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THE STORY OF THE STATES

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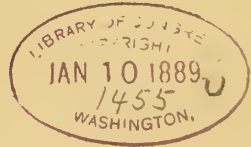
PACKENHAM'S CHARGE.

Frontis.

THE STORY OF THE STATES

THE STORY OF LOUISIANA

BY
MAURICE THOMPSON



Illustrations by L. J. Bridgman

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P R E F A C E .

The task assumed in undertaking to write this "Story of Louisiana" was full of difficulties of a kind not discoverable at a first glance. It was not a history that was demanded of me, but something more and something less than a detailed record of all the events of interest connected with the birth and growth of the great Commonwealth under consideration. It must be a connected, succinct story, free from dreary statistics and relieved of everything like political or social philosophy, and yet bearing upon its current the very sheens and shadows of the life it is meant to reflect, and containing in its substance the essential truths of the history it represents.

Such a story is not to be well told by him who runs as he tells it. Easy reading for an ease-loving public is prepared at the expense of untiring labor, even when genius drives the pen and fiction is the product most desired; much more is it a work of toil when the mere uninspired compiler of events is expected to link and group dry facts in a way that will insure the most truthful and at the same time the most picturesque impression of the history involved. The novelist may, nay, he must, take liberties with truth. The historian has no alternative; he must follow the current of his subject from fact to fact and take things just as they present themselves. This Procrustean demand of truth presents to the writer a limitation singularly inimical to unity of effect and peculiarly deadly to dramatic directness of presentation, especially when the history in hand is to be so brief as to enforce the utmost economy of phrasing.

PREFACE.

The history of Louisiana is so rich in minor incidents and so barren of any great features exclusively its own, that to write it with best effect would require several volumes as large as the one here presented. Much that belongs to the stories of Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, Illinois and Texas would have to be included in such a work. For obvious reasons, therefore, I have confined my story strictly within the boundaries of the Territory and the State of Louisiana. I have not attempted to record every incident. I have been forced to leave out many, and often the task of deciding what to use and what to reject out of the mass of materials has been a vexing one. Throughout this labor my aim has been to give a vivid, truthful and impartial impression of Louisiana's civilization from the discovery of the Mississippi River down to the present time, and to so do it that the whole could be discussed fully by any reader within the space of a few hours.

Maurice Thompson

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THE STORY OF LOUISIANA

CHAPTER I.

A COLONY OF FRANCE.



THE vignette for the story of Louisiana was sketched by the hand of De Soto, who, during four years of wandering, left his romantic autograph scrawled from Tampa Bay to the Mississippi.

Scarcely three and a half centuries ago the first rumor of the great western river reached the ears of European nations already tingling with the fascinating stories of Columbus and his followers. Mexico had fallen before Cortés; Peru had poured her spoils into the bloody hands of Pizarro. Ships were slipping away from the ports of Spain with their prows to the southwest. The wind in their

sails was the breath of fortune. It was a time of discovery, of conquest and of booty. When the ships returned they came loaded with gold and bearing the heroes of wild battles, the doers of strange deeds.

Men stood upon the eastern coasts of the Atlantic and shading their eyes gazed out over the blue water with a longing which was compounded of all the passions and ambitions that can stir the human heart. Over beyond the dreamy horizon line in the far southwest lay *El dorado*, the land of eternal bloom and fragrance, of honors easily won, of wealth unclaimed and undefended, the land of health for the sick, of youth for the aged and of kingdoms for the ambitious. There too was outspread a wide field for the enthusiasm of the priest; there stretched an engaging wilderness for the labors of the scientist, and the discoverer. It was a time of longing, of expectation and of surprise.

Charles V. had come to the full control of his vast empire; Villalar had been fought, Valencia had been subdued and the Castilian grandees had been shown that the Emperor was indeed their master.

De Soto returned from Peru, whither he had been with Pizarro. He was covered with glory on account of his bravery, his energy and his discoveries. Moreover he bore a burden of gold which

made him one of the rich men of Spain. Charles borrowed a part of his fortune and in turn appointed him governor of Cuba and president of Florida. This double office, coupled with the wealth and prestige brought from Peru, gave De Soto an independence and power practically unlimited.

At once he formed plans of conquest, and in 1539 he landed at Tampa Bay, Florida, with an enthusiastic and daring band of followers whose imaginations were on fire with dreams of rich cities to be plundered, and of fertile fields to be foraged from. Such a march as was then begun by those high-spirited adventurers, if we may believe the story, has no parallel in history. "It was," says Theodore Irving, "poetry put into action; it was the knight-errantry of the Old World carried into the depths of the American wilderness. The personal adventures, the feats of individual prowess, the picturesque descriptions of steel-clad cavaliers with lance and helm, and prancing steed, glittering through the wildernesses of Florida, Georgia, Alabama and the prairies of the Far West, would seem to us mere fictions of romance, did they not come to us in the matter-of-fact narratives of those who were eye-witnesses, and who recorded minute memoranda of every day's incidents."

The wanderings of this band of adventurers in

search of an empire went on from month to month. For nearly four years they groped in the jungles, waded or swam the rivers, climbed the hills, ransacked the valleys and fought the wild natives, ever led on by will-o'-the-wisp rumors of a fabulously rich country a little way off, mayhap just beyond the very next wall of dense forest.

They found red nomads and shifting villages, they saw strange vegetation, they encountered wild beasts, they felt in their blood the poison of the fell malaria; but here was no gold; the cities, the castles, and the palaces eluded them; they began to fall and die by the way.

De Soto had risked his private fortune in the enterprise, and doubtless felt that he could not turn back. His hopefulness, courage and energy were magnetic, as such high qualities always are, and his men kept up their expectancy without flagging until at last the Mississippi River was reached. Here was a stream of immense volume, dark and turbulent, rolling majestically through the wilderness to the sea. While attempting to follow the river to its mouth De Soto fell ill; he died, and on the twenty-first of May, 1542, his body was buried beneath the muddy waters of "the Hidden River."

Thus the hero of Darien and Peru found a grave in the stream the discovery of which was the only valuable fruit of that long disastrous journey. His

substance was wasted; his dream of empire was dispelled. "The *Adelantado* of Cuba and Florida," says Dr. Shea; "he who had hoped to gather the wealth of nations, left as his property five Indian slaves, three horses and a herd of swine." But his discovery of the great river of the West and the untold difficulties through which he won its banks have given him a place in history as imperishable as that achieved by Cortés and Pizarro, the conquerors of empires.

De Soto's little band thus deprived of their indefatigable leader, attempted to go back overland to Florida, but were unable to do it. They returned to the river and, fighting their way through hosts of Indian foemen, navigated the Mississippi to its mouth, a voyage of nineteen days. Once more upon the sea they coasted around to Pánuco in Mexico whence some of them returned to Spain and made public the story of the expedition. Thus began in disaster and death the story of Louisiana.

It is probable that the Mississippi was swollen by the spring rains at about the time of De Soto's death, and the survivors of the band no doubt gave an exaggerated description of its mighty volume. The imagination of the Spaniard clung to the idea of conquest, and the thought of leading a fleet up this great river of the West was full of fascination.

Juan Ponce de Leon had discovered Florida in 1512, but had failed in his attempt to colonize it. Sixteen years later Pamphilo de Narvaez entered the bay of Pensacola, and with about four hundred men remained there nearly six months; then he sailed away to the westward and went down in a storm on the gulf, off the mouth of the Mississippi.

In 1564 René Goulaine de Laudonnière landed near the present site of St. Augustine; from thence he went up the St. John River and built Fort Caroline which he filled with a garrison of Huguenots. This was deemed an insult to the Spanish Catholics and was resented in the most inhuman way by Pedro Menendez de Aviles, general of the fleet to New Spain and *Adelantado* of Florida. Hastily gathering a sufficient force Menendez pounced upon the fort and murdered every Frenchman it contained, hanging up their bodies with the label attached, "I do not this to Frenchmen, but to Heretics." A little later Dominic de Gourgues, the Frenchman, sailed into the mouth of the St. John and in like manner hung up the Spaniards, not because they were Spaniards, but because they were "traitors, robbers and murderers." It was by such bloody steps as these that the reign of the Buccaneers came on apace, until at length almost every sail on the Spanish main was that of a pirate.



LA SALLE DISPLAYS THE ARMS OF FRANCE.



Meantime on the Antilles and along the coasts of Mexico colonies had been thriving or languishing, feasting or starving, as the fortunes of the time favored or frowned; but the mouth of the great river had called in vain for an explorer. Indeed, as the wealth of Mexico and Peru disappeared and as the wars of Europe encouraged privateering, the business of exploring was given over for the wild life of the corsair. A ship with heavy guns, a reckless, motley crew and a rendezvous in one of the Caribbean islands were the prerequisites to a free life on the ocean as master buccaneer. The Gulf of Mexico was dotted with the dark hulls and gleaming sails of errant vessels prowling for prey. The sentiment flung from one deck to another was taking the form of "Death to the Spaniard!"

Little enough like prosy history are the accounts we have of those strange days. The picture is peculiar in all its details. Men of iron hearts, without conscience or the sentiment of mercy, gathered from all over the world and banded themselves together for two purposes: the killing of Spaniards and the capture of gold. All the sea, from the Antilles to the western shore of the Gulf of Mexico, is prowled over by these dark-faced, restless corsair bands, who descend upon the Spanish settlements to slay, to pillage and to burn.

Wherever a priest has set a cross and said a mass or sung the *Te Deum* in the name of Heaven and the Spanish king, comes to redden the spot with blood and to bear away its booty the reckless and remorseless buccaneer.

It is a savagely picturesque life of which the chronicles of the old voyagers give us glimpses — when priests were pirates and gentlemen were robbers, when Great Britain and France permitted, nay, encouraged, the building and equipping of buccaneer vessels in their shipyards, and bade them godspeed as sails were set and prows were boldly headed toward the Spanish main. We cannot altogether realize that we are reading what is substantially true, the coloring is so romantic, the atmosphere so like that of poetry, the grouping so strangely fantastic and the whole impression so alien to the lines of life as we know them. There is an Homeric ring in the story of De Soto and his battles, his wanderings, his dream of new golden fortunes and his pathetic death — a ring which echoes clearly enough from beyond the booming of corsair guns and through the hoarse shouts of pirate crews boarding the hapless merchant ships of the Spanish king a century or so later.

In 1673 Marquette and Joliet reached the Mississippi from the Canadian settlements and navigated its waters as far southward as the mouth

of the Arkansas River. Nine years later the *Sieur de la Salle* set out from Canada, and embarking at the mouth of the Illinois River went down the Mississippi to the Gulf where he set up a cross bearing the arms of France.

This voyage gave rise to another still more remarkable. *La Salle* returned to France and made such representations and reports as secured to him the command of a fleet sent by his government, ostensibly to explore and fortify the mouths of the Mississippi, but really to make conquest of a rich mining province in Mexico. He pretended to lose his course, and so steered past the Mississippi and entered *Matagorda Bay* on the coast of Texas. Here he lost a part of his fleet and spent a long time making excursions into the interior, without any valuable results, after which, having looked in vain for reinforcements that had been promised to him, he undertook to make his way with fifty men to the Mississippi and thence on to Canada. But while wandering in the Louisiana marshes he was basely murdered by his companions who, after incredible hardships, again reached the Mississippi, and ascending it returned to the French settlements and thence to France.

By this time the thought of taking and holding the great valley of the Mississippi had fastened itself in the minds of many ambitious men who

began to see that the river was the key to the continent. A hundred and fifty miles to the eastward of the great river—at Pensacola on the western coast of Florida—there was a weak settlement, chiefly a rendezvous for Spanish pirates, though on good terms with all manner of roving free-booters of the sea; but from this point westward to the mouth of the Mississippi and far beyond, the coast was unoccupied. The prize, the most valuable that ever was captured by man, lay untouched; but not long.

In 1699 Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, a native of Canada, and styled by his admirers "the Cid of New France," came from France with emigrants to the Gulf coast and cast anchor about sixty miles east of the present site of New Orleans. Soon there were French colonies at Biloxi, at Bay St. Louis, and on Ship Island and Cat Island. Mobile was then made the capital of so-called Louisiana, and thus remained until some time after the founding of New Orleans.

The shores of all the little bays on the Gulf coast between Mobile and the Mississippi's mouth are beautiful white bluffs rising from five to thirty feet above the water. The soil is sandy and light, but the forests that grow from it are dense and dark, composed of giant live-oaks, water-oaks, magnolias, pines, cedars and a great variety of

smaller trees. Viewed from a distance off-shore, these bluffs looked like a range of low, dark hills with chalk cliffs breaking from the front. A line of islands, the chief of which are Cat and Ship, runs parallel with the general trend of the coast at a distance of from ten to thirty miles out, forming a sound which is a safe harbor for small craft, and in places is sufficiently deep to accommodate heavy ships. Naturally enough, therefore, these beautiful, dry and breezy bluffs were first chosen as sites for settlements. The aborigines, too, had been pleased with the region, and for many years the chiefs and warriors of the Southern Indians with their wives and children had made it a summer resort, camping on the high points under the spreading live-oaks and bathing in the shallow surf of the sandy beaches.

The place was one to invite repose and dreaming. The placid water, the blooming, fragrant forests and the warm Southern breezes lulled ambition, quieted avarice, and for a time threatened to overcome even the restless energy of the explorers. The estuaries and creeks were teeming with fish, and the woods and jungles were full of game, so that it required no great effort to procure plenty of food of the most wholesome sort. It was a lotus land in which the careless adventurers lay down for a time to laze and dream.

D'Iberville, however, kept his mind on the great

river over beyond the Rigolets and Ponchartrain. His dream was of founding a city and of building up a rich colony in this charming country.

Meantime the Spanish and the English were feeling their way toward the mouth of the Mississippi. Pensacola was the base of Spanish operations whilst the British as yet had no immediate footing, but were sailing along the coasts and seeking a favorable spot for a colony.

Two schemes suggested themselves in connection with the plans of colonization: one maritime, the other agricultural. On one hand it appeared practicable to build a coast city and fortress with a good harbor from which the navigation of the Gulf could be controlled and the trade with Mexico be monopolized, whilst on the other hand the Mississippi Valley was known to be incomparably fertile, and of an extent which made it the most promising area of the New World for the founding of an empire. The river, however, for a hundred miles above its mouth had no banks that offered a site for a town. Dreary marshes and dusky swamps inundated by every freshet, alternated with lakes and bayous, the haunts of water-fowl and alligators and infested with tormenting insects and deadly malarias.

Against the project of building a city on the Gulf bluffs was the fact that the soil was poor and

incapable of supporting a dense population. To this day those beautiful sand bluffs remain what they were then, simply the charmingest spots in the world for refuge from the heat of our Southern summer and for resting-places during the cold of our Northern winter. To Bay St. Louis, Pass Christian, Biloxi, Mississippi City, and Ocean Springs the wealthy families of New Orleans go to reside during the sultry months in picturesque cottages overlooking that very sea whereon the little fleet of d'Iberville lay at anchor in the last year of the seventeenth century, and under the same wide-spreading, dusky oak-trees that sheltered the light-hearted and reckless adventurer who a little later followed the fortunes of his brother lieutenant Bienville.

Soon after landing at Ship Island, d'Iberville found his way into the mouth of the Mississippi and proceeded up the stream, probably as far as the mouth of Red River. Returning he explored and named lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain. It was on March 2, 1699, that the commandant first entered the Mississippi "With two row-boats, some bark canoes and fifty-three men." The spring was opening and the scenes that greeted his eyes were of a kind to impress his imagination and to fill his mind with glowing anticipations. He saw that the country was one of incomparable importance to

his Government, and becoming aware that British vessels were trying to find a suitable spot for a colony, on May 3 he left his company under control of Sauvolle de la Villantray, "a discreet young man of merit and capable of fulfilling his duty," and sailed for France.

At this time the chief nations of Europe were looking askance at each other, regarding the outcome of a great game of diplomacy. The representative of France had secured a controlling influence over the court of Spain; Charles II. had been induced to make a will nominating Philip, Duke of Anjou, as his heir and for the moment Louis XIV. was happy, feeling that civil strategy had done for him what war could never have accomplished. Complications followed almost immediately, however, and for some years little attention was paid to the brave Canadian and his handful of followers who along the course of the great river of the West were struggling to secure for France a territory which was soon to attract the eyes of the whole world.

Sauvolle looked about him for the best means of carrying out d'Iberville's orders to explore the country. He had formed pleasant relations with the chief of the Bayagoulas Indians and he dispatched a party of his men under Bienville, with this chief as guide, to the region north of Lake



AT THE ENGLISH TURN.

Ponchartrain. The expedition set out from Biloxi, where, on the east coast, d'Iberville had erected a rude fort between two ravines.

Bienville, who had been named by d'Iberville as the "lieutenant of the king" or the second in command, was a younger brother of the absent d'Iberville. He was a bright young fellow of eighteen, active, ambitious and brilliant. Such a mission was exactly suited to his taste. He pressed forward across the Jordan and Pearl rivers in the country of the Colipassas. From these Indians, who were acquainted with the English, he learned that British adventurers had recently led a band of Chickasaws in an attack upon a village of the Colipassas.

With this startling intelligence he hastened back to the fort to consult with Sauvolle, and in accordance with certain suggestions in the orders left by d'Iberville, he made some explorations to the eastward, and then sailed around into the Mississippi. After an examination of the two bayous, Plaquemines and Chetimachas, Bienville on the sixteenth of September was returning home when at a point, eighteen miles below where New Orleans now stands, he suddenly came upon a British frigate carrying twelve guns. The vessel proved to be one of an English fleet sent by a claimant to a large grant in the province of South Carolina. The intrepid young French lieutenant though startled at

the sight was quite equal to the occasion. He told the English commander a fine story, representing that France had already taken possession of the river, that colonies had been planted at many points on its banks, and that he was just now returning from a visit to them. Thereupon the vessel turned about and with a threat from its captain to return at some time and assert England's right to this new discovery, it sailed out of the Mississippi, and left the young diplomat master of the situation. And ever since that day the bend of the river at the point where this strategy was performed has been called the English Turn.

The colony at Biloxi was not prosperous. Sauvolle, an invalid at best, was slowly dying of fever and Bienville could do no more than make rather aimless excursions hither and thither while waiting to receive aid from France. The days and months dragged slowly by until August 22, 1701, when Sauvolle died suddenly leaving young Bienville at the head of affairs. In March, 1702 d'Iberville returned and brought supplies. His first orders to Bienville were to leave twenty men with Boisbriant, his cousin, in charge of the fort at Biloxi, and with the rest of the garrison to go over to Mobile Bay and establish a post there. This was promptly done and d'Iberville returned to France. Now began a long and bitter period of waiting and watching,

sickness, starvation, death. For a time, indeed, all went well. The colony had plenty of provisions and even sent supplies to its Spanish neighbors at Pensacola. This could not last, however, and at length the men were reduced to the last extremity of suffering.

The great Continental War of 1703 had begun and d'Iberville had been detained and ordered to duty in the French navy. The mother country had little time to think of her weak and distant little colony. The battle of Blenheim was in the near future, and the whole of Europe was under the strain of tremendous excitement. At the last moment Bienville received some supplies from Pensacola, and a little later a French vessel commanded by d'Iberville's brother Chateauguay came to his relief.

In 1705 another vessel arrived from France and the supply it bore to the bachelor colonists consisted in part of twenty poor but pretty girls sent to them by their king with the following note:—

“His Majesty sends twenty girls to be married to the Canadians and to the other inhabitants of Mobile, in order to consolidate the colony.”

It may be added as the fitting close to this incipient romance that this “cargo of girls” was speedily disposed of and that there were twenty marriages within thirty days of the arrival of the cargo.

Dissensions arose between Bienville and some of the other officials of the colony, and the former came near losing his place. He was saved by an accident and by almost incredible energy and tact kept the interest in Louisiana from dying out in France.

Colonization proceeded but slowly. In 1712 the total population reached barely four hundred persons, including twenty negroes, and it is asserted that Bienville was compelled to keep a strict watch over the few "rich men" of the colony lest they should run away.

On the fourteenth of September of this very year of 1712, the French government granted to the Sieur Antony Crozat the exclusive right, for fifteen years, of trading in the undefined territory then claimed by France under the name of Louisiana, and to which the Mississippi River was the royal highway. Crozat, who was a man of immense wealth became thus, in fact if not in name, the owner of that great country. He sent La Mothe Cadillac to be governor in place of Bienville. The "Father of the Colony," as Louisianians love to call Bienville, was nominated Lieutenant-Governor.

Cadillac and his subalterns arrived on the seventeenth of May, 1713, and landed on Dauphine Island. The country was in the full blow of a semi-tropical spring, but Cadillac had no eye for

the picturesque. He was greatly disappointed. This was not the Eldorado that he had come to find. Crozat believed that King Louis had given him a lien on a treasure land and he had ordered his governor to search for mines of precious metal. Cadillac had thus been led to expect that a career surpassing that of Pizarro in Peru would at once open to him. Instead of this he found a poor-looking sandy coast and a scattered and wretched little colony, whose only revenue seemed to be derived from the sale of vegetables to their Spanish neighbors of Florida. It was a sad blow to his high schemes and he could see but a gloomy prospect in every way. Bienville received him with courtesy, but, naturally enough, felt humiliated by the situation. It looked to the brave Canadian as if the fourteen years that he had given to holding Louisiana for his king were but poorly rewarded when this domineering and irascible stranger was suddenly sent over to supersede him. Nothing was left to him, however, but to put on an air of submission and to trust to that fortune which hitherto had favored him.

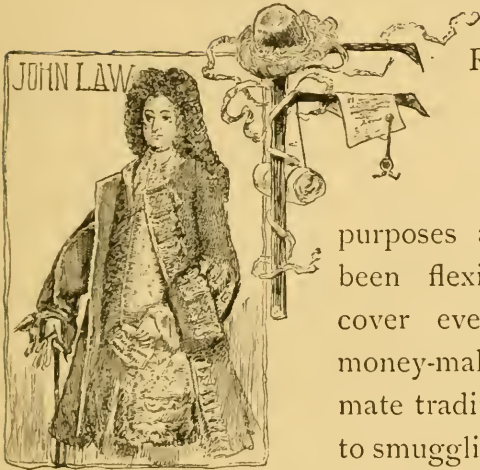
Cadillac and Bienville were not constituted to be friends in any sense of the word. The predicament of their official relations, therefore, did not tend to lessen the uncongeniality of their natures. Bienville felt that, in a certain measure, the govern-

ment of the territory of Louisiana belonged of right to him. In his eyes Cadillac was a usurper. The new governor of course was not slow in discovering this. He was of a haughty and arrogant temper, and seized the first opportunity to use his authority in a way that would make Bienville feel most keenly the change in his position.

In truth the colony in many regards was in a bad condition. The settlers had grown reckless and dissolute to a degree and even under Bienville had been inclined to do about as they pleased. The coming of Cadillac did not help matters any. It was not possible for a man wholly unacquainted with the life and requirements of colonists in a new land to attract to himself such men as had for so long been the companions and friends of Bienville. A few weeks of observation convinced Cadillac that the situation demanded prompt and decisive action on his part. He must either subdue Bienville or get him out of the way.

CHAPTER II.

A PAPER ELDORADO.



FROM the point of view afforded by the present time, Crozat's purposes appear to have been flexible enough to cover every scheme for money-making, from legitimate trading, on one hand, to smuggling, on the other, and from the discovery of gold mines, if possible, to downright piracy, if practicable. Cadillac was not the man to make the most of the position he now held, nor were the resources at his command sufficient to carry out the plans matured by his master.

The whole trouble arose out of a misconception on Crozat's part of the nature of the country and the strength of the colonies. The rumor had gone abroad in France that Louisiana was a land of indescribable riches, and the fact that from time

to time vessels returned from sailing on the Western seas loaded with gold, had added the weight of fascinating substance to the body of the report. It is easy to understand that a buccaneer coming into a European port with a cargo of rich booty would prefer a romantic lie to a frank confession of the truth. Many a so-called trader, who was in fact a pirate, after making a successful cruise in the Western waters, retired to a pleasant chateau in France, and during the rest of his life told over and over the story of his peaceful but amazing adventures in the wild, strange countries of the great American continent. Others of a different cast of imagination constructed so-called journals wherein was embodied a circumstantial account of explorations and martial encounters the details of which were almost as marvelous as those of the Arabian Nights.

Such romances served the double purpose of hiding the truth and of inflaming the wondering minds of the people. The rich silver mines of Mexico and the enormous loads of precious metals brought to Spain, France and Great Britain had given color to Crozat's orders; consequently Cadillac began a fruitless search for mineral deposits. In 1715 he went himself to the Illinois country, but brought back no gold. By his avarice and cruelty he alienated the savage tribes with whom Bienville

had established friendly relations. Some of the men sent out by him to prospect for mines were killed. This gave him a pretext for dispatching Bienville up the Mississippi with orders to punish the Natchez Indians. A fanciful story is told that Cadillac's daughter had fallen in love with Bienville, and that this expedition against the Natchez was planned by her precious father with the hope of having the young Lieutenant-Governor killed because he refused to return her affection.

At all events, in the month of April, 1716, Bienville, who had been commissioned "Commandant of the Mississippi," set out with a handful of followers and made his way up the great river to one of the northern islands. Here he began preparations for carrying out Cadillac's orders against the offending tribe. He built a rude fort containing three log houses, and a little later, having brought the offending tribe into subjection, and having concluded to make the place a permanent post, he forced the Indians to aid him in building a strong palisade and some comfortable houses; in these he remained until the twenty-ninth of August. This place he named Fort Rosalie.

Leaving the post in charge of Pailloux he returned to Mobile and found that Cadillac had been superseded by Monsieur de l'Epiney. The latter was not present, however, and orders were

awaiting Bienville to act as governor until his superior should arrive. This turn of affairs was a matter of great rejoicing with the majority of the colonists, who were heartily tired of the unwise policy pursued by Cadillac. Bienville, too, was delighted. He felt, no doubt, that at last his reward was near.

L'Epiny landed at Mobile March 9, 1717, with three companies of infantry and fifty colonists, and handed to Bienville the cross of St. Louis and a grant of the title to Horn Island. Bienville had expected more. He felt that L'Epiny was in his path quite as much as Cadillac had been. Of course quarreling began forthwith. The new governor found himself confronted by insubordination from the start, and the scattered and miserable condition of the colonists put a deadly damper on the brilliant anticipations he had been indulging. The policy of Cadillac had demoralized his subjects; each man had in a measure taken the law into his own hands. There was no organization, no centralization, no government, in fact. L'Epiny reported the condition of things to Crozat, who in August, 1717, threw up his contract with the French government and abandoned Louisiana with all its glamor and romance, glad enough to be freed from the trouble and expense the project had entailed upon him. He had failed

utterly to accomplish anything in the direction of opening a trade with Mexico, the furs obtained from the savages were not valuable and not a gold mine, a silver mine, nor a pearl fishery had been found by his agents. Moreover agriculture had been almost wholly neglected, whilst debauchery and indecent wrangling among officers and men had reduced the morals of the colony to the very lowest ebb.

Meantime, however, a large amount of valuable information had been collected regarding the geography and the natural resources of the great territory. Bienville had made many excursions far into the interior and Cadillac himself, as has been stated, had in 1715 penetrated a long way northward in search of a mining region reported to him as very rich and lying somewhere in the country of the Illinois. He was absent eight months; he wandered about all the northern wilderness, and of course returned empty-handed.

Without doubt Cadillac was the worst possible sort of a governor, and yet the impartial student of the old records cannot fail to discover a strong element of truth in the dispatches sent by him to the French government. In one of these, so Gayarré tells us, he exclaims: "What can I do with a force of forty soldiers, out of whom five or six are disabled? A pretty army this, and well

calculated to make me respected by the inhabitants or by the Indians! As a climax to my vexation, they are badly fed, badly paid, badly clothed and without discipline. As to the officers, they are not much better. Verily, I do not believe that there is in the whole universe such another government.”

So little was he respected by the colonists that he could not rely upon any emissary he sent out. The Canadians whom he dispatched to look for gold and silver, went their ways as they pleased. His colleague Bienville did not hesitate to balk him in every available way, and was continually writing to France the most disparaging accounts of his government, his methods, and his character.

The truth appears to be that Bienville was a man of considerable ability, a strong, active, rather far-seeing and somewhat unscrupulous schemer, who from the first felt that to him of right belonged the task of moulding the destiny of Louisiana. His genius was cunning and to a degree treacherous, though at need he was bold and openly courageous.

L'Épinay could not do without Bienville's aid, and yet he could not bear his insubordination. Consequently, instead of at once beginning energetic measures for the advancement of the colonies, the two rivals fell to quarreling disgracefully and so added to the prevailing demoralization.



BIENVILLE BUILDING FORT ROSALIE.

Cadillac's return to France doubtless added much to public interest in the subject of Louisiana colonization, for the deposed governor was a mighty talker, full of that peculiar enthusiasm for self-glorification characteristic of the men of Southern France. He made the most of the history of his adventures, his achievements and the ill-treatment he had received from his government. Indeed, it would appear from his writings that this old-time governor was a sort of ancient Tartarin de Tarascon, boastful, prevaricating, inefficient, but not wholly bad.

And now came a new era in the checkered story of Louisiana. A dramatic figure appeared in France — John Law the Edinburgh “financier.” A gambler and a speculator by nature notwithstanding his deceptively-prosaic name, this son of a Scotch banker became one of the most daring of adventurers. Drifting to France he essayed the role of capitalist, gained the friendship of the regent Orleans, and, rising rapidly in his strange financial career, rested not until he had fixed his romantic hold upon the distressed treasury of France. His operations were shrewd though audacious, and his suggestions of relief came to the government as those of “a friend in need.” For France was in a desperate financial strait. Her treasury was empty, her provinces exhausted, her army unpaid.

Corruption was wide-spread, and the official declaration that the nation was bankrupt had been seriously considered. Just then came Law's gigantic scheme of speculation, alluringly presented. It was, in effect, to monopolize to himself the foreign trade of France, and to make the nation the universal banker. In 1716 he succeeded in securing the right to establish a bank with a capital of six million livres, and so well did he manage the venture, that the Government a year later ordered that the notes of the bank should be taken as specie by the treasury. His next step was the forming of a Royal Bank, in lieu of the private one, and of this he had himself appointed Director-General. Meantime the Mississippi Company had been constituted on the sixth of September, 1717. To it the regent had granted all the rights and privileges theretofore enjoyed by Crozat. Almost unlimited powers were secured by the Company in addition to those already granted, and France thus gave over into the hands of a private corporation for a space of twenty-five years the practical ownership of Louisiana. Law was appointed Director-General of this company also, and it was merged into the bank. Next he obtained control of various other companies, including one that enjoyed a monopoly of French trade in China, East Indies, and the South Seas; then the mint fell into his hands, and finally

his remorseless monopoly clutched practically all the revenues of France.

In those days everything romantic drifted toward Louisiana. Law, with the remarkable knowledge of human nature which had enabled him to succeed thus far, now began a shrewd system of advertising, sure that he could compass his desire by appealing to the imagination of the people. His methods were essentially the same as those by which in our own day we see large ventures on the field of speculation rushed into public favor. He flooded the country with pamphlets and other documents containing fervid descriptions of Louisiana: its incomparable climate, its inexhaustible mines, its rich soil, the endless variety and flowery loveliness of its plant-life, the abundance of its fish, its game, and its fur-bearing animals. Indeed, the territory was painted as one of boundless extent, and possessed of all the beauties and charms of an earthly paradise with the added value of more than Golconda riches lying ready for the hand of the adventurer.

This elysium, this wild, romantic, wealth-burdened country was the basis of Law's dazzling and stupendous scheme. In effect he bonded it, as our railway syndicates bond the franchises of their roads. He made the wilderness of Louisiana the subject of an issue of stock watered to the last degree of dilution.

Socially and politically France was just then in a situation to render her people peculiarly subject to the insidious influence of this financial scheme. The government, as has been shown, was virtually bankrupt, and a system of ruinous extravagance begun by Louis XIV. was still in vogue under the regency of the Duke of Orleans. For a time repudiation and its consequences seemed to be the national destiny. Everybody was alarmed. Public and private credits were at the point of vanishing.

Law's advertisements appeared just at the fortunate moment, so far as his scheme was to be affected. It offered some reason for hope, and although at first there was difficulty in gaining public confidence, the leaven of speculation was planted in the minds of the people and was sure to perform its work.

It did this speedily. The shares of the Company rose to forty times their nominal price. All France rushed to subscribe. "A sort of madness," says Mr. Watt, "possessed the nations. Men sold their all and hastened to Paris to speculate. The population of the capital was increased by an enormous influx of provincials and foreigners. Trade received a vast though unnatural impetus. Every one seemed to be getting richer, no one poorer."

From the very first Law and his immediate

colleagues must have foreseen that there was at that time but little in Louisiana upon which to base a great issue of credit; in order, therefore, to make a show, no matter how deceptive, of a flourishing condition of the colonies, it was necessary to effect a change in the administrations of the colonial affairs. With this object in view three vessels with sixty-nine colonists and three companies of infantry were dispatched to Louisiana. They landed on February 9, 1718, bringing to Bienville the commission of governor. This lifted him once more to his coveted place at the head of the people for whom he had suffered so much, and with whom he had struggled through good and bad report for nineteen years.

Understanding the effect of sudden and brilliant moves, Law directed Bienville to seek forthwith a proper site for a town on the Mississippi River. His company was the Mississippi Company and the name would acquire greater force and significance with the seat of colonial government fixed at a commanding point on the famous stream. He wished to proclaim in France that wonderful progress was going on in Louisiana, that towns were springing up as if by magic and that the mighty valley of the West was giving birth to an empire.

Bienville, never so happy as when engaged in adventurous undertakings, made haste to enter the

Mississippi, and was not long choosing the site for his town.

Prior to this, under the administrations of Cadillac and L'Epiney, efforts which, viewed from this distance, look desperate, had been made to establish an overland route for trade with Mexico. St. Denis and others groped their way through Texas to the Mexican border, but their mission was as vain as it was romantic. At the end of their long, lonely and perilous journey they were robbed and imprisoned by the Spaniards.

This policy of trading and smuggling, of gold-hunting and trafficking had the necessary effect of filling the colonies with the reckless and desperate off-scourings of France. Bienville in his despatches complained that the men sent to him were the worst criminals of the old country — men of the vilest propensities who cared for nothing but the most degrading licentiousness. True he had an influence over them which no other man had ever been able to secure, and, in a way, he was fond of them; but their recklessness and lack of discipline vexed him and retarded his movements. When he received permission to establish a permanent colony on the Mississippi a new hope sprang up in his heart. The site chosen for the proposed settlement was that now occupied by the city of New Orleans, and the excitement of the

undertaking, which involved the laying out of a town and its fortifications, was sufficient to raise his spirits to something like their old buoyancy and intrepidity.

On the seventeenth of March, 1719, a French war-ship bringing a hundred "passengers," reached Mobile, and on April the twentieth came three more with an hundred and thirty colonists. With these, too, came Sérigny, brother of the governor, also Monsieur de Montplaisir who brought with him thirty persons to establish a tobacco manufactory, and, besides these, two hundred and fifty negroes — the first large importation of Africans made into Louisiana. But more important even than all this Sérigny brought information that war had begun between Spain and France, and presented an order for Bienville to go at once and capture Pensacola.

Here was the beginning of a career. Bienville sprang with alacrity to the military task assigned to him and by the thirteenth of May he was ready to strike. His fleet consisted of the three war-vessels of the Mississippi Company recently arrived — the *Philippe*, the *Comte de Toulouse*, the *Maréchal de Villars* — and a sloop, carrying two hundred and thirty men all told. With this force he sailed into Pensacola Bay and the place was surrendered to him without resistance. The prisoners taken

were sent to Cuba in pursuance of the terms of surrender.

Leaving Pensacola in the care of his brother Chateauguay, Bienville returned to Mobile, while two of the vessels, the *Comte de Toulouse* and the *Maréchal de Villars*, sailed for Havana bearing the Spanish prisoners. In perfect accord with the spirit of the time, the authorities of Cuba laughed at the idea of giving the slightest heed to the terms of an honorable agreement. Instead of permitting Bienville's vessels to return unmolested, the Viceroy of Mexico, the Marquis of Vallero, quickly manned them with Spanish soldiers and sent them back, along with a fleet of twelve vessels bearing eighteen hundred men, to retake and hold Pensacola. Of course the task was an easy one. Chateauguay surrendered on the best terms he could secure. The Spaniards were highly elated and thought to wipe out at a blow the whole French colony in Louisiana. With this purpose three brigantines of the fleet proceeded to Mobile Bay to take possession of Dauphine Island. The French were ill-prepared for an attack in force, but Sérigny whom Bienville had placed in command of the island stoutly refused to surrender.

The Spaniards under cover of night ran into the bay and landed a force of thirty-five men hoping to surprise and pillage a defenceless place midway

between Mobile and Dauphine Island. But the surprise was their own, for a party of French and Indians suddenly fell upon them routing them completely, killing five, capturing eighteen and driving the others into the sea where six were drowned.

As the best proof of the low state of morals in the French colonies at this time it is sufficient to note that among the prisoners taken in the skirmish just described were a number of Frenchmen — deserters from the garrison left by Bienville at Pensacola. These were shot.

This signal victory aroused the spirit of the little band on Dauphine Island and when the Spanish fleet a day or two later sailed into the bay and began an attack it was answered with a vigor that was wholly unexpected. Sérigny showed great skill in arranging his defence. He anchored the ship *Philippe* close to the shore so that the fire of her guns was supplemented by that of a battery on the island. The Spaniards tried in vain to land a force on the shore. They were repulsed at every point. They probably thought the French much stronger than they really were, for, after lingering around the island and idly firing at long range without effect, they withdrew on the twenty-sixth of August and sailed back to Pensacola.

Almost immediately after this, on the first of

September, 1719, three French ships of the line arrived at Mobile Bay bringing in some vessels with supplies from the Mississippi Company. The ships, which were well manned and equipped, were commanded by the Comte de Champmeslin, a naval officer of considerable ability, who at once proposed an attack on Pensacola. This was just what Bienville and his men most desired. A plan was therefore arranged by which a land force under the Governor was to act in concert with the fleet under the Comte de Champmeslin. Bienville, with an energy and activity scarcely equaled in the history of military operations, called together from widely scattered sources a little army of French and Indians which when marshaled numbered about seven hundred men. The main portion of these had been massed at a point on Perdido River whither Bienville went with a fleet of small boats bearing such a force as he could spare from the forts at Mobile and Dauphine Island.

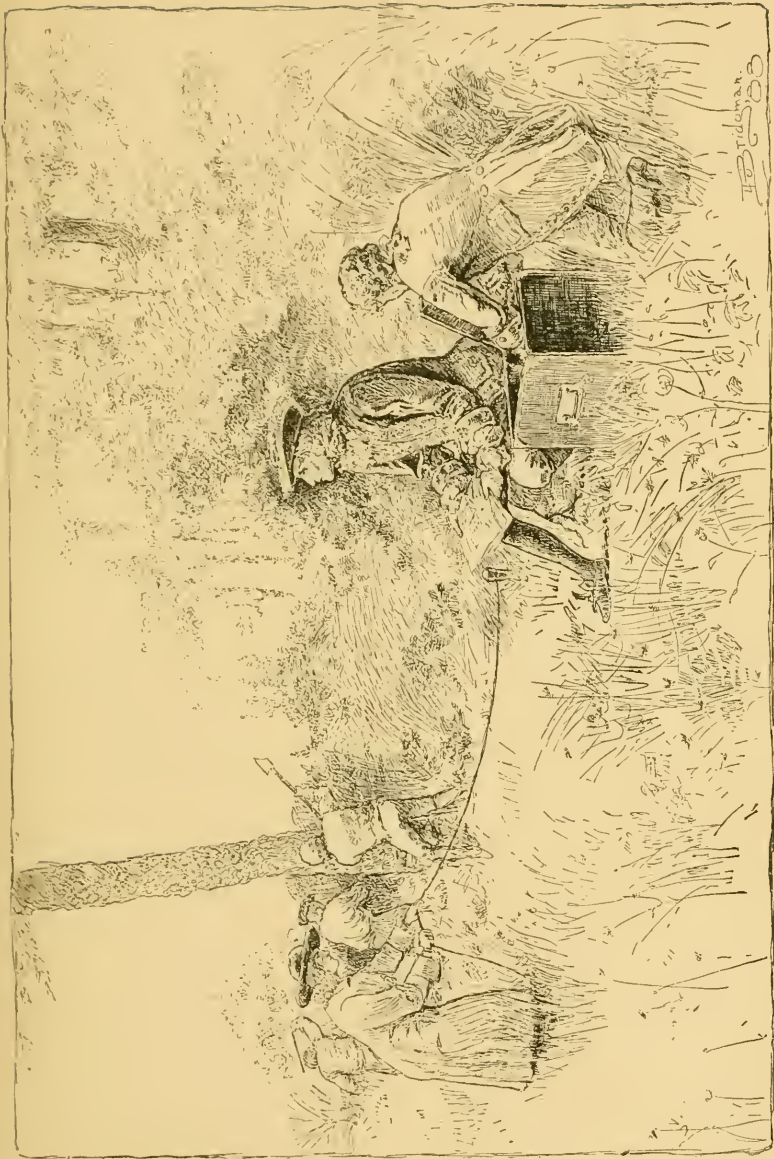
On the seventeenth of September all was ready. Champmeslin sailed boldly into Pensacola Bay and opened fire on the Rose Island fort, while Bienville marched against the post on the mainland. The whole movement was made with such celerity and secrecy that the Spaniards were taken by surprise and their forces separated. Their ships were at anchor close in to the mainland and their guns

could not be used to effect in any direction. Rose Island fort was silenced at the end of two hours. Meantime Bienville had completely invested the fort on the high ground at Pensacola and was pouring into it a rattling fire from every side. The heavy guns of Admiral Champmeslin's ships were shaking the bay with their thunders and the Indians on shore were howling like mad beasts. It was a short but brilliant little fight at the end of which the French found themselves again full masters of Pensacola with eighteen hundred prisoners and a considerable store of provisions, ammunition and arms, as the reward of their action. But the place seemed fated to be destroyed. A strong fleet of Spanish men-of-war from Vera Cruz attacked it, and the French blew up the forts to prevent their capture.

Louisiana was now harrassed in every direction by the insidious operations of Spanish emissaries among the savage tribes in the North and West. In Texas there were numerous Spanish posts and agencies from which as bases parties were sent out to incite the Indians to commit depredations upon the French colonies on the Arkansas, the Missouri and the upper Mississippi. In the year 1720 a force was organized at Santa Fé for the purpose of operating in the Missouri region. It was well equipped with horses and domestic herds, and was

bountifully supplied with arms and ammunition. The plan was to plant colonies and at the same time drive out the French from all the upper part of the great territory. Men, women and children, soldiers, colonists and priests, all marched together through that grand wilderness until they reached the country of the Missouri where they were foolish enough to furnish fire-arms to the savages with the understanding that they were to become their allies. The Missouri, not less treacherous than the Spaniards, promptly turned their new weapons to good account by murdering all the caravan, save one priest who returned to Santa Fé to tell the woful story.

