"One of the Most Beautiful Regions of the World": Paul Des Ruisseaux's *Mémoire* of the Wabash-Illinois Country in 1777

*Paul L. Stevens**

The War of the American Revolution broke in upon the remote settlements of the Wabash-Illinois country during the night of July 4–5, 1778, when Colonel George Rogers Clark and his band of Virginia frontiersmen pushed open the gate of Fort Gage at Kaskaskia and seized Philippe de Rocheblave, Britain's acting commandant there. In rapid succession, these rebel invaders forced the surrender of the other *Canadien* (Franco-American) villages in British Illinois, won the allegiance of the *Canadien* inhabitants at Vincennes on the lower Wabash, and frightened off the sole crown agent at Ouiatanon, the only other Euro-American community in the Wabash valley. Suddenly, government officials and military commanders in both the British and American camps had an urgent need for accurate intelligence about the peoples and places of that distant corner of the Province of Quebec. Similarly, historians of the Revolution in the West have ever since shared a like requirement as they attempted to comprehend in proper perspective the rush of events that followed upon Clark's bold incursion. The available Revolutionary-era surveys of the lands and inhabitants southwest of Detroit, however, have not been numerous, encompassing, or contemporaneous enough to clarify as precisely as desirable the situation there on the eve of the war's actual intrusion.

The most complete surviving profiles of the region predating the turmoil brought by the Revolution were products of its initial occupation by the British following the conquest of New France.

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During this period of arrival and exploration (c. 1760–1768), many British officers prepared comprehensive reports about the crown's new territory for their superiors and for posterity, and several Anglo-American travelers, such as Indian agent George Croghan and merchant George Morgan, also wrote relations that have proven as useful for scholars as for their correspondents. Notably, all such descriptions date from the first years of the British regime, a time of unsettled conditions in the Wabash-Illinois country resulting from France's capitulation in 1760 and the subsequent failure of Pontiac's uprising of 1763. During this period the region's inhabitants were on the move: its *Canadiens* emigrating to seek asylum across the Mississippi in Spanish territory, and its Indians welcoming refugees from some neighboring tribes and waging war against others. Consequently, while the numerous early British accounts offer excellent information about travel routes, distances, and locations, they do not always present reliable evidence about populations and conditions that had altered before the outbreak of the American Revolution.[1]

Inopportunely for historians, the British withdrew their troops from the Illinois country in 1772, except for a small, isolated garrison at Kaskaskia. This marked retrenchment in the British presence brought about a parallel reduction in the number and scope of official communications during the years leading up to the Revolution. As a result, the most thorough descriptive accounts from the Revolutionary era were ones authored by several of the military participants themselves. Less than four weeks after the Virginians occupied Kaskaskia in 1778, Joseph Bowman, one of Clark's captains, sent to friends in the East letters containing a brief word picture of the Illinois villages.[2] When a British force from Detroit moved against Clark's invaders late that same year, both its commander, Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton, and the commander of its advance party, Normand MacLeod, kept meticulous journals of their trips from Detroit to Vincennes,[3] and Hamilton's

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[1] Many of the descriptions of the Wabash-Illinois country in the early years of the British regime are cited and discussed in Clarence E. Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763–1774* (Washington, D.C., 1910); John D. Barnhart and Dorothy L. Riker, *Indiana to 1816: The Colonial Period* (Indianapolis, 1971), 131-77; John F. McDermott, "French Settlers and Settlements in the Illinois Country in the Eighteenth Century," in *The French, the Indians, and George Rogers Clark in the Illinois Country* (Proceedings of an Indiana American Revolution Bicentennial Symposium; Indianapolis, 1977), 3-33; and John H. Long, "Studying George Rogers Clark's Illinois Campaign with Maps," in *ibid.*, 67-91.

[2] Captain Joseph Bowman to Colonel John Hite, Kaskaskia, July 30, 1778, Bowman to George Brinker, Kaskaskia, July 30, 1778, in James A. James, ed., *George Rogers Clark Papers*, Vol. I: *1771–1781* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Vol. VIII; Springfield, 1912), 612-14, 614-17.

[3] John D. Barnhart, *Henry Hamilton and George Rogers Clark in the American Revolution with the Unpublished Journal of Lieut. Gov. Henry Hamilton* (Crawfordsville, Ind., 1951), 102-205; Normand MacLeod, *Detroit to Fort Sackville, 1778–1779: The Journal of Normand MacLeod*, edited by William A. Evans (Detroit, 1978).

artillery commander, Lieutenant Henry Du Vernet, prepared an annotated map of the Maumee valley.[4] Together, these three documents provide the most valuable portrayals of the Maumee and Wabash valleys during the British regime. Finally, Richard McCarty, a resident merchant at Cahokia who became a captain in Clark's service, drew up for the Virginians, probably in 1779, a sketchy but helpful listing of the locations of all the Indian groups inhabiting the vast territories surrounding Lake Michigan.[5] All of these documents supply information which supplements or corrects that contained in the earlier reports. Nevertheless, each covers only a part of the region or its peoples, and, of greater significance, each describes a situation already changed by the war's encroachment.

Among these many accounts there is none that satisfactorily records the state of the entire Wabash-Illinois country immediately prior to the eruption of the Revolutionary conflict there. What has been wanting heretofore has been a reliable, contemporary description, dating from the years following Britain's *de facto* abandonment of the region in 1772, that tells or confirms what conditions Clark's men found when they marched into British Illinois. Claimants to this role have always fallen short in one respect or another. Late in 1771 Alexis Loranger *dit* Maisonville, a *Canadien* merchant who resided in the Maumee and Wabash valleys and had just agreed to act as British Indian agent there, furnished the crown's northern Indian superintendent with a concise description of the route from Detroit to Vincennes and thence to Cahokia by water or land. Maisonville's report lists distances and the fighting strength of four of the Wabash confederacy's five tribes, but nothing more.[6] The journal of Patrick Kennedy, an Anglo-American merchant at Kaskaskia, was written in 1773 during a trading voyage far up the Illinois River. Although Kennedy attentively depicts the geography of the central Illinois countryside he traversed, he makes no mention of the numerous Indian peoples who hunted and wintered in that region.[7] Neither Maisonville's nor Kennedy's sketch offers more than a few strokes toward preparing a comprehensive portrait of the region in the mid-1770s.

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[4] Barnhart, *Hamilton and Clark*, 45, 209.

[5] Richard McCarty, List of the different Indian Nations up the Mississippi, Ouisgonsint, Fox River, River of the Rocks, Lakes, &c. towards Michelimackinac, undated [1779?], 2U68, Lyman C. Draper Manuscripts (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison).

[6] "Maisonville's Acct. of ye. Indn. Nations &c., Oct. 1771," in James Sullivan, Alexander C. Flick, and Milton W. Hamilton, eds., *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* (14 vols., Albany, 1921–1965), XII, 931-32.

[7] "Mr. Patrick Kennedy's Journal of an Expedition undertaken by himself and several Coureurs de Bois in the year 1773, from Kaskaskias Village in the Illinois Country, to the Head Waters of the Illinois River," in Thomas Hutchins, *A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina . . .*, edited by Frederick C. Hicks (1778; republished, Cleveland, 1904), 122-34.

