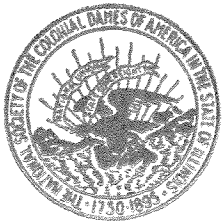
The FRENCH GOVERNORS of ILLINOIS



THE FRENCH GOVERNORS OF ILLINOIS

1718 - 1765

by

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COMMANDANTS AT FORT DE CHARTRES

(First Governors of Illinois)

Boisbriand	1718-1724
Du Tisné	1724-1725
De Liette	1725-1729
St. Ange de Bellerive	1730-1733
D'Artaguiette	1733-1736
La Buissonnière	1736-1740
St. Claire	1740-1742
De Bertet	1742-1749
St. Claire (again)	1749-1751
Makarty-Mactigue	1751-1760
Neyon de Villiers	1760-1764
Louis St. Ange de Bellerive	1764-1765

THE FRENCH GOVERNORS OF ILLINOIS

The first eleven governors of Illinois were Frenchmen. Officers of the French marine service, they were assigned the task of establishing and maintaining the earliest civil authority within the area of our present State. They braved the hazards and hardships of an eighteenth century frontier, with little support from the French Crown, and in the course of forty-five years they brought their remote domain to a high degree of stability and productivity. During the Seven Years' War the current governor was able to meet heavy requisitions of men and supplies in the vain effort to resist British aggression from the eastern seaboard. Illinois was not conquered in this final struggle, but when Louis XV unhesitatingly turned over to Great Britain all his territory east of the Mississippi River (1763), the last of the French governors had the humiliation of surrendering his post to foreign supremacy. Most of the French inhabitants withdrew rather than become subject to their longtime adversary. Their fields and villages soon succumbed to the ravages of the river and the decay of time.

Since almost all that this brief French occupation of Illinois had accomplished was thus obliterated, it left no lasting imprint on history and historians generally have passed over it lightly. To assemble even brief biographies of the governors themselves one must draw on many scattered sources, – the contemporary reports, records and correspondence and later publications based upon them. Picking up a little here, a bit more there, unraveling the tangle of similar names as well as their frequent variations, one may attempt to sketch the shadowy forms of these all-but-forgotten officers. Insignificant though they may be historically, they contribute a romantic interlude to the annals of Illinois.

During the last quarter of the previous century the upper Mississippi Valley had become familiar territory to explorers, traders and missionary priests from Canada. They gave the name of "the Illinois Country," or simply "the Illinois," to the hunting grounds of the Illinois Indians, which included southern Wisconsin as well as the present State of Illinois. By 1700, however, years of warfare with the aggressive Iroquois had decimated the Illinois Indians, and the remnants of their tribes had retreated to the southern part of their former territory. Here they established themselves in the area bounded by the Missouri and Illinois Rivers on the north, the Ohio and Arkansas on the south, and the designation of "the Illinois Country" became applicable only to this small segment of its former vast extent.[1]

But this area included some of the richest soil to be found on the continent, – "the most beautiful and the most suitable for settlement," as Joliet had observed. The Missouri River "entered the Mississippi like a conquerer, carrying its white waters unmixed across the channel, quite to the other side."[2] Here for centuries it had created alluvial flats extending for seventy miles along the

east side of the Mississippi, later known as the American Bottom. French farmers who settled here called it the "Paradis Terreste," a term cherished by generations of their descendants.

The first permanent European settlements in the Illinois Country were made in this "earthly paradise."[1] They gathered about the two early missions, — that of the Seminarians at Cahokia (founded in 1699), and of the Jesuits on the Kaskaskia River, two leagues from its mouth (1703).[2] Although the settlers were all of French extraction, most of them from Canada, their villages were identified with neither New France nor Louisiana, and civil government in any form was slow to come to them. Fort St. Louis (Peoria) had been established under the jurisdiction of New France to promote and protect the fur trade with the Indians, not to encourage permanent colonization in the wilderness.

Governor Cadillac made a laborious voyage up the Mississippi from Louisiana (1715) to check "disturbances" in the settlements, but his primary interest was in mining operations on the west side of the river.[3] Crozat's grant, allowing his company trading and mining rights in Louisiana, did not include territory north of the Ohio River. The mission priests, therefore, supplied the only semblance of civil authority in the Illinois Country until 1718.

When Crozat surrendered his charter and John Law's Company of the West ("the Mississippi Company") won control of Louisiana, Illinois was for the first time specifically included in that province. Law was granted extensive trade privileges and monopolies, and in return engaged to import colonists into the territory, to set up local government, and to erect forts necessary for its protection.[4] Within two years "the Mississippi Bubble" burst (1720), but the collapse of a financial empire across the sea did not greatly affect life on the frontier.

The elaborate pattern of colonial administration set up under Law's grant was followed throughout the period of French rule in Illinois. The chief officer was the major commandant,[5] checked by a civilian appointee, the intendant, who had almost equal rank. These two men, together with the commissary officer, formed the Provincial Council, empowered to act in administrative and judicial matters. In the development of the hoped-for mines the commandant was chief of another committee of ten men. In affairs of business, trade and credit, he was to act alone as the shrewd and watchful agent of the Company. The Illinois Commandery, as set up in the Reform of 1721, had jurisdiction over the settlements in the American Bottom and also over the Peoria region, the portage at Chicago, and the outposts of Fort Vincennes on the Wabash River, Fort Orleans on the Missouri, and Fort Arkansas on the Arkansas. It was understood to extend east to the Appalachian Mountains, west to the Rockies. Thus the commandant at the Illinois ruled an area larger than many a European kingdom of that day.

The gallant officers who filled this difficult position were alike in their background of gentle birth and distinguished military service. But they differed widely in personality and experience, and each has left his own record of adventure and of achievement. Their names are an honor to the long list of Illinois Governors, which they head.

BOISBRIAND

(1718 - 1725)

In March 1718 the frigate, "La Duchesse de Noailles" arrived at Dauphin Island, bringing officers and men to the Province of Louisiana.[1] Returning with them to the colony he already knew well was Pierre Du Gué, Sieur de Boisbriand,[2] lieutenant of the King and Knight of the Order of St. Louis.

Now forty-three years of age, Boisbriand was one of the outstanding officers of the French marine. He was born in Montreal of French parentage on February 21, 1675.[3] His earliest military service was in Newfoundland, under his cousin, the Sieur d'Iberville.[4] In 1698, still under this kinsman's command, he had come to Biloxi, then as commandant to Mobile where he built the first fort (1716). A year later he went to France and there received the crowning assignment of his career, — the commission of first commandant at the Illinois under the jurisdiction of the Company of the West.

