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A Journey in North America, Containing a Survey of the Mississippi, Ohio, Missouri and Other Affluing Rivers

VOLUME 2

by Georges-Henri-Victor Collot

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SURVEY.

CHAPTER XIX.

Continuation of the description of the Mississipi, from the Ohio to the White River.—Embarrassing situation.—Justification of the vice-governor of Upper Louisiana.—Judge St. Clair.—Rencontre with two suspected Indians.—Superstition of forest men.—Important advice on the expedition of Canada.—Iron mine.—Application of the observations of M. de St. Pierre.—Dew.—New Madrid.—Its bad situation.—Fort.—Further observations respecting the expedition of Canada.—Population.—Margot Cliffs.—Bad position.—Fort.—Advantage of being master of the stream.—The place best fitted for the erection of the fort.—Attack on Adjutant Warin.—Reflections on this subject.

On my return to St. Lewis from the Illinois, I learned by letters from New Orleans, that M. de Jaudenès, Minister of His Catholic Majesty to the United States, notwithstanding the passports and letters of recommendation

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which he had delivered to me, had written to the Baron de Carondelet, governor-general of Louisiana, to engage him to arrest me; in consequence of which, the latter had publicly mentioned, that he had given orders to apprehend me. Letters, also, from another quarter, had reached me from Philadelphia a few days before, which informed me that the Secretary of State Pickering had likewise sent orders to the same effect, and that Indians had been dispatched from Canada to assassinate me. These different reports threw me into a great embarrassment, with respect to the resolution I had to take. I could not without indiscretion ask permission from M. Zenon Trudau, commander of the Illinois, to continue my researches in Upper Louisiana; I might have injured him by such a request, and should thus have been deficient in gratitude towards a man who had treated me with singular politeness and attention. I had determined, therefore, to return by the river of the Illinois, to cross the lakes Michigan, Huron, St. Clair, and Erie, and descend the Mohawk and the Northern River to New York; but having calculated with my Canadians the time necessary to make this tour, we found that the season was already too far advanced, it being the month of September, and that I should be forced to winter in the lakes, either at Michilimackinac or at Detroit. By fol-

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lowing this route, I might not only fall into the hands of the English, but Mr. Mackintosh, also, a trader, who had just come from Detroit, informed me, that I should certainly be arrested at the American posts, since my expedition, having already made a considerable noise, might be interpreted in different manners. Thus in both cases I had to run the risk of losing not only the fruit of my labors, but also my liberty. To return by the same road I had taken, appeared to me weak and dishonorable, and which would not preserve me from any of the dangers with which I was menaced. After maturely reflecting on every circumstance, I determined to follow my first plan, and to proceed at all events on my journey, as I had at first purposed; that is, to go down the river, and examine the various streams that flow into it from the West, as far as should be in my power, without tormenting myself about the dangers or persecutions which attended me in the Spanish possessions, or heeding the frigates or English privateers which were cruising in the Bahama Straits, and which interrupt the traveller from New Orleans to Philadelphia.

These motives, however powerful, did not alone fix my decision: I was anxious to avoid the ridicule which usually attends those who, in similar cases, after much trouble and expence, return with excuses for their failure.

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I was not less apprehensive of those inexorable judges, who, seated tranquilly by their fire-sides, pronounce dogmatically on matters of which they are most profoundly ignorant; who injure by perfidious suggestions, prejudice the public, and are themselves the harbingers of such injustice that they force their victim, however innocent, to become, as it were, criminal.

I made, therefore, all my preparations; I exchanged my great barge against a pirogue made of the trunk of a single tree, much more light and easy to be steered, which were qualities very essential for going up the different rivers which I had to explore, or to descend the Mississipi, which, on account of its rapidity and the numerous obstacles which are every moment to be surmounted, required a slight vehicle, the motions of which should be quick and precise.

I dismissed, therefore, a part of my attendants, keeping only four Canadians, a Spaniard, and my hunter; my boat being able to contain only this number of men, together with Mr. Warin and myself.

I made a second journal, which I took care to fill with praises respecting the administration of the Baron de Carondelet, with the intention of leaving it open to the curiosity of all who chose to inspect it, whilst the true journal was carefully concealed. This little stratagem

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will readily be forgiven me, since it saved me the disagreeableness of being sent to the Havannah, where I should probably have been detained a long time.

Having at length collected as many materials as possible respecting the countries adjoining the Missouri, particularly the province of the Illinois; after having communicated to Mr. Zenon Trudau,* my well founded apprehensions that the armament which was preparing in Canada was destined against Upper Louisiana, and

* I owe to justice and to the veneration I feel for the character of Mr. Zenon Trudau, Vice Governor of Upper Louisiana, a solemn declaration, which fully clears him from the accusation brought against him by the Baron of Carondelet, Governor General, for having suffered me to penetrate into the territory of his Catholic Majesty.

Mr. Zenon Trudau was never informed of my expedition; it was during the six weeks that I remained in the American part of the Illinois, that I undertook my excursion upon the Missouri, and before I had had the pleasure of being presented to him. The truth of this assertion will be very readily conceived, when it is known that there are neither forts nor posts, nor any guard whatever, on the banks of the Missouri, and that the mouth of this river is more than a mile and an half broad; if to these circumstances it be added, that I had taken the precaution to pass St. Charles in the night, it is not astonishing that the Vice-Governor should know nothing of the matter. The Baron of Carondelet was, therefore, in the wrong when he reproached him so severely on this account, and threatened to dismiss him. I know few men more attached to their government, or who serve it with

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pointed out to him the means which I thought best fitted for the defence of St. Lewis, I gave him, on taking leave, my plan of an intrenched camp, and quitted the finest country in the world, in which there are neither warriors, merchants, nor farmers; which, notwithstanding the riches it contains, presents nothing but uncultivated lands, and half-famished inhabitants, with scarcely a sufficient clothing to protect them from the inclemencies of the weather.

In our passage to Kaskaskias, we learnt that all our letters coming from Philadelphia had been intercepted by the agents of the federal government, and that St. Clair, judge at Kaskaskias, had spread the most idle and injurious tales respecting the French nation, and particularly respecting myself.* In consequence of these reports, Adjutant-Warin and myself repaired to his house, accompanied by the justice of peace; where, after expressing to him my contempt for the baseness of his proceeding,

more fidelity and honor. With respect to the circumstances which prevented my going beyond the river of the Great Osages, they were entirely of a private nature, and concerned no one but myself.

* I had met with this man on the Ohio; but as he travelled with more speed, he had preceded me. It was he who denounced me to Captain Pike, commander at Fort Massac, where I was arrested, as I have already related.

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I caused him to make in writing the declaration which will be found at the end of this work, in the number of the justificatory papers.* This Judge St. Clair was an Englishman, paid by the British government, and one of the chiefs of the conspiracy of Governor Blount, the purpose of which was to put the province of Louisiana into the power of England, as I had been informed, and of which I shall have occasion shortly to speak.

It being late when we reached Apple River † (Rivière aux Pommes), we stopped at this point with the intention of passing the night; but scarcely had we landed, when two Indians of the Chickasaw nation made their appearance. They were painted black, and had a white feather stuck on their forehead, which signified that they were on an expedition. I noticed this to Mr. Warin. After having surveyed us attentively for some moments, they advanced, and proposed to us a piece of buffalo in exchange for brandy; we refused, because we had no more provisions than were necessary for our consumption, and besides we were unwilling to furnish them with

* See Appendix, No. 2.

† It must be observed, that I have already given the description of the Mississipi, from the Ohio to the mouth of the Missouri. This description, therefore, recommences from the Ohio, and continues to the entrance of the Mississipi into the Gulf of Mexico.

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spirituous liquors; but as they insisted, and threatened to leave us their game for nothing, we took it that we might not displease them, and gave them a little powder and tobacco, which they accepted, without showing any marks of content or dissatisfaction, and withdrew.*— Having been accustomed in the course of our expedition to such visits, we paid at first no great attention to this incident; but after a little reflection, not knowing what might be the number and the intention of those who thus followed us, we left the banks of the river, and went to encamp on a small unsheltered island, separated from the main land by a channel of about seven or eight hundred yards broad. We passed the night there without any molestation.

The next day we proceeded on our voyage as usual. Two leagues from Apple River, we saw on the bank so great a quantity of game, that we could not resist the inclination of landing in order to hunt; which led to an accident that may be mentioned on account of its singularity.

At the beginning of the hunt we were somewhat dispersed; Mr. Warin was on my left, and the hunter on

* It will appear shortly that these two Indians followed us as far as the river of the Arkansas, distant from this spot more than three hundred leagues, where they attacked the unfortunate Warin.

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the right: we had scarcely walked a quarter of an hour, when we heard the hunter utter the most piercing cries. We ran to inquire the cause, and found him seated at the foot of a tree, two steps from an enormous rattlesnake which he had just killed. "Oh!" cried he, on seeing us, "I am lost; I am a dead man: this cursed animal has just bit me in the heel!" The poor man had actually lost his senses; his eyes were fixed, and every muscle in his face expressed terror. While we were using our efforts to tranquillise him, and were bathing the wound with eau de luce, of which I had a phial, darting his haggard looks on me, he exclaimed: "General, have you got your almanack?"* On my answering in the affirmative, he added: "Oh! for God's sake, lend it me!" As soon as he had it in his hands, he turned it over hastily, to find the sign of the month in which we were. Scarcely had he seen it, than imagining it was favorable to him, he exclaimed, with an enthusiasm which it is difficult to describe: "I am clear enough!" His emotion, indeed, began gradually to subside; and when he reached the boat, one of his comrades sucked the wound,† to

* I had purchased a small almanack at Philadelphia, in which were the signs of the zodiac, and which he often amused himself in reading.

† This operation is performed by putting water or milkinto the mouth, which is spit out at each aspiration.

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which we applied a poultice made of eau de luce. On visiting it the next day, we observed a swelling and a violet tint; but the patient felt no pain. This accident prevented him neither from walking or working; and at the end of eight days there remained scarcely any marks of the wound.

In placing this event before the eyes of my reader, I trust that he will not suppose me so credulous, or so destitute of common sense, as to attribute the cure of this man to the sign of the zodiac. The cure was certainly produced by the suction, and the application of alkali to the wound; but I am firmly persuaded, that amidst the remedies which were administered to effect the physical cure of the patient, the sign of the zodiac had a most powerful effect on his moral feelings. We may appeal on this important question to the faculty themselves, and ask if they do not also think, that while a man is struck with terror, and his whole frame in a state of contraction, if such a situation will not neutralise the most efficacious remedies? For my part, I repeat, that if by chance this sign of the zodiac had appeared sinister to the hunter, I have no doubt that the effect produced on his imagination, already impressed with this idea, would have been such that he must infallibly have perished. Yes, terror is a real disease

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which we owe only to the vices of education. Why are not the Indians affected with this sentiment as much as ourselves? because they are trained up to despise death, and we to fear it. A great part of our early education consists of errors, invented by falsehood and exaggeration, and propagated by ignorance. Who in his infancy has not heard or read in fabulous descriptions, that the bite of a rattlesnake is without remedy,* and that canine madness is incapable of cure? These tales are circulated, and when once engraven on the imagination of youth, are not easily effaced. Hence that despair which takes possession of the mind when we meet with any of those accidents, which have been described to us under such terrible colors; despair which destroys us more speedily than the most subtle poison. If we can find a cure for terror, the remedy for many other diseases is not far distant.

In passing before Cape Girardot I saw Mr. Lorimier;† he told me, that having been informed I should re-descend the river, he had resolved to meet me, having very

* Nature has been so provident in creating this reptile, that wherever a serpent is found, a remedy against its bite is sure to be discovered within a few yards of its haunts. I have often made this observation, and there is not a forester who is not well versed in finding these specifics.

† M. Lorimier is the chief of the Chawanons and Loups, of whom we have spoken under the article of Cape Girardot.

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important information to communicate, which he had just received from Upper Canada, by Indian chiefs who were allies of the two nations which he commanded. According to their report, the English were preparing an expedition at Montreal, composed of two thousand regular troops, fifteen hundred militia, and several Indian tribes, and that all these forces were directed against Upper Louisiana; he added also that reports, although vague, had been spread, that English agents, dispersed in Tenessee and Kentucky, were organising another expedition, which was destined at the same time to attack Lower Louisiana, and that the governor of one of these states,* gained over by England, was in the conspiracy.

As the first part of this report agreed perfectly with the information I had received during my residence in the Illinois, from two Canadians who had come from Quebec, I had no doubt that a plan was formed for the invasion of the possessions of his Catholic Majesty. I considered, therefore, from the alliance which existed between France and Spain, that it was my duty, as a Frenchman, to make use of all the means in my power to counteract this project. I engaged Mr. Lorimier to

* It will be seen, that this news was perfectly conformable to the truth.

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repair immediately to St. Lewis, and communicate to the Vice-Governor the new details which he had just given me, and assured him at the same time, that I would use the utmost expedition in giving information to the Governor-General of Louisiana, residing at New Orleans, as well as a tall the posts which I should have occasion to visit in going down the river. I regretted extremely that amidst the deserts where I was now situated, without any direct communication with Philadelphia, it was impossible for me to give any immediate information to the French and Spanish ministers resident in that city. This evil was without remedy: I therefore left Mr. Lorimier, satisfied with the new proofs of zeal which he had testified towards me, and without further loss of time resumed the course of my journey.

Having reached the mouths of the Ohio, I again examined, with the most scrupulous attention, both its banks, the isle in front of the river, and the opposite banks of the Mississipi. This second examination confirmed me in the opinion I had already formed on this subject; that it will be impossible for a long time, unless by immense labor and incalculable expence, to raise forts or military works on any one of these points, where if we may judge from the marks on the trees, the waters

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sometimes rise more than twenty-five feet above the banks of the Ohio.

Eighteen miles from the mouth of the Ohio, on the left, is a cliff, called the Iron Mine. This cliff is two hundred feet perpendicular, but does not extend more than a thousand yards along the river; from the examination we made of its direction, which is north-east, it can only be a ramification of the chain of heights of which we have spoken in our description of the country of the Illinois, and which in this latitude begins to take a direction towards the south-east. Strata of clay of different shades may be distinctly seen in the cliffs, some of the color of ochre, others of a red or rose color, and some of a yellow saffron. These strata are intermixed with a very fine sand, of a black or rusty color, which is in general the indication of iron mines. But whether our researches were ill directed, or that we wanted sufficient knowledge of the subject, we were unable to discover the mineral, although it is the general opinion that this spot contains a very rich mine of this metal.*

* Naturalists who travel in this country ought to stop at this iron mine. If the river is low, they will find at the foot of the cliff a sand-bank, covered with petrifactions. We may without exaggeration add, that every thing there is petrified; even the leaves of the trees.

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About a thousand yards below this spot, the lands on the left are low and swampy, like those on the right, which continue the same from Cape Girardot. The chain of heights falls off towards the south-west, at the distance of five or six miles from the river.

After passing the Ohio, the current of the Mississipi is perceptibly less rapid, and its waters acquire a sort of limpid clearness.

The ingenious observation of Mr. Bernardin St. Pierre, in his Studies of Nature, on the current of rivers, is perfectly applicable here, and explains why the river of the Mississipi is so impetuous between the Missouri and the Ohio.

The Missouri, as we see in the chart, comes from the north-west, and consequently forms with the river, which runs north and south, an acute angle; hence the Missouri communicates all its violence to the Mississipi, because it is neither interrupted nor impeded by any obstacle. The Ohio, on the contrary, coming from the east, and falling into the river almost at right angles, the volume of its waters and its current, which are powerful enough to strike against the opposite bank of the Mississipi, interrupt, and suspend its course. This is so evident, that above the mouth of the Missouri the current of the river

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is gentle, because it is naturally slow, and below the Ohio it resumes its ordinary course.

A similar remark has been made in the Missouri, the current of which is very moderate above the river Plate; but this coming from the south-west, in an oblique direction, and bringing with it muddy waters and an impetuous current, imparts the same character to the Missouri. It is, therefore, to the river Plate, and not to the Missouri, that this effect should be imputed.*

It is observed, on the Mississipi, that the dews, which are very abundant when the winds come from the south and south-west, are scarcely perceptible when the winds blow from the north and north-west. The fogs also, which are very thick on the river from the southern winds, disappear as soon as the wind veers to the north.

From the Iron Mine to New Madrid† is reckoned forty miles. The navigation from the mouth of the Ohio to this point is generally good and free from embarrassments.

New Madrid is situated in thirty-six degrees thirty minutes northern latitude, on the right side, at sixty

* See the particular description of this river.

† It is to be remarked that the two first persons we perceived when we landed at New Madrid, were the two Indians whom we had found at Apple River.

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miles distance from the mouth of the Ohio, instead of forty-five, as is asserted by Mr. Hutchins in his description of the Mississipi; it is built in the hollow of a great bend, which the river makes in this place, and opposite a long salient point, intercepting half its bed, and which, when the waters are low, narrows the channel considerably, and forces vessels to steer very near the right side. This bank, though liable to inundations, is much more elevated than the bank opposite, which it commands on every side.

The river, which by its direction strikes with force upon this perpendicular bank, carries away, at different periods of the year, a considerable quantity of the ground on which the town and fort are built; this ground being composed of earth, washed down by the waters, is easily dissolved, and extends twelve miles inland, without changing either its nature or its level. Nothing can hinder this destructive effect, which will continue until the river in its progress reaches a layer of primitive earth; or rather, the glacis of the chain of heights which runs in a parallel direction with it, but at twelve or fifteen miles from its actual bed. Every annual revolution carries off from one to two hundred yards of this bank; so that the fort, built five years since at six hundred yards from the side of the river, has already lost all its covered

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way; and at the time we passed, the commander had given orders to empty the magazines and dislodge the artillery, having no doubt but that in the course of the winter the rest of the fort would be destroyed.

This fort is a very regular square with four bastions; in each are built four block-houses, connected by a range of palisadoes twelve feet in height, behind which is a good raised way; the whole is surrounded by a ditch twelve feet deep and thirty broad, with a small covered way, well staked and palisadoed. The artillery consists of eight eight-pounders, placed in the front of each bastion; the garrison consists of twenty soldiers of regular troops. Within the fort is a small house for the governor, an ill-constructed barrack for an hundred men, and a powder magazine covered with planks; there is a well, also, containing very bad water.

The whole country around New Madrid and the parts adjacent, being, as we have just observed, quite flat, and without any slope for the draining of the waters which are left in seasons of inundation, a great quantity of morasses and pools are formed around it, which render this spot extremely unhealthy; putrid fevers and agues are very prevalent from the month of June till November.

There are about one hundred families in this town, the greater part of which are French, and can each furnish

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a man capable of bearing arms; but the Spaniards have so little dependence on them, on account of their attachment to France, that when the attack on Upper Louisiana by Genet was projected, Mr. de Bostel, commander of this post, stopped up the holes of the cellars, to hinder the militia from hiding themselves. We had this account from Mr. de Bostel himself.*

Notwithstanding these inconveniences, a very fine mill has been lately built, at the expence of government, on a small creek, called St. Thomas. This mill is a very ingenious piece of machinery, of the invention of Mr. Venden, a Dutch engineer. The foundations are laid on piles, and constructed with great art and solidity; but the spot on which the building is erected, appeared to us ill chosen, the local circumstances being such that this place can never become a military post, or ever draw a great population.†

* Several newspapers have given magnificent descriptions of New Madrid: the people of this colony are naturally lavish in their praises of the spot they inhabit; and they even pretend to be more industrious, and their condition less miserable than that of the colonists in the Illinois. They are, perhaps, in the right; a tarnished coat is better than rags.

† We have been since informed that the whole of these works are carried off and destroyed by the waters, and that no vestige whatever remains.

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After descending one hundred and seventy-one miles below New Madrid, and through a country which is entirely a desert, we found on the left side a cliff, which, from its direction and nature, must be a branch of the chain of heights that runs parallel with the left side of the river, but which have ceased to be visible. This cliff is preceded by a small river, or creek, called by the French, Rivière à Margot; by the Americans, Wolf River; and by the Spaniards, Las Casas. A few yards from its mouth, it divides itself into two branches: the principal branch, called Margot, comes from the East; the other, called Bayou de Gayoso, takes its direction from the South. Opposite the mouth of the river is a great island, which is separated from the left side by a channel from forty to fifty yards wide, and which forms, with this bank, a kind of haven or port. The land is low and swampy.

The nature of the country is an assemblage of various small eminences running towards the North East,* distinct from one another, and each having a platform separated by small vallies. On the inland side, the slope of these small elevations is gentle and easy; on the side of the water, they form perpendicular cliffs,

* See the map.

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which, as you descend the river, rise progressively from thirty to sixty feet. On the first of these heights A, in descending, and consequently on the lowest, is situated the fort which the Spaniards have lately built, called St. Ferdinand. This fort is commanded on the land side, at the distance of one hundred and twenty yards, by the platform B, as well as on the southern side by that of C. The choice of the natural position of this fort is faulty, and the plan of its construction no less reprehensible, since it has too considerable an extension for the surface on which it is placed; and the front of the two bastions on the land side occupy more than half of the inclined part of the platform. From the platform B, notwithstanding an inclosure of stakes which are twelve feet in height, the whole of the interior of of the two bastions is seen, and consequently the rest of the fort.

The form of this fort is a square with four bastions, surrounded, as we have observed, with stakes, without ditch, palisadoes, or even banquettes, and containing only eight eight-pounders.

The buildings, indeed, consist of a handsome house for the commander, an ill-constructed barrack for the troops, and a powder magazine covered with tiles. One

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hundred and fifty men and three galleys form the defence of this place. Such is the fort which has cost to the Court of Madrid so much money, and respecting which so many statements, projects, and plans have been given, and which originated in ignorance, or were, perhaps, suggested by treachery.

We know that in a newly settled country, covered with wood, the bad choice of a position may be excused, because before the land is somewhat cleared, it is difficult to find out the true heights of the country which we wish to defend, especially when it is irregular and undulating: but the mode of construction of this fort is inexcusable.

If this establishment at first had no other object in view than to keep in awe the Chickasaws, a powerful nation hostile to Spain; it is only since the Americans have poured in on this part of the continent, and have shown themselves, like their ancestry, ambitious and enterprising, that the Spanish Court has been anxious to render this post capable of stopping them in their projects of invasion.

We repeat once more, that it is not below the Ohio that a position should have been chosen to defend its outlets; but above this river, since the ground did not permit of any works being erected opposite to its mouth.

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I have already observed, that to be masters of the Mississipi, it is necessary to command the course of that river, and for the following reason:

Every vessel or armed galley ascending the river, is obliged to employ the greater part of its crew in rowing. These oars, fixed at distances of five or six feet, from one end of the vessel to the other, embarrass the working of the guns, which are placed in the intervals. In going up, the vessels are always obliged to present their heads, which is a very disadvantageous position: in some parts of the river also, the current is so extremely rapid, that it is impossible to stem it without keeping close to the shore, where the enemy, posted on points higher than the vessel and concealed behind trees and rocks, might kill great numbers without resistance; since not being seen by those in the boat, it would be impossible for them to know where to point their artillery, and even if the enemy were seen, the shot would be without effect, since it would be firing upwards.

A vessel which descends would require, on the contrary, but two or four oars, and a pilot to steer. The whole crew might, therefore, be employed in the service of the artillery or musketry; the vessel might keep the middle of the river, or approach either bank, or take whatever passage or position should be most advantageous

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for annoying the enemy; while the vessel in falling down would present its broadside, and might attack or avoid a combat. Such evident advantages require no comment.

The fort, since it was determined to build one on this bank, notwithstanding its inutility, ought to have been placed on the platform D, which commands the rest; from this position, whatever should advance by the three small passes formed by the islands situated above the cliffs, and which opposite to these cliffs form only one, would readily be discovered, and the fort could also very easily defend the small road, and the mouth of the river Margot; and as the platform D is greater than those of A, B, C, the fort might have had as large an extent as should have been required. But we shall clearly show, in our general system of the defence of Louisiana, that every kind of fort on this bank, the object of which is the protection of the colony, would be more injurious than useful, and that forts are necessary only as stations for travellers, or to protect commerce and navigation; on this hypothesis block-houses are sufficient, because all the keys of the different positions on the left side are too far distant from the banks of the river; these, for example, are more than twenty miles.*

* On the point A in the chart

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Sixty miles below Margot Cliffs, on the right side, is the river St. Francis. This river comes from the north-north-west, and not from the north-west, as it is marked in all the charts. It is navigable three hundred miles for canoes. Half of my boatmen having fallen sick in this place of a fever and dysentery, I was obliged to steer the boat myself; these circumstances prevented me from going up this river, concerning which we have hitherto had so few details.

Ninety miles below the river St. Francis, and on the same side, is the mouth of the White River.

As this river appears on the charts to be confounded with that of the Arcks or Arkansas, the mouth of which is separated from the White River by only a slight distance, and an union with which is formed by a channel about six leagues from its mouth, Adjutant General Warin and myself resolved to take a minute survey of the outlets of these two rivers. We determined, therefore, that he should ascend, with the bark and two men, the White River as far as the opening of the channel, which he should cross, and wait for me at the point where it communicates with the river of the Arkansas; whilst I should continue with the canoe to descend the Mississipi, as far as the mouth of that river, and then re-ascend to the point where its waters

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have made a passage, and communicate with the White River. The first who arrived was to wait the coming of the other. I gave Mr. Warin provisions and stores for eight days, and we separated at five in the morning.

On the second day, at half past four in the evening, I reached the place of rendezvous, and finding no one, encamped with my boatmen. The next morning, at nine, I perceived the bark coming up the channel, and when it approached, found Adjutant Warin lying along the boat, and suffering so much that he could scarcely speak or breathe. One of the hunters who attended him informed me, that at five in the evening of the day we separated, having reached the point where the channel of the Arkansas throws itself into the White River, they had resolved to pass the night on that spot; that whilst his comrade was gone to hunt, and he himself was gathering wood at a very small distance from the camp, two Chickasaws (the same we had several times met) approached Adjutant Warin, and gave him a piece of bear's flesh; that having accepted it, he offered them in exchange powder and tobacco, which they refused, and asked him for rum; after making some difficulty, M. Warin gave them each a glass, when they asked for another, which he positively refused. Seeing that they could not obtain it, one of them, with a club

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in his hand, leaped into the canoe to seize on a small barrel of rum, when Adjutant Warin, in order to prevent his carrying it off, took up his carabine; the Chickasaw at that instant struck at his head with his club, which he avoided by throwing himself back, but unhappily received the blow on his breast, which stretched him lifeless in the canoe; that he, the hunter, hearing the noise, ran to the river, where seeing what had passed, he levelled his musket at the Indian in the canoe, and broke his arm, upon which they both took flight.

Without endeavouring to seek for any extraordinary cause of this deplorable event, I cannot help remarking, that these two Indians were the same who had followed us from the country of the Illinois, five hundred miles; that at each of our principal stations, we always found they had preceded us; that they were painted black, with each a white feather on their heads, a sure sign of war or an expedition; that there was only one armed with a carabine, and it is to be remarked, that it was the unarmed Indian who attacked Adjutant Warin; it seemed as if they were fearful of raising alarm by the report of a musket. On the appearance of the hunter, and his firing, which wounded one of them, they fled; nor did he who had his carabine loaded, and who was not wounded, fire either at the Adjutant or the hunter, who

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was then disarmed. Were they apprehensive of my arrival, or of that of other hunters, or fearful of being discovered? Did they mistake Warin for me?*—I accuse no one; I have no evidence of hostile intentions against me, but .....

* It is to be observed that we were both of the same size, and were dressed in the same manner.

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CHAPTER XX.

Continuation of the river Mississipi, from the White River to Nogales.—White River.—Channel of communication with that of the Arkansas.—River of the Arkansas.—Its red and brackish waters.—Fine country.—Sketch.—Animals and crystallisation.—Singular country.—Great quantity of animals.—Louisiana, with respect to its military relations.—The places where the rivers of the Arkansas and the Osages take their sources.—Supposition.—Negligence of the court of Spain.—Unsatisfactory reasons alledged by its agents.—Means to be taken to remove these difficulties.—Obstacles.—Bad fort.—Abuse of authority.—Population.—Indian anecdote.—Nature of the country between the Arkansas and the Yazoo.—River Yazoo.

The White River is from an hundred and twenty to an hundred and forty yards broad at its mouth; its direction is north-west, and it is navigable six hundred miles for boats of six thousand weight, but only in high waters,

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that is, eight months in the year. Being much hemmed in, its bed narrows as the waters decrease, and discovers a great number of small falls or rapids. Its current is very strong when the waters are high, and more gentle when they are low.

Eighteen miles from its mouth, and on the right side, is the opening of a channel about forty yards in breadth, and through which a part of the waters of the river of the Arkansas empties itself. It is eight miles long, and is navigable only in high waters. During the months of July, August, and September, it is almost dry, and we were enabled to ascend only by an extraordinary swell of the water. Although the current be gentle in this channel, it is extremely difficult to go up, on account of the great quantity of sand-banks and drift-wood with which it is encumbered.

At the mouth of the White River is a small post of three men, which is a detachment from that of the Arkansas. The object of this post is to stop the entrance of this river, but it can be of no use with respect to the navigation, because when the waters are low, it is separated from the channel by a great sand-bank, which extends more than two miles; a passage might, therefore, be effected by keeping to the left side of the river,

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without being seen by the post, which, it must also be observed, has no means of resistance.

After passing the White River, and proceeding ten miles, we reached the point where the river of the Arkansas empties itself on the same side. This river is three hundred yards wide at its mouth, comes from the north-west, and runs parallel to the White River. It is navigable nine hundred miles for the largest barks, except during the three dry months; at that season the navigation extends only one hundred and twenty miles.

Eighteen miles from its mouth, on the left, is the entrance of the channel of communication, which its waters have opened with the White River.

During the space of sixty miles from its mouth, both sides of the river are low and swampy; but at this distance, where are situated the fort and the village of the Arkansas, the country begins to be more elevated.

Ninety miles higher are five rapids, which are passable only in small canoes, when the waters are low; but when they are high, these rapids are entirely covered and imperceptible.

When the waters are low, the current of this river is almost as violent as that of the Mississipi, which is not the case when they are high, since the waters as they

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extend flow more gently; the White River in similar circumstances is directly the reverse.

The river of the Arkansas rolls over a bed of sand, and washes a red soil, which gives a tint to the waters; and as it crosses, six hundred miles from its mouth, a range of rocks composed of pure salt, the water preserves a brackish taste, which renders it disagreeable and unwholesome.

After passing the line where the swampy country ends, the river of the Arkansas waters, perhaps, one of the finest countries on the globe. The land is of a chocolate color, with a vegetable mould from eight to eighteen feet deep, and a gentle undulation, which, by facilitating the draining of the waters, concurs to the salubrity of the air.

We can only repeat what others have already said or written respecting this charming country, which the more carefully we examine, the greater beauties we discover. On the horizon, mountains, the summits of which are lost in the clouds, and from whose base, stretched in lengthened perspective, lie plains of immense extent and fertility; the Arkansas winding, and varying every moment the form of these fine natural meadows; hills, sprinkled sometimes with beautiful groups of wood,

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at other times with tufts of the laurel or magnolia; rivulets falling in torrents, or cascades from the mountains, and after numerous meanders throwing themselves into the river, are but a slight sketch of this delightful region, from which the traveller with difficulty withdraws his reluctant steps.

