between Natchitoches and Nacogdoches, with another incident in 1811.⁶³³

Bandits were not the only potential source of conflict; often United States citizens entered the neutral zone searching for riches or to move into Spanish territory. The federal government charged Claiborne and the leaders of Natchitoches with keeping the peace along the border. Any number of potential incidents could lead to a wider conflict along the frontier. On one occasion Judge Carr informed Claiborne that a Mr. Glass, with upwards of thirty men and maybe over a hundred, moved into the disputed area, ostensibly searching for a silver mine. Carr feared Glass had designs on Spanish territory, and worried over the fact that Dr. Sibley had given the group a U.S. flag.⁶³⁴ It appeared that Sibley authorized Glass to move into the area and the Spanish might take him as a representative of the U.S., given the flag. Claiborne reported the incident to the

⁶³³ *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 2 August, 1811.

⁶³⁴ Governor Claiborne to the Secretary of State, 8 August 1808, *Territorial Papers*, 9:798-801.

President, since Sibley had exceeded his authority, and failed to inform Claiborne.⁶³⁵

Claiborne felt the threat to peace along the border posed by figures like Glass so real that he wrote to the local militia commander Colonel Shaumburg to stop individuals within Natchitoches who planned on an invasion of nearby Spanish territory.⁶³⁶

Designs on Spanish territory extended well beyond just Natchitoches; in New Orleans, “the Mexican Association” advocated U.S. expansion into Spanish America and stood against locals whom they considered to be Spanish agents within the territory.

Reportedly, several Mexican Association members had met with Aaron Burr during his stay in New Orleans.⁶³⁷ A number of inhabitants continued to campaign against Spanish sovereignty to the west. In 1817 an author styling himself an inhabitant of Louisiana argued for the legitimacy of French claims to Texas that then transferred to the United

⁶³⁵ To Martin Duralde, 29 August 1808; To James Madison, 31 August 1808, *Letter Books*, 4:194-196; 199-202.

⁶³⁶ Colonel Shaumburg, 30 July 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:321.

⁶³⁷ See Jared William Bradley, “Biographical Sketch: Mexican Association,” *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 596-603. No list of the members has ever been found, but purported members included James Workman, John Watkins, Daniel Clark, Lewis Kerr, George T. Ross, John B. Prevost, Edward Livingston, Father Rodriguez, William Nott, Abraham R. Ellery, and James Alexander. Advocates of independence for Spanish America within New Orleans created fissures. When there was an attempted break in to a New Orleans politician Thomas Urquhart’s home some blamed this on his public stand against such efforts, which he termed piracy. See *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 15 November 1816; 20 November 1816; *Louisiana Gazette* [New Orleans], 18 November 1816. Workman, a British expatriate had been highly critical of the Spanish in Louisiana as expressed in his play, *Liberty in Louisiana: A Comedy, Performed at the Charleston Theater* (Charleston: Query and Evans, 1804). That opposition to Spanish rule of Louisiana was not limited to Anglo-Americans, see Pierre Louis Berquin-Duvallon, *Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas in the Year 1802, Giving a Correct Picture of those Countries*, translated by John Davis (New York: I. Riley & Co., 1806), 2-3. After the Louisiana Purchase Workman came up against both Wilkinson and Claiborne during the Burr Conspiracy when as a county judge he issued writs of habeas corpus that General Wilkinson ignored as he continued to make military arrests until Workman resigned his post as a protest against these methods and Claiborne’s lack of action. After his resignation Workman then found himself arrested as a Burr conspirator. See *The Trials of the Honb. James Workman and Col. Lewis Kerr, Before the United States’ Court, for the Orleans District, on a Charge of High Misdemeanor, in Planning and Setting on Foot, within the United States, an Expedition for the Conquest and Emancipation of Mexico* (New Orleans: Bradford & Anderson, 1807), *A Faithful Picture of the Political Situation* (Boston, 1808), and James Workman, *A Letter to the Respectable Citizens, Inhabitants of the County of Orleans; Together with Several Letters to his Excellency Governor Claiborne, And Other Documents Relative to the Extraordinary Measures Lately Pursued in this Territory* (New Orleans: Bradford & Anderson, 1807). Workman received the support of many prominent Anglo-American and Creole citizens of the territory in

States with the Louisiana Purchase.⁶³⁸ In addition to these worries, the presence of bandits posed such a threat that local judges requested military aid from the governor.⁶³⁹ Such problems within Natchitoches continued throughout the territorial and early statehood period.⁶⁴⁰ At other times Anglo-American bandits killed Spaniards, further complicating the border relationship.⁶⁴¹ Natchitoches did a profitable trade with New Orleans and the Spanish by selling livestock and tobacco, and with the Indians exchanging trade goods.⁶⁴² United States traders generally exchanged manufactured goods (guns, ammunition, clothes, utensils, beads and blankets) in return for animal products like deerskins, buffalo robes, horses, and bear oil.⁶⁴³ Bandits made all of this trade less secure.

Rapides County had similar concerns as Natchitoches, though to a lesser extent given its position closer to the interior of the territory. As with Natchitoches, Attakapas and Opelousas, Rapides had a significant Indian population. The county contained around one hundred Choctaws as well as a group of Biloxis of around the same number.⁶⁴⁴ The Caddo usually had good relations with the Biloxi and Coushatta, at times marrying into the tribe, but relations between the Choctaw and Caddo were not as friendly, since the

the aftermath of the scandal. See *The Case of Mr. Workman, On a Rule for an Alleged Contempt of the Superior Court of the Territory of Orleans*, (Philadelphia: William Fry, 1809).

⁶³⁸ *Louisiana Gazette* [New Orleans], 25 October 1817.

⁶³⁹ To General Wade Hampton, 20 January 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:34-36.

⁶⁴⁰ To Judge Carr, 14 August 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:163-164.

⁶⁴¹ To James Monroe, 24 January 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:39.

⁶⁴² On the beginnings of tobacco farming in Natchitoches, the sale of it to the Spanish empire and how it changed Natchitoches society, see "Spanish Bourbons and Louisiana Tobacco: The Case of Natchitoches," in *Coastal Encounters: The Transformation of the Gulf South in the Eighteenth Century*, Richmond F. Brown editor (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 167-186.

⁶⁴³ F. Todd Smith, *The Caddo Indians: Tribes at the Convergence of Empires, 1542-1854* (College Station: Texas A&M University, 1995), 93; David LaVere, *The Caddo Chiefdoms: Caddo Economics and Politics 700-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 125, 129-130.

⁶⁴⁴ An Account of the Indian Tribes in Louisiana, *Territorial Papers*, 9:63.

two tribes were traditional enemies.⁶⁴⁵ Even with the large Choctaw presence within the county, however, Indian affairs remained the province of Sibley at Natchitoches, giving Caddo issues a higher priority often than those of tribes in Rapides.

Rapides differed from Natchitoches in that it had a firm Anglo majority, and because of this there was often less of an effort made to reach out to local elites. In the long run this habit of ignoring local elites within Rapides resulted in the creation of an opposition party. Still at first the United States government turned to already established figures within the county. The Spanish Commandant of Rapides had been Edmond Meullion. When the United States gained the territory they turned the post over to Meullion's Anglo son-in-law William Miller as the new commandant for the United States.⁶⁴⁶ Meullion continued to serve as the county treasurer under his son-in-law.⁶⁴⁷ The appointment of Miller made a great deal of sense because he was an Anglo-American married into an influential local Creole family. Miller, a Pennsylvanian, came to the area with his partner Alexander Fulton to trade with local Indian tribes.⁶⁴⁸ As elsewhere in the territory commandants were generally members of the local elite and had substantial slaveholdings. Meullion was a local grandee; he held thirty-one slaves in 1810, and his son-in-law Miller held eight in both 1810 and 1820, while Miller and his brother-in-law through his wife's family, Hatch Dent, held forty-eight.⁶⁴⁹ The average slaveholder in

⁶⁴⁵ F. Todd Smith, *The Caddo Indians: Tribes at the Convergence of Empires, 1542-1854* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 87; David LaVere, *The Caddo Chiefdoms: Caddo Economics and Politics 700-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 80.

⁶⁴⁶ G. P. Whittington, *Rapides Parish Louisiana, A History* (Alexandria LA: National Society of the Colonial Dames in the State of Louisiana, 1955), 47.

⁶⁴⁷ Register of Civil Appointments in the Territory of Orleans, 13 February 1806, *Territorial Papers of the United States, vol. IX, The Territory of Orleans, 1803-1812*, Clarence Edwin Carter, editor (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), 598-602.

⁶⁴⁸ G. P. Whittington, *Rapides Parish Louisiana, A History* (Alexandria LA: National Society of the Colonial Dames in the State of Louisiana, 1955), 55, 58.

⁶⁴⁹ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee, and Rapides Parish* (Baltimore: Genealogical Company, 1995).

Rapides in 1810 had over five slaves. By 1820 that figure had increased to over six slaves.⁶⁵⁰

William Miller went on to serve as the first judge of the parish, appointed on May 3, 1805, and after his tenure Thomas Dawson briefly took up the post in 1807.⁶⁵¹ Dawson served an abbreviated term and shortly after his appointment, Governor Claiborne appointed Richard Claiborne as the judge of the parish.⁶⁵² Richard Claiborne was Governor Claiborne's cousin, a fact which the governor rarely disclosed and occasionally denied, most likely because he did not wish to be seen engaging in an act of nepotism for a member of his family given to chronic financial problems.⁶⁵³ Richard Claiborne served in the Virginia House of Delegates and held the rank of Major in the Continental Army during the American Revolution as a quartermaster; in Louisiana he served as Claiborne's secretary and then as the clerk of court for the first district of the territory, after which he received his appointment in Rapides.⁶⁵⁴ Major Richard Claiborne in his position as a parish judge failed to get along with the local elite, both Francophone and more recent Anglo-American immigrants, and a grand jury indicted him for extortion and malfeasance in office. Local opposition to Judge Claiborne did not center on United States policy or Governor Claiborne, but rather Richard Claiborne personally. Richard Claiborne wrote to John Graham about the party within Rapides that opposed him: "In this party was a man bearing the name of Alexander Fulton . . . and if report be true

⁶⁵⁰ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee, and Rapides Parish* (Baltimore: Genealogical Company, 1995).

⁶⁵¹ A Register of Civil Appointments, 30 June 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:749.

⁶⁵² Return of Proclamations, Pardons, and Appointments, 30 June 1808, *Territorial Papers*, 9:796.

⁶⁵³ Jared William Bradley, "Biographical Sketch: Major Richard D. Claiborne," *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 546-547.

belonged to the “whiskey Insurrection” . . . This fellow and another of the party by the name of Levi Wells . . . forwarded a memorial to the Territorial legislature to get me dismissed from office, but in this they failed and I was continued—these adversaries then took a stronger ground by having recourse to the Laws . . . I was indicted and tried before the Superior Court, and was honorably acquitted –not a single fact appeared against me.”⁶⁵⁵ Fulton was one of Miller’s partners, also of Pennsylvania and apparently had participated in the Whisky Rebellion. Fulton and Wells leveled accusations that Claiborne as the judge charged with the collection of taxes defaulted on over a thousand dollars, but ultimately he was not convicted and after his term moved on to New Orleans and then to Alabama.⁶⁵⁶ Richard Claiborne’s problem with Fulton appears to have been politically motivated rather than legal. He did not have the same national experience as his cousin and inclined toward Federalism, a political opinion that brought him up at odds with Fulton, given Richard Claiborne’s suspicions over Fulton’s participation in the Whiskey Rebellion.⁶⁵⁷ Wells, another prominent planter, was a Louisianan, but he was also Fulton’s father-in-law. The nature of the political conflict within Rapides did not arise out of local divisions. Rather than a disagreement over U.S. administration within the territory, the parties engaged in a political conflict that they had brought with them from the east. The disagreement arose between United States parties, though Fulton and Miller, through their in-laws, gave the dispute an ethnic dimension, but it would be more accurately framed as a conflict between an appointed outsider at odds with fellow Anglo-

⁶⁵⁴ Jared William Bradley, “Biographical Sketch: Major Richard D. Claiborne,” *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 549-550.

⁶⁵⁵ Richard Claiborne to John Graham, 10 November 1811, *Territorial Papers*, 9:953-954.

⁶⁵⁶ G. P. Whittington, *Rapides Parish Louisiana, A History* (Alexandria LA: National Society of the Colonial Dames in the State of Louisiana, 1955), 59.

Americans who had firmer local connections. The party division continued to resonate in Rapides when Richard Claiborne began to act in a high-handed fashion, which given his Federalist past further inflamed local animus against him.

The administration assiduously worked to attach locals and Creoles to the U.S. government in Rapides, while their primary opposition came from dissatisfied Anglo-Americans, as was often the case throughout the territory.⁶⁵⁸ Anglo-Americans in opposition also strove to form partnerships with Francophone Louisianans. A hostile take from the *Louisiana Courier* in 1810 characterized Daniel Clark's efforts to court Creoles: "Clark, who cajoles and splendidly entertains on his plantation at Houmas some Creoles, whom he had endeavored but a few days before to ruin, neutralizing at the same time their influence by that of another party whom he commands and equally deceives at once, for the purpose of securing the triumph of his true cause."⁶⁵⁹ Clark according to such a view participated in Burr's conspiracy, but the earlier portion of the quote illustrated that Claiborne and the U.S. administration, as well as the opposition to it were multiethnic.⁶⁶⁰

William Claiborne continued to offer support for his cousin, despite Richard Claiborne's failure in Rapides and their differing political views on the national level. Governor Claiborne wanted to appoint him as judge of Concordia after Richard came to dislike his office within Rapides, and Claiborne did not approve of other leading

⁶⁵⁷ Jared William Bradley, "Biographical Sketch: Major Richard D. Claiborne," *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 550.

⁶⁵⁸ Kastor notes that Creole opponents of the governor might still secure appointments, but this was not the case with American opponents like Daniel Clark or Edward Livingston. As a result such Americans formed a sort of permanent opposition. See Kastor, *The Nation's Crucible: The Louisiana Purchase and the Creation of America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 106.

⁶⁵⁹ *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 27 August 1810.

candidates in Concordia like Doctor Shaws, as he came from Mississippi, or Mr. Beauford, as he was a Federalist: “I am unwilling to send to Concordia an Officer, who in any manner would interfere in the Elections, of the M. Territory and particularly one who would do so, in order to advance the cause of federalism; nor will I commission Major Claiborne if there should be just grounds to suppose, that he would pursue such a course.”⁶⁶¹ He ended up offering the judgeship to David Lattimore, but even so Richard Claiborne remained the governor’s second choice: “If the Doctor should decline accepting, how would it do, to nominate Major Claiborne? He is extremely solicitous to be removed from Rapides.”⁶⁶² The governor later wrote to Richard Claiborne to console him over the failure to achieve the position. Claiborne professed confidence in Richard despite the problems within the parish: “I trust and verily believe, that the presentments, against you ‘for extortion and oppression [no end of quote] in ‘office’ are without foundation; But pending such accusations, (exhibited as they have been by a Grand Jury) were you to be named Judge of another Parish, your Enemies might attribute such nomination to an unwillingness on your part to meet the charges, and a disposition on mine, to arrest further investigation.”⁶⁶³ Ultimately Claiborne kept his post as judge of Rapides until his term expired.⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶⁰ Clark in turn was critical of Wilkinson’s connection with Burr and Claiborne’s handling of the crisis, bringing him in for further criticism. See *Moniteur de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 26 March 1808; 2 April 1808; 20 July 1808; 10 August 1808.

⁶⁶¹ To Colonel F. L. Claiborne, 11 September 1808, *Letter Books*, 4:216-217. What a Federalist program would look like in Louisiana is hard to imagine, since the Southern Federalist program was largely one of opposition to Jeffersonian removals of Federalist judges, officeholders, and officers, which Louisiana never had since it entered as a territory under Jefferson. See James H. Broussard, *The Southern Federalists, 1800-1816* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978).

⁶⁶² To Colonel F. L. Claiborne, 14 October 1808, *Letter Books*, 4:228.

⁶⁶³ To Judge Claiborne, 8 November 1808, *Letter Books*, 4:246-247.

⁶⁶⁴ To Judge Claiborne, 15 November 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:381-382.

After Claiborne's tenure came to an end in 1812 the judges of Rapides were William S. Johnson (son of the district judge) and then Thomas C. Scott. Both those judges attained their appointments through connections or experiences on the higher court of the area. Notably, Governor Claiborne did not turn to Anglo-Americans or Creoles from the party that had opposed his cousin. The Fourth Superior Court District included Natchitoches, Rapides and Ouachita where Thomas C. Scott served as clerk in 1808.⁶⁶⁵ Josiah Stoddard Johnston of Alexandria served as the judge from 1813-1821 before he went on to Congress when William Murray was made the district judge. Rapides thus had only Anglo judges throughout the period.

The sheriffs as in other areas tended to come from men of lesser means (see table 22). One such, R. Sackett, may have stolen the funds during Richard Claiborne's tenure as judge of the county. Governor Claiborne wrote to Judge Claiborne to investigate any charges against Sackett and if he found anything to report it to him.⁶⁶⁶ The local judge appointed justices in Rapides through the blank commissions sent by the governor, which was the general practice in many parishes.⁶⁶⁷ Such appointive powers made judges extremely powerful, but it was a power that could disappear should the governor choose to direct appointments. As in other areas, justices came from a variety of backgrounds; many often had quite extensive holdings when compared to higher officials, while others held little.

⁶⁶⁵ G. P. Whittington, *Rapides Parish Louisiana, A History* (Alexandria LA: National Society of the Colonial Dames in the State of Louisiana, 1955), 59.

⁶⁶⁶ To Judge Claiborne, 6 April 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:68.

⁶⁶⁷ A Register of Civil Appointments, 30 June 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:751.

Table 22. Rapides Officials, Slave Holdings

Name	Office	1810	1820
William Miller	Commandant/Judge 1805-1807	8	8
Ennemond Meullion	Treasurer	31	
Levi Wells	Treasurer 1806	65	
Thomas Dawson	Judge 1807-1808	0	
Richard Claiborne	Judge 1808-1812	1	
William S. Johnson	Judge	0	0
Thomas C. Scott	Judge		6
Frederick Walther	Sheriff 1805		
Thomas F. Oliver	Sheriff 1806	4	9
Garrett Rison	Sheriff 1808	7	
Stephen Lewis Wells	Sheriff	2	
Norris Wright	Sheriff		
William Turnbull	Sheriff		
R. Sackett	Sheriff		
William Fristoe	Sheriff 1819-1823	1	0
P. Baillis	Justice 1805	40	58
John Cason	Justice 1805	0	0
Evan Baker	Justice 1806		
Hall	Justice 1806		
Reason Boye	Justice 1806		
Hatch Dent	Clerk 1805/Justice 1806-1808	0	
Isaac McNutt	Justice 1809	2	8
Charles Steward Heritage Howerton	Justice 1811	0	13
Samuel D. Forsyeth	Justice 1811		
William P. Cannon	Justice 1811		
Silas Talbert	Justice 1819-1820		8
T. C. Scott	Justice 1820		6

Table data based on.⁶⁶⁸

Many of the individuals who opposed Richard Claiborne achieved election to the territorial and state legislatures. The men elected collectively represented the sort of elite that had emerged in the parish, and the links between Anglo newcomers and older established families. While appointed positions at the highest levels did not go to the faction that attacked Claiborne, elected posts did. Levi Wells was born in Louisiana and raised in Opelousas, but he later moved to Rapides, where Wells received large land grants under the Spanish that he retained under the United States. Wells went on to serve

⁶⁶⁸ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee, and Rapides Parish* (Baltimore: Genealogical Company, 1995); Register of Civil Appointments in the Territory of Orleans, 13 February 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:598-602; Register of Civil Appointments, 1 January – 30 June 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:662-663; Civil Appointments, 31 December 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:701; Secretary Robertson to the Secretary of State, 17 January 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:824; Return of Civil Appointments made in the Territory of Orleans from the 1st January 1811 to the 31st December of the same Year, *Territorial Papers*, 9:984-985; Civil Appointments, *Letter Books*, 4:146; G. P. Whittington, *Rapides Parish Louisiana, A History* (Alexandria LA: National Society of the Colonial Dames in the State of Louisiana, 1955), 55, 59; Civil Appointments, *Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne*, volume 4, edited by Dunbar Rowland (Jackson MS: State Department of Archives and History, 1917), 386; *L'Ami des Lois* [New Orleans], 4 March 1819; *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 5 March

in the territorial legislature, the state constitutional convention and then in 1812 the state House of Representatives.⁶⁶⁹ Josiah Stoddard Johnston and Colonel Fulton also represented Rapides in the territorial legislature.⁶⁷⁰ Fulton had come from Pennsylvania and founded the city of Alexandria and along with his partner William Miller began a store on the Red River in Rapides Parish before marrying Henrietta Wells and held a number of posts in Rapides as coroner and postmaster.⁶⁷¹ Another Richard Claiborne opponent, Hatch Dent, secured election to the state senate in 1812. Dent came from Maryland where he had practiced law. He then immigrated after the cession to Louisiana where he became a clerk of court and then a justice of the peace in 1806 and 1809. In addition to practicing law and being a planter he served as a major in the tenth regiment, became the sheriff for the fourth superior district and was reappointed in 1809. Dent married into the Meuillon family through his wife Jeanette Meuillon.⁶⁷² His own opposition to Richard Claiborne may have moved him to resign his civil and militia offices on June 1st 1809 after Claiborne escaped conviction. Josiah S. Johnson received

1819; *Louisiana Herald* [New Orleans], 20 March 1819; 21 January 1820; 1 July 1820; Sue Eakin, *Rapides Parish History: A Sourcebook* (Alexandria LA: Eakin, 1976), 12-13.

⁶⁶⁹ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography vol. 2* (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 833-834. Wells served in the Territorial Legislature after Mr. Plauche resigned. See To Judge Claiborne, 4 April 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:67.

⁶⁷⁰ In 1820 Josiah Stoddard Johnston ran for Congress against Edward Livingston and won. Johnston later became a senator, he had immigrated to Kentucky from Connecticut as a child and had attended Transylvania University where he studied law before moving to Alexandria Louisiana and setting up a practice. He served in the territorial legislature from its inception in 1805 until statehood came about in 1812 when he began to serve in the State House of Representatives. He also held militia appointments as a major in 1809 and then a colonel in 1814 and eventually would be elected to Congress in 1820 and then on to the Senate. See James Fair Hardin, *Northwestern Louisiana: A History of the Watershed of the Red River, 1714-1937*. Shreveport, La.: Historical Record Association, 1939), 383.

⁶⁷¹ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography vol. 1* (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 327-328.

⁶⁷² The marriage took place on 18 December 1806. Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography vol. 1* (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 237; Register of Civil Appointments in the Territory of Orleans, February 13, 1806, *Territorial Papers of the United States, vol. IX, The Territory of Orleans, 1803-1812*, Clarence Edwin Carter, editor (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), 598-602.

the appointment as Major in the 10th militia regiment to replace Dent.⁶⁷³ Dent directly owned only one slave, but with his brother-in-law he had another forty-eight in 1810 (see table 23).⁶⁷⁴ Dent also served as the clerk of court. Dent received a number of appointments from the governor, as an Anglo-American from Maryland and someone with strong connections to the local Creole elite of the parish he could serve as a bridge between United States officials and local Creole inhabitants before he moved into the opposition.⁶⁷⁵

Table 23. Rapides Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings

Name	Position and term	1810	1820
Josiah Stoddard Johnston	Territorial Legislature 1810-1811	5	13
Alexander Fulton	Territorial Legislature 1805-1810 (died)	7	
Thomas C. Scott	Territorial Legislature 1811-/Senate 2:2		6
Joseph Burney	Territorial Legislature 1808-1810		
Levi Wells	Constitutional Convention/House 2 (died)	65	
R. Hall	Constitutional Convention		12
Thomas F. Oliver	Constitutional Convention/ House 1	4	1
Philip Caldwell	House 1-2		
Molholan	House 2		
A. Plauche	House 3		
Horatio S. Sprigg	House 3	6	28
Alexander James	House 4		33
H. Gordon	House 4		
William Cheney	House 4		33
Hatch Dent	Senate 1-2:1	0	
John Casson	Senate 3:1	0	11
William Murray	Senate 3:2-4		

Table data based on.⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁷³ To Hatch Dent, 1 June 1809; To Josiah Johnson, 2 June 1809, *Letter Books*, 4:374, 376.

⁶⁷⁴ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee, and Rapides Parish* (Baltimore: Genealogical Company, 1995).

⁶⁷⁵ G. P. Whittington, *Rapides Parish Louisiana, A History* (Alexandria LA: National Society of the Colonial Dames in the State of Louisiana, 1955), 55.

⁶⁷⁶ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee, and Rapides Parish* (Baltimore: Genealogical Company, 1995); *Mississippi Messenger* [Natchez], 3 December 1805; *Courier de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 18 January 1809; *Louisiana Gazette* [New Orleans], 23 October 1811; To Thomas C. Scott, 5 December 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:399-400; *Constitution or Form of Government of the State of Louisiana*; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 1; *Journal of the House of Representative of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3, 8; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 18; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 5; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3; Philip Caldwell's election had some irregularities in the second legislature though and he was disqualified from his seat at the first session, but he was back at the next session just the same, and again at the third legislature and the fourth. See *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second

As in other areas Claiborne attempted to build local support in Rapides for the U.S. territorial administration. He met many requests he received from the area and provided patronage when possible for prominent citizens, as when he recommended S. Sprigg, a resident of Rapides who had been in the navy, for a captain's position in the Army.⁶⁷⁷ Meeting these sorts of requests helped build local support for U.S. governance, a task made difficult by divisions within the county that emerged from the controversy surrounding Richard Claiborne. An administration party received judicial and lesser appointments while the party that opposed Richard Claiborne continued to compete for elected positions. These issues revolved around pro and anti-administration parties more than Federalist/Republican issues, and as Claiborne stated he refused to back his cousin in supporting any Federalist course. The reaction of local elites to Richard Claiborne demonstrated that local support remained absolutely essential for the operation of effective administration, but at the same time the county was never a source of major

Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 18; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 5; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 10; Glenn C. Conrad, editor, *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 2 (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 833-834; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 24; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3. *Journal of the House of Representative of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 43; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3, 14; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 12; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 4; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 14; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 43. *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815); *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 19; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 4; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820).

⁶⁷⁷ To William Eustis, 6 April 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:70.

concern. Unlike every other parish thus far covered, Rapides had an Anglo majority as early as 1810, but the treatment of his cousin illustrated to Claiborne that Anglo-Americans too could prove difficult to govern. Indeed, Anglo-American political opponents, who had already forged their own connections with the Francophone community, frequently resented the arrival of United States officials with ties to New Orleans coming into their counties and parishes and holding key positions. Creoles in many cases expected such positions, and Claiborne in many areas went out of his way to grant positions to Creoles, which may have changed expectations in other areas. In Rapides, however, with an Anglo majority, there was no immediate political reason to reach out to locals, and this policy of ignoring local elites resulted in the creation of an opposition party.

Catahoula, a parish within the county of Rapides, like its county was a majority Anglo parish, leading led U.S. officials to anticipate easy governance. Parish judges, as was often the case in Rapides, came from outside the parish. In Catahoula the first parish Judge was Benjamin Tenell, 1809-1810.⁶⁷⁸ Robert Hall replaced him and served from 1810 to 1813, Hall in turn was replaced in 1814 by Sam Lightner, who served well into the 1820's. The average slaveholder in Catahoula in 1810 held over two slaves. Judges in Catahoula were Anglos and frequently held more slaves than the average, but by no means were they great planters. There was never a Creole judge within the first two decades of American control in Catahoula. The position of sheriff generally went to citizens with less property than judges. From 1814 to 1818 Robert Hall held the post of sheriff in Catahoula, though the House of Representatives called for his dismissal for

⁶⁷⁸ List of Civil and Military Appointments, 21 April 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:835.

negligence in his tax collecting duties, and Hall died shortly thereafter.⁶⁷⁹ Justices for Catahoula included prominent local Anglo planters, like Reasin Bowie, the brother of James Bowie, but did not include any large planters like those found in so many other parish justice lists (see table 24).

Table 24. Catahoula Officials, Slave Holdings

Name	Office	1810
Benjamin Tenell	Judge 1809-1810	
Robert Hall	Judge 1810-1813, Sheriff 1814-1818	5
Sam Lightner	Judge 1814-1820's	9
William J. Clarkson	Sheriff 1813	
John Hall	Sheriff	
Mathew Stone	Justice 1808	8
Samuel Lightner	Justice 1808	9
Reasin Bowie	Justice 1808	4
Philip Caldwell	Justice 1811	0

Table data based on.⁶⁸⁰

Avoyelles parish within Rapides County differed from Rapides and Catahoula parishes in that it was a majority Creole parish, though with a significant Anglo minority.⁶⁸¹ In Avoyelles Native Americans retained a presence, but their population dwindled over the course of the eighteenth century due to European diseases, as well as the effects of Native and European warfare and slavery.⁶⁸² The Avoyelles Indians had been subsumed within the Tunica tribe. Both the Avoyelles and the Tunica served as allies of the French, and a number of other native groups had resided in the area. The

⁶⁷⁹ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 35; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1818), 39. Only one legislator Mr. Chrestien voted nay on his removal. See *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 54.

⁶⁸⁰ 1810 Census Catahoula Parish. This Census was transcribed by Carol Walker <carola@bellsouth.net> and proofread by Angela Walker <angelaw@bellsouth.net> for the USGenWeb Archives Census Project <http://www.usgenweb.org/census>; Return of Civil Appointments made in the Territory of Orleans from the 1st January 1811 to the 31st December of the same Year, *Territorial Papers*, 9:985; Catahoula Parish Conveyance Records, 1808-1820.

⁶⁸¹ Avoyelles was named for yet another tribe, though they had been replaced by the Tunica by the period of American control. See Corinne L. Saucier, *History of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana* (Gretna LA: Firebird Press, 1998), 4-5.

⁶⁸² Richmond F. Brown, "Introduction," in *Coastal Encounters: The Transformation of the Gulf Coast in the Eighteenth Century*, Richmond F. Brown ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 1.

Spanish had maintained a profitable trade outpost at Avoyelles.⁶⁸³ In 1805 there were but two or three Avoyelles and one hundred and five Biloxi while the Tunica population was around sixty.⁶⁸⁴ The Indian trade was of less importance than in Natchitoches, and local farmers produced goods for export. In Avoyelles cotton became a major product with a local gin owned by Daniel Clark, though sugar also made inroads, as it did elsewhere, with the first sugar crop produced around 1820.⁶⁸⁵ Despite these developments Avoyelles remained a smaller community on the periphery of larger settlements.

