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The Filson Historical Society

*Ans
5-12-1915*

New Orleans, May 8, 1915.

Mr. R. C. Ballard Thruston,
#1000 Columbia Building,
Louisville, Ky.

My dear Mr. Thruston:

Confirming my letters of April 26th and May 1st, advising of shipment of documents, I beg to state the following:

A packet of documents, amounting to six hundred pages thereabouts, referring to the Wilkinson-Miro-Navarro schemes regarding Kentucky and Louisiana, have been handed to me this week. They are copies of the original Pontalba papers left to them by Mr. Miro. Among the various documents I have examined are the famous Despatch No. 13 sent by Miro and Navarro to the King of Spain, containing Wilkinson's Memorial, the reply of the King thereto, a voluminous correspondence between Miro and Wilkinson referring to their schemes, and to financial transactions between these two, several private despatches sent by Miro to the Court of Spain, to the Count of Florida Blanca, to the Captain General of the Province, to Don Diego de Gardoqui, and copies of letters of General Clark, Thomas Jefferson, Wilkinson, Judge Sebastian, Major Washington, White, Holder, Moultrie, Las Casas, Gayosa Lernas, Colonel Morgan, Dr. O'Fallon, and others, - all of these referring to the project which Wilkinson and Miro promoted.

** Error see letter of May 15. (L. M. H. C. H.)*

Of course, I have not been able to read all of these documents, as time has not permitted, but I have examined all of their titles and preambles, and as far as these indicate I think that with the documents contained in THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY volume which I have thus far send you, and which I am now finishing, the whole transaction will be laid bare.

The documents of the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY of themselves tell a disconnected story, but I think you will see later on that each one will occupy its proper place, as I have found the duplicates of them in their right order.

The documents above mentioned belong to the Louisiana Historical Society.

With best regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

*Gilbert Pemberton
mef*

1 X 14

May 12, 1915

Mr. Gilbert Pemberton,
1215 Hospital St.,
New Orleans, La.

Dear Sir:-

Yours of the 8th reached me a few days ago. I have delayed replying until I could have a chance to thoroughly consult my friend who is so deeply involved in the study of this period of our history.

Noting that there are in this package of documents which you refer to approximately 600 pages, and that "they are copies of the original Ponce de Leon papers left to him by Mr. Mire", he thinks it would take quite a while and be very expensive to have this whole 600 pages copied and translated. And moreover they seem to be merely copies instead of the original papers which would leave room for doubt as to their accuracy. Therefore he has prepared a series of six questions, which he thinks would be best to have answered before deciding as to how much of this data I should add to my collection. These six questions are as follows:-

"The 'packet of documents' you mention seems to promise much of interest. Will you please tell me,"

1. Is "Wilkinson's Memorial" contained in the papers? You mention it as having been contained in 'Dispatch No. 13'. I trust you can give me a copy of it.
2. Are there any letters in 1787 from Wilkinson referring to
 - (1) Kentucky's separation from Virginia or
 - (2) to its relations with Spain or
 - (3) the attitude of famed Kentuckians towards Wilkinson's professed scheme to separate Kentucky from Virginia or the Union?

G.P. #2
May 12, 1915

3. Which General Clark is referred to. If George Rogers Clark, I should like copies of his letters.
4. Do references to him (George Rogers Clark) appear in any of the letters written during the period 1786 to 1794 (both included)? If so should like quotations of such references with so much of the letters as will help explain them, with Dates and writer's and addressee's names.
5. Are there any letters of de Salier (Wilkinson's brother in law at Philadelphia) or Maj. Isaac Dunn (his secret agent) in the collection.
6. Will you please list (with dates and perhaps some indication of subjects) the letters of de Salier.

I would thank you very much indeed to answer them if you can first and then let me decide a little later.

The stenographer who did the copying for you before does, like so many others do use a very short line, and I estimate roughly that at the rate of the other work, this 600 pages will cost in the neighborhood of \$1000.00, and whilst I might be willing to spend that to get the full data desired, I would rather not spend that sum if the accuracy of the original copies is to be questioned, and if only a very small portion of it is pertinent to the work in hand.

Another question I would like to ask in this connection,- Are the copies of letters of Clark, Jefferson, Wilkinson in English or the Spanish translations?

With regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

New Orleans, May 15, 1915 .

Mr. R. C. Ballard Thruston,
#1000 Columbia Building,
Louisville, Ky.

My dear Sir:

Without further advice, I shall send you Monday by Southern Express documents Nos. 15 to 24 inclusive, volume II, THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY. I shall send you no further documents from THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, as all those therein contained are also in the Pontalba documents to which I have referred in a previous letter. By the end of next week I shall send you "The Diario de Galvez", completely finished.

Referring to your favor of the 12th of May, which I received yesterday, I enclose you herewith a memorandum of the documents referring to Wilkinson and his projects contained in the packages known as THE PONTALBA PAPERS, the original of which are in Paris^x in the hands of the heirs of the Marquis of Pontalba, who was a relative of Miro's. x or Seville?

The said memorandum does not completely cover the questions contained in your letter, but I think that for the time being they will do, as it will take me three or four days to examine the documents with enough care to answer the six questions which you put to me.

As I presume you will want Private Despatch No. 13 and Wilkinson's Memorial, and also the modification of his original plan as set forth in his communication to Miro, under date of the 18th of September, 1789, on the occasion of his second visit to New Orleans, in order to save time I shall prepare these papers in their preliminary form, unless you advise me to the contrary. You may at your convenience advise me of whatever else you wish in this connection.

All of the documents of any interest to you are written in Spanish, some are translations of the original English, but as a general rule Spanish seems to have been a fairly well known language to all the people of those days.

The General Clark mentioned in several places in this collection is merely called BRIGADIER GENERAL CLARK, and what I at first thought were letters from him are letters written by O'Fallon from Clark's residence near Louisville. #

With regard to copying the papers I have sent you will say that this form was adopted by me and not by the stenographer, as experience has taught me that this is the best form of doing the work, as it permits of it being bound in case it should want to be kept, as you will see when I send you "The Diario de Galvez" bound up in the old Spanish form of "expedientes", and I shall take the liberty of adhering to this form unless you instruct me to the contrary.

Yours very truly,

Wm. H. Burdett

The Filson Historical Society

May 21, 1915.

Mr. Gilbert Pemberton,
New Orleans, La.

My dear Mr. Pemberton:

Referring to the memorandum sent me in your letter of May 15, 1915. Please copy and send (in the order of precedence given and not delaying the sending of what is copied for what is not) and including enclosures:

- ✓ Book 1. Private Despatch #13 and Wilkin-
son's Memorial (now being copied) 70 pages
- ✓ Book 2. Private Despatches 45 & 46, Nov.
1789.75 "
- Book 3. Private Despatches #21. 4 "
- ✓ Book 4. " " #49.22 "
- ✓ Book 4. " " #51.28 "
- ✓ Book 4. Hero to de Cas Casas Feb. 24, 1791 .36 "
- Book 4. Hero " " " April 8, 1791 15 "

Yours very truly,

T/W

(by Gilbert Peckerton New Orleans, see back of book)

MEMORANDUM OF THE WILKINSON DOCUMENTS CONTAINED IN THE
PONTALBA PAPERS.

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BOOK NO. 1.

September 1787.

Miro and Navarro's Private Despatch No. 13, enclosing Wilkinson's Memorial with comments and recommendations of the writers thereon, and Wilkinson's Memorial.

70 Pages. R

Miro's Private Despatch seeking appointment as Captain General of Louisiana and Western Florida, so as to be in position to handle Wilkinson's project with more authority.

18 pages.

BOOK NO. 2.

Miro's Despatch to Valdez, January 8, 1788.*
Miro's Despatch to Valdez, April 11, 1788. *

Documents mentioned in despatch of April 11, 1788, consisting of letters of Wilkinson, with information as to conditions in Kentucky; copies of newspapers published in that District; with accounts and resolutions of Convention, fixing December 31, 1788, as the date of separation from Virginia.

6 pages.

Private Despatch #19, May 15, 1788, objecting to certain features of d'Arges' commission as contrary to Wilkinson's project.

6 pages.

BOOK NO. 3.

Private Despatch #20 - Miro - Valdes.*
Wilkinson's letter May 15, 1788. *

Wilkinson's memorandum contained in his letter of May 15, 1788, referring to Gardoqui's activities and France's desires regarding the business in hand.

2 pages.

Private Despatch #21, Miro to Valdes, referring to Major Isaac Dunn's activities in the Districts of Franklin and Cumberland, and McGillebray's attitude.

4 pages. xR

BOOK NO. 4.

Private Despatch #26, August 28, 1788.*
Private Despatch #23.*

Private Despatch #29. Miro - Valdes, informing him that rumours are spreading of Kentucky's impending union with Spain. Pollock's and Brown's activities. 4 pages.

Private Despatch #30, Miro - Valdes, referring to return of seized tobacco to one Brown of Kentucky, for the good effect it would produce on Wilkinson and the inhabitants of said Province, December 20, 1788. 4 pages.

Private Despatch #31, February 1789, refers to d'Arges's deferred voyage. 1 page.

Private Despatch #32, Miro - Valdes, March 13, 1789. Acknowledging receipt of Royal Orders referring to Private Despatch #13, and Wilkinson's Memorial, and giving further information concerning the project, with documents referring to said project, the acts of Peter Paulus, Gardoqui and Dunn. 11 pages.

Private Despatch #33, Miro - Valdes - ^lPlan of Peter Paulus; his Memorial; Miro's decree on the subject, and other documents. 18 pages

Private Despatch #34, April 1789.*
Documents mentioned therein:

Wilkinson's letter giving full ^{cc} amount of all steps taken by him since his last letter sent thru Major Dunn; the frame of mind of the people of Kentucky; the steps that should be taken to consolidate their present plans, all Kentuckians, even Marshall and Muter desire separation from the United States. The Navigation of the Mississippi. Great Britian's offers. Gardoqui's negotiations with Congress; their consequences to the great project. Wilkinson opposed to peopling Louisiana with Kentuckians; the principal object is annexation, not emigration. Col. Conelly, his mission. Kentucky's first memorial to Virginia. Jardiveau - d'Arges - Marbois - their relations. Resolutions of Congreaa regarding Kentucky under dates of June 2nd, 3rd, 4th and July 3rd, 1788. Vote of the House, yeas and nays; account of the Danville Convention July 28, 1788, and resolutions adopt-

ed therein. Copy of letter of Wilkinson to Dunn, written at Crag Orchard, January 15, 1789 - (Extracts of letters of Gardoqui to Morgan; letter of Wilkinson to Miro, dated Lexington, February 14, 1789, which you already have). Gardoqui to Dunn, dated New York, October 7, 1788 (Wilkinson to Gardoqui dated January 1, 1788. You have this also). Danville Convention November 3, 1788. Mercer County's action. Edwards - Brown - Speed - their attitude. (All of the above documents belong to Private Despatch #34).

122 pages.

Private Despatch #36 - Miro to Valdes April 11, 1789. Miro explains that he buys Wilkinson's tobacco in order to avoid Wilkinson's ruin.

2 pages.

Private Despatch #37 - Miro to Valdes:
Gardoqui sends James White to Miro. White's plans and those of Fagot, General Daniel Smith and Colonel Robertson. Miro's fears imparted to the Minister. (Included in said despatch is Wilkinson's letter of April 23, 1789, which you have).

26 pages.

Private Despatch #39 - Miro to Valdes - Morgan's Concessions. Miro's protest. Letters advising of Conelly's voyage to New Orleans. Gardoqui's letter to Miro regarding Morgan's project.

17 pages.

Private Despatch #41 - Miro to Valdes. Report of Miro regarding Morgan's scheme, and the steps he has taken to stop it.

44 pages.

Private Despatch #42 - Refers to Morgan's colonization plan and kindred subjects.

22 pages.

Private Despatch #44 - Miro's protest to Valdes that the Captain General in Havana should not interfere in the Wilkinson affair, as he will probably spoil it.

5 pages.

Private Despatches Nos. 45 and 46, November 1789. Miro to Valdes giving minute account of Wilkinson's second visit to New Orleans; a conference held with him regarding the separation and annexation of Kentucky. Miro lends money

R

✓ to Wilkinson. Wilkinson tells Miro he frustrated Brigadier General Clark's designs on Natchez in 1786, and urges the annual purchase of 10,000,000 pounds of tobacco. Wilkinson modifies his original Memorial sent in Private Despatch #13. (This is a lengthy document written at New Orleans under date of September 18, 1789.) Miro's reply thereto. Wilkinson accepts Miro's conditions for loan of \$7,000.00, and informs Miro as to who are in the pay of the opposition party and what must be done to win them over. Complaint of the inhabitants of Ance à la Grace.

75 pages. R

✓ Private Despatch #49 - Miro advises Valdes of Wilkinson's warnings regarding the formation of a company for the purchase of land from the State of Georgia, with documents, - i.e. letters from Holder, Cape, Snipes, Hugher, Wilkinson himself, regarding this project and the Chactaw concessions.

22 pages.

✓ Private Despatch #50, contains Wilkinson's letter to Miro (not dated, but written about January 1790) explaining the situation in Kentucky at that time, with letters from Judge Sebastian, both urging that free trade be not granted.

18 pages.

✓ Private Despatch #51 - Wilkinson's opposition to the Virginia Company. Miro protests. Fears the growing power of the Union. The Chactaws and Chicachas offer Miro to exterminate all Americans who travel through their lands. Miro proposes to get rid of O'Fallon by shipping him to Havana. Letter of Moultrie to Wilkinson and Wilkinson to Miro, dated Frankfort, June 20, 1790. Letter of O'Fallon to Miro, dated Lexington, May 24, 1790; suggests to Miro advantages accruing by co-operating with the Carolina's Company colonization plan, and setting forth the plans and purposes of said company.

28 pages. R

✓ Miro's communication to Don Luis de las Casas, Secretary of State for the Department of India, enclosing a copy of one of O'Fallon's letters in which he proposes to combine his project with that furthered by Miro and Wilkinson but ends his letter by saying that he "trusts that with the aid of their mutual friend, General Wilkinson these ideas can be realized, provid-

ed your Honor admits them." Miro in his letter to Las Casas states that this letter of O'Fallon's is based on the fact that O'Fallon saw a paragraph of one of Miro's letters to Wilkinson, in which Wilkinson is authorized to attack and repulse any attempt made by colonists from North Carolina to establish themselves within Spanish Dominion.

22 pages.

Miro to de las Casas, October 7, 1790, enclosing copy of, and commenting upon, Wilkinson's letter to Miro, dated 27th of August 1790, concerning the rumors of war between England and Spain, its effect in Kentucky and other observations pertinent thereto.

8 pages.

Miro to de las Casas, December 7, 1790, explaining a point in Judge Sebastian's letter of the 30th of September 1790, and enclosing copy of the same letter. It appears that Judge Sebastian writes Miro that he and his friends are heart and soul with Spain, but also asks compensation for his services and advocates a strict adherence to Wilkinson's policies. Copy of letter from Wilkinson to Miro, enclosing extracts of letters from Brown, in which he informs them that Thomas Jefferson, taking advantage of the present troubled conditions abroad, is about to embark for Spain to treat for the navigation of the Mississippi and then perpetuate the union of eastern and western countries, and referring to other matters influencing the Wilkinson project.

21 pages.

Miro to de las Casas, commenting on a letter from O'Fallon, which letter is missing, with a copy of the Royal Decree of the 25th of August 1790, treating upon the subject of O'Fallon's letter, i.e. the encroachment of the American settlers.

3 pages.

W
Miro to de las Casas, February 24, 1791, giving an account of O'Fallon's doings, with observations regarding the dividing line of the territory involved in the main scheme. Wilkinson tells Miro that General Washington will oppose O'Fallon's plan of the Yazoo, and other documentary evidence thereof. Wilkinson refuses command of the Virginia Company's forces, which is given to General Clark. Communication of Gayoso Larra to Miro referring to O'Fallon's

project. Letter of O'Fallon to Miro written at the residence of General Clark near Louisville 17th of December, 1790, regarding the raising of troops in Cumberland, Franklin and North Carolina. Comments on Wilkinson, Sebastian and Innes, whom rumour has it hold commissions as Colonels in the service of Spain. Testimony of one Lee to Judge Marshall against Wilkinson, Sebastian and Wilkinson's letter of the 16th of December, 1790.

36 pages.

W
Miro to de las Casas, 8th of April 1791, enclosing two letters from O'Fallon, in which he urges Miro to declare himself either for a friendly combination between them, or for frank opposition. He winds up one of his letters by saying "I will stake my life that our settlements will become an impregnable barrier for you to surmount". He uses these terms with reference to proposed separation of all the western country from the jurisdiction of the United States.

15 pages.

*These documents you already have.

Note: In another package of documents there are several more papers, notably the reply of the King to Miro and Navarro regarding Wilkinson's Memorial, and Private Despatch #13 and instructions as to how a pension of \$2000.00 annually should be given Wilkinson. I will look these up another day, as I was not able to have access to these particular documents to-day to make you a memorandum thereof.

Paruberto

2.	" - V. Jan 2/88	} abst (copied already?)		
	" " Apr 8/88			
3.	" " (#20)	} copy if not copied.		6.
	WS letter May 15/88			
	" memo with "			2.
"	" #21. (Dunn in Franklin)			4.
4.	#26. Aug 88. abstr			
	#23			
	#29.			
	#30 Brown tobacco			
	" 31 Feb 89. 5 Argos voyage			
	" 32. Dunn -		11	?
	" 33 P Paulus plan		18	?
	" 34. Milkmaid Dunn Furdonneau etc		122	part copied
	36.		2	
	37 89 Robinson		26.	? " "
	39		17	?
	41 Magau's scheme - stopping it	(out)	44	?
	42	" (out)	22	?
	44. Havana interference			
	(45-6 copied) 75			
	49. W on Yago's copied			
	50 W to W. v. free trade		18	
	(51 copied) 28			
	Mero-Casas. (O.F. - W. - Yago)		22	
"	" 1790. (W on Engwar)		8	
"	" (W & Brown etc)		21	?
"	" O.F.'s letter (not included)		3	
"	" (Feb 24/91. 36 p copied)			

106
38
238
143

For Sketch of Portalaba; Gayerre's Spanish Documentation H 16-46

THE COUNT OF GALVEZ

DECREE

Announcing receipt of the Royal Warrant
authorizing the opening of hostilities
against the subjects of the King of England.

New Orleans, 24th of December, 1779.

Translated from a document in the Municipal Archives

New Orleans, La.

B. No. 1.

B No 1

M. Y. A.

Under date of the 16th of July last, his Excellency, Dn. Joseph de Galvez, sent me various copies of H.M. Warrant, in which he authorizes his American Vassals to hostileize the subjects of the King of England, so that I communicate same to the Commandants, Council, and to the Justice of the District under my orders, in order that each may contribute their share to the exact accomplishment of the same.

I include herewith two copies so that you may better understand it.

May our Lord keep you many years. New Orleans, 24th of December, 1779.

C^{de}- de Galvez.

In the margin at the head of the document there is a note thus:

No. 64.

Letter from M. de Galvez, announcing the sending of the Royal Warrant authorizing H. C. M. subjects to attack those of H.B.M.

PRIVATE DESPATCH NO. 13.

ESTEBAN MIRO and MARTIN NAVARRO *succedo Galvez
Hayne 167*

to

ECMO. SR. FROY ANTONIO VALDES. *[copy of State + Pres
Council of the Indies. Succedo
Lopez Hayne 186]*

New Orleans, September 25, 1787.

With Six Enclosures.

Translated from the "PONTALBA" Group of documents belonging
to the "Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

D. No. 1.

4

D E S P A T C H No. 13.

Most Excellent Sir:

The magnitude of the affair we are about to communicate to your Excellency, the fact that we have always worked in harmony in the Congresses of the Indian Nations that surround us as in all other things concerning them, and having mutually agreed that between us we are better able to judge events,* have prompted us to sign this despatch together, which despatch accompanies the annexed Memorial, which we will comment in the light of our knowledge of local conditions so as to propose what seems to us best to the service of His Majesty.

On the 2nd of July last there arrived in this city from Kentucky Mr. James Wilkinson, a former Brigadier of the United States of America during her revolution, retired at present, and residing privately in another place; after ten or twelve days, which he asked to be given in order to rest, and having announced that he had projects of great importance to propose, he related to us all that is contained in the annexed Memorial, on which he offered to work as he really did, delivering it to us on the 3rd of this month: he is a young man of about 33 years, although by his aspect he

* "Asertar", i.e. "hit the mark."

represents more, of exceedingly agreeable appearance, married, has three small children; in his manners and address he shows that he has received a very good education, which his uncommon talents have taken advantage of, as is evidenced in his memorial; trustworthy reports we have obtained are convincing circumstances that assure us he exerts the greatest influence in the said district of Kentucky, which would enable him to persuade the inhabitants of the country to follow his leadership in a critical moment.

The Memorial explains itself so well that it would be presumptuous on our part and wearisome to your Excellency were we to undertake to comment on it in its entirety, and we will therefore limit ourselves only to corroborating it and reporting upon the truth of its principal points.

All he relates regarding the situation of the Western Settlements up to the Apalachian Mountains is absolutely certain, as also that they are powerful on account of their numerous population from which also results the certainty that Louisiana cannot resist their attacks, in the supposition of course, that it will not be judged advisable to pledge H.M. to maintain an army here.