Preparations for the long journey up the Mississippi to assume his new command took several months. In his convoy were to be government officials, employées of the Company, mining engineers, workingmen, one hundred troops and a Jesuit priest.[5] On Boisbriand's staff were two young officers, each of whom would some time become commander of the Illinois post: Charles Claude du Tisné, who had already served on the frontier for some years, and Pierre d'Artaguiette, recently come over from France.[6] The convoy was finally ready in the fall of 1718, and started up the river in October. It reached the little settlement of Kaskaskia late in December. Boisbriand set up headquarters in the village, and for eighteen months his troops were housed there.[7]

Boisbriand's first duty was to choose a site for the necessary fort, then to erect it as soon as possible. He selected a place fifteen miles north of the village, "a musket-shot from the river." It was completed in the spring of 1720, — only a small square stockade with two bastions, but the flag of France was proudly raised above it and it was ceremoniously named for the Regent's son, Fort de Chartres.[8] Settlers immediately gathered near its protecting walls, and "the watchful Jesuits" established there the parish of St. Anne de Fort Chartres.[9]

A system of legalized land grants was another urgent responsibility of the new commandant. Since most of the settlers were natives of Canada, they readily accepted the pattern familiar to them there.[1] Replacing a vague squatter's claims, each family was given its small plot within the village, less than an acre but adequate for house, outbuildings and kitchen garden; and each had its long, narrow strip extending down to the river, sometimes a mile away, for cultivation. Commons were set aside for grazing stock of all the settlers together. To Boisbriand himself, as to other persons of importance (and to religious organizations), the Provincial Council granted immense tracts of land, but there is no evidence that the feudal pattern prevalent in Canada was ever successfully established here.[2]

The house that Boisbriand ordered built for himself "in the village of the fort"[3] may well have duplicated those of other well-to-do settlers in the region. He contracted with a carpenter, one Pierre Bienvenu, on May 13, 1723, to construct it "poteaux sur sole," — that is, on a stone foundation, — with eight casement windows, glazed, and two outside doors that were to swing "like those of the parish church of Kaskaskia." The cost of 2,000 livres would be paid half in merchandise from the magazine upon the arrival of the next convoy and half in letters of credit.[4]

Charlevoix was impressed with this flourishing settlement when he stopped here in October 1721. "M. Dugué de Boisbrillard, a gentleman of Canada, commands here for the Company to which this place belongs," he reported in his journal. "The French in this place live pretty much at their ease; a Fleming, who was a domestic of the Jesuits, has taught them how to sow wheat, which succeeds very well. They have black cattle and poultry."

While the settlers may have appeared to be living at their ease when the good priest viewed them, they were seldom at peace with one another, and their bickering was a constant annoyance to the officers who must control them. The first criminal case in Illinois resulted from the fatal outcome of one of these petty altercations. Perrilaut, secretary of the Provincial Council, killed with his sword Morin, a drummer of the garrison, for impertinence (April 25, 1723) and was promptly brought to trial.[5] Despite his high temper Perrilaut was a great favorite with the Indians, and three Kaskaskia chiefs, with thirty followers, appeared before the Council to plead for his release. Patiently Boisbriand tried to explain to them the process of the white man's law, but it was entirely incomprehensible to them. The case dragged on for weeks. Finally Perrilaut was acquitted, "and thus lost the distinction of being the first criminal executed in Illinois."

Boisbriand's patience and tact in dealing with the Indians never failed.[6] He knew that his short stature and his slight deformity (one shoulder was higher than the other) might be a disadvantage in his relations with the tall, lithe Illinois tribesmen. So when he

first came to Kaskaskia he called their leaders to him, and speaking their language fluently, assured them that although his body was small, his heart was "large enough for all my children, the Illinois redmen, to dwell in as in a spacious cabin."[1] To which one of them gravely replied, "So great is the power of thy spirit, it has hindered the development of thy body."

Savages to the north, however, remained unfriendly and constantly threatened the settlements. These were the fierce Foxes, who hated the French and all the tribes allied with them. Hostilities, breaking out in 1712, continued with increasing fury for eighteen years.[2] During Boisbriand's administration groups of Illinois at Peoria and Starved Rock were threatened, and pleas for help reached Fort de Chartres from these hapless people. The commandant, with a little army that included his two captains, du Tisné and d'Artaguiette, went to their aid. But by the time he reached the battle area the Illinois had been defeated, and the survivors insisted on returning with the French troops to the fort. Here they settled down as "domiciled Indians," leaving the approaches from the north unprotected from the savage forays of the Foxes.

Boisbriand served as commandant for nearly seven years, and his record was above reproach. He was appointed acting governor of Louisiana when Bienville was called back to France in 1724,[3] and he went down the river to New Orleans, leaving du Tisné in command at Fort de Chartres. But, like Bienville, Boisbriand had serious disagreements with the intendant, and he, too, was summoned to Paris to answer charges of misconduct. Deprived of his rank of first lieutenant, he was a year later (1728) discharged in disgrace.[4] Without resources, he tried in vain to reenter the service. His life-long devotion to France, his honesty, ability and valor, were recalled to the French government, and eventually he was awarded an annuity of 800 livres, but was never reinstated. He died in France on June 7, 1736.

DU TISNÉ

(1724 - 1725)

Charles Claude du Tisné, who succeeded Boisbriand briefly as commandant at Fort de Chartres, was one of the most colorful figures on the French frontier.

A native of Paris, du Tisné was "one of those gallant gentlemen typical of the French nobility of the age of Louis XIV," who volunteered, against the wishes of his family, for service in New France.[5] In Quebec the "quick wit and polite manners" of the seventeen-year-old lad attracted the attention of a prosperous merchant, who thereupon outfitted him with canoe and crew, and with goods to trade for beaver skins among the Indians. Pene-

trating far into the wilderness du Tisné learned the tribal languages as he went along. He reached a village beyond the limit of the regular trading operations, and there began his negotiations with the savages.

Le Page du Pratz, early traveler in Louisiana, relates the story of du Tisné's successful execution of this mission.[1] Laying out his goods before the Indians whose pelts he hoped to acquire, he pretended not to understand their language. Thus he was able to learn from their unguarded conversation that they were plotting to scalp him and his men and seize their wares. Plucking from his head the wig he habitually wore, he threw it at their feet, shouting, "You want my scalp? Touch it if you dare!" The Indians, stunned by this display of superhuman prescience and power, humbly brought him all the beaver robes they had in their village, and the young trader returned with his rich load to Quebec. Le Page du Pratz states that he confirmed this story when he met du Tisné some years later at Natchez.

A young lady of "the fashionable society of Quebec" became the wife of this dashing nobleman. She "loved the things that flattered her curiosity," says du Pratz, "and it is precisely this that made her marry M. du Tisné." She was a member of the party of Canadians whom he led overland to Mobile in 1713, the first time such a journey had been made. And she came with him into the Illinois country.

Toward the end of the following year (1714) du Tisné again appeared in Mobile, bearing two pieces of silver ore which he said he had found near Kaskaskia. They probably came from Mexico, and why he should thus deceive the pompous Governor Cadillac can only be surmised. But in the spring of 1715 Cadillac made a trip up the river to Kaskaskia, where he was entertained with as much elegance as that frontier settlement afforded. He visited preliminary mining operations on the west side of the Mississippi, then returned in October to Mobile, reporting that silver had indeed been discovered in the Illinois Country.[2] This announcement, corroborating du Tisné's evidence, immediately focused attention on the importance of developing this promising midland region.

Du Tisné did not immediately return to Illinois. Bienville, replacing Cadillac as governor of the province, assigned him as lieutenant to Fort Rosalie (Natchez) on the Mississippi, and later directed him to build a fort at Natchitotches on the Red River as a deterrent to Spanish aggression from the southwest. It was from this post that he was ordered to join Boisbriand's expedition in the autumn of 1718 to set up the first government in Illinois.[3]

Du Tisné's greatest fame, however, rests upon his explorations of the Missouri Valley, the first attempted by land.[4] His earlier expedition (1718) penetrated only as far as the dwellings of the Osage Indians, who prevented him from going farther. He wrote

to Bienville describing vividly the beauties of this well-timbered country, and he was eager to try again. This he did two years later, following traces or trails that were probably made by bison seeking the salt springs of the Ozarks. He reached a point beyond the western boundary of the present State of Missouri, in the country of the Comanches, and there erected a column bearing the arms of Louis XV.