Avoyelles post had been ruled by a series of commanders under the French and Spanish as part of the Natchitoches district or as part of Pointe Coupee. The commanders included Joseph Rabalais, De Apereto, Jacques Gaignard assisted by Noel Soileau, and Etienne Robert de la Morandier who was assisted by alcaldes Joseph Joffrion and Jean Baptiste Mayeux.⁶⁸⁶ Many of the descendents of these prominent families held posts under the new U.S. territorial government, in contrast to the other parishes of the north where more Anglo-Americans received appointments. The Francophone majority within Avoyelles required Claiborne to strike a more conciliatory chord. The eventual selection of Francophone judges illustrates this trend. When he received complaints that Francophone appointees, two syndics Joseph Trelon and Robert Mayeaux, had exercised favoritism, Claiborne called on yet another Creole, Edward Meullon, to investigate with full authority to retain or dismiss them and appoint others.⁶⁸⁷ Rather than going to the local U.S. commandant (Meullion's son-in-law), Claiborne contacted Meullon, a local

⁶⁸³ Sue L. Eakin, *Avoyelles Parish: Crossroads of Louisiana* (Gretna LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 1999), 3-5.

⁶⁸⁴ Corinne L. Saucier, *History of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana* (Gretna LA: Firebird Press, 1998), Appendix A, 352.

⁶⁸⁵ Corinne L. Saucier, *History of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana* (Gretna LA: Firebird Press, 1998), 23.

⁶⁸⁶ Corinne L. Saucier, *History of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana* (Gretna LA: Firebird Press, 1998), 11-15.

⁶⁸⁷ To Edward Menillon, 9 April 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:87.

Creole, to investigate. Meullion and the governor apparently felt that the complaints did not justify a removal of the appointees, although Claiborne instructed Meullion: “State to them the necessity of punctuality and the most prompt and impartial execution of justice.”⁶⁸⁸ While U.S. officials carefully managed investigations of Creole appointees, Avoyelles like Rapides included a number of Anglo-American outsiders in key appointed posts.

From 1805 to 1807 Avoyelles was a part of Rapides County with Judge Thomas Dawson acting as the executive officer of the area. The first judge of the new parish of Avoyelles came as an outsider with high connections. Judge Reibalt achieved his position principally due to his connection to Thomas Jefferson.⁶⁸⁹ Indeed, he already had garnered a factor appointment at Natchitoches from the president. When Claiborne appointed Judge Reibalt as the first judicial officer of the parish he did so knowing that Reibalt’s circumstances were not those of a great planter: “The Parish of Avoyelles is on the Waters of Red River; It includes about 120 families principally French, who are virtuous & industrious—living in great harmony and enjoying in Abundance the necessaries of Life.—Mr. Reibalt has purchased a Farm in this settlement, the produce of which, together with his little office will I hope make him comfortable.”⁶⁹⁰ Reibalt’s position in some ways made him far more an administration man because he depended on his salary; whereas great planters came with a degree of independence and often with a history in their parish, and did not depend on salaries as their primary source of income. As with other judges Reibalt had wide discretion as to who would receive lower

⁶⁸⁸ To Edmund Merrillon, 9 June 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:200-201. Though the crime, was not listed, it is clear that they had been accused of some sort of favoritism within Rapides, possibly in the collection of the liquor tax, which the commandant had solved, by simply removing the tax altogether.

⁶⁸⁹ Governor Claiborne to the President, 12 November 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:687.

appointments through the blank commissions for justices that Claiborne sent to him.⁶⁹¹

Thomas F. Oliver replaced Reibelt in 1808.⁶⁹²

Oliver's name was often taken to be Olivier in the Francophone parish and given his facility with both French and English some authorities have assumed he was a Creole.⁶⁹³ Yet, Oliver was originally from Massachusetts.⁶⁹⁴ In 1810 in Avoyelles the average slaveholder held over two slaves; by 1820 it increased just slightly.⁶⁹⁵ Oliver was a man with holdings above that average; in 1810 he held six slaves.⁶⁹⁶ When Thomas Oliver resigned, Claiborne proposed appointing Kenneth McCrummins as judge of Avoyelles, though if McCrummins accepted, he only briefly retained the post.⁶⁹⁷ Claiborne shortly thereafter turned to a Francophone member of the community for the judgeship, though not one born within that community. Alexander Plauche became judge of Avoyelles parish in 1813 and served until 1816 while J. B. Mitchell served as clerk.⁶⁹⁸ Plauche came from a family that immigrated to Louisiana from Provence and actively engaged in real estate dealings in the parish.⁶⁹⁹ These land deals often involved the sale of mortgages with Julien Poydras; it appears that Poydras acted as the banker in these

⁶⁹⁰ Governor Claiborne to the President, 3 May 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:729.

⁶⁹¹ A Register of Civil Appointment, 30 June 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:749-751.

⁶⁹² Return of Proclamations, Pardons, and Appointments, 30 June 1808, *Territorial Papers*, 9:796

⁶⁹³ Corinne L. Saucier, *History of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana* (Gretna LA: Firebird Press, 1998), 127.

⁶⁹⁴ List of Civil and Military Officers, 21 April 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:835.

⁶⁹⁵ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 1, Avoyelles and St. Landry Parish, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1995).

⁶⁹⁶ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 1, Avoyelles and St. Landry Parish, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1995).

⁶⁹⁷ A Message from the Governor, Making Several Nominations, *Letter Books*, 6:172.

⁶⁹⁸ Parish Records, *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Louisiana* (Shreveport LA: J. & W. Enterprises, 1892), 9.

⁶⁹⁹ Along with his brother Urbin. Stanley Clisby Arthur and George Campbell Huchet de Kernion *Old Families of Louisiana* (Gretna LA: Firebird Press, 1998), 421-425; William Nelson Gremillion, Sr. and Loucille Edwards Gremillion, *Some Early Families of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana* (Eunice LA: Hebert Publications, 1980), 318-319.

deals.⁷⁰⁰ Indeed Claiborne used Julien Poydras to convince Plauche to exercise influence in his area.⁷⁰¹ Judge Joseph Joffrion succeeded Alexander Plauche on August 16, 1816. Joffrion was the first true local Creole to hold the judicial post in Avoyelles; he came from a prominent local family that immigrated from Canada, and his father had served as an alcalde of Avoyelles post under the Spanish.⁷⁰² After Joffrion, Robert Morrow briefly served as judge in 1818 until Cornelius Voorhies appointment from April 1818-1822 while S. Herriman served as clerk.⁷⁰³ Voorhies was yet another immigrant from Kentucky.

Avoyelles sheriffs included a number of Anglo officeholders (see table 25). As in other parishes these individuals tended to be lesser figures within the parish. Justices of the peace for Avoyelles also tended to be men of lesser means, though many were members of prominent families. In contrast to the sheriffs, justices tended to come from Creole families. Eliche was an Italian immigrant and a prominent member of the community who went on to found the town of Marksville; he owned property as well as a cotton gin and cotton press.⁷⁰⁴ Urban Plauche was the judge's brother. The Bordelons were a prominent family within the parish, and S. Allen Bordelon was a large planter and merchant under the French.⁷⁰⁵ Avoyelles' elected representatives had all served in appointed posts, demonstrating a genuine overlap for the parish in elected and appointed

⁷⁰⁰ William Nelson Gremillion Sr. and Loucille Edwards Gremillion, *Some Early Families of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana* (Eunice LA: Hebert Publications, 1980), 318-319.

⁷⁰¹ To Julien Poydras, 18 July 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:307-308.

⁷⁰² William Nelson Gremillion Sr. and Loucille Edwards Gremillion, *Some Early Families of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana* (Eunice LA: Hebert Publications, 1980), 207-224.

⁷⁰³ Parish Records, *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Louisiana* (Shreveport LA: J. & W. Enterprises, 1890), 4-9.

⁷⁰⁴ William Nelson Gremillion Sr. and Loucille Edwards Gremillion, *Some Early Families of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana* (Eunice LA: Hebert Publications, 1980), 140; Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 1, Avoyelles and St. Landry Parish, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1995).

leadership, in contrast to parishes where an anti-administration party regularly secured elections. Avoyelles never developed the sort of factions found in other parishes, though it proved easier for Creoles to reach elected office as opposed to higher appointed offices, like that of judge (see table 26).

Table 25. Avoyelles Officials, Slave Holdings

Name	Office	1810	1820
Edward Meuillon	Civil Commandant		
Judge Reibalt	Judge 1807-1808		
Thomas F. Oliver	Judge 1808-1812	6	
Kenneth McCrummins	Judge 1813		
Alexander Plauche	Judge 1813-1816	28	35
Joseph Joffrion	Judge 1816-1818	15	
Robert Morrow	Judge 1818, Justice 1817		
Cornelius Voorhies	Judge 1818-1820		8
J. B. Mitchell	Clerk		
S. Herriman	Clerk/Sheriff		
William Harvey	Sheriff 1814-1815		
Sosthene Riche	Sheriff 1816-1817		
Joseph Kruball	Sheriff 1817		6
J. Morgan	Sheriff 1819-1820		
J. M. Cleveland	Sheriff 1820		
Evan Baker	Justice 1807, 1817		
Peter L'Eglise	Justice 1807		
Marc Eliche	Justice 1817	2	
Urban Plauche	Justice 1817	1	4
Benjamin Miller	Justice 1817		
Francois Tournier	Justice 1817	11	13
Joseph Joffrion	Justice 1817		
Francois Bordelon	Justice 1817	13	
James White	Justice 1817		4
Henry Ogden	Justice 1817		2
Valery Bordelon	Police Juror 1817	1	4
Narcisse Mayeux	Police Juror 1817	0	
William Reed	Police Juror 1817		0

Table data based on.⁷⁰⁶

Table 26. Avoyelles Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings

Name	Office	1810	1820
Alexander Plauche	House 3 rd Leg. 1 st Session	28	35
Cornelius Voorhies	House 3 rd Leg. 2 nd Session		
Francois Tournier	House 4 th Leg.	11	13

Table data based on.⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰⁵ Frederick William Williamson and George T. Goodman, *Eastern Louisiana: A History* vol. 3 (Louisville KY: The Historical Record Association, 1939), 977.

⁷⁰⁶ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 1, Avoyelles and St. Landry Parish, 1810 & 1820* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1995); Civil Appointments, *Letter Books*, 4:146; Corinne L. Saucier, *History of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana* (Gretna LA: Firebird Press, 1998), 355; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 29; *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 6, 22 October, 12 November 1817; *Louisiana Herald* [New Orleans], 21 January 1820; Corinne L. Saucier, *History of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana* (Gretna LA: Firebird Press, 1998), 355. Thomas F. Oliver had 1465 arpents sold to pay for state taxes, *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 14 September 1818; Avoyelles Parish Conveyance Records, 1804-1820.

Concordia and Ouachita differed from the counties of Natchitoches and Rapides, in that they did not share a western frontier with the Spanish. The frontier created a tense atmosphere exacerbated by the large slave population of Natchitoches through 1810, the presence of a number of Indian tribes, and U.S. officials' doubts over the loyalty of the Creole population, but this atmosphere did not exist to the same degree in the northeast. Even so, Concordia had a close Spanish presence across the Mississippi in West Florida, but the absence of a neutral zone, the weakness of local tribes and the clear Anglo majority within Concordia made the county less of a concern for the administration. Likewise, despite Ouachita's distance from New Orleans, its larger Anglo population and its position in the interior made it less of a worry for the government in New Orleans. The counties of Concordia and Ouachita differed from one another in that Concordia's larger slave population and plantation agriculture made it similar to the parishes to the south while Ouachita's economy remained less developed.

In Concordia Joseph Vidal served as commandant from 1802-1805, straddling the Spanish and U.S. periods of control. Vidal remained in Natchitoches as a local grandee under the United States, and he and his family continued to hold offices within the county. The average slaveholder in Concordia in 1810 held over five slaves.⁷⁰⁸ In 1807 Vidal was the largest single taxpayer on land that year and his extended family had still larger holdings than those shown below; in 1811 he had holdings of four thousand eight hundred acres at a tax of fifty-eight dollars and sixty cents, in 1812 it was thirty-eight dollars and eighty-eight cents, but regardless Vidal remained the largest taxpayer on land

⁷⁰⁷ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3, 7; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 4.

⁷⁰⁸ 1810 Census Concordia. Abstracted by Carol Walker from public records. Edited and reformatted

for the county.⁷⁰⁹ Ferdinand Claiborne (no known relation to the Governor) served as the civil and military commandant. Governor Claiborne's replacement for Vidal as commandant was L. Wooldridge, and he instructed Ferdinand Claiborne to turn over his papers to him.⁷¹⁰ James Williams became the first judge of Concordia County in 1805.⁷¹¹ By July of 1806 Samuel Sidney Mahon replaced Williams.⁷¹² Mahon loomed large within the county as a landholder, judge, captain in the ninth militia regiment, and due to his service in the Territorial House of Representatives.⁷¹³ In 1807 James Ross was appointed parish judge and served until 1809.⁷¹⁴ Claiborne next offered the post of judge of Concordia to Dr. David Lattimore, who hesitantly accepted because he intended to leave the territory shortly thereafter.⁷¹⁵ In 1809 Benjamin Tennell was appointed as Parish Judge, another Anglo-American appointee, originally from North Carolina.⁷¹⁶ In 1811 James Dunlap became the parish Judge of Concordia, serving to 1813 when John Perkins took up the post.⁷¹⁷ Perkins was born in Maryland and immigrated to Mississippi Territory and then on to Concordia where he accumulated large holdings.⁷¹⁸ Perkins

by Maggie Stewart, December 2005. Submitted by Carol Walker.

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⁷⁰⁹ Concordia Parish Collection, Concordia Tax Rolls 1807, 1811, 1812, MSS 5579 U:26 or F:12, Calhoun Collection, LSU Hill Memorial Library, Baton Rouge LA.

⁷¹⁰ Governor Claiborne to Ferdinand L. Claiborne, 29 January 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:386-387.

⁷¹¹ To Major Claiborne, 4 May 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:36-37; Register of Civil Appointments in the Territory of Orleans, 13 February 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:598-603.

⁷¹² Register of Civil Appointments, 30 June 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:662-663.

⁷¹³ In the house he served on the select committee on divorce and alimony, though in principle opposed to divorce Mahon acknowledged that in some cases it was appropriate Samuel S. Mahon, "A Discourse on Divorce: Orleans Territorial Legislature, 1806" edited by W. Magruder Drake, *Louisiana History* 22 (1981): 434-437.

⁷¹⁴ A Register of Civil Appointments, 30 June 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:749-752.

⁷¹⁵ Doctor D. Lattimore, 10 October 1808, *Letter Books*, 4:224; To Dr. David Lattimore, *Letter Books*, 4:241; Secretary Robertson to the Secretary of State, Civil Appointments, 17 January 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:824.

⁷¹⁶ List of Civil and Military Officers, 21 April 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:835.

⁷¹⁷ Return of Civil Appointments Made in the Territory of Orleans from the 1st January 1811 to the 31st December of the Same Year, *Territorial Papers*, 9:984-986.

⁷¹⁸ Glenn R. Conrad, editor, *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography vol. 1* (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 643.

served in the position from 1813 to 1818. After his judgeship James Dunlap was appointed as the postmaster of Concordia and the following year Joseph Dunlap succeeded him.⁷¹⁹ Edward Broughton succeeded Perkins in 1818 and served until 1826. James Dunlap went on to serve as the District Judge, which included Natchitoches and Ouachita until 1823. This series of judges for Concordia illustrates the dominance of Anglo-American outsiders in the post.

The sheriffs of Concordia tended to be lesser landholders. In 1811 James Dunlap served in the post before moving on to his judgeship. Justices as in other areas of the territory often proved to be substantial landholders in Concordia (see table 27). John Minor was a prominent local figure as a major landholder of the parish, and he was deeply involved in local politics and government. For instance in 1807 John Minor along with David B. Morgan and Gabriel Winters superintended the construction of the local jail to be built.⁷²⁰ Benjamin Reagan, former Judge James Dunlap, and Joseph Vidal Junior were among the buyers within Concordia who purchased land from those who failed to pay their assessed taxes.⁷²¹

⁷¹⁹ Concordia Parish Collection, MSS 5579 U:26 or F:12, Calhoun Collection, LSU Hill Memorial Library, Baton Rouge LA.

⁷²⁰ Concordia Parish Collection, MSS 5579 U:26 or F:12, Calhoun Collection, LSU Hill Memorial Library, Baton Rouge LA.

⁷²¹ *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 22 March 1816.

Table 27. Concordia Officials, Taxes, Land, and Slave Holdings

Name	Office	1807			1810	1811			1812		
		Acres	Sl.	\$	Sl.	Acres	Sl.	\$	Acres	Sl.	\$
Joseph Vidal	Commandant 1802-1805	800		16.00	36	4800		58.60			38.88
Ferdinand Claiborne	Civil Commandant	36		2.00							
L. Wooldridge	Commandant/Clerk										
James Williams	Judge 1805				34	940	31	52.55			
Samuel Sidney Mahon	Judge 1806	730		5.90							
James Ross	Judge 1807-1809										
Dr. David Latimore	Judge 1809		18		13	664	14	28.08		2	
Benjamin Tennell	Judge 1809-1811										
James Dunlap	Sheriff 1811/Judge 1811-1813				2				1040	2	
John Perkins	Judge 1813-1818	400		5.00	23	934	23	40.69	1040		
Edward Broughton	Judge 1818-1826										
Charles Morgan	Sheriff 1805										
M. Richardson	Sheriff 1805-1806										
James C. Huston	Sheriff 1806				2						
John Nancarrow	Sheriff 1806										
William Willis	Sheriff 1812-1815								500	3	
Benjamin R. Reagan	Sheriff 1815-1817										
Stephen C. Miller	Sheriff 1818										
W. S. Parker	Sheriff 1819										
William Blount	Justice 1805	400			4				450		
David Morgan	Justice 1805, 1807										
James Brewster	Justice 1805, 1807										
George N. Reagan	Justice 1806	800			32				1000		
John Minor	Justice 1807	300			59				253		
Gabriel Winters	Justice 1807								1430	6	
Nicholas Rogers	Justice 1808				25						
Nicholas Salson	Justice 1808										
Nathan Dix	Justice 1809				8	250	9		360	11	
John Calvet	Justice 1809										
Elijah Cushing	Justice 1809				1	1000	11		1280	14	

Table data based on.⁷²²

Concordia's representatives to the territorial and state legislatures included some prominent Creoles. Even so, a number of Anglo-Americans also secured election. Representative Morgan was a recent arrival from Massachusetts who came in 1803 and became the surveyor general for Louisiana and Mississippi while he served in the

⁷²² Concordia Parish Collection, Concordia Tax Rolls 1807, 1811, 1812, MSS 5579 U:26 or F:12, Calhoun Collection, LSU Hill Memorial Library, Baton Rouge LA; 1810 Census Concordia. Abstracted by Carol Walker from public records. Edited and reformatted by Maggie Stewart, December 2005. Submitted by Carol Walker <http://www.usgwarchives.net/copyright.htm>; Register of Civil Appointments in the Territory of Orleans, 13 February 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:598-603; Register of Civil Appointments, 30 June 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:662-663; A Register of Civil Appointments, 30 June 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:749-752; Return of Civil Appointments Made in the Territory of Orleans from the 1st January 1811 to the 31st December of the Same Year, *Territorial Papers*, 9:984-986; Civil Appointments, *Letter Books*, 4:385-386; *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 22 March 1816, 22 March 1819; Concordia 8 October 1805, in *Calendar of St. Landry Parish Louisiana, Civil Records vol. 1, 1803-1819* Edited by Judy Riffel (Baton Rouge: Le Comité des Archives de la Louisiane, 1995), 63. Nancarrow was not listed on Concordia censuses, but in 1817 he owed back taxes on forty arpents of land in Ouachita see *Louisiana Courier* May 5, 1817; Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 19. Dunlap and Perkins acreage based on two holdings; Concordia Parish Conveyance Records, 1804-1820.

militia.⁷²³ The older inhabitants, even as a minority, retained influence. Joseph Vidal was elected to the territorial legislature in 1811 and remained active in local politics. Delegates to the Constitutional Convention from Concordia included James Dunlap and David B. Morgan (see table 28). These elections in Concordia illustrate the Anglo-American and Creole representation and shared influence.

Table 28. Concordia Elected Representatives, Taxes, Land, and Slaveholdings

Name	Office	1807			1810 Sl.	1811			1812		
		Acres	Sl.	\$		Acres	Sl.	\$	Acres	Sl.	\$
Samuel S. Mahon	Territorial Legislature 1805-09	730		5.9							
David B. Morgan	TL-1809/CC/Senate 1-2	271			59	320	23				
Joseph Vidal	Territorial Legislature 1811	800		16	36	4800		58.6			
James Dunlap	Constitutional Convention				2				1040	2	38.88
John D. Smith	House 1/Senate 3-4				20						
Buford	House 1										
Andrews	House 2-4				9						

Table data based on.⁷²⁴

In 1811 Concordia was briefly split into two parishes with the creation of Warren Parish, which would be subsumed into Concordia and Ouachita again in 1814. The first

⁷²³ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography vol. 1* (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 581.

⁷²⁴ Concordia Parish Collection, Concordia Tax Rolls 1807, 1811, 1812, MSS 5579 U:26 or F:12, Calhoun Collection, LSU Hill Memorial Library, Baton Rouge LA; 1810 Census Concordia. Abstracted by Carol Walker from public records. Edited and reformatted by Maggie Stewart, December 2005. Submitted by Carol Walker; *Mississippi Messenger* (Natchez), December 3, 1805; *Courier de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 18 January 1809; *Constitution or Form of Government of the State of Louisiana*; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 1; *Journal of the House of Representative of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 8; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 10; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 20; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 14; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 4; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 10; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 43; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815); *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 4; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 33; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 13; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820). Andrews, elected for the second legislature, had doubts over his election since he himself served as an election commissioner, and the election commissions report was then tabled. Even so Andrews returned again at the third legislature and the fourth. Dunlap's acreage based on two holdings. Dunlap was also a frequent purchaser of lands sold at public auction for back taxes in 1819. See *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 22 March 1819.

judge of Warren was William Lindsey who recommended local sheriff and justices.⁷²⁵

Lindsey in turn selected a Mr. Patterson as the sheriff of the new parish of Warren.⁷²⁶

Ouachita had a far larger Francophone population, which retained a slender majority in the county as late as 1810. In recognition of this majority, Claiborne appointed Francophone C. L. P. Danemours as a judge in 1805 in Ouachita.⁷²⁷ Danemours' time as judge was short, however; in 1806 James McLaughlin succeeded him.⁷²⁸ The following year Henry Bry was made the judge of Ouachita.⁷²⁹ Henry Bry was also one of the nominees for the Legislative Council. Claiborne described him as: "a farmer . . . Mr. Bry is a man of information and esteemed a worthy Citizen; He Speaks French & English."⁷³⁰ Bry like Danemours also served as a legislator in the Territorial House of Representatives. The yearly turnover came to an end in 1809 with the appointment of Thomas C. Lewis, originally from Kentucky.⁷³¹ Ouachita officials did not accumulate large slaveholdings. The average slaveholder in Ouachita in 1810 held more than one slave.⁷³² That number gave Ouachita the lowest slaveholding rate of the northern parishes. In 1813 Oliver J. Morgan took up the post of Judge, which he would hold well into the 1820's. Some of these men had served in lower offices, but lesser officials within Ouachita who possessed lesser holdings failed to advance (see table 29).

⁷²⁵ To William Lindsey Esqre., 28 March 1811; March 29, 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:195-196; 198.

⁷²⁶ To William Lindsay Esqre., 26 April 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:220.

⁷²⁷ Register of Civil Appointments in the Territory of Orleans, 13 February 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:598-603. The House of Representatives recommended Danemours as a nominee for the Legislative Council as he knew both French and English. See Governor Claiborne to the President, November 13, 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:525-526.

⁷²⁸ Register of Civil Appointments, 30 June 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:662-663.

⁷²⁹ A Register of Civil Appointments, 30 June 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:749.

⁷³⁰ Governor Claiborne to the President, 4 March 1810, *Territorial Papers*, 9:871.

⁷³¹ List of Civil and Military Officer, 21 April 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:835.

⁷³² 1810 Census Ouachita Census. Abstracted by Carol Walker from public records. Edited and reformatted by Maggie Stewart, September 2002. This work follows all guidelines of the USGW Census Project, <http://www.usgwcensus.org/>.

Table 29. Ouachita Officials, Slave Holdings

Name	Office	1810
C. L. P. Danemours	Judge 1805-1806	
James McLaughlin	Justice 1805/Judge 1806-1807/Treasurer	
Henry Bry	Judge 1807-1809	5
Thomas C. Lewis	Judge 1809-1813	5
Oliver J. Morgan	Judge 1813-1820's	
Andrew Kay	Sheriff 1805	
G. Hook	Sheriff 1814	2
John Hughes	Sheriff 1817	
Alexander Briand	Justice 1805	
James Brown	Justice 1806	
Louis Lamy	Justice 1806	4
Thomas Baker Franklin	Justice 1808	
Bagwell Bailey	Justice 1811	
George Robertson	Justice 1819	2
James Haughey	Clerk 1805	

Table data based on.⁷³³

The distance between Ouachita and New Orleans and the time and expense that service in the legislature entailed may help to explain the high turnover rate for Ouachita legislators. Ouachita representatives tended to be Anglo-Americans. Henry Bry was an exception, though he was not a Creole either. Bry was born in Geneva and immigrated and received a position in the U. S. Land Office.⁷³⁴ He became Ouachita's state senator for the first session of the third legislature (see table 30).

⁷³³ 1810 Census Ouachita Census. Abstracted by Carol Walker from public records. Edited and reformatted by Maggie Stewart, September 2002. This work follows all guidelines of the USGW Census Project, <http://www.usgwcensus.org/>; Register of Civil Appointments in the Territory of Orleans, 13 February 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:598-603; Register of Civil Appointments, 30 June 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:662-663; Return of Proclamations, Pardons, and Appointments, 30 June 1808, *Territorial Papers*, 9:796; Return of Civil Appointments Made in the Territory of Orleans from the 1st January 1811 to the 31st December of the Same Year, *Territorial Papers*, 9:985; To Judge Danemours, 8 May 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:47-48; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 24; *L'Ami des Lois*, 4 March 1819; *Louisiana Courier*, 5 May 1817; *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 5 March 1819.

⁷³⁴ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography vol. 1* (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 123.

Table 30. Ouachita Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings

Name	Position and term	1810
Abraham Moorehouse	Territorial Legislature 1805-1809	5
John Hughes	Territorial Legislature 1809/House 1:3/Senate 2,4	
James L. Henderson	House 1:1-1:2	4
Franklin	House 2:1, House 4 th Leg.	
Conrad Linderman	House 2:2/Senate 3:2	0
Hezekiah Kirkpatrick	House 3:1	
Thomas Barlow	House 3:2	6
George Hamilton	Senate 1	
Henry Bry	Constitutional Convention/Senate 3:1	5

Table data based on.⁷³⁵

As with Natchitoches, Ouachita had a large Native American presence that necessitated a military presence and demanded discretion on the part of local officials to keep order, lest local Creoles prove less than loyal or the Choctaw pose a threat to the inhabitants. At the time of the transfer to the United States, Lieutenant Joseph Bowmar wrote to Claiborne informing him that there were some one hundred Choctaw near the parish.⁷³⁶ The United States over the course of the territorial period began to push the Choctaw out of lands to the east, and after the War of 1812 this process accelerated. Bowmar noted that in Ouachita the populace appeared happy with the U.S.

⁷³⁵ 1810 Census Ouachita Census. Abstracted by Carol Walker from public records. Edited and reformatted by Maggie Stewart, September 2002. This work follows all guidelines of the USGW Census Project, <http://www.usgwcensus.org/>; *Mississippi Messenger* [Natchez], 3 December 1805; *Courier de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 18 January 1809; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 2; *Constitution or Form of Government of the State of Louisiana*; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans: 1814), 3, 8; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 8; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1815), 8; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3, 7; January 10, 1820, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820). Thomas Barlow served at the second session of the third legislature after Hezekiah Kirkpatrick died. *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 4; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 22; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 43; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 4; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3-4. Conrad Linderman served at the second session of the third legislature after Bry's resignation. *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 10; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820).

administration: “the Citizens of the district are universally pleased with the change, & shew a warm attachment to the Government of the United States.”⁷³⁷ Silas Dismore requested from Lieutenant Bowmar that he stop the Indians from hunting in Ouachita, but Claiborne countermanded those instructions based on the disturbances it caused within the county.⁷³⁸ Land disputes and hunting rights caused problems between the local inhabitants, both Creole and Anglo-American, and the Choctaw, but ultimately Claiborne allowed hunting to continue in order to cultivate the Choctaw relationship.

Ouachita needed a well-drilled militia given these security concerns. Claiborne in a letter to Lieutenant Bowmar at Ouachita wrote: “Ouachitas is a frontier post, and the first moments of danger, the Citizens if not trained to arms, might suffer considerably before adequate relief could be afforded from the interior Settlements.”⁷³⁹ Even so, the area remained far more peaceful than parishes to the west. This was illustrated most clearly in 1809 when Claiborne drew some sixty men from the Ouachita militia resulting in a complaint from six officers in Ouachita that his actions endangered the parish as their total militia contained only one hundred and forty-eight men.⁷⁴⁰ These small numbers became a local concern, but the feared violence never broke out. Indian agents regulated the Indian trade, though unauthorized traders continued to cause problems for Sibley and later officials. Colonel Shaumberg of Natchitoches received permission from the government to operate trading houses at both Natchitoches and Ouachita making him a key link in American relations with the tribes of the area.⁷⁴¹ Major R. King also received

⁷³⁶ Joseph Bowmar to Governor Claiborne, 15 April 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:223-224.

⁷³⁷ Joseph Bowmar to Governor Claiborne, 15 April 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:223.

⁷³⁸ Governor Claiborne to Joseph Bowmar, 23 March 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:421-422.

⁷³⁹ To Lieutenant Bowmar, 15 May 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:149.

⁷⁴⁰ To Major Henderson, 3 May 1809, *Letter Books*, 4:347-348.

⁷⁴¹ Trading House License, *Letter Books*, 2:2.

a license to trade at Ouachita.⁷⁴² Claiborne sent along several commissions for the militia to be given to whomever Bowmar saw fit. Under the Spanish, Baron de Bastrop, born in Dutch Guiana, held exclusive control over the Indian trade in Ouachita, a privilege he still claimed, though Claiborne refused to recognize Bastrop's monopoly.⁷⁴³ Within Ouachita Bastrop received two large land grants from the Spanish, one in 1796 for twelve square leagues along the Ouachita River on the condition that Bastrop bring in five hundred families.⁷⁴⁴ In 1804, the United States, through the Superior Court of the Territory, found against Bastrop's claim and ordered his property seized.⁷⁴⁵ Much of this land was turned over to Moorhouse, Lynch and Livingston, all prominent individuals in the parish and at New Orleans, through a land agent, Allan B. Magruder. Either because Magruder was later dismissed or because some of the buyers were political opponents, Claiborne ordered a further investigation of the legality of the claims.⁷⁴⁶

The tenth regiment of the militia included Rapides, Natchitoches, and Ouachita. Emanuel Prudhome served as a major in 1805 along with James L. Henderson and Nicholas Welsh (see table 31).⁷⁴⁷ By 1809 the colonel of the tenth regiment was B. Shaumburgh, born in Germany and earlier serving in the United States army.⁷⁴⁸ As in other parishes a correlation existed between civil officials and service in the militia.