That Great Britain has already taken the steps he relates is very probable, inasmuch as she can easily

send them help of artillery and other things they may require through Canada, and as to the acquisition of Louisiana which it (G.B.) would surely people with those who had facilitated its conquest, this would be so advantageous on account of the proximity of the Kingdom of Mexico, besides what the Province of itself is worth, that we are positive she would then bless the day her colonies rebelled and thus brought her this opportunity.

That they will risk the dangers of a war in which they really risk little to obtain the navigation of the Mississippi is so evident that in our inquiries upon the welfare of the Province we have always considered it a phenomenon and our particular good fortune that this should not have already taken place and their inactivity would still be incomprehensible to us, if Wilkinson had not explained that the emigrants coming from the Atlantic Coast exchange their all for those articles of commerce suitable for the subsistence of the mentioned Settlements, and the fact that the exchange was made solely with products of the country proves the emigration to have been large.

These truths having been established, the alternative of losing Louisiana, which is the natural barrier of the Kingdom of New Spain, or embracing one of the two projects contained in the Memorial, is self evident.

Two principal reasons persuade, that the acquisition of Kentucky would be advantageous, even if it is not possible to obtain that of the adjacent districts, although it is probable they would follow in her footsteps: the first is, that it is evident the more the vassals of the new United States keep out of these Provinces, the more removed will they be from her natural enemies, and the second, because it would then be very easy to defend these possessions, for the inhabitants thereof would be pledged for their own good to its defense, and also because there being in the chain of Mountains very few passes that lead to the Atlantic Coast, these can, with a small number of people and the help of art, resist a great deal.

Therefore, if Wilkinson's well-founded predictions are verified and deputies come down to deliver Kentucky, we beg H.M. that in the instructions that it may be his Royal pleasure to have communicated to us, he declare his Royal will upon the following points:

1st: If in spite of the fact that it is established that they will not be molested in matters of Religion, they will be forced to admit Churches served by Irish Catholic Clergymen, so as to convert them by persuasion and good example, without there being permitted the exercise of any other religion.

2nd: If this proposition cannot be agreed to, whether the exercise of their actual religion will be per-

mitted under the circumstance that they allow the establishment of the said Churches.

3rd: What quantity of tobacco does Spain require, in order that, having assured to the ancient vassals of H.M. the sale of their crop, we may promise to purchase from them for account of the Royal Treasury the rest of our requirements, advising them of what this will be so they may sow in accordance.

4th: If as inhabitants of another Province they shall pay the 6% impost, that all importation pays to this Customhouse.

5th: If this Article is not agreed to because it is desired to consider them as are all the other inhabitants of this Province, will it be enough that they limit themselves to pay 6% on those exports by sea to the permitted Ports.

6th: If in case they solicit it, they shall be permitted to trade with the United States through the interior lands: this would be facilitated by the money they would acquire in this capital by the sale of their products; what import and export duty will be imposed on them or is this proposition to be absolutely rejected, which we believe would be best on account of the disadvantages that would accrue from the concession.

7th: If we will be authorized to ask for a battalion from Havana, for it is absolutely indispensable,

and also because it will become urgent and necessary to establish detachments at the principal Points of those new dominions, the Commandants of which should have both Civil and Military jurisdiction in order to watch any undertaking the United States may attempt, prevent the introduction of her commerce, and arrange the differences of the inhabitants, deciding the minor cases and sending the more important ones to this Government as do the other Posts of this Province.

8th: In case they solicit it, will they be permitted to be governed by justices of the peace as they are accustomed with the right of appeal to this Government.

9th: Finally, if in case any questions are brought up that are not comprised in H.M. instructions, will we be authorized to decide them if they are not of prime importance.

This principal project we consider still remote for it must be preceded by various operations, the first, that Virginia declare Kentucky an independent State; second, that it receive a negative or unsatisfactory reply from Congress regarding the navigation of the Mississippi; the third, that in view of this Kentucky declare herself separated from the federative Union, and fourth, that we see without compromising ourselves with the United States if they are satisfied with the loss of Kentucky, or if they determine to reduce it to obedience.

Nevertheless, the first three may take place immediately, in less than a year; but regarding the fourth it is not possible to judge with certainty, so that in case Congress should adopt the policy of subduing Kentucky, we ask that your Excellency make known to us the wishes of H.M. with regard to the help we should extend to them, for it is natural that they should at least solicit artillery, powder and shot, without losing sight of the fact that a negative reply would be extremely prejudicial because they will, without doubt, appeal to Great Britain and be surely supplied in Canada, and then the hope of their delivering themselves to the dominion of H.M. will vanish completely.

The said articles can be supplied to them by means of traders from whom they will appear to buy them, or they can be delivered to them in Arkansas, a district removed from all communication, for which circumstance it could be held, if Congress made a complaint, that this Government had no knowledge whatever of the affair, and that without doubt the goods must have been articles of commerce of the Commandant or some of the inhabitants.

In the second project, relative to encouraging emigration from Kentucky and other places on the Rivers that flow into the Ohio, and permitting its families to establish themselves in this Province in order to have people to counteract the strength of any enemy, this of

course, may be done it being an affair we had already thought of and were about to propose to H.M., and in this supposition we will express our ideas so that his royal resolution should fall on each one of them:

1st: If in reply to this despatch we should be authorized to receive the said families, shall we make use of Wilkinson, who has already promised to attract a considerable number, which he confidently estimates will reach two thousand.

2nd: In matters of Religion they will be bound; they will agree without difficulty to the establishment as is done in Natchez and other conquered posts, of Churches served by Irish Clergymen, who, whilst not annoying them, endeavor to draw them to our Holy Religion, without the free exercise of any sect.

3rd: From here results that in each Post or District of five up to seven leagues fronting the shores of the Mississippi or her estuaries, a Church, a house for the priest and another for the Commandant will have to be built, as also a small barracks or guard house; this expense will be the only one caused by these new settlements and one that H.M. must undoubtedly pay, and is insignificant in comparison to the advantages, for beginning from the first year, or the second, he will be reimbursed by the increase in sales of import and export goods that the selfsame new families will require, and

because the priest and commandant may gain their affection by their mild exercise of authority, so as to make them adherents of the Spanish Government, the responsibility of this to fall immediately on the shoulders of the Governor of the Province, who shall choose the proper party and remove him when the selection has been unfortunate.

4th: At first sight it seems dis-advantageous to people the right bank of the Mississippi, and that of the Rivers ^{that} flow into it on that side, for finding themselves on the same mainland as the Kingdom of Mexico, it may be feared that by nourishing a greater number of enemies in our midst, for these are strangers whom we wish to attract, the nearer the danger we wish to avoid will approximate itself, for although these people, if faithful, will form an impenetrable barrier for that Kingdom, on the contrary a door is opened to them if they should not be; nevertheless, we will endeavor to prove that circumstances compel us to run this risk, more imminent yet unless those shores are settled. If after having resolved to encourage the said emigration we establish all its families on the left bank of the Mississippi on account of the fears above expressed, we must suppose that they may just as easily violate their fidelity on this as well as on the other side, in which case there is nothing to prevent them from crossing the River as the other side is empty and without defense; but

let us agree that they will be faithful; will they in this case, be in such an immediate circumstance to defend the way to the said Kingdom against the attempts of the Settlements of the Ohio, than if they were established on the other side? Certainly not, for if Anse á la Graisse and other likely places on the bank of the Mississippi, the Saint Francis, Arkansas, Ouachita and Red Rivers, the districts of Nachitoches, Opelousas and Atakapas were settled with families, these could easily from their own homes prevent the entrance of their enemies by concentrating at a point that circumstances would oblige them to choose.

On the other hand, it is not morally possible to believe that men who have lived under a precarious government, that did not give them any protection, surrounded by the peril of Indians, destitute of trade, will be unfaithful when they find themselves under another that protects them, facilitates an outlet for their products, decides their controversies with justice without exacting any tribute or molesting them in their domestic operations: the affection of the first generation being thus gained, the subsequent ones will know no other fatherland than this one; it being the work of the Commandant and priest to institute in the tender hearts of the youth the spirit and patriotism of Spain.

There only remains now to be demonstrated that it is at present advantageous to adopt the second project of

the Memorial, which in no way destroys the first one. If it is finally accomplished it may be taken as a general rule that the inhabitants of Kentucky are at present in as easy, and probably easier, circumstances to invade Louisiana from those Districts, than they would be if after having established themselves amongst us they should backslide, for in the first case the enterprise is glorious, as they could embark in flat-boats in the Ohio and as the current favors them they would find themselves amongst us before we could know that they had even thought of such a thing; but the emigrant established in these possessions in sight of a Commandant, would risk a great deal in undertaking a revolution, and far from deriving glory therefrom he would stain his name with the ugly epithet of Perjurer.

From the foregoing may be deducted that if we delay any more, Congress may determine to give them a free hand and help them to acquire for themselves the navigation of the River, at the same time that it will apparently disapprove their conduct (of which it will be advised) so as to maintain itself at peace with Spain, therefore, it is best not to lose time and to people Louisiana with individuals who will bind themselves by oath to take up arms against any attempt from Kentucky and other Settlements, and this declaration must be embodied in the oath of fidelity which must necessarily be administered to them.

Last year several South American Agents arrived in London, and approaching the Minister, solicited from him assistance of arms and ammunition to favor the rebellion in the Province of Buenos Ayres. The Minister replied that he could not grant their request for proper reasons. The English Trade Commission there existed a treaty of peace and amity, but he recommended to these agents that they present themselves to a certain gentleman who informed them that he not only was inclined to help them, but was able to do so in his own name without involving the two Courts, which was finally done. The gentleman furnished them the required articles and recommended to the agents that they employ an American ship then moored in the Thames, to transport these to Central America, and in accordance the agents called on the owners of the ship, who, before binding himself for this service, judged it prudent to consult the matter with another American gentleman who was then in London, who persuaded him to refuse the offers of the agents, although these were considerable, and employed him to investigate the business of the South Americans in London, by which means he acquired the above information, to which the said agents added that the gentleman who had furnished them arms and ammunition told them there were thickly populated settlements of Americans West of the Apalacian Mountains, who could create a diversion favorable to the rebels, for which purpose he advised them to send agents there, but the American, knowing the Geography of the country had no trouble whatever in destroying their hopes on this side and abandoning their ideas.

** Wilkinson had evidently told them his assistance of arms and ammunition to favor the rebellion in the Province of Buenos Ayres. The Minister replied that he could not grant their request for proper reasons. The English Trade Commission there existed a treaty of peace and amity, but he recommended to these agents that they present themselves to a certain gentleman who informed them that he not only was inclined to help them, but was able to do so in his own name without involving the two Courts, which was finally done.*

English Trade

The Filson Historical Society

In order to conclude with what we believe advantageous to corroborate in the Memorial, there only remains for us to say should the Court be informed of the help asked for by those who attempted to rebel in South America, which would give great weight to Wilkinson's declarations, that he has told us that it was Minister Pitt to whom Lord Buckingun, the gentleman who was to supply them arms and ammunition, and Mr. Adams, envoy at the Congress of the United States, who dissuaded the Captain of the ship of the same nationality from undertaking the transportation of the same; appealed: this envoy reported back to Congress and through one of its members Wilkinson learned of it.

Let us now speak regarding his private affairs, with which, as your Excellency will see, he concludes his Memorial, asking that he be permitted on his return to Kentucky to send various products of that country to the extent of fifty or sixty thousand pesos, and that the amount of the sale of these goods be deposited in these Royal vaults until the turn his project will take is determined, or until such a time as he may be able to establish himself in this Province, a circumstance that seems to destroy all suspicion that he may have wished to hallucinate us with his great projects in order to obtain for himself advantageous commercial speculations; besides, we cannot with justice form such an

opinion of him, inasmuch as the condition of the above mentioned Western Settlements, and the state bordering on anarchy in which the Federative Government of the United States finds itself, are an assurance that all he has expressed is founded on fact.

We must also say in his favor that we are informed that he was the first and principal factor who destroyed the undertaking Brigadier Clark was meditating against Natchez for the spring of this year, and the terms of which the Governor reported to that Ministry in secret despatch No. 9, under date of the first of June, 1787.

On account of all the foregoing we have taken upon ourselves to permit him to bring a shipment of half the value mentioned above, restricting the articles, as your Excellency will see by copy of the letter we wrote him herewith enclosed under No. 2, confident that you will entreat H.M. approval for this and his Royal consent upon the other half, which concession we believe will be advantageous to his Royal service, and that it will be in keeping with his munificence if he orders that no deposit be retained from the referred to sale of the goods, remitting also the impost tax, concessions these that will undoubtedly induce him to due recognition; to these may be added for the time being, which will be useful, that H.M.

please send me abstract of this

orders that it be expressed to him that he will generously recompense his services should he succeed in his first and principal project, and co-operates in the second with all his influence so that it may be patent that he has worked with zeal and activity.

In the same manner we ask that H.M. declare if we will be permitted to grant any other cargoes to those Notables who are able to contribute to the success of either of our plans, as is proposed by Wilkinson, and which appears to us will cause no harm, for they consist of foodstuffs and tobacco, in the purchase of which H.M. will find a profit, as also in the 6% that will be exacted on all the articles, with the advantage that by bringing down flour the fears of this Province of finding itself without Bread, on account of the confiscations that are being made, will cease, and this example will prevent others from exposing themselves to bringing the above articles from the new United States.

By copy No. 3 your Excellency will see the answer ^{on} that we have given Wilkinson/his Memorial, limited to telling him that he may make it known to each one of those he wins over to his party that his propositions have been well received. He left this Capital the 16th of the present month in a vessel bound for the Cape, with orders to its Captain that he land him in the first port of the United States navigation makes available, in order that he may

find himself in Kentucky before it obtains its independence, which is expected to occur next October. He goes enthused to prepare the minds for the realization of the first project and in order to communicate to one another the results, such a delicate affair has produced, we have agreed on the most incomprehensible of codes.

Document No. 4 comprises the names of the Districts, which are also those of the Rivers that flow into the Ohio west of the Appalachian Mountains, the Capital letter placed alongside of each of them corresponds to the one on the plan inclosed under No. 5, by which your Excellency will know the territory that it is proposed to add to H.M. dominions, and which contains according to Wilkinson's calculations one hundred and fifty thousand men capable of bearing arms.

No. 6 is a copy of the declaration of the aforesaid Brigadier in which he constitutes himself a vassal of H.M., the original of which, together with that of the Memorial, have remained in the office of the Secretary of this Government, it having appeared to us more prudent not to expose them to the contingencies of navigation.

We remit the Memorial in English with a translation, so that you may at once read it and have it compared with the one in the former language.

The secret of this affair is being kept between us, and the Secretaries of the Government and Intendency, who both possess English, for although we both have an

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inkling of it, capable of translating it, yet we can not follow a conversation on important subjects. So that the importunate curiosity of the Notables of this Capital should confine itself only to one subject; we have insinuated that Wilkinson came commissioned by the above mentioned Settlements to solicit a general permission to bring down their produce, which really has had the desired effect of not arousing their suspicions.

To attempt to enumerate the spiritual and temporal advantages that the attainment of any of the two, or both of the above projects would produce to this and future Reigns, would be to suppose that they are hidden from the eyes of your Excellency, hence we will conclude by expressing our great satisfaction that an affair of such moment should have thus presented itself during our administration, and we will experience great pleasure indeed if, by applying all our zeal and activity in the execution of H. R.¹. M. instructions we contribute to its success. May our Lord keep you many years.

New Orleans, September 25, 1787. Excmo. Sr. Esteban Miro - Don Martin Navarro. - - Excmo. Sr. Dn. Vaylo D. Antonio Valdes.

DESPATCH NO. 13.

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INCLOSURE NO. 1.

THE MEMORIAL OF

BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON

The Filson Historical Society

The American Settlements, to the west of the Appalachian Mountains, enjoyed, during the Britanic Government, the free navigation of the Mississippi, and during the progress of the last revolution, communication with the Vassals of H.C.M. in Louisiana was maintained open; the advantages which a few travellers obtained from this commerce attracted the aims of a great many individuals of the Atlantic Coast, and the unanimity of the reports upon the fertility of the soil and healthfulness of the climate in the territory of Kentucky given by all those who had explored it, fixed the attention of people of all classes and conditions upon the western country.

My compatriots, who are active and enterprising, had with the long use of the Mississippi, under both the Spanish and British administrations, established a right which they considered indispensable, which belief was corroborated by the definite treaty of Peace and Amity with Great Britain; the hostility of the Indians and the public service on the Atlantic coast were great impediments to emigration: but Peace dissolved these obstacles and awakened anew the pre-occupations in favor of the said western countries, and in 1784 about 950 souls arrived in the one district of Kentucky. Trade prohibition with America, which Spain proclaimed shortly afterwards, was at first considered as only temporary and to better express it, as a formality of the negotiations between H. C. M. and Congress, which was anxiously and daily desired and expected.

We, nevertheless, remained deceived in our hopes,

not only on account of the little attention shown to this matter by Congress, but the declared intentions of the Court of Spain to assure itself the exclusive right to the said navigation, which coupled with the confiscations made at New Orleans, filled the new Settlements with anxiety, cooled the hopes of those whose aims were directed toward the west, and removed the motives that originated these settlements; but other causes more irresistible in their nature promptly renewed them.

The last revolution involved the Americans in heavy foreign and domestic debts, and to provide for the payment of these, and to sustain the federative Government, Congress was authorized to ask the Members of the Union their portion, for which purpose the different States imposed taxes upon its citizens, who found them so oppressive that a multitude were reduced to the alternative of opposing the laws, or preferring to subsist, rather than to submit to imposition, sought refuge in the woods of the west. Thus voluntary emigration took place, and these impositions, neutralizing all the obstacles Spain and America interposed, should have produced a yearly emigration in the said Settlements equal to at least ten thousand souls* and this will continue in the same manner as long as there is not the slightest appearance of relief.

* After writing this page I have been informed by a man of honor and intelligence, recently arrived from America, that this year there will be an emigration of about 40000 souls.

It will not be improper to mention that in all Republics the execution of the Laws is, for known causes, lax, weak and vague; the Americans who crossed the Mountains and established themselves at a great distance from the executive authority of their respective governments, availing themselves of this principle and complaining of the lack of commercial advantages which their brethen of the Atlantic Coast enjoy, declared themselves unanimously against the tributes, without there being anyone willing to undertake the execution of the Law on this point.

In this situation the Western Settlements have contented themselves with the short and precarious outlet for its products, that upon their arrival the emigrants themselves afford, looking forward anxiously to the day when Congress, taking into account their situation, would obtain for them the free use of the Mississippi, but what has been their astonishment and surprise, when instead of the protection which as members of the federative Union they had a right to expect and receive, they saw last summer this honorable body negotiate with Dn. Diego Gardoqui the exclusive right of navigation on the said River, in exchange for certain commercial advantages in favor of the people residing on the Atlantic Coast, and that seven of the twelve States represented ardently embraced this action! This device was received by the Western people as an infraction of the federative pact, which basely sacrificed their interests in favor of others, whose conduct irritated them excessively and when they combined it with continuous opposition to the

measures proposed for their defense against the savages, they were induced to believe that they could expect nothing from the friendship and Justice of Congress. Imbued in this opinion, Kentucky is taking measures for its own safety, and to this end it has fortunately and considerably advanced its petition to the State of Virginia (to which it now belongs) to obtain an act of separation in order to be erected into an independent State and govern itself, and at the same time in order to preserve the public conduct against any imputation of excess or deceit, they have presented a memorial to Congress in which they recite the injuries and hardships which will befall them if they are deprived of the navigation of the Mississippi; they establish circumstantially their right as a member of the federative Union, and expressly declare that if Congress does not protect and sustain them in this desire it must consider the ties of their fidelity dissolved, they remaining at liberty to provide for their own conservation.

This was the frame of mind of the Kentucky Politicians (and their policies always direct those of the other Western Districts) when I took my departure in the month of May. Its future conduct will be largely governed by the determination Congress may take regarding Kentucky's Memorial, and what this will be no one can tell with certainty; but by inferring on facts and experience, I shall be able to deduct an evident opinion, to which end it will be necessary to manifest what the policy of Congress has been with regard to the above mentioned Settlements.

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The extensive cession of territory to the Northwest made by Great Britain to the United States in the Peace of 1783 not having been comprised in its expectations, was unlooked for and as a consequence the federative Councils were not prepared for it: this acquisition drew the attention of many to it as a fund with which to extinguish the National debt, giving rise at the same time to many kinds of speculations: in the Eastern States where reside the shrewdest Politicians of America, it was predicted that if those territories were peopled it would dissipate the strength of the Union and diminish the land values of the Atlantic Coast, so that self-interest immediately prevailed over those comprehensible principles of friendship and happiness that originated the revolution against Great Britain and its deputies in Congress determined to adopt the same policies which they had so recently condemned.

These sentiments, however, being repugnant to the aims of the Southern States, were never openly expressed, until last summer, when Sr. de Gardoqui presented his propositions: it became necessary then on account of the many different interests, to act with decision, and the mask having been removed in the heat and excitement of the discussion that took place between the Eastern, Middle and Southern States, the sentiments of each party were openly declared and sustained.