From Boisbriant, among the Illinois (to whom the tidings had been told by certain Illinois "who had come to chant the calumet bedecked in chasubles and stoles") news of this expedition reached the ears of Bienville. He felt at once the necessity for prompt action. For a long while he had been urging upon the Company the policy of removing the seat of territorial government to some point on the banks of the Mississippi River. The movements of the Spaniards gave irresistible force to his argument, and when the royal engineer, M. Paugér, examined the place selected for the site of New Orleans and reported favorably, the Company consented to have its principal depot established there.



LAYING OUT NEW ORLEANS.

The Spaniards continued their depredations in Texas and forced the French to abandon most of the territory west of the Sabine River. La Harpe had been sent to take possession of St. Bernard Bay, but after landing and establishing a post he felt compelled to abandon it as unsafe. Bienville insisted upon a policy of concentration and continued to urge upon the Company the importance of establishing agricultural colonies instead of wasting further time in fruitless wanderings after gold and silver mines.

Meantime emigrants continued to come from France. Of these the greater part were adventurers, convicts and refugees from justice. Many of the women added to the colony were from the houses of correction in Paris, and were sent over by the Government's order. Thus, though the population increased, there was but small improvement in its moral condition.

The Company had asked the government of France to make grants of land in Louisiana to various influential persons upon condition that the areas granted should be colonized. This was done. John Law himself was one of these grantees, his portion being a plot twelve miles square on the Arkansas. By means of these liberal grants numerous settlements were effected in the territory now occupied by the States of Arkansas, Louisiana,

Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida, as well as certain portions of the region farther north. But the advice of Bienville had not been heeded. Agriculture had not kept pace with the increase of population, consequently famine threatened. France was beginning to gather the destructive fruit of Law's wild financial schemes, and the bubble of a specious credit blown to the utmost tenuity by his breath was preparing to burst. The Company, embarrassed to the last degree, clutched at straws and struggled desperately in the effort to revive its sinking fortune. As a matter of course trouble to the Company meant trouble to the dependent colonies of France, compelled to look to the mother country for supplies. And now these supplies began to fail. The advertising pamphlets, circulars and romantic reports of the Company's agents no longer satisfied the people of France and it was growing daily more difficult to hold the scheme together.

Bienville showed himself worthy of the trust reposed in him. Through all that dark time his thoughts never turned from the details of his difficult task. He pushed forward the buildings at New Orleans and was soon able to report the founding of a town which was to be the metropolis of the great Mississippi Valley.

In the meantime Fort Chartres in the Illinois country had been begun on the river twenty-five

miles below Kaskaskia; Le Sueur had erected a fort far up on St. Peter's River, and Fort Orleans had been established on the Missouri. Thus at the beginning of the year 1720 the whole of Upper Louisiana was well fortified and safely held in the grasp of the French. Boisbriant, who was stationed as lieutenant for the governor in the Illinois country, had under his charge a contented agricultural colony, aggregating some two thousand white residents, and comprising at least five prosperous villages. Notwithstanding the embarrassments of the Company, the whole territory west to the Colorado was reduced to possession, after the fashion of the times, though no permanent settlements were made in the Texas region west of the Sabine River.

Bienville continued to urge forward every possible scheme for the encouragement of agriculture. Negroes were imported in considerable numbers, plantations were opened on the rich alluvial "coasts" of the Mississippi and its tributaries and the true wealth of Louisiana was beginning to appear in the very midst of utter depression and poverty. The soil was, and still is, the richest in the world, and it required but a mere garden plot to produce enough for the wants of a family. The climate, moreover, was of a character to render subsistence a matter of small effort. Shelter from the rain was the only requirement in making a house,

and the Indians taught the settlers how to build with the least expense.

The first really successful tillers of the soil in the vicinity of New Orleans were a company of Provençal peasants who abandoned their homes on Law's grant and came down the river intent upon going back to their old country. It was thought advisable to detain them, for their reappearance in France would have given rise to unpleasant inquiries. So they were induced to remain by granting them a large body of the very richest Mississippi coast lands just above New Orleans.

Thus the affairs of Louisiana progressed until suddenly the inevitable happened. The "South Sea Bubble" burst and the schemes by which John Law sought to bolster up a losing speculation all went "agley." Disaster and confusion swept the victimized land of France and thousands were plunged into distress and ruin. Law fell from the height of success to the depths of failure. "The public wrath and indignation," says Guizot, "fastened henceforth upon Law, the author and director of a system which had given rise to so many hopes and had been the cause of so many woes." He became an object of hatred where he had before been envied and courted. Even the "rash infatuation" of the Regent could no longer protect him. His carriage was knocked to pieces in the streets.

Ruined in fortune and in reputation he fled in disgrace from his enraged dupes and died at Venice, in 1729, poor and forgotten. The failure of his "Company" meant disaster for the colony across the sea, but Louisiana, fortunately, had already made a progress that promised permanence and though this progress was discouragingly slow it had been steady and was in the right direction.

CHAPTER III.

IN THE DAYS OF BIENVILLE.



WHEN Charlevoix visited New Orleans in January, 1722, he found that all the

stories of its rapid growth, its wealth, its beauty and its commanding situation had been greatly exaggerated. In his journal, which contains a quaint and graphic account of a voyage he made down the Illinois and the Mississippi, he says:

“I am at length arrived in this noted city to which they have given the name La Nouvelle Orleans. Those who have thus named it, supposed that Orleans was feminine; but what of it? Custom has fixed it, and custom overtops grammar’s rules. This is the first city that one of the world’s mightiest rivers has seen arise on its banks.” Then he goes on to say that, instead of finding eight hundred fine houses and five parishes, as was

represented by the newspapers two years before, he sees a hundred barracks, rather disorderly in arrangement, a large wooden storehouse and other things in accordance. It was "a wild and desert place almost covered with reeds and trees," but he predicted its future greatness as the capital of a wealthy and powerful colony.

Father Charlevoix was a Jesuit priest of high character whose life was spent in traveling, executing important missions and writing history. He was a shrewd and accurate observer, as observation went in those days, and his journals are full of the most valuable facts. On his way down the Mississippi he stopped at Natchez and remained there some days, besides making visits to the forts at Yazoo and other points farther up the river. It is from him that we get the best impression of truth regarding the debased condition of the colonists. He found the marriage relation very loosely adjusted — a result that was scarcely surprising in view of the class of persons attracted to the new land and the peculiar methods of supplying the matrimonial deficiencies of the colony. Religious ceremonies he declared were scarcely observed at all. What he says about the notorious schemer Law, is significant. "Mr. Law was treated badly, as were most of the other grantees," he remarks; "probably it will be a great while ere they can

make such large levies of men (referring to the failure of a scheme of immigration from France). They have need of them in the kingdom; and in fact it is usual for us to form our judgments by the success of such undertakings, in place of noting what was the source of their failure." In speaking of the canton of Natchez, he says, "It is five years since mass has been heard here by any Frenchman, or since one has even seen a priest." He met at Natchez the royal engineer, M. de Pauger, who was surveying the river with a view to establishing forts.

It was about this time that the collapse of Law's gigantic plan began to make its effect on the very foundations of the colonies. The settlements on the Arkansas, at Washita and at Fort St. Peter, were reduced to a state bordering on starvation, and, as we have noted, those on Law's own grant came down the Mississippi and were cared for at New Orleans by a grant of what was afterwards known as the German Coast.

Bienville suffered all the agony possible to an ambitious man who waits and hopes in vain for a substantial recognition of his merits and achievements. At one time he fell very ill, so that for a long time his death was expected every day. His malady, it was said, came of brooding and fretting over the ill-treatment he received at the hands of

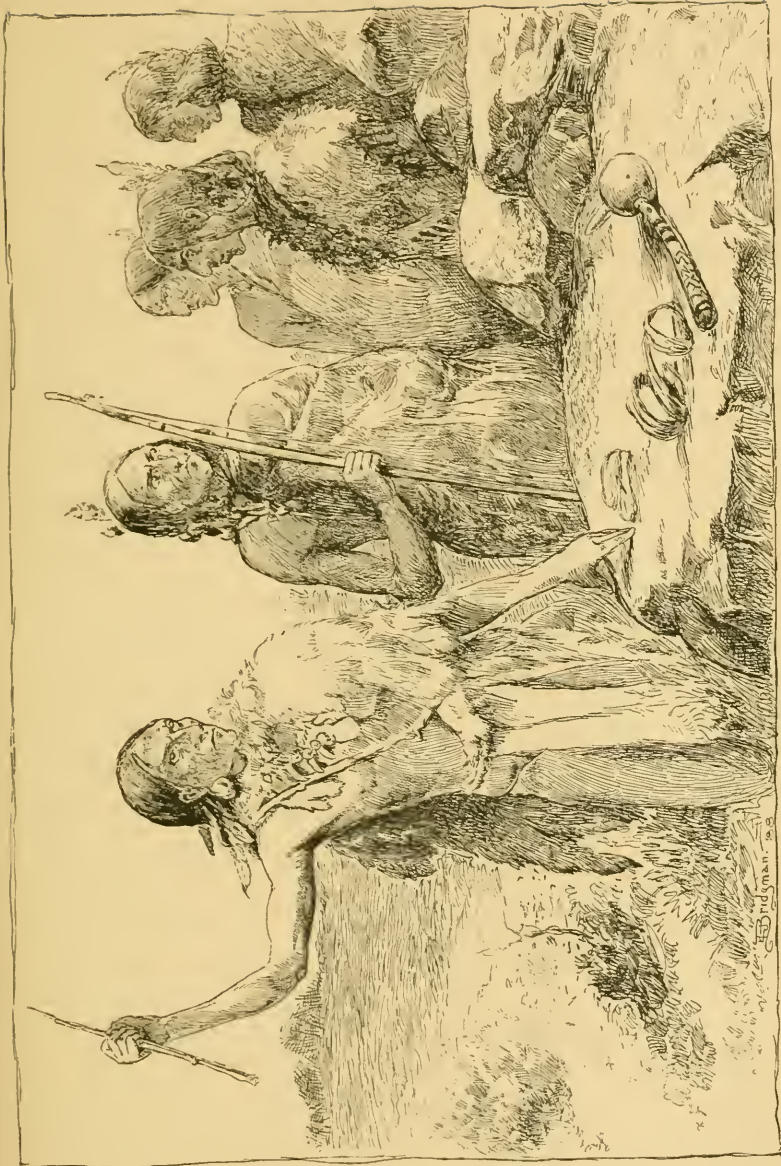
the Company and from the Government of France; but this statement may be taken with liberal allowance. The city of New Orleans even at this day is badly drained and subject to occasional epidemics, although in a general way extremely healthy; but what must have been its sanitary condition in its season of beginning when its few log huts and scattered barracks stood in the midst of stagnant ponds, cypress swamps and dense, dank canebrakes? Slow fevers of a bilious or malarial type were common all along the Mississippi then, as now, and in the hot season yellow fever was frequently imported from Mexico and the Antilles.

In 1723 a change was made in the government of Louisiana. Up to this time the territory had been subject to the jurisdiction of Canada. Now it was made independent and its area was divided into nine parts, or parishes, each of which was to be governed by a commandant assisted by a judge. Bienville was governor and commandant-general; but he was hampered by the presence of a king's lieutenant and by a director-general of the Company; his authority too was sadly embarrassed by the insubordination of the commandants of the districts.

The gold fever was still burning in the blood of the colonists, and the search for mines supposed to exist in the Illinois region was of far more interest than were the laborious processes of agricultural

progress. The policy of the Company added fuel to this insidious fire, and although the Indians all along the river were growing more and more dissatisfied, scarcely any attention was paid to their threatening movements. Suddenly the Natchez tribe arose and massacred some of the settlers on the St. Catherine, following this with an attack in force on the plantations killing a number and carrying away horses, cattle, hogs and grain. Bienville, fully aware of the danger now impending, made haste to use his unscrupulous diplomacy on the Indian leaders. Securing an interview the French officers made peace on terms which were ratified by the governor, and the chiefs well satisfied went away feeling secure.

But no sooner were the Indians off their guard than Bienville gathered a force of seven hundred men and secretly occupied Fort Rosalie. Thence he marched upon the neighboring villages and began a furious onslaught, killing, burning, and ravaging without mercy. When the Indians sued for peace he demanded that their leading chief be surrendered to him. This was finally done and the savage was brutally executed. After this outrage peace was no longer possible. The Indians nursed their wrath and pondered over plans for heaping dire punishment upon their enemies. Nor were they wrong in so doing. With all faith destroyed, with



THE LAST REED.



every sacred promise of the French broken as soon as made, with their plantations in ruins and their homes in ashes, with the blood of their wives and children, their braves and their chiefs crying to them for vengeance, it was indeed time for them to strike. Nevertheless they acted with great prudence and caution, their resentment for the time manifesting itself more in the reserve and gloom of their demeanor than in acts of violence.

Father Charlevoix had seen what he called wild indigo growing on the banks of the Mississippi, and he shrewdly observed that a soil which would sustain the wild plant might be made to produce any variety of indigo if but the seeds were planted. The experiment was tried with the excellent result of founding a new and remunerative industry in the colonies.

At the close of the year 1723, there had been imported into the territory within the Mississippi Valley a large number of negro slaves, between four and five thousand settlers and a hundred and forty galley slaves. Agriculture was growing rapidly in importance as its value developed. At last, if only by a few, the great truth was discovered that the gold mines of Louisiana lay hidden in the fertile alluvions of the so-called coasts of her rivers, creeks and bayous, and that the plough and the hoe were the keys to the lightly-locked treasure. There

remained but two great barriers for the colonies to overcome before they could reach the safe ground of prosperity in their career of development. These were the financial troubles caused by the Company's embarrassments, and the half-hidden but deep-set hostility of the Indians due to a long series of insults heaped upon injuries of the most heartless and revolting kind. The use of an enormously inflated paper currency had on one hand driven all the specie out of the colonies, whilst on the other hand it had filled everybody's pockets with a roll of money which purported to represent wealth when in fact it was utterly without value. Every species of property commanded an enormous price; speculation was indulged in to a reckless degree; gambling and debauchery of every sort were openly practiced by many, and indeed the color of colonial life was caught almost wholly from the feverish spirit which is always engendered by a dishonest management of a government's finances.

Suddenly the bubble burst and the paper currency fell in value to a point which was much nearer safety; but everybody was in debt, and as money became scarce the difficulty of payment was increased. Specie was demanded, dollar for dollar, upon outstanding contracts, and for a time there appeared to be nothing but annihilation in store for the colonies. And so the darkest day of

Louisiana's life, from the first settlement up to 1725, fell just at the time when hope had begun to rise in the breasts of the people. But happily the gloom was of short duration. The French government came to the rescue with the only plan which could have served the turn of the troubled debtors in the colonies. By edicts of the King of France Mexican silver dollars were made the circulating medium in Louisiana. The value of the dollar was arbitrarily fixed at seven and a half livres, whereas custom heretofore had made it four livres. This change was life to the debtor, but it was a species of robbery in the estimation of the speculating creditor. It did infinite good, however, rapidly wiping out the debts of the colonists and, in a degree, restoring the equilibrium of trade. Then came another edict returning to the Mexican dollar its ancient value of four livres. By this manipulation of the currency the colonies were, in less than a year's space, zigzagged back to trade based on specie.

Bienville now had the satisfaction of seeing prosperity begin in Louisiana, though the gold fever still continued to burn, and the Indians, nursing their enmity, kept up a desultory fight with the settlers in the districts of the north.

In the beginning of the year 1726 the entire territory was in a prosperous condition and the

area devoted to agriculture had been doubled and trebled, whilst New Orleans had been springing rapidly into a very picturesque, if not very elegant town. The Company made arrangements for still further improvement in the condition of the colonies, by the introduction of religious and educational influences. Priests and nuns were imported, and a better class of emigrants were brought from Canada and France.

Just at this point of time, when all was bright and encouraging, and when the worst evils appeared to be passing away from the people of Louisiana, Bienville was superseded by M. Périer, a man of excellent abilities, who at once entered with great energy upon the performance of his duties.

It is worthy of note that, from the very first, the American air has had the quality of engendering a love of liberty in the hearts of those who have breathed it. Valdeterre, writing of the colonies of Louisiana as an eye witness in 1726, uses the following remarkable language upon the subject of their independence of spirit:—

“The inhabitants of this country, settled here so recently, governed by the Company, instead of in the name of the king, have come to be republicans in their thoughts and ways and look upon themselves as exempt from binding allegiance to their sovereign.”

Périer advanced the interests of the province with great rapidity. Indigo, rice, tobacco, wheat, corn and domestic animals were produced in abundance, and tropical fruits were beginning to be cultivated.

Under all this gratifying prosperity, however, was a smoldering fire of destruction. The Natchez Indians had not forgiven nor forgotten the massacre of their people and the destruction of their plantations. They were sullenly biding their time to rise and strike their enemies to the heart.

All went well on the surface of things until the twenty-ninth of November, 1729, when like a thunderbolt the blow fell.

Bienville during the whole of his administration had urged upon the Company the pressing need of military precautions in view of the number and disposition of the savages; but his advice had been thrust aside. No sooner was Périer installed than he renewed Bienville's recommendations with great emphasis. He too was refused the aid he asked.

Over in Carolina the English traders were reaching far westward into the country of the Chickasaws, and their influence for a long time had kept that tribe unfriendly to the French; but a great conspiracy between them and several other tribes, with a view to overrunning Louisiana, came to naught.

The Natchez, however, matured their plans with the greatest caution and foresight.

Chopart, who was in command at Fort Rosalie, appears to have been a man of overbearing disposition, despotic, merciless and avaricious, who treated the Indians with the most brutal cruelty. A chief or "sun" of the Natchez, who lived on a beautiful and extensive plantation called White Apple, which was tilled by the people of a scattered village built thereon, was ordered by Chopart to abandon his home, take with him his people and his houses, destroy his fields and go elsewhere. The only justification for the order lay in the fact that Chopart desired to own the rich and beautiful plantation himself. Of course the chief refused to obey so preposterous a command. "My fathers," he said with dignity, "have occupied that spot for many years, and it is well for their children to remain there." Chopart threatened force and the chief called a council to devise means for averting the impending calamity. A treaty ended in the Indians accepting terms by which Chopart was to receive a certain rental from the savages during a respite of a few months which he condescended to grant to them.

This was the beginning of the end. Death was far preferable, the Indians felt, to permitting the white man, in his avarice and brutal arrogance, to

take possession of their lands and their homes. They had not forgotten the perfidy of Bienville, nor were the old bloodstains of the wholesale massacre committed a few years before by the French yet grown dim in their memory. In secret council they formed a plan to destroy the whole French colony. Emissaries were dispatched to all the villages of the Natchez and to those of other tribes with whom they had formed an alliance. Their method of keeping accurate and uniform count of the time until the day agreed upon for the uprising was as picturesque as it was simple. A bundle of reeds containing a certain number of stems was sent to each village with instructions to remove a reed at sunrise every morning, and when but one reed remained that would signify that the day of vengeance had arrived. The order was: Draw the last reed and rush at once upon the nearest French settlement with fire and tomahawk. Not a soul among all the whites was to be spared.

Meantime the Indians paid the rental or tribute demanded by Chopart and appeared to be perfectly submissive. One by one the reeds were withdrawn until the last slender stem awaited its turn. The day of wrath had dawned, but the French were ignorant of the fate prepared for them and went about their routine of duties and pleasures as usual.

With a number of picked warriors, apparently unarmed, but bearing concealed weapons, the chief or "Great Sun" of the Indians near Fort Rosalie entered the post with poultry and other produce which he offered to barter for ammunition. The garrison of Fort Rosalie felt no fear of defenceless Indians, and so the warriors were allowed to enter the fortifications. Quietly they scattered themselves about and watched for the signal of their chief. It was soon given. With the fury of wild beasts hungry for blood, the warriors fell upon their unsuspecting victims and killed all within their reach. At the same time in every direction slaughter was begun and before sunset the entire male population of the settlements near Fort Rosalie had been destroyed. Houses were burned, plantations pillaged and the whole region left a smoking, blood-covered desolation.

The "Great Sun," while this was going on, smoked his pipe in stoical unconcern. The shrieks and groans of the dying, the cries of the women and children, all of whom were taken prisoner, and the roaring of flames made music that lulled the grim old warrior's soul. He sat in the principal warehouse of the post while his braves brought the heads of the slain and laid them in a ghastly pile at his feet; those of the officers and men formed the base of this horrible pyramid, at the apex of which

and crowning the work was placed the hated head of the miscreant Chopart.

Their direful vengeance accomplished, the Indians possessed themselves of the wine and brandy in the stores of Fort Rosalie and forthwith began a wild debauch which ended only when the supply of spirits was exhausted. They danced, and chanted their war-songs, they screamed and bel-lowed and gesticulated, finally lying down in a drunken stupor among the headless bodies of their foes. They spared most of the negroes for use on their own plantations.

On the Yazoo, on the Washita, and at the settle-ment near the present site of Monroe, the colonists were all killed. More than two hundred men died at the hands of the savages on that bloody and long-remembered day. More than two hundred and fifty women and children were taken captive.

It was by such an example that the Company was shown the truth of Bienville's arguments. The necessity for prompt military action was very evident, now that two hundred of the best men in Louisiana lay rotting on the field of massacre so often predicted by the deposed governor.

Périer forthwith dispatched a vessel to France with an account of the horrible butchery and de-manding soldiers and supplies. Meantime orders were sent to the commanders of all the posts of the

territory bidding them make ready for war. Fortifications were built around New Orleans, the inhabitants were armed, and couriers and agents were sent to all the Indian tribes that were on friendly terms with the French, with a view to enlisting them against the Natchez and their allies. There was no lack of military precaution, now that the blow had fallen.

Le Sueur went up into the Choctaw country on the Tombigbee to raise an army of that tribe, while a force of six hundred men marched from New Orleans. An insurrection broke out among the slaves on some of the plantations, just at this critical moment, but it was speedily quelled.

Le Sueur gathered a body of six hundred Choctaw braves and by a hurried march was upon the Natchez before they were aware of his movement. Just at daybreak on a January morning in the year 1730 the allied French and Choctaws fell upon the Natchez villages, and a desperate fight ensued. But though severely punished the Natchez were by no means broken. They were peculiarly gifted in their own rude art of constructing defences. With much skill and speed they at once built a strong fortification and awaited the approach of the French from New Orleans. Le Sueur's band of Choctaws had returned to their tribe.

The Chevalier Loubois with the six hundred

New Orleans troops of Le Sueur, reinforced by eight hundred more, including Indians, reached the Natchez fortification in a few days and began a systematic investment of the place. Trenches were opened, batteries planted at commanding points and a regular siege begun. The Indians, seeing that they would probably be taken, asked for a parley and obtained a suspension of hostilities for ten days upon condition that they would surrender to the French the two hundred prisoners they were holding. During this cessation of hostilities the Indians on the night of the twenty-fifth of February stole out of their fort and escaped leaving the prisoners as they had promised.

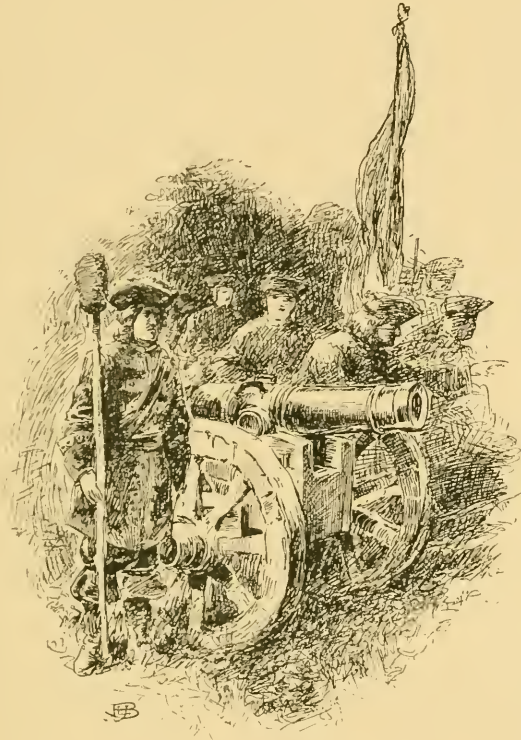
M. Loubois now proceeded to build the new Fort Rosalie (afterward so famous in southwestern story) on the bluff below the site of the present city of Natchez. The remains of this old-time stronghold may still be traced on the brink of the Mississippi bluff where it was built a century and a half ago. Its walls could tell of occupancy by the garrisons of four nations, for over its ramparts, during its seventy years of use as a defensive outpost, floated the flags of France and Spain, of England and the United States. It was finally abandoned in 1800.

The Natchez now scattered themselves and were never again an independent tribe. A large number of them, however, established themselves in a

fort on Black River just below the confluence of Little River and Washita. They built strong intrenchments and prepared to defend the place with that wonderful courage which has made the Natchez name a deathless one in the annals of Indian heroism. Savages those men were, but patriotism never has risen to a higher level of self-sacrificing devotion than was registered by their unswerving fortitude and their serene and desperate valor.

M. Périer well knew that extermination was the only means of freeing the colonies in Louisiana from the incubus of that deadly terror of the red-man which had fixed itself upon them. Every man, woman and child throughout the settlements was haunted with visions of bloody massacre and of death by slow fire at the stake. Labor was paralyzed and trade on the Mississippi virtually destroyed.

In the meantime the English in Carolina were busily engaged in encouraging hostility to the French among the Chickasaws, Creeks and Cherokees. Rumors of this reached the French early in the year 1731. Their alarm increased. The distrust in everything Indian extended even to the governor himself and moved him to a deed of blood that had neither palliation nor excuse. Determined to "make an example" that should be heeded by his Indian foes Périer ordered the extermination



DEATH TO THE NATCHEZ!

of the Chouacâs, a weak band of absolutely harmless Indians living below New Orleans in the region of Lake Barataria. His excuse for this cowardly move was that he believed the Chouacâs to be in alliance with the Chickasaws. But as if such a deed of perfidy could enlist in its behalf no chivalrous or honorable Frenchman this act of desperate folly was delegated to a force of armed negro slaves gathered from the plantations and carefully drilled for the work of butchery. The Indians were entirely defenceless; they were without thought of harming any one or of being harmed themselves, when suddenly the black cloud of slaves fell upon them, as if driven by a tempest of death itself, and wrought a merciless and indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children. It must be remembered that these negroes were themselves savages imported quite recently from their African haunts. One cannot imagine an act of more abject barbarity than this brutal massacre planned by a so-called Christian and executed by a mob of degraded heathen. It seems but a logical return for such "Christian" perfidy that the very mob of slaves to whom had been committed this butchery of defenceless women and children should have combined, because of this success, against their white masters and abettors and soon after their murder of the poor Chouacâs planned the massacre of the

white colonists and the plunder of the settlements. The plot was discovered almost on the eve of its inception.

Elated with his fine "success" against one "rebellious" tribe M. Périer now went forward with great energy. He raised an army with which to strike the stronghold of the Natchez remnant on Black River, and by the close of the year 1731 he had collected a force of six hundred and fifty men. On the fifteenth of November he marched northward, receiving reinforcements of Indians friendly to the French. His combined force thus amounted to about a thousand men. Reaching the mouth of Black River and ascending the stream in a fleet of small boats, the army reached the Natchez fort and began to lay siege thereto on the twentieth of January, 1732. Next day a bombardment was opened. Notwithstanding their well-planned defences, the fortifications of the Natchez were not calculated to withstand the destructive artillery of France and the Indians were soon forced to sue for quarter. A flag of truce was, indeed, hung out before the artillery had really done serious damage to the works. Périer demanded the surrender of all the Indian leaders, but this was refused and he ordered the cannonade to begin. The Indians then gave up their "Great Sun" and a war chief; but Périer would

listen to nothing short of a delivery into his hands of all their leading men. This the Indians again refused and the bombardment was reopened at once. Night was now falling and soon there arose one of those tempests of wind and rain common to the mid-winters of the Lower Mississippi. It was very dark, water came down in a deluge, the gale was almost a hurricane. In the midst of this tumult and darkness, rain and wind, the Indians, renewing the tactics of a former occasion, crept out of their fort and stole away through the swampy forests. Pursuit was made and some of them captured, but the main body escaped.

Among the Natchez captives taken by Périer were the "Great Sun" and a number of the principal war chiefs of the tribe. A terrible fate was in store for these courageous and freedom-loving men. They were shipped to St. Domingo and sold into all the horrors of West Indian slavery.

One last struggle was made by the Natchez remnant. They gathered a band of about two hundred warriors and attacked Fort Natchitoches which was occupied by St. Denis with a small garrison of French. The Indians were repulsed with heavy loss, whereupon they attacked and destroyed a village of the Natchitoches and proceeded to fortify themselves on the spot. St. Denis did not let them long enjoy their new quarters. He was a

fighting man and possessed of great courage, tact and energy. Promptly organizing his men and gathering reinforcements he marched to attack the fort which he carried by storm, putting to death ninety-two of its defenders and giving the finishing blow to the almost complete destruction of the once great Natchez tribe.

In all the long story of the ill-treatment of the American Indian there is scarcely an instance that exceeds in disgraceful details this record of the decline of the Natchez, "the most civilized of all the southern nations." With many marks of refinement and of gentle ways, brave, courteous, friendly and peculiarly adapted to the better processes of civilization they were from the first despised, juggled with and maligned. Pushed to extremities their patriotism and their valor alike made them relentless and bitter foemen and they fought valiantly for their homeland until French "diplomacy" and French gunpowder wrought their ruin and their death.

On the tenth of April, 1732, the proclamation of the French king was issued declaring the territory of Louisiana open and free to all his subjects, the Company having surrendered its franchises to the crown.

Under the new order of things M. Périer retained his position, with M. Salmon as commissaire ordonnateur. Loubois and D'Artaguet were

promoted to the office of king's lieutenants, Loubois remaining in Louisiana whilst D'Artaguetta took charge of the Illinois territory.

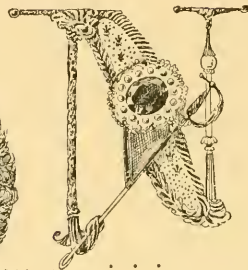
Thus, at the close of 1732, the French colonies in Louisiana became in fact, and for the first time, a people with a government free, at least in name, from the insidious influences of a commercial corporation whose highest aim had been to reap a golden harvest from the labors of the settlers.

Peace had come with the extermination of the Natchez and a feeling of security and hope had taken the place of that dark terror which so lately had hung over the whole territory.

New Orleans was now placed in circumstances which gave great impetus to its growth and prosperity. By an order dated the thirteenth of September the king removed all duties from merchandise going from France to Louisiana and from Louisiana to France, thus establishing free trade between the territory and the mother country. Moreover the circulating medium of Louisiana was becoming more stable and the trade of New Orleans was attracting the attention of the mercantile world.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM FRANCE TO SPAIN.



NOT long after the Company had abandoned Louisiana, and while yet the people were re-

joicing over the bright prospect of peace and happiness which had dawned upon the colonies, Bienville returned from his long stay

in France. He came, in the fall of 1734, as governor and commandant-general of Louisiana. He was welcomed most cordially. The "Father of the Colony" had always been a favorite with the people, whilst Périer, though an excellent officer, had been harsh, willful and despotic in his treatment of his subordinates and in his intercourse with the settlers.

But the new administration of Bienville though begun under the happiest auspices ended in dis-

grace. The veteran governor was now quite past the prime of life, but he no sooner felt the reins of control once more in his hands, than he began to look about for a chance to achieve further renown as an Indian fighter. The Chickasaws offered him an excellent excuse for action. They had incorporated within their tribes the remnant of the destroyed Natchez nation and having allied themselves with certain Carolina traders were committing many outrages along the Mississippi. By their restless energy navigation of the river was no longer safe, nor was trade on its borders profitable. These hostile red-men had their stronghold near what is now Pontotoc on the banks of a small stream of that name in the northern part of Mississippi near the source of the Tallahatchee River. To this lonely and distant point Bienville led an army composed of all the available men in the colonies of Louisiana and all the friendly Indians that he could enlist in his behalf. He had ordered D'Artaguette, son of the Chevalier D'Artaguette, a brave and intrepid youth, to march from Fort Chartres with all the force at his command in the Illinois country and meet him at a point between the Yazoo and the Tombigbee, and near their sources in the upper part of Alabama.

It was on the fourth day of May, 1736, that

Bienville departed from Fort Tombigbee. This stronghold he had just built on the bank of the Tombigbee River as a base for his operations. He led to the attack the largest army that ever had been raised in Louisiana and with high anticipations he now marched forth to assail the stronghold of his enemy.

By some mischance D'Artaguetta failed to arrive at the appointed time and place and Bienville's troops would not be restrained. The Indian fort was found to be a very strong one. Indeed it had been built under the direction of the English traders. Not only a heavy palisade but powerful earthworks as well presented themselves on every side, while inside of the palisades was a wall of boards or slabs. Through these defences port-holes had been cut at short intervals, and all around the defences overhead there was a grenade-proof extension of wood and earth.

Instead of investing the place and laying siege to it by gradual approaches Bienville made a mad effort to carry it by storm. No doubt he was exasperated at seeing the British flag floating over the palisades, for in those days of feud the sight of England's banner on what was deemed French soil was at once an insult and a challenge to French honor. Then too the doughty commandant could scarcely have been aware of the great advance that

the Indians had made in the art of war since the days when, as a youthful adventurer, he had charged over their puny defences, or struck terror into their hearts by the roar of his guns and the flash of his grenades.

Schooled in their experience of the white man's ways and directed no doubt by the English traders within the forts, the besieged Chickasaws gave shot for shot. As Bienville's men rushed forward to the assault they were met by a level storm of bullets directed by cool-headed and skilled marksmen. The effect was terrible, but the brave Frenchmen pressed right on close to the face of the works, only to find that it was impossible to break over. The artful manner in which the defences had been constructed, was now demonstrated. The hand grenades of the Frenchmen could make no impression upon them. Meantime the deadly fire from the port-holes was redoubled and the savages within the fort jeered horribly as they noted the withering effect of their missiles. Bienville recognized, too late, the fatal mistake he had made. He had no artillery, and without it he could not succeed. Stubbornly, desperately, for four hours, he dashed his men against the palisades. It was madness. The walls were impregnable, and baffled and dispirited he was forced to withdraw.

Sadly enough he made his way back to New

Orleans, only to learn a little later that, on the twentieth of May, D'Artaguette and his forces had met with a crushing defeat in the Chickasaw country while on their way to join the commander as ordered. D'Artaguette himself was left wounded on the field along with a number of his officers who had charged by his side. All of them were burned with slow fire at the stake. Vincennes, the brave Canadian lieutenant, Senat, the priest, and D'Artaguette, the heroic young leader, were the chief victims — names that stand for heroism in a page of history as romantic as any in the story of our country.

Bienville was in disgrace. He felt that by his blundering tactics an almost crushing blow had fallen upon the colonies. Over in Georgia and Carolina the English were delighted to hear of his discomfiture; his enemies in Louisiana and in France set up a cry of contempt and derision. Hoping to redeem himself, he asked the war department for permission to raise another army to lead against the Chickasaws. Near the close of 1738 this request was granted and he at once began the levy. The whole winter was given up to the task of collecting and equipping a force which, when brought into a body at Fort Assumption, numbered three thousand and seven hundred men; of these twenty-five hundred were Indians. This



A PRIMITIVE SUGAR MILL.

was the largest army that Louisiana had ever raised and its equipment was excellent.

With strange feebleness, Bienville dallied at the site chosen for Fort Assumption and did not finish the work there before the middle of August. It was not a salubrious spot in the heat of midsummer, surrounded as it was by malarious swamps and dense forests that shut out the breezes. Ague and other bilious and malarial diseases attacked the men and rendered their lives miserable. Many of the whites died. By the time that autumn had arrived the supplies were exhausted. Another long delay followed, waiting for stores to be brought from New Orleans and other points. And so not a move was made until in March, 1739, and then the only result was a tame and bloodless peace after a wordy powwow with the chiefs of the enemy.

This in effect closed the public career of Bienville in Louisiana, though he lived to be quite old and never ceased to take great interest in the welfare of the colonies. He was superseded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil who arrived at New Orleans on the tenth of May, 1743.

It is difficult to separate the elements of Bienville's character so as to make a fair criticism of the man. One thing is plain, however: he was true to Louisiana. Moreover it must be admitted

that, in view of his surroundings, his achievements were remarkable. In reading his romantic story no one will fail to sympathize with him in the disaster which clouded the beginning of his old age and haunted him with its shadow all the rest of his life.

De Vaudreuil found the colonies of Louisiana in a deplorable state, especially as regarded their finances; but he could not resist the temptation to favor certain of his friends with monopolies. Since the peace with the Chickasaws had been concluded, the navigation of the Mississippi and its chief tributaries had been open. One of the first acts of importance marking De Vaudreuil's administration was a grant to one Deruisseau of the right to control the trade of the Missouri and its tributaries. He gave great credit also, as had most of his predecessors, to the stories told of rich gold mines in the North, and he influenced many of the colonists to make vain efforts to discover the supposed hidden sources of wealth. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, however, he was a good governor. Under his direction the affairs of the territory swiftly righted themselves and a vigorous growth of agriculture and trade continued for several years.

New Orleans had now become a thriving town. Up and down the river for many miles beautiful

and well-tilled plantations lay at either hand. Orange groves loaded with their golden fruitage grew around spacious and comfortable homes. As the facilities for religious worship and social intercourse had increased, the morals of the people had greatly improved, and the administration of justice was assuming a more enlightened and comprehensive form.

In 1745 a tornado passed over Lower Louisiana doing immense injury to plantations and crops. The rice fields were almost entirely destroyed. A famine threatened in consequence; but the colonies on the Upper Mississippi came to the rescue with supplies which served to avert the worst results. This disaster having been averted everything went along well until the winter of 1748-49, when a series of cold waves, or "northers," reduced the atmospheric temperature so low that nearly all the orange groves were killed outright. This retarded for many years the maturing of tropical fruit orchards in the territory.

The colonies continued to increase in every direction. The population in 1745 had grown to over six thousand. The rich alluvial coasts of the Mississippi became garden-spots of a varied and exceedingly remunerative planting industry. Flat-boats and barges came down the river from the far upper settlements, bringing cargoes of hides, skins,

cured meats, corn, wheat, and other northern produce, and returned loaded with various articles of foreign merchandise, together with rice, sugar and tobacco, most of these imported. In 1750 cotton was planted successfully for the first time and in the year following sugar-cane was cultivated just above New Orleans. Fourteen years later the first cargo of Louisiana sugar was exported.

Meantime the English colonies on the Atlantic coast were very actively engaged in attempting to secure a monopoly of the trade with the Indians as far westward as to the Mississippi River. With this object in view their emissaries were tireless in the effort to incite the Chickasaws against the French. Traders from Georgia and Carolina came boldly to the Indian towns with their merchandise. They made themselves useful to the red-men, and taught the chiefs how to make their fortifications impregnable to the attack of any force not supplied with artillery. Not the Chickasaws only, but the Choctaws as well were led to commit depredations which caused a war in 1750.

The French were without any efficient service of artillery and Vaudreuil, as had been the case with Bienville, suffered in consequence. The Chickasaws, urged on by the English, finally became so troublesome, that an expedition against them became necessary. An army was gathered for

this purpose consisting of seven hundred whites and a large body of friendly Indians.

The fort erected by Bienville on the Tombigbee River was enlarged and strengthened to be used as a base of operations. Vaudreuil marched boldly into the Chickasaw country and assaulted their fortifications without effect. Not being able to take the towns, he scoured the whole region, destroying the corn fields, burning the houses and laying waste the plantations of his foes. After accomplishing this he left a garrison in the fort on the Tombigbee and returned to New Orleans.

In 1753 Vaudreuil was appointed Governor of Canada, and on the ninth of February relinquished to his commissaire-ordonnateur M. le Capitain Kerlerec the chief office in Louisiana. In some regards this was a wholesome change. Vaudreuil's administration had been extravagant and oppressive to a degree, on account of a miniature court kept up by the pleasure-loving Marquis. It was more than hinted besides that he had farmed out certain offices and grants in order to swell his income sufficiently to meet his rather reckless expenses. Kerlerec found it necessary to remove some of Vaudreuil's appointees because, as he remarked in his dispatches to the French government, the people claimed that stipends had been paid to the governor annually. Indeed there seems little doubt

that a great deal of corruption had been practiced in Louisiana from the first. It could scarcely have been otherwise. The officers, on account of the great distance from France and the weak state of the colonies, exercised almost absolute powers and there was before them every temptation to licentiousness and malfeasance. That this temptation was not resisted very successfully is proven by the case of M. Roux, the officer in command of the post on Cat Island. It was well known that he made his soldiers fell forests and burn the wood into charcoal which he sold for his own benefit, but he was not restrained by his superiors. So miserable and exasperated did his garrison become that they arose in mutiny and killed him. The punishment meted out to the mutineers was cruel in the extreme. Two of the ringleaders were broken on the wheel and another was nailed in a wooden box and sawed in twain with a whip-saw by two subaltern officers.

During the first year of Kerlerec's administration the French and British at length came to open and active hostility and a war was begun for the mastery in America which ended only in giving Canada and a large part of the great territory of Louisiana to the English by a treaty dated at Paris on the tenth of February, 1763.

During this war Louisiana suffered greatly on

account of the almost bankrupt state of the French treasury. The paper currency of the colonies fluctuated disastrously and drove all the coin out of the territory. British cruisers patrolled the seas preventing any efficient aid being sent from France, whilst dissensions and wrangling among the officers, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, kept the inhabitants restless and refractory. Kerlerec managed to make a show of reduction in the public expenditures, but he was hampered on all sides and could see no immediate relief for the distressed and apparently forsaken people of his province. All too soon the English began to threaten New Orleans from the sea. There were no adequate defences on the river in the direction of the gulf, nor was there a fleet at Kerlerec's command fit to guard the coast. He sent message after message to France, but received no answer.

The war began on the head waters of the Ohio and spread thence to Canada. Louisiana for a long time was free from its immediate effects, but her currency grew in volume and shrank in value apace with the progress of the struggle and the steady advance of the English into the northern territory. One by one the strongholds in Canada fell before the invaders until the end came with the taking of Montreal in 1760.

Meantime there had been a great increase in the population of Louisiana by immigration from the French settlements north of the great lakes. Most of these sought homes on the prairies and bayou-coasts of Avoyelles, Attakapas and Opelousas. One colony came under circumstances which not alone the dull details of history, but the genius of our greatest American poet have forever impressed upon the memory of the world. The British government, without the slightest foundation in justice, ordered all the inhabitants in the province of Acadia to be seized, put on board English vessels and transported far away from their homes and country.

At that time Acadia included the area of the present province of Nova Scotia. In obedience to the order of the English conquerors the inhabitants, men, women and children, old and young, sick and well (about four thousand in all), were seized and dragged on board the ships sent for the purpose, huddled into the holds like cattle and in the fall months of 1755, conveyed to the breezy, desolate sand-coasts of Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey and Virginia where they were left in utter destitution to shift for themselves. As fast as they could these poor outcasts made their way to New Orleans. Six hundred and fifty of them arrived early in 1756 and were sent to Attakapas and Opelousas. So began the Acadian settlement

in the western part of Louisiana. To this day that section of the State is inhabited by the descendants of those refugees from English outrage. These people have preserved with remarkable fidelity the old-time customs and habits of their simple, honest and unambitious ancestors.*

In 1763 the final treaty between England and France was perfected and France agreed secretly with Spain to transfer Louisiana to her. By the former treaty the English took possession of all North America east of the Mississippi River, with the exception of that small area extending from lakes Maurepas, Ponchartrain and Borgne southward and westward to the gulf and the river, including the island of Orleans.