Until recently the only readily available documents filling this need were two annotated but undated and unattributed itineraries of two routes from Detroit to the Illinois country: one by way of the Maumee and Wabash rivers, and one to the mouth of the Illinois River via the trading post at St. Joseph (present-day Niles, Michigan). These documents are located in the British Museum Library's collection of General Frederick Haldimand's papers. In the early 1880s the Public Archives of Canada had copies of them made and brought to Ottawa. These Canadian transcriptions were soon printed twice in the United States: in 1886 by the Michigan State Pioneer and Historical Society and in 1894 by the Indiana Historical Society. Having seen only the hand-copied transcripts, however, neither editor recognized that both itineraries were part of an information packet that also included a 1769 census of Vincennes, Ouiatanon, and Miamis Town. Haldimand had received this packet in February, 1774, from Jehu Hay, a trader and former army officer who had just been named Indian agent for Detroit. Although Hay had probably collected much of his data from other western traders, his memoranda, nevertheless, have until now provided the firsthand description of the Wabash-Illinois country most contemporaneous with the early years of the Revolution.[8]

Another manuscript, however, has recently come to light that surpasses Hay's notes in this regard. A brief but rewarding memoir of the region, it meets several important criteria. It is an eyewitness account written by someone thoroughly familiar with the country, a comprehensive description of the entire area, a document dating from the early years of the Revolution, and, uncommonly, the work of a longtime *Canadien* resident of Illinois. The

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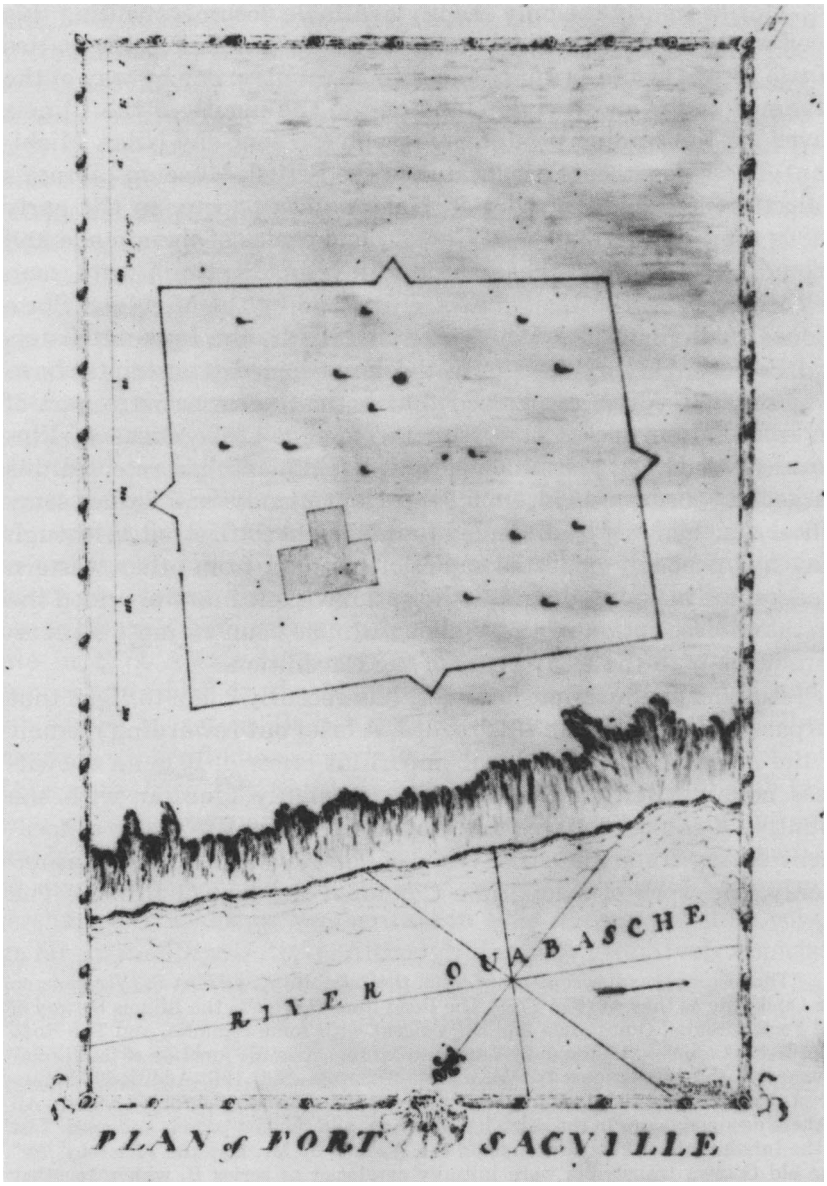
[8] The original manuscripts are: List of the Inhabitants at Fort St. Vincents on the Ouabache as they were in 1769, The Road from Detroit to the Illinois by way of the Forts Miamie, Ouiattanon and St. Vincent with some remarks, and The Road from Detroit to Fort St. Joseph by Land & from thence to the junction of the Illinois River with the Mississippy by Water, fols. 183, 184–185, 186, Additional Manuscripts 21,687, Frederick Haldimand Papers (British Museum Library, London). All of these documents are in the same handwriting, and the last page is endorsed "List of the Inhabitants of Post Vincenne on the Wabash by Mr. Hay the 18th feby. 74." The old Ottawa transcripts were initially cataloged as series B, which, together with recent microfilms of the manuscript Haldimand Papers, now form Manuscript Group 21, B2, in the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa; the transcripts of Hay's reports are located in series B, vol. 27. Hay's two itineraries were first published in Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, *Historical Collections* (40 vols., Lansing, 1877–1929), X, 247-48. Their date is implied to be 1771–1772 in this work. The two itineraries plus the Vincennes census were later printed in Jacob P. Dunn, ed., *Documents Relating to the French Settlements on the Wabash* (*Indiana Historical Society Publications*, Vol. II, No. 11; Indianapolis, 1894), 33-38. In this work the itineraries are usefully annotated and correctly dated by the editor. Hay's visit with Haldimand in 1774 is related in Paul L. Stevens, "His Majesty's 'Savage' Allies: British Policy and the Northern Indians during the Revolutionary War—The Carleton Years, 1774–1778" (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1984), 188-91, 219-20.



A plan of Lieutenant Governor Edward Abbott's stockade at Vincennes, as drawn by Lieutenant Henry Du Vernet. Abbott named the stockade Fort Sackville. Paul Des Ruisseaux delivered artillery pieces from Kaskaskia to the fort.

Courtesy Frederick Haldimand Papers, The British Library, London.

author, Paul Des Ruisseaux, wrote out this "Mémoire D'observations" in August, 1777, for the enlightenment of the royal governor of Quebec Province, General Sir Guy Carleton, to whom he had just delivered urgent dispatches from British officials at Vincennes and Kaskaskia.[9]

Little is known about Paul Des Ruisseaux. A native of Quebec City or its environs, he moved permanently to the upper country in 1756. Eventually he settled at Kaskaskia, where he married Marie Louise Bauvais, daughter of Jean Baptiste Bauvais, head of one of the village's wealthiest families. Entry into the Bauvais clan installed Des Ruisseaux among Kaskaskia's social elite, and his writing reveals him to have been a man of some education as well. He evidently engaged in the Indian trade and June, 1765, saw him at Vincennes, where he gave financial assistance to George Croghan, a British Indian agent whose party had been attacked and captured by Wabash tribesmen. No doubt because of the Bauvais family's extensive property holdings, its members, including Des Ruisseaux, chose to remain in Illinois after the arrival of British troops and to make their peace with the new regime. Because of their economic stake in the area, however, they probably came to resent the influx of Anglo-American merchants who soon arrived to attempt to engross the territory's Indian trade and to speculate in its lands. Certain it is that Des Ruisseaux supported Rocheblave, whom the last departing British commander left in charge at Kaskaskia in May, 1776, and whom that village's Anglo-American mercantile community despised. When Rocheblave needed a responsible and trusted individual to undertake a special mission in June, 1777, he turned to Des Ruisseaux.[10]

Captain-Lieutenant Edward Abbott, the newly appointed British lieutenant governor of Vincennes, had arrived at his seat of government on May 19, 1777, and immediately had opened a cor-

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[9] Mémoire D'observations, faites à son Excellence Guy Carleton, Chevalier de Bath, Gouverneur & Commandant en Chef les troupes de sa Majesté, & ses forces Maritimes, en la province de Quebec &c &c, par Paul Des Ruisseaux, Quebec, 23 Août 1777, fols. 393–394, vol. 10, series 28, War Office Papers (Public Record Office, London).

