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French Influence West of the Mississippi River Before 1803

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FRENCH INFLUENCE WEST OF
THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER
BEFORE 1803

by
Lillian M. Berleman

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FRENCH INFLUENCE WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI
RIVER BEFORE 1803

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FRENCH INFLUENCE WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER BEFORE 1803

Introduction

It is usually held that France left no permanent influences within the boundaries of the United States, that in addition to a few place names, maps, and the development of the fur trade, nothing more remained than a "song on the lips of some straggling boatmen or vagabond half-breed." There is a disquieting suspicion in the writer's mind that an occasional settlement of permanent nature may have quietly survived.

The permanence of these influences may be seen if one follows the explorations of the early voyageurs and explorers along the great western rivers that flow into the Mississippi and investigate the history of the trading posts established to carry on the fur trade. Most of the great rivers that flow into the Mississippi were first navigated by Frenchmen, missionaries and traders. Traders and *coureurs de bois* pushed their traffic into the most remote wilds in the pursuit of the fur trade. French beads and cloth, French tobacco and brandy were to be found among the Indians everywhere and showed the vast extent of the French interior commerce.

It is possible to approach this topic from the following viewpoints: the records of the fur trade, the geneology of French families in the west, missionary records, French-Spanish

trade relations in New Mexico and the study of place names. In the library of the Missouri Historical Society are preserved the records of the French fur trade. These documents show the tremendous activity of the early Frenchmen in the Trans-Mississippi West during the French occupation. Among the other historical records there are the portraits of Frenchmen and French women who settled Upper Louisiana. Old Madame Chouteau is there, and the fiery Spaniard, Lisa, the only Spaniard who seemed able to break the French monopoly of the fur trade in these years.

It is to be the aim of this study to examine the work of some of these Frenchmen in the west, in order to learn the extent of the influence which the fur trade had in the development of the Mississippi Valley. The work, then, presents information of general French beginnings in the west with particular emphasis on the fur trade. It attempts to show that there was continual occupation of the west by Frenchmen from Father Marquette's time until the Americans came in 1804. It includes much that is common knowledge and something of the more recent historical writings. The story here presented is indeed a most inadequate record of the accomplishments of Frenchmen in the west and leaves much to be learned by further study.

Lillian M. Berleman

CHAPTER I

EARLY FRENCH TRADERS AND EXPLORERS 1673-1750

In 1671, Jean Talon, French Intendant in Quebec decided to occupy the interior of the North American Continent, to control its rivers and hold it for France. To that end, he availed himself of the services of the Jesuits, military men, and fur traders. He commanded Daumont St. Luson to take formal possession of the whole interior of North America for the French King, Louis XIV, and at the same time to search for copper mines on Lake Superior.

Accordingly, St. Luson set out with a small party of men and Nicholas Perrot as his interpreter. Messages were sent to all Indian tribes inviting them or their representatives to meet the deputy of the governor at Sault St. Marie in the following spring. There, June 14, 1671, was enacted one of the most colorful ceremonies of our colonial history. According to Parkman,¹ St. Luson's men, armed and fully equipped, assembled on a hill. There were present also, four Jesuit missionaries wearing their vestments. They were Fathers Dablon, Druilletes, Allouez and Andre. All about were Indians, very attentive and deeply impressed. Father Dablon, the Superior of the Great Lakes Missions, blessed the huge wooden cross and it was reared and planted in the ground, while the Frenchmen, uncovered, sang the "Vexilla Regis." Then a cedar post was planted beside the cross,

1. Francis Parkman, La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West, Little Brown Co., Boston, 1922, 51

bearing a metal plate with the royal arms. After the Frenchmen sang another hymn, St. Luson advanced sword in hand and proclaimed in a loud voice: "In the name of the Most High, Mighty and Redoubted Monarch, Louis, Fourteenth of that name, Most Christian King of France and Navarre, I take possession of this place, Sainte Marie du Saut, as also of Lakes Huron and Superior, the Island of Manitoulin, and all countries, rivers, lakes and streams adjacent thereunto--both those which have been discovered hereafter---Long live the King." ² The Frenchmen fired their guns and shouted, "Long live the King!" and the Indians joined in enthusiastically. When the uproar was over, Father Allouez spoke very solemnly to the Indians trying to impress them with the grandeur and power and righteousness of the King of France to whom they must now be loyal. Thus France formally entered the great west and began a period of exploration, missionary endeavor, and trade which was to open a new country.

Unofficially, Frenchmen had been roaming the country south and west of the Great Lakes for several years searching for furs. Among the earliest of record were two famous cour-
eurs de bois, Radisson and Grosseillers, who were in the Sioux
country about 1661. ³ Two of the earliest missionaries in this area were Fathers Allouez and Menard who travelled around Lake Superior as early as 1665.

2. Ibid., 53

3. Theodore C. Pease, United States, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1927, 132

The last thirty years of the seventeenth century saw the exploration of the great Mississippi valley without much attempt at colonization. In 1673 Father Marquette and Joliet explored the Mississippi River far enough to assure themselves that it emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. In 1678 Dulhut was in the Lake Superior Country looking for minerals. During the years 1682-1687 LaSalle explored the Mississippi basin. He established Fort St. Louis, 1685, on the LaVaca River in Texas. The history of Fort St. Louis, sometimes called LaSalle's Lost Colony, is a story in itself. After the founding of Biloxi in 1699 by Iberville, traders, missionaries and explorers moved up and down the Mississippi River and its tributaries and wrote their reports for eager readers back in Canada and France.

All historians agree that French success in America was based on the fur trade. Certainly, the trade in furs was such a lucrative one that much was risked for it; kings and noblemen of Europe competed with each other for its monopoly. It was estimated that \$2,000 worth of merchandise taken into Indian country brought a profit of \$250,000 in three years. The following is a list of some of the trade values:

1 musket.....	5	beavers (in Montreal)
8 lbs. of powder....	4	" " "
40 lbs. of lead.....	3	" " "
1 blanket.....	2	" " "
4 shirts.....	2	" " "
6 prs. stockings ...	2	" " "

4. William B Munro, Crusaders of New France, Chronicles of America Series; Allen Johnson, ed. Yale University Press, 1918 157

5. Ibid., 161, taken from Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York.

This was about the rate of exchange carried on by coureurs in the Indian villages.

Until the founding of St. Louis at the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, all merchandise for the Indian trade went out of Montreal by way of Machilimakinac. Montreal was the headquarters for the fur trade until 1764. Each spring saw flotillas of canoes drifting down to Montreal laden with pelts, collected by bartering with the⁶ Indians in the west or by trapping. All the townspeople turned out to greet the voyagers as they returned. In fact, as soon as the rivers thawed out, lookouts were posted on the river banks to let the townspeople know when the canoes drifted into sight. Just as soon as word of their arrival spread around, church bells began to ring, shops closed, amusement booths were set up and everyone rejoiced. The flotilla of 1693 was composed of four hundred canoes, two hundred coureurs, twelve hundred Indians and furs⁶ valued at 800,000 livres. Warehouses in Canada held the furs in order to keep the prices up in Europe.⁷

France was more successful than other countries in the fur trade because Frenchmen adapted themselves to Indian ways. The French temperament was more supple, courageous, romantic and inured to hardship. If the coureurs de bois (or wood runners)

6. Ibid., 167

7. George Hanotaux, Histoire des Colonies Francaises, Societe de L'Histoire Nationale, Paris, I, 120

sometimes sank to the level of the savages, those who criticized them most were often their competitors in the trade or those who profited by their services. The Canadian settlements tried to discourage this tendency of their young men to leave home and follow the rivers into the woods. They complained bitterly that the best and most virile blood in the colony was out in the woods--hundreds of miles away from their homes where they were needed. La Hontan, in one of his studies found thirty or forty coureurs de bois at every Illinois post.⁹ However, the fur trade prospered for France and the French influence remained dominant in the wilderness.

France had definite policies to enforce as to its colonial development. With the small French population in Canada concentration was considered necessary and there was much legislation against the coureur de bois. The merchants of Montreal added their protest against trading with remote Indian tribes, fearing that furs would not come to their city. Repeatedly these merchants harassed the exploiters of the western trade, and opposed every new post until assured that it would traffic only with Indians who would not in any case come to Montreal.

Many Frenchmen in Europe and Canada realized the importance of building posts at strategic locations. Hanotaux wrote¹⁰

8. Agnes Laut, Pathfinders of the West, MacMillan Co. 1907, 3

9. Munro, Crusaders of New France, 165 note from La Hontan

10. Hanotaux, Histoire des Colonies Francaises, I, 103

that if two or more posts such as that of Detroit, which he gallantly called, "The Paris of New France," had been established, France would have dominated the continent.

The first twenty-five years of the eighteenth century saw a great deal of French exploration of the Mississippi Valley and its tributaries. In 1714, Bienville at Biloxi, despatched an expedition under the command of Louis Juchereau, Sieur de St. Denis, to trade with the Spaniards in New Mexico. He reached a Spanish mission on the Gila River, where he reported that he was well received.¹¹ (On this, his first expedition, St. Denis is reported to have carried 43,000 livres worth of merchandise. He had in his party several Canadians and he planned to erect a post, called St. Jean along the Red River.) On his second expedition which took him into Mexico, St. Denis was captured by the Spaniards and held in prison for two years.

Another active French explorer in 1714 was Veniard de Bourgmont. He is reported to have explored the Missouri Valley many times but only two documents exist which supply accurate information of his early journeys.¹² de Bourgmont made friends for France among the Indians of the Pawnee, Osage, Arapaho and Kansas tribes. More of de Bourgmont's explorations will be considered in Chapter II.

At about the same time as St. Denis and de Bourgmont were

11. Albert B. Hart, The American Nation A History, Harper Bros. New York 1905, 82

12. Marc de Villiers, La Decouverte du Missouri et L'Histoire du Ft. Orleans, 1673-1728, Paris, 1925, 45, 59.

exploring the west, Bernard LaHarpe built a fort about eighty miles above Fort Nachitoches. This fort was to act as a buffer against the Spaniards and also develop trade among the Caddo Indians. LaHarpe had explored the upper Arkansas and knew the need of settlement if France wished to hold the country against Spain. Although the company which financed him was interested only that mines be found, LaHarpe was sincere in his attempts to build a permanent post. His colony at LaHarpe was always in distress, because of the stern quality of the land and trouble with the Indians. He begged the government at Biloxi for more families for his settlement and it is an interesting commentary on the type of French colonist in Louisiana that LaHarpe specified German and Swiss families for his little post. LaHarpe was neglected, however, no colonists were sent out, and the post was abandoned by the French to be occupied by the Spaniards.¹³

In 1717, at the Council of Paris, it was decided to split the French colony in America into two separate units, Canada and Louisiana, the dividing line to be 40 degrees N. Lat. The northern section was to be governed by Quebec and the southern by New Orleans. This amputation was bitterly resented by Canada. Her explorers and missionaries had opened up the Mississippi country, had discovered and recorded portages, mapped the great valley, established posts for trade and communication, and had converted many Indians.

At the founding of New Orleans, 1718, Crozat the governor and founder was given a charter for Louisiana establishing the "laws, edicts, and ordinances of the realm and the customs of Paris." The charter also granted a twelve year monopoly of mining, land grants, and slavery from "New Mexico to the English in Carolina." It was believed at that time that the lands bordering on the Mississippi River were rich in mineral deposits.

John Law, a Scotchman, who was friend and financial adviser of the French Regent, organized a plan for the development of Louisiana. The plan was called the Mississippi Company. A national bank was formed in Paris with Law as director, in 1717. Shares in the company were sold to the French public and an era of speculation set in which ended abruptly three years later in 1720. This company did little to establish France in the west. It was a get-rich-quick-scheme and as such it attracted settlers who were unwilling to work at the task of colonization.

Father Charlevoix, too, saw the need of posts in key positions. In 1721, he wrote from Kaskaskia, "There is no place in Louisiana more fit, in my opinion, for a settlement than this, nor where it is of more consequence to have one."¹⁴ His suggestions were very definite. After travelling through

14. Benjamin F. French, ed., Historical Journal of Pierre F.X. Charlevoix in Letters Addressed to the Duchess of Leaudiguieres, Appleton, New York, 1851, III, 123

the Mississippi valley, he advised the building of a post in the country of the Alibamon Indians to hold back the English. He recommended another establishment to keep open the line of communication between Canada and Louisiana and two posts in the country of the Cadequi Indians to keep back the Spaniards. In April of 1722, Father Charlevoix after the founding of New Orleans wrote, "They are engaged at present in seeking to the west of the Mississippi, a place fit to make a settlement which may bring us nearer to Mexico...¹⁵but if they (Frenchmen) do not begin by cultivating the lands, commerce, after having enriched some private persons, will soon drop, and the colony will not be established. The neighborhood of the Spaniards may have its use, but let us leave it to them to approach us as much as they will, we are not in a condition and we have no need, to extend ourselves farther. They are peaceful enough in this country; and they will never be strong enough to give us any uneasiness."¹⁶ Father Charlevoix's reports gave a true and helpful picture of the possibilities of French colonial development. Thus it appears that the French in Louisiana were mainly concerned with the Spanish trade.

In 1714, while Frenchmen in southern Louisiana were trying to establish trade relations with the Spaniards, the Canadians in the north were at war with the Fox Indians. The fighting stopped two years later, 1716, and trading was resumed,

15. Ibid., 190

16. Ibid., 193

although the peace with the Indians was inconclusive. In Montreal, the Rochelle Company which held the fur monopoly at that time, changed its policy, and all the important posts were re-occupied and many new ones were built.¹⁷ It had become evident to the Canadian officials that the West could not be protected by the missionaries alone, or by unregulated traders.¹⁸ The jealousy which appeared between Canada and Louisiana added a new difficulty at this time. "Traders from the two colonies met in the Mississippi Valley and friction was unavoidable." Mining activities made inroads into the fur country.¹⁹ In 1718 the Illinois country became a part of the Louisiana although its boundary was never settled.

The Canadian colony's re-occupation of the western posts after the first war with the Fox Indians, was not accomplished without another struggle with them. Their home was in the Wisconsin area and as many of the trade routes led through this country, fur trade was for a time at a standstill. A Fox Chief-

17. Daniel E. Clark, West in American History, Crowell Pub. Co. New York, 1937, 78

18. Ibid., 78

19. French, ed., Historical Journal of Pierre F. X. Charlevoix, III, 304. "Renault was a director of mines in 1719. He arrived in New France with a large number of miners and Santo Domingo slaves. These were the first slaves in the Illinois country. Renault had large grants of land on the east and west sides of the Mississippi River. On the Illinois side he founded St. Philip and on the Missouri side he worked a mine called 'LaMotte'. He took out large quantities of lead and a little silver. He sold his holdings in 1744 and returned to France."

tain, Kiala, whom Dr. Kellogg calls a precursor of Pontiac and Tecumseh worked tirelessly and quietly to build up a great conspiracy against the French. He was not able to hold all his allies together but in the years between 1727 and 1740 all the resources of the Canadian Government were taxed to the utmost to save its Western Empire. Battles were fought over a wide expanse of country from the Wabash to the Des Moines River and many valiant Frenchmen lost their lives in this second Fox War. 20

It was during the progress of the second Fox War that Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de Verendrye planned to find the River of the West. 21 During colonial times the way to Asia was still sought through North America. Englishmen hoped to find the Northwest Passage; the Spaniards were looking for the "Northern Mystery" where was supposed to be the Strait of Anian leading to India. 22 Now in 1731, Verendrye set out to find the "River of the West" for France.

Verendrye was given encouragement by Governor Beauharnais of New France, but he received no more substantial financial assistance than a monopoly of the fur trade in the regions to be discovered. 23 Finding no better way to raise money, Verendrye entered into partnership with some Montreal merchants. 24 Verendrye was mostly concerned with the river to the west and to him the

20. Clark, West in American History, 78

21. Ibid., 79

22. Ibid., 24

23. Ibid., 79

24. Lt. J. Burpee, Journals and Letters of Verendrye and His Sons, (Lawrence) Champlain Society, Toronto, 1927, 8

fur trade was just a means to an end. "Verendrye's energies were entirely absorbed in the cause of exploration. He was no business man and was a very indifferent trader so it is quite possible that the financial results of the monopoly thrust upon him by the French court in lieu of more tangible support, which left him heavily in debt, may not have been very profitable even to the merchants who equipped his expedition."²⁵

In 1731 Verendrye set out with a small party which included his three eldest sons and a nephew, Lt. Jemmerais. Within ten years he had built six forts, known as the post of the western sea, stretching from Rainy Lake to the mouth of the Saskatchewan River. At Fort St. Pierre (Minn. side of Rainy Lake) Verendrye did a flourishing fur business.²⁶

By the time St. Charles was built in 1732, the merchants in Montreal were becoming disinterested in Verendrye's expedition, so that he was obliged to journey back to Montreal in order to promise more furs and to gain continued support for his posts. When he returned to his posts he had in his party Father Aulneau, a Jesuit missionary who was to be the chaplain of the expedition.²⁷

During the winter of 1735, the supplies of Verendrye's western posts again gave out. Father Aulneau and Jean Verendrye

25. Ibid., 39

26. Agnes Laut, Pathfinders of the West; MacMillan Co. London, 1928, 206

27. Ibid., 208

with other voyageurs set out toward Montreal for help. They were surprised by the Sioux Indians and massacred. Their bodies were later buried in the chapel at Ft. St. Charles.²⁸ The much needed supplies arrived in June 1736, just in time for the trade with the Indians who arrived that same month with their winter's hunt.

In 1737, Verendrye visited the Mandan Indians on the upper Missouri and established friendly trade relations with them. Four years later, 1743, his son Pierre led a party westward and on New Year's day came in sight of the Bighorn Mountains.²⁹ Although Verendrye did not find the River of the West, his explorations and writings were helpful to those who followed him. The posts he established continued to carry on trade for several years.³⁰ After France withdrew from North America, Verendrye's posts were used by English and American traders in turn.

28. Ibid., 209

29. Clark, West in American History, 79

30. Burpee, Journals and Letters of Verendrye, 8

CHAPTER II

THE FRENCH IN THE MISSOURI VALLEY

One of the sections of the middle west where the French concentrated their efforts at colonization and trade was that of the Missouri Valley. Their object was the establishment of trading posts. The traders in this area were interested only in fur trading with the Indians. Early French explorers located many western tribes of Indians during the latter part of the seventeenth century. In 1672, the Pawnees were located on ³¹ Father Marquette's map. In 1694 Canadian traders were among the ³² Osage and Missouri tribes. Frenchmen usually made friends and allies of the Indian tribes wherever they encountered them. Gradually, as French guns, clothes, and other articles of trade spread among their Indian allies, and they in turn bartered with the Indians of the Spanish colony, the government in New Mexico became alarmed at the proximity of the French.