The people of Louisiana were not at once informed of the fact that their country had been ceded to Spain. Gradually the news crept among them. It was received with consternation and resentment which soon arose to the highest pitch.

*"The removal of the French Acadians from their homes," says Mr. Charles C. Smith, "was one of the saddest episodes in modern history, and no one will attempt to justify it; but it should be added that the genius of our great poet has thrown a somewhat false and distorted light over the character of the victims. They were not the peaceful and simple-hearted people they are commonly supposed to have been; and their homes, as we learn from contemporary evidence, were by no means the picturesque, vine-clad, and strongly built cottages described by the poet. The people were notably quarrelsome among themselves, and to the last degree superstitious. . . . Even in periods when France and England were at peace the French Acadians were a source of perpetual danger to the English colonists. . . . But all this does not justify their expulsion in the manner in which it was executed, and it will always remain a foul blot in the history of Nova Scotia." This is the other side of the story and should be quoted in justification. But it is safe to assume that the real facts can never qualify the sympathetic love for the Acadians created by the delightful cadences of "Evangeline." — [Ed.]

The Spanish Government, aware of this feeling, hesitated to take formal possession of the territory. The French colonists petitioned their mother country in vain for some action by which they might continue under the control of their king. Nothing could be more bitter to them than the thought of submitting to Spanish rule. No doubt this sentiment was fanned into an active flame of passion by the men who were controlling the Mississippi trade; for the coming of the new administration would end their monopoly.

D'Abadie, who was acting as director-general, held his office for two years after he had received orders to surrender the government of Louisiana to the Spanish sovereign. Don Antonio de Ulloa with a guard of infantry reached New Orleans on the fifth of March, 1766. He came with instructions from Charles III. and was directed to take possession of the province without any display, using every means in his power to pacify the French inhabitants. This task, however, proved a very delicate and difficult one. From the first he was met with the most stubborn and resentful bearing by the people over whom he was to rule. He hesitated to take formal and public possession of the country, seeing that great trouble was almost sure to follow. The longer he hesitated the higher rose the feelings of the people. Suddenly, in Sep-



LAFRENIERE'S APPEAL TO THE COUNCIL.

tember, he left New Orleans and went to the Balize where he remained a long time, apparently unmindful of what was going on. Delegations of citizens and officials were sent to him from New Orleans, but they returned no wiser than when they started. This was exasperating. Days and weeks and months went by, and still no explanation of Ulloa's strange action was forthcoming. Gradually a feeling of dread began to take the place of resentment. It might be that Ulloa was awaiting the arrival of a Spanish fleet and army with which he would proceed to grind the colonies into subjection so that he could govern them as the Mexican colonies were governed. The thought was terrible and many of the inhabitants began to make ready for migration.

Aubrey had succeeded D'Abadie as director-general and while he was waiting to surrender the province to Ulloa a conspiracy was formed among the leaders of the French colonists for the purpose of resisting the transfer. The members of this organization met in secret to perfect their plans. Finally on the twenty-seventh of October, 1768, a revolutionary movement was begun by an uprising of armed citizens. From all directions the settlements poured their men into New Orleans. The guns about the city were spiked and the mob took control of the streets.

Ulloa, who had returned from his hermitage at the Balize, bringing with him as his bride a Peruvian lady of great wealth, was unaware of any conspiracy against him until he saw the armed men in New Orleans and heard their wild shouts of *Vive le roi!* Aubrey was as much surprised as Ulloa could have been, for the insurgents had kept their plans so hidden that he had never suspected their existence. He took prompt measures, however, to shield the Spaniards from harm. Ulloa and his wife were hurriedly put on board a vessel which at once swung out into the middle of the river. On the twenty-ninth, in spite of Aubrey's entreaties and threats, the Supreme Council passed a resolution requiring Ulloa to produce at once his commission or give proof of his authority from the Spanish Government. Failing to do this he was ordered to leave the country within a month. Don Ulloa chose the latter alternative and sailed for Cuba.

The reason for this delay of nearly three years on the part of the Spanish Government before it took actual possession of Louisiana is not quite plain. True the province, in a financial way, was, at best, not a desirable acquisition. The question regarding the management of the worthless paper currency left afloat in the colonies by the French Government was something to temporize with, but

still it is not easily seen why these considerations should have caused such dangerous delays in the matter of assuming local control. A prompt and firm course in the beginning, if accompanied with kindness and justice, would have prevented a great deal of trouble.

Ulloa had been exceedingly kind to the French and the treatment he received at their hands was far from justifiable. While he was in the vessel which was to bear him from New Orleans to Cuba, a party of noisy rioters marched down to the river bank and cut the cable by which his ship was moored. Then, with hilarious delight, they watched the result as the strong current of the stream bore the vessel rapidly away.

On October 31, the Council had formally overruled Aubrey's protest, and had reaffirmed its order to Ulloa. Three days before this the planters and merchants of Louisiana had drawn up an address or manifesto in which they justified the revolution and heaped many accusations upon the head of Don Antonio Ulloa.

As Aubrey had virtually recognized Ulloa as governor of Louisiana, the revolutionists treated him also with contempt. He in turn told them that they would probably come to the end usually reached by insurgents, meaning death by public execution at the hands of the authorities.

The chief instigators and leaders of the revolt were Lafrenière, the attorney-general, Focault, the commissary, Marquis, a captain of the infantry, Mazent, a wealthy planter, and two of ex-Governor Bienville's nephews, Doucet, a lawyer, Villière, the commander of the German coast, and many other leading men of New Orleans and vicinity. Lafrenière was a sort of Patrick Henry, eloquent, fiery, impetuous, just the man to influence his fellows at such a time, and to lead them as he pleased. He delivered an address to the Council which was full of cunning appeals to French prejudice and passion, and at the same time it was couched in terms of bitterest contempt for the Spanish intruders and for their methods of procedure since their arrival in Louisiana. It was this speech that shaped the policy of the Council and drove Ulloa out of the province.

The revolution was complete and the French found themselves masters of the situation; but what was to be done next? So soon as the heat of the crisis had spent itself, the more thoughtful ones among the insurgents began to look at each other askance. It was the lull between storms.

At this time New Orleans was a place of three thousand two hundred inhabitants, and was surrounded by a strong palisade and trenches. Many comfortable, even luxurious homes had been built

and a circle of refined and elegant society had formed itself upon the model of Vaudreuil's little court; but the province had not yet reached the point of absolute self dependence, and in order to sustain themselves in their comparative luxury of living, the leaders of politics and society must have the aid afforded by a rich foreign government. What if France should refuse to stand by them in this defiance of Spain? What if Spain should send an overwhelming army to crush them into submission?

A delegation was dispatched to France to intercede with the Crown, but, of course, under the circumstances, the mission was fruitless. Louisiana just then was a load of which the French Government was glad to be rid. The burden was on the shoulders of Spain, and she must bear it.

The revolutionists began to count the chances of the future. They found their treasury practically empty, their supply of arms and munitions of war very scant, their available force of men not exceeding fifteen hundred or eighteen hundred at most and, worst of all, no unanimity of feeling among the people. Deep down in their hearts lay an awful dread of Spanish vengeance, and well it might lie there, for the whole world knew how terrible that vengeance could be.

Some Spanish officers had been left in New

Orleans by Ulloa. These were treated with great consideration. Aubrey showed them every courtesy, and a number of the more prudent French citizens became their staunch friends and supporters.

Thus as time wore on the suspense became almost unbearable to those who had clamored so loudly for the expulsion of Ulloa. There was something ominous in the delay.

At length, suddenly, on the twenty-third of July, 1769, a dispatch was received announcing the arrival of a Spanish fleet at the Balize. Nor was it a mere nominal force that it brought upon its decks. The twenty-four vessels were heavily armed and bore an army which could with ease overrun and devastate the entire province.

Now, indeed, was the hour come for the insurgents to tremble. Villière who was the leading spirit of the German and the Acadian coasts, had kept his people in open rebellion to the last moment; but now, seeing how overpowering were the Spanish forces, he began preparations to leave the territory. It would appear, however, that he received assurances of kind treatment, for he seems to have changed his determination and to have thrown himself upon the mercy of the Spanish commander.

CHAPTER V.

UNDER THE FLAG OF SPAIN.



Y rejecting with scorn the pacific overtures of Ulloa and by maintaining a rebellious and threatening attitude, the French of Louisiana had made but a

poor exchange of masters, as they soon discovered.

Don Alexander O'Reilly who was now at their gates with a strong fleet, many cannon, infantry, cavalry and mounted riflemen — an army the like of which Louisiana had never seen — was not a man to be met with even the slightest show of resistance or discourtesy. He was a man of courage, firmness, executive ability and great cunning, and he had come in a mood anything but gentle and temporizing. The Spanish Government had breathed

into him the breath of despotic force. Nor is this to be wondered at, when all the facts are considered. The treatment which Spain had received cannot be called fair. Louisiana was not only a colony of France, it was also dependent on her for existence at the time of the cession to Spain. It was France and not Spain with whom the colonies had the right to find fault. But liberty is dear and the preference for the country of one's ancestors is founded in human nature. This was a case, however, where the love of liberty and the preference for the mother country were permitted to override the best dictates of a necessary prudence and a wiser caution.

When O'Reilly's fleet appeared before New Orleans the people were ready to submit to Spanish control as a matter of self-preservation; but it was a terrible ordeal when with banners flying and guns thundering salutes, two thousand six hundred soldiers landed and marched in splendid array into the town, shouting *Viva el rey!* and taking position in the form of a hollow square. An artillery force of fifty guns, some mounted militia and a force of light infantry and mounted riflemen formed an imposing part of the parade.

Crowds of people from the various settlements had come to New Orleans to witness the scene. They returned to their homes overawed and

despondent. Now, indeed, they knew that they were Spanish subjects.

O'Reilly acted with a promptness, an energy and a brutal cruelty worthy of the dark record already made by his Government in all its American provinces.

On the twenty-first of August he called before him twelve of the men who had been most conspicuous in urging the insurrection, and after having read to them the orders of his sovereign, he told them that they were prisoners and must answer to a charge of treason and insurrection.

There was a trial and five of the twelve, namely: Lafrènière, Noyan Bienville, Caresse, Marquis and Milhet, were condemned to be hanged, one was sentenced to imprisonment for life, two to ten years' confinement, three to six years' confinement, and the property of all was declared confiscated to the king's treasury. This blow fell with crushing effect. The condemned men were, most of them, connected with a large number of the best and most prosperous families in Louisiana.

Villièrè had already come to a tragic death. He had been confined under close guard on a Spanish frigate in the river, and had been allowed to see no one but his captors. His wife, frenzied with grief and apprehension visited him, but was refused admission to his presence. Villièrè hearing her

voice tried to go to her, and in a struggle with his guards was killed outright. Madame Villière persisted in her attempts to reach her husband until at last the brutal soldiers flung to her the bloody shirt of their mangled victim to assure her that he was dead.

A few days after their trial the five men who had been sentenced to be hanged were led forth and shot, a military death having been permitted by O'Reilly, in lieu of the more disgraceful one at the rope's end.

The sorrow and distress that fell upon the hearts of the colonists as the result of these terrible tragedies can be but faintly described. Horror hovered over the entire territory. The distinguished victims had kindred and dear friends not only in and about New Orleans, but in every settlement in Lower Louisiana. Weeping and mourning and the gloom of funeral sadness took possession of almost every household.

The suave manners and smiling face of O'Reilly, his kindly words and his acts of generosity to those who had not incurred his displeasure, made the brutality of his punishments appear all the more hideous. He was looked upon as an affable and gracious-appearing fiend who might be expected to wreak his terrible vengeance upon any one at any hour. Nobody felt safe for a moment, day or

night. Business was wholly neglected and people were almost afraid to speak to each other for fear that they might be accused of plotting insurrection.

O'Reilly proceeded to organize a new government based upon Spanish methods. He ordered that all the judicial records shall be kept in the Spanish language, and that there should be no other tongue recognized in the pleadings and procedure of the courts.

Although he was a severe man and remained unpopular during his administration, he studied the interests of Louisiana and advanced her material prosperity in many ways. His laws appear to have been wise and wholesome in the main, and his influence, barring his monstrous acts at the outset of his career, was more for good than for bad.

Emigration from Spain set in and the population of Louisiana was greatly increased. The new colonists opened settlements on the Mississippi and in the western part of the territory, on the prairies of the region lying beyond the Teche.

O'Reilly closed the Mississippi to traders from outside of Louisiana and prohibited all foreigners from passing through the province without a passport from him; nor was any person permitted to leave Louisiana until an order had been granted.

At the end of a year he fell into disgrace with the Spanish Government and was superseded by

Don Antonio Maria Bucarely who held command until the arrival of Don Luis de Unzaga, named by O'Reilly as his successor. Unzaga was confirmed as governor of the province on the seventeenth of August, 1772. The winter following was extremely cold and for the third time since the founding of New Orleans, the orange orchards of Louisiana were all killed.

Unzaga saw that O'Reilly had laid the foundation of good government by his vigorous action in the case of the insurgent leaders, and he wisely sought to build upon it by a kind and liberal administration. Those executions have been characterized as brutal and cruel; but it must be admitted that from the Spanish point of view they were justifiable. O'Reilly was a military despot, but the impartial critic must accord to him a much better character than historians have been willing that he should disclose in their pictures of him. He came to Louisiana immediately after the expulsion of Ulloa and found the colonies flooded with incendiary documents, the populace in arms against his king, and a self-constituted council usurping the power of government. He struck swiftly and without mercy at the heart of insubordination, and by one fell blow taught the French that they were not to consider themselves as anything more or less than Spanish subjects.



THE DEATH OF VILLIERE.

The lesson was terrible; but it was not necessary to repeat it. One such is an education. Unzaga made haste to draw the people to him, and so kind was he and so watchful of their interests that he soon fixed himself firmly in their confidence. Under the benign influence of his administration the affairs of Louisiana brightened and the colonies prospered. Population increased with great rapidity during the whole period of his stay in Louisiana, and the agriculture of the Mississippi Valley was vastly improved.

In 1776 he was appointed captain-general of Caraccas, and Don Bernard de Galvez took the office of governor of Louisiana on the first of January, 1777.

In the meantime the English colonies of North America had declared their independence and a struggle was going on between them and Great Britain. All the territory of Louisiana lay remote from the chief centres of Anglo-American population, and would therefore have been little affected by the war which followed the Declaration of Independence, had Spain but kept out of the controversy.

France ranged herself on the side of the colonies early in the struggle; Spain (having offered to interfere amicably) was snubbed in the most offensive and arrogant way by England.

At this time there were British forts and garrisons at Mobile, at Baton Rouge, at Fort Bute and at Natchez. Indeed, as the war progressed many emigrants from the English colonies settled along the east bank of the Mississippi where they hoped to find exemption from the evils of the bloody and desperate struggle for liberty. Against these settlers the people of Louisiana nursed a deep-seated hostility which was thoroughly understood and carefully encouraged by their Spanish masters. When England went to war with France the old love of their mother country still smoldering in the hearts of the French Creoles was revived. They burned to strike their ancient enemy the British traders. They had not long to wait for the coveted opportunity. Galvez, although prudent and cautious, was full of military ardor. He longed for the turn of events which would permit him to attack Mobile, Pensacola, Baton Rouge and all the other English posts.

On the twenty-second of April, 1777, Colonel George Morgan of the American colonial army, who was in command at Fort Pitt, wrote to Galvez asking leave to pass an army through Louisiana for the purpose of attacking Mobile and Pensacola, hoping by this move to strike the English a telling blow where they were least expecting it. But the Spanish governor was too wise to permit such a

thing. In the first place he was not entirely sure of the loyalty of his own subjects, and then, too, it would be imprudent to take the step without the permission of his king.

Large numbers of emigrants continued to arrive in Louisiana and there was a steady, healthy increase in the agricultural and commercial interest. Under the new order of things, which permitted free trade with all the Spanish ports, New Orleans grew in importance as well as in size. Many boats descended the Mississippi from the settlements on its upper waters, bringing down heavy cargoes of produce, and for a time the colonies were exceedingly prosperous. In 1779 a body of four hundred and ninety-nine emigrants reached New Orleans from the Canary Islands. These were sent to the banks of Bayou Teche and there formed the settlement of New Iberia.

The formal declaration of war by Spain against Great Britain was made known to Galvez at the earliest moment and he was authorized to treat the English as enemies. This was welcome intelligence. He chafed to begin military operations. In the summer of 1779 he organized an army of fourteen hundred men and marched against Fort Bute on the Manchac, which he assaulted and carried by storm. With great promptness and rapidity he followed up this victory. Reinforce-

ments to the number of six hundred came to his aid, and by the twenty-seventh he had reached Baton Rouge. This was the most important British post on the river, but it surrendered to him after a sharp fight of two hours. The fall of Baton Rouge put into the hands of Galvez the area of country now occupied by the parishes of Baton Rouge and Feliciana, with the forts it contained. It was a short, brilliant and wholly successful campaign. The people of Louisiana were greatly elated by it and Galvez took the importance of a hero in their estimation. The Spanish king promptly sent to him the commission of brigadier-general of the royal forces of Louisiana and ordered him to prepare at once to attack the other British posts within his reach.

Without delay he began the work. So rapidly did he organize his forces that on the fifth of February, 1780, he set sail for Mobile with an army of two thousand men. On the gulf his fleet encountered a severe gale which did considerable damage to some of the vessels, but in due time he sailed into the Mobile River and landed his forces on the eastern point of the river's bank. Thence, after a hurried reconnoissance, he marched boldly up to Fort Charlotte and invested it, planting six batteries in position for effective bombardment. All the guns were put into action and served with fine

results. A breach was made in the wall of the fort, and on the fourteenth of March it was surrendered to the brave and intrepid Galvez. The young conqueror was then but twenty-four years old.

Feeling that it was of the utmost importance to continue his triumphant campaign against the English, Galvez returned to New Orleans and sent a dispatch to the captain-general of Cuba, asking for reinforcements. These being delayed he proceeded to Havana and in person superintended the fitting out of a fleet and army, with which he set sail for Pensacola on the sixteenth of October. A storm broke up and dispersed his fleet before he reached his destination, and after a month of almost superhuman effort in re-gathering his scattered vessels he returned to Havana. This disaster did not daunt him in the least. He demanded another fleet and at length on the twenty-eighth of February, 1781, he was again on the gulf with a ship of the line, two frigates and several transports, bearing fourteen hundred soldiers, formidable artillery and everything that in those days went to make up an efficient force. Don José Cabro de Izrael commanded the fleet, though Galvez had controlled the expedition.

Pensacola was reached without delay and on the ninth of March Galvez landed on the island of

St. Rose, where he erected some earth-works and planted a battery to protect the vessels while passing the bar; but a misunderstanding arose between him and Izrael, and the fleet was not moved.

The Spanish admiral insisted that the channel was too narrow, too swift and too shallow for his vessels, and that any attempt to attack the fort by water would be utterly fruitless. Galvez strenuously contended that the attack should be made by the fleet and the land forces simultaneously; but finding the admiral stubborn he set about the task of reducing the fort with the troops and vessels that were exclusively under his command.

On the sixteenth Espeleta arrived from Mobile with all the men he could muster, and he was followed by Mirò who brought the forces from New Orleans.

Galvez had a brig, two gun-boats and a schooner. He went on board of the brig and ordered his little fleet to pass the fort. Sail was set immediately and the four vessels swept slowly on, the fort directing upon them a heavy fire to which they answered with spirit and effect. Galvez, whose feelings had been aroused to the highest pitch of indignation by the stubborn willfulness of the admiral, purposely exposed himself to the aim of the English cannoneers. The fort was safely passed

and a landing made at the end of the bay, the troops cheering, the flags flying and salutes thundering across the water. The Spanish admiral caught the enthusiasm of the intrepid and courageous young commander and at once prepared to sail over the bar. When the tide rose next day he was ready. Leading the way with his frigate he safely passed the obstructing sands and sailed along in front of the fort under a heavy fire. Galvez in an open boat came forth to meet him and to direct him where to anchor. The coolness, alertness and bravery of the governor, his forgetfulness of self, and his zeal and energy infected even the crews of the fleet and stirred their feelings to the highest pitch of enthusiasm.

Galvez demanded the surrender of the fort, but it was refused after much parleying. Preparations for the attack were then rapidly completed. A line of investment, with batteries placed in commanding position, was so laid that the fleet could co-operate effectively, and at a given signal the assault began from all sides in such a manner that the apparent force of the Spaniards was highly magnified.

Izrael felt the necessity of showing a courage and enthusiasm equal to the occasion, in order not to appear inferior to Galvez. He therefore put his fleet into position and poured his broadsides into the fort in a steady and crushing volume. Espeleta

and Mirò had landed their forces on the Perdido and from there had marched to a position on one side of the English works while Galvez pushed his guns close to the other side.

The English, finding that the heavy guns of Izabel's fleet were about to make a breach in the fort, hastily advanced some batteries to a position not commanded from the water, and by a well-directed fire drove the vessels to the other side of the bay. This movement left Galvez unsupported, but he was not daunted. Concentrating his guns on a salient point of the enemy's works he succeeded in lodging a shell in the powder magazine situated therein and it blew up with a terrific explosion. Into the breach rushed Espeleta with a detachment of men and four field pieces. Galvez saw the opportunity. Forming his men all in a body and placing himself at their head, he was just ready to order the assault, when a white flag was hung out from the fort.

On the ninth of May the English surrendered the post and over eight hundred prisoners, thus giving into the hands of the Spaniards the whole of West Florida.

Meantime there had been an insurrection among the English colonists in the Natchez district and Fort Panmure had fallen into the hands of the rebels. These did not hold the place long, how-

ever, for hearing of the victory won by Galvez they fled toward the Atlantic coast and after terrible suffering and a journey of one hundred and thirty-one days a part of them reached Savannah in an almost starving condition.

The civil affairs of Louisiana were far from prosperous during the years 1779, '80 and '81. The commerce of the colonies had suffered every possible evil and agriculture had been reduced to the lowest point of depression. In August, 1780, an awful hurricane rushed over the province, demolishing houses, fences and granaries, ruining all the growing crops, swamping all the vessels on the river and lakes and making utter havoc of everything that came in its way. This was the culmination of a long series of disasters. Small-pox had raged, the war with Great Britain had ruined commerce, there had been floods, inundations and hurricanes, a very rainy summer, and a winter the coldest ever known in Louisiana. Galvez had been victorious, however, and the people stood by him with great courage and fortitude. He prevailed upon his king to grant to them commercial privileges hitherto withheld, and did all in his power to advance their interests and improve their condition. Honors flowed in upon him. He was made Lieutenant-General, decorated with the cross of Knight-Pensioner, commissioned

Captain-General of Louisiana and Florida, and made a count. A little later he was appointed Captain-General of Cuba and of Louisiana and the Floridas. From this position he quickly rose to that of Viceroy of Mexico, but retained still the office of Captain-General in Louisiana and the Floridas. During all this time he was as beloved as he was honored.

There is no more striking and romantic figure in American history than the young, magnetic, brilliant and successful Galvez. He was a true Spaniard of the very best sort, brave, magnanimous, fond of dash and show, an aristocrat and yet a lover of the people, the friend and the idol of his subjects. His wife, a native of Louisiana, was a brilliant, kind and lovable woman who won the hearts of all. His career closed all too soon. He died in Mexico when but thirty-eight years old.

On the twentieth of February, 1783, was signed the treaty of peace that confirmed the independence of the United States. It also fixed the boundary of Louisiana and of East and West Florida, the last-mentioned provinces having been ceded to Spain by Great Britain. It was fully stipulated in this treaty that the Mississippi River should remain forever free, from its mouth to its source, to navigation by all British subjects and by all the citizens of the United States.



On the
Teche.

The census of Louisiana shows a population in 1785 of thirty-one thousand four hundred and thirty-three. The number of slaves nearly equalled that of the whites, and there were over one thousand free persons of color. The population of New Orleans was about five thousand.

No sooner had the American war ended than emigration to Louisiana revived. Don Estavan Mirò, who was acting as governor in the absence of Galvez, permitted British subjects to take the oath of allegiance to Spain, and granted an extension of time for the preparations making by those who wished to remove out of the province.

In 1787 a feeling was prevalent in the American settlements adjacent to Louisiana, that longer adherence to the Federal Union was not desirable, and that some plan of separation should be devised. In June of this year Colonel James Wilkinson (a name not unknown in American "diplomacy") was in New Orleans, ostensibly as a merchant trader with a cargo of bacon, butter, flour and tobacco, but in reality as a schemer for some sort of understanding with the Louisiana authorities. At the same time Mirò had his agents at work using every means to promote emigration from the United States into his province. In January, 1778, he wrote to Valdes, minister and secretary of State for the department of the Indies:

“The delivering up of Kentucky into his Majesty’s hands, which is the object to which Wilkinson has promised to wholly devote himself, would render that province a lasting bulwark of defence for New Spain.”

The truth of this matter appears to have been that Colonel Wilkinson was a shrewd trader, bent upon his own business, and that by professing to favor Mirò’s schemes he obtained a monopoly of the tobacco trade from Kentucky and was permitted to bring his cargoes to New Orleans without competition. Whether or not he was really conspiring to put Kentucky into Spanish hands is an open question. That he professed to be favorable to the scheme cannot be doubted.

On the afternoon of the twenty-first of March, 1788, a fire broke out in New Orleans, which destroyed all the best part of the city. Eight hundred and fifty-six buildings were burned with a loss of more than two and a half million dollars.

In this year a census was taken which showed the population of New Orleans to be five thousand three hundred and thirty-eight, and that of Louisiana forty-two thousand three hundred and forty-six, a gain in the province for the past three years of ten thousand. Indeed the scheme of emigration had succeeded to a considerable extent. The people of Western North Carolina had become

dissatisfied, and as early as 1786 they had declared themselves independent, and had erected a new State which they called Frankland; this creation however had but a short life. Its destruction in the following year led to emigration from that region to Louisiana, and John Sevier who had been elected governor of the short-lived State wrote the Spanish minister to the effect that the people of Western North Carolina were tired of their connection with the Federal Union and were unanimous in their desire to join Spain. Indeed the intrigues of Wilkinson, Morgan, White, Dunn and others, with the governor Mirò and the Spanish minister Guardoqui, form one of the strangest and most intricate episodes in the history of America. On the part of the Spaniards there can be no doubt that the negotiations were sincere and looked toward the acquisition of a large territory; but in the light of the facts it would appear that the parties of the second part were, to a very great degree, bent upon the acquisition of Spanish dollars, without regard for the political outcome of their acts. But whatever may have been the real purposes of the schemers, one thing is sure: Louisiana was the gainer in the outcome; for the movement gave a great impetus to the Mississippi River trade and started a tide of emigration toward the rich districts of the Spanish province.

On the thirtieth of December, 1791, Mirò was superseded by Don Francisco Louis Hector, Baron de Carondelet, who from that date became governor and intendant of Louisiana and West Florida.

Meantime a bloody revolution in St. Domingo had sent many of the French residents of that ill-fated island to find a home in Louisiana. Indeed, by the arrival of colonists from many parts of the world the population of the province had been greatly increased. New Orleans had been rebuilt with much better houses and public edifices than it had contained before the great fire of 1788, and there was nothing to mar the prospect save the growing fear of approaching war with France or with England. The trade between New Orleans and Philadelphia had been free, and, in fact, although the Spanish Government had forbidden it, foreign merchants residing within Louisiana were allowed every privilege of trade.

Early in 1793 came the information that Spain had declared war against France. To the French population of Louisiana this was by no means encouraging news, although they desired nothing so much as to feel themselves once more subjects of their beloved mother country. War between Spain and any country, however, could not fail to cause great distress in the colonies, for it rendered the transportation of supplies very difficult and

irregular, and made the commercial operations of the colonists exceedingly precarious. Still the feeling in favor of France was too strong to be entirely controlled by a people as volatile and restless as were the Creoles of those days. The word was passed from lip to lip and from settlement to settlement that France might soon claim her own again, and many a heart throbbed the quicker at the thought that one of these days a fleet bearing the French flag would come up the river and drive the Spanish out of New Orleans. Not that the administration of Carondelet had been distasteful; it could not be urged that any French governor had been wiser or kinder; the sentiment was the development of that lingering or hereditary homesickness for the country of their youth or of their forefathers which made the Creoles ever ready to grasp at the shadow of a hope whenever the name of France was spoken. Even to this day something of the kind is observable in the French-speaking population of Louisiana. They speak of "our beloved France" as if it were the land of their allegiance, and as if the phrase were the final expression of all that patriotism can mean.

CHAPTER VI.

INTRIGUE AND UNREST.



ARONDELET quickly discovered that the sympathies of his French subjects were with the republic of France in the struggle now going on, and he well knew the danger of permitting these sympathies to pass

beyond control. The very words, Liberty and the Republic, were significant of danger to the Spanish hold on Louisiana. On every hand there was talk of the prospect of returning to the arms of the mother country. At the theatre the audiences, fired with the thought of France and liberty, shouted to the orchestra to play the "Marseillaise," while the more anarchistic of the rabble bawled out the inflammable catch-words and the blood-thirsty songs of the Jacobins.

So far as fortifications were concerned, New Orleans was defenseless at this time. Carondelet was therefore too wise to resort to vigorous measures for suppressing the rapidly rising spirit of revolt. He knew that the thoughtful leaders among the people would soon see that it would be foolish to risk a rebellion. Taking council of these he sent out papers for citizens to subscribe in which the signers bound themselves to faithfully support the king and to adhere loyally to his government in Louisiana. The fate of Lafrenière and his coadjutors was not so far in the past that its lesson was forgotten. Men were really in no great hurry to repeat the experiment which exchanged Ulloa for O'Reilly.

With great promptness and energy Carondelet set a large force of men at work building defences around New Orleans. He issued orders that revolutionary music and certain martial dances should not be allowed in the theatres; he promptly arrested and transported to Cuba six persons who had been over-bold in giving expression to republican sentiments.

His next step was to seek an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the neighboring Indian tribes. Five of the most powerful of these, the Chickasaws, the Cherokees, the Creeks, the Alibamons and the Talapouches, were drawn into a confederacy by

which they bound themselves to stand firmly by Spain against her enemies, and to aid the government of Louisiana in maintaining itself.

Above and below New Orleans Carondelet built strong forts, superintending their erection in person. He also reconstructed the fortifications higher up the river. About this time he wrote to the Spanish Government as follows: "By extreme vigilance and by spending sleepless nights, by scaring some and punishing others, by banishing a number, particularly some new-comers from France who were debauching the people with their republican teaching, by intercepting letters and documents suspected of being incendiary, and by prevaricating with everybody I have done better than I had expected, as the province is now quite orderly and quiet."

Truly a breezy touch, this, of diplomatic description; it gives us a refreshing glimpse of official life in America as it was a little less than a hundred years ago. The tactics of the Jacobins, who had a society in Philadelphia and were flooding the country with their peculiar documents, had forced Carondelet to take strong measures, and without delay he placed his army on a war footing, making a great show of confidence and activity. At the same time he sought to hold the friendship of the colonies on the Upper Mississippi

and the Ohio by granting valuable trade privileges to some of their most influential men. Nor did he neglect to keep alive the schemes for drawing these disaffected colonies away from their allegiance to the Federal Government and into the arms of the Spanish king. On the other hand the French minister to the United States, the "fiery and indiscreet" Monsieur Genet, was making every effort to organize a force in Kentucky and Tennessee to be led by him in person against the Spanish in Louisiana. Thus, menaced from within his province and without, Carondelet was in no enviable situation. The storm blew over, however, without bringing disaster. The Federal Government discovered M. Genet's schemes and cut them short by procuring his recall. De la Chasie, who had been Genet's agent in Kentucky, quickly abandoned the field and returned to France, and all the expeditions theretofore planned fell to the ground.

Carondelet, seeing all danger of insurrection ended and the threatened invasion thus happily prevented, bent all his energies to the task of winning over the western territories of the United States. The English in Canada were laboring assiduously, at the same time, to get possession of that field. The Ohio Valley was invested with the emissaries of these insidious and crafty schemers. All this was without notable result, however; the finely laid

plans found no permanent support among loyal Americans.

Preparations for war are but poor encouragement to the industries of a weak and debt-ridden country. The extensive operations of Carondelet in putting Louisiana into a state of defence and his expensive system of dealing with his spies, emissaries and coadjutors in the United States, had not tended to engender a healthy spirit of agriculture and commerce.

It was peculiarly fortunate that just at this point of time should have been discovered the true source of prosperity for the long-suffering province.

In 1795 Etienne Boré demonstrated how immensely profitable was the industry of sugar making. He had been an indigo planter, his possessions lying six miles above New Orleans on the left bank of the river, but his agricultural ventures had not been crowned with satisfactory results, and he determined to risk his own fortune and that of his wife on an effort to establish cane-culture and sugar-making in Louisiana.

Hitherto sugar-cane had not been successfully used in the province in any better manufacture than that of syrup-making and the distillation of a vile spirituous drink called tafia. The processes of evaporation and granulation had not been introduced, consequently the small amount of sugar

made was very dark, wax-like and subject to great shrinkage on account of its bulk being saturated with syrup.

Boré proceeded with great intelligence and forethought, but also without regard for the possible consequences. Should failure result instead of the success he so confidently anticipated, his ruin must have been complete. But he succeeded even beyond his expectations, and his crop of cane when reduced to sugar sold for twelve thousand dollars. Here was the first bud of that amazing wealth which afterward flowered forth over all the lower valley of the Mississippi. A mighty industry arose which gave color to the civilization of Louisiana and laid broad the foundations of a commonwealth at once the most picturesque and the most steadfast in its elements to be found in America.

The French revolution drove many noble citizens from France. Louisiana became the place of refuge for a number of these, and they brought with them a considerable following. Thus, although the means of education had been almost wholly neglected in New Orleans and its dependent settlements, there was a certain courtly politeness which influenced the manners of the better class of the people and made the home life of some of them charmingly refined and engaging. Still by far the greater number of those who formed the

population of New Orleans consisted of persons as unscrupulous as they were rough and dangerous. The city itself was not fair to look upon, though much had been done for it. Carondelet cut a canal all the way from Lake Ponchartrain to the ramparts of the town. By this means small vessels were able to receive and unload cargoes at this point, thus avoiding by way of the lake and its safer outlets, the difficult navigation of the Mississippi's mouth. That a good deal of smuggling was indulged in at this time can scarcely be doubted. There was everything to incite it; it was highly profitable and but few barriers were placed in its way.

The increase in the number of slaves, while it added much to the success of agriculture in a swampy and malarious country, was attended with a danger more to be dreaded than all the others put together. A rumor of the revolt in St. Domingo had reached the ears of the slaves on the plantations of Louisiana; and in the lonely parish of Pointe Coupée the dusky half-savages planned a massacre of their owners. The negroes outnumbered the whites in this parish, and its remote situation rendered the bloody task an easy one, if but the secret could be kept until the blows were ready to fall. It is hard at this time to realize the awful nature of the peril hanging over those scattered and helpless families. The men and the children were

to be killed outright; the women were to be subjected to a fate an hundred-fold more horrible. Everything was ready, the plans all perfected, when by the merest chance (growing out of a disagreement among the leaders) the secret was divulged and the dreadful deed prevented. A very effective example was made of the ringleaders by hanging them by the neck until they were dead, and then leaving their dangling bodies for several days in full view of the public, at many points along the river and elsewhere. This struck terror into the hearts of the negroes and put an end to the danger they had engendered by their plotting. Some whites who were suspected of complicity in the movement were transported, although their guilt was not shown by any competent evidence.

By a treaty signed the twentieth of October, 1795, between Spain and the United States, the boundary line between the territories of the two powers in America was settled, at least nominally. The United States took possession of all the area east of the Mississippi as far south as the thirty-first degree of latitude, leaving Spain master of all the territory west of the river, and also of the area south of the thirty-first degree of latitude. The Mississippi River for its entire width and from its source to the sea, was declared forever open to all the citizens of the United States.

This treaty, however, did not put an end to Carondelet's tampering with the people of Kentucky and Tennessee. He clung with great tenacity to his hope that some of the western colonies of the United States could be induced to sever their connection with the Federal Government and cast their lot with Louisiana. Wilkinson and others reaped, or tried to reap, a rich harvest by means of this hobby. The people of Kentucky and of the other western territories refused to listen to these schemes, and they were at length abandoned, but not till after the Spanish Government had long delayed carrying out the terms of the treaty. For reasons of his own Wilkinson adroitly withdrew from negotiating with Carondelet's agent and set himself to favoring, in every way that he could, the interests of his own country.

On the thirteenth of October, 1795, a French privateer entered the mouth of the Mississippi and sent some men ashore who took possession of the Balize and destroyed all its property. A force was dispatched from New Orleans to attack them, but they set sail and avoided an encounter. This was the only damage suffered by Louisiana on account of the French War.

In the autumn of the following year an epidemic broke out in New Orleans; probably it was a

malignant kind of malarial fever, though the fact that a black vomit is described as one of its symptoms signifies that it may have been the terrible yellow fever which has since that day so often and with such terrible results visited the great city on the Gulf.

The sanitary condition of New Orleans was necessarily bad. The river flooded the streets of the lower part at every freshet and the drainage, even in the driest season, was wholly inadequate. A moat of stagnant water surrounded the wall, the canal itself was little better than a ditch, and behind the city was a vast swamp stretching away to the bayou. In summer the air swarmed with mosquitoes and other pestiferous insects, while the stench rising from the ponds and marshes was suggestive of all manner of disease.

A Spanish bishop, in a letter dated at New Orleans in 1795, incidentally mentioned that there were at that time in the city a number of schools, only one of which was Spanish. The French schools displeased him because they appeared to be inculcating principles too decidedly French. The morals of the city were, he said, very bad; the people permitted their children to "read books written against religion and the State," and at the dinner-table they made use of "the most shameful, lascivious and sacrilegious songs." Indeed all

accounts agree in describing New Orleans as a convivial city, not given to the observance of all the moral laws, thoroughly French in its tastes, and altogether independent of leading-strings socially, politically and religiously. It was the favored resort of the lawless. Some pirates lived there, not a few smugglers, and a large number of adventurous persons — political and criminal refugees from the Old World. A motley population, picturesque from every point of view, actuated in a large degree by motives that forbade moral rectitude.

In describing the city at that time, General Collot wrote: —

“Its defensive works are composed of five small forts and a battery, arranged thus: on the river front at each end is a fort commanding the stream; . . . between these two works, before the chief street of the city, is a great battery commanding the river . . . In the rear of the city on the land side are three forts.”

Collot shrewdly remarks that Carondelet probably erected these works more with a view to overawing his rebellious subjects than with the belief that they would prove an efficient defense for the city in case of attack. This doubtless expressed the main truth of the matter, for a close study of all the documents bearing upon the history of the time during

which Carondelet was governor fails to show that Louisiana ever was in any real danger of invasion from either one of the enemies the good baron pretended so much to fear.

Carondelet was not averse to turning a penny, and Wilkinson showed him how, under cover of a secret compact of trade and a public pretence of hatching rebellion, the tobacco of Kentucky and Tennessee could be turned to excellent pecuniary account. The jolly baron was true to his king in religion and politics, but when it came to money he was inclined to look out sharply for himself. He tried very hard to foment a revolt in the West, yet at the same time he could not see any harm in making his schemes pay a good dividend. General Wilkinson's rule of action lay on the same plane. His process was double. To Carondelet he favored secession and annexation, to the French he hinted revolt and freedom, and while working both parties he "feathered his own nest" by vigorously pushing his tobacco trade and taking all the gold that the Spanish would give him to defray imaginary expenses and to corrupt mythical personages of high influence in politics.

During the years 1796-97 the Spanish authorities exhausted every means for delaying a confirmation of the boundary line as set forth in the

treaty of 1783. By one pretext and another, they avoided the surrender of the Natchez territory and continued to hold the military posts therein. Not until the twenty-third of March, 1798, was the final step taken by which the Federal Government was permitted to occupy in full the province of Mississippi.

The Baron Carondelet was appointed governor of the Mexican provinces, and on the twenty-sixth of July, 1797, Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos having received the commission of governor of Louisiana, took up his abode in New Orleans. In the year following, after having evacuated the fort at Natchez, he issued an order directing the commissioners of Spain to meet those of the Federal Government at Bayou Tunica and begin the survey of the boundary line in accordance with the treaty so long set at naught. Soon after this we find the newly made territory of Mississippi occupied by a Federal force and, strange to say, with Gen. Wilkinson in command. The man who but lately had been playing the rôle of traitor, spy, insurrectionist and smuggler, was now chief commander on the border and was building a fort at Loftus Heights just above the boundary line. The new governor of Louisiana, seeing the hope of detaching Kentucky and Tennessee fall dead at his feet, finally turned back to the old policy



THE SALE OF LOUISIANA.

of restricting immigration and of discriminating against Protestants.

By the treaty signed at Madrid in 1795, it had been stipulated that the citizens of the United States should not only have free navigation of the Mississippi River, but that they should also have the right to deposit in New Orleans all their produce during the space of three years. This limit, it was agreed, was to be extended by the Spanish Government, or instead of an extension of time, a new point on the island of New Orleans was to be designated for such depot. But at the expiration of the three years Morales, the Spanish intendant at New Orleans, declined to permit further deposits there, and refused to designate another place in accordance with the stipulation. This action aroused the people of the West; a storm of resentment broke forth and the government of the United States was forced to make a threatening demonstration in the direction of Louisiana. Three regiments of the regular army were at once dispatched to the Ohio. The people flew to arms. Invasion appeared imminent.

At this time New Orleans was full of spies, adventurers and political intriguers and lobbyists from the United States. This restless element managed to keep up a feeling of jealousy and avaricious envy between Gayoso and Morales. Wilkinson

visited New Orleans in the summer of 1799, and went thence to Washington to report upon the state of things. During his stay in the capital of Louisiana he held high carousal with Gayoso, in the course of which the Kentuckian and the Spaniard became very communicative to each other; but, as might have been expected, the Kentuckian's capacity for resisting the effects of brandied conviviality enabled him to secure the advantage in the exchange of secrets. In fact, Gayoso never recovered from the debauch, but died soon after of a fever induced by his excesses. Wilkinson appears to have escaped in good condition with undiminished appetency for further feats of a like nature.

The Marquis de Casa Calvo succeeded Gayoso as governor *ad interim*, and on the first of January, 1800, Don Ramon Lopez y' Angullo took the office of intendant. Lopez soon received from his Government orders to remove the interdict issued by Gayoso and to restore to the Western people the right of deposit at New Orleans. These orders he promptly obeyed, thus reviving good feelings between his province and the United States. Trade revived; immigration increased; agriculture, relieved from the ban, made the most rapid advances in all the districts of Louisiana. People from the United States poured into the

rich delta and began to acquire a hold upon very much of the best land. The cultivation of sugar-cane and the manufacture of sugar attracted wide notice, and the interest of men of enterprise and sagacity was enlisted in the development of this new and promising industry.

The deluge of immigration startled the Spaniards. They saw to what it was swiftly tending. A few more years and this tide would rise too high to be resisted and Louisiana would be lost to the king, lost to the holy religion, given over to freedom, republicanism and ruin.