Du Tisné's command at Fort de Chartres, following Boisbriand's departure for New Orleans in 1724, ended in less than a year. He was then transferred to Natchez, but returned to Fort de Chartres upon the death of de Liette in 1729. He commanded there until St. Ange was commissioned a few months later. He went again to Natchez where he suffered a gunshot wound in the cheek, inflicted by a Fox Indian.[1] He died the following spring, reportedly from the effects of this wound.

DE LIETTE

(1725 - 1729)

Charles Henri de Liette became commandant at Fort de Chartres in 1725, after forty years on the frontier, and it was the closing tour of duty in a long and dramatic career.

De Liette was probably a native of France, and of Italian extraction. He was a nephew (or cousin) of Tonty, whose family name, Delietto, was the origin of the various forms de Liette's name is given in contemporary records. He was with this kinsman in his early youth at Fort St. Louis.[2] With Tonty's permission, he and a manservant lived among the Indians for several weeks, to learn their language and to become familiar with their ways. When Tonty made his last trip down the Mississippi (1704), he left his young relative in command at Fort St. Louis. Under de Liette's direction the fort was later moved from Starved Rock to Pimitoui at the lower end of Lake Peoria.[3]

As commandant of that fort, de Liette was the ranking military officer in the Illinois area. Little is known of his life there, but it is probable that when the post was temporarily abandoned he found refuge in the settlements of the American Bottom, where he was a great favorite. In 1718 the newly appointed commandant at Kaskaskia outranked him. Two years later, however, he entered the service of the Company of the West[4] and was commissioned commandant at Natchez. It was reported that he gave "good evidence of the sagacity, valor, ability and experience necessary for the glory of the name of His Majesty, the good of the service of the Company, and the advantage of commerce."

Further indication of his rare aptitude for frontier life is his "Memoir Concernant le Pays Illinois," written in Montreal in 1721. In it he recounts his experience among the Indians when he first

came into the country, with details of their customs and practices that show his great powers of observation. He also gives an enthusiastic description of the territory, declaring it to be "the most beautiful known between the mouth of the St. Lawrence and that of the Mississippi."

The three years' command at Fort de Chartres may well have been the most difficult and frustrating experience in de Liette's career. The Fox Indians' depredations were increasing and he tried in vain to get help from the Green Bay post to stop them. Then, in an effort to co-operate with forces from Canada, he led a little army of soldiers, habitants and Indians north to the Chicago portage, where he routed a small band of Foxes. But the two expeditions failed to meet and the enterprise at the time seemed futile. The show of French so impressed the savages, however, that allies of the Foxes began to desert them, and later it became evident that their domination deteriorated from this time.[1]

In the spring of 1727 a disastrous flood demolished Fort de Chartres. The Company, weary of fruitless expenditures, instructed Perrier, then governor of Louisiana, to abandon it, recall its troops to New Orleans, and leave only the commandant and two officers (the two St. Anges), with six soldiers, at Kaskaskia. The commandant himself was to pay for their maintenance there out of a slightly increased salary. Perrier did not immediately carry out this order, and after the terrifying massacre at Natchez in the autumn of 1729, the Company reversed its policy.

But de Liette had died at Kaskaskia during the summer, nearly three months before the Natchez disaster occurred. Du Tisné returned to take command until his successor, the elder St. Ange, received his official commission.

ST. ANGE DE BELLERIVE
(1730 - 1734)

The Sieur de St. Ange de Bellerive was the fourth governor of Illinois. He and two of his sons were in the frontier service, and for forty-five years their imposing surname, with variations, is found in the annals of Missouri, Kansas, Mississippi and Indiana, as well as Illinois.

The Grostons may have had seignoral rights in a district in Canada known as "la côte de St. Ange," although the only evidence is a reference to Robert as "the Sieur de St. Ange" in a memoir to the King of France.[2] It was not unusual, however, for the "seigneur" of an unproductive concession on the Canadian frontier to turn to the wilderness for the means of earning a living.

The senior St. Ange, Robert Groston, was born in Champagne about 1672, and came to Canada as a boy. He was a sergeant in the Compagnie de Noyan when, at twenty years of age, he mar-

ried in Quebec Mlle. Marguerite Crevier, daughter of Crevier de Bellerive, who owned the Isle of Bellerive at the mouth of the St. Maurice River. She died in 1709, survived by seven of her eight children. Ten years later (1718) Elizabeth Choral de St. Romain, twenty-five years old, was married to the forty-six year old widower.

St. Ange's name first appears in Illinois history as the leader of Charlevoix's escort in the autumn of 1721, when, it is assumed, he continued down the river with the expedition.[1] He returned to the Illinois Country soon afterward and was commissioned ensign on half-pay ("officier reformé") at Fort de Chartres the following spring. In December his rank was raised to lieutenant, still on half-pay, and he was put in command of a tiny garrison at Cahokia.[2] Mme. St. Ange and two of her stepsons, Pierre, the eldest, and Louis, the youngest, joined him at about this time.

A year later (May 1724) St. Ange was assigned to Bourgmont's staff at Fort Orleans on the Missouri River.[3] Mme. St. Ange must have been with him as the birth of their daughter, Elizabeth, is recorded as having taken place there.[4] Louis was also at Fort Orleans and Bourgmont in his reports uses the names of *St. Ange* and *Bellerive* indescriminately, so it was before this period that father and son added the designation of Marguerite Crevier's family estate to their already multisyllabic names.

St. Ange was left in command at Fort Orleans when Bourgmont departed for France. Two years later he was back at Fort Chartres serving as first officer under de Liette, and continuing under du Tisné after de Liette's death. In 1729 he acquired a house on the prairie (an "estate" in the old record) near the fort.[5] Still in existence is his petition to the Council for the confirmation of his title to the land, purchased from an Indian named Chicago, "who," he alleged, "is content and satisfied with the payment made to him."

St. Ange was commissioned commandant at Fort de Chartres the following year (1730), when the stockade was in such poor condition that he had it rebuilt at his own expense.[6] But again it was done so flimsily that it did not last long. The most conspicuous service of his career, however, was the part he played, at nearly sixty years of age, in the extermination of the troublesome Fox Indians, — an exploit noted in Charlevoix's journal.

With the collapse of their tribal alliances, these savages had decided to move east to join their friends, the Iroquois. Provincial French forces were summoned by the Governor of Canada to destroy them before they could leave their own country. St. Ange, with an army of one hundred French and four hundred Indians, was the first to reach the appointed rendezvous, somewhere between the Illinois and the Wabash Rivers. The Foxes, already besieged by hostile Indians, had taken refuge in a rude fort on "The Rock," the exact location of which has been in question ever since.[7]

Joined by a thousand French and Indian forces from the posts on the Miami and the St. Joseph Rivers, the Illinois army maintained a twenty-three-day siege, during which both sides ran out of food. The Foxes begged for mercy, and when it was refused they attempted to escape by night during a heavy storm. The crying of their children betrayed them, and the next day they were all but annihilated by their enemies. "It is agreed," says a contemporary report, "that not more than fifty or sixty men escaped, without guns and without any of the implements for procuring their existence."