In his report of his expedition to El Cuartelejo, an area in South-Eastern Colorado, Juan de Archuleta referred to French traders. He said of the Indians, "with them at that time the French were trading." ³³ Reports of French activities just east of New Mexico greatly disturbed the Spanish Colonial Government in Santa Fe. In 1695 Da Vargas, the governor of New Mexico, became alarmed and requested two pieces of artillery of the Viceroy in

31. Ruben Gold Thwaites, ed., "Perrot Memoirs," Collections of State Historical Society of Wisconsin, XVI, 27

32. Alfred B. Thomas, After Coronado, U. of Okla., Press, Norman Okla., 1935, 13

33. Ibid., 53

Mexico. Da Vargas had received a report from the Apaches that the French were planning an attack upon the Spaniards. ³⁴ The artillery was not sent. In 1697 fresh news arrived of French progress westward. The Navajos, accustomed to making long journeys to Quivira, frequently fought the French and Pawnees in alliance at that time, and brought the spoils of battle to New Mexico. In 1697, the Navajos made another such journey to the east. Returning in 1699, they appeared at a fair in New Mexico laden with jewels, carbines, cannon, powder flasks, gamellas, sword belts, waistcoats, shoes and small brass pots. "They then related to the astonished Spaniards the defeat of the year before and praised the French for their valor, their dexterity in shooting and their readiness in re-inforcing their allies." ³⁵

Alarmed by reports of French movements westward, several expeditions went out from Santa Fe to investigate rumors of French activities. One of these expeditions was that of Ulibarri, in 1706. He set out northeast-ward from Santa Fe toward El Cuartelejo. One member of his expedition is particularly interesting. He was Juan de la Archeveque, a survivor of La Salle's Texas colony. "Generally credited with a hand in the murder of his chief, this renegade, seized by Leon's expedition into east Texas in 1690, eventually found his way into New

34. Ibid., 13

35. Ibid., 14

Mexico where he married and became a respectable citizen and
trader."³⁶

After travelling several days, Ulibarri's party arrived in Apache country. The Apaches invited the Spaniards to join them in a raid on the French and Pawnees, as a practical demonstration of Spanish friendship. "However, with an eye to business and his mind on the snows soon to fall in the Santa Fe mountains, Ulibarri promised to come another year."³⁷ He was interested, however, in these stories of the French, and the Apaches frankly told of their latest exploit. Apparently, some time before Ulibarri's arrival, the Pawnees, accompanied by some French, had intended to attack El Cuartelejo, assuming that the Apache braves were away hunting buffalo. The Indians, learning of their approach, withdrew, and the enemy dispersed. At once the Apaches set out with a war party to follow. In a little wood along a stream, they caught up with a white man and woman³⁸ whom they murdered. The bald head of the man they let alone, but they scalped the woman, carried off a red cap, some powder and a gun. Archeveque at once recognized the gun as French.

36. Charles Hackett, Pichardo's Treatise of the Limits of Louisiana and Texas, U. of Texas Press, Austin, 1931, 186-187

37. Thomas, After Coronado, 19

38. Thomas, ed., "Diary of Juan de Ulibarri to El Cuartelejo, 1706", After Coronado, Austin, 1935, 70. "This man and his wife, having become separated from the others, had fallen behind, and they had killed them in a little wood along the river, and had taken away the gun. They sent for it and promised to show the rest of the spoils. Having brought the gun, it surprised us, particularly the Frenchman, Juan de Archeveque whom we had with us. This man said he recognized the gun and that it belonged to his kinsmen."

Upset by the interest the Spaniards showed in the incident the Apaches altered their story swearing they had killed only a Pawnee chief.

Ulibarri made careful notes about the fertility of the soil and the products raised in Cuartelejo. He noticed that watermelons, maize, pumpkins, wheat and kidney beans were raised. He commented at length upon the location of neighboring tribes, important rivers and their names. Finally he closed his survey with details that indicated the proximity of the French.

El Cuartelejo would have been a splendid location for either a French or a Spanish colony. It was a settlement of rather peaceful Indians whose chief occupation was agriculture. Their village was located north of the Arkansas River, called at that time the Napestle, and just east of Horse Creek. (38-40 degrees north latitude) This area of eastern Colorado and Western Kansas, then known as Quivira was the scene of early French trading, and later of fighting with the Spaniards. Ulibarri's diary, his careful notes, supply the first and only known detailed account of El Cuartelejo and sounds the first important note of French activity near the Rocky Mountains. The presence of these traders at such an early date is a fact hitherto unsuspected.

In 1719 more news of the French reached Santa Fe. A soldier passing through New Mexico reported that 70 leagues from

Santa Fe, six thousand Frenchmen were marching to attack the Spaniards. ³⁹ Greatly alarmed, Gov. Cruz of Santa Fe wrote the Valero, the Mexican Viceroy and begged for long range guns, powder, and money for the Spanish garrison. This report, though it greatly excited the people of New Mexico, was certainly untrue. It is doubtful if there were half that many Frenchmen in all North America outside of Canada.

Nevertheless, in that same year, ⁴⁰ 1719, another expedition set out from Santa Fe over the same route as that of Ulibarri in 1706. This expedition, led by Valverde, sought information concerning the exact location of the French settlements. He visited camps of Indians that were friendly to the Spaniards and listened to all their reports. One Apache had received a gun wound in a battle with the French and he reported to Valverde that the French had, "built two pueblos, each of which is as large as Taos. In them they lived together with the Jumanos and Pawnees to whom they have given large guns and have taught to shoot."

Valverde later noted that the Apaches knew of French settlements on a very large river, called in New Mexico the Rio Jesus Maria (So. Platte) two towns on its northern bank being recently established. "From their old settlements they are re-

39. "Gov. Cruz to Valero, Dec. 11, 1719," Thomas, After Coronado
146

40. "Diary of the Campaign of Governor Antonio de Valverde Against the Ute and Comanche Indians, 1719." Thomas, After Coronado, 132

inforcing those they have recently built with arms and everything that was necessary; that among the French there were beautiful white women." The Indians even made motions to show that the French women wear their hair tied on the crown of their heads.⁴¹

That same year, 1719, Valverde wrote to Valero that the purpose of the French seemed to be to penetrate little by little into the Spanish country. Possibly he referred to La Harpe's colony. The report that the French traders had women in their colony and that they seemed to be moving toward good farm land, made them appear to be establishing themselves permanently in the west.

The Spaniards in Santa Fe decided to settle the question of the French advance. Accordingly, in 1720, Valverde, the governor at Santa Fe, sent an expedition commanded by Villasur, to find the French. In the investigation which followed this ill-fated expedition it was disclosed that the Mexican government intended and commanded Valverde personally to conduct this expedition. It is evident that Mexico attached more importance to the encroachments of the French than did the Governor at Santa Fe. Or, perhaps Valverde had a premonition of what was to happen. In any case, he was severely reprimanded for disobeying

41. Ibid., "Valverde to Valero, Santa Fe, Nov. 30, 1719," 144

orders and for having sent an inexperienced officer in his place to conduct this campaign.⁴²

Villasur reached the South Platte on August 6, 1720. For a few days he sent out a number of scouting parties to find the French location. All his attempts to locate the French, to reconnoiter, or to parley with the Pawnees, the French allies, brought no information whatever. "Vexed with the lack of results, he proposed to cross the river and secure the desired information by force. His officers, more cautious, interpreted the behavior of the Pawnees as a warning. The Pawnees had just seized some Indian allies of the Spaniards bathing in the river. In the end the officers prevailed and the expedition halted."⁴³

On the night of August 13, the Spaniards pastured their horses in the tall grass and placed Indian sentinels to guard the camp. Soon after sunset, sounds of a stalking party were heard. The guard reported a barking dog and noises as of people crossing the river. Villasur ordered the guard to check up, and they later reported that all was well. As a matter of fact, the events that followed proved that the French were preparing to attack.

There were some experienced frontiersmen in the Spanish camp who might have taken warning from the noises during the

42. Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas, I, 199. "The said Don Antonio Valverde was prosecuted because of not having gone in person to command this expedition."

43. Thomas, After Coronado, 38

night. L'Archeveque was with the Spaniards as interpreter. Valverde had written to Valero the previous year concerning L'Acheveque,⁴⁴ "In accordance with the order, condition, and arrangement under which he came here, he is at present married, with sufficient means to live respectably, and is very loyal to his Majesty. He has accompanied me on this journey as a citizen and as interpreter in his native tongue. He is ready to do whatever may be required in the royal service." An Indian scout, Naranjo, was trustworthy and experienced and it is strange that neither of these two was apprehensive. Suddenly, at dawn while the Spaniards were roping their horses and preparing their packs, a band of Pawnees and French attacked with deadly effect. Taken completely by surprise, the Spanish horse guard lost valuable time recovering their animals. Finally, rounded up they turned upon their attackers and charged the enemy but the attempt was useless. The Pawnees, riding in a circle poured a murderous fire upon the disorganized camp.

The Spaniards suffered greatly. Left dead and dying in the tall grass were the chaplain, Father Minguéz, the Commander Villasur, L'Acheveque, Capt. Christoval, Naranjo the scout, and a number of soldiers and servants varying in different accounts⁴⁵ from twenty-eight to forty-five. Thomas gives the site of this battle as eight leagues from the confluence of the North and

44. Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas, I, 186, 187

45. Ibid., I, 199

South Platte Rivers, between the present towns of Maxwell and Brady, Nebraska.

Eventually, in September 1720, the Spanish survivors, about six in number, straggled into Santa Fe, with the news of their defeat. The blow was crushing. Besides the thirty-two widows and orphans, the New Mexican government faced the loss of some of its best men. Valverde sadly sent the news of Villaur's defeat to the Viceroy in Mexico and requested re-inforcements to resist an expected French invasion.

The importance attached to this battle indicates that the New Mexican government considered the French settlements to the east to be a serious menace to Spanish development. The survivors of the battle were questioned as to what evidences they had of French occupation. Bartolome Guarduno testified that the Cuartelejos had captured from the Pawnees, "some fowling pieces, clothes, small short French iron axes....and a foot of a gilded silver chalice which they sold him for two yards of sack cloth, and two French guns for two horses. ⁴⁶ Martinez, another Spaniard, reported that, "along the margins of this river, the Jesus Maria (South Platte), those of the Pawnee nation have their rancherias; they are white Indians with pierced ears;....these Pawnees are the ones who attacked our men because on this river they have four or five settlements." ⁴⁷ Others testified in more detail referring to the white women and even mentioning the

46. Declaration of Bartolome Garduno, Nov. 15, 1720, Thomas, After Coronado, 172

47. Ibid., Declaration of Martinez, Mexico, Nov. 13, 1720, 170

manner in which the French people prepared food.

In 1723, there was a Spanish investigation of illegal trading between French Louisiana and New Mexico. Thomas summarizes the evidence as follows: ⁴⁹ "Several Spaniards were called in to give testimony and knowledge of facts concerning trading with the French. They, according to their declaration, were specifically questioned concerning the export of silver objects. Each reported that he had never heard of anyone in the kingdom trading or dealing with any Frenchmen....didn't know where French lived....had seen only a few French muskets in possession of Indians, perhaps an occasional sombrero or so. As to silver leaving New Mexico the only articles were such as spoons, inkstands, used as part of the equipment of expeditions. Officially, the investigation concluded that there was no trading with the French."

The Platte River Valley was the scene of French attempts to trade with the Spaniards in New Mexico. French success here was very slight, and now they turned northwest-ward up the Missouri Valley.

One of the earliest expeditions to go up the Missouri River is recorded in the writings of Father Bergier, the pastor of the Tamaroa Mission. In 1702, he mentions seventeen Frenchmen who left his village to ascend the Missouri two hundred

48. Ibid., Bustamente to Casa Fuerte, Santa Fe, Apr.30,1727, 256

49. Ibid., 171

leagues, there to build a fort between the Pawnees and the Iowas, a location somewhere along the Iowa and Nebraska line. In the course of the expedition, they were attacked by Indians, but apparently returned to the Tamaroa Mission unharmed.⁵⁰

Some time before 1705, a trader named Lauerain had been up the Missouri River also, and had brought back a confused account of its course. In 1706, Bienville reported that a couple of Canadians had spent two years going from one Indian village to another.⁵¹ A Canadian named Boudon assured Bienville in 1708 that numerous tin mines could be found along the Missouri. Two years later, Darac was commissioned to visit the tribes in the Missouri Valley and trade with them.⁵² It was probably the report of such traders as these that had so alarmed the Spaniards in Santa Fe.

According to Father Garraghan's account, the glamour of the old frontier begins with the name of Sieur de Bourgmond.⁵³ Hanotaux calls him a true coureur de bois.⁵⁴ Etienne Veniard de Bourgmond came of an old family of Normandy. His father was a doctor. He replaced Tonti at Fort Detroit in January, 1705, as commandant. He is accused by historians of mistreating the

50. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J. Chapters In Frontier History, Bruce Co., Milwaukee, 1934, 12

51. Ibid., 63

52. Ibid., 63

53. Garraghan, "The Emergence of the Missouri Valley Into History," Illinois Catholic Historical Review, April, 1927, IX, No. 4.

54. Hanotaux, Histoire des Colonies Francaises, I, 311

Indians while in command here. He deserted his post with Jolicoeur, Vivier, La Roze and Madame Tichenet, but was caught and court-martialled Nov. 7, 1706. Because of Family connections, Cadillac interceded for Bourgmond and befriended him. There seemed to be no serious consequences for Bourgmond following this escapade. In 1712, he made his first acquaintance with the Missouri Indians when a party of them had come to the relief of DuBoisson, besieged at Detroit. He accompanied them on their return to the west where he became the idol of the tribes up and down the Missouri River.

Bourgmond's most important service to France's cause in the west occurred in the Missouri Valley. In 1714 he navigated the Missouri as far as the Platte River, keeping an accurate log of the voyage which De Villiers has recently discovered. In November 1723, he arrived at the Missouri village with a party of about forty Frenchmen and erected his fort known as Ft. Orleans.

Fort Orleans was erected on the north bank of the Missouri River in present Carroll County, Missouri. The buildings included a chapel, a warehouse and dwellings for the colonists. Three officers accompanied Bourgmond, Jean de Pradel (1692-1764), Simars de Belisle who had been with La Harpe in 1721 and Louis St. Ange de Bellerive (1701-1774). Bellerive was very capable

55. de Villiers, La Decouverte du Missouri et L'Histoire du Ft. Orleans, Paris 43

56. Garraghan, Chapters in Frontier History, 64

and greatly admired by the Indians. In addition to the officers and men, a missionary, Father Jean Baptiste Mercier of the Tamaroa Mission accompanied the party.⁵⁷

In October, 1724, the Frenchmen at Fort Orleans prepared a big reception for the chiefs of their Indian allies. Amid salutes of musketry and exchange of courtesies, Bourgmond and the chiefs smoked the Calumet and planned great things for France. The Indians expressed the wish to obey the French, to lead them into the Spanish country for purposes of trade and even to lend themselves as warriors against the Spaniards if the French wished it.⁵⁸

France was most enthusiastic about Bourgmond's plan. The French king received a delegation of Missouri Indians at court, allowed them to hunt in the woods of Boulogne and they even danced at the opera in Paris. One of the Indian girls was baptized at Notre Dame where she later married a Frenchman, Sergeant DuBois. After the death of her husband at Fort Orleans, Madame DuBois travelled to Kaskaskia where she remarried. This Indian delegation to France in 1725 was Bourgmond's plan to get support for the French colonies in the west.⁵⁹

In gratitude for his services to France on the Missouri River, he received from the French King, Louis XV, a patent of nobility.⁶⁰ The last note on Fort Orleans is that it was ordered evacuated in 1728.

57. de Villiers, La Decouverte du Missouri et L'Histoire du Ft. Orleans⁹⁴

58. Hanotaux, Histoire des Colonies Francaises, I, 312

59. Jean Delanglez, S. J. The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 105, 1700-1763. Cath. U. of America, Wash., D.C., 1935

60. Garraghan, Chapters in Frontier History, 64

Although much enthusiasm was stirred up in France by Bourgmond and his Indians, no further help was sent out to the Missouri Valley. The Indians returned to their tribes, Bourgmond to his fort and after its evacuation, dropped from sight. As a result of the activities of Frenchmen in the Missouri Valley, this area will remain predominantly French until the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.

CHAPTER III

PERSONNEL AND CONDUCT OF THE FUR TRADE

The fur trade was the backbone of the commercial life of Canada and its profits were very large. To assert her claim and to protect the richest fur trade in the world, France built posts at the chief points of vantage. In 1718, the value of the trade was estimated to be 262,000 livres; in 1727, 2,096,000 livres; then it dropped to 700,000 livres; in 1744 it was said to be worth 1,937,000 livres and in 1754 it was reported as worth 3,932,000 livres.⁶¹

Two main objects called for the erection of forts and garrisoned posts by the French government in North America. First, there was the need of strongly built posts for establishing the claims of New France. Second, fortified posts were needed for the protection of the trade routes. Success of the fur trade depended upon control of the trade routes and for this purpose, the French government, beginning in the 17th century, constructed fortified places at strategic locations where now exist thriving cities.⁶²

Although the locations of the French forts were chosen with much foresight and military skill, they were not exclusively of a military nature. Michilimackinac, Arkansas, Bonsecour, St. Pierre, St. Charles and many others were missions as well as trading posts. In addition to bringing the true faith to the

61. Hanotaux, Histoire des Colonies Francaises, I, 121

62. Ernest Voorhis, Historic Forts and Trading Posts of the French Regime and the English Fur Trading Companies, Dept. of the Interior, Ottawa, Canada, 1930, Introduction

Indians, the work of the missionaries in these posts kept the Indians docile and protected them as well from unjust treatment by unscrupulous traders. Adjacent to many posts one would have found a little cluster of Canadian dwellings who tenants lived under the protection of the garrison; and obeyed the arbitrary will of the commandant. Unfortunately for the permanency of these establishments, agriculture was neglected for the more congenial pursuits of the fur trade.

"The posts were for use as the headquarters of the *courcurs de bois*--They likewise served as places of defense in the event of attack and of rendezvous when a trading expedition to Montreal was being organized. It was not the policy of the French authorities, nor was it the plan of the *coureurs*, that any considerable amount of trading should take place at these western stockades. They were only the outposts intended to keep the trade running in its proper channels. In a word, it was the aim of the French government to bring the trade to the colony, not to send the colony overland to the savages."

Forts were in command of military officers and were of course part of the military equipment of Canada, supported by the government. Supplies were carried to them at the expense of the government, as well as presents for the Indians, "to keep

63. Munro, Crusaders of New France, Yale U. Press, 1918, 158

64. Voorhis, Historic Forts and Trading Posts, Intro., 2

65. Munro, Crusaders of New France, 166

66
them friendly." There is reason to suspect, however, that much
of what the royal bounty provided for this purpose was diverted
67
to private use.