In June, 1801, Casa Calvo was superseded as governor by Don Juan Manuel de Salcedo, and Morales succeeded Lopez as intendant. On the eighteenth of July in the following year the king ordered that no more grants of land be given to citizens of the United States. This effectually killed the commerce of the Mississippi River, and the indignation of the Western people knew no bounds. The spirit of the great American nation was beginning to assert the right to dominate, even in Louisiana, and it was strongly inclined to over-ride the claims of the Spanish Government. Salcedo and Morales felt that the time was fast approaching when the hold of their Government would have to be loosed. Rumors, apparently well founded, were afloat that the irresistible

genius of Napoleon was wringing the province from Spain and that this meant a division of the territories between France and the United States. To a large majority of Louisiana's population these were thrillingly welcome rumors. The very thought of once more becoming the subjects of France was enough to intoxicate them with delight.

The treaty of Ildefonso, however, which had been ratified at Madrid on the twenty-first of March, 1801, had been kept a secret. Napoleon had hoped to occupy Louisiana with a strong army consisting of twenty-five thousand men, together with a fleet to guard the coast; but his implacable and ever watchful foe, England, discovered his design and thwarted it. But by the terms of the treaty, the colony and province of Louisiana had gone into his hands. He must take possession and hold it, or he must see England become its master. Pressed on every side at that time by wars and political complications and well understanding that it would endanger his power for him to undertake a grand American enterprise, he gladly opened negotiations with the United States looking to the cession of Louisiana to that Government.

While correspondence and conferences on this subject were going on between the Federal Government and the French consul, the people of Louisiana continued in a state of excitement and

expectancy. They were not informed that negotiations had proceeded any farther than to a confirmation of the treaty of Ildefonso by which their country had been ceded by Spain to France. They were therefore anxiously waiting for the day to arrive when the latter power should take possession. It was a time of suspense and uncertainty, too, on the part of the local government of Louisiana. The Spanish governor was waiting and expecting and looking—but no tidings of a definite nature came to him. All was mystery.

Neither the First Consul of France nor the Government of the United States was willing that the king of Spain should even suspect what was going on until it should be too late for him to interfere successfully. They both well knew that Napoleon had agreed with Spain that Louisiana should not be ceded to any other power, and they therefore wished to play their little game of bad faith somewhat in the dark. They consoled themselves with the ancient salve, seeing that good was to come of their evil-doing. On the part of the French the memory of the treaty signed in ignominy when in 1762 France had ceded Louisiana to Spain, was hateful in the extreme. They never had ratified that act in their hearts and had always viewed it as a disgraceful piece of folly by which the honor of all Frenchmen had suffered. To the

United States the acquisition of so great a territory, with the full control of the Mississippi River forever, was not to be pushed aside for any merely technical reason. Diplomacy very quickly surmounted so small an obstacle as the promise made by the French to the Spanish Government in the treaty of Ildefonso. A price was fixed by the First Consul and the terms were all arranged with the utmost dispatch. At last the territory of Louisiana was about to find a permanent government and, with it, permanent freedom. Her vast area was to be carved into pieces and the real Louisiana, whose story it is ours to outline, was to emerge from the mist of romance and uncertainty into the full, strong light of American liberty.

The treaty of cession was signed on the thirtieth of April, 1803, the United States agreeing to pay France sixty million francs as the purchase price of the territory.* Pausing to glance at this strange transaction by which one republic sells outright to another republic a whole country without in the least consulting the wishes of the inhabitants whose allegiance and all of whose political and civil rights are changed thereby we are tempted to wonder if the

* The French "figure" for its province was at first eighty million francs, with the further understanding that the United States should assume certain claims due to American citizens and reckoned at twenty million francs more. The price finally agreed upon was, as stated above, sixty million francs: and, in addition, the sum due American citizens ("The French spoliation claims") was assumed by the United States. The treaty of April was ratified by Napoleon in May, 1803, and by the Senate of the United States in October. ED.

republic of the United States could to-day sell Louisiana with the same impunity that attended the purchase! She bought the country and its people, just as she might have bought a desert island with its goats; why could she not sell them to-day and ask no permission until after they had been delivered all in a lump to the buyer?

With a smile at the foolishness of our question we turn to view with feelings of patriotic pride the magnificent results of that famous purchase. Here was a vast domain whose internal wealth was as yet little dreamed of and whose importance to the United States could not be over-estimated, bought for the paltry sum of sixty million francs.

The great Napoleon remarked, at the time of the transfer, that he was ceding to the American Union a domain whose greatness was immeasurable and whose maritime advantages would soon enable it to humble the magnificent naval power of Great Britain. He was a grandiloquent man, but he did not overstate possibilities. It is true that the United States had never shown a really great navy; but at need she can present to the world the much over-looked fact that it is easy for her to build a fleet within her great rivers and send it forth incomparably equipped without a stick of wood or an ounce of metal in it or upon it which has been imported from a foreign country.

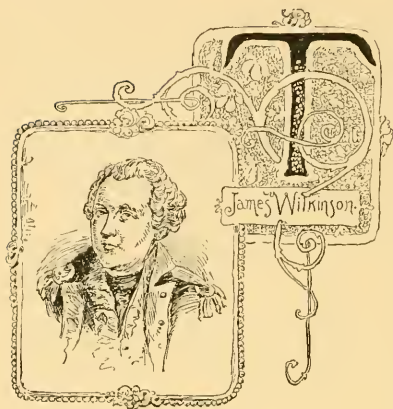
But while this bargain and sale had been rushed to a successful end, the Spanish authorities at New Orleans did not know of it and they were impatiently awaiting the arrival of a French delegation which was to accept the transfer of Louisiana to the republic of France. It was understood that General Victor had been appointed to act for the French Government, and when on the twenty-fourth of March, 1803, M. Laussat, the prefect appointed for the colony by Napoleon, arrived he confirmed the matter, and he also announced the form of government prepared for the province. General Victor, he said, had sailed from Holland late in January. This proved to be a mistake, for the French fleet was so closely watched by an English squadron in the channel that it was impossible for Victor to put to sea.

The expedition was therefore abandoned by Napoleon. America was a long way off and it would be hard to hold Louisiana, especially so long as England was his enemy. Why not sell the province? He did sell it, and never did any nation make a finer bargain than that consummated by the United States. The full control of the Mississippi River and of all the great valley drained by it, passed into the hands of the young republic and insured the control, at an early day, of the heart of the continent. What a teeming popu-

lation was to flood the whole area from the Atlantic to the Pacific, what prosperity was to come, what discoveries, what inventions, what commerce, what wars! Little did New Orleans dream of Packenham and Jackson, or of Farragut and the thunder of the iron-clads, or of Butler and the reign of terror, or of Kellogg and the fourteenth of September, 1874. Indeed the colonists of Louisiana were not taken into the confidences of their own time. Napoleon, always able to keep his own secrets, felt the need of unusual reticence in making the transfer of his American dominion to the United States, and the latter government was too well aware of the precarious tenure of France to wish for anything like negotiations with Spain touching the territory in question. It was a crisis in the history of America, the turning-point in the career of Louisiana, when the slightest slip in the movement of the world's affairs could have changed the whole future of the Federal union. The point was passed, however, with little difficulty. A few million dollars, a few strokes of the pen, a discreet silence, until the arrival of the proper moment, and then prompt action secured what, twenty years later, could not have been bought with all the blood and treasure of the nation.

CHAPTER VII.

UNDER THE STARS AND STRIPES.



HE population of Louisiana, exclusive of Indians, was, in 1803, about fifty-five thousand. New Orleans had begun to look like a city with its quaint and beautiful, if rambling and primitive houses, its tree-

shaded streets, its clumps of palmettos and its wilderness of roses. Twelve thousand people were within its walls, and although they were, in most regards and taken as a body, a reckless, gambling, dueling, immoral people, they were restrained by the hand of a strong government and by the high example and gentle influence of not a few excellent and cultured families. Of necessity society had begun here, in the days of Bienville, around a nucleus of galley slaves, bandits, half-breed Indians, trappers and aimless adven-

turers of the lowest order among men. The women, as we have seen, with the exception of a few ladies the wives of officers, were in the first place exiles thrown out from the French houses of correction. Some squaws were added and not a few negro women became the so-called wives of the men. It was a drinking, carousing, excitement-loving population. We are given scattered but interesting glimpses of the drinking-rooms, the gaming places, the theater and the public meeting-places of the people; but the chronicles of society are contained in meager and accidental paragraphs appearing in official documents and in the romantic sketches written by travelers, priests and traders.

The administration of the Spanish authorities had been upon the whole, able and, from the peculiar Spanish point of view, generous and enlightened to a degree. Against the sleepless and insidious hatred of the French they had opposed merciless force when necessary, pacific politeness and tolerance when safe.

Corruption in office was practiced in the most open and unblushing way, by both the French and the Spanish officials, from the days of Bienville down to the close of foreign domination in Louisiana. As a matter of course this political looseness had a marked effect on the development of New Orleans as a city and as a capital, making it

the centre about which gathered and crystallized the controlling influences, for good and for bad, that moved the affairs of the province and molded the character of its people. Slave labor was there from the first in its worst form. The negroes, or at least many of them, were savages fresh from Africa, without any of those better traits that characterized the slaves fifty years later. The "black codes" now and again adopted by the various governors, were of a nature applicable only to the control of the most vicious criminals. The masters were given a police power over their slaves which was practically unlimited and which was used with arbitrary malignancy or questionable leniency as the whim or the temper of the individual dictated. The climate was not stimulating and the temptation to seek ease and to indulge in enervating practices was very great. Still the people as a whole were no worse than were those that the frontier colonies of that day usually held.

What is now Jackson Square in New Orleans was, in 1803, and from the first had been the Place d'Armes. Near this rectangle stood the various government buildings, the church and other ecclesiastical edifices. The Ursuline nuns had a nunnery hard by and there were a good many residences of a substantial if not imposing sort, scattered along the river "coasts" above and below the town.

Since 1728 the improvement in public morals had been fortified by the introduction of virtuous and refined women. A "cargo" of young women had been shipped from France, consigned to New Orleans, and these girls have gone into history and romance under the name of "Filles à la Casette," on account of the little box or casket of clothes borne by each. These "girls with the trunk" may have had their origin in a prolific imagination, but to this day it is an honor if a Creole family can fairly trace its genealogy back to one of them. Indeed, when we consider that, throughout the eighty-seven years during which New Orleans was under foreign control, a steady though slender stream drawn from the best blood of France and Spain had trickled into Louisiana, we can understand how, gradually, the population imperceptibly grew to be a proud, noble and intellectual one, with a social and domestic system as exclusive and peculiar as it was picturesque and beautiful.

We have seen that Laussat, the prefect sent by Napoleon, arrived at New Orleans on the twenty-sixth of March. He was received with great pomp by the Spanish authorities; but to his surprise the French inhabitants held aloof and appeared to have no word or sign of welcome for him. The reason for this lay in the fact that a rumor had become prevalent charging the First Consul with a design

to free the slaves in the province. The disastrous result of freedom in St. Domingo was a heavy load on the memory of some citizens of Louisiana who had formerly lived on that unfortunate island, and who had brought their slaves with them to their new homes. From lip to lip had passed the word of doubt, fear and gloomy anticipation. The joy with which the first thought of returning to their French allegiance had been hailed had quickly disappeared. It were far better, the planters thought, to remain under Spanish rule than to have the dear old country for which they had so long sighed, send over an agent to inculcate the doctrines that had destroyed the prosperity of the other French colonies.

Laussat found Casa Calvo, the Spanish representative, very polite and courteous in all his communications but secretly working to throw in his way every possible barrier toward a kindly understanding with the people. Every effort had been made to procure from the colonists an expression favoring adhesion to the Spanish government and repudiating the cession of the province.

Casa Calvo was a wealthy nobleman with every means at his command for courting the favor of society in New Orleans and the surrounding country. No sooner had Laussat arrived, therefore, than the Spanish dignitary began a series of elabo-

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FILLES A LA CASSETTE.



rately expensive dinners to which were invited all the leaders of society. With courtly grace and dignity and yet with a winning warmth of manner Casa Calvo made each guest feel himself especially favored. Laussat noted the effect of this hospitality and determined to offset it in kind. The result was a battle of dinners, a campaign of soups and viands and wines. The Spaniard had the advantage by reason of his wealth, and poor Laussat was grievously worried. He felt that the French Government was suffering in the estimation of those whom he most wished to impress favorably, and moreover he saw that his noble antagonist was greatly enjoying the situation.

In the meantime no tidings came from France, no word from the fleet of General Victor; but from some source a rumor of the cession of Louisiana to the United States crept through the colonies. Laussat tried in vain to discover what if any foundation there was for such a story, and at length he wrote to his government touching what he deemed to be a gross calumny against the honor of the First Consul. A few day later, however, he received direct from France full confirmation of the rumor. With it, too, came instructions to deliver the province over to the commissioners of the United States so soon as Casa Calvo should have delivered the same to him.

It was the thirtieth of November, 1803. The flag of Spain was waving from the tall staff on the public square. A vast crowd, aware that an important event was at hand, had gathered to look on. The streets were full, the housetops were crowded and every balcony and window was packed with eager observers. The Spanish soldiers gaily uniformed and drawn up in solid order filled the square in front of the hall.

In the presence of this throng Laussat presented his credentials and received from Casa Calvo in due form the keys of New Orleans and possession of Louisiana. There was a crash of artillery and the flag of Spain began to descend from the staff. While this was passing the crowd was swayed by a conflict of emotions. Many there were who regretted the change and feared the worst consequences; some thought the time had come for revolution; but the majority stood passively looking on unable to see much to care for in the occasion. The flag of the First Consul, the banner of the young French republic, climbed to the top of the staff while another artillery salute boomed off across the stately river. So ended the ceremony.

Laussat immediately published an address, in the form of a proclamation, in which he set forth the terms of the treaty by which the province of Louisiana had been sold to the United States. He

particularly called attention to Article Third of that treaty which guaranteed to the citizens of the province the free enjoyment of their liberties and property and the unrestrained exercise of their religion.

At the same time he began the reorganization of the government by appointing provisional officers from among the leading citizens of Louisiana. These were well chosen and the effect upon the people was reassuring, although the persons so honored were not quick to accept the appointments. Etienne Boré was made mayor of New Orleans, and Bellachasse was given command of the militia.

Governor Claiborne of Mississippi and General Wilkinson (who invariably presented himself whenever there was anything on foot in Louisiana) were the commissioners appointed by the Federal Government to receive the ceded province from the hands of Laussat. Wilkinson arrived in New Orleans on the twenty-third of November. He was on his way from Florida to Fort Adams, where he was to meet Governor Claiborne; he had an interview with Laussat and it was determined between them that every precaution should be taken against treachery on the part of the Spaniards. This, however, as the sequel proved, was wholly unnecessary. Casa Calvo, it is true, took pains to cause

the irascible Frenchman all possible uneasiness; but he offered no resistance to the formal transfer of the province.

Laussat appointed Villère, a son of the former insurgent of that name, one of the ten members of the new municipality. "It is with a true feeling of joy," he wrote to the French Government, "that I put in authority M. Villère, the son of one of O'Reilly's most interesting victims, himself much esteemed in the province."

Stinging with wounded pride, on account of Casa Calvo's social victories in the recent dining tournament, and desiring to show a spirit of independence, Laussat flatly refused to permit the Spanish Cabildo or the military officers of the Spanish militia to take any part in the ceremony of transfer, until he had recommissioned them.

Claiborne and Wilkinson marched from Fort Adams and encamped two miles out from New Orleans on the seventeenth of December. Early the next day they sent an officer to inform Laussat of their arrival and to ask him to set the time for the conference preliminary to the final act of transfer.

The town was again filled to overflowing with people from every part of the surrounding country. Laussat sent out a company of his improvised troops to meet the United States commissioners

and conduct them through the gates. The ceremony was made very brief. Governor Claiborne presented his credentials and those of General Wilkinson, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the forts and then the French commissioner delivered to Claiborne the keys of the city. As the banner of France began to descend from the top of the staff in the square, the flag of America rose from the bottom. The two met midway. A gun was fired to signal the forts. The batteries responded with all their guns. The people, however, were quiet, showing no enthusiasm. Casa Calvo and his official coadjutors had scattered the seeds of distrust and apprehension in the hearts of many. A considerable number, too, were stanch royalists and bitterly opposed to passing under the flag of a republic.

Claiborne hastened to issue a proclamation dated the twentieth of December, 1803, in which he gave an outline of the treaties by which Louisiana had passed from Spain to France and from France to the United States, and proceeded to explain the general features of the laws under which the province henceforth would be governed. He proclaimed that the liberty, the property and the religion of every citizen would be respected and protected. For the time being he kept in their places all the civil officers of the city and province, the collectors

of revenues excepted, reserving to himself the powers of chief executive of the province until a regular territorial government could be formed under the laws of the United States.

The title to the vast country known as Louisiana was now vested irrevocably in the young and vigorous republic of America. A rough inventory was made from which it appeared that the population of the province was between fifty and sixty thousand souls, exclusive of Indians. New Orleans alone held nearly twelve thousand. The annual revenues of the city were \$19,278, its expenses less than \$10,000. The agricultural products of the colonies amounted annually to 3000 pounds of indigo, 20,000 bales of cotton, 5000 hogsheads of sugar and 5000 casks of molasses. The exports were about 40,000 tons of the value of \$2,158,000, the imports were valued at \$2,500,000 per annum, and the territorial expenses were about \$800,000 for each year, while the revenues were less than \$120,000, thus showing that in 1802 the provincial government had been a heavy load to carry.

It remained to be seen, now that the Federal Government had accepted the burden, whether the load would continue to increase, as it had been doing ever since d'Iberville first set his foot on the shore of the great gulf. The young republic was in no condition to shoulder a heavy financial weight in

addition to the purchase-price of the territory and there would have to be a great change in the management of affairs to make the province self-supporting.

When, upon the surrender of the territorial keys by Casa Calvo to Laussat, the forts around New Orleans were evacuated, there were no troops at the French commissioner's disposal and the city for a time lay in great danger of falling into the hands of the reckless and desperate element of its population. The United States Consul, Daniel Clarke, Jr., volunteered to take command of a body of enthusiastic young Americans for the protection of public and private property and the preservation of peace and order. In this he was promptly and energetically joined by a large body of Creoles, the sons of the best families. With this force of three hundred men he offered himself to Laussat and was of great service in guarding the forts, patrolling the city and protecting society.

In the meantime the people were at a loss just how to view what was going on, but the better element felt the need of upholding law and enforcing order, no matter what political change was in store for them.

Claiborne's proclamation gave instant relief to many who greatly feared interference with slavery and very soon a feeling of security spread among

the people. At once there was a considerable emigration from the North and the American spirit began to take firm root in the rich soil of Louisiana.

But what was Louisiana at this time? The question cannot be answered. Spain claimed an indefinite contraction of the loose boundary lines, while the United States contended for the utmost stretch of their elastic quality.

The district of West Florida was held by Spain to extend westward to the Pearl River and beyond to the Mississippi embracing the posts of Manchac, Thompson's Creek and Bayou Sara. This area was made into a so-called Spanish province called the "Government of Baton Rouge," under the control of Lieutenant Governor Grandpré. That part of Louisiana west of the Mississippi River reached westward to Texas, wherever that was, and northward and northwestward to some wavering confine in the untrodden wilderness. The Ohio Valley and the valley of the Upper Mississippi were already prosperous and their settlements and towns were assuming important dimensions.

The trade of the great river, with that of all its tributaries, was soon to be pouring freely through the gates of New Orleans. The eyes of far-seeing business men all over the world were suddenly turned upon that queer little city in a Mississippi

swamp. She held the key to the wealth that was fast locked in the inexhaustible soil of all that vast region, where the cotton and the cane were just beginning to disclose how valuable by proper care and enterprise slave labor could be made. Many a sail was set for this new land and Northern sloop and foreign ship alike came to anchor in the great river before the levee at New Orleans.

Soon enough the people of the United States felt the fever of fascination that is caught from well-told stories of a tropical land where, as the romance always runs, one can sit forever under a rose bower and eat and drink and be merry without so much as a thought of winter, labor, want or death. The same song that Law had sung in France, only to a different tune, now sent its alluring undertones through the stubbornly-tilled regions of the colder North.

Flat-boatmen who went down the river from the Illinois, the Missouri or the Kentucky country, came back with dreamy stories of how the planters on the great Louisiana estates dwelt in luxurious ease in their spacious homes surrounded with servants, horses, dogs, guns, wines, fruits, flowers and every comfort of life. They told of graceful ladies, dark and beautiful, gracious and kind, sitting under the orange-trees, or on the vine-covered verandas, dressed like queens, with lovely quadroons fanning

them. They showed conclusively how easy it was to gain princely fortunes in that land of eternal summer-time. And, to the rough fellows who told them, these stories did not seem to be untrue; for they had, indeed, seen what they described. Many of the so-called coast plantations on the Mississippi were, even then, the seats of large and luxuriously furnished mansions wherein dwelt people of culture and refinement who spent money with lavish freedom and spared no pains to practice a hospitality almost bewildering in its proportions. The "Territory of Orleans," as the American Congress first named it, was on the tongue of almost everybody who felt the necessity of bettering fortune by a change of abode, or who had a natural bent for seeking adventure of a mild sort in a strange land.

This was the first acquisition of provincial area made by our country, and the very fact that at last foreign domination in Louisiana had given way to a government erected by the American republic, added a mighty force to the romance which had clung so long about the sunny, swampy, bloom-burdened and pirate-haunted great Southwest. In that day railroads were not thought of. The rivers were the thoroughfares of travel and commerce from the interior to the seas. We can scarcely realize the importance of such a stream as

the Mississippi at a time when the velocity of its current exactly measured the rate of traffic-movement over the largest part of the United States. Our exports during the first half of the present century were chiefly agricultural products and lumber. A tremendous volume of these found ready way to the sea through the Mississippi, much of it starting from points far up the Ohio, the Illinois, the Tennessee, the Cumberland and other tributaries. At first the system of navigation was rude enough. Fleets of flat-boats and keel-boats, clumsy rafts and cumbersome barges crept down the slow current for days and weeks and months, gradually nearing the low-lying, motley, genial and fascinating French city that was their destination.

One feature of Louisiana life, dating from a very early point of time, must not be overlooked. A considerable number of free negroes, mulattoes, quadroons and other persons of color, formed the nucleus around which was slowly formed a nondescript class which grew as surely as did New Orleans and the province, and strengthened apace with the development of society along the lines early laid in the history of colonization.

From the first there had been a great excess of males in the population and many of the careless and lawless men had taken so-called wives from among the negro and Indian women brought

to New Orleans and the other posts. The children of these associations were branded, so to speak, and set apart for a life which to this day is absolutely unique in the world. The free person of color came to be a floating compromise between the negro slave and the free white person; not free enough to be to all intents and purposes a citizen, and yet sufficiently free to hover along the line of an undefined equality, touching the white margin of society only to contaminate and to be contaminated.

A condition of this kind once established in an isolated community grows with the growth of population and sends its cancerous poison farther and farther along the veins of society. Writers in every department of literature have touched this subject only to exaggerate its effect. The truth is bad enough. The best people of New Orleans, the true representatives of its social texture, were not guilty of these moral infractions. The veins of the hundreds of old and justly influential families have never been contaminated directly or indirectly. It is a burning injustice that has so long insinuated against the true Creole population of New Orleans this foul and wicked libel. It is well-known by those who have studied the subject carefully, that the system of loose morals which existed in New Orleans was largely the work of boatmen, traders, gamblers and speculators who constituted the tran-

sient and adventurous part of the city's population. That there were persons of high local standing and of great influence who indulged in debasing practices cannot be denied; but these were the exceptions to the rule. The Creoles of New Orleans are now and always have been a people of virtue, of honor, of steadfast strength of purpose and of beautiful domestic purity. The free people of color constituted a class largely given to a life of loosely-defined morals. It was their women who filled the bagnios and kept the houses of assignation, or consorted to the best possible advantage in questionable relations with the men who cared to spend money freely while sojourning in the city.

This is the long and the short statement of the simple truth freed from that melodramatic coloring so much affected by historical romancers. New Orleans is not now and never has been a worse city than New York or Boston, than Chicago or St. Louis. It is now and it always has been very different from those cities (in that it never has been more nor less than French in its chief characteristics) but the difference is one of race-origin rather than one of moral oppositeness.

New Orleans is not a city of cellars. She is above ground physically and morally. You may look through her windows and doors upon her trade, her dissipations, her virtues, her crimes, her

charities, her religion. What she is and what she does are wholly exposed to the public gaze. In this outright quality she is not American, nor is she politic in her self-exposure, but we must remember that it is physically impossible for her to have underground dives and subterraneous hells. The water just below her shallow foundations forces all her vices up to the plane of her virtues. Thus it is easy for the superficial observer, in comparing New Orleans with other American cities, to rush hastily into print with a decision overwhelmingly condemnatory of the Southern metropolis. In glancing over the surface he has seen all of New Orleans, while such a view of a Northern city scarcely reaches the fringe of its great undergarment of sin and crime.

The growth of sugar-planting and sugar-manufacture was very rapid and along with it the culture of cotton, rice, Indian corn and tobacco increased with amazing rapidity. Slaves were imported in great numbers and Louisiana rapidly developed into a rich, self-sustaining province. Congress was slow to act in her behalf and, as we shall presently see, she was treated much as if she had been an outlying and not very desirable dependency, scarcely worth the attention of statesmen.

The rapid influx of American people, however, and the dissatisfaction of the colonies in the ter-

ritory between Pearl River and the Mississippi, at last assumed such form that action became absolutely necessary.

In taking leave of the period during which Louisiana was under foreign rule, we glance back over ninety-one years of strange vicissitudes. Six times had the province changed hands. From the French king to Crozat in 1712, from Crozat to the Western Company in 1717, from this company to Louis xv. in 1731, from Louis xv. to Spain in 1762, from Spain to France in 1801, and from France to the United States in 1803.

Up to December 7, 1810, the Spaniards clung to the little territory between the Mississippi and Pearl River and then relinquished it only because it became too hot for their hands. The republican spirit was spreading over all the area south of the great Northern lakes and with it went the courage to take what it wanted and the will and the power to hold what it took. It was not a good time for a few arrogant Spaniards to set up an opposition to a whole colony of fearless American frontiersmen, bent upon asserting their liberty. Andrew Jackson was already in training a little way north of the Florida line and the time could be foreseen when not only the little "patch of swamp" but both Texas and Florida would fall into the arms of the growing and vigorous young republic.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TERRITORY OF ORLEANS.



WHILE the Spanish were yet holding on to the territory of Baton Rouge which lay between the Pearl

River and the Mississippi, the American population therein were restless and dissatisfied.

No opportunity was lost by them to show their preference for the Federal Government, and a number of unsuccessful attempts were made to organize insurrection. Governor Grandpré caused some of the leaders to be promptly arrested. Notable among these were the three Kemper brothers who were kidnaped in American territory and put on board a boat with a view to their transportation; but they were rescued by Lieutenant Wilson of the Federal Army at Point Coupée.

Casa Calvo also continued to press the claims of Spain to territory east of the Sabine River and petty depredations were committed on the western border.

Governor Claiborne and General Wilkinson used every argument in their power to convince the United States Government that there was need of prompt action with the Spaniards, but nothing effectual was done until a body of troops came into Louisiana from Texas and took possession of Adaës about fourteen miles from Natchitoches. At the same time Don Antonio Codero, governor of Texas, at the head of six hundred men was encamped on the Trinity River, awaiting reinforcements. To meet this invasion Major Porter of the United States Army was ordered to move forthwith, should the Spaniards refuse to give proper guaranty of good faith.

Don Rodriguez, the commander at Nacogdoches, in answer to a communication from Major Porter said that no invasion was intended and that the rights of American citizens would be respected, but that he could not agree to take his patrols out of the territory east of the Sabine. Moreover he took immediate steps to demand of the people strict allegiance to the Spanish king.

Major Porter hesitated no longer, but moved at once upon the post at Adaës by ordering Captain Turner to oust the Spanish garrison and remove it west of the Sabine. This was done without bloodshed. Porter was then reinforced by three companies and a field battery of four guns from Fort

Adams. This was early in 1806. In June following General Herrera with an army of twelve hundred Spanish troops, crossed the Sabine and established himself in the region of Bayou Pierre twenty miles from Natchitoches. Here he remained until the twentieth of September. By that time General Wilkinson had organized an army and was approaching with great rapidity. Herrera declared his determination to fight, but took care to recross the river before the Americans arrived.

Here again the financial itch attacked Wilkinson and by a shrewd bit of bold diplomacy he tried to wring a round sum of money from Governor Codero, while at the same time he ably served his country in arranging for a settlement of the boundary line.

Aaron Burr was just then exciting the West with his celebrated scheme for the invasion of Texas and Mexico. The name of this arch-conspirator was at that time a potent one wherewith to conjure America's timorous neighbor, and Wilkinson shrewdly used it to frighten the Spaniards into an acceptance of his financial alternative.* Whether he succeeded or failed in his effort to extort money he certainly forced the Spanish commander to

* It is claimed that Wilkinson offered, for \$300,000, to "frustrate the designs of the conspirators and save the provinces of his Catholic Majesty from invasion, employing for that purpose the forces and other resources naval and military of the United States." The real truth will doubtless never be known, but certainly the career of this American "free-lance," known as General Wilkinson, is one of the romances of American history. — ED.

evacuate all the posts east of the Sabine and to withdraw his army from the territory of Louisiana.

The movements of Burr and his coadjutors were becoming bold in the extreme, and appeared to threaten New Orleans. Wilkinson therefore hurried back to that city, which he reached on the twenty-fourth of November, and began strengthening its defences and making everything ready in a quiet way for any emergency that might arise.

On the tenth of December the army arrived in the city from Natchitoches and martial law was immediately proclaimed. Fort Adams was overhauled and made ready for defending the river against any force that the insurgents could send against it and every person in New Orleans or its vicinity suspected of being in close sympathy with Burr was arrested and held in confinement.

Burr had sent into New Orleans and its environs many emissaries who were secretly agitating his scheme. Some of these were men of great courage and influence who lived along the Mississippi country about Walnut Hills. Their high social standing, their acquaintance with the people and their knowledge of the country gave them free access to the homes of those they wished to bring over to Burr's support. Samuel Swartwout, Peter V. Ogden and Dr. Erick Bollman were the most prominent among these disturbing influences and

they were, accordingly, speedily arrested and sent to Virginia to be tried for treason as the agents of the arch-conspirator.

Governor Claiborne issued a proclamation denouncing Burr's project and warning the people of the penalty affixed to treason by the laws of the United States. Before Dr. Bollman was sent north to Richmond and while he was in the custody of General Wilkinson, an effort was made to have him released by a civil court on a writ of *habeas corpus*. This proved successful, the judge deciding, properly perhaps, that the prisoner not having been regularly charged and indicted was illegally held. Arrests continued, however, and martial law prevailed. Those who were made prisoners were at once hurried beyond the jurisdiction of the courts of Louisiana.

Governor Claiborne had organized the militia of New Orleans into a battalion and this he kept in constant readiness for action. Gunboats lay in the river before the city and General Wilkinson's troops were disposed to the best advantage, giving the appearance of a siege rather than a defence of the place. A force of patrols scoured the city and country day and night.

The virus of Burr's treason had gone into the blood of a strong minority who spared no pains to ring the changes on the phrases: "Freedom of the

people," "Military usurpation" and "Denial of *habeas corpus*"; but Claiborne and Wilkinson were firm and able men supported by the Government of the United States. They well knew that to shrink or waver was to open the flood-gates to a wild mob of invaders. Moreover the main body of the people, and especially the best people, were in full accord with the governor and with General Wilkinson.

After all, however, Burr's long-dreaded expedition ended in a way which made the whole affair appear scarcely worth note. This mighty insurgent, this self-appointed deliverer of Mexico and "Sovereign of the Southwest" was, toward the end of January, 1807, found drifting down to the Bayou Pierre at the head of his "Army of Invasion!" This much-heralded force was then discovered to consist of but a few little boats and a band of about a hundred men! The fallen statesman and his misguided followers were captured forthwith, and so ended the notorious scheme for erecting a new government in the far Southwest.

This season of turmoil and confusion gave rise to a great deal of local trouble in Louisiana, and especially in New Orleans; personal encounters, family feuds and all the results attendant upon fierce political struggles in a population peculiarly excitable, were of common occurrence. Immigra-

tion was greatly retarded, because every stranger was viewed with suspicion and arrested, upon the slightest legal pretext, as an emissary sent by Burr or some of his coadjutors. The arrest of Burr himself, however, was the signal for a strong reaction which put an end to all the treasonable scheming in the West.

About this time it began to appear almost certain that there would soon be war between the United States and Great Britain. Late in the summer of 1808 General Wilkinson was put in command of a strong force (amounting to nearly two thousand men from the regular army) which had been sent to *Terre aux Bœufs*, a marshy and malarious district on the Gulf Coast of Louisiana. It is difficult to imagine any good reason for selecting such a position for a camp at any time, but particularly in the summer. Disaster was sure to follow. A pestilence of a scorbutic nature soon developed which destroyed more than a third of the army. The suffering remnant was taken into a fleet of small boats and after a burning voyage of forty-seven days during which the plague of disease was accompanied by a plague of insects, it reached Fort Adams. This dreadful disaster led to the suspension of General Wilkinson, who was superseded by General Wade Hampton on the nineteenth of December, 1809. Wilkinson was

reinstated, however, and returned to his command a little later, the charges against him having been refuted.

While these things were passing, the citizens of the Baton Rouge territory were forming plans for freeing themselves from the oppression of the overbearing Spanish officers who pretended to govern them. They had petitioned the United States, asking the privilege of coming under the protection of the American Union, but had failed to receive any positive assurances. Nevertheless their determination was not shaken.

They awaited an opportunity which at last came. In the summer of 1810 the Spanish garrison at Baton Rouge was weakened until there remained in the fort but about one hundred and fifty men. Ascertaining this, two daring and courageous men, Captain George Depassau and Captain Thomas, called together one hundred and twenty riflemen and boldly dashed into the town. A slight skirmish followed in which Governor Grandpré was shot, and the garrison, seeing no chance for successful resistance, soon capitulated. In a little while the news of the victory spread over the territory. The people were called together at Baton Rouge and a provisional government established. An act declaring the independence of the territory was passed by a convention on the twenty-ninth

day of September, 1810. In this act the territory was called "The Territory of West Florida" and was set up as a "free and independent State." It was signed by John Rhea, president, and Andrew Steele, secretary. Congress directed the President of the United States to take possession of the province forthwith, which he did by ordering Governor Claiborne to assume control of it as a part of his territory.

On the seventh of December Claiborne raised the flag of the Union at Francisville. A little later he issued a proclamation annexing the district to the Territory of Orleans and dividing it into six parishes: East Baton Rouge, Feliciana, St. Helena, St. Tammany, Pascagoula and Biloxi. The Spaniards, however, continued to hold possession of Mobile, Fort Charlotte and the district immediately surrounding them.

With the beginning of the year 1811 came another insurrection of the negro slaves in the parish of St. John the Baptist, thirty-six miles above New Orleans. It was as barbaric as it was picturesque and horrible. About five hundred of these half-savage people formed themselves into a column and, with flags flying, marched to the time of wild music made by blowing into reed "quills" and by beating upon iron kettles and other sonorous implements. They moved directly toward New Orleans,



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destroying the plantations in their way and forcing the slaves to join them. The ringleaders of the mob were acting under a frenzy of excitement which they succeeded in communicating to their followers. With wild yells, barbaric songs and the din of rude musical instruments they struck terror to the hearts of the white settlers, scattered but thinly along the route of rebellion.

As soon as information reached Baton Rouge and Fort St. Charles the garrisons marched in all haste to the scene and fell upon the dusky insurgents without mercy. Many of the negroes were killed outright, some were hanged as soon as captured and sixteen of the most prominent agitators were taken down to New Orleans. There they were tried, condemned and executed. Their heads were afterwards placed upon poles and set up at conspicuous points along the river as a terrible warning to the survivors and their friends. It must have been a ghastly sight. As late as December, 1885, the old negroes of Mississippi and Louisiana described to their grandchildren in solemn whispers the terrible retribution of the whites just as their sires had depicted it to them.

On the eleventh of February, 1811, the American Congress authorized the calling of a convention in the Territory of Orleans for the purpose of framing a constitution preliminary to its admission into the

Union as a sovereign State. Louisiana became a State on the eighth of April, 1812. Her constitution was far less republican than were those of the other Commonwealths. No clergyman or priest was permitted to be a legislator or a governor, and the institution of slavery was guarded and protected by the strongest and most unequivocal terms.

So far the parishes of the district between the Mississippi and the Pearl River had been left out of the State, but on the fourteenth of April, 1812, an act of Congress was approved enlarging the State of Louisiana so as to include those parishes. This act gave to Louisiana the limits which form its present boundary. These are: on the south, following the line of the Gulf of Mexico from the mouth of Pearl River westward to the mouth of Sabine River, thence northward in the middle of the stream to the thirty-second parallel, thence due north to the thirty-third parallel, which forms the northern line, and east to the Mississippi River. From parallel thirty-three the boundary follows the meanderings of the Mississippi southward to parallel thirty-one, which forms the line eastward to Pearl River whose current in turn bounds the east to the Gulf. All the islands along the Gulf coast are included.

New Orleans was rapidly becoming a city of importance; vessels from almost every maritime

country lay at her gates, taking or discharging cargoes, and it was thought by some who were counted as the most far-seeing men of the time that she was destined soon to be the metropolis of America. Her population, however, continued to receive elements of a most undesirable kind. The buccaneer spirit still hovered over the Gulf. Pirates and smugglers lurked among the lakes, inlets, bayous and islands south of New Orleans, and preyed upon commerce in every unlawful way. The notorious Captain Lafitte had drawn together a considerable body of these desperadoes and had established them on a wild, almost inaccessible island in Lake Barrataria, whence they issued at pleasure to carry on their piratical and smuggling depredations. Lafitte had many friends in New Orleans and it appears that he was not without accomplices among the most influential business men of the city.

In those days, and especially in Louisiana, it was thought scarcely immoral to avoid the revenue laws or to do violence to Spanish commerce and shipping. Lafitte was quite successful in his illicit business and his name became as famous as that of Captain Kidd. Many wonderful stories of which he was the hero were told and his piratical forays were dreaded by every merchantman who sailed the sunny Gulf.

Jean Lafitte was a blacksmith who came to New Orleans from Bordeaux, in France, and set up his forge at the corner of Bourbon and St. Philip streets. It is not known how he came to make the acquaintance of the Barratarian outlaws in the first place, but the probability is that he began by acting as a middle man between them and the traders of New Orleans. He was a man of great energy and fine address and soon worked his way up until he had become the supreme commander of the whole outlaw fleet—a sort of buccaneer commodore or admiral whose word was law with the lawless.

His adventures would fill a volume; but his chief contribution to the story of Louisiana was the service he rendered the people of New Orleans by informing Governor Claiborne of the approach of the British and of their plan of attack. The British, indeed, sent a man-of-war to Barrataria and offered Lafitte a large sum of money to induce him to aid them in taking the city. The pirate chief rid himself of his tempters by at once accepting the proposition of the invaders, but he as promptly betrayed them by conveying to Governor Claiborne a full account of their proposed expedition. This was the first valuable information received from any quarter touching the movements of the British in the Gulf, and but for the timely warning it gave

to Louisiana and to the Government of the United States New Orleans must have fallen.

The population of Louisiana increased very rapidly from 1810 to the close of the year 1813. At that date it had reached nearly ninety thousand. A majority of the permanent white residents were French, though north of the Red River and east of the Wichita the settlements were formed largely of Americans from the Ohio and Tennessee valleys and from the Missouri and Illinois regions.

The war between the United States and Great Britain did not seriously threaten or affect Louisiana until near the close of the struggle. Nor had any preparations been made against attack. The river and the lakes with all their network of creeks and bayous were scarcely fortified enough to turn back barges of musketeers. New Orleans sat there behind her levee without any efficient fort between her and the sea. General Wilkinson, who, as we have seen, had been sent back to his command, urged the war department to furnish him the means with which to erect fortifications on the river at English Turn, Fort St. Philip and the Balize. Nothing to this end was done, and if ever utter disregard for the safety of a State can be justified by a providential turn of events, this great blunder was certainly most amply justified; for Andrew Jackson and his little army

proved to be all the fortification necessary to defend New Orleans and the Mississippi Valley against the very flower of the British veterans fresh from the victorious campaigns of Wellington.

General Wilkinson was again removed from command, General Flournoy superseding him in June, 1813. Much dissatisfaction was the result and General Flournoy was severely criticized for inaction and inefficiency; but it is difficult to discover how he could have bettered his opportunities seeing that nothing was furnished him with which to act. Louisiana was infested with men who but lately had been concocting traitorous schemes of insurrection and who were ever ready to denounce any person invested with Federal authority who would not fall in with their plans for making large sums of money by illicit means.

General Wilkinson had been an able officer, but his evident love of financial intrigue made him, where British gold might reach him, a very unsafe person to trust. So at least it would appear, viewed from this distance, and with all the facts before us. General Flournoy was not the man for a time and a place demanding independent action and great executive ability. He waited for orders, and did nothing, because he was not ordered to do anything in particular. The massacre at Fort Mims was an intensely horrible one, but

General Flournoy had been misled by the representations of men whom he trusted and he was, moreover, in constant fear of transcending his authority.

Fort Mims was a stockade in Mississippi Territory and was occupied by about two hundred and seventy persons, many of whom were women and children. On the thirtieth of August, 1813, the Creek Indians attacked the place and after a long and desperate fight killed all but seventeen of its inmates. This horrible disaster served to stir up the sluggish authorities at Washington.

Governor Claiborne had done everything in his power to avert the disaster, but his forces were weak and scattered, while the Indians were able to concentrate at any point without difficulty. Consternation spread down to the Gulf coast and for a time it looked as if the savages would have nothing to bar their way. Claiborne, however, was always efficient and as true as steel. He pushed forward the organization of an army to co-operate with troops from Georgia and a little later General Andrew Jackson marched from Huntsville with the force of Tennesseans under his command, fought the battle of Talladega and totally routed the army of the Creeks, killing three hundred warriors.

A British fleet had, for weeks, been hovering

along the Gulf coast. Landing at Spanish ports, it had furnished the hostile savages with arms and ammunition. But in the battle of Tohopeka, fought on the twenty-seventh of March, 1814, General Jackson again defeated the Indians and, as he said in his report, forever broke their power.

At the close of the Creek war General Jackson was sent to supersede General Flournoy in command of the seventh military district. This included Louisiana. His first step was to send a garrison to occupy Fort Bowyer on Mobile Point which commanded the entrance to the Bay of Mobile. He strengthened the works and erected batteries consisting of twenty guns. The fort was attacked on September the fifteenth by a combined land and naval force. The British fleet was commanded by Sir W. H. Percy; the land forces, most of them Indians, were led by Colonel Nichols and Captain Woodbine. The attack was repulsed; the British fleet suffered the loss of a war vessel and the Indians left on the field over a hundred warriors dead.