St. Ange returned to Fort de Chartres after this triumph, and remained there until 1733. Then, over sixty years of age, he retired to his comfortable house near by.[1] He was commissioned captain (half-pay) in 1736. His oldest son, Pierre, now past forty, had married a French-Indian girl and was second in command at the fort.[2] Louis was in charge of a tiny outpost on the Kaw (Kansas) River, which had replaced the abandoned Fort Orleans. Mme. St. Ange kept house with the aid of slaves, both red and black, and it is recorded that she acted as god-mother to their children on two or three occasions.[3]

St. Ange has been described as "a typical trooper, illiterate, upright, pious, attached to his duties,"[4] and certainly he served his king faithfully during what was for that era, a long life.[5] He died in 1740, four years after his son Pierre fell in the Chickasaw campaign. His daughter Elizabeth married (April 25, 1750) François Coulon de Villiers of the great Canadian family, and through her he has descendants now living in Missouri and Louisiana.[6]

St. Ange was the last commandant under the rule of the Company of the Indies. Disappointed in its dreams of wealth from the New World, it petitioned the King to take back its charter, and all Louisiana became a royal province. Bienville was again appointed governor and was wisely given the responsibility of choosing a suitable officer to command at Fort de Chartres. His choice (October 1732) was the Sieur Pierre d'Artaguiette.

D'ARTAGUIETTE

(1733 - 1736)

In contrast to his immediate predecessor, the new commandant was young, joyous, gallant, – the best beloved of all the officers who held the post at Fort de Chartres. He was born in France in the Province of Bearn in 1698, and was barely twenty years of age when he and his brother accompanied Boisbriand into the Illinois Country. Popular with habitants and Indians alike, his appointment as commandant fourteen years later was said to have been due to their requests as well as to Bienville's favor.[7]

Oldest of the three d'Artaguiette brothers to come over from France was Diron (first name unknown), who had been appointed commissary general of Louisiana on June 30, 1707.[1] He arrived early in 1708, "with his brother, on a ship named 'La Renommé'," and he served the colony ably during the three years he remained here. He acquired a concession "five leagues above New Orleans at a place called Cannes Brulées," which his brother eventually took over.[2] When he returned to France in November 1711 he carried with him "the sincere regrets of the colony," and became one of the original directors of the Company of the West (1717). There is no evidence that he ever returned to Louisiana.[3]

The younger brother of Diron d'Artaguiette remained here, and was for two years a cadet in the company of M. Chatauqué (d'-Iberville's youngest brother). His first name, Bernar, he signed only once or twice in any surviving records, preferring to use the family name, Diron, and he thus contributed to later confusion in identifying d'Artaguiette relationships. He was on Boisbriand's staff (1718) only briefly, recalled when the Crown appointed him inspector general of the troops for the province (1719),[4] and the journal he kept during this tour of duty is one of the most illuminating of contemporary documents. He was eventually promoted to be king's lieutenant, and he was in command at Santo Domingo when he died.[5]

But it is Pierre, the youngest of the three brothers, who is the hero of song and story in the Mississippi Valley. The "M. d'Artaguiette" who arrived at Mobile on March 9, 1717, in one of the three ships of the Crozat Company, may have been this young man. He was commissioned ensign on Boisbriand's staff and instructed to join the first expedition to Kaskaskia. Two years later he signed the parish register there as godfather to an infant baptized on July 9, 1720, — "Le Sieur Pierre d'Artaguiette, captain of a company."[6] He won the brevet of major for gallant conduct in the Natchez campaign of 1730,[7] and for a time commanded a fort in that area. Never very strong physically, and always poor, he may well have been one of those young officers whose poverty Bienville deplored because "they could not afford wine and ruined their health drinking water."[8]

Newly commissioned commandant at the Illinois in 1733, d'Artaguiette started up the Mississippi early that summer. His retinue included voyageurs, negroes and two companies of soldiers, with four cannon.[9] He was given an enthusiastic welcome by the inhabitants, but he found that neighboring Indians, less dependent on French favor since the threat of their Fox enemies had been removed, were causing trouble. The Cahokias had been especially insubordinate, and the new commandant haughtily refused to receive them until they had made amends for their misconduct. "Never were savages more submissive," was Bienville's report of the incident. Deeply humiliated, they complied at once. A small fort was erected at the scene of the Cahokia trouble to restrain

This map was compiled by J. H. Schlarman and is reproduced from his book, *From Quebec to New Orleans.*

them further. To subdue Indian outbreaks in the Missouri Valley, d'Artaguiette sent several small expeditions under Pierre St. Ange and young Louis du Tisné, with only inconclusive results.

To the south the Chickasaws and their allies were making traffic on the Mississippi increasingly hazardous, encouraged by British traders from the east. Bienville decided upon a united effort to destroy these savages and their white instigators as well.[1] Orders went to all the Louisiana posts to send troops to a point near the present Memphis, Tennessee, for an attack the following March. It was a popular crusade, and trappers and hunters came in from the wilderness to take part in it.

In late February d'Artaguiette's army of thirty regular troops, one hundred militia and two hundred Indians, was ready to go down the river. They reached the appointed rendezvous in mid-March,[2] following Bienville's first orders. A second message postponing the date had not reached the young officer, and he awaited Bienville's coming in vain. After ten days his Indians grew restive and he decided to attack an isolated Chicasaw village early on the morning of March 25. At first the attack was successful, but when he fell, thrice wounded, his Indians fled in dismay. In vain Pierre St. Ange tried to restore order. At nine o'clock the battle was over. More than forty Frenchmen had been killed, and nearly all the others taken captive by the victorious Chickasaws. Among the prisoners were the young commandant himself, Pierre St. Ange, Louis du Tisné, the Chevalier de Vincennes and Father Antoine Senate, the Jesuit priest who refused to desert his wounded companions to seek his own safety.

That afternoon the Chickasaw squaws prepared the fires and the seventeen prisoners were thrown to the flames, singing bravely as they died. The Chickasaws watched them in admiration, this being their own test of supreme courage. The remnants of the French forces under the leadership of a sixteen-year-old soldier, Voisin, made their way back through the wilderness to Fort de Chartres, without food, carrying their wounded with them.[3]

The loss of their gallant young commandant after his brief two-year term in office, "brought grief to cottage and wigwam alike." He died before word could reach him that he had been awarded the coveted Cross of St. Louis for his earlier valiant service in the province. But his name and fame were enshrined in the hearts of the French inhabitants, and more than a century later a favorite river song on the Mississippi had the chorus,[4]

"In the days of d'Artaguiette, ho, ho!

In the days of d'Artaguiette, ho!"

LA BUISSONNIÉRE

(1736 - 1740)

Alphonse de La Buissonniére, first officer under d'Artaguiette, succeeded him as commandant.[1] He was then forty-five years old, a well-qualified and intelligent officer who had been in service in the province since 1720. But his four years in command at Fort de Chartres were not distinguished by great achievement. He suffered from frequent illness. The fort was in poor condition again, and his attempts to rebuild it had to be abandoned because of rising costs of construction. Upon orders from Bienville he co-operated to the best of his resources in an inconclusive campaign against the Chickasaws. Ill and discouraged, he died of apoplexy on December 11, 1740.

Nevertheless, the story of his ill-starred romance has given La Buissonnière unique distinction among the Illinois commandants.[2] Some years earlier he had sought in vain the Governor's permission to marry Mlle. Marie Thérèse Trudeau, daughter of a pioneer settler. They were both poor and Perrier refused to allow their marriage on the ground that they and their children were likely to become a burden to the government. Returning to France, Perrier even went so far as to send letters indicating that La Buissonnière already had a wife there. So the young couple eloped to Pensacola and were married by a Spanish priest. The Capuchins, who then controlled New Orleans, were outraged and insisted that the newly arrived governor (Bienville again) have them arrested. Instead, he assigned La Buissonnière to d'Artaguiette's staff in order to send him to Illinois and avoid any further scandal. The "pretended wife," as the clergy insisted on calling her, was to be secreted in a separate bateau "until they got out of sight of the city." But she fell ill with smallpox at Natchez, and after her recovery she went back to her father's house. Two years later, when the sympathetic Bienville got a court confirmation of their marriage, she was allowed to join her husband in Illinois. Thus they were able to be together for the last four years of his life.