The following is a list of French posts in the valley of
the Mississippi River north of the Ohio River. Not all the
forts mentioned were in existence at the same time, for many had
been destroyed before the cession of Canada. The list includes
all the French forts (within the U.S.)⁶⁸ which had been construc-
ted at any time as far as known to Ernest Voorhis.

Miami (So. Bend) Ind.
Crevecoeur, Ill. 1680
Ouatanon
St. Genevieve, Mo. 1755
St. Nicholas
Ft. Kansas
St. Croix
Le Sueur
Beauharnois, Minn., 1727
St. Louis

Vincennes, Ind.
Cahokia, Ill. 1699
Chartres, Ill. 1717
St. Philip, Ill., 1719
Baie-des-Puants, Wis. 1685
Chagouamigon, Wis. 1660
Ft. Pepin, Minn.
Bonsecour, Minn.
L. Huiltier

Ft. Beauharnois was a French military post on Lake Pepin,
an enlargement of the Mississippi River. It was built in 1727
and maintained for a time as a missionary and trading station.
Sometime before the cession of Canada it was deserted or des-
troyed.

Ft. Kansas was located on the right bank of the Missouri
River at the mouth of the little Kansas River. It is named on
Bougainville's map of 1757 as having a garrison with commander
dependent on New Orleans. It was probably an outpost of Ft.

67. Munro, Crusaders of New France, 171

68. Voorhis, Historic Forts and Trading Posts, 13, 14

Orleans a few miles down the Missouri River. It is shown on Rocque's map (No. 96) of 1763 and Bellin's map 1755 (No. 93) and D'Anville's map of 1755 (No. 97). Fort Orleans is marked "abandoned" on D'Anville's map of 1755.

Ft. St. Genevieve was built on the right bank of the Mississippi River just above the confluence of the Kaskaskia River, nearly opposite Ft. Kaskaskia. This fort became a permanent settlement. It was so completely French that Brackenridge, in his autobiography, wrote that during his first three years there he forgot how to speak English.⁶⁹

There is a possibility that the detailed study of each of the French forts would produce considerable knowledge of French activity in the west.

The control of the fur trade underwent a number of changes during its long history. Monopoly of the fur trade passed rapidly from one hand to another until it reached Pierre du Guast in 1599. In 1604, under privilege of monopoly he seized a number of free vessels engaged in trade, thus producing a great outcry among the Norman and Breton merchants. De Mont's monopoly was withdrawn in 1607 and renewed in 1609. From then on for at least three years, until 1612, the trade of the St. Lawrence was free to the people of France and of the colony.

In 1612, the Company of Rouen and St. Malo commonly called Chaplain's Company was established. Under its privi-

69. Henry I. Brackenridge, Recollections of Persons and Places in the West, Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1868, 9

leges, colonists were not allowed to trade with the Indians. In 1620, this company's charter was cancelled and a new company was organized by Guillaume de Caen and his nephew Emery de Caen, merchants of Rouen. This company was known as the Montmorency Company. Their monopoly was cancelled in 1623.

The company of New France, otherwise known as the One Hundred Associates was established in April 1627 under Cardinal Richelieu. All trade was forbidden except through the company and all furs obtained by the colonists from the Indians had to be handed over to the company.

In 1640 the Company of Notre Dame of Montreal obtained from the Company of New France the Northeastern portion of the Island of Montreal and founded the city in 1642. From that time the control of a portion of the fur trade passed to Montreal which became the base for outfitting and departure of trading expeditions. The Company of New France in 1645 agreed to transfer its trade monopoly to the inhabitants of the colony and the Company des Habitants was formed. It was this company which first employed brandy as an article of trade with the Indians.

The brandy question was in fact a troublesome one. "It bulks large in every chronicle, every memoir, every relation and in almost every official dispatch during a period of fifty years; it set the officers of the church and state against each other; and it provoked more friction throughout the western dominions

of France than all other issues put together." ⁷⁰

Everyone agreed that the liquor traffic was evil. It was generally admitted that brandy did the Indians no good and that it would be better not to sell it to them. The traders feared, however, that if the Indians did not get brandy from the French they would sell their furs to the English for rum. The Jesuits missionaries fought liquor traffic among the Indians with all their strength; yet they were unable to stop it. ⁷¹

In 1663 the powers and privileges of the Company of New France passed to the King and Canada became a Royal Province under the Sovereign Council.

The actual work of the trade required a variety of laborers. "Those men whose names have been found in the annals of the fur trade were the leaders, proprietors, partisans, and clerks. Under them were the thousands of unknown men who performed the actual tasks of trapping, tending camp, rowing canoes, poling keel-boats, skinning animals, preparing the furs for shipment to headquarters and making the long and dangerous expeditions to and from the distant trading posts." ⁷²

Chittenden has explained three methods generally used in

70. Munro, Crusaders of New France, 173

71. Ibid., 178 "Had the Jesuits done otherwise than fight it-- they would have been false to all the traditions of their church and order. They were, when all is said and done, the truest friends that North American Indians ever had."

72. Clarke, West in American History, 440

the fur trade. "The white man valued furs beyond what the Indian could comprehend and the latter was only too happy to find that he could trade them for that gaudy and glittering wealth which had been brought to the west. Thus in the early intercourse of the white man with the Indian, each gave the other something which he valued lightly, and received in return something that he valued highly and each felt a keen contempt for the stupid taste of the other."

Furs were grouped into two classes, coarse and fine. The coarse furs were buffalo, deer and bear skins. The fine ones were beaver, the most popular, otter, mink and fox.

A second method was the one whereby the company regularly employed hunters and trappers who gathered beaver and such other furs as came their way. These men worked at fixed wages, and the product of their labor belonged to the company. No goods were transported into Indian country for furs taken in this way, except in payment of the men's wages, which were generally absorbed as fast as earned in new outfits and in liquor or feasting.

The third way was in free hunting and trapping. The trapper here worked on his own account being bound to no company and he generally sold his furs at some regular trading post or rendezvous. Occasionally he went to the city with his furs. A large part of the payment for these furs if sold in the interior,

73. H. M. Chittenden, The American Fur Trade in The Far West,
(Hiram) Harper, New York, 1902, I, 3

was in the form of articles required for new outfits, and for tobacco and liquor. The free trapper worked only in the finer kinds of fur.

In the organization of the fur trade, the most important individual was the "bourgeois" who the manager of the post and frequently a partner in the business. He hired the hunters, supervised the trading, ordered the necessary goods and supplies and set the prices. Second in command was the "Partisan" who had charge of expeditions and held a rendezvous if there was no permanent post in the vicinity. In each post there was also a clerk who acted as secretary to the bourgeois. In addition to the managerial staff, there was a small army of men who performed the heavy manual labor. Among these were the camp tenders, the voyageurs who handled the boats, carpenters and blacksmiths. Unskilled laborers were known as "mangeurs de lard."

Until the Purchase of Louisiana by the United States, the whole personnel of the fur trade was French. After 1803, American Fur Companies entered the fur trade and Chittenden claims that under American control, four-fifths of the employees in the fur trade were French.

74

All fur traders were Catholics. One of the first buildings erected in a new post was a chapel. Frequently the missionary did some of the actual constructing while the others of the expedition hurriedly threw up stockades for protection

against surprise attacks by the Indians. They built their posts as sturdily as materials would permit. Ft. St. Charles on the west side of the Lake of the Woods, Minn., built by Verendrye in 1732, had four bastions, a watch tower, chapel, storehouse, commandant's residence and other dwellings to shelter the fifty men in his party. The whole was built of logs and surrounded by a ten foot wall. Outside the stockade lay the great canoes, twenty-four feet long, twenty-two inches⁷⁵ deep which carried the furs to Lake Superior. Near each fort was an area called a "Chantier." It was a place where timber was abundant for pickets, posts, canoes, mackinaws and other necessities. "Chantier" meaning "shipyard" had survived in one or two places: there is Chantier Creek in South Dakota and Shonkin Creek a little below⁷⁶ Ft. Benton in Montana.

Journals were kept at the larger forts. From these, we learn something of the life in and about the trading posts. During the American period, a Frenchman, Charles Larpenteur was bourgeois for several different companies. His journal describes the following picturesque coureur. --"nothing took place until a certain free trapper named Augustin Bourbonnais came down the Missouri in a canoe. As it was yet early, about the first of November (1836) his idea was to keep on to Ft. Clark and winter there. But as he found many of his friends at Ft.

75. Robert Riegel, America Moves West, Dartmouth U., 1934, 32

76. Chittenden, The American Fur Trade in the West, I, 47

Union, he changed his plans and made up his mind to spend the winter at this place. He had been lucky on his hunt and had about a pack of beaver worth something like \$500 which made him feel rich and quite able to pass a pleasant winter. Bourbonnais was only about 20 years of age, very handsome with long yellow hair, so much admired by the female sex of this country. M. Bourbonnais had not been long in the fort before he went shopping and very soon was seen strolling about the fort in a fine suit of clothes, as large as life, with his long (pah-ha-zee-zee) hanging down over his shoulders; if he had look well in his buckskins, he surely looked charming then.⁷⁷

Most picturesque of all were the "voyageurs" as the boatmen were called. They were a happy-go-lucky lot, patient and long enduring, and fond of their joyous boat songs. An English trader named Long, setting out from Trois Rivieres for Mackinac in 1777, described the difficulty of river travel and the work of the boatmen. "The voyage from Trois Rivieres to La Chine is tedious and troublesome as there is a strong current to combat. Where the water is shallow, the canoes must be forced with long poles, while the boatmen wade knee-deep and pull against the current with ropes; this is labor and fatigue. Custom has, however made the Canadians very expert, and I must do them the justice to say that they encounter these difficulties with uncommon cheerfulness, though sometimes they exclaim 'O'est la misere,

77. Charles Larpenteur, Forty Years a Fur Trader, Lakeside Press, 1933, 98

XX

non bourgeois! From La Chine to Mackinac there are thirty-six portages; the distance by land and water is about nine hundred miles; in favorable weather the journey is frequently performed in about a month.⁷⁸"

In their methods of trading the *coureurs des bois* were unlike anything that the world had ever known before. Every spring if the trade routes to Montreal were reasonably free from Indian attacks, they rounded up the western Indians with their stocks of furs from the winter's hunt. Then, proceeding to the grand rendezvous at Mackinac or Greenbay, the canoes were joined into one great flotilla, and the whole array set off down the lakes or by way of the Ottawa River to Montreal. After travelling about a thousand miles of water, the flotilla reached the settlement of Montreal about midsummer. Once at the village, the Indians set up their tepees, boiled their kettles, and unpacked their furs. The shop-keepers of the village displayed their merchandise that had come from France on the Spring ships. There were muskets, powder and lead, blankets in all colors, coarse knives, hatchets, kettles, awls, needles, and other staples of trade. And last but not least in its purchasing power was brandy. Many hogshead of it were disposed of at every annual fair and while it lasted the Indians turned bedlam loose in the town.⁷⁹

The success of the fair in Montreal meant everything to

78. Thwaites, Early Western Travels, Clarke Co. Cleveland, 1904 II, 75

79. Munro, Crusaders of New France, 168

local prosperity. In the years when there was trouble and the flotilla failed to reach Montreal, the whole settlement was on the verge of bankruptcy.

What the Indians received for their furs depended upon the fur market in France. And this sometimes depended upon the fashions of the time. At one time the fashion of wearing low-crowned hats cut the value of beaver skins in two. Beaver was the mainstay of the trade. Not all beaver skins were valued alike, however. Those taken from animals killed during the winter were preferred to those taken at other seasons, while new skins did not bring as high a price as those which the Indian had worn for a time and thus made soft. When we read that half million livres' worth of skins changed owners at the Montreal fair, this statement means that at least a hundred thousand animals must have been slaughtered to furnish such a large flotilla with its cargo.

80

Some buffalo hides were brought to Montreal, but in proportion to their value, they were bulky and took up so much room in the canoes that the Indians did not care to bring them. "The heyday of the buffalo trade came later with the development of overland transportation." At any rate the dependence of New France upon the fur trade was complete.

81

The years just preceding the French and Indian War were years of corruption in the government of Canada. Corruption was

80. Ibid., 170

81. Ibid., 170

an old story particularly during the administration of the Intendant Bigot.⁸² Licenses to trade in the interior were issued by the government at its discretion. The government also exercised the right to name the price of wheat and other commodities.⁸³ Obviously the situation furnished the opportunity for plunder.⁸⁴ The route to the interior was difficult and exposed to accident. The transport was by canoe, and the rivers and lakes were often stormy. "What was more simple than to sell a keg of the king's whisky or a package of the king's goods to some trader on the way and then to report that it had been thrown overboard to save a canoe while crossing a stormy lake?"⁸⁵

The independent merchants of Montreal acted each for himself, with slight regard for the interest of the trade, the Indians or the lesser employees.⁸⁶ The French court paid meager salaries to its military and civil officers, and it was common practice for these men to engage in trading operations in order to make a living.⁸⁷ Since the salaries were low and the supplies inadequate, the men at the forts were often obliged to shift for themselves. The pillage in connection with the posts and forts was so rich that positions of influence at these places came to

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82. Wrong, The Fall of Canada, Oxford, 1914, Preface
83. Ibid., 89
84. Ibid., 95
85. Ibid., 95
86. Thwaites, Early Western Travels, II, 14
87. Wrong, The Fall of Canada, 89

88
be much coveted. The so-called presents to the Indians, were sometimes sold to them. Goods sent to the troops were also sold.
89
Furs bought with the king's money and worth great sums were appropriated by dishonest officials and sold for their own benefit. The fur merchants in Montreal amassed large fortunes as did their friends who held monopolies on food supplies and other commodities but their prosperity was not enjoyed by the humble French trader back in the interior. This was the condition of the western trade when the French and Indian war broke out in 1754.

War began when the French expelled the Ohio Company from its post and later built Ft. Duquesne.
90
The English ministry considered the affair an encroachment on its territorial rights in a place where the international boundary was undefined and prepared to attack France in America.
91
Not only did this war call the French garrisons from their western posts, but traders were unable to carry on trade because the forts that kept the trade routes open were surrendering to the English army.

The fighting stopped in Canada in 1760, but not all the French posts in the west had surrendered. At many places on or
92
near the Great Lakes the flag of France still waved. General

88. Ibid., 95

89. Ibid., 95

90. Theodore C. Pease, United States, New York, 1927, 140

91. Ibid., 140

92. Wrong, Fall of Canada, 246

Amherst immediately sent Major Robert Rogers with two hundred rangers to occupy these forts. ⁹³ Although Vaudreuil had written from Canada ordering the French Commandant to surrender their posts to the English, Ft. Chartres in southern Illinois was not ⁹⁴ surrendered until 1765.

With the fall of Canada in 1760, and with the English coming into control of trade and commerce, Frenchmen in the west looked for a new headquarters for the fur trade.

93. Ibid., 246

94. Ibid., 246

CHAPTER IV

ST. LOUIS REPLACES MONTREAL AS HEADQUARTERS
OF THE FUR TRADE

After the fall of Montreal in 1760, many officials of the Canadian government were sent to France under arrest to answer charges of mismanagement in Colonial affairs. Those Canadians who had held no official connection with the government remained for the most part wherever they happened to be at the end of the war. At the end of the French regime, the French population was widely scattered. There were only about 80,000 Frenchmen from the St. Lawrence to New Orleans.

In the Treaty of Peace signed by France and England in February, 1763, England received all the land east of the Mississippi River except that about New Orleans. In a secret treaty with Spain just four months earlier, in November 1762, France had relinquished to Spain all claim to New Orleans and to the territory west of the Mississippi River. English traders, therefore were quite effectively kept out of the Mississippi River Valley, because of Spanish control of the river.

English traders did not at first dare venture into the wilderness inhabited by Indians faithful to the French. Those who did nearly paid with their lives. For twenty years, until

95. Pease, United States, 137

96. Ibid., 137

97. Wrong, Fall of Canada, 254

98. Clark, West in American History, 105

99. Thwaites, Early Western Travels, II, 15

1783, Englishmen tried by various means to engage in the fur trade in the trans-Mississippi west but without success. The Indians resented the change from French to English rule.¹⁰⁰ A well organized revolt of Indian tribes led by Pontiac in 1763 seized the newly acquired English posts and was not subdued until 1764. Pontiac's raids were so well timed and planned that the English garrisons were taken completely by surprise and nearly all massacred. Although the Indians were subdued in 1764, it was not safe for an Englishman to venture into the western country until after 1770.¹⁰¹

In the confusion following the cession of Canada and the change of governments, the vast west explored and inhabited by the French was neglected for a time. For twenty years after the cession of Canada the inland trade was in the hands of private adventurers.¹⁰² French traders in the interior worked independently and marketed their furs wherever they could. It was a period of cut-throat competition. Montreal had lost its prestige for the time being at least. Writing in 1777, the trader Long described Montreal as having "nothing remarkable in it at present; it was formerly famous for a great fair which lasted nearly three months, and was resorted to by the Indians who came from the distance of many miles to barter their peltry for English goods."¹⁰³

100. Wrong, Fall of Canada, 246

101. Voorhis, Historic Forts and Trading Posts, 18

102. Ibid., 19

103. Thwaites, Early Western Travels, II, 35

If trade was dull in Canada after the French and Indian War, it was thriving elsewhere. Out in the west, in the Illinois country, in west Florida and all along the Mississippi River there was to be found the persistent and effective competition of the French traders who had removed to Spanish Louisiana.