[10] P. Desreuisseaux's receipt to George Cremche [Croghan], Vincenne, June 16, 1765, George Croghan to Sir William Johnson, Weoutonon, July 12, 1765, in Sullivan *et al.*, eds., *Johnson Papers*, IV, 768, XI, 836-41; Philip Pittman, *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi, with A Geographical Description of that River Illustrated by Plans and Draughts*, edited by John F. McDermott (1770; facsimile ed., [Memphis], 1977), 43; Mémoire D'observations . . . par Paul Des Ruisseaux, Quebec, 23 Aug. 1777, fols. 383–394, vol. 10, series 28, War Office Papers; Père Pierre Gibault to the Bishop of Quebec, Post Vincennes, May 22, 1788, in Clarence W. Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records, 1778–1790* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Vol. V; Springfield, 1909), 583-86 (see also 414-15 n. 8); McDermott, "French Settlers and Settlements in the Illinois Country," 10, 19-20; Carter, *Britain and the Illinois Country*, 9, 49 n. 12; Nicholas B. Wainwright, *George Croghan: Wilderness Diplomat* (Chapel Hill, 1959), 220-21.

respondence with Rocheblave. Abbott, who was attempting to defend his post as well as his own person by fortifying his cabin, requested that Rocheblave send him some of the artillery left behind at Fort Gage by the last British garrison. Kaskaskia's acting commandant promptly had two 3-pounders, two swivels, and their attendant gear and munitions loaded on boats. To Des Ruisseaux he entrusted the task of taking them to Vincennes. Des Ruisseaux apparently embarked on June 2, and he completed his voyage to Vincennes via the Mississippi, Ohio, and Wabash rivers without incident, although he was pursued for some distance by fifteen scouts from Virginia's backcountry settlements. In mid-July, while Des Ruisseaux was still at Vincennes, Abbott received an alarming message from Rocheblave that reported rumors about impending war with Spain. In order to carry this letter and his own report to Governor Carleton without delay, he engaged Des Ruisseaux, who may have intended to visit Quebec on his own business anyway. During the latter part of the month the Kaskaskian traveled up the Wabash and then down the Maumee, stopping on the way to counsel on Abbott's behalf with the Indians at Ouiatanon and Miamis Town. By August 13 he had reached Quebec and delivered the dispatches into Carleton's hands.[11]

While waiting at Quebec for the governor's reply, Des Ruisseaux wrote down his "Mémoire D'observations" about the territory through which he had just passed. He very likely did so at the behest of Abbott, who had promised, but had not yet found time, to send Carleton full and up-to-date intelligence about the region that had only become part of Quebec Province on May 1, 1775. On his part, Des Ruisseaux prepared an unpretentious relation of the route from the mouth of the Maumee to all the *Canadien* settlements in the Wabash-Illinois country. Reflecting the views of Abbott and Rocheblave, he stressed the region's future value to the British crown and the dangers it then faced from possible Spanish or rebel aggression. Nevertheless, the memoir he submitted on August 23 seems to have carried little weight with Carleton, who had two months earlier resigned his office in a bitter dispute with Britain's colonial secretary and was biding his time until his successor arrived in Canada. The governor dismissed Des Ruisseaux in early September and gave him only the most perfunctory of replies to Abbott's call for advice and assistance.[12]

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[11] Des Ruisseaux's mission is related in its broader context and documented in Paul L. Stevens, " 'To Keep the Indians of the Wabache in His Majesty's Interest': The Indian Diplomacy of Edward Abbott, British Lieutenant Governor of Vincennes, 1776–1778," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LXXXIII (June, 1987), 141-72.

[12] Captain-Lieutenant Edward Abbott to General Guy Carleton, St. Vincennes, June 9, 1777, fols. 45–46, vol. 37, series 42, Colonial Office Papers (Public Record Office); Mémoire D'observations . . . par Paul Des Ruisseaux, Quebec, 23 Aug. 1777, fols. 393–394, vol. 10, series 28, War Office Papers; Carleton to Abbott, Quebec, September 2, 1777, Captain Edward Foy to General Allan Maclean, Quebec, September 5, 8, 1777, pp. 172-173, 176, Additional Manuscripts 21,699, Haldimand Papers.

GOVERNOR GUY CARLETON

Courtesy Public Archives Canada, Ottawa.

FATHER PIERRE GIBAULT

Reproduced from Clarence W. Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Vol. V; Springfield, 1909), 518.

Personal business or winter weather seems to have prevented Des Ruisseaux's return to Vincennes before Abbott withdrew from that post in February, 1778, but he likely made his way back home in time to witness Clark's capture of Kaskaskia that summer.[13] He and his in-laws, as they had in 1765, submitted to the region's new rulers, but they were never counted among the supporters of the American cause or Virginia's local government. In time Des Ruisseaux and his relations did acknowledge themselves to be citizens of Virginia and participated in state-sponsored elections for Kaskaskia officials, but they also joined those Kaskaskians who later protested heatedly against the daily "brigandage and tyranny" they endured at the hands of the Virginia troops who guarded their village. Despite his overt discontent with the rebels' military occupation, Des Ruisseaux managed to survive the dangerous war years, but shortly afterward he fell victim to the incessant hostilities that persisted and intensified between the Americans and the Wabash tribes even after the Revolution ended. Somewhere near Vincennes early in 1788, in the presence of a horrified Père Pierre Gibault, he was killed by Indians.[14]

Des Ruisseaux left a worthwhile legacy, however, on the pages of his "Mémoire D'observations." Ironically, the document survived to the present day largely through the disinterest of its intended recipient, Governor Carleton. During the Revolutionary years the official correspondence that came into a royal governor's office was considered to belong to his personal records rather than to the archives of the colonial or central government. Consequently, only when Carleton chose to forward copies or extracts to London were reports from Quebec's western posts preserved in Britain's government repositories. The great majority of such western documents from the early years of the Revolution were lost, however, because the secretive Carleton, unlike his successor Haldimand, ordered his

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[13] Abbott's last letters from Vincennes strongly imply that he had not seen either Des Ruisseaux or the letter the latter carried from Carleton. See Abbott to Carleton, St. Vincennes, September 26, November 16, 1777, fols. 99, 92, vol. 38, series 42, Colonial Office Papers; Abbott to Captain Richard B. Lernoult, Vincennes, November 23, 1777, quoted at length in Lieutenant Colonel Mason Bolton to Carleton, Niagara, February 4, 1778, fol. 59, Additional Manuscripts 21,756, Haldimand Papers; Abbott to Lord George Germain, Detroit, April 3, 1778, fols. 161–162, vol. 38, series 42, Colonial Office Papers; and Abbott to Carleton, Detroit, April 25, 1778, fols. 39–40, Additional Manuscripts 21,782, Haldimand Papers.