Six hundred miles from the mouth of this river are heights forming a chain, the continuation of that which we have already described in the country of the Illinois; here this chain falls back towards the south-west, and is filled only with minerals and crystallizations.

Between the sources of the river of the Arkansas and those of the Great Osages, is a valley, the extent of which may be estimated at one hundred and twenty miles. In the centre is a lake, the banks of which are perpendicular in its whole circumference, and composed of a rock of white salt, more pungent than common salt. From this lake flows a little river, traversing the plain in its whole extent, the banks of which river are nearly of the same nature as those of the lake.

The whole surface of this valley is covered with a small fine and thinly scattered grass, across which is perceived an almost impalpable dust; this is an efflorescence of salt in a state of continued reproduction;

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since if it be swept away, the surface on the morrow is again covered.

In this plain are found also holes of different forms, some perfectly round, others oval or triangular, and often very deep, and filled with a saline water. The inside of the banks are lined with this salt, left by the evaporation of the water, from its level to that of the soil.*

Numerous droves of wild bullocks, bears, roebucks, panthers, and elks, cover this plain, and in such numbers that it cannot be crossed without great danger; for this reason, the Indians never hunt but at a certain season of the year, when they can assemble to the amount of a thousand or twelve hundred warriors.† . . . . . .

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* The Indians who inhabit these countries (the Great Osages) make considerable use of this salt, of which they extract great lumps with pointed sticks, thrust into the crevices, and which serve for pincers; the Indians give a round form to these lumps, tie them to the end of lianas, and dip them in their food till it has attained a sufficient degree of saltness. We brought away with us several specimens of this salt.

† We are obliged here to leave an hiatus in our description. The governor of Louisiana, M. de Carondelet, having kept five chapters of our journal, one of which contains a detailed account of this interesting country. See the proces-verbal on this subject, with the justificatory papers.

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When we take a military survey of the structure of this part of Louisiana, we must admit that the two rivers, the Arkansas and the Great Osages, are the two keys of Mexico; for though the mouths of these two rivers are separated by a space of more than six hundred miles, the one throwing itself into the Mississipi, and the other into the Missouri, nevertheless, as that of the Great Osages flows from the south-west, and that of the Arkansas from the north-west, the sources of each are so contiguous, that they are separated only by the narrowest part of the plain or valley, of which we have just given the description, and at the extremity of which is Santa Fé.

From the point where the navigation ends to Santa Fé is reckoned sixty miles; and from that where terminates the navigation of the Great Osages, is reckoned one hundred and fifteen or one hundred and twenty miles.

Thus, supposing two bodies of troops should assemble, one in the state of Indiana, at the mouth of the river of the Illinois, and opposite that of the Missouri, and the other in the Tenessee, at the cliffs of Margot, a little above the river of the Arkansas; the first ascending the Missouri and the river of the Great Osages, the second that of the Arkansas; they might both reach, in a few days, the same given point (Santa Fé), having nearly the

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same navigation, and the same space to traverse. The difficulty which the right column might find in ascending ninety miles the Missouri, and in travelling overland sixty miles more than the column on the left, would be counterbalanced by the facility with which it might ascend the river of the Great Osages, which is much less rapid than that of the Arkansas; having once reached the head of these two rivers, the country presents no obstacles whatever either from mountains or rivers: we may, therefore, judge of what importance it is to Spain that these two outlets should be shut.

It might be imagined, that a communication so easy and direct with the capital of the country of metals, so well known, and bordering on the United States, would have fixed the attention of the Spanish government, and that different surveys, respecting the nature of this country watered by these two rivers, would have been made by engineers, in order to obtain certain data, on which a system of general defence might be established; or at least that some provisional measures of safety would have been taken to hinder and stop, by strong works and a respectable garrison, the navigation of this river. But all this has been neglected, nor has any person been employed by the government to go up this river for the purpose of taking military surveys; we are even ignorant of the nature

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of the country that lies three hundred miles below the mouth of the river of the Arkansas. The opposition made by the natives against exploring this river is but a mere pretext to justify so culpable a neglect.

The Great Osages, which are the only nations that inhabit the sources of the river of the Arkansas, are esteemed by those who have visited them, the most gentle and hospitable of all the nations on the west of the river Mississipi; with great veneration for the Whites and particularly the French.

It is true, nevertheless, that possessing that part of the continent which is most productive in animals, they are extremely vigilant, and permit no stranger to enter their territory without their consent, despoiling and killing such as they meet, which keeps them in perpetual war with all the surrounding nations. This inconvenience is obviated by a direct address to themselves, and by taking them for guides. Mr. Choteau, an inhabitant of St. Lewis, who has obtained the privilege of trading with the Great Osages, among whom he has resided for five years, proposed to me whilst at Fort Carondelet, to go up to the sources of this river, accompanied by two chiefs; to traverse the space which lies between these sources and those of the Arkansas, and following the course of this latter river, descend into the Mis-

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sissipi. This journey would have employed three months at most, and there would have been less danger in adopting this mode, than in traversing many of the United States.

But no doubt the disgrace of seeing such a survey taken by a stranger, or rather jealousy, the companion of ignorance, were obstacles far more difficult to surmount than the pretended opposition of the Indians; these considerations led us to return without having been successful in rendering this service to Spain.

Two ill-constructed huts, situated on the left, at the distance of seventy-five miles from the river of the Arkansas, surrounded with great palisadoes, without ditch or parapet, and containing four six-pounders, bear the name of fort. The garrison entrusted with its defence, consists of a captain and fifteen men, three of whom, as we have already mentioned, form a detachment at the mouth of the White River.*

* At the time we passed, an engineer had been sent to the post of the Arkansas, with orders to build another fort or block-house. He proposed to occupy a piece of ground situated half a mile behind the fort, which was standing, and consequently at the same distance from the river, under pretence that the bank was continually washing away. But in this arrangement, the officer forgot that to defend the passage of a river, the banks of which are steep, the more distant he removed, the less able would he be to direct

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It may easily be imagined how small a portion of respect such means as these are fitted to excite, either in the neighbouring powers or the Indian nations: the following anecdote, of which we were witnesses, will give us a just idea on this subject.

Two Chickasaws, the real tyrants of the river, met an Indian of the nation of the Mascous, with whom they were at war; pursuing him to the palisado of the fort, they killed and scalped him under the eyes of the commander, who dared not defend the poor wretch, or grant him an asylum.

The commander, on the observation we made him that this act was a violation of the territory of His Catholic

his fire into the middle of its bed. Besides, block-houses or other works of that kind, which were sufficient formerly to overawe the Indians, are now become altogether useless; because at present it is much more material to construct defences against the United States than against Indian nations, the greater part of whom are degenerated or destroyed. The only dangerous enemies for Spain, the only to be feared, are the Americans, as well for their population and their spirit of enterprise, as their local situation, which gives them ample means of conveying artillery of every bore. Such fortifications become, therefore, a derision; solid works in earth, well constructed and judiciously placed, should be raised, till the population on the Spanish side puts it in a situation of building others still more durable.

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Majesty, which appeared to us extremely reprehensible, replied that he had express orders not to mingle in any quarrel which the Indians might have with each other; that the Chickasaws were a very powerful nation; and that if he had prevented the murder, perhaps in a fortnight the post and all the Whites would have been destroyed.

The more probable reason of this conduct (for it is not likely that such an order should have been given) is, that this commander, as well as others scattered through Upper Louisiana, trading with the Indians to the detriment of the inhabitants, are more earnest in gaining over the greatest number of nations possible, in order to obtain a larger quantity of furs, than anxious to make the territory of their king respected; because they well know, that, if they resisted their caprices and insults, these Indians would keep off from their counters, and would carry elsewhere the produce of their hunting. In this manner sovereigns are often degraded by their subjects.

A little behind this fort is a small village, which may contain from forty to fifty Whites; these settlers, having no means of defence against the Indians, who are continually pillaging their cattle and robbing them of the fruits of their industry, are in general poor and miserable.

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A single farm, belonging to Mr. Wolf, a German, evinced what might be expected from a country thus fertile. He was employed in gathering in his corn harvest, which yielded him two hundred fold. The quality of the wheat was certainly equal to that of the best departments of France ; which leaves no doubt, that under a government favorable to agriculture, this cultivation would be attended with the greatest success. But with an administration so vicious as the present, Mr. Wolf was compelled to display a constancy and firmness of character which are rarely to be found.

Having received a deputation from the chiefs of the great village of the Arkansas, I determined to pay them a visit, and be myself the bearer of the customary presents. In the course of our journey, which was nearly eleven miles, we passed several Indian camps; among others, one of the Mascou nation, then at war with the Chickasaws. I took advantage of this circumstance, to renew my experiment of pulsation on one of the chiefs of this nation, with a young Spaniard whom I had found at the Cliffs, and to whom I had given a passage as far as New Orleans: they were both of the same age and size: the experiment, made at eight in the morning and repeated three different times, gave on the average sixty-eight to

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the Spaniard, and fifty-nine to the Mascou; the difference was consequently nine.

We proceeded on our way, and came in an hour and an half opposite the village of the Arkansas, situated on the other bank. My interpreter was very much astonished to see no one to conduct us to the place of embarkation; and the more so, as he had had the precaution to give notice to the chiefs the preceding evening, of the day and hour we were to arrive. I observed to him, that the Indians were never servile in any action of their lives, and that the only thing which surprised me was, that they had left nothing on the bank that could furnish us with the means of passing the river, which was very wide, especially in this place; but that in looking we should perhaps find a canoe. We then gave our horses to the Spaniard to hold, and went in search along the banks of the river. We had scarcely proceeded fifty steps, before we discovered a small skiff tied to a great pole. I recognised in this action the character of the Indians, and easily interpreted their thoughts, which seemed to say: "Here is a canoe, here are oars; if you are not old women,* make use of your arms." My companion agreed

* This expression on the part of the Indians indicates cowardice, weakness, and in general every thing that wants strength and courage.

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to the justness of my observation; we took, therefore, each an oar, and crossed the river amidst the acclamations of the Indians, who were waiting for us on the opposite bank. After the usual ceremonies, we were conducted to a dance, the object of which was the celebration of a marriage.* On our return, we were ferried over by women.

From the river of the Arkansas† to that of Yazoo is one hundred and fifty-eight miles. In this distance, excepting two passages, one called the Island à la Tête de Mort and the other the Island aux Chicots, which are encumbered with drift-wood, heaped up sixty feet high, and narrowing the channel, the whole of the navigation is good; the current of the Mississipi, from the river of the Arkansas, becomes evidently more gentle.

From the Cliffs at Margot to the river of the Arkansas, and from hence to that of Yazoo, both sides of the Mississipi are swampy, and covered with great reeds or

* There is a kind of soft and melancholy languor in the Indian tunes, and particularly in those of the amatory kind, which excite by attractive and irresistible emotion to a pleasure before unknown; this feeling is heightened by the silence which reigns in these solitary abodes.

† It was in the river of the Arkansas that we saw the first alligators, and it appears that they are never met with above this latitude.

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cypress trees; it is to be observed, that the latter are found only below the Arkansas, and that no wood of this kind grows above that river.

The mouth of the river Yazoo is situated thirty-two degrees twenty-eight minutes north, and is about three hundred yards wide. This river divides Upper from Lower Louisiana.

At the mouth is a considerable island, which forms two passages; and as the land is very low, it is difficult to distinguish the entrances.

In high waters, the Mississipi drives back the Yazoo fifteen miles, and overflows the country on both sides. The course of this river is nearly north-east, which at its confluence with the Mississipi forms a very acute angle.

An hundred and thirty miles above its mouth it divides into two branches; the western branch is called Cold Water River (Rivière à l'Eau Froide), and the other the Eastern River or the river of Yazoo. From the point of its division it traverses an undulated country, which becomes very mountainous near its sources. It receives a great number of rivulets, of which several are sufficiently large for the purpose of every kind of manufacture; in this number are the Lowbassha, the Jockengpitofa, and the Salt Hatche.

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The land above Cold River is no longer swampy, and the higher you advance the more fertile it is found. There are even some points which have been cleared by the Indians. The country, as far as the sources of Cold River, is one of the most healthy in America: from Cold River to the mouth of the Yazoo, on the contrary, the inundations render the climate very unwholesome.

From the mouth of the Yazoo to Cold River, the country is covered with bamboo canes of a considerable height; from thence to its source is wood of different kinds, but neither the cedar, the pine, nor the green oak.

In the mountains where it takes its rise, very rich iron mines have been discovered. In general, the course of the Yazoo and the district of the Natchez are considered as the finest part of North America.

The river Yazoo is navigable for barges or boats as far as Cold River, or the Western Branch, that is, an hundred and fifty miles above its mouth, except in seasons when the waters are extremely low. There are a few rapids, but when the waters are high, they can be distinguished only by those who are well accustomed to the river. From Cold River, the Yazoo is still navigable seventy miles, to a point sixty miles below the village of the Chickasaws, but only for barks carrying four or five thousand weight. From this point its bed

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narrows, and great obstacles are to be surmounted; sometimes there are not even six inches of water: its course is gentle and slow, which renders it very easy of ascent.

The Eastern Branch, or Yazoo River, directs its course towards the river of Tennessee, from which it is separated only by a chain of mountains, rather lofty, which are ramifications of the Alleganies or Blue Mountains, and which will render this carrying-place or communication extremely difficult. From the sources of the Yazoo, or rather from the end of its navigation to the nearest point of the river Tennessee, is two hundred and sixty miles; but from the different turnings of the mountains and the river, this distance may be reckoned at three hundred. There are two roads employed by the hunters and traders from the end of the navigation of the Yazoo, to reach the river Tennessee: the first passes by the great village of the Chickasaws, from thence to Hope Chapaw Creek; when at this latter place, you can only reach Cumberland River on foot, on account of the steepness of the mountains.

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RECAPITULATION OF DISTANCES.

	Miles.
From the end of the navigation of the Yazoo to the village of the Chickasaws .	80
From the village of the Chickasaws to Hope Chapaw Creek	70
From Hope Chapaw Creek to Cumberland	100
	250

The second road is that used by the traders; this road also passes by the village of the Chickasaws, but it then goes to Duck's Creek, and from thence to Knoxville. It is passable for loaded horses, but with great difficulty.

	Miles.
From the end of the navigation of the Yazoo to the village of the Chickasaws .	80
From the village of the Chickasaws to Duck's Creek	150
From Duck's Creek to Nashville . .	100
	330

The fur trade which is carried on by the Yazoo, is of very little importance. At present, the Indians, sur-

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rounded by the Americans on the east and north, and by the Spaniards to the south and west, find scarcely any game. This branch of commerce is now reduced to fifty thousand skins of roebucks, and about seven or eight thousand pounds weight of beaver.

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CHAPTER XXI.

Continuation of the military description of the course of the Mississipi, from Nogales to Bâton Rouge.—Nogales.—Fort of the Great Battery.—Fort Sugar Loaf.—Fort of Mount Vigie.—Fort Gayoso and St. Ignatius.—Reflections.—Turtles.—Black River.—Bayou de Pierres.—Islands of Bayou de Pierres.—Natchez.—Nature of the country.—Fort of the Natchez.—Gayoso Battery.—State of the fort.—Observations.—Town of Natchez.—Population.—Communication.—Climate.—Conspiracy of Governor Blount.—White cliffs.—Rock of Avion.—The Tonicas.—Pointe-Coupée.—Population.—Fort.—Cliffs of Pointe-Coupée.

THE post of Nogales, called by way of irony the Gibraltar of Louisiana, is situated on the left of the river, near a deep creek, and on the summit of different eminences connected with each other, and running North East. These heights form a kind of spur, branching from the

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chain of hills, which is no longer visible at the cliffs of Margot, and which falls away on the side of the Floridas.*

These eminences rise gradually towards the country, during the space of forty miles,† from the banks of the river to the peak of this small chain.

The first of these eminences, that is of those that touch the banks of the river, do not form cliffs like those of the Iron Mine and at Margot; they slope away, on the contrary, very gradually, and it is at the extremity of one of their glacis that the first work A, called fort of the Great Battery, is placed. But as after building this first fort it was perceived, in clearing, that at about two hundred yards behind a small elevation commanded the battery, a block-house, B, was erected, on which were placed four howitzers pointed at the battery.

On the side of the river this battery is closed by a wall of masonry, twelve feet high and four thick, in which are crannies and embrasures: on the land side, a ditch four feet in breadth and three deep, and a palisado twelve feet high, surround the battery and the block-house.

* See the plan.

† See the point B, on the chart of the Mobile.

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Twelve pieces of cannon, four twelve-pounders, and eight eight-pounders, mounted on rotten platforms, compose the artillery. A house for the commander, barracks for two hundred men, and a powder magazine, are erected in this inclosure. On the left of this first work, at the distance of six hundred yards, is another small mound C, insulated and separated from the fort of the great battery by a great defile D, and which is about twelve feet deep and twenty broad.

To obviate this second inconvenience, another block-house has been erected on this kind of Sugar Loaf, in which are placed four four-pounders. This small work is surrounded by a bad ditch and a palisado, and is called fort Sugar Loaf. These two first works look upon the river.

About a thousand yards behind these two works, is a chain of small heights, which, connected with each other, form together a large and extensive platform E, that commands the whole of the space from the river, as well as the battery A, and fort Sugar Loaf B.

Three works have been erected on this platform. The first, F, called fort of Mount Vigie, and on which depends the defence of this post, is placed in the middle, so as to form a recess with the battery A, and fort Sugar Loaf B; but though it supports fort F, it cannot,

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however, overlook the battery A from the elevation of fort B; so that after having carried the battery and the block-house, it would be very easy to form a lodgment at the foot of the eminence B, without risking a cannon shot from the other works.

The form of fort Mount Vigie is a perfect square, without bastion, with a parapet of four feet of earth, surrounded with a ditch and a palisado; on each of its fronts are placed two eight-pounders.

In the middle of this fort is a block-house, which serves for barracks; a well is also sunk.

To the right and left of fort Mount Vigie, at the distance of nearly four hundred yards, on a spot a little more elevated than the fort, two small block-houses are built, which serve for lunettes; they have no guns, and are surrounded neither by ditch nor palisadoes. The block-house placed on the left, G, is called fort Gayoso, and that on the right, H, fort St. Ignatius.

Such is exactly the present state of the defence of Nogales. If behind these three last works any new clearings should be made, it will infallibly result, from the nature of the ground, that the works F, G, H, will be commanded by some other points; in this case, new redoubts or block-houses will probably be built, till going on from one blunder to another, the point B, the natural

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key of this position,* be attained; this with a small share of intelligence might have been perceived at first.

Eighty soldiers and a captain are intrusted with the defence of these different forts, which would require at least a thousand men.

In whatever manner this position be occupied, with the view of protecting Louisiana against the Americans, it will always be ineffectual, unless possession be gained of the whole chain of heights: since, at present, only a small part can be supported, and this part is weak, and commanded by other points, which are in the power of the Americans, and which render them masters of the summits, as well as the sources of the rivers. Thus the whole of this puny fabric would be destroyed; for an attack may be made, not only by descending the Yazoo, but equally well in falling down the Mississipi; since the Americans can easily land at Nogales, and that with so much the more security, as the whole of these eminences are accessible on every side: such posts, in short, are good only when they can be supported, and defended by a strong population, which is the great advantage the inhabitants of the United States have over the Spaniards.

From what has been said, it follows that the left bank of the river being well peopled, and the right a desert,

* See the Chart of the Mobile.

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every military establishment formed on this bank, with any other view than that of fixing the limits, is on the part of Spain altogether useless, as long as its political situation with the United States remains unchanged.

Our Canadians discovered in this place a number of turtles' eggs, buried in the sand, along the banks of the Mississipi, when the waters are low. A Spaniard of our suite, who had lived a long time at Nogales, gave me the following account of the manner in which these depôts are formed.

" This animal," said he, " looks out in summer for sandy banks, on which it can lay its eggs; it is led by instinct to choose the break of day: it then goes out of the water with great precaution, raises itself on its hind legs, looks around, and when sure of being seen by no one, crawls to the place which it judges most suitable, that is, to the spot which the waters never reach in this season, whatever may be the accidental freshes. When it comes to the point on which it has fixed, it raises itself anew, looks round with attention to see if it be not observed, and when it has this persuasion, it makes with its fore feet a hole, where it deposits its eggs, covers them, and rubs the place which conceals its treasure gently with its belly; it then returns, making a great circuit, careful always to take the side opposite to that by which it came."

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These turtles are scarce in the Mississipi; but are found in greater abundance in the Arkansas, and generally in the western rivers that fall into the Mississipi, from this latitude to the sea; these turtles are very large, but less than those which are found in the gulf of Mexico.

The Canadians find out these depôts from the polish left by the rubbing of the turtle on the sand, which is easily distinguished from the sand in its natural state, in which are irregularities, and slight undulations produced by the agitation of the waters.

From Nogales to Big Black River is thirty-nine miles. This river is situated on the left, and runs nearly parallel and in the same direction as that of the Yazoo.

This river is not more than sixty yards wide at its mouth; but in ascending it some miles, it is an hundred yards broad, and is navigable sixty or eighty miles for boats carrying from four to five thousand weight.

Its sources, for it has many, form different branches; some are very near those of the Mobile; those in the south-east take their rise in the height B,* and those in the north-east in a little rivulet E, or a chain of mountains, which runs parallel with it, and which separates its waters from those of the Yazoo.

* See the map of the Mobile.

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The course of this river is often interrupted by rapids and small cascades. Thirty miles from its mouth, a great bank of rock bars almost the whole of its bed, and leaves only a passage of twenty feet wide and four deep.

In freshes these impediments are not perceived; but when the waters are only at a middling height, the greater part re-appears, and renders the navigation extremely difficult.

This river runs through a country which is irregular and very hilly, especially on the right side and towards its sources. The left side is even, and with fewer heights and rocks.

Ten miles below Big Black River, and on the same side, is Bayou de Pierres, or Stony River; this is only a large rivulet, which does not flow more than twenty or twenty-five miles inland. The bed being full of great rocks, it is navigable only for very small canoes. The country on the right, through which it runs, is low and very fertile; that on the left is more lofty, broken by heights and small vallies.

At the mouth of Stony River is a wretched hut; but there are several American settlements a mile above. Although at the mouth of this river the Mississipi forms no cliffs, it is, however, sufficiently elevated to prevent the country from being inundated in high waters.

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Fifteen miles from Stony River, in the middle of the Mississipi, are two islands, called Les Isles du Bayou de Pierres, and by the Americans Stony Creek Islands. These islands, which are in front of the creek, fill up a great part of the bed of the river, and form three remarkable passages, of which there is only one navigable in the same year, the two others being choked up with drift-wood. This year it was the left which was open for the navigation; next spring that will perhaps be obstructed in its turn, and one of the other passages be alone navigable. Nothing certain, therefore, can be indicated to travellers, with respect to such difficulties.*

Twenty-eight miles below these islands we reached the Natchez. The district of the Natchez begins at the river Yazoo, and ends at the Tonicas; it is one of the most ancient, populous, and important settlements of Lower Louisiana.

The town and fort are situated at an hundred miles from Nogales, on the left side of the river, and on a fine elevated plain, which we shall call the Fourth Spur from the Ohio, that branches off from the chain of principal heights, which we have so often mentioned. Its direction

* See the general observations on the navigation of the Mississipi at the end of the work.

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is north-east, like those of the three preceding, which are the Iron Bank, the cliffs of Margot, and Nogales; but it differs from that of Nogales, as it is less elevated, sinks perceptibly towards the country, and at ten or twelve miles distance is no longer visible.

This space forms also very considerable cliffs, which extend nearly four miles, and are from an hundred and eighty to two hundred feet high; which places this settlement out of the reach of inundations, renders a landing very difficult, or at least prevents it from being effected near the chief place of residence.

The principal eminence A* is eight hundred yards from the bank of the Mississipi; its form is round, its slope gentle on the land side, but somewhat steep towards the river.

On the right, looking from the side of the river, is a large and deep defile B, which begins at more than a mile inland, and divides into two branches C, one of which, that on the left, turns and circumscribes a part of the eminence A. Its breadth near the river is not less than two hundred yards, and its depth one hundred; its sides are almost perpendicular, and embarrassed with trees, thorns, and thickset hedges; but towards its upper

* See the plan.

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extremity it grows shallow. Behind this defile, the country is irregular and intersected by a number of small defiles, which empty their waters into the first.

The principal eminence A, on which the fort is situated, neither commands nor is commanded by any surrounding height. It is also out of sight of the great defile; but this defect was remedied by raising the fort twelve feet with earth inclosed in a case made of planks, and strengthened with great beams. As this factitious parapet was preceded by neither ditch nor palisado, the present governor, Mr. de Gayoso, has constructed an inclosure of planks at forty yards distance, and has lately began, in front of this railing, a small covered way, of which nothing as yet appears but the tracing of the ditch.

Behind the fort, at a thousand yards distance, towards the head of the great defile, a small battery D has been erected, the form of which is a long square, open at the neck. The object of this battery is to prevent the approaching a small mound situated opposite, which if it does not command the eminence on which the fort is placed, is at least on the same level. This battery looks also into the deepest part of the great defile; it has neither ditch nor palisadoes, and is intended for four-pounders. This fort is called Gayoso Battery.

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The form of the fort is an irregular hexagon, containing eight eighteen-pounders and eight twelve-pounders, barracks for two hundred men, a well which is not less than eighty feet deep, and a powder magazine. The whole is in a most wretched state; the buildings are falling into ruins, the platforms rotten, as well as the gun carriages; the cases which support the parapet are likewise so decayed, that were the fort to make use of its eighteen pounders, a part would infallibly crumble into ruins. Fifty soldiers, commanded by a captain, form the ordinary garrison of the fort.

Of the four positions on the river, and which we have lately described, this is, without doubt, one of the most perfect, for the following reasons:

First, That by means of the great defile an intrenched camp might be formed, in occupying all the small heights or undulations which surround the principal eminence, and inclosing, by this separation, all the small defiles, which are so favorable to the approach of the enemy:

Secondly, That this position being situated at only an hundred leagues from New Orleans, it may be supported and aided from that place, at least for some time:

Thirdly, That the Americans, not being favored in this geographical point by any considerable river, which

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leads directly to this spot, can convey no artillery without making a great circuit:

Fourthly, This eminence not being externally connected with the principal chain of mountains, the Americans have not the same advantage of locality as the preceding positions offer, by seizing on the commanding points; they would, therefore, be compelled, in order to place themselves on a level with the fort, to force several outer works, which in this position would retard their operations and multiply their dangers.

But all these feeble advantages, which are partial and purely local, cannot remedy the defect which exists in the general structure of the country; this leads us to repeat, that *all the positions on the left side of the river, in whatever point of view they be considered, or in whatever mode they may be occupied, without the alliance of the Western States, are far from covering Louisiana: they are, on the contrary, highly injurious to this colony; and the money and men which might be employed for this purpose, would be ineffectual.**

At a quarter of a mile, on the left, from the fort, and on the sloping part of a small height in front of the river,

* It is almost useless to observe, that this survey was made in 1796, when Louisiana was threatened by the United States.

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is the town of Natchez, which contains about an hundred houses, built of wood, and painted of different colors. The town is surrounded by a great number of fine farms and orchards, displaying in every part a high state of industry and prosperity. The population of the district of the Natchez is reckoned at about ten thousand souls, of every sex and age.

This population furnishes two thousand militia, formed into companies, part of which, in the pay of Spain, is in actual service. Independently of this militia, there are also two hundred dragoons, volunteers, well mounted, and who could easily be increased to five hundred.

In this population may be distinguished three classes of emigrants; the first is composed of those who first established themselves when this colony belonged to Great Britain; the second, of those commonly called Tories or Loyalists, who, at the period of the American revolution, took arms for the king of England, and who fled thither at the peace of 1783; the third class is composed of those who since the peace, discontented with the federal government, are come hither to form settlements, having purchased lands at a very low price.

These three classes are absolutely divided in political opinions: the first is purely English; the second is Anglo-American royalist; the third is republican, but the weakest

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in number. They are, however, in general agreed on all questions respecting the federal government, which they equally detest, and against which their hatred is carried to such a point, that if ever it should be their lot to form part of the United States when the limits are fixed, conformable to the treaty between this government and Spain, they would transport themselves under the dominion of the latter, whatever repugnance they might feel to live under a government, which in their opinion gives no national character.

This colony, as well as all the posts established on the Mississipi, is subject to the great inconvenience of having no roads open with the neighbouring states; they can communicate, therefore, neither with Georgia nor Tennessee, and still less with the Floridas. Every thing must come and go from New Orleans by the river, which is the sole outlet and only market.

If the being thus insulated, and thereby depriving the enemy of all means of reaching them, has some advantages, militarily speaking, they are dearly purchased by the stagnation which is thus produced in trade and industry.

There is, nevertheless, a pathway to Pointe Coupée, where the great road, which is to lead to New Orleans, will begin; but this pathway is practicable only for horse

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and foot passengers, and it requires five or six days to reach the place of destination. There is no habitation on the road, and several rivers to pass; from these inconveniences we may easily perceive how useless such a communication must be to commerce.

The climate of the Natchez, though hot, is much less so than has been asserted; and the duration of these heats, so much exaggerated, is very short. They begin about the month of June, and at the time of our visit (October 22), it was cold enough to render the warmth of a fire agreeable.

The winter is in general very mild: snow is sometimes seen, but it never remains long enough on the ground to hinder the cattle from grazing.

During my abode at the Natchez, I imparted to Mr. de Gayoso, governor of this province, the account I had received relative to the hostile preparations which were making in Canada. He appeared to me very much surprised at this communication, of which he acknowledged that he had not received the slightest information; and he was much more astonished when on the following day I procured him the most positive and circumstantial details, which I had gained by accident, and to which, I will venture to say, his Catholic Majesty and France owe the preservation of this colony.

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The day fixed for my departure, one M..... an inhabitant of Tennessee, with whom I had become acquainted in the course of this expedition,* gave me, in writing, information of which the following is the substance.

First, That a thousand inhabitants of this province, destined to attack the posts of Bâton Rouge, of Nogales, and Margot Cliffs, belonging to his Catholic Majesty, had been enrolled by Chisholm, an English agent in Tennessee.

Secondly, That Chisholm had made a general survey of Louisiana and the two Floridas, and determined the Creek and Cherokee nations to turn their arms against the Spanish possessions.

Thirdly, That Chisholm had obtained a list of fifteen hundred English Loyalists of the Natchez, of which list he M..... was in possession, who were engaged to take arms in favor of the English as soon as they should be in readiness to attack Lower Louisiana, and march, after this conquest, upon Santa Fé, in ascending the river of the Onachitas.

Fourthly, That a body was forming on the lakes, in Upper Canada, composed of fifteen hundred English, troops of the line; seven hundred Canadians, hired mi-

* I had met with him in Kentucky.

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litia; and two thousand Indians of the lakes, who were to be commanded by the Indian chief Brent.