⁷⁴² To Major Rd. King, 3 May 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:128-129.

⁷⁴³ To Thomas Jefferson, 26 June 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:220-221.

⁷⁴⁴ Baron de Bastrop Papers, 1795-1823, Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin. Bastrop would continue to be involved in Spanish settlement in Texas.

⁷⁴⁵ To Lieutenant Bowmar, 27 June 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:223-227.

⁷⁴⁶ Governor Claiborne to the Secretary of the Treasury, 11 August 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:679-680.

⁷⁴⁷ Register of Appointments in the Militia of the Territory of Orleans, 8 May 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:639.

⁷⁴⁸ List of the Principal officers in the Territory of Orleans, 21 April 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:838.

Table 31. Tenth Militia Regiment, Slave Holdings

Name	Rank	1810	1820	Parish
B. Shaumburgh	Colonel			
Emanuel Prudhome	Major	58	73	Natchitoches
James L. Henderson	Major	4		Ouachita
Nicholas Welsh	Major	7		Rapides
Cyprian Lacour	Captain	14	17	Avoyelles
Reuben White	Captain	4		Rapides
Charles Mulholland	Captain	5	21	Rapides
Joseph Porriet	Captain			
James Bludworth	Captain		7	Natchitoches
Baptiste Grappe	Captain	7		Natchitoches
Antoine Prudhome	Captain	52	63	Natchitoches
Louis Derbanne	Captain	10	20	Natchitoches
Alexander Briard	Captain			
Nicholas Meriwether	Captain			
Louis Lamy	Captain	4		Ouachita
James McLaughlin	Captain			
Daniel Clark	1 st Lieutenant	7	4	Avoyelles
Josiah Slater	1 st Lieutenant	0		Rapides
Joshua Bradley	1 st Lieutenant			
John Cumpston	1 st Lieutenant			
Placide Bossier	1 st Lieutenant	8	21	Natchitoches
Louis Buard	1 st Lieutenant			
Alexis Cloutier	1 st Lieutenant	23	70	Natchitoches
George McTire	1 st Lieutenant	1	2	Natchitoches
John Filhiol Junior	1 st Lieutenant	3		Ouachita
Samuel Buckner	1 st Lieutenant			
James Larche	1 st Lieutenant			
Jacob Stoop	1 st Lieutenant			
Pierre Leglease	2 nd Lieutenant			
John Louis Lacroix	2 nd Lieutenant	6	18	Rapides
James Neville	2 nd Lieutenant	1		Rapides
James Brown	2 nd Lieutenant	8	25	Rapides
Francois Roquer Junior	2 nd Lieutenant			
John Pierre Verchere	2 nd Lieutenant	3		Natchitoches
Le Count Junior	2 nd Lieutenant			
Perot	2 nd Lieutenant			
Pierre Chauvin	2 nd Lieutenant	0		Ouachita
Clack	2 nd Lieutenant			
John Bonaventure	2 nd Lieutenant	0		Ouachita
Joseph Pomet	2 nd Lieutenant			
John Casson	Ensign	0	11	Rapides
Antoine Grillette	Ensign		6	Natchitoches
Grammont Filhiol	Ensign			
Josiah Slater	Captain			
John Burney	Captain			
Thomas Jones	1 st Lieutenant	47		Rapides
James H. Tait	1 st Lieutenant			
John Brow Lee	2 nd Lieutenant			
Joseph Walker	2 nd Lieutenant	2	24	Rapides
Hatch Dent	Major	0		Rapides
Louis Cavet	2 nd Lieutenant			
Samuel Glass	1 st Lieutenant	0	0	Avoyelles
William Kirkland	Colonel 1813			
Robert Young	Major 1813			
Robert Davis	Major 1813			

Table data based on.⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴⁹ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, Louisiana Census Records, vol. 1, Avoyelles and St. Landry Parish, 1810 & 1820 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1995); Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, Louisiana Census Records, vol. 2, Iberville, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee, and Rapides Parish (Baltimore Genealogical Company, 1995); 1810 Census Ouachita. Abstracted by Carol Walker from public records. Edited and reformatted by Maggie Stewart, September 2002. This work follows all guidelines of the USGW Census Project, <http://www.usgwcensus.org/>; Register of Appointments in the Militia of the Territory of Orleans, 8

The counties of Natchitoches, Rapides, with its parishes of Catahoula and Avoyelles, along with the counties of Concordia and Ouachita differed substantially from the areas to the south and west. The parishes contained smaller slave populations, but larger Anglo populations, in the case of Concordia, Rapides and Catahoula forming a majority. At the same time, however, the U.S. government dealt with the same concerns that it had in Attakapas and Opelousas: a Spanish frontier that exacerbated fears over Creole loyalty, Native American affairs, and the slave population. The territorial administration attempted to meet these local concerns through a conciliatory Indian policy, which allowed Native Americans to continue to exercise cultural and religious freedom and land use, while U.S. officials regulated trade and justice to the best of their ability. At the same time, the United States maintained a strong militia and slave patrols. In appointments, however, the U.S. government felt far more comfortable in turning to outsiders from the United States, and less conciliatory toward local Creole elites. In the case of Rapides, a heavily Anglo area, this policy resulted in the emergence of an opposition faction made up of both Anglo-Americans and Creoles. On the whole, however, once U.S. officials' doubts over loyalty faded in northern Louisiana they might have favored Creole officeholding, but they did not, given the massive influx of Anglo-American immigrants into the area, a new, far more Anglo-American elite began to emerge. These Anglo-American settlers often became sources of disruption for both older Creole elites and Native Americans, as they placed new pressures on land and security through banditry and filibusters. United States officials expected Anglo-

May 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:639; Return of Appointments in the Militia of the Territory of Orleans, from the 1st day of July 1806, to the 31st day of December 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:699; Return of Appointments in the Militia of the Territory of Orleans, from the 1st day of January 1808, to the 30th day of June of the same year, *Territorial Papers*, 9:798; Return of the Civil Appointments, Pardons &

Americans to be more loyal and less troublesome, and so appointed them in greater numbers in areas that for reasons of security were expected to be problematic for U.S. governance. Given the prominence of Claiborne's papers and the ethnic partisan interpretations of future historians, assumptions that conflicts would emerge from Creoles have shaped the way we have understood this period; however the reality proved more complicated. If anything Anglo-Americans caused the most problems for established Creole and Native American populations in land and legal policies while also exacerbating U.S. security concerns. Claiborne's successful Anglo appointees in these parishes strove to assuage the problems caused by this immigration, while introducing U.S. law and government.

Proclamations for the last 6 months of 1808, *Territorial Papers*, 9:826; *Moniteur de la Louisiane*, 1 April 1813. Louis Buard of Natchitoches, the father, in 1810 held thirty-three slaves.

CHAPTER VI

LAFOURCHE AND ORLEANS

The County of Lafourche, containing Lafourche and Assumption parishes, and the parishes of St. Bernard and Plaquemines located in the county of Orleans differed from other areas of Louisiana in that the nearby city of New Orleans exercised immense influence over their parish governments and economies. Plaquemines' entire economy grew from its connection to the city, as vessels coming into Louisiana had to pass through it before reaching New Orleans. As a result Plaquemines often served as a waiting room when officials raised doubts about letting a ship come into the city. The parishes around New Orleans had large Francophone majorities, but small populations. Over the first two decades of U.S. control slavery grew in all of these parishes, but Assumption and Lafourche failed to become majority slave parishes, while St. Bernard and Plaquemines by 1820 did contain such a majorities. As coastal regions Lafourche and Plaquemines and their northern neighbors raised added security concerns for officials in New Orleans that further complicated worries over Creole loyalty, Native American violence, and the potential for slave rebellion (see figure 7). The U.S. government appointed local Creole judges and officials within St. Bernard and Plaquemines, perhaps because of these security concerns, while in Lafourche Anglo-American officials were far more common.

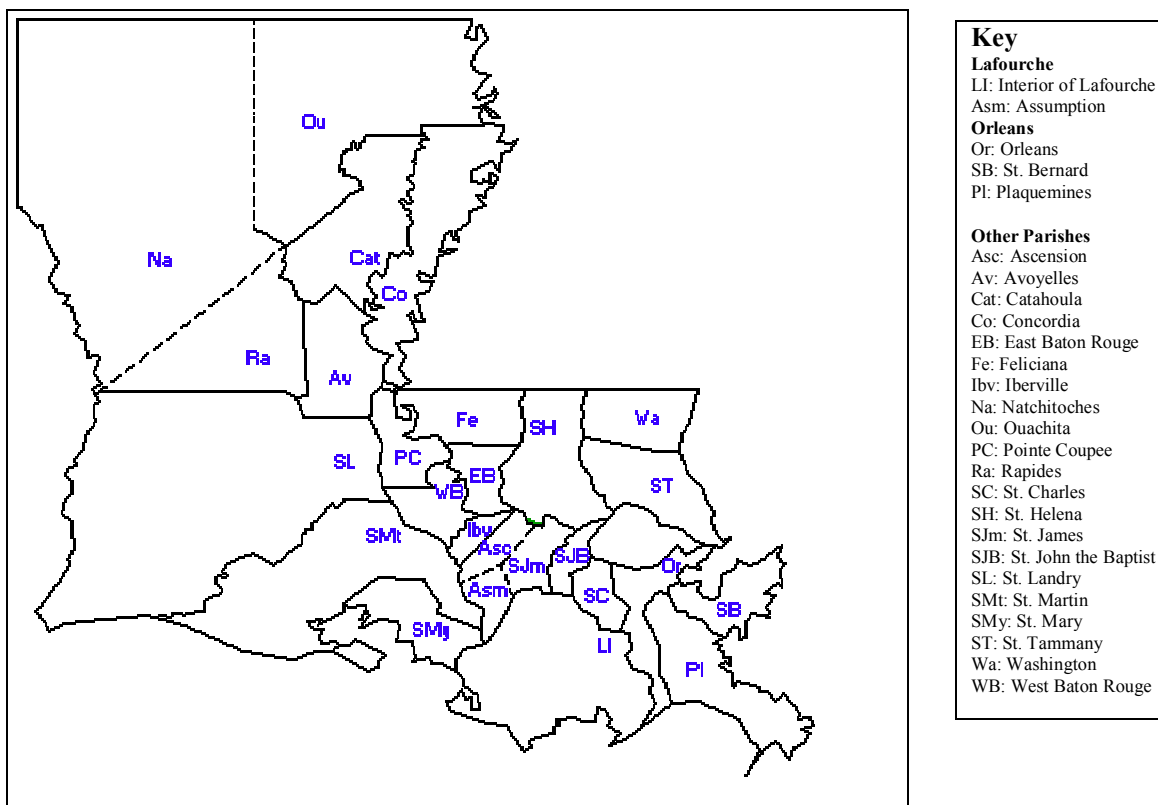


Fig. 7. Map of Lafourche and Orleans in the State of Louisiana 1820.⁷⁵⁰

Lafourche was a large area of bayou that branched out of the Mississippi; this is where the area got its name from as it forked from the river. When the French arrived in the region, the Chitimacha, Washa and Chawasha tribes inhabited the bayous, though the French eventually drove the Chitimacha from the area.⁷⁵¹ The region closest to the river along the north and west became Assumption Parish, while the area to the south and east that touched the Gulf of Mexico was called the Interior of Lafourche, and later simply Lafourche Parish. Geographer William Darby described the division between Lafourche and its interior: “The latter division contains more than two-thirds of the superficial area

⁷⁵⁰ mylouisianagenealogy.com

of the whole parish. The sources of all the bayous that enter the gulph of Mexico between the Lafourche and Atchafalaya rivers, rise in the former and traverse the latter section in its progress towards their mouths. Before reaching the gulph, the entire outline of the parish sinks almost to the common level of the sea, consequently uncultivateable.”⁷⁵² Swampland surrounded the region, and despite its proximity to New Orleans, it was not until the 1750’s that French and Spanish settlers began to move into Lafourche.⁷⁵³ The Spanish government made a number of large land grants to Acadian immigrants, who then established a series of small farms.⁷⁵⁴ The Acadians generally became subsistence farmers, though sugar made inroads in the area. William Darby in 1816 describing the Lafourche River wrote: “The whole extent of the banks of this river, is within the sugar region. Many sugar houses are established, and the culture of the cane gaining annual increase. In point of soil, surface, timber and every other respect, the Fourche represents a reduced picture of the Mississippi.”⁷⁵⁵ The process that Darby observed accelerated, particularly after 1817 as better strains of cane were introduced into the region.⁷⁵⁶ As in other areas, Darby noted of Lafourche: “The produce when made is

⁷⁵¹ Louisiana Historic Records Survey, Works Progress Administration, *Inventory of the Parish Archives of Louisiana: Number 4, Assumption Parish (Napoleonville)* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, 1942), 4.

⁷⁵² William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), 198.

⁷⁵³ Louisiana Historic Records Survey, Works Progress Administration, *Inventory of the Parish Archives of Louisiana: Number 29, Lafourche Parish (Thibodeaux)* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, 1942), 2.

⁷⁵⁴ Francois Xavier Martin, *The History of Louisiana* (1827; Gretna LA: Firebird Press, 2000) 231-232. Citations are to the reprint edition.

⁷⁵⁵ William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), 121.

⁷⁵⁶ Louisiana Historic Records Survey, Works Progress Administration, *Inventory of the Parish Archives of Louisiana: Number 29, Lafourche Parish (Thibodeaux)* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, 1942), 16-17.

generally sent to New Orleans market.”⁷⁵⁷ H. M. Brackenridge also noted that changes brought about by the growth of sugar cultivation on small farmers: “Lands have risen in price, since they have grown in demand for sugar plantations, and many of the *petits habitants* bought out. The settlers from the Canal, up to the mouth of the Fourche, are principally of Spanish origin, and speak but little French. They are a poor and miserable population.”⁷⁵⁸ Even with sugar’s potential power to transform the region, however, Lafourche remained a backwater. The Spanish governed the area from a commandant at the post of Valenzuela, but upon the U.S. cession the post became Lafourche County, which included both Lafourche and Assumption parishes, and later Terrebonne parish as well.

The two parishes south of New Orleans were St. Bernard and Plaquemines. The harsh terrain of the area made the parishes far less populated than those upriver. Frequent storms, hurricanes and the dangers of flooding by the Mississippi River posed challenges to inhabitants of the land. Deforestation exacerbated the effects of these phenomena in the area, which proved a serious disincentive to settlement. Not surprisingly records from the parishes of Plaquemines and St. Bernard tend to be far less well preserved than in many parishes upriver. The largest settlement south of New Orleans was Terre aux Boeufs in St. Bernard Parish. It was the small area of land between the river and the surrounding bayou on which a number of wild oxen lived. The area remained sparsely settled with isolated plantations until 1778 when Bernardo de Galvez settled the area with

⁷⁵⁷ William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), 200.

⁷⁵⁸ H. M. Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana; Containing Geographical, Statistical and Historical Notices of that Vast and Important Portion of America* (Baltimore: Schaeffer & Maund, 1817), 302-303.

immigrants from the Canary Islands.⁷⁵⁹ As with Lafourche and Assumption, the Acadian migration increased the population of St. Bernard. Settlers produced cotton and vegetables, while others raised cattle, but as in Lafourche and Assumption, settlers increasingly turned to sugar production. Further south was the settlement of Balize within Plaquemines parish, located on the mouth of the Mississippi. William Darby wrote of Plaquemines: “No towns have yet been built in this parish, or from the proximity to New Orleans, will any, in all probability, rise, possessing any considerable population.”⁷⁶⁰ The town was located simply too close to New Orleans to develop a discrete population base. Little of the area proved suitable to agriculture, though several large and isolated sugar plantations operated within the parish. Instead the free inhabitants of Plaquemines focused largely on fishing, piloting and trades that revolved around the river. Even so, as part of the greater Mississippi, Plaquemines shared traits with parishes upriver. Darby also wrote: “So much unity of appearance and improvement exist upon the Mississippi, between Iberville and the English Bend as to render the description of one part that of all others.”⁷⁶¹ The French and Spanish built a series of forts in the parish, only one of which survived to the time of the U.S. cession, Fort St. Philip. The construction of these fortifications by the Spanish and French contributed to the settlement of the area, as did the efforts of trading companies, which chose to operate

⁷⁵⁹ Louisiana Historic Records Survey, Works Progress Administration, *Inventory of the Parish Archives of Louisiana: Number 44, Saint Bernard Parish (Saint Bernard)* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, 1938), 4.

⁷⁶⁰ William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), 182.

⁷⁶¹ William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), 189.

at the mouth of the river, and the many government officers that served from the post.⁷⁶²

The populations of St. Bernard and Plaquemines and to the west at Lafourche and Assumption were overwhelmingly Creole, which the United States government recognized in its appointment practices while meeting security concerns.

Lafourche and Assumption contained small slave populations. In 1810 Lafourche's slave population was just under fifteen percent of the total and its free black population less than one percent, while Assumption's slave population was just over twenty-two percent and its free black population likewise under one percent.⁷⁶³ By 1820 in Lafourche the slave population had increased to just under twenty-five percent, while in Assumption the slave population had increased to just under thirty-one percent.⁷⁶⁴ In Assumption in 1810 Anglo surnames made up just two percent of the population, but Anglos held six percent of the slaves; by 1820 Anglos made up five percent of the population and held five percent of the slave population.⁷⁶⁵ This was in contrast to much of the rest of the territory in both the small Anglo and small slave populations. Of twenty-one marriages in Lafourche Parish between 1808 and 1820 only one or five percent were mixed Anglo-Francophone surname marriages.⁷⁶⁶ St. Bernard and Plaquemines maintained the two smallest white populations in the territory in 1810 and in 1820. In 1810 St. Bernard had a total population of (one thousand and twenty), sixty-two

⁷⁶² Louisiana Historic Records Survey, Works Progress Administration, *Inventory of the Parish Archives of Louisiana: Number 38, Plaquemines Parish (Pointe a la Hache)* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, 1938), 7.

⁷⁶³ 1810 Census.

⁷⁶⁴ 1820 Census.

⁷⁶⁵ These figures are based on surname analysis of census transcriptions taken from *Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977). Analysis done on same basis as in other chapters.

⁷⁶⁶ *Lafourche Parish Louisiana, Marriage Index, 1808-1900* (Salt Lake City UT: Hunting for Bears, 2007). Surname analysis made on same basis as that of census.

percent of it white and thirty-eight percent slave with a free colored population under one percent while Plaquemines was just under thirty-six percent white and over forty-eight percent slave with a significant free colored population of fifteen percent.⁷⁶⁷ Many members of the free black population served as pilots and as fishermen in the parish. By 1820 St. Bernard had a slave population that made up over seventy-two percent of the total while Plaquemines was over sixty-five percent slaves.⁷⁶⁸ Anglo surnames in 1810 in St. Bernard made up just two percent of the population, but they controlled twenty-one percent of the slaves within the parish; though these numbers can be misleading as they are primarily due to Samuel Davis's holdings of forty-five slaves; by 1820 Anglo surnames constituted one percent of the population and one percent of the slave holdings.⁷⁶⁹ In Plaquemines there was a larger Anglo presence that accounted for eleven percent of the population and eleven percent of the slave holdings within the parish in 1810, which increased to eighteen percent of the white population and forty percent of the slaveholdings in 1820.⁷⁷⁰ Downriver from New Orleans, in St. Bernard, of just five recorded marriages between 1790 and 1817 not one involved an Anglo surname.⁷⁷¹ All these southern parishes around New Orleans contained small Anglo minorities and while Lafourche and Assumption saw increases in their slave populations over ten years, St. Bernard and Plaquemines shifted to majority slave parishes over the same period.

⁷⁶⁷ 1810 Census.

⁷⁶⁸ 1820 Census.

⁷⁶⁹ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977).

⁷⁷⁰ Plaquemines Census 1810 transcribed by Carol Walker <carola@bellsouth.net> and proofread by Angela Walker <angelaw@bellsouth.net> for the USGenWeb Archives Census Project <http://www.usgenweb.org/census>. Surname analysis same as those above.

⁷⁷¹ *St. Bernard Parish Louisiana, Marriage Index, 1843-1909* (Salt Lake City UT: Hunting for Bears, 2007). Surname analysis made on same basis as that of census.

Lafourche and Assumption, with their large Francophone populations, as with other parishes, proved to be loyal U.S. parishes after the shift in sovereignty from the Spanish, but their proximity to New Orleans gave them far less leeway than other parishes. A Mr. Croquer had served as a Spanish officer in the area before the U.S. cession and like some other former Spanish officials refused to serve under the United States, so instead Dr. John Watkins turned to Joseph Landry as the civil commandant of the upper part of Lafourche or Lafourche de Chatimachur.⁷⁷² Watkins described Landry: “This Gentleman although born in Acadia, has resided many years in Louisiana, speaks the English and French Languages, professes strong attachment to the Government of the United States, and possesses the unlimited confidence and affections of all the inhabitants of the District in which he lives. He begged me to assure you of his zeal, and best exertions in discharging the duties of his office.”⁷⁷³ The appointment of a local in such an overwhelmingly Francophone area proved politic, though as with other commandants Landry’s facility with English and professions of loyalty factored into the decision.

The U.S. territorial government reappointed the previous Spanish commandant Don Thomas de Villaneuva Barroso for the lower part of Lafourche or the District of Valenzuela dans Lafourche.⁷⁷⁴ As in other parishes, some Spanish appointees proved willing to serve the new United States administration, either to adjust to new political realities or perhaps assuming a quick resumption of Spanish sovereignty might occur. Villaneuva had disturbing news for the Americans upon their arrival. In 1803, he received reports that a vessel, which in Watkins words contained: “Twelve negroes said to have been brigands from the Island of St. Domingo . . . among other things they spoke

⁷⁷² Dr. Watkins Report, 2 February 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:4.

⁷⁷³ Dr. Watkins Report, 2 February 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:4-5.

of eating human flesh . . . the vessel with the whole of the slaves on board passed from the fork into the Mississippi.”⁷⁷⁵ This potential introduction of black refugees from St. Domingue into the interior of the country upriver alarmed Claiborne and the U.S. territorial government. The rumor illustrated how essential Lafourche could be for United States security and the security of the slave regime, as it served as a potential gateway through which St. Domingue refugees, smugglers, and pirates might choose to travel, through the bayous, rather than braving Plaquemines and Fort St. Philip. As architect Benjamin Latrobe explained: “The case is this. There is no country so favorably situated as to the facility of smuggling as Louisiana. Innumerable bayous, or creeks, lead from the ocean to the back of the narrow strips of cultivatable land on each side of the Mississippi. Into these bayous the contraband goods can be easily brought, but they must be carried from the swamps in wheel carriages.”⁷⁷⁶ Latrobe went on to note that smuggling was so endemic that the Spanish approached the problem in Louisiana by forbidding the greasing of wheels, so as to more easily identify the smugglers who had to pick up the goods several miles away.

Villaneuva faced other problems in his district with local justice and violence between the local white community and Native Americans. He wrote to Claiborne concerning a Michel Bourgeois, who committed crimes necessitating his imprisonment and fines up to fifty dollars. At the same time local inhabitants sent a petition complaining over their treatment by groups of inebriated Indians, just as Indian agents often complained about trade in alcohol, which contributed to potential violence along with the increased

⁷⁷⁴ Dr. Watkins Report, 2 February 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:5.

⁷⁷⁵ Dr. Watkins Report, 2 February 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:5-6.

⁷⁷⁶ Benjamin Henry Latrobe, *The Journal of Latrobe: The Notes and Sketches of an Architect, Naturalist and Traveler in the United States from 1796-1820* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), 229.

immigration into the parish that put greater pressure on Native American lands.

Claiborne attempted to assuage the situation by meeting with the tribes himself: “Inform them that their New Father the governor at New Orleans wishes to see them, that he has something to say to them & a present to make them. By this means you will be able I flatter myself to remove from your district, the present disturbers of tranquility.”⁷⁷⁷

Claiborne did not specify the group of Natives, but a large Choctaw presence remained in the area. Problems persisted from the perspective of local inhabitants, both Native Americans and whites, who complained to the governor over relations with the Choctaw in Lafourche; in 1811 more attacks occurred in the robbery of a local church, and the Choctaw suspects that local authorities confined, escaped.⁷⁷⁸

Villanueva and Landry proved cooperative in fulfilling instructions from United States officials, but when the shift from commandants to county judges came, Claiborne selected an Anglo-American, James Mather, as the first judge of Lafourche County.⁷⁷⁹ In the letter informing Landry to turn over his papers to Mather, Claiborne informed him that Mather held two new commissions for him.⁷⁸⁰ Even while replacing Landry with Mather, Claiborne carefully appealed to multiple local perspectives. Landry while not made the county judge, still received a soft landing. Likewise Villanueva became the first treasurer of the county.⁷⁸¹ Mather also received other appointments from the federal government, as a Treasury Department appointment made him a Deputy Register for Lafourche County.⁷⁸² Judgeships within Lafourche changed quickly, however, as just a

⁷⁷⁷ Claiborne to Thomas Villanueva, 29 July 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:277.

⁷⁷⁸ Claiborne to the Reverend Father St. Pierre Manshac, 24 May 1811, *Letter Book*, 5:252-253.

⁷⁷⁹ Register of Civil Appointments, 13 February 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:598.

⁷⁸⁰ Claiborne to the Commandant of La Fourche, 13 July 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:124.

⁷⁸¹ Register of Civil Appointments, 13 February 1806; Register of Civil Appointments, 1 January – 30 June 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:600, 663.

⁷⁸² John W. Gurley to the Secretary of the Treasury, *Territorial Papers*, 9:676.

year later, Bela Hubbard replaced Mather as the judge of the parish.⁷⁸³ In 1807 when the county split into two parishes, Hubbard became judge of Assumption while William Henry became the parish judge of the Parish of Lafourche.⁷⁸⁴ Henry in turn was replaced in 1808 when William Goforth became parish judge of the interior of Lafourche.⁷⁸⁵ Goforth, a doctor, came originally from Connecticut though he had spent time in Ohio.⁷⁸⁶ In addition to serving as a judge, when Mr. Wrenn resigned as a tax collector, Claiborne steered that appointment his way.⁷⁸⁷ The appointments illustrate a tendency on Claiborne's part to turn to Anglo-Americans in Lafourche.

Creoles served in the lower offices of Lafourche. The first sheriff of Lafourche in 1806 was Isaac Herbert.⁷⁸⁸ Henry Kar was the sheriff of the county in 1811.⁷⁸⁹ The lower level officials worked well with Judge Goforth. On appointing Kar, Claiborne wrote to Goforth: "It affords me pleasure to learn the tranquility which reigns in your Parish; it is a proof of the honest integrity and benevolent views with which your official duties are performed."⁷⁹⁰ By 1816 Mr. Watkins served as sheriff of Lafourche.⁷⁹¹ Justices of the Peace tended to go to locals with French surnames (see table 32). Still, federal appointments and a few lesser officials flowed to Anglo-American arrivals, rather than to local Francophones. The postmaster general made Thomas Nicholls the

⁷⁸³ Civil Appointments, 31 December 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:701.

⁷⁸⁴ Return of Civil Appointments, Pardons &c. from the 1st of July 1807, to the 31st Decr. 1807 inclusive, *Letter Books*, 4:146.

⁷⁸⁵ Return of Proclamations, Pardons, and Appointments, 30 June 1808, *Territorial Papers*, 9:796.

⁷⁸⁶ List of Civil and Military Officers, 21 April 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:835.

⁷⁸⁷ Claiborne to Albert Gallatin, 29 December 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:206.

⁷⁸⁸ Register of Civil Appointments, 13 February 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:601.

⁷⁸⁹ Return of Civil Appointments Made in the Territory of Orleans from the 1st January 1811 to the 31st December of the Same Year, *Territorial Papers*, 9:986.

⁷⁹⁰ Claiborne to the Honble. Judge Goforth, 24 May 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:251.

⁷⁹¹ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 29.

postmaster general of Lafourche.⁷⁹² Claiborne also proved quite willing to intervene in the legal system with federal authorities, whether Department of the Treasury officials or individuals from the military, on behalf of Anglo-Americans who came into the territory. Claiborne intervened to help Robert Dillon, an Anglo-American who had fled to Lafourche from Baton Rouge: Claiborne knew Dillon's father and obtained a pardon for Robert Dillon's crimes and secured his exit from the navy.⁷⁹³

Table 32. Lafourche Officials

Name	Office
Joseph Landry	Commandant
Thomas de Villaneuva	Commandant/Treasurer
James Mather	Judge 1805-1806
Bela Hubbard	Judge 1806-1807
William Henry	Judge 1807-1808
William Goforth	Judge 1808
Isaac Herbert	Sheriff 1806
Henry Kar	Sheriff 1811
Watkins	Sheriff 1816
Michael St. Amand	Justice 1806
Thomas Villarneau Etirne	Justice 1806
Boudreau	Justice 1806
Henry S. Thibedeaux	Justice 1806, 1808
Pierre D. St. Amand	Justice 1806
Jacques Lamotte	Justice 1806
B. Pireaudeau	Justice 1806
Pierre Daspit	Justice 1806
Pierre Jacob Gaubert	Justice 1807
Jacques Lamotte	Justice 1807
Ebenezer Cooley	Clerk

Table data based on.⁷⁹⁴

As in other areas of the territory, United States officials remained concerned over the presence of the Spanish to the east in West Florida, which made the continued appointment of former Spanish officials as commandants all the more surprising. Spanish officials often aggravated these feelings of unease. When the Spanish

⁷⁹² The Postmaster General to Moses Davis, 31 October 1811; The Postmaster General to Thomas Nicholls, 31 October 1811, *Territorial Papers*, 9:952.

⁷⁹³ Claiborne to Commodore Shaw, 4 August 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:323-324.

⁷⁹⁴ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820 (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977); Register of Civil Appointments, 13 February 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:600; Register of Civil Appointments, 1 January – 30 June 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:662; Civil Appointments, 17 January 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:824; Kenneth B. Toups, Assumption Parish Louisiana Original Cahier Records Books 1 thru 5, 1786-1813 (Thibodaux LA: Audrey B. Westerman, 1991), 49-51; Lafourche Parish Conveyance Records, 1808-1820; Lafourche Parish Original Acts.