[14] Inhabitants of Kaskaskia to the Magistrates of the District of Kaskaskia, December 8, 1779, "List des habitans français du village des kaskaskias, 1787," Gibault to Bishop of Quebec, Post Vincennes, May 22, 1788, in Clarence V. Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records*, 136-39, 414-19, 583-86 (see also 414-15 n. 8); "List of Heads of Families in Kaskaskia on or before the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty three, and who professed themselves Citizens of the State of Virginia . . . Randolph County, Northwest Territory, 23 Sept. 1797" (*Chicago Historical Society Collections*, Vol. IV; Chicago, 1890), 198-202; Barnhart and Riker, *Indiana to 1816*, 254-83.

personal papers destroyed at the time of his death.[15] Luckily, although Carleton had not considered Des Ruisseaux's memoir significant enough to forward to the Colonial Office, he had not bothered to keep it among his own papers either.

Ultimately, the memoir was deposited at the Public Record Office, London, in volume 10 of series 28 of the War Office Papers as part of a sequence of several dozen folios pertaining to events in Quebec's upper country during 1776–1777, including Des Ruisseaux's minutes of his council at Ouiatanon.[16] This location indicates that Des Ruisseaux's reports were received by Carleton's adjutant general, Captain Edward Foy, who handled routine military administration for the troops under Carleton's command as well as much of the correspondence to and from the western posts.[17] Foy resigned his office in October, 1777, and sailed for England carrying dispatches for Carleton. He probably delivered the memoir to the War Office in a packet containing sundry papers he had accumulated during the sixteen months he had served as adjutant.[18] If not, it remained in the adjutant general's office in Quebec until one of Foy's successors later shipped it to the secretary at war. In either case, Des Ruisseaux's careful survey of the Wabash-Illinois country and his advocacy of its value never gained the attention of senior crown officials.

By itself Des Ruisseaux's "Mémoire D'observations" is a modest document. It takes the form of a succinct directory of the principal water highway from Detroit to Cahokia and St. Louis by the Maumee, Wabash, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers and of the *Canadien* and Indian settlements scattered along the way. In this respect it resembles many of the other accounts from the British regime, but it does help confirm the distances as understood by the

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[15] Paul R. Reynolds, *Guy Carleton: A Biography* (New York, 1980), xi-xii; Paul H. Smith, "Sir Guy Carleton: Soldier-Statesman," in George A. Billias, ed., *George Washington's Opponents: British Generals and Admirals in the American Revolution* (New York, 1969), 105.

[16] The 346 volumes of series 28 of the War Office Papers encompass "Headquarters Records, America, 1746–1901." Volume 10 comprises mainly returns, lists, and correspondence pertaining especially to loyalist troops serving in Canada from 1775 to 1783. The secretary at war did not direct British war policy during the American Revolution; rather, his responsibilities concerned the organization and administration of the British army. Under normal circumstances, Des Ruisseaux's memoir and council minutes would not have been sent to the War Office. While the original volume 28 of the War Office Papers is deposited at the Public Records Office, the author has examined the microfilm copy held by the Public Archives of Canada, where it is cataloged as Manuscript Group 12, B.

[17] For example, see the many dispatches signed by Captain Foy in Carleton's out-letterbooks for these years in Register of Letters from Guy Carleton, 1776–1778, Additional Manuscripts 21,699, 21,700, Haldimand Papers.

[18] Horatio Rogers, ed., *Hadden's Journal and Orderly Book: A Journal Kept in Canada and Upon Burgoyne's Campaign in 1776 and 1777, by Lieutenant James Murray Hadden; Also Orders Kept by Him . . . in 1776, 1777, and 1778* (Albany, 1884), 381-86.

travelers of the day. Additionally, it contains Des Ruisseaux's informed estimates of the size of each *Canadien* village and the population of each of the region's major Indian tribes. When used in conjunction with other available censuses, these estimates are essential for accurately enumerating the peoples Clark "conquered" in 1778. Especially important is Des Ruisseaux's number for the group of migrant Delawares that had not settled along the White River southeast of Vincennes until 1773. His figure is one of only two extant Revolutionary-era counts for the White River Delawares, the Wabash-valley tribe who opposed the Virginians' invasion most determinedly.[19]

Of even greater relevance to the history of the Revolutionary-era West are Des Ruisseaux's few remarks about the situation he had witnessed during his journey from Kaskaskia to the mouth of the Maumee. His comments stress three issues. First, Des Ruisseaux echoes the oft-stated views of royal commandants Abbott and Rocheblave, who championed the Wabash-Illinois country, and especially Vincennes, as a notably valuable corner of Britain's American empire, both for its strategic location from which to control numerous Indian nations and for its agricultural potential with which to support thousands of additional white settlers. British officials far away in Quebec and London, who perhaps appraised the hinterland of Quebec only for its fur trade, however, never heeded this outlook, a perception Des Ruisseaux, Abbott, and Rocheblave seem to have shared only with George Rogers Clark, his Virginia backers, and his supporters among the region's Anglo-American merchants. Second, Des Ruisseaux reiterates Abbott's and Rocheblave's fears that the Wabash-Illinois country was threatened by aggression from both the American insurrectionists to the east and the ambitious Spanish across the Mississippi, but, like the two officials, he clearly worries most about the intentions of Britain's traditional enemy, Spain. Third, Des Ruisseaux nevertheless plainly points out the growing presence in the area of Virginia frontiersmen. Most of these Virginians passed themselves off as hunters, but some, like those who pursued him, were undoubtedly rebel "scouts." Among them, however, he also identifies a number of family groups who claimed to be—and probably were—refugees from fighting and political intimidation in the East. Interestingly, at a time when Clark's spies reported Rocheblave to be urging the region's Indians to raid frontier settlements, Des Ruisseaux describes him as actually offering aid and protection to some Anglo-American frontier families.