Fifthly, That this body was to descend by the river of the Illinois, attack St. Lewis and New Madrid; to bear down on Santa Fé, following the course of the rivers St. Francis and the Arkansas.

Sixthly, That Chisholm had procured six field pieces, which he had embarked on the river Tennessee, and that these were the pieces destined for the expedition of M. Genet.

Seventhly, That the rendezvous for the Americans was fixed at Knoxville, in the Tennessee, for the first of May.

Eighthly, That Chisholm, who had concerted the whole of these measures, after having made his report to the minister Liston, at Philadelphia, had set out the twenty-eighth of March for London, in the brig Fanny, in order to inform the government of this project, and demand vessels and money for the execution.

Ninthly, That, in short, as a proof of what he advanced, M..... had given us the following original letter, written by Chisholm, in which he recommended to him to repair, at the time agreed on, to Knoxville, to act in conformity to the plan.

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" Messrs. M..... and Cr.....

" You will take notice that it will be " necessary for you to be in the state of Tennessee on " the first days of May next, to put our project into " execution; you may depend on my earnest attention, " and that every thing agreed on between us shall be " faithfully fulfilled, conformably to the existing plan.

" I am, Gentlemen,

" Your very humble servant,

" John Chisholm."

M...,. added to these details, that the governor of Tennessee was absolutely gained over by England, and yielded every support in his power to this project. He gave me besides a list of several persons of distinction, who held the first places, and who were in the interest of the Anglo-federal party. I shall not mention their names, because the greater number are out of place, and their party being overthrown, they have no longer the means of persecution;* besides, although appearances

* There are certain individuals, who, to give themselves an air of importance, after having lived, during the time they were in the United

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were against them, it is possible that they may be innocent.

However alarming this information, it seemed certain that the expedition could not take place till the spring, which gave Spain more than time sufficient to take such precautions as were necessary to render it abortive.

We shall shortly see how I was welcomed by the Governor-General of Louisiana, for the important service I had just rendered his government.

The distance from Natchez to Bâton Rouge is estimated at one hundred and twenty miles.

In this space are several remarkable points, such as the Cliffs, the Rock of Avion, the Heights of Tonicas, Pointe Coupée, and the Cliffs of Pointe Coupée.

Fifteen miles from the Natchez, on the same bank, are small cliffs, of a color white as chalk, and perpendicular. They appear to form a branch of those of the Natchez, though they are altogether separated by low and swampy grounds. They do not extend more than

States, with the enemies of France, flattering their opinions, and conforming to their tastes in the most servile manner, talk of the persecutions which they underwent, while they were scarcely even the objects of the slightest animadversion. The French who were really persecuted, and who sacrificed themselves for their country, are those who have said nothing of the ill treatment they received.

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six hundred yards along the river, and are lower than those of the Natchez. Their oblong form, their gentle slope, small extent, and geographical situation, render them, militarily speaking, susceptible of no point of defence.

The rock of Avion is situated thirty miles from the White Cliffs, and on the same bank; it is an insulated promontory, which, to the eye, has no connexion with the heights of the Natchez; it is composed of three eminences connected together, two of which front the country, and the third the river, touching its banks; the slope is very rapid, and difficult of access, but not perpendicular. Behind these heights are swampy lands, full of cypress trees. The part of the height nearest the river commands that which looks towards the country. In general, the rock of Avion is more elevated than the heights of the Natchez.

From the summit of the rock of Avion, on turning towards the east, an immense extent of country is discovered; the chain of the Natchez is seen running east-north-east, and sometimes north-east. The whole of the intermediate country, from this chain to the rock of Avion, is low, swampy, and intersected with cypress woods and small lakes.

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On the western side is descried a great part of the course of the Red River, coming from the north-north-west, and forming at its mouth a very acute angle with the Mississipi. Ten miles from its mouth, the country which it traverses rises gradually, till it reaches the feet of the heights of Washita; the distance of which to the banks of the river may be reckoned at forty or forty-five miles, in a right line.

The rock of Avion might serve for the establishment of a very good post, being the only height of this kind between the Natchez and Bâton Rouge. But we shall enter into no details on this subject, as this position will necessarily belong to the United States, if the boundary line be fixed at the thirty-first degree and an half of latitude.

The Tonicas is not a river, but a channel or passage opened by the waters of the Mississipi: its entrance is situated on the left side, six miles below the rock of Avion, and its outlet at forty-five miles from its entrance; it is almost fifty or sixty yards broad at its mouth. This passage is practicable only in high waters and in going up; since it would be too dangerous to descend, on account of the rapidity of its current, and the great obstacles with which its bed is encumbered.

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Immediately after the outlet of the Tonicas, on the same side, is a small insulated height, called the height of the Tonicas; this spot is remarkable only from the probability, after the observations made, that it is the point of the frontier line, which is in future to separate the possessions of Spain and those of the United States.

Twelve miles below, we left on the right the highest mouth of the Mississipi, called Chafalaya; this is the first outlet, the waters of which, after traversing a very fertile country, empty themselves into the bay of St. Bernard.

The district of Pointe Coupée begins at the entrance of the Tonicas, and terminates at False River; the first settlements which we found were, however, thirty miles below the entrance of the Tonicas; it is at this point also that the waters of the river begin to be restrained by artificial dikes.

Thirty-six miles before reaching the church of Pointe Coupée, we left on the right another channel, opened by the waters of the river, and which is only sixteen or twenty yards broad at its mouth. It is dry during the whole summer, and is navigable only for pirogues in high waters, and only in going up; having, from the embarrassments and rapidity of its current, the same inconveniencies for descending as the Tonicas.

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By this passage, the road to the church of Pointe Coupée is shortened twenty-one miles.

The population of Pointe Coupée, according to the last enumeration, amounted to about ten or eleven thousand souls, in which number there are not above three hundred men capable of bearing arms.

Three miles on the left before reaching the church, are the ruins of a fort, of which scarcely a trace remains. Its figure was that of a square, flanked by four bastions of earth; the ditch is entirely filled up, and the parapets effaced; the commander and one man form the whole of the garrison.

Fifteen miles from the church of Pointe Coupée, on the left, we meet again with a very feeble branch of the heights of the Tonicas, which had disappeared; it seems that the last ramification of these heights terminates at this point.

This branch, called the cliffs of Pointe Coupée, extends a mile along the river. These cliffs are not more than thirty feet in height, and are formed by a number of small perpendicular cliffs, extremely white, and altogether of the same nature as that of the White Cliffs; they fall away behind with a gentle slope of two miles, and end in swampy ground. Their direction is north-east, like the others which we found on this bank.

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The cliffs of Pointe Coupée are too equal, and have the ground on their summits too irregular to establish a post of any importance; these cliffs can never serve for any other military object than as a point of observation against whatever comes from the Natchez or the Bâton Rouge, the distance from which is not more than thirteen miles

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CHAPTER XXII.

Continuation of the military description of the Mississipi from Bâton Rouge to the river Plaquemine. — Bâton Rouge. — Military position. — Fort. — Reflections. — Intrenched camp. — River of Iberville. — Observations. — Designation of different channels. — Communication of lake Pont chartrain, by the rivers Amit and Tanchipas. — Passage of lake Maurepas. — Observation. — Channel of Iberville. — Inconveniences of its navigation. — Remarks on the river Anatahama.

THE district of Bâton Rouge begins at False River, and ends at that of Iberville. It is a new settlement, amounting to no more than five or six hundred inhabitants.

The etymology of Bâton Rouge goes back to the time when several Indian nations inhabited these countries, and who, in order to mark their bounds, made use of a great pole or stick, which they painted red, and which was placed on the frontier line.

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The post of Bâton Rouge is a small platform A,* on the left side of the river and from twenty to twenty-five feet above the level of the highest waters. The left of this post is supported by a small creek B, navigable for canoes eight months in the year; in which creek there is a constant current. Its right ends by a gentle slope in a cultivated plain C. It is bounded behind at six hundred yards distance, by a vast grove of cypress trees D, in which there are from ten to twelve feet of water in the season of inundations, but which, in dry weather, forms an impracticable morass.

In the front runs the river, the banks of which form, as we have just observed, the steep E of twenty or twenty-five feet, sometimes perpendicular, sometimes accessible, but always difficult. At the foot of this talus, the alluvion has formed the low ground F, which is very unequal in breadth. The soil is sandy, but solid, and is covered in high waters.

Eight hundred yards from the creek B, on the summit of the platform, are the sources of the little rivulet G, which throws its waters into the Mississipi, and which, in its course, has formed a very deep defile. The road passable for carriages, coming from Pointe Coupée,

* See the Plan.

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and leading to New Orleans, crosses; it and if we except the little mound H, which must be regarded as factitious, being only an Indian tomb, the whole of this platform is a perfect planimetre, uninterrupted either by woods, defiles, or any undulation whatever. Its extent may be about three thousand yards in length and six hundred in breadth.

The fort I is situated about eight hundred yards from the creek B, near the sources of the little rivulet, and about a thousand yards from the mound H. Its figure is that of a star; it has a ditch with a covered way, but is so neglected since the peace, that the covered way has disappeared altogether, and the embrasures which were on the parapet, serve at present for entrances to carriages. Nothing remains but the commander's dwelling and a small barrack; the garrison consists of fifteen men.

On the supposition that Louisiana belonged to any other power than the United States, and that by some wrong system of policy, in contradiction with the laws of nature, and the rules of military operations, such power should be desirous to retain possession of any territory on the left side of the river, the position of Bâton Rouge, notwithstanding its defects, would become a very important point, since it is the only one which

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exists between the Tonicas, where the new limits are to pass, and New Orleans. On this hypothesis, Bâton Rouge covers this last place against every thing which could come down from the upper part of the river, the distance of which is only one hundred and twenty miles; during that space, the land is constantly low, uniform, and opened by a great communication which leads to the capital.

The enemy once master of Bâton Rouge, necessarily gains possession, from this situation, of the whole of this bank to the mouth of the river; since he meets with no obstacles of any kind to his progress.

From this sketch it may be perceived, that the weak part of this position is the left C; and it was also on this side that it was attacked by the Spaniards, who took advantage of the small mound H to erect their batteries against the fort I, and of the steep E to make their approaches. But the defect of this weak part is less considerable, as long as those entrusted with its defence are in possession of New Orleans; since the points of attack are turned on the side of this place, and those which present most difficulties, are on the side of the United States.

The Americans can never attack the post of Bâton Rouge, but by descending the river, or in coming by

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land along the road, which from Pointe Coupée ends at the creek B; but to effect this purpose they must force either the passage of the river or that of the creek; since they cannot turn this position in the rear, on account of the insurmountable obstacle occasioned by the cypress marsh, the extent of which is yet unknown.

This being admitted, the object which ought to be kept in view in the holding this position, is to present every difficulty, both of nature and art, against whatever should come from the Upper Mississipi, either by water or land.

To carry this point into full execution, it would be expedient;

First, To occupy the whole platform, which would be easy, from its little extent:

Secondly, To keep back the waters of the creek by a sluice, so as to cause an inundation, which from the nature of the ground would naturally form a junction with the waters of the cypress marsh:

Thirdly, To protect the sluice by a redoubt formed at the point No. 1, which should contain a good battery, so placed as to point its fire on the sluice and the river:

Fourthly, To erect a small flèche at the point No. 2, to guard the whole of this part of the inundation, and

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chiefly the point of junction between the water of this creek and that of the cypress marsh:

Fifthly, To leave the principal fort I as it stands at present; taking care only to give it a different form, so as to fulfil the double object of supporting the redoubt No. 1, and the passage of the river.

By the first arrangement, the rear, the right, and front of this position would be perfectly covered, and nothing would remain but to provide for the left. But the enemy cannot attack on this point, until the passage of the river be forced; and it is not probable, militarily speaking, that this would be attempted, because his position would become so much the more dangerous, since a body of troops, marching from New Orleans, would place the enemy between two fires, and cut off his communication with the river.

Nevertheless, as every thing should be foreseen, since events the least probable frequently take place in war, the right should be covered by a good redoubt, closed by the defile at the point No. 3, which should connect, on the road and the river, with another small redoubt at the point No. 4, where the ground begins to incline towards the plain and the cypress marsh, and where the fires of both would cross with those of the redoubt No. 3.

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A staccado should be formed between the river and the redoubt No. 3, to bar the passage of the slip of ground formed by the raised earth E, and a few gallies should be placed under the protection of the fort No. 3.

To complete this defence, it should be examined how far it would be proper to rase the mound H, or whether it would not be preferable, and this is our opinion, to build a good redoubt to support those of Nos. 3 and 4; in this case, these should be opened by their gorges.

This position, defended by a thousand or twelve hundred men, would be very respectable, and force the enemy to a great expenditure both of men and money, in order gain possession it; motives sufficient to stop any power, and still more the Americans; since a single war against the Indians, for a few years, would be sufficient to exhaust their finances, if we may judge by the expence incurred for the maintenance of that in which they have lately been engaged against the Six Nations,* during three campaigns; although their troops never exceeded the number of two thousand effective men, with a very feeble train of field pieces.

From Bâton Rouge to the river of Ibberville is reckoned thirty miles. Before we speak of these two rivers in their

* See Mr. Wolcott's statement of the expences.

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various details, it is necessary to animadvert on a few errors which exist in every geographical chart of this part of the world.

The names of Massiac, Manchaque, Ascantia, Amit, and Ibberville, which are found in almost every chart, are so mingled together, that it is become at present almost impossible for a stranger to know what are the passages or canals which they describe; and these errors still exist even among the inhabitants of the country, when they speak of this internal navigation. The consequence is, that they often confound the space which separates the river from the lake Maurepas, with that which separates lake Maurepas from lake Pontchartrain. In order to avoid this confusion, we shall distinguish, by particular names, the country watered by these respective rivers, from lake Pontchartrain to the mouth of the canal of Ibberville; and in order to be more intelligible, we shall begin our description by lake Pontchartrain.*

The channel or passage which leads from lake Pontchartrain to lake Maurepas, ought to be called the river Massiac, and the two passages formed by the Great Island,

* We took ourselves the survey of this river, from the Mississipi to the river Amit; the remainder, from the Amit to the sea, has been furnished by a pilot well acquainted with this river and the lakes.

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ought likewise to be distinguished, that on the north-west by the name of the Small Channel, that on the south-west, by the name of the Great Channel. The large island which forms these two passages is called Massiac Island. The space from lake Maurepas to the Fork of the Amit and Ibberville Rivers, ought to be called the river Amit. The distance between the point where the river Amit makes this fork and the Mississipi, is called the channel of Ibberville, the word river being improper, since this channel is supplied only by the waters of the Mississipi, and that only when its bed is full; that is, from the beginning of February to the end of June.

I shall now make a few observations respecting the navigation of these different channels, and the nature of the adjacent country.

At the entrance of the river Massiac, after leaving lake Pontchartrain, the depth of water is from three to four fathom; this depth continues the same half way the channel, keeping always on the western side. Having reached this point, we directed our course along the middle of the channel, where the depth of water is four or five fathom, till we reached the point of Massiac Island, which forms two passages. Though both are equally deep, the South-West, or Great Channel, is the best, having less windings than the Little Channel, and

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consequently shorter and less filled with shoals. In the great passage the depth is never less than five fathom. The distance from lake Pontchartrain to lake Maurepas is eleven miles.

There is another communication from lake Pontchartrain to lake Maurepas, and which is much frequented by the Indians; this passage is made by going up the little river Tanchipas, which falls into lake Pontchartrain, the sources of which river communicate with another small river, called Nitabani, and which falls into lake Maurepas; but this passage is practicable only for canoes, and is eighteen miles in length. This communication, which is longer than the other, and more difficult, is but little resorted to by the inhabitants; it ought not, however, to be overlooked, as far as respects its military position, and a post at the junction of the sources of these small rivers is indispensable.

A mile before leaving Massiac river, and entering lake Maurepas, care must be taken to keep very near Massiac Island, to avoid a great sand-bank, which is on the opposite side, and which extends nearly two miles. By steering in this manner during these two miles, seven feet water will be found on the bar; but the moment this bar is passed, the soundings give fifteen and sixteen feet, which is an indication of the entrance into lake Maurepas.

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In order to traverse lake Maurepas with safety, we must keep close to the north side, about the distance of a mile or a mile and an half. In following this course, the soundings are always from eight to fifteen fathom, on a gravelly bottom; the distance in crossing from Massiac River to the Amit is about eight miles. The lands bordering on lake Maurepas are all very low, often swampy and covered with wood, which renders it very difficult to distinguish the mouth of the river Amit, the direction of which, in going out from the river Massiac, is west-south-west. It is situated in the bottom of a bay, and its entrance may be known by the great quantity of drift-wood accumulated on both sides, and forming considerable masses, the greater part of which is dry when the waters are low. The marks on the trees show that when the waters are high, both banks of the river Amit are covered to the depth of a foot and an half; this kind of ground continues a league, reckoning from the mouth of the river; the land then rises a little, and is no longer liable to the same inconvenience, at least in ordinary freshes. Half a league higher the country lowers again, and is full of marshes and bogs; here the waters, from the mark on the trees, appear to rise to the height of three feet, which proves that the lands are half as low again as those which are at the entrance of the river.

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From lake Maurepas to the point where the river Amit throws itself into the channel of Ibberville, a distance of forty-one miles, we meet with a considerable number of small tributary rivers; as these are all very carefully noted in the chart, it is very important for those who navigate this river without a pilot, to follow it exactly; since all the lands watered by the river Amit being extremely low, covered with wood, and the mouth of these different rivers presenting, on the first inspection, the same breadth as the bed of the river Amit, it is easy to mistake, and to ascend one of these instead of the Amit itself.

The nearer we approach the point where the Amit joins the channel of Ibberville, the stronger the current becomes; its rapidity is sometimes three miles an hour, while near lake Maurepas it is scarcely to be perceived.

The channel between the waters of the Mississipi and the point where the Amit joins, which we have designated by the name of channel of Ibberville, is but sixty yards wide at its mouth, and is navigable only when the waters of the Mississipi are at their greatest height, the season of which we have already mentioned. This distance is reckoned eighteen miles. When the waters of the Mississipi flow into the channel of Ibberville not to return, which lasts only four months, this channel is navigable;

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but the instant the waters of the river diminish, the navigation is interrupted by the immense quantity of drift-wood which is accumulated at this point, and which so embarrasses the channel, that it is sometimes choked up. Independently of this obstacle, when the waters are at the lowest, in the months of August, September, and October, a part of the channel is entirely dry, which obliges the boatmen to unload their barges at the mouth of the river Anatamaha, and carry their goods and vessels across the land to the Mississipi. This portage is nine miles. The other portion of the channel of Ibberville, that is, from the river Anatamaha to the Amit, continues to be navigable, because it is fed by the waters of the river Amit, which flow back to this spot. I have thought proper to enter into these minute details, in order to give a clear and just idea of these different currents of water, which are very important to be known, as well in a military as a commercial point of view.

During the whole course of the navigation of the river Amit, the depth of water varies but little, and we constantly found from twenty to twenty-five, and never less than eighteen feet. Decked vessels, therefore, and brigs may go up this river at all times; but as soon as they enter the channel of Ibberville, and immediately after

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passing the river Amit, the water falls suddenly to ten, eight, six, five, four, two feet, and at length to zero.

In the whole of this passage, which may be reckoned at seventy-nine miles, counting from lake Maurepas to the Mississipi, the oar alone can be used; there is too much water for the poles, and the branches of the trees which line both banks fall so low, that it is impossible to hoist a mast. These inconveniences, however, are but momentary, and it is easy to conceive that they will soon disappear, whenever the country shall be cleared and peopled.

Though these lands are in general low and formed by depôts, some variations may, however, be remarked between the river Anatamaha and the river Amit. This space, fifteen miles in length, is composed of two sorts of ground; during the first six miles, the land is low and under water to the depth of ten feet; after which, at irregular distances of six and eight hundred yards, are little gentle elevations covered with bamboos, and which are never overflowed: these spots are called Tayou-Lasay.

The little river Anatamaha, which signifies in the Indian language fishy river, is remarkable for the immense quantity of fish of all kinds with which it is filled, and which is without doubt the reason why it is frequented

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by such multitudes of alligators; this circumstance renders the navigation very dangerous for persons who venture alone and without sufficient precaution.

We have just observed, that a part of the channel of the Ibberville was choked by the drift-wood which the current of the Mississipi leaves at every annual overflow, and by a great quantity of trees that fall into the water from both banks, and which, reaching from one side to the other, present an impenetrable barrier to the trees and drift-wood brought down the stream. Several attempts have been made to open this passage; it was undertaken by the English at the time they were in possession of this colony, by sawing, when the waters were low, these immense pieces of wood, that at the increase of the waters they might float away. But unfortunately, this operation was begun at the head of the channel, that is, in the part nearest the Mississipi, instead of beginning below, near the mouth of the river Anatamaha; from whence it followed that the trees which remained whole, continued to stop those that were cut; because it is the water of the Mississipi which flows into the channel of Ibberville, and which instead of flowing back empties itself into lake Maurepas. There is no doubt but if they had begun in the lower part, this channel would at length have been cleared.

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It is thought that this communication might be very useful for the trade of the Floridas and the Mobile with Pointe Coupée, the Natchez, the Attacapas, the Natchitochez, and the various establishments formed to the west of the river in Lower Louisiana; but time and circumstances do not permit me to enter into a question of this importance.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

Continuation of the military description of the Mississipi, from the river Plaquemines to the Balise.—River Plaquemines.—Fork of Chetimacha.—Observations.—Nature of the country.—Arrest of the author.—New Orleans.—Canal.—Forts.—Reflection.—Departure for the Balise.—Estimated distance.—English Bend.—Fort Plaquemines.—Observations.—Otter Passage.—South-west Passage.—East Passage.—Time necessary to go up to New Orleans.—Mistakes on this subject.—Singular country.—River of the Mobile.

Six miles below the river Ibberville, on the right, lies Plaquemines River, called river as improperly as the preceding, being only a passage, which the waters of the Mississipi have made towards the west, to empty themselves into the gulf of Mexico, in passing by the Appelouza. Like the Ibberville, this passage is dry after the rains.

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Thirty-six miles lower, on the same side, is another outlet of the river, called the fork of Chetimacha, which also conveys the overflow of the waters of the river into the gulf of Mexico, after passing the Attacapas.

RECAPITULATION OF THESE DIFFERENT BRANCHES.

1. Chafalaya, on the western side:
2. River Ibberville, on the eastern side:
3. River Plaquemines, on the western side:
4. Chetimacha, on the western side.

We observe with regret, to the disgrace of the different powers which have been in possession of Louisiana, that no detailed or certain knowledge has yet been acquired respecting the nature of these different channels. A few traders or forest men have descended to no great distance from the mouths of these outlets; but no one with talents fitted for such a survey has yet undertaken to reach by one of these openings the bay of St. Bernard, or that of the Attacapas, and in coasting return to the mouths of the Mississipi by sea: hence it follows that every one gives a different account, and that the government, as well as individuals, have very uncertain notions respecting the nature of the country through which these branches flow, the state of the navigation, the means

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which might be employed to overcome such obstacles as may occur, and in short the nature of the posts and harbours where these channels empty themselves, either in the bay of St. Bernard or that of the Attacapas.

From the fork of Chetimacha to New Orleans is reckoned sixty miles.

The whole of this space is remarkable neither for its military position nor for its channels; it is much more so for the finest settlements of Lower Louisiana, which succeed each other without any interruption along both sides of the river to the capital.

The first we met with were those of the Accadians, so well known by their industry, their social virtues, and their love for their country. Next to these are the Germans, the oldest settlers in Louisiana, and who are inferior to the Accadians neither for industry nor moral qualities.

After these are the vast plantations of our great colonial capitalists, which are become so advantageous within these few years from the cultivation of the sugar cane; the growth of indigo and cotton has given place to this new production, the rapid success of which will prove an abundant source of riches to the colony.* It is

* See the Chapter on Agriculture.

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amidst this charming landscape that the traveller is conveyed gently on by the current of the river to New Orleans.

My fellow traveller and myself had reached the distance of only two leagues from that town, when we were arrested at the house of Mr. Bore, where we had alighted. I shall not interrupt the thread of my narration, by giving in this place an account of this transaction, which will be found at the end of this chapter.

The town of New Orleans is situated on the left side of the Mississipi, and not on an island as many travellers have related; although it sometimes happens, that the water, by means of a channel, encircles the ground on which it is built, as a ditch surrounds a fortified place: this channel was at first made by inundations, and completed afterwards by manual labor. As this ground, if we may use the expression, is thus enchased on the left side, and part of the bank of the river follows the same direction, without any irregularities or jutting points, the bed of the river is neither larger nor narrower either above or below; there is no reason, therefore, why this spot should be called an island, and still less to doubt whether or no it belongs to the left side.

The spot on which the town is built, as well as the country surrounding it to an indefinite distance, is level,

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without heights, mounds, or the slightest undulation, and both banks are of the same nature.

The form of the town is that of an oblong square, five streets in breadth and seven in length, each at right angles. The population is composed of about ten thousand souls, including the free mulattoes and the slaves. The proportion of whites is six thousand, one thousand of whom are militia, and two hundred formed into a company of dragoons. The houses are in general built of wood, except a few public edifices.

At the upper part of the town, opposite the river, is the draining channel, which has been opened from the river to lake Maurepas. It is twenty-four feet broad, and eight feet deep. This channel furnishes water to the ditch which surrounds the town, by means of a sluice.

The defence of this place consists in five small forts, and a great battery, the whole of which is distributed in the following manner.

On the side which fronts the river, and at both ends of the town, are two forts, Nos. 1 and 2, which look upon the road and the river. Their figure is a very regular pentagon, having a parapet of eighteen feet thick, lined with brick, with a ditch and covered way. The ditch is eight feet in depth, and twenty broad. In each of these forts are barracks for one hundred and fifty men, and a

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powder magazine. The artillery is composed of twelve twelve and eighteen-pounders.

Between these two forts, and in front of the principal street of the town, is a great battery, No. 3, opened on the side towards the river, and which crosses its fire with those of the two forts.

The first of these forts, that is, the fort on the right, and which is the most considerable, is called St. Charles,* and the other St. Lewis.

In the rear, and to cover the town on the side next the country, are three other forts Nos. 4, 5, and 6, which are less considerable than the two first. There is one at each of the two angles of the square formed by the town, and a third between these two a little in front, so as to form an obtuse angle. These three forts have no covered way, but only stakes and palisadoes. They are each mounted with eight guns, but of what bore I am ignorant; there are barracks, also, for an hundred men.

That on the right is called fort Bourgogne; that on the left St. Ferdinand, and that in the middle St. Joseph.

The five forts and the battery cross each other's fires, and are connected by a ditch forty feet broad and seven deep. With the earth of the ditch has been formed, on

* It was in this fort that we were imprisoned.

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the inside, a causeway three feet in height, and on which were placed great picquets of twelve feet, very near each other. Behind these picquets is a small banquette. On the side of the ditch the earth has been simply thrown out, which renders the slope gentle and easy. By means of different communications formed between these ditches and the draining channel, there is always four feet of water, even in the driest seasons.

It must be admitted that these forts are well kept up; but at the same time they look rather like mock fortifications, from their diminutive size, and especially from their ridiculous distribution, than places of war; for there is not one of these forts that is sheltered, and which five hundred determined men could not carry sword in hand. Should one of the two principal forts, either that of St. Lewis or St. Charles, be taken, the others are rendered of very little importance; for by turning a part of the guns against the town, it would immediately be forced to capitulate, since it might be burned in an hour, and all its inhabitants destroyed. None of the forts can contain above one hundred and fifty men: but when Mr. de Carondelet adopted this bad system of defence, it is more likely that he had rather in view to keep his Catholic Majesty's subjects in due subordination than to cover the town; and if this be

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the case, he has completely attained his object. It is one of the misfortunes of this government, to have more to fear from enemies within than from those without.

Continually surrounded by bayonets during our residence at New Orleans, it was not possible for us to reconnoitre in detail the country which surrounds it, and consequently we can give no just idea of the proper mode of defence, considering the importance and situation of this place. It however appeared to us a point to examine, whether a well-planned fort with just proportions, and in a state to sustain a siege, could not be better placed on the spot where fort St. Lewis is situated at present, especially by adding a few works to defend the passage of the channel, to the point where it begins to enter on the swampy and impassable marshes; a passage which may be reckoned at twelve or fourteen hundred yards. In this case, it would be unnecessary to fortify the town, which cannot be attacked on the lower side, provided the entrance of the river be defended.

An air always damp, stagnant waters, and marshy grounds, cannot but have a very noxious influence on the human constitution. Ages must elapse before a country just emerged from the waters can be sufficiently dried, and the air acquire a proper state of purity. It is then

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only that New Orleans will cease to feel the effects of its origin.*

After having remained in a state of arrest fifteen days at New Orleans, where I lost my unfortunate fellow-traveller, who died in consequence of his wounds, and having rendered him, with the sentiments of the most tender friendship, the honors due to his virtues and his talents, I embarked on board a king's galley, and was conducted to the Balise, where I was to remain till a vessel should convey me to the United States.

The distance from New Orleans to the mouths of the river, that is, to the Balise, is reckoned ninety-nine miles. During the first forty-five miles both sides of the river continue to be well inhabited; but the number of good houses diminishes very perceptibly as we proceeded, till we came to the English Bend (Détour des Anglais), where the country begins to be swampy and uninhabitable. From this point there is not a single settlement, no jettées or roads; the surrounding marshes are covered with reeds and rushes, and serve only for shelter to water fowl.

The English Bend is an elbow of the river, which from this part to the sea makes several windings. This

* Of four persons, including myself, who arrived at New Orleans, three died in the course of eight days.

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point was formerly chosen by the English to defend the entrance of the river, and two small forts had been erected; but the Spaniards have abandoned them, and have chosen a better position twenty miles lower, called the Bend of Plaquemines (Détour de Plaquemines), which is only eighteen miles distant from the first mouth of the river. Here a very considerable fort has been constructed, called fort Plaquemines. This fort is situated on the left side of the river, at the mouth of a small creek, called Mardi Gras, on a moving marsh which extends as far as the sea, and which presenting no outlet by the land can be reached only by the river. Its form is so irregular, that it is difficult to give any clear description, especially having had but a transient view. It is a bastion, closed by two long branches broken in the middle, which gives it, at the first glance, the air of a hornwork. The parapets which front the river are eighteen feet thick, lined with brick, and it is surrounded with a ditch twenty feet long and twelve thick.*

The two great branches and the gorge are defended only by a causeway, the width of which has been taken from the ditch; this ditch is of the same breadth and depth on each side as in the front; on the causeway are

* See the plan of this fort.

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placed picquets twelve feet in height. Mardi Gras Creek furnishes water to all the ditches.

Within the fort are barracks for three hundred men, a house for the commander, and a very good powder magazine. On the northern side is a small bank, that extends a thousand yards along the river, and is directed upon one of the points of the bastion, in which is a gate with a drawbridge. This is the only outlet of the fort, without running the risk of being swallowed up in the mud.