Commissioner in New Orleans, Marquis Casa Calvo, traveled into Lafourche he created quite a stir by insinuating that the territory would soon return to Spanish control. James Mather as Judge of the County of Lafourche and a member of the Legislative Council, wrote to Claiborne concerning the remarks of the Marquis Casa Calvo within his county. Claiborne quoted Mather in a letter to Secretary of State James Madison: “The Marquis Casa Calvo remained in this settlement at least 15 days—during which time he principally employed himself in persuading the people—that all this side of the River Mississippi would soon again return to Spain either by negotiation or Force; so that their minds are very unsettled.”⁷⁹⁵ Casa Calvo attained permission from Claiborne to go though Lafourche on his way to the Sabine, by telling Claiborne that he wanted to hunt and gain a greater knowledge of local geography.⁷⁹⁶ Despite these apparent Spanish efforts to destabilize United States authority, however, and during war scares in particular, United States officials were pleased with the level of support the United States garnered from the Creole population. In 1809 as French and British seizures of U.S. vessels threatened trans-Atlantic shipping, Claiborne wrote to Judge Goforth praising the loyalty of the citizenry, Anglo and Francophone, and their voluntary military service.⁷⁹⁷ Similarly, during the War of 1812 Claiborne made frequent efforts to ensure that Lafourche was well fortified and had adequate militia forces to secure it in the case of a British landing in the area.⁷⁹⁸

While it took time for U.S. officials to recognize Creole contributions from Lafourche, its voters regularly elected Creoles as their representatives. Nicholas Verret and Henry S.

⁷⁹⁵ Governor Claiborne to the Secretary of State, 9 January 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:562.

⁷⁹⁶ Claiborne to James Madison, 14 October 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:198-199.

⁷⁹⁷ Claiborne pointed out two individuals as well, Mr. P. Daspit and Mr. P. Aubert. Claiborne to Judge Goforth, 10 February 1809, *Letter Books*, 4:314-315.

Thibodeaux represented the county at the first territorial legislature.⁷⁹⁹ In 1807 Joseph Brown served as a representative from Lafourche, replacing Verret, and upon his death Claiborne called for a new election.⁸⁰⁰ When Joseph Hebert, a local Acadian, was elected to the Territorial House of Representative representatives, the House resolved not to accept his election because of voting irregularities, and Hebert did not serve the following term.⁸⁰¹ By 1809 Thibodeaux continued to serve alongside Pierre Aucoin of Assumption in the territorial legislature.⁸⁰² Thibodeaux was an orphaned French Canadian who had been raised by General Philip Schuyler and educated in Scotland before coming to Louisiana in 1790.⁸⁰³

The first representatives from Lafourche to the state House of Representatives were Andrew Candole of Assumption and Martin Le Boeuf.⁸⁰⁴ H. S. Thibodeaux replaced Le Boeuf at the third session of the first House legislature while D'Aigre replaced Andrew Candole.⁸⁰⁵ At the second legislature J. Mercier's opponents contested his election from Lafourche because after he lost the vote to a Mr. Cook by one vote, the election commissioners ruled that they would cast their ballots for Mercier, pushing him over into the win column, whereupon some claimed that Cook had been rightfully elected. But the second legislature ruled that the election of Cook was null and void and the House did not

⁷⁹⁸ Claiborne to Mr. Fromentin, October 1814; To Andrew Jackson, 28 October 1814, *Letter Books*, 6:285-286, 296-298.

⁷⁹⁹ *Mississippi Messenger* [Natchez], 3 December 1805.

⁸⁰⁰ Return of Civil Appointments, Pardons &c. from the 1st of July 1807, to the 31st Decr. 1807 inclusive, *Letter Books*, 4:145.

⁸⁰¹ Return of Proclamations, Pardons, and Appointments, 30 June 1808, *Territorial Papers*, 9:796.

⁸⁰² *Courier de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 18 January 1809.

⁸⁰³ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 2 (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 786.

⁸⁰⁴ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 1; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 16, 25.

⁸⁰⁵ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 25-26, 30.

seat him.⁸⁰⁶ On the whole, the elected representatives from Lafourche came from the Creole community, though contested elections illustrate competition within the Creole community, with the occasional election of Anglo representatives like Brown (see table 33).

Table 33. Lafourche Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings

Name	Office	1810	1820
Nicholas Verret	Territorial Legislature 1805-1807		
Henry S. Thibodeaux	Territorial Leg. 1805-, C.C., House 1:3, Senate 2-4		
Joseph Brown	Territorial Legislature 1807-		
Joseph Hebert	Territorial Legislature		
Pierre Aucoin	Territorial Legislature 1809, House 2:1-3	10	4
William Goforth	Constitutional Convention		
Bela Hubbard Jr.	Constitutional Convention		
St. Martin	Constitutional Convention		
Andrew Candole	House of Representatives 1:1-1:2	11	34
Martin Le Boeuf	House of Representatives 1:1-1:2		
Daigre	House of Representatives 1:3		
J. Mercier	House of Representatives 2 (contested)		
D'Aspit	House of Representatives 2:2-4		
Lemuel Tanner	House of Representatives 3-		
St. Amant	House of Representatives 4		
Andre Leblanc	House of Representatives 4		14
Anthoux	House of Representatives 4		
Pierre Aubert	Senate 1:1	11	
Charles Bolot	Senate 1:2	0	15

Table data based on.⁸⁰⁷

⁸⁰⁶ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 10-11.

⁸⁰⁷ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977); *Constitution or Form of Government of the State of Louisiana*; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 7; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 4; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 31; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3, 23; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 20, 34; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 43; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815); *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3.

Militia officer appointments for Lafourche went to local Creole inhabitants, generally the same men who secured political appointments as justices and sheriffs. The U.S. government steered these appointments their way, as these were men who could actually gather a militia force together from their community. As in other areas higher offices went to the same men of property who won elected positions while minor offices went to men of lesser means.⁸⁰⁸

Assumption Parish resembled its sister parish Lafourche in the same county. In 1807 Bela Hubbard of Connecticut became the judge for Assumption Parish when the county split into two judicial jurisdictions.⁸⁰⁹ Unlike in Lafourche, however, local inhabitants eventually secured the judgeship. In 1813 Francois B. Courvoisier succeeded Hubbard and became the judge for Assumption.⁸¹⁰ In 1810 the average slaveholder in Assumption held 1.8 slaves, and by 1820 it had increased to 2.22.⁸¹¹ The selection of Courvoisier demonstrated U.S. officials' growing confidence in Creoles from the area. The lower level appointments illustrate the same level of trust, though in a parish so overwhelmingly Francophone there was little alternative in any case. While the United States territorial government might turn to Anglo-Americans for higher-level appointments, in areas with large Francophone populations the need for some sort of popular representation in county and parish governance dictated Creole appointments. A series of high-level Anglo-American appointees (with the exception of Courvoisier)

⁸⁰⁸ As elsewhere the governor directly made many of these appointments, as when Governor Claiborne instructed Henry Hopkins to appoint a Thibodeaux as a captain in Lafourche. Claiborne To Colonel Henry Hopkins, 24 November 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:237.

⁸⁰⁹ A Register of Civil Appointments, 30 June 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:749; List of Civil and Military Officers, 21 April 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:835.

⁸¹⁰ Kenneth B. Toups, *Assumption Parish Louisiana Original Cahier Records Books 1 thru 5, 1786-1813* (Thibodeaux LA: Audrey B. Westerman, 1991), 48.

administered Lafourche and Assumption, but lower-level appointments demonstrate Creole perseverance, and Courvoisier's appointment in 1813 demonstrates the growing confidence of Claiborne and their U.S. officials in the Francophone population, as they shifted from Anglo-American to Creole appointments at the higher-level judicial positions (see table 34).

Table 34. Assumption Parish Officials, Slave Holdings

Name	Office	1810	1820
Bela Hubbard	Judge 1807-1813, Judge 1815-1830	10	17
Francois B. Courvoisier	Justice 1811, Judge 1813-1814	12	
L. Riche	Sheriff 1813-1816	4	
Abraham Armstrong	Sheriff 1816	0	
William L. Mathis	Sheriff 1818		
Pierre Aucoin	Justice 1809, Justice 1811-1813	5	4
Allin Landry	Justice 1809	8	5
Charles Bolot	Justice 1810, 1811	0	15

Table data based on.⁸¹²

St. Bernard and Plaquemines differed slightly from Lafourche and Assumption in that they proved to be even closer to Louisiana's political and economic center with economies more dependent on New Orleans and its trade with the outside world. They also differed from their neighbors to the west in that they had larger slave populations and over the course of U.S. control became majority slave parishes. As parishes to the south of the capital they controlled outside access to the political and economic center of Louisiana at New Orleans and were the bottleneck through which the entire Mississippi Valley and its produce flowed. Despite all the worries over the Spanish to the west on the Sabine and to the east in West Florida, United States officials remained well aware

⁸¹¹ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977).

⁸¹² Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977); Return of Civil Appointments Made in the Territory of Orleans from the 1st January to the 31st December of the Same Year, Territorial Papers, 9:984; Civil Appointments, June 30, 1809, Letter Books, 4:386; Kenneth B. Toups, Assumption Parish Louisiana Original Cahier Records Books 1 thru 5, 1786-1813 (Thibodaux LA: Audrey B. Westerman, 1991), 69, 76-81; Assumption Parish Conveyances, 1813-1820; Assumption Parish Sheriff sales start, 1816-1820; Assumption Parish Original Acts.

how vulnerable New Orleans could be to attacks from the sea. The Battle of New Orleans occurred in St. Bernard Parish. As the parishes that controlled access to New Orleans from the sea, their security was of the utmost importance for the territorial government. The populations of the parishes remained small, however, and somewhat limited in the demands they could make upon U.S. officials. St. Bernard and Plaquemines never developed into rich parishes, and they could make requests or demands upon the territorial government only insofar as their own inhabitants were extensions of the New Orleans business community. Until 1807 the two were administered as part of Orleans County and its officials, and Orleans County for all intents and purposes was the city of New Orleans.

When internal disputes broke out within the parishes below New Orleans, generally figures from the city helped to resolve them. Very quickly after the U.S. cession, St. Bernard Parish faced domestic discord, due in large part to a local priest. This was one of at least four internecine Catholic Church disputes that arose as Patrick Walsh, an Irish born and Spanish educated Vicar General (who reported to a predominantly Irish born church hierarchy in Baltimore), began to direct the Spanish and French priests of Louisiana. A priest appointed by the new church authorities, Jean Marie Rochanson, proved unacceptable to the older priests' adherents. The former local priest had the support of Father Antonio de Sedella in New Orleans, who refused to recognize Walsh's authority; Sedella felt Walsh's appointment was unofficial since Walsh became Vicar General on the death of its previous occupant, and had yet to be appointed in his own right. The church dispute divided the local congregation.⁸¹³ Governor Claiborne when

⁸¹³ Jared William Bradley, "Biographical Sketch: James Carrick," *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 576-77.

he learned of the problem instructed the commandant of his authority to act given any threat to public order.⁸¹⁴ The dispute resulted in violence between the two priests, as Claiborne described in a letter to Madison: “I was informed by the Civil Commandant of the District of St. Bernard, that a priest who had been superseded by the Vicar General, had assaulted his Successor at the door of the Church, and expressed a wish to submit his case to the people. The Commandant added that the dismissed Priest was exciting disorder in the District and he apprehended a serious riot in the Church would ensue.”⁸¹⁵ Just as in Attakapas, Vicar General Walsh caused civil discord by appointing one priest over another. The manner in which the priest in St. Bernard chose to argue with the choice, by an appeal to the people rather than to the church or governmental hierarchy, is an example of the adoption of new political methods and language within Louisiana. In the absence of traditional hierarchies that willingly would accommodate their grievances these Spanish and Francophone priests adopted the idioms of U.S. political discourse in turning to the people at large to then appeal to governmental authorities. The acting commandant during the crisis, James Carrick, was one of the most important individuals within the parish. Carrick was a Scot active in business and a member of the city council of New Orleans. Carrick proved influential in settling problems in his parish, given his friendship with Claiborne and his New Orleans connections. His appointment is telling because St. Bernard was an extension of New Orleans, and Carrick held positions and economic interests in both.

St. Bernard as an extension of New Orleans and a less prosperous region of Louisiana lacked the clearly independent leadership class found in some other parishes. The

⁸¹⁴ Governor Claiborne to Judge Prevost, 23 March 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:423.

average slaveholder in St. Bernard in 1810 held 3.42 slaves, though by 1820 that number had increased substantially to 18.29.⁸¹⁵ Claiborne's judicial appointment in St. Bernard went to a local, Antoine Mendez. As in other areas, the newly appointed judges enforced U.S. law, though when they disagreed with the law, or it would cost them or their friends' money or property, they attempted to appeal to Claiborne to subvert it for them. For example Judge Antoine Mendez of St. Bernard wrote to Claiborne about a slave, Negro Ben, who committed a crime, but whom Mendez wished to see freed from prison. Claiborne asked his Attorney General whether this was appropriate, since he had no doubts as to the guilt of the accused and could find no cause to interfere.⁸¹⁷ When Mendez resigned in 1812, Claiborne appointed an Anglo-American, D. Harper, as his replacement.⁸¹⁸ By 1817 another Francophone, P. Allard served as the parish judge of St. Bernard.⁸¹⁹ In 1807 Charles Fagot became the sheriff of St. Bernard Parish (see table 35).⁸²⁰ Fagot was born in Louisiana, one of the few native born locals who would go on to serve as a judge, in Plaquemines.⁸²¹ The Francophones that Claiborne selected for judicial appointments tended to be more recent arrivals, either from France or the Caribbean; this was not the case in the parishes south of New Orleans where these appointments went to locals. Plaquemines and St. Bernard as majority Creole parishes with strong connections to New Orleans garnered Creole judicial appointments.⁸²²

⁸¹⁵ Claiborne to James Madison, 24 March 1805, *Interim Appointment: W. C. C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 201.

⁸¹⁶ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977).

⁸¹⁷ Claiborne to Abner L. Duncan, 15 May 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:97.

⁸¹⁸ Claiborne to Antonio Mendez, 6 October 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:185.

⁸¹⁹ *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 14 April 1817.

⁸²⁰ A Register of Civil Appointments, 30 June 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:749.

⁸²¹ List of Civil And Military Officers, 21 April 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:835.

⁸²² See Mark F. Fernandez, *From Chaos to Continuity: The Evolution of Louisiana's Judicial System, 1712-1862* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 30. Fernandez notes that in over forty

Table 35. St. Bernard Parish Officials, Slave Holdings

Name	Office	1810	1820
Antoine Mendez	Judge 1807	39	49
D. Harper	Judge 1812-		
P. Allard	Judge 1817-		
Charles Fagot	Sheriff 1807	7	3
Jacques Villere	Justice		89

Table data based on.⁸²³

The county delegation from Orleans to the territorial and then the state legislature represented St. Bernard and Plaquemines, and the two parishes did not always receive a member of the delegation. The member of the delegation with the most interest in problems of the downriver parishes was James Carrick.⁸²⁴ The parishes' first representative to the state House of Representatives was Godefroi Olivier.⁸²⁵ Elections were highly contested as evinced by the frequent charges of illegality. Voting irregularities barred Olivier from an active legislative career. During his election several irregularities occurred: there was not a locked box for ballots, which allowed votes to be changed at a whim as they were in a tin box or sugar dish, votes were removed from the box by commissioners to check against the voter list, and the denial of some citizens' suffrage, "on the ground of their being colored people, when nothing appeared to the commissioners to support such a charge; and which has been satisfactorily proved to your

judicial appointments made by Claiborne only four had Louisiana origins: Peter B. St. Martin of St. Charles, Michel Cantrelle of St. James, Charles De Latour of Plaquemines, and Charles Fagot of St. Bernard. It should be noted, however, that some immigrants from France or the Caribbean, like Julien Poydras, had lived in Louisiana for decades, accumulated large land and slave holdings, and married into the local Creole elite such that they could be considered locals for all intents and purposes.

⁸²³ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977); Sidney Louis Villere, *Jacques Philippe Villere: First Native-Born Governor of Louisiana, 1816-1820* (New Orleans: Historic New Orleans Collection, 1981), 36. Villere also served as a major general of the militia and a police juror of Orleans County.

⁸²⁴ At the first territorial legislature John B. McCarty, Hazure de l'Orme, Dominique Bouligny, John Watkins, James Carrick, Robert Avart and Bore represented Orleans. See *Mississippi Messenger* [Natchez], 3 December 1805; Thomas Urquhart, D. Bouligny, Jean Blanque, F. De la Croix, M. Guichard and F. Duplessis all represented Orleans in the territorial legislature in 1809. See *Courier de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 18 January 1809.

⁸²⁵ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana, First Legislature, First Session* (New Orleans, 1812), 1.

committee to have been groundless.”⁸²⁶ Free people of color made up fifteen percent of the Plaquemines population in 1810, and the United States supported a system that identified whiteness with citizenship and blackness with slavery far more than the Spanish or French. Even so, fellow Creoles brought the complaints, and the legislature with numerous Creole members ruled that the citizens had been disenfranchised falsely on the basis of race, that whites in fact had been disenfranchised. Whatever the French and Spanish legal systems, white Creoles demonstrated little opposition to the United States conception of race and citizenship. The House’s rulings invalidated Olivier’s election, though after a motion by Stephen Hopkins of the Acadian Coast, the House gave Olivier time to meet the charges.⁸²⁷ Ultimately Olivier resigned citing ill health.⁸²⁸ The resignation required St. Bernard and Plaquemines to hold a new election.⁸²⁹ Guichard replaced Olivier in the second session and retained his seat through the third session.⁸³⁰ Other members of the Orleans delegation also faced charges that they were not fit to serve. Rousigniac confronted rumors that he concurrently served as a Spanish officer and therefore was ineligible, though ultimately, the House ruled that he was an U.S. citizen.⁸³¹ At the third legislature Felix Forestall from Plaquemines served as part of the Orleans

⁸²⁶ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 25-26.

⁸²⁷ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 25-26.

⁸²⁸ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 39.

⁸²⁹ William C. C. Claiborne A Writ of Election, *Letter Books*, 6:177-178.

⁸³⁰ *Journal of the House of Representative of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3, 13-14; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 8.

⁸³¹ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 22; *Journal of the House of Representative of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3, 13-14. Rousigniac, a member of the French nobility who would go on to be mayor of New Orleans from 1820 to 1828, had immigrated as a member of the French military to Louisiana. See Henry C. Castellano, *New Orleans as It Was: Episodes of Louisiana Life* (New Orleans, L. Graham & Son, 1895), 14-15.

delegation.⁸³² Orleans, given its population and the corresponding number of delegates, exerted enormous influence, and to an extent Plaquemines and St. Bernard benefited from that, but their representation as discrete parishes was slight as was their influence (see table 36). The frequent charges of illegality in the conduct of electoral contests as well as allegations over citizenship demonstrate factional divisions even within majority Creole parishes.

⁸³² *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3, 9; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3, 58. Guichard of Orleans was regularly elected as speaker. At the fourth legislature New Orleans continued to dominate the House with representative David C. Ker elected as speaker. See *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3-4; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3.

Table 36. Orleans Elected Representatives

Name	Office
John B. McCarty	Territorial Legislature 1805
Hazure Del'Orme	Territorial Legislature 1805
Dominique Bouligny	Territorial Legislature 1805
John Watkins	Territorial Legislature 1805
James Carrick	Territorial Legislature 1805
Robert Avard	Territorial Legislature 1805
Etienne de Bore	Territorial Legislature 1805
J. D. Degotin Bellechasse	Constitutional Convention
J. Blaque	Constitutional Convention/House 2:1
F. Jh. Le Breton D'Orgenoy	Constitutional Convention
Mgre. Guichard	Constitutional Convention/House 1-3
S. Henderson	Constitutional Convention
Denis Delaronde	Constitutional Convention
F. Livaudais	Constitutional Convention
Bernard Marigny	CC/ House 1:3 (not accepted), 2:1/Senate3:2-4
Thomas Urquehart	Constitutional Convention/ Senate 1-2:1
Jacques Villere	Constitutional Convention
John Watkins	Constitutional Convention
Samuel Winter	Constitutional Convention/ Senate 1:1-1:2
Godefroi Olivier	House 1:1
John B. Labatut	House 1-1:2
Zenon Cavalier	House 1-1:2
Abner L. Duncan	House 1-1:2
Louis Philippe Joseph Rouffigniac	House 1-4
L. Deschappelles	House 1:1
Peter Derbigny	House 1:1-1:2
Pascal Delabarre	House 1:3
Roquette	House 2
Dominique Bouligny	House 2-4
P. L. Morel	House 2-3
Felix Forestall	House 3
Michel de Armas	House 3
R. I. Ducros	House 3
Aqbin Michel	House 4
Pierre Lacoste	House 4
L. B. Macarty	House 4
L. Moreau Lislet	House 4
St. Blanchard	House 4
Etienne Caraby	House 4
David C. Ker	House 4
Thomas Pascal DelaBarre	Senate 1-4
Stephen Mazureau	Senate 1:3-3:1
L. Moreau Lislet	Senate 2:2-3:1
De La Ronde	Senate 3:1-4

Table data based on.⁸³³

⁸³³ Plaquemines Census 1810 and 1820, Censuses transcribed by Carol Walker <carola@bellsouth.net> and proofread by Angela Walker <angelaw@bellsouth.net> for the USGenWeb Archives Census Project <http://www.usgenweb.org/census>; *Constitution or Government of the State of Louisiana*; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 1; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3; At the third session opponents disputed Bernard Marigny's election from the senatorial district of Orleans to replace Peter Derbigny since he did not live in the district and the House ruled that he was therefore not a member. See *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 1, 9-10, 15; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 64; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3, 9; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3, 58; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3-4; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New

The parishes south of New Orleans had similar security concerns as parishes to both the west and further north. In addition to the growing slave presence and the cultural and religious disputes, St. Bernard had Choctaw and Chitimacha Indians whose presence concerned U.S. officials. The transfer to U.S. authority brought significant changes as U.S. Indian agents and factories replaced Spanish officials. In 1805 shortly after the cession Secretary of War Dearborn specifically instructed John Sibley the Indian agent to reach an accommodation with the tribes of the area. Dearborn wrote: “I hope you will have succeeded in quieting the minds of the Indians, towards the Sea coast; and that you will have made proper impressions on them in the vicinity of St. Barnard.”⁸³⁴ A number of Choctaw lived in Plaquemines and St. Bernard. As in other areas, violence between Indians and whites always could potentially spark a wider conflict. When Indians killed a Mr. Celestin in St. Bernard, Claiborne instructed local militia to assure peaceful relations: “It remains for me to take such measures, as may prevent the comrades of the deceased, from resorting to the principle of retaliation, and shedding innocent blood.—To this end, I require you sir, without delay to exert yourself in assembling several of the Indian hunters which may be found in the Neighbourhood of Terre aux Boeufs, and if

Orleans, 1820), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3, 14; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 43; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1812), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3, 14; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 43; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3, 28, 33; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3-4; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3. Felix Forestall of Plaquemines held zero slaves in 1820.

⁸³⁴ The Secretary of War to John Sibley, 17 October 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:514-515.

possible the Five Indians, who were with the deceased at the time he was shot [as comrades], and in my name invite them to an audience with me at New Orleans.”⁸³⁵ The fact that Claiborne and U.S. officials could not always identify the tribes that individual Indians belonged to illustrates the problems the territorial government grappled with. Acts of violence might not be traced back to the correct individual or the correct tribe by the government or by local whites. Claiborne wished for the guilty to be punished promptly by local forces, but more importantly he personally wanted to insure peaceful relations not just with tribes, but between individuals: Natives, Creoles, and Anglo-Americans that might endanger those greater tribal relationships through acts of violence.

Plaquemines was the most southern parish in the territory, that piece of territory where the Mississippi actually entered the Gulf of Mexico. At the time of the U.S. cession the town of Balize held the customhouse as well as Fort St. Philip, which guarded the entry to New Orleans. Given movement of the river, the area that was Balize is now abandoned, but at the time it was a prosperous though small community within the territory.⁸³⁶

Plaquemines proved of vital importance for territorial officials as the governor granted permission for any vessels not normally allowed to trade at New Orleans to enter. Plaquemines officials collected customs and policed the river. The first commandant at Plaquemines, Captain Henry M. Muhlenberg, proved in General James Wilkinson’s view incapable of overseeing these duties: “Greg Cooper and Mughlenburgh remain—the second is at Placquimenes tho unfit for a separate Command . . . poor Mughlenburgh is

⁸³⁵ Claiborne to Pierre Lacoste, 2 November 1814, *Letter Books*, 6:304. What led up to the assault remains unclear.

⁸³⁶ For a brief history and an overview of the shape of the lower Mississippi and its impact on Balize see, J. Ben Meyer, *Plaquemines, the Empire Parish* (Plaquemines: LaBorde Printing Company, 1981).

devoted to drink, with good dispositions but feeble Intellect.”⁸³⁷ Plaquemines was a point of key importance and as a military post it required officials to undertake a number of duties. When French troops and refugees from St. Domingue arrived shortly after the U.S. takeover Wilkinson ordered the commandant to offer them help, but to stop them from entering Louisiana, going upriver or landing troops.⁸³⁸ John Pintard in his overview of the territory to Albert Gallatin before the U.S. administration took control of the territory wrote of the poor condition of the fort and the area around it.⁸³⁹ Pintard’s comments portray the shortcomings of Plaquemines; the area was a swamp. When architect Benjamin Latrobe arrived in New Orleans early in 1819 he came by sea and wrote his impression of Plaquemines in his journal: “After passing Plaquemine, low and mean houses, the residence of planters, appear occasionally on both sides of the river.”⁸⁴⁰ Claiborne in describing Fort St. Philip at Plaquemines wrote: “The site of that Fort is an eligible one; it commands the River, and covers the settlements, since below Plaquemine, there are no settlers, nor does the Land admit of cultivation.—The Engineer (Captain Armstead) contemplated making considerable improvements at Plaquemine.”⁸⁴¹ The fort required a major effort to bring it up to current U.S. standards.

In Plaquemines Charles De Latour served as the first parish judge in 1807.⁸⁴² Latour was born in Louisiana, another one of the few native-born Louisianans to gain a judicial

⁸³⁷ James Wilkinson to the Secretary of War, 3 January 1803, *Territorial Papers*, 9:151. Muhlenburg was presumably an outsider with Pennsylvania roots.

⁸³⁸ James Wilkinson to the Secretary of War, 16 January 1803/4, *Territorial Papers*, 9:165.

⁸³⁹ John Pintard to the Secretary of the Treasury, 14 September 1803, *Territorial Papers*, 9:53.

⁸⁴⁰ Benjamin Henry Latrobe, 9 January 1819, *The Journal of Latrobe: The Notes and Sketches of an Architect, Naturalist and Traveler in the United States from 1796-1820* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), 159.

⁸⁴¹ Governor Claiborne to the Secretary of War, 21 April 1808, *Territorial Papers*, 9:782.

⁸⁴² A Register of Civil Appointments, 30 June 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:749.

appointment.⁸⁴³ The average slaveholder in 1810 in Plaquemines held almost five slaves; by 1820 that number had increased to over twelve slaves.⁸⁴⁴ Latour did not hold the appointment long and for reasons unknown just disappeared from the parish. He appears to have simply chosen to quit the parish after a series of disputes with lesser local officials. In order to gain greater knowledge Claiborne sent George W. Morgan, the sheriff of the 1st Supreme Court District, to inquire into the state of affairs with Judge Latour, who reportedly left the parish, and to secure: “the records of the parish [that] are exposed to loss & spoilation.”⁸⁴⁵ One day later Claiborne gave Morgan, with a justice of the peace and other citizens, orders to deliver the seal of office and records to a justice, effectively entrusting him with the judicial authority. Claiborne also wrote: “I will thank you to inform yourself of the nature of the contest which has arisen between Judge Latour & Mr. Shaw a Justice of the Peace & of the causes of so much division among the Citizens & Civil Magistrates of Plaquemine, & to report the same to you.”⁸⁴⁶ Latour was not exceptional, however, and subsequent judges also faced allegations of misconduct.

In 1808 Charles Fagot, who had served as a sheriff upriver in St. Bernard, became the judge of the parish, and was reappointed in 1813 and served through 1814.⁸⁴⁷ Fagot had articles of impeachment introduced against him in the House of Representatives for a host of charges, including abuse of power and incompetence. He was accused of seizing the estate of Peter Dragon in favor of Martin Duplessis, William Beaumont and M. Cornen; allowing his clerk of court to levy fees against Dupre and J. D. Saucier; and for

⁸⁴³ List of Civil And Military Officers, 21 April 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:835.

⁸⁴⁴ Plaquemines Census 1810 and 1820, Censuses transcribed by Carol Walker <carola@bellsouth.net> and proofread by Angela Walker <angelaw@bellsouth.net> for the USGenWeb Archives Census Project <http://www.usgenweb.org/census>.

⁸⁴⁵ Claiborne to Geo. W. Morgan, 13 April 1812 *Letter Books*, 6:81.

⁸⁴⁶ Claiborne to Geo. W. Morgan, 14 April 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:82.

fining Augustin Dupre for failing to give the sheriff the tax rolls; and for trying a slave of Colonel Shaumburg in a remote location without a defense and allowing his clerk of court to testify against him.⁸⁴⁸ The House chose to back the petitioners and impeached Fagot.⁸⁴⁹ In 1815 Gilbert Leonard became the judge of Plaquemines, a post he would hold through 1846 (see table 37).⁸⁵⁰ Lower level officials came from inside the parish and represent a mix of Creole and Anglo-American appointments.

Table 37. Plaquemines Officials, Slave Holdings

Name	Office	1810	1820
Henry M. Muhlenberg	Commandant		
Charled de Latour	Judge 1807		
Charles Fagot	Judge 1808-1814		
Gilbert Leonard	Judge 1815-1846		
Albert Gallatin Jr.	Sheriff 1811		0
Mr. Shaw	Justice 1807		
William Diven	Justice 1807		
Lancelot Pearson	Justice 1808		
John Mary Cornen	Justice 1808	12	12
Martin Duplessis	Justice 1808	10	
William Wilson	Justice 1809		
Augustin Dupres	Justice 1809		
Louis Joseph Wiltz	Justice 1809	1	
William M. Johnson	Justice 1809		
William Allen	Justice 1809	13	
Peter Latour	Justice 1809		3
Zachus Shane	Justice 1811		
William R. Willis	Justice 1811	0	
J. M. Vioe	Justice 1817		33

Table data based on.⁸⁵¹

Road maintenance and levee construction constituted constant concerns in Plaquemines, given its location and the dangers from flooding. The local police jury

⁸⁴⁷ *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 13 December 1813; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1812), 77.

⁸⁴⁸ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1812), 80.

⁸⁴⁹ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1812), 87.

⁸⁵⁰ Louisiana Historic Records Survey, Works Progress Administration, *Inventory of the Parish Archives of Louisiana: Number 38, Plaquemines Parish (Pointe a la Hache)* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, 1938), 92.