The recapitulation of the arguments alternately employed in this great question would be foreign to my purpose and annoying to my readers, and it will be enough to say

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that the controversy rose to such a pitch that threats were made of dissolving the Union. The United States thus divided, confused in its Councils, burdened with debt, without interior or exterior credit, could not, in spite of its zeal, take active measures to acquire the navigation of the Mississippi against the wishes of the Court of Spain: and when we add to these facts the thought that the most powerful and populous States are completely opposed to her, it strikes me we may freely and surely conclude that the Memorials of Kentucky and the other Western Settlements will not vary the policy of Congress in the slightest degree.

The evident consequence of this will be a distinct confederation of the inhabitants of the West, for its common welfare and happiness: this step, Congress neither can nor cares to stop; it cannot because it is without men, money or means to acquire one and the other: it will not care because this event has been foreseen with anticipation as inevitable, as a consequence of local circumstances and because they hope that on account of the inability of these new Settlements to fill the Governmental offices, such confusion and disorder will arise that emigration will be arrested more effectively than by any act of Congress.

The first care of these people will be to establish forms of Government, and organize systems of general co-operation; having adjusted these indispensable preliminaries, they will direct their aims to the navigation of the Mississippi, the object upon which are based all their hopes

of worldly happiness, and without which poverty and misery will be their only fate; but they will pursue it with valor and perseverance: knowing well the character of the Americans and the martial spirit, the last war infused into all classes, I speak with certainty when I say they will take up any proposition, no matter how desperate, in a cause of the utmost importance to them and their posterity.

The above mentioned settlements, whilst thinking over their situation, fixed their attention on two projects, either one of which they thought would fulfill their supreme desire. The first and least difficult is a friendly understanding with the Court of Spain. The second, reliance on its own resources and the indirect help of Great Britain. To undertake now, to point out the exact outcome of these two projects would be presumptuous, for they must undoubtedly adjust themselves to the circumstances of the times, and for this reason I will only speak of what may possibly happen, in accordance with the discourses of men who have influence in those Settlements.

These prominent men have observed that the understanding with the Court of Spain should be preferred above all others for the manifest reason that it could immediately and surely grant them what they wished without risk or expense to either party: in accordance with these ideas the sending of an agent to Louisiana and if necessary to Madrid, after the conjunction with United States was dissolved, was discussed, so as to solicit the privileges that the happiness

of the district required, in terms satisfactory to the Policies and interests of Spain, and in case this proposition was rejected, then to embrace those made by Great Britain. In order to show what these are it is necessary to review the policy and purposes of this Nation.

The last American revolution, dismembering the British Empire, has considerably weakened this imperious Nation; the loss of thirteen new, vigorous and flourishing colonies has sensibly diminished her power: this occurrence has generally embittered the Nation against the insurgents and profoundly affected its pride, exciting the deepest resentment in the heart of the King, so that both the Nation and the King are dominated by a passion that makes them consider as a benefit to themselves any harm done to America, hence they have spared no labor and no effort to disunite it's councils and divide the interests of the Union so as to destroy its commerce, and sow sedition among the inhabitants of the principal States: but when the eyes of this Nation were turned toward the Western Settlements of America, they anxiously contemplated an object which they conceived could satisfy their resentment against the rebellious Colonies, and at the same time would be advantageous to its own material aims.

Great Britain is at present owner of the navigation of the Saint Lawrence River from its mouth to its source in the vicinity of the Mississippi; if it could also acquire possession of this one it would then own the two great places of North America, whose arms and branches traverse

almost the Torrid and Frigid Zones, an immense country without equal in its soil and productions, it would then surround the United States of America, and in less than half a century would receive only from the contributions upon the progressive and inexhaustible fountain of commerce, an income superior to any its colonies ever produced.

This is a brilliant object, worthy of being appreciated by a great Nation, and I am authorized to state that this has not escaped its due attention: but the British Treasury has been so drained in the last war and continues to be so weak and confused that Great Britain will not dare an open rupture with Spain, for which reason her policy will be to employ the Americans of the Western Settlements in an attack against Louisiana, and if the results are favorable it will embrace the first opportunity to assure itself a right to the navigation of the River, and under this pretext receive Louisiana from the Americans as a compensation for the indirect help she may have given. These observations, inasmuch as they are related to future things, are certainly only speculations, which, however, are founded upon reason and probability, corroborated by the following facts:

Already in the year 1783 an English gentleman of rank approached me on the subject, and although he would not guarantee the conduct of his Court, did not however doubt that at whatever time the Western Americans would separate themselves from the primitive States, Great Britain would receive them under its protection with pleasure, and that indirectly through its private agents would supply them from

Canada, with arms, ammunition, clothing and money for attacking Louisiana and open the Mississippi, and if the undertaking succeeded, which he did not doubt, he was positive that Great Britain would without delay assure her pretention to the navigation of the Mississippi, and that if this affair occasioned a break between the two Courts, he had reason to believe that Great Britain would find an excuse, and probably the open support of several commercial powers who would not voluntarily allow that the valuable products of so vast a country should remain entirely closed to the rest of the world. In any event, he had the satisfaction of believing that Great Britain would risk a war with Spain for the purpose of navigating the River and that the only compensation it could expect from the Americans was the Province of Louisiana. This gentleman, whose name I must withhold, in obedience to principles of honor and confidence, I have since found out had conversed freely with the Count of Shelburne (then Minister in the last Cabinet) whose views and opinions agreed with the observations the gentleman had just suggested to me, and he added the above mentioned Lord had all the more easily given up the Floridas on account of the fact that they naturally would become a basis of discord between Spain and the people of the West of America, and in this would favor the ultimate views of his Court. Having gone thus far with the mentioned gentleman, it will not be amiss to mention the following authentic information received from the highest sources:

When we consider these facts, together with the proposition of an English trader, last winter, to supply Clark and Green with ammunition and clothing to enable them to carry out their nefarious designs against Natchez and the other posts of H.C.M. in the upper Mississippi we can with justice presume that Great Britain preserves permanent aims upon this Country.

From this point in my observations, and in view of what is said above, we may deduct the following facts and natural inferences:

First: That the American Settlements, whose rivers flow into the Mississippi are already powerful and on account of their nature, irresistible, and should daily increase in strength.

Second: That the navigation of the Mississippi is the fountain from which they must hope for future relief and comfort, in consequence of which each individual is of himself always attentive to this object, and through the powerful incentive of self-preservation will employ any means, no matter how desperate, to attain it.

Third: That in order to promote this much desired end, they are working to separate themselves from the American Union, and that Congress has neither the power nor inclination to prevent this measure.

Fourth: That the Notables of these new Settlements are considering two projects, either one of which they believe can be conducive to the success of this, their favorite object: i.e. an amicable arrangement with Spain, or hos-

tilities with the help of Great Britain.

Fifth: That this Power is courting those Settlements and will endeavor to insiduously bind them to attack Louisiana.

Sixth and last: That the above mentioned Settlements have determined to make the first propositions to Spain and in case these are not accepted, to embrace the policies of Great Britain.

There now only remains to say what the policies of Spain should be at this critical juncture, and this, to be truthful, is a task that would occupy the mind of the most distinguished in Europe; nor is it possible to establish any fixed system of measures the Government should follow, and these, without doubt, must be largely regulated by future events, for which reason I will endeavor with a faltering hand to give my opinion, relying more on the indulgence of those I have the honor of addressing than on my own sagacity and policies.

Without attributing to all things a preponderance of natural or religious causes, I take it as an indisputable axiom that it is impossible for man to oppose the dispositions of heaven; the power of man may care to delay and oppose, but the original plan of the Almighty must ultimately perfect and accomplish itself. To deny this would be to deny the omnipotence of the Divinity.

When we cast our eyes on the country East of the Mississippi we find it of vast extension, varied in its climate, of excellent lands, the best in the New World, abounding in

the most useful mines, minerals and metals: on making this examination the question naturally arises: For what purpose did the Father of the Universe create this country? Surely for the good of his creatures, for we are taught that he made nothing in vain. Does it not, therefore, strike the most limited intellect that he who closes the only gate by which the inhabitants of this extensive region may approach their neighbors in pursuit of useful intercourse, opposes this benevolent design? Is not the Mississippi this gate? The privation of its use takes away from us Americans what nature seems to have provided for their indispensable convenience and happiness. I will then say that the following questions must naturally occur to the Spanish Cabinet, and that its policies must be largely influenced by them.

First: Will we be able to perpetually resist in their designs on the navigation of the Mississippi, the Americans living West of the Apalachian Mountains, powerful as they already are, increasing in strength from day to day, and assisted by a respectable European Power?

Second: Will resistance for a few years recompense ^[His Majesty] H.M. for the expense incurred and may not that resistance produce to the Spanish Monarchy worst consequences than the loss of Louisiana?

Third: Will it not be preferable to attract these ^[American] Settlements by means of some concessions and accommodations, thus making them serve the interests of Spain, than to compel them, through hostilities and rigorous exactions, to throw themselves into the arms of Great Britain?

To answer the first question we must throw our sight on the respective situation of both countries: the American Settlements are situated in the forests of North America, and being near its center are defended on all sides by mountains and torrents that are impracticable to organized troops and will allow passage to only small bodies at a time: their situation alone protects them against any foreign invasion.

Louisiana is situated on the same waters that bathe the shores of American territories; it is a flat country, not protected by defiles or critical passes, and can only be defended by superior military forces: the Capital of the Province is 1500 miles away from the district of Kentucky, the lowest settlement on the Ohio River; How great is the disparity of circumstances between the two countries, from the military point of view! The American defended by the barriers of nature is absolutely inaccessible to any adequate force that may be sent to reduce him, at the same time he can instantly introduce into the very heart of Louisiana any corps of troops judged necessary, which can be easily made to subsist by means of the same channel by which they came down. Thus it is in his power to incommode and tire Louisiana, even with small parties, without these having to expose their wives and children and goods, and it cannot be doubted that a daring race of men, accustomed to war and familiarized with danger on account of their incessant hostilities with the savages, will not hesitate to expose their lives in a fight of so great moment to themselves and their

posterity. It will be useless to tell them that they have nothing to gain by taking Louisiana, for Spain is able to blockade the River with ships; they will reply: If we gain nothing, we will lose nothing, and at the same time we annoy the enemy we shall have imperiled our lives to obtain freedom from the hardship that oppresses us, and having made the experiment, and in so doing exposed ourselves to the consequences, in case of an unfortunate ending we can always go back to our homes in the same conditions we left them, satisfied that we have done our duty. I imagine that I do not exceed the limits of probability when I presume that well equipped men, with arms, ammunitions and provisions, commanded by old and experienced officers, taking advantage of their situation and superiority in numbers, will be able to possess themselves of Louisiana in a very few years, as against any force Spain can send.

Replying to the second question, it must be admitted that a respectable force can protect Louisiana for a few years and prevent the Navigation of the Mississippi, to which end I believe it would require ten thousand veteran troops, well distributed and ably commanded. This corps

W. Wilkinson probably erred when he wrote this for he knew that the expense of maintaining an army of 10000 men four thousand miles

Crown con-
 , and as
 the Americans multiply themselves, these [] must be in-
 creased, which will bring up the expenses to an impossible
 point; so that when Spain is exhausted of men and treasure,
 the Americans, like a detained torrent that has accumulated
 prodigious weight, will break all impediments, and desolat-
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the treasury of Spain

to the Gulf; there is another effect of the utmost importance to the Spanish nation, which the prohibition of the Mississippi may produce: the American Settlements abound with men accustomed to the life, habits and manner of warfare of the savages, who know how to procure their subsistence with their arms and thus find themselves continually prepared for war and hazardous undertakings; these men forced into idleness by not finding an outlet for the sale of the product of their labors, may be induced by a man of influence to any extreme of desperation; the silver of Mexico is an object of universal temptation, and I am sure that if those Americans cannot find it through the Mississippi they will endeavor to do so in that Kingdom through Illinois; how this can be done I am not sufficiently informed to determine, but I am assured that there are several Frenchmen in Illinois who have gone to Mexico and back by the above route; let this be what it may, I am convinced that it can be done for it was proposed to me by various resolute men, should the above people find no other means.

The third question finds itself answered in what is said above; but in addition thereto it may be briefly observed that if Spain throws the Americans into the arms of Great Britain, she will at once risk Louisiana and successively the Mexican Provinces, and on the contrary, if she draws the Americans to her interests, she may immediately begin to enjoy a vast revenue from her connections or commerce, and establish a permanent barrier against Great Britain and the United States.

The affair finding itself in this condition, Dn. Diego de Gardoqui should without hesitation deny absolutely to Congress the navigation of the Mississippi, because if he negotiates a treaty by which the Americans have the right to the independent enjoyment of this navigation, the power that Spain now possesses over those settlements will be destroyed and our principal object will completely vanish, for this must be established on the basis that said districts will maintain themselves subordinated and will solicit the protection of that Power ^[Spain] which assures them this, their most precious privilege, and Spain will therefore very carefully preserve this right so as to use it in exchange for such advantages she may wish to obtain from the above mentioned Western Settlements.

The prohibition of commerce on the Mississippi to the Americans has been a very wise measure, the more so that it has reserved for Spain the power to confer this inestimable privilege (which she may freely give) to a people who, if they had enjoyed it without interruption, would not believe themselves compelled to any recognition.

The same policy must continue yet a while, with more rigor in its general application, but in order to conciliate and prepare the minds of the Western American, tolerance will be good politics in certain particular cases, offering it to a few parties of real influence: This conduct will

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The same policy must continue yet a while, with more rigor in its general application, but in order to conciliate and prepare the minds of the Western American, tolerance will be good politics in certain particular cases, offering it to a few parties of real influence. This conduct will make them partisans of Spain, and will flatter the people with hopes of a free and amicable commerce, and will prevent any insult or hostility. With these pretexts the

Handwritten notes on a small piece of paper in the bottom left corner, partially obscured and difficult to read.

steps of the withdrawal from the federative government to the negotiation with the Court of Spain will be natural and immediate.

Under the circumstances Spain should rest and with
await
patience/ the proposition of the Americans; but it appears absolutely indispensable that those who now govern this Province ^[of Louisiana] should be fully authorized to act with the agent or agents ^[of Kentucky] who will come down to treat of the conjunction, which will facilitate and abbreviate the affair; once the Americans have made the propositions, Spain will hold the game in the hollow of its hand, and, as undoubtedly, more able heads than mine will direct it, it would be presumptuous for me to venture an opinion now; therefore I will only say that I am at all times ready to give such assistance as I may and that I am sure that the negotiation may be conducted in such a manner as to assure Spain all the advantages it may desire without involving it in any dispute with the United States. Spain pretends ^[to be] and is owner of the navigation of the Mississippi, which it may concede to any part of the United States, ^[to Kentucky] under such conditions as her politics or inclinations suggest, and if this part were ^[to Kentucky] to violate the federative pact or that of the Union to obtain the said grace, it is the violator, ~~and~~ not the Court of Spain, ^{that} who is responsible to Congress, in which case Spain will remain silent and allow only the Americans to operate.

But if, through some circumstance at present unforeseen and unhoped for, this brilliant plan should fail, I am

decidedly of the opinion that the following political and defensive system will be of immediate benefit in securing the safety of Louisiana, and ultimately bring about the occurrence that we are discussing; at present there is only one regiment destined for service in Louisiana and her dependencies, and this corps finds itself divided into ten detachments situated in such a manner that they cannot reciprocally support one another promptly; these would be an easy prey for even a weak enemy and consequently cannot furnish the Province any considerable protection against attack, it being easy for an enemy to embark at Fort Pitt two thousand miles away, and be borne by the rapid current, and he himself give notice of his arrival on the embankments of the city.

write out

To safeguard against this peril let us take advantage of the example of the European Nations and what reason commonly dictates: In Europe we find kingdoms, principalities and provinces, defended by fortifications and all their passes and frontiers occupied; so, if we wish to defend a house we begin by closing the door and there we make the principal defense: the same maxims may be applied to Louisiana; defended by her Navy and the possession of the Gulf by a rugged coast and a country of difficult access, she has little fear from the outside, and can only be attacked from the interior through the Mississippi. Therefore, this is the critical point that Spain must overcome; a respectable post at a certain distance from her settlements situated below where the waters, by which the attacking parties would

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have to come down, flow into the Mississippi, would be close enough to support Illinois; besides, it would restrain any designs against Mexico, would prevent an inferior corps from going down into Louisiana and hold superior forces in check so as to give time for the Province to be placed in a better state of defense, and finally when compelled to retire, it could by a simple maneuver and the sacrifice of very few men assure its retreat. I speak as a soldier and politician when I say that Spain should take possession immediately; in accordance with strict military principles, it is necessary for the defense of the Province, and considered politically it is also necessary for any negotiation that would take place after between Spain and the Western Americans, the more the strength and independence of the military forces of the post, the more advantages the former will be able to exact from the latter.

The position for this Settlement must be selected with much precaution and discernment, for which reason, not knowing the country, I cannot venture to fix it; but I shall mention a place which attracted my attention when I came down by this river, and which is vulgarly called "L'Anse à la Graisse", situated 15 leagues from the mouth of the Ohio on the right bank of the Mississippi, where at present resides a tribe of Delaware Indians. I am informed that the territory is extensive, not subject to inundations, well adapted to agriculture and its climate very healthful.

The cost of the subsistence of this garrison should not be an obstacle, even though provisions are brought from Europe; but this will not be necessary as the American Settlements can surely and easily supply them for one real* sterling (English money) for each ration.

Once this post is established, Spain may with assurance, admit Americans into Louisiana and Florida, although I am of the opinion that the former should be developed first on account of its preferable soil, and as the purpose of this policy is to alienate and banish American principles and connections, it will be an invariable rule not to concede residence to individuals who do not bring visible property or who do not present a sure bond, under the penalty of confiscation, that will respond for the faithful accomplishment of the oath, which oath shall be universally exacted; but as Religion depends upon faith and intimate conviction, the first Settlements should be left free and unfettered in this respect. The body may be conquered by suggestion, but the soul is invincible and becomes obstinate with oppression. The experience of centuries has demonstrated that persecution in religious matters has not obtained the desired end. Churches must be erected in these new Settlements at the expense of the public, with clergymen gifted with piety, forbearance and intelligence, who possess the English Language, who know the character and customs of the Settlers, not only to propogate the Holy Gospel, but also to educate the youth,

* $\frac{1}{2}$ Shilling.

and prohibiting all other public cults, the first form and principles of the ancient Religion will be adopted. Nor must the civil and military jurisdiction be less strictly considered; men of peaceable temper and recognized talent, who speak English, and on occasion are able to sacrifice all idea of self-interest, must be chosen. An American under such an administration will look with indifference on the Government he may have abandoned and finding himself in the free enjoyment and sure possession of his property and safe from impositions, will become a partisan of Spain by the indissoluble links of interest and affection.

This plan, so beneficial as well as politic, will produce immediate consequences of the utmost importance to Spain, because the first who venture themselves by reporting back to their brethren they have left behind, on the suavity of the government, fertility of the territory, the advantages of markets, and above all the emigration from Kentucky and other American districts, being exempt from ~~tribute~~ ^{tribute}, will be more rapid into Louisiana than it ever was from the Atlantic States into the said Western Country. This Province will flourish quickly in richness and strength and will become important to the Nation. To this end the same consideration that moves the United States to oppose the peopling of the Western Country will dictate to Spain a contrary policy, because as she possesses the only outlet for exportation, when this vast country and fertile territory is peopled it will be capable of producing with only the commercial tax an income more positive and probably equal

to that of South America.

Having unfolded these important points of our affair, it will not be improper, Gentlemen, for me to explain clearly at this point, to your Honors, the purpose of my voyage in order that you may duly inform your August Sovereign thereof.

Be it known to your Honors that the Notables of Kentucky, the place of my residence, chafing under the inconveniences and privations they suffer through the restrictions placed on its commerce, suggested and pleaded that I make this voyage in order to penetrate, if this were possible, the attitude of Spain toward their country and to discover, if this were practicable, whether it would be agreeable to open a negotiation, to admit us under its protection as vassals, with certain privileges in matters of religion and politics in accordance with the temper, and necessary to the welfare of the present generation. These privileges would have been specifically defined, and I would have brought my commission in writing from Kentucky (about to become a free and independent State) were it not that it continues to be subordinated to the republic of Virginia, but as I observed above that the people of this district, after they have organized their government will make their representation to the Court of Spain upon the subject which I have just mentioned/ and as I am convinced that its happiness and the peace of Louisiana depend on the success of this petition, I will with the greatest satisfaction employ all my abilities to this end, so as to merit those considerations which

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my services may make me deserving of. If this proposition is admitted, I will be ready to receive instructions from the Government, and return to Kentucky by the shortest and surest route, and on the way I will establish a confidential correspondence near Congress that will regularly procure for me information as to all the measures that may in any way have relation with our affair. If in the reply which I may receive to this memorial my propositions are admitted, I shall on my return to Kentucky proceed with careful deliberation, take advantage of my personal consideration and political influence in order to familiarize the people with whom I live with and make popular among them the aims that constitute the purpose^{of} my present voyage to which I have already fixed the sight of all that part that knows how to discern in this community, and I will bind myself to constantly send by confidential messenger (who must be compensated for the perils and fatigue of the journey) exact accounts of the measures I may have adopted in this important business, the effect they produce as also of any procedure of Congress.