Twenty-four guns of different sizes form the battery, and a captain with an hundred men, who are relieved every month, form the garrison.

This fort is intended to defend the entrance of the river, and consequently to cover New Orleans on the side of the sea. In this point of view it is excellent, and the spot has been perfectly well chosen; not only because it is covered by the creek of Mardi Gras, but also because it is situated precisely at the point where the land on both sides ceases to be adherent and practicable. It is of course impossible to land on either side the river, either above or below the fort, and for this reason, no approach can be made without constructing works which cannot be undertaken but with the necessary materials, such as are not easily conveyed by water. The difficulty would not

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be less were an attempt made to force the passage of the river; since no other vessels can enter than sloops and small frigates: independently of the consideration that the fort would present a very formidable artillery against vessels of slight construction, by means of red-hot balls and bombs, which an enemy could scarcely resist. The river in this place is not more than twelve or fourteen hundred yards in width, and on the supposition that a few armed vessels should force the passage, transports would certainly run the risk of being sunk one after the other. It may also be observed, that as long as this fort exists, the communication between the sea and the invading army would be in danger of being intercepted.

Two gallies, therefore, placed under the protection of the fort of Plaquemines would be sufficient to hinder any force whatever from ascending the river; and we may add, that an enemy acquainted with the place and dispositions would never undertake the invasion.

But these advantages are not without their inconveniences. These moving or rather floating grounds admit of no foundation, on the solidity of which there is any dependence. The fort, that is the part covered with brick, though built on piles twenty feet long and two thick, and fixed within six inches of each other, has already given way more than three feet on the side of

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the creek, and two on the eastern side. The linings of brick, and which have been constructed scarcely three years, are as much damaged as the other parts. The banks of the river are every day falling in, notwithstanding the stakes and the hundred galley slaves employed the whole year to keep them in repair; these circumstances lead us to doubt whether the land will take any firm settlement, at least for a long time.

Eighteen miles below fort Plaquemines, on the left side, is the Otter Passage (Passe de la Loutre), the most northerly of the whole. Six miles below we left on the right that of the south-west, and twelve miles still lower is the Balise, about four hundred yards up a small creek which runs into the Great or Eastern Passage.

It was here that I was landed at the house of the master pilot, called Ronquille, an honest and intelligent man, and to whom I am indebted for the permission of having visited the coast and different passages of the river.

The Otter or North-Eastern Passage has been choked up these forty years past, and is navigable at present only for canoes. An American vessel, which a few hours before my arrival had entered it by mistake during the night, instead of the eastern passage, had struck. I accompanied the master pilot, who went to carry succour, and we found it twelve hundred yards within the entrance of the

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passage, ashore on the mud. As the tide was at ebb, we waited for the flood to see if the vessel would not rise: all efforts were useless, and we were obliged to unload her till she drew but three feet of water, her lading being four and an half. During this operation, I sounded this bar for two miles, and never found above three feet and an half of water.

The Western Passage is somewhat better, and has been stopped only ten years. The master pilot, who had resided at the Balise since the cession of Louisiana to Spain, assured me that he had piloted vessels through; though at present there is not above five, six, and seven feet water. I sounded it also at different places, and found no variations.

The Eastern or Middle Passage is that which is now used, and, according to his account, is the best which the river has ever opened.

Its ordinary depth in the bar is fourteen feet, and in the most favorable season, with wind and tide, is fifteen feet and an half measured with the pole and not with the lead, which is very different, on account of the bending of the cord when the soundings are made with the latter.

The highest tide is never more than two feet and an half or three feet, and common tides but a foot and three

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inches. This pass is nearly three miles long, and from forty to fifty yards broad; from whence it happens, that a vessel, stopped in the midst by contrary winds or by any other accident, and forced to cast anchor, would entirely block it up. The pass changes its direction more or less every month, so as to occasion fresh soundings and buoys. Its direction at this time was south-east. The north-easterly winds were then preferred by the master pilot, both for coming in and going out.

With respect to the time commonly employed in navigating vessels from the Balise to New Orleans, which, like every description of this river, has been much exaggerated by those who have written on this subject, the whole amounts to this:

The common passage from the mouth of the river up to New Orleans is eight, nine, and ten days; the shortest is five, and even four, as I was a witness with respect to an American brig the Active.

The tide at all times of the year rises as high as Plaquemines, which is a third of the way; and as the river has several windings, it is impossible, in whatever direction the wind blows, that it should be always contrary. If, therefore, a vessel be well directed and keeps close to the wind, the passage cannot be longer than ten days.

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But there are so many ignorant seamen and so much bad shipping employed in this voyage, that the captains, to excuse their blunders, never fail to attribute their delays and losses to the great impediments they meet with either in going up or down the river, and hence the variety of absurd tales which are related. The following instance, of which I was an eye witness, is a proof. A three-masted vessel, drawing thirteen feet water, Captain Th. . ., an American, master, and belonging to Mr. Flechier, merchant, at New Orleans, remained eleven days at the Balise before she could go out, though there were fourteen feet water in the passage, and the winds were excellent. He attempted twice to cross the bar, and twice he was obliged to return to anchor at the Balise, and at last unload a part of his cargo, which caused a considerable expence and loss of time. If it be asked, how this happened when the winds and tides were both favorable, it may be answered, that the captain was an ignorant man, that his vessel could neither carry sail nor keep the wind, that it was ill ballasted, drawing thirteen feet and an half ahead and but twelve astern, which prevented him from steering. Ronquille, who knew the ship and the captain, as soon as he saw it coming down, said to me, "Here is a vessel that will not go out." He

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told me the reason, and repeated it before the captain, who paid no attention to his observations, and who did not fail to lay the whole blame on the difficulty of the navigation, for the expence and loss of time which his ignorance had cost his employers.

It might naturally be presumed, after the great inundations which take place in the upper parts of the Mississipi, that the mouths of the river are equally overflowed; this is not the case, although there is scarcely six inches difference between the level of the water and the banks. The reason is obvious; for the whole of the ground which forms the mouths of the river as high as Plaquemines, are what is called floating, and rise or sink with the river. It has even been observed, that there is less water in the pass when the river is very high than when it is low. The south-west pass is however an exception to this rule, and does not feel the same effects; as I found, on examining the whole, that the lands which surround it are adherent to the gulf, as well as all the islands without the mouths of the river.

There are, nevertheless, certain times when these floating grounds are overflowed, but this never happens but in those convulsions called hurricanes. The sea at these seasons rises to a prodigious height with respect to

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the land, which is covered from ten to twelve feet, as happened in 1794.

The whole of the coast, from the mouths of the Mississipi to that of the Mobile, called West Florida, is a vast uniform solitary plain; but where an elevation interrupts this sameness, the country presents a more smiling aspect, and the air is pure and less humid. This uniformity is sometimes broken by forests, which extend, according to the nature of the ground, to the edge of the gulf: these are large trees grouped together, without symmetry or order, and with little underwood.* The soil, near the sea-coast and the mouths of rivers, is either a dark and unwholesome marsh, or composed of light and sandy earth which produces nothing. Great tracks of white sand, in which grow only pines, border these marshes; the country appears dull during the summer; in winter this appearance must be much more desolate.

With respect to the Mobile, I received the following account from an officer who resided several years in the town of that name. The mouth of the bay of the Mobile is situated in thirty degrees fifteen minutes northern latitude, and eighty-eight degrees twelve minutes longitude from the meridian of Greenwich. Its bar is formed

* Among these trees the oak is found in great abundance.

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by a great number of sand-banks at one and two leagues distance from its mouth, and on which there are commonly fourteen or fifteen feet of water. Although these sand-banks often change their place and direction, the depth of water is almost always the same.

After passing the bar, the soundings increase gradually, and yield from five to seven fathom. This depth continues to the point of the Mobile, where on the eastern side is good anchorage in six and seven fathom of water.

The inner part of the bay is every where ten and eleven feet deep, and this depth continues the same till within three leagues of the town.

In this bay there is neither rock nor stone; the bottom being of mud, if any vessel touches it meets with no damage.

From the point of the Mobile to the town is a distance of eleven leagues, which is the length of the bay. In this space the breadth varies from three to five leagues.

The town of the Mobile is situated at the extremity of the bay, on the western side, and in a marshy soil, surrounded with large pools or inlets of water, which render the situation extremely unhealthy. In spite of these inconveniences and disadvantages, the town is already considerable; a small regular fort has been con-

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structed of brick, as well as barracks for officers and soldiers.

Several small rivers flow into the Mobile. At three or four leagues from the mouth of the bay, and on the eastern side, the first that presents itself is the river of Bon Secours; the second, a little to the north, is Fish River (Rivière des Poissons). Several neat settlements are already formed along their banks. Five or six leagues above these rivers, and to the west, are two other considerable rivers, one called Hen River (Rivière aux Poules), and the other, a little to the north, Dog River (Rivière aux Chiens). It is at this point that large vessels are obliged to unload, and that the navigation of boats and other small craft begins.

About ten leagues above the town of Mobile, the river is intercepted by a great island, which forms two passages; that on the east is called Tansa, and the other the Western Passage. The last has a bar, on which are only seven feet of water. A little to the east of this same passage, and two leagues above its entrance, is the Spanish River (Rivière Espagnole), in which there is at high tide nine or ten feet of water.

Three leagues above the Tansa, the river Alibama throws itself into the Mobile. This river runs north-east,

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traverses a space of more than fifty leagues; that is, from the confluence of the rivers Caussa and Tapalouse, both very considerable, and on the banks of which are the principal settlements of the Creek nation.

Above the junction of the Alibama and Mobile Rivers, this last loses its name and takes that of Tombachee.

Ninety-six miles from the mouth of this river is fort Tombachee. Forty leagues higher are the sources of this river, near which is situated the great village of the Chickasaws.

The Tombachee is navigable for goëlettes, or other vessels of the like burthen, forty leagues above Dog River or Taskuloussa; beyond this point there is depth only for barges or canoes carrying five or six thousand weight.

From the village of the Chickasaws is a carrying-place of about three miles, at the end of which are the sources of Bear's Creek, which falls into the Tennessee River; and although this country be very mountainous, it would be easy to open a communication, in following the direction of the defiles. The nature of the country and the lands, from the mouths of the Mobile to its sources, may be divided into three distinct classes. The first, which extends from the point of the Mobile to the confluence of the Alibama, is swampy for three quarters of a mile along the banks of the river, and is fit only for the cul-

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tivation of rice; this is ground brought down by the successive overflowings of the river; it is of a blackish color, mixed with sand.

The second extends nearly a mile and an half farther inland, and rises about four or five feet, in the form of a step, above the level of the other. The country is equally flat, without the slightest elevation; the lands are never overflowed, and are covered with very fine wood of an enormous size; such as the white cedar, the cypress, and the green oak. The color of the earth is brown or chocolate; indigo, hemp, flax, and tobacco flourish here exceedingly.

The third in succession is a more elevated and hilly country. The lands are covered with green oaks, walnut trees, and pines of an extraordinary height; but though they are of a good quality, these lands are very inferior to those of the two other classes, being fit only for maize, potatoes, and plants which require a very light soil.

Further inland, and towards the west, is a country of a very different nature. Here are natural meadows of an immense extent, intersected with marshes, and which offer excellent pasturage for all sorts of cattle. But to the east of the Alibama River, onward to the river Chatahoochée, is a country covered with bamboos so large and thick that it is almost impenetrable.

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The Mobile, generally speaking, ought to be considered as a river of the first order for commerce, after the Mississipi, because whenever the population is so extensive as to admit of a portage between its sources and Bear's Creek, which falls into the Tennessee, the Mobile will undoubtedly be one of the shortest and most direct communications between the sea and the states of Tennessee and Kentucky.

A considerable trade was carried on at the time the English were in possession of the Mobile; the exportation on an average, in furs and skins, was about three hundred thousand francs a year: but since it has been in the possession of Spain, the government of which has had the impolicy to grant the English Company the exclusive trade of this country, there is no more industry, and the exportations at present do not amount to more than half this sum.

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ARREST

OF THE AUTHOR AND OF JOSEPH WARIN, ADJUTANT-GENERAL, BY M. DE CARONDELET, GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA.

Before I reached New Orleans, I stopped at Mr. Bore's, a planter, in Lower Louisiana, whose house is situated two leagues from that capital.* I proposed remaining there twenty-four hours, to examine with some attention the interesting experiments which he had made on the sugar cane, the first which till now had been crowned with any success. I intended, in consequence, to send Adjutant Warin to the Governor the next morning at day-break, to inform him of my arrival, and to present him with the

* It is easy to conceive that all that I describe from the time I left Mr. Bore's till I reached the Balise, must be very imperfect, since I had only confided it to memory, after classing the different objects in my mind.

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letters and passports which I had received, as well from the minister of his Catholic Majesty as from the French plenipotentiary at the United States.

The 27th, at day-break, and at the moment that Adjutant Warin was preparing for his departure, I was informed that the Governor's barge was arrived with the Major of the place, Mr. Gilmar, and an officer of the regiment of Louisiana, and that these gentlemen desired to speak with me. Being introduced into my apartment, the Major told me that he came by order of the Governor, to congratulate me on my arrival, and offer me his barge. After returning him my thanks, I observed that Adjutant-General Warin was about to wait on the Governor in the course of the morning, to remit to him the packets with which I was entrusted, and to inform him that I intended myself the honor of paying him my respects on the following day. The Major replied, that the Governor requested I would repair to the town immediately. I observed to him, that the disorder in my dress* absolutely required that I should make some changes: he then told me, that his instructions were to bring me as I was. I asked him if it was an *order* which he

* I was in the same dress with which I had travelled among the woods for ten months.

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signified to me; he told me, yes. I instantly obeyed, in order to prevent the Major from offering any greater insult to my country. Adjutant-General Warin having expressed to me his desire to remain in my boat to take care of the crew, received the same order as myself to enter the Governor's barge, leaving all my effects at the mercy of the rowers. A quarter of an hour after we had embarked, we perceived on the dike a troop of fifty dragoons, who were directing their course towards Mr. Bore's habitation. The Major having perceived them, made a signal with his cane to order them back, which they appeared perfectly to comprehend. I asked him what this troop meant. He replied, that it was the ordinary patrole. When we came to within four hundred yards of the bank which fronts the Governor's house, an officer of the place made a signal to the Major, which led him to exclaim: "Ah, it is singular; they are making me signals to go to the fort." I asked him if that was the apartment which the Governor destined for the officers of the French republic, before they had had the honor of being presented to him. He told me, that he was obliged to follow his orders; and on this our conversation ended.

On our landing we were conducted, amidst a crowd of people, to Fort St. Charles, and put into the officer's

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guard-room; in which was placed the same officer who escorted us in the barge. Two grenadiers were stationed as centinels at the door with drawn sabres; one also was posted at the window; two other grenadiers, with fixed bayonets, for greater security were placed on the outside of the door, and another on the parapet opposite the window. It is to be observed, that during the night the garrison of the fort was doubled, as well as the patroles, both horse and foot.

After these sage dispositions, Adjutant-General Warin was ordered to repair to the Governor's house, and was conducted by the Major and Adjutant of the place. The Governor received him very politely, and having begged him to sit down in his cabinet, in the presence of the Auditor of war, the Interpreter-General, and Secretary of government, he asked him if he were disposed to answer the different questions which he was obliged to ask him relative to the expedition which he had undertaken with General Collot, etc.

Adjutant-General Warin having replied in the affirmative, and sworn to declare the truth, he underwent a kind of examination; after which he was conducted, by order of the Governor, to an inn, where he was guarded by a corporal and two soldiers, with fixed

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bayonets, who passed the night with him, though he was much indisposed.

At one in the afternoon, the Major and Adjutant entered the guard-room: I asked them if they had received in writing the order for my arrest; they answered me in the affirmative. I requested them to give me a copy of it, which they refused. I then begged leave to write a note to the Governor; but the officer of the guard, Mr. Donois, told me very politely, that this was impossible; that Adjutant Metzingue had given orders that I should have neither pen, nor ink, nor even a pencil, and that every thing, even the bread,* which entered the guard-room should be examined; in short, nothing was wanting but chains.

About four in the evening, the Major, Adjutant, Interpreter-General, and Under Secretary, came and deposited in the guard-room my baggage, which was huddled together, my trunks which were open, the boxes which were broken, and put on the seals before me, without making any inventory, or following the regulations necessary on such occasions.

* The Governor formally disavowed this order, and threw the odium of it on Mr. Metzingue, who had acted thus from a refinement of malignity: I should be happy to believe it.

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The Adjutant, after this ceremony, asked me for my keys, in the name of the Governor. I told him, that the whole of the effects contained in the boxes, as well as the papers in my porte-feuille, belonged to the Republic; that being only the depositary, I could give up my keys to no one but the Governor, and upon receiving an authentic discharge; by which he rendered himself solely responsible for the consequences that might result from the publicity given to my papers, which were equally interesting the two allied nations.

The Adjutant, notwithstanding this declaration, had the impertinence to take my bunch of keys from the table; I ordered him immediately to return them, adding, that if he refused, he should learn from me that the Republic was powerful enough to obtain his head from his sovereign, if it thought that any offence committed by him could be of sufficient consequence. The Adjutant changed color, put back the keys, and withdrew.

At five the same evening, the Governor sent me word by an officer, that were he not prevented by a head-ach, he should have waited on me, but that the next morning at eight he would repair to the fort.

At the hour appointed, the Governor, attended by the Auditor of War, the Under Secretary, and Interpreter-General, arrived. After the usual compliments

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on both sides, the Governor inquired if I were disposed to answer the questions which might be asked me. I replied, that I should answer nothing till I had had a previous and private conference with him, and until he had read the letters which I had brought him from our respective ministers. The Auditor withdrew with his suite.

After half an hour's private conference, in which the Governor read all his letters, and learned the motive of my journey, which interested so nearly both nations, and during which he seemed less concerned at the precipitation with which he had acted in this affair, than anxious to find the means to extricate himself, he told me, in order to save appearances with the Auditor, that he should be obliged to examine me, but the questions he should ask would be insignificant and matters of mere form.

As soon as the Auditor returned, I underwent an examination, at the close of which the Governor offered me a house in the town, where I should remain on my parole, with a messenger. I accepted his proposition, and the Governor very politely lent me his carriage to conduct me thither.

Having returned next day to pay me a visit, the Governor asked me if I preferred giving him, under the promise of inviolable secrecy, communication of my

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papers, to going to the Havannah and wait till the two courts should have decided with respect to this affair. Having reflected on the inconveniences attending this last alternative, on account of the delay which it would cause to my return to Philadelphia, where I had to transact affairs of importance to the republic, I did not hesitate to communicate my papers; but on condition that the Governor should engage, by writing, to give no information whatever respecting their contents to any person, and that they should be all faithfully returned to me. The Governor gave me his word, and sent me in consequence the letter No. 1, to which I answered by that of No. 2.*

I remained under arrest at New Orleans till the first of November, during which time the governor and myself held daily conferences relative to the interests both of France and Spain. He assured me, that he had read with the highest satisfaction my memorials, which agreed perfectly with every thing that he had repeatedly said and written to his court, since he had had the administration of this province; he even asked me for certain observations respecting the danger of opening the Mississipi, which I gave him, on taking a receipt. The Governor made no other answer, than that he was not on suffi-

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* See Appendix.

ciently good terms with his minister to write to him; but in violation of his most sacred engagements, losing all respect for himself, for an allied power, for his own government, he caused several of my manuscripts and most precious charts to be copied, and among others that of the Ohio.*

In consequence of the proposal which the governor made me in his letter of the date of the twenty-eighth October, to go to the Balise and wait for a vessel, and thereby tranquillise the inhabitants, who were alarmed by my presence, I went on board the king's galley, accompanied by a captain of the regiment of Louisiana, who landed me at the Balise, at the house of the master pilot, situated in the midst of a morass, from which it was impossible to go out, except in a canoe, without danger of being swallowed up by the mud, full of insects of every kind and other reptiles, which are the natural produce of such situations. I remained here till the twenty-second of December, when I embarked for Philadelphia, on board the Iphigenia brig.

The Governor, in his letter to the French Minister, justified the conduct he had observed towards me by the following considerations:

* Major Gilman, who copied them, gave me this information.

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First, On the silence of the minister, who had given him no previous information of my arrival.

Secondly, The information he had received from Philadelphia, that I was employed in a secret mission which he ought to distrust.

Thirdly, The report made to him by a subaltern officer, that I was making a survey of the province.

Fourthly, The alarm into which my presence had thrown the inhabitants, especially after the reports which had been spread by the American newspapers, that Louisiana was about to become a French province.

Nothing can be more futile and contradictory than such reasons: I need only have recourse to the Governor's letters and conversation to refute them. When he said that he was not informed of my arrival, he probably forgot that in the month of June he received a letter from Monsieur Jandanes, the Spanish minister at Philadelphia, which gave him intelligence of my expedition, and which he himself had made public: that two months after, not seeing me arrive, he mentioned on the parade, that probably the French officers who were travelling in the west of America were disgusted and had gone back by the Ohio. But supposing that my arrival had never been announced, this was no reason for arresting and confining me in a fortress. He must have been well persuaded that

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two officers would not travel through a foreign country, without providing themselves with the necessary passports; and if he had any doubts, he ought to have made himself sure. I am sorry that I can offer no justification for the Governor's precipitation, which betrayed a kind of aversion for whatever bore the mark of the republic.

He says, indeed, that he had received different intelligence from Philadelphia, which recommended him to be on his guard respecting my journey; but if the Governor had been better instructed respecting the political situation of the United States, he would have known that there was a very violent struggle between those who are called the federalists and anti-federalists; that the first are the most determined enemies of the French republic, and that it was natural, when informed of my expedition, that they should employ, as they did, every means to prevent its success. The Governor was so convinced of this fact, that at the end of a private conversation on this subject, he could not help telling me in a fit of impatience, "I have been deceived, but he who has committed me shall pay for the whole."

The Governor presents a very futile motive for his conduct, in the assurance given him that I had made the survey of Louisiana hostile to his government; since this pretext has even less foundation than the two preceding.

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He examined all my papers, as well as those of Adjutant General Warin, and found in my manuscripts nothing but observations which were favorable to the interests of his Catholic Majesty; in my draughts, a sketch of St. Lewis; and in my charts, the American part of the Illinois, on which only the right side of the Mississipi is traced.

I gave the Governor an explanation respecting the plan of St. Lewis, conformable to what Mr. Zeno Trudau, and Mr. Gayoso, Governor of the Natchez, had sent him.*

* During my stay at St. Lewis, conversing with Mr. Zeno Trudau on the importance of this post, in case of a war with England, I noticed to this officer, who was an active and intelligent person, the facility which this spot offered for the formation of an intrenched camp, by means of a single sluice. Mr. Trudau, anxious to communicate to his government whatever might be useful, requested me to give him the sketch on paper of my idea, in order to send it to the governor. Mr. Warin executed it immediately before Mr. Trudau, who requested me to convey it. When at the Natchez, I conversed with General Gayoso on the defence of Louisiana, and showed him a sketch of my plan respecting St. Lewis; he thought it so good, that he requested me to leave it with him: but as I was commissioned to give it to the governor-general, I observed to him that it was better for him to receive it from his hand than from mine. Mr. Gayoso wrote to the governor concerning it, in a letter dated the 15th of October, the eve of my departure, and of which the governor persisted in refusing to give me communication.

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To the map of the Illinois the Governor had not the slightest right; yet notwithstanding his promise to restore me all my papers of every kind, he did not hesitate to keep it. It in is vain for him to alledge that the right side of the Mississipi is traced on it; he knows perfectly well that it was only a single stroke taken from Hutchins's chart, to show the breadth of the river; but at least he had no right to take from it any other part than that belonging to Spain.

Did the Governor find likewise any part dependent on the territory of his Catholic Majesty in the course of the Ohio? or was he commissioned to hinder the French from taking any knowledge of the United States? It seemed to me astonishing that he should have been so scrupulous and severe to the French republicans, with respect to every thing that concerns Louisiana, whilst he was so extremely favorable towards other strangers, and particularly the English; by granting to a house of this nation, Messrs. Todd and Company, the exclusive fur trade of Upper Louisiana, on the right of the Mississipi. The Governor was no doubt ignorant that these persons were Canada agents belonging to the great Northern Company; that this Company was already in possession of all the sources of the river that empty their waters into the left of the Missouri; that this company had

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gained over to its interests the greater part of the Indian nations inhabiting the whole of this part of the territory belonging to his Catholic Majesty, and thereby depriving his subjects of this branch of industry, had reduced them to want and misery.

With respect to the alarm which my presence excited, as was represented by the Governor, I own that I can scarcely credit it; especially when I recollect the multiplied marks of friendship and goodwill which I experienced during the time I spent in Louisiana, as well from the inhabitants as from the Spanish officers, who, not satisfied with treating us politely, gave me letters for their friends and relations at New Orleans, which letters I gave to the Governor, to the amount of forty. If he will have the goodness to produce them, his government and mine may easily judge the kind of inquietude which I occasioned. I every where met with persons who were attached to their ancient country, without ceasing, however, to entertain the most respectful sentiments for the government under which they lived.

The result of my expedition was so far from causing any alarm, my mission wore a character of wisdom and prudence so evident, and my labors were so favorable to the interests of the court of Spain, that the Governor was the first to suggest the means of putting my person and

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my papers out of reach of the common enemy, by proposing to me a passport under a feigned name, and in causing the secret machinery to be made in which to conceal my papers.

I shall finish this account by rendering that justice to the Governor which he deserves; excepting my detention, he treated me with all the kindness and attention possible.

I should be happy in thinking that he was deceived, and I willingly forgive him the vexations he made me undergo at first, in favor of the civilities with which he afterwards treated me. Every man is liable to error, and particularly those who govern; for since it is impossible for them to see every thing with their own eyes, they are obliged to trust to those who surround them, and are often deceived.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

Continuation of the description of the Mississipi.—Details respecting the sources of this river.—Nature of the lands on the western side.—Periodical inundations.—Its navigation.—Navigation of the Gulf of Mexico.—Winds which commonly prevail in these countries.—Recapitulation.

The sources of the Mississipi, according to the observations made by Mackenzie, are in the forty-seventh degree of northern latitude, one hundred and one longitude west of London, and about two degrees below the Lake of the Woods: they rise in a vast morass formed by a number of small lakes, the chief of which are called White Bear Lake and the Lake of the Marshes. The first, which is the most northerly from Upper Louisiana, is also the most considerable.

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The direction of the Mississipi from its mouths to a small river, called Elk River, situated a little below that of Chepaway, is north and south; but at this point it makes a bend and runs north-west, parallel with the Missouri, from which it is separated by a space of an hundred or an hundred and twenty miles.

The Mississipi from its sources to St. Anthony's fall is only a large rivulet; but immediately after receiving the river St. Peter, it begins to be navigable, and takes a majestic course, which it maintains till it reaches the Gulf of Mexico, without any interruption from cataracts.

From St. Anthony's fall to the Missouri its current is gentle, and its waters always limpid.

In the whole of this space, which may be reckoned at a thousand and fifty miles, the Mississipi receives, among other rivers remarkable for the facility of their navigation for commerce, the Cold River, those of St. Peter, St. Croix, Chepaway, Ouiscousin, Moins, and that of the Illinois.

Cold River flows from the east, and is separated only by a very small portage from one of the sources of the river St. Lewis, which throws its waters into Western Bay, making part of Lake Superior.

The river St. Peter comes from the north-west, and takes its rise near the river Asseniboine, which flows into the Lake Winnipick. It is by this river that the English

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at Michillimackinac communicate with the Indian nations on the Upper Missouri, and particularly the Sioux.

The river St. Croix runs from the east, and is separated only by a portage nine miles from the river Goddard, which throws its waters into Lake Superior. The English going from Canada usually descend this river to reach that of St. Peter.

The river Chepaway comes from the west; its most northerly branch communicates by a small portage with Copper Mine River, which falls into Lake Superior. This river is but little frequented on account of the falls.

The river Ouiscousin flows also from the east, and is separated only by a morass of three miles, navigable even in high waters, from Fox River, which falls into Green Bay, forming part of Lake Michigan. The English take this road to reach Moins River.

This river is, next to that of St. Peter's, on the western side of the Mississipi, the most frequented by the English in their expeditions among the nations which dwell on the left side of the Lower Missouri. Its sources communicate with the Great River, the waters of which fall into the Missouri.

The most northerly branch of the river of the Illinois, called River of the Plains, is separated by a very small portage only from the river Chikago, which falls into the

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lake Michigan. This is the great communication between Detroit and the Mississipi.

Thus all the great rivers of the Upper Mississipi,* from St. Anthony's Falls to the Missouri, coming from the east, communicate with lake Superior and lake Michigan, and those flowing from the west with lake Winnipick and the waters of the Missouri.

At the sources of the Mississipi the nature of the country is a mixture of lakes and land drenched in water, which extends below the Lake of the Marsh. These lands are covered with long grass and underwood, and very rarely with trees. But from Marshy River to the mouths of the Mississipi, three classes of lands may be perfectly distinguished. The first, which includes those lying from Marshy River to the Missouri, forms an undulating country, covered with the finest woods and with natural meadows of vast extent, some of which exceed an hundred miles.

The quality of the land is superior to any hitherto known in North America, especially on the elevated plain which separates the waters of the Mississipi from those of the Missouri.†

* By Upper Mississipi is understood the space from its springs to the Missouri.

† See the map of Upper Louisiana.

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The second class stretches from the Missouri to the heights of Taïou Wapeti, near Cape Girardot. This is a broken country full of heights abounding in minerals; but on the other side of these heights the country is less hilly, and the soil richer and better watered.

The third class extends from the heights of Taïou Wapeti to New Orleans. This range of country is low, aud often swampy for a greater or less space, in proportion to its distance from those heights. Towards the south-west these lands are all productive, and covered with great bamboos or cypress, to the distance of twenty-five or thirty miles from the river, where they begin to rise gradually into fine woods or natural meadows, equal in fertility to those which we have described in speaking of the Missouri; particularly on the river St. Francis, the White River, the Arkansas, the Red River, and the river of Wachita.

These lands, from the forty-seventh to the thirty-third degree, are fitted to receive the same cultivation as that of our northern departments; and from the thirty-third to the thirty-first, as that of our southern departments; from this degree to the mouths of the river, that is, to the twenty-ninth degree, the productions may be the same as those of our colonies.*

* See the chapter on agriculture.

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The river begins to rise towards the end of December, and overflows in February, March, and April; in May and June it sinks to the level of its banks, and falls back into its bed; on the first days of July it begins to decrease, and continues to the end of August, which is the season when its waters are at the lowest.

In speaking of this river I have just observed, that its waters fall back into their bed, which places me in contradiction with several writers, some even academicians, who, like professional travellers, think they render themselves interesting in proportion to the extraordinary things they pretend to have seen, or the dangers they have incurred. Hence those gigantic descriptions and marvellous relations, exaggerated and fabulous, by which the reader is intimidated or deceived. In the list of these errors, is the assertion that the waters of the Mississipi, when once they have overflowed its banks, never return to their bed. The following circumstances have given rise to this false report.