⁸⁵¹ The Duplessis brothers in 1820 held twenty two slaves. Plaquemines Census 1810 and 1820, Censuses transcribed by Carol Walker <carola@bellsouth.net> and proofread by Angela Walker <angelaw@bellsouth.net> for the USGenWeb Archives Census Project <http://www.usgenweb.org/census>; A Register of Civil Appointments, 30 June 1807, *Territorial Papers*, 9:751; Return of Proclamations, Pardons, and Appointments, 30 June 1808, *Territorial Papers*, 9:796; Civil Appointments, 17 January 1809, *Territorial Papers*, 9:824; Return of Civil Appointments Made in the Territory of Orleans from the

happily took bids for any levee work that proprietors failed to undertake themselves.⁸⁵² The jury and parish judge of Plaquemines issued a great many fines to local property owners for failing to keep roads in good repair, but complaints were so widespread that Claiborne offered pardons for those fined since: “the Inhabitants fined as aforesaid, are generally composed of the poorest class of society, who were much injured in their crops by the overflowing of the Mississippi in the same year 1811—And that the payment of the said fines, would prove not only inconvenient, but greatly oppressive.”⁸⁵³ The fort at Plaquemines also needed good roads along the Mississippi to connect it with New Orleans.⁸⁵⁴ Roads concerned officials in all parishes within the territory, but especially in Plaquemines, as it needed supplies and rapid communication with the capital to inform New Orleans if a foreign ship appeared and going upriver by water could take time. The following year the inhabitants of Plaquemines still failed to keep their roads in good repair, resulting in fines for failing to obey their judge’s regulations, though the fines ultimately were remitted once again.⁸⁵⁵ In 1812 Claiborne issued pardons for fines and other judgments, though the local police jury felt that these pardons were not applicable, Claiborne wrote to Abner L. Duncan to determine whether the pardons applied.⁸⁵⁶ These repeated cases of Plaquemines citizens appealing to the governor for financial relief from judges and police juries demonstrate the manner in which territorial officials could build support for U.S. government when local officials failed to do so.

1st January 1811 to the 31st December of the Same Year, *Territorial Papers*, 9:985-986; Civil Appointments, 30 June 1809, *Letter Books*, 4:386; *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 11 June 1817.

⁸⁵² *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 13 December 1813.

⁸⁵³ By William C. C. Claiborne, 24 December 1811, *Letter Books*, 6:16.

⁸⁵⁴ John Watkins to Governor Claiborne, 2 April 1806, *Territorial Papers*, 9:621.

⁸⁵⁵ Enclosures, Secretary Roberson to the Secretary of State, 18 January 1812, *Territorial Papers*, 9:983.

⁸⁵⁶ Claiborne to Abner L. Duncan, 9 April 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:76.

Any vessels importing slaves stopped at Plaquemines. United States officials in multiple parishes feared that the Haitian Revolution might serve as an example for Louisiana's slaves. It was at Plaquemines that such a contagion could most likely first enter the territory. Government officials examined any vessel suspected of having foreign slaves on board and determined their origin, in accordance with federal law that banned the slave trade in the Louisiana territory, but from a Louisianan slaveholder's perspective one of the few benefits of the law was to insure that the idea of slave rebellion did not take root.⁸⁵⁷ The idea that slave insurrections originated abroad was a common misconception among white Louisianans and U.S. territorial officials. Governor Claiborne wrote to Captain Abimael Nicoll at the fort: "I request that you would examine every Vessel coming from a Foreign Port, and if you find any Slave or Slaves on Board, not composing a part of the Crew, that you would detain such Vessel, and not permit her to pass the Fort until you have reported the case to the Governor of the Territory and received his instructions."⁸⁵⁸ Claiborne in writing to James Madison about the need for this process wrote: "African Negroes are thought there not to be dangerous; but it ought to be recollected that those of St. Domingo were originally from Africa and that Slavery where ever it exist is a galling yoke . . . All vessels with slaves aboard are stopped at Plaquemine, and are not permitted to pass without my consent."⁸⁵⁹ Thus, for Claiborne the popular distinction often made between those slaves that originated in Africa and those

⁸⁵⁷ The 1804 legislation that created a Louisiana Government also barred foreign slave importations in the territory, whether those foreign slaves came from a foreign port or a port of the United States, the slaves carried into the territory had to originate in America. That provision was taken by many citizens of Orleans, both Creole and Anglo as just another way in which citizens of Orleans did not have the same rights as other citizens of the United States. See George Dargo, *Jefferson's Louisiana: Politics and the Clash of Legal Traditions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 29-31.

⁸⁵⁸ Governor Claiborne to Abimael Nicoll, 9 March 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:414.

⁸⁵⁹ Claiborne to James Madison, 12 July 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:245.

that had experienced independence in St. Domingue proved false, given the harsh nature of the institution itself.

Some Louisianans advocated continuing the African slave trade for as long as possible, though, as Claiborne recognized, dangers did not just arise from those slaves coming in through St. Domingue. Plaquemines served as a waiting room when there was a case in doubt. As Claiborne explained to James Pitot, the mayor of New Orleans: “All Vessels also (as formerly) will be brought to and examined at Plaquemines and the Negroes detained until my permission for their passing is obtained, and in no instance are slaves to be admitted into the city, until they shall be previously visited by a committee of the Municipality.”⁸⁶⁰ To be sure, however, slaves did pass through without following the protocols Claiborne described. Smuggling of all types thrived below New Orleans, and as a result Claiborne wrote to Colonel Freeman, the head of the state militia, in 1804 that smuggling south of Plaquemines at the mouth of the Mississippi increased to such a point that a customs inspector needed at the Balise and that “he may in the execution of his duty meet with opposition from disorderly and fraudulent men.”⁸⁶¹ These smugglers, who evaded U.S. customs collectors did not just violate U.S. law, from the perspective of the Department of the Treasury, but proved a threat to public order. Claiborne needed his own man there to inspect the vessels coming in and he further requested troops from Freeman in order to better enforce the protocols he wanted.

Plaquemines did not just serve as the entry point for the slave trade, but for privateers as well. As a major entrepot, foreign ships stopped at Plaquemines and usually received

⁸⁶⁰ Claiborne to James Pitot, 25 July 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:264.

⁸⁶¹ Claiborne to Colonel Freeman, 17 July 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:361.

permission to proceed on to New Orleans.⁸⁶² At other times public safety necessitated delays or detentions of ships attempting to enter New Orleans. On one occasion a French privateer and two other ships proceeded up to New Orleans before it became clear that the accompanying vessels were prizes, at which point they sold their cargo under false papers to Evan Jones, who then turned around and sold it to others. Claiborne had to seize the cargo and declare that the vessels entered illegally.⁸⁶³ On another occasion French prisoners of war revolted on board a British ship, which they then steered to New Orleans and stopped at Plaquemines. There U.S. officials detained the ship and informed the mutineers that they could not proceed on to New Orleans.⁸⁶⁴ On another occasion U.S. officials stopped the British ship *Hero* with French prisoners aboard from going on to New Orleans, but the vessel remained too weakened to return to sea, so Claiborne instructed his subordinates to resupply the ship below the city.⁸⁶⁵ On yet another occasion U.S. officials ordered a Spanish brig that had long been in New Orleans to Plaquemines after her crew persisted in disturbing the peace within the city.⁸⁶⁶ Plaquemines, far more than other parishes, in its interests and policies was tied to the economic and security concerns of New Orleans.

Plaquemines differed from many other parishes in that it contained a U.S. military garrison and was a key strategic point below the city, such that the slave trade, privateering, smuggling, and other concerns dominated its public business. Indeed the most contentious local issues within the parish centered on taxation for levee and road

⁸⁶² As was the case for ships like the Spanish Brig *Alerta*, Claiborne to Daniel Clark, 22 May 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:306-307; or the French ship *La Franchise*, Claiborne to Robert Smith, *Letter Books*, 5:3; or the Spanish ship *Prosperine*, Claiborne to Officer Commanding the Fort St. Philip at Plaquemines, *Letter Books*, 5:188.

⁸⁶³ Claiborne to James Madison, 1 August 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:284-286.

⁸⁶⁴ Claiborne to Captain Davis, 3 November 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:379.

⁸⁶⁵ Claiborne to James Madison, 15 December 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:26-28.

construction, which were concerns up and down the Mississippi, but of particular importance given Plaquemine's position. Plaquemines and St. Bernard, though extensions of New Orleans, had their own local issues given their placement at the mouth of the Mississippi. Indeed, it was those people with New Orleans connections, like Carrick, who could most easily secure responses from the territorial government and federal involvement when needed. As a result the territorial government regularly intervened for the better security of the territory, but also to redress local grievances like the levee and road fees. In contrast, Lafourche and Assumption, with their large Acadian populations and smaller slaveholdings, proved a lesser concern for American officials in New Orleans, though they too could be an entryway for slaves, pirates and smugglers. Despite the security concerns and the fears over a growing slave population, Lafourche retained more Anglo-American officials in higher-level positions, while the same posts in St. Bernard and Plaquemines tended to go to local Creoles. United States officials tried to meet the local needs of these parishes, while instituting policies to better secure the territory. When those policies resulted in higher local costs the U.S. territorial government frequently proved more receptive to complaints than did local Creole or Anglo-American leadership within the parishes.

⁸⁶⁶ Claiborne to Mr. Brown, 15 January 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:244.

CHAPTER VII

WEST FLORIDA

To the east of the Territory of Orleans lay the West Florida parishes, which at the time of the cession remained under Spanish governance. The West Florida parishes had not been ceded with the Louisiana Purchase, though both France and the United States argued for their inclusion, arguments that made little headway with the Spanish. Instead the Spanish government, which already opposed the resale of the territory to the United States since it violated its agreement with the French, chose to retain its position in the area.⁸⁶⁷ West Florida consisted of the parishes of Feliciana and to its south, East Baton Rouge, which lay on the eastern bank of the Mississippi. Further to the east and across the Amite River lay St. Helena parish and then across the Tangipahoe River lay Tangipahoe, which later came to be called St. Tammany Parish (see figure 8). The West Florida parishes under Spanish governance threatened U.S. authority within Louisiana, offering alternatives for dissatisfied Creoles and slaves, and in the event of hostilities between the U.S. and Spain could provide a potential staging area for an invasion.

⁸⁶⁷ Andrew McMichael, *Atlantic Loyalties: Americans in Spanish West Florida* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 55-60.

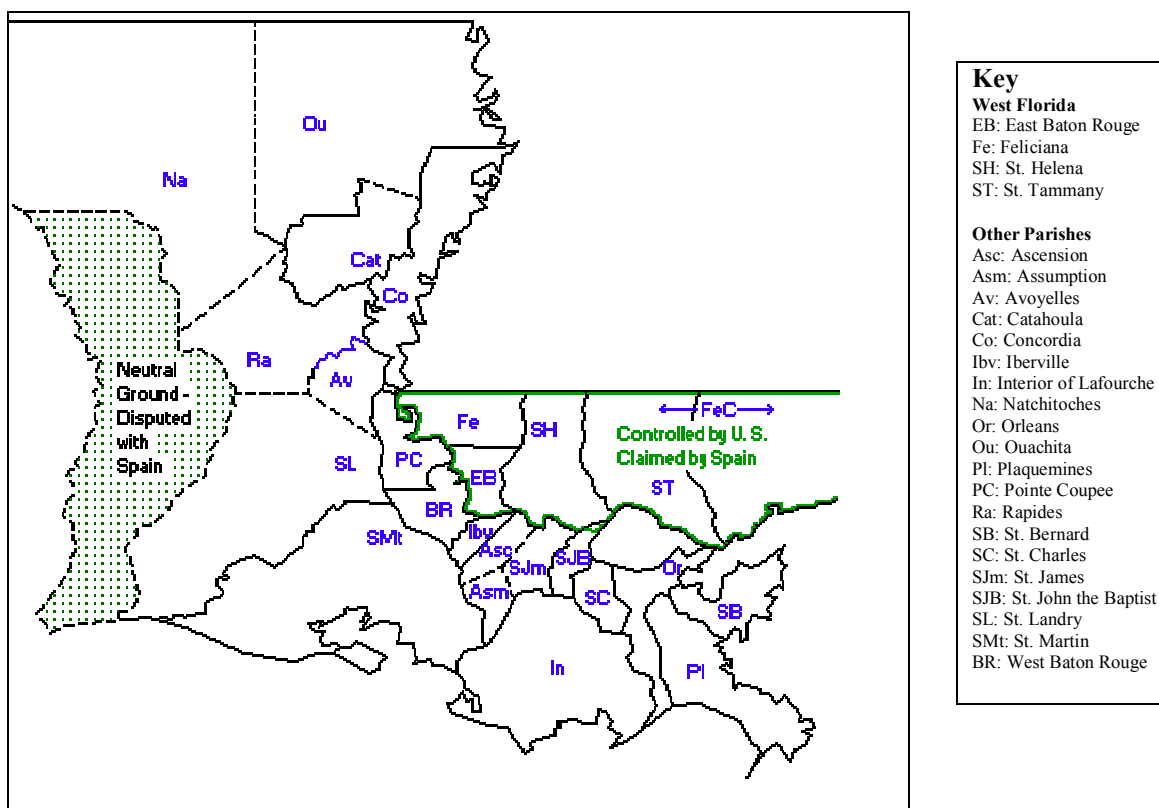


Fig. 8. Map of West Florida and the Territory of Orleans 1810.⁸⁶⁸

After the attachment of the West Florida parishes to Louisiana in 1810, difficulties for U.S. administrators with the area persisted. The population of West Florida contained a majority Anglo-American population that differed from much of the rest of the territory. Also in contrast to the rest of the territory of Orleans, much of the population of West Florida chose to be part of the United States; they rebelled against Spanish rule in 1810, with some United States encouragement. President James Madison sent the U.S. army into West Florida to secure the area for the United States, which elicited protests from the Spanish government. A number of vocal participants in the West Florida rebellion sought inclusion within the territory of Orleans and the United States, but by no means

⁸⁶⁸ mylouisianagenealogy.com (2009).

did all of them back such a course. Worries over Creole loyalty and maintaining U.S. control, which so influenced the choice of officials within other parishes, played less of a role in West Florida. U.S. officials could select from a large array of individuals who had rebelled against Spain in order to join the United States, to appoint to local positions in West Florida. Such men already met the basic loyalty question that so concerned U.S. officials in selecting individuals elsewhere in the territory. The West Florida parishes represent a separate course for United States expansion. The sort of compromises that the administration resorted to in dealing with a population that was foreign in its language and often nation of origin in much of the rest of the territory were not undertaken to the same extent in West Florida. Even so, the smaller Creole population, descendents of Spanish and French settlers within the West Florida parishes, could be courted in a similar manner.

The West Florida parishes possessed Anglo majorities. The Creole population of East Baton Rouge, both Spanish and French, in 1820 was thirty-six percent of the white population and it held thirty-nine percent of the slaves in the parish, while the remainder of the white population had Anglo surnames.⁸⁶⁹ East Baton Rouge contained a large number of Anglo surnames, but its record of intermarriages before the era of U.S. control in West Florida was slight; of 109 marriages between 1788 and 1805, only five percent were between Anglo surnames, eighty-eight percent involved Francophone or Spanish surnames, while seven percent were mixed marriages; of the only two marriages listed for

⁸⁶⁹ These figures are based on surname analysis of census transcriptions taken from Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977). Surname analysis made on same basis as in earlier chapters.

the period between 1813 and 1816 both were Anglo marriages.⁸⁷⁰ Feliciana also demonstrated the same pattern. Of two hundred and ninety-six marriages in Feliciana between 1810 and 1820, eighty-one percent involved two Anglo surnames, two percent between two Francophone surnames, while the other eighteen percent involved Anglo and Francophone surnames; of the five recorded marriages between 1791 and 1809 two were mixed marriages, two Anglo marriages and one a Francophone marriage.⁸⁷¹ St. Helena Parish marriages similarly had few mixed marriages, of one hundred and seventy marriages between 1809 and 1820 seventy-three percent were between Anglo surnames, seven percent between Creole surnames, while twenty percent were mixed marriages; the three marriages listed for the eighteenth century were not mixed marriages based on surname analysis.⁸⁷² St. Tammany Parish had a similar pattern, of one hundred and ninety-seven marriages recorded between 1808 and 1820, eighty-three percent had two Anglo surnames, while under one percent were between two Francophone surnames, the other sixteen percent were mixed Anglo and Creole marriages.⁸⁷³ West Florida had been under the rule of the British from 1764 to 1783 when it was transferred to Spain. Much like Spanish difficulties in governing the Francophone inhabitants of Louisiana, the large Anglo population in West Florida posed problems for the Spanish government's ability to

⁸⁷⁰ *East Baton Rouge Parish Louisiana, Marriage Index, 1788-1898* (Salt Lake City UT: Hunting for Bears, 2007). Surname analysis made on same basis as census data.

⁸⁷¹ *West Feliciana Parish Louisiana, Marriage Index, 1791-1909* (Salt Lake City UT: Hunting for Bears, 2007). Surname analysis made on same basis as census data.

⁸⁷² *St. Helena Parish Louisiana, Marriage Index, 1813-1875* (Salt Lake City UT: Hunting for Bears, 2007); *St. Helena Parish Marriage Records, 1809-1822, Louisiana State Library*. Surname analysis made on same basis as census data.

⁸⁷³ *St. Tammany Parish Louisiana, Marriage Index, 1808-1900* (Salt Lake City UT: Hunting for Bears, 2007); *Index to the Marriages, 1812-1900*, vol. 1, compiled by Mrs. Amos (Bertha Perreand) Neff and assisted by E. Russ Williams Jr. (Covington LA: Neff and Williams, 1969). Surname analysis made on same basis as census data.

sustain its rule in the area, particularly given the proximity to the United States to both the east and west.

East Baton Rouge and the rest of West Florida had a large number of Anglo immigrants from the British Isles, and immigration from the eastern United States continued to flow into West Florida under the Spanish government. The British guaranteed the citizens of West Florida the rights of Englishmen and allowed West Florida to have an elected assembly.⁸⁷⁴ In 1779 the British lost Baton Rouge to a Spanish force under Don Bernardo de Galvez. Despite their military successes in West Florida, the Spanish quickly found that the region with its large Anglo population proved difficult to govern because it demanded the representative traditions that existed under the British in West Florida and the United States. A number of British loyalists immigrated to West Florida during and in the aftermath of the American Revolution. Anglo-American immigration into Spanish Florida continued, at first extra-legally. Given their inability to stem the arrival of Anglo-Americans, however, in 1787 the Spanish crown officially authorized their entry, though it required the settlers to take loyalty oaths and become Spanish subjects.⁸⁷⁵ The Spanish hoped to create a buffer state with this immigration in order to better protect their interior provinces in Mexico from expansionist powers.

West Florida's proximity to Louisiana complicated Spanish-American relations and posed problems for the governance of both territories. Claiborne found it difficult to enforce a number of U.S. regulations given the close border. For instance slaves passed through New Orleans to Spanish Baton Rouge, with their Spanish owners as part of the

⁸⁷⁴ Rose Meyers, *A History of Baton Rouge, 1699-1812* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976), 26-27.

⁸⁷⁵ Andrew McMichael, *Atlantic Loyalties: Americans in Spanish West Florida* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 16-17.

slave trade, as long as their documents were in order. As Claiborne wrote to James Madison soon after the cession: “If Negroe Vessels are permitted to pass up to Baton Rouge, the law prohibiting the African Trade in this Territory will in effect be a nullity, & so I pray your instructions on whether or not I am to oppose their Passage.”⁸⁷⁶ If the Spanish could take slaves up the Mississippi, the foreign slave trade would persist and would profit Spaniards and smugglers. That route up the Mississippi provided opportunities for the Spanish and smugglers to illegally sell slaves once they passed New Orleans and proceeded upriver. New Orleans was not the only access point, however; slaves also could be brought into West Florida from Spanish territories to the east and then illegally sold into Louisiana. The movement of slaves thus went both ways, with slaves legally going into Spanish Florida through U.S. territory and then at times illegally from Spanish Florida into Louisiana. There was a vigorous illegal slave trade into Louisiana through Baton Rouge. African slaves passed from Spanish Florida to the gulf coast and then to Baton Rouge where slaves then passed into Louisiana, and as Claiborne noted: “These abuses are seen and regretted but (under existing circumstances) cannot be prevented.”⁸⁷⁷ The congressional prohibition on the slave trade for the territory was effectively a nullity. There was little to be done on this point, as neither Spanish nor U.S. officials could control fully the flow of slaves across the border. Traders in Spanish Florida and in the territory of Orleans chose to engage in the smuggling of slaves.

Federal officials worried that Baton Rouge could serve as a source for pirates or privateers that might operate on Lake Pontchartrain: “The admission of armed Spanish vessels in the Lake may endanger the safety of New Orleans and if Spanish unarmed

⁸⁷⁶ Claiborne to James Madison, 5 October 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:346-347.

⁸⁷⁷ Governor Claiborne to the President, 25 March 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:424-425.

vessels or even the coasting vessels from Mobile, the admission of which is permitted . . . shall be allowed to introduce into that part of the said territory goods liable to pay duty, a system of smuggling across the Lake and by the way of Baton Rouge may take place which would be destructive of the revenue of the United States.”⁸⁷⁸ Smuggling of both people and goods remained a persistent problem, which would have required greater Spanish-American cooperation in order to bring it to an end. Such cooperation never came about given the deep mistrust and tensions between the two nations.

Louisiana’s proximity to Spanish Florida raised other security concerns beyond those of the flow of slaves and smuggling into Louisiana. Spanish officers often went through New Orleans just to get to Baton Rouge, which required Claiborne to issue them passports and to take measures for their peaceful travel upriver.⁸⁷⁹ At the same time, Claiborne strove to reduce the burdens on United States citizens traveling through Spanish territory, as he wrote to the Spanish governor of Baton Rouge, Carlos de Grand Pre: “The determination of your Excellency to require Passports of all persons passing from hence through the Territory under your Government, will not, I hope be persisted in. This formality has not heretofore been observed, and was it now introduced, it would subject many individuals to Inconveniences.”⁸⁸⁰ In the end Claiborne issued passports, bending to Grand Pre’s policies.⁸⁸¹ The border between Spanish territory in West Florida and the United States in Louisiana gave control of a portion of the eastern bank of the Mississippi to Spain and the western bank to the United States, which allowed both nations

⁸⁷⁸ The Secretary of the Treasury to Hore Browne Trist, *Territorial Papers*, 9:194.

⁸⁷⁹ Claiborne to Jno. V. Morales, *Letter Books*, 3:251.

⁸⁸⁰ Claiborne to Grand Pres, 8 April 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:287.

⁸⁸¹ Claiborne to James Madison, 21 May 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:305.

to inconvenience one another and their respective immigrants and traders traveling along the river.

During the Burr Conspiracy of 1806, U.S. officials harbored doubts about Spanish intentions and began to restrict Spanish travel through Louisiana's borders. Claiborne refused to allow Governor Vizente Folch of Spanish Florida to travel through New Orleans and up the Mississippi on his way to Baton Rouge.⁸⁸² Claiborne wrote to Cowles Mead, acting governor of the Mississippi Territory that: "We take this occasion to advise you confidentially to keep a strict eye upon the Spaniards! Governor Folch is proceeding to Baton Rouge with four hundred men. His co-operation in repelling Burr and his associates is desirable but in the uncertain and menacing state of affairs between the United States & Spain, it is our duty to be vigilant, and to watch the movements of a foreign force which may be in our vicinity."⁸⁸³ U.S. officials had good reason to doubt Spanish movements, given fears over Burr and the crisis on the Sabine. U.S. authorities also chose to detain an armed Spanish vessel at Plaquemines rather than letting it proceed to Baton Rouge. Often territorial officials granted permission for travel upriver, but given the crisis Claiborne refused permission on this occasion. Folch responded to these insults by blocking United States citizens from traveling through Mobile, which held up U.S. commerce, just as Claiborne held up Spanish commerce.⁸⁸⁴ Friends who had served under Spain told Claiborne that the Spanish believed Burr's intentions were hostile toward them, and that therefore the Spanish remained unlikely to give Burr protection. Claiborne also received information, however, from "a person attached to the Spanish service" that the Spanish Minister to the United States, Carlos Martinez de Yrujo, in the

⁸⁸² Claiborne to Governor Folch, 21 January 1807, *Letter Books*, 4:106.

⁸⁸³ Claiborne to Cowles Mead, 21 January 1807, *Letter Books*, 4:108.

past had given Burr encouragement: “My informant gives it as his opinion, that had Burr appeared before Baton Rouge three weeks ago, the Fort could immediately have been surrendered to him; but that Yrujo’s last dispatches had given great alarm to the Spanish agents, & had put them upon their guard against the traitorous adventurer.”⁸⁸⁵

Claiborne’s information about these meetings in fact was accurate; Burr had met with the Spanish minister, but given Claiborne’s inability to discern Burr’s intentions, he chose not to trust or cooperate with the Spanish.

After the Burr incident, Claiborne continued to oppose Spanish access and freedom of movement through Louisiana that might strengthen the Spanish position in West Florida. At the same time though, Claiborne continued to push for United States access and travel within West Florida. In 1807 Claiborne pushed for United States citizens’ rights to travel on Spanish rivers in West Florida. Folch responded by noting that Spain and the United States retained rights to navigate the Mississippi, but Spain had no obligation to allow United States citizens navigation of other rivers under its control.⁸⁸⁶ The United States in turn continued to restrict Spanish efforts to gain access to Louisiana. In 1808 Claiborne refused to allow Folch to purchase two ships at New Orleans in order to carry off some of the artillery at Baton Rouge, and he continued to push for unimpeded passage for U.S. citizens down the Mississippi from Baton Rouge and Spanish West Florida.⁸⁸⁷ U.S. officials continued to fear Spanish designs on Louisiana, and rumors continued to circulate among the citizenry that Spain might regain the territory. In 1808 Claiborne reported a rumor, passing on information from a citizen of Orleans who had overheard a

⁸⁸⁴ Claiborne to James Madison, 21 April 1807, *Letter Books*, 4:124-125.

⁸⁸⁵ To Robert Williams, 10 February 1807, *Letter Books*, 4:120-121. Who this informant was is unclear.

⁸⁸⁶ From Gov. Folch, 18 February 1807, *Letter Books*, 4:139-140.

⁸⁸⁷ Claiborne to James Madison, 17 February 1808, *Letter Books*, 4:156-159.

conversation between a free person of color and someone from Baton Rouge that the Spanish had designs on New Orleans. Even though Claiborne gave it little credence, he still forwarded it on to James Madison, as both he and his informant realized that any information about a potential Spanish invasion would interest their superiors.⁸⁸⁸ The presence of a foreign jurisdiction so close made both Louisiana and West Florida natural destinations for fugitives fleeing from either U.S. or Spanish authorities. Later the same year relations remained strained and in a letter to Governor Grand Pre Claiborne regretted that they failed to reach an agreement with one another about exchanging fugitives given how many fled from each place to the other.⁸⁸⁹

The Spanish proved slow to cooperate with Claiborne's requests, in part because the United States did not accede to Spanish requests, but also in part because they suspected United States designs on their own territory. These fears were confirmed to Spanish officials by the series of upheavals that took place within West Florida from 1804 to 1810, which the Spanish linked, rightly in some cases, to U.S. support and intrigue across the border. Upon the U.S. cession of Louisiana, disorders began in Baton Rouge, including a riot; the boundaries of the cession remained vague and many of the Anglo citizens of West Florida had no love for Spain.⁸⁹⁰ The Spanish commandant Colonel Grand Pre called on Claiborne to help him insofar as he could to keep order and refrain from encouraging any rebellions on the U.S. side of the border. The Marquis of Casa Calvo wrote to Claiborne to secure the governor's assurance that he would not aid any rebellions, particularly any actions undertaken by Reuben Kemper. Kemper, along with his brothers Nathan and Samuel, had been expelled from West Florida after they

⁸⁸⁸ Claiborne to James Madison, 13 May 1808, *Letter Books*, 4:173-175.

⁸⁸⁹ Claiborne to Gov. Grand Pres, 31 August 1808, *Letter Books*, 4:197-199.

launched a small insurrection in 1804 from U.S. territory in Mississippi, against a local alcalde Alexander Sterling, and reportedly killed a constable with a pistol and threatened Grand Pre's control of the area.⁸⁹¹ Sterling with the aid of militia earlier evicted the Kempers from John Smith's land after a business venture the men had been involved with failed.⁸⁹² The Kempers' immediate and initial goals appear to have been revenge and banditry, though their eventual and grander goal became the overthrow of Spanish authority. In truth, the Kempers failed to kill anyone, though they did threaten John Mills, a West Florida resident, who warned local inhabitants about the Kempers. The Kempers implied that they had the permission of Claiborne for their raids through Spanish territory.⁸⁹³ Though Claiborne officially did his best to prevent any such aid, there were U.S. citizens in his territory willing to help the large Anglo population of West Florida that wished to drive the Spanish out. Claiborne in turn assured Casa Calvo that:

The Government of the United States devoted to the preservation of social order cannot view without real concern any of her friendly neighbors harassed by such dissensions as you complain of, and I therefore presume it is scarcely necessary for me to repeat to your Excellency that the Insurgents in West Florida have never received any encouragement or countenance in any Shape from the American Government or its officers. In compliance however, with your Excellency's request, I will address Letters to the acting Governor of the Mississippi Territory, and the Commandant at Point Coupee with a view of preventing any aid being given to the Insurrection.⁸⁹⁴

Claiborne's comment about social order revealed the importance the United States placed on stability in Louisiana and the surrounding region. The Kempers based their operations out of Mississippi and Claiborne proved far more cautious than authorities in Mississippi, but still it proved impossible to stop local citizens from encouraging further revolts, given

⁸⁹⁰ Claiborne to James Madison, 27 June 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:227-229.

⁸⁹¹ From the Marquis of Casa Calvo to Governor Claiborne, 11 August 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:308-309.

⁸⁹² Andrew McMichael, *Atlantic Loyalties: Americans in Spanish West Florida* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 85-86.

⁸⁹³ Andrew McMichael, *Atlantic Loyalties: Americans in Spanish West Florida* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 86.

the proximity of U.S. territory on three sides of West Florida. U.S. officials in the Territory of Orleans did not desire a conflict with Spain, in part because they assumed that West Florida's annexation remained just a matter of time without requiring any great effort on the part of officials in Louisiana.

The Kempers escaped back across the border into Mississippi after their 1804 raid. From there, they continued to make strikes into West Florida, and as a result Casa Calvo called on Claiborne to turn the Kempers and their accomplices over to Spanish authorities.⁸⁹⁵ As Claiborne informed Madison in 1804, the Spanish governor in West Florida issued an amnesty except for Kemper and two others, the insurgency was never over thirty men, and those that escaped were in Pinckneyville Mississippi.⁸⁹⁶ The Spanish and Claiborne maintained order on both sides of the border, but the insurgents escaped to Mississippi. Claiborne received a letter from a resident in Spanish Baton Rouge who informed him that Kemper, Arthur Cobb Jr., and another man allegedly sailed to New Providence [where??] to get British permission to raise a force to take West Florida and to assassinate major Spanish officers.⁸⁹⁷ Claiborne then informed Casa Calvo to endeavor to do his utmost to prevent another revolt: "Your Excellency therefore may be assured that no exertions within my powers shall be wanting to prevent Kemper's party from receiving succor or assistance from the Territories of the United States. . . . I am Slow to believe Sir, that such men as Kemper and his associates will receive from the British the assistance which you Suppose them to have gone in quest of. But should they

⁸⁹⁴ Claiborne to the Marquis of Casa Calvo, 27 August 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:310.