The little town of St. Louis, founded by Pierre LaCledé Linguet and August Chouteau in the winter of 1763-64, soon gained ascendancy in the fur trade.¹⁰⁴ St. Louis was established as the headquarters for the fur trade of the Missouri and Mississippi valleys.¹⁰⁵ In December of 1763, Pierre La Clede Linguet, known to historians as Pierre La Clede, and a half dozen sturdy voyageurs were prospecting the country for the purpose of selecting some point near the mouth of the Missouri as a depot for merchandise and finally decided upon the present site of the city of St. Louis.¹⁰⁶ La Clede was the manager for a company of merchants who were organized in New Orleans. The plan was to establish a trading post for the control of the trade on the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers.¹⁰⁷

During its early history, St. Louis was known to traders and to the Spanish Colonial government in New Orleans as, "St. Louis des Illinois." Finkleburg in a note states, "Prior to 1796, St. Louis was in the western part of Illinois. After that

104. Clarke, West In American History, 118

105. J.N.Taylor and M.O.Crooks, Sketch Book of St. Louis, St. Louis, 1858, 10

106. Ibid., 10

107. Henry Overstolz, The City of St. Louis, St. Louis 1880.10

time the country was called Upper Louisiana." However, there is evidence that "St. Louis des Illinois" was used as late as 1808. In the Missouri Historical Society, among the fur trade documents there is an autographed receipt given by Auguste Chouteau, acknowledging the receipt of 1560 pounds of deer skins that M. Grant owed him, delivered to him by Jean Baptiste Le Moine. It is recorded as "St. Louis des Illinois," June 1, 1808. ¹⁰⁹

La Clede was born in Bion, France near the base of the Pyrenees mountains in 1724. ¹¹⁰ His importance in the development of the American west begins in New Orleans in 1762. In that year, M. D'Abadie, Director General and Commandant of Louisiana granted to a Company the exclusive trade with the savages of the Missouri and all the nations residing west of the Mississippi for the term of eight years. ¹¹¹ "After the terms and conditions were signed with the French government, they took measures to import from Europe all the merchandise necessary to sustain on a large scale their commerce, which they proposed to extend as much as possible. While waiting for goods they formed a considerable

108. Ibid., 10

109. Chouteau to Grant June 1, 1808, St. Louis des Illinois, Fur Trade Mms., Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis

110. Elihu Shephard, Early History of St. Louis and Missouri, Southwestern Pub. Co., St. Louis, 1870, 23

111. Auguste Chouteau, "Journal of the Founding of St. Louis," Missouri Historical Society Collection, III, 1908-1911, 349 note; Chouteau's journal is the only source of information as to details of the founding of St. Louis. The original manuscript was given by Gabriel S. Chouteau, the youngest son of the author to the St. Louis mercantile Library Ass'n in 1857. The original has never been published. This translation is by J. Given Browne and J. Wilber Stith.

armament at the head of which was placed M. La Clede Linguete."

La Clede and his party left New Orleans August 3, 1763. After an upstream journey on the Mississippi, the expedition arrived in Illinois three months later, in November, 1763. The original plan was to stop in St. Genevieve, but La Clede could not find a house large enough to hold even one fourth of his goods. The French commandant at Ft. Chartres, M. Neyon, invited La Clede to move his merchandise over to Illinois and winter at that post. Chartres had not yet surrendered to England. The invitation was accepted and, after selecting the site for his settlement on the west side of the Mississippi River, La Clede settled down at Ft. Chartres to wait for spring.

Early in 1764 La Clede sent a couple of young men, his son Pierre and his step-son Auguste Chouteau, to construct some buildings in the new settlement. They arrived at the place February 15, 1764 and put up some tool shops and cattle sheds. No public buildings or dwellings were erected until La Clede arrived a month later in March. Auguste Chouteau had commenced a market house which was to be the only one that the city had for about sixty years. La Clede named the new post "St. Louis" in honor of Louis XV of France whose subject he expected to remain for a long time; he never imagined he was a subject of the King of Spain. He built his store and house opposite the site of

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114

112. Ibid., 350
113. James Joseph Conway, "Beginnings of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in St. Louis," M.H.S.C., 1897, 4
114. Chouteau, Journal, 352

the present Merchant's Exchange of St. Louis. It remained one of the best locations for business for many years. In his plan for the settlement, La Clede dedicated the third block from the river, one hundred yards square for a church and cemetery.¹¹⁵

La Clede invited the French settlers of Illinois to come to St. Louis. Several families accepted the invitation and proceeded to St. Louis where he aided them in settling. Lands were assigned to them according to La Clede's plan.¹¹⁶ After the departure of Neyon, the commandant in July 1764 and the emigration of its inhabitants to St. Louis, the village of Ft. de Chartres remained totally deserted except for the garrison of the fort and some government employees who also lived in the fort.¹¹⁷

Some of the houses had been demolished by the owners who took the boards, windows and door frames and everything else they could transport, to the places where they intended to settle.

Important in the fur trade and in the development of the early American west were the members of La Clede's family.

Marie Louise Chouteau La Clede, his wife, was born in New Orleans in 1733. At sixteen years of age she had married Auguste Rene Chouteau and a year after her son was born had left her husband and made her home with friends. In 1757 she is reported to have legally married La Clede. Of this marriage were born

115. Shephard, Early History of St. Louis and Missouri, 11

116. Chouteau, Journal, 360

117. Ibid., 360

Jean Pierre, 1758, Victoire, 1760, Pelagie, 1762 and Marie Louise, 1764.¹¹⁸ She left New Orleans with her husband and children for Upper Louisiana in August of 1763. She stopped with her family at St. Genevieve, at Ft. Chartres and in March of 1764 she went to Cahokia. In September she moved into her new house in St. Louis. After the death of La Clede in 1778, Mme. Chouteau, as she was always called, carried on the fur business on her own account and in the thirty-six years she survived him, she accumulated a considerable estate. During her whole life in St. Louis, exactly 50 years, she resided in the same house and when she died at the age of eighty-one years she left a small fortune in slaves, money, property and a large progeny.¹¹⁹

Probably the most important member of La Clede's family after himself was his step-son Auguste Chouteau. "When he left New Orleans with La Clede to come up the river, he was in his thirteenth year, and when he led the party to begin the building of St. Louis he was about thirteen and-a-half years. He seems to have been La Clede's lieutenant and chief assistant and when La Clede died in 1778, he administered his estate."¹²⁰ In 1786 he married Marie Therese, daughter of Gabriel Cerre. He gradually won for himself the position of chief man of business and acquired the greatest wealth of any citizen of the upper Louisiana country. He found great favor with the Americans upon the trans-

118. Fred. Billon, Annals of St. Louis in its Early Days, Jones Co., St. Louis, 1886, 412

119. Ibid., 412

120. Chouteau Journal, 335

fer of the country. Hewas appointed presiding justice of the first territorial court, and with Gov. Clark and Gov. Edwards of Illinois, commissioner to treat in behalf of the United States with the Indians. In 1808 Chouteau became Colonel of the Missouri Militia, and in 1809 was chairman of the first board of trustees of the town of St. Louis. He carried on an extensive mercantile business, was president of the bank of Missouri, was interested in lead mining and was a large land owner.

Chouteau as a fur trader and merchant contributed a great deal to the development of the American west. His interests were wide-spread and he maintained a small army of employees for many years. Among his letters and accounts is evidence of great net-work of enterprise of which St. Louis was the center. In May 1797 he wrote to a Mr. William Grant, a Canadian merchant asking him to sell his account to the best advantage two boat loads of pelts that he had sent to Mackinac and giving him full discretion in the disposal of the same. He also instructed Grant to buy 2000 pounds of sugar for which he was to pay as high as 25 sols.¹²¹

Chouteau handled a tremendous volume of furs. On June 4, 1797, he wrote to Grant again. It is interesting that he used the phrase, "St. Louis des Illinois." This time he informed Grant that as there were no beaver skins coming in from the upper Missouri, he was sending in their place eight hundred

121. Chouteau to Wm. Grant, May 8, 1797, Fur Trade Mms. II, 1686 -1924, Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis

pounds weight of deer skins, and that being pressed for time, he could not say how many skins were in the three packets but had sent them just as they had been received from the Indian traders. In this letter he also mentioned the names of several traders he wished Grant to make payments to on his account.

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Further interesting information on the ramifications of the fur trade is provided in the following letter. It was written in the American period June 24, 1808 at St. Louis. This time Chouteau wrote to J. B. Tabeau, a merchant of Montreal, informing him that all during that spring he had been unable to find occasion to send him the furs he had belonging to him (Tabeau) and that he had determined to send them in two barges to Chicagou and requesting him to pay the freight charges there on eight packets of skins to Gellespie and Fortier of that place. Chouteau's invoice for the freight on the goods from St. Louis to Chicagou is enclosed with the statement that the goods would be sent on from Chicagou to Mackinac to the representatives of the Fur Company by Mess. Kinsey and Forsyth.

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A study of the accounts of the Indian trade and Fur Companies shows that Chouteau and other French merchants and traders disposed of a large variety of merchandise. Bryan and Morrison were general merchants with warehouses in Cahokia and in Kaskaskia. There is a receipt that on May 25, 1798 they received of M. Chouteau by the hands of M. St. Cire, 1816½ lbs. of

122. Chouteau to Grant, June 4, 1797, Fur Trade Mms. II, Ibid.

123. Chouteau to Tabeau, June 24, 1808, Fur Trade Mms. II, Ibid.

shaved deer skins on account. In 1801 buffalo skins were evidently worth twenty-five dollars. On the account of Chouteau with Bryan and Morrison are the following entries:

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Oct. 15,	2 buffalo skins by Pascall Cire.....	50.00
Oct. 29,	10 buffalo skins by Pierre Chouteau...	250.00

After a long and active life, Chouteau died in St. Louis, Feb. 24, 1829, leaving his widow four sons and three daughters.

Pierre Chouteau was a half-brother of Auguste Chouteau. He was born in New Orleans, Oct. 10, 1758. He came to St. Louis in 1764 with Madame Chouteau and La Clede and other members of the founding expedition. In 1833 he testified that he had been among the Indians for thirty years, during which time he made only short stays in St. Louis. In 1804, he was appointed by President Jefferson as Indian agent for the Osages, which position he held for a long time. Some years later he retired from active business and devoted himself to the care of his large estate in and about St. Louis. He served for a time in the Missouri militia in which he held the rank of major. He was married twice, first to Pelagie Kiersereau and second to Brigitte Saucier. He had a large family of nine children.

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Pierre and Auguste Chouteau had received their early training in the fur trade from La Clede during the years when they had the Missouri Valley almost entirely to themselves. In

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- 124. Receipt to A. Chouteau from Bryan, Morrison, May 25, 1798. Indian Trade and Fur Companies Mms. V, Ibid.
 - 125. Account of Chouteau with Bryan and Morrison, Oct. 1801 Indian Trade and Fur companies Mms. V, Ibid.
 - 126. Chouteau, Journal, 243

1778 La Clede died of fever while he was travelling down to New Orleans. He is said to have been buried on the banks of the river just below its confluence with the Arkansas River. ¹²⁷ Upon the death of La Clede, A. Chouteau had been in the employ of La Clede, Maxent and Co. of New Orleans as clerk of the house. With the death of La Clede, Auguste Chouteau went down and spent the winter of 1778-79 in New Orleans in adjusting the affairs of the firm. When Chouteau returned to St. Louis, he had the authority to sell La Clede's property in order to settle the claims upon the estate. It is interesting that the Chouteau family bought up La Clede's St. Louis property instead of inheriting it. The sale took place, authorized by the Spanish governor, July 4, 1779. The mill, and the surrounding ground on which it was built was purchased by A. Chouteau for \$400. The house and farm containing negro cabins, barn, garden and yard were bought by Mme. Chouteau for \$150. ¹²⁸ The Chouteau family and its large relationship were well established in and about St. Louis. The story of the founding of St. Louis is part of the evidence of French activity in the early American west.

One of the early heroes of St. Louis was its first commandant, St. Ange de Bellerive. Bellerive had been with Bourmont at Ft. Orleans and therefore knew the Missouri Valley quite well. He was in command of Ft. Chartres at the time of its transfer to Capt. Sterling of the English forces in 1765. The forty French

127. Shephard, Early History of St. Louis and Missouri, 23

128. Billon, Annals of St. Louis, 147

soldiers that had made up the garrison of Ft. Chartres were transferred to St. Louis and gave the new post influence and importance. ¹²⁹ Bellerive enjoyed the respect and affection of the Indians among whom was the Ottawa chief, Pontiac. ¹³⁰ By the unanimous vote of the settlers, Bellerive was made "Commandant General of St. Louis with full power to grant lands and to do all acts consistent with that office as though he held it by royal authority." ¹³¹ Bellerive accepted the authority conferred upon him and acted upon it with the full approbation of Aubri, the Spanish Commandant General of New Orleans. ¹³²

In 1766, Bellerive, having organized his system of government, began making land grants and recorded them in the "Livres Terriens". He hoped for retrocession of the country to France at which time the titles would be legalized. ¹³³ These land books were six small books of ordinary foolscap paper, three quires each, in which were entered very concisely each land grant. ¹³⁴

The new colony soon gave evidence of thrift and stability and encouraged some of the inhabitants of Illinois, who resented English rule, to transfer their establishments to the new settlement at St. Louis, whose trade soon increased. The liberal land grants attracted colonists from Canada and Lower Louisiana.

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129. Taylor and Crooks, Sketch Book of St. Louis, 13
130. Shephard, Early History of St. Louis and Missouri, 14
131. Ibid., 14
132. Ibid., 14
133. Ibid., 15
134. Ibid., 13

The wealth to be won in the fur trade was more of an inducement than the land concessions. Settlements were built along the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers to serve as depots for merchandise. In 1767, Vide Poche, or Carondelet was founded by Belor Tregette. Florissant, called for a time St. Ferdinand in honor of the Spanish King, was established in 1776, by Beaurossier Dunegant; and in 1769 Le Petit Cote, now St. Charles was established by Blanchette Chausseur.¹³⁵ According to Pichardo St. Charles was most important after St. Louis and St. Genevieve. "After St. Louis and St. Genevieve, the most important settlement is San Carlos. This small fortified town located on the Missouri River three leagues from its mouth is a result of the migration of some families from St. Louis whose heads were hunters by profession. They came to settle there in order to be nearer the country where hunting was most abundant."¹³⁶

In April of 1765, the Commandant General, l'Abbadie, at New Orleans received orders from the French government to proclaim to the people the surrender of all the French possessions west of the Mississippi River to Spain. Spain did not actually assume authority in St. Louis until 1770. Two years earlier, in 1768, Spanish troops had arrived in St. Louis under the command

135. Taylor and Crooks, Sketch Book of St. Louis, 13

136. Hackett, Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas, II, 27

of Gen. Rios. They made no demonstration against the administration of Bellerive, and after spending a quiet winter in St. Louis they withdrew to New Orleans the following summer. ¹³⁷

That same year, 1769, the people of St. Louis entertained the famous Indian chief, Pontiac. He had come to visit his old friend Bellerive. Pontiac's conspiracy, to drive and confine the English east of the Alleghany Mountains had failed in 1765. His French allies had deserted him; and his best friends had urged him to bury the tomahawk. His defeat caused the old chief to brood. He was still the demigod of the western Indians, however, and there was a good bit of glory about Pontiac's name. Bellerive gave him a cordial reception corresponding to his former high position and he was entertained by many of the town's leading residents among whom was Mme. Chouteau. ¹³⁸ He was still the "lion" that attracted all eyes toward him as he returned across the river to visit some French friends in Cahokia. Upon this occasion he is said to have worn the complete Lieutenant's uniform which he received from the unfortunate Montcalm at Quebec. Soon after he reached the Illinois side of the river, Pontiac was tomahawked by a Kaskaskia Indian who had been bribed by an English trader. His body was brought to St. Louis under orders of Bellerive and buried with all the honors of war.

With the arrival in New Orleans of Don Alexander O'Reilly, the new Commandant General of Louisiana, with three thousand men

137. Shephard, Early History of St. Louis and Missouri, 16

138. Ibid., 17

to enforce Spanish rule, no time was lost in bringing St. Louis under Spanish control. O'Reilly dispatched Lieut. Piernas to St. Louis in 1770, to whom Bellerive quickly gave over command, and was made captain in the service of Spain. ¹³⁹

The location of St. Louis in regards to the fur trade challenged the English from the north. In May 1780, an English attack was launched from Michilimackinac and other northern points aimed at the recovery of the Illinois trade and the capture of St. Louis. ¹⁴⁰ The English force included four French Canadians, who had been in the employ of the fur trade as conductors. They were Ducharme, Quennelle, Calvi, and Langdon. ¹⁴¹ Frenchmen were always to be found in the early parties in the wilderness. Indians made up most of the rest of the party. When they appeared before the little village the townspeople put up such a stout defense that the attacking party withdrew. ^{142.}

The English traders were dissatisfied with their hunting grounds. "Late in January, 1783, the London Chronicle reported that a committee of merchants engaged in the Canadian fur trade just waited upon Lord Shelburne. 'They stated' the report continues, 'that his Majesty's Ministers might as well have thrown Canada into the number of sacrifices which had been made for the purpose of peace, since they had given up all the advantages and value of Canada. Not a single fur could be brought to the Brit-

139. Ibid., 18

140. Clark, West in American History, 158

141. Shephard, Early History of St. Louis and Missouri, 24

142. Clark, West in American History, 163

ish market in Quebec without the permission of the governors of the American forts on the lakes and in the back country." ¹⁴³

The arrival in St. Louis of ten barges from New Orleans in 1788 has been called "The Year of the Ten Boats" (l'annee des dix bateaux). The cargoes consisted of guns, ammunition, and provisions of all kinds for exchange in the fur trade. Early transportation on the Mississippi River, was slow and tedious, ninety days being required to make the journey from New Orleans to St. Louis. When trading parties returned, the streets of St. Louis were thronged with voyageurs, of all ages and complexions. They were a source of constant trouble to a weak and inefficient police with whom they delighted to "kick up a row." ¹⁴⁴ Although steam navigation on the rivers was to put many of these boatmen out of work, the French voyageurs were still in demand as late as 1850 on the Yellowstone and upper Missouri Rivers. ¹⁴⁵

The merchants of St. Louis enjoyed two markets, one at New Orleans and, after 1783, the other in Canada. The furs from the great west came to St. Louis to be sorted and packed into bundles and shipped out of the country. Up from New Orleans came imported objects from France and elsewhere. Fine textiles, wines, hats, food products, furniture, mirrors and articles of gold and silver were among cargoes that reached St. Louis from time to time. In 1766, furs and peltries were used as currency.

143. Ibid., 162

144. Shephard, Early History of St. Louis and Missouri, 31

145. Larpenteur, Forty Years a Fur Trader, 219

Even today, St. Louis is known as the largest primary market for
146
American raw furs.

In 1800, Louisiana was returned to France. There was no attempt on the part of the French government to assert French rule. In 1803 the United States bought Louisiana from France. It is usually supposed that at the moment of the Louisiana Purchase the entire French population of the Missouri and Mississippi Valleys became Americanized immediately or completely disappeared from the country. The wealthy merchants, when they learned that it was to their advantage to be friendly with the Americans, learned English. "But the majority of the population, simple peasants, miners, trappers, hunters, had seen changes of government before, had been trained to expect little interference from the law, therefore did not or could not alter themselves with such deft speed. They remained French peasants and remain so today, in greater numbers probably than at the time of the Purchase."¹⁴⁷

St. Louis had about nine thousand population, including adjacent districts. The growth of the city's population was slow until after the war of 1812. When Captain Stoddard, acting for the French government formally transferred St. Louis to the United States, the city by way of celebration floated three flags; the French, the Spanish and the American, the latter having at that time seventeen stars.