It has been seen in the course of this expedition, that after having passed the heights of Tonicas, both sides of the Mississipi are only one vast alluvion, traversed by different great channels or mouths of the river. In the whole of this part, from New Orleans to Natchez, where

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the country is more elevated, the waters which have gone out of their bed do not return, because the land on each side being lower than the banks of the river, and inclining to the east and west, their waters finding other channels, fall westward into the Bay of St. Bernard, and on the east into the lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas. But from the Natchez to the Missouri, and even higher, where the river ceases to be without banks and expands into sheets, the waters which flow beyond their limits return again; because in ascending the river the country rises on each side, and the two chains of heights which we have described approach nearer the banks. The waters which find, on the contrary, a ground, the plane of which is inclined towards the Mississipi, are naturally thrown back into its bed, either by the rivers which flow into the Mississipi, or by the number of large defiles and creeks on each side: the whole of this volume of water discharges itself into the Gulf of Mexico, which is their common reservoir. These waters, therefore, are not lost in the land, and remain on them no more in the lower than in the upper part of the Mississipi, as has been so confidently asserted: in this movement of the waters, there is no extraordinary phenomenon; all is simple, as every thing which proceeds from the hand of nature.

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The difficulties attending the navigation of the Mississipi have scarcely been better explained: these are great without doubt, but I am convinced that they have nothing more extraordinary than was common to great rivers in Europe before this portion of the world was inhabited; and the greater part of the accidents which have hitherto taken place, ought only to be attributed to ignorance or carelessness, and still more to avarice.

The seasons in which the greatest impediments to the navigation of the Mississipi occur, are those of its rise or fall; consequently in December, January, February, and in July and August; because in those seasons its current is much more rapid, and carries down a great quantity of drift-wood: but when its waters are in a kind of equilibrium, its current is very slow, and the greatest part of this wood floats down to the gulf, where it remains.

I had an opportunity of ascertaining the truth of these observations. The greater part of my boatmen having been attacked with the dysentery at Cape Girardot, and particularly the pilot, I was obliged to steer the boat myself as far as the Natchez, which is a distance of twelve hundred miles. I found, therefore, by experience, that the dangers and accidents so much talked of, are with

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a little prudence, much attention, and a few general rules, reduced to nothing.

I shall here cite a few of these rules, in following which every traveller may place himself out of the reach of the most common accidents.

First, The most essential of all in descending the river is to take care at every bend to follow the hollow part, and avoid carefully the points as well as the channels formed by the islands; it is in these places that sand-banks and drift-wood accumulate. In the concave parts, the current is stronger, and does not suffer the floating wood to settle, and there is also a much greater depth of water.

Secondly, When the river, on the contrary, runs in a straight line, and its bed is intercepted by islands, which frequently happens, if doubtful what channel ought to be taken, you must cease to row or steer a mile before you reach the island, and leave the boat to the current, which infallibly carries it into its proper course. Multiplied experiments convinced me of this fact.

Thirdly, What is most dangerous and has occasioned the loss of so many boats, especially of those with which the Americans navigate the Ohio and the Mississipi to New Orleans, are the Sawyers, called by the Canadians *Chicots*. These are great trees, of which the roots are fixed to the bed of the river, or to other trees, while the

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higher branches rise above the water, and are beaten by the stream. There is nothing more easy than to avoid these trees; with a little attention they may be always seen at a considerable distance, either by their appearance above water, or by the breakers which they form when under water.. If the stream, in running from the left to the right, should drive upon the *chicot,* care must be taken not to persist in passing above, but, on the contrary, to yield to the current, and pass below, that is, on the right, leaving the *chicot* on the left. By taking such precautions, these obstacles may always be avoided: the Americans, however, not only neglect to steer their boats in these long voyages, but their excessive economy leads them to continue their route during the night as well as the day, by which means a great number are lost: from these circumstances, the navigation of this river is reckoned dangerous, although it is very seldom that any such accidents happen to boats manned by Canadians.

With respect to ascending the Mississipi, the most favorable season, as we have already observed, is when the river is very high or quite low. In the first case, as there is abundance of water in every part, and the boat is not driven by the stream, none of the inconveniences are to be apprehended which are met with in descending the river. In the second case, the inverse direction of

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that which we have pointed out in descending ought to be followed; the concave parts must here be avoided by keeping close to the points, because on this side the stream is less rapid, and these points sometimes offer convenient banks four or five miles in extent, where the towing line may be used.

We have already remarked, that within these twenty years these impediments have very perceptibly diminished. These changes have justly been attributed to the immense numbers which since the peace resort to the Ohio and the parts adjacent, both sides of which are cleared and peopled with very great rapidity.

There is no doubt, therefore, that in proportion as all the great rivers tributary to the Mississipi, especially the Missouri, become inhabited, a part of these obstacles will diminish; because it is the vast forests which attract the clouds, and keep up the constant humidity that feeds the small rivulets. It has been remarked, that beyond the Alleganies a much greater quantity of rain falls, one year with another, than on this side of the mountains, where vast plains have been cleared and cultivated. When the same circumstance shall take place with respect to the Western States, the rains will be less frequent, and the greater part of the rivulets will be dried up; the rivers

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thus furnishing less water to the Mississipi, its inundations will diminish progressively.

By means of the clearings, the banks of the rivers being no longer covered with trees, these immense quantities of drift-wood will disappear, and the Mississipi, the Ohio, and the Missouri will become as free from embarrassments as Hudson's River, the Delaware, and the Potomac, which certainly presented the same inconveniences when visited for the first time by civilised men.

Before we leave this subject, we shall make a few observations respecting the navigation of the Gulf of Mexico; the difficulties and dangers of which have been also represented as one of the great inconveniences which would necessarily form an obstacle to the prosperity of this part of the continent. This opinion has been entertained by men whose talents and public character so justly command respect and admiration; by Mr. Jefferson, for instance, in his work on Virginia.

What renders the navigation of the gulf of Mexico difficult and dangerous, are the currents; but it is proper to state in what part of the gulf they are really dangerous.

Below the twenty-seventh degree, the currents flow into the gulf; above this latitude, they flow out. The further we penetrate into the gulf, after passing the

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twenty-seventh degree, the greater variation is found in the direction of the currents, a variation sometimes every twenty-four hours. In this part, the navigation is very dangerous, because no practice can establish certain rules. This is so true, that when a vessel, coming from the bottom of the gulf, has passed the twenty-seventh degree, the seaman regards his voyage as completed, and considers himself as out of all danger.

Above the twenty-seventh degree, as I have just observed, the currents flow outwards, but with this difference, that they never vary. At the twenty-ninth degree, near the mouths of the Mississipi, the currents run from east to west; that is, the waters of the rivers divide, half in the bay St. Bernard, and the other half in Pensacola, but this lasts only during the time of the soundings, after which the currents run straight upon the channel of Bahama.

But as vessels never go out from the river except with steady winds, and even if they should be becalmed, good anchorage is every where found, there is not the slightest danger of being thrown either on Pensacola or into the bay of St. Bernard; so that no accidents take place but below the twenty-seventh degree.

With respect to the winds that prevail in the valley the Mississipi, the observations which we made day by

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day agree with the information we received from the most experienced pilots.

The winds on the Ohio are in general variable; but it is, however, to be observed, that they blow more commonly from the south than the north, and very rarely from the north-east.

The south-easterly winds are very common during the summer, and always bring rain or thick fogs.

The south-west is very clear and hot; the wind from the south brings hurricanes.

In Upper Louisiana, towards the Illinois, and above, the westerly winds produce storms, which follow the chain of heights that border the river and run towards the south-south-west.

The winds on the Missouri blow eleven months in the year from the north-west, and are most powerful in the vicinity of the Yellow mountains. Towards noon, they sometimes rush with such violence that the navigator is obliged to land; the wind, however, falls as the sun goes down.

In Lower Louisiana, below the thirty-third degree, from the month of November to that of March, the north-north-west and north-east winds prevail. Sometimes the winds turn to the south, but never more than for twenty-four hours, when they are always fol-

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lowed by rain; they afterwards constantly return to the north-west.

April, May, and June, are remarkable for calms and great droughts. July, August, and September, are, as in the islands, the season of winds, which blow from every point of the compass; the winds, except at this period, blow always from the south-west.

It is in August that hurricanes take place; they commonly begin in the north-north-east, blow at first with violence for a few hours, after which there is a dead calm which lasts a few minutes; the winds then pass to the south-south-west, rage with fury, and drive the water upon the land more than six feet above its banks; but these hurricanes are never felt inland, I mean those of this direction, beyond the thirtieth degree. When these blasts are accompanied with thunder, there is nothing to fear from the hurricane.

The natural monuments of Upper and Lower Louisiana are evidences of the antiquity of these countries; Lower Louisiana, from the immense quantity of earthy depôts which have been carried down by the Mississipi; Upper Louisiana, from the arrangement of the layers of earth, the traces of vegetables and animals found at different depths, the high tracks of meadow ground along

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the elevated plains which separate Louisiana from New Mexico, where are still seen scattered rocks which seem to be the wrecks, or rather the most elevated points, of a chain of mountains which exist no longer, because the waters have covered them again with their mud.

With respect to the fictitious monuments of which certain travellers have given such magnificent descriptions, the most numerous are the mounds of different heights, which have served as fortresses to the Indian nations, and which are called *Mammelles.* These mounds are scattered in all directions; and in digging are found stone hatchets, tomahawks, and earthen vessels, some of which are still whole. Tombs, consisting of stones heaped together, are sometimes met with; and it is said, that at no great distance from fort St. Charles, in the country of the Illinois, there are others of hewn stone; and that in the same place is a beautiful grotto in a rock. In other places, we were assured that there are traces of buildings of hewn stone of an enormous size; but we saw nothing of this kind, nor any of those characters which have been mentioned, and which, it is said, have no resemblance with any writing hitherto known.

What is called Palissa is the figure of a great imaginary animal, which the Indians have rudely depictured in red,

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in the slope of a great rock on the eastern side of the Mississipi, near the river of the Illinois. The subterraneous grottos, of which travellers have recounted so many extraordinary things, are caverns hollowed by the waters, and in which strong concretions have been formed. The mud that is deposited in these cavities receives the marks of the feet of animals, which, remaining in this layer, petrify and become homogeneous with the rock. These grottos are very numerous. In the river of the Arkansas is a great rock, called the Sugar Loaf, around the base of which are several of those cavities. There are others on the banks of the rivers, into which canoes can enter. Some of these caverns, it is said, are so deep, that it requires an hour's walking to reach the end; others pierce even the mountains. It has been asserted that there are rocks cut perpendicularly, with crannies in the top; but this is a fable: for these rocks have been formed by the currents of water, the cuttings have been made by the falling down of the earth, and those crannies are only the protruding parts which the waters could not reach.

I shall not close these observations like the greater part of travellers, whose presumption leads them to believe that they have seen, done, and said every thing. I will

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frankly acknowledge, on the contrary, that this work is very incomplete, because the countries which we had traversed were immense; that to examine them in detail required as many years as we employed months, and as much facility as we found obstacles.

But we may be permitted to observe, notwithstanding the multiplied imperfections of this work, that if the critical period in which we undertook it be considered; if we reflect that we had to struggle against the jealousy and hatred of the federalists and English; to excite no uneasiness in the Spanish government, which the behaviour of a few vagabonds that had preceded us in the same route, but with perfidious views, had too well justified; if it be recollected that we were watched and surrounded by spies and assassins, and even arrested; we may venture to hope that this series of observations will merit some attention, especially if, as we trust, it should be an incitement in others to complete it. It was necessary, also, to brave other perils: but a true Frenchman is unacquainted with danger when any service is to be rendered his country.

As a supplement to the information we have gathered respecting these countries, we shall treat in general of its productions, woods, commerce, policy, limits, as well

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as the frontiers which we presume ought one day to serve as a barrier between the Atlantic and Western States; these are important objects, and for the better information of the reader we have classed them in the following chapters.

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CHAPTER XXV.

Productions of Louisiana.—Timber.—Errors in Europe respecting the timber in the United States.—State of Louisiana and the Floridas. — Inferior quality of the woods in the north. —The woods of the west preferable.—Timber for building.—Green oak.—White and black oak.—Cedars.—Cypress.—Pines. —Elms.—Other sorts of wood.—Cayenne wood.—Other spontaneous productions of Louisiana.

As the productions of the earth are the first, we might even say, the only elements of commerce, it is with these that I shall begin this chapter.

It is well known that the forests of the Baltic, which for so long a time supplied the whole marine of Europe, are beginning to be exhausted; that this state of consumption will naturally increase the price of timber; and

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that England, in order to obtain what she wants, has considerable advantages over the rest of the maritime powers.

It is generally believed in Europe that the continent of America, and by the continent is understood the United States, can, by means of its vast forests, supply the marine of Europe with timber, when it can no longer be found in the forests of the north. The enormous difference between the population of the United States and the extent of their territory, is no doubt the foundation of this opinion.

But the consumption of wood is immense in the United States; the new clearings in which the wood is almost always burnt; the construction of American vessels, which consumes so much the more, as these vessels last a much shorter time than those of Europe; their buildings; the fences which inclose fields from one end of the continent to the other; in short, the waste of every kind made by an improvident people, have destroyed such a quantity of wood, that scarcely any is to be found within an hundred miles of the sea, or near navigable rivers. Fire wood is dearer in the towns of America than in those of Europe. Excepting in the forests of South Carolina and Georgia, the timber, independently of its doubtful quality for the construction of vessels, is not of sufficient growth

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for great ships; in Georgia even, the builders for the United States found with difficulty green oak of sufficient size to build the six frigates which Congress had decreed three years before; in short, the little that had escaped the general devastation has lately been purchased by the federal government. These facts, known by all those who are acquainted with the United States, are convincing proofs that the hope entertained in Europe of finding great resources here for its naval constructions is altogether erroneous.

But the resources which are no longer to be found in the territory of the United States, are met with in abundance in the forests of Louisiana and the Floridas. The great fertility of the soil produces timber of the finest kinds and the largest dimensions; and as these immense countries are almost all uninhabited, and as Spain has hitherto extracted but little timber, we may consider the forests as untouched, or at least as offering resources which will not be exhausted for a long series of years.

There are, however, in North America and towards Hudson's Bay, some forests which no doubt are yet untouched: but although they may furnish a certain portion of wood fit for building, it is only in very small quantities. It has generally been observed, that, in the northern

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latitudes, the forests are so thickly peopled with trees as to hinder the circulation of the air and keep the ground in a continual state of humidity, which prevents the trees from rising beyond a certain height, or of keeping such under as injure their growth. Their humidity also renders the sap watery and easy of fermentation, on which account the timber is very liable to rottenness.

This is not the case in the more southerly latitudes, such as the banks of the Missouri, the Arkansas, St. Francis, the Osages, Yazoo, Ibberville, the Red River, the Washites, the Mobile, and throughout the whole country to the west of the Mississipi.

The ground there imbibes the waters which it receives, without retaining them on its surface, as in the north. Fed by a more substantial sap, the trees rise with force and quickness sufficient to disengage themselves from such as would hinder their growth; the air circulates around them, and aids their vegetation, their force, and their beauty. These forests are less peopled with trees; but those which grow there are fine, tall, straight, and of proper dimensions. Their sap is oily, which renders their fibres hard and compact, and preserves them from the rottenness so common in the forests of the north. Under these lofty trees the ground is often covered with

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rich and thick herbage. Such in general are the forests of these countries, the immense extent of which may, however, give room to some exceptions.

The most valuable wood for naval constructions which grows in the Floridas and in Louisiana, is the green oak, the white and black oak, the red cedar, the pine and elm.

The green oak grows in East Florida, on the Mobile, the Washites, the Red River, and the Yazoo, on the Attacapas, and in the vicinity of New Orleans, where it is in great abundance; but this tree is not found above the thirty-first degree, or at least the small number beyond this latitude are stunted and of bad growth.

The quality of the green oak, its solidity and duration, are generally known. The vessels which are constructed with this wood, are of long duration. A remarkable and authentic instance will confirm the opinion which has been formed respecting the firmness of this timber. When the English in the last war were desirous of fortifying Pensacola, they were obliged to destroy a small fort built of green oak, erected in 1680 by the French, at the time of their first settlement. They found the wood as sound and untouched in all its parts, as if it had been cut the preceding day, and the whole without any waste was employed in forming the new intrenchment.

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This fact was related by an English engineer charged with the construction of that work.

A piece of green oak, thirty feet long and thirty-four inches square, costs the King of Spain four livres the foot, delivered at New Orleans. Mr. Serile, master builder in the service of Spain, a man of considerable talents and reputation in his line of business, attributes this dearness to the want of hands; he asserts that he could reduce this price a third, if he could dispose of a few sailors to make trains.

The white and black oak grow throughout the whole continent of Upper Louisiana; these are in several parts thinly planted and lofty.

The custom of the Indian hunters of setting fire in the spring to the leaves which have fallen in the winter, and to the shoots, contributes, with the nature of the soil, to the insulated growth of the trees; and in those parts which are burnt, the trees are much more distant from each other. There are also vast natural meadows in which there are no trees, and which are covered with a long, thick, and rich herbage. This almost total absence of trees, in parts so extensive and in a soil so rich, can be attributed only to the fires made by the Indians, to which they often can neither give the direction nor the limits they wish;

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and who, indeed, embarras themselves very little respecting the greater or less extent of ground which is consumed. But it results from these frequent glades in the midst of these forests, that the trees which border them being more exposed, receive from the impulsion of the wind a curved form, which renders them still more fit for that part in the construction of vessels for which they are employed.

Mr. Serile asserts, that these kinds of oaks are preferable to those of Europe for ribs, knees, and curbs.

The cedar grows on the banks of the Missouri and the rivers Plate and Arkansas. It is of a reddish marble color, and almost always of fine dimensions; the quality of its timber is good, though inferior to that of Cuba, being more brittle.

The cypress grows on both sides the Mississipi, from its mouth to the river Arkansas, and in all the marshy grounds of these latitudes. This tree rises above seventy feet on a diameter of eighteen or twenty-four inches; its trunk is straight and without knots. The Spaniards use them for masts; they are less serviceable for yards, because as these terminate almost in a point, the heart of the tree, more porous, is exposed, and the piece is liable to break at its end. The cypress contains a great quantity

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of soft substance between the bark and the wood, but as the trees are large, there still remains, after taking away the imperfect part, a thickness of good wood greater than the proportions requisite for the use in which it is employed.* The cypress plank, ten feet long, a foot wide, and an inch in thickness, sells at New Orleans only for twenty-four or twenty-five sous tournois.

The pine grows very generally through the whole of Louisiana; those on the Red River, the White River, and the Arkansas are of the greatest height, straight, and without knots: they have the same elasticity as those of Riga, only they are more heavy and less liable to break than the cypress, and can be more easily repaired; the cypress, however, lasts longer than the pine.

The pine in the Illinois and in the Missouri is less tall, more knotty, and the wood is drier than those above-mentioned. The price of a pine, coming from the Red River, the White River, and the Arkansas, and delivered at New Orleans, is a piastre the foot; hitherto none have been extracted from the Illinois for the Spanish marine.

The elm grows also in almost every part of Louisiana:

* The principal defect of the cypress is being too heavy; the Spaniards employ it only in the construction of their first-rate vessels.

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its wood is used for pullies, pumps, carriages for cannon, and every kind of wheelwright's work; but that which grows on heights and in light grounds is the best.

Nearly the same kinds of wood are without doubt found in every part of the United States bordering on the Mississipi, as in the Spanish possessions on the same river; but these parts, from their population and the clearings which are made, are in every respect superior to those of Spain, and consequently are exposed to the same degradation as the other parts of the States nearer the sea. Besides, if ever this timber should become useful for the marine belonging to the power which should have possession of New Orleans, it cannot be obtained without purchase; and whether it be employed by this marine, or any other in Europe, it can have no other outlet than the Mississipi, which is the common receptacle, together with the Ohio, of all the rivers by which this wood can be transported.

Independently of this ship timber, which is the most precious and essential for a great naval power, Louisiana produces an immense quantity of other kinds of wood, which though not of so great a value as the last, are not less useful and important. Of this secondary class are five or six different kinds of walnut-trees, the black and white mulberry, the apple-tree, pear, plumb, cherry-tree, the

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ash, the willow of different kinds, the thorn, poplar, beech, sassafras, the acacia of various sorts, the plane, laurel, fir, fig-tree, pomegranate, peach, chesnut, orange, lemon, olive-tree, and a variety of others which it would take too long to enumerate. Trees of an unknown species are every day discovered in the territory of the United States; and it cannot be doubted that the forests of Louisiana, much better wooded and more extensive, contain a considerable number, which will be discovered in proportion as they are explored, and which will furnish new resources both for the wants and arts of life.

But without pretending to indulge in any fancied speculations with respect to the time when such discoveries shall take place, the wood already known in Louisiana, of which a part has already been enumerated, offers immense and necessary resources for the annual consumption of the western colonies. In this province may be found every kind of timber fit for building, wood for the covering of houses, staves, and all kinds of resins: these various objects, so necessary for the colonies, are of a quality infinitely superior to those which the United States can furnish; the conveyance is more quick and certain; and free of those expenses which must always be expected from the charges of foreign merchants.

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Much has been said of the wood of Cayenne; if it be true that this country produces timber fit for the construction of vessels, it must be in small quantities, and would require much attention in the choice. Professional men who are acquainted with the forests in the regions of the torrid zone, know that a great part of the wood which is there produced is generally of a weak, lax fibre, and what is called soft, that is, which a few weeks after the trees are felled, crumble into a kind of rotten dust, while those of the incorruptible species are found too heavy, and not sufficiently flexible.

The other spontaneous productions of Louisiana are numberless and of every kind. Nature seems as prodigal to the west of the Mississipi as she is sterile from the Atlantic to the east of this river. In Upper Louisiana are found greystone, millstone, silex, marbles, gypsum, pyrites, and pummice stone. In the country from the river St. Peter to the Natchez are salt springs, lead and iron mines, coal, and slate quarries in abundance. In the higher parts of the Osages and the Arkansas, are salt rocks of the finest crystallization. It is stated as a fact, that in the mountains known by the name of the Yellow Mountains, forming the separation of the waters of the Mississipi and the Southern Ocean, there are mines both of tin and copper.

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If in these countries, hitherto so little frequented, valuable fossils are found in so great an abundance, there can be no doubt but that a much greater quantity will be discovered when the necessary means for making such researches shall be put into execution.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the productions arising from cultivation.—Disproportion of territory with population.—Agriculture in a languishing state.—Exportation.—Cultivation of indigenous productions.—Fruit trees.—Vine.—Cultivation in Lower Louisiana.—Observations.—Indigo abandoned.—Inferior quality of cotton.—Sugar canes.—Detail of a sugar plantation.—Canes of Otaheite preferable to those of Batavia.—Success of Mr. Bore.—Other productions.—Low price of cattle.

WHEREVER population is in disproportion with the lands which remain uncultivated, the cultivation must necessarily be limited and imperfect. This is evident from the state of Upper Louisiana, the soil of which, in general good and now, produces abundantly with the slightest labor.

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Indolence, or rather that love of repose which is natural to men living in hot climates, does not suffer the inhabitants of Upper Louisiana to reap from their lands all the advantages which commonly result from industry stimulated by interest. The measure of their toil is that of their wants, which when limited to what is necessary are soon satisfied: every kind of cultivation extending beyond this point, would appear to them so much the more useless, as the objects of exchange are few in number, and because commerce, which produces new wants, and gives fresh springs to industry, is almost extinct in Upper Louisiana. Agriculture has also other obstacles to contend with: the rivers which traverse these countries abound in fish; the forests are stocked with game, and afford the inhabitants the easiest means of supplying their wants; besides a great number trade with the Indians, and the greater part among them, fond of roving, undertake very distant expeditions.

Although the state of agriculture be not very flourishing, more, however, is produced than is necessary for the consumption of the inhabitants. Louisiana exported in the year 1795 three thousand five hundred barrels of flour, at four piastres the hundred weight, and twenty-one thousand measures of maize, from the territory of Saint Lewis: two thousand nine hundred barrels of flour at the

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same price, and thirteen thousand measures of maize from St. Geneviève; seven thousand barrels of flour, and thirty-five thousand measures of maize, from Anse à la Graisse.* The Illinois territory belonging to the United States furnished, in the same year, three thousand barrels of flour and thirty thousand measures of maize. This flour is indeed inferior to that of the United States, owing to the imperfection of the corn mills.

It is also to be observed, that the Arkansas and the Chawanons, two Indian nations, the first inhabiting the banks of the river of that name, and the second the west of the Mississipi, thirty leagues from Cape Girardot, increase, by the produce of their cultivation, the exportation of which I have just spoken.

In Upper Louisiana are also grown rye, oats, peas, flax, hemp and potatoes. Though this last root comes originally from Europe, wild potatoes are found through the whole extent of the Illinois: these potatoes are small, and of a sour taste; but by cultivation they become both larger and palatable.

Fruit trees are very abundant in Upper Louisiana; in this country, originally inhabited by the French, and which has continued to be so by their descendants,

* New Madrid.

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the trees of Europe have been planted, and cultivated with care. Apples, pears, and nuts are good, and in so great plenty, that quantities are sent to New Orleans, and even to the Havannah.

This country produces naturally trees and plants which may be perfected by cultivation. It is a rich soil, and varies in its productions; the riches which it contains would readily unfold themselves to the researches of human industry.

In this astonishing variety of production, the vine is also to be numbered, with which the country is covered; but it is the wild vine, and few experiments have been made to cultivate it with success. This plant appeared to me altogether different from that which I saw in North America: its stalk was not more than two feet and an half or three feet in length; it grows most frequently in rocky and stony places, and is found always in clumps,* resembling, in its foliage and appearance, the vine of Madeira or Champagne; the grape is black, small, and very sweet. There is no doubt but this vine would increase both in size and quality by cultivation. A French-

* This vine is of the same kind as that we found on the Ohio, near Cumberland River, and which we have mentioned in the course of this work.

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man planted several cuttings in his garden; in three years time the fruit became much larger and more abundant; and probably his experiment would have succeeded better, if instead of letting them grow in clumps, he had separated the stalks, shortened and supported them with sticks. But the nature of the soil, the temperature of the climate, the quality of the fruit, even wild, and the experiment, though imperfect, leave no doubt that this vine, well cultivated, would produce fine grapes, and that good sets brought from Europe might also be cultivated with great success.

Cultivation is already more prosperous in Lower than in Upper Louisiana, and will continue to augment in proportion to the increase of the population, and the encouragement given to the industry of the inhabitants by foreign markets.

I ought to remark, that between the last settlements of Upper Louisiana and the first in Lower Louisiana, that is, from the river Saline to the Natchez, there is a space of nearly seven or eight degrees of latitude, where scarcely any human traces are to be seen, and which present to the eye of the traveller, on the Spanish side, nothing but a few wretched huts belonging to hunters. This space, however, is covered with the richest lands, the finest woods, and watered by numerous navigable rivers.

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The difference of climate between Upper and Lower Louisiana, and the heat which prevails in this last country, admit the cultivation of productions which cannot ripen in the latitudes of Upper Louisiana.

Indigo has long been cultivated, and though very inferior to that of Guatinale and the Antilles, is preferable to that of Georgia and the Carolinas. The harvests, however, are very precarious, because this plant requires a dry soil; while the indigos planted in Lower Louisiana, which is overflowed almost every year, often perish before they ripen. Independently of the variety of accidents which render the cultivation of this plant very hazardous in the country where the indigo grows, the root of that of Louisiana is liable to be pricked by a small worm, which, from the extreme humidity of the ground, abounds in this part and destroys the plant. The harvests have been known to fail two or three years successively; this misfortune happened in 1794, and no indigo was made on any plantation. The low price of the indigo of Louisiana in the European markets, especially since India furnishes this article in such large quantities and so rich in quality, does not indemnify the planters of indigo for their expenses and the frequent failure of their harvests. It is on this account that they have entirely abandoned the cultivation of that plant; and in Louisiana

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I saw the indigo works in ruins, and the planters reduced to growing maize and yams, sawing planks with mills which they had built, and framing timber for houses, which they send to the Havannah and the Islands, preferring the very moderate gain which they reap from this hard labor, to the uncertain and continually decreasing profits to be obtained by the cultivation of indigo.

Cotton is cultivated with success in Louisiana; its wool is as fine and as white as that of the Antilles, but shorter. One of the causes which contribute to disgust the inhabitants with this cultivation is, that it is laborious, and employs a great number of hands; that the cotton tree, which in the Antilles resists the temperature three years, perishes in Louisiana from the rigor of the winters, though they are of short duration, if they be not replanted every year. The adhesion of the grain to the cotton requires great care and a considerable time to separate it, and the coarse kind of mill which is used for this operation, shortens still more the cotton wool, and renders it inferior in value, in the markets of Europe, to the cotton of Surinam, Cayenne, the West Indian Islands, and the Indies.

Nevertheless, we are led to think that the cotton planters of Louisiana, more enlightened and prudent, will not abandon the cultivation of this article, which, if

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it requires care, will in return yield certain harvests, and which, except what regards the preparation of the soil, may be confided to children. With respect to the adhesion of the grains of cotton, this depends altogether on the kind of seed which is employed, the choice of which may be taught by experience.

The same inconveniences attending the separation of the cotton in Louisiana, are found in Georgia and Carolina. The mills, coarsely made and ill combined, broke and shortened the wool so much, that the value was diminished a quarter: a better machine has lately been introduced into the United States, which is no doubt susceptible of greater perfection, and the cotton has already resumed its old price. It is, therefore, to be hoped, that the industry of the Louisiana cotton planters will be duly excited, and that, if encouraged by a proper attention on the part of government, to commerce and agriculture, and instructed by the experience of others, they will find the means of carrying to its highest perfection a produce of so much importance, and for which there is so great a demand.

The sugar cane is at present the most favored object of culture in Lower Louisiana; it is natural to the country, but the attempts which have been made at different periods to ameliorate its growth have been aban-

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doned. Louisiana, from the neglect of the indigo grounds, and the discouragement of the cotton planters, was reduced to great distress, when Mr. Bore, an old French inhabitant, distinguished as much for his attachment to his ancient country as the activity of his genius, undertook, contrary to the opinion of the whole colony, to re-establish the cultivation of the sugar cane.

It was towards the end of October that I visited Mr. Bore's* plantation. He was then employed in cutting the canes which had been planted the beginning of February, as at St. Domingo, but closer to each other, at least so it appeared to me, than in the Antilles. I found them still green, the knots at very small distances, and the stalks slender. Notwithstanding this state of unripeness, he was rolling, that is, pressing the canes in the mill. This mill, like those of St. Domingo, is turned by five mules: the juice was of a green color, contained a considerable quantity of acid, and was evaporated in six boilers of unequal size, the only instruments of this kind Mr. Bore could find in the colony. The syrop, less yellow than that of the Antilles, was

* It was at the house of this respectable citizen that I was arrested by order of the Governor of Louisiana, as I have already related.