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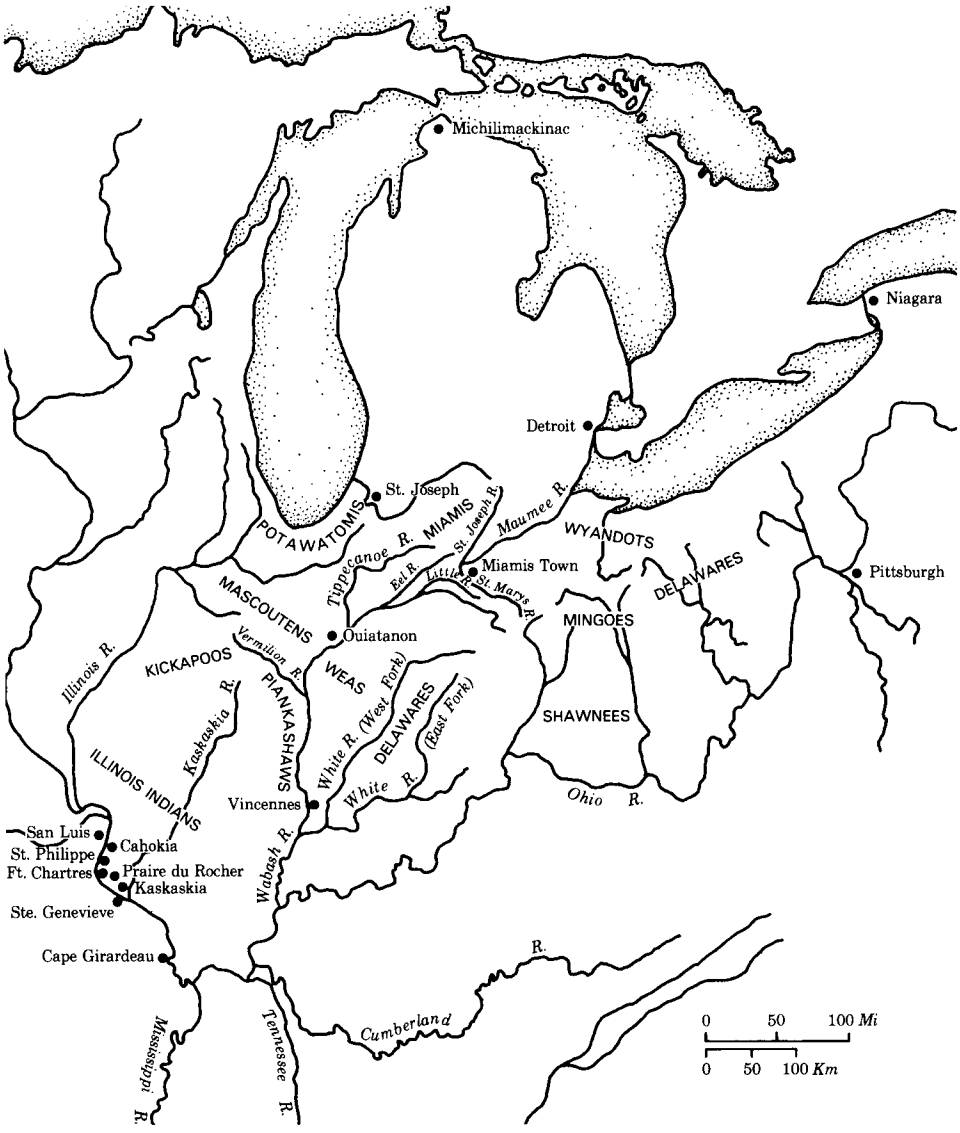
[19] The other is William Wilson, "An Acc't of the Indian Towns & Nations in the Western Department—Their Numbers & present Dispositions, Philadelphia, August 4, 1778," in David I. Bushnell, Jr., ed., "The Virginia Frontier in History—1778," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIII (October, 1915), 345-46.

The manuscript of "Mémoire D'observations" comprises just two folios, filled on all four sides with neat French script in Des Ruisseaux's own clear handwriting. Des Ruisseaux's spelling is generally accurate, his grammar correct, and perhaps in consideration of his English-speaking addressee, his language straightforward. Here then is a Revolutionary-era guidebook to the Wabash-Illinois country from the unique perspective of one of its *Canadien* inhabitants.



AREA OF PAUL DES RUISSEAUX'S TRAVELS

Map prepared by Indiana University, Audio-Visual Center.

Memoir of Observations,[1]
made to his Excellency Guy Carleton,[2] Knight of the Bath, Governor and Commander-in-Chief [of] the troops of His Majesty, and his maritime forces, in the Province of Quebec, et cetera, et cetera, by Paul Des Ruisseaux, who has resided 21 years in the upper country.

I will not say anything [about the region] from here to Detroit, although this be some beautiful country, your Excellency being acquainted with these places.

From Detroit to the Miamis [Town] there are 73 French leagues[3] [and] a great number of rapids, which render the river[4] [one] of the most rapid. It is navigable at all times, but has a great deal more water in the spring.

At Fort des Miamis, there are about 22 houses, French, occupied mainly by some merchants, workmen, and journeymen.[5] Monsieur Barthe discharges the office of commandant there,[6] and one named Beauben (very zealous in appearance for the service of the King) says that he handles the affairs of His Majesty there.[7] There may be 100 Indian men native to the said country, and a much greater number of others dispersed all along the rivers bordering the said village.[8] There are 4 leagues of portage in order to fall into a Petite Rivière[9] in order to gain the Ouabache,[10] which [Petite

DOCUMENT ANNOTATION

[1] In an effort to retain Des Ruisseaux's straightforward language, the translation into English has been kept as literal as possible, although a few interpolations (enclosed in brackets) have been made to help clarify the English version. Additionally, Des Ruisseaux's random capitalization and punctuation have been modernized, and his symbols and abbreviations (such as "*d.*" for "*dit*" or "said") have been written out. The original paragraph structure has been retained, as has Des Ruisseaux's spelling of proper names. The French version of the document is a transcription of the original made by Paul L. Stevens. The author and the staff of the *Indiana Magazine of History* have made every effort in the transcription of the French to be faithful to Des Ruisseaux's intent. Original spelling and accenting have been retained.

[2] Guy Carleton (1724–1808) served as lieutenant governor of Quebec Province from 1766 to 1768 and as Quebec's royal governor from 1768 to 1778 and from 1786 to 1796. He was knighted in 1776 for his gallant defense of Quebec City against American besiegers during the winter of 1775–1776. From October, 1775, until his departure from North America in June, 1778, Major General Carleton also acted as British military commander-in-chief for the northern theater of operations.

[3] The French league, as used by Des Ruisseaux throughout his memoir, equals 2.5 statute miles, as opposed to the English league, which equals 3 miles.

[4] Maumee River.

[5] Located at the head of the Maumee River on the south shore near the mouth of the St. Mary's River (within present-day Fort Wayne, Indiana), Fort Miamis had been constructed by the French during 1721–1722, garrisoned by British troops in late 1760, but abandoned by the British after it fell to the Indians in 1763. Thereafter, the fort's site, generally known as Miamis Town, was occupied only by fur traders (mostly *Canadiens*) with their families and employees. Jehu Hay's 1774 itinerary reports eight or ten *Canadien* families living there. Many of the additional residents reported by Des Ruisseaux in 1777 had probably sought refuge at Miamis Town from the strict wartime regulations imposed at Detroit by Lieutenant Governor Hamilton.

Mémoire D'observations,[1]
faites a son Excellence Guy Carleton,[2] Chevalier de Bath, Gouverneur & Commandant en Chef les troupes de sa Majesté, & ses forces Maritimes, en la province de Quebec &c &c, par Paul desruisseaux qui a demeuré 21 an dans les pays d'en haut.

Jenedirai Rien dicy au detroit, quoy que ce soit de beaux pays, votre Excellence Connoissant ces endroits.

de détroit aux miamis Il y a 73 lieües françaises,[3] quantité de Rapides, qui Rendent la Riviere[4] des plus Rapides, elle est naviguable en tous tems, mais a beaucoup plus d'Eau au Printems.

au fort des miamis, Il y a Environ 22 maisons, françaises, occupeés Majeurement par des Marchands, ouvriers, & journaliers,[5] Mr. Barthe y fait fonction de Commandant,[6] & un Nommé Beauben /tres Zéle en apparance pour le service du Roy/ dit qu'il y fait les affaires de Sa Majesté:[7] il peut y avoir 100 hommes Sauvages Natifs du d. Pays, & un plus grand Nombre d'autres disperses le long des Rivieres voisines du d. village.[8] Il y a 4 lieües de Portage pour tomber dans une petite Riviére[9] pour gagner Ouabache,[10] laquelle a quinze lieües y Compris le portage; & de cela Petite Riviére, qui tombe dans le ouabache, 45 lieües pour aller au

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[6] Evidently Pierre Barthe, who appears on the 1769 census of Miamis Town, and who seems to have witnessed a receipt there in May, 1777. See John D. Barnhart and Dorothy L. Riker, *Indiana to 1816: The Colonial Period* (Indianapolis, 1971), 165; and Charles Barthlemy, Receipt to William Edgar, Miamis, May 6, 1777, p. 603, Al, MG 19, William Edgar Papers (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa). Barthe held no appointment from the British government and must have acted as commandant by the consent of the inhabitants, which indicates that a rudimentary form of local government existed at Miamis Town in the absence of British authority.