ST. CLAIRE

(1740 - 1742)
(1749 - 1751)

Jean Batiste Benoist, Sieur de St. Claire, was twice acting governor at Fort de Chartres, never permanently commissioned. He held the office during the interval between La Buissonnière's death and de Bertet's arrival, and again, after de Bertet's death until Makarty reached Kaskaskia late in 1751.

St. Claire had come to Louisiana as an ensign in 1717. Promoted to a captaincy in 1732, he seems to have been a competent

officer, although described by a superior as "somewhat indolent."[1] Upon his return to Kaskaskia in 1749, well beyond the age of fifty, he married Marie Bienvenu, daughter of Antoine Bienvenu, major of militia.[2]

The restiveness of the Indians increased during this second term, threatening to become open revolution. British traders were known to be encouraging this hostility with gifts of rum and the offer of cheaper merchandise than the French could supply. Several habitants were attacked and a soldier was scalped. A plot to fall upon the villagers as they came out of mass one morning was discovered just in time to prevent its execution. Makarty's arrival the next day, with his four companies of soldiers, effectively subdued the savages for the time being.[3]

St. Claire was transferred to Natchez. He died at New Orleans on September 9, 1757.

DE BERTET
(1742 - 1749)

Claude de Bertet was in France when he received his appointment to succeed La Buissonnière at Fort de Chartres. He returned to New Orleans in August 1742, and reached the Illinois Country the following November, relieving the interim commandant, St. Claire. Bienville was responsible for his assignment, recommending him as "sagacious, disinterested, capable and attached to his duties."[4] At forty-three years of age, de Bertet was one of the older officers in the colony. He had come to Louisiana as an ensign in 1717, and had been promoted to captain in 1737.

The new commandant found the fort in a state of dilapidation especially disastrous as French relations with the Indians were rapidly deteriorating. King George's War was in progress, and, under the influence of British traders, hostilities aroused by the Fox War were becoming aggravated. The French settlers in the Illinois Country were in terror of a mass uprising of savages. De Bertet begged for help from Canada, and when very little was forthcoming, he decided (1747) to abandon the fort altogether. He moved his garrison, together with the villagers, into Kaskaskia to await the end of the war.[5]

His good judgment in meeting this emergency was commended by Galissonière, one of Canada's ablest governors: "Through lack of soldiers, M. de Bertet was throughout the war in constant danger, from which he extricated himself chiefly through his own management, and to a slight extent by means of the munitions and goods that we sent him from here."

A little over a year later, Galissonière wrote the minister again. "Illinois has just lost M. Chevalier de Bertet, who died the ninth of January," he wrote in 1749. "He was an excellent officer."

MAKARTY - MACTIGUE
(1751 - 1760)

With the end of the War of the Spanish Succession in Europe (1748), the importance of his neglected American possessions was called to the attention of the French King. In the Illinois Country the only fortification was a rotting little stockade, its equipment dissipated, its few soldiers housed in the nearby village of Kaskaskia.[1] But unprotected as they were, the settlements in the region were prospering. Vivier, a missionary, wrote from there (1750):

"There are five French villages and three villages of the natives within a space of twenty-one leagues, situated upon the Mississippi River and another river called the Karkadiad. In the French villages are perhaps eleven hundred whites, three hundred blacks, and some fifty red slaves or savages. . . . Most of the French till the soil; they raise wheat, cattle, pigs, horses, and live like princes. Three times as much is produced as can be consumed, and great quantities of grain and flour are sent to New Orleans."[2]

To build another stronghold to protect this promising colony the Crown appointed as commandant the Chevalier Barthelmy Makarty-Mactigue. Of Irish parentage,[3] he was born and brought up in France. He came to New Orleans with an older brother in 1732, and there married Dame Françoise Hélène Pellerin, by whom he had eight children. For several years he was aide-major at New Orleans. His commission to command at the Illinois post was dated June 11, 1750.

Makarty was in France, where his oldest son was in school, when he received this appointment, and he sailed back to New Orleans the following April. In August (1751) he started up the river in a brave flotilla of six bateaux carrying four companies of troops and a quantity of military stores.[4] He also had detailed instructions from the Crown to guide him in building a new fort, to be named after the former one, Fort de Chartres.

"After mature deliberation," a site was chosen a mile from the old stockade, half a mile from the river, and work upon it was begun in 1753.[5] A huge structure of stone, plastered over, it covered four acres of ground and could accommodate three or four hundred men. An English officer later described it as "the most commodious and best built fort in North America." This is the fort that is now being reconstructed at the State Park of Fort Chartres.

A young engineer, François Saucier, came with Makarty to plan and supervise the building of the fort.[6] Realizing that it would take several years, he sent for his wife to join him. Ultimately he acquired a substantial house in Cahokia, which was later used as a court house, and, recently restored, now stands as an example of early French architecture in Illinois.

Makarty's family stayed on his estate near New Orleans, and their welfare was a source of constant concern to him. In his correspondence with Governor Vaudreuil and others, now published in English, he becomes a vivid personality, – more so than any of other commandants. His letters show him to be worried about his son in France, longing for his family, and eager to be returned to the New Orleans area. "When this country is more at peace," he writes, "interest yourself, Monsieur, in having me brought closer to my family."[1] And again, "You know the situation of my family, and how much it is impaired by my remoteness in this spot."

The new commandant was not blind to the beauties of the Illinois, however. "This country is fine and good," he writes. "All our gentlemen praise it." In June he made several trips with M. Saucier and the commissary officer. "We have seen the finest prairies imaginable, watered with rivers," he reports, "and the most beautiful landscape. . . . We are in a position to receive all the inhabitants they care to send us."

But he finds the duties of his office difficult indeed. "This post is the most embarrassing in the colony," he complains. "The number of voyageurs from all parts, the discipline of the troops, looking after the public welfare, the government of the Indians, which is the most laborious part, – one man cannot suffice for it all."

Makarty's reported inebriety may have been due to these intolerable burdens, or it may only have added to them. In a time when heavy drinking was common in all walks of life, his many requests for shipments of wine and brandy were not remarkable. Nor was the Indians' habit of going "to see our father Makarty and at the same to drink his milk." Makarty related that on one occasion "the Kaskaskias were not invited to drink until they were drunken, and went away deeply offended." But an indignant letter from Duquesne, Governor of Canada, to the minister, Rouille, states in no uncertain terms that "Sieur de Makarty pursues at his post an infamous line of conduct," – that he corrupts not only the Indians, but the French as well, and is himself "more drunk than the Indians."[2]

Whatever his failings, Makarty proved a remarkably efficient officer during a long and trying administration.[3] Responsible for garrisons at Cahokia and Kaskaskia as well as at Fort de Chartres, and for policing the country as far away as Fort Vincennes, he had to meet additional requisitions for soldiers, munitions and supplies in the effort to hold the Ohio Valley when the Seven Years' War with Great Britain broke out.[4]

It was the censorious Duquesne himself who called upon him most frequently. As early as 1752 Makarty had sent meat and grain to Detroit and to the post on the Miami. Later large consignments of flour and pork went by river convoys to Fort Duquesne, until that post fell to the British. Other expeditions went

to Presqu'Isle and to Niagara in vain attempts to save these forts.[1] "At Fort Niagara I lost the flower of my army," mourned Makarty. "My garrison is now weaker than ever." French reverses continued, until all the territory north of Ohio – except the Illinois Country – was in British hands.