It was now ascertained beyond a certainty that New Orleans would be attacked as soon as the British could concentrate a sufficient force for the purpose. General Jackson, after taking Pensacola early in September, forced the enemy to blow up Fort Barancas and hastened to New Orleans to

put the defences of the Mississippi in condition for resisting the powerful British fleet which was already in the Gulf. He found the militia disbanded and scattered, the forts worthless and a large part of the people utterly indifferent to the danger that threatened New Orleans. Governor Claiborne called a session of the legislature and did everything in his power to assist in raising the means of defence; but the same malcontents and trouble-mongers whose counsels and schemings had done so much harm to Louisiana, were again at work. The Legislature fell to wrangling and was slow to act in co-operation with General Jackson in this pressing crisis. The man of iron was not to be put aside, however, so long as there was any emergency to meet. He took everything into his own hands, his grim enthusiasm and tireless energy attracting to him all the patriotic spirits of the State.

The defence of New Orleans presented difficulties that seemed almost insurmountable with the scant means at Jackson's disposal. The lakes and bayous, the many mouths of the river and the almost innumerable creeks and passes demanded instant attention. But, with a rapidity and directness which seem next to incredible, the unflinching Tennessean personally superintended the placing of obstructions across many of the smaller chan-

nels, while at the same time he was re-organizing and strengthening the State militia, ordering the movement of troops from points on the river above New Orleans, and sending a fleet of gunboats into the lakes and bays to the eastward.

The British fleet of sixty war vessels and many transports appeared at the mouth of the Mississippi about December ninth. Three days later it came to anchor in Mississippi Sound near Cat Island, whence the commander sent out boats to survey the waters in the direction of Lake Ponchartrain.

Lieutenant Jones was at once ordered to move the American flotilla of five gun-boats into the Bay of St. Louis for the purpose of observing the enemy's movements. It was evident that the British were preparing to enter Lake Borgne and pass thence into Ponchartrain. The American flotilla was far too weak to be opposed to the force brought by the British; it should never, indeed, have been exposed to attack. Lieutenant Jones, however, obeying the orders of Commodore Patterson, remained in the vicinity of the fleet until his flotilla was surrounded by the enemy's barges and captured. This gave the British as they thought an open way through Chef Menteur Pass, but General Jackson had neglected nothing. A battery had already been erected on a point commanding the pass, while a battalion of colored troops and a

company of dragoons were stationed on the Gentilly road within supporting distance. The fort on the Rigolets was also well manned, and Captain Newman who was in command had orders to hold it at all hazards.

A situation more bewildering than that in which General Jackson now found himself would be hard to imagine. General Coffee had been ordered to New Orleans with the forces at Baton Rouge and demands for troops had been sent to Mississippi, Kentucky and Tennessee ; but high waters, floods of rain and a lack of adequate means of transportation had prevented their arrival. Happily the enemy moved slowly, blindly feeling the way through Louisiana swamps and marshes, bayous and passes toward the city of New Orleans which they had foredoomed to rapine, pillage and fire.

Bayou Bienvenu was a narrow and obscure channel leading westward from Lake Borgne nearly to the Mississippi River. General Villère, whose plantation was on the head waters of this bayou, had been sent with a few men to plant obstructions in its bed and to do picket duty. The British came upon the detachment before the work had been done and taking the men unaware overpowered and captured them. This was on the twenty-second of December, 1814, just at nightfall. Early on the following morning General Keane

had landed an army of three thousand men. During the day a part of this force was dispatched to the left bank of the river.

News of the enemy's movements quickly reached General Jackson and he promptly began preparations for marching to the attack, knowing that delay would be disastrous. His plan was to surprise Keane by a night assault.

General Coffee, who had reached New Orleans by a forced march, was placed on the extreme left, Colonel Ross with Plauché and Dacquin's companies occupied the centre. On the right were placed the United States troops consisting of the seventh and the forty-fourth regiments, while the marines and artillery under Colonel McRae followed the road toward Villère's plantation. Two vessels, the *Caroline* and the *Louisiana*, were ordered to drop down the river, keeping on the line.

The British forces full three thousand strong had chosen a good position with their right covered by a swampy jungle and their left resting on the river bank. They were not expecting attack and had taken no adequate precautions against a surprise.

General Jackson's land force amounted to about two thousand men, a great many of whom were quite inexperienced as soldiers. To Coffee's command was given the task of turning the enemy's

right and assailing his rear. General Jackson led the forces in front, while the *Caroline* commanded by Captain Henley was to rake the British line from the river.

General Coffee's men dismounted and had reached a position near the enemy's right when the schooner let go a bellowing broadside. This was just after nightfall while the over-confident British were clustered about their camp-fires cooking and eating their evening meal. The river was level with its banks and the grape and canister from the *Caroline's* guns swept the ground surface like a storm. Instantly Coffee's men charged to close quarters and poured in a destructive fire. Jackson rushed forward with equal ardor, his troops firing volley after volley before the astounded British could rally from the confusion into which they had fallen. Between three hundred and four hundred were killed in the camp by the deadly, concentrated fire which raked it from three directions. The British soon regained their dogged coolness, however, and formed their line in the darkness, first having put out their fires. Reinforcements were already on the way and they slowly fell back toward the lake; but the Americans pressed hard upon them keeping up the fight vigorously for an hour, driving them nearly a mile from their camp.

General Jackson then withdrew and next morn-

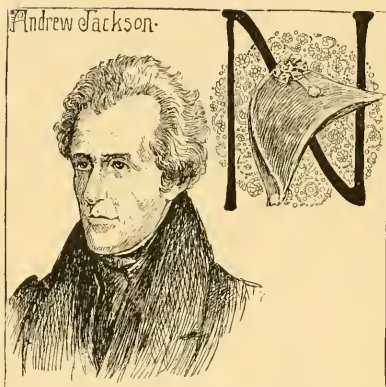
ing took position about two miles farther up the river along the line of a considerable sluice-ditch; his left rested on a swamp and his right touched the broad river.

The fight had been a deadly one, considering its short duration and the number of troops engaged. The American loss was twenty-four killed and one hundred and fifteen wounded, besides seventy-four prisoners. The British loss was about four hundred. Colonel Lauderdale of Tennessee, a brave and chivalrous man, was one of the American officers killed, and among the prisoners were some of the leading citizens of New Orleans. The blood of the people was now on fire and every thought was of fight. General Jackson, notwithstanding some powerful enemies, had won popular confidence by his determined and successful defence and the best men of Louisiana were hastening to join him. Reinforcements from up the river were slow in coming, but they came as fast as they could. Every resource was strained to prepare for the onslaught which Jackson felt must soon be made by the whole force of the enemy. To lose New Orleans would be an irremediable disaster; to save it, in view of all the circumstances, would be an achievement of the most heroic kind. Andrew Jackson was the man for the emergency. No other leader could have commanded just then

the influence that would hold together such an army as was his, in front of a disciplined, experienced and, in point of numbers, overwhelmingly superior enemy. He could draw to him all classes of men and could inspire them with that superb courage which was his own passport to success. He was a fighter at every point of his nature; he put fight into his men; he could make them feel that there was nothing so manly as desperate, dogged courage, nothing so despicable as cowardice.

CHAPTER IX.

THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.



NEW ORLEANS was now a city of about twenty thousand inhabitants. Within its great warehouses were stored one hundred and fifty thousand bales of cotton, ten thousand hogsheads of sugar and a large amount of rice and molasses. The wharves and river were crowded with idle ships which since the breaking out of the war had been unable to sail away to their places of destination.

The language of the city was French; the bulk of its population was Creole — for by this name the American-born French citizens called themselves. The Creoles have been much written about as a race strangely conservative, exclusive and peculiar. The careful student of American life will modify a great deal of what has heretofore been currently received

as truth in this regard. The large fact is that any isolated population appears peculiar when compared with people who have lived in the full glare of the world's brightest life. New Orleans was isolated, and, even from its foundation, had been subjected to a multitude of singularly lawless and conflicting influences. Since 1803 it had been the objective point of almost every fugitive from justice in the United States. Some of its most energetic and wealthiest men were persons whose names graced the criminal dockets in distant jurisdictions. These were the men who had most strenuously favored Burr's schemes; they were now opposed to Jackson's military movements. Governor Claiborne had bitter enemies among them. In the legislature they had stirred up so bad a feeling that it appeared impossible to induce that body to act in a prompt and patriotic manner. But these were not Creoles.

It has been so often affirmed and reaffirmed that the Louisiana French were not loyal to the United States in the war of 1812, and so little has ever been said to contradict it, that it has come to be a part of every so-called historical picture of Creole life; but it is not the whole truth. Governor Claiborne, although a good and true man, was much inclined to have his own way at all hazards. For a long time he and Wilkinson had been joint autocrats of Louisiana, giving little heed to the tastes and pref-

erences of the Creoles, political, social or religious. Most of the lucrative and honorable offices of the State had been worked into the hands of Protestant English-speaking Americans. The disloyalty, if it existed, was, therefore, local and directed against the State government rather than against that of the United States.

Unquestionably, however, Jackson had a powerful alien army in front of him while behind him in the city of New Orleans was a dissatisfied, restless and divided people watching him, if not maliciously, at least suspiciously. But it cannot be said truthfully that the Creoles were unpatriotic. The blood spilt in that glorious struggle below the excited city was not all Anglo-American blood; the best veins of the old French families were freely opened, whilst the quadroon smuggler and the descendants of buccaneer and corsair fought to desperation and fell at the front of every charge upon the invaders.

General Jackson was a bluff, gruff, domineering man, when affairs did not go to suit him, and from the moment of his arrival at New Orleans, flushed with the brilliant victory that he had gained over the British on the Gulf, he had treated the civil authorities of Louisiana as though they had been mere dust that his breath could blow away. He was a fighter who fought to kill and who would brook no interference with his methods, no in-

quiries into his plans, no suggestions as to the extent of his authority. It chanced that he was the right man for the emergency; no other man could have saved New Orleans.*

After the battle of December 23 the Americans worked like moles and beavers to finish their line of breastworks before the British could attack them. The Rodriguez canal, chosen by Jackson as the line of his defences, was an old mill-race flowing between the river and the swamp, a mere sluiceway, full of aquatic grass and miry with black mud. On the side of this ditch nearest the city he ordered the work begun and the men obeyed with such a will that the oozy earth was heaped up as if by magic. It was like jelly, however, and would not stand in due form. Some one suggested that a ship heavily laden with cotton was anchored in the river near by. Why not go fetch the bales and use them for breastworks? No sooner said than done. That cotton-bale breastwork has become picturesquely historic, but, the

* "No man could have been better fitted for the task. He had hereditary wrongs to avenge on the British and he hated them with an implacable fury that was absolutely devoid of fear. Born and brought up among the lawless characters of the frontier he was able to establish martial law in the city without in the least quelling the spirit of the citizens. To a restless and untiring energy he united sleepless vigilance and genuine military genius. Prompt to attack whenever the chance offered itself, seizing with ready grasp the slightest vantage ground, and never giving up a foot of earth that he could keep, he yet had the patience to play a defensive game where it so suited him and with consummate skill he always followed out the scheme of warfare that was best adapted to his wild soldiery. In after years he did to his country some good and more evil, but no true American can think of his deeds at New Orleans without profound and unmixed thankfulness." — THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S *War of 1812.*"

truth is, it was worse than none. This the British cannon-balls soon demonstrated, and Jackson rid himself of it in short order. The cunning foe, not to be outdone by American ingenuity, opposed his walls of mud and of sugar-hogsheads to the cotton fort; but they too were useless, the balls bounding through them with scarcely a diminution of force.

The *Caroline*, that plucky and persistent little schooner ("manned by regular seamen, largely New Englanders," says Mr. Roosevelt), crept down the river, on the morning of the twenty-fourth. She anchored near to the shore on the side opposite the camp of the British where General Keane was commanding, and, as soon as her gunner could see, opened fire with such effect that the whole field was swept. The British could not move and they had no batteries with which to respond. During the entire day they lay behind the levee, in swales and ditches, under cover of cabins, and waited for night to come. Meantime the *Louisiana* dropped down the river to within a mile of the *Caroline*. General Jackson was never at rest. He saw every part of his works, encouraged his men, gave orders incessantly, took personal control and direction of everything.

Was New Orleans disloyal? Were the Creoles traitors to the stars and stripes? Let the names

of Villère and Plauché, of Latour, Dacquin, and Lacaste, and of the Battalion D'Orleans, — those brave volunteers who worked with bare and bleeding hands, without food, without rest, night and day, — let all these answer such questions. And let too the memory of those courageous French women who made hospital nurses of themselves bear witness to their loyalty. New England was patriotic to its inmost heart-core and yet the newspapers of New England iterated and reiterated the declaration: "No more taxes from New England till the administration makes peace." Partisan politics had burned hotly and the thousand things said to the discredit of the Creoles of Louisiana were but embers blown from the political fireplace and kept aglow for electioneering purposes. If New Orleans and the Creoles had been unpatriotic General Jackson would have been at their mercy.

Claiborne sent a proposition to the Barratarian pirates offering them full pardon for all past offences if they would come to the aid of Louisiana. This was accepted and no braver men fought in the subsequent battle.

On Christmas day Sir Edward Packenham arrived at the British camp and took command. Major-General Samuel Gibbs was his second in command, and at once the somewhat disheartened army was flushed with new hope and courage.

General Packenham was a brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington and an officer of great renown. He had fought his way to the highest place in the confidence of his government and of the army. Barely thirty-eight, brilliant, the bravest of the brave, fresh from the desperate battles of the peninsula, "trained for seven years in the stern school of the Iron Duke" he certainly seemed the man to lead this army to assured victory.

As soon as he arrived he began an examination of the ground between his own and Jackson's position. His first thought, almost, was directed upon the brave little schooner *Caroline*. During the night of the twenty-sixth he put a battery in position on the levee and erected near it a furnace for heating shot. At daylight this battery opened on the *Caroline* with terrible effect, sending its white-hot missiles with admirable marksmanship, right into her hull. Captain Henly was soon forced to abandon her, and scarcely had he got his men ashore when she blew up with a terrific roar. The British cheered madly at the destruction of this main obstacle to their advance. Then they turned their hissing hot-shot upon the *Louisiana*. There was no wind and Lieutenant Thompson set his sails in vain. A shell burst on deck wounding six men. The white-hot round-shot were falling in the water close alongside the beleaguered vessel. The boats

were manned in sheer desperation; ready hands pulled at the oars and the Louisiana was actually towed away out of danger by the plucky and faithful crew. And now the Americans yelled as only Americans can.

On the twenty-eighth General Packenham made a reconnoissance in force after having formed his line with greatest care.

It was a fine sub-tropical winter morning, clear and cool, and the Americans on the works behind the sluice-way could plainly see the splendid columns of the British as they swept out from the cover of some plantation quarters five hundred yards distant. They came, as if on dress parade, in close order with colors flying and to the sound of martial music. A rush of congreve rockets filled the air in front of them and their advancing batteries soon enveloped them in smoke.

The Louisiana was in position, her eight-gun broadsides raking the levee and dashing up the black mud and watery sand beyond. Her guns were served with remarkable accuracy and rapidity, the earth-jarring explosions following one another like the reverberations of a terrible thunder-storm.

General Jackson, pale and haggard from disease and loss of sleep, his stern features moveless as marble, stood on a slight rise of the land behind his works. Through an old field-glass he watched

the steadily advancing columns. He received reports and gave orders, in a voice as steady and calm as if he had been at dinner; he saw the effect of his battery and his ship's broadsides; but he saw also that the magnificently equipped British troops came right on. Was it to be a battle? Would they attempt to storm his works? Let them. He was ready. They came half-way to the breastworks behind which lay his fighting-men; still nearer they came. There they halted. The guns of the Louisiana had smashed and silenced their battery on the levee and with a loss of fifty killed and wounded they retired past the burning houses fired by hot shot from the American guns.

General Packenham may have been content with the information obtained by means of this movement. He had found out just where his adversary lay and in what a lair. He would now proceed to run him out and dispatch him.

General Jackson, the ever alert and ever ready, had learned something also by the day's operations. His left was weak and could have been turned easily by the British right. Indeed it had been turned by General Gibbs and the result might have been disastrous had that officer pressed his advantage.

General Packenham and his staff were impressed with the belief that the American force was a very

large and effective one. A council was held and it was determined that the works of General Jackson should be advanced upon by a system of gradual approaches and finally carried by storm. It was the Englishman's great mistake. Such a plan in such a country appears at this distance to possess neither merit nor force.

General Jackson at once set his men at work strengthening the defences on the left by building heavy mud embankments out into the swamp and planting some guns there to prevent another flanking movement. Indeed every moment of delay on the part of the British commander was used by the American general in making ready for the next attack. Reinforcements reached him — swelling his army to about six thousand regulars and militia all told, while the enemy now numbered nearly fifteen thousand, most of them the “fierce and hardy veterans of the Peninsular War.”

New Orleans was roused to the highest pitch of excitement. Everybody was fired with the fighting enthusiasm. Old men, young men, strong and weak, all clutched such arms as could be had and hurried to the front. It was a motley line that lay behind those rude earthworks on the eighth of January, 1815, and such weapons of war as the men had would make a soldier of to-day laugh to see. Old fire-lock fowling-pieces, bell-muzzled

blunderbusses, long backwoods rifles, rusty muskets, old horse-pistols—anything that could be made to fire either ball or shot was clutched by a resolute hand and held ready to be aimed by a steady eye. Jackson's grand spirit was in every breast; his enthusiastic patriotism had become infectious. There was little rest for any hand, little sleep for any eye.

As the eighth day approached it became quite evident that Packenham was making ready for a grand assault with a force apparently overwhelming. General Jackson had caused the levee to be cut both above and below the British lines, but the river was not high enough to do the work intended and the water really helped General Packenham in forwarding his reinforcements and supplies. The Louisiana took good care to manœuvre in such a way that she kept herself well out of her enemy's reach, and at the same time she kept up an almost incessant firing. The Americans with their land batteries kept feeling for the British line and finally, by elevating the guns were able to drop both shot and shell in the midst of their camp. Heavy guns were planted on the right bank of the river so as to command the area to be crossed by Packenham's forces in assaulting Jackson's line. On the left the American works were projected far into the swamp, and a reconnoitering party of the British were



JACKSON'S SHARP-SHOOTERS.

repulsed while trying to feel their way around the extreme wing. Daring sharpshooters, most of them Tennesseans who were armed with long deer-rifles, crept forward and annoyed the enemy's pickets by killing a man here and there from the cover of the thick bushes or tall grass.

On the night of the thirty-first of December, General Packenham sent forward a strong detachment which erected six batteries of thirty cannon, twenty long eighteen-pounders and ten twenty-four pounders, only three hundred yards distant from the American line. This movement was skillfully performed and on the following morning an almost disastrous surprise resulted.

New Year's Day dawned gloomily with a dense gray fog lying close to the ground. All was still and silent. The Louisiana lay some distance up the river and a part of her men were planting another heavy gun in the battery on the west bank of the river.

General Jackson ordered a grand parade of his men between the lines and his headquarters, and while this was going on the fog lifted slowly and the sun began to shine. It was a soldierly way of welcoming in the new year, but it was not a very wise move in the presence of a wary and overwhelmingly strong enemy. Jackson was in his room getting himself ready to review the troops,

when suddenly those thirty heavy cannon boomed out their awful thunder and their iron storm rushed crashing by. In the same moment a shrieking shower of congreve rockets filled the air. Cannonballs began to strike the house in which were the General and some other officers. Colonel Butler was knocked down and covered with a mass of falling rubbish. A hundred shot struck the house in the space of a few minutes.

All was wild confusion for a time; but the men rushed to the breastworks. The guns were speedily manned, and when Jackson reached the line he found everything in order. The Louisiana quickly dropped down to her place and began to pound away, while the heavy guns on the west side of the river opened with tremendous vigor. It was a noise worth hearing. Over fifty cannon were bellying at once. Humphrey's artillery was doing glorious work, knocking the enemy's sugar-hogshead works all into heaps, tumbling their guns over and scattering their gunners and support. The pirates Dominique and Beluche, handled a battery with all the desperate courage of their class, well earning their governor's promised pardon by quickly silencing the guns in front of them. The enemy made an effort to turn Jackson's left, but were promptly repulsed in disorder by Coffee.

Before noon the British batteries were silent and

the lifting fog and smoke disclosed a scene which drew from the brave Americans wild and prolonged cheers. Heaps of demolished embankments and fragments of broken artillery, flying gunners and columns of red-coats making for cover, showed how completely the attacking force had been beaten back into ignominious hiding down in the watery and muddy ditches. From this moment forward the *morale* of the American troops was excellent. Every man felt that he was a match for two or three of the British. General Jackson was delighted. He went up and down the line waving his cap in the air and joining in the lusty shouts of his soldiers.

The artillery did not cease firing, but kept a level flood of balls pouring across the field. The Louisiana bellowed away and from the other side of the river came the jarring thunder of the heavy battery. Shells were bursting everywhere. The round-shot ploughed through the mud and sand or bumped heavily among the trees on the left and forced the British to keep themselves well hidden while they crept back to their lines.

Thus ended the first strong effort of Packenham to reduce the American works. He was now convinced that an assault by storm was the only means of success, and, although his best officers almost rose in mutiny against it, he ordered preparations

for the attack. By Sunday morning, the eighth of January, 1815, the British columns were formed in front of that low, dark, terrible wall beyond the ditch, and the British leader was with them, ready to show that he was their leader in fact as well as in name. He had been at Badajos; he had dealt the decisive blow on "the stricken field of Salamanca"; the scars of many wounds were on his body; he was not a man to shrink from any danger.* His officers and men were most of them grim veterans of many a bloody field. He could trust them.

General Jackson was well aware of the preparations going on in the British camp. Indeed his army felt what was coming, and each man nerved himself to do or die. The word was passed from lip to lip that coolness and a steady aim were of the highest importance. Every bullet, every round-shot, every shell, every flight of grape and canister must find its target.

Take a glance at the field. Here is the American line a little way behind the muddy sluice-ditch which serves as a moat. The breastworks are of earth chiefly and made very thick. In front, beyond the ditch, the ground stretches away as flat, almost, as water. On the right is the mighty river

* "He was not the man to flinch from a motley array of volunteers, militia and raw regulars, led by a grizzled old bush-fighter, whose name had never been heard of outside of his own swamps, and there only as the savage destroyer of some scarcely more savage Indian tribes." — ROOSEVELT.

level with its bank, save that a levee barely overlooks it. On the left is a dense swamp jungle, dark and grim, hung with long moss and covered with creeping air-plants. To take the American works, think of what the British must do. In the first place they must march across that level field which is raked by the Louisiana guns and by the heavy enfilading batteries on the other side of the river. At the same time the batteries of the works have a point-blank line of fire right upon their front. This is the beginning. Next comes the murderous storm of grape and cannister at short range; then they must feel the withering breath of rifle and musket, they must flounder through that muddy ditch, they must rush upon the belching muzzles of steady guns, they must climb over the embankment.

Does it appear possible for men to do all this?

We who remember the charge of Pickett at Gettysburg smile at such a question. Those who saw Claiborne at Franklin will scarcely lift their eyes as they answer, Yes. The gallant columns of Sherman at Kennesaw or those of Grant at Petersburg know that brave men can accomplish anything that they are ordered to do.

Jackson was fearless and his courage knew no bounds, but his wisdom made him feel how doubtful was the issue. One point of his works carried and all would be over.

“Can we withstand an assault?” he inquired of General Adair.

“Yes, possibly, if we hold a strong reserve with which to reinforce any failing or breaking part of our line,” was the prompt answer. This was the whole danger expressed in the fewest words. No part of the line was strong enough to resist a concentrated and determined rush, unless a reserve could be held back ready to step in promptly at the critical moment.

At a little past one o'clock on the morning of that dreadful but glorious Sunday, Jackson arose, called to his dozing aids and gave orders for everything to be put in readiness to receive the British.

“The enemy will be upon us in a few minutes,” he said; “I must go and see Coffee.”

General Adair was placed in command of the reserve — a thousand Kentuckians — and ordered to hold himself ready to support Carroll and Coffee. All along the line everything was ready.

As morning came on its light struggled through a film of silver fog that veiled the field, the swamp and the river. Just at the break of dawn two rockets streamed up into the murky air as the signal for the British advance. By six o'clock two heavy columns were in motion.

The Americans lay behind their works in breath-

less expectancy listening to those indescribable but well-known sounds that always come from an advancing army. Slowly the fog lifted and dimly enough a dull red line was seen steadily moving out of the distance. A gun from battery six sent the first shot hurtling off to meet it. Two minutes later the magnificent British column led by General Gibbs was full in sight only three hundred yards away, sweeping on with a swift and even motion. Three batteries opened on it. Soon obtaining the range, they plunged their heavy hail of iron through from front to rear, crushing it horribly. This did not even check it. Right on it came, a little faster — if possible, a little steadier. The cannoneers saw and wondered. It was a thrilling exhibition of cold, determined, dogged courage. No batteries could drive them back. Patterson's heavy guns began to bellow from the other side the river.

On came that solid column. The Americans had formed a quadruple line of riflemen and musketeers one behind another; they withheld their fire until the head of the column had come within fair range; then each man took deliberate aim and out leaped a rattling volley. At the same moment all along the works the batteries blazed together. The British staggered a moment, then came a forward rush; but the front of the column was swept down; there was a recoil, a break, a precipitate retreat.

At this signal check the Americans cheered like mad and redoubled their deadly fire.

Packenham rushed headlong among the men. After a desperate effort he reformed the shattered and panic-stricken column just beyond the danger line and turned it again toward the earthworks and the fringe of sulphurous flames that flashed above them. This time there was to be no faltering or hesitancy, no thought of retreat. Over the works or die. Hat in hand General Packenham rose in his saddle and urged his horse to the very front. He shouted to his brave men, he beckoned them on, and then they set their teeth and followed him. It was as heroic a charge as any in history and it was repulsed by as fearful a fire as ever belched from a repelling line. Packenham led the right; Gibbs the left; the British columns marched steadily up to the point-blank range of the batteries. The Americans were ready, cool, steady; their aim, apparently, was absolutely accurate, for the front ranks fell like grass before a scythe. A musket ball struck General Packenham through the right arm; on he rode, the shattered arm dangling by his side. He did not notice the wound. A deluge of grape shot poured along; one of them crashed through his thigh. He fell. Still another struck him, and there he died. General Gibbs was borne from the field writhing under the terrible pain of a death-wound.

Down fell Colonel Dale of the Highlanders; down, too, fell the Highlanders themselves, to the number of five hundred and forty-four, never to charge again.

One thirty-two-pounder gun was charged to the muzzle with musket bullets and fired point-blank into the head of the rushing column before it. The awful blast swept away two hundred men. The riflemen picked their red-coat targets and took aim as if shooting for a prize. Indeed they were shooting for a prize. Behind them was New Orleans; there were the brave women, there the little children, there the old men. Behind them was their country, before them its invaders. Out sang the bullets of Tennessee and Kentucky; forth whizzed the missiles of the patriotic Creoles; on crashed the grape and canister aimed by the Barrabarians; far bounded the heavy round-shot from the Louisiana and from the guns beyond the river. What column could stand all this? The ranks of the British melted down and lay doubly red, strewn like flushed autumn leaves over the shot-furrowed field. The survivors could not come on. They turned and fled, the gusts of death sweeping through them, the hail of death falling on them. All this time General Jackson had been stalking back and forth along his line encouraging his men with grim sentences of exhortation. "Give it to them, boys! Blow 'em up, boys!" he would

call out with all the embellishments of frontier emphasis. And "the boys" heard and obeyed.

By eight o'clock the harvest was over; the red field of the eighth of January had been mowed. In front of Humphrey's batteries stretched the tangled wind-rows of mangled dead; prone beneath the deadly riflemen of Beale's little command the red-coats lay in heaps; the swaths cut down by Carroll and Adair were horrible to see. What slaughter; what a victory! Over two thousand British lay dead or helpless on the field. And what of Jackson's little army? How many killed? Just eight men! How many wounded? Thirteen men, and no more!

Carry the news to New Orleans. The grand army of Pakenham is crushed into fragments. The city is saved!

In the meantime a detachment under Colonel Thornton had been ordered by Pakenham to cross the river and attack the American works held by General Morgan. This was done and the works were carried by a flanking movement. Colonel Thornton was wounded in the assault, and, soon after assuming command, Colonel Gubbins was ordered to retreat, on account of Pakenham's reverse. He hurriedly recrossed the river to find Lambert in command of the crushed and disheartened army. Morgan immediately retook possession of his evacuated earthworks.

And so ended the battle. Fought after peace had been made between Great Britain and the United States it was, alas! a useless slaughter of brave men, if only the truth could have been known in time.

There never was a more joyful army than that which cheered and tossed hats and shook hands and exchanged congratulations behind those low, sodden earthworks of Jackson's line. The volatile Creoles danced and hugged one another and sang their gayest songs.

General Lambert soon sent a flag of truce and asked for an armistice of twenty-four hours with the privilege of caring for his wounded and burying his dead. This was granted by General Jackson, who could now well afford to rest.

Happily the American army had but few dead to bury, but each grave received a hero worthy a place beside those who stood for liberty at Lexington and fell within the breastworks of Bunker Hill.

The British felt that everything had been done that they could have done, and all in vain. The very heart and flower of their army, including the commanding officers, lay weltering and writhing or dead and cold in the blood pools of that disastrous battlefield. Mournfully enough they performed the depressing duty of disheartened soldiers, gathering up their mangled comrades on the field of their

crushing defeat. Never had English valor wasted itself upon a task so utterly unworthy of it and never had Englishmen received a more humiliating repulse, or a darker dye of disgrace. Little comfort to Packenham's men lay in the thought that they had shown a courage which the bravest of their enemies had admired; for even the most brutal musketeer of them all felt keenly the reproaches awaiting them when they should return to that veteran army, of which they so lately had been the choicest flower, only to be compelled to acknowledge utter rout at the hands of a mere skirmish-line of backwoodsmen.

CHAPTER X.

THE OLD REGIME.



WHEN the news of the victory reached New Orleans, there was such rejoicing as comes only to those who feel sudden and complete relief from overwhelming terror. Women and children,

old men, invalids, the waiters and watchers, had heard the rolling thunder of the fight booming up through the fog and their hearts had stood still with dread. It had been currently reported that the British had determined to pillage and burn the city — yes, and, infinitely worse, that they had foredoomed the women to a fate too terrible to mention. The noise of the battle was so tremendous

in its significance that when it ceased the blood of the listeners almost stopped flowing in their veins. What meant the sudden calm after the storm? Was it victory or defeat? They waited and listened and watched, but no news came; all was ominous silence and expectancy. The minutes were like hours, the hours like days. Suddenly down on the battery at the river front there arose a wild shout, and a hundred voices took up the cry: "Victory! Victory! Pakenham is crushed; the British are whipped! Hurrah for Jackson!" Instantly New Orleans was like a hive when the bees are disturbed. The people, men, women and children, black and white, poured into the streets, yelling, screaming, tossing hats, weeping, laughing, wringing hands, praying, dancing, singing, waving flags, all as wild as the hysterical excitement could render them.

Jackson gave the British every facility for taking care of their wounded and for burying their dead; but so soon as this sad duty had been performed he turned again to strengthening his works and to watching with closest scrutiny the movements of his enemy. There was little need for this caution and vigilance. The general in command of the British felt that to renew the fight just then would be madness. He would wait for the fleet which was expected to come up the Mississippi. Sup-

ported by this he might yet be able to reach and destroy New Orleans.

Fort St. Philip was down near the mouth of the river—a slight work on a sand-bar, but armed with some heavy ordnance. In this fort General Jackson had placed three hundred and sixty-six men under Major Overton, a brave and able officer.

The British squadron sailed up and anchored within range of the fort on the ninth of January. A schooner, a sloop, a brig and two bomb-vessels, all well-manned and heavily armed, opened fire. Major Overton returned the compliment from his water batteries with such effect that the fleet soon dropped down out of reach and with their heavy guns and some large mortars pounded away, quite free from danger, until the seventeenth. By this time the Americans had put a heavy mortar in position and its great shells began to burst all round the ships, each shot showing an improvement in aim. It was a mere matter of time. The fleet was doomed if it remained. It did not remain. On the eighteenth, when Major Overton had at length found the range, there was a sudden flurry on board, and the squadron was seen setting sail and dropping hastily down the river. It had found the little fort an impassable barrier. On this same day, disheartened, broken, utterly defeated, the whole army in front of Jackson took up its sad

march to its fleet on Lake Borgne, and soon after it sailed away never to return. Could disaster be more humiliating? Could victory be more glorious? New Orleans rang her bells, filled her churches and sent up to Almighty God the fervent thanks of a people snatched from the very jaws and fangs of destruction.

The war was over. The news soon arrived that, even before the terrible battle was fought, peace had been established between Great Britain and the United States.

Louisiana from this date drew closer to the Federal Union, feeling that the blood of the brave had cemented her to the other States and that henceforth she must grow with the growth of the nation and strengthen with its strength. Swift, indeed, was her progress. Population increased over all her area and her agriculture and commerce swelled to amazing proportions. Along the Gulf coast and on the marsh-hummocks the culture of rice was the chief industry, whilst in the rich areas protected by the levees, and on the fertile borders or "coasts," the sugar plantations increased with wonderful rapidity. In the northern and north-western parishes cotton was the staple, though Indian corn, potatoes and tobacco were largely cultivated. No sooner had the war ended than there came a rush of immigration and a mighty activity

in the shipping interests of New Orleans. The immense accumulations of cotton, sugar and molasses found quick exportation and the money realized flooded Louisiana with wealth. Slave labor became profitable almost beyond belief, so productive was the soil, so valuable were the products and so cheap the means of subsistence. New Orleans was the toll-gate of the Mississippi Valley and right liberally was the toll poured into her till. Her merchants, factors, bankers and warehousemen grew rich, she swelled to the proportions of a great city, her population was as various as the peoples of the earth, and she was as gay and dissipated on the one hand as she was decorous, stately, cultured and hospitable on the other. Despite the influence of a strong and growing element of Anglo-Americans in her population she remained a Creole city with the architecture, the language and the customs of a foreign, or rather of an alien race. The French language was the vehicle of polite expression and French modes and customs largely prevailed.

The advent of steam navigation upon the river was the crowning touch to Louisiana's prosperity and to that of her great city. The whole surplus produce of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys was poured down the current of the mighty stream and with it went "packet" loads of planters, traders,

merchants, pleasure-seekers, gamblers, speculators in negroes, and who not, all with their faces set toward the alluring fascinations of the Crescent Queen whose gilded gates shone far down on the horizon of the famous "Low country."

The French language had its battle to fight against the English as the two tongues began to be mingled all over Louisiana. Of course the Creoles clung with uncompromising persistence to the sweet sounds of their ancestral language, whilst the aggressive and energetic Anglo-Americans did not hesitate to consider the French tongue as alien to our country and deleterious to its unity of aim and of development. It has been said that in this struggle the Creoles fought a losing fight, but the loss has been negative rather than positive. The French language has stood still while the English has gained by steady progression. The increment has been always persistent, but never large.

One result of this battle of tongues has been that most of the wealthy Creoles have sent their children, especially their sons, to Paris for their education. Early in the history of New Orleans a Creole literature with a marked Parisian flavor was founded by some brilliant writers most of whom had been educated abroad. Vaudevilles, comedies, tragedies and other theatrical compositions formed the bulk of what was written. The

people were enthusiastic play-goers and, besides, every winter the city was filled to overflowing with visitors who had come for pleasure and who would have amusement at any cost.

In time the influx of a permanent population of English-speaking people divided the city into two areas: the French, or Creole quarter, and the Anglo-American quarter. The line of division is a very sharp one even now. So, too, in the State at large there is a well-defined boundary to the two areas: English and French. The southern part is French, the northern part is English, so far as language goes.

The Creoles proper and the Acadians have kept themselves together with a reserve and an exclusiveness almost impenetrable. This rural French population is a steady, plodding, honest, virtuous and simply conservative class of people, living to-day in the remote ancestral fashion with little change of dress, architecture, agricultural processes or domestic customs since their great-great-grandfathers began to struggle with poverty in the jungles of the hummocks or on the wet prairies of the Teche and the Calcaissieu, the Attakapas and the Opelousas. They are sugar-planters, cattle-herders, cotton and rice-planters, fishermen, boatmen; but in everything they are alien to the rushing, bustling, feverish life that prevails in

America. This, of course, is descriptive of only the uneducated classes and does not apply to the cultured and refined Creole families in city or country. The latter are the equals of the best and most representative people of any part of the United States.

The constitution of Louisiana, as first framed, was far from accordant with the spirit of the American Union. It had been made to satisfy the alien prejudice in favor of hereditary government existing in the State during its early years. As the immigration from the Northern and Western States continued and swelled the English-speaking population of Louisiana her constitution became a legislative bone of contention and at last it was remodeled so as to embody most of the distinctive features common to the constitutions of the rest of our States. This new constitution was framed by a convention which met in Baton Rouge in 1844, and it went into effect January, 1846. The population of the State was, by this time, over four hundred thousand souls. One year's crop of sugar, that of 1842, had amounted to two hundred thousand hogsheads, each of not less than one thousand pounds in weight. The cotton crops of the State were enormous.

From first to last the history of New Orleans has been the history of Louisiana. The commerce

of the city has ever been the exponent and the index of the State's condition. Between 1815 and 1860, while New Orleans was growing from a straggling place of twenty thousand people into a magnificent city of over two hundred thousand souls, the whole State was rushing on apace.

All the existing conditions were against the establishment of efficient educational institutions. Plantation labor was all done by black slaves, and the city and all the towns were given over wholly to commerce, whilst the controlling class of white people were inclined to seek foreign schools rather than to build home ones. The conflict of tongues kept up an insurmountable barrier between neighbor and neighbor and so enfeebled the texture of society that common schools were not to be thought of in the thinly-populated parishes. The English-speaking families sent their children to Georgia, Virginia, South Carolina or New England to be educated; the French turned their eyes across the Atlantic to the schools of Paris.

This educational exclusiveness worked surely to build up a class of aristocrats, rich, cultured, refined and magnificently hospitable; but cut in twain by a language-line, which, to a great extent, was one of race and of religion as well. An educated Creole was neither an American nor a Frenchman in the eyes of his English-speaking

neighbor of corresponding position and culture, and the Creole, though superbly polite, never quite felt that his friend, the Anglo-American over the way, was altogether his equal.

General Claiborne's administration closed in 1816 and he was succeeded by General Villère who was governor of Louisiana until 1820, when Thomas B. Robinson was elected.

In February, 1823, a terrible wave of cold weather froze the Mississippi River, killed the orange orchards and caused the death of many slaves and domestic animals. This calamity, following closely upon a dreadful epidemic of yellow fever and being shortly succeeded by another, caused much depression and checked the prosperity of the planters in the sugar districts.

Henry Johnson was elected governor in 1824; in that year the Bank of Louisiana was incorporated. Pierre Derbigny was the next governor; he was elected in 1829 and in the following year the seat of the State government was fixed at Donaldsonville. Here was convened the Legislature that passed the well-known and much discussed statute fixing the penalty of death to the crime of inciting servile insurrection, whether the act were by parol expression on the rostrum or in the pulpit or by uttering printed matter charged with the virus of abolitionism. An act was passed at the

same time forbidding, under pain of long imprisonment, the teaching of any slave to read, a measure deemed necessary in view of the fact that secret emissaries were supposed to be at work sowing the seeds of discontent among the plantation negroes. Governor Derbigny died and Jacques Dupré, the presiding officer of the Senate, filled his place until the following year, when Bienvenu Roman was elected. In 1832 a penitentiary was built at Baton Rouge. That, too, was the year that cholera and yellow fever combined to make such havoc in New Orleans, more than five thousand victims falling before the terrible scourge.

The sugar industry of Louisiana was now at the high tide of prosperity. There were more than seven hundred sugar establishments in the State and the traffic of New Orleans was enormous. The river was almost blocked up with ships from every country, and every wharf was packed with lines of steamboats, one behind another. The sugar-planters had become a wealthy and a generously open-handed class; they had built spacious mansions and were living in almost royal style; but they had adopted a wasteful system of financing, encumbering their estates with debts and paying a ruinous rate of interest. Slaves increased rapidly in number, and apace with all this accumulation of wealth and mortgages grew the deadly

fascination of speculative operations. Land rose to an inflated value and men went wild over schemes for the founding of towns some of which were actually surveyed in the midst of cypress swamps covered with water.

Edward White was elected governor in 1835, and it was in the midst of his official term that a financial crisis was reached in Louisiana (in the whole country as well) precipitating distress, and in a degree ruin, upon the sugar-planters. The modification by Congress of the tariff on sugar had already depressed the planting industry and now, when the banks suddenly stopped specie payment and withdrew much of that liberal support upon which the planters had so long relied, there came a panic which for a time threatened destruction to the agricultural staple of the State.

In 1839 Bienvenu Roman was again elected governor. By this time the banks had resumed specie payments and the planters were beginning to take heart. Alexandre Mouton was elected Roman's successor and took his seat in 1843. Isaac Johnson, the first governor under the new constitution, was inaugurated on the twelfth of February, 1846. The war between the United States and Mexico came on soon after and Louisiana bore her part in the struggle, sending troops to General Taylor and sharing in the victories he

gained. Joseph Walker succeeded Johnson as governor in 1850 and Baton Rouge became the capital of the State. It was about this time that General Lopez the "fillibuster" began his preparations in New Orleans for an attack upon Cuba. He succeeded in attracting to his enterprise a company of imaginative and adventurous young men and set sail. The Cubans captured him and he was executed along with a number of his companions. Great indignation was excited in New Orleans by the news of the fate of the expedition and the Spanish consul was mobbed and badly treated. The Know Nothing party in the State now added its influence to the existing prejudice against aliens and there was tremendous pressure brought to bear on the public temper resulting in most disgraceful scenes at elections.

P. O. Hebert was elected governor in 1853. It was during his administration that railroads were successfully introduced and many advances made in the prosperity of Louisiana. Robert Wyckliffe came next in the succession of governors, being inaugurated in 1856. He was succeeded in 1860 by Thomas O. Moore.