146. World Book Ency. X, 6318

147. Ward Allison Dorrance, The Survival of French in the Old District of St. Genevieve, U. of Mo., 1935, 7

a barrier between Canada and the Mississippi River. Also, the Mississippi was a better outlet for the produce of the Illinois villages than was the Great Lakes route. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the cluster of villages in southern Illinois, while maintaining some fur trade, had become noted as the chief agricultural community in the French mainland possessions. ¹⁵⁰

Quantities of produce were taken eastward to Detroit but especially southward to the settlements along the lower Mississippi and to the French West Indies. ¹⁵¹

Another reason that caused the new settlements to turn to agriculture was the depression in the fur market. Toward the end of the seventeenth century there occurred a slump in the beaver trade in Canada and it never quite regained its former importance. ¹⁵²

The market was overburdened with furs and the French colonies turned to farming and manufacturing. Intendant Champigny writing to the French Minister, May 26, 1696 deplored the superabundance of beaver skins. "There are four million livres' worth of them; and they cannot all be disposed of in ten years;---we must examine the proposal to establish manufactures" ¹⁵³

It was then that the beaver furs began to be classified according to quality and to have set prices.

The Illinois posts and missions, in addition to their own

150. Ibid., 103

151. Ibid., 104

152. Patrick J. Lomasney, "The Canadian Jesuits and the Fur Trade" Mid-America, XV, 322

153. Ibid., 322

importance, were starting points for expeditions to the west. In March 1699, the Mission of the Holy Family of the Tamaroa, the future Cahokia was built by the Seminary priests of Quebec.¹⁵⁴ In fact, the Seminary fathers had received a grant of land for the Tamaroa Mission as a base for the entire Missouri Valley.¹⁵⁵ In Paris in 1700, the superior of the Society of Foreign Missions insisted on the Tamaroa post as a useful base for contact with the Missions of the Missouri and the Aksas (Kansas?) which we prefer to others as being farthest from the French and consequently promising more in fruit although the expenses of the same will be much greater.¹⁵⁶ Here is an expression, in addition to the Mission plan, of the attitude of the Missionary toward his countrymen engaged in western trade enterprises. In the Illinois settlements, during the early eighteenth century, there were soldiers, traders and miners in addition to a large number of transients, who often hindered the work of the missionaries.

Concerning plans for Missouri Missions, Father Bergier wrote, in 1702, "The two principal missions which I would like to take in hand, if there were men and money, are the Cancez and the Panimaha along the River Missouri."¹⁵⁷ The Jesuit Father Limoges, in 1700 expressed to Father St. Cosme, his desire to plant the cross among the tribes of the Missouri, especially the Osage.¹⁵⁸

154. Garraghan, Chapters in Frontier History, 60

155. Ibid., 61

156. Ibid., 61

157. Ibid., 61

158. Ibid., 60

In the last decade of the seventeenth century, relations were established between the Jesuit Mission at Kaskaskia and some of the Indian tribes west of the Mississippi River. In May 1693, a party made up of two French traders and some Kaskaskia Indians visited the Missouri and Osage tribes to cement an alliance. The traders returned to Kaskaskia in June 1693 accompanied by two chiefs, one from each village and some elders and women.

Another missionary record that mentions a *coureur de bois* is that of Father Marest, S.J. From his Kaskaskia mission on the Illinois he dispatched to Iberville, founder of Biloxi and Mobile, all the information he was able to gather about the Missouri Valley. "Our warriors have brought us horses and bridles, which these nations took from the Spaniards, and Rouensa at present has one of them. However, it seems to me it was La Chenais who came from that country with the Indians, that made him a present of this horse." The La Chenais (Chenaye) mentioned by Father Marest is apparently the *coureur de bois* who lived for some time with the Iowa Indians in the last part of the seventeenth century.

While traders were trying to make fortunes and establish France in the trans-Mississippi west, missionaries were working equally hard to convert the Indians. Theoretically, the traders and missionaries being countrymen, should have had much in common. However, though they were often found together, there was

162. Garraghan, Chapters in Frontier History, 57

163. Ibid., 63

probably more friction than co-operation between them. According to many missionaries' records, the influence of the French traders with the Indians greatly hindered the work of the missionaries.

During the first part of the eighteenth century, the fur trade was monopolized by a few friends of the officials of the Canadian government.¹⁶⁴ Consequently, there were many traders who were engaged in the trade without permission or licenses. It was a time of lawlessness and boot-legging in the fur trade. From time to time the Canadian government tried to remedy the situation or to control the illicit trade in furs.¹⁶⁵ In 1681, the plan was set up of giving out twenty-five licenses to traders, and each licensed trader was to send out twenty-five canoes, with three men to a canoe. The plan, unsuccessful, was revoked in 1696, restored in 1716, again revoked in 1719 and once more restored in 1726.¹⁶⁶

The fur trade, while it was a source of wealth to Frenchmen in America, was a great worry to the Church and government. Coureur de bois caused most of the trouble. They were the young men of Canada who ranged the woods trapping or trading. Some carried their own merchandise to the Indians while others went to the woods as buying merchants or their agents. They led idle,

164. Wrong, The Fall of Canada, 89

165. Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Thwaites, ed. Burrows Co. Cleveland, 1901, LXV, 272

166. Ibid., LXV, 272

dissipated lives. They even shocked the Indians, and their example undid the work of the missionaries. ¹⁶⁷

The French Intendant, Jean Talon, in 1670, tried to check these vagabonds. The ordinance of 1673 forbade any habitant, on pain of death, to abandon their homes or to wander from them into the woods for more than twenty-four hours without permission of the Governor General. In 1672, Frontenac had issued an edict forbidding the sale of merchandise to the ¹⁶⁸ *coureurs de bois* or the purchase of furs from them. This edict was not enforced. It was suspected of Frontenac that he also was secretly engaged in illicit fur trading.

The *coureurs de bois* sometimes served as intermediaries and interpreters between the Indians and the French. However, by continually hunting and fishing in the midst of the savages they became attached to their way of life. They took to hunting and trading for their own profit and they came less often to the Canadian settlements, except to sell their stock of pelts in the annual fairs and to find new recruits among their countrymen. Naturally, they sought out the Indian villages and the French missions.

Seeking to restore the trading licenses as a remedy for illicit trade, the Intendant in 1710 wrote that the *coureurs* were not accustomed to till the soil and could not therefore be driven to it by any punishment. "They are useful in Canada for

167. Lemasney, Relations Between Church and State in New France,
Doctoral Dissertation presented at St. Louis U., 1932, 267
168. Ibid., 274

the fur trade. If articles of trade are not sent ~~sent~~ to Michilimack-
inac, the savages will get them from the English. ¹⁶⁹ "In."

When trading licenses were lawful, they ~~were~~ were frequently issued to Commandants at the western posts, who ~~in~~ in turn employed a number of coureurs de bois to go out and trade ~~to~~ with the Indians. Such licenses were known as conges. The ~~to~~ military officers and traders who carried conges were empow~~er~~erred to arrest and pillage any coureurs found trading illegally ~~to~~ and to fire on them if they resisted. The licensed trader was ~~is~~ permitted to trade liquor with the Indians but he was not perm~~it~~itted to start out with more than ten jugs of brandy. ¹⁷⁰ In actual practice the military officers, with and without licenses, emp~~lo~~mployed as many coureurs as they wished regardless of the specific~~ifications~~ifications of the law. They sheltered those who had deserted the ~~s~~ settlements for purposes of trade. They found many ways to circ~~um~~vent the liquor restrictions. They employed any means poss~~ib~~ossible to get ~~at~~ furs from the Indians.

It was not long before the missionaries, ~~s~~ stationed at or near the trading posts, such as Michilimackinac ~~or~~ or Beauharnois should complain to Montreal of the exploitation ~~o~~ of the Indians by French traders, and of the general misconduct ~~th~~ of the white men. There is a letter written by Father Carheil~~l~~ from Mackinac in August, 1702. In it he reports, "It is evid~~ent~~ent that the garrisons are of no use to the savages either with~~in~~thin or without

169. Ibid., 284

270. Ibid., 282

their villages; they are entirely useless for their preservation
or their defense." ¹⁷¹

Father Carheil took up the cause of the legitimate trader as against the unlicensed ones. "Now, if they (unlicensed) be useless to the savages, they are still more so to the voyageurs who obtain permission to come up here to trade, and who alone are entitled to do so, to the exclusion of all others who have no right to do it--and who cannot trade without doing the voyageurs an injustice. And yet such is the sole occupation of all the garrisons; such is their unique employment--which is not only unnecessary for the voyageurs, but is exceedingly hurtful to them, and does them damage to the extent of all the beaver skins and other furs that the soldiers collect." ¹⁷²

Evidently, the missionaries and the licensed traders got along in agreement, at least until the military took a hand in the fur trade. "Before there were any commandants here, the missionaries were always listened to by the traders because they (traders) were afraid to give them (missionaries) any grounds for complaint, thereby losing permission to trade." ¹⁷³ As long as it was profitable to them in trade, the officers shielded and worked hand-in-hand with the unlawful coureurs. But, "if on some occasions, the commandants are obliged to do something contrary to the usual freedom of the voyageurs' trade then those

171. ^{171, 172, 173} Jesuit Relations, LXV, 213

172. Ibid., LXV, 213

173. Ibid., LXV, 201

officers display a certain cleverness of which we would never have suspected." ¹⁷⁴ The cleverness referred to consisted in placing the blame upon the missionaries.

When the missionaries objected to traders and their methods, they were frequently charged with the desire to have the whole fur trade and its profits to themselves. "Nearly every canoe, even those of the Jesuit priests, going to the interior carried goods for exchange with the natives, and the charge was often repeated that the Jesuits engaged in trade. They took to their stations goods with which not only to buy supplies for their own living, but also to furnish things to the natives, and inevitably they received furs in payment which were almost the currency of the country. It was customary for the missionaries in some way to dispose of these furs. Since the Jesuits aimed to shut out the unscrupulous traders from the posts, it was an easy task to accuse them of acquiring the fur ¹⁷⁵ profits for themselves.

When the king asked the procurator of the Canadian Jesuits why those fathers had abandoned their mission at Michilimackinac, he was told that their principal motive was to prevent the debauchery of their neophytes by Frenchmen who went to trade in the depths of the forests. ¹⁷⁶ Among the useful and fantastic articles of European trade that the Indians received for their

174. Ibid., LXV, 203

175. Lomasney, "Canadian Jesuits and the Fur Trade," Mid-America, XV, 150; Note from Wrong, Rise and Fall of New France, I, 440

176. Lomasney, Relations Between Church and State in New France, 293

furs, the favorite was brandy. Liquor made so much trouble that the missionaries and others concerned with the welfare of the French settlements did all that they could to control or abolish it. Father Lafitau, missionary of the Iroquois of Sault St. Louis wrote in October, 1718, "In the permits to be given for this last time forbid the taking of any brandy even for the voyageurs' use."¹⁷⁷

There are many accounts of the demoralizing influence of certain traders, and little good can be found on record concerning any of the coureurs de bois. However, there are a few instances where missionaries and traders did co-operate in founding and in maintaining settlements. One of these was known as Des Peres village built on the site of present St. Louis. Concerning the founding of Des Peres, it is recorded in Father Bergier's correspondence that in 1700, the Kaskaskia Indians left their village near modern Peoria and moved down the Illinois River and found a new home on the west bank of the Mississippi River at the mouth of the Des Peres River. A fort was built and many residents of the Tamaroa Mission hastened over to join the new French settlement.¹⁷⁸ Here at Des Peres the historic Kaskaskia mission was maintained, the Indians and French sharing the ministrations of the Jesuit fathers. Father Marest, the missionary to the Kaskaskia Indians resumed his work as pastor of

177. Jesuit Relations, LXVII, 47

178. Garraghan, Chapters in Frontier History, 78

the new settlement and except for a missionary visit or two to Peoria, remained with them until the abandonment of Des Peres.

Father Borie, who had joined Father Marest at Des Peres set out in the summer of 1701 on a missionary journey to the Sioux of the Upper Mississippi. Father Borie's canoe was wrecked about fifty miles above the settlement and he returned to the settlement without again attempting to reach the Sioux. Father Marest also planned to travel to the Sioux country but nothing came of his plans.

The two pastors of Des Peres, Father Pinet and Marest are among the interesting in that period of Mississippi Valley history known as the French occupation. Father Gabriel Marest began his missionary career in the Hudson Bay region where he was taken prisoner by the English and taken to England. ¹⁷⁹ On his release from Plymouth at the conclusion of the treaty between France and England, he returned to the new world where he spent the rest of his life among the Kaskaskia Indians. He was with them at their three successive settlements; first on the Illinois, second on the Des Peres and third on the Kaskaskia River. To this last home of theirs he accompanied them in the spring of 1703, the date of the passing of the French and Indian settlement at Des Peres. With the migration of the Indians and their pastor further south, the French settlers also apparently moved

179. William I. Kip, Historical Scenes From the Old Jesuit Missions, Randolph, N.Y. 1875, 225

away and in a short time every trace of settlement had dis-
180
appeared.

Father Pinet had incurred the displeasure of Cadillac by denouncing from the pulpit at Mackinac the prevailing traffic in liquor and the resulting ruin to his Indian flock. At Chicago, 1696-1701, Father Pinet had conducted the mission of the Guardian Angel for the Miami Indian. At Cahokia, his chapel was taxed beyond capacity by the number of natives that attended the service. On the testimony of his successor at that post, Father Bergier, he spoke the Indian language perfectly and even better than the Indians themselves. Father Pinet died at the Des Peres village, August 11, 1702, the funeral service being conducted by Father Bergier. It was the first death and burial recorded on
181
Missouri soil.

As Chaplain with Bourgmend at Ft. Orleans was Father Jean Baptiste Mercier, a Seminary missionary. He had come down from Canada in 1718, being stationed at Cahokia until he accompanied Bourgmend up the Missouri in 1723. In his five years at Cahokia, Father Mercier had learned the Illinois language and served as interpreter during a dispute between the French and Indians at
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Ft. Orleans. With the commandant Bourgmend, Father Mercier made a number of journeys up and down the Missouri River where he made a considerable impression upon the Indians. Evidently in this case the soldier and the missionary were able to work well together.

180. Garraghan, Chapters in Frontier History, 83
181. Ibid., 82
182. Ibid., 66

The order for the abandonment of the fort, issued at the Paris headquarters of the Company of the Indies, Oct. 27, 1727, specified that "a missionary was to be left there if he thinks that he can make any progress in the preaching of the gospel among the Indians,"¹⁸³ and a salary was to be assured him.

Father Mercier, however, retired from the fort with the French garrison or possibly earlier, resuming his work of resident missionary at Cahokia.

183. Ibid., 66

CHAPTER VI

LATER FRENCH ACTIVITY IN THE MISSOURI VALLEY

There is not much information in any published account of the government of upper Louisiana under the French and Spanish regimes. There were laws but few of the public officers except those attached to New Orleans were acquainted with them. None were ever published. However, there is no evidence that the French colonials, under their own or the Spanish administrations were not completely happy. ¹⁸⁴ Keeping peace among the Indians and regulating the fur trade seem to have been the chief duties of the government during the years 1764-1804.

At St. Louis during the days of the Spanish rule there were companies trading under trade grants from the governor of Louisiana. Maxent-La Clede was one of these. After the death of La Clede in 1778, the company was dissolved and others took its place. Down to the time of the cession, 1804, there had been several of these associations and the trade extended well up the Missouri River. Charles LaRaye, in his Journal mentions ¹⁸⁵ that he camped at the mouth of the Jaun River in 1802. None of these earlier companies ever attained any extensive success, at least not when compared with the later and larger companies.

Fur trade, or the Indian trade, as it was called in the correspondence of the time, was carried on by small associations

184. Dorrance, Survival of French in the Old District of St. Genevieve, 29

185. "Journal of Charles LaRaye," ~~XXXXXX~~ XXXXXX COLL. 1908, IV, 150
South Dakota Historical Collection

or by independent traders. The personnel, from the head of the company to the lowest employee in the field was French. One of the most interesting accounts of trading activities in the upper Missouri Valley is that of Jean Baptiste Trudeau, in 1795. ¹⁸⁶ He was very definite in writing down his instructions. "As for myself, my orders being to maintain very high prices on merchandise--though I see with much regret so many fine skins being taken out of our territory to strangers, I cannot without a new order from the company better the price." Trudeau criticized the work of the two agents who had preceded him among the Pawnees. He found that the Indians did not attach much value to the merchandise of the traders. When they sold food to the Frenchmen, they exacted a separate price for each item in the meal; when the soup was paid for they brought corn; when that was paid for they brought meat, and so on. Trudeau set about to discontinue "this pernicious habit of his predecessors." He complained further about the method of Deglisse and Garault, the agents he was succeeding. They had not attracted other Indian tribes to trade, "had not tried to maintain union and harmony between the Ricaras and their allies." They had not induced them to hunt beaver and other good furs, "Being too much bent upon the trading of robes, leggings, moccasins, cow hides, and parchment

186. "Journal of Jean Baptiste Trudeau on the Upper Missouri" Part II, trans. by Mrs. Beauregard, M.H.S.C. IV. 21-48 (also Mms. 14 St. Louis)
Part I, Roscoe Hill, ed., M.H.S.C. 1914, Newberry Library.

which sufficed to meet their needs."

There is a little information concerning Deglisse and Garrault. It explains something of the life of those many Frenchmen who occupied the west but who never amassed fortunes or became famous. According to Douglas,¹⁸⁸ Jaques d'Eglise was the first person to reach the Mandans from St. Louis by way of the Missouri. In August, 1790 he obtained a permit from Manuel Perez, the Lieut. Gov. at St. Louis to go hunting on the Missouri. Trade with all known Indians had been prohibited. Eglise made his way up the Missouri until he encountered the Mandans. He returned to St. Louis in October 1792 and the following year set out on a second voyage, taking with him probably as partner, Joseph Garreau. This journey was not a success. The Arikara Indians would not allow them to pass further up the river. Garreau, whose "espíritu turbulento y livertino" did much to ruin the enterprise, preferred to remain with the Indians rather than face his creditors in St. Louis.