Makarty still hoped to hold Illinois. A small fort established some years earlier (1724) to stem a rumored British advance down the Ohio, was strengthened to receive French refugees from the east. "I have caused Massiac to be terraced, fraised and fortified, piece upon piece, and a long ditch," he reported. He sent down there a group of Shawnee Indians, well-provisioned for the season, explaining wryly, "They will be more useful and less dangerous there."

With the end of this disastrous war, Makarty asked again to be relieved of his duties. Young Neyon de Villiers had been designated his successor five years earlier, but the necessary confirmation of his commission had not come from France. Now, worn out and discouraged after nearly ten years in office, the longest term in Fort de Chartres' history, Makarty was recalled to New Orleans in June 1760.[2]

Thus the old chevalier was able to spend the last four years of his life on his estate above New Orleans. On April 20, 1764, the Governor (L'Abbadie) made the following entry in his journal: "M. de Makarty, ancient lieutenant of the King, is dead. I ordered for his funeral procession all the troops from the garrison and three shots from the cannon. . . . I had these honors rendered out of consideration for his memory and for his family."[3]

NEYON DE VILLIERS

(1760 - 1764)

Pierre Joseph Neyon de Villiers at last succeeded Makarty as commandant at Fort de Chartres in 1760, and a cheerless post it was. Probably the ablest officer ever to command there, he was commissioned only as French power in America was nearing its end.

A native of France, Neyon de Villiers was born of a family "more noble than rich,"[4] and, it should be mentioned, unrelated to the noted Coulon de Villiers family of Canada, members of which also figure in Mississippi Valley history. He early attracted the attention of the Duc de Luxembourg, who, it was said, "accords him his protection and his favors." His rise in military life was rapid. He came to Louisiana in 1749 and served as captain of the troops, then as aide-major under Makarty at Fort de Chartres.[5] He married (1754) Mlle. du Bot, whose sister was the wife of the Chevalier de Kerlérec, governor of the province.

Because of this relationship the Governor, in writing to the minister, professed himself reluctant to enumerate the young man's many virtues in recommending him to be commandant at the Illinois. But he considered him "very fit to command. . . . He has much talent for handling the Indians, by whom he is much loved. His age should be no bar in the matter."[1] A Jesuit priest, writing to the same purpose, had no such scruples to overcome, and expressed his admiration of the young officer freely.[2]

"Neyon has piety and has led a truly Christian life in Illinois," he wrote. "He has a talent for gaining the friendship and confidence of the Indians. . . . The missionaries at Kaskaskia send eulogies of him. . . . He is feared, loved and obeyed by the soldiers. He is gentle, tractable and tactful, and can do much with the Indians. . . . It takes a whole year for orders from the Governor to get there, the post is so very remote, and for that reason the resident commandant should be especially well equipped for his responsibility. Neyon is young, but for that reason would serve the longer. . . . On his return from his latest voyage the habitants came forty leagues to meet him."

Neyon returned to France briefly in 1754 and called upon the vicar-general, to whom this eulogy was addressed. The vicar was sufficiently impressed with the young officer to write to the minister, "M. de Neyon seems a cold man, but, so he appears to me, gentle and firm. He appears to have studied deeply the nature of the different tribes and to have gained their confidence."[3]

When he finally took command at Fort de Chartres, Neyon continued Makarty's policy of strengthening his position as best he could. Fort Massiac was the obvious deterrent to enemy advances by way of the Ohio or Tennessee Rivers, and he sent Philippe François, Sieur de Rocheblave, with two boats and fifty soldiers to strengthen that post.[4] After the fall of Mackinac, 132 soldiers from there came through the wilderness to Illinois, and Neyon sent them also to Massiac.

This policy had to be abandoned, however, in 1763, when terms of the treaty ceding to Great Britain all French possessions east of the Mississippi became known.[5] Neyon pulled in his forces from Peoria and Massiac, leaving only fifteen men (under the command of young François Saucier, junior) to hold the latter post until British forces should arrive. Rocheblave, back at Fort de Chartres, was married that spring (April 11, 1763) to Mlle. Michel Marie Dufresne in the parish church, and the old record is graced by Neyon's distinctive signature.[6]

Late in the following autumn Pierre La Clede arrived at Fort de Chartres, with a convoy of goods and a special license to trade with the Indians.[7] With him were Mme. Chouteau and her five children. Her oldest son, Auguste, was born of her marriage to M. Chouteau, whom she was forced to leave because of his extreme cruelty. Since the church did not allow divorce, her sub-

sequent union with La Clede could be only a civil marriage. Their four children were surnamed Chouteau and M. La Clede continued to be listed as a bachelor in the parish records.[1]

This ambitious trader stored his goods at Kaskaskia for the winter and made his headquarters there while he searched the opposite side of the Mississippi, – "Western Illinois" and still French territory,– for a suitable location for the trading post he expected to establish. Late in February he found what he considered the ideal spot and he transferred his possessions – and his family – across the river to an elevation below the mouth of the Missouri. Many of the French habitants, in dread of British occupation, followed him and thus became the first settlers of the present city of St. Louis.[2]

But the victors failed to appear. An uprising of Indians led by Pontiac in a final desperate attempt to resist British advance, proved temporarily effective. In this effort the Indians were openly encouraged by the French in La Clede's settlement; but Neyon himself refused to cooperate with them. He found his position increasingly distressing, and sought the Governor's permission to leave the fort.[3] This was forthcoming, and on June 15, 1764, with seven officers, sixty-three soldiers and a number of French families from the villages, he started down the river to New Orleans in an impressive flotilla of twenty-eight craft.[4]

His three-year tour of duty as commandant at Fort de Chartres was only an incident in the career of Neyon de Villiers, however. He returned to Paris the following year to take part in the defense of his brother-in-law, Kerlérec, charged with mishandling funds in Louisiana. By 1773 he was colonel of the Regiment of Guadaloupe, two years later a brigadier-general, then Governor of Marie-Galante in the West Indies. He died at sea in 1779.[5]

LOUIS ST. ANGE

(1764 - 1765)

Louis Groston de St. Ange de Bellerive was called from his post at Vincennes when it was abandoned to the British, to take command at Fort de Chartres under conditions far different from those under which his father had assumed the same commission thirty years earlier. Neyon de Villiers had left a sorry company of forty soldiers, ragged and poorly equipped, to hold the fort after he left it. For fifteen months St. Ange commanded there, trying to control the seething Indian tribes, while awaiting the arrival of the British troops.[6]

A native of Quebec, Louis St. Ange was baptized there on February 2, 1702,[7] and had come to the Illinois Country when he was about twenty years of age. He was a member of his father's four-man garrison at Cahokia in the spring of 1723. The threat of an

Indian uprising caused St. Ange, pére, to send the young man with a soldier named Pompon by canoe down the river to seek help from Fort de Chartres sixty miles away. They were set upon by savages and Pompon was killed. Louis, slightly wounded, managed to escape to the woods and improvised a raft which carried him the rest of the way to the fort.[1]

Five months later Louis was an ensign on Bourgmont's staff at the newly established Fort Orleans on the Missouri River. As second in command, he took part in the explorations made from this post.[2] Later a small fort on the Kaw was built to take its place, and he was put in command there.

In June following the Chickasaw disaster (1736), Bienville wrote to La Buissonniére at Fort de Chartres:[3] "The death of M. de Vincennes leaves vacant a position of half-pay lieutenant. M. de St. Ange, the father, who has served the King for fifty years, and who had a son killed at the Chickasaws, has asked me to request this place for the last son who remains to him. He is commanding at present a small post on the Missouri River, and M. d'Artaguiette has often spoken to me of him as a brave youth and one of much merit."