[7] Charles Beaubien, a resident trader whom Lieutenant Governor Hamilton had appointed to be his Indian agent and interpreter at Miamis Town in late June, 1777. Beaubien had returned from Detroit only a few weeks before Des Ruisseaux passed through the village. He appears frequently in both Hamilton's and MacLeod's journals of 1778–1779. For his background and appointment, see Paul L. Stevens, " 'Placing Proper Persons at Their Head': Henry Hamilton and the Establishment of the British Revolutionary-Era Indian Department at Detroit, 1777," forthcoming in *Old Northwest*, XII (Summer, 1986).

[8] The Miamis, whose two principal villages were located at the confluence of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph rivers at Miamis Town. Kekeonga, situated on the east bank of the St. Joseph, was headed by a civil chief known as Gros Loup, while the village called Pied Froid, located on the west bank of the St. Joseph, was presided over by the chief Necaquangai (also called Le Petit Gris). Des Ruisseaux's count of 100, which applies only to the number of adult men, seems low; he may refer to only one of the two villages. Most accounts of the era place the total number of men at the two villages at between 200 and 250. In 1777 the Miamis probably totaled some 1,200 individuals (about 375 to 400 adult men). The Revolutionary-era locations and populations of the various tribes mentioned by Des Ruisseaux are discussed and documented in Paul L. Stevens, "His Majesty's 'Savage' Allies: British Policy and the Northern Indians during the Revolutionary War—The Carleton Years, 1774–1778" (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1984), 138-51.

[9] Little River.

[10] Wabash River.

Rivière] has fifteen leagues inclusive of the portage; and from that Petite Rivière, which falls into the Ouabache, 45 leagues in order to go to the Fort des Ouyatanon,[11] where Monsieur le Chevalier de St. Laurent functions as commandant,[12] and where there are 18 to 19 houses occupied by some merchants, workers, et cetera. This fort is well situated, quite pretty, and its entrance well fortified.[13] With regard to the Quiquapoux, Mascoutin, Ouyatanons, it is possible there are about 7 to 800 Indian men, bearing arms, of whom many [reside] along the neighboring rivers.[14]

From the Fort des Ouyatanons to the Vermillon, there are 20 leagues. At the end of which is found a village called Pianquichias, in which there are possibly 100 Indians, not counting those who are along the rivers Ouabache, Vermillon, et cetera.[15] From this latter place to the Poste Saint Vincennes there are 60 leagues.

The memorialist can assure his Excellency that the said St. Vincennes, and its surrounding area, is one of the most beautiful regions of the world, as much by its location as by the resources that one could find there, [enough] in order to establish there more than ten thousand families, without counting those who are there [now]. Of which, undoubtedly, Monsieur Abbot, Lieutenant Governor, has had care to inform your Excellency.[16]

There may be at the said Poste de St. Vincennes 50 Pianquichias,[17] more than 150 Loups, or Abenakis,[18] very much obedient

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[11] Located on the west side of the Wabash about eighteen miles below the mouth of the Tippecanoe River (near present-day Lafayette, Indiana), Fort Ouiatanon was constructed by the French in 1717. A few British troops occupied this small, palisaded post in 1761, but the British did not replace the garrison after it fell to the Indians in 1763.

[12] St. Laurent is Des Ruisseaux's phonetic spelling of Céloron, which English writers sometime rendered "Siloron" or "Seloron." This was Jean Baptiste Céloron de Blainville (1729–?), the Montreal-born son of Pierre Joseph Céloron de Blainville, a French officer who had commanded at Detroit and Niagara and had led the famous expedition that claimed the Ohio valley for France in 1749. Céloron had been appointed Indian agent and "commandant" at Ouiatanon by Lieutenant Governor Hamilton in June, 1777. For more on Céloron see Donald Chaput, "Treason or Loyalty? Frontier French in the American Revolution," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, LXXI (November, 1978), 250-51; Stevens, " 'Placing Proper Persons at Their Head.' "

[13] Hamilton formed a different opinion when he stopped at Ouiatanon in 1778. In a letter he stated, "The Fort at this place is a miserable stockade, surrounding a dozen of miserable cabins, called houses." See Henry Hamilton to General Frederick Haldimand, Ouiattanon, December 4, 1778, fols. 151–152, Additional Manuscripts 21,782, Haldimand Papers (British Museum Library, London). In his journal he noted that the fort was "formed of a double range of houses enclosed with a Stockade 10 feet high, and very poorly defensive against small arms." Hamilton's journal entry for November 30, 1778, in John D. Barnhart, *Henry Hamilton and George Rogers Clark in the American Revolution with the Unpublished Journal of Lieut. Gov. Henry Hamilton* (Crawfordsville, Ind., 1951), 133.

[14] Kickapoos, Mascoutens, Weas. Des Ruisseaux's estimation of the fighting men of the three tribes settled near Ouiatanon agrees with those of other commentators of the period. The Weas, whose principal village was located below the mouth of Wea Creek opposite Ouiatanon, probably numbered 300 to 350 (perhaps 400) adult men (a total population of about 1,000). The Mascoutens and Kickapoos, related and

fort des Ouyatanon,[11] ou Mr. le Chevalier de St. Laurent fait fonction de Commandant,[12] & ou Il y a 18 a 19 Maisons occupeés par des Marchands, ouvriers &c; ce fort est bien scitué; fort joli, & son Entrée bien fortifiée.[13] Quant a Quiquapoux, Mascoutin, ouyatanons, Il peut y avoir Environ 7 a 800 hommes Sauvages, Portant les armes, dont beaucoup le long des Rivieres voisines.[14]

au fort des Ouyatanons, au vermillon, il y a 20 lieues. aubout des quelles l'on trouve un village appellé Pianquichias, dans lequel Il peut y avoir 100 Sauvages, Sans Compter ceux qui sont le longe des Rivieres ouabache Duvermillon &c ——:[15] de ce dernier lieu au Poste Saint Vincennes Il y a 60 lieües.

Le memorialiste peut assure, son Excellence, que le d st. vincennes, & ses dependances, est un des plus beaux pays dumonde, tant par sa Scituation que par les Commoditeés qu'on y trouverai pour y Établir plus de Dix milles familles, sans compter Celles qui y sont, dont sans doute, Mr. abbot Lt. Gouverneur, a eu soin d'Informer vôtre Excellence.[16]

Il peut y avoir dans le d. Poste de St vincennes, 50 Pianquichias,[17] plus de 150 Loups, ou abenakis,[18] fort obeissants au d Sr.