I hope, however, that no wrong will be surmised; if, (at the same time I labor to further the work that may produce the agrandizement of Spain and the prosperity of thousands of souls,) I should attempt to secure the stability and welfare of my own family. To this end, and in order to give the strongest proof and bond of the sincerity of my propositions, I beg to be allowed to send to a representative in

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this city who deals in negroes, cattle, tobacco, flour, bacon, tallow, fats and apples, the product of about fifty or sixty thousand dollars of principal in Kentucky, these articles to be sold for my account and the amount deposited with this government as a guarantee of my good conduct until the time we are advised of the success of our projects or that I may establish my residence in Louisiana.

Thus, Gentlemen, have I given to your Honors my opinion, prospects and purposes in an affair that I consider of the greatest importance to Louisiana, as also to the country in which I am now living: when I reflect that I have written this memorial with continuous interruptions, daily efforts and various other disadvantages, I know that it must be full of errors and imperfections. But in the midst of these painful reflections I comfort myself in thinking that I have the honor of addressing two gentlemen from whose candor and consideration I will experience the most ample protection.

After your Honors have duly examined these observations, they will be able to determine whether or no it will be useful to appoint an agent in Kentucky, and once this idea is approved your Honors will draw up the regulations necessary to the rendering of the more essential services to the Crown; it is clear that an agent in that country, without personal influence will be able to warn the government in time of any offensive action that could be attempted, a matter without doubt of the greatest importance, but I comprehend that it is not out of reason to conclude that a man

of great popularity and political talents, co-operating with the causes above mentioned, will be able to alienate the Western Americans from the United States, destroy the insidious designs of Great Britain and throw those (Western Americans) into the arms of Spain.

I am certain of one thing, and that is, that I have respected the sacred truth of the facts I have established and that I have made use of my greatest faculties in digesting my speculations, but let it be permitted to me to observe here that the events that appear so probable and which I have anticipated in these pages, may possibly never be accomplished; in this case may I again be permitted to remark that I do not pretend infallibility in my judgment, nor can I be held responsible for the uncertainty and changes in human fortune. My understanding may err; but my heart can never deceive, and if the success does not correspond to our hopes, we may justly exclaim with the poet:

"...It does not pertain to mortals to be masters of success."

But we have done more, we have deserved it!

Before concluding, I beg the indulgence of being permitted to make a few other remarks. The interest of the inhabitants residing on the shores of the rivers that pour their waters into the Ohio being the same, their policy must in any event, and notwithstanding any temporary misunderstanding, be the same: for once the upper settlements see Kentucky flourish, enjoy peace and accumulate riches under

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the protection of Spain, they will find themselves impelled by the most powerful arguments that may be offered to the human intellect to embrace the policy that procured for Kentucky the referred to advantages. These districts extend themselves from the waters South of the Tennessee River up to the arms of the Northern Ohio for a distance of 500 miles more or less, situated west of the Apalachian Mountains and generally following their direction. It is not possible to assure the number of these large settlements, but I confine myself tightly within the truth when I say they contain 150,000 men capable of bearing arms.

Finally, Gentlemen, permit me to observe that it appears to me that the success of these propositions depends in a large measure on the following contingencies:

1st: The most inviolable secrecy, not only of the project but also of my name which is well known to Mr. Carmichael the American Charge d'Affaires at the Court of Madrid.

2nd: Of the continuation of Mr. de Miro in his present command, on account of the personal knowledge that both of us have formed, thus acquiring reciprocally a personal confidence that is essential to the negotiation, which would not be the case afterwards with his successor.

3rd: I am absolutely convinced that the appointment of D. Martin Navarro to be Minister to the American Government* would be most advantageous for the promotion of the project. This gentleman, being near Congress, with the knowledge he possesses of this affair, would be able to

(* see next p for note)

take advantage of any occasion to further our aims, and through this means we would be able to establish direct communication from Congress to the western countries and from Louisiana to the Court.

Forgive the above remarks, prompted by the conviction of their usefulness, and by my zeal in the cause to which I have pledged myself. To you, Gentlemen, I have confided an affair of so important a nature that were it divulged it would destroy my fame and fortune forever; but I feel the greatest confidence in the discretion and silence of your Honors, and if in any event the project should be rejected by the Court, I must rely on the candor and high honor of a worthy Minister to bury all I have communicated in eternal forgetfulness.

Dn. Esteban Miro, Governor of Louisiana, and D. Martin Navarro, Indendant of the same.

[Sep 6/87

See Miro & Navarro to Wilkinson p 52

slightly above need by them Sep 6.]

*The original document says "Corte Americana", i.e. "The American Court."

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see Wilkinson to S^r Clair July 4. 1787 (R579)
Lib of Cong NW Territory Papers (Loose)
advocating Gardoquis Spanish Treaty
about Commerce + Navigation

DESPATCH NO. 13.

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INCLOSURES NOS. 2 and 3.

ESTEBAN MIRO and MARTIN NAVARRO

to

BRIGADIER WILKINSON.

New Orleans, September 6, 1787.

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DOCUMENT No. 2.

It is established by law and various private orders that no foreigners may trade in the Spanish Dominions of America, and the prohibition now enforced in this particular with regard to the American Settlements on the Ohio and other Rivers that flow into it, is founded on the above principle, which is embodied in all treaties with foreign Powers: nevertheless, in order to give your Honor proof of the confidence the Memorial your Honor presented to us yesterday has inspired us with, we authorize your Honor to send a cargo of Tobacco, Negroes, Cattle, Hogs and Apples, just as soon as your Honor returns to Kentucky, up to half of the value mentioned in the Memorial, the proceeds of which are to be deposited in these Royal Vaults until H.M. resolves, we taking upon ourselves this responsibility and we promise your Honor to support your request with regard to the other articles you wish to send, for which purpose we hereby remit to your Honor the corresponding Passport.

We do not doubt your Honor will employ every means in his power to obtain the success of the project he has proposed, the merit of which we shall manifest to the Court, with all the support of which we are capable by reason of our respective employments.

God, our Lord, keep your Honor many years. New Orleans, September 6, 1787. Your most attentive servants kiss your Honor's hands. - Esteban Miro - Martin Navarro -- Mr. James Wilkinson.

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DOCUMENT No. 3.

Dear Sir: We have received yesterday the Memorial by which your Honor solicits various advantages for the Settlement of Kentucky, to which we reply that although we do not find ourselves authorized to grant them, nevertheless we are persuaded H. M. will take into consideration the reasons expressed in the said Memorial, which we will support with our best efforts, and your Honor may make this known to the Notables of the mentioned District for their satisfaction and hope.

May God, our Lord, keep Your Honor many years.

New Orleans, September 6th, 1787. Your most attentive servants kiss your Honor's hands. Esteban Miro -
Martin Navarro. -- D. James Wilkinson.

DESPATCH NO. 13.

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INCLOSURE NO. 4.

LIST OF THE SETTLEMENTS WEST OF THE
APALACHIAN MOUNTAINS.

New Orleans, September 25, 1787.

The Filson Historical Society

DOCUMENT No. 4.

List of the settlements that the vassals of the United States have peopled on the Rivers or Estuaries that flow into the Ohio which empties into the Mississippi. The capital letters that are on the margin beside each settlement, refers to those that designate them on the annexed Map:

A. Alleghany

B. The Monongahela.

The confluence of these two Rivers forms the Ohio, and there is constructed Fort Pitt.

C. Tigers Valley - a small settlement on an estuary that communicates with the Monongahela.

D. Green Briar

E. New River

The confluence of these two is called Great Kan-kawa and empties into the Ohio.

F. Blue Stone. Estuary communicating with New River.

G. Halston River - An old and considerable settlement close to the above, but its waters flow into the Cheraqui*, and this one into the Ohio.

*is Cherokee or
Simsall River*

H. French Broad - A River which like the above flows into the Cheraqui.

I. The Tennessee - Same as the above.

About two years ago these two settlements separated themselves from the Government of North Carolina, and formed a Republic entitled The State of Franklin; However, Congress has considered admitting them in the Confederation, but they still preserve their independence and self government.

K. The Clinch - River that also flows into the Cheraqui.

- W
- L. Pomels. This River is lower down than the others, but also flows into the Cheraqui.
- M. Kentucky. It takes its name, as do the others, from the River; but the settlements which compose it are not limited to the River, for not only do they extend to its arms, but it reaches for a distance of 160 miles from the Falls of the Ohio, up to the Lime Stone, one of its estuaries.
- N. Cumberland - Part of the Shawnee that flows into the Ohio.

Note.

Up to this point is comprised the list Brigadier James Wilkinson has delivered and which only contains the settlements that empty their waters on the left bank of the Ohio; and therefore the County of Illinois is not mentioned, which name they have given to

- O. The Post of Vincennes, on the Wabash River that enters the Ohio on its right bank, and to those districts on the eastern bank of the Mississippi facing ours in Saint Louis of Illinois and others adjacent thereto.

New Orleans, Sept. 25th, 1787 - Esteban Miro.

D E S P A T C H N O . 13.

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I N C L O S U R E N O . 5.

MAP OF THE SETTLEMENTS MENTIONED IN

No. 4.

This Document is not to be found in the Archives.

The Filson Historical Society

DESPATCH NO. 13.

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INCLOSURE NO. 6.

BRIGADIER JAMES WILKINSON

His Declaration of Allegiance to

H.C.H.

New Orleans, August 22d, 1787.

The Filson Historical Society

Declaration: Interest regulates the passions of Nations, as also those of individuals, and he who attributes a different motive to human affairs deceives himself or seeks to deceive others: although I sustain this great truth, I will not, however, deny that every man owes something to the land of his birth and in which he was educated. This something, no matter in what form it manifests itself, is founded on self-pride; for example, Irishman in Spain, a Spaniard in France, a Frenchman in England, or an Englishman wherever he may find himself, will glory in reciting the virtues and fame of his respective nation, and will be pained or angered at any manifestation of its misfortune or dishonor, but to affirm that an intelligent being, who is able to act freely, must like a plant take root to the place which by chance witnessed his birth, would be to dispose of the wisdom of Providence and condemn the universal practice of the human race.

When a distinguished person intends to expatriate himself, he should proceed with caution and circumspection, weigh carefully the obligations that subsist between himself and his country, see whether he is bound by some link of public confidence positive or implied; he should consider that this course will wound the self-pride of those he is about to abandon, and as a consequence will expose all

his life and actions to the severest scrutiny, and his reputation and character to the blows and jibes of gossip and calumny: profoundly impressed by these important truths, leaving apart all passion and prejudice, I appeal to the intelligence which God's bounty has given me, and have matured my decision in accordance with the dictates of reason, honor and conscience.

Possessed of these principles and adopting this opinion, I hope that it may never be said of me, with justice, that in changing my allegiance from the United States of America to H.C.M., I have broken any of the laws of nature or of nations, nor of honor and conscience.

Born and educated in America, I embraced its cause in the last revolution, and remained throughout faithful to its interest, until its triumph over its enemies: This occurrence has now rendered my services useless, discharged me of my pledge, dissolved my obligations, even those of nature, and left me at liberty, after having fought for her happiness, to seek my own; circumstances and the policies of the United States having made it impossible for me to obtain this desired end under its Government, I am resolved to seek it in Spain, where I trust that my conduct shall be directed by such principles of loyalty and justice in my relations with my fellow-citizens as to assure the tranquillity of my conscience and that my name be handed intact to posterity.

Thus, not only the respect for my own reputation, which I love infinitely more than life, but also that which I profess for you Gentlemen, to whom I have the honor of, addressing myself, have induced me to suppose that in any event of my future career I may depend on you as depositaries of my honor, to give testimony that my principles and the motives which prompted my conduct are the good of the country in which I live and the interest and aggrandizement of the Spanish Monarchy: in faith of which I sign herewith on the 22nd day of August, in the year of our Lord 1787.

JAMES WILKINSON.

C E R T I F I C A T E.

New Orleans, February 15, 1908. *(Dated 1908 or 1808?)*

The foregoing are true copies of the originals that remain in the care of Dn. Miguel de Pontalba, Senlis, France, to which I refer and with which they have been compared: in faith of which I sign herewith on the same day and month ut supra.

J. W. Cruzat. *

=====

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE: The originals of these documents have in all probability been destroyed in the bombardment and burning of the town of Senlis by forces of the German Army under command of General Von Kluck during the present European War.

New Orleans, June 11, 1915.

GILBERT PEMBERTON.

** Pontalba Papers Authentic Miss Copies*

Thus, not only the respect for my own reputation, which I love infinitely more than life, but also that which I profess for you Gentlemen, to whom I have the honor of, addressing myself, have induced me to suppose that in any event of my future career I may depend on you as depositaries of my honor, to give testimony that my principles and the motives which prompted my conduct are the good of the country in which I live and the interest and aggrandizement of the Spanish Monarchy: in faith of which I sign herewith on the 22nd day of August, in the year of our Lord 1787.

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61

ESTEBAN MIRO

TO

DN. ANTONIO VALDES.

New Orleans, 8th of January, 1788.

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Translated from the Spanish Documents belonging to the

"Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

A. No. 22.

Excellency.

I have received the Royal Order of the 23rd of last August, in which your Excellency explains the Commission given to D. Pedro Wouver d'Arges, which if on the one hand causes me much satisfaction, for now I may hope the projects proposed by this Intendent and myself in private despatch No. 13 have been judged of great moment, in view of the enthusiasm with which they have been embraced; on the other hand I painfully fear that it will interrupt Wilkinson's principal object as I will endeavor to manifest by the following observations:

1st. Dn. Arges spoke to me, as do all Americans who come down here, saying that it would be easy to bring many families from Kentucky to this Province and that some had spoken to him; but without stating the number of 1582 mentioned to-day, nor insinuating to me that he was specially charged by you to solicit this. Both the Intendent and myself have been gathering news of this kind; for appearing to us of great weight and risking to propose tolerance, we needed time to reflect, and security for our propositions, so that if the advantages not only spiritual but also temporal which the project would produce were true, it would not be rejected on account of the fears first caused by the lack of enthusiasm with which Dn. Arges presented himself here. Once Wilkinson knows of his mission in Kentucky, he will believe that we have not been

sincere: that we have already anticipated part of his project: that we have only utilized him to better obtain d'Arges' ends, and fearing that he (d'Arges) may alone obtain the fruits, Wilkinson may endeavor to counteract him. Therefore have I been reflecting whether to impart to d'Arges Wilkinson's ideas and inform the latter of the former's commission, so as to unite them and let them work together: but I can not bring myself to embrace the first part, because d'Arges may consider that Wilkinson's great projects may destroy the merit of his own, and he may precipitate himself (which is possible) to confide them to some one capable of influencing Wilkinson's arrest as a criminal, and also because he (Wilkinson) would be very angry should another be made a party to a confidence upon which depends his life and honor, as he himself expresses it in his memorial: not being able for these two reasons to declare myself to d'Arges, I must not confide the latter's commission to the former without knowing H.M. intentions about Wilkinson. If I were able to suspend d'Arges' commission until receiving a reply to my beforementioned despatch No. 13, I would do so: but my advice cannot reach New York in time; for now at any moment he will be operating, so therefore I have determined not to do anything in order to take such steps as the best service of H.M. may require.

2nd: The principal object to which Wilkinson has promised to devote himself entirely, which is the delivery of Kentucky to H.M., would definitely secure this Province a bulwark of New Spain; for which reason I think d'Arges' project a great misfortune; for I believe free trade to be one of the circumstances capable of destroying this end, as also the 25% impost which he has obtained in favor of those inhabitants.

The possession of free trade is apt to distract them entirely from thinking of changing domiciles, for this was the principal reason that would have induced them to do so, therefore, it would have been advantageous to have conceded it only to certain parties of influence in the country, as is proposed in Wilkinson's memorial; for once the others would have seen the advantages of fortune accruing to these particular persons, it would have been feasible to have persuaded them that the manner to obtain these, was to make themselves Spaniards.

If on the one hand it is best that the 25 per cent has been imposed, for it will serve as an obstacle, relief for which they will sacrifice anything to obtain, on the other I cannot refrain from saying that it will cause them to doubt whether they can flourish under Spanish dominion, and I fear, knowing their character, that this tax, which for them is insuperable, will create such an impression that it will remove forever the

possibility of their delivering themselves to us, more so if they examine the propositions of free trade that Great Britain has insinuated to them, should Wilkinson's statement to that effect be true. Nevertheless, I trust he will be able to remove any bad impression that may have been created by assuring them that by being vassals of H. M. they will enjoy the same liberty the other inhabitants of this province enjoy.

3rd: On the first point, in which your Excellency tells me to come to an agreement with the said Commissioner in order to admit the referred to families, your Excellency adds: "and even leaving the colonists on the lands that some of them have occupied in those regions, so as not to do them the harm of obliging them to leave their habitation and what they have cultivated." If this indication is a consequence of d'Arges' having advised that there are such American colonists, I must declare to your Excellency that this is not true, for all the people occupying the District of Natchez are vassals of H.M., and from the last plantation up the river, distant more than 14 leagues from the fort up to the Ohio, there is not one individual established, as I have advised your Excellency in private despatch No. 9, asking for H.M. orders as to whether I should oppose the forming of settlements between the Yazoo and the Ohio should anyone attempt it.

At the same time your Excellency orders me to offer to the families brought by d'Arges, that the Religion they have always practiced will be tolerated, which expression, and the desires I have of co-operating with H. M. good intentions, compel me to say that this is too broad: for I am sure to people Louisiana with families from Kentucky, by only promising them that they will not be obliged to become Catholics, for by saying that the use of their Religion will be tolerated they will understand that they are conceded its free use and exercise, which would justify them in bringing their ministers along. The established colonies are on the footing that they shall not have any, and only know that they shall not be forced to embrace our Religion; this will give a great field to the Irish Clergymen, who will have the opportunity of frequent conversions, which would be much more difficult if there were sectarian ministers to dissuade them; for this reason, this Intendant and myself asked in private despatch No.13 accompanying Wilkinson's Memorial, a declaration on this important point in case Kentucky should wish to deliver itself to H.M., and if they are unable to obtain it in any other way, this is the only circumstance under which they should be allowed the use of their Religion, because they have already established it.

4th: In the fourth point, in which your Excellency tells me that the Commissioner, with a great deal of care and shrewdness, and without compromising himself to anything will divulge throughout Kentucky, that whilst the definite frontiers are being settled, the Spanish Government will permit those inhabitants and settlers to send their merchandise and produce to New Orleans, etc.; your Excellency continues saying that there is no difficulty in believing that many merchants from Spain, and even from Havana, will come to this Port to take advantage of this lucrative commerce, particularly by restricting the permits until now granted to foreigners. This last circumstance obliges me, on account of my knowledge of this province, to represent to your Excellency that the least restriction placed on the Royal communication of the 22d of January of 82, which permits these colonists to restock themselves from France and her colonies, will jeopardize entirely the development of this province, and the greater number of inhabitants that are brought from Kentucky and other parts of the United States of America the more will the above permission be necessary in order that in this place there may be no lack of goods that the new inhabitants may require, for to it (the permission) we owe the growth of this province since the concession thereof. It would be importunate for me to repeat, for they are too extensive, the reasons that conquered the

Royal mind of H.M., for the concession of this grace, and I will thus limit myself to the principal one, which is, that deer skins and indigo being the most considerable articles for the return voyages to France, they have not until now been adaptable for the commerce with Spain because the skins have not improved there, and the indigo is of an inferior quality to that of Guatemala, which is used in that Kingdom; the only items the Americans can supply for the Spanish commerce and that of Havana are flours, hemp, cordage and pig iron. With regard to flour it is necessary that your Excellency declare if it may be exported to Havana, for this would harm the flour trade with the Kingdom of New Spain, from where it supplies itself, and with regard to the other articles mentioned, a great many years will pass before the colonists from the upper regions are able to provide sufficient quantities at a reasonable enough price to make it possible to transport same to Europe; so that in accordance with the inquiries I have made, I believe them limited to the remaining articles that your Excellency mentions that are of consequence in this province, and Tobacco, which only the Royal Treasury buys, and if they manufactured more than H.M. required, the most that could be permitted to them would be to make their surplus transportable abroad, and as I ignore whether this would be prejudicial to the Royal interests, I therefore beg your Excellency to communicate to me the Royal inten-

tion upon this point. I except from the above, however, salt meat, which I am persuaded can be transported to Havana and Europe; but I do not think this sole article should be restricted by the above commercial order, to which my narration refers.

These are the observations that my zeal induces me to make to your Excellency, so that you may elevate them to the knowledge of H.M., in order that they may produce the instructions H.M. believes best to send me with regard to them, with the understanding that in the meantime I shall work with the Commissioner in the manner and with the harmony that your Excellency charges me, aiding in his operations with the utmost activity and efficacy, employing all the sagacity and reserve possible, working also in conformity with the advices Dn. Diego de Gardoqui should communicate to me.

The present Commandant of Natchez, D. Carlos de Grandpre, Captain of Grenadiers with the grade of Lieutenant, Colonel of the permanent Regiment of this Province, is a person in whom I have confidence, and he will have charge of the matter to which end I will give him the necessary instructions; but, I pray that your Excellency authorize me to go up to Natchez, for I already asked it, under this date in No. 21, for the establishment of the chartered city, because my arrival there, coinciding with the arrival of a large number of families, would be opportune to instill the confi-

dence your Excellency expresses to me by order of H.M. for although this voyage will occasion me expense and inconvenience, I prefer the best service of H.M., desiring to acquire such merit as this operation may procure for me.