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sweet and good. The pale color sometimes observed in the syrops at St. Domingo, is attributed to the drought, and sometimes also to the excessive humidity of the season during the growth of the sugar cane. In Louisiana, this paleness must proceed chiefly from the imperfect ripeness of the cane, which on account of the winter can remain only nine months in the earth; whilst in the Antilles, where this plant is continually exposed to a burning sun, the planters never think it ripe but at the end of thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen months. From the great quantity of acid and watery particles it contains, the sugar of Louisiana loses much more by evaporation, and crystallizes with more difficulty than in the Antilles.

The moist sugars in Mr. Bore's plantation are good, crystallise well, and have a rich grain; but they still contain a thick watery matter, which cannot be totally purified by evaporation.

The raw sugar is of the first quality, and such was the opinion of the planters to whom I showed samples. It has so much body, that some of them thought it had been refined. This perfection is a proof of the extreme fertility of the soil, and of its necessary properties for the nourishment of the plant. The only

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difficulty is to select the kind of cane which will soonest ripen.

Experiments had been made in St. Domingo, previous to the revolution, on the sugar cane of Batavia; the small number of planters by whom it had been cultivated, found it superior to the common cane, from the certainty as well as abundance of its produce. These experiments were interrupted by the troubles which took place in the colony, and it is therefore difficult to lay down any sure data. We are ignorant of what it would be highly interesting for Louisiana to ascertain, whether in the space of nine months it can attain a sufficient degree of maturity.

At Guadaloupe, in the English colonies, and particularly at Antigua, the cane of Otaheite is cultivated. This cane has been introduced only within four years, and its advantages over the common cane are various; it ripens in ten months instead of fourteen; in dry seasons, when the common cane cannot shoot, the cane of Otaheite is not retarded in its growth; it flourishes in fen lands, where the common cane cannot grow; the cane of Otaheite gives more juice than the common cane, and from an equal quantity yields more sugar, which is of the finest color. The only disadvantage of this cane, compared with the other, is, that its wood is not

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so fit to heat the coppers, and that it considerably impoverishes the ground; but these inconveniences are slight for a soil so fertile and so rich in wood as Louisiana. The superiority of this cane has been so well ascertained in Antigua, that no other is at present cultivated; it is also very general in the English colonies, especially in Jamaica; and vessels freighted only with this plant have been constantly sent from Antigua to this last colony within these two years, in spite of the dangers of the war. It is highly probable that the cultivation of this cane would very well suit the soil and climate of Lower Louisiana; but time and successive experiments, aided by the light thrown on this subject by well instructed boards of administration, and scientific men in Europe, can alone determine definitively the choice of the inhabitants, who, encouraged by Mr. Bore's success, seem much prejudiced in favor of this species of cultivation. There is, however, so great a want of refiners in Lower Louisiana, that the only workman in the colony, and who is in Mr. Bore's service, refines for other planters when his master's work is finished. It is scarcely necessary to observe, how much sugar must be lost from the want of this class of workmen.

Mr. Bore thinks that the success of his plantation is owing to the care he takes to convey the waters of the

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Mississipi into his grounds, by means of sluices which he opens and shuts at pleasure. These irrigations keep the grounds constantly moist in the months of March, April, and May, which are the seasons of the great droughts in Louisiana, and which Mr. Bore has found to be extremely hurtful to the growth of the canes. This mode is practised in almost every plantation, the nature and position of the grounds fitted for sugar being nearly every where the same in Lower Louisiana, and the waters of the Mississipi rising regularly from March to July.

The sugar cane which Mr. Bore cultivates, and which is the common cane of the country, yields only from eight to nine hundred weight of moist sugar per acre; while the same extent of ground in St. Domingo produces from twenty-five hundred to three thousand weight. This difference arises, as I have already observed, from the great evaporation.

His establishment, which consists of a mill, stove, outhouse, the whole built with brick and covered with tiles, including the cylinder and boilers, cost him only four thousand piastres. It is true, that in these buildings he employed his negroes, women as well as men, the number of whom was forty. It must also be observed, that the bricks, tiles, and lime, were found on his estate; that the carpenter's work was made at home; and that

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the construction of the whole was the labor of eighteen months. This expense will appear, no doubt, very trifling for so large and important a manufactory. At St. Domingo, such an establishment would have cost two hundred thousand livres.

The produce of Mr. Bore's establishment amounted to twelve thousand piastres; and he employed only forty negroes, men and women, having no greater number: a very considerable part of his canes, therefore, were left to rot, for want of hands to gather them.

A longer abode at Mr. Bore's would, as I have already observed, have yielded me more information: there were, however, several important questions which he confessed he was not prepared to answer, being still but a novice in this kind of cultivation. Long experience, the comparison of the produce of several years, the observation of the influence of different seasons on the different kinds of culture, on the various sorts of canes, the most economical mode of labor, and the comparison of the expenses with the profits, could alone give these questions a satisfactory solution.

But one fact of great importance is ascertained;—that the soil of Lower Louisiana is fitted for the growth of the sugar cane, that it is capable of producing fine and good sugar, that such sugar is actually produced, and

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in as great a quantity as is possible, considering the number of hands employed.*

Maize and oats are also grown in Lower Louisiana, and all kinds of produce may be cultivated with success, whenever sufficient encouragement is given by a sure market, which can arise only from an active trade.

Great quantities of rice grows in the swamps belonging to almost every habitation in Lower Louisiana. Tobacco is also an article of produce, particularly in the Nattshiloches, at Pointe Coupée and the Natchez. The first of these settlements furnishes tobacco of the best quality, esteemed the finest and most valuable for the market. Two millions weight are exported annually. In the other settlements the tobacco is good, but inferior; for which reason less is grown.

Pomegranates, lemons, oranges, and olives, ripen in the sun of Lower Louisiana; the heat of which, however, is not so great as to prevent the whites from working the ground, which takes place in the Two Parishes of the Accadians and Germans, both of which settlements are the oldest and most considerable in Lower Louisiana. These spots are in latitude 29.° 35.″ but the inha-

* In 1796 there were two sugar plantations; at present there are upwards of two hundred.

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bitants work like those in the most temperate European climates ; few negroes are seen in these establishments, and still fewer in Upper Louisiana, where the whites work as in Europe.

Amongst the numerous advantages arising from this colony to a government which should place a due value on agriculture and industry, the multitude of cattle in certain parts of Lower Louisiana might hold the first rank. The settlements which are more particularly productive are the Attacapas, the Apelousas, Baratarias, Chitamachas, and the Wachitas, all of which are on the right side of the Mississipi. The droves of cattle are so considerable in these countries, that few of the inhabitants are acquainted with the riches they possess. The current price of a bullock is four piastres, and from six to eight piastres that of a horse.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

Fur trade—Places most convenient for this commerce—The English in sole possession of this trade — Great importance of Canada to the English—Benefits arising from the fur trade—Total failure of this branch of commerce to the merchants of Louisiana—Exclusive privileges obtained by the English—Their persevering activity—Roads by which they trade—Monopoly of the trade of Florida—Forts on the Spanish territory belonging to the English — Advantages of New Orleans—Reflections — Erroneous opinions respecting the fur trade — Philadelphia and Baltimore ruined by the trade of New Orleans.

THE immense territory to the north of the great lakes of America, and to the westward of the Mississipi, bounded by the Frozen Sea and the Pacific Ocean, is the region which has so long and so abundantly supported the fur trade. The articles of this commerce had also been long

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supplied by those countries which border on Canada, and nearer to the Atlantic; but in proportion as the Europeans removed their settlements farther from the coasts, the fur animals retreated; and the Indian nations, driven by force, or under the influence of terror, soon followed their example. A few, indeed, to the south of the great lakes and east of the Mississipi, yet remain; but these are so circumscribed in their possessions that scarcely any can subsist by hunting. The existence of the whole is extremely precarious; and although a few of these tribes may from time to time trade for skins of bears and roebucks, they cannot be considered as contributing to what may properly be called the fur trade. The resources of this branch of commerce are, therefore, found at present beyond the great lakes and to the west of the Mississippi.

I shall confine myself, in this chapter, to that part which is contained within the limits of Louisiana.

The trade which is actually carried on belongs almost exclusively to English companies; that is, to England: since the English manufactories alone supply the articles of exchange for this commerce, even to the French merchants of Upper Louisiana who carry on this traffic. Hence it naturally follows, that the furs from the Spanish territory, and belonging to Spanish subjects, are trans-

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ported to Canada, where they increase the commercial wealth of the English nation, and swell the amount of its fiscal revenues.

Trade no doubt belongs of right to those nations who are sovereigns of the country in which are found such commodities as form the object of its commerce; but it belongs, in fact, to that nation which can best extract such productions, and export them with the greatest advantage for the trader and the consumer. This order of things, so beneficial to the great mass of society, cannot for a long time be restricted by any prohibitory law. The mines even of Mexico and Peru, in spite of the numerous soldiery which guard them, would be ransacked by foreign nations, did not the Spanish government monopolize the working.

When at the peace which followed the war of 1757, so disastrous for France, the cabinet of Versailles thought, or affected to think, that in yielding Canada to England it gave up nothing but a territory of no real advantage, a domain without revenues, a continual drawback without any returns, a constant object of ruinous and foreign war. England beheld in this cession, a new source of supplying the manufactories of the mother country by articles imported from its own colonies, of giving a fresh spur to its commerce, and increasing the resources of its marine.

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When we consider that during forty years Canada has been English territory, and that this power has not once imposed the slightest direct revenue; that no tax has been levied to defray the expenses of its government, but that all has been disbursed from the Exchequer; and that those expenses, including the sums paid the Indians, amount annually to three hundred thousand pounds sterling; it may well be imagined that England deems the possession of this colony of sufficient importance to its interests. Having no pretensions, at the peace of 1763, to the cession of Louisiana, England beheld with satisfaction the transfer of this colony to Spain, from a conviction that the Spanish government was less able than the French to direct the resources of this important colony to advantage, or throw obstacles in the way of the projects which the English cabinet had formed of applying these resources to its own profit, and becoming at some future period the proprietor of the soil. This intention was clearly manifested in 1780, when the garrisons of Florida marched against New Orleans, whilst a body of English and Indians invaded the Spanish settlements in the Illinois.

England, having at this epocha lost all hope of recovering by main force her American colonies, formed the project of surrounding them by her new possessions; of checking and harassing them on each side by land, whilst

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her marine annihilated their trade on the shores of the Atlantic; thus keeping them in a state of perpetual blockade. The possession of Louisiana would have completed the list of resources which were drawn from Canada, and which it was hoped might be increased. This station also furnished the means of menacing the Antilles, and of attacking them under any favorable circumstances: besides, it had the advantage of being not far distant from New Mexico; since, in twenty-five days march across a chain of vast meadows, thinly wooded, well watered, and intercepted neither by mountains nor large rivers, an army might be transported from St. Lewis to Santa-Fé. The other governments of Europe ought to have this circumstance continually in view, and be convinced of the importance of opposing by the most powerful obstacles the execution of a project, which Great Britain might not hastily be disposed to relinquish.

Though England failed in her attempt, in 1780, to wrest Louisiana from Spain, she did not give up the means of enriching herself by its territory; and the genius of that country, directed with so much earnestness and constancy towards the increase of its commerce, with no other rival than the apathy of the Spaniards, found little difficulty in the execution of its designs. What is here stated respecting the policy of England, is equally appli-

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cable to the principles which govern the United States of America.

It is not easy to make a pecuniary estimation of the amount of the furs which England receives from America: the companies of Canada preserve the same silence on this subject as all other merchants with respect to their trade, and the political interests of England favor the mystery. We know, however, that in 1795 the duties paid on furs at the custom-house of London amounted to nineteen thousand pounds sterling; that the duties on furs, except on bear skins, are very low; and that the companies in Canada are very speedily and abundantly enriched by this commerce, as are their correspondents in England, who spread these furs throughout Europe, and even as far as China. The most wealthy of these companies trade to the north and west of the lakes, because in these regions the furs are finer and found in greater abundance than elsewhere: but the merchants who trade below the lakes in the Spanish provinces speedily enrich themselves, and it is of these only that we are now treating. Persons who appeared to be well informed on this subject, assured me that the north-west company draw goods annually from Great Britain to the amount of sixteen hundred and fifty-six thousand livres tournois, and that the furs which they exported sold for

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three millions five hundred thousand livres; upon which, after deducting the freight, assurance, commission, and other charges, there remained every year on an average a profit of fifteen hundred and forty-four thousand livres.

The profits of the merchants under the Spanish Government settled at St. Lewis, and who deal in furs, are nothing in comparison with those of the English merchants; these trade on considerable capitals, and import from England the various European goods of which they stand in need, by means of an agent who is satisfied with his commission; or when pressed, obtain them from Montreal, at an advance of thirty or forty per cent. on the English prices. If their operations oblige them to delay their payments, they pay interest for the money at five per cent in England or America. The Spanish merchants, on the contrary, trading on small capitals, never find, and especially at New Orleans, such goods as they want, but are obliged to send for them to Montreal, where they are supplied by the English merchants; with whom having slender credit, they are always constrained to sell to those English companies the furs which they have collected. It is by means such as these that the profits of those companies accumulate, and thereby swell the mass of the riches of Great Britain: and the immense advantages thus accruing

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to the English companies furnish them with the means of pushing their trade to the greatest extent possible.

The nation of the Sioux, broken into a considerable number of tribes along the river Saint Lewis, which empties itself into Lake Superior, furnishes the English traders with three hundred packets of roebuck skins, each worth one hundred livres. These packets are the specie, or course of exchange, by which other furs are estimated. The nation of the Sauteux, part of which lies between the fiftieth and fifty-second degrees of latitude, and ninety to ninety-five west longitude from the meridian of London, and who dwell chiefly on the banks of the Red River, supplies the English company with about an hundred packets of fine furs. The same company draws about seventeen hundred more from the remainder of the country, situated to the south of Lake La Pluie, the lake of the Woods, Lake Winnipic, and to the north of the sources of the Mississipi.

The English Companies push their trade, also, much farther to the south west of the countries which I have mentioned: one of those companies* obtained from the government of Louisiana, some years since, the privilege of trading along the Missouri and to the west of the

* Messrs. Todd and Co.

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Mississipi, where they formed several establishments, and from which branched off a number of small forts at certain distances from each other, making progress in proportion as they discovered the means of trading with any new nations. The English merchants have spared neither labor nor expense for the purpose of extending their commerce as far as possible; sending persons out on discovery, providing them with every thing necesssary for an expedition of two or three years, and furnishing them with goods both for trading and making presents. Were the whole of these goods expended in the journey without any return of furs, the expedition is always accounted profitable, if those who undertake it pierce through new tracts, discover new rivers, and especially new nations: a second expedition, on such occasions, is then sent out, more numerous and more abundantly stored, which returns laden with articles that indemnify, by their immense profits, all the expense which had previously been incurred. It is confidently asserted, that the English have penetrated as far as that great chain of mountains which runs parallel with the Pacific Ocean, and which seems to separate the countries situated on the eastern side, as these are divided from the Atlantic by the Allegany mountains. Several Indian nations, attached to the English merchants from the intercourse of trade, aid

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them in their commerce by trafficking themselves with nations more remote; to whom they carry European goods, and bring back to those merchants the produce of their expeditions.

The great store of goods for exchange belonging to the English companies is at Michilimackinack.* This is the point of departure for the traders who go in search of furs, and of those also who convey these furs to Canada.

The communication of the English companies from Michilimackinack to Montreal is not by the navigation of lakes Ontario, Erie, etc. where there are few carrying places; they go up the river Otawas, join lake Nipissing and lake Huron by French River, and thus reach lake Michigan, at the entrance of which is Fort Michilimackinack. This route is intersected by six carrying places: the canoes are of bark, carrying only from three to four tons and nine men. This mode of conveyance is much more expensive and sometimes less expeditious than the navigation of the lakes, employing six weeks; but it is

* Michilimackinack, in the Indian language, signifies a tortoise. It is a post established on a peninsula, and which defends the entrance of the lake Michigan. But the English, compelled to evacuate and give up this station to the United States, have established another on the island St. Joseph, which defends and commands the whole of the entrance of lake Superior. This, in every point of view, is a very preferable position.

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preferred by the companies, because, however difficult the route, they know precisely the number of days which it requires for the journey, and which they cannot ascertain on the lakes from the great variation of the winds. This is an essential condition with the merchants of Canada, since the river St. Lawrence, being navigable only during a short and determined time, admits of no delay for the stated periods of receiving furs and sending them to Europe.

By combinations thus well calculated, by labor so judiciously directed, by expenses so wisely hazarded and so liberally supplied; in short, by unremitting ardor in discovering the fittest means of extending their trade, the English have at present gained possession of every branch of commerce in the Spanish territory. Every point in that region, as far as Western Florida, is supplied from London by means of two English companies that are settled at the Bahama islands, and who, having obtained from Spain the exclusive privilege of sending goods to Louisiana, import in exchange the small number of skins which they take from the Indian nations inhabiting Florida and Georgia.

To complete this faithful contrast between the useful and laudable activity of the English and the ruinous apathy of the Spaniards, we should add that the establish-

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ments which the English companies have formed in Louisiana are always guarded by armed men in their pay. These establishments, which serve as temporary stores for goods and as forts for the protection of caravans, are situated on the rivers Owpas, Catopy, the Red River, St. Peter and Moins* River, and are protected by small works constructed with earth, and by block houses, against any attacks from the Indians: thus England actually has soldiers and forts on the territory of the King of Spain, and in greater number than those of His Catholic Majesty.† It may readily be conceived, that in proportion as the English trade extends itself (as it has already done) to the more rich and populous parts of Upper Louisiana, this military force will increase; and that on some future occasion it may be applied with success to other views far more dangerous than those of the fur trade.

This state of affairs excites regret and indignation, when we reflect how contrary it is to the nature of things; and that, from the number of rivers which water Louisiana, from their direction and facility of navigation, the route of New Orleans seems to have been evidently marked out for the whole of this kind of produce.

* See the map of Upper Louisiana.

† There are seventeen men at St. Lewis, and two at St. Geneviève.

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Lake Winnipic is separated from fort Michilimackinack by seventy-two carrying-places; and from this place of general stores to Montreal, there are (as I have already said) thirty-six others. The seven months, during which the river St. Lawrence is closed, require such extreme exactness with respect to the conveyances, that fifteen days of delay only would occasion the failure of the trade for the whole year. The subjects of the King of Spain, on the contrary, would have only to traverse a carrying-place of twelve miles from this same lake Winnipic, and from the river Asseneboine to the Missouri. The productions of the countries bordering on these lakes might be conveyed to New Orleans by the rivers which fall into the Mississipi, the Missouri, and the other great rivers adjoining, and which are navigable from an hundred to eight hundred leagues, without rocks, falls, or rapids; these rivers seem to have been formed only to convey to the gulf of Mexico the various riches of the countries which they water, and to carry back in exchange the commodities of which they stand in need.

The perusal of the chapter on the Missouri, and the inspection of the map of Upper Louisiana, will fully justify my observations on this subject: but as I have not entered into details on navigation in this chapter, it is sufficient to state that the Mississipi, the Missouri, and the

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various rivers which are tributary to them, are within the reach of such Indian tribes as are already known, nations of warriors, or hunters, settled in these countries hitherto so little frequented, and rich in animals of every kind; that these nations are mild, friendly, and hospitable, some of whom mingle the labors of agriculture with those of hunting; that a great number have as yet no concern in the fur trade; that amidst those countries already discovered, and beyond their limits, many tribes yet unknown no doubt exist; that, independently of the Mississipi and the Missouri, a considerable number of other rivers from St. Lewis to New Orleans empty themselves into the Mississipi after a course of greater or less extent, and on the banks of which dwell various other nations: from whence I conclude, that whatever be the injuries done to the interests of Spain by the introduction of the English companies into the territory of His Catholic Majesty, the evil is not yet so extensive or so inveterate as to be without remedy. But it is now time to think of those dangers, and of the means of removing them; since a few more years of apathy would render ineffectual these means which are now so simple and easy, as may be demonstrated by the geographical and topographical position of Upper and Lower Louisiana.

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The principal measure to be adopted, and which will render every successive effort easy, is, that a constant and direct commerce be maintained between Europe and New Orleans; that this place be continually furnished with every kind of merchandise for the exchange necessary for the trade, and such as should be suited to the wants of the colony and the neighbouring states situated on the rivers, the waters of which flow into the Mississipi or into the gulf of Mexico. I have already mentioned that the subjects of the King of Spain inhabiting Louisiana, not finding at New Orleans the articles necessary for trade or their own consumption, procure them at fort Michilimackinack. These goods, purchased at Montreal at thirty per cent. above the London prices, cost at Michilimackinack twenty per cent. more for commission, and a further sum of twelve to fifteen per cent. for their conveyance to St. Lewis: the goods, therefore, brought to St. Lewis by the way of Canada, amount to seventy-five per cent. above the London market.

The carriage from New Orleans costs only five piastres the hundred weight; and we may suppose that there are few bales or chests of goods of that weight coming from Europe which are not worth much more than an hundred piastres: but in estimating them only at this rate, which is far below their real value, they would not

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cost more than thirty-five or thirty-six per cent. above the European prices; supposing also that the freights from the ports of France or Spain to New Orleans are not less than those from London to Montreal.

The establishment at New Orleans of houses of commerce, which in receiving goods from Europe must necessarily be under the direction of rich capitalists, would allow the traders of Louisiana the same advantages and the same credit as the English companies receive from the merchants of Montreal or London. This establishment would secure the carriage of the whole fur trade from Louisiana to New Orleans by the Mississipi.* England has a positive advantage over all the other nations of Europe, which it is easy to take out of its hands by imitating its policy: this advantage arises from the well combined measures taken for the conveyance of its goods, from the system of navigation which it has established, from the low price of its insurances, and the quickness of its expeditions: but this advantage cannot over-balance the means of conveying, without any concurrence, by a navi-

* Nothing can more effectually remedy a part of those inconveniencies than the industry of the American merchants; but unfortunately they are bliged to draw the articles of exchange from the English manufactories, our own being totally unprovided.

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gation free from obstacles, every kind of merchandise to the most distant nations, and of receiving, by the same route and with still greater facility, every sort of produce in exchange. England imports almost all its raw materials; the price of workmanship would inhance the value of its manufactures, did not the great use of machines make up for the loss which would arise from manual labor. The rest of the governments of Europe, with little attention, might provide themselves with the same resources; and the difference of the value of labor regulating that of the price of goods in the market, the advantage in our favor would be immense.

If the government of the United States fix its boundary line as was laid down by the treaty of 1783, this line, touching the most north-westerly point of the lake of the Woods, would cut off the English from all connexion with lake Winnipic, unless they make a round by Hudson's Bay and go up York river, with which it communicates, and that route would considerably increase the difficulty and expense. But even should the Americans not fix their boundary in this manner, or should the communication between the lake Winnipic and lake Superior not be taken away from the English, the advantages of commerce would be no less in favor of New Orleans, by the establishment of large warehouses and a

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general magazine at St. Lewis. The enormous difference in the price of goods going up the Mississipi, and the great facility which this river gives for a speedy market for furs, would shut up all communications between the companies trading to the east of its course and Montreal with much more certainty than any prohibition or treaty.

The privileges of the English companies to trade on the territory of His Catholic Majesty are but temporary; these privileges expire at the end of three years; and as they are not yet very numerous, they may either not be increased or be entirely annulled. The merchant, as is well known, views his country in his interest; he becomes attached to the power which provides him the largest and speediest gains. The English companies employ Englishmen neither as agents, traders, nor soldiers; but Canadians only, whose decided attachment for their nation is so well known, that it is become proverbial to say, that, under the government and rule of the English, they never cease to call themselves Frenchmen. They never see a Frenchman without emotion: and if the French or merchants of Louisiana engaged in the fur trade, they would easily draw off the Canadians from the English companies.*

* Although the English merchants are now in possession of Louisiana, the French merchants may still reap considerable advantages from this honorable attachment of the Canadians.

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The inhabitants of Louisiana had obtained from the Court of Madrid, after the peace of 1783, permission to purchase in the different ports of France such goods as they wanted, by paying a duty of six per cent on the importation, and as much for the exports: this permission was continued to the period of the French Revolution. The vessels which came from Bourdeaux were freighted with every article wanted in the colony; those which sailed from Havre de Grace imported from London, as articles of traffic with the Indians, clothes and blankets, which since the cession of Canada* are not to be found in France. This facility gave still a little animation to the commerce of Louisiana, and rendered it less disadvantageous to the inhabitants, but the merchants of New Orleans wanted capital; † trade was deprived of that protection, encouragement, and liberty, which are always essentially necessary in growing establishments so far distant and so little known; — protection and liberty which it was not possible to hope for from Spain, because it demands an enlightened and unremitting attention,

* I have collected the dimensions, kind, and quality of the different goods which are preferred by the Indian nations.

† This is no longer the case; since New Orleans is now filled with rich merchants.

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which can never be expected from the Spanish character, nor from the principles of that government, till it has shaken off the lethargy which benumbs all its faculties.

The fur trade is not the only advantage which Louisiana offers for commerce. The preceding articles of this work show what vast resources might be found in the vast quantities of fine timber which grow on this colony, and in the productions of agriculture of every kind in the various latitudes of these countries. The gratuitous cession of lands with good titles (a condition mentioned here from the general defect on this point in the United States) would draw a great number of emigrants from Europe, Louisiana would soon become peopled, the banks of the Mississipi would be inhabited in their whole extent, and in a short space of time the resources of the country would be successively brought into action : independently of the commodities which would then be furnished for exportation by a more extensive and better cultivation, the mines, quarries, and salt-pits, which are very abundant in this country, would be explored ; and a rich provision of commerce would be found in its hemp, flax, tar, and oils. Louisiana would supply the wants of the colonies even better than the other States of America.

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The whole of the productions, in short, of the rivers Ouicousin, the Illinois, the Ohio, and the Yahoo, having no other outlet than the Mississipi, must pass by New Orleans and necessarily increase its commerce.

The Illinois of the United States receive at present their goods from Michilimackinack; Kentucky, Tenesse, and the north-west territory, from Philadelphia or Baltimore: on account of the want of storehouses well and regularly furnished at New Orleans.

The merchants of the ports in the Atlantic States and those of Montreal, finding their own interest in this mode of supply, pretend that it is not only the surest but the most economical for those countries. No one in the United States was interested in contradicting this assertion, or in examining how far it was founded; since, were the truth once cleared up, a part of the Philadelphia and Baltimore trade would be ruined.—This assertion, however, cannot bear the slightest examination, as we have already shown in the chapter on Kentucky.

No danger can be incurred in descending the river, provided the pilots be attentive to avoid the trees and other impediments which are always to be found in rivers running through uninhabited countries; and in ascending the river, no other inconvenience exists than the length of

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the navigation.* With respect to the expense of conveyance, the carriage from Philadelphia to the Illinois is twelve piastres the hundred weight; six for the three hundred and eighteen miles by land from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, where the navigation of the Ohio begins, and six for transport on this river and that part of the Mississipi which boats are obliged to ascend.† The expenses from Baltimore are the same; the difference of the distance of forty miles to Pittsburgh is compensated by the bad state of the roads, and the crossing of the mountains. The expense from New Orleans to the Illinois is, as I have already said, five piastres the French hundred weight, which is seven piastres difference in favor of New Orleans, without reckoning the difference in the weight: goods, in short, are conveyed from Philadelphia or Baltimore to Franckfort in Kentucky, at thirty-three per cent above the price at these two markets; while the conveyance to the Illinois by New Orleans is not more than four or four and an half.

It is true that the conveyance from Philadelphia to the Illinois may be made in fifty-five or sixty days, whilst

* See the chapter on the navigation of the Mississipi.

† The current of this river is the most rapid from the Ohio to the Missouri; the cause of which I have explained in the chapter which treats of this navigation.

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that from New Orleans requires from seventy to seventy-five; but this small difference in favor of the carriage from Philadelphia is more than balanced by the badness of the roads, in which a waggon with four or five horses can carry only twenty-five hundred weight; by the loading and unloading, as well as the warehousing, which takes place at Pittsburgh; and by accidents on the journey, which always diminish in a greater or less degree the value of the goods. Such are the inconveniencies of this mode of conveyance, whilst the Mississipi may be navigated as well as the Illinois in all seasons without a single portage, by boats, carrying from an hundred to an hundred and twenty thousand weight, and even by vessels of a still greater burthen.*

The merchants of New York believe, that when the different canals opened by the State shall be finished, the goods by the North River, the Mohawk, Lake Oneida, and all the great lakes, will be conveyed for five piastres the hundred weight to Michilimackinack; but the trouble of carrying-places, of loading and unloading on the road, will still be more sensibly felt, as well as the uncertainty of the navigation of the lakes. Admitting even that this expectation of the merchants of New York should be

* Galleys carrying twelve guns may easily go up the Missouri.

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realised, the goods which they might send would come to the same price at Michilimackinack as those from New Orleans would be worth at the Illinois. I have already stated that the expenses from Michilimackinack to the Illinois were from twelve to fifteen per cent: in addition to which, the conveyance would take a longer time, and be less secure than that of New Orleans. These facts are so precise and certain, that the English company which had obtained a privilege on the Mississipi was about to establish a house of commerce at New Orleans, to receive from London whatever articles might be wanted for trading with the Indians, and had also established a depôt at St. Lewis, when the declaration of war between England and the Court of Spain put a stop to this project. For these truths we may refer to the interest of the merchant and the consumer.

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LIST

OF

ARTICLES OF EXCHANGE,

FITTED FOR THE COMMERCE OF THE WESTERN STATES, OF UPPER AND LOWER LOUISIANA, AND THE FUR TRADE WITH THE INDIANS.

WESTERN STATES.

WESTERN STATES.	OBSERVATIONS.
WINES.	
Teneriffe and Fayal.	No French wines, unless sent as a sample.
Lisbon, in quarts.	
Spanish, ditto.	
Malaga, of an inferior quality, ditto	Small parcels of Madeira.
French and Spanish brandies.	
Holland gin, in casks, long bottles, and chests.	

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WESTERN STATES.	OBSERVATIONS.
ARMS.	
Cheap cutlasses.	Called *briquets.*
Long-barrelled guns for hunting and military uses.	Known by the name of Tull's fusils of Bourdeaux.
A few carabines.	
Large pistols.	
Brass two and three-pounders	
DRY GOODS.	
Coarse blankets.	
A few fine.	
Woollen goods for clothing.	
Ginghams.	
Cloths from fifty sous to nine livres the ell; a few from fourteen to forty-two livres.	Chiefly blue, grey, and quaker colors.
Printed cotton goods, from thirty sous to three livres the ell.	Some pieces of the first quality might be added by way of specimen.

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WESTERN STATES.	OBSERVATIONS.
Common woollen carpets.	
Thread and worsted stockings, from twenty sous to four livres the pair.	
Very coarse muslins.	For curtains and pillows.
A few black, white, blue and quaker colored taffetas.	
Black and colored silk handkerchiefs for cravats.	
Ditto, for shawls.	
Cotton shawls.	Figured borders; a few fashionable for samples.
Assortment of common ribband.	
Assortment of tape.	
Assortment of black velvet ribband.	
Assortment of silk and cotton thread.	
Cloth lining	
A few pieces of black satin.	Common, for breeches and women's gowns.