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probably allied tribes, inhabited (perhaps shared) two villages on the north shore of the Wabash within a mile or two of Ouiatanon. The Mascoutens, who also occupied the territory westward to the forks of the Illinois River, numbered about 200 men (a total population of about 600 to 700 individuals). The Kickapoos were divided into three principal groups: the Vermilion band (probably some 300 warriors and their families), which occupied the Wabash valley from Ouiatanon to the Vermilion River; the Prairie band (perhaps 300 warriors and their families), which ranged throughout central Illinois; and a third band of some 75 men and their families that had crossed the Mississippi River in 1765 and settled about twelve leagues from St. Louis.

[15] The Vermilion River, a western tributary of the Wabash. The Piankashaws, whose total population probably comprised 200 to 250 adult males (perhaps 800 individuals) at that time, occupied the Wabash valley from the Vermilion to below Vincennes. Their principal village was located about a mile up the Vermilion on the north bank (not far from present-day Eugene, Indiana). Des Ruisseaux's estimate of 100 Indians at the Vermilion village refers to warriors, whom Jehu Hay had estimated to number 150.

[16] Abbott had written to Carleton that "the Wabache is perhaps one of the finest rivers in the world," but he never found time to compose the "circumstantial account" of its valley that he promised to prepare for the governor. Edward Abbott to General Sir Guy Carleton, St. Vincennes, May 26, 1777, fols. 37–38, vol. 37, ser. 42, Colonial Office Papers (Public Record Office, London).

[17] The Piankashaws' second major village, which was located adjacent to Vincennes, was generally estimated to contain fifty to sixty adult men.

[18] *Loup* is the French term for wolf. Abenaki is one of several European corruptions (others include Apenaki, Openagi, and Abenaqui) of the Algonquian word *Wapanachki* or *Woapanachke*, which means literally "person of the eastern country." During the mid-eighteenth century, *Canadiens* in the Midwest applied both terms to the Delawares. At the time of the Revolution the main body of the Delaware people resided in western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio in the valleys of the Beaver and Muskingum rivers. About 1773, however, one group of Delaware pioneers migrated westward and settled upon lands granted them by the Piankashaws along the east fork of the White River in a region called L'Embarras (south of present-day Bedford, Indiana). For a thoroughly documented account of the White River Delawares c. 1775, see Stevens, "His Majesty's 'Savage' Allies," 102-103, 1888-91 n. 36.

to Sieur Abbot, who like some other nations (sometimes to the number of 3 to 400), in his capacity of first Lieutenant Governor,[19] regard him as their father, and are a charge upon him. Among which there are also some Kicapoux, Mascoutins, Ouyatannons, Pianquichias, Outaiuois, Illinois, Peorias, Loups or Benakis, and Chaouanons.[20] This place is a key of all the Indian nations, and the Spaniards, whom one would have reason to fear, if they were at war with England.

From St. Vincennes to the Belle Rivière,[21] there are 60 leagues, and much frequented by different nations, of which there are always a large number who reside there. The only misfortune is that they have from time to time some small difficulties.[22] This Belle Rivière has 40 leagues of length and loses itself in that of the Mississipi. From the end of the said Belle Rivière at the Mississipi, there are 35 leagues in order to get to the Rivière des Cas.[23]

It is proper to observe to your Excellency that there is a village of six houses occupied by some Virginians with their families at Isles à la Course, which is nine leagues north of the Belle Rivière, who have been assisted by Monsieur de Rocheblave, as they did not wish to get entangled in the troubles of the Continent.[24]

The 3rd June, there were in my sight, besides these settled Virginians, 15 scouts from the same country, who had pursued the said Paul Des Ruisseaux, because he conveyed by order of Monsieur De Rocheblave 4 cannons to Monsieur Abbot, lieutenant governor of Vincennes, in order that he be able to hold fast on defense in case of need, there being 50 to 60 other scouts who go under the name of hunters.[25]

In the village of Kaskias, it is possible there are 75 to 80 inhabitants.[26] The Illinois and the Peorias may constitute 250 Indian men.[27]

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[19] Edward Abbott was the first lieutenant governor—as a matter of fact, the first British official of any kind—to assume command at Vincennes.

[20] Kickapoos, Mascoutens, Weas, Piankashaws, Ottawas, Illinois, Peorias, Delawares, and Shawnees. Here Des Ruisseaux refers to the many Indians who flocked into Vincennes to visit Lieutenant Governor Abbott and pester him for gifts. He may have mentioned this at Abbott's suggestion because the lieutenant governor was attempting to justify his substantial unauthorized expenditures on Indian affairs.

[21] The Beautiful River, that is, the Ohio River.

[22] Des Ruisseaux refers to the perennial warfare that existed between the Wabash tribes and their old foes among the southern tribes, especially the Chickasaws and Cherokees. Each year sundry raiding parties of ten to fifty warriors passed both southward and northward intent upon striking their enemies. This rendered the crossroads territory bordering the lower Wabash extremely dangerous for any hunters or travelers—whether native or Euro-American—who happened into the path of a war party.

[23] Northward to the mouth of the Kaskaskia River.

[24] The Islands at the Race, or Race Islands, were two adjacent islands situated near the western bank of the Mississippi where the river swept around Cape Girardeau. See "Course of the River Mississippi from the Baliste to Fort Chartres taken

abbot, qui Comme d'autres Nations (quelques fois au nombre de 3 a 400) en qualité de Premier Lt. Gouverneur,[19] le Regardent Comme leur Pere, & luy sont a Charge; Parmi les quels il y a aussi des Kicapoux, Mascoutins oyatannons, Pianquichias, outaiuois, Illinois, Peorias, loups ou Benakis, & Chaouanons:[20] cet Endroit est une Clef de Toutes les Nations Sauvages, et Espagnols, qu'on auroit lieu de Craindre, sils etoient en guerre avec L'angleterre.

de St. Vincennes a la belle Riviére,[21] il y a 60 Lieües, & bien frequenteé par differentes nations dont Il y a toujours un Grand Nombre qui y Resident. le Seul malheur est qu'ils ont de tems en tems quelques petites difficultées:[22] cette Belle Riviére a 40 lieües de long, & seperd dans celle du Mississipi, du bout de la d. belle Riviére au Mississipi, il y a 35 Lieües, pour aller a la Riviére des Cas.[23]

Il est bon d'observir a vôtre Excellence qu'il y a un village de six Maisons occupeés par des virginiens avec leur familles aux Isles a la Course, qui est a neuf lieües audessus dela Belle riviére, qui ont été assistés par Mr. de Rocheblave, Comme ne voulant point Se mesler des troubles du Continent.[24]

le 3e Juin, Il y avoit a ma vüe outre ces Virginiens établis, 15 Coureurs du même Pays, qui ont Poursuivi le d. Paul Desruisseaux, a Cause qu'il menoit par ordre de Mr. DerocheBlave 4 Canons a Mr. abbot Lt. Gouverneur de vincennes, pour qu'il puisse setenir en défence en cas de besoin, ayt 50 a 60 autres Coureurs qui vont sous le nom de Chasseurs.[25]

dans le village des KasKias, Il peut y avoir 75 a 80 habitants.[26] Les Illinois, & les Peorias Peuvent former 250 hommes sauvages.[27]

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on an Expedition to the Illinois in the latter end of the Year 1765 by Lieut. Ross of the 34th Regiment," in Thomas Kitchen *et al.*, *A General Atlas, Describing the Whole Universe; being a Compleat and New Collection of the most approved maps extant . . .* (London, 1773).