May God our Lord keep you many years. New Orleans 8th of January, 1788. - Ecsmo. Esteban Miro - Ecsimo St. Antonio Valdes.

The Filson Historical Society

ESTEBAN MIRO AND MARTIN NAVARRO

TO

DN. ANTONIO VALDES

New Orleans, 11th April, 1788.

The Filson Historical Society

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Translated from the Spanish Documents belonging to the
"Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

A. No. 15.

Excellency: Yesterday a pirogue, manned by a master and two boatmen and dispatched by Brigadier Wilkinson, arrived here from Kentucky after a voyage of twenty days, for the sole purpose of informing us of his arrival, as he feared that we would be anxious, even to the point of mistrusting his promises for he had assured us that we would receive news from him during the beginning of March: for this motive he writes in a very friendly letter an extensive account of his voyage which has been long and arduous, and separately in the agreed code he imparts to us what your Excellency will see in the translation we accompany under No. 1, in which he offers to communicate news of importance by his lighters, which must have left at the beginning of the present month, and these will require at least thirty days from the time of their departure for in the regular course they cannot make the same speed as the pirogue.

It is very satisfactory that the predictions announced in his memorial should be fulfilling themselves, and he sends proof of the first that is about to be accomplished, that is, the separation of Kentucky from the dependance of Virginia, as you will see from the translation of the Gazette that I enclose under No. 2.

We are surprised that you should have no news from Dn. Pedro Wouver d'Arges, it being very strange that on the 20th of March he did not yet find himself in that district, for which we fear some accident or delay may have befallen him.

Although the aforesaid Brigadier urgently requests that we despatch his pirogue promptly, whose crew will make the trip overland from Natchez; we have detained it for we are expecting the mails from one moment to another, which should carry January correspondence in which month your Excellency may have answered his affair.

He has solicited nothing for the men of his pirogue, having charged his correspondant here to receive them and provide for their return to which Post data No. 10 limits itself.

God keep your Excellency many years.

New Orleans, 11 of April 1788. Ecsmo. Sr. Esteban Miro - Martin Navarro -- Sr. Dn. Antonio Valdes.

The Filson Historical Society

BRIGADIER WILKINSON

TO

ESTEBAN MIRO AND MARTIN NAVARRO

Kentucky, 15th of May, 1788.

The Filson Historical Society

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Translated from the Spanish Documents belonging to the

"Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

A. No. 16.

Kentucky the 15th of May, 1788.

My dear and venerated friends: I have the pleasure of writing to you a second time and I flatter myself that already some time has elapsed since you received my first letter which I sent by an express in a pirogue, manned by two boatmen.

Major Isaac Dunn, the bearer of this letter, an old soldier and companion of mine, came to settle in this country during my absence, the confidence I have in his honor, discretion and fine talent has induced me (after having sounded his inclinations with precaution) to elect him to aid me in our political designs, which he has cordially embraced: he will present himself to confer with you on points which require information and to concert whatever measures you may judge necessary in order to further our project, and through him I will be able to receive such new instructions you may believe advantageous: I have also elected him to carry back the produce of the present cargo, for all of which I beg you to permit me to recommend him to your particular confidence, as a man to be depended upon and of discernment, who knows thoroughly the politics of the American Union and the circumstances of this country: I wish that his stay in Louisiana be as short as possible.

On the first of next January, by mutual covenant, the jurisdiction of Virginia over this country will cease: it has really been stipulated as a condition necessary

for our independence that Congress recognize us as a State of the federative union; for there is planned and elected an assembly to frame the Constitution of the Government, and I am sure that no arrangement of Congress or of the State of Virginia will induce these people to separate themselves from the plan they have chosen, although I have been recently informed that we will without a doubt be recognized by Congress as a sovereign state.

The referred to Assembly will meet in July; I will in the meantime employ myself in sounding out public opinion and form judgment of the influence of those elected; when it (the Assembly) takes place, and after having previously concerted a plan of action with two or three individuals capable of helping me, I shall at the opportune moment, and when circumstances justify it, develop our great political designs, and I am confident of a favorable reception; for I have not broken the silence except with two parties; I have sounded the opinion of many and wherever I have thought it advantageous I have manifested your reply to my memorial, which has always produced great joy; Colonel Alexander ^{Sc}Leatt ^{and}Bullit/ Henry James ^{Escudero}, our Attorney General, are the only two persons to whom I have confided our ideas, and in case of any accident to me, before their accomplishment, you may assuredly address yourselves to these gentlemen, who are perfectly identified with you in politics; therefore, just as soon as the form of government is established and adopted

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by the people, the election of a Governor, a legislative body, and other officials will be proceeded with, and I do not doubt that a political agent will be named to treat of the conjunction in which we are occupied, and I believe all these points will be arranged by next March; in the meantime I hope to receive your orders and I shall work to promote whatever you order me to.

I do not fear obstacles on the part of Congress, for under the present confederation this body can not dispose either of men or money, and the new government, if it is ever established, will find embarrassments which will maintain it without vigor three or four years, before which time I am justified in hoping that we will have finished our negotiations and find ourselves too strong to be subdued by any force sent against us; my fears, then, are born only from the policy that may influence your Court. I fear a change of the actual Ministry, and more so a change in the Administration of Louisiana, all of which you are better able to judge than I, and I beg that you speak to me clearly upon this point.

In my last letter I made mention of a letter I had written to Mr. de Gardoqui; as I took the precaution of leaving the letter open in the hands of Baron de Zillier, my brother-in-law and confidential friend in Philadelphia, he has informed me that after due reflection he considered it best not to deliver it.

I have addressed myself to Mr. Clark, my power-of-attorney in your city, upon the project of sending me merchandise via the Mississippi; this is a very interesting point to our desires, for the only tie that can bind this country to the Atlantic States is our forcible dependency to provide ourselves there with those articles which are not here manufactured, and when this people find that it can procure them in that capital and more conveniently by river, this dependency will cease, and with it all motives for the conjunction with the other side of Apalachian Mountains: then our hopes will be directed to you and all obstacles for our negotiations will be dissipated, for which reason I trust you will judge it advantageous to develop this medium, and have the goodness to grant Mr. Clark the necessary protection for the enterprise.

Referring to the accompanying observations and to the information Major Dunn will give you to make up for what I may have omitted, I beg that you accept my wishes for your happiness, and that you believe me with the highest and warmest personal esteem, your obedient, prompt and humble servitor - James Wilkinson -- Senores de Miro and Navarro. - Esteban Miro.

ESTEBAN MIRO

TO

SR. BAYLIO FRAY DN. ANTONIO VALDES

New Orleans, June 15, 1788.

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Translated from the Spanish Documents belonging to the

"Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

A. No. 17.

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Excellency:

Five flat boats belonging to Brigadier Wilkinson have just arrived laden with 166 tierces of Tobacco and some eatables, one laden with 33 having sunk above Arkansas after running into a tree which opened it; this cargo represents a cost of seven thousand dollars in Kentucky: it is in charge of Isaac Dunn, formerly a Major in the army of the United States in the last war, who has delivered me the letter of which enclosure No. 1 is a translation. In it your Excellency will see the condition in which the principal affair of my private despatch No. 13 finds itself. The said Major corroborates all Wilkinson refers to and also believes as certain that in the first Assemblies of the coming year, in which Kentucky will act as an independant State, it will separate itself entirely from Congress, having heard it said in all the conversations he has had with the notables of the State, that the current of the Rivers that pass before their homes instructs them clearly with what power they must form a conjunction, but that they do not know under what terms they shall solicit it. The said Brigadier in his private letter adds that he flatters himself that he will be the delegate of his State to present to me the propositions they resolve to make and he hopes to embrace me during next April.

From the very beginning he declared that he was not a man of means; here a private party upon recommendation of the Intendant, Dn. Martin Navarro, loaned him three thousand pesos, in order to pay these, the crews of the lighters, and the principal of the Tobacco which he took on credit, he asks me not to retain the product of his cargo, as offered by him, as the balance must serve to enable him to sustain himself without trouble, which will contribute to preserve and augment his influence in that State.

Although his candor and the inquiries I have made amongst people who have known him, seem to assure that he acts in good faith, yet I do not fail to know that it is possible that his intention is to enrich himself by suggesting expectations and advantages knowing that these will not take place; nevertheless, I have determined to please him on this occasion by not exacting that he deposit the product of the said, his first cargo, for comparing the damage that might result from displeasing him and the one that without a doubt would occasion the lack of funds to carry on his operations with the greater security that a deposit of his funds might give us, from which no profit accrues to the Royal Treasury, nor is commerce harmed by the Tobacco and provisions he has brought, for the first will produce a profit to H.M. and the provisions are very useful in this capital at the present moment and the only bad point about these is

there is not enough, so I have thought surer and more prudent the referred to condescension which I trust will meet with the approval of H.M.

Up to now I am working in the dark in this affair, for not having received a reply to the indicated private despatch No. 13 and although I regret not being able to give any positive instructions to the referred to Brigadier, I will continue to encourage him in the enterprise, and I believe the delay in receiving the Royal Orders will cause no harm, provided I receive them before the announced delegation arrives.

As it is, as Wilkinson says, of the greatest importance, that Kentucky know that it is not necessary to preserve any communication whatever with the Atlantic coast to procure what is needed from Europe, I will encourage and protect Dn. Daniel Clark, his power-of-attorney, as much as possible, so as to enable him to send a fully loaded lighter for which there is no other obstacle to go up the Ohio without peril, except that they may be attacked unexpectedly by the Indians in places that invite such an attack.

In the letter I included in my private despatch No. 18 Wilkinson promises a whole volume on the occasion of the voyage of his flat boats, which he has fulfilled, including several gazettes that treat of the Mississippi, the letters of the American Sullivan, of which Dn. Diego de Gardoqui must have informed you, and a paper of his own with various reflections on the new federative Gov-

ernment, the settlements of the Ohio and the navigation of the Mississippi, in all of which I only find the last article worthy of occupying your Excellency's attention, translation of which I include under No. 2, concluding the aforesaid Brigadier by saying that if Sullivan presents himself on this side of the Apalachian Mountains which he has not so far done, I may be sure that his voyages will come to an end, referring that he will be prevented from disturbing this Province, of which he boasts in his letters.

Our Lord keep your Excellency many years. New Orleans, June 15, 1788 - Escmo. St. Esteban Miro - Escmo. Sr. Baylio Fray Dn. Antonio Valdes.

The Filson Historical Society

PRIVATE DESPATCH No. 21.

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ESTEBAN MIRO

TO

DON ANTONIO VALDES

New Orleans, June 15th, 1788.

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Translated from the "PONTALBA" Group of Documents belonging
to the "Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

D. No. 4.

The Filson Historical Society

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PRIVATE DESPATCH No. 21.

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Most Excellent Sir: Annexed herewith please find translation of a letter written to the Commandant of Pensacola by Alexander McGillebray, our Commissary in the Talapuche Nation and its principal Chief.

I consider very interesting the statement of the Deputies from Cumberland who describe the unrest there and in Kentucky, and the desire of separation from Congress.

Although the expression that Kentucky was to form a connection with Canada considerably alarmed me, yet the statements of Major Isaac Dunn, of whom I speak in the preceding despatch of even date, completely dissipated my fears, for he has assured me that there is not the slightest disposition or thought on the part of the inhabitants of Kentucky of forming the slightest link with Canada and that therefore such news concerning the said district is utterly false: however, he knows where such reports originated and that is from the fact the Notables of the Post of Vincennes situated on the Wabash, which flows into the Ohio on its right bank, Capital of the county of Illinois, whose principal settlements face ours on the left bank of the Mississippi, represented to Congress last year that they were greatly molested by the Indians and Bandits, as they were left to themselves without any competent authority from the United States, and that if this distressing

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condition of affairs continued they would be compelled to deliver themselves to Canada, for Congress has immediate jurisdiction over the County, inasmuch as it does not form part of the territory of any of the thirteen United Provinces. General Saint Clair has been appointed Governor, and he is to bring with him a detachment of troops. This news has also been communicated to me by our Lieutenant Governor of Illinois.

The aforesaid Dunn has also told me that the statements of the Cumberland deputies to McGillebray with regard to the State of Franklin are untrue; that the division of which they speak was produced by two principal persons who formed factions, clashed and after some bloodshed separated themselves and left the said State in complete Anarchy, and that it is therefore untrue that part of it has been united to North Carolina and another part returned to the Talapuche Nation.

Regarding the proposition made to McGillebray that the inhabitants of Cumberland deliver themselves Vassals of H.M., I have said nothing, and have simply limited myself to replying to the Commandant of Pensacola acknowledging receipt of the annexed letter, stating that I will make proper use of the same. It does not seem to me well to act in any other way, as thus through McGillebray the whole matter would easily leak out and because also it is very probable that Cumberland will follow the lead of Kentucky. Never-

theless, as it may occur that Deputies be sent down here
 I beg Your Excellency to outline the conduct I must ob-
 serve and what may be H.M. pleasure. God keep Your Ex-
 cellency many years. New Orleans, June 15, 1788 - Most
 Excellent Sir Esteban Miro to the Most Excellent Sir Don
 Antonio Valdes.

The Filson Historical Society

D E S P A T C H N o . 21 .

ENCLOSURE.

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ALEXANDER MCGILLEBRAY

TO

Mr. GOVENOR O' NEILL.

Pequeno Talasie, April 25, 1788.

The Filson Historical Society

DESPATCH No. 21 - ENCLOSURE.

Pequeño Talasie, April the 25th, 1788. - I must inform your Honor that after Garzan set out with my letters for your Honor there arrived two deputies from Cumberland with propositions of peace with this Nation. They have represented to me that they are reduced to the direst extremity of misery by the incursions of our Warriors and that in order to obtain peace and our friendship they will willingly accept any terms that I may care to impose, and judging no doubt that such a statement would induce me to favor them they declared that they would deliver themselves Vassals of H.M., adding that Cumberland and Kentucky had resolved to separate themselves from the dependence of Congress, inasmuch as that body cared not and could not protect their persons and goods nor develop their commerce, hence they did not believe that they owed allegiance to a body that did nothing to uphold them; and that the new State of Franklin is dissolved, its territory having been divided one part being incorporated into the limits of the State of North Carolina and the other returned to the Cherokee Indians, from whom it had been usurped and that Kentucky is about to form a connection with the English of Canada with whom they are neighbors.

These deputies desired to know my opinion with regard to the matter of their propositions: but as this involves important political questions I hid my opinion from

them. The Chiefs and delegates from Cumberland are Colonel Robertson, Bledne Ewin and two others. They have shown me proofs of the purchase of the Cumberland country made more than forty years ago from the Northern and Cherokee Indians; my reply has been that when I hold my first great assembly these matters will be considered and in the meantime all hostilities on our part will cease and when we agree on the conditions peace will be formally established. I remain, with great respect and esteem, your Honor's most obedient servant.

Alexander McGillebray.

Mr. Governor O'Neill.

The Filson Historical Society

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ESTEBAN MIRO

TO

THE COUNT OF FLORIDA BLANCA.

New Orleans, the 7th of August, 1788.

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Translated from the Spanish Documents belonging to the

"Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

A. No. 19.

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Private Despatch No. 1, dated May 28th, your Excellency tells me to send safely the enclosed letter to Dn. Pedro Wouves d'Arges, who finds himself in this place, and to whom it is delivered.

I have him detained here until I receive an answer to Private Despatch No. 13, that in conjunction with the Intendant, my predecessor, Dn. Martin Navarro, I made to Ecsmo. Sr. Dn. Antonio Valdes, and I accompany the memorial of the American Brigadier D. James Wilkinson, who is established in Kentucky, I should not be surprised of its delay, for the affair is of the utmost importance to the Crown, as your Excellency must have seen, and therefore, it needs a careful examination in order to foresee all difficulties: but I am greatly perplexed as to whether I am right or wrong in detaining the said d'Arges any longer.

Really his commission can be fulfilled by a letter of mine, which I have already written to the said Brigadier, in order that he promote emigration here, which I have no doubt will begin next spring, which is more quickly than I would wish, and therefore I do not risk anything by not permitting him to go up to Kentucky, until I receive orders with regard to the mentioned projects.

d'Arges has told me that your Excellency had asked him in the greatest confidence if it would be possible to bring Kentucky under the protection of Spain,

which proposition surprised him a great deal at the time, for it appeared so large that he did not feel himself with strength to uphold it: but now that he sees Kentucky independent, he has conceived hopes upon this point, also because I have hidden from him the real motive of Wilkinson's coming, having only told him that he presented with my approval a memorial to the Court in favor of Kentucky, so as to build up commerce with this Province: he cannot conceive why, in accordance with his views, I lose time in an affair of so much moment as the realization of your Excellency's proposition, in which he could work, whilst the governmental constitution of the mentioned district is being framed: his intention is praiseworthy, if he acts with sincerity; but I know although in a limited way, that the jealousies of ambition between men easily produce enmities, and when two parties work each for his own end, the first who perceives that the other will carry away the glory, far from contributing thereto, uses his knowledge of the affair to prevent its accomplishment.

No delay will result to the Royal service if d'Arques does not go up, and to quarrel with Wilkinson when I am not able to confide him the other's commission would result in serious damage, and thus I trust your Excellency will approve that his stay in this place continue until I receive the Royal Orders upon the principal affair.

God keep your Excellency many years. New Orleans,
7th of August, 1788 - Ecsmo. Sr. Esteban Liro - Ecsmo Sr.
Conde de Florida Blanca.

ESTEBAN MIRO

TO

DN. ANTONIO VALDES.

New Orleans, August 8, 1788.



Translated from the Spanish Documents belonging to the
"Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

A. No. 18.

August the 8th, 1788.

Excellency: In the Royal Order of May 28th last, your Excellency orders me to assign to Dn. Pedro Wouves d'Arges the sum of 100 pesos monthly from January first of this year; I have already ordered the payment of this sum since the first of February, and the discounting therefrom of the sum of one hundred and fifty pesos given him by Dn. Diego de Gardoqui, to which arrangement he has assented, for which reason I will keep in silence the said Royal Order, until your Excellency tells me if the above discount is well made, and if the 100 pesos from January must really be given, which sum he has already cost the Royal Treasury for his passage from Havana here.

His Excellency, the Count of Florida Blanca, has sent me a letter, for the said d'Arges, ordering me to remit it securely, thinking he was absent from this city, for which reason I have in my reply told him what you will see by the annexed copy, trusting it will have your approval, I beg of you to obtain that of H.M. for the detention of d'Arges in this Province.

God keep your Excellency many years. New Orleans,
7th of August, 1788. Ecsmo. Esteban Miro -- Ecsmo. Sr.
Dn. Antonio Valdes.

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DN. PEDRO WOUVER d'ARGES

TO

ESTABAN MIRO.

New Orleans, 12th of August, 1788.

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Translated from the Spanish Documents belonging to the

"Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

A. No. 20.

Dear Sir: After considering all the circumstandes, when by agreement with H. M. Minister in New York I determined to travel by sea to New Orleans, my expectation was that by arriving in the month of April, as in effect I did, I would have begun to go up the rivers during the following month so as to reach the falls of the Ohio during the month of September or at the latest during October; as your Honor knows well, I made my arrangements for this purpose, offering to remain there and correspond with your Honor in all my investigations until new orders, notwithstanding the smallness of the salary assigned to me for this, and furthermore that if your Honor required that my mission be limited to that of the families, I would do the same; but that afterwards I would return down here. Your Honor replied that he was expecting in each mail an answer of the Court to propositions made by Brigadier General Wilkinson, and that it was more suitable and more advantageous to await these before I should decide. The first, second, third and fourth mails arrived, without any other news, regarding the affair, at least concerning me, except a letter dated May the twenty-eighth, from his Excellency the Count of Florida Blanca, which seemed to confirm my mission and instructions.

Now, if there are men thought of to trace and mark itineraries in those upper lands, it seems to me that I should be one of them and I may very well assure, as I

have already said, that once the month of September has arrived, it will be almost an impracticable thing to be able to arrive at my destination during all of the winter on account of the ice, etc., so that from one delay to another I would see myself forced to wait six or seven months more, burdening H.M. treasure with one hundred pesos each month, without any advantage to the public welfare, and with a great injury to my own interests. Now then, examining and considering all things well, I beg your Honor to do me the favor of considering one of the two propositions I will present here.

The first is that, taking into consideration that when I was called by the Court of Spain, I was then on the brink of going to the island of Martinique to visit my family and a small estate of mine, that I have not seen for nearly five years; your Honor will permit me to go there, promising that I will return as soon as the season is favourable and direct orders reach me to that effect, either to this selfsame place or whether I should go a round-about way, as shall be judged best.

The second proposition is that wishing to demonstrate as extensively as it is possible for me to do so, my disinterested intentions in this case, I propose that inasmuch as there is at present here a vessel that will set sail directly for France within fifteen days, that I take passage in it, at my own expense, with only one

passport from your Honor, leaving here for the next mail a well detailed memorial directed to His Excellency, the Count of Florida Blanca, and upon my arrival in Paris, not trusting the ordinary post, but through H.M. Ambassador or the Charge d'Affaires there to communicate with His Excellency, so that then, if he judges it proper, I think I shall still have time to make the mentioned voyage within the next summer, assuring your Honor that if this is done, I trust it will be with more uniformity and harmony, which seem to me not to have prevailed until now in this affair. Your most humble, obedient servant kisses your Honor's hands. - Pedro Wouves d'Arges - New Orleans, 12 of August 1788.