Trudeau's instructions in 1794 referred to these traders as having injured the Mahas Indians in passing their village and enjoined him to stop them from trading if he found them among the Mandans. Trudeau's journal mentions the departure of Eglise from the village of the Arikaras for St. Louis, May 24, 1795. In July of 1795 after Carondelet had offered a reward of \$3,000 to the first person who should reach the Pacific Ocean overland,

187. Ibid., II, 8

188. W. B. Douglas, "Traders," M.H.S.C., 1914, 300

the Lieut. Gov. Zenon Trudeau wrote of Eglise that he planned to leave in a few days "full of spirit and ambition" with the intention of crossing the Rocky mountains to the sea. Under the name of Santiago d'Eglise he is spoken of in 1804 as still occupied with trading on the upper Missouri. In official Spanish documents his name is also found in the forms of Santiago de la Iglesia and Jacobo L'Iglisse.¹⁸⁹

Trudeau had left St. Louis in the summer of 1795, but had been detained among the Pawnees who were along the Missouri River then. He wrote that he remained there on the Missouri while the others went off to hunt beaver, "as much to preserve peace and union between these nations as to prevent their attacking those (Frenchmen?) who wander over the western shores of this river, and they are many."¹⁹⁰ Later in his journal, Trudeau referred to "our young Canadians and Creoles who come here and are seen everywhere running at full speed like escaped horses into the country."¹⁹¹

The term, "Creole" as used by Dorrance, who takes it from Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, is a white person descended from French or Spanish settlers of Louisiana and the Gulf States. The descendants of the French in Missouri, though for the most part of Canadian origin, were geographically and politically

189. Ibid., 300

190. Trudeau Journal, II, 1

191. Ibid., 2

"Creoles" in this sense.

Trudeau himself was a Canadian. He was born in Canada in 1748 and arrived in St. Louis by way of New Orleans in 1774. He became the first school master in the new town of St. Louis, where he taught until 1821. In 1799, Gov. Zenon Trudeau gave a present of \$400 to the children of Jean Baptiste Trudeau in gratitude for teaching the Governor's children and for other favors. This was four years after the school teacher's expedition on the upper Missouri.

Trudeau wrote that he found the Arikara Indians to be gentle. "He who is not satisfied with what is given him in exchange for his furs carries them back again without murmur or threat." Frenchmen who had preceded Trudeau among this tribe had described them differently. Trudeau expressed the idea that his countrymen had been giving bad example to the Indians and that they had been paid back in kind. "Giving bad example before the young is a fault much too common among the French." He added that the Indians who had made no contact with the white men were morally better than others.

The country south and west of the Platte River, and around the south branch had not been hunted. It was believed to

192. Dorrance, The Survival of French, 7
 193. Douglas, Mms. Sketch of J. B. Trudeau in Trudeau Papers,
 St. Louis. Hill has the same information
 in his published introduction to Part I of the Journal.
 194. Trudeau Journal, II, 5
 195. Ibid., II, 6

196

abound in beaver and otter. Trudeau believed that the Indians in that country had had no commerce with the French and would

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therefore be easy to deal with. He suggested that merchandise be taken to them in flat canoes made of buffalo skins, "such as are used on the Platte River." It would be an impossibility, he

wrote, to attempt to have them come by way of the Missouri River

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to the place where the merchandise depots are established. The names or locations of the depots are not mentioned, but the Sioux

Indians are given as the reason why the other tribes would not

venture near the trading posts. "The Sioux," he wrote, "are

feared and dreaded by all these others on account of the fire

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arms with which they are always well provided. The Sioux have

been referred to as the highest type of North American Indians

in intelligence and courage. Today there are about 22,000 most

of whom live in the Black Hills of South Dakota. During the

French occupation they occupied the region from the Arkansas

River to the western tributary of Lake Winnipeg and from the

Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains. In the war of 1812

they aided the English. When Trudeau was on the upper Missouri,

the English fur traders were working westward from Lake Superior.

McKenzie had recently, 1793, discovered and explored the Columbia

River. The Indians along the upper Missouri found their furs

196. Ibid., II, 12

197. Ibid., II, 12

198. Ibid., II, 13

199. Ibid., II, 3

sought by the French and English alike. The main tribe of the Sioux traded largely with the English and in his journal Trudeau observed that the Sioux hunted beaver, "which they take away to other Sioux who frequent the St. Pierre River and that neighborhood." ²⁰⁰

As to the price of furs he wrote, "The high price held here on merchandise is more than anything else, the measure of powder which one will give them for each beaver, which until now has been only ten louis for each bundle and some trifle; now they would exact two hands full for each beaver and otter pack, otherwise they would never consent to trade their furs with us." ²⁰¹ In addition to the high prices which had to be paid for furs, Trudeau felt handicapped in the small number of men he had with him. He had been ordered that any plans should be carried out without expense or cost according to instructions, that he should keep only a few men with him and send back the others. He complained bitterly and with sarcasm that two men were not enough to go to the four points of the compass to get trade. ²⁰²

Many mishaps added to the hazards of early French traders in the west. While Trudeau was living with the Arikara Indians several horses were stolen, presumably by Mandan Indians. The journal gives every step that was taken in order to recover them. On June 17, 1796, three Arikara Indians set out to the Mandan

200. Ibid., II, 13

201. Ibid., II, 14

202. Ibid., II, 15

village to get them. They returned the next day frightened by a war party of Sioux. On June 24th, Trudeau sent two Frenchmen, Quebec and Charette to get the horses. Three days later they also returned without the horses saying that they had seen a party of Sioux and would go no further. It seemed imperative that those horses be returned so again on July 2nd six Arikara Indians set out for the Mandan village. This time Trudeau sent a letter by them to Menard and Jussaume who were living among the Mandans. The journal records the contents of the letters as follows, "I impressed them with the fact that the intention of the Lieut. Gov. of the Illinois was to provide them with the necessaries of life, to all nations situated along the upper Missouri and for this reason had formed a company composed of several merchants of St. Louis for whom I was agent to establish a trading post among the Mandans for several years; that unfortunate and unforeseen events had prevented my reaching there last fall, that I would certainly reach there during the coming summer after the arrival of a pirogue laden with merchandise which I was expecting during July or August. I assured them that the company

of the Missouri was ready to favor and to help them." He asked them for their support and co-operation, asked them to work for peace among the Indians and concluded by telling them that they must stop trading with the English on Red River.

When the six Indians returned on July 14th, they did not have the horses but they brought an answer from the two French traders among the Mandans. They pledged their support to Trudeau and reported that the Mandans and Gros Ventres were anxious for the French to come.

Trudeau finally built his house in 1796 and called it the Pawnee House. When Lewis and Clark moved into the Dakota country, September 8, 1804, they passed Trudeau's post.

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203. Ibid., II, 19
 From the Introduction to Part I of the Journal of J. B. Trudeau written by R. R. Hill in M.H.S.C., P 300, "The Commercial Company for the Discovery of the Nations of the Upper Missouri was organized at St. Louis in 1793-94, articles of association being drawn up May 12, 1794. Wishing to put their first expedition under the command of an educated man, the associated of the company requested Trudeau to take charge of the party. It was to proceed up the river as far as the Mandan villages with merchandise to the amount of 20,000 pesos. The instructions given to Trudeau are dated June 30, 1794. Paragraph 42 instructs him to keep a daily account of all occurrences and observations and to send a copy each year to the director and to keep a duplicate."
204. Ibid., II 19
205. Ibid., II, 24
206. Constant Marks, "Pierre Durion," S D H C II, 68
 Sioux Falls, So. Dak. 1904
 Coues, ed. History of the Expedition of Lewis and Clark, I,
 112

One of the Frenchmen engaged by Lewis and Clark was pierre Durion, a French trader who had had long experience among the Indians and whose home was at Yankton. Durion was probably the first white man to make his home permanently in South Dakota. His wife was a Yankton Indian and his son Pierre was a grown man when Lewis and Clark arrived at the James River in 1804. Pierre Durion was engaged as guide for the Astoria party in 1810. Many Frenchmen who acted as guides for such American parties were second or third generation settlers of the west.

Another post encountered by Lewis and Clark in September 1804, was that of Loisel on Cedar Island. There are many islands today called, "Cedar Island." The location of the one referred to is not clear. There is a map in the collection of Indian Manuscripts called, Map of Towns on Missouri River, Inhabitants Owning land near Bon Homme dated 1790, on which is indicated a strip of land labeled 'Loisel' between the LeCompte River on the South and the Crevecoeur River on the north. Both of these rivers are south of the Bon Homme River. Loisel wintered at this post during the winter of 1803 in order to trade with the Sioux.

207. Marks, "Pierre Durion," 68

208. Ibid., II, 68

209. History of the Expedition of Lewis and Clark, I, Coues p. 108, "Old Durion and his hopeful Pierre were not the best ethnological experts in the world, but perhaps the highest authorities that the expedition had on hand."

210. Ibid., I, 126

211. Photostat of map in Indian Mms. St., Missouri Historical Library Society, St. Louis

The biographical information concerning Loisel, also recorded as Louasell, introduces a different type of trader into the west. Regis Loisel was born in Assumption parish, in lower Canada and came to St. Louis from Michilimackinac in 1793. He was hired by Charles Gratiot as the clerk for August Chouteau. The following is an extract of a letter written by Gratiot to Chouteau, from Mackinac, July 12, 1793. "I send you Loisel whom I have hired for your clerk. I have made no other positive arrangements with him except my word that you will give him \$200 salary for one year. You will be enabled when you are familiar with his merit and abilities to retain him in your employment for which I _____ to answer from the _____ of available recommendations made of his conduct."²¹²

Evidently, Loisel's merit and abilities were satisfactory to Chouteau because he became a partner in the firm of Clamorgan²¹³ and Chouteau and remained with them until his death. In May 1800, Loisel married Helene, daughter of Jaques Chauvin. They three children, Josephine, Clementine and a son Regis who was born after his father's death in 1805. This son became a priest²¹⁴ and later went to Cahokia.

The family apparently lived in St. Louis, rather than up in the Dakota country. There is a record of a lot purchased by

212. Billon, Annals of St. Louis.

213. Ibid., 465

214. Ibid., 465

Loisel from Francois Saucier at public sale for \$400.²¹⁵ It was 120 by 150 feet and had a house on it. There is a discrepancy in the dates of Loisel's arrival in the west. He is believed to come to St. Louis in 1793 but he is located on a 1790 map. In any case, he must have been a trader of some importance to have been a partner in the company of Chouteau, Clamorgan.²¹⁶ His trading post on Cedar Island was 60 or 70 feet square, built with red cedar and picketed in with the same wood.²¹⁷ In this square he built a house 45½ by 32½ feet and divided it into four parts; one for goods, one to trade in, one to be used as a common hall and one for family use. Lewis and Clark's expedition stopped at Loisel's post going up the Missouri in 1804 and returning in 1806.²¹⁸ There is not much further information on Loisel's activities. He became ill while in New Orleans on business for the firm in the fall of 1804. He drew up his will naming his partners as executors of his estate and died near New Orleans.²¹⁹

Another trader into the upper Missouri was Charles La Raye²²⁰ who left Canada with an "adventure of goods" to trade on

215. Ibid., 465

216. Journal of J. B. Trudeau, Part I, Intro. 302

217. History of the Expedition of Lewis and Clark, I, 126, Note 63

218. Ibid., III, 126 and III, 1195

219. Billon, Annals of St. Louis, 466

220. Robinson Doane, ed. "Journal of Charles La Raye" in S D H C IV, 1908, 150. "This Journal was presented by Mr. La Raye to Jervasse Cutler, an American officer who published it in Boston in 1812 as an appendix to a little work entitled, "Topographical Descriptions of the State of Ohio, Indiana Territory and Louisiana." The book is very rare. The copy from which this journal is taken cost \$37.50."

tioned an Indian trading party that arrived from the River Chien
(Cheyenne) in May 18, 1802. ²²³ A trader also came from the Assi-
niboines and soon procured what furs of any value were about and
departed. On the same day Pardo decided to ascend the Missouri
on a hunting expedition with a party of Gros Ventres with whom
he was connected by marriage, having married a daughter of the
chief of the tribe. ²²⁴

Pardo got permission of the chief of the Brucilles to
take La Raye with him and after having procured a supply of am-
munition they left together, May 27, 1802. ²²⁵ They left the Mis-
souri, crossed the Cannon Ball River (S.Dak.) and visited the
Mandan Village. In June they were among the Gros Ventres on the
lower side of the Batteau River. Their party this time was com-
posed of nineteen Indian men, twenty-two Indian women and chil-
dren, Pardo, La Raye and thirty-six horses. ²²⁶ After passing up
the Batteau River during the first part of July, 1802, they
finally camped at the mouth of the Yellowstone where they re-
mained until July 29. In September, La Raye was on a branch of
the Big Horn River where he spent the winter hunting beaver. In
June 1803, La Raye parted from Pardo. He wrote in his journal,
October 1803, that he was at liberty to go to the Rus Village.
"Here I spent the winter with a number of traders belonging to
St. Louis. The Sioux are enemies of those who follow this em-

223. Ibid., 165

224. Ibid., 165

225. Ibid., 165

226. Ibid., 170

ployment on the Missouri." ²²⁷ These traders left the Indian village in April, 1804 and went up the Chien River to trade.

A year later La Raye met M. Pantaille, a Frenchman who had long resided in the country of the Tetonanah band of Sioux. ²²⁸ Together they travelled down the Missouri and after ten days journey they reached a place which he called "St. John" the upper settlement on the Missouri. Then they proceeded to the lower settlements. They travelled in a light, hastily made canoe which didn't allow much room for cargo. During the years that La Raye was away from St. Louis, Louisiana had changed governments and the Americans were now in charge of it.

Another French enterprise in the Upper Missouri country was one sent out by the Northwest Company under the command of Francois Antoine La Rocque. ²³⁰ He left Canada with four voyageurs and one other officer to investigate trade possibilities among the Mandan Indians. Lewis and Clark and their expedition were spending the winter among the Mandans that year (1804-1805) and La Rocque reported that the Americans treated him and his party with every courtesy. ²³¹ After La Rocque's return to Canada, the Northwest Company decided to definitely abandon the Missouri valley and sent out only two expeditions to conclude the trans- ²³² actions begun by La Rocque's party.

227. Ibid., 172

228. Ibid., 172

229. Ibid., 172

230. L.R. Masson, ed., Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord Ouest, Quebec, 1889, I, 83

231. Ibid., I, 83

232. Ibid., I, 87

One of the chief duties of the Lieutenant Governors at St. Louis during the days of Spanish rule was the regulation of the Indian trade. The contracts for the trade, according to the records were relatively simple matters. They usually consisted of the name of the trader, the tribe he was to visit and the number of years he was to visit with them. If he were to be an agent for someone, his salary was mentioned. There was an agreement between Alex Langlois, agent,²³³ and Antoine Hubert drawn up August 14, 1768 by which Langlois was to trade with the Osage for a period of one year for 800 livres payment. Two signatures are attached as witnesses, Blondeau and Labuniere. Blondeau's name is interesting because of the possibility that he is the settler mentioned many years later (1833) by Charles Larpenteur.²³⁴

Besides giving individual traders the permission to trade with certain tribes, the governors made land treaties with the Indians in order to aid the traders.²³⁵ Trudeau reported in his journal that one of the greatest obstacles to the trade were the Ponca and Mahas Passes. He recommended that the company employ enough young men to keep the passes open.²³⁶

There were a number of petitions from individual merchants

233. Agreements between Langlois and Hubert, Aug. 14, 1768, Fur Trade Mms. Missouri Historical Society Library

234. Larpenteur, Forty Years a Fur trader, 7

235. Chouteau to Delassus, 1792 Indian Mms. 1725-1875, Missouri Historical Society Library.

236. Trudeau Journal, II, 15

for trade. ²³⁷ The petitions when granted were all listed on the same official document. ²³⁸ In the year 1799-1800 the following St. Louis traders received permission to trade with Indian tribes:

Auguste Chouteau, the Big and Little Osages
M. Sarpy, the Kaus
Benito Vasquez, the Pawnees
M. Chauvin, the Otoes
McKay, the Mahas
M. Gothy, the Poncas

In the following year, 1800-1801, Chouteau again received ²³⁹ permission to trade with the Big and Little Osages. There were changes among the other merchants, however. This time a M. Beral received the Kaus and the Pawnees, while Clamorgan's company received the Mahas and the Poncas. Benito Vasquez is mentioned in connection with a part of the Pawnees.

Possibly the traders in St. Louis were acquainted with the changing political situation of the years 1800-1804, and sought to safeguard their fur trading interests in the upper Missouri Valley. ²⁴⁰ The next grant of trade is much more detailed. It was granted at New Orleans while most of the others were given at St. Louis, and specifies "the precise term of five years." Another interesting feature of this grant is the exclusion of

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237. Sarpy and Cabanne to Casa Salvo, New Orleans, April 26, 1800
Missouri Historical Society Library
238. Dehault Delassus, Indian Mms., Distribution of Trade Among
Indians 1799-1800, Missouri Historical Society Library
239. Ibid., 1800-1801
240. Grant of the Osage Trade, Aug. 18, 1803, Indian Trade Mms.,
Missouri Historical Society Library

August Chouteau and the mention of a new name, that of Manuel
Lisa.

APPENDIX

MANUEL LISA, 1772-1820

The story of the fur trade, or of the development of the American west cannot be completely told without including the story of the Spaniard, Manuel Lisa. He was the only Spaniard of note who threatened the French monopoly of the fur trade. The available information about his life, character and work, though by no means extensive, is sufficient to picture him as a dynamic personality overcoming tremendous obstacles to further his schemes and at the same time to perform a great service to the United States. Chittenden and Douglas both agree that Manuel Lisa has not yet received the credit that he justly deserves for his part in opening and developing the great west.

In following the Indian and fur trade he had ascended the Missouri River almost to its source. He made himself acquainted and popular with the Indian tribes whom he kept at peace and friendly to the United States. During his many voyages up the Missouri, at least twelve, he built a number of forts. Fort Lisa was 670 miles above Omaha. The central post was 600 miles further on. The Mandan villages, where he had another post were 230 miles beyond the central post, while the Fort Lisa, on the Big Horn River, built in 1807, was 500 miles beyond the Mandans.

Lisa seems to be the only prominent Spaniard in the fur trade. Whether the Spaniards were not interested in the trade or whether the French traders purposely kept them out is not

explained or even mentioned by historians. Lisa never received any satisfaction from the local government in St. Louis which was entirely French. He always had to resort to the Spanish government in New Orleans for legal protection. His great ability was recognized by his partners and competitors as well but he was feared and distrusted by both groups of men. As yet, there is no proof that Lisa resorted to any unusual double-dealing or other dishonest practices. In any case, he made some fine and very important enemies. Lisa succeeded where some of the other traders failed or dared not even venture. Then, envious of his success, they used their ingenuity in plans to ruin him. Lisa's life could almost be written up from the history of the lawsuits brought against him. Most of these were settled in his favor which fact did not make friends of his former enemies.

Manuel de Lissa, as he called himself when he first came to St. Louis, was born in New Orleans probably in 1772. About the date of his birth there is divided opinion. Some historians still maintain that Lisa was born in the West Indies sometime after 1774. There is a tombstone in Bellefontaine Cemetery in St. Louis that gives the date of his birth as 1772 at New Orleans. However, there is no entry in the church registers at New Orleans of the birth of Manuel Lisa. His parents were Christobal de Lisa of Murcia, Spain, and Maria Ignacia Rogriquez who was born in St. Augustine, Florida. There is no record of the place of their marriage. They are believed to have come to

New Orleans with the Spaniards in 1762; possibly later with
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O'Reilly.