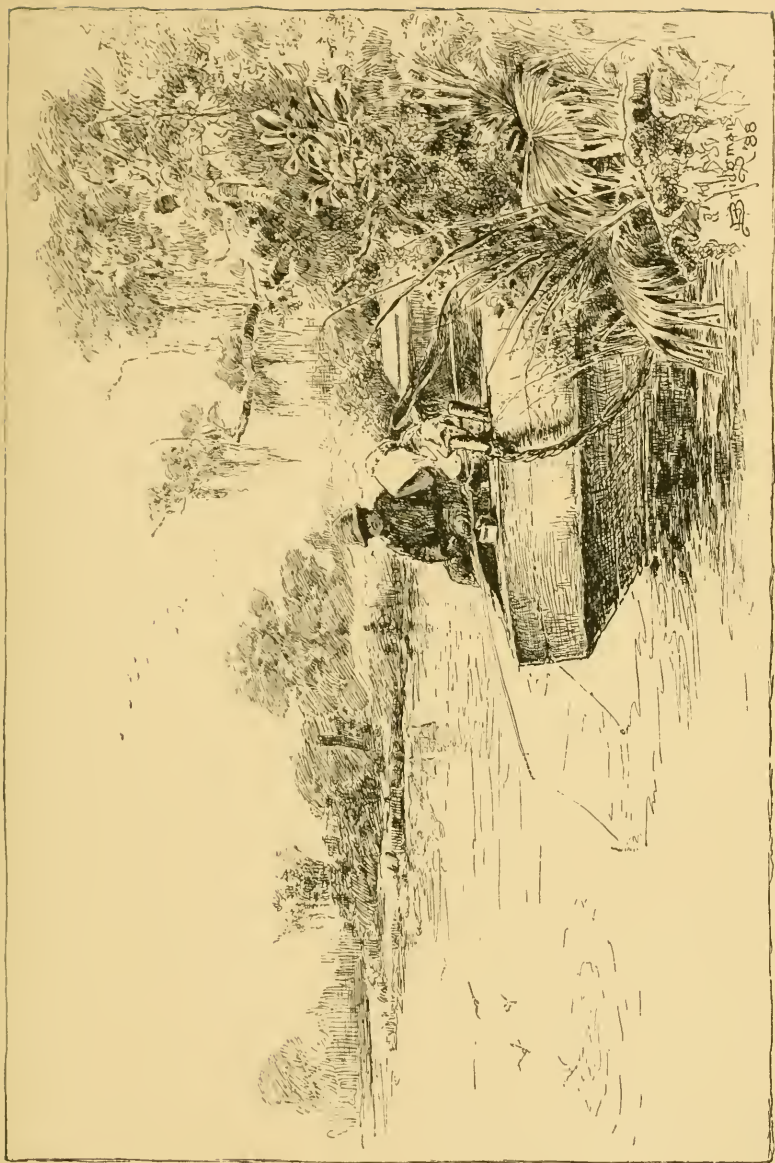
Such is an outline sketch of the gubernatorial succession in Louisiana up to the eve of the great fratricidal war. We may now turn back to note some of the more important incidents of Louisiana's

story from the close of Claiborne's administration up to 1861.

One of the first efforts of the law-makers was in the direction of suppressing the crime of dueling, but, although to kill another in a duel was, as early as 1817, declared a capital offence, there appears to have been no enforcement of the law. Public sentiment was in favor of the "code of honor" and enforced it with relentless severity. There were schools of fencing in New Orleans as late as 1858, where by expert *maitres d'armes* young men were taught the art of slashing each other with broadswords, or of delivering with precision and grace the fatal thrust of the rapier. He who refused to fight when properly challenged by his social equal was ostracised; he who failed to resent an insult in due accord with the code was also disgraced.

At one period the Oaks, or, as the Creoles called the spot, *Chênes d'Allard*, was a dueling ground which witnessed almost daily the fierce and bloody encounters of the *jeunesse dorée* of New Orleans. Even to this day one may not listen long among the loungers at certain haunts of the Creole youth, without hearing the phrase *coup de pointe a droite*.

One most beneficent effect, however, this barbarous dueling habit wrought upon society: it forced men to be polite and circumspect in their intercourse with one another, and it made New Orleans



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IN ACADIA.

a city where courtly manners exerted an influence wholly charming and irresistible. Under the surface, however, there was a brutalizing tendency. It was impossible for a civilized and highly-cultured people not to feel that a human slaughter-pen under the name of a dueling-ground was incompatible with the development of a Christian prosperity and that a constant defiance of law and humanity must at length recoil with bitter force upon the people encouraging or even tolerating it. But the duello had attached itself so firmly to society in New Orleans that it was not shaken off until after the close of the great war.

Another excrescence, seemingly inseparable from the public life of Louisiana, is the lottery. Fraternal and charitable institutions, schools and colleges, land-improvement companies and, indeed, nearly every enterprise in the State at one time or another has appealed to the aid of a lottery scheme to fill its treasury and strengthen its credit.

The system of chartering public gambling concerns under the title of Banking Companies was for a long time a source of popular corruption, and although penal statutes were enacted forbidding a lower order of gambling, they were never enforced; the gilded hells, where went on day and night every game of chance or skill known to the devotees of sporting, were on almost every street in New

Orleans. They were on a scale of splendor and luxury almost equal to that of the legion of inflated railroad, improvement and banking establishments whose privileges granted by legislative enactment were practically unlimited.

In 1836 the general assembly chartered corporations whose aggregate capital was nearly forty millions of dollars. Some of the banks issued paper to more than five times the amount of their available assets and embarked in the wildest speculations drawing with them a large number of the wealthy planters whose paper they were holding. The mania for land-speculation was at its height when on the thirteenth of May, 1837, the financial collapse came which caused fourteen banks in New Orleans to suspend specie payments.

For five or six years great depression prevailed in the sugar industry, but cotton-culture increased rapidly, the area theretofore devoted to cane being gradually encroached upon, until many of the largest and finest sugar plantations had been turned into cotton-fields. Then came another speculative rush which advanced the price of cotton far beyond the line of safety and the inevitable consequence followed: ruin to the investors. Land fell in value to such a degree that sales were almost impossible. Banks rushed at once to an extreme in a direction opposite to their former lavish liberality to the

planters and refused to aid even deserving public or private enterprises. It was not before 1845 that light began to break through the financial cloud; but the planters had managed their own affairs better after their disastrous experiences and were growing independent of the banks. Gradually they had struggled forth from their incumbrances into a condition of prosperity founded on a solid basis.

In 1846 the general assembly appropriated one hundred thousand dollars for the purpose of equipping and forwarding troops to General Taylor on the Mexican border. Several regiments were sent; they arrived just in time to be available at Matamoras. On June first of this year the State granted to the United States the right to erect and maintain forts and public buildings at Proctor's Landing, on Lake Borgne, at Forts Jackson, Wood, Pike and St. Philip, battery Bienvenu and Tour Dupré.

In 1847 an appropriation of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars was made for the erection of a new state house at Baton Rouge. During this year also was founded the University of Louisiana in New Orleans and the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars was appropriated to build the structures now known as the University Place on Common Street.

The time had arrived for making an end of the

bankrupt corporations which had been preying so long on the commerce and agriculture of the State, and the government appointed liquidators for them whose duty was to close out their business on equitable terms.

Meantime almost every year had seen more or less advance in the improvement of levees and water channels in the State. Appropriations for this purpose were often quite liberal, but the engineering was badly done and too frequently the contracts for public works were loosely let and still more loosely performed. The public school system of the State was formed and reformed, organized and reorganized and a permanent school fund was several times established and re-established. In 1855 New Orleans was authorized to institute public schools of her own. In 1856 a singular calamity overtook three hundred persons on Last Island westward of the Mississippi's mouth and just off the Gulf coast of Southern Louisiana. The island was a slender crescent twenty-five miles long and less than a mile in average width and had been for many years the summer residence of planters and their families from the Attakapas and La Fourche region. During the night of the ninth of August a storm arose which rapidly developed to frightful violence with a deluge of rain and a mighty lifting of the sea. All the boats were dashed to pieces

and every building blown away. When daylight came the wind was still increasing and in the afternoon the island was overwhelmed and literally washed away. Nearly two thirds of the unfortunate persons sojourning thereon were engulfed and were never seen again. The survivors were those who clung to rafts and floating pieces of wreck, or who climbed into the tops of the trees on the highest part of the island.

The excitement, for several years systematically worked up at each election in Louisiana against foreigners, culminated finally in 1858 and for a few days a battle was every moment expected at New Orleans. Five hundred men armed to the teeth and acting under direction of a vigilance committee seized the Court House in the city and also took possession of the State Arsenal at Jackson Square. This was on the fourth of June, three days before the time set for the city election. On the following day reinforcements amounting to one thousand armed men joined them. They fortified their positions and erected strong barricades across the streets. On the other hand the Know Nothings occupied Lafayette Square with a strong force and a battery of cannon. Actual collision was avoided, however, and by dint of much parleying peace was restored in time to insure a quiet election, the Know Nothings electing the mayor.

During the next two years prosperity and happiness reigned throughout Louisiana. The cotton industry was at its meridian and the sugar plantations were abundantly remunerative. The banks had reached a safe basis, money was plenty, there was no epidemic of yellow fever, the slaves were quiet; indeed every element of commercial, agricultural, social and political prosperity was present. And yet all was not well with the people. There was a cloud on the horizon; the muttering of a distant but approaching storm was in the air.

Over-statement is scarcely possible in attempting to portray the domestic charm, the ample leisure, the rich luxury and the almost unlimited hospitality which belonged to this closing period of the old regime in Louisiana. The plantation homes were not, as a rule, very imposing or beautiful structures; but they were large, airy, comfortable, built for use from veranda to garret. This is true as well of the New Orleans mansions, where room appears to have been the main object of the builders. Household servants were numerous and thoroughly trained, so that a large house crowded with guests gave no trouble to host or hostess. Horses, carriages, dogs and guns were always ready, every comfort and luxury that wealth and liberal effort could procure and every personal attention that politeness could suggest made the social rela-

tions of the people peculiarly charming. Indeed many of the grand estates were comparable in every respect to those of England and France, while the hospitality dispensed by their owners was on a scale equaled nowhere else in the world. The intercourse between the families of the planters and those of the elite of New Orleans was very intimate. Visits of indefinite duration were exchanged and in the hot season the various summer resorts on the coast were always crowded with coteries of brilliant men and beautiful women.

At the base of all this ease, luxury, leisure and domestic and social happiness was negro slavery with its attendant evils and its germ of destruction. For years there had been intermittent spasms of uneasiness among the people on account of certain evidences tending to show that emissaries from the North were attempting to sow the seed of discontent and revolt in the hearts of the plantation slaves. In response to the forebodings and fears aroused by these secret agents of the abolitionists, the legislature of Louisiana passed many severe and much-criticised black laws. Read at this distance from their date, these appear far more barbarous than they really were. They grew out of the real need for heroic measures of precaution in communities where the slaves outnumbered the whites ten to one.

Far-seeing men began to distinguish signs in the

political sky foretelling the approach of the final struggle between the North and the South, long before that struggle took any definite shape. But when the Charleston convention had broken into factions; when the elements of the Democratic party were scattered and when the Republican party had solidified its forces for the campaign of 1860, a waft of maddening anticipation passed over the people of the South. Singularly enough, however, Louisiana was closely balanced in her vote at the ensuing election. Breckenridge received 22,681 votes, Bell 20,204 and Douglass 7,625. Thomas O. Moore was elected governor and immediately called a special session of the legislature. This body met on the tenth of December and soon after passed an act for an election to choose delegates to a State convention.

The election was held on the seventh of January, 1861. The legislature, in view of the action of other Southern States, passed an appropriation bill setting apart five hundred thousand dollars for military purposes. A military commission was appointed and every step was taken preliminary to a formal withdrawal from the Union. The general assembly was visited by Hon. Wirt Adams, the commissioner for the State of Mississippi, who delivered an address before that body on the twelfth of January, detailing the plan of action

matured in his own State and eloquently insisting upon the prompt co-operation of Louisiana. South Carolina had already seceded. The news of this decisive step had been celebrated in New Orleans by a great gathering of the people, who showed their approval by the firing of cannon and the display of the pelican flag amid the wildest bursts of enthusiastic cheering, speech-making, toast-drinking and general congratulations.

When the convention met on the twenty-third of January at the State capital it was a foregone conclusion that an ordinance of secession would be adopted. The vote was taken on the twenty-sixth, and resulted in a record of one hundred and thirteen yeas and seventeen nays. The ordinance was then presented to the members for their signatures. Seven delegates refused to affix their names; the others present, one hundred and twenty-one in number, promptly signed the document; the speaker pronounced the solemn declaration of Louisiana's withdrawal from the Federal Union; the die had been cast.

Soon after this Governor Moore took possession of the military stores, arsenals, and forts in the State and the legislature in regular session approved his acts. On the twenty-ninth of January the convention was again brought together in New Orleans and delegates were chosen and sent to a general *

convention of the Southern States to be held in Montgomery, Alabama.

When a constitution had been framed for the Confederate States it was promptly ratified by Louisiana on March 22, 1861. At this time the population of the State was nearly seven hundred thousand and her commercial, agricultural and financial condition surpassed that of any previous period of her history. Flushed with prosperity and tingling with the excitement induced by the stirring events of the hour her people felt themselves ready to face any possible emergency.

It was not for human vision to foresee the terrible consequences of the struggle which was beginning. It was not for human ears to hear, a few months in advance, the thunder of Farragut's guns as his fleet steamed up the river past the forts. Who could dream of the fate in store for the beautiful Crescent City? Little more than a year's space lies between the gala hour when the first brave young men enlisted and marched away from New Orleans to join the Confederate forces and that later day, too dreadful for description, when amid fire and smoke and a storm of shot and shell, the Federal fleet ploughed its way to an anchorage in front of the doomed city and shook out the folds of the triumphant flag of our country.

CHAPTER XI.

IN THE CIVIL WAR.



THE expression by ballot showed that Louisiana was not a pronounced secession State. In other words it disclosed a powerful conservative element favoring a peaceful settlement of the slavery question, without separation from the Federal Union. There were very few abolitionists within the limits of the commonwealth — probably none save emissaries from the North, and these dared not express themselves publicly. No doubt a considerable number of thoughtful men, whose wealth consisted of land and negroes, hesitated to take the daring step of separation mindful the desperate risk it involved.

Moreover the life of the Louisiana planter was a charming one and furnished with every element which is antagonistic to war. Why hazard all this

wealth, this idyllic isolation, this almost absolute autocracy, this affluent freedom, on the dreadful and tricky fortune of battle? This question no doubt arose in many a brave heart that was as true as steel to Louisiana and to the South. There was to be no faltering, however, when the final moment came. The drum-beat on the Mississippi was the signal for the perfect crystallization of public sentiment throughout the State. The French population at once stood forth and heartily joined hands with the Anglo-Americans. Differences of speech, religion and ancestry gave way before the impulse of a courageous and chivalric spirit. Louisiana rushed to arms.

The Mississippi River cut the Confederate States in two. It was a mighty highway, a stream capable of floating fleets of any size from St. Louis to the Gulf. As a consequence it very early became the object of military attention. If the Federal forces could open the river the States of Missouri, Texas, Arkansas and a large part of Louisiana would be severed from the newly-formed government and rendered practically powerless to perform their part in carrying on even a defensive war. New Orleans sat at the Gulf-gate. Vicksburg was really the upper barrier, although strong efforts were made to fortify and hold Island No. 10 and other points farther north. Forts Jackson and St. Philip were made

very strong and were mounted with the heaviest and most effective guns that could be procured. Fort Pike, over on the Rigolets between Lake Borgne and Lake Ponchartrain, was also put in order and armed for the defence of that pass.

Virginia was the first real battle-ground, but Louisiana had not long to wait for her turn. While her brave sons were tramping with Lee and Johnson and Jackson in the far-off northern Valley, the plans were being matured for an invasion of her territory and for the capture of her beautiful and rich old city. On the north, in Kentucky, Missouri and Tennessee, powerful Federal armies were pressing southward accompanied at each step by flotillas of gun-boats on the Mississippi, the Tennessee and the Cumberland Rivers.

War meant more to Louisiana than to any other State in the South, for two reasons: she was a cotton and sugar State and she was at the mercy of the Mississippi River. In a large sense New Orleans was Louisiana, and to paralyze New Orleans was to utterly ruin the State.

Early in 1862 a formidable expedition against New Orleans was fitted out consisting of a land force numbering fifteen thousand soldiers and a fleet of forty-seven vessels, eighteen steam gun-boats and twenty-four schooners. General Benjamin F. Butler commanded the army, Admiral Farragut

the fleet. The plan was to sail round to the mouth of the Mississippi, enter the river, reduce the forts and capture the city. It was an experiment of a doubtful nature, but well worth trying, in view of possible success.

The forts were powerful; they were near to each other, on opposite sides of the river; the Confederates were quite confident that no fleet could pass them. New Orleans, already drained of her bravest and best fighting men, felt no sense of insecurity when she heard the thunder of the first guns down the river. She was gay and defiant, remembering the fate of Packenham and the victories in Mexico. She knew that between her and her enemies were as good soldiers as ever went to battle, forts as strong, so she thought, as could be built; a flotilla of iron-clad gun-boats believed to be impregnable. Why should the Crescent City be afraid?

Already on many bloody fields the Confederate armies had achieved signal victories and the hearts of the Southern people were beating a hopeful measure from Richmond to Galveston. The songs of Randall and Flash, of Requier and Hayne and Ticknor were on every breeze; the chivalry of the old South was at the front; the women were embroidering its flags and cheering it on; the world was watching it; even the slaves were more docile and industrious than in the days of peace.

There was, however, a marked change in the condition of New Orleans. The river was no longer full of foreign vessels, the docks were not lined with double and triple rows of steamboats, the levee had lost its air of bustle and energy, the sheds, though well filled with cotton, rice and sugar, looked lonely and idle. On Canal Street the shops were not crowded with transient customers, as any fine April day would formerly have found them. In Royal Street the polite French Creoles met one another, shrugged their shoulders, and, wagging their heads in the direction of the distant booming broad-side thunder, exchanged light remarks and passed on. Jackson and St. Philip would soon give those Yankees enough of iron compliments. Still, as the pounding increased and no news reached the listeners as to how the fight was going, a chill of uneasiness now and again crept through the strongest hearts. What if the forts should fall?

The bombardment began on the eighteenth of April, 1862. General Butler's army had been encamped on Ship Island. Commodore Farragut's fleet took position within range of the forts and for six days subjected them to a tremendous fire which was returned with unflagging spirit. This experiment disclosed the fact that the forts could not be reduced, but it also suggested to Farragut the

possibility of steaming past them and attacking the Confederate flotilla. This consisted of the two rams *Manassas* and *Louisiana*, and fourteen gunboats.

The Confederates had stretched a cable of iron across the river from bank to bank and near the forts; behind this barrier lay the gunboats and rams. The river surface gave fair space for manœuvring and those who witnessed the contest agree in describing it as one of the most awful spectacles imaginable.

The Federal commander, with a view to distracting attention from his real purpose, opened a fire on Fort Jackson from every gun-boat that could command it, and then in the midst of the din and excitement, assailed the cable and the Confederate fleet. An observer who had the best opportunity to view coolly and calmly a large part of the scene says that at one time the splashing of the water by the heavy shot and shell from the gun-boats and from the forts gave the river the appearance of frightful ebullition, as if volcanoes were beneath it.

This was a fight very different from the one between *Pakenham* and Jackson. One discharge of a gun on an iron-clad vessel burned as much powder as Jackson's riflemen fired during the entire day. There were one hundred and twenty-eight guns in the forts, most of them very heavy;

but many of them were old and inefficient, while the attacking part of the Federal fleet carried two hundred and fifty-eight guns of the latest and best pattern. To aid the forts the Confederates had a fleet of thirteen vessels close at hand and a battery on shore at Chalmette near the old battle-ground of the famous eighth of January, 1815.

At about four o'clock on the morning of the twenty-fourth of April, the final assault was begun by a concentrated fire upon Fort Jackson from the entire Federal fleet. Both forts immediately responded with every available gun and the Confederate steamer, the Governor Moore, joined in promptly. The struggle which ensued was a terrific one. The Federal fleet made a rush, broke through the obstructions and steamed in between the forts under a cross-fire which it would seem impossible for any vessel to withstand. Thirteen of them passed, however, firing tremendous broadsides into the Confederate vessels as they came up with them. The forts had done everything that it was possible for them to do. For six days and six nights the brave commander Gen. J. K. Duncan, and his heroic men, had borne up under hardships and dangers terrible enough to have appalled any but iron hearts. Now nothing but the Confederate flotilla and the battery at Chalmette lay

between New Orleans and the Federal fleet. The Governor Moore of the Southern fleet engaged the *Varuna* and with the aid of the ram *Stonewall Jackson* sunk her, but the Moore was in turn disabled and had to be fired by her commander. The *Manassas* was destroyed by the *Mississippi*; the *Stonewall Jackson* was burned; the *Louisiana*, the *McRae* and the *Defiance* were captured by the Federals; in a word the Confederate fleet was swept from the river as if by a whirlwind. As for the battery at Chalmette it was powerless to do anything without the aid of the gun-boats and rams.

General Lovell, who was in command at New Orleans, had come down the river in a steamboat to observe the operations and was very nearly captured; he hastened back to the city to withdraw his forces. When the news spread through the streets that the Federal fleet had passed the forts and had destroyed the Confederate flotilla, a strange scene followed; a scene impossible, perhaps, in any other American city under parallel circumstances.

The brave, active, fighting men of New Orleans were far away in the armies of the South; but they had left behind a slinking swarm of human vermin, the descendants of off-scourings from Europe, the progeny of the *cordon bleu*, the squalid mongrels that haunted the dirty alleys. These,

when they saw a hopeless panic seize the good people of the city, poured forth from their dens and began an indiscriminate pillaging of houses, shops and storage-sheds. Thus while the better class of citizens were frantically setting fire to the cotton (some twelve thousand bales) the cut-throats and ruffians, the hardened women and even the lawless children were raging from place to place, back and forth, here and there, wildly plundering and aimlessly destroying — a mob of thieves maddened by the overwhelming license of the occasion.

All the public materials, consisting of army supplies, were heaped up in the middle of the streets and burned. General Lovell withdrew his soldiers on the evening of the twenty-fourth, leaving the city at the mercy of the Federal fleet, which at one o'clock on the following day steamed up the river and anchored in the middle of the stream not far from the foot of Canal Street. By this time a degree of order had been restored, but the people were still wild with excitement. They could not realize that New Orleans was indeed a captured city; that the "Yankee" fleet was lying before its open gate. The mob which lately had been committing such foul deeds, now swayed back and forth in the streets, hooting, yelling and cursing, urging the people to resist the landing of the Federals.

Commodore Farragut demanded the formal surrender of the city, but the mayor was powerless. He could not surrender the city while the people were controlled by an unreasoning mob. Consequently, on the twenty-ninth, a detachment under command of Fleet Captain H. H. Bell was sent ashore to take possession of the public buildings.

Before this, however, on the twenty-sixth, a flag placed by Farragut's order on the United States Mint had been hauled down by W. B. Mumford and delivered over to the mob who tore it into shreds. General Butler afterwards caused Mumford to be tried for treason and hanged.

General Butler, once in possession of New Orleans, placed the city under the most rigid form of martial law and did some acts for which he has been justly criticised. It is true that the more violent element of the population of New Orleans gave him great provocation, but provocation cannot be considered against defenceless women and children to the extent of justifying their over-harsh treatment at the hands of a man. Of course those were war-days and it is difficult to consider fairly all the circumstances. A woman's tongue is sharper than a sword, but a man's temper should be fine enough to turn its point.

In the main, however, General Butler's course was the best possible for the welfare of the people.

He took prompt measures for cleaning the streets of the city and for guarding it against pestilence and used only such authority as he deemed to be necessary to the safety of his command and for the proper government of the place. He enforced at least a show of respect for the Federal flag and, grimly enough, mingled acts of touching kindness with his harshest measures. If he had been more successful than Packenham, he did not visit upon the captured city any of the consequences threatened by the boastful English invaders. Still, in many a breast in New Orleans, his iron administration will long be remembered with a shiver of horror and resentment. He could not enforce his authority over much of the State outside the city and for a long time a large part of the people of Louisiana were, to all intents and purposes, without government of any kind.

It appears strange that the Confederate authorities should have been permitted this easy capture of New Orleans. Realizing the immense importance of the river and considering the depression which they well knew must follow the loss of so prominent a city they should have defended it at all hazards. There must have been a very weak management of their Navy Department, for the iron-clads were all found to be either unserviceable or badly mismanaged during the fight. Had

they been fairly manageable, Farragut's fleet could have been held under the fire of the forts until destroyed or driven back.

No sooner had the Federal forces settled themselves in New Orleans than the Union fleet was made ready for operations farther up the river. Baton Rouge was taken and held until August when General Breckenridge, whose army was encamped on the Amite River, marched to attack that city. He expected the Confederate iron-clad, the *Arkansas*, to co-operate with him ; but, like all the rest, that much-vaunted vessel was unmanageable and had to be burned to keep the enemy from taking her. A battle was fought in which the Confederate forces were for the time victorious, but a little later Baton Rouge was re-taken and the Federals forthwith began preparations for over-running the State. General Weitzel with a strong force set out from New Orleans in October and after a number of light engagements drove the Confederates out of the southern parishes.

General Alfred Mouton, a brave and intrepid Creole, had early in 1863 collected an army of near two thousand men and was encamped in the Parish of St. Mary not far from Franklin. In the meantime General Banks had succeeded General Butler in command at New Orleans, and on the fourteenth of April he attacked Mouton with a largely superior

force. The engagement was an extremely bloody one, the Confederates fighting with the heroism of despair. The victory was with the Federals, who after a heavy loss drove their enemy back upon Alexandria.

Port Hudson was now the only strong Confederate foothold in the State of Louisiana, and this was soon relinquished. General Grant was pounding away at Vicksburg, which surrendered on the fourth of July, 1863; on the eighth General Banks took Port Hudson. This was the last blow on the gates of the Mississippi; they swung wide open; the Confederacy was split in two.

Louisiana, however, was far from being abandoned by her plucky defenders. Under the Federal authority an election was held on the twenty-second of February, 1864, at New Orleans and a few other places near by, by which Michael Hahn was chosen as governor of Louisiana. About two weeks later Colonel Henry Watkins Allen was elected to the same office by the people outside the Federal lines. He was inaugurated at Shreveport, which was now the Confederate seat of government in the State.

General Kirby Smith was in command of all the Confederate forces west of the Mississippi River, but it was difficult for him to keep his men together. Indeed the great game of war was nearing its end. General Banks had been so reinforced that his army

consisted of three corps aggregating nearly forty-five thousand men, perfectly armed and equipped. He issued orders for a movement upon the Confederate army in the Red River Valley, and in Western Louisiana. The first of these corps he led himself, by way of Bayou Têche; General A. J. Smith ascended Red River with the second corps and General Steele marched southward from Camden, Arkansas, with the third.

On the eighth of April a battle was fought near the small village of Mansfield, situated between Shreveport and Natchitoches. The Confederates were commanded by General Richard Taylor, son of President Zachary Taylor. General Banks was defeated and driven back upon Pleasant Hill. Taylor was to prevent Banks from joining Gen. A. J. Smith. To this end he followed rapidly and brought on another sharp engagement at Pleasant Hill, the result of which was of no importance, as the signal reverses suffered by Lee and Johnston in Virginia and North Carolina a few days later, put an end to the war. Indeed the opening of the Mississippi should have terminated the struggle; there was no longer any hope for the South with that mighty highway lying unguarded from St. Louis to the Belize.

General Richard Taylor surrendered to General Canby, on the fourth of May, and on the twenty-

sixth General Kirby Smith laid down his arms. A long breath of relief escaped from the lips of a depressed, impoverished and decimated people. A shout of triumph arose from the conquerors. The awful period of carnage was completed.

In Louisiana the immediate effect of peace was nearly as dreadful as that of war. The flower of her male population lay on the fields of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Georgia and Tennessee; her homes were desolate; on every street, in every door-yard limped the shattered wreck of a husband, a father, a son, a brother, a betrothed. The calm after the storm was the calm of despair.

The Proclamation of Emancipation had been sent forth by President Lincoln on the first of January, 1863, but it had no general effect until after the surrender of the Southern armies. With peace came freedom, but it was freedom with darkness on its wings, with gloom in its face, with evil spirits attending it.

Hundreds of thousands of negroes, ignorant and wholly unused to an independent existence, were turned loose upon the plantations as free as their late masters, but penniless and helpless. The planters, on the other hand, who were the owners of the soil and of all the personal property thereon, found themselves almost as helpless as were the negroes. What was to be done?

There was no money, the plantations had been permitted to run down, the sugar-mills, cotton-gins and rice-mills were out of repair, many of them had been burned. Who could rebuild them? Who would work them when repaired?

The negroes had been filled with a crude and dangerous notion of the extent of their freedom and they began to look about them for the great reward which American Liberty is supposed to bestow. In their poor benighted imaginations swam dreams of wealth and luxury, the social position of the white man, the power of politics, the fascinations of the cities. Like the lotos-eaters, they would not worry or work any longer; they would simply grasp freedom and float away into the heaven of rest and plenty. Why had all this fighting and bloodshed, all this wide conflagration and all this terrible sacrifice of life and limb and property been ordered and executed, if not for their sake? And where was the supreme gain to them? It must be somewhere. They would go presently and find it. Never was there a more pathetic phase of life, never a more dangerous one.

The planters, most of them scarred veterans of the Southern armies, returned to their spacious homes and their broad acres to find themselves poor and unable to make use of any means for renewing their fortunes. The former slaves now



IN THE CANE-BRAKE.

hovered around them in a dark swarm — idle, hungry freedmen invested with all the rights, privileges and franchises of American citizens, but without the knowledge of the demands of life, without fitness for the heavy responsibilities suddenly cast upon them. The negroes were largely in the majority; at the same time many of the most intelligent and trustworthy of the white men had been disfranchised.

It will be seen at a glance what a field Louisiana presented for the operations of the unscrupulous politician. How promptly this field was occupied and to what an unbearable degree of shameless political debauchery its chief possessors progressed before they were throttled by a maddened people is better left out of this story, or sketched by hints rather than painted in full colors. The political sequels that followed the disease of war may be analyzed by a specialist. I have no taste for the task.

Happily the impressionist in historical work can represent a great deal by what he does not describe. It would seem impossible for the public life of any State to reach a lower condition of moral and political rottenness and depravity than that of the Louisiana Government from the close of the war up to the fourteenth of September, 1874. On that day there was a revolution.

The white people of New Orleans and of the State had borne all that it was possible for them to bear. Defeat in battle and reduction from affluence to poverty could be endured, but a corrupt, avaricious and fraud-engendered system of government which set ignorant negroes and conscienceless aliens as absolute rulers over the destiny of Louisiana and over the very liberties and lives of her people, could not be submitted to by the sons of the men who fought with Andrew Jackson at Chalmette and with Zachary Taylor in Mexico. It was not a question of politics, it was a question of existence in every sense of the word. The white people at length resolved to overturn the power of what was called the "carpet-bag" government. The result could not be doubtful. The negroes as a mass knew nothing about government, the needs of the people or the organization necessary to political power. Moreover they cared nothing at all for such matters, except as they were urged to artificial excitement by designing emissaries of the "carpet-bag" clique in New Orleans then under the direction of William Pitt Kellogg.

On the fourteenth of September, 1874, a committee of citizens was sent to the State House to demand of Kellogg his resignation; but he, having heard of what was about to happen, had taken refuge with the Federal garrison and refused to accede to the committee's demand. At once the

people flew to arms. Taking possession of the public buildings, arsenals and weapons of war, they formed themselves into a column and marched to the levee at the foot of Canal Street. Here they fortified themselves by barricading the way. It was at this point that General Longstreet's Metropolitan Guards, expecting an easy victory, assaulted them with a great flourish. But the Guards were repulsed, their cannon captured and turned upon them and by this decided action the Kellogg government was ended there and then. This revolt, although partisan excitement was running high at the time all over the United States, was hailed with approval by every person who felt that by such a means intelligence and honesty had cast out fraud and debauchery.

Eleven men were killed on the side of the citizens. Six of them bore Creole names; five of them were either German or Anglo-Americans. In sound at least, they are representative names. They stand for victims who offered themselves up for a sacrifice in order that New Orleans and Louisiana might once more be free from alien domination. They settled forever the problem of mastership and declared that the owners of the soil, the possessors of intelligence and the descendants of those who hewed Louisiana out of the swamps and forests and built her magnificent city are the rightful controllers

of her destiny, and that, come what may, they will control it.

And so once more Louisiana drew herself out of the mire and set herself to the task of building her fortune anew. The situation was one calling for the utmost prudence, caution, reserve and patience. A deadly bitterness of feeling had been engendered and the least sudden inflammation of the popular temper was likely to bring on the most deplorable excesses of race-oppression.

Unscrupulous adventurers from the North, bent upon acquiring money in the name of philanthropy and careless as to its cost to the people of Louisiana, studiously wrought upon the ignorance and the half-savage natures of the freedmen, hoping through their votes to get possession of the State treasury and of the Federal patronage.

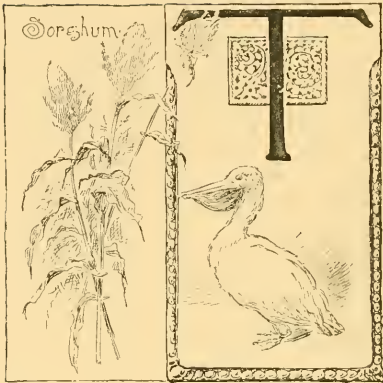
The white people of Louisiana were resolved that this should never be done. They had, at last, obtained a firm hold on the reins of public affairs with full power to check and finally to terminate the ruinous waste, fraud and crime that had been the chief element of the State government for the past ten years. They could not afford to let go this hold under any circumstances whatever. On the other hand, however, there was a ring of unscrupulous politicians to the manner born who stood ready to rush to the utmost extreme of cruelty and oppres-

sion in order to insure a lasting control of the State's finances. It was too much to expect that a just equilibrium should be reached at once in public affairs, but the best element of the people gradually assumed the mastery in New Orleans. And this meant the full mastery of the State of Louisiana.

During these years of political excitement, of domestic depression and gloom there was, of course, very slight progress in the agricultural and commercial interests of the people; but the time was at hand when the process of adjustment must begin, for the world could not longer do without the products of the great Creole State. Mere partisan political considerations must give way before the larger and more valuable demands of a civilization to which the new force of freedom had given an irresistible impulse.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PELICAN STATE.



THE prosperity of Louisiana, after the fourteenth of September, 1874, depended upon the temper of the native white people. The negroes were harmless if left to themselves. Although, as a rule, idle and shiftless they were, when properly treated, inclined to make some show of industry.

Their stumbling block was politics. In this regard they were a social problem. Owing to their numbers and to the fact that they were all partisans to one side (and that side in its local management) they were inimical to the interests of the native whites, a standing menace to good government and a bar to the safety of person and property. If the whites had been divided politically, or if the negroes had been able to judge intelligently of

the public needs and to steer clear of unscrupulous aliens, the difficulty would have been greatly softened. In reality it was not so much a question of which party should control as it was a question of preventing the supremacy of "carpet-bag" adventurers whose only object was plunder.

In 1876 the presidential election was a most bitter and unscrupulous struggle between the two great parties, and it turned out that Louisiana and Florida became the centres of partisan attention. The parishes of Louisiana, in which the negroes greatly outnumbered the whites, were the scenes of unprecedented proceedings at the polls, and it was claimed by both the parties that fraud had been committed. Emmissaries from the North rushed to New Orleans. And now a most disgraceful spectacle was exhibited to the world — the spectacle of a sovereign State turned over into the hands of a mob of wrangling alien partisans, without responsibility or scruple, bent upon twisting facts to suit the needs of the moment. Florida was in the same condition. The outcome of it all was a congressional commission which by a strictly partisan vote declared Mr. Hayes elected as President of the United States over Mr. Tilden, by counting the two contested States in Mr. Hayes' favor. It was too late, however, for the alien adventurers and irresponsible tricksters to ever again get possession

of the government of Louisiana. No illegal tribunal was permitted to interfere with the State elections, and as soon as this condition was assured agriculture, commerce, education and social improvement began to move in happy lines.

With a consciousness of self-command came a pleasure in self-control and at once the whites and the negroes took a step nearer each other. The latter were made to feel that their existence depended upon work, not upon elections; that their happiness rested upon their good behavior and not upon the success of some penniless and vicious "carpet-bagger" whose inflammatory speeches had so long led them astray; that before they could truly enjoy freedom they must first learn in the school of experience that freedom is not moral exemption or political license; in short, that there is no royal road to intelligent citizenship and that before control comes the right to control, which cannot be conferred by mere proclamation; that emancipation is one thing, but that the right of political domination is quite another.

Since 1874 Louisiana has shown a wonderful march of prosperity. Immigration has been rapid and steady, lands have advanced in value, crops have been enormous and the people, black and white, have enjoyed every blessing of industry and good government. New Orleans, though unable

to regain the control she once held over the Mississippi Valley, has taken great strides toward a permanent prosperity.

Among the planters the great question has been that of well-controlled and justly remunerated labor. The swarms of former slaves lingering forlornly about their old quarters appealed from the first to the sympathy of quondam masters, but the question of a fair division of the results of agriculture under the new order of things was a puzzling and vexatious one. It was natural that the negroes should be indolent and improvident to a degree, and that their suddenly-conferred freedom should affect their bearing toward the whites; but the fact that they were subject to the influence of political agitators, threatened for a time to become an impassable barrier between themselves and the only persons upon earth who were able or willing to assist them by furnishing them the means by which they could subsist.

Slowly but surely, however, the two races arranged themselves in the order of intelligence and experience, the whites as the employers, the blacks as the employed. Year by year their relationship has become more and more cordial and mutually remunerative. The negroes have availed themselves of the new opportunities afforded them and in numerous instances have caught from the

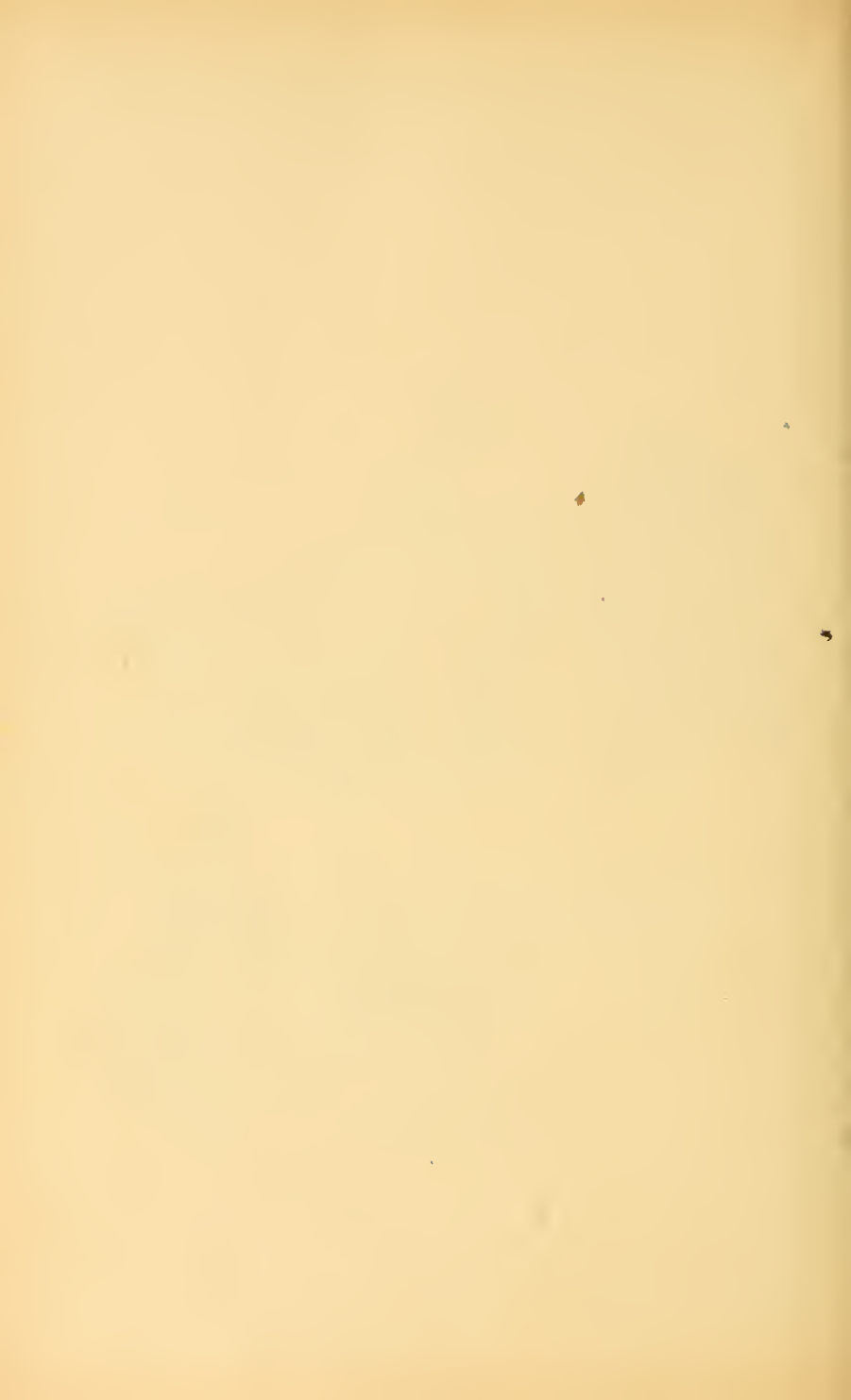
whites the secret of money-making and economy. Many of them have grown rich and influential, setting a valuable example for their race everywhere to follow.

In the winter of 1884-85 an industrial exposition was held in New Orleans as a centennial celebration of the first exportation of cotton from the United States. Congress had passed an act creating the corporation and naming it the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition; a loan was voted of one million dollars and an additional sum of three hundred thousand dollars for a National Exhibit. The State of Louisiana and the city of New Orleans each appropriated one hundred thousand dollars to which was added a popular subscription of about five hundred thousand dollars. In addition to this there were liberal donations from counties, towns and cities.

The Board of Management chosen under the provisions of the congressional enactment, proceeded to select the grounds and erect the necessary buildings. These were upon a grand scale and of imposing appearance, covering a far larger area than any exposition buildings ever before constructed. The display was remarkable and the result of the exposition was the drawing together of the Northern and the Southern people and the engendering of a more cordial understanding and



BY THE OLD QUARTERS.



a sincerer confidence between them. For the first time since the beginning of the war, leaders of the social life of Boston and of New York found themselves under the roofs of the exclusive and ultra Southern homes. Hospitality and cordial welcome were offered without reserve, and the swarms of Northern visitors were given the freedom of New Orleans. Contact in the streets, the hotels, the exposition buildings and at the theatres and restaurants did much to rid both Northern and Southern minds of baseless prejudices, and to confirm an already growing belief that the country was healing its ghastly wound, without salve or ligature, by spontaneous reunion of the parts so painfully severed in the years gone by.

Meantime the internal improvement of the State, both public and private, had progressed rapidly. New railroads were built, highways were remodeled, the levees perfected in many deficient places and new ones constructed. Improved machinery for working up the sugar cane and for disposing of the cotton and rice products added a great force to the planting and manufacturing interests. These consequently attracted wide attention and greatly stimulated immigration.

The mouth of the Mississippi River, by the building of an extensive system of jetties, was greatly improved and the channel made sufficiently

deep to float over all the bars the largest ocean vessels that could ever desire to sail into the harbor of New Orleans.

Louisiana has excellent schools and colleges and at New Orleans a university, which, since the liberal gift of a noble citizen, is developing rapidly to the proportions of a first-class American institution. The struggle so persistently kept up between the two languages has ceased to be violent. The French tongue is no longer progressive, or, at least, its area is not increasing. In New Orleans the old French quarter is beginning to show signs of change, as if a reaction had at last set in even among the Creoles themselves. The Acadian country has received a large number of Anglo-American immigrants and the whole western and northern area of Louisiana bids fair to become one of the most prosperous and beautiful regions in the South.

Vast bodies of undrained land, incomparably fertile, lie untouched in the southern half of the State. Ditching and dyke-building are going forward year by year; the great forests of pine, oak and cypress are being utilized and are yielding rich returns in lumber and spars, in ship-timber and shingles.