ESTEBAN MIRO

TO

D. PEDRO WOVES d'ARGES.

New Orleans, 13th of August, 1788.

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Translated from the Spanish Documents belonging to the

"Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

A. No. 21.

Dear Sir: I have received your letter of the 12th of this month to which I reply as follows:

You are well aware that what obliged you to come to this Capital was the disagreement between D. Diego de Gardoqui and yourself, prompted by your desire to immediately establish trade between Kentucky and this Province as against that Minister's views that you should begin to fulfill your principal mission, which according to the orders we both had, consisted in attracting families to Natchez, limiting yourself with regard to Commerce, to encourage a few hopes that trade would be granted under an impost of 25%. In the time intervening between the proposal and the taking up of your commission the American Brigadier D. James Wilkinson, a resident of that district, arrived and presented a memorial, in which he proposes to establish trade with this Province, with various circumstances that may be advantageous to both, because it will be done only with its productions in exchange for the goods that are imported here: understanding the decision in this affair, and also that of your differences with D. Diego de Gardoqui, it appeared to me best that you maintain yourself here until receiving it from the Court, although I truthfully expected them from mail to mail; having, upon your arrival, informed the Minister that you would be detained here until I received the reply to the above mentioned memorial of Wilkinson's; I cannot contradict myself, thus

it is not possible that you go up, whilst the referred to decision does not arrive.

In the first proposition that you make me I find the difficulty that by saying you will await orders in Martinique, if these should arrive here within two or three months maybe I will not have an opportunity to communicate them to you in another four months, for which reason if it is urgent that you should go to the said island on account of private business, you may do so, provided you are back in this Province in all of February.

The second proposition, it seems to me will take up much more of your time, and will be the cause that next spring or summer may pass entirely before you take up your commission; but as you desire, as is natural, that the points on which you believe there is contradiction between the manner of thinking of Dr. de Gardoqui and myself and yours, I think that it is best that you should undertake your voyage, via Havana and from there on the mail ship proceed to the Court to present yourself there more promptly and be able to return with the certainty you so much desire in this matter. This reply is a consequence of the impatience in which you find yourself here; and thus, yes, I am agreed with you, under the circumstances that the Royal Treasury shall be put to no further expense than the 100 pesos that are assigned to you monthly, and I cannot help but saying that your observation on the smallness of this amount

for your maintenance is worthy of admiration, for in the knowledge of the country that I have I am very sure that it can procure the decent fare to which you are entitled, even whilst travelling through it.

Finally, I will add, that notwithstanding all that has been said, it may very well happen that in the next mail which normally I should receive before the 15th of September, the reply that both of us desire should come, and that a lighter may at that time offer itself to go up to Illinois; for every year they usually come down about the end of this and return about the middle of the next month, arriving there in the beginning of December, before the River freezes, and although you would not be immediately able to make your voyage to Kentucky, you would be ready to undertake it, as soon as the thaw sets in, for all of which it seems to me prudent to await a while longer, until the arrival of the referred to next mail.

I still have to say that I fear that you will find yourself embarrassed up above, as I have told you from the beginning, to begin your voyage by the Ohio on account of the incursions of the Indians.

In view of all of this, you will reflect in order to choose from the above mentioned plans, that which best suits you and adhere to it, although to my mind the best would be to quietly await here H.M. resolution.

God keep you many years. New Orleans 13th of Aug-

ust, 1788. Your attentive servant kisses your hand.
Esteban Miro -- D. Pedro Wouves d'Arges.

The Filson Historical Society

D. PEDRO VOVES d'ARGÉS

TO

ESTEBAN MIRO.

New Orleans, August 21st, 1788.

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Translated from the Spanish Documents belonging to the
"Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

A. No. 23.

My dear Sir: In accordance with the reply of the 13th of the present month, with which your Honor has distinguished me, together with what you have done the favor of telling me by word of mouth, after the arrival of the first mail, I shall take advantage of the next occasion that offers to go to the Island of Martinique, promising to return here during all next March, if, and whilst I do not receive any contrary orders from your Honor or from his Excellency, the Count of Florida Blanca, to whom I shall send a detailed report of all by the first vessel sailing for Havana.

New Orleans, August 21, 1788. Your Honor's most humble and obedient servant kisses your Honor's hands -
 Pedro Wouver d'Arges - Esteban Miro.

The Filson Historical Society

ESTEBAN MIRO

TO

D. ANTONIO VALDES

New Orleans, August 28, 1788.

Translated from the Spanish Documents belonging to the

"Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

A. No. 24.

Excellency: In accordance with the orders given by the American Brigadier James Wilkinson to his correspondent here, the latter has invested the product of the sale of the tobacco and a little besides in the loading of a lighter, the disbursement amounting to 18.246 pesos ~~six~~ reales, the cargo being made up of wine, spirits and dry goods destined for Kentucky.

The opening of this trade is of major consequence for the attainment of the principal project, that I have addressed to you un private despatch No.13, accompanying the memorial of the mentioned Brigadier, because it is important, before binding those people to change dominion, that they see that the real channel by which they are to receive all they need in exchange for their products is the Mississippi, and that the merchants of New Orleans will be able to supply them more cheaply than those on the other side of the Mountains; which is evident, because, having to travel more than one hundred leagues in wagons or on horses from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt, and there place the merchandise on rafts or flat boats, which they must buy or build, the cost of transportation must be very great, and greater than the cost of the skiff lighters of this place, for on account of their capacity they are able to carry large cargos, as is seen by the one mentioned above; but nor is even this the principal circumstance that enables these inhabitants to sell more cheaply in Kentucky than those of the

Atlantic Coast, but rather, that products of those settlements having a value in this place, and their transportation in flat boats being easy and cheap on account of the favorable current, our merchants will benefit in the return trips, for they will be satisfied to sell the merchandise that goes in exchange for the products without profit, taking them at the current price in that country, on the contrary those of the Atlantic can only find a very small profit in tobacco, without being able to receive in exchange flour, hams, and other produce for the transportation up the Ohio and by land from Fort Pitt absorbs its value, so much so that I believe it will be very difficult for any commerce to subsist between the Atlantic Coast and the mentioned western settlements, for that which they now enjoy springs from the constant flow of emigrants, who carrying their wealth in merchandise, exchange them in Kentucky and the adjoining country for cattle, flour and other articles they need in order to establish themselves.

The great obstacle that Wilkinson's correspondent, who also is interested in the cargo, found, is the difficulty of going up to the falls of the Ohio without being attacked by the Indians; but I have encouraged him to vanquish all risks and have furnished the means of sending two messengers who have gone one by way of the Chicacha Nation and the other by way of the Talapuches, with advices to Wilkinson that he send an armed boat to the mouth of the Ohio where it flows into the Mississippi,

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on account of which, and the twenty boatmen on the lighter being also armed, I trust they will reach their destination safely, having begun the voyage on the 22nd of the present month. I have also made him write to Wilkinson not to have the merchandise sold above its price here for it is very important that this first trial promise to the people the most flattering and pleasant hopes.

I flatter myself that the arrival of this cargo will create a most agreeable sensation amongst those inhabitants, and will make them know more and more that their happiness depends upon what H.M. deigns to grant them in this communication-*, for which I believe they will make any sacrifice to obtain, and I therefore have the greatest confidence that this and other steps I have taken will be approved, which steps will assure me the greatest tranquility in this Province until I receive instructions as to the Royal pleasure with regard to so great and so important affair.

God keep your Excellency many years. New Orleans
August 28, 1788. Excmo. Sr. Esteban Miro O Ecsml. Sr.
Antonio Valdes.

*Translator's Note: In using the words "esta comunicacion" - "this communication", the writer refers to "this means of communication"- i.e. the navigation of the Mississippi.

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BRIGADIER JAMES WILKINSON

TO

DON DIEGO de GARDOQUI.

LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY, JANUARY 1st, 1789.

*See A No 16 dated
May 15. 1788*

Translated from the Spanish documents in the
archives of the "LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY",
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

"A" No. 1.

Brigadier Wilkinson to Don Diego Gardoqui.

Lexington, Kentucky, January 1st, 1789. Sir: - I venture to direct this communication to you with the assurance, that although I am personally unknown to you, my correspondence will not be unwelcome, once you are informed that from an early date I have been an active agent in promoting the political designs which seem to have directed your aims toward this country; that in order to further these projects, which have for an end the reciprocal welfare of the Spaniard of Louisiana and the American of Kentucky, I have sacrificed voluntarily my domestic felicity, time, goods, comfort and what is even more important, in so doing I have abandoned my personal fame and my political character. In the prosecution of this object I take the liberty of molesting you, firmly convinced that you will excuse this liberty inasmuch as it is based upon my zeal for the prosperity of Louisiana and Kentucky and whatever may be the outcome of the business in hand I trust you will keep secret what I am about to communicate.

You will recall that in the winter of 1787^{*} Baron Steuben addressed himself to you, soliciting a passport for a gentleman who desired to visit Louisiana via the Mississippi, which passport you at first promised but later refused to issue; I do not know if my name was mentioned at the time, but the testimony of the very letter written by you to the Baron excusing yourself

** means
87-8 for
was written
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1787
See next
p 2*

2.

for not issuing the passport, which has been sent to me in order to show me why it was not issued, will convince you that I am the person in whose behalf the Baron interested himself. Notwithstanding, this circumstance has not made me abandon my project and I have determined to venture on a trip, ostensibly for the purpose of commerce, but really under the following principles.

An intimate knowledge and a comparison of local conditions in the Atlantic and Western States of North America, did not leave the least doubt in my mind, from the beginning of the investigation, that their interests were opposed and their politics irreconcilable. Having established my family in Kentucky on vast holdings of land, I foresaw at once that nothing could be expected from the Union, and under this supposition I considered it my duty to look to any other source for the patronage and support which the prosperity and happiness of our extensive Settlements so highly required. With this intention I addressed the Government of Louisiana, determined at the same time in the alternative of risking a civil suit and opening negotiations with Great Britain, preliminaries for that purpose having already been arranged, in case my propositions were not acceptable. But in honor of the truth, the manner in which I was received by the Governor and Intendant allayed my fears and resulted in a free and mutual conversation of a most confidential nature;

naturally their urbane and endearing attentions inspired me with a warm personal regard, whilst my observations upon the clemency, justice and energy of the Government suggested comparisons not at all favorable to the turbulent license in which we are at present living. With the consent of these gentlemen, I at that time reduced to writing a description of the situation, circumstances, objects and interests of the country in which I live, of the politics of the Atlantic States with reference to it, the designs of Great Britain, and numerous reflections upon the real interest of H. C. M. and the policy he should follow in order to secure and extend his possessions of Louisiana. This review or memorial was, by my express desire, sent directly from New Orleans to Madrid in September 1787. As this affair was of the utmost importance to me and not knowing your political opinion I refused to permit that you should be informed of the matter and I abandoned myself to the honor and discretion of the Minister to assure my personal safety should my plans be disapproved.

The explanation having begun at this point, I expressed the desire to obtain results through this channel. This determination proceeded from my confidence in Dn. Esteban Miro and Dn. Martin Navarro, and that I still maintain my opinion that through this means the affair may be managed so as to avoid the fears and suspicions of Congress; but it appears to

4.

me that the Minister has judged it wise to pursue the regular course and that you should be authorized to act on this point, which makes it absolutely necessary for me to open a correspondence with you, and I flatter myself that these circumstances will justify this step of mine in the eyes of my dear and honorable friends Dn. Esteban Miró and Dn. Martin Navarro, for I beg to assure you that no transitory consideration can induce me to lose their friendship or good opinion.

Last winter upon my return from Louisiana I passed through Virginia and wrote you a letter of congratulation with the object of opening a correspondence with you, but my letter was intercepted, and for this reason I find the present detail necessary, in order to present to you a person who at present aspires to obtain your confidence.

I will conclude this letter by referring in a general way to my friend Major Dunn, who will show you several authentic documents relative to your plans which it would be imprudent to commit to paper and I hope you will not condemn my precautions when you reflect upon the unstableness and fluctuations of human politics; for if, as it is at present rumored, the Court of Spain has unfortunately ceded Florida and the Island of New Orleans to Great Britain, new scenes will be opened and new measures must be taken. It is not necessary for me to suggest to a gentleman of your

knowledge and experience that the human race wherever it resides governs itself for its own interest, although with various modifications; some are sordid, others vain and others ambitious; to select, draw and take advantage of the predominating passions is the most profound phase of political science.

The Major will tell you what we have agreed to with regard to the petition he brings and will also explain to you the measures I have taken in this district, the effect these have produced and the present frame of mind of the people and if you see your way clear to trust yourself to the system he will outline and help him vigorously I will, on the other hand, pledge my fame, my life and my fortune to the success of the enterprise.

Hoping to have the honor of receiving a reply through Major Dunn, I have the honor of being your most obedient and humble servant James Wilkinson -
Sr. Diego de Gardoqui - Esteban Miró.

{ Here read W's letter p 132
then these enclosures

DOCUMENTS MENTIONED IN WILKINSON'S
LETTER TO MIRO, DATED FEBRUARY 12,
1789.

The first three papers have not been

found in the archives.

*see descriptions of all in
Mero-Valdey p 132*

*Inlyayenne + any other Indian
see for omitted items listed
by Mero p 132 etc*

Translated from the Spanish documents belonging to the
"Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

A. No. 2.

#5 mentioned by Ulro. Valdez p 132

See A No 4 referring to these extracts

Extracts of letters written by Don Diego de Gardoqui, under date of the 4th of October 1788 the one, and the 10th of the same month and year, the other.

1st. Whereas during your voyage in the Western country you will have occasion to converse frequently with the inhabitants of the shores of the Ohio, and as it is necessary that they should be well informed as to the state of affairs between the court of Spain and the United States, I beg that you impress them with the truth, which is, that after a Presidency of three and a half years, during which I have labored continuously to adjust an equitable treaty, based upon principles such as are becoming of good neighbors, I am just informed that the Honorable Congress has resolved to leave the matter to the new Government and as I presume much time must elapse before it is sufficiently organized to take up such a measure, I find myself at liberty to profit of this interval to make a short voyage to Europe to look after my private affairs; therefore I beg of you further, to give my word of honor and assure them that H. M. is in the best of dispositions for granting to the inhabitants of the Western frontiers any protection and favor which they may ask not in conflict with the existing treaties with foreign powers; personally it will always be a source of great satisfaction to contribute to the betterment of their

condition. However, my absence will not be immediate nor will it alter your plans and work for I will always have a person to whom you may address yourselves for all my business, and I will be in better condition to press matters in my court and give you ample satisfaction, for all of which, -dear friend -- you may count upon the sure and prompt friendship of your most obedient humble servant - Diego de Gardoqui. - My absence will not be long and only of a temporary nature.

2nd. New York, 10th of October 1788. Dear Colonel: I have before me your favor of the 7th instant, acknowledging receipt of my letters of the 4th and 6th instant, with the documents therein contained. I desire with all my heart that you arrive safely and obtain what you desire. I am very happy to learn your purpose of visiting the settlements of the Ohio, more particularly that of Kentucky, and that you will endeavor to impress the inhabitants of these regions with the true state of affairs. They may be assured of the best disposition on our part but the obstacles which stand in the way of adjusting a treaty with the United States, on account of the former treaties are so large, that a great many years must necessarily elapse before they are removed little by little, for which reason the above mentioned inhabitants are the only people, who, on account of their thorough independence are entitled to address

themselves to the generous possessor of what they desire, and probably they will experience his proverbial generosity; but they must take advantage of occasions, and count upon all of my help. As soon as I determine my departure a person will be named who will receive and answer my letters, and who will have full instructions as to my intentions.

I will take good care of writing to you at every opportunity, and again expressing my wishes for your health and prosperity I remain your true friend and obedient servant - Diego de Gardoqui. - Colonel George Morgan - a true copy - Estaban Miro.

The Filson Historical Society

BRIGADIER WILKINSON

TO

Dn. ESTEBAN MIRO

(Private)

Lexington, Ky., 14th of February, 1789.

Translated from Spanish documents belonging to the

"Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

A. No. 3.

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Lexington, the 14th of February, 1789.

Esteemed and honourable friend: Having written to you under date of the 12th instant, with the clearness and respect due to the Governor of Louisiana, as representative of his sovereign, I now address myself to a man I love, to a friend in whom I may have confidence, and in the simple language of innocence, without formality or reserve.

If you are surprised, perplexed or uneasy on account of the Minister's silence on the subject of my memorial and because you have not yet received satisfactory advices from our dear friend, Dn. Martin Navarro, I judge that I may tell you that you should be satisfied, for it appears that our plan has been warmly accepted. About the month of March last Dn. Diego Gardoqui received from the court ample authorization to establish with the people of this country such trade relations as he deemed proper in order to alienate them from the United States and ally them to Spain. The news of this first reached me through Mr. Brown, member of Congress from this district, who after our efforts to enter the union had failed, negotiated quite freely with Dn. Diego de Gardoqui before his return to this country last September, and finding out that our plans had been opposed, he nearly abandoned the cause in despair and positively refused

to publicly encourage the proposition made by Dn. Diego Gardoqui, as being contrary to our cause. Brown is one of our deputies, or proctors, of respectable talents but timid, with small political experience and little knowledge of the world, however, as he is a consistent adherent of our interests, we have lately elected him as our representative to the new Congress, but really as a spy upon the conduct of that body, which commission I would have reserved for myself, but two reasons detained me: my presence was more necessary here and I would have been compelled to swear allegiance to the new government, when my obligation is to fight it,

The circumstances which placed this affair in the hands of Dn. Diego Gardoqui, instead of yours, has been a most unfortunate one indeed, because this gentleman makes the most imprudent use of his powers, issues passports to anyone soliciting same, and instead of becoming acquainted with persons of influence, who in order to safeguard their own interests would further his designs, he traffics with parties from the Atlantic States, who have no knowledge of nor interest in the country.

When Major Dunn disembarked in Philadelphia he found that his wife and children were in the State of Rhode Island; on his way to New York he was sent for by Dn. Diego Gardoqui, who questioned him with regard

to the conditions in our country and what had been the purpose of his trip to New Orleans. Gardoqui received Dunn in the most friendly manner possible; he said he did not intend to limit his good offices to the issuing of passports, but that he would facilitate anything ^{that} might be required, and that he was prepared to render services to Dunn and also to his friends more important than any the Governor of Louisiana could render, for his powers were far greater. The Major tactfully avoided replying to his questions and promised to write from here; but the anxiety of Dn. Diego de Gardoqui rose to such a pitch that he wrote to the Major at Philadelphia, and I herewith enclose the original letter marked No. 1.^x The Major, during his visit to Dn. Diego Gardoqui discovered that several individuals carried favors with the Minister in order to establish themselves on the Mississippi, and thus share in the advantages of our commerce. When Dunn arrived in Kentucky and advised me of this state of affairs, I immediately concluded that the best thing to do was that the Major should return to New York, interview Dn. Diego Gardoqui, remove these ideas from his mind as being contrary to our great designs, suggest to him the true policy he should pursue, and to obtain by whatever means he should judge necessary, a document that would further the great political business we now have in hand. In order to remove all

see p. 17^x

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or misunderstanding
cause of suspicion on his part I have written him a
letter through the Major, of which enclosure No. 2 ^x See it
is a copy, and I flatter myself that this letter will
meet with your approval. The Major is also the bear-
er of a petition for a concession of land on the Yazoo
and Mississippi, which I mentioned in my last letter,
the most advantageous place for settlement being a lit-
tle above Natchez. The petition is signed by Ynnes,
Sebastian, Dunn, Brown and myself, and our intention
is to establish a settlement along the lines mentioned
in my letter of the 12th, and with a view of destroy-
ing the plan of a certain Colonel Morgan.

This gentleman (Colonel Morgan) at present re-
sides with his family near Princeton in New Jersey,
but about twenty-five years ago he had a company for
the traffic of Indians, together with Baynton and
Whaiton, in Kaskaskia; he is a man of education and
of clear understanding, but a thorough speculator; he
has failed in business twice, and so I am informed he
is at present in very straightened circumstances; he
was sent to New York by a company of gentlemen from New
Jersey to negotiate with Congress the purchase of a
large track of land which included Cahokia and Kaskas-
kia, but whilst this matter was pending he had occasion
to be with Dn. Diego de Gardoqui and he found it advan-
tageous to transfer his negotiations from America to

Spain, and the fact is that he obtained the most extraordinary concession indeed, which extends on the Mississippi from the mouth of the St. Francis River up to Cape Cinquhommes westward, comprising in all about fifteen million acres. I have not seen Morgan nor do I know the particulars of his agreement or contract; but I placed a spy on his tracks in these parts when he went down the River to his New Province, and from this Agent I have received the following information: That Morgan's intention is to erect a town on the western shore of the Mississippi as near the mouth of the Ohio as the nature of the land will permit; that he intends selling his lands in large and small parcels at one shilling (sixth part of a peso) per acre; that Dn. Diego de Gardoqui pays all the expenses of the settlement, has pledged himself to make a free trading post of it, so as to intercept all the products of this country and obtain the best bargains he can from our people. Morgan left here during the first part of the current month to take possession of his territory, surveying and preparing the ground for the town which is to be called New Madrid; he has two surveyors and forty or fifty persons who all came down with him, but he has not yet been able to get one man out of Kentucky. Politically considered Morgan's settlement can be productive of no good results, and may occasion the most pernicious consequences, for the Americans who settle

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there will, on account of the proximity to and constant trading with their compatriots of this side of the River, preserve the customs of their country and will remain as much Americans as if they were on the shores of the Ohio; on the other hand, the attempt to detain the products of this vast country in a place so far removed from the real market, will as long as Americans be in charge, cause friction which will eventually involve both countries and ruin the fine edifice whose foundation we have just laid and which just now we are working to perfect. If it is judged necessary to maintain the Americans at a distance from Louisiana, let the Spaniards be charged with the transportation of those products arriving at their gates and that are acceptable to the Americans; by these means an impenetrable barrier will be formed, without expense to the crown, for in less than thirty years H. C. M. will have at least thirty thousand oarsmen on the River who can be armed and organized in corps to assist in the defense of the Province whenever necessary. I am informed that Morgan proposes to visit you when he finishes the survey of the land ceded to him; permit me, my most esteemed friend, that I beg of you not to divulge my plan, principles, and designs; he has long been jealous of me, really has no liking for our cause, is only moved by vile interest, and consequently would not scruple to destroy me upon his return to New York.