Although there is no information available concerning Lisa's childhood, it is safe to assume that it was not commonplace. When he was twenty years old, he was at New Madrid in charge of a trading boat and he described himself as a merchant of New Orleans. 242 About 1794 an incident occurred in which Lisa is again mentioned at New Madrid. This time he was returning from a trading expedition on the Wabash River. A passenger named Louis Dubois had fallen overboard from Lisa's boat and drowned. Lisa and his men made an official report of his death and an inventory of the property of the deceased man, and of the letters with which he had been entrusted. 243

From New Madrid Lisa came to St. Louis. There is a contract in the Missouri Historical Society Collections between Manuel Lisa and Joseph Robidoux dated September 5, 1798. This is the first record of his presence in St. Louis. The following summer Lisa petitioned Lieutenant Governor Trudeau for a grant of land. His letter to the governor is interesting because it shows Lisa's imagination and ingenuity.

"Don Manuel de Lisa, merchant of New Orleans, for the present in this town of St. Louis, and with due respect represents to you that, it being his intention to establish himself

241. Walter B. Douglas, "Manuel Lisa," M.H.S.C., III, 235

242. Ibid., 236

243. Ibid., 236

in this country with his family, which is now ascending the river in a boat of his own, therefore the petitioner wishes to obtain a concession of 6000 arpens of land---upon one of the banks of the River Missouri in a place where may be found emptying into said river, some other river, in order, to facilitate the raising of cattle, and, with time to be able to make shipments of salted as well as dried meats, to the capital...²⁴⁴"

At the same time Lisa petitioned²⁴⁵ for land for his brother Joachim. Both grants were approved by Governor Trudeau, and many years later confirmed by Congress. Joachim came to St. Louis in 1800 and returned to New Orleans in 1804. He seems to take no further part in the history of the fur trade.

Lisa prepared for his family by buying a home on the west side of the Rue D'Eglise (2nd St.) St. Louis. The deed shows that the sale was made July 11, 1799 from Jean Baptiste Lorin.²⁴⁶ If Lisa really intended to farm or to raise cattle, he changed his mind quite soon after establishing himself in St. Louis. His later occupation as a merchant and the very nature of the man bear out the supposition that he never planned to be a farmer. In that year, 1799, he with a number of others presented a complaint to the Governor protesting against the trade monopoly enjoyed by the Company of the Missouri.

This was Clamorgan's company, organized in May, 1794 and

244. Ibid., 237

245. Ibid., 238

246. Ibid., 238

called, "the Company for the Discovery of the Nations of the Upper Missouri." It was this company that had sent out Jean Baptiste Trudeau, 1795, a distant cousin of the Governor to explore the upper Missouri and to organize the Indian tribes for trade.

Lisa and his friends argued that "trade in peltries, the sole and only resource which, for a long time has supported the commerce of this country, being forbidden to the greater part of the citizens, must necessarily involve the ruin of the merchants who cannot hope to make a return to the metropolis, since they are deprived of the only commodity which they could introduce there." ²⁴⁷ This monopoly had greatly diminished the fur trade and paralyzed commerce, they said. They argued further that if the fur trade were left free, there would be an abundance of business for and a greater consumption of merchandise. Finally they begged that this trade monopoly be abolished and general "freedom of commerce be restored." Lisa's petition was not granted, at least not at this time.

It is assumed that it was a grant of the Osage trade that brought Lisa to St. Louis. Lisa had made trading arrangements with Charles Sanguinet and Gregoire Sarpy and later they were successful in obtaining the much sought for Osage trade.

There is not much documentary evidence concerning Lisa's first few years in St. Louis. However, there are sufficient

records to show that he was quite busy. There are some bills to show that he was in retail trade during 1799-1800. The Record Book of the General Courts of the Territory of Louisiana have accounts of lawsuits during these years of Robert McClellan against Lisa, and other suits of Lisa and Benoist against McClellan. ²⁴⁸ It seems from the record of these lawsuits that Lisa at this time was engaged in furnishing outfits for the Indian trade. The suits against McClellan were for the payment of goods furnished, and those against Lisa were for furnishing merchandise of inferior quality. It was claimed that Lisa's outfits were not as good as those supplied by the Mackinac merchants. This litigation resulted in judgments against McClellan, who later displayed his bitterness toward Lisa by threatening his life when they chanced to meet in the wilderness.

In 1801 Lisa had some dealings with the Spanish government. A letter from Governor Morales, ²⁴⁹ dated August 27, 1801, shows that Lisa, in connection with Don Carlos Sanguinet, was having some dealings with the Spanish government at New Orleans, relative to the department of guides. ²⁵⁰ It is not clear just what that department was. Other letters from Morales to Delassus show that Lisa attempted to obtain from the government the contract for supplying the provisions for the army. The Spanish army at that time in St. Louis was the garrison stationed in the fort.

248. Ibid., 241

249. Ibid., 250

250. Douglas, "Manuel Lisa," M.H.S.C., 241

The contract sought by Lisa was relet to Chouteau, not without ill-feeling being shown by Governor Delassus of St. Louis toward Lisa. Lisa seems to have had the bad habit of going over the heads of local government officials in St. Louis, thereby incurring their displeasure.

In March, 1803, Lisa adressed a protest to Governor De-
lassus, in the name of Manuel Lisa and Co. in which he says:
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"In the preceding year a petition was presented to the Governor General of this province, earnestly requesting him to grant us the exclusive trade privilege, for the term of five consecutive years, stating in said document that we would build at our expense, a water mill to make flour, this mill to have two runs of stones, equipped after the manner of the Anglo Americans: at the same time we mentioned in the above mentioned petition that we would make a donation of one thousand dollars to the King, to be credited to the Royal Treasury for use in repairing the fort. For this generous offer, and calling the attention of the Governor to the fact that this would be a general good to all the people, he has granted us the exclusive privilege of trade, which we requested with the big and little Osages, who are located at mid-distance of the Missouri River, about forty leagues from its mouth, with power to equip, trade and facilitate by every means our commerce with the savages of that river. Then he complained that a certain Joseph Ort had intruded into the trade by sending his son and two other men with a canoe load

Chouteau made a claim against Lisa's Company.

Lisa had become one of the most important men in St. Louis. He was a man of tremendous energy. Chittenden estimated that he had travelled at least 26,000 miles on the Missouri River alone. In addition, Lisa had made numerous voyages up and down the Mississippi, Wabash, Ohio and Osage Rivers. Brackenridge, who accompanied him up the Missouri in 1811 wrote in his Journal, ²⁵⁵ "Great exertions are made by Mr. Lisa; he is at one moment at the helm, at another with the grappling iron at the bow, and often with a pole assisting the hands in impelling the barge through the rapid current. When difficulties appeared insurmountable, the presence of this man, his orders, his voice, his cheering exclamations, infused new energy and another effort was crowned with success." Lisa did not trust entirely to physical strength and his powers of endurance. He seemed to be master of the secret of doing much in a short space of time; which consisted not so much in any great exertion, as in the strict observance of that economy of time which requires every moment to be turned to advantage. Lisa's ingenuity was continually exerted in contriving means of overcoming the difficulties which were constantly presenting themselves.

Lisa had come to St. Louis as a stranger and a foreigner. Any influence and support which he had in New Orleans was of little help in St. Louis. Personally, he was a revolutionary

254. Ibid., 243

255. Brackenridge, Journal of a Voyage Up the Missouri River, Baltimore, 1816, 10

and a disturber. He was not a person to whom a place could be assigned. He was a leader not a follower. His success in obtaining the grant of the Osage trade, so long the property of the Chouteaus convinced them and their associates that, not only was Lisa an interloper and an upstart, but a dangerous person as well. While Lisa was conciliatory with his employees and the Indians, he was not so with others. He had a fiery temper and was impatient with opposition. His sarcasm was acrid and he was quick to strike with hand or weapon. His unusual qualities of mind, foresight, mastery of detail made him sufficient unto himself and intolerant of any divided authority. His confidence in his own powers was absolute.

Lisa's chief defects may be due to lack of proper training in his youth. Nothing is known of his schooling except that it was necessarily short. However, he cannot be called uneducated. He had a good knowledge of Spanish, his mother tongue, and what might be called a working knowledge of French and English. Brackenridge said that he was very fond of reading Don Quixote, and in the inventory of his estate at his death, besides his set of Don Quixote in five volumes, there were twenty-seven books in French and Spanish. In addition there were many text-books and dictionaries in English and French.

Lisa's boldness had resulted in taking the Osage trade away from the Chouteaus. This trade was very important to St. Louis. Prior to 1794, the control of the trade with the Osages

was one of the perquisites of the Lieutenant Governor at St. Louis. No person was allowed to take part in the trade without a special license, for which he either paid a fee to the Lieutenant Governor or made him a sharer in the profits. In this way he supplemented meager salary paid him by the Spanish government.

In 1794, the Osages had become more than usually troublesome, and were committing depredations on the white settlers, all the way from St. Louis to Nachitoches, so that the settlers scarcely dared leave their homes to work in the fields or hunt. To restrain the Indians, it was necessary to build a fort on a height overlooking their principal village, which was called
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Nion-Chou. Auguste Chouteau offered to build the fort and to maintain a garrison there, of twenty men, under the command of his brother Pierre Chouteau, in consideration of the grant of the exclusive trade with the tribe for six years, and the annual payment to him of \$2000 with which to pay the garrison. This offer was accepted and the grant was made to him to expire in 1800. The Chouteaus built the fort as was required by the contract, which was named Fort Carondelet. It was situated on the Osage River, at the point now called Halley's Bluff in Vernon County, Missouri. Just what happened to the Osage trade when this contract expired is not known, but there is reason to believe that the Chouteaus kept it until the grant was made to

Lisa in 1802.

About the time that Lisa was on his way to New Orleans in 1803, Auguste Chouteau made a claim against the partners of the trade of the Osage nation. Lisa had not found the Osage trade very satisfactory. The Chouteaus had controlled it for so many years that they were not disposed to yield it to a newcomer, as Lisa was considered. The Chouteaus, Auguste and Pierre, by their ability and by the prestige which had descended to them from La Clede, by their extensive family connections and following, had acquired a dominating influence in St. Louis and in the fur trade. When the Osage trade was granted to Lisa, the Chouteaus showed no disobedience or resentment to the government but surprisingly acknowledged Lisa's right under his grant.

That grant was of the exclusive right to trade with the Osages on the waters of the Missouri. There were no Osages anywhere else. But Pierre Chouteau, who had the right to trade with the Indians on the Arkansas, induced a large portion of the Osage nation to move from their old territory and establish themselves on the Arkansas River. ²⁵⁷ This division of the Osage tribe lasted for many years. This little trick by the Chouteaus could not possibly go unnoticed by Lisa.

The story of the case of Chouteau against Lisa is as follows. In some transaction, Mr. Chouteau had become the possessor of an obligation of Lisa's company which became due April 30, 1803, and which was presented to Mr. Lisa for payment. Lisa
257. Ibid., 243

declined paying it, and Chouteau had it protested and put in suit; whereupon the others in Lisa's company immediately wrote to Chouteau proposing to pay each his respective fourth or ²⁵⁸ \$375. Lisa's partners at this time were the Frenchmen Francois Benoit, Gregoire Sarpy and Charles Sanguinet.

Chouteau's letter to Governor Delassus complained that Lisa was the only one of the partners of the company who refused to pay his portion of the debt of \$1500.* Governor Delassus ²⁵⁹ ordered Lisa and his partners to pay the debt in one amount.

Benoit, Sarpy and Sanguinet wrote, in answer to Delassus' order that they had not refused payment but had intended to pay each share separately, that they had no contract of partnership. Lisa answered separately. After acknowledging the order from Delassus, he "humbly replies to Mr. Chouteau's petition his firm determination to postpone for the present any further steps in the matter until the Superior Tribunal shall deliberate, and justly decide the merits of the case, and give a final decree thereon. His course in the matter does not proceed from any ²⁶⁰ malicious motives but from necessity." In spite of Lisa's bold refusal to obey the governor, he finally paid his share of the debt.

The transfer of Louisiana to the United States, March 10, 1804, put an end to Lisa's monopoly. Without exclusive rights,

258. Billon, Annals of St. Louis, 1886, 334

259. Ibid., 336

260. Ibid., 336

and with Pierre and Auguste Chouteau holding the position of United States Indian agents for the Osages, his chances for success in the Osage trade were small. The Chouteaus had found great favor with the Americans upon the transfer of the country.²⁶¹ Auguste Chouteau had been appointed presiding justice of the first territorial court and along with Governor Clark and Governor Edwards of Illinois, was a commissioner to treat in behalf of the United States with the Indians.²⁶² In spite of the poor prospects confronting Lisa, he did not give up his Osage trade until the influence of the chief representative of the United States government was thrown against him.

It is characteristic of Lisa that, surrounded by obstacles, he should exert himself to carve out a new and unheard of career. His next venture, his plan to trade with New Mexico, might be called the case of Lisa vs. Wilkinson. In 1804, Lisa was thirty-two years old. He already had quite a fortune. He was known to be very successful in handling the Indians. He was popular with his employees and he knew the great river countries as well as the streets of St. Louis. He was becoming more and more important and his greatest work was still ahead of him.

261. Chouteau, "Journal," 335

262. Ibid., 335

MANUEL LISA PART II

In 1805 General James Wilkinson was appointed Governor of Louisiana and seems from the first to have been against Lisa. Evidence of Wilkinson's attitude is taken from his correspondence with Pike and from Pike's Journal.²⁶³ In 1806, Pike was sent on an exploration trip westward; he went up the Missouri River, then up the Osage River and into the Osage villages, the heart of Lisa's trade. Lisa brought himself into conflict with Pike at the outset.

Pike had employed Baronet Vasquez of the St. Louis family, as interpreter for his expedition. Vasquez had been in Lisa's employ and owed him money. Lisa used a method which was the custom of the time of forcing payment from a departing voyageur, by causing his arrest and by forcing him to draw upon his new employer in order to make payment.²⁶⁴ Pike recorded the incident²⁶⁵ as follows, "We were about sailing, July 17, 1806 when my interpreter was arrested by the sheriff, at the suit of Manuel Lisa for a debt between three and four hundred dollars, and was obliged to return to St. Louis. This made it necessary for me to write another letter to the General (Wilkinson). We camped about three fourths of a mile above the village." The village referred to was St. Charles, Missouri, and Pike had stopped with

263. Quaife, Southwestern Expedition of Zebulon Pike, Chicago, 1925

264. Douglas, "Manuel Lisa," M.H.S.C., 244

265. Quaife, Southwestern Expedition of Zebulon Pike, 5

Morrison, an early American settler, son-in-law of Louis Blanche, the founder of St. Charles. ²⁶⁶

Vasquez produced bond and continued on his way. Apparently General Wilkinson had to furnish the bond, however, because he wrote immediately to Pike, "July 18, 1806, I have received your letter of yesterday, and concerning your interpreter without date. I had taken arrangements to secure Bennete (Baronet V.) when he appeared here and I have now become his security. Manuel is a black Spaniard. He dined here yesterday and left before the arrival of your letter-this was well for him. I shall dress Manuel and Cadet aussi. (Cadet Chouteau was Pierre Chouteau Jr.) I will teach them how to interrupt national movements by their despicable intrigues. ²⁶⁷

This incident is not without its humor. Lisa must have known while at dinner with Wilkinson, that a messenger would arrive at any moment with the news of the delay to Wilkinson's big enterprise. On the other hand, Lisa's attempt to collect a debt can hardly be called an "intrigue". He merely used the law to delay Pike as long as he could.

Wilkinson was ruling the territory with a high hand. He had issued a proclamation in 1805 prohibiting all persons from entering the Indian country except by permission under his hand. ²⁶⁸

266. Ibid., note p. 4

267. Letter of General Wilkinson to Pike, M.H.S.C., III, 246

268. Ibid., 246

He had instructed Pike, "that if he found on his route any persons without a proper license or passport he was to arrest them and to dispose of their property as the law directs." ²⁶⁹ The only law in force then in the country west of St. Louis was that made, as the occasion demanded, by the stronger for the weaker. Lisa showed himself strong enough to look after his own interests even though they should be opposed by Wilkinson's interests. Both men had become interested in Southwestern trade with New Mexico. Although there is not the same type of definite evidence concerning Wilkinson's plan for New Mexican trade as there is concerning Lisa's plan, there is the possibility that if one expedition had been geological and exploratory, there would have been room for a commercial expedition also. There could not have been much conflict between the men unless they wanted the same thing.

In August 1806, Pike wrote in his Journal, "We loaded and took our departure for the place where Manuel Lisa had his establishment. I was informed that three men had arrived from St. Louis, sent by Manuel de Lisa. I despatched Lieutenant Wilkinson, (James, son of General Wilkinson) to the village who brought to camp the man who had charge of the others from St. Louis. Having no passport, I detained him for further consideration." ²⁷⁰

Pike was in the Osage country. "After inquiring of White

269. Ibid., 247

270. Quaiſe, Pike, 25

Hair the Osage Chief, if the men of Manuel de Liza had any ostensible object in view, he informed me that they had only said to him that they expected Manuel would be up to trade in the early Autumn. I concluded to take the deposition of Baptiste Larme as to the manner in which he was employed by Manuel Liza and forward the same to Doctor Brown and the attorney general of Louisiana, and permit the men to return to St. Louis as it was impossible to detach a party with them as prisoners." ²⁷¹ Dr. Brown was Joseph Brown, recently of New York, whom President Jefferson had appointed secretary of Louisiana Territory. He was a brother-in-law of Aaron Burr.

A day later, after Pike had left the Osages, he was informed by an Indian runner who overtook him that Cadet Chouteau had arrived. Pike wrote, "I conceived it proper to return which I did. Mr. Chouteau gave us all the news." ²⁷² There is a noticeable difference in the attitude of Pike towards Chouteau as opposed to Lisa. Although Cadeat was in disfavor, there was no mention of passport or detainment.