This appointment was soon arranged, and in July 1736 Louis St. Ange assumed the command that he was to hold for twenty-eight years.[4] The population of Vincennes was not large, and he became the beloved pater familias of the village. He also understood the Indians and controlled them effectively. "The savages adored him, and his conduct and his correspondence denote an officer at once prudent and wise," was one report of him.[4] Only with the western penetration of the British down the Ohio Valley was his command ended and his post relinquished to the enemy.

But the Indians under Pontiac's lead still refused to let the British into the Illinois Country. It was many months before St. Ange could persuade the old chief and his followers that "their great French father could no longer hear the voices of his red children." Finally, on October 9, 1765, Captain Thomas Sterling with a detachment of the famous Black Watch Regiment appeared at the gates of Fort de Chartres to demand its belated surrender.

The next day the French flag was lowered, and St. Ange and his motley little force ceremoniously turned over the great fort to British possession.[5] Some weeks later, with many followers, they crossed the Mississippi to "Western Illinois," of which St. Ange was still commandant, to settle at St. Louis.[6]

But once again the French king's devious statecraft caused consternation among his loyal subjects in this remote frontier of his realm. This time he ceded all his possessions *west* of the Mississippi to Spain. Thus a Spanish commandant made the long voyage up the river in 1767, just as so many French had done before him. "Upon arrival at Illinois," he had been instructed, "every-

thing that has been outlined will be carried out and the French commander of the place, M. St. Ange, will arrange for everything with the experience he has had."[1]

The transfer of authority was amicably accomplished. St. Ange was given the rank of captain (at half-pay) in the Spanish army, and became the new governor's counsellor and friend.[2] The French settlers there looked upon him as their personal guardian. Toward the end of his life he lived with the Chouteau family, Mme. Chouteau being now one of the most prominent women in the community.

There, in the Chouteau home, the last of the French governors of Illinois died on December 26, 1774.[3] On the day of his death he made a will arranging for the payment of his debts, the collection of funds due him, the freedom of his slaves, and the distribution of his estate among the children of his sister, Elizabeth Coulon de Villiers, declaring that he had never contracted a marriage. He was buried in the village churchyard on what is now Second Street. Later his grave, with those of his friends, the Choteaux, was moved to the present Calvary Cemetery.[4] One street in St. Louis still bears the name of St. Ange, and one village in Illinois is called Bellerive.[5]

Thus the brief period of the French governors of Illinois ended. Except for a few place names, usually well anglicized, and some land titles that rest on Boisbriand's early grants, little evidence now remains of those first settlements.[6] The great State that takes its name from the Illinois commandery has imposed other customs, other laws, another language on their beloved Paradis Terreste. Perhaps their story is indeed "a theme for the poet and not the historian." But a page should be given it, a bright, proud page, in the annals of Illinois.

NOTES

PAGE 3

1. Alvord, Clarence Walworth, *The Illinois Country, 1673 to 1718,* vol. I of *The Centennial History of Illinois;* Springfield, 1920; p. 191.
2. Charlevoix, Rev. Pierre François Xavier de, *Journal of a Voyage to North America;* edited by Louise Phelps Kellogg; Caxton Club, Chicago, 1923; vol. II, p. 201.

PAGE 4

1. Carrière, Joseph Medard, *Life and Customs in the Villages of the Old Illinois Country;* reprinted from report of Canadian Hist. Assn., 1939; p. 35, note 9.
2. Belting, Natalie Maree, *Kaskaskia Under the French Regime;* Urbana, 1949; p. 12. Miss Belting cites an entry in the register of baptisms April 13, 1703: "Ad ripam Metchigamia dictam venimus."
3. Alvord, *op. cit.,* p. 145.
4. *Ibid.,* pp. 150-151.
5. *Ibid.,* p. 192.

PAGE 5

1. Charlevoix, *History and Description of New France;* trans. with notes by John Gilmary Shea; New York, 1872; p. 41.
   McWilliams, Richebourg Gaillard, *Fleur de Lys and Calumet: Being the Pénicaut Narrative of French Adventure in Illinois,* trans. and ed.; La. State Univ. Press, 1953; p. 214.
2. The first Commandant's name has been variously spelled. *La Famille Du Gué de Boisbriand* by Pierre-Georges Roy is the authority followed here.
3. Schlarman, Joseph H., *From Quebec to New Orleans;* Belleville, 1929; p. 196.
4. Charlevoix, *op. cit.,* vol. V, p. 56.
5. Alvord, *op. cit.,* p. 153.
6. Charlevoix, *op. cit.,* p. 41.
   McWilliams, *op. cit.,* p. 214. Pierre was lieutenant and his older brother, Diron, was captain on Boisbriand's staff.
7. Belting, *op. cit.,* p. 18.
8. Schlarman, *op. cit.,* p. 193.
9. Belting, *op. cit.,* p. 4.
   Alvord, *op. cit.,* p. 153.

PAGE 6

1. *Ibid.,* pp. 206-207.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 203.
3. Belting, *op. cit.,* p. 19. A replica of this type of house, with authentic period furniture, may be seen at the Chicago Historical Society.
4. *Ibid.,* p. 31.
5. Mereness, Newton D. (ed.), *Travels in the American Colonies;* New York, 1916; p. 75. This account is taken from Diron's Journal. The Canadian Archives, Ottawa, contain the full record of the trial. (Quoted by Schlarman, *op. cit.,* pp. 225-231)
6. Villiers du Terrage, Marc de, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française;* Paris, 1925; p. 74. "Boisbriand had much pestige among the Indians. . . . He had rapidly learned their language."

PAGE 7

1. Schlarman, *op. cit.,* p. 196.
2. Alvord, *op. cit.,* pp. 146-148.
3. Charlevoix, *op. cit.,* p. 41.
   Alvord, *op. cit.,* p. 157.

4. Schlarman, *op. cit.,* p. 234. As the final humiliation the decree deposing Boisbriand from office was ordered to be read before the assembled garrison at Fort de Chartres.
5. Schlarman, *op. cit.,* p. 156.

PAGE 8

1. *Ibid.,* quoting Le Page du Pratz, *Voyages aux Indies Occidentale.*
2. Alvord, *op. cit.,* p. 145.
3. McWilliams, *op. cit.,* p. 214.
4. Houck, Louis, *History of Missouri, from the Earliest Explorations and Settlements Until the Admission of the State Into the Union;* Chicago, 1908; vol II, p. 230.

PAGE 9

1. Alvord, *op. cit.,* p. 157, note 31.
2. Quaife, Milo Milton, *The Western Country in the Seventeenth Century: The Memoirs of Lamothe-Cadillac and Pierre Liette;* Lakeside Classics, Chicago, 1947; historical introduction, pp. xxv-xxvi.
3. *Ibid.,* "Memoir of Liette," pp. 92-93.
4. Alvord, *op. cit.,* p. 100.

PAGE 10

1. Alvord, *op. cit.,* p. 163.
2. Douglas, Walter B., *The Sieurs de St. Ange;* Ill. State Hist. Soc. Trans. 1908; Springfield, 1909. The biographical material following is drawn from this scholarly article.