One of the objects of Major Dunn's visit to Dn. Diego Gardoqui is to investigate this whole affair, and I have no doubt he will succeed; I expect him to return in the beginning of April, for he left here on the 17th of January, and I have news of his safe arrival on the other side of the mountains; as soon as he returns I will either go myself to see you or send a friend in whom I have full confidence.

As Dn. Diego de Gardoqui has given passports to all those who have asked for same you may expect to see various persons who during the season have gone down the River, but my honoured friend, your attention should only be drawn to those who bear a letter from me, for I will write through any deserving or honourable man or one who has influence. I believe that there is at present at that place a certain Peter Paulus of Philadelphia, where he was an obscure citizen, earning his livelihood as a servant in an inn; there is also in these parts a certain Mr. Dorsey and a certain Mr. Paulin, with passports from Dn. Diego de Gardoqui and letters for yourself from Dr. Franklin and Thomas Mifflin, Governor of Pennsylvania. These are citizens of Philadelphia where they conduct a large notions store; they have recently failed, however, and in these circumstances they have brought some goods to Kentucky, where they were sold as domestic goods, they will go down to New Orleans in order to take a few pesos from H. C. M. and bring them

to their families in Philadelphia; such is, my esteemed friend, the news resulting from Dn. Diego de Gardoqui's credentials; your own judgment will tell you they must have no influence upon the important question begun by us. But why should they have privileges and rewards? Such men even have the audacity to suppose they will obtain permission from you to do almost anything they choose.

You will find enclosed number 3 to be two newspapers that contain all the proceedings of our last convention, and will observe that the memorial to Congress was presented by me, and probably you will be surprised that a good Spaniard should have dictated such a document, but after pondering over it you will observe that my policy has been to justify our separation before the world, and to insure the co-operation of a few friends in the Atlantic States in order to divide them, because once this is known it will be impossible for the United States to obtain the results to which we aspire, not only did I satisfy my sentiments or inclinations, but I also endeavored to arrange my memorial in such a way that it's style would be more appropriate to excite the passions of our people, and carry with it the conviction that Congress neither has the power nor inclination to entertain their petition; therefore, if after having publicly and energetically

claimed our rights and established clearly and legally our wishes, Congress should not uphold them, (which you know it cannot do even were it so inclined), then not only the people of Kentucky, but the world at large will justify us for looking for protection somewhere else.

Your conduct in protecting the expedition of the boat destined to this country will doubtless merit H. C. M. approval, for really, my friend, it is an important point gained, that of convincing the people of Kentucky that instead of sending their money over the mountains to purchase various necessities, those can be obtained in New Orleans on better terms and in exchange for their own products. Good-bye, very dear friend, tomorrow I am going to the falls of the Ohio to despatch my barges. Believe me always your faithful servitor and grateful friend - James Wilkinson - Sr. Dn. Estaban Miro.

ESTEBAN MIRÓ

to

ANTONIO VALDÉS

New Orleans, April 11th, 1789.

Translated from documents belonging to the
LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

"A" No. 4.

Excellency: The barges of the American Brigadier James Wilkinson, laden with tobacco and in charge of Captain Abner Martin Dunn, brother of the Major of the same surname, of whom I have spoken to your Excellency, have just arrived and the Captain has delivered to me the aforesaid Brigadier's correspondence, inclosed herewith as follows:

No. 1 is a translation of the official letter in which he informs me of all the happenings since the date of his last letter, May the 15th of last year, and in which letter he includes five documents.

The first of these is a translated copy of the Resolutions of Congress postponing the declaration that Kentucky is a free and independent state until the new government shall have been installed.

The 2nd comprises the acts of the Kentucky Convention held last July convening another session for the following November.

The 3rd is the approval by the said Convention of the memorial that the beforementioned Brigadier presented to the Intendent, my predecessor, and myself and which was sent to you in secret dispatch No. 13. Under the same number, is a letter from the President of the Convention to the self-same Brigadier, thanking him on this account.

where was there such approval? in letters? Pol. Trans?

The 4th is a copy of a letter from General St. Clair to Major Dunn, in which he says that he suspects that Wilkinson heads the party that pretends to separate Kentucky from the United States: he adds that Spain encourages this very thing, that Great Britain is not idle and he unfolds the plans of the English Colonel Conely in favor of her designs.

See A No 7

And the 5th is an extract of two letters written by Dn. Diego de Gardoqui to Col. Morgan, charging him to make it known to the people of Kentucky how well disposed H. M. is to assist and protect them.

Under No. 2 I attach a translation of the private letter, because it contains other interesting information, principally its three documents, which are:

No. 1, a letter from Dn. Diego de Gardoqui to Major Dunn, in which he promises his protection to the Western States.

No. 2, is another letter, written by Wilkinson to the selfsame Gardoqui wishing to establish with him the negotiation he had^{made}/with the Intendent my predecessor and myself.

No. 3, manifests the acts of the Kentucky Convention held in the month of November, in which is included the 2nd petition of this district to become an independent state and a member of the Union and that Congress obtain for it the free navigation of

the Mississippi.

The reading of these papers will inform your Excellency of the condition in which the principal affair now finds itself, and for this reason I will limit myself, to consider only those points upon which I beg your Excellency to communicate to me the Royal determination, which they require, and in order to make matters clearer, I have marked with capital letters in alphabetical order those paragraphs of the said correspondence which I will discuss.

In paragraph "A", the beforementioned Brigadier states that for the present he does not find it advisable to agitate the idea, that Kentucky should place herself under the dominion of Spain, and that he has determined to apply all his efforts to separating the said district from the United States and to forming a conjunction with Spain. This step seems to me prudent indeed, and might perhaps prove advantageous to the present interests of the Monarchy; for the complaints and jealousies of other powers which the addition of a vast new territory to the dominion of Spain would produce, would thus be avoided, and almost the same advantages could be derived from the conjunction as if they would deliver themselves vassals of H. M., and there would be a considerable saving in the expenses that the administration of Justice and the safety of the new empire would necessarily require.

Supposing, therefore, that they should eventually obtain their independence, as a matter of fact delegates will immediately come down here to propose the above mentioned conjunction and more especially to ask assistance of money, arms, ammunition and such supplies as would be indispensable to them: my knowledge of the situation makes me doubt the exigency of the moment is such that there will be no time to solicit H. M. 's orders to help them; hence, I fear that they may be obliged to force my hand, by representing that, Congress knowing they are not armed will equip an expedition for the purpose of subduing them, a thing it never dare do if they had wherewith to defend themselves, for which reason, if I am not able to immediately supply their needs, they will say that we can not complain if they appeal to Canada, from where they can receive help within one month after the appeal is made, more so since offers to that effect have already been made, as your Excellency will see below, there being no doubt that there are ample supplies in that British possession, for the London papers of a year ago announced the shipments. The first article of H. M.'s resolutions, contained in the Royal order of the 1st of November last, which is in reply to my secret dispatch No.13, does not authorize me to help them in any way nor in any case without first reporting what they ask, although I am confident that if the case was as urgent

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as I have just explained, my decision to take upon myself the responsibility of helping them would be approved: the greatest difficulty, however, is that I have nothing with which to satisfy them, for in this warehouse there are only a little over one thousand serviceable guns, with very little artillery and no surplus supplies, all of which I hereby make present, stating at the same time that a consignment of ten thousand guns, 4 cannons of 18 or 24, six of 12, eight of 6 and twelve of 4, with fifty swivel guns and all the necessary equipments would be useful, with fifty thousand pesos, besides those already sent, your Excellency deigning at the same time to instruct me of H.M.'s intentions as to the manner and the cases in which I am to concede help.

In paragraph "B", you will find Brigadier Wilkinson's praiseworthy boldness in presenting publicly in the convention his first memorial, in so doing it appears to me he has bound himself completely in such a manner that should he not obtain Kentucky's separation from the United States, he will no longer be able to live there unless he eliminated those articles that could be prejudicial to him which may be possible on account of the opposition of ^{Marshall} Mantral and Muter. For the purpose of petitioning for Independence, admission as a member of the Union, and the free navigation of the Mississippi, it was resolved in the said Convention to formulate new memorials to Virginia and

to Congress, and
 / in spite of the fact that Wilkinson insists, in
 this and subsequent paragraphs, in maintaining a
 contrary opinion, I believe that Independence and
 Union will be conceded to them and that the answer
 that Congress gave them was not a subterfuge, for
 the right of the District of Kentucky to these bene-
 fits, in accordance with the Articles of Confedera-
 tion under which the new United States established
 their first government, is incontestable.

The manner in which he explains himself in par-
 agraph "C" makes me fear that he will find the con-
 cession of trade to the inhabitants of Kentucky very
 contrary to the principal project, although under an
 impost of fifteen per cent, and that this facilitates
 them the long desired free navigation, for which he
 felt confident they would have exposed themselves to
 all the resentment of Congress by separating them-
 selves from their government, if through no other
 means could they have obtained it; in this I am to-
 tally of his opinion, as I explained in my secret
 dispatch No. 32. However, as is natural, the peti-
 tion of Congress will be that ships coming to load
 the products of Kentucky be allowed to enter through
 the Baliza , a constant opposition to this demand
 and a few other obstructions I can suscite, to
 those who do not come down to settle, such as, not
 buying tobacco from them for account of the Royal

Treasury, may probably have the same effect.

Paragraph "D" corroborates more and more how opposed he will be to the enunciated extention, for he disapproves of encouraging emigration, in accordance with my request to that effect made at the time I got the Royal Order of the 23rd of August of 87, with regard to the commission given to Dn. Pedro Nouves D'Argés; in this I totally dissent from his opinion, and have so advised him by letter dated the 6th of the present month, which has been brought to him by a person of his confidence who will make the trip overland in thirty five days, and in which letter I explain myself as follows:

"I have always understood that your memorial contained the project of emigration as the first, and that its realization did not stand in the way of the accomplishment of the principal object; this has been my opinion, thus have I represented the matter to the King and thus has it been conceded, as you will have seen in my ciphered letter which was brought to you by a certain Jennings who left here about fifteen days ago; but let us suppose that I have deceived myself in believing that you at first held this view, the fact remains, however, that I will always be of the opinion that it is advantageous to the service of the King to encourage emigration as soon as possible in order to have people who will be so impressed by good government and the advantages they find therein that they will find it to their interest to defend

this country; I would say much more on this point but as I said above I cannot write at very great length, and I only add that you will do the King a great service if you induce a large number of well to do families, who need no other assistance but lands, to come down; but it is necessary that you remain in that district in order to press the project of the conjunction, until it is verified or disappears; for, according to the answer of the Court, you are now our Agent, and I am ordered to give you hope that the King will recompense you, as I have already insinuated."

I will cite paragraph "E" although it is only an argument to prove his opposition to peopling Louisiana now, with people from there, of which I have just spoken, I will cite it only to assure your Excellency that Wilkinson is deceived when he says that only poor and undesirable people have come down; for some have brought negroes and all have established themselves without expense to H. M., besides the number is not large and can never cause anxiety even though a portion were of the kind he mentions.

Your Excellency must already be informed of investigations conducted by Great Britain through the English Colonel Conely in the States lying west of the Appalachian Mountains, for Dn. Diego de Gardoqui has informed the Governor of Saint Augustine to that effect and he in turn reported to the Capitan General,

who communicated them to me in the last mail; therefore, what Brigadier Wilkinson refers to in paragraph "F" is believable and has been corroborated to me by sub-Lieutenant Andrew Fagot of the Illinois Militia in his letter of the 1st of March, that I do not enclose as it reduces itself to referring that the said Conely tried to organize an expedition in Kentucky against this Province and this proposition was so badly received that he had to make his escape lest he lose his life. The beforementioned Brigadier has, therefore, done us a great service in devising the stratagem which he mentions, thus making him lose all hope for the success of his mission and to abandon the country. This event has persuaded me whilst reflecting on paragraph "A" that I may find myself in the urgent necessity therein mentioned, and I, therefore, trust that your Excellency will not find my demands exorbitant, for the supply of arms, artillery and ammunition should be augmented in this province in proportion to the increase in population, so as to arm its militia in case of necessity.

In paragraph "G" your Excellency will see that he says he has advanced five Thousand pesos fuertes in order to affirm a few prominent persons in our interests; but in the last private letter that does not contain anything of any consequence but this and reference to shipments of tobacco, he declares that he has loaned the above mentioned five thousand "pesos"

for three years to three influential persons who favor our cause, to which I have replied as follows:

" I propose ^[et?] to the Court that the five thousand pesos advanced to the parties won over to our cause be reimbursed to you and that two thousand five hundred pesos be appropriated for Muter and Mantral; ^{Marshall} but it is natural that H.M. should desire to see some good effect, such for instance as would be the Independence of that State and that commissioners should come down to form the conjunction." Informed as is your Excellency of the merit contracted up to the present by the referred to Brigadier, I beg of you to elevate it to the knowledge of H. M. and inform me of the Royal resolution upon this particular.

I have finished my reflections upon the points contained in the beforementioned Brigadier's official letter, which so require, and having endeavored as much as possible to avoid being indistinct, I have, therefore, not touched the other paragraphs, for I have nothing to add that they do not express.

Under the same system, there remains very little for me to say with regard to private letter No. 2 and its three documents, hence, I will only add that in my reply I have attempted to dissuade the referred to Brigadier that Dn. Diego de Gardoqui has granted an arpan of land to Colonel Morgan; but as Peter Paulus has told me the same thing, I fear that through some error, the said Colonel Morgan is imbued with the

idea, it would be extremely harmful to concede to any one person a large portion of land, for speculative purposes, and I will explain at length my reasons, if through the efforts of Dn. Diego de Gardoqui such a favor should have been granted, I will make my representation for I believe that it is for the best interest of H. M.

May our Lord keep your Excellency many years.

New Orleans, 11th of April, 1789. - Ecsmo. Esteban Miró,-
Dn. Antonio Valdés.

DN. ESTEBAN MIRO

AUTHORIZATION OF MR. JAMES WHITE.

New Orleans, April 20th, 1789.

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Translated from the Spanish Documents belonging to the
"Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

A. No. 5.

Dn. Esteban Miro, Colonel of the Royal Armies, Governor Intendant of the provinces of Louisiana and Western Florida, etc.

In consideration of what Mr. James White has presented in favor of the districts of Franklin and Miro, formerly Cumberland, for whose welfare he has declared himself very much interested, I authorize him to make it known how well disposed H.C.M. finds himself to favor its inhabitants, for the sole motive of generosity, explaining the importance to them of what is expressed in the following articles:

1st. Every inhabitant who is not a vagrant will be allowed to settle in the Province of Louisiana, in Natchez, or any other part on both banks of the Mississippi: he will not be molested in matters of Religion, although the Catholic will be the only public cult: upon their arrival lands will be given them gratis in the proportion manifested in the adjoined note: they will be permitted to carry down (the river) their property consisting of products of the country free of tax, and will be at liberty to sell them in the places through which they pass or in this city: they will understand that they must bring wherewith to sustain themselves during the first year, as have done those who have already come, and as soon as they arrive, all the privileges (immunity from tax) enjoyed by the other vassals

of H. M., will be extended to them, and they will be obliged to take the necessary oath of allegiance with the obligation of taking up arms only in defense of this Province against any enemy who may attempt invading it.

2nd - Free trade is granted the inhabitants of the said districts with this Capital, they may therefore bring down furs, tobacco, flour, eatables, and any other produce, they being at liberty to sell them to whomsoever they see fit, without however promising that any purchases, not even of tobacco, will be made for account of the Royal Treasury, if it does not need so to do; but, the trading that will be done by those who do not come with the intention of settling, cannot be admitted unless they pay fifteen percent, from which I may deduct a part in favor of those men of influence who solicit this grace, and who are made known to me as such by Mr. James White.

3rd - With regard to the proposition of the said gentleman, referring to the wishes of the said districts to forming a conjunction with Spain and separating themselves from the United States, I cannot ordain or encourage it, on account of the harmonious relations existing between H.C.M. and the said states: therefore, the inhabitants should work for what they consider

their best interests, and if they eventually obtain or gain their complete independence from the said States, then H. M. will extend them such favour, help and other advantages worthy of his Royal Beneficence, and that are adaptable to the situation in which the said inhabitants find themselves and that are compatible with the interests of his Monarchy. - New Orleans, 20th of April, 1789 - Esteban Miro.

The Filson Historical Society

MR. JAMES WHITE

TO

DON ESTEBAN MIRO

New Orleans, 22 of April, 1789.

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The Filson Historical Society

Translated from the Spanish Documents belonging to the
"Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

A. No. 8.

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Sir Governor: I see myself compelled to appeal to you in order to proceed in the affair which you have approved.

Mr. Gardoqui assured me that inasmuch as my services were connected with those of H. M., his Treasury would satisfy the expenses. After this assurance, I paid no attention to the private letters of credit which I could have obtained. The funds which I personally secured, having been consumed, owing to the wreck of the Brig of War YNFANTE, in which I was going from New York to Havana, and long and unexpected delays, place me in the necessity of recurring to your pleasure and the promise of the Minister.

The road, and the time that must elapse before I can count on any other help, will make four hundred dollars necessary in order to facilitate my treating with those people in an easy and decorous manner. I am your obligated and obedient servant - James White -
New Orleans, 22 April 1789. - Esteban Miro.

ESTEBAN MIRÓ

to

BRIGADIER JAMES WILKINSON.

New Orleans, April 23, 1789.

The Filson Historical Society

Translated from documents belonging to the
"LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY", New Orleans, La.

"A" No. 7.

New Orleans, April 23, 1789.

My esteemed friend: I expected to write to you at length through Captain Dun, but as he returns sooner than I expected, I will not have time to do so, for although I work from seven in the morning until the dinner hour and from five in the evening until eleven at night, yet I find that it is impossible to fulfill the demands made upon me, for everything seems to accumulate at the same time; I will therefore limit myself to enclosing a duplicate of the letter I wrote you through Balinger, marked No. 1, although I had wished to extend myself on various points, more especially on the advisability of your encouraging emigration, by which means you would perform a great service to Spain, if as I expect you should send a large number of worthy families who own some property.

Notwithstanding the scarcity of time, I must advise you of a new development, but you must be silent as to the names of the parties mentioned so that at no time my confidence in you may cause them harm, and I assure you most emphatically that you have not been betrayed by me, nor have I mentioned your name, although it has been necessary to speak of the affairs of Kentucky.

Don Diego de Gardoqui has enlisted in the interests of Spain the services of Mr. James White, Member of Congress, who owns property in the District of Miro, formerly Cumberland, and sent him to

the State of Franklin to urge the people to secede from the United States, and form connections with us, and on his return to New York, he reported that the agreement was well prepared, the principal people won over to our cause, and determined to swear allegiance to Spain as soon as the desired separation had been effected, binding themselves further not to form any alliance or pact with any other power and to take up arms for the defense of any other province if an invasion was threatened through that region and reserving for themselves the right of autonomous government. For this reason, and because he was not able himself to do anything further, Gardoqui gave him passage on one of the King's ships to Havana with a recommendation to the Captain-General to send him to me, to whom he says that in view of the circumstances I am to do the best I can within my powers.

The referred to White arrived here eight days ago and presented his project to me in the manner I have explained, hence I have determined that he travel by land to the Districts of Miro and Franklin, and have formulated an answer to his proposition, a copy of which I herein enclose marked No.3.

At the same time I have just received two letters, one from Brigadier-General Daniel Smith under date of the 11th of March and another from

3.

Colonel James Robertson, both of the District of Miro: The first one advises me that they have given my name to the District formerly called Cumberland, and adds that Mr. Fagot, an officer of militia from St. Louis, Illinois, and who lately spent some time in Nashville on private business is the bearer of his letter, and that I should give credit to all he says with regard to the frame of mind of the people of the above mentioned district: as a consequence, Fagot has informed me that in September deputies will be sent to the North Carolina Assembly, which will meet on the first Monday of November, to solicit an act of separation from her, and once this is obtained other delegates will be appointed to come to this Capital to place themselves under the dominion of H. M.