⁸⁹⁵ From the Marquis of Casa Calvo to Governor Claiborne, 13 September 1804, *Letter Books*, 2:331-332. Casa Calvo generally wrote in Spanish and his letters were translated. Claiborne with a Spanish emissary within his territory rapidly received complaints, but authorities in Washington also received protests.

⁸⁹⁶ Claiborne to James Madison, 11 December 1804, *Letter Books*, 3:25.

actually return assisted and authorized by the British Government in the manner you apprehend, I have only to say, that the utmost vigilance shall be exerted on my part, to preserve, the Neutrality of my Country from violation.”⁸⁹⁸ Although Claiborne believed an attack to be unlikely he did act and instructed Colonel Freeman to strengthen the garrison at Fort St. John, as rumors persisted that a British vessel could appear on Lake Pontchartrain to aid Kemper and his men.⁸⁹⁹ Claiborne kept aware of troop movements within the Spanish territory between Pensacola and Baton Rouge, which he passed on to the Governor of Mississippi and the Secretary of War.⁹⁰⁰

In 1805 Claiborne inquired of Governor Folch whether the movement Spanish of troops constituted the advance movements preparatory to a conflict with the United States.⁹⁰¹ The governor then wrote to the Secretary of War about the reinforcements: “I have no doubt that we have a few Spanish Soldiers in this City, who have disguised their outward Garb;—the inclosed depositions gives some information concerning them, their movements will be watched, and such measures pursued as their conduct may justify.”⁹⁰² On an earlier occasion after he visited Grand Pre he wrote to Madison: “the Fort of Baton Rouge has lately been repaired; but the works are ill constructed, and could not be defended from assault by a less number than One Thousand men; The Site also has been injudiciously selected, for it is commanded by Ground not more than a Quarter of a Mile

⁸⁹⁷ Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman of respectability in the District of Baton Rouge, 22 April 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:44-45.

⁸⁹⁸ To the Marquis of Casa Calvo, 8 May 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:46.

⁸⁹⁹ Claiborne to Colonel Freeman, 13 May 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:54.

⁹⁰⁰ Governor Claiborne to Robert William, 24 October 1805; Claiborne to Henry Dearborn, 30 October 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:211-214; 216-217.

⁹⁰¹ Claiborne to Governor Folch, 31 October 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:221-222.

⁹⁰² Claiborne to Henry Dearborn, 7 November 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:229. Claiborne also kept the President informed of these reinforcements in West Florida, Claiborne to James Madison, 5 November 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:226.

distant.”⁹⁰³ Even as Claiborne informed his superiors over the state of Spanish garrisons and fortifications, Grand Pre continued to hear word of other plots in both Mississippi and Louisiana requiring Claiborne to ease his fears: “I have never before heard of the hostile preparations which you seem to think are on foot in the Mississippi Territory, nor of the cooperation which you have understood was intended on the part of three Commercial Houses of this city.”⁹⁰⁴ Claiborne did not countenance rebellions, but he did his utmost to be aware of Spanish force levels in West Florida should a conflict occur and to pass that information on to the administration in Washington. Spanish sovereignty in West Florida made United States governance within Louisiana difficult, creating problems within Louisiana and international difficulties between the United States and Spain.

The Kemper revolts and other subsequent revolts failed, but they aggravated relations between the United States and Spain. In 1805 a Spanish West Floridian party seized the Kempers on U.S. soil in Mississippi. U.S. authorities in turn captured the Spanish party and Mississippi Governor Williams then released the Kempers, suggesting the limits of U.S. cooperation with Spain.⁹⁰⁵ In the aftermath of these actions relations with Grand Pre deteriorated to the point that Secretary Graham warned Claiborne that given the detention of a Spanish officer: “As you come by Baton Rouge, take care that Grand Pre does not keep you as a Hostage for their delivery.”⁹⁰⁶ Although there was no Louisianan involvement, the Kemper revolt served to further Spanish complaints against Claiborne and Louisiana authorities: “Kemper’s Riot, for it cannot fairly be called an Insurrection,

⁹⁰³ Claiborne to James Madison, 27 August 1805, *Letter Books*, 3:183.

⁹⁰⁴ Claiborne to Grand Pres, 8 April 1806, *Letter Books*, 3:287.

⁹⁰⁵ Andrew McMichael, *Atlantic Loyalties: Americans in Spanish West Florida* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 93.

is viewed to the northward, as an important Affair, and . . . it has been used by the Spanish Minister among others, as a pretext for calumniating our administration.”⁹⁰⁷

What administration Claiborne refers to is not clear, though it most likely refers to U.S. control of Louisiana rather than his own personal administration or the Republican administration in Washington. The Spanish issued a series of diplomatic protests over U.S. intrigues in West Florida, and Madison took the Spanish letters seriously enough to warn both Claiborne and the acting Governor of Mississippi that any aid to filibusters and any violations of Spanish sovereignty violated United States law.⁹⁰⁸

In any case, the proximity of West Florida to the United States in combination with the large Anglo population of West Florida and the weakening Spanish regime meant that without greater action on the part of U.S. officials more revolts would occur. The shift to Spanish government in West Florida proved troublesome for some of the British and United States settlers, despite the fact that many of them took oaths of loyalty to Spain and chose to serve in governmental posts. Many of the leaders of the revolt had served the Spanish administration in West Florida. For instance, Thomas Lilley who participated in the West Florida rebellion was a syndic for St. John Plains, the area to the north of Baton Rouge.⁹⁰⁹ The 1810 revolt may have succeeded because of the participation of some of these elite figures. The Spanish government offered land titles and a royal government, but under the British the settlers had representative colonial

⁹⁰⁶ Secretary Graham to Governor Claiborne, 16 September 1805, *Territorial Papers*, 9:505.

⁹⁰⁷ Governor Claiborne to the President, October 27, 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:315. The use of the phrase our administration appears to mean the American administration of Louisiana, though it could also be taken to mean the presidential administration.

⁹⁰⁸ The Secretary of State to Governor Claiborne, 10 November 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:332-333.

⁹⁰⁹ Virginia Lobdell Jennings, *The Plains and the People: A History of Upper East Baton Rouge Parish* (Gretna LA: Pelican, 1998), 20.

assemblies and a Protestant monarch.⁹¹⁰ Anglo settlers expressed a series of grievances against the Spanish government: trials were held in Spanish, and the governmental system failed to impress a population versed in a political dialogue based on natural rights and representative assemblies. These problems mirrored those in Louisiana with the dissatisfaction of many Francophone citizens with U.S. law and attorneys.⁹¹¹ Many Anglo newcomers chose Spanish governance, as had a number of Francophone newcomers to Louisiana. Groups that freely chose to move to an area may have had fewer problems than the older Creole elites in Louisiana, which had not chosen to undergo a change in sovereignty. Grand Pre's replacement by Don Carlos de Hault de Lassus aggravated the situation in West Florida as he proved to be a far less able governor as judged by his constituents. While Grand Pre caused a great deal of trouble to Claiborne in their intergovernmental relations, he had secured the loyalty of his largely Anglo province.⁹¹² Loyalty was not the only measure of a governor's skill, but an able governor could garner loyalty while addressing concerns and complaints. In 1808 Lilley recommended a convention of locals to address the colonists' grievances and received permission to proceed from Grand Pre, but once the convention got underway it decided to schedule a second meeting before receiving the permission from the Spanish crown.⁹¹³ Once these conventions began, it proved difficult for later Spanish authorities to bring the participants to heel. Grand Pre's successor, Carlos De Hault de Lassus proved far less

⁹¹⁰ Andrew McMichael, *Atlantic Loyalties: Americans in Spanish West Florida* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 15-17.

⁹¹¹ The Orleans Legislature in 1808 passed a Civil Digest printed in both English and French, that established a bilingual court system. See George Dargo, *Jefferson's Louisiana: Politics and the Clash of Legal Traditions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 156.

⁹¹² Rose Meyers, *A History of Baton Rouge, 1699-1812* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976), 81-83.

⁹¹³ Virginia Lobdell Jennings, *The Plains and the People: A History of Upper East Baton Rouge Parish* (Gretna LA: Pelican, 1998), 26.

capable in handling the populace. Indeed, despite occasional problems the inhabitants of West Florida expressed regret upon Grand Pre's recall.⁹¹⁴ When another convention began to meet over the course of 1810 it moved toward independence and contact with U.S. authorities in Mississippi and Orleans.⁹¹⁵ The West Florida Convention chose as its Chairman Andrew Steele, clerks George Mather and Samuel Crocker, and a large number of Anglo-American representatives.⁹¹⁶ The West Florida Legislature elected Anglo-American Fulwar Skipwith the first executive of the brief (ninety days in the autumn of 1810) West Florida republic. Skipwith had been a U.S. diplomat appointed by George Washington to positions in the French West Indies and then to France; he had married a French woman, but he too was a recent arrival to the area near Baton Rouge after giving up his consular post in 1808.⁹¹⁷ His diplomatic experience and knowledge of French benefited his political advancement with the inclusion of West Florida into Louisiana. Benjamin Latrobe after attending a performance of Voltaire's *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le Prophete* with Skipwith noted: "Mr. Skipworth, who has resided many years in France, and I take it for granted that the declamation was very bad, for he, who is almost a Frenchman, declared that he could not understand one-fourth part of it."⁹¹⁸ Skipwith was

⁹¹⁴ *The Mississippian* [Natchez], 19 January 1808.

⁹¹⁵ For histories of the West Florida Rebellion and the issues involved see Isaac Joslin Cox's *The West Florida Controversy, 1798-1813: A Study in American Diplomacy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1918); Thomas P. Abernethy, "The West Florida Rebellion" *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History, Volume III: The Louisiana Purchase and Its Aftermath, 1800-1830* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1998): 279-305; and the more recent Andrew McMichael, *Atlantic Loyalties* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008).

⁹¹⁶ Feliciana was represented by John Rheas, William Barrow, John H. Johnson and John Mills; Baton Rouge by Thomas Lilley, Philip Hickey, Edmund Hause, and Manuel Lopez; St. Helena by Joseph Thomas, John W. Leonard, William Spiller, Benjamin O. Williams, William Morgan; St. Tammany or Tanchipaho by a William Cooper and an unnamed gentleman. See Membership of the West Florida Convention, 26 July 1810, *Territorial Papers*, 9:889, 895.

⁹¹⁷ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 2 (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 746.

⁹¹⁸ Benjamin Henry Latrobe, *The Journal of Latrobe: The Notes and Sketches of an Architect, Naturalist and Traveler in the United States from 1796-1820* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), 213.

well suited to the territory, having national connections, the confidence of the Anglo settlers of West Florida, and the ability to communicate with the Creole inhabitants of Orleans.

Though he desired U.S. control over West Florida, past experience taught Claiborne to be careful of West Florida insurgents. Consequently, once the West Florida revolt of 1810 got under way, Claiborne hesitated to bring about U.S. involvement. In talks with the less cautious Mississippi Governor David Holmes, he learned that: “A great majority of the Inhabitants of the District of Baton Rouge, would receive with pleasure the American Authorities,—But to guard against the intrigues of certain individuals, believed to be hostile to the United States, and of a few adventurers from the Territories of Orleans and Mississippi of desperate character and fortunes, who have lately joined the convention army.”⁹¹⁹ As before, Reuben Kemper was involved with the activities within West Florida, planning an expedition to Mobile, though he was arrested in his attempt.⁹²⁰ Once the Florida insurgents believed that they had achieved the de facto independence of West Florida from Spain, the head of the West Florida Convention, Fulwar P. Skipwith, sent John H. Johnson as an emissary to Louisiana to stop an invasion and to delay any effort to attach West Florida to Louisiana, until a commission could be sent to Washington.⁹²¹ Some individuals within the West Florida Convention wanted independence, and preferred to negotiate their entry into the union rather than their absorption into another state or territory. There was some talk of independence from the U.S.: “There was at first a show of opposition at Baton Rouge, and I was prepared to meet it; but no resistance was in the end offered, and peaceable possession has been taken

⁹¹⁹ Claiborne to Robert Smith, 1 December 1810, *Letter Books*, 5:35.

⁹²⁰ Claiborne to Robert Smith, 2 December 1810, *Letter Books*, 5:37.

of all the Country to which the authority of the Florida convention has extended.”⁹²²

Though some at first opposed the U.S. takeover, Skipwith after meeting with the Mississippi Governor came to accept U.S. governance.⁹²³ This division within West Florida did not last long as it quickly became apparent that the area would be annexed by the United States with the movement of Claiborne and U.S. troops into West Florida. Consequently, Skipwith and others who flirted with the idea of independence or annexation on West Floridian terms quickly fell into line with the U.S. annexation.

Claiborne at first refrained from moving against the Spanish garrison, as he wrote to the Secretary of State, despite calls to do so from within West Florida: “I observed to the Gentlemen that the using of force against a Spanish Garrison was an act of hostility against a foreign nation which Congress could more properly direct. But this suggestion will not I suspect relieve the chagrin of the people of Baton Rouge. In this quarter the act of taking possession is highly approved; and I pray God to incline Congress to support the measure with firmness.”⁹²⁴ Ultimately, President Madison authorized Claiborne to move into West Florida to secure its annexation into the United States as a part of the Louisiana Purchase. General Wade Hampton, the commanding general at New Orleans, in 1810 crossed the border with his forces and Claiborne. The U.S. forces under Hampton managed to upset inhabitants in Baton Rouge by appropriating some public land, throwing people out of their homes, and using the Catholic cemetery to bury the Protestant dead.⁹²⁵

⁹²¹ Fulwar Skipwith to John H. Johnson, *Letter Books*, 5:50-51.

⁹²² Governor Claiborne to the Secretary of the Treasury, 24 December 1810, *Territorial Papers*, 9:904.

⁹²³ The Governor of Mississippi Territory to the Secretary of State, 1 January 1811, *Territorial Papers*, 9:913.

⁹²⁴ Claiborne to Robert Smith, 6 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:89-90.

⁹²⁵ John Ballinger to the Secretary of State, 26 December 1811, *Territorial Papers*, 9:969-970.

Audley L. Osborne, whom Claiborne sent to West Florida to issue President Madison's proclamation annexing West Florida to the United States, informed Claiborne that many individuals within the area had no desire to be attached to Louisiana: "The great point, at which the disaffected, seem to stickle, is, that the State of Florida, should be treated with, as an independent nation, and that certain terms should be granted to them by your Excellency before they could submit to become Citizens of the United States, and come under your authority."⁹²⁶ Nonetheless, West Florida was attached to the United States, by a Presidential proclamation, but the manner in which it occurred upset Skipwith and others, while some wanted aid from or annexation to the United States: "They expected to be treated with as an independent State; and to have been incorporated into the Union upon their own Terms a great majority of the people are much pleased But Sir, there is a dissatisfied party, and if they should feel disposed to be troublesome there is a description of people in the District well suited to their purposes; I mean those adventurers of desperate character and fortunes, who always sicken and become restless under the rule of a good Government and just laws."⁹²⁷ This dissatisfied group included individuals who supported the Florida rebellion, not the other West Floridian groups; indeed Creoles and the Spanish population were not a part of this analysis. Rather, Claiborne believed the most problematic group remained the same individuals who had posed problems for Spain, individuals like the Kempers, bandits and adventurers. Other Anglo-Americans protested the absence of an assembly, religious requirements, and Spanish language courts, but those problems were now solved.

⁹²⁶ From Audley Osborn, 6 December 1810, *Letter Books*, 5:53.

⁹²⁷ Claiborne to Robert Smith, 27 December 1810, *Letter Books*, 5:68.

Insurgents like the Kempers, however, could not fit easily back into West Floridian society and wanted to continue their struggle against the Spanish.

The rapid change from one regime to another posed new problems for U.S. governance because while the West Florida population resembled that of the United States (far more so than in the rest of Louisiana), those dissatisfied parties that Claiborne referred to remained. There remained within West Florida advocates for independence and others who as Tories or British immigrants opposed annexation to the United States, and a significant Creole and Spanish population that also had opposed the West Florida revolt that led to U.S. annexation. Some Anglo-Americans remained dissatisfied as they believed they would not achieve appointments under Claiborne. Others wanted to pursue a separatist course with West Florida as an independent nation, while others remained attached to the Spanish.

The existence of dissatisfied parties within West Florida, with some who favored separatist agendas and others who maintained attachments to Spain, proved problematic for Claiborne when he turned to appointing local magistrates, not because he opposed appointing such men, but because the parties in West Florida that advocated attachment to Louisiana opposed Claiborne's appointing men who belonged to pro-Spanish or other factions within the West Florida rebellion. In making appointments in West Florida, Claiborne wrote to Secretary of State Robert Smith: "I find that the most bitter prejudices were fostered by some individuals of the patriotic party, against those who did not approve all their proceedings. It is wished that I also should participate in those prejudices, and act under their influence in appointing to office; but such a conduct does

not comport with my disposition to be just to all parties.”⁹²⁸ The patriotic party, which Claiborne referred to, led the rebellion, and included those who wanted an independent West Florida. At the same time the patriotic party appeared to be predominantly Anglo-American. In West Florida U.S. territorial officials strove to represent all parties in local government, including those who had failed to participate in the rebellion, whatever the wishes of that “patriotic party.”

U.S. officials also strove to avoid continued ill feeling between West Floridians within the annexed parishes. Discord continued in Baton Rouge as Claiborne wrote to General Thomas: “The first wish of my heart is to see harmony and good will prevail throughout the Territory, and I am persuaded that you will unite your efforts with mine, to check those little dissensions which have unfortunately arisen at Baton Rouge.”⁹²⁹ The United States might first turn to leaders of the rebellion for appointments, but it expected the rights of the rest of the citizens of West Florida to be respected.

The U.S. government also wished to protect its own citizens from Spanish reprisals. When a West Floridian force under Reuben Kemper attempted to take Mobile; the Spanish captured ten men, including Major William H. Hargrave (who had fought in the American Revolution) and held them prisoner in Havana. Claiborne sought their release in order to avoid, “that ill-will which the Citizens of Baton Rouge, and the Settlers on the Tombigbe now feel towards the Spanish authorities at Mobile and Pensacola; and which should those men be executed, I shall find great difficulty in controlling.”⁹³⁰ Claiborne in this case refused to recognize insurrection as grounds for this level of punishment. The Spanish held some United States citizens at Pensacola, and Claiborne’s inability to free

⁹²⁸ Claiborne to Robert Smith, 3 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:70.

⁹²⁹ Claiborne to General Thomas, 30 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:136.

them did little to improve his popularity in West Florida. The persistent presence of a small Spanish force at Mobile also gave rise to anti-Spanish feeling within West Florida; as did the Spanish capture at Pensacola of another Anglo-American, Cyrus Sibley, whom the Spanish believed was another of Kemper's agents promoting rebellion.⁹³¹ This incident with Sibley increased calls for the release of United States prisoners from Spanish jails. Claiborne believed that any Spanish punishment of these prisoners would only continue to create "ill will" between the inhabitants of West Florida and the government of Spain.⁹³² The Captain General at Havana disagreed with Claiborne's portrayal of the prisoners as innocents and kept them imprisoned.⁹³³ Such incidents were not limited to West Florida. While in much of the rest of Orleans, U.S. officials worried that the local populace might potentially wish to return to Spanish governance, in West Florida they had the opposite problem of cooling West Floridians' anger with the Spanish. In 1813 Claiborne also protested the seizure of a U.S. privateer captain Laborte, whom the Spanish seized in Cuba, though the Governor and Captain General of Cuba, Juan Ruis de Apodaca justified the arrest on grounds of excesses committed on the island, though he refused to get into specifics.⁹³⁴

The population of West Florida proved particularly loyal to the United States during the War of 1812 when the region provided a large number of volunteers even though many members of the population had immigrated as British loyalists. Claiborne was particularly impressed with the population of West Florida in contrast to some of the parishes to the west: "The people of the several parishes of St. Tammany, S. Helena,

⁹³⁰ Claiborne to Messrs. Shaler & Gray—Circular, 11 March 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:178.

⁹³¹ Claiborne to Robert Smith, 20 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:111.

⁹³² Claiborne to William Shaler, 3 March 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:169.

Feliciano and Baton Rouge seem disposed to rally, at the first call, among the standard of their Country, and I shall be disappointed if the people of the Western parishes, (whom I mean also to visit) do not feel and evidence the like patriotism.”⁹³⁵ Claiborne later wrote to Andrew Jackson praising the Baton Rouge militia in particular.⁹³⁶ A heavily Anglo section, West Florida proved far more active than other parts of the state of Louisiana in its level of participation during the war. In part the enthusiasm for the war in West Florida may have been due to the anti-Creek nature of the war in the south, where the fighting did not involve the British until 1814. The Choctaw nation sided with the United States during the War of 1812. Even so, some Choctaw bands joined with the Creeks and the British, and as a result West Florida became exposed to Indian attacks.⁹³⁷ During the War of 1812, Claiborne wrote to Secretary of War General Armstrong, “St. Tammany, St. Helena, and Baton Rouge are much exposed to Indian depredations;—In the course of the last year, their safety was seriously threatened, so much so, that several farms were abandoned, and the frontier settlers fled to the interior for surety.”⁹³⁸ Louisiana’s efforts to bring the Choctaws in on the United States side during the War of 1812 were complicated by the multiple jurisdictions at play.

When Claiborne sent a messenger to establish direct relations with the Choctaw, the local Indian agent Silas Dinsmoor arrested Claiborne’s messenger for not having a passport from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the southern department. As a

⁹³³ Translation of a letter from the Captain General of Cuba, Marquis of Someruelos, 29 March 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:225-226.

⁹³⁴ *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 31 March 1813.

⁹³⁵ Claiborne to Thomas Flournoy, 29 September 1813, *Letter Books*, 6:271.

⁹³⁶ Claiborne to Andrew Jackson, 24 October 1814, *Letter Books*, 6:288.

⁹³⁷ Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934; reprint 1961), 40-41; Jesse O. McKee and Jon A. Schlenker, *The Choctaws: Cultural Evolution of a Native American Tribe*, (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1980), 54.

⁹³⁸ Claiborne to General Armstrong, 14 April 1813, *Letter Books*, 6:234.

result Claiborne asked for an additional Indian agent, preferably Colonel Simon Favre, who would act as an ambassador between Louisiana and the Choctaw.⁹³⁹ Claiborne also kept Governor Holmes informed of his ambassador Mr. Favre's efforts as the people of Mississippi also could be threatened by any hostile Choctaw moves.⁹⁴⁰ Choctaws proved to be able allies and a group under Chief Pushmataha fought alongside both Claiborne and then Andrew Jackson at the battle of Horseshoe Bend.⁹⁴¹

While U.S. officials remained pleased with West Florida's transition into Louisiana and the ardor with which the population fought the War of 1812, the West Florida rebellion created internal divisions. The area remained distinct from the rest of the state in some ways. The West Florida Parishes as a group never became part of the larger sugar plantation culture of the parishes of southern and eastern Louisiana, despite their proximity to New Orleans. Instead, the piney woods proved an environment conducive to yeoman farmers, though in the long run cotton, and slavery along with it, made limited inroads in the parish.⁹⁴² Even so, the planter class managed to dominate the political offices within the parish before cotton became a popular crop.⁹⁴³ The West Florida rebellion and ultimate inclusion within the U.S. republic created a new set of malcontents within the parish, some who opposed the rebellion and others who resented the U.S. government.⁹⁴⁴ The rebellion left a series of fissures: one between West Floridians who favored rebellion and those who failed to embrace the movement, a second between those

⁹³⁹ Claiborne to General Armstrong, 14 April 1813, *Letter Books*, 6:233-235.

⁹⁴⁰ Claiborne to Governor Holmes, 9 August 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:151.

⁹⁴¹ Jesse O. McKee and Jon A. Schlenker, *The Choctaws: Cultural Evolution of a Native American Tribe*, (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1980), 54.

⁹⁴² Samuel C. Hyde Jr., *Pistols and Politics: The Dilemma of Democracy in Louisiana's Florida Parishes, 1810-1899* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 3-10, 23-36.

⁹⁴³ Samuel C. Hyde Jr., *Pistols and Politics: The Dilemma of Democracy in Louisiana's Florida Parishes, 1810-1899* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 65-67.

who sought independence and those who wanted to attach themselves to the United States, and a third between those who wanted to be attached to Louisiana and others to Mississippi.

Claiborne in appointing positions in Baton Rouge and the rest of West Florida turned by and large to the established Anglo-American individuals involved in the West Florida rebellion, though from a variety of factions within the rebellion. As a result many members of the Creole community, whether Spanish or Francophone, found themselves sidelined. After West Florida's annexation in late 1810, Claiborne appointed judges for Feliciana and East Baton Rouge and then for St. Helena and St. Tammany and proceeded to garrison Baton Rouge.⁹⁴⁵ Claiborne informed Robert Smith of his general policy for judicial appointments for West Florida in describing an Englishman George Mather and Andrew Steele: "My appointments to office will for the most part be taken from the old inhabitants of the District . . . each of these Gentlemen have acquired the confidence of this Society and are capable honest men, and well affected to the American government."⁹⁴⁶ Claiborne here refers to individuals whom in other letters he might have termed as members of the patriotic party. Mather received an immediate appointment from Claiborne, however, while Steele did not.⁹⁴⁷ Both men took part in the West Florida Convention. In the long run, however, Steele received a commission to replace Mather in Baton Rouge shortly thereafter in 1811.⁹⁴⁸ Claiborne on January 24, 1811 appointed

⁹⁴⁴ Samuel C. Hyde Jr., Introduction in *A Fierce and Fractious Frontier: The Curious Development of Louisiana's Florida Parishes, 1699-2000* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 4.

⁹⁴⁵ Claiborne to Robert Smith, 23 December 1810, *Letter Books*, 5:58-60.

⁹⁴⁶ Claiborne to Robert Smith, 24 December 1810, *Letter Books*, 5:62.

⁹⁴⁷ To Judge Mather, 19 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:105.

⁹⁴⁸ To Doctor Steele, 27 February 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:166.

William D. Nicholas as the judge of East Baton Rouge Parish.⁹⁴⁹ In 1815 Charles Tossier became the parish judge.⁹⁵⁰ The average slaveholder in East Baton Rouge in 1820 held approximately three slaves.⁹⁵¹ This practice of appointing established elites was consistent with United States appointments in other areas of Louisiana, though Creoles within West Florida found themselves underrepresented.

For the circuit court of Baton Rouge, which Claiborne intended to be a separate entity despite the wishes of some to attach it to the court of Pointe Coupee, Claiborne appointed as sheriff John Hunter Johnson.⁹⁵² Johnson founded the city of St. Francisville in Feliciana, his father had been an alcalde under the Spanish, and Johnson participated in the Florida Revolt, though he resigned from the convention when the capital moved to Baton Rouge.⁹⁵³ Johnson then served in the Feliciana police jury for four years before he became the sheriff, and then served as a state Senator from Feliciana from 1813-1816, before finally becoming the Feliciana parish judge in 1817.⁹⁵⁴ Heavy turnover occurred in the sheriff's office with Claiborne removing Henry S. Caillevet, and the state senate

⁹⁴⁹ Return of Civil Appointments made in the Territory of Orleans from the 1st January 1811 to the 31st December of the Same Year, *Territorial Papers*, 9:984.

⁹⁵⁰ East Baton Rouge Parish, Judge Books.

⁹⁵¹ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977).

⁹⁵² Claiborne, Private to John H. Johnson Esqre., 8 February 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:149-150.

⁹⁵³ Stanley Clisby Arthur and George Campbell Huchet de Kernion, *Old Families of Louisiana*, (Gretna LA: Pelican, 1998 [1931]), 166-168.

⁹⁵⁴ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 439. Johnson and many others objected to the imprisonment of a West Floridian Dr. Isaac B. Holmes in Pointe Coupee, which further confirmed for many West Floridians the need for a discrete court. Claiborne praised sheriff John H. Johnson, who spoke out along with other leading citizens, on behalf of Holmes, resulting in a pardon from Claiborne. What Holmes was charged with is not clear from Claiborne's letter, though it is clear that a portion of elite of the parish petitioned for his release. Claiborne to John H. Johnson, April 20, 1812, *Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne*, volume 6 edited by Dunbar Rowland (Jackson MS: State Department of Archives and History, 1917), 82-83. Fedrk A. Sumner, Daniel Brunson and H. Harrison all wrote to Claiborne on Holmes' behalf and he responded by having him released from Pointe Coupee. Claiborne to Messrs. Fedk. A. Sumner, Danl. Brunson & H. Harrison, 20 April 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:83.

voting to remove his successor for improper conduct in office.⁹⁵⁵ As in other parishes, justices tended to come from a range of classes and ethnic groups, with a heavy contingent possessing greater holdings than the men in judicial and sheriff positions (see table 38). Claiborne offered justice appointments to men from a variety of factions. Skipwith, the former executive of the brief West Florida Republic, had refused an earlier appointment as a justice, but the offer illustrates Claiborne's commitment to appoint some of the supporters of the West Florida rebellion, even opponents of West Florida's annexation to Louisiana. Claiborne could have chosen to avoid appointing men from these factions, since he certainly had proved willing to avoid appointing other Anglo-Americans to positions.

Table 38. East Baton Rouge Officials, Slave Holdings

Name	Office	1820
George Mather	Judge 1811, Clerk 7 th SCD 1813-1815	
William Nicholas	Judge 1811	
Charles Tossier	Judge 1815- at least 1817	6
C. Lejeune	Judge in 1819	
John Hunter Johnson	Sheriff District Court	
William S. Caillevet	Sheriff (commission revoked 1812)	
James Neilson	Sheriff 1812-1813	9
Thomas A. Steward	Sheriff 1813-1814	
Philemon Thomas	Sheriff 1815-1817/Justice 1819	23
Ferdinand Amelung	Sheriff 1819-1821	2
John Buhler	Deputy Sheriff 1813-1814	5
Isiah Neilson	Deputy Sheriff 1814	
John Clark	Constable 1814	0
Joseph Berry	Constable 1815	0
Benjamin P. Thomas	Justice	
Sn. Ducourmau	Justice 1811	
John Davenport	Justice 1812	12
Samuel Fulton	Justice 1813	
Thomas Lilly	Justice 1813	
Fulwar Skipwith	Justice 1819	25
Alexander Scott	Justice 1819	27
William Howes	Justice 1819	0
A. C. Duncan	Justice 1819	3
William Jenison	Justice 1819	0
A. Winthrop	Clerk 1814/Justice 1819	1
Mr. Hatton	Justice 1819	21
James Penny	Clerk 1816	1

Table data based on.⁹⁵⁶

⁹⁵⁵ *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 37.