PAGE 11

1. Alvord, *op. cit.,* p. 158.
2. Mereness, *op. cit.,* p. 158.
3. Villiers du Terrage, *op. cit.,* p. 109. In May Boisbriand sent the senior St. Ange with supplies for the expedition to the Padoukas, which was to be made in June, and to replace Pradel on Bourgmont's turbulent staff.
4. Belting, *op. cit.,* p. 99 (extracts from the parish register).
5. Alvord, *op. cit.,* p. 160.
   Mason, E. G., *Chapters from Illinois History;* Chicago, 1901; p. 220.
6. Alvord, *op. cit.,* p. 172.
7. Steward, John F., *The Destruction of the Fox Indians in 1730;* Ill. State Hist. Soc. Trans., 1902; Springfield; p. 148 ff. After exhaustive research, including translation of Colonial Archives in Paris, Mr. Steward places "The Rock" in the present Kendall County, about thirty miles from Starved Rock. Schlarman (*op. cit.,* p. 215, note 1) after studying old maps and records, places it "somewhere between Danville and Sidney, probably a mile or two south of Batestown."

PAGE 12

1. Alvord, *op. cit.,* p. 172.
2. Belting, *op. cit.,* p. 99.
3. Prairie du Rocher Parish Records, Nov. 30, 1743; Feb. 25, 1744.
4. Alvord, *op. cit.,* p. 158.
5. Belting, *op. cit.,* p. 99. In three years the deaths of forty-five persons were recorded in Kaskaskia, only one of whom had reached sixty years of age.
6. *Ibid.,* p. 99.
7. Alvord, *op. cit.,* p. 173.

PAGE 13

1. McWilliams, *op. cit.* Pénicaut's *Relation* (here accurately translated) was dedicated to Diron d'Artaguiette, the commissary general, whose favor the author hoped to gain thereby. His statement that the three d'Artaguiettes were brothers, which is substantiated by Charlevoix, ought to set their relationship beyond doubt.

2. McWilliams, *op. cit.,* p. 243: "M. d'Artaguiette sent to his brother, M. Diron, the inspector general of troops in Louisiana, forty-five persons to cultivate" his estate at Cannes Brulées.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 120.
4. *Ibid.,* p. 246.
5. *Ibid.,* p. 214.
6. Mason, E. G., *Kaskaskia and Its Parish Records;* Chicago; p. 10.
7. Schlarman, *op. cit.,* p. 274, note 1. Kerlérec reported, "He had exposed himself to the greatest dangers, and everywhere courted danger."
8. Alvord, *op. cit.,* p. 174.
9. *Ibid.*

PAGE 16

1. Alvord, *op. cit.,* p. 177.
2. *Ibid.* Schlarman, quoting Le Page du Pratz, places the whole campaign two months later (*op. cit.,* pp. 274-277). But news of the disaster had reached Fort de Chartres in time to be related in a letter dated there April 13, 1736.
3. Charlevoix, *op. cit.,* p. 121: "This retreat, which was the work of a young man of sixteen, may be regarded as a masterpiece in point of skill and bravery."
4. Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History,* p. 223.

PAGE 17

1. Alvord, *op. cit.,* p. 180 *et seq.*
2. Belting, *op. cit.,* p. 75.

PAGE 18

1. Alvord, *op. cit.,* p. 183.
2. Belting, *op. cit.,* p. 101.
3. Alvord, *op. cit.,* p. 235.
4. *Ibid.,* pp. 183-184.
5. *Ibid.,* pp. 188-189.

PAGE 19

1. Snyder, J. F., *The Armament at Fort Chartres,* Ill. State Hist. Soc. Trans. 1906; p. 221.
2. Carpenter, W. H., and Arthur, T. S., *History of Illinois from the Earliest Settlement to the Present Time;* 1857.
3. King, Grace, *Creole Families of Old New Orleans,* p. 368. The Chevalier Bartholomew Macarthey-Mactaig was an officer in the Albemarle Regiment who sought refuge in France in the seventeenth century, won promotion in the French navy, and was major-general in the Department of Rochefort when he died. His two sons who came to Louisiana were Jean Jacques de Makarty, commander of a marine detachment, and Barthelmy, a lieutenant under his command.
4. Snyder, *op. cit.,* p. 221. Bossu, an officer under Makarty's command, wrote a vivid account of this journey in his *Travels.*
5. Wallace, J. F., *Fort Chartres: Its Origin, Growth and Decline,* quoting Bossu's entry dated May 15, 1753.
6. Pease, Theodore Calvin, and Jenison, Ernestine, *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War,* Ill. State Hist. Library, vol. XXIX, 1940; p. 427. Saucier to Vaudreuil: "During twelve long years I have planned to go to France

without being able to find a time when the colony could dispense with my services (p. 778) . . . . I would have the pleasure myself of taking my son to France to begin his studies, especially in geometry, as I have planned."

PAGE 20

1. Pease and Jenison, *op. cit.*, pp. 784, 478, 474, 644 (Makarty to Vaudreuil).
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 845-846 (Duquesne to Rouille).
3. Schlarman, *op. cit.*, p. 293. Bienville said of Makarty, "Conduct good. Understands detail and discipline. Attached to the service and doing well." Kerlérec reported, "A very good officer, personality agreeable, but with little talent for dealing with the savages."
4. Snyder, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

PAGE 21

1. Alvord, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
2. Schlarman, *op. cit.*, p. 343. Kerlérec sent for Makarty to take command at New Orleans during his absence.
3. Villiers du Terrage, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
   King, *op. cit.*, p. 368 *et. seq.* Makarty's family held an honored place in New Orleans society. One of his four daughters, Celeste Eleonore, noted for her wit and beauty, became the wife of Estavan Miro, fourth Spanish governor of Louisiana.
4. Gosselin, l'Abbe Amédée, *Notes sur la Famille Coulon de Villiers;* Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, Lévis, Quebec, 1906; p. 21.
5. Pease and Jenison, *op. cit.*, p. 703. Makarty to Kerlérec: "M. de Neyon serves as aide-major and I believe will acquit himself well, having much good will."

PAGE 22

1. *Ibid.*, p. 859. Kerlérec to Rouille.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 858-859. Kerlérec to Rouille.
3. *Ibid., pp.* 871-878. Fr. Michel Baudoin to l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 914-915. De l'Isle Dieu to Machault.
5. Alvord, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
7. Mason, *Kaskaskia and Its Parish Records,* p. 177.
8. Houck, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 4.

PAGE 23

1. *Ibid.*, p. 4, note 11.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
3. Alvord and Carter, Clarence Edwin, *The Critical Period, 1763-1765,* Ill. State Hist. Library collections, vol. X; Springfield, 1916; p. 189.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 189-190.
5. Gosselin, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
6. Schlarman, *op. cit.*, p. 288.
7. Dunne, J. P., *Father Gibault: Patriot Priest of the Northwest,* Ill. State Hist. Soc. Trans., 1904; pp. 15-34.

PAGE 24

1. Schlarman, *op. cit.*, p. 213.
2. Alvord and Carter, *The New Regime, 1765 to 1767,* Ill. State Hist. Library collections, vol. XI; Springfield, 1916; p. 264.
3. Alvord, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

4. Villiers du Terrage, *Les Découverte du Missouri et l'Histoire de Fort Orleans, 1673-1728;* Paris, 1925; p. 84.
5. Alvord and Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 106. An English officer reported, "The French troops we relieved here might be called anything but soldiers, in fact I defy the best drol comick to represent them at Drury Lane."
6. Houck, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-18.

PAGE 25

1. Belting, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
2. Schlarman, *op. cit.*, p. 409. Count O'Reilly, second Spanish governor of Louisiana, made St. Ange "Captain commanding the Spanish Colony of the Illinois."
3. Schlarman, *op. cit.*, p. 414, note 2.
4. Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
6. Pease, *The Story of Illinois,* p. 15.
   Brownell, Baker, *The Other Illinois,* p. 59.