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WESTERN STATES.	OBSERVATIONS.
Cloth for shirts.	It is doubtful whether we can furnish as cheap as Ireland; Irish shirts may be had at three livres.
Cloth of Bretagne.	
Black, violet and olive colored velveret.	
Velvets for collars or breeches.	
Black, grey, and a few white silk stockings.	
Cambrics, from four to twelve livres the ell.	
Lawns, from four to twelve livres the ell.	
Men's and women's gloves.	Colored, but large; a few white.
Black lace, from seven sols to four livres.	
Oiled cloths of different colors.	Of different patterns, to cover tables; it is doubtful if we can furnish as cheap as Germany.
Straw hats.	
Cutlery of every sort.	Taking care to export only such as are equal to the English; unfortunately we have few, especially at low prices.

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WESTERN STATES.	OBSERVATIONS.
A few fashionable dresses.	
Women's shoes.	
Cheap clocks.	
Silver watches, from thirty to forty-eight livres.	
A few gold watches, from five to six louis.	
Silver tea-spoons.	Very light, English fashion.
Shoe-buckles.	Thin patterns and cheap.
Tea equipage.	Common; I fear we cannot furnish them so cheap as England.
Common china, English form.	Same price as England.
Looking glasses, from eight inches to twenty-two.	Mahogany frames, slightly gilt.
Window glass.	In great quantity, six inches by eight, or eight by ten.
A few common ditto	Nine by seven, English measure.
Damask table cloth.	Low rate, and large patterns.
White paper.	And every article for compting houses.
A few cheap prints.	
Mercery of every kind.	
Jewellery, rings, and ear-rings.	
Shirt pins, wrist buttons, at the lowest prices.	

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UPPER AND LOWER LOUISIANA.

UPPER AND LOWER LOUISIANA.	OBSERVATIONS.
In general the same articles as for the Western States, to which may be added a few articles of luxury, such as fashionable dresses, household furniture, etc. but at low prices.	For Lower Louisiana only.
Ladies' fashionable shoes.	
Ladies' colored silk and cotton stockings, with embroidered clocks.	
Elegant silk and cotton shawls.	
Fine paper for rooms.	
Ladies parasols.	
Fine shirtings and sheetings.	
Good cambricks and lawns.	
A few light coaches and cabriolets.	These carriages ought to be constructed for hot climates; that is, with open tops, etc.
Great coats of linen and oiled taffety.	
French wines of every price and quality, both in casks and bottles.	
N. B. As the Americans have a direct commerce with India, they can furnish all the produce of the Indian manufactories 25 per cent. cheaper than the Europeans.	*Note.* With respect to Upper Louisiana, nothing costly; nearly the same articles as for the Western States.

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FOR THE FUR TRADE.

FOR THE FUR TRADE.	OBSERVATIONS.
Red and blue woollen cloths.	But small quantities of the blue.
Large red coats, worsted lace.	
Coarse hats, bound with worsted lace, and covered with showy feathers.	
London muskets.	Those of Tull, made at Bordeaux, might be substituted ; these are preferable, but not much in use.
Carabines, of the form we have specified.	
White powder-horns.	
Powder and balls.	
Shells.	
Drinking cups of china or bone.	
Blue goblets.	
Small drinking cups, colored blue, black, and white.	
Assortiments of brass wires.	
Framed looking glasses.	
Horse-bells of various sizes.	
Copper rings and ear-rings.	
Box combs.	
Awls and steels.	
Gun-drawers.	
Gun flints.	

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FOR THE FUR TRADE.	OBSERVATIONS.
Black silk handkerchiefs.	
Square blue cotton handkerchiefs.	
Large Indian three-cornered coverlids.	This kind of coverlid is lost in our manufactories.
Ready made shirts.	Few white, but plenty colored; the more chequered and variegated, the better.
Copper saucepans of all sizes.	
Pick-axes, hatchets, and large nails.	
Tomahawks.	
Spears in form of a half pike.	
Short sabres.	
Large and small scalping knives with sheaths.	
Vermillion.	
Silver and metal Medals.	These medals serve as presents for the chiefs. It ought to be observed, that they should have only one figure upon them; for when an Indian sees more, he will not accept the medal: *I have but one heart,* he tells you, *I cannot love more than one person!*

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CHAPTER XXIX.

Observations on the history of the United States—Origin of their independence—Different parties since the Revolution—Influence of the English party on General Washington—Treaty of 1795—Defects of that treaty—Persecutions under the government of President Adams—Constitution shaken—Hostilities against France—The Federalists unmasked—Separation proposed—Project of the English against Louisiana.

WHEN I visited Louisiana, of which France had been an early but unprofitable owner, and which has since been a burdensome possession to Spain, the opinion had long prevailed that this province would again change its master, and that (according to the circumstances of the first crisis which should take place in North America) it would be France or England who would become the proprietors, before the United States were sufficiently powerful to risk placing themselves in

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competition. It was, therefore, interesting to acquire a knowledge of the rights, the hopes, and the resources of each of those governments: nor should it, perhaps, be deemed superfluous to present, in a political description of this country, a sketch of the circumstances under which the question relative to its possession ought to be decided; for it is natural to ask, why the United States, judged at first to be the power which would favor the views of one of the other two candidates for possession, should be the power to whose lot it should definitively fall. This government becomes, therefore, an object on which the historian or observer is necessarily led to fix his attention.

Although the English colonies in North America appeared to be established on principles altogether different, some under governments depending on the Crown, others by charters and privileges granted to companies, and finally by absolute infeudations (such as Pennsylvania, which was given to William Penn, with the reserve of the sovereignty to the Crown) the basis of those governments was still the same as that of the English constitution, which is thought to be representative but which is not so in reality.

If the claim of voting taxes for the service of the mother country was not founded, they had the right of

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levying taxes on themselves for the expenses of their home administration. At a distance from the seductions of courts and from too direct an influence of the Crown, they contrived to modify the administration of the colonies so well, by those forms which are called republican because they are just, that the spirit of the nation proceeded rapidly towards independence and liberty. Popular resistance to the government frequently occurred, whenever it was believed, with or without reason, that there was cause of complaint. After the fall of that despotic government, improperly called an English republic, the independence of the sectaries of Cromwell, colonised in Virginia, discovered itself in every crisis of danger from the reign of Charles II. It soon became more difficult to foresee how such explosions might be prevented, than to forebode their progress; especially when they found fresh food and incitements in a growing population. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, therefore, the future division of the colonies and the mother country was openly announced, and the predictions on this point were so precise, that modern prophets have had no other merit than to renew and bring them into action. But the small intercourse of the colonies with each other rendered a general and complete revolt for a long time dangerous, and, in the first period of the

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accession of the House of Hanover, which held the reins with a vigorous hand, the success would have been very precarious. It was of late only that the Duke of Choiseuil undertook, examined, and determined, with persons whose names remain unknown to us, the plan of the separation, which was to be realised at the first favorable moment. It fell to the lot of the unfortunate Lewis XVI. to execute this design of the French cabinet, which had been too long decided on as advantageous to the State to permit him to place, in opposition to its execution, either his own political sentiments or his personal repugnance. It is asserted by the Americans, that it was General Lee who first proposed absolute independence and a republic: this General, so singularly modest, was less celebrated during his life than after his death, on account of the discovery that has been made of his being the author of the celebrated "*Letters of* JUNIUS."

But political disputes, like religious controversy, silence without convincing. A great party of royalists remained yet to be converted. Constrained to wear a mask, and to adopt a catch-word, they styled themselves *Federalists* out of respect to the new Government, whilst their opponents sometimes assumed the name of *democrats*, and always of *republicans*; they were the *tories* and *whigs* of America: the first were artful and successful,

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the latter confiding and consequently dupes. The federalists soon procured their own nomination to the chief places in the legislature, were raised to the most important employments in the administration, and honored even by Washington, then become the principal defender and chief of the new state. These two opinions soon divided the whole of the inhabitants of the United States into two classes nearly equal; and however incredible it may now appear, that so many men, who had scarcely terminated a war of liberty in the most elevated sense, should in so short a space of time have adopted sentiments so contrary; such was nevertheless the truth.

Popular opinion is at the mercy of every breeze, and what are termed *principles* are often only *passions*. The look of a hero, who is the object of public admiration, is sometimes sufficient to determine a people to adopt his affections or his dislikes. This was the case with the great Washington and the people of the United States: from a pusillanimous policy, erroneous but never accused of corruption, the chief of the new republic appeared insensible to the insults which England had begun to offer, and which were either concealed, tolerated, or excused. He not only suffered (and, when there is power of resistance, to *suffer* is to *will*,) individuals formerly known, some by their clamours, others by their open hostilities

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against the republic, to obtain popular favor in elections, but gave himself up by degrees to the direction and influence of ministers, who were party men too violent to respect even the decencies which were required from their station. When the war in 1793 broke out between England and France, he did more: he quietly suffered the English to enjoy many peculiar privileges in the United States, in contempt of the neutrality which he ought to have observed. It may easily be imagined, that when the federalists perceived this disposition in their first magistrate, a man whose authority was indisputable, they did not fail to encourage such a propensity; and thus was that illustrious personage himself the first dupe of a faction, which, assuming the title of *federalist*, instituted itself to destroy the federation, and his name became a corrupted currency which perverted many well meaning but weak citizens.

From that period federalism became in some sort organised in society, and was openly professed, because the absolute freedom of the press, which treats with as little respect conventions made by the state with foreign powers as its own internal laws, permits individuals to write if they think proper in a contrary sense to that of their constitutional representatives.

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England, whose capital and credit yield such powerful support to the commerce of the United States, ranged first under its banners the various classes of merchants, and especially the bankers. These establishments, which have such an enormous influence in every commercial country, were so many powers leagued with the federalists, attacking and annihilating the industry of their adversaries. The English government distributed throughout its fleets, and the banking houses of the three kingdoms, lists formed by the federalists; and thus the republican traders of the United States, by losing their vessels and their credit, were punished for the political opinions which they dared to profess, even under a government whose independence was acknowledged.

Who would imagine, that while the party in favor of England was so active, so violent, and so powerful, Washington would have taken upon himself the task of denying its influence before the French Government? — Mr. Monroe was charged with this singular commission; and immediately after, in the midst of the war, Washington pretended to establish, in the face of his contemporaries and posterity, this new maxim: that the treaty of commerce, the most advantageous to one of two belligerent powers, was no derogation in a neutral state to the sense of its engagements. But such a paradox attracted the attention

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of enlightened men, the error was so completely demonstrated, that it soon became impossible to defend it on any principles of reason, and the only resource left was the assertion, that there was no other alternative than a treaty of commerce or a war with England. The mass of the people were not at first affrighted at this alternative, but measures were taken by degrees to decide them in favor of the treaty. From the humble itinerant preacher to the proud episcopalian, from the lowest usher in the meanest school to the most celebrated orator in the legislature, the journalists, pamphleteers, and spokesmen at clubs, all were active in detailing the miseries of war, and exciting, under the respectable names of religion and humanity, the feelings of weakness, avarice, and fear.

This last expression may appear singular when applied to a hero, and above all when we reflect how ill-founded were these apprehensions, since it would have cost England too high a price to have received a second lesson from America. Engaged in a ruinous war with France, it would have been necessary for England, in declaring war with America, to have found a remedy for the despair of some hundred thousands of impoverished families, who live in England on the produce of manufactures imported into the United States, consisting of articles of every kind, from the dress and furniture of the inhabitants of towns

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to the hatchet of the woodman and the ploughshare of the farmer. These articles are likewise exported from the United States to the Antilles, to all the European Colonies, and among the Indians. The whole of these demands would instantly have ceased, and would soon have been supplied by thousands of manufactories raised by degrees in the United States, or by importations from the other nations of Europe. The payment of thirty or forty thousand piastres, private debts due by American merchants, would have been suspended; more than two thousand American privateers would have swept the English commerce from the seas; Canada would immediately have been lost; the English colonies, which draw all their resources from the United States, would have become vast cemiteries; and above all, France, with whom England was at that moment deeply engaged in war, would have gained immensely by so formidable a junction, which the British Ministry could not have provoked without incurring the charge of treason. Various other considerations, which might be added, afford a striking example, that Cabinets the most renowned for their sagacity are not always exempt from error.

But after all, there must have been some foundation for these fears, and this the ministerial party were eager to explain. The devastation of part of the coast,

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the bombardment of a few towns, and the pillage of a few Indian hordes: such were the miserable expedients, which, had they taken place, would have produced no other consequence than that of inspiring eternal hatred between the two countries; they would have stamped a mark of disgrace on the glory of a great nation; and the points they could have insured would have been too inconsiderable and insulated to have diminished the power or resources of the Americans. With respect to the Indians, their most formidable tribes were in the power of France, the rest were allies of the United States, and the enemies they had to reckon against them were small in number. Upon the whole, the situation of the two countries was evidently such, that England having very few resources and the United States many, the hypothesis of a declaration of war from England, that is, the attack of the weak on the strong, was an opinion altogether absurd.

But whether it were absurd or not, it became the prevailing opinion.—Absurdities and chimeras are the habitual dangers of popular governments! This strange assertion was believed, and a panic terror, that disgraceful malady which sometimes takes place among nations the most illustrious, and from which even the Romans were not exempt, so seized on the Americans,

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that they became seditious from fear; and a great number of tumultuous meetings took place, in which this pretended salvation treaty was loudly called for. The militia even petitioned; and those of the most fanatical State in the Union (Connecticut) declared themselves ready to march, not against the enemy of the State, but against the Congress, to force its sanction. When at length the violence of their clamours had risen to such an height as to shelter the glory of Washington beneath the cloke of necessity, this great man took the pen and signed; but it must be observed, that he sacrificed, on this occasion, his own opinion to that of the public.

According to the stipulations of this treaty, which were as insufficient as they were humbling for the nation, and in which the most sacred of rights, that of persons, was sacrificed to certain state maxims of unalienable allegiance, thousands of sailors, who had been pressed and torn with violence from their country, were constrained to remain in the service of the English marine. Scarcely was any stipulation made to prevent the execution of arbitrary sentences relative to vessels seized on the simple suspicion of being freighted with contraband merchandise. So little value was placed on the preservation

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of the honor and respect due to the flag of a great, free, and independent nation, that the smallest English vessel of the royal marine had a right to visit, stop, and take possession of a whole fleet of merchantmen. One of the most important articles of exportation from the Southern States, cotton, was entirely forgotten; and the admission to the equal navigation of the Mississipi, which was not yet a territorial right of the United States, but only a privilege granted them by Spain, was given up to England without the participation of the Court of Madrid. By this arrangement, the federal government gave back the privilege which it had just obtained for itself, of navigating this river, to a nation which had not only renounced it by formal treaties, but which preserved neither port nor a single acre of land.

This treaty blasted a leaf of the laurels gained by Washington, and which had been the recompense of so much wisdom, prudence, and civic virtue. If the persons who thus perfidiously influenced him, at a period so delicate and difficult of his political life, had on the contrary advised him to observe a firm and just neutrality towards England, and a friendly conduct towards France, we are led to think that he would have sullied neither his own glory nor that of his country.

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Under the successor of General Washington, Mr. Adams, the history of federalism presents little else than a tissue of intrigues for the introduction of despotism. The time in which it was possible to suppose that any great errors could be committed by a republican government was past; Mr. Adams, nevertheless, accepted the sacrifice of a law of his country as the first incense of adulation. The state was delivered up to him, bound as it were hand and foot, on condition that he would satisfy first his own hatred, and then avenge that of the federalists against the republicans, leaving to farther examination what should be done with the republic.

But as no formal accusation could be brought against the republican party, this vengeance of the federalists was directed against the cause which they supported: liberty was attacked in its very entrenchments. The journalists were excluded from the galleries of the Congress by a simple order of police; and by this interdiction of the newspapers, which in the United States fill the office of a public magistracy, the guardian of the rights of the people, the first blow was struck at the vitals of the constitution. The second was a direct law against the liberty of the press, a right established on the altar of this same constitution, and considered by the citizens of every rank as the palladium of their liberty. If, indeed,

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the unlimited liberty of the press can exist any where without danger, it is certainly in a nation among whom we find neither those classes who for want of other employment are active in spreading sedition, nor those political fanatics who by their extravagant notions attack the fundamental principles of civilisation.

The people of the United States can be compared with no other: composed for the most part of proprietors, deeply imbued with principles of morality, enlightened with respect to the interests of their country, reflecting and deliberating always before they act, were the government to relax, they would accelerate its progress with wisdom and prudence. Unlike our populace in this point, who are for the most part ignorant and corrupted, acquainted with no basis or principle of true liberty, full of impetuosity, acting first and then deliberating on what ought to have been done.

This suspension of the constitution can be justified only when it becomes a measure of public safety. In this instance, on the contrary, it appeared to have been made entirely an instrument of party; for the judiciary body, devoted to the federal interest, employed all its influence to gratify the revenge of this faction. The republicans unanimously disdained to involve the tribunals in their own behalf, and chose rather, whenever they

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were calumniated, to appeal to the public, than have to reproach themselves with the sentence of a corrupted judge.

Mr. Adams took advantage of this measure to wreak his vengeance for his insulted dignity on some idle scribbler, who had been guilty of writing a few libellous invectives against him; but he permitted, with great equanimity, the circulation of every kind of calumny and abuse against Mr. Jefferson, the Vice-President, who was treated by the federalist writers as the vilest of men, though there are few who have equalled him either in wisdom or virtue.

A member of Congress expiates with the ruin of his fortune and a severe imprisonment, a letter of censure on some measures of administration; and a persecution was commenced against Mr. Cooper of Manchester, which would present, were it known, as barbarous a violation of all the forms of justice as that of the inquisitions of state and religion, which heretofore so much disgraced Europe.

But the impatience of the federalists, and above all the plans of Mr. Adams, required something more than secret oppression, by patient submission to which the citizens they hated were destined to perish, together with the republican constitution. To effect this, it was neces-

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sary to arm, and France was held out as the pretence for that measure.

The piracies committed by the English, and tolerated by the United States, in virtue of their humble treaty of 1795, had obliged the French Government, especially in the colonies, to put themselves on the footing of equality, according to the rights of nations. Mr. Adams seized with eagerness an opportunity of avenging this concurrence; and in order to affect his purpose, he caused a decree to be passed in Congress to attack French ships; and to render the rupture irreconcileable, he formally broke the alliance of 1787, notwithstanding the advantageous articles which it contained for the United States. The most important article of this alliance, without doubt, was the renunciation of France to the re-acquisition of Louisiana and Canada. In this mode, the Anglo-federal faction destroyed with the torch of hatred the indirect title to one of the most valuable possessions of their country.

If the free option of peace or war had been proposed to the French Government, as is practised among civilised nations, the depredations in the Antilles, which afterwards took place, would have been stopped; nor would the French have suffered themselves to be so deceived by Mr. Adams's ambassadors, the courtesy of whose conduct

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was only to mislead with more facility; Mr. Adams could have found no pretence to arm by sea and land, nor would he have dared to alarm the people with the fear of an invasion by the French; an invasion by a power at fifteen hundred leagues distance, at war with all Europe, and who were in the physical impossibility with a ruined navy of conquering a nation, which, as long as it remains united, must for ever be out of the reach of danger.

In the same manner as Washington had excited terror with respect to England, so Mr. Adams succeeded in raising the war-whoop against France; and under pretence of this absurd invasion, the whole of the anglo-federal party took arms, and organised themselves into corps of volunteers. Money, places, and rewards to support this pretended war were blindly voted by Congress, yielding with implicit submission to the will of Mr. Adams.

While this militia waited for an opportunity of signalising their courage against the French, they made a display of their bravery by numberless acts of violation of the public peace. They were sure that no inquiries would be made into their conduct; nor did the President complain of the dishonor done his party, or of the odium with which it covered him: on the contrary,

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his expressive silence was a sort of encouragement to proceed.

But what in history will mark with eternal reprobation the character of Mr. Adams, is the following fact: the crew of a French frigate, * without the slightest suspicion of the possibility of war with the United States, seeing a frigate with American colors bear down on them, ran in crowds on the deck to salute a vessel belonging to a friendly nation. A broadside from the American frigate covered the deck in a moment with dead and wounded! This atrocious deed, new in the annals of war among civilised nations, was highly applauded by Mr. Adams, as a brave and heroic action. †

Such acts resolved at length the doubts and roused the energies of the republican party: military bodies and counter-associations were formed. Observers began to doubt, in their turn, whether the Anglo-federal legions, clerks, shopkeepers, and wholesale dealers, notaries, and lawyers, English agents and factors, would be capable of struggling with battalions composed of the vigorous woodmen and robust farmers of the Western States.

* The Insurgent, bound from France for the West India Colonies.

† Mr. Adams's orders must have been very precise, since the commander of the American frigate had the character of a brave and loyal officer.

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What will seem incredible is, that the federalist party, seeing this opposition, carried their extravagance so far as to propose a separation as the means of public safety. Rather separate than not rule was their watch-word. The States in which the opinion respecting this separation was the most prevalent, were precisely those that would have suffered the most had it taken place: such are the States of New England, already very populous, and of which the lands are considerably increased in value. These States already contain inhabitants that are not proprietors, and even poor, from whom they are relieved by emigrations to the Western Provinces. Circumscribed after the separation within narrow limits, and taxed for the support of the monarchical government for which they are so anxious, what would have been their situation had such a measure been adopted? It was, however, only by way of menace, that they spoke to the republican States of this separation, and who, were it not for the attachment which every true American feels for the independence of his country, might have found powerful motives of consolation in such an event.

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CHAPTER XXX.

Ancient projects of the European powers respecting Louisiana—Means taken by Spain for preserving it—Views of England upon Louisiana—Policy of France in ceding this colony—Justification of France against an old reproach of the Federalists.

WHILE the question respecting the separation in the United States was in agitation, Spain, perceiving that the English had established ports and compters on the Oupas, the Catopi, the Red River, St. Peter's, and Moins River, and thereby monopolised the fur trade of the Sioux, Mandane, Ponca, Sauteux, and Panis nations, and were making preparations to penetrate into other parts of Louisiana, endeavoured by every means to take advantage of these divisions of the two parties, in order to keep the colony in its own possession. It was natural

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for this power to look for support from the republican States of the north-west, alike hostile to the English and the Federalists, and the most flattering offers were held out to engage them to such separation. The sacrifice of money, which Spain was resolved to make, seemed to promise success; this was, however, rejected, as well as every kind of political connexion. The reasons which were alledged by the republicans for their conduct on this occasion were, that the people possessed such independence of spirit, that they scarcely thought themselves sufficiently free under their present constitution, and that they would despise the protection of a government, monarchical in the metropolis, despotic in the colony, and often tyrannical in its administration; while, in order for such a people as those of the North-western States to think themselves protected, it was necessary that the protecting power should present itself with very different resources, and far superior energy; that their industry would be bounded, since it could find no increase by their intercourse with Spain; and upon the whole, that the people had judgment enough to discern, that a power which can scarcely maintain its own possessions, would be unable to guard those of others. It was in consequence of this negociation, that the court of Spain has for some time past opened all the avenues into Upper Louisiana to the Americans,

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exciting them to emigration by offering them lands for nothing : but what appears inexplicable is, that this measure has not been extended to Lower Louisiana, where the passage of the river and all kind of settlement on the right side are absolutely forbidden.

Could Spain imagine that the Americans who might occupy Upper Louisiana would be more faithful and less dangerous than those who should dwell in the lower parts? or was this limit placed in order to keep them from the road which leads to New Mexico ? On either of these suppositions, the conduct of Spain was erroneous ; since a despotic government ought never to place its confidence in subjects influenced by the love of liberty; and because, on this hypothesis, it is much more dangerous to suffer them to occupy the heights than the plains.

England, after a war as useless as it was expensive, and still determined to reduce the United States to obedience, flattered herself that she should soon find the means by diplomatic agency to break down the walls which she had hitherto been unable to shake. An embassy was organised at the peace; but this embassy soon degraded its character, by the adoption of measures tending to the establishment of the project it had in view. As soon as it was perceived that swarms of this new republican people were thronging to inhabit the fertile country which

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borders the Mississipi, it was conceived that these vast waters becoming as essential to the States forming in the west, as those of the Atlantic were to the other States, the power that was master of Louisiana might one day become master of these States also. History will disclose the intrigues which then took place. We have mentioned that only of which Blount was the contriver, and which Mr. Adams's friendship was anxious to conceal from his countrymen, to whom, nevertheless, it was highly important that it should be known, in order to discriminate between their friends and their enemies.

It was natural also for the English Government to covet so fine a possession on various accounts. The exhausted state of the soil of Jamaica would necessarily lead the English capitalists to wish for the acquisition of Lower Louisiana, the fertility of which might procure them the greatest advantage for the employment of their funds. Supplies of wood, corn, cattle, and provisions for the whole of the Antilles, might be furnished from Upper Louisiana. In the hands of English merchants, the fur trade and other commerce with the Indians would become a vast and lucrative monopoly. The Southern Sea being in some sort under their direction, favored their trade with Siam, Cochin China, Japan, and even Bengal: New Orleans, through which flow all the rivers

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of the immense bason which forms the middle of North America, might have become one of the first commercial cities of the world, as the storehouse only of the exportations of the United States: a maritime arsenal, in short, supplied with the timber of Florida, would have formed a military post, commanding the colonies of the rest of the European powers, and seizing on such as might best suit its convenience. These projects have now vanished, and the idea of Louisiana becoming an English possession is like a vision which disappears at the dawn of day.

The conviction at present of the weakness of every ultramarine power to maintain itself in Louisiana against the will of the United States, has determined the French cabinet to cede to this power that colony, which it had received from Spain; and of which, if the possession could have been secured, France would have discovered the means sooner than England, since it could more easily have permitted a larger emigration; while the country itself was peopled with inhabitants who spoke the same language and felt the same affections, independently of a still greater number who would have come from Canada. The long and steady service of the troops would have supplied the means of speedily recruiting the number of its soldiers; France would have had the support of the

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Spanish colonies, the old friendship of the Indian nations, many families of which were formerly united by ties of marriage with the French, and whom therefore they considered as brethren: but, above all, France had for its ally against the United States, this nation itself; that is to say, the party of the Tories or Federalists, who were desirous of a separation and anxious for an hereditary government, but who desired it only for their own exclusive and proper advantage, and without subjection. How easy would it have been for France to have gained over this faction, in case of need; and, if the internal interests of the colony had been ably directed, it would soon have acquired strength by its own means, and would have ensured its safety by its courage alone.

We must, however, admit that it would not have been easy to maintain such a system for a length of time. The defensive means of France might not have been of long duration, since they would have been weakened fatally by the slightest error which should have been committed: nor could the French reasonably hope to be enabled to make a long resistance to so vigorous a mass of people as that of the United States; the invasion of the colony would have taken place sooner or later, and its loss would have been as disastrous, after all the expense it would have cost, as a failure would have been disgraceful.

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The cession, therefore, of Louisiana is the result of profound policy.

With respect to the glory of France, as she makes this sacrifice not under a government habituated to disgraceful treaties, but under that of heroism, posterity as well as contemporaries will see nothing in this act of cession but a rare example in history, of that of an homage which wisdom pays to destiny. Let us remark, also, in support of the cession, that the cabinets of Choiseul and Vergennes, which, in times when calumny was called history and persecution republicanism, were so often unjustly censured, gave up all pretensions to this colony, and that with so much facility that they were no doubt actuated by strong reasons of state. The former of these Ministers was perfectly persuaded that so many colonies of different nations, mingling along so enormous an extent of the same continent, could not live together in peace; and it appears also that Franklin had so clearly convinced the Ministers of Lewis XVI. of the great impolicy of endeavouring to regain Louisiana or Canada, that no trace is found of any opposition to the renunciation of these colonies, which he solicited and obtained. Affairs would have remained on this footing, if the Federalists in the blindness of their fury had not broken the alliance of 1785. It is to this faction, therefore, that the United States owe the sacrifices

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they have been forced to make, in order to obtain from France the cession of Louisiana.

France, by the treaty of 1785, had certainly renounced all pretension to any acquisition in North America, and consequently to Louisiana; but this treaty lost all its force when it was first mutilated by the Congress. The French Republic, from the moment of its institution, offered to represent the King in its transactions with the United States; but the Congress appeared scrupulously uncertain whether it could acknowledge in another nation the sacred right of resuming the exercise of sovereignty, and held itself bound by a guarantee of an interest purely national, given to a preceding government.

It was from such fallacious reasonings, and a pretended conflict of duties, that Washington was authorised to take an advantage, and to take it somewhat usuriously. He did so, by purchasing from the French government, in favor of the payment of a debt not yet due, the annulling one of the principal articles of the treaty, the guarantee of the Antilles. In this manner he pleaded the necessity of circumstances, in order to exempt himself from a great by the performance of a trivial duty. It surely was not the small sum of two or three millions of piastres, which could indemnify France for the guarantee of its islands, on which the English then could have no

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pretensions; and its forced consent to so inadequate a compensation ought not to prevent us from censuring this infraction of an alliance purchased with so much expense of blood and treasure. This guarantee being in short the only essential advantage which France gained in return for those she granted, the United States ought to have considered the Republic, from the time of the refusal of the guarantee, as having entered, as far as respects themselves, into all its antecedent rights and claims on the colonies of North America, and have felt that the silence which was observed was only the effect of that reserve which circumstances rendered necessary.

The treaty of commerce with England in 1795 at length took place, which must be reprobated as a violation not only of the alliance with France, but also of that neutrality which the United States had purchased so cheaply, and which was so ill observed. The admission of the English into the Mississipi proved that the government of the United States was in the interests of the British cabinet; and that the government of France ought no longer to be the dupe of its renunciation in the treaty of 1785; that it should begin to take measures of safety, and not refuse the preference for the possession of Louisiana, half of which was already occupied by the English posts, threatening a speedy invasion of the other.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

New relations of the European nations with the United States after the cession of Louisiana—France—England—Navigation of the Mississipi—Emigration from Canada—Renewal of the treaty of 1795 with England—Observations on New Mexico—Straits of Panama — Advantages to Spain in adhering to the republican party—Natives.

From the junction of Louisiana with the United States, the friends of peace may perceive, in the new relations of this power with France, the most happy consequences; and we are led at the same time to throw a glance on the situation of those powers with respect to Spain and England.

After having ceded Louisiana, it must be admitted that France can never wish to regain possession of

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Canada; a country more burdensome than profitable to an European power from its bad position, since the great inconvenience of this colony is the having but one outlet, the river St. Lawrence, which is also choked up seven months in the year by the ice. If England perseveres in keeping possession of this colony in defiance of the American colonies, France, better counselled, will henceforth maintain with the United States neither the relations of a frontier nor a rival power, but only such as may result from the peaceable intercourse of trade, the balance of which is and always will be in favor of the United States, and which they themselves will naturally be anxious to encourage. If, however, in the course of time, they should perceive that we are resolved to establish ourselves as the avengers of the injured rights of maritime nations, who could serve them better than ourselves in support of a cause which becomes principally their own, since they hold the highest rank among the nations who navigate under a neutral flag. Moreover, when the question of a separation in the United States shall again be brought forwards by the Federalists, under the pretence of new acquisitions which throw still farther back the frontiers of the state, or that of delays and irregularities in an internal administration so extensive, will it be France or England who shall be most anxious

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to stifle that dangerous party and to insure the integrity of the Republick? And lastly is it to be supposed that England, who may have friends or emissaries in almost every family of the United States, will not employ all those means of influence to renew the trials which already have been made for the abolition of a part or of the whole Republick? It appears therefore impossible in our eyes, that the United States, under an enlightened administration, should, through an erroneous system, forget all those perils and neglect the political friendship of the only foreign nation, whose preponderancy, when the present war is brought to an end, will be sufficient to shelter them from the effects of any hostile demonstrations on the side of England.