The story of Louisiana, no matter how lightly sketched, cannot be concluded without giving a

glimpse of its intellectual development. This must be the merest impression, however, drawn from the grouping together of a few prominent figures and instances.

Slavery as an institution in America was inimical in its very nature, to the growth of art and letters; for in order to sustain slavery it became absolutely necessary to forbid free thought and free speech. To have permitted a free, open, unlimited discussion of slavery in the South would have been to incite servile insurrection with all its terrible consequences. Art, in all its forms, is nothing if not free. The spirit of poetry, painting, sculpture, fiction, the drama and music, feeds upon life and depends upon the deepest suggestions of life for its materials. Take from it one large, prominent and picturesque element of the human problem before it and it is helpless. Criticism and caricature, the merciless truth, the high idealization and the temper to bear the profoundest probing of the needle of reform are absolutely prerequisite to the development of genuine art. This temper the South could not afford to encourage, for to do so was to introduce the acid that would bite at the very base of her civilization.

Louisiana was pre-eminently a slave State; her whole social, domestic, commercial and political fabric was founded upon slavery. The servile pop-

ulation greatly outnumbered the whites and the danger of revolt was, as we have already seen, more than once realized. It was never known how small a spark might inflame the tinder of the half-slumbering insurgent spirit. Free discussion, free criticism, the painting of the dark side of slavery and the display of the full glory of freedom were of necessity forbidden. The predicament was a singular one and little understood by the world.

It was not that the Southern people were heartless, they were, in the main, gentle and indulgent masters almost worshiped by their slaves; but the conditions forbade even the slightest agitation of the subject of freedom or of the abuses of slavery. This being so, how could a Southern genius write a poem of Southern experience and passion or a novel of Southern life? Only one side of the subject was open to him. He dared not approach the other. Social ostracism, or something even worse, awaited him if he chose to depict a view of the obverse side of the medal, because such a view was in fact absolutely incendiary and would tend to produce the most horrible consequences.

At the North this phase of the matter did not make itself felt. The zealous abolitionist, bent upon securing the freedom of the slaves, was blind to the effect that his efforts were certain to produce upon the whites. When the white Southerner said

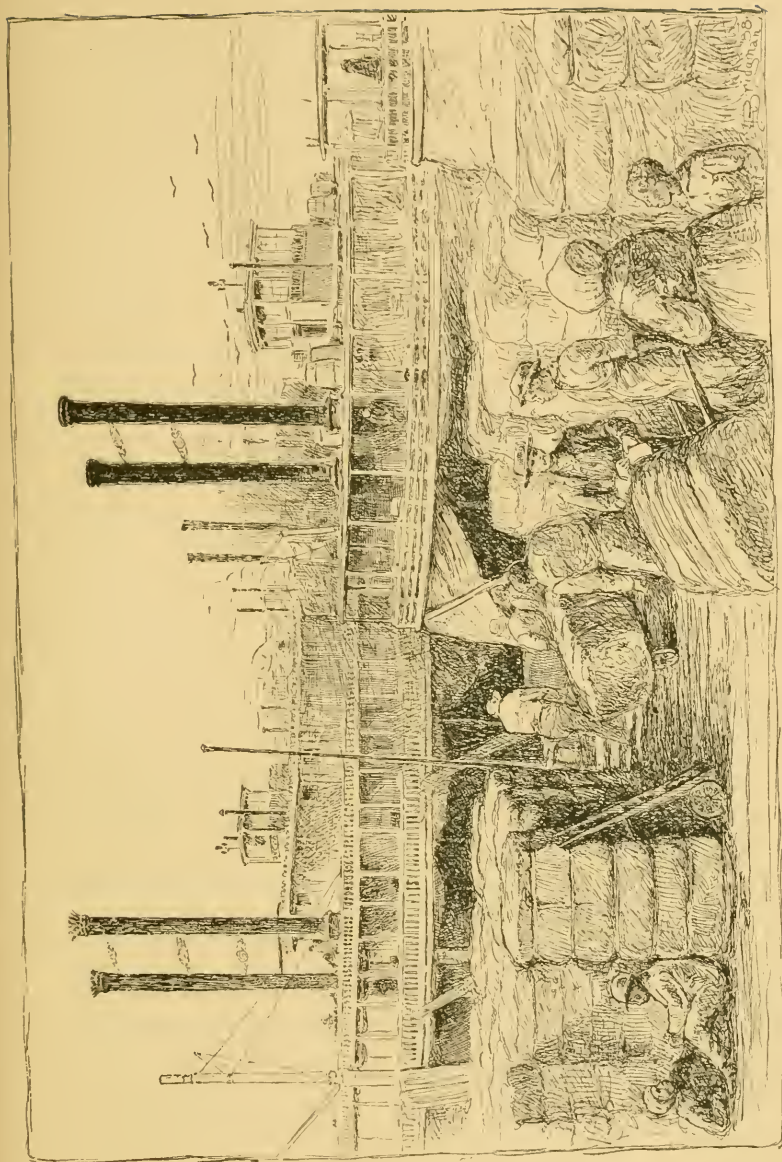
firmly: "You must not and shall not scatter the fire of revolt amongst our slaves," the emissary of freedom could not see that it was the instinct of self-preservation that made the Southerner's declaration far stronger than any desire to be arbitrary and wrong-headed could have done.

Much of what came to be known as Southern arrogance was merely a hard name by which to designate the impatience generated by a sense of constantly-impending danger to the whole social, political, commercial and domestic tissue of the slave area. Under such circumstances art could not and did not exist as an appreciable element of life. The artist cannot be a cutter and trimmer, a dodger of issues, a suppresser of truth, an ignorer of facts, a prejudiced and handicapped observer. To him every subject must be open for exhaustive discussion; every phase of life must be free to his investigations, subject to his merciless analyses and to his lofty idealizations.

This could not be in the South. Slavery forbade it. The Southern genius must either paint slavery to suit the taste of masters or he must not paint it at all. This was not arrogance, it was the most pressing demand of necessity; it was the only course compatible with safety so long as slavery existed; any other course would have led to revolt and to all the unspeakable horrors of servile insurrection.

Necessarily, then, the creative energy of the Southern mind was in a large degree shut out from the Eden of poetry, fiction, painting and sculpture. Not wholly shut out, however, for there were brilliant poets, notable novelists and some painters and sculptors in the Old South. The talent of the slave area turned chiefly to oratory in one form or another; a race of politicians sprang up with power to control the councils of the nation.

Slender, however, as the currents may have been, Louisiana was not without her art and her literature, running apace with the progress of her agricultural, commercial and political prosperity. The Creoles of New Orleans, many of them as we have seen, educated in France, were the first to address themselves to literature. Lepousé, St. Ceran, Allard and Audubon are names closely connected with the French civilization in Louisiana. Canonge, Deléry, Dufour, Dugué, Delpit, Mercier and the brothers Rouquette are notable examples of Creole genius in letters. Charles Gayarré has written a monumental history of the Foreign Domination in Louisiana. His fugitive romantic sketches and his descriptive papers touch the legends, traditions and folk-lore of the Louisiana colonies. Judge Martin, also, has written a voluminous History of Louisiana from its discovery up to 1816, with some additions of a later date.



ON THE LEVEL.

Not till after the close of the great war, however, was there any remarkable advance in the matter of literature in the Southern States. Louisiana had been the typical slave State; but she was one of the first States of the South to feel the reaction from the intellectual stupor or reserve induced by her peculiar *ante bellum* circumstances. Within the first twenty years of freedom she has given to the world literary work the purpose and the art of which are of the best. George W. Cable, Miss King, Mrs. Davis, Lafcadio Hearn and many others have emphasized the value of perfect liberty. The pendulum once released may have swung rather far to the other extreme in one or two brilliant instances, but the gain, even if this is so, has been priceless.

It would be delightful if it were possible to project the story of Louisiana into the future. Standing here, now, with the impression of the past sharply set in our memory, what if we could look forward over the next century of life in the low-country of the Mississippi Valley!

We have seen De Soto wander blindly to the banks of the great river and die; we have watched the struggles of De Bienville, the heroism of the men who followed him, the dashing valor of Galvez, the cruel perfidy of O'Reilly and the fatherly kindness of Carondelet. We have seen Louisiana

grow from a little colony of adventurers into a mighty and prosperous State. We have noted the growth of great industries. We have watched the development of New Orleans from a cluster of huts in a swamp to one of the great cities of the world. We have fought with Jackson, we have seen the victory of Farragut, we have witnessed the rise and fall of slavery; now we stand on the brink of the future. What do we see?

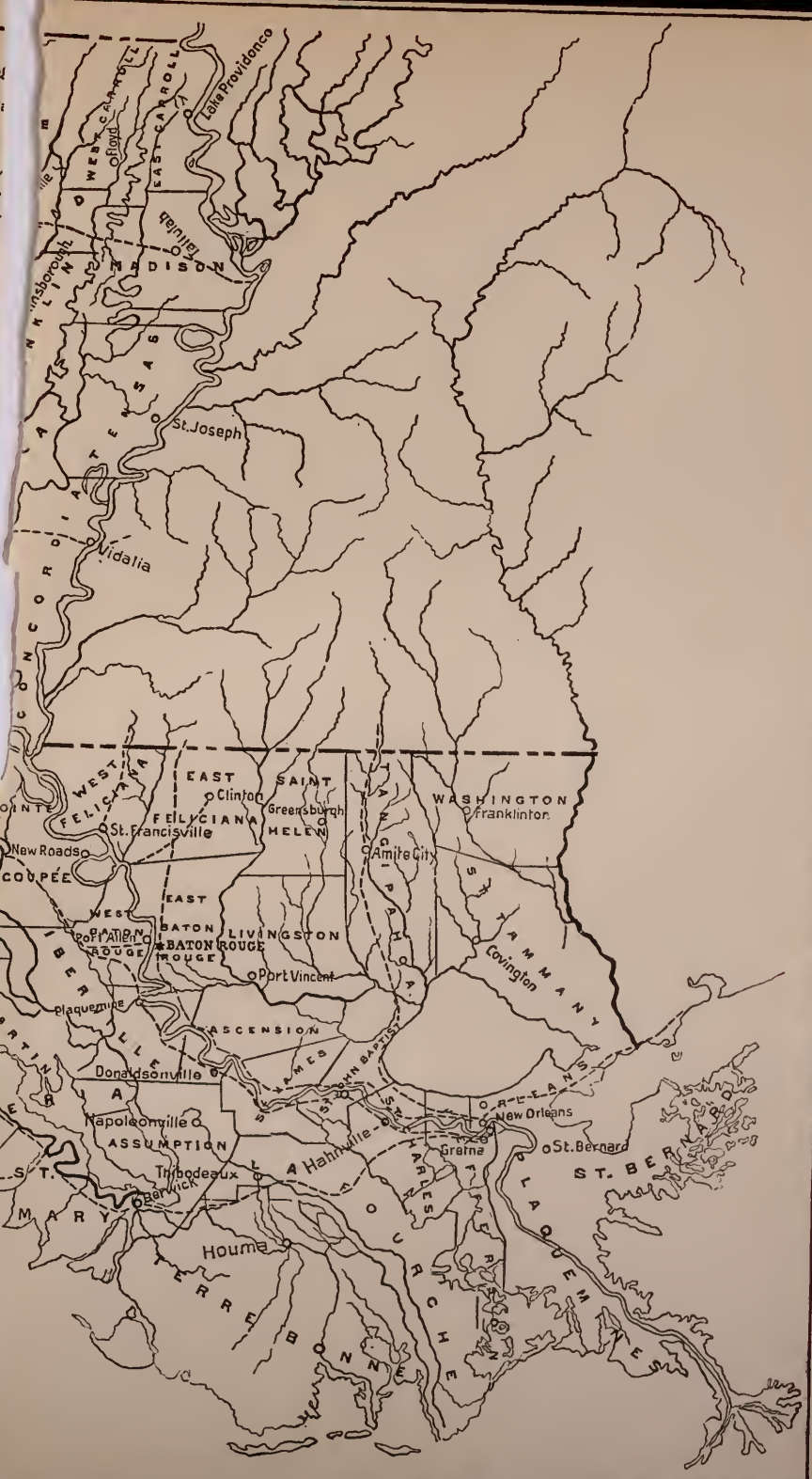
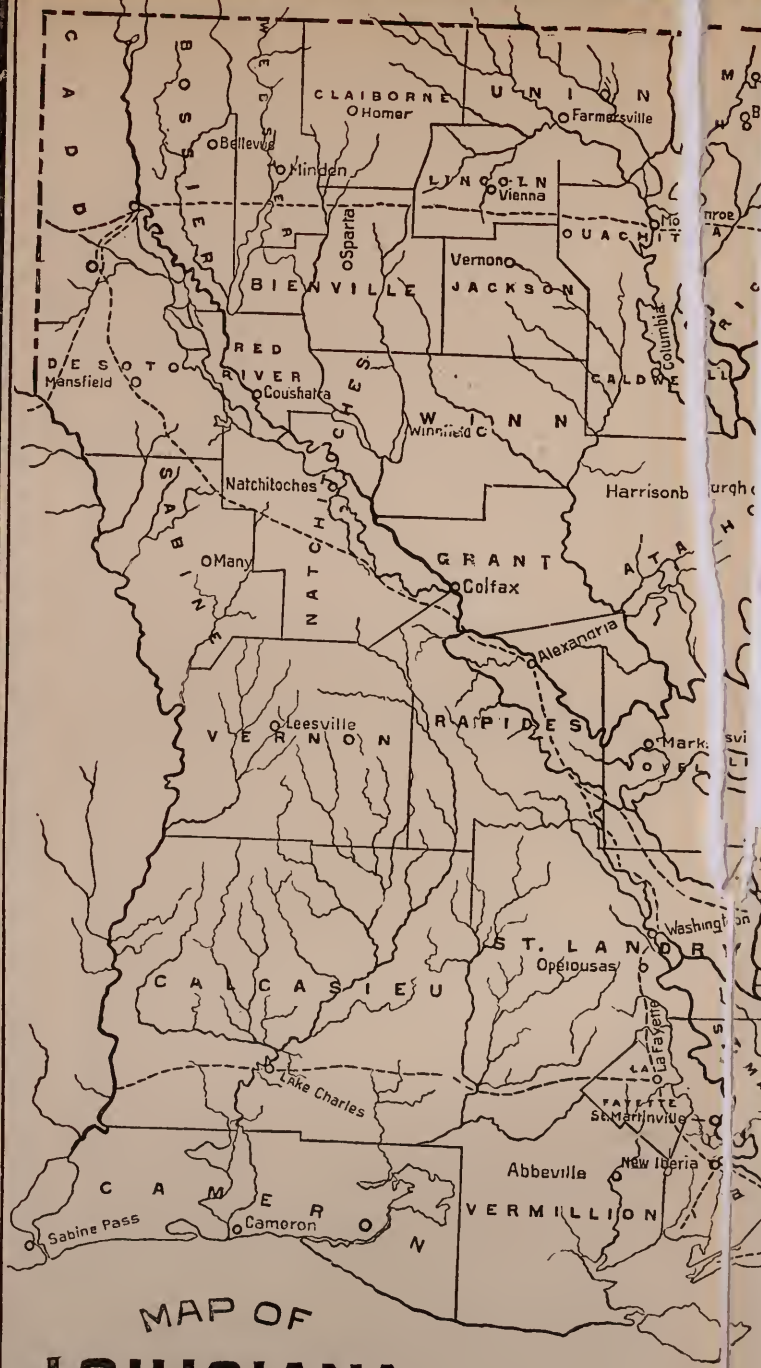
If we may judge by the past the way lies onward and upward. Not even the destructive influences of the recent war could permanently check the progress of Louisiana. To-day, with her population of twelve hundred thousand freemen, confidently facing the future, the Pelican State is greater and happier than ever before. Who shall say that her race is to be ended soon—that she is not to round any goal of the future?

It is well to read the history of one's country if for nothing more than to catch from it a new consciousness of the value of steadfast patriotism. To-day Louisiana is as true to the American flag and as loyal to the American meaning of freedom as any State in the Federal Union. The fierce and terrible fight that she made for the "Lost Cause" and the defeat and humiliation which followed could not drive from the hearts of her sons that love of liberty, that fealty to the spirit of our

constitution which after all must be the bed-rock of American patriotism.

Loyalty to one's State and a belief in its best possibilities are proof at once of the value and the strength of citizenship. But higher than sectional loyalty is love of country; broader than belief in the neighborhood's future is faith in the nation's development. As individual factors in the upbuilding of the American Union the dweller in Maine and the citizen of Oregon should find both interest and pride in the growth of Texas and the Carolinas. It is for the American wherever his home and whatever his occupation that the Story of Louisiana has here been told.

It is the privilege of the politician to drag up the dark scenes of the past for partisan purposes, but it is the duty of all good and true citizens to encourage that patriotism which sees only the welfare of the whole country.



MAP OF
LOUISIANA
 IN OUTLINE WITH
 COUNTIES
 COUNTY TOWNS,
 ETC. - - - ETC.

THE STORY OF LOUISIANA

TOLD IN CHRONOLOGICAL EPITOME.

The historical happenings of Louisiana are many; they date back to the days of the early discoverers. Even to one who traces the dry chronological record the adventure, the romance and the daring that mark the beginnings of the Pelican State are at once apparent. And yet, could we but fathom its mysteries, the antiquity of Louisiana is fully as eloquent in the unwritten history of its prehistoric days as is its checkered and eventful history so forcibly outlined by the dates that have been secured to us.

THE ERA OF BEGINNINGS.

How great is this antiquity no one may truthfully say. The much-discussed skull unearthed some years since beneath the decaying remains of four successive layers of gigantic cypress forests tells of the existence of man in Louisiana thousands of years ago. The age of this skull has been variously estimated at from fourteen thousand four hundred to fifty-seven thousand years. In the loamy deposits of the Mississippi near Natchez human remains have been discovered lying side by side with those of mylodon and megalonyx—creatures of a far-off prehistoric existence. All along the Mississippi are other indications of the human inhabitants of Louisiana—of men and women who hunted over its plains in the age of the mastodon and even amid the great convulsions. Within the limits of Louisiana have been found those peculiar shell heaps or “kitchen middens” that tell of a progressive stage of man from brutality to barbarism, while the elevated “garden beds” discovered in the State prove it to have been one of the agricultural centers of the semi-civilized Mound-Builders.

The story of the Indian occupation of the State could it be satisfactorily told would also be found of absorbing interest. The most advanced of all the Southern tribes, the fire-worshipping Natchez, occupied the greater part of the State though portions of it were also under the domination of certain of the confederated tribes of the Creek nation. These courteous though warlike peoples (the Natchez) held control of the lands about the mouth of the Mississippi until the strong arm of the white man swept them all away.

THE ERA OF DISCOVERY.

At precisely what date the first white discoverer coasted the low Gulf lands of Louisiana or saw the many mouths of its giant river has not been determined. As early as 1510 attempts had been made by the Spanish conquerors of the West Indies to explore and subdue the countries north of the Mexican gulf. Nothing definite, however, is recorded until the alleged discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi (or as then called *Rio del Espiritu Santo*) by Alonzo de Pineda in 1519. Cabeza de Vaca, lost and wandering after the wreck of Narvaez' ill-starred expedition to Florida, came, probably first of all Europeans, to the banks of the mighty river, on the thirtieth of October, 1528, when he crossed one of its broad mouths. With the visit, in 1540, of De Soto the unlucky, the real record of discovery begins:

1540. De Soto crosses the Mississippi at Chickasaw Bluff — May 26.

1673. Joliet and Marquette reach the Mississippi from Canada — June 17.

1682. La Salle descends the Mississippi to its mouth — April 6. La Salle names the surrounding country Louisiana and takes possession in behalf of the King of France — April 9. La Salle returns to Canada and announces his discovery. La Salle sails for France — October.

1684. La Salle sets out for the mouth of the Mississippi — July 4.

1687. La Salle murdered by his men in Texas — March 19.

1698. A squadron sent out to Gulf of Mexico under D'Iberville — October 24.

1699. D'Iberville enters the Mississippi — March 1. Establishes a settlement at Bay of Biloxi — May 1. D'Iberville sails for France leaving Sauvolle in command — May 3. Bienville encounters an English ship in the mouth of the Mississippi — September 15. D'Iberville returns from France — December 7. Sauvolle appointed Governor — December 7.

1700. D'Iberville establishes a fort on the Mississippi — January. D'Iberville ascends the Mississippi to conciliate the Indians — February. D'Iberville returns to France — May.

1701. Death of Sauvolle. Bienville succeeds to the command. Settlement established at Dauphine Island. Assistance sent to the Spaniards at St. Augustine.

1704. Detachment of French soldiers cut off by Indians. Arrival of supplies from France. Expedition by Bienville against the Alibamos. Arrival of soldiers, girls and supplies — July.

1707. Bienville relieves Pensacola, besieged by Indians and English.

1708. De Muys appointed Governor-General of Louisiana. Diron d'Artaguette sent out from France to investigate the management of colony. Death of De Muys on passage to Louisiana. Depredations committed by a privateer from Jamaica — September.

1709. Settlement at Mobile transferred to a point higher up the river. Arrival of a frigate with provisions from France — September.

1711. Return of D'Artaguette to France to report progress.

1712. Grant of the King to Sieur Antony Crozat of exclusive trading

rights for ten years throughout Louisiana subject to government of New France — September 14. Four hundred persons in the colony. Legal government established — December 18.

1713. Arrival of Cadillac as Governor — May 17. Arrival of ship *La Louisiane* with provisions and passengers. Trading house established at Natchez.

1714. Alliance with the Choctaws renewed by Bienville.

1715. Bienville makes peace among the Choctaws. Garrison re-enforced by two companies of infantry. Bienville appointed Commander-General. Death of Louis XIV. — September 1. Cadillac goes silver-hunting in the Illinois country.

1716. Attack of the Natchez on French. Bienville seizes and imprisons Natchez chiefs. Fort Rosalie constructed on the territory of the Natchez. Arrival of St. Denys at Mobile, from Mexico.

1717. Arrival of L'Épinay, as Governor, from France — March 9. Surrender of privileges by Crozat — August 23. Illinois country incorporated with Louisiana — September. Company of the West chartered — September 6. Law's Banque Royal established in France — December.

1718. Company's ships arrive. Bienville appointed Governor — February 9. Foundations of New Orleans laid — February. Chateauguay sent with fifty men to take possession of Bay of St. Joseph. Bienville lays out New Orleans. Large grants of land made to distinguished Frenchmen.

1719. L'Archambault arrives at Mobile with one hundred passengers. France declares War against Spain. Arrival of Serigny and thirty passengers — April 29. Expedition against Pensacola. Great popularity in France of Law's Mississippi scheme.

1720. Settlement of New Biloxi. Arrival of a fleet commanded by Lauegeon bringing 582 passengers. Transportation of vagabonds and convicts forbidden by King. Arrival of two line of battle ships from Toulon — June. Five hundred negroes arrive in Company's ships. Arrival of large numbers of settlers.

ERA OF FRENCH COLONIZATION.

1721. Arrival of three hundred settlers and eighty girls — January 3. Two hundred German settlers and five hundred negroes arrive. Arrival of two hundred and fifty passengers — June 4. Arrival of Duverger as Director and La Harpe — July 15. Arrival of three hundred negroes — August 15. Departure of La Harpe for the Bay of St. Bernard — August 26. Pauger prepares a plan for the proposed city of New Orleans.

1722. Appointment of Loubois as Commander of Fort St. Louis. Settlement of Germans established around New Orleans. Erection of Battery with garrison on the Island of the Balize. New Orleans made the principal establishment of the colony — May. Return of La Harpe from River Arkansas — May 20. Peace established between France and Spain. Removal of Bienville to New Orleans — August. Arrival of Boismont and Capuchin monks. Failure of Law's Bank.

1723. Value of silver dollar in Colony increased by law — January 12.

1725. Black code promulgated for the punishment of slaves. Edict published prohibiting interception of letters. Edict published putting to death any person killing or wounding another's cattle — May 26. Arrival of Lachaise and Perrault, commissioners order'd to report condition of affairs in Province.

1726. Establishment of the Jesuits confirmed — February 20. Establishment of the Capuchins confirmed. Ursuline Nuns invited to Louisiana. Arrival of Perier as Commander-General of Louisiana. Recall of Bienville to France.

1727. Arrival of Jesuits and Ursuline Nuns. Erection of a nunnery. Erection of a Government House. Ditch dug in Bourbon street. Arrival of girls intended as wives for the Colonists — "Filles a la Cassette." Culture of indigo begun; also of figs and oranges.

1728. Publication of edict regarding distribution of lands — August 10.

1729. Conspiracy of the Chickasaws against the French. The commandant of Fort Rosalie quarrels with the Natchez. Massacre at Fort Rosalie of all its occupants by the Natchez — November. Murder of Father Soulet. Massacre at Fort St. Peter of its garrison.

1730. Defeat of the Natchez — February 26. Arrival at the Balize of troops under Perrier de Salvert — August 10. Execution of leading negroes for insurrection. Expedition of Perrier against the Natchez — November.

1731. Perrier defeats the Natchez — January. Seizure of the Great Sun of the Natchez. Four hundred and twenty-seven prisoners captured.

1732. Company of the West surrenders its charter and privileges to king — April 10. Salmon appointed King's Commissioner. Natchez attack St. Denis and the Nachitoches and are repulsed. Severe defeat of the Natchez by St. Denis. Conspiracy of the negroes. Ringleaders seized and hung.

1733. Reappointment of Bienville. Settlements at Manchac, Baton Rouge and Point Coupee.

1736. Predatory attacks by the Chickasaws. Defeat and murder of D'Artaguette by Chickasaws. Expedition made against the Chickasaws by Bienville. Defeat and repulse of Bienville — May 26.

1740. Return of Bienville. His second expedition against the Chickasaws. Chickasaws sue for peace. Count de la Galissonière, Governor-General of New France.

1743. Marquis de Vaudreuil appointed Governor of Louisiana — May 10. Bienville returns to France.

1751. King exempts all the imports and exports of Louisiana from duty for ten years.

1752. Arrival of two hundred recruits from France. Arrival of sixty poor girls from France — April 17. Macarty takes command of Fort Chartres in the Illinois — August 20.

1753. Corruptions among the Chickasaws. Marquis de Vaudreuil marches against the Chickasaws. Fort of Tombeckbee enlarged and garrisoned.

1754. Kerlerec succeeds the Marquis de Vaudreuil as Governor. Vaudreuil appointed Governor of New France. Defeat of French by Washington — April. French under Villiers capture Fort Necessity — July 4. Murder of Roux by the soldiers of the garrison of Cat Island. Favrot marches to the Illinois with two hundred men.

1755. Transportation of Acadian settlers by British. Arrival of Acadians at New Orleans. Braddock's defeat — July 9. England declares war against France.

1757. Death of Auberville; succeeded as Commissary Ordonnateur by Bobe Descloscaux.

1758. Evacuation of Fort Du Quesne by the French. Arrival of its garrison at New Orleans. Erection of Sugar Mill in New Orleans.

1759. Arrival of Rochemore as Commissary Ordonnateur. Quarrel between Kerlerec and Rochemore.

1762. A secret treaty signed at Paris giving Louisiana to Spain — November 3.

1763. Peace between England, Spain and France — February 16. Kerlerec recalled. Succeeded by D'Abadie as Director-General.

1764. English troops take possession of Baton Rouge and other posts in "West Florida" — February. Skirmish between Major Loftus and the Indians — March 20. D'Abadie receives official announcement of the cession of Louisiana to Spain — October.

1765. General Council called to consider the matter. Jean Milhet sent to France with a petition begging that Louisiana might not be severed from the mother country. District of Feliciana settled by British residents. British take possession of the Post of the Illinois and drive out St. Ange, the commandant. St. Ange and his followers cross the Mississippi and found St. Louis and St. Genevieve. Destrehan and other planters erect sugar mills. A ship laden with sugar sent to France. Milhet fails to accomplish his mission. British establish a post at Bayou Manchac. D'Abadie dies. Aubry succeeds him.

1766. Letter received from Don Antonio de Ulloa announcing his intention of taking possession of Louisiana. Ulloa lands at New Orleans. He declines to show his powers or take formal possession. Census of the province shows population of 10,000. Province visited by yellow fever.

1767. Ulloa receives additional troops from Havana. He orders three forts built on the Mississippi. Return of Jean Milhet from France.

1768. Council order Ulloa to produce some certificate of his powers or else leave the province. Ulloa leaves Louisiana. General meeting of deputies convened at St. Orleans. A second petition sent by St. Lette and Lessassier.

THE ERA OF SPANISH OCCUPATION.

1769. Failure of the petition. Deputies obtain from King of France a reduction of the paper currency — March 23. Intelligence received at New Orleans of the arrival of a Spanish frigate — July 23. Express sent to

Aubry from Don Alexander O'Reilly, commander of the Spanish forces. Inhabitants send deputation to O'Reilly asking two years to remove their effects from the town. Arrival of O'Reilly with his armament. Aubry receives him and surrenders possession — August 18. O'Reilly orders a census of New Orleans (3,190). O'Reilly arrests Focault, Noyan Bienville, Boisblanc, Lafreniere and Brand — August 31. O'Reilly arrests Marquis, Doucet, Petit, Mazent, the two Milhets, Caresse and Poupet. O'Reilly arrests Villère. Villère slain by the soldiers. O'Reilly condemns Noyan Bienville, Lafreniere, Marquis, Joseph Milhet and Caresse. The condemned shot — September, 28. Boisblanc, Doucet, Mazent, John Milhet, Petit and Poupet transported to Havana and thrown into prison. O'Reilly abolishes by proclamation the Superior Council and substitutes a *cabildo* composed of six perpetual regidores, two ordinary *alcades*, an Attorney-General-Syndic, over which the governor presides. Regiment raised in the province. Dearth of provisions. Arrival of Oliver Pollock's brig from Baltimore bringing provisions. Don Luis de Unzaga assumes the position of governor. Unzaga publishes a code of civil and criminal legislation.

1770. O'Reilly publishes a set of regulations in regard to grants of land — February 8. Tax imposed on taverns, boarding-houses, brandy, etc., to give a revenue to the city of New Orleans — February 22. Certain piece of land granted to the city as public square. Black code re-enacted. Law passed prohibiting purchasing articles from persons navigating the Mississippi. O'Reilly with all his troops except twelve hundred departs. Don Antonio Maria Buccarely appointed Captain-General of Louisiana.

1771. Permission granted for admission of two vessels every year from France. Merchants of New Orleans complain of the arbitrary restrictions on trade.

1772. Arrival of Colonel Estacheria to take command of the Louisiana regiment. Country desolated by a terrific hurricane — August 31.

1775. Unzaga promises amnesty to runaway slaves if they return to their masters. Battle of Lexington — April 19.

1777. Don Bernado de Galvez begins as Governor — January 1. Don Diego Joseph Navarro appointed Captain-General of Cuba and Louisiana. Oliver Pollock of Baltimore appointed United States commercial agent at New Orleans.

1778. Galvez affords aid of ammunition to the Americans — January. France concludes a treaty with the United States — February 6.

1779. Eighty-seven United States citizens take temporary oath of fidelity to the king of Spain. Arrival of a number of families from Malaga. Settlement formed by them on Bayou Teche called New Iberia. Arrival of six Capuchin friars. Visitation of the small-pox in New Orleans. England declares war against France. Spain declares war against England — May 8. Galvez commissioned Governor and Intendant. Galvez organizes a small army. Galvez captures Fort Bute on Bayou Manchac — September 7. Galvez captures Baton Rouge and five hundred British soldiers — September 21. Surrender of Fort Panmure at Natchez. Galvez returns to New

Orleans, leaving Don Carlos de Grandpre at Baton Rouge. Congress sends a minister to Madrid to negotiate a treaty.

1780. Galvez commissioned Brigadier-General. Galvez undertakes an expedition against Fort Charlotte on the Mobile River. Fort Charlotte capitulates—March 14. British attack St. Louis. Clark relieves St. Louis. Spain refuses to acknowledge the Independence of the United States.

1781. Galvez sets out against Pensacola—February 28. Galvez arrives at Pensacola and invests it. Pensacola capitulates—May 9. Spaniards evacuate Fort Panmure—April 29. Louisiana desolated by a hurricane—August 24. Galvez commissioned Lieutenant-General and Captain-General of Louisiana and Florida. Father Cyrillo made Bishop of Louisiana. Galvez sails for San Domingo to superintend attack on the Bahama Islands. Don Estevan Miro provisionally takes possession of government.

1782. Considerable commercial privileges granted to the Province.

1783. Treaty of peace between Great Britain, United States and Spain, signed at Paris—September 3. Treaty conferred to Spain all the Floridas south of Latitude 31.

1785. Hospital for lepers erected. Census taken by order of Galvez (Lower Louisiana 28,047; West Florida 3,477; Upper Louisiana 1,491). Arrival of Acadian families.

1786. Don Estevan Miro receives the commission of Governor. Miro issues his proclamation—June 2.

1787. New Orleans sends a company of infantry to build and garrison a fort near New Madrid. Arrival of General Wilkinson at New Orleans with goods. Wilkinson has an interview with Miro and returns to Philadelphia—September.

1788. Tremendous conflagration; nine hundred houses burned—March 21. A contract made with the United States for flour to relieve the distress and permission given contractors to import merchandise. Permission granted Wilkinson's agent to send to New Orleans from Kentucky launches loaded with tobacco. Census taken (42,611).

1789. Arrival of Wilkinson in New Orleans. Arrival of settlers from western part of the United States to settle near Natchez and Feliciana.

1790. Treaty of peace with the Creeks—August 7. Southwestern territory formed; Wm. Blount governor.

1791. Massacre of French in San Domingo—August 23. Arrival of French refugees from San Domingo. Schools and theatre opened by refugees. Departure of Miro.

1792. Arrival of Don Francisco Louis Hector, Baron de Carondelet as governor and intendant of Louisiana—January. Don Nicholas Maria Vidal, appointed Lieutenant-Governor. Proclamation of Carondelet—January 22. Carondelet issues a proclamation in regard to the treatment of slaves—July 11. Carondelet prohibits the introduction of negroes from French and British islands. Population of New Orleans 6000. Philadelphia merchants establish branch houses in New Orleans.

1793. The King issues a proclamation, encouraging the slave trade.

Death of Louis XVI. on the scaffold. Spain declares war against France — January 21. Carondelet prohibits the playing of Revolutionary airs at the theatres. Arrest of six upholders of French principles. Carondelet re-builds the fortifications around the city.

1794. Don Francisco de Rendon appointed intendant. Don Louis de Penalvert appointed Bishop of Louisiana and Florida. Genet, the French ambassador to the United States, plans an expedition against the Spanish dominions. Genet gains recruits in the bordering States. Carondelet completes the fortifications of New Orleans. Publication of the first newspaper — *Le Moniteur de la Louisiane*. Beginning of a canal drawing off stagnant waters from New Orleans.

1795. Carondelet sends Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos to New Madrid to detach Ohio from the United States. Intended insurrection of the slaves discovered. Slaves resist. Twenty-five killed. Twenty-five more hung. United States and Spain conclude a treaty — October 27.

1796. Cabildo petition the King to prohibit the introduction of slaves. Business of growing sugar cane has a new lease of life. Completion of the "Canal Carondelet." Grants of land made to French loyalists. Tax imposed on bread and meat and wheat to light and provide watchmen for the city. Spain declares war against England — October 7.

1797. Cabildo increased by six additional regidores. Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos appointed Spanish Commissioner to meet United States Commissioner. Andrew Ellicot appointed United States Commissioner. Carondelet refuses to surrender the Posts on the Mississippi. Expedition sent to detach the Western Country from the United States. Commotion at Natchez — June. Gayoso issues a proclamation commanding the people to return to their allegiance. Meeting of the people of the district. Committee sent to Gayoso demanding they should be left unmolested. Gayoso grants the request. Yellow fever in New Orleans. Departure of Baron de Carondelet. Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos succeeded as Governor.

1798. Gayoso issues his proclamation — January. Fort Paumure evacuated by the British — March 23. Fort at the Walnut Hills evacuated — March 29. Mississippi territory erected — April 7. Winthrop Sargent appointed Governor of the territory. Royal Schedule gives the intendant the right of granting lands belonging to the crown — October 21.

1799. Don Joseph Vidal Commandant of Concordia makes an arrangement with Governor of Mississippi territory for reciprocal interchange of slaves — April 30. Morales refuses to allow a place of deposit to United States citizens in New Orleans. Gayoso and Wilkinson enter into a provisional agreement for mutual surrender of deserters in respective armies. New Madrid annexed to Upper Louisiana. Death of Gayoso — July 18. The Marquis of Casa-Calvo military Governor. Don Ramon de Lopez y'Angullo arrives at New Orleans as Intendant of Louisiana and West Florida.

1800. Existing prohibition of the introduction of slaves suspended. Spain promises to surrender Louisiana to France — October 1.

1801. Right of Deposit in New Orleans restored to citizens of United States. Cession of Louisiana to France effected—March 21. Napoleon appoints General Victor Captain-General. By Royal Schedule, King approves Carondelet's proposition for draining the city—May 10. Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States. Treaty ratified between the United States and France—June 1. Arrival of Don Juan Manuel de Salcedo as Governor of Louisiana and West Florida—June. Departure of Marquis de Casa Calvo for Havana. Daniel Clarke appointed United States Consul in New Orleans. Treaty concluded between Chickasaws and United States—October 24. Treaty concluded between Choctaws and United States—December 17.

1802. Peace of Amiens—March 25. King forbids by Royal Schedule the grant of any land in Louisiana to any citizen in the United States—July 18. Citizens refused the right of deposit in New Orleans and importation of goods prohibited in American bottoms. Departure of Lopez for France. Death of Lopez on the voyage.

1803. Morales issues a proclamation permitting importation of flour and provisions from United States. King orders that the United States should enjoy their right of deposit in New Orleans—March 1. Act of Congress, providing the granting of licenses at the custom-house of Fort Adams. Arrival of Laussat, the Colonial prefect, at New Orleans. Laussat issues a proclamation. Address presented to him by merchants and planters. Arrival of the Marquis de Casa-Calvo from Havana—April 10. The United States purchase Louisiana from France (for sixty million francs), by treaty signed April 30. Casa-Calvo issues a proclamation surrendering Louisiana to Spain—May 18. King of Spain protests against the sale of Louisiana. Departure of Spanish nuns for Havana. Claiborne and Wilkinson appointed United States' Commissioners for receiving Louisiana from France. Surrender of the keys of New Orleans to France by Spanish officers—Nov. 30. Laussat issues a proclamation announcing the sale of Louisiana to the United States. Laussat issues proclamations in regard to government of the province. Arrival of United States troops under Claiborne and Wilkinson—December 20. Formal surrender of Louisiana by Laussat to the United States—December 20. Claiborne issues a proclamation as Governor-General and Intendant of the province—December 20. Claiborne establishes a court of pleas composed of seven judges—December 30. Convention between United States and Spain ratified.

THE ERA OF FORMATION.

1804. Louisiana divided into the territories of Orleans and District of Louisiana by Act of Congress—March 26. New form of government goes into operation with Claiborne as Governor, Prevost as Judge of the Superior Court, Hall as District Judge of the United States and Dickenson, District Attorney—October. Territory divided into twelve counties with an inferior Court with one Judge—December. New Orleans chartered a city. Committee appointed to prepare a civil and criminal code. Office of dis-

count and deposit established by the bank of the United States in New Orleans.

1805. Act passed by Congress establishing a government in Louisiana similar to that of the Mississippi territory except in regard to estates of people dying intestate and the prohibition of slavery—March 2. Act passed confirming inchoate titles and grants to land. Provision made by the Legislative Council for relief of insolvent debtors and improvement of land navigation—June. Court of probates established. Treaty with Cherokee Indians in regard to United States mail—October 7. Treaty with Creek Indians in regard to United States road. Spanish governor of Texas assumes a threatening attitude.

1806. Meeting of the first territorial Legislature—January 25. Act passed regulating the care of slaves. Act passed establishing schools in the several counties and for improvement of the navigation of the Canal. Colonel Cushing marches to Natchitoches with four companies. Wilkinson arrives at Natchitoches. Porter sent to New Orleans. Reports of Burr's conspiracy. Wilkinson arrives at New Orleans. Meeting of merchants at New Orleans—December 9. Burr's plans exposed. Sum raised to pay expenses of sailors needed in the United States service. Bollman, the abettor of Burr, arrested. Arrest of Ogden and Swartwout by order of Wilkinson. Release of Bollman on writ of *habeas corpus*. Workman addresses an official Communication to Claiborne.

1807. Meeting of Legislature—January 12. Arrest of General Adair by Wilkinson's connivance. Arrest of Workman, Kerr and Bradford. Release of Workman and Kerr on writ of *habeas corpus*. Arrest of Burr. Legislature passes an act abolishing County Courts. Legislature passes an act fixing the members of the house of representatives at twenty-five. Pike, while seeking for the source of the Red River, arrested by Spaniards. Pike's papers seized and retained; he is released. A court of inquiry into Wilkinson's conduct held.

1808. Meeting of the Second Territorial Legislature—January 8. Legislature passes an act establishing the civil and criminal code. Act passed establishing a school in every parish. Court of inquiry reported in favor of Wilkinson. England assumes a threatening attitude. Wilkinson ordered to assemble troops at New Orleans.

1809. Congress passes an act appropriating twenty-five thousand dollars to extend the canal Carondelet to Mississippi, if advisable—February 9. Madison President. Wilkinson arrives in New Orleans. Ordered to Fort Adams. Recalled and his place supplied by Wade Hampton.

1810. Legislature appropriates twenty thousand dollars to the establishment of a college. United States citizens drive out the garrison at Fort Baton Rouge. Meeting of a convention at St. Francisville. A constitution framed and Fulwar Skepwith appointed governor. President issues a proclamation claiming the disputed territory for the United States—October 16. Claiborne takes possession of the disputed territory. Committees of Congress investigate Wilkinson's conduct.

1811. Revolt of slaves in the parish of St. John the Baptist. Revolt put down; sixty-six slaves killed. Two new judicial districts erected by legislature. Town of Vidalia established. Charters granted to the Planter's Bank and the Bank of Orleans. Exclusive privileges granted to Livingston and Fulton to build boats employing steam for eighteen years. Congress passes an act enabling the people of the territory to form a State government—February 11. Court-martial ordered for the trial of Wilkinson. Convention to adopt a State Constitution meets at New Orleans—November 1. Court-Martial acquits Wilkinson—December 23.

1812. Arrival at New Orleans from Pittsburg of the New Orleans, the first vessel propelled by steam—January 10. State constitution adopted and signed by members of the convention—January 22. Act passed by Congress for the admission of Louisiana as State—April. Same act declared all waters of said State free to all United States' citizens and not taxable. Congress passes an act extending limits of the State. Wilkinson directed to return to New Orleans and resume command—April 12. Arrival of Wilkinson in New Orleans—June 8. Congress declares war on England—June 18. First session of State Legislature—June 27. Claiborne elected governor. Country devastated by a hurricane—August 19. Second session of the Legislature—November 23. Supreme district and parish courts organized.

1813. Congress orders the President to occupy that part of West Florida west of the River Perdido—February 12. Wilkinson seizes Fort Charlotte—April 13. Massacre at Fort Mims by Creek Indians—September 13. Defeat of the Creeks at the Tallusatche towns—November 3. Defeat of the Creeks at Talledega by Jackson. Defeat of the Creeks at Autosse and Tallahassee.