Lisa's plan for the New Mexican trade is found in a letter of Wilkinson to Pike, August 6, 1806. "It is reduced to a certainty that Manuel de Lisa and a society of which he is the ostensible leader have determined on a project to open some commercial intercourse with Santa Fe, and this may lead to a connection injurious to the United States, and will, I understand,

271. Ibid., 27

272. Douglas, "Manuel Lisa," M.H.S.C., 246

be attempted without the sanction of law or permission of the executive, you must do what you can consistently to defeat the plan..I am informed that the ensuing autumn and winter will be employed in reconnoitering and opening a connection with the Tetaus (Comanches) and Panis (Pawnees), that this fall or next winter, a grand magazine is to be established at the Osage towns, where these operations will commence; that Lisa is to be the active agent, having formed a connection with the Tetaus. This will carry forward their merchandise within three or four days' travel of the Spanish settlements, where they will deposit it under guard of three hundred Tetaus. Lisa will then go forward with three or four attendants, taking with him some jewelry and fine goods. With those he will visit the governor, to whom he will make presents, and implore his pity by a fine tale of sufferings which have been endured by the change of government: that they are left here with the goods to be sure, but not a dollar's worth of bullion, and therefore they have adventured to see him for the purpose of praying his leave for the introduction of their property into his province. If he consents, then the whole of the goods will be carried forward; if he refuses, then Lisa will invite some of his countrymen to accompany him to his deposit, and, there having exposed to them his merchandise, he will attempt to open a forced or clandestine trade; for he observes the Spaniards will not dare attack his camp. Here you have the plan and you must take all prudent and lawful means to

blow it up." This letter is from Coues' edition of Pike's Expedition, and is also in the American Historical Review, XIII, 800. It was first printed in the Appendix to Pike's Expeditions, published in 1810, without Lisa's name.. When Bolton discovered Pike's papers in the archives in Mexico City, the letter was published in full.²⁷³ How Wilkinson acquired knowledge of Lisa's plan so completely is not clear. If Lisa attempted to go ahead with it, he did not continue, because a year later, he had begun his Missouri River expansion, having abandoned his Santa Fe expedition.

In the country west of St. Louis, between 1807 and 1843,²⁷⁴ there is evidence of a total of 140 fur-trading posts. Lisa's is the first of these, built after the American government came into Louisiana. Lisa and Drouillard left St. Charles April 19, 1807. Drouillard was the representative of Morrison and Menard of Kaskaskia who had joined with Lisa in furnishing the capital of about \$16,000. The interpreter of the expedition was Benito Vasquez, younger brother of Pike's interpreter. In all there were forty-two men in the party. One of Lisa's men, Antoine Bissonette, deserted and was shot by Drouillard. He died shortly after and his death has been blamed on Lisa as a man who was cruel to his employees. Death was the usual penalty for desertion and the men knew the risk they took, when they abandoned camp. The party passed the Sioux without trouble.

273. Ibid., 248

274. Chittenden, American Fur Trade in the Far West, III, 947

Two other parties left St. Louis that same year shortly after Lisa. They both travelled up the Missouri River over the same route as that of Lisa. One was the party of Pierre Chouteau and the other was that of Pryor. Chouteau's party was attacked by Arikaras. Their villages were situated on the west bank of the Missouri about six miles above the mouth of the Grande River in what is now Boreman County South Dakota. The river here runs from east to west so that the villages were on the north shore. ^{275.} Chouteau's party was obliged to retreat after having two men killed and several wounded. Pryor complained that Lisa was supposed to have waited and accompanied his party but that he got himself safely through and let the others behind to get on as best they could.

Lisa bluffed his way through a large number of Mandans who sought to stop and pillage him and proceeded on his way up the Missouri. He continued on to the Yellowstone River, which he ascended about 170 miles to the Bighorn where he built a trading post. His party arrived there on November 21, 1807, a month later than Lisa expected, too late he complained, to get the fall hunt. ²⁷⁶ Here Lisa built a house of two rooms and loft. The fort was built in the spring of 1808. Lisa called it Fort Remon. The men called it Raymond and said it was named for Lisa's son, Raymond. This child was born in St. Louis December 4, 1805 and ²⁷⁷ died there in July, 1811.

275. Douglas, "Manuel Lisa," M.H.S.C., 253

276. Ibid., 255

277. Ibid., 256

It was from this post that John Coulter was sent out in 1808 on the exploring trip during which he discovered the Yellowstone Canyon and geysers. Lisa left a garrison at the fort and returned to St. Louis. He left Fort Raymond in July 1808 and reached home on August 5th. It had taken him about seven months to go up and only about one month to return. His expedition was now a success. Lisa was ready to organize the Missouri Fur Company.

The Company was composed of twelve men with a capital of about \$40,000. The partners included Benjamin Wilkinson, Pierre Chouteau Sr., Manuel Lisa, Auguste Chouteau Jr., Pierre Menard²⁷⁸ and William Morrison of Kaskaskia, and Andrew Henry of Louisiana. The company engaged about 250 men, Canadians and Americans; the²⁷⁹ Canadians for managing the boats and Americans for hunters.

The scheme was cumbersome. Each partner was to accompany the expedition in person or send some person approved by the majority of others. No definite amount of capital was fixed. Each partner was to furnish a share of the expenses which the majority of partners thought necessary. Peltries and furs acquired by the company were to be transported to St. Louis and divided equally among the partners. It was agreed that Lisa, A.P. Chouteau and Menard were to be the first to go and to return to St. Louis the next summer. The next to go were to be Wilkin-

278. Ibid., 257

279. Brackenridge, Recollections, 27

son and Pierre Chouteau. Clark was to be the agent in St. Louis. The partnership was to continue for three years or until 1811. ²⁸⁰

The first expedition left St. Louis in June 1809. In addition to regular company business, Lisa had agreed to escort the Mandan Chief Shehaka, with his wife and child back to his home. Lewis and Clark had taken them to Washington to visit President Jefferson. For this service, the government paid the company \$7,000. For its part the company was required to raise one hundred and twenty-five men, half of whom were to be Americans and expert riflemen. The command was given to Pierre Chouteau, U. S. Indian Agent for the Osages. When the party reached the Mandan country, the military function and authority of Chouteau and his officers was to cease. ²⁸¹

General James, who accompanied the expedition wrote, "The whole party at starting, consisted of three hundred and fifty men, half Americans, the remainder Creoles and Frenchmen hired by Lisa, called by his men 'Esau'. We Americans were all private adventurers, each on his own hook." ²⁸² On this expedition there were many arguments and quarrels among the men. The Americans and the Creoles did not get along. The Americans complained ²⁸³ about the food and the division of work. They probably had cause for complaint about the work and the food. However,

280. Douglas, "Manuel Lisa," M.H.S.C., 259

281. Ibid., 259-260

282. Ibid., note 260

283. Ibid., 261

travellers who visited the west and met with fur traders all remarked the hardihood and good nature of the French voyageurs. The first Americans to attempt the fur trade had to hire Frenchmen to do most of the work.

Below Council Bluffs the expedition met Captain Crooks, agent for John J. Astor who was trading with the Mohawks. The Americans wanted to quit Lisa and join Crooks but they were induced to remain with Lisa's expedition.* The party reached Lisa's fort Raymond in February, 1810. James records a threat made upon Lisa's life sometime before they reached the fort. Some of the American employees were in the office of the company at Fort Raymond. One of them, named Cheek, from Kentucky, "remarked coolly that if he caught Chouteau a hundred yards from camp, he would shoot him. 'Cheek, Cheek,' exclaimed Lisa, 'mind what you say!' 'I do that,' said Cheek, 'and Lisa, I have heard some of our boys say that if they ever caught you 200 yards from camp, they would shoot you and if they don't, I will...Now, Lisa you are going to the forks of the Missouri; mark my words, you will never come back alive.' " Lisa returned to St. Louis in October, 1809 evidently not continuing with the party to the forks of the Missouri. Whether influenced by Cheek's threat or not, his return was in accordance with the articles of the Fur Company.

During the winter of 1809-10 Lisa set out for Montreal.

284. Ibid., 263

285. Ibid., 263

He was detained by the non-intercourse act at Detroit. The fur market was at a standstill. He returned to St. Louis and went up the Missouri again. ²⁸⁶ There is no account of this trip. The affairs of the company were in bad condition. Lisa's agent, Drouillard had been killed by the Blackfeet. This was the interpreter who had accompanied Lewis and Clark on their expedition. He was a French half-breed whose Indian heritage made him the best hunter and woodsman in the party. He was a crack shot and simply invaluable. ²⁸⁷

A party of trappers under the command of Major Henry had gone to the western slope of the mountains and had not been heard from. It was decided that Lisa should go out and search for Henry's party. Lisa left St. Louis once more, in the spring of 1811. He stopped at St. Charles. There he learned that the Astoria party in charge of Wilson Price Hunt had set out a few weeks before. Pierre Dorion was to be Hunt's interpreter and he was still in town. Lisa had Dorion arrested just as he had had Vasquez arrested from Pike's party. Dorion escaped through the woods and joined Hunt's party. Lisa tried to overtake Hunt for the added protection through the Sioux country. One of the most famous chases in our history followed. Lisa covered 1,300 miles in two months of up-stream travel. The Hunt party was overtaken just on the edge of the Sioux country. ²⁸⁸

Each party had its historian. Brackenridge was with Lisa

286. Ibid., 265

287. History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 256

288. Douglas, "Manuel Lisa," M.H.S.C., 267

and John Bradbury was with Hunt. Brackenridge admired Lisa greatly. He compared him to Pizarro and Cortez. He, Brackenridge, entered the west soon after the Purchase. He was born in Pittsburgh in 1786. His father, a lawyer, had been involved in the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794. Brackenridge spent three of his childhood years in St. Genevieve where he learned to speak French so completely that he forgot English. Then he returned to Pittsburgh to study law. When his studies were over, he returned to St. Genevieve where he opened a law office. In 1811, he drifted to St. Louis and joined Lisa's party, then about to search for Major Henry. Brackenridge wrote that Hunt had a three weeks' start, and that 1,300 miles from St. Louis, Lisa overtook him. About that time, Brackenridge became weary of western travel and returned to St. Louis in one of two boats sent back by Lisa. Then he studied the Spanish language and law. Later he became a judge in the Louisiana territorial courts. Still later he was sent by President Monroe to South America on a diplomatic mission, 1822.

Bradbury had a grievance against Lisa because Lisa would not allow his boat to be stopped in order to let Bradbury get out and search for rare plants. Hunt's party had in it several of Lisa's enemies. Dorion, Robert McClellan, who had frequently threatened to kill Lisa on sight, and Ramsay Crooks, the agent

289. Brackenridge, Recollections, 30

290. *Ibid.*, 10

for John J. Astor. Lisa and Dorion started to quarrel almost immediately. The argument between them ended by Dorion striking Lisa, whereupon Lisa returned to the boat to get a weapon. He returned to the fight with a knife in his belt. "On the above affair, I stood twice at the risk of ~~my~~ own life between Lisa and his antagonist." ²⁹¹ Hunt restrained Dorion, and after awhile peace was restored, and the men co-operated to their mutual advantage. Lisa found some of Henry's men and learned that the others were safe. Henry himself joined them later and together they all returned to St. Louis, October 1811.

In 1811, the Missouri Fur Company was re-organized for a period of six years. Under the re-organization, Lisa built Fort Lisa eleven miles by land above Omaha. His earlier posts he placed in the care of capable men. This company did not last long. In 1812 Lisa was dropped from the Board of Directors and Pierre Chouteau was elected in his place. In 1813, the president and the directors were authorized to sell all of the property of the company. ²⁹²

While Lisa was up the Missouri in 1812, Congress declared war on Great Britain. He offered his services and was appointed captain of a volunteer company of infantry attached to the first regiment. ²⁹³

In August 1813, the General Assembly of the Territory of

291. Ibid., 328

292. Douglas, "Manuel Lisa," M.H.S.C., 370-371

293. Ibid., 371

Missouri passed an act incorporating the Bank of St. Louis. Lisa, Colonel A. Chouteau, Judge Lucas, Moses Austin and Bartholomew Berthold were appointed to get subscriptions for capital. After a year or two the bank went out of business.

In 1814 Lisa took part in another civic enterprise in St. Louis. Lisa and Theodore Hunt, a cousin of Wilson Hunt, were appointed to supervise the erection of a bridge over Mill Creek on present South Broadway.²⁹⁴ Following this Indian project, Lisa and Hunt formed a partnership to expire in 1817, and called it the Missouri Fur Company. Once more Lisa set out for the upper Missouri, August 14, 1814.

This year Lisa married a squaw of the Omaha Nation. Her name was Mitain and she was said to be very beautiful. They had two children, a daughter Rosalie and a son Manuel, Lisa's only descendants.²⁹⁵ Rosalie was baptized in St. Louis, July 1818. There was a notice in the Missouri Gazette of June 14, 1818, that "Manuel Lisa arrived here yesterday from Fort Lisa, forty-five miles above the River Platte, on the Missouri with a valuable cargo of furs and peltries said to be worth \$35,000. He brought with him this year his little daughter Rosalie, nineteen months old." Lisa also had with him twenty-four Indian Chiefs. This was the second time that Lisa had played host to large numbers of Indians in St. Louis.²⁹⁶

294. Ibid., 373

295. Ibid., 375

296. Ibid., 237

There is not much reference to Lisa's home life. As soon as he arrived in St. Louis, 1794, he bought a home for his family but it is not clear just who was included in this family. In Edwards, Great West, P. 303, it is said that "his first wife had long been a prisoner with her child among the Indians until her release was procured by General Harrison. Her husband had been killed at the same time that she was taken captive. Manuel Lisa saw her and her child after she had regained her freedom, and pitying her misfortune and destitution, for the charm of her beauty had all fled, he married her; gave a luxurious home to her and her daughter and treated both in a most affectionate manner until their death. The wife's name, following the French fashion of using the maiden name and not the married name, was Charles. Her first name was Mary, though she often signs it Polly. Her first husband's name was Chew. There was a Canadian family by the name of Charles, but it was possible that she was of Virginian stock." Her daughter, spoken of by Edwards, died in February, 1809. Her death is mentioned in the Gazette as follows: "Died this morning about ten o'clock, Miss Sally Chew, age 16, daughter of Madame Manuel Lisa, after a distressing illness of twelve days. In the Cathedral Parish Register she is designated as Sale Manuel Lisa. There was another daughter called in the Register Eulalie Manuel Lisa who died February 1818. There is no record of her baptism in the Register and it is likely that she was one of the family who came up from New

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Orleans.

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Polly Lisa died, February 1818. In the following August Lisa married Mary Hempstead Keeny. She was a New Englander, born in New London, Connecticut in 1782. Her father had fought in the Continental Army, and was present when the Declaration of Independence was first read to the troops. In 1806, she had married a sea-captain, a widower with children. In 1810 he died leaving her with a child of her own and the step-children. She and her family left New England for St. Louis where her four brothers had found homes and prosperity. About a year after Lisa's marriage to Mary, she accompanied him to his post at Council Bluffs. After Lisa's death, Mary Lisa moved to Galena, Illinois and remained a widow during the remaining fifty years of her life. ²⁹⁹ Rosalie married a captain in the United States army and eventually settled in Illinois where she raised a family of nine children.

General Clark had appointed Lisa as United States Indian agent and in 1817, Lisa's commission had expired. He wrote a letter to Clark in which he gave an account of his work. He also took the occasion to answer some of his critics. "July 1, 1817, To his Excellency Gov. Clark; Sir; I have the honor to remit to you the commission of sub-agent..I go to form another establishment to counteract the one in question and shall labor to

297. Ibid., 237

298. Ibid., 389

299. Ambrose Smith, Memorials of the Life and Character of Mary Manuel Lisa, Philadelphia, 1870 pp, 11-24

draw upon us the esteem of these nations, and to prevent their commerce from passing into the hands of foreigners. I regret to have troubled your Excellency with this exposition. In ceasing to be in the employ of the United States, I shall not be less devoted to its interests. I have suffered enough in person and in property under a different *government* to appreciate the one under which I now live. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect your excellency's obedient servant, Manuel Lisa.

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Lisa continued his fur trade until his death in 1820, when he died after a short illness. He left a large fortune to his widow and made provision for the education of his son Manuel, who survived him only a few years. There is still much to be learned about Lisa's work in the west but it is apparent that he did considerable for the country even though he furthered his own interests at the same time. Lisa was successful with the Indians, he was progressive, one of his last modern importations was a steam engine, the first one west of the Mississippi; his most important work was up the Missouri Valley. Chittenden wrote that it was the trader and the trapper who first explored and established the routes of travel which are now and always will be the avenues of commerce in that region. Lisa's energy and initiative lured others to join him and to follow him. At the time of his death, St. Louis was a city of five thousand people and Missouri was just entering the Union as a state.

Lisa and his men had already opened up the Missouri country and had scattered posts all the way to its source. He is among those early traders who did so much to develop the Trans-Mississippi West and prepare the way for American settlers.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing story has pointed out some of the work of Frenchmen, particularly the fur traders in the development of the Trans-Mississippi West. The French trader deserves particular credit for opening up the heart of the American continent. Whereas other traders remained close to their oceans, at Hudson's Bay, at Albany or at Vancouver, handy to the yearly arrival of ships, the Frenchman with a companion and as often alone, packed his canoe and went up the river as far as it would go. As a result, our earliest maps of the Trans-Mississippi West are French maps.

An attempt has been made herein to show how the French explorers, beginning with Father Marquette in 1673, surveyed the Mississippi Valley, and how they tried to make Frenchmen in Canada and in Europe acquainted with new France. In Europe, French men and women were enthusiastic about the New World but the Canadian government resented the drifting of its population to the vast woods of the west. Unfortunately, this attitude of the Colonial government hampered the French settlements of the west. There were numerous difficulties in the regulations of the fur trade, and in the habits of the traders.

After Father Marquette's memorable voyage through the Mississippi Valley, Frenchmen steadily went ahead to occupy the western country. Their story exhibits the remarkable personal bravery and the phenomenal physical endurance of the fur trader.

When, a few years after the war of 1812, the Anglo-Americans swarmed westward to settle the Louisiana Territory, they found many Frenchmen to guide them to their new homes. A typical trace of these men is seen in Torrington, Wyoming, where there are two monuments side by side. One tablet, erected in 1931, commemorates the end of one of the pioneer trails, which stopped just below that point. The other is an old stone tablet marking the grave of Paul Guerrier, age 52, who died in 1858. Because of its historical significance the grave never was moved and the town has grown up all around it.

As the anglo-American population about the fur trading posts increased, the French population was overwhelmed and lost its national characteristics. Place names were changed in most cases to English-sounding ones. The Chien River became the Cheyenne. Rouleau Nebraska, named for a retired French voyageur is now called, "Rulo." LaCharette, once a village of eighty French families is now known as Marthasville, Missouri. Among place names in Nebraska that are still French are these: St. Bernard, St. Edward, Rochon, Burchard, Dubois, Lemoyne, Bayard, Bertrand, Brule, Fontanelle, La Blanc, Verdigre and Papillon. County names are Scotch and English. It would be interesting to learn what influence was so firmly entrenched in the above locations that the tide of American emigration did not sweep it away.

In conclusion it must be admitted that a tone of finality is lacking in this brief record. Much remains to be written

about Frenchmen in the Trans-Mississippi West, and this work can only serve as a survey.

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