In that respect we can not help repeating, that England, the enemy of the United States, before and after the cession of Louisiana, will for ever remain so, were she even to abandon all her possessions on the continent of America. Between two nations who own the same extraction, and who differ only by local habitation and by some slight distinctions, is always to be found one of the two opposite feelings which exist in private families, love or hatred, but never indifference. As long as the constitution of England remains monarchical, that nation will never give up the idea of reconquering those colonies, the ancient property of their ancestors. But if the consequences of the pretensions of En-

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gland were to amount to open war, is it not most probable to suppose that she will be forced to submit to the natural superiority which the United States will draw from the regular augmentation of their population, and from the wealth of that population whose properties are unincumber'd with loans and poor rates?

Numerous difficulties will incessantly arise, as to the line of demarcation betwixt Canada and Louisiana, as it draws towards the Pacific Ocean. Will England remain in possession of the various ports and factories for the fur trade which she at present occupies? What stipulations will take place in regard to the navigation on the Mississipi, to a share of which the United States admitted England by the treaty of 1795? And lastly, will the migrations of the inhabitants of the United States to Canada be suffered to continue to the extent they at present have obtained? We shall pass by the first question, as requiring us to inter into particulars unfit for the present work, but we shall for a moment fix our attention on the other points.

It is contrary to the adopted policy of nations to allow strangers the interior navigation of their respective states; and both the banks of the Mississipi, together with all the lands through which it flows, belonging at present to the United States, it is clear that the *data* are no more what they were at the time of the first concession, when the upper part of the left bank was alone in the hands of

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the Republick. But notwithstanding the principle of general policy, we may suppose that the private wishes of the inhabitants of that part of the country, will be against the interdiction : because the exclusion of English vessels would deprive them of a considerable competition, and thereby, at the same time, diminish the price of the exportation, and augment that of the importation goods, limited as they would be, to the monopoly of the small local trade : in that case, Congress might perhaps think prudent to sacrifice the general principle to such a superior advantage, if claimed by the states which border the Mississipi; and the navigation of that river might then not only be allowed to the English, but also opened to the merchantmen of every foreign nation.

The last point concerning the migrations to Canada is also of great importance. Congress, it has already been observed, sell their lands and sell them at a high price, no less than two dollars par acre, while the English government offers them for nothing. The lands thus given away are, it is true, generally of an inferior quality; those of Congress to the contrary most commonly good, owing partly to the difference of the climate, which is much less severe than above the great lakes; but the poor who are too often led astray by motives of self-interest, contemplate only the advantage of cultivating lands which have cost them no purchase price : none but a

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small number among them being able to consider that the œconomy in the price of labour*, the multiplicity, variety, and above all the abundance of the crops, not only compensate for, but even from the very first year may exceed the two dollars each acre would have cost. In the second year the farmer, now proprietor of land situated towards the south, on the best soil and in the finest climate of the United States, may boast of advantages for superior to any of those which the husbandman in the cold grounds of Canada can enjoy**.

On the other hand if even the advantages were real, they can be of no long duration : for the distinction which England offerts to the new Canadian settlers by submitting them to a small share only of the publick burdens is a momentary circumstance which will speedily cease. Some governments do adopt that plan when they wish to augment or create their population at the expense of a neighbouring state; but they seldom persist in it, and we have no doubt that England

* The states of the West enjoy a difference of 50 p^{r}. c^{t}. in their favor above those of the North, on the costs of clearing the land.

** The chief inconvenience of the lands situated too far to the north, is that the farmer being obliged to feed his cattle on dry food during the seven winter months, consumes all he has been reaping in the five summer months : this is not the case in the more genial climate of the western states, where the cattle is never shut up.

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will have reason to repent, if she continues to act according to that system.

In the mean while should the United States feel their pride or their interest hurt by the preference their citizens give to a foreign country above their own, they may be comforted by the idea that sooner or later they will *recover these emigrants with the country they inhabit.*

Besides the differences which have been noticed concerning the boundaries, many others will arise in regard to trade and navigation, the seeds of which are all comprehended in the treaty of 1795. We have seen that the apprehension of a war was the only incitement on the side of the United States to the conclusion of a treaty so replete with humiliating conditions, and it is to be hoped that at the expiration of that treaty in 1807, the nation will profit of the alarms of the English, abolish those conditions and create new branches of trade with their neighbours.

Louisiana, in the hands of Spain, was of no other use but as one of those great devastations which in barbarous wars serve to put a considerable distance between a dangerous enemy and one's self: that it is to say that it served to separate the United States from Mexico by a vast uncultivated country; and the Spanish treasury instead of reaping any profits from the colony, made the same yearly sacrifices as England does for Canada: but a very essential difference

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obtains between these two colonies in a military respect: Canada being an offensive post somewhat like a *tête de pont* on a rival territory, whilst Louisiana served only to shelter Spain from an attack in the heart of her richest colonies.

Consequently as long as Spain remained in possession of Louisiana, one of her chief objects was to hide from the Americans whatever attractions the country might have for them: in the first place the mines it possesses, and secondly the facility of its communication with Mexico. The knowledge of the road by land was kept a secret, as if it were a sort of a state mystery. That road is safe and short through upper Louisiana, following back the Ossage and Arkansa rivers till near Santa Fé; while the roads through lower Louisiana are extremely dangerous and in a great manner impracticable after four and twenty hours rain.

I cannot conclude without making some observations on the consequences this new extension of the territory of the United States may have on the original inhabitants of the country. The different compacts by which the European or colonial powers have till now acknowledged their mutual rights on the lands situated in the interior of North America, cannot be considered as absolute cessions of property. Thus, for example, a great part of Louisiana consists of lands which have not yet been obtained from the natives who live upon them: and in regard to those lands the United States have

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undoubtedly only acquired the right of preemption, that is to say an exclusive privilege to purchase them. Many other interior lands which the United States had placed in their former geographical circumscription have likewise no other legal value, and resemble the patent by wich pope Eugenius the fourth gave to the crown of Portugal all the discoveries it would make from the North Cape to the continent of the East Indies. No more do the records at Washington than the European ones, contain any charter of succession granted by the Indians for all the countries which at present form the immense domain the United States have attributed to themselves : the only deeds to be found are some parties evacuation of states already colonized and confirmed by treaties with the natives. But the rest can only be acquired by force or money.

In making these observations we have no other aim than to give an idea of the nature of the transactions which take place in respect to those countries, and it is far from our intention to throw any doubt on the legitimacy of the transactions already made, or to suggest the possibility of dangerous difficulties in regard to future ones.

After the Indians had either abandoned gratuitously or sold to the Europeans the land for their small settlements, they soon discovered that the white people would not be satisfied with a circumscribed district, but coveted the whole country.

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Then they began to repent, and often expressed among themselves their sorrow at having delivered up for the paltry consideration of a few dollars, some fire-locks, stuffs or pernicious spirits, « the soil where rested the bones of « their fathers, and where once their sons had hoped to « hunt or to fight. » But those Indians resembled in this the more civilized nations of Europe. They moralized in their speeches, and lacked the courage to follow their own precepts.

But if on the one hand the legal deeds of property of the colonial powers on a great part of the lands in the interior of America are still to be acquired, it must be owned, on the other, that the natives themselves hold their lands by a very precarious tenure, their right being no other than that of the first occupier : for, wholly different in this respect from the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians, they have neither meliorated nor cultivated the soil; they have built no cities nor constructed any publick works. Very few among them are herdsmen though the country is very favorable to the reasing of flocks; instead of converting to the benefit of the community the rich soil of their fine country, they overrun it only in the character of hunters. To no society of man hath nature granted the right of wasting in the like manner any part of the globe, whilst other men claim it with a view to give the land its true destination, and seek through its produce their own subsistence. A single family

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of these hunters occupies a space, which in Europe would be sufficient to insure to one or two thousand persons an honest livelihood by agriculture or any other useful industry.

No pretension is better founded on justice than that of cultivating nations on lands thus abusively possessed. But the United States not being at present in the necessity of extending their cultivation, it is no more than right that they should equitably indemnify the Indians that shall leave Louisiana at their desire, and particularly as these Indians, in seeking others deserts, will to all probability have bloody wars to wage with the tribes they will find already established there, and who will not tamely submit to divide their chase with the new comers.

And let not the friend of humanity fear that if, in the course of time, those obstinate hunters were to turn husbandmen, the encroachments of their white neighbours would have deprived them of soil sufficient for their wants. It is but too true that by disorders, debauchery and war, their numbers decrease in a much greater proportion than the inhabitants of the United States do augment; and more than one of those small nations has so far disappeared as to live at present only in the recollection of their neighbours. Besides, by far the greater part of those Indians, like all other savage nations, prefer with an invincible obstinacy their manner of living to ours, and

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there is no probable reason for supposing that they ever will be tempted to exchange the one for the other.

I shall conclude these modest observations of a traveller by a short survey of the happiness enjoyed by the inhabitants of the American Republick, a happiness far superior in my eyes to any which ever fell to the lot of an ancient or modern nation, and owing to the circumstance without precedent, that no one class of people in any way useful to the community have the smallest reason to complain of their situation; the slaves, in those states where they do exist, being an exception which does not destroy the general rule.

The journeyman, one of the most unfortunate members of our political societies in Europe, obtains in America so advantageous a price for his labour, that he may, with some few privations, live the whole week on the produce of two or at most three days work; in some cases one day has proved sufficient. The women of the lower classes, who in Europe do not by far enjoy the same wages as the men, are here on a much more equal footing with them, and can on all occasions gain sufficient for their support. The artisan and manufacturer, having no other competition to fear but that of the European goods, the price of which is enhanced by the distance, the multiplied profits of the tradespeople, and the duties of the national customs, are also sure of considerable

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profit on their handycraft. Lastly the husbandman is enabled to purchase a virgin soil for a price so trifling, that, with a little œconomy on the day labour of a too refined cultivation, he may with ease enjoy four times the income of an European farmer, while his land gains a ten or twenty fold value in an equal number of years. Such is the fate, such are the comforts men enjoy in that happy country, where alone can be applied with truth the observation of Montesquieu, *that a poor man is not he who possesses nothing, but he who does not work.*

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CHAPTER XXXII.

Of the Limits.—General Principles.—Disadvantages of imaginary Lines.—Greater still in the distant Countries.—The Lines drawn by Nature are the only good ones.—Inaccuracy in the Expressions of the Treaty of 1783.—*The Line which divides the Lakes is false.—Plan for fixing the Boundaries.—Equity of the proposed Line.*

One of the chief objects of treaties of peace, when concluded between wise and upright nations, is to avoid future wars, or at least to delay their return as long as human foresight can permit.

According to that principle, the stipulations by which the respectives boundaries of the different empires are to be determined, are undoubtedly those which ought to draw the chief attention of their Governments.

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Experience has at present sufficiently demonstrated that all imaginary lines, whatever care be taken to describe them with exactness, or to trace them on maps, become on the slightest occasion a source of contest between Governments, of troubles and warfare between Nations.

It is not sufficient for the Governments to know their limits, or even to be able, in case of need, to determine them anew by the help of instruments; the people who live near the frontiers of the bordering countries, must also know their boundaries well enough to avoid all possible mistakes: otherwise those boundaries may be continually violated without any hostile views, and may moreover offer frequent opportunities to ambitious Governments of invading and usurping on their neighbour's territory.

The danger arising from uncertain limits is incomparably greater in colonies, situated at a considerable distance from the mother country. The most fatal strifes may have place between the inhabitants, before the necessary steps can be taken to prevent them and put an end to the main contest by an equitable decision.

The lines traced by Nature, which are the course of rivers or well marked chains of mountains, are those which ought to be chosen for demarcation lines. There is nothing fictitious in them; they are firm, immutable, known by every body without the aid of mathematical operations. No one

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can infringe them without a determination to do so, and ignorance can furnish no pretences to dishonesty.

All those necessary conditions of evidence, in demarcation lines between the territories of different powers, were overlooked or neglected in fixing the limits between the English possessions and Louisiana, and the limits between the United States, the English possessions and Louisiana.

At the peace of 1783 there were no well informed men living in Canada or in the Western States but who knew that the sources of Mississipi are situated *more than two degrees below the most southern part of the Lake of the Woods*. And it has nevertheless been established by the second article of the treaty between England and the United States, that the possession of the two powers should be divided by a line drawn from the extremity of the Lake of the Woods and running due west until it meets the Mississipi river. In this article therefore we see the chief inconvenience of a fictitious line, of which no exact points determine the direction, added to the greatest incorrectness and the most complete ignorance of locality. For in following this imaginary line in the given direction, we would arrive at the Pacific ocean without having met with any of the branches of the Mississipi.

The imaginary line running through the middle of the lakes Ontario, Erie etc. etc., is no less fallacious than the

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one already mentioned. The vessels navigating on those lakes can never be certain whether they are within or without their respective boundaries, and that line is consequently no better than a deception. The most natural limits of maritime powers are at the distance of a cannon shot from their mutual shores; all other pretensions are founded neither on nature nor on justice.

Where islands are to be found they offer real fixed points, and their property must be determined according to the coast the nearest to which they are placed.

If a topographical knowledge of the country and the inspection of a map were not sufficient to show that the limits between Canada and the United States were from the beginning ill determined, the perpetual quarrels which arise between the inhabitants of the two frontiers, the repeated unsatisfactory explanations between the two Governments and the sending of commissaries, every now and then, to settle the differences, would be clear proofs of what we have advanced.

Not having determined which of the two Sainte-Croix rivers (there being two which bear the same name at a few leagues distance from one another) was to form the boundary, is a first cause of obscurity, and *the line to be drawn from the sources of that river to the hills which divide the waters that run in the Atlantic ocean from those*

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that flow in the river St Lawrence, is so confused and vague a determination that each of the two parties may explain it according to his private interest. The most natural, and clearest limit would be the St John's river in all its length, then the Pistole river, or the *rivière des Vases*, which are no more than a mile or two from the sources of the St John, and lastly the river St Lawrence till the lake Ontario. By those means no arbitrary interpretations could take place, and the difference of territory in favor of the United States would be fully compensated in favor of England, by the possession of boundaries traced as it were by Nature herself. Should, however, England not wish to abandon so considerable a territory, nevertheless the St John's river ought to have been or still to be chosen for the limits, because its course is the longest, and its sources are so near the hills which divide the waters and which, by the treaty, are in fact the demarcation line between Canada and the United States, that posts or a ditch or any marks whatever may be placed with ease and at a small expense.

I have already shown that the north-west boundary between the English possessions and the United States is absolutely false. It is at the high country situated on the plateau A that the point should have been fixed, for there the grand distribution of the waters takes place, the northern ones running towards the Frozen sea, the

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eastern ones to the Atlantic, and the southern to the Mexican gulph*.

The line ought therefore not to have gone farther than the most western part of the lake Superior, to have followed West bay, mounted the river Saint-Louis to its source, and from thence gained Cold river, which is separated from the former only by a short carrying-place of two miles and whose waters fall into the Mississipi.

That demarcation would be the more equitable as it would give the Americans the sources of all the rivers that water their territory, and an uninterrupted outlet from the north to the south in the Mexican gulph, the eastern bank of the Mississipi being, from Cold river to Florida, the boundary between the possessions of H. M. Cath. Majesty and the United States**.

* The possession of this *plateau* will be the future cause of great bloodshed unless the powers who divide this continent take very wise precautionary measures.

** If the government of the United States be wise, now that they possess Louisiana, they will take great care not to exceed the limits, traced to them by nature, I mean the Mississipi. As for Florida instead of *adding* that country to their new acquisitions, they may endeavour to get it from Spain as an *exchange* for their possessions on the right bank of the Mississipi.

According to all reports, the population of America doubles every twenty

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As to the Islands scattered on the surface of the river, they are all very low, uninhabitable and can never create the smallest difficulty, neither of the two nations having the least interest in their possession.

years. I even think that by reckoning the immigrations from Europe, that calculation is rather below the mark, but I am far from thinking that her power augments in the same proportion, as she daily acquires lands far beyond what the increase of her population might require.

The United States have already too much land. The southern and central States have immense possessions in their backs, which by the quality of the soil and the beauty of the climate attract continual settlers. But such is the character of man; in the midst of the greatest opulence, he never thinks himself rich enough.

By the manner the Americans disperse, and sell their settlements, as soon as they find an opportunity, it would seem that their immense territories appear still too small for them. Virginia migrates to Kentucky; Georgia to Tennessee; the northern and western states to both: Kentucky situated in the midst of the desarts emigrates already to the Miamies and there seeks the lakes, the streights, and even the Missouri. Thusby extending they continually weaken themselves. This goes so far that in some parts of the western states which have the name of being inhabited, you may run over espace of a hundred square miles without finding five hundred men able to bear arms, and when formed, all these small bodies would have the greatest trouble to rejoin an account of the difficulty and scarcity of roads and provisions.

We learn by history that the northern nations have at all times

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The disposition I have proposed not giving to the Americans any part of the lands water'd by the rivers which run towards Hudson's bay or the Frozen sea, would prevent for the future all those numerous contests and discussions which soon or late cannot fail to draw the people in wars without end.

conquered those of the south. From this fact we may draw an inference as to the advantage which the northern and eastern states, who join the English possessions in Canada and who have a tendency to a monarchical government, shall one day possess over the western and southern ones. Their population is more concentrated; the Canadians, with whom they probably will unite, are a hardy and courageous people; they possess the sources of all the rivers which run to the south. What means shall the southern states have to defend themselves in case of an attack, if they continue to scatter their subjects as they now do, effeminate as they will be by the effects of luxury and a warm climate? The modern Tartars of America will come down upon them with the waters of their rivers and conquer them with facility.

To those state reasons motives of personal interest may be added. In the United States of America, every head of a family possessing a little fortune and some foresight, never fails to purchase lands in the interior, in the expectation that their value will be annually enhanced by the increase alone of the population, and hoping to leave by that means an independant fortune to his children. Those lands are still at a very low price on account of the immense possessions the United States have recently acquired in the Miamis and in Indiana. What

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All that part of the continent being absolutely unknown at the time the last peace was concluded, it was mutually acknowledged that no line of limits could be determined, admitting even the same inaccuracy as in the former case. Its determination was therefore left to some later time. England has since then made her profit of this state of indetermined demarcation, and the agents of her trade as well as her troops have pushed forward till near the sources of the Missouri.

But though few enlightened travellers have as yet penetrated in those vast solitudes, still a number of individuals have visited them sufficient to give a full knowledge of the direction of the mountains and of the course of the waters.

will be the consequence if once the Americans have no limits? and this will certainly be the case if ever they pass the river. The population will sink to nothing in an incommensurable space of land; they will wander here and there; the soil will have no value; the difference of climates and interests, and the distance they will be from the supreme authorities, will speedily dispose the minds to reject them and to rend asunder the ties by which even at present they are but too slightly bound.

The western states, prompted by self-interest as well as by reason, ought therefore to stop their progress and to concentrate between the lakes and the Mississipi, if they wish to keep up their independance and not to be one day conquered, deceived or destroyed.

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In the year 1789 Mackenzie penetrated to the Frozen sea by following the course of the rivers, and in tracing his route, he may be said to have marked as truly the line which ought to separate upper Louisiana from upper Canada, as if he had travelled for that purpose alone.

That line must begin where the limits of the United States finish, that is to say on the lake Superior at the point where the great carrying place begins; it must then follow towards the north that long suite of small lakes which form 72 carrying places; from thence gain the lake of the Woods; from the lake of the Woods follow the waters which join that lake to the lake Winiping. Then to the lake of the Cedar, gain the Delicious, Pin and Beaver lakes, till the carrying place called 370 *toises*, were the waters that fall in Hudson's bay separate from those which run to the Frozen sea. Then follow the Churchill river, the White Bear and Buffalo lakes, the Arabasca river, the Arabasca lake, the river of the Slaves lake, and lastly the river which falls in the Frozen sea. See Mackenzie's general Map.

That line would be natural, simple and founded on the most equitable basis. Both England and Spain would enjoy, as to lands and navigation whatever they have a right to expect, and all pretences for future misunderstanding would be effectually removed. It is needless to

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own that those reflections and particulars are no more than general ideas which require to be cleared up and perhaps rectified on the spot. But the writer is convinced that they are founded on principles the truth of which and consequently the wise policy must remain undisputed.

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

Military Topography.—Of the Frontiers which must one day serve for Barriers between the Western States and those of the Atlantic.—Projected Line of Frontiers.—First part.—Second part.—Third part.—Fourth part.—Roads by which it is cut.—Point where they end.—Line of Operations.—Right line.—Center line.—Left line.—They have all the same defiles to cross.—Advantages of the Right line.—Difficulties of the Center line.—Advantages of the Left line above the center one.—Comparative Force of those Frontiers.—First position.—Second position.—Third position.—Fourth position.—Observation on the Choice of a Place to serve as a Dépôt. *—Face of the country from Knoxville to the sea.—No Roads.—Conclusion.—The advantages of this Frontier are not only military.—Probable Fate of the Atlantic States.*

In beginning the following chapter I expect my readers to lay before their eyes a detailed map of that part of America, and to recall with attention to their memory the description we have given of part of the Alleghany mountains, of the course

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of the Ohio, of the Mississipi, and of the ports which are to be found on its two banks. They must also suppose the Western states separated from those of the Atlantic. Without those preliminaries, the following contents would appear unintelligible to them.

My intention is not to enter in minute particulars respecting military positions and camps. This would require a greater knowledge of the country than I possess, and would besides be superfluous, as the choice of camps depends on the movements of the enemy and on a thousand other circumstances. I only wish to show in general how the Western states may, in case of need, defend themselves and at the same time cover Louisiana.

The principal or absolute strength of a frontier depends on the natural obstacles it opposes to the advance of an enemy : such as hills, rivers, woods, passes, etc.

The comparative strength consists in its distance from the depots and from the magazines the army is to defend, in the number of points on which it is vulnerable and in its position in regard to the line of operations, it being a general rule that the shorter the line on which an army operates, the more chance it has of getting the better of its adversary.

The natural line which the Western states must adopt for their limits and barrier, commences at the falls of the

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Niagara and runs from thence in a more or less inclined direction to the bay of Appalache, following the *plateaux* or the hills which divide the waters of the Atlantic from those of the Mexican gulph.

I shall divide this line in four parts, in relation to the different points on which it may be attacked by the Atlantic states.

The first part extends from Niagara to the pass of the Juniata and crosses the *Plateau* called *Twenty three miles,* by which the waters of the river Alleghany are divided from those of the Susquehana, from whence it runs to the beginningor visible part of the Alleghany mountains. This part covers the country watered by the Alleghany from its source to Pittsburg. Its length is about 250 miles.

In the second part, the line follows the tops of the hills, cuts the pass of Sweetspring and goes to Montgomery's court house, near the sources of the great Kanhaway. It covers the part of Virginia situated between the mountains and the river Ohio, which is watered by the Monongahela and the little Kanhaway. Its length is about 240 miles.

In the third part, the frontier line begins at Mongomery's court house, and continues following the tops of the mountains till the sources of the river Appalache, at the point where the hills turn to divide the waters of the Mobile from those of the river Appalache. This part covers all the country watered by the rivers Cumberland and Tennessee : it is about 260 miles long.

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In the fourth, the line follows the river Appalache from its sources to the point where it falls in the Mexican gulph. This part covers the countries of the Areks, the Cherokees, the Chactaws and the Chickasaws, the lands formerly claimed by the United States, situated between the 32d and 31st degrees of latitude and Western Florida. Its lenght is about 380 miles.

This frontier line, the whole length of which surpasses four hundred leagues, has no more than seven roads on which a body of troops can act.

The first road comes from Pennsylvania and goes to Pittsburg. It begins at Philadelphia and passes by Lancaster, Carlisle, Shippenburg and Bedfort.

The second comes from Maryland and goes also to Pittsburg. It begins at Baltimore, passes through Frederick'stown, Hagerstown, Cumberland fort and Bedfort, where it joins the great communication from Pennsylvania.

The third comes from Virginia and goes to Kentucky. It begins at Richmond, passes by Charlotte'stown, Haunton, Hotspring, Sweetspring, to the sources of Green river; follows the waters of that river, those of the great Kanhaway and of the Ohio, going from thence to the state of Kentucky.

The fourth comes also from Virginia, but takes the direction of the state of Tennessee. It begins, like the former, at Richmond, crosses Powhalton, Prince Edward, New London,

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Liberty, Bighick, Montgommery's court house, Wythe, Abington and Knoxville.

The fifth comes from North Carolina and goes also to Tennessee. It begins at Raleigh, Hillsborough, Martin'stown, Salem, Bethania, Grayson, and falls at Abington in the great communication of Virginia with Tennessee.

The sixth comes from South Carolina. It begins at Colombia, passes by Wimesborough, Pinckneytown, Spartan, Morgantown, Buncomb, Servier's court house, follows the right bank of French broad river, and falls at Jefferson in the high road from Virginia to Tennessee.

The seventh comes from Georgia. It begins at Augusta, passes through Peterborough, Elberton, Franklin, Pendleton, Greenville, and falls above Morgan'stown in the road that comes from South Carolina.

Each of these roads is fit for carriages and is traversed by cross roads which communicate from one state to another.

By what has been said of these roads falling into one another, it may be seen that the points where this frontier line may be attacked, are only three in number, viz : the sources of the Ohio, those of the great Kanhaway and those of the river Tennessee. The first we shall call the right line, the second the center line, and last the left line.

Philadelphia and Baltimore are, on the right line, the points from which the enemy must depart. The distance from these

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two cities to the nearest part of the western frontiers is 120 miles.

Richmond is the point of departure of the center line. It lays at 400 miles from the frontier.

Raleigh, Colombia and Augusta are the points of departure of the left line; each of those cities lays at about 360 miles from the entrance of the Western states.

The army once arrived at the foot of the mountains, which ever of these three roads it has followed, finds the same sort of country to cross. Everywhere the same gaps or passes succeeding one another for a space of forty or fifty miles.

The right line is the shortest; it passes through the most cultivated part of the Republick, and offers the greatest facilities for the transports of the army. The center line is the longest and has the worst roads. The left line is rather, longer than the right; the country is less cultivated and less inhabited; but the roads are more numerous and better. The right and left line are consequently those on which the enemy may be expected to make the greatest efforts. Let us now see what means of defense this frontier possesses.

Considering the strength of the line, its direction, the course of the rivers, the situation of the hills, and the impediments that grow out of the nature of the country alone, nothing will appear easier than its defense, provided the principal position be occupied with some little intelligence.

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The first position is between the lake Erie and the sources of the river Alleghany. Two small forts very well placed exist there at present: the one, called *Presqu'île*, is on the banks of the lake Erie; and the other, *the Ox*, is near the principal source of the Alleghany. This position prevents an enemy from penetrating to Pittsburg by the open space between the hills and Niagara. It is easy to be defended, the enemy having behind him no place fit for a *depôt*, and the country being very woody, the smallest body of regular troops with some Indian natives would be sufficient to guard it.

The second position is Pittsburg, which is the true Key of this frontier. One single look on the map will suffice to show all that nature has done to strengthen Pittsburg. Its situation at the point where the Alleghany and Monongahela join to form the Ohio; covered by mountains and passes without end, backed by the most astonishing navigation canal in the universe, by which all sorts of provisions and reinforcements can arrive, Pittsburg may truly be called impregnable.

As for the third position, a minute inspection of the different spots with military eyes, can alone decide between the confluence of the Green Briar river with the great Kanhaway, and the *Plateau* of Golay, from whence flow the sources of the Green Briar. For my part I should prefer the first, which I conclude to be in greater harmony with the general system

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of defense, occupying however at the same time the *Plateau* with a post and placing an intermediate body between itself and the pass of Sweetspring.

The fourth position must be sought near the sources of the river Tennessee; but not having visited myself that spot, I can only speak of it from the inspection of maps and the informations received from some able inhabitants of the country.

All the roads which run either from North Carolina, South Carolina, or Georgia, unite in two points : at Wataga situated at the confluence of the rivers Wataga and Holsten; and at Servier's court house, situated at the confluence of Lime stone creek and French broad river. The distance of those two points may be about 40 or 45 miles. As to the face of the country it is covered with hills and woods, and is generally of a very difficult access. The manner of occupying this position on a large scale, would be to fill all the mentioned space with troops, the left wing at Wataga and the right at Servier. The *dépôt* should be placed at Long-Island, a few miles below Wataga on the river Holsten.

If I am asked why, I do not rather place the *dépôt* at Knoxville, which is a central point where all the roads and waters join, I shall answer that Knoxville, being one hundred miles farther from the line of operations than Long Island, would lengthen that line too much, and consequently deprive

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that frontier of all the advantages it has received from Nature for its defense : besides which Long Island is more favorably placed for communications with the Green Briar and Pittsburg.

From the sources of the river Tennessee to the sea, this part of the frontier is sheltered by the principal chain of mountains which follows at a very small distance the left bank of the river Appalache. This line not being at present crossed by any road coming from Georgia, it is not possible so determine the fittest military position, as the choice will be greately determined by the direction the future roads shall take.

The result of what has been said is that, notwithstanding the length of the frontier line, it can only by attacked on a small number of points, that the Western states can unite on those points a body of troops at a much shorter notice than their enemies, who are at a far greater distance from their depots, and require considerable magazines, artillery and horses.

The frontier line I propose has not only the advantage of being strong, in a military sense, but is also remarkable by the valuable division of the waters of the Atlantic from those of the Mexican gulph, which division gives unchangeable limits, *the mountain countries alone never changing their nature.* Moreover it gives to the Western states four great outlets to the sea : the Mississipi, the Mobile, Pensacola and

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Sainte-Rose; advantage which will for ever prevent these states from becoming tributary to those of the Atlantic, and which contrasts most strikingly with the situation of Canada, whose only outlet being the river St. Lawrence, must soon or late fall under the dependance of the States of the East.

Whoever weighs carefully the circumstances, the topographical situation of the frontier line, the disposition of the inhabitants and their love of liberty, will easily comprehend that the Atlantic states, far from attacking them, will on the contrary be forced to court their friendship, if they value their own political independance and do not wish to be one day conquered or pushed back to the sea : for when two nations possess, one the coasts and the other the plains, the former must inevitably embark or submit.

From thence I conclude that the Western states of the North American republick must unite themselves with Louisiana and form in the future one single compact nation; else that colony to whatever power it shall belong will be conquered or devoured.

I have now shown what Nature has done for the independance, peace and safety of the Western states; I say their safety, *for it is the situation of the frontiers which makes the safety of Empires.*

THE END.

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