⁹⁵⁶ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records*, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820 (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977); *Return of Civil Appointments Made in the Territory of Orleans*

Elected representatives from Baton Rouge reflected an Anglo-American dominance. Llewellyn Griffith, originally from Virginia, represented Feliciana at the West Florida Convention and served as the parish judge from 1813 to 1814, was active in the militia at the Battle of New Orleans, and later worked as a postmaster.⁹⁵⁷ Philemon Thomas was a Virginian who had served in the American Revolution before serving in the Kentucky militia, and then had immigrated into Spanish Florida. He had been in the West Florida Republic's Senate and served as a brigadier general in the West Florida Republic army.⁹⁵⁸ Philip Hicky, who served as a state senator, owned several plantations within the parish and had served in the Spanish militia as well as in the West Florida rebellion. In addition, he was the first planter to own a sugar mill in the parish.⁹⁵⁹ Fulwar Skipwith represented East Baton Rouge at the first session of the second legislature and was elected President of the Senate, but upon his resignation at the second session George Waggaman represented East Baton Rouge, and he continued on to the third legislature.⁹⁶⁰ Waggaman had arrived in New Orleans in 1810 from Maryland and quickly became

from the 1st January 1811 to the 31st December of the Same Year, Territorial Papers, 9:985; Louisiana Courier, 24 April 1816; Louisiana Courier, 2 December 1816; Louisiana Courier, 3 June 1817, 5 March 1819; *Baton Rouge Gazette* [Baton Rouge], 14 August 1819; Brenda F. Perkins, Armand Duplantier en Amerique: A Biographical Time Line (Baton Rouge: Vintage Research, 2003); Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 24; L'Ami des Lois [New Orleans], 4 March 1819; Claiborne to William S. Caillevet, 6 May 1812, Letter Books, 6:95; Claiborne to James Neilson, 6 November 1812, Letter Books, 6:195. Neilson was removed by the Senate for improper conduct in his office. See Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 37; Two Samuel Fultons are listed in the 1820 census one with three and one with eight slaves; East Baton Rouge Parish, Judge Books; East Baton Rouge Parish, Sheriff Sales, 1813-1820; East Baton Rouge Parish, Notarial Acts, 1812-1813.

⁹⁵⁷ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 362.

⁹⁵⁸ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 2 (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 788.

⁹⁵⁹ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 401-402.

⁹⁶⁰ *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New

active as a district attorney and then a circuit court judge.⁹⁶¹ H. K. Gurley became East Baton Rouge's senator for the fourth legislature (see table 39).⁹⁶² Representatives from the parish were Anglos, but they came from a range of classes and not simply from large slaveholding planters.

Table 39. East Baton Rouge Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings

Name	Office	1820
Llewellyn Colville Griffith	Territorial Legislature	
Moss Kerkland	Territorial Legislature	
James Turner	Territorial Legislature/House 3-4	
Charles Tanneret	House 1:2	
Charles Bushnell	House 1:2	3
Philemon Thomas	House 1:3	23
Dudley Avery	House 2	
Charles Buhler	House 2	8
William Nash	House 3	8
Alexander Scott	House 4	27
Philip Hicky	Senate 1:2-1:3	78
Fulwar Skipwith	Senate 2:1-2:2 (resigned)	25
George Waggaman	Senate 2:2-3	
H. K. Gurley	Senate 4	4

Table data based on.⁹⁶³

Orleans, 1817), 18; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 4.

⁹⁶¹ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 2 (Lafayette: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 817. Waggaman's father had served as the first attorney general of Maryland.

⁹⁶² *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3, 10-11; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3. Gurley had won with four ineligible voters casting their ballots for him, but his opponent still fell short and thus the State Senate allowed Gurley to retain his seat.

⁹⁶³ Robert Bruce L. Ardoin, *Louisiana Census Records, vol. 3, Ascension, Assumption, West Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James, and St. John the Baptist Parishes, 1810 & 1820* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977); *Louisiana Gazette* [New Orleans], 28 October 1811; *Moniteur de la Louisiane* [New Orleans], 29 October 1811; *Journal of the House of Representative of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3, 11; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 3, 19; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 3, 8; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3, 5; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3-4, 7; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 43; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 18; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 4. Bushnell and Nash were purchasers of property sold at auction for back taxes, *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 2 December 1816; 3 June 1817.

In 1818 Baton Rouge voted overwhelmingly for Thomas Butler to be elected to Congress over his competitors, Livingston and Johnson.⁹⁶⁴ Butler, originally from Pennsylvania, had been involved in the Burr expedition and after its failure worked as an attorney in Mississippi before moving to Feliciana in 1811. He was appointed to be the judge of Feliciana Parish, but declined to accept the position; he was elected to Congress in 1818, and as the West Florida candidate in the race received overwhelming support within those parishes.⁹⁶⁵

Anglo-American factions in West Florida had divided over loyalty to Spain, then over annexation to the United States, and then over attachment to Louisiana. Beyond those Anglo-American factions were Creole groups who favored attachment to France or Spain. Feliciana in order to represent its interests with the federal government sent Colonel John Ballinger to the United States as an envoy.⁹⁶⁶ Ballinger represented Feliciana during the Florida Convention and served in the Orleans Territorial Legislature. Claiborne trusted Ballinger to pursue the attachment of West Florida to Louisiana. Ballinger and others anxiously pursued territorial representation in Congress, as he informed the Secretary of State when the Territorial Legislature failed to elect such a representative.⁹⁶⁷ The editor of *The Time Piece of St. Francisville* expressed the sentiments of many when he wrote: “As the people of West Florida will have no person to represent their grievances, (the Orleans legislature in the greatness of their wisdom having refused to elect a delegate) I would suggest to my readers the propriety of sending on a special agent or a memorial. The grievances we labor under, are unsupportable, and

⁹⁶⁴ *Louisiana Gazette* [New Orleans], 21 July 1818. The exact vote count was Butler: 280, Livingston: 22; Johnston; 3.

⁹⁶⁵ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 136-137.

is [sic] submitted to in silence, we do not deserve to bear the name, or enjoy the privileges of American citizens.”⁹⁶⁸ Generally the citizens of East Baton Rouge and Feliciana strongly desired an attachment to Louisiana, give their position along the Mississippi and the importance of New Orleans this made economic and political sense. Parishes further to the east in West Florida contained more citizens interested in attachment to Mississippi. Colonel John Ballinger was authorized by his fellow Feliciana citizens to represent them in Washington and to pursue statehood for the territory of Orleans, with West Florida included.⁹⁶⁹ Ballinger’s efforts were much appreciated in the same press, as evidenced by the publication of accolades from Allen B. Magruder.⁹⁷⁰ *The Time Piece* continued to push for statehood and better representation of West Florida in both Washington and New Orleans.⁹⁷¹

Feliciana and East Baton Rouge remained firm advocates for attachment to Orleans, while St. Helena and St. Tammany became proponents for attachment to Mississippi. As *The Time Piece* editor argued: “It is not our wish to be attached to the Mississippi territory, or will we consent with a good grace to become a separate territory. We claim our rights as Americans and freemen, and we demand to be made a part of the Orleans state.”⁹⁷² There were a number of citizens who sent memorials to Congress urging that they not be separated from the Territory of Orleans; petitioners also appealed to Congress to relieve the debt they had acquired from West Florida’s brief moment of

⁹⁶⁶ Claiborne to James Monroe, 28 August 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:345-346.

⁹⁶⁷ John Ballinger to the Secretary of State, 26 December 1811, *Territorial Papers*, 9:964-970.

⁹⁶⁸ *The Time Piece* [St. Francisville], 9 May 1811.

⁹⁶⁹ Inhabitants of the County of Feliciana to John Ballinger, 1811, *Territorial Papers*, 9:970-972.

⁹⁷⁰ *The Time Piece* [St. Francisville], 7 May 1812.

⁹⁷¹ *The Time Piece* [St. Francisville], 16 May 1811.

⁹⁷² *The Time Piece* [St. Francisville], 23 May 1811.

independence.⁹⁷³ Many of these individuals had committed their own funds to the cause and wanted that money reimbursed. Others wanted attachment to Orleans, given that New Orleans was downriver, and the Mississippi served as the main artery for trade. Citizens of Feliciana and Baton Rouge felt inclusion within Orleans made the most sense as a matter of geography, whereas people farther to the east in the parishes of St. Tammany and St. Helena felt no such attachment.

East Baton Rouge and Feliciana shared similar sentiments on attachment to Louisiana and their appointees resembled one another as well. In Feliciana as in East Baton Rouge, Claiborne turned to Anglo supporters of the West Florida rebellion without reference to faction. Claiborne appointed John Rhea as the first judge of Feliciana.⁹⁷⁴ Rhea, originally from Pennsylvania, served as an alcalde from 1802 to 1810, represented Feliciana at the West Florida Convention and became its President.⁹⁷⁵ Claiborne described Rhea to James Monroe: “He is a prudent, judicious, well disposed Man, & seems to be much attached to the Government of the United States; He spoke to me of the Debts of the Convention, & expressed a great desire that the Government would direct their payment.”⁹⁷⁶ Rhea quickly tired of the post, however, and Claiborne urged him to stay on: “It is a fact Sir, that you united the good opinion of all parties in your Parish But if you are determined to retire, will you be good enough to name to me from among the old Citizens of the Parish, some one, two or more persons, who you suppose enjoy the

⁹⁷³ Memorial to Congress from Inhabitants of Feliciana County, 17 March 1812, *Territorial Papers*, 9:1007-1012.

⁹⁷⁴ Claiborne to John Rhea, 19 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:105; Return of Civil Appointments Made in the Territory of Orleans from the 1st January 1811 to the 31st December of the Same Year, *Territorial Papers*, 9:984.

⁹⁷⁵ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 680; H. Skipwith, *East Feliciana, Louisiana, Past and Present: Sketches of the Pioneers* (New Orleans: Hopkins Printing Office, 1892), 6.

⁹⁷⁶ Claiborne to James Monroe, 2 September 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:353.

Confidence of the people, & would discharge the duties of Judge correctly & honestly.”⁹⁷⁷ Rhea as an Anglo, and a member of the rebellion who had been an officer under the Spanish appealed to numerous parties within the parish. A replacement might not be able to bridge the various West Floridian factions or treat them all in such an impartial and fair manner.

To replace Rhea, Claiborne specifically inquired about Henry Gurley, James Bradford, and Captain Griffith as replacements. Henry Hosford Gurley was originally from Connecticut, an attorney and a justice of the peace, but still a relatively young man.⁹⁷⁸ Gurley was too young to receive the appointment in 1811, particularly given Claiborne’s lack of familiarity with him, and he had not been active in the West Florida Rebellion. James Bradford, originally from Virginia, had owned the *Orleans Gazette* and printed for the Orleans government, but he lost this contract, in large part over disagreements about the handling of the Burr Conspiracy. After Bradford’s arrest by James Wilkinson, he became increasingly critical of the government, at which point he moved to St. Francisville, published documents for the West Florida Convention, and established the St. Francisville paper the *Time Piece*.⁹⁷⁹ Though he served as a deputy clerk of court and proved capable, Claiborne was not about to reward Bradford with more government patronage. The governor remained no more fond of Bradford’s editorials at the *Time Piece* than those of the *Orleans Gazette*, as Claiborne wrote to James Monroe: “The Editor possesses Genius, But neither Judgment nor discretion. This paper teems with abuse of Congress & their Conduct toward [Louisiana] is represented as wrongful and

⁹⁷⁷ Claiborne to Judge Rhea, 20 December 1811, *Letter Books*, 6:14.

⁹⁷⁸ Gurley attended Williams College just three years before and he would go on to be a congressman and a prominent Louisiana Whig and a judge in Baton Rouge. Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 367.

oppressive;--That these publications have made some injurious impressions is certain; But I have reason to believe, that the great Majority of the people remain firm in their attachment to the Government & the administration.”⁹⁸⁰ Claiborne, however, chose to justify his decision to not select either man as if Bradford and Gurley cancelled one another out: “As regards Mr. Bradford & Mr. Gurley, (whom the Inhabitants of Feliciana, have recommended) it is impossible for me, to feel towards either an unfriendly disposition—But when the people of a parish seem divided in their wishes as to the nomination of a parish Judge, I deem it expedient to select some worthy & capable Character, in whose favour, neither party had taken an active Interest.”⁹⁸¹ Instead Claiborne appointed Thomas Butler as parish judge.⁹⁸² Unfortunately, Thomas Butler died before he was able to carry out the appointment in any case and Claiborne turned to John P. Hampton.⁹⁸³ As Claiborne explained to Rhea: “I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with Mr. Hampton; But Gentlemen in whom I confide, represent him, ‘as a young Man of accomplished education—possessing’ ‘a fund of legal information—of exemplary morals, and ‘the purest integrity.’”⁹⁸⁴ Hampton quickly resigned, and Bradford continued both to seek the appointment, and the establishment of a more permanent judicial system.⁹⁸⁵ Instead of turning to Bradford, Claiborne appointed John H. Johnson, a West Florida sheriff and West Florida Rebellion participant, who

⁹⁷⁹ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 102-103.

⁹⁸⁰ Claiborne to James Monroe, 2 September 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:352. For an examination of newspapers, see John S. Kendall, “Early New Orleans Newspapers,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 10, (1927).

⁹⁸¹ Claiborne to John Rhea, 1 February 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:47.

⁹⁸² Claiborne to Thomas Butler, 1 February 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:48.

⁹⁸³ *Louisiana Gazette* (New Orleans), 25 March 1812; Claiborne to John P. Hampton 24 February 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:59.

⁹⁸⁴ Claiborne to John Rhea, 24 February 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:60.

⁹⁸⁵ Claiborne to James M. Bradford, 22 December 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:204.

served as the parish judge until 1819 when William G. Wade succeeded him.⁹⁸⁶

Claiborne earlier recommended that John H. Johnson be made a postmaster given his character and the fact that his plantation was located near the planned post road.⁹⁸⁷

Despite the recommendation, however, the federal authorities appointed Amos Webb.⁹⁸⁸

Claiborne kept in communication with Johnson, writing to him during the Orleans state constitutional convention that Feliciana could be annexed to the state if the delegates arranged for such an amendment.⁹⁸⁹ Claiborne urged Johnson to encourage Feliciana to guide the area into Orleans, and pointed to proposals of others that advanced such a goal.⁹⁹⁰ Thus, appointments in Feliciana also went to advocates of U.S. annexation and more specifically annexation to Orleans. The selection of officials could also be initiated from below by the population at large. In 1816 several petitioners requested that Ewell Dalton be nominated as sheriff.⁹⁹¹ While governors regularly acceded to such petitions or requests, decisions still ultimately lay with the executive. Just as in East Baton Rouge, generally appointments went to Anglo-Americans who actively supported the West Florida revolt, and these same individuals often remained popular with the Anglo community (see table 40).

⁹⁸⁶ West Feliciana Parish Inventory Record Books, 1815-1819, 1819-1824; Wade had been a member of the state legislature, requiring Feliciana to hold another election, after he accepted the appointment. See *Louisianian* [St. Francisville], 26 June 1819.

⁹⁸⁷ Claiborne to Gideon Granger, 3 September 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:354-355.

⁹⁸⁸ The Postmaster General to Governor Claiborne, 24 December 1811, *Territorial Papers*, 9:964.

⁹⁸⁹ Claiborne to John H. Johnson, 13 December 1811, *Letter Books*, 6:6.

⁹⁹⁰ Claiborne to John H. Johnson, 18 December 1811, *Letter Books*, 6:10-11.

⁹⁹¹ *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 42.

Table 40. Feliciana Officials

Name	Office
John Rhea	Judge 1811
Thomas Butler	Judge 1812 (deceased)
John P. Hampton	Judge 1812
Lleyellyn G. Griffith	Judge 1813-1815
John H. Johnson	Judge 1815-1819, Police Juror 1811
William G. Wade	Judge 1819-
George Singleton Kavenagh	Sheriff 1811-1812
Ewell Dalton	Sheriff 1813-1815
Walter McClellan	Sheriff 1817
B. Collins	Sheriff 1819
Thomas Lawson	Justice 1811
Henry H. Gurley	Justice 1811
John G. Flynn	Justice 1815
John Nelson	Justice 1816
Thomas W. Chinn	Justice 1819, 1820
Robert Percy	Justice 1819
Evangeliste Eddards	Justice 1819, 1820
Samuel McCaleb	Justice 1819, 1820
Jeremiah Walker	Justice 1819, 1820
W. C. Philips	Justice 1819, 1820
John Horton	Justice 1819
William Kirkland	Justice 1819, Police Juror 1811
William Leake	Justice 1819
Frederick A. Browder	Justice 1819, 1820
Reese Perkins	Justice 1819, 1820
Wm. Cabeen	Justice 1819
Wm. G. Johnston	Justice 1820
W. C. Harrison	Justice 1820
T. T. Rawlings	Justice 1820
John Eagan	Justice 1820
S. M. Brown	Justice 1820
Beverly Dunn	Justice 1820
William Cabeen	Justice 1820
Jeremiah Walker	Justice 1820
Thomas Cooper	Justice 1820
Samuel Davis	Justice 1820
Dyer	Justice 1820
John Scott	Police Juror 1811
Robert McCausland	Police Juror 1811
John Morgan	Police Juror 1811
James Perrie	Police Juror 1811
Moses Kirkland	Police Juror 1811
Robert Barrow	Police Juror 1811
John Mills	Police Juror 1811
Henry Flower	Police Juror 1811
Bryan McDermott	Police Juror 1811
Abel Draughan	Police Juror 1811
Joseph Fletcher	Police Juror 1819, 1820
Robert Layson	Police Juror 1819, 1820
John Hughes	Police Juror 1819, 1820
Telfair Munson	Police Juror 1819, 1820
John Austin	Police Juror 1819, Justice 1820
Ezra Courtney	Police Juror 1819, 1820
Hezekiah Harrell	Police Juror 1819, 1820
Nathan C. Wade	Police Juror 1820
John B. Dawson	Police Juror 1820
Thos. H. Chew	Police Juror 1820
Ted. Smith	Police Juror 1820
James Scott Jr.	Police Juror 1820

Table data based on.⁹⁹²

⁹⁹² Return of Civil Appointments Made in the Territory of Orleans from the 1st January 1811 to the 31st December of the Same Year, *Territorial Papers*, 9:985; West Feliciana Inventory Book, 1815-1820; West Feliciana Inventory Record Book, 1815-1819; West Feliciana Notarial records, 1818-1820; West Feliciana Probate Sales Book, 1815-1820; *The Time Piece* [St. Francisville], 9 May 1811, 12 June 1811, 7 May 1812, 16 September 1813, 16 June 1814; *Louisiana Gazette* [New Orleans], 25 March 1812; *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 19 May 1817; *The Louisianian* [St. Francisville], 8 May 1819, 15 May 1819; 5 July 1819, 26 July 1819, 26 October 1819, 23 November 1819, 3 January 1820, 24 July 1820, *Minutes Police Jury, Parish of Louisiana, 1818-1822*, H. H. Forrester Jr. transcriber (Clinton LA: East Feliciana Parish History Book Committee, 1989), 23, 37, 47, 48-49, 53, 59; *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1, Glenn R. Conrad, Editor (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 453-454; *Louisiana Courier* [New

The officials selected by and large came from within the parishes of West Florida; though many immigrated to the area; appointees generally had arrived before the U.S. takeover. Given West Florida's more recent attachment to the territory, Claiborne received numerous requests, particularly from Anglo-Americans in New Orleans, to receive an appointment within the West Florida parishes. Claiborne turned down a number of such requests for office. He wrote back to Biddle Wilkinson informing him and his friend Mr. Andrews that they would not receive offices in Feliciana: "I have deemed it an Act of Justice to the Inhabitants to give them in all cases the preference—hence it is that your want of previous residence in the Territory induces me to confer the Office in Feliciana which likely to become vacant on some other candidate."⁹⁹³ The refusal to appoint Anglo-Americans from outside the West Florida parishes to positions was in contrast to many areas of Louisiana, where Claiborne turned to Anglo-Americans rather than Creoles, especially in his judicial selection. In West Florida, Claiborne generally turned to locals, though these were overwhelmingly Anglo-Americans who participated in the West Florida rebellion. Perhaps because of the tendency of the United States to have Anglo-American participants from the West Florida revolt carry out local offices in Feliciana, continued arguments emerged over U.S. government in West Florida, largely owing to factions created by the 1810 revolt.

As in the appointed offices, Feliciana's elected representatives illustrate an Anglo dominance. Robert McCausland, who served in the first state House of Representatives,

Orleans], 19 May 1817; West Feliciana Parish Inventory Record Book, 1815-1819; *West Feliciana Probate Records*, vols. 1 and 2 Louisiana State Library; For the police jury in 1811, of two advertised slates of candidates, only Abel Draughan was not on either list, though several men were on both slates. See *The Time Piece* [St. Francisville], 6 June 1811. John Scott had land sold to an A. Rodriguez in 1817 for nonpayment of taxes in 1814; see *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 23 July 1817.

⁹⁹³ Claiborne to Biddle Wilkinson, 4 April 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:204.

was an Irishman who served under General Anthony Wayne in the United States Army and came to Feliciana in 1795, became a planter, and served as a major in the army of West Florida.⁹⁹⁴ James Ficklin, a representative in 1815, was a merchant who came from Philadelphia and began a business with John Horton (see table 41).⁹⁹⁵ Robert Young was the son of a Revolutionary War hero, arrived in Feliciana in 1796, and served as a Major in the West Florida rebellion.⁹⁹⁶ John H. Johnson, the local judge, represented Feliciana until his resignation along with Skipwith before the second session led to his replacement by Colonel Collins.

Table 41. Feliciana Elected Representatives

Name	Office
Robert McAusland	House 1:2-1:3
John Scott	House 1:2-2
James Ficklin	House 2:1
Robert Young	House 2:2
Squire Lea	House 1:2, 3
William Silliman	House 3
W. Wade	House 4:1
Benjamin O. Williams	House 4
Horton	House 4:2
Carpenter	Senate 1:2-1:3
John H. Johnson	Senate 2:1 (resigned)
Collins	Senate 2:2-3
James Turner	Senate 4

Table data based on.⁹⁹⁷

⁹⁹⁴ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 531.

⁹⁹⁵ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 1 (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 301.

⁹⁹⁶ Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* vol. 2 (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 867.

⁹⁹⁷ *Journal of the House of Representative of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 5; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 8; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3, 5; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3-4, 7; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 7; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3; January 10, 1820, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820); *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*,

In the aftermath of West Florida's annexation, many of the participants in the West Florida rebellion continued to oppose U.S. administration and felt that the Territory of Orleans failed to achieve statehood soon enough. For instance Claiborne reported that a group of citizens in Feliciana raised the Florida flag, the flag of the rebellion, (sometimes referred to as the lone star flag, a white star on a blue background,) though General Hampton had it taken down: "The people of Feliciana are greatly dissatisfied at the proposition made in Congress to separate them from the Territory of Orleans. It occasions many good Citizens to believe that their political destiny is yet uncertain; and the base and designing are incessant in their attempts to promote discontent."⁹⁹⁸

Claiborne and other Orleans territorial officials wanted the West Florida parishes attached to Orleans rather than to Mississippi or raised into their own state. This desire for West Florida annexation stemmed from geographic argument connected to the Mississippi River, but there were also elements of aggrandizement. The flag issue continued to be of importance as the governor wrote to General Thomas: "The evidence of ill will toward me personally which some persons at St. Francisville (according to report) thought proper to manifest, gives me no concern. I am not conscious of deserving it, and do not suppose that any personal injury can result. But the rearing of the Florida flag and the reluctance with which it was taken down, may by some be construed as evidence of ill-will toward the American Government. For myself I feel assured that the

First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 43; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815); *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 4; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3. John Carpenter had land sold to Charles McMicken Jr. in 1817 for nonpayment of taxes in 1814; see *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans] 23 July 1817.

great majority of the people of Feliciana are real Americans and would support with their lives the Government and Union.”⁹⁹⁹ Claiborne’s reference to these people as real Americans is telling. The individuals who raised the West Florida flag were decidedly not adherents of the older Spanish system or the Creole population; real Americans for Claiborne in this case were individuals who did not take part in further rebellious acts. This sort of argument raised the possibility among French and Spanish Creoles that Anglos who engaged in rebellious acts were not real Americans, offering Creoles a claim to American nationality on the basis of respect for law and order. In essence it was a small minority within the parish, who might complicate things for everyone in Claiborne’s view. In the long run Claiborne was proven right and no sustained movement for a separate West Florida state persisted, much less a separate nation. Even so, individuals involved in the West Florida rebellion continued to be treated with respect and received special treatment. Reuben Kemper for instance, though convicted of assault and battery, sentenced to a month in prison, and fined two hundred dollars, had the governor and state senate remit the entire punishment for him.¹⁰⁰⁰

St. Helena and St. Tammany in contrast to East Baton Rouge and Feliciana did not have as strong an attachment to Louisiana. As a consequence the selection of officers in St. Helena and St. Tammany proved slightly more difficult for Claiborne than in Feliciana and East Baton Rouge. St. Helena and St. Tammany had smaller populations and felt greater attachment to Mississippi than to Louisiana. The Governor wrote to Robert Smith: “Judges for the parishes of St. Helena and St. Tammany have not yet been

⁹⁹⁸ Claiborne to the Secretary of State, 22 March 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:187-188.

⁹⁹⁹ Claiborne to Genl. Thomas, 9 April 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:209.

¹⁰⁰⁰ *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 4.

named;--there is in that quarter a great scarcity of talent, and the number of virtuous men too (I fear) is not as great as I would wish.”¹⁰⁰¹ Claiborne made Audley L. Osborne, his emissary to West Florida during the rebellion, the first judge of St. Helena.¹⁰⁰² Claiborne also recommended Osborne to Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin as a land register for West Florida; Claiborne believed Osborne: “possesses great integrity of character, & believed to be a very good lawyer.”¹⁰⁰³ Judge John J. Salisbury succeeded Osborne and served until his death in 1822 (see table 42).¹⁰⁰⁴

Table 42. St. Helena Officials

Name	Office
Audley L. Osborne	Judge 1811-1813
Shepherd Brown	Judge 1813-1815
John J. Salisbury	Judge 1815-1822
F. Cuming	Sheriff 1811
John Breed	Justice 1811
Fortescue Coming	Justice 1811
Joseph Thomas	Justice 1811, Police Juror 1813
Thomas J. Davidson	Justice 1813, Police Juror 1813
William Watson	Justice 1813, Police Juror 1813
William Kinchen	Justice 1813, 1815
Chandler Lindsley	Justice 1814
Benjamin O. Williams	Justice 1815
Thomas Kennedy	Justice 1816
William Willis	Justice 1820
J. L. Moore	Justice 1820
Robert Chapman	Constable 1813
John Quillan	Constable 1813
Stephen Williams	Constable 1813
James Norton	Constable 1813
Hezekiah Williams	Constable 1818 (resigned)
George Patterson	Police Juror 1806
William Leach	Police Juror 1813
Alexander Brineac Benjamin	Police Juror 1813
Hutchinson	Police Juror 1813
John F. Myers	Police Juror 1813
Richard Albritton	Police Juror 1813
John Breed	Police Juror 1813
Jonathan Kemp	Police Juror 1813
Lawrence H. Moor	Police Juror 1813
Samuel D. Harper	Police Juror 1813
Jesse Lee	Police Juror 1813
Abner Womack	Police Juror 1813
John Leonard	Police Juror 1817 (resigned)
John Simms	Police Juror 1819

Table data based on.¹⁰⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰¹ Claiborne to Robert Smith, 24 December 1810, *Letter Books*, 5:62.

¹⁰⁰² Claiborne to Audley L. Osborne, 14 January 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:98; Return of Civil Appointments Made in the Territory of Orleans from the 1st January 1811 to the 31st December of the Same Year, *Territorial Papers*, 9:984.

¹⁰⁰³ Claiborne to Albert Gallatin, 2 July 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:131.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Donna Burge Adams, *Officials of the Florida Parishes of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: D. B. Adams, 1992), 15, 17.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Claiborne to the Attorney General, 9 November 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:374; Donna Burge Adams, *Officials of the Florida Parishes of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: D. B. Adams, 1992), 14, 16, 17, 18, 19; E. Russ Williams, ed. and Clyde Purser Young abstractor, *Succession Records of St. Helena Parish, Louisiana*

Elected representatives from St. Helena demonstrated the same Anglo-American dominance, and generally they had some involvement in the Florida Revolution. Annexation to the United States opened up St. Helena and St. Tammany to increased immigration. Occasionally differences of opinion over residency requirements for office holding emerged in part because of this influx, but also because of the competition between different factions within the parish during election. J. Bushnell, who represented St. Helena and St. Tammany at the second session of the first state senate, had to resign over questions whether he had resided in the district prior to its annexation (see table 43).¹⁰⁰⁶

Table 43. St. Helena Elected Representatives

Name	Office	Parish
James Tate	House 1:2-1:3	St. Helena & St. Tammany
Samuel Harper	House 1:3-2	St. Helena & St. Tammany
Lawrence Harrison Moore	House 2:2-4 (resigned), 4:-1	St. Helena & St. Tammany
Britain Addison	House 4:2	St. Helena & St. Tammany
J. Bushnell	Senate 1:2	St. Helena & St. Tammany
Champney Terry	Senate 1:2-2	St. Helena & St. Tammany
Elijah Clark	Senate 3-4	St. Helena & St. Tammany

Table data based on.¹⁰⁰⁷

1804-1854 (Monroe LA: Williams, 1966), 5, 7, 29, 97, 102, 123, 129, 152; Return of Civil Appointments Made in the Territory of Orleans from the 1st January 1811 to the 31st December of the Same Year, *Territorial Papers*, 9:984; Walter Prichard, ed., *Minutes of the Police Jury of St. Helena Parish, August 16-19, 1813* (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Society, 1940), 15-16.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3, 11.

¹⁰⁰⁷ *Journal of the House of Representative of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 3; *Journal of the House of Representative of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 8; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 9; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 5; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3, 11, 30; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 43; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815); *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1816), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans,

U.S. officials in St. Helena could garner greater support for the attachment of West Florida to the United States through the better management of relations with Native American tribes. St. Helena had a significant Choctaw population, which officials in Louisiana and Indian agents strove to keep at peace with the local citizenry. The Spanish had attempted to create a series of buffers between Spanish territory and the United States, and the Choctaw territory served as one of those buffers.¹⁰⁰⁸ With the Spanish removal from West Florida and growing Native-U.S. tensions before the onset of the War of 1812, the U.S. government received a number of complaints from individuals worried over the Choctaw Indian presence. Claiborne responded to requests for arms and ammunition from the local militia and asked General Wade Hampton to place a military post near the parish, as St. Helena was “visited by an unusual number of Chactaw Indians, whose insolent conduct, suspicious movements & daily depredation have excited some uneasiness among the Citizens.”¹⁰⁰⁹ Claiborne’s language makes clear U.S. officials’ suspicions of the tribe. Even so, whatever disagreements existed came not from the Choctaw nation, but rather individual Choctaws who quarreled with local citizens. With the War of 1812, however, such quarrels could take on an added dimension for both U.S. officials and tribal leaders. As a result Claiborne began to receive “sundry letters from respectable Citizens of the parishes of St. Helena and St. Tammany within this state, informing me of the frequent menaces of the Chactaws, & requesting that measures might be taken for the safety of the settlements.”¹⁰¹⁰ Claiborne in turn sent entreaties to the

1818), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3; *Journal of the Senate of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Jesse O. McKee and Jon A. Schlenker, *The Choctaws: Cultural Evolution of a Native American Tribe* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1980), 36-38.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Claiborne to General Wade Hampton, *Letter Books*, 6:22-23.