[25] This indicates that Rocheblave and Abbott recognized the Virginians' interest in the Illinois country as early as May, 1777. While descending the Ohio at the end of June, 1778, Clark's force encountered a party of hunters led by John Duff at the mouth of the Tennessee River. Having just come from Kaskaskia, they were able to supply Clark with valuable intelligence. Duff and his companions may well have been among the "hunters" who were in the Illinois country in June, 1777. George Rogers Clark's Memoir, in James A. James, ed., *George Rogers Clark Papers*, Vol. I: *1771–1781* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Vol. VIII; Springfield, 1912), 224-27.

[26] Kaskaskia. Although Des Ruisseaux used the French word *habitants* (inhabitants or residents), he must have meant to say habitations or residences because other reports of the era state clearly that the village contained some eighty dwelling places to house a population of 900 to 1,000 (about 600 whites and 300 blacks).

[27] This seems to be an accurate count for the total number of men who resided in British Illinois in 1777 among the four surviving tribes (Kaskaskias, Michigameas, Peorias, and Cahokias) of the Illinois confederacy. This indicates a total population in the range of 750 to 800. On Illinois Indian population see Stevens, "His Majesty's 'Savage' Allies," 138-51; Emily J. Blasingham, "The Depopulation of the Illinois Indians," *Ethnohistory*, III (Summer–Fall, 1956), 193-217, 361-412; Stanley Faye, "Illinois Indians on the Lower Mississippi, 1771–1782," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXXV (March, 1942), 57-72.

From Caskasias to the Prerie du Rocher, called St. Joseph, there are 4 leagues. This village may have about 24 houses or establishments.[28]

From there to Fort des Chartres, there are 2 leagues. This fort has been abandoned by Major Hamilton (without doubt by superior orders).[29] From this fort to the village [of] St. Philippe, there are only two leagues, and eight to 10 inhabited houses.[30] From there to Kaokia 12 leagues, and 60 to 80 inhabitants.[31]

On the Spanish side opposite Cas, or Kas,[32] [at a place] called Ste. Gennevieve, it is possible there are 100 inhabitants,[33] not counting the [Indian] nations which may be there, in the Missourie, which are numerous. From Ste. Gennevieve in order to go to St. Louis (of which Don Croisat is the Governor)[34] there are 25 leagues and about 400 men without counting all the nations of the Missouris, the Rivière Des Moins and other rivers, which are numerous. From the side of Spanish Illinois, in order to gain the Nouvelle Orleans[35] there are 500 leagues by way of the Mississipi, where possibly there are 7 to 8 thousand men, as much Canadiens, Europeans, Creoles, and Acadians. The Indians of the Rivière Rouge and of the Nonkitoches are numerous.[36]

N.B. When the memorialist left Illinois, it was said there publicly that there had arrived at the Nouvelle Orleans 1000 troops as a reinforcement, 3 years of provisions, and munitions of war.[37]

The said memorialist has been informed that Monsieur de Rocheblave the 4th June last having some notice that there were 15 men pursuing him, had them arrested by his militia, at about 25 leagues [from Kaskaskia.][38]

Set down [at] Quebec } 23 August 1777 [signed] P. Des Ruisseaux

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[28] Most earlier accounts also report about twenty-five dwellings at Prairie du Rocher, the home of about one hundred *Canadiens* and nearly as many slaves.

[29] In obedience to government orders Major Isaac Hamilton of the 18th (Royal Irish) Regiment evacuated and razed Fort Chartres in 1772 and withdrew all British troops in the Illinois country (excepting a small garrison for Kaskaskia) to Pittsburgh and from there to Philadelphia.

[30] In 1765 St. Philippe contained twelve to sixteen dwellings and a church, but all its inhabitants but one crossed the Mississippi to Spanish territory when the British troops arrived. Des Ruisseaux's memoir indicates that *Canadien* settlers later reoccupied many of the vacant buildings, perhaps after the redcoats departed nearby Fort Chartres.

[31] Cahokia. Here again Des Ruisseaux refers to the number of adult white males, or perhaps families, rather than to total population.

[32] Kaskaskia.

[33] Founded by *Canadiens* from Kaskaskia about 1750, Ste. Genevieve received an influx of *Canadien* emigrants from British Illinois in 1765. By 1767 it was inhabited by some seventy families, and Des Ruisseaux indicates that it had grown by perhaps thirty more by 1777.

des Caskasias a la Prerie du Rocher, nommée St. Joseph, il y a 4 Lieües, ce village peut avoir environ 24 maisons, ou Établissements.[28]

dela au fort des Chartres, Il y a 2 Lieües, ce fort a Été abandonné par le Major Hamilton, (sans doute par ordres Superieures)[29]—de ce fort au village St. Philippe, il y a seulement deux lieües, & huit a 10 maisons habitées.[30] dela au Kaokia 12 lieües, & 60 a 80 habitants.[31]

Sur le parti Espagnol vis a vis des Cas, ou Kas,[32] nommé Ste. Gennevieve, Il peut y avoir 100 habts.,[33] Sans Compter les Nations qu'il peut y avoir, dans Lemissourie, qui sont Nombreux: de Ste. Gennevieve pr. aller a St. Louis (dont Dn. Croisat est le Gouverneur)[34] Il y a 25 lieües & Environ 400 hommes Sans Compter toutes les Nations du Missouris, la Riviére des moins & autres Rivieres, qui sont nombreuses: dela Partie Illinoise Espagnolle, pour gagner la Nouvelle Orleans[35] Il y a 500 lieües par le Mississipi, ou Il peut y avoir 7 a 8 milles hommes, tant Canadiens, Europeens, Creolles, & acadiens —— les Sauvages de la Riviére Rouge, & des Nonkitoches sont Nombreux.[36]

NB. Quand le Mémoraliste a parti des Illinois, l'on y disoit Publiquement, qu'il étoit arrivé a la Nouvelle Orleans 1000 hommes des troupes de Renfort, 3 ans de vivres, & munitions de Guerre.[37]

Le d. Mémoraliste a été Informé que Mr. de Rocheblave le 4 Juin dernier ayant des avis quil y avoit 15 hommes a le poursuivre, les a fait arrester par sa milice, a Environ 25 Lieües.[38]

Pris acte Quebec } le 23e août 1777 P. Des Ruisseaux

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[34] Don Francisco Cruzat, lieutenant governor of Spanish Illinois (as the territory north of the Arkansas River and west of the Mississippi was known).

[35] New Orleans.

[36] The Red River of Louisiana, a western tributary of the Mississippi, and the Red River post of Natchitoches in the present-day state of Louisiana.

[37] Here Des Ruisseaux repeats the warning about potential Spanish aggression contained in the letters from Rocheblave and Abbott that he had delivered to Carleton. See Philippe-François Rastel, Sieur de Rocheblave to Abbott, Fort Gage, July 7, 1777, and Abbott to Carleton, St. Vincennes, July 12, 1777, fols. 53, 51, vol. 37, ser. 42, Colonial Office Papers.

[38] George Rogers Clark's two spies, Benjamin Linn and Samuel Moore, had reached Kaskaskia by May 25, 1777, and observed a council Rocheblave held with the region's Indians. They returned to Harrodsburg (in present-day Kentucky) on June 22, 1777. They may well have been among the Virginians who pursued Des Ruisseaux and were detained by Rocheblave's militia. Daniel Murray to Thomas Bentley, Kaskaskia, May 25, 1777, in Clarence V. Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records, 1778–1790* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Vol. V; Springfield, 1909), 6-8; Clark's Diary (entry for June 22, 1777), and Clark's Memoir, in James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, I, 22, 218.