1814. Defeat of the Creeks by Jackson—March 27. Peace made with Creeks—August 9. Arrival of Colonel Nichols at Pensacola. He issues a proclamation trying to stir the people of Louisiana to revolt—August 29. Repulse of Perry at Fort Boyer. Jackson drives the British from Pensacola—November 7. Jackson arrives in New Orleans—December 2. British threaten New Orleans. Gunboats under Lieutenant Jones captured—December 14. Jackson issues a general order putting the city under martial law. Legislature grants an amnesty to the pirate Lafitte and those of his followers who enlisted to serve during the war.

1815. Battle of New Orleans. Defeat of the British—January 8. Legislature appropriates two thousand dollars. News received of the treaty of Ghent, signed December 24—February 13. Jackson orders all French subjects possessing certificates of discharge to retire into the interior—February 28. Jackson has Louallier arrested on the ground of his being a spy—March 5. Hall grants a writ of *habeas corpus* in favor of Louallier. Hall arrested as aiding and abetting mutiny. Hollander arrested. Hollander discharged. Court-Martial sustain Louallier—March 9. Jackson releases Hall—March 11. News of peace confirmed; Louallier released—March 13. Jackson fined one thousand dollars for his high-handed methods.

1816. Villère elected governor — December.

1817. Ex-Governor Claiborne elected United States Senator — January. Branch of the Bank of the United States established in New Orleans. Death of Claiborne — November. Johnson succeeds as United States Senator. Criminal Court of the City of New Orleans established — March. Louisiana State Bank incorporated.

1819. Legislature appropriates annually six hundred dollars for public schools and three thousand dollars for college of New Orleans, and empowers Regents of the college to raise by lottery twenty-five thousand dollars. Canal projected by Orleans company to connect Marigay's Canal with Mississippi. New Orleans inflicted with yellow fever.

1820. Law passed organizing the militia. Alexander Millne and others empowered to open turnpike road from Lake Pontchartrain to Mississippi. Governor Villère instructed to urge on President of the United States the expediency of completing fortifications in Louisiana. Trials by jury granted to the parish courts of St. Helena and Washington. Town of Franklin made a seat of justice. Monroe incorporated. Thomas B. Robertson elected governor.

1821. City Government empowered to sell its landed property on the terms of perpetual grounded rent. Board of Public Health established. Act passed for extending and improving public school system. Act passed prohibiting gambling. Opelousas incorporated.

THE ERA OF DEVELOPMENT.

1822. Legislature divides the State into three Congressional districts. Appropriations made for the improvement of navigation in Pearl and Red Rivers. Legislature authorizes New Orleans to create public fund or stock to the amount of three hundred thousand dollars to be expended in paving and watering the city.

1823. Frost of great severity — February 16. Town of Donaldson incorporated. Charter of the Bank of Orleans extended to 1847.

1824. Bank of Louisiana established, State being one half shareholder. Governor in his message to the Legislature urges their attention to the failure of the General Government to take proper measures in regard to the public lands. Revised civil code and new code of practice promulgated. Governor Robertson resigns to become a judge of the United States District Court. President Thibodaux of the Senate acts as Governor. Henry Johnson inaugurated governor — December.

1825. Arrival of Lafayette. Legislature appropriates fifteen thousand dollars for his entertainment. Law passed prohibiting aliens from holding office within State. City Court of New Orleans organized. Public road ordered to be opened from Vidalia to Harrisonburg. Act passed establishing College of Louisiana to be supported by public school funds of East and West Feliciana and by annual appropriation of five thousand dollars heretofore voted to the College of Orleans — February 18. Company in-

incorporated for opening of turnpike road from New Orleans to Mississippi. Duties of the Board of Health conferred upon City Council of New Orleans. Memorial sent to Congress by Legislature urging Construction of Canal direct from Lake Pontchartrain to Mississippi. Act passed removing seat of government from New Orleans to Donaldsonville—February. Act passed prohibiting the bringing of slaves into the State for sale. Closing of Bayou Manchac authorized. Board of Internal Improvements created.

1826. Two Primary and one Central School established in New Orleans. College of Orleans discontinued and its State support voted to the schools. Unlimited issue of gambling licenses by State Treasurer decreed to raise a fund for the support of the Charity Hospital Orphan Asylum College of Louisiana and Schools. Tax imposed on two city theaters for the good of the schools.

1827. Memorial forwarded by Legislature to Louisiana Senators for presentation in Congress begging for adjustment of the Public Lands Question. \$10,000 voted to the heirs of Thomas Jefferson. Act passed abolishing any sentencing for white persons to the pillory. Emancipation of slaves under thirty years permitted in certain cases. Barataria and Lafourche Canal Company formed to build a canal from the Mississippi to Bayou Lafourche. Public School System amended and Fund increased. College of Louisiana permitted to raise \$40,000 by Lottery. Regents of Public Schools permitted to raise \$40,000 by Lottery.

1828. Visit of General Jackson. Celebration of the Anniversary of Battle of New Orleans—January 8. Annual Message of the Governor touching public lands question. Legislature resolved that the policy of Government had retarded and repressed the progress of the State. Prohibition upon the introduction of slaves removed. Pierre Dérigny Governor.

1829. Edward Livingston elected Senator of United States. Act passed prohibiting the introduction into the State of a slave child ten years or under separate from its mother; any one selling such a child held liable to a fine. Act passed providing for a complete levee system. Death of Dérigny—October 7. Jacques Dupré, President of the Senate, acting Governor.

1830. Legislature meets for its tenth Session at Donaldson—January 4. Pontchartrain Railroad Company incorporated. Attempts made to incite blacks to insurrection. Act passed making it death for any one to excite the slaves against the whites. Act passed prohibiting the teaching of slaves to read. Provision made for running boundary-line between Louisiana and the territory of Arkansas according to the act of Congress approved May 19, 1828. Two thousand dollars appropriated for opening Bayou des Glaives to navigation. Act passed excluding free persons of color from the State. Franklin and Thibodauxville declared incorporated towns.

1831. New Orleans again made the seat of government—January 8. Bienvenu Roman elected as Governor—January 31. Law relating to expulsion of free persons of color amended. Orleans Fire Company organized. Gambling houses prohibited outside of New Orleans. George A.

Waggaman elected United States Senator, vice Livingston resigned. New Orleans and coast generally damaged by hurricane — August 16.

1832. Lake Borgne Navigation Company incorporated. Union Bank of Louisiana incorporated. Jackson and Covington incorporated towns. \$50,000 appropriated for a penitentiary at Baton Rouge. Gambling saloons permitted in New Orleans, but taxed annually \$7,500. Louisiana depopulated by Asiatic cholera.

1833. \$20,000 voted to the College of Jefferson. Lafayette chartered a town. Provision made for a State Library. Lotteries abolished.

1834. New Orleans Improvement Company organized. Chamber of Commerce organized. Act passed relative to steamboats.

1835. Edward White, Governor. State made a stockholder in the Barataria and Lafourche Canal Company. Law enacted imposing fine or imprisonment upon keepers of gambling saloons.

1836. Louisianians moved by the struggles of the Texans for independence. Governor proclaims neutrality. War against Seminoles in Floridas. \$75,000 appropriated for equipment. Large number of Railroad Company's troops incorporated as well as many other stock companies. Robert C. Nichols chosen United States Senator.

1837. Fourteen banks suspend specie payments — May 13. Inundation of rag money. Numerous bankruptcies. Lake Borgne Navigation Company incorporated. Loan of \$500,000 in State bonds made to the New Orleans and Nashville Railroad. Alexander Mouton chosen United States Senator.

1838. Banks issue post-notes. Port Hudson, Springfield and Thibodeaux incorporated towns. Education of the deaf and dumb authorized.

1839. Banks reinstated in their privileges. Number of Justices of Supreme Court increased to five. Commercial Court of New Orleans created. Law against betting enacted. Act passed against the carrying away of slaves. New Orleans Exchange destroyed by fire — February 12. Bienvenu Roman, Governor — February 4.

1840. Legislature abolishes imprisonment for debt. Legislature makes appropriation for the cutting of a channel through the falls at Alexandria. Extraordinary rise of the Mississippi. Banks again suspend specie payments.

1841. Clinton and Port Hudson Railroad ordered forfeited to the State. Work undertaken by the Board of Public Works to open the mouth of the Atchafalaya and of the Grand River. Lotteries again generally abolished. State grants her share of the Public Lands. Bill passed submitting to popular vote the question of calling a convention to amend Constitution.

1842. Law enacted prohibiting banks from violating charters and providing for the liquidation of insolvent banks. Seven banks fail. Law passed retrenching expenses of State Government. Tax imposed upon real estate in several parishes; other levies also imposed to increase State resources. More efficient organization of Militia ordered. School System reformed. Howard Association of New Orleans organized. Civil Code amended. Disastrous fire in Baton Rouge.

1843. Alexander Mouton, Governor. Insolvent Laws revived. Court of Errors and Appeals in Criminal cases organized.

1844. Convention convened at Jackson to amend Constitution — August 5. Convention adjourned to New Orleans. Henry Johnson elected United States Senator.

1845. New Constitution adopted in Convention — May 14. New Constitution ratified by popular vote. Act passed for the adjustment and liquidation of debts proper of the State. Arrival of Hubbard from Massachusetts. Board of Commissioners for better organization of schools. College of Louisiana ordered sold. City of Carrollton incorporated. Appropriation made for the encouragement of silk culture.

1846. Isaac Johnson elected Governor. Hostilities break out on the Rio Grande. Legislature votes \$100,000 for raising and transporting four regiments to aid of General Taylor.

1847. Money voted for the closing of crevasses at New Carthage and Grand Levee and for erection of a break-water at Bayou Lafourche. \$150,000 appropriated for the erection of the New State House at Baton Rouge. University of Louisiana established. State Insane Asylum at Jackson established. Treasury Department created. Act passed providing for the disposal of the "Improvement lands" granted by Congress. School fund created based on proceeds of the sale of public lands. Houses of refuge for vagrants, etc., established in New Orleans. Pierre Soule elected United States Senator.

1848. Road and Levee fund created. Internal Improvement Fund created. Thirty-five thousand dollars voted for the University of Louisiana. Bureau of Statistics created. Law about divorce amended. Extra Session of the Legislature called by Governor — December 24.

1849. Five hundred and fifty thousand dollars appropriated for support of schools. Ten thousand dollars voted to completion of Barataria and Lafourche Canal.

1850. Legislature convened in the new State House at Baton Rouge — January 21. Joseph Walker inaugurated Governor — January 28. Grant of way through lands belonging to the State to the New Orleans and Jackson R. R. Co. Twenty thousand dollars granted for the completion of Barataria and Lafourche Canal. Jefferson City incorporated. Board of Health created.

1851. Convention to amend Constitution meets — July. Constitution ratified by popular vote — November.

1852. Bureau of Statistics abolished. One hundred and thirty-eight thousand dollars voted for school expenses. State Institution for the deaf, dumb and blind founded at Baton Rouge.

1853. Paul O. Hebert inaugurated governor — January. Horrible epidemic of yellow fever. Legislature sanctions a general system of free banking. Reorganization of the school system. Reclamation of swamp lands granted by Congress begun. Tragic ending of the Lopez expedition.

1854. Another yellow fever epidemic. Free School Accumulating Fund

created. Appropriation of fifty thousand dollars for reclamation of swamp lands. Local Option law passed. Drainage Tax imposed.

1855. Act prohibiting aliens from holding office passed. State Insane Asylum established. New Orleans empowered to establish free schools. Married women enabled to contract debts. Town almshouse incorporated. New Orleans Savings Institution incorporated. Robert C. Wyckliffe inaugurated Governor.

1856. The Last Island storm—August 10. One hundred and thirty thousand dollars voted to the Penitentiary.

1858. Political disturbance. Five hundred men claiming to act under a Vigilant Committee seize Court House and State Arsenal. "Know Nothing" Party take possession of Lafayette Square. Disturbance subsides. Gerard Stitto elected mayor.

1859. Judah P. Benjamin United State Senator.

1860. Lincoln elected President. Thomas Overton Moore elected Governor. Extra session of Legislature—December 10. Act passed calling for a State Convention. Appropriation of five hundred thousand dollars for arming of volunteers. Hon. Wirt Adams Commissioner for Mississippi addresses Legislature, announcing what his State has done and asking co-operation of Louisiana. Immense Popular Meeting held at New Orleans—December 21. Enthusiastic demonstrations made upon the news of the secession of South Carolina. Governor Moore issues a proclamation for an extra session of the Legislature—November. Legislature meets and passes an act providing for a State Convention—December 10. Act passed providing five hundred thousand dollars for organization and arming of military companies. Mass Meeting held to ratify nomination of "Southern Rights" candidates for Convention.

THE ERA OF CONFLICT.

1861. State Convention meets—January 23. Ordinance of Secession adopted—January 26. Resolution passed in regard to the navigation of Mississippi. Barracks and arsenal at Baton Rouge occupied by State troops—January 11. Delegates to the Convention for the formation of a Southern Confederacy elected—January 30. Meeting of Convention—February 4. Jefferson Davis elected President. Surrender of Fort Sumter—April 13. Battle of Bull's Run—July 21. Forts Jackson and St. Philip and the Arsenal at Baton Rouge seized—January 10. United States Revenue Cutter *Lewis Cass* seized—January 13. Barracks and Marine Hospital at New Orleans seized. State Convention meets—January 24. Ordinance of Secession adopted—January 26. Act passed transferring \$536,000 to Confederate Government—January. Confederate Government demands troops. Three thousand troops raised. Governor Moore calls for three thousand additional troops—April 24. Sixteen thousand men under arms—June 1.

1862. Federal naval force under Admiral Farragut and military force

under General Butler dispatched against New Orleans—January. Farragut passes Forts Jackson and St. Philip—April 24. Capture of New Orleans—April 25. Surrender of Forts Jackson and St. Philip—April 28. Capture of Baton Rouge and Natchez. Governor Moore calls for five and a half regiments—February 14. General Butler takes possession of the city. General Shepley appointed Military Governor of Louisiana—August.

1863. Surrender of Vicksburg—July 4. General Shepley provides a system of courts for the State. Free State General Committee appointed. Michael Hahn elected Governor—February 22. Henry W. Allen chosen Governor by Confederates.

1864. Convention for revision of Constitution held—April 6. Constitution abolishing slavery adopted. Constitution adopted by the people—September 5. Legislature elected and five delegates to Congress—September 5. Legislature rejects bill giving colored people power of Suffrage. Board of Education for Freedmen established by General Banks. Major-General Canby relieves Major-General Banks.

1865. Troops drafted by Major-General Canby—February 15. Governor Hahn resigns and is succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor Wells—March 4. Surrender of Lee—April 9. Confederate Governor Allen resigns from his position—June 2. Governor Wells elected—November. Legislature assembles—November 23. Randall Hunt and Henry Boyce elected United States Senators—December 6. Bill passed appropriating twenty thousand dollars for relief of disabled soldiers. Amendment to Constitution adopted by Legislature.

1866. Regular session of Legislature—January 22. Bill passed authorizing election of Municipal officers at an earlier date than fixed by charter. Bill vetoed by the Governor. Bill passed over Governor's veto. John T. Monroe elected mayor of New Orleans—March 12. General Canby suspends Monroe from the duties of Mayor because he had refused to take oath of allegiance—March 19. General Canby appoints J. A. Roziere, Mayor pro tempore. President revokes General Canby's order and reinstates Monroe. Convention of 1864 meets at New Orleans—July 30. Riot in New Orleans. Forty policemen and rioters killed—July 30. Legislature meets—December 28. Legislature refuses to ratify fifteenth amendment to the Constitution.

1867. Military Reconstruction Act passed—March 2. Louisiana joined with Texas to form fifth Military District. General Sheridan appointed Commander of district—March 19. General Sheridan removes Herron, Attorney-General, Monroe Mayor of New Orleans and Abell, Judge of first district Court and appoints successors—March 27. General Sheridan begins the registration of voters under the Reconstruction Act—May 15. Governor Wells substitutes Board of Levee Commissioners for those appointed by Legislature. General Sheridan appoints another set of Commissioners. General Sheridan removes Governor Wells and substitutes Durant—June 3. Durant declines and Benjamin F. Flanders is appointed. General Sheridan closes the registration of voters—July 31. General

Sheridan relieved and General Hancock substituted—August 17. People vote for a convention—September. Constitutional Convention meets—November 22. Constitution enacted.

1868. General Hancock relieved and General Buchanan substituted—March 18. Constitution ratified—April 18. Henry C. Warmouth, Governor. Mr. Conway elected Mayor. Act by Congress admitting Southern States to the Union becomes a law—June 25. Legislature meets—June 27. Fourteenth Amendment adopted. William P. Kellogg and John S. Harris elected United States Senators. Political Riots in Northern Louisiana. Political Riot at Opelousas—September 28. Conflict in St. Bernard Parish—October 26.

1869. Legislature assembles—January 4. Passage of the Social Equality Bill. Passage of the Public School Law. Passage of Act authorizing a loan of five million dollars. Passage of Act incorporating Ship Island Canal Company. Act to incorporate Crescent City Live Stock Landing and Slaughter House Company declared unconstitutional. Act to incorporate Louisiana Transit Company passed. New Vagrant Law enacted. Revenue Bill passed. Fifteenth Amendment Ratified—February 28. Contention about the power of the Governor to fill vacancies. Wyckliffe, Auditor of the State indicted on charges of corruption.

1870. Legislature meets—January 3. Governor vetoes twenty-one bills involving appropriations to the amount of \$6,875,000. Extra session of Legislature convened—March 3. Education Bill passed. Bill passed giving city of New Orleans a new charter. Bill passed to maintain the freedom and purity of elections—February 18. Registration Bill passed. Act passed granting to New Orleans, Mobile and Chattanooga R. R. Co. three million dollars in State bonds. Act passed establishing Eighth District Court in New Orleans. Auditor Wyckliffe impeached. Wyckliffe convicted and removed from office—March 3. James Graham elected auditor and Antoine Dubreclat State Treasurer—November 2. People ratify four Constitutional Amendments.

1871. Legislature meets—January 2. General J. R. West elected Senator—January 10. (The cost of this legislature to the State was about \$960,000.) Injunction granted at request of Governor restraining State Auditor from the payment of warrants outstanding against appropriations made by the legislature. Commission appointed to investigate the matter. Investigation reveals a regular system of forgery. Loose manner of issuing warrants strongly condemned. State Central Committee call a State Convention—July. Committee announces Convention would be held in the United States Circuit Court Room—August 8. Opposers of Warmouth meet in Custom House—August 9. Friends of Warmouth meet in Turner's Hall—August. Death of Lieutenant-Governor Dunn—November 22. Governor calls an extra session of Senate to fill the vacancy and for other business—December 6. Senator Pinchbeck elected Lieutenant-Governor. Act passed providing for State Board of Education.

1872. Legislature meets—January 1. Resolution passed declaring con-

fidence in George W. Carter, the speaker—January 2. Governor Warmouth arrested by United States officials. Governor Warmouth calls an extra session of Legislature. Speaker's chair declared vacant and O. H. Brewster chosen to fill the same. "Carterites" assemble in the "Gem Saloon" and style themselves "legal house of Representatives." Both rival bodies in session—January 6. Wheyland, member of the Warmouth House killed in a street scuffle—January 7. Expulsion of Carter and election of Brewster ratified—January 24. Committee appointed by Congress to investigate. Bill passed funding the indebtedness of the State. Continuous political contentions and frauds. Convention of the "Custom House Ring" headed by Packard held at New Orleans—April 30. Association formed for the resistance of excessive taxation. Resolutions adopted condemning the extravagance of State Government—May 6. Wing of the Republican party headed by Pinchback nominates State Officers—May 28. Democratic Convention assemble in New Orleans—June 3. Reform Convention assemble in New Orleans—June 4. Democratic Reformers and Liberals nominate McEnery for Governor. United Republicans nominate Kellogg. Election takes place—November 4. Dispute with regard to returns. Kellogg brings suit for an injunction restraining the Warmouth board from canvassing the returns. Governor Warmouth calls extra session of legislature—December 9. Governor Warmouth promulgates the new election law. Judge Durell decides in favor of Kellogg. Warmouth publishes his idea of the election returns. Legislature (as formed by Republican statement) meets—December 9. Governor Warmouth impeached and suspended from office. Lieutenant-Governor Pinchbeck assumes the duties of Governor. "Fusion" Legislature meets in City Hall—December 11.

1873. William P. Kellogg and John McEnery each inaugurated as Governor—January 14. Congress appoints a committee to investigate the trouble. Committee makes a report recommending Congress to pass a bill to insure an honest re-election under the authority of United States—February 20. Bill lost. Mass Meeting held passing resolutions supporting the McEnery government—March 1. Members of the McEnery Legislature seized and marched as prisoners to guard-house—March 6. Act passed by Kellogg Legislature for enforcement of the collection of taxes. "Committee of two hundred" issues an address to the people. Conflict between negroes and whites in Colfax—April 13. Convention of the people held in New Orleans—November 24. Similar Assemblage held by Kellogg party. Louisiana case argued by Congressional Committee on Elections and Privileges. No decision reached.

1874. Legislature assembles—January 5. Act passed prescribing regulations for a registration of voters. Five Constitutional Amendments ordered to be submitted to the people. State Convention of Republican party meet—August 5. Antoine Dubruclet nominated for State Treasurer. Democratic State Convention meet—August 24. John C. Monicure nominated for treasurer. Coushatta tragedy—August 30. Mass Meeting held at New Orleans to protest against the Kellogg administration—September 14.

D. B. Penn, unsuccessful candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, calls on the people to arm themselves and drive out the usurpers—September 14. Severe conflict in New Orleans between insurgents and police. Latter worsted—September 14. McEnery and Penn surrender the State buildings to General Brooke—September 17. General Brooke appointed military governor. Governor Kellogg resumes his duties—September 19. Advisory Committee appointed from both parties to agree upon some system of registration—September 29. Election held—November 2. Returning Board canvasses the returns of the election. Oscar Arroye resigns from the board on the ground of its unjust and false methods. Returning Board completes its labors and publishes the returns—December 24. Dubruclat elected treasurer. Fifty-four Republicans and fifty-two Democrats elected to Legislature. President orders General Sheridan to make a tour of inspection South and assume command of Department of South, if necessary—December 24.

1875. Legislature meets. Great disturbance. United States troops called in—January 8. Congressional Committee makes a report to Congress—January 15. Another Congressional Committee sent to New Orleans—January 22. "Wheeler Adjustment" agreed to. Governor Kellogg calls an extra session of the Legislature—April 14. Wheeler adjustment ratified by Legislature. Estilette, Conservative, elected speaker. Suit brought against the auditor for irregularity in his accounts.

1876. Democratic Conservative Convention meets—January 5. Don A. Pardie elected United States District Court Judge, but not confirmed by Senate. Legislature meets—January 3. J. B. Eustis elected United States Senator by Democrats, only three Republicans voting. Act passed making five Amendments to the Constitution. Judge Hawkins removed. Governor Kellogg impeached by the House of Representatives—February 28. Senate acquits him. Republican Convention to nominate State officers held—May 30. Democratic Convention to nominate State officers held—July 24. President sends a Committee of Republicans to inspect election. Deputation from Democratic party also go to New Orleans. Presidential election held—November. Both parties claim the victory. Both Houses of Congress send Committees to New Orleans to make investigation.

1877. Both Governors inaugurated—January 8. Both Legislatures meet. President sends a commission to New Orleans—April 5. Packard Legislature breaks up—April 21. Government troops withdrawn—April 24. Nichols Government takes possession of the State House. Judge Henry M. Spofford elected United States Senator. Act passed regulating assessment of taxes. New election law enacted. New school act enacted. Members of the late returning board charged with making counterfeit returns—July 5.

THE ERA OF PROGRESS.

1878. Thomas C. Anderson convicted—January 28. Thomas C. Anderson acquitted by Supreme Court—March 18. Legislature pass a resolution

condemning the admission of Kellogg as Senator in place of Spofford—January 17. Legislature pass twenty-one amendments to State Constitution. Legislature convened in extra session—March 8. Acts passed relating to the retrenchment of expenditures. Yellow Fever Epidemic. Riot in Tensas and Concordia Parish. Appropriations made to increase the depth of the water on the bar at the mouth of the Mississippi. Wide channel cut through the sand bar. Democratic Conservative Convention—August 6. Republican Convention—September 18. State election held November 5. Large Democratic gains.

1879. Legislature meets—January 6. J. T. Moncure elected Speaker. Act passed providing for a State Constitutional Convention. B. F. Jonas elected Senator. Difficulty in assessing the taxes. Election of delegates to Constitutional Convention—March 18. Meeting of Convention—April 21. Ordinance relative to State debt ordered to be submitted to the people. Constitution enacted. Democratic State Convention—October 6. Republican State Convention—October 21. Constitution ratified by the people—December 8. Wiltz elected Governor. Ordinance relative to State debt passed.

1880. Legislature meets under the new Constitution at Baton Rouge—January 14. Bureau of Agriculture and Immigration created. Act passed providing for the payment of the interest on the public debt. Act passed to liquidate the indebtedness of New Orleans through a Board of Liquidation. Bands of negroes strike work in parishes St. John, St. James and St. Charles—March. University for Higher Education of colored boys opened.

1881. Organized strike in New Orleans—September 1. Great railroad development in Louisiana. Death of Governor Wiltz. Lieutenant-Governor McEnery succeeded him—October. Special Session of Legislature—December 5. Act passed completing restoration of Capitol at Baton Rouge. Act passed making appropriations for expenses of Government, interest on public debt, public schools, and public charities, etc. Legislature begins its second extra session—December 26. Act passed providing for the investing of the interest tax fund and for payment of reduced interest on State bonds.

1882. Unprecedented floods and overflows. Louisiana State University reorganized. Governor expresses dissatisfaction with the Constitution of 1879. Acts passed to meet the heavy debts of New Orleans. Mr. Tulare, a citizen of New Orleans, gives large donations for the education of the white youth of that city. Two hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the mouths of the Mississippi by La Salle—April 10.

1883. Cases in which Vermont and New York brought action against Louisiana to enforce payment of consolidated bonds dismissed by Chief-Justice Waite—March 5. Levee Convention held at Baton Rouge—June 19. Democratic Convention at Baton Rouge—December 18. Governor McEnery renominated.

1884. Republican State Convention held at New Orleans—March 5.

John A. Stevenson nominated for Governor. Election held—April 22. McEnery elected Governor and Knoblock Lieutenant-Governor. Legislature meets—May 12. James B. Eustis elected United States Senator—May 20. Convention held in favor of Republican Presidential Candidates—August 30. Presidential election. State largely Democratic—November 4. Mississippi Valley Railroad completed.

1885. Citizen's Committee of one hundred organized in New Orleans—May. World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition formally closed—June 1. Prohibition Convention held—August 19. State Executive Committee constituted. North, Central and South American Exposition opened—November 10. Randall L. Gibson, United States Senator.

1886. Legislature meets—May 10. Act passed closing all places of business on Sunday. Act providing for police juries throughout the State. Act passed for the protection of settlers on State Lands. Act passed for the protection of alluvial State Lands by erection of levees. Act passed to collect and enforce payment of annual License tax. Act passed appropriating fourteen thousand dollars to Southern University of New Orleans. Act passed regulating the hours of labor for women and children.

1887. Political contest between Governor McEnery and Ex-Governor Nichols to secure the nomination of the Democratic Convention—August.

1888. Howard Memorial Library, valued at \$100,000, erected in New Orleans by the heirs of Charles T. Howard of that city.

THE PEOPLES' COVENANT

AS EMBODIED IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA.

THE changing conditions of so peculiarly constituted a people as were the citizens of Louisiana necessarily resulted in a varying succession of desires as to the composition of the bond of union that held together the people and sections of the Commonwealth. This led to a frequent change of constitutions but shows the growth and progress of the State alike in population and in ideas.

The first Constitution was adopted January 22, 1812. It gave the right of suffrage to adult, white male tax-payers of one year's residence. Representatives must own \$500 in land; senators \$1,000 in land; governor \$5,000 in land. Governor chosen by legislature from two highest candidates in a popular election.

The second Constitution was adopted November 5, 1845. Its chief object was to restrict the legislature in chartering corporations and to prohibit State aid to corporations. It dropped the property qualification and made the choice of a governor depend on popular vote.

The third Constitution was ratified November 1, 1852. It secured an elective judiciary for short terms.

The fourth Constitution was ratified September 5, 1864. It made no limitation except for crime on adult white, male suffrage. First constitution to mention slavery for the purpose of abolishing it. It was never recognized by Congress.

The fifth Constitution was ratified August 17-18, 1868. It prohibited slavery, gave the right of suffrage to all adult male citizens of one year's residence and in other ways accepted the results of the war. It was amended in 1870 and 1874.

The sixth and last Constitution was ratified in December, 1879.

[In 1861 a State Convention passed an ordinance of secession which it refused to submit to the popular vote. In the same way it ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States.]

THE CONSTITUTION of 1879 is divided into a preamble, 19 sections, 264 articles and 4 ordinances. The PREAMBLE reads as follows:

"This Constitution is framed to secure to the people with the aid of God,

the author of all good government, public peace and prosperity and the blessings of liberty.”

SECTION ONE embraces in 12 articles a declaration of rights :

Article I. The government derives its powers from the will of the people and its sole object is to protect them.

Article II. The people shall be secure against unreasonable seizure of person and property.

Articles III. and IV. The right of bearing arms, religious freedom, the right of assembly, the right of petition, freedom of speech and of the press shall be inviolate.

Article V. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever be permitted except as a punishment for crime. No person shall be put on trial twice for the same offence.

Article VI. The law must give reparation for injury without unreasonable delay. No person shall be condemned without due process of law. The accused is not bound to witness against himself.

Article VII. Criminal trials must be held in the town where the offence is committed. In specified cases the jury may count less than twelve members.

Article VIII. The accused shall have the right of challenge. (Here follows a detailed method of conducting trials.)

Article IX. Bail shall be allowed. Excessive bail or excessive fines cannot be imposed nor cruel nor unusual punishments inflicted.

Article X. The writ of *habeas corpus* shall be suspended only when in case of rebellion or invasion the public safety demands it.

Article XI. The military power is subject to the civil power.

SECTION TWO treats of the distribution of powers :

The powers of the government are three — Legislative, Executive and Judicial. These powers must not infringe except in so far as this Constitution directs or permits.

SECTION THREE deals with the legislative department. This is vested in a Senate and House of Representatives. The number of members is determined by population. Qualifications of members: five years citizenship of the State, and two years residence in the district which elects, and oath. Term of office: four years. Members are subject to certain incapacities as to holding office. Their persons shall be inviolable during the sessions. If they have any interest in the pending deliberations they must declare themselves interested parties and abstain from voting.

Biennial sessions. Verification of powers, rules of procedure, choice of the functionaries, disciplinary power, adjournment, quorum, printing of journal all carefully provided for. Promulgation by insertion in the official journal. The chambers alone can pardon treason, suspend the laws, limit the disciplinary powers of the courts.

Appropriation and revenue bills must take their initiative in the House but the Senate may amend.

The governor may veto but a two thirds vote of both houses overrides his

veto. Appropriations may be vetoed in part. The governor may not keep a bill more than five days. Adjournment of the legislature before the expiration of this limit prevents a bill from becoming a law.

The chambers can involve the State in debt only to repel an invasion or put down an insurrection.

Except in giving to railroads and canals the right of way over public lands the State cannot aid corporate or individual enterprises and cannot abandon claims against them. It cannot furnish pecuniary aid to any religion, nor to institutions of charity not under its authority. The law cannot fix the price of manual labor, nor grant a preference to any religion. In a very large number of cases special and local laws are prohibited. Where the Constitution does not prohibit, laws of private or local interest are permitted.

SECTION FOUR deals with the executive department. This is composed of a governor, lieutenant-governor, auditor, treasurer and secretary of state. The governor is elected by the same electors, at the same time and in the same places as the members of the two houses. Term of office: four years. A majority elects. In case of a tie the chambers in joint session elect.

Qualifications. Thirty years of age, ten years' citizenship of United States and residence in the State, neither a member of Congress, nor federal office-holder, or have ceased to be for at least six months. Salary, \$4,000.

Powers. Execution of the laws, command of the militia, right to demand reports of his subordinates and to send messages to the legislature, also to convoke the legislature in extraordinary cases but not for more than twenty days, pardoning power, nominating power in specified cases and filling of vacancies with consent of the senate, if in session. Time and place of election, term of office are the same for the lieutenant-governor as for governor. Circumstances in which he becomes acting-governor specified. He presides in the senate, but does not vote except in case of a tie.

Treasurer, auditor and secretary of state are elected for four years.

SECTION FIVE deals with the judicial department. It has four divisions. I. The Supreme Court. II. Courts of Appeal. III. District Courts. IV. Justices of the Peace.

The Supreme Court has a chief justice and four judges, nominated by the governor with the senate. Term of office: twelve years. Qualifications: ten years law practice. Salary \$5,000. Jurisdiction, time and place of sitting, rules of procedure and accountability defined.

Qualifications, time and manner of appointment, terms of office, salaries, rules of procedure, jurisdiction, accountability, issue of writs, time and place of sitting determined for the three other courts. Powers and duties of the procuror-general, clerks of the courts, coroners, sheriffs and constables.

SECTION SIX treats of the State militia. A well-ordered militia is necessary. No pay except for active service. The police cannot form a part of the militia. In time of peace soldiers can not be lodged at a private house except with the consent of the owners. Citizens may be excused from service.

SECTION SEVEN defines suffrage and election. Vote is to be by ballot.

Qualifications of elector: male sex, citizen of United States or having expressed legally an intention of becoming one, twenty-one years of age, residence of one year in State, six months in parish, thirty days in the electoral district. Qualifications for office holding: citizen of the State, resident and voter in the place where office is bestowed. Disqualifications for both: conviction for crime, idiocy, insanity. Race, color or former condition of servitude no disqualification. Electors privileged from arrest on the day of election. No liquors sold on election day within a mile of voting places. Contested elections provided for.

SECTION EIGHT treats the power of impeachment and removal. All executive officers, superintendent of public instruction and the judges of the courts of record may be impeached. Process described. The governor may remove every office holder at the request of two thirds of the members of each chamber.

SECTION NINE is devoted to taxes and the revenue. Taxes are levied by the State, counties and towns. Purposes carefully limited. Manner of collecting described. No revenue bill can be passed by legislature within the five days of the close of the session nor for a period longer than ten years. Exempts certain professions, also certain kinds of property. Provides for poll tax not to exceed \$1.50, also for levee tax. Public calamities alone can authorize the chambers to delay the payment of the taxes. Mode of procedure in case of non-payment.

SECTION TEN defines the rights of debtors and creditors, and fixes the amount of property allowed the debtor.

SECTION ELEVEN treats of the public schools. The State must support public schools for all children between six and eighteen. Poll tax goes to the schools of county where it is raised. Other taxes distributed in proportion to the number of children. No part of public school revenues can be given to religious schools.

The State must support the University of New Orleans, organize a special university for the blacks, and maintain the University of Baton Rouge.

SECTION TWELVE deals with the construction of corporations. General laws must direct the organization of private corporations. Every corporation must conform to the Constitution. Banking institutions cannot without crime or pecuniary responsibility receive deposits or contract debts if they know themselves to be insolvent.

Every monopoly is abolished except the railroad. Regulates the building and use of abattoirs.

SECTION THIRTEEN treats of the affairs of the several counties. The chambers form, modify, dissolve them. Determines the minimum extent and population.

SECTION FOURTEEN states special provisions and exceptions to the general provisions of the Constitution respecting the city of New Orleans.

SECTION FIFTEEN states that the government shall have full control of the new canal and Shell road and determines that they can neither be sold nor leased.

SECTION SIXTEEN embraces certain general provisions.

Seat of the government at Baton Rouge. Treason defined.

The law may regulate the sale and use of spirituous liquors and prohibit gambling. Every town or county must support its own poor. Every lottery shall be prohibited after Jan. 1, 1895, and every lottery shall be subject to a tax of at least \$40,000. The law must protect the working classes and assure them the payment of their wages. It must establish a Bureau of Health, protect against the illegal practice of medicine and organize a Bureau of Agriculture. Conviction of crime punishable by imprisonment renders incapable of jury service. No one can hold two offices, nor after handling public revenues accept an office without previous discharge. Office-holders cannot receive other remuneration than their regular salary. English the official language, but the laws may be promulgated in French.

SECTION SEVENTEEN establishes the method of amendment and revision.

Two thirds of both houses must first vote in favor, then a majority of the popular vote makes the change.

SECTION EIGHTEEN is devoted to a schedule facilitating the application of the Constitution.

SECTION NINETEEN incorporates four ordinances with the Constitution. The first facilitates the payment of various taxes. Second provides for the payment of a large sum due the fiscal agent of the State. The third provides for a loan of \$25,000. The fourth provides for the payment of the interest on State bonds.

A SELECTION OF BOOKS

TOUCHING UPON THE STORY OF LOUISIANA.

The books devoted to the story of the growth of Louisiana from the earliest times through the Spanish and French domination are many. Nearly all the best works are in French or are translations from the French. The literature of the period of the American rule is rather scanty. As has already been shown the fiction and romance of the State are of comparatively recent growth but they are very promising and enlist now the best work of some of America's most popular writers. The histories of the State are classed in the following list:

I. "Historical Collections of Louisiana," by B. F. French in 5 vols. (1846-53). This is one of the fullest works on the early history. Does not go beyond 1770. II. The second of the great works on early Louisiana history is the "History of Louisiana," by Charles Gayarré, in 5 vols. (N. Y. 1851-54.) President Adams of Cornell says of the volumes that this work is "The fruit of arduous and loving study, not only in Louisiana but also in the archives of France and other European States." III. His final work was published in 1885. Was mainly the same as the preceding, but was brought down to 1861. In this edition two volumes are given to the French, one to the Spanish and one to the American. Its title, "History of Louisiana: the Spanish Domination, the French Domination, the American Domination." IV. Gayarré publishes still another work not to be confounded with the preceding: "Louisiana, its Colonial History and Romance." It abounds in anecdote and is valuable as a picture of early Southern life. V. "The History of Louisiana from the Earliest Period," by Francois Xavier Martin, 2 vols. (N. O. 1827-29.) "A complete and in the main accurate compendium of the materials at his command," says Mr. A. M. Davis. Extends to 1815. In 1882 a new edition was published to which was appended Annals of Louisiana up to 1861. By J. F. Condon.

VI. Other works dealing with portions of the period prior to the Civil War are:

1. "A Description of Louisiana." By Father Louis Hennepin. Translated from the edition of 1683. (N. Y. 1880.) "The most valuable as well as the most graphic of the original accounts of La Salle's explorations and the only detailed narrative of Hennepin's voyage up the Mississippi." President Adams.
2. "History of the American Indians" by James Adair. A work of great value. It treats particularly of those nations adjoining the Mississippi.
3. Description of the English Province of *Carolina*, by the Spaniards called *Florida* and by the French *Louisiana*. By Daniel Coxe. A very curious work.
4. Travels through that part of North America formerly called Louisiana. By M. Bossu. (London, 1771) 2 vols.
5. "Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi." By Dr. Shea. A collection of translations of several voyages. Carefully annotated.
6. Early Jesuit Missions. By Bishop Kip. (Albany, 1866.)
7. Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana. By Major Amos Stoddard. (1812.) An unostentatious and modest book.
8. New Orleans and Environs. A brief historical sketch of the territory and State and of the city of New Orleans from earliest period to 1845.
9. Charlevoix's "New France." Translation. (London, 1763.) An account of personal adventures.
10. Butel Dumont, George M. History of Louisiana from 1687-1740. Derives its interest from his personal experiences.
11. History of Louisiana. By L. A. Page. (London, 1774.) Because of his residence has a value which his manifest egotism and whimsical theories cannot entirely obscure.
12. "Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas in the year 1802," giving a correct picture of those countries. By Benjamin Duvallon. Translation. (N. Y. 1806.)
13. Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres; or reminiscences of the life of a former merchant. Translated from the German. (N. Y. 1854.) Relates largely to affairs in and about New Orleans during the early part of this century.
14. History of Kansas. Embracing a concise sketch of Louisiana in its relations to American slavery. By John N. Holloway. (1868.)
15. Memoir of the War in Western Florida and Louisiana. By Arsine Latour. Translation. (Phila. 1816.)
16. Bonner's History of Louisiana to 1840.

VII. Numerous works in French treat of the same period, but they do not seem to have been translated.

VIII. For the Louisiana Purchase see Constitutional History of United States, by Von Holst. Vol. I.

IX. There is no comprehensive work upon the period since the beginning of the Civil War. There are the various histories of the Rebellion; also:

1. "General Butler in New Orleans" by James Parton.
2. "Life of A. P. Dostie or the Conflict in New Orleans" by Emily Hazan Reed.
3. "Life of David Glasgow Farragut, First Admiral of the United States Navy," by his son. (New York.) A large space devoted to the capture of New Orleans and the opening of the Mississippi.
4. A soldier's Story of the War. Including the marches and battles of the Washington Artillery and other Louisiana troops. An appendix of camp stories and tales of the Crescent City.
5. "The Creoles of Louisiana" by George W. Cable. (N. Y., 1884.) A history of the Creoles and of New Orleans.

In Fiction Louisiana forms the setting for the following:

1. "Atala" by Chateaubriand, a story of Indian life in Louisiana founded upon the author's travels there. Romantic but not accurate.
2. "René" by Chateaubriand. Another Indian tale similar to Atala.
3. "Creole Stories" by Prof. James A. Harrison.
4. "Creole Tales" by J. B. Cobb.
5. "Lafitte, the Pirate of the Mexican Gulf." A tale by J. H. Ingraham.
6. "Old Creole Days," "Dr. Sevier," "Madame Delphine," "The Grandissimes" and "Bonarventure" by George W. Cable.
7. "Monsieur Motte," "Bonne Maman" and "Madame Lareveillière" by Grace King. "A faithful presentation of the impulsive Southern temperament instinct with the warmth of the Southern sun."
8. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Has an alleged but not entirely trustworthy picture of slave life in Louisiana before the war.
9. "The Man without a Country" by Edward Everett Hale.
10. "Philip Nolan's Friends" by Edward Everett Hale.
11. "In War Times at La Rose Blanche" by Mrs. M. E. M. Davis. A lively and pathetic picture of home life in Louisiana during the Civil War. (Boston, 1888.)

In Poetry, the following titles may be enumerated as bearing on Louisiana's Story:

1. "Evangeline" by Henry W. Longfellow.
2. "Ballads of the War" by A. J. H. Duganne.
3. "Louisiana" by Mrs. Hemans.
4. "The Battle of New Orleans" by Thomas Dunn English.
5. "Out of the Plague Stricken City" by M. B. Williams. Yellow fever.
6. "War Lyrics" by Henry Howard Brownell. Several of them deal with events in Louisiana—The River Fight in particular.
7. "The Heart of Louisiana" by Harriet Stanton.
8. "We Come! We Come!" by W. Mayfield.
9. "Mumford the Martyr of New Orleans" by Ina Porter.

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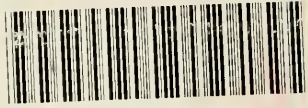
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