¹⁰¹⁰ Claiborne to Governor David Holmes, 29 September 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:182.

Choctaw in an attempt to urge them toward peace. At the same time the British and the Shawnee leader, Tecumseh, in an attempt to create a pan-Indian alliance, encouraged the Choctaw toward war with the United States. The Choctaw sided with the United States during the conflict, though occasionally bands fought alongside the Creek against the United States as well. The Choctaw increasingly were threatened by United States land policy in the war's aftermath, but less so in Louisiana than in Mississippi and other states. Despite Choctaw aid during the War of 1812 the United States pressured the tribe into further land cessions. In the aftermath of the War of 1812 an increasingly assertive United States placed added pressure on the Choctaw to make further land cessions; this stood in stark contrast to the gift giving policies of the Spanish. As a result tensions between the Choctaw and settlers in West Florida rose. Between 1801 and 1830 in eight separate treaties the Choctaw gave land in Alabama and Mississippi and were granted lands in the Indian Territory, modern day Oklahoma.¹⁰¹¹ Local settlers' fears of Choctaw before during and after the War of 1812 called for continued federal involvement to provide protection.

To the east of St. Helena along the north shore of Lake Pontchartrain lay St. Tammany parish, only sparsely populated throughout the French period of colonization. It included a number of Indian settlements and became a destination for runaway slaves with plantations few and far between. Instead local settlers utilized the land primarily for cattle, and more importantly for its timber to produce tar and pitch.¹⁰¹² After the Seven Years War, West Florida became British territory, and the British made a number of land grants, and their settlers engaged in the same extractive activities, in addition to the

¹⁰¹¹ Jesse O. McKee and Jon A. Schlenker, *The Choctaws: Cultural Evolution of a Native American Tribe*, (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1980), 50-74.

Indian trade that involved exchanging guns, and other trade goods for animal skins, and farming.¹⁰¹³ After the Spanish conquest of the area during the American Revolution, the Spanish government undertook a more vigorous effort to develop the area through land grants to Anglo immigrants.¹⁰¹⁴ In St. Tammany the revolt resulted in internecine violence. In 1810 William Cooper, a North Carolinian who had supported the crown during the American Revolution, served at the West Florida convention. Cooper served as a moderate voice and wrote to the governor in Florida about the excesses of the convention. Ultimately his moderation failed to impress anyone; Spanish loyalists damaged his property for participating in the convention, and the Florida republicans rejected him as a Spanish loyalist.¹⁰¹⁵

Civil authority remained somewhat weak in the parishes, given their recent annexation to the state, especially in St. Tammany and St. Helena. As less populated parishes, without the geographic tie to New Orleans provided by the Mississippi, U.S. authority within St. Tammany and St. Helena proved less strong than in Feliciana and Baton Rouge. Claiborne in an address to the Louisiana legislature wrote: “I perceive with regret, that within the parishes of Feliciana, Baton Rouge, St. Helena & St. Tammany (which have recently been annexed to Louisiana) the Civil Authority has become so weakened & relaxed, that the laws have lost much of their influence, & in the parish of St. Tammany particularly are scarcely felt.”¹⁰¹⁶ St. Tammany as the parish farthest east

¹⁰¹² Frederick S. Ellis, *St. Tammany Parish: L'Autre Cote du Lac* (Gretna LA: Pelican, 1998), 30-41.

¹⁰¹³ Frederick S. Ellis, *St. Tammany Parish: L'Autre Cote du Lac* (Gretna LA: Pelican, 1998), 42-49. See also Robin F. A. Fabel “Boom in the Bayous: Land Speculation and Town Planning in the Florida Parishes under British Rule,” in *A Fierce and Fractious Frontier: The Curious Development of Louisiana's Florida Parishes, 1699-2000* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 44-59.

¹⁰¹⁴ Frederick S. Ellis, *St. Tammany Parish: L'Autre Cote du Lac* (Gretna LA: Pelican, 1998), 58-70.

¹⁰¹⁵ Frederick S. Ellis, *St. Tammany Parish: L'Autre Cote du Lac* (Gretna LA: Pelican, 1998), 71-73.

¹⁰¹⁶ Gentlemen of the Senate & of the House of Representative, 14 August 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:161-162.

wanted to be part of Mississippi, but their petitions fell on deaf ears in Washington and New Orleans.¹⁰¹⁷ Feliciana and East Baton Rouge had far larger and more influential populations and West Florida had been attached to the Territory of Orleans as a whole, such that St. Tammany and St. Helena were unable to break away after their annexation.

Ultimately, in 1811 Claiborne turned to Thomas Cargill Warner as the parish judge of St. Tammany.¹⁰¹⁸ Warner, originally from South Carolina, immigrated to West Florida under the Spanish, and then participated in the rebellion.¹⁰¹⁹ Though a year later Claiborne informed Judge Warner that the parish judgeship might not last much longer, given “the great uncertainty as to the duration of the Parish Courts, & the probability that the Legislature now in session, will speedily introduce an entire change in our Judicial system.”¹⁰²⁰ Warner served until 1813, when Judge Toulmin briefly succeeded him until James Tate took up the office, serving until 1819 when Jesse R. Jones succeeded him.¹⁰²¹ Tate also served as the state representative from St. Tammany.¹⁰²² Warner stayed on in the post of clerk of court until 1820, and when the parish split in two with the creation of Washington parish he went on to serve as the Washington Parish judge.¹⁰²³ The judges of St. Tammany were not great landholders. Lower level officials in St. Tammany had similar slave holding patterns as in other parishes, based on the 1812 tax records, often

¹⁰¹⁷ Frederick S. Ellis, *St. Tammany Parish: L'Autre Cote du Lac* (Gretna LA: Pelican, 1998), 85.

¹⁰¹⁸ Claiborne to Thomas C. Warren, 18 July 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:308; Return of Civil Appointments Made in the Territory of Orleans from the 1st January 1811 to the 31st December of the Same Year, *Territorial Papers*, 9:984.

¹⁰¹⁹ E. Russ Williams Jr., *History of Washington Parish, Louisiana, 1798-1992: The Story of a Land and People on Three Rivers: The Pear, the Bogue Chitto, and the Tangipahoa in Southeast Louisiana* (Monroe LA: Williams Genealogical and Historical Publications, 1994), 358.

¹⁰²⁰ Claiborne to Judge Warner, 15 December 1812, *Letter Books*, 6:202.

¹⁰²¹ St. Tammany Conveyance Records 1810-1827, New Orleans Public Library.

¹⁰²² Adrian D. Schwartz, *Sesquicentennial in St. Tammany* (Covington LA: Parish Typewriter Service, 1963), 6.

¹⁰²³ E. Russ Williams Jr., *History of Washington Parish, Louisiana, 1798-1992: The Story of a Land and People on Three Rivers: The Pear, the Bogue Chitto, and the Tangipahoa in Southeast Louisiana* (Monroe LA: Williams Genealogical and Historical Publications, 1994), 358.

exceeding the holdings of higher officials. Police jurors for St. Tammany illustrate much the same trend (see table 44).

Table 44. St. Tammany Officials, Slave Holdings and Taxes

Name	Office	1812	
		Slaves	Tax
Thomas Cargill Warner	Judge 1811-1813/Clerk		
Toulmin	Judge 1813		
James Tate	Judge 1813-1819	3	\$5.52
Jesse R. Jones	Judge 1819		
James Gaines	Sheriff		
John Vernon	Sheriff 1816	7	\$11.35
Joseph Spell	Justice 1811	0	\$3.35
Baptist Baham	Justice 1811	7	\$15.50
Benjamin Richardson	Justice 1811	1	\$2.91
William Fussell	Justice 1816	3	\$6.75
David B. Morgan	Justice 1819		
John Gibson	Justice 1819		
John Crawford	Justice 1819		
Ebenezer Cooly	Justice 1819		
James Guerin	Justice 1819		
Thomas Spell	Police Juror 1813	12	
Robert Badon	Police Juror 1813	5	\$25.50
Benjamin Howard	Police Juror 1813	12	\$14.61
Joseph Hertraise Coutrer	Police Juror 1813	8	\$17.40
Benjamin Bickham	Police Juror 1813	0	\$5.75

Table data based on.¹⁰²⁴

The dominant political force in St. Tammany parish was John Wharton Collins, who came from a Tory family that had made its way to New Orleans and then into St. Tammany where they acquired a great deal of land in the parish, setting up the town of Wharton.¹⁰²⁵ Jesse R. Jones of St. Tammany won an election for the Louisiana State Senate against a Collins ally, James C. Bushnell. Collins's other friends included Reuben Kemper (see table 45).¹⁰²⁶ Jones's distaste for Wharton is illustrated by his introduction

¹⁰²⁴ 1812 St. Tammany Tax List, copy made by Benjamin A. Hickborn in *A Potpourri of Historical Data Concerning the Founding Families and Individuals of Washington Parish, Louisiana, 1798-1860* (Monroe LA: Williams Genealogical Publications, 1990), 1-6. See also Mary Elizabeth Sanders, compiler, *An Index to the 1820 Census of Louisiana's Florida Parishes and 1812 St. Tammany Tax List* (Baton Rouge: Le Comite' des Archives de la Louisiane, 1972); St. Tammany Conveyance Records 1810-1827, New Orleans Public Library; Return of Civil Appointments Made in the Territory of Orleans from the 1st January 1811 to the 31st December of the Same Year, *Territorial Papers*, 9:985; E. Russ Williams Jr., *History of Washington Parish, Louisiana, 1798-1992: The Story of a Land and People on Three Rivers: The Pear, the Bogue Chitto, and the Tangipahoa in Southeast Louisiana* (Monroe LA: Williams Genealogical and Historical Publications, 1994), 362; *Louisiana Courier* [New Orleans], 5 March 1819; *L'Ami des Lois* [New Orleans], 4 March 1819; Act of Louisiana Legislature, 25 March 1813.

¹⁰²⁵ Adrian D. Schwartz, *Sesquicentennial in St. Tammany* (Covington LA: Parish Typewriter Service, 1963), 18.

¹⁰²⁶ Adrian D. Schwartz, *Sesquicentennial in St. Tammany* (Covington LA: Parish Typewriter Service, 1963), 18.

of a bill to change the name of Wharton to ‘Covington,’ after General Leonard A. Covington, who led troops during the West Florida rebellion. In any case, Collins’s death in 1818 helped assuage the partisan divide within the parish, as he was the leader of one of the factions.¹⁰²⁷

Table 45. St. Tammany Elected Representatives, Slave Holdings and Taxes

Name	Office	1812	
		Slaves	Tax
James Tate	House 1:2-1:3		
Samuel Harper	House 1:3-2		
Elijah Clark	House 2:1/ Senate		
Jesse R. Jones	House 2:2-3:2 (resigned)		
J. Wright	House 3:2		
John Goff	House 4	0	\$2.56
Ebenezer Ford	House 4	0	\$1.50
Jesse R. Jones	Senate 1-2		
Elijah Clark	Senate 3-4		

Table data based on.¹⁰²⁸

The large Choctaw presence within St. Tammany gave rise to further U.S. security concerns, while the Choctaw had to navigate their tribes’ relations with the U.S. administration, the Spanish, and the Creek.¹⁰²⁹ Claiborne wrote to Judge Toulmin of St. Tammany regarding the Choctaw presence during the War of 1812: “The object of my

¹⁰²⁷ Adrian D. Schwartz, *Sesquicentennial in St. Tammany* (Covington LA: Parish Typewriter Service, 1963), 20.

¹⁰²⁸ Elijah Clark represented St. Tammany at the Second Legislature in the House, though questions over his residency requirement led to his disqualification. 1812 St. Tammany Tax List, copy made by Benjamin A. Hickborn in *A Potpourri of Historical Data Concerning the Founding Families and Individuals of Washington Parish, Louisiana, 1798-1860* (Monroe LA: Williams Genealogical Publications, 1990), 1-6. See also Mary Elizabeth Sanders, *An Index to the 1820 Census of Louisiana’s Florida Parishes and 1812 St. Tammany Tax List* (Baton Rouge: Le Comite’ des Archives de la Louisiane, 1972).

Journal of the House of Representative of the State of Louisiana, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 3; *Journal of the House of Representative of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1813), 8; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, First Legislature, Third Session (New Orleans, 1814), 9; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 10, 17-18; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Second Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1815), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1817), 3, 5; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Third Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1818), 3-4, 7, 11; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, First Session (New Orleans, 1819), 3; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana*, Fourth Legislature, Second Session (New Orleans, 1820), 3.

present visit to this parish is to take some measures for the safety of the inhabitants, which will be seriously menaced in the event of the Choctaws joined the Creeks, which seems to me highly probable.”¹⁰³⁰ Claiborne expressed similar sentiments to Brigadier General of the 7th Military District, Thomas Flournoy, as to that possibility while speculating that the Creek war might be (a distraction) incited by the British to distract defenses away from their target of New Orleans.¹⁰³¹

In addition to these efforts, Claiborne continued to try to garner greater support from locals in St. Tammany by meeting their requests. In his communications with Judge Toulmin, Claiborne included a letter to Mrs. Hargrove, whose husband he continued to lobby the Spanish to release, though by 1813 the President and federal authorities also became involved in the effort to secure the release of United States citizens.¹⁰³²

Claiborne also engaged in acts of clemency within the parish, intervening to remit a forty-nine dollar fine for James Graham for having sold liquor without a license.¹⁰³³

Washington Parish, which separated from St. Tammany parish in 1819, had as its first officials a series of previous officeholders from St. Tammany. The first parish judge was John Gwin who came from Tennessee.¹⁰³⁴ Benjamin Richardson, a North Carolinian who had served as a justice from St. Tammany, served as the first clerk of court while his

¹⁰²⁹ The Choctaw had a presence within St. Tammany since at least 1700. See Blaise C. D’Antoni, “Chahta – Ima and St. Tammany’s Choctaws,” *The St. Tammany Historical Society Gazette* 7 (1986), 1.

¹⁰³⁰ Claiborne to Judge Toulmin, 6 September 1813, *Letter Books*, 6:267.

¹⁰³¹ Claiborne to Thomas Flournoy, 17 September 1813, *Letter Books*, 6:268-269.

¹⁰³² Claiborne to Judge Toulmin, 6 September 1813, *Letter Books*, 6:267.

¹⁰³³ William C. C. Claiborne Governor of the Territory of Orleans, 4 December 1811, *Letter Books*, 5:394-395.

¹⁰³⁴ E. Russ Williams Jr., *History of Washington Parish, Louisiana, 1798-1992: The Story of a Land and People on Three Rivers: The Pear, the Bogue Chitto, and the Tangipahoa in Southeast Louisiana* (Monroe LA: Williams Genealogical and Historical Publications, 1994), 357.

fellow North Carolinian, Joseph Erwin, served as the court recorder.¹⁰³⁵ Clear records for the office of sheriff do not begin until 1824, but other authorities have assumed that John Vernon was the first sheriff of Washington, as he had held the post in St. Tammany until 1819 and owned holdings in Washington.¹⁰³⁶ Yet another North Carolinian, John K. Goff, served as the first State Representative for Washington from 1820-1824, before going on to the state senate.¹⁰³⁷

The West Florida parishes differed substantially from the rest of the Louisiana parishes. The history of West Florida included a period of British governance between the Seven Year's War and the American Revolution, a period when the area received large numbers of British and Anglo-American immigrants, so that when Spain took West Florida over during the American Revolution it had to govern a largely foreign populace. Rather than trying to control the porous border, the Spanish welcomed Anglo-American immigration as they tried to construct a buffer state to protect their interior provinces. The series of grievances and minor revolts that occurred leading up to the West Florida Rebellion in 1810 illustrated the local populace's dissatisfaction with Spanish rule and its willingness to join the United States. Consequently, the United States government in Louisiana in the aftermath of the West Florida rebellion found itself comfortable appointing these insurgents, who had rejected Spanish government, to local offices. To

¹⁰³⁵ E. Russ Williams Jr., *History of Washington Parish, Louisiana, 1798-1992: The Story of a Land and People on Three Rivers: The Pear, the Bogue Chitto, and the Tangipahoa in Southeast Louisiana* (Monroe LA: Williams Genealogical and Historical Publications, 1994), 362, 386.

¹⁰³⁶ E. Russ Williams Jr., *History of Washington Parish, Louisiana, 1798-1992: The Story of a Land and People on Three Rivers: The Pear, the Bogue Chitto, and the Tangipahoa in Southeast Louisiana* (Monroe LA: Williams Genealogical and Historical Publications, 1994), 388.

¹⁰³⁷ E. Russ Williams Jr., *History of Washington Parish, Louisiana, 1798-1992: The Story of a Land and People on Three Rivers: The Pear, the Bogue Chitto, and the Tangipahoa in Southeast Louisiana* (Monroe LA: Williams Genealogical and Historical Publications, 1994), 415. A number of these officials and other settlers received headright from Congress in 1820, though they had settled the land between 1810 and 1815. See Gloria Lambert Kerns, ed., *Washington Parish Louisiana: Records, 1810-1898* (Baker LA: Folk Finders, 1983), 25-27.

be sure, the West Florida Rebellion was made up of a number of factions, but the government in New Orleans proved ready to reward Anglo-American insurgents with offices whether they supported a separate national or state program or attachment to Louisiana. Often these appointments based on participation in the West Florida Rebellion exacerbated factional disputes among Anglo-Americans and between Anglo-Americans and Spanish and French Creoles. From the perspective of territorial officials, however, the West Florida experience represented a separate stream of United States expansion from that examined heretofore in Louisiana (one that would occur in Texas and northern California as well), which did not require the same sorts of accommodation as found in the rest of Louisiana. The expectation of U.S. officials that Anglo-American appointees presented few problems proved incorrect in West Florida. The sort of comfortable appointments that territorial officials made there actually often caused further divisions within West Florida communities, as not every individual appointed could successfully bridge the fissures within Anglo-American communities created by the West Florida Rebellion, much less the fissures between Anglo-Americans and other groups.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The Louisiana Purchase, for the first time in United States history, transferred a vast territory containing a large European colonial population that was guaranteed the rights of citizens. Such changes in sovereignty from one nation to another had been common for European colonies in the Western Hemisphere, but this was the first time the United States acquired such a European colony. Unlike colonial cessions, Louisiana's transfer to U.S. sovereignty merged an Anglo-American population with a Creole population possessing little experience with republican government. The United States dealt with these complications by dictating an extended territorial period, which lasted from the purchase in 1803 until statehood in 1812, and by using many of the same policies that European powers adopted in dealing with largely foreign populations: addressing their concerns and petitions while turning to Creole elites to provide local leadership.

This policy varied by geographic region within the Territory of Orleans. In heavily Creole areas like the German and Acadian Coasts, U. S. officials strove to make sure that Francophone inhabitants achieved representation at all levels of government, and that the United States addressed Creole and Anglo-American security concerns involving large slave populations. Upriver at Pointe Coupee and Iberville, areas with larger Anglo minorities, the United States officials felt more comfortable in turning to more Anglo-American appointees. In Iberville this appointment practice went smoothly and created a political system in which both Creoles and Anglo-Americans held both elected and appointed positions. In Pointe Coupee, however, the appointment of Anglo-American outsiders to key positions resulted in local opposition. This opposition stemmed not just

from the Creoles, but also from earlier Anglo-American immigrants who had already formed their own connection to the Creole community and expected a U.S. administration to appoint them to local offices. When such appointments failed to materialize often it created vocal Anglo-American opposition along with significant Creole support within parishes.

To the southwest in Attakapas and Opelousas, United States officials and appointees also faced problems from Anglo-American immigration into the territory. That movement placed added pressure on Creole land prices and titles, while also potentially inciting violence with local Native Americans as pressures also mounted on their lands. Many of the same issues affected Natchitoches, Rapides, Ouachita, and Concordia, as United States officials and appointees strove to address security concerns that dealt with the Spanish, Native Americans and slaves; they were aggravated by the immigration of Anglo-Americans who, as settlers, speculators, Indian traders and bandits, disrupted older relationships. Thus, U.S. officials frequently balanced the concerns of older Creole populations with those of incoming Anglo-American immigrants. In the southeast, the County of Lafourche and the parishes of St. Bernard and Plaquemines, far more than other regions of Louisiana, were dominated by the city of New Orleans and connections there. No clear leadership class within those parishes was unconnected to New Orleans. As a result, United States officials chose either to turn to outsiders or to individuals with contacts in New Orleans for appointments. The West Florida parishes by contrast represent an alternate system of United States governance, with participation in the West Florida Rebellion serving as a confirmation of loyalty to the United States and in some cases as a prerequisite for appointment when the United States annexed West Florida.

This tendency to turn to West Florida rebellion participants often created new divisions within the parishes. Localities differed on the issues that mattered most to them, and the United States treated them accordingly, while taking into account its own agenda based on a given parish's geographic position and demography. U.S. appointment practices worked best in cases that either acknowledged the leadership of local elites or relied on outsiders who accommodated local issues while overcoming local divisions.

The assumption of many Anglo-Americans upon the transfer of Louisiana to the United States was that the foreign nature of the Creole population would prove incompatible with U.S. republican government. In 1804 John W. Gurley, a member of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Orleans gave his view of the Francophone inhabitants of the Territory of Orleans:

French inhabitants [are] ignorant of ye first principles of republicanism and very generally attached from habit and prejudice to ye forms of their antient government. They may love liberty and those who think may be pleased with ye idea of a free Constitution. But they know not yet in what these consist, and if they are now left to form a Government for themselves I beleive no man could ever conjecture what would be either its principle or its form. Accustomed to rule as well as to obey the French Inhabitants of this Country are at ye same time servile & proud and jealous of power whenever it does not appear in the common form in which they have been accustomed to respect it.¹⁰³⁸

Gurley's remarks reflected the view of many U.S. leaders, both Federalists and Republicans, in Washington and in New Orleans, on the French-speaking majority of Louisiana. In effect Gurley made two points of importance for effective United States governance in the Territory of Orleans, that the Francophone majority was not ready for full republican government and that this same majority would resist changes to administrative process and personnel, especially when those changes reduced their role in government or required them to negotiate dramatically new procedures. In fact, the

Creole population proved facile in learning the new language of republican politics and adopting its procedures, but generally (failed to approve/disapproved) of personnel changes. Worries and concerns about the problem of governing the Creole populace provided a constant theme for U.S. officials. Given historians' dependence on the correspondence of William Charles Cole Claiborne and other leading U.S. figures and the undoubted emergence of ethnic competition in the political system of Louisiana during the Jacksonian period, historians have tended to focus on U.S. and Creole antipathy and competition. This theme of ethnic discord dominates the historiography of Louisiana.

Yet while the transition to U.S. law and government disturbed the Creole population in that it challenged land titles and older legal practices, by and large this substantial Creole population was not the source of most of the problems faced by United States officials in Louisiana. A decade after the creation of the territory some U.S. observers had a far different impression of the Creole inhabitants of Louisiana than that put forth by figures like Gurley. In 1816 geographer William Darby wrote of the Creole population in Louisiana:

The character of the Creole of Louisiana may be drawn in few words. Endowed with quick perception . . . if found ignorant, it is not the ignorance of stupidity, but arising from an education under circumstances unfavorable to improvement. Open, liberal, and humane, where he is found inhospitable, it is the fruit of a deception he dreads . . . Mild in his deportment to others, he shrinks from contention . . . Sober and temperate in his pleasures . . . If the Creole of Louisiana feel but little of a military spirit, this apathy proceeds not from timidity; his ardent mind, light athletic frame of body, active, indefatigable, and docile, would render him well qualified to perform military duty, should this part of his character ever be called into action. The peal of national glory was never rung in his youthful ear. One generation has arisen since Spain held his country and noble was the germ that retained its fructifying power, under the blighting influence of that government. Louisiana has escaped the galling and torpid yoke; its inhabitants will share the genius and freedom of the empire in which they are

¹⁰³⁸ John W. Gurley to Gideon Granger, 14 July 1804, *Territorial Papers*, 9:264.

incorporated.¹⁰³⁹

Darby's comments indicate a dramatically different vision of Creoles within U.S. opinion. Darby pointed to Creole virtues and effectively excused what were often taken as Creole vices. More importantly, he wrote that Creoles would have a place in and advance under an American empire, which would effectively remove many of the governmental causes for what he saw as Creole vices. The French speaking population of Louisiana was not congenitally unfit for republican government; instead Darby blamed the Spanish government for their failures on that score. Indeed, Darby blamed what problems emerged after the cession on the character of many of the first Anglo-American immigrants to the area:

An host of needy adventurers, allured by the softness of the climate, the hopes of gain, and inflated by extravagant expectations, spread themselves along the Mississippi. Many men of candid minds, classical education, and useful professional endowments, have removed and settled in Louisiana; but some without education or moral principle, prejudiced against the people as a nation whom they came to abuse and reside amongst. Too ignorant to acquire the language of the country, or to appreciate the qualities of the people, this class of men have engendered most of the hatred existing between the two nations that inhabit Louisiana. The evil of national animosity will gradually subside, as a more numerous and orderly race of people become the improvers of public lands.¹⁰⁴⁰

In Darby's view the Anglo-American settlers, not the Creoles, caused many of the problems within the territory. Though it often went unrecognized by United States territorial officials, the interactions between local officials and their parishes demonstrate that in many parishes it was Anglo-American newcomers who disrupted older relationships and created difficulties for U.S. administration. Even Darby, however, could not resist one parting shot on Creole shortcomings: "The dark side of the Creole

¹⁰³⁹ William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), 263-265.

character may be considered impatience of temper, and a propensity to licentiousness when in the possession of wealth.”¹⁰⁴¹ Anglo-Americans argued for Creole cultural inferiority, but ultimately acknowledged their rights to citizenship, and the franchise within Louisiana.

Three years after Darby’s impression, architect Benjamin Latrobe on his brief visit to New Orleans wrote about his impression of the city: “There are, in fact, three societies here—first the French, second the American, and third the mixed. The French side is not exactly what it was at the change of the government, and the American is not strictly what is in the Atlantic cities.”¹⁰⁴² Latrobe’s impressions of the city, while ignoring the slave and free black population, noted that the city itself had become more like the United States in some of its cultural traits, changes that mattered for both Anglo-Americans and French inhabitants, and he went on to note:

Americans are pouring in daily, not in families, but in large bodies. In a few years, therefore, this will be an American town. What is good and bad in the French manners and opinions must give way, and the American notions of right and wrong, of convenience and inconvenience, will take their place. When this period arrives, it will be folly to say that they are better or worse than they now are. They will be changed, but they will be changed into that which is more agreeable to the new population than what now exists. But a man who fancies that he has seen the world on more sides than one cannot help wishing that a mean, an average character of society may grow out of the intermixture of the French and American manners.¹⁰⁴³

Latrobe took a large view. While noting that New Orleans would change to bring itself more into line with U.S. sensibilities, he hoped that it would bring about something

¹⁰⁴⁰ William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), 266.

¹⁰⁴¹ William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), 266.

¹⁰⁴² Benjamin Henry Latrobe, *The Journal of Latrobe: The Notes and Sketches of an Architect, Naturalist and Traveler in the United States from 1796-1820* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), 169.

different from the rest of the nation. This observation was true of the rest of Louisiana in that while changing to meet the requirements of U.S. administration, local elites also required that U.S. officials meet their needs and those of their communities. Latrobe and Darby were intellectuals, not United States officials, but both of them observed that the project underway with the annexation of Louisiana was not one of Americanization, even within New Orleans, and resultant ethnic division.

United States officials chose to accommodate Creole populations in many ways and these processes of accommodation often have been overlooked. These processes shared traits with other changes of sovereignty of colonial populations in the western hemisphere and with later United States imperialism. At the same time, the process in Louisiana differed from earlier measures in at least two manners; one, as Latrobe alluded to, there was a massive Anglo-American immigration, which posed any number of problems for colonial U.S. administrators and for the native Creole population; two, the Creole population had citizenship rights and could make their own claims to U.S. identity. This is not to say that U.S. governance bent to the Creole population. A clear power dynamic existed within U.S. governance in Louisiana that demanded significant changes for Louisianans. The immigration of various groups under the United States helped to both facilitate and hinder U.S. governance. Francophone immigrants into Louisiana over the territorial period posed few problems. As a group they sought accommodation and made fewer claims on the territorial government as they lacked the sense of entitlement found among both Anglo-Americans and Creoles.

¹⁰⁴³ Benjamin Henry Latrobe, *The Journal of Latrobe: The Notes and Sketches of an Architect, Naturalist and Traveler in the United States from 1796-1820* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), 173.

The first wave of United States expansion across the North American continent, as it dealt with foreign Creole populations in Louisiana, and later Florida, Texas, New Mexico, and California, shared traits with other expansionist powers and with later extra-continental U.S. imperialism. U.S. claims to superiority along republican, religious, and racialist lines evolved over the course of the nineteenth century. In some ways this earlier era of U.S. expansion offered greater access for foreign populations in that it allowed Creole populations to claim *entrée* into U.S. citizenship. This access to citizenship was not based on geography, but on an acceptance of U.S. republican government and political principles, though assuredly race also played a part. In certain ways this first phase of U.S. expansion, from the foundations of the republic through the Mexican War was liberal and allowed greater access to U.S. citizenship and identity (within real limits) than U.S. imperialism over the latter half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, which while arguing for universal values had a far more restricted idea as to what constituted the U.S. nation in geographic terms and U.S. citizenship in cultural and political terms. In Louisiana United States officials offered and local elites gradually embraced U.S. citizenship. At the same time U.S. governance functioned along collaborative and colonial lines. The methodology of U.S. expansion in Louisiana resembled earlier colonial enterprises in many ways, but the marriage of such a methodology to liberal republican ideals points to important differences between U.S. and European colonial efforts, and also to important differences within the trajectory of the United States' development as a nation and an imperial power.

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APPENDIX A

Methodology for Surname Analysis

Surname analysis is by no means an exact science, but in the absence of other alternatives it can provide for an approximation of parish demographics. In determining surnames for the census and marriage records I relied on the sources listed within the notes as well as online databases. In a few cases an individual's provenance had a clear, well-known, and documented history. For individuals without a found or established history, local parish genealogical studies and Robert West's *An Atlas of Louisiana Surnames of French and Spanish Origin* took precedence over other sources. In the absence of a listing in local or Louisiana sources, I turned to general surname dictionaries and then to online databases. In the case of conflicting origins I turned to first names and to what information on the demographics of a given parish existed in order to make a determination. Such cases, ultimately, are judgment calls and any mistakes in making them are wholly my own.

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