The letter of the second one (Colonel James Robertson) was delivered to me by his son-in-law, for whom he interests himself, by soliciting a passport so as to enable him to return to his family, said passport to include himself also, should the advices that are brought to him make him decide to also make the trip with his family.

I have replied to both in general terms, referring to the answer I have given Mr. White, who will deliver my letters.

By this confidence you will see that in my

4.

opinion you are always the principal actor in our favor, and I therefore hope you will obtain all the information possible, let me have your opinion, and explain all the points that will shed light on the subject, so that I will know how to manage myself, also report on the importance of the said two districts, which I doubt are as yet of any great consequence, but I was unable to do otherwise than as you see, after Don Diego Gardoqui had sent the beforementioned White to me. It is also important that you should be informed of this matter in case it should be advantageous to induce the referred to districts to act in conjunction with Kentucky, once the separation from the United States has been resolved.

I am anxiously awaiting letters from you explaining what has been done since you last wrote me, and God grant that I may embrace you shortly as delegate from that State.

Command as you will to your affectionate friend and faithful servant, Esteban Miró. -
 Mr. James Wilkinson. - A true copy, Esteban Miró.

DON ESTEBAN MIRO

TO

MR. DANIEL SMITH

New Orleans, April 24, 1789.

Translated from the Spanish Documents belonging to the
"Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

A. No. 6.

Sir: I have received your valued favour of the 4th of last March, in which, after referring to private matters concerning Mr. Fagot, you tell me you have great confidence in this party, and that I may rely upon what he tells me with reference to that district.

You will see by the answer I have given Mr. James White, who will be the bearer of this letter, how inclined H.C.M. is to cooperate in the well-being of that district: the same document serves also as an answer to what Mr. Fagot has proposed and I will only add that I anxiously await the results of the plans you will launch in the North Carolina Assembly, next September, and on my part I beg to assure that I will contribute in every way within my powers to the relief and prosperity of those inhabitants.

I have taken this opportunity, for Mr. Fagot's private business will not permit him to return at an early date to those regions.

You may count, of course, upon the grace that I mention in the paper delivered to Mr. White, referring to rebate of duties, which in your case will only be six per cent on such goods as you send for your own account.

With regard to your mention of the Indians, on which subject Mr. White spoke to me very particularly, I will say that having induced Alexander McGuillebray to make peace with the district under your command, he tells me in his reply that he has offered the Governor

of North Carolina that the Creek Indian will not wage war any more in that country: Nevertheless, after seeing your letter I shall advise him that I am now more particularly interested in the matter.

With the Cherokee and Mascouten Nations I have no communication whatever, however, they sometimes go to Illinois, and the first mentioned presented themselves to the Commandant there in May of last year, asking permission to pass to the western shores of the Mississippi and settle there with all of their Nation. I have ordered that they be admitted and if this takes place I believe it is the best service which, on this point, I could have done to the inhabitants of those regions.

I have had a great deal of satisfaction in noting the fact that the inhabitants of the district have given it my name, which will incite me to desire more and more its greatness and prosperity, and that all of its dwellers be happy and enjoy the tranquility they desire, and which I pray the Almighty to grant them.

The proposition you make me in your correspondence is very flattering, and I hope to be able to find therein reasons to serve you. I pray our Lord to keep your life many years. - New Orleans April 24th, 1789. - Your most attentive and affectionate servant kisses your hand - Esteban Miro' - Mr. Daniel Smith.

MORGAN'S LIST.

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The Filson Historical Society

Translated from the Spanish Documents belonging to the

"Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

A. No. 9.

List of the persons who have subscribed to Colonel George Morgan their acceptance of the plots of land, which he has promised to allot them in his projected settlement of New Madrid.

No.	Names	Acres of land English Measure	Its cost in pesos fuertes
1	Benjamin Bennet	320	48
1	James Dougherty	160	28
2	(John Hulings " ")	320 160	48 28
1	James Williams	320	48
1	George Adams	320	48
1	(Israel Thrine, Colonel) (four concessions of 160) (acres at 18 dollars N.) (of New Madrid, another) (4 concessions of 320 @) (48 dollazs south)	1820	304
George McCully four con			
<hr/>		<hr/>	
7		2420	552

7	Brought forward	2,420	552
2	(cessions of 320 acres) (each at forty-eight) (dollars.) (same party 32 lots of) (320 acres at \$48.00) (and two of 160 at 28)	1,280	192
1	Anthony Furmey	320	48
2	(Joseph Story) (" ")	320 320	48 48
1	Edward White	320	48
1	Matthew Furmey	160	28
1	William Wright	320	48
1	John Trochebroad	320	48
1	Hugo Montgomery	320	48
1	Lucas Decker	320	48
1	William Montgomery	320	48
1	Abraham Westfeld	320	48
2	(Robert Walker) (" ")	320 320	48 48
1	George Hall	320	48
1	John Cunningham	320	48
25		19,180	2432

Note: There is an error of ONE in the total.

25	Brought forward	19,180	2432
1	Baston Hoplitttle	320	48
1	Joseph Philips	320	48
2	{ David Owens	320	48
	{ " "	320	48
1	Jayme Owens	320	48
1	John Owens	320	48
1	James Cleghornes	320	48
1	William Robinson	320	48
1	James Pride	320	48
4	{ John Stewart	320	48
	{ " "	320	48
	{ " "	320	48
	{ " "	320	48
1	William Green	320	48
1	Alexander McDowell	320	48
2	{ James Starkey	320	48
	{ " "	160	28
<u>1</u>	Alexander Deamits	<u>320</u>	<u>48</u>
45		27,100	3312

45	Brought forward	27,100	3312
1	Thomas Davis	320	48
1	Thomas Todd	320	48
1	James Dunn, solicits, and his petition has been allowed, for himself and 14 more companions, 320 acres for each at 48 p ^s	4,800	720
1	Benjamin Davis	320	48
1	James Montgomery	320	48
1	Francis Perkins	320	48
<hr/>			
50		29,500	4384

Translation of one of the acceptances of the parties above mentioned, all the others are alike and the original order has been followed:

 New Madrid, April 22, 1789.

Sir: Be good enough to allot to me, my heirs, or to the person to whom I transfer this, the parcel Letter "D", on the North side of the third row north in the District of New Madrid, consisting of three hundred and twenty acres, for which I bind myself to pay you, your heirs or to the person to whom you transfer this, forty-eight dollars in Mexican coin, with legitimate interest from this day, and I abide with

all of the registered conditions of the settlement.
Benjamin Bennet to Colonel George Morgan.

Petition No. _____. Received the 22nd of
April, 1789, and granted the 25th, possession must
be taken and a family located by the first of May
1790, or sooner. George Morgan D-. Registered
by me Samuel Willman^{Jr.} Secretary - a true copy, -
Esteban Miro'.

The Filson Historical Society

DON ESTEBAN MIRO

TO

COLONEL MORGAN.

New Orleans, 23rd of May, 1789.

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Translated from the Spanish Documents belonging to the

"Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

A. No. 10.

Dear Sir: I have read with the greatest attention the propositions you made to H.C.M. through Dn. Diego de Gardoqui, his Minister in New York, to form new settlements from Cape Cinquhommes to the mouth of the Saint Francis River, and I confess that when I read the Minister's letter on the 4th of last October, in which the said Minister so positively approves and admits them, I experienced the utmost satisfaction, for I believed the information I had with regard to your plan to be false, although, to be truthful, I did not like the facility with which you could sell lands to settlers, but afterwards when I saw that they were even more extensive and exhorbitant than what I had been informed, my surprise was very great. I will not stop to reject them one by one, for it will be sufficient for me to relate the circumstances in which H. M. has approved the peopling of Louisiana, and everything deviating from these is totally inadmissible.

H. M. concedes gratis to the families who come down to settle, lands in proportion to the workers, that each one has, two hundred and forty arpents, Franch measure, being the least quantity granted, when there are only two or three cultivators, four hundred arpents from six to ten, and six hundred from ten to fifteen. Notwithstanding that this is the plan of concession of lands, + I am empowered to modify it and hereby agree to the arrangements you have made with the gentlemen of Fort Pitt

in which each one will be granted three hundred and twenty acres and I will increase this allotment in favor of those who are well-to-do enough to buy negroes or pay workmen.

They will not be molested in matters of Religion, although there must be no public cult other than the Roman Catholic.

Immediately they arrive, they shall be treated on equal terms with the other inhabitants of this province, not only in freedom of trade, but also in matters of justice, to which end H. M. will, from place to place in the sections that appear most appropriate, establish parishes in charge of Irish Clergymen or others who know the English language, without authority to intervene in matters of Religion with those who are not Catholics; one Commandant, who, with a small detachment will protect them against criminals, decide their controversies and suits up to one hundred dollars, and beyond this sum he will hear both sides and when the case is ready for sentence will forward it to this Government to be settled, although every Commandant shall be authorized to permit a settlement through arbitrators for whatever sum, if the parties to the suit so agree.

Each family may bring their property in the shape of any of the products of that country, such as furs, tobacco, flax, hemp, flours, and all kinds of eatables,

free of duty, and they may sell them throughout the Province or send them for their account to such posts as are licensed for other purposes, in which case they will pay the established rate of withdrawal duty that is six per cent.

Upon their arrival each head of a family will take the corresponding oath of fidelity, and will swear also that he will take up arms, only in defense of this Province against any enemy who may undertake to attack it.

You will therefore see how distant all this is from what you have proposed, and really I am very sorry, for the fine qualities which adorn you had made me expect you with anxiety and desire that your plan should be acceptable, and I find myself compelled to resist it as the establishment of a Republic within its own domains would be highly detrimental to the welfare and service of Spain, for such I consider the Government that you propose, although it has a semblance of subordination.

I am also very sorry that you should have exceeded yourself in such a manner that to-day rumours are spread throughout the towns of the Ohio that you have been granted the extensive portion of land mentioned in the letter of the Committee to the gentlemen of Fort Pitt, and which has been divulged in Kentucky also, from where I have been sent a copy, and that acting under this supposition you should have laid out the city, giving it

a name, which is a right belonging only to the Sovereign, and lastly, calling the city in said letter "Our City", when Don Diego de Gardoqui only authorized you to explore the lands of this project. How far from this is what you have done?

Nevertheless, as I wish to correspond to the recommendation of the aforesaid Minister, and the knowledge that I have acquired of your good qualities have made me look upon what you have done as an excess of zeal to obtain people for us under the dominion of H. M., hence I approve the allotments of three hundred and twenty acres to those who have accompanied you and have gone for their families, if they desire to remain under the above mentioned conditions, but however, I reserve the ground on which I shall have a fort constructed to which end a detachment will march shortly, and its Commandant will have orders to admit those who present themselves.

If you desire to employ yourself in H.C.M. service, by engaging yourself to induce families to come down and establish themselves in this province, in the aforesaid lands or any other section, principally in Natchez, I hereby authorize you to do so, and I offer to recommend whatever merit you may attain to H. M. and to this end you will make a list of those who come through you; they will present themselves to the Commandant of the district they select with a letter from you, and I do not doubt that H. M. reward will correspond to the number you secure,

being myself able to assure you in such a place as, and at any time you wish one thousand acres for yourself and another thousand for each of your sons.

I desire your reply as promptly as possible, so as to report upon all this to H. M.

It will be a source of satisfaction to have occasion to serve you and I pray God to keep you many years.
New Orleans, 23 of May 1789. Esteban Miro - Sr. Dn.
Jorge Morgan.

The Filson Historical Society

COLONEL GEORGE MORGAN

TO

DON ESTEBAN MIRO

New Orleans, May 24, 1789.

Translated from documents belonging to the
LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, New Orleans, La.

" A " No. 11.

New Orleans, 24th of May, 1789. -- Sir: Although the proposals, I had the honor of making to H. C. M. through his Minister in New York, to establish a settlement on the Western bank of the Mississippi between the parallels of Cape Cinq Hommes and the mouth of the Saint Francis River, have not received your approval, I consider myself honored by the favorable and just interpretation of the motives of my conduct, which have been absolutely directed by my ambition to promote the interests of H. M. as far as it was possible for me to do so, and I supplicate you, sir, that you believe that the intentions of the Committee of Farmers in using the term "our city" in their letter were entirely innocent, and in the ignorance that it could give offense. In the same manner the name given to the settlement, far from believing it offensive, we thought thus to manifest our devotion, respect and love to H. M. and to the Spanish nation. As you have had the goodness to enlighten me on this and other particulars, I beg to assure you that I will avoid similar errors in future; but if through ignorance of practice or customs I should happen to commit another one, I count upon your recognized candor for the most favorable interpretation.

As I have always endeavored to maintain the character of a man of honor, I am sure you will be convinced that I never will knowingly commit an error against the law or the will of the King.

Among the inducements to leave my native Country, must be mentioned my desire to augment my fortune and establish my family in Peace under a sure and safe Government.

If you have ever read the Acts of Congress, you will have seen that my father-in-law, Mr. Baynton, myself and my associates, have been unjustly dispossessed by the State of Virginia of the largest Territorial State within her boundaries, and that it was not within the power of Congress to help us although that honorable body expressed its best disposition to do so.

These circumstances and the desire to make myself recommendable to the King, influenced my last undertaking, and I am now disposed to accept the terms you have done me the honor to offer, and I hope to afterwards acquire the favors of H. M.

Permit me to request that any instructions you may judge necessary to give me, be given separately from the Commission with which you wish to honor me.

The class of people I mean to introduce as vassals of H. M. are sober, peaceful and industrious farmers and mechanics, with the necessary laborers for each profession, who, instead of being expensive to H. M., are able and desirous of paying a moderate sum for their lands, sufficient at least to cover the expenses which the kindness of H. M. may prompt him to incur, in order to encourage a few poor families who may accompany or follow me after, to satisfy those employed in the service of H. M. who are

seeking good settlers and reimburse the charges of surveying, concessions, etc.

Such vassals, under the generous fostering of H.M. will be able to supply all H. M. Settlements, Garrisons and Fleets in America with all the necessary provisions and Naval supplies in Peace and War for which he now has to recur to Foreigners, at great expense.

I have the honor of being, with great respect, your most obedient and humble servant, George Morgan. --
Sr. Dn. Esteban Miró, Governor of Louisiana.

The Filson Historical Society

PRIVATE DESPATCH No. 45.

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ESTEBAN MIRO

TO

SOR. ANTONIO VALDES

New Orleans, November 25, 1789.

Translated from the "PONTALBA" Group of documents belonging
to the "LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY", New Orleans, La.

D. No. 2.

PRIVATE DESPATCH NO. 45.

Most Excellent Sir:

On the 18th of September last, Brigadier General Wilkinson, who had come down on account of his not having received an answer to his first Memorial directed to your Excellency under Private Despatch No.13, and to impress me with the condition of that district, for which purpose he has delivered me another Memorial three days before his departure.

I took up the twelve days that elapsed until the 30th of the same month in despatching the pending mails to the Captain General and to your Excellency, and in replying to the Commandants of all the Posts throughout the Province, so that no official letter remains unanswered to any place, and I found myself disposed to dedicate my entire time in the drawing up of the despatch that was to accompany the said Memorial, but two or three days before, I had begun to suffer from an inflammation of the eyes that increased to such an extent that a few days ago, after having despatched the mail, I saw myself compelled to remain confined to my room with pains that could not be soothed until caustics were applied and several other remedies were continued; my sight is yet very weak and I am unable to write or dictate at any length regarding a matter so serious as the above mentioned despatch, and I therefore limit my-

self to stating to your Excellency that although the major portion of the notables of Kentucky are inclined to separate themselves from the United States and form a conjunction with Spain, there have been many difficulties that have delayed the matter, the principal one being the new Government of the United States, from which the people have been led to expect great things; nevertheless, the aforesaid Brigadier Wilkinson goes to work with the greatest vigour and confidence, since he has seen H.M. reply, and already he has begun to develop emigration by all the means in his power, for by obtaining the peopling of Louisiana as is hoped, the Settlements of the Ohio would no longer have to be feared.

Just as soon as my health permits I shall send your Excellency the above mentioned Memorial with my observations on the subject. May God keep your Excellency many years. New Orleans, November 25, 1789.--- Excmo. Sr. Esteban Miro -- Excmo. D. Antonio Valdes.

PRIVATE DESPATCH NO. 46.

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ESTEBAN MIRO

TO

DON ANTONIO VALDES/

New Orleans, December 31st, 1789.

With three Enclosures

Translated from the "PONTALBA" Group of Documents belonging
to the "Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

D/ No. 3.

PRIVATE DESPATCH No. 46.

The American Brigadier D. Jayme Wilkinson arrived in this City last June and, after having held a great many conferences with him, he handed me upon his departure at the close of last September the inclosed paper No. 1, in which, after beginning by stating that he found himself compelled to make this voyage on account of the ignorance in which he found himself with regard to H.M. resolutions relating to his first Memorial, he speaks on various other points upon which I shall make my reflections marking the paragraphs of which I speak with a Capital letter.

A. This paragraph establishes the proposition that we should content ourselves with endeavoring to obtain the independence of Kentucky under circumstances such as to establish a connection with Spain exclusive of any other Power and at the same time encourage emigration to this Province with the greatest energy.

He had already indicated the first course in the letter which I sent your Excellency in private despatch No. 34, which I approved, although briefly and for almost the same reasons which he now advances in the three following paragraphs: which are of great weight to persuade H.M. that it is best that they should govern themselves instead of passing under his dominion; but the second is new for the said Brigadier; for he expressed himself against emigration in the mentioned letter, I having been at that time already of the opinion that it was highly advantageous to

people Louisiana at once, as I said in the above mentioned despatch; I attributed the motives of his different point of view on this subject and the difficulties he encountered in obtaining the independence of Kentucky to the new American Government, which during the delay of the reply to his first Memorial, had infused great hopes of prosperity in the hearts of those people: for not knowing if H.M. would look with favor on the propositions contained in the Memorial, he could not openly encourage the people to a step of so great moment, the success of which depended so much on the greater or lesser protection H.M. would grant and on the propaganda that Great Britain had been carrying on lately through her emissaries.

B. In this paragraph and the three that follow he earnestly urges as indispensable that the Magnates of Kentucky and other Settlements of the Ohio be rewarded. He reasons with a great deal of energy and conviction on this matter, and points out that in all undertakings of this kind individual interest has always been appealed to, and that as a matter of fact the acquisition of the influence of the prominent men can only be supposed and without these it is not possible to draw the people to a new Constitution that will separate them from their National dependence and bind them to another and foreign one, more so among a people where the most insignificant individual makes patent his liberty by his ability to give his vote on such questions, and lastly, he urges the necessity of taking advantage of

the infancy of the new American Government, which on account of its lack of energy, which it is trying to remedy, could not undertake to prevent the independence of Kentucky, if its inhabitants should attempt to obtain it, on account of the increased expense this would entail, as they are not at present in condition to levy the taxes required for such a purpose. There is no doubt that activity obtains many successes that procrastination dissipates, and as the time is near when Kentucky, having obtained her independence from the United States, will find herself compelled to defend Louisiana, then Spain, having assured her supremacy in these dominions thus destroying entirely the idea the people had formed at the time of the Independence of the new United States that they would be the conquerors of the Kingdom of Mexico, and which many a periodical had published without doubt to imbue those people with this hope, I am therefore of the opinion that no time should be lost and that your Excellency make this known to H.M. so that he may authorize me to act in accordance with his Royal pleasure.

In the meanwhile I have taken upon myself to furnish to the said Brigadier the seven thousand pesos which he solicits in paragraph F, to which I am compelled to pass and continue explaining as it pertains to the same matter.

The above sum has been furnished him secretly on a simple receipt guaranteed by a man of means, and under the conditions expressed in my answer to his paper herewith

annexed under No. 2, and that is, that he may not make use of the said sum without the approval of H. M., binding himself to return it in case H.M. does not feel inclined to make this disbursement; I have been induced to also advance this money by the fact that when the order would arrive I would have no means of forwarding it, and the time lost in waiting that he should send a man to carry the sum H.M. should specify could be very detrimental to the acceleration of the Project. In my mentioned reply I ask him for a list of those parties who should be rewarded and how much to each one, and in his answer which I accompany under No. 3 he includes it, the same amounting to sixteen thousand seven hundred pesos per annum. This disbursement, although of some consideration, is of advantage to the service of H.M., if it is compared with the benefits to be obtained, the more so that he assures that whilst the Principal object is being negotiated, nothing will be attempted against Louisiana: for it will be to the interest of these Notables to prevent it. To the said sum must necessarily be added the pension H.M. decides to grant Brigadier Wilkinson himself.

E. Paragraph E explains his situation, and I know as a fact that he made only a little over three thousand pesos from the Tobacco transaction, inasmuch as he only retained one-fourth of the profits for himself, having given another fourth to Major Dunn and one-half to his

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Correspondent here, D. Daniel Clark, which is only natural, as the latter advanced the funds which from the start Wilkinson said he lacked. I am of the opinion that two thousand pesos should be assigned to him annually, beginning with this year, and as a military title seems to be what he desires he should be made to hope for such in case the principal object or emigration is obtained, declaring at the same time that at his death his wife will receive one thousand pesos or more if he should die after these objects have been completely secured.

It seems to me just to recompense him, for already in the year '86 he prevented the attack Brigadier General Clark premeditated against Natchez; he was also alert with regard to the projects of Captain Sullivan, he having assured me that he had already taken all the necessary steps to put an end to his attempts if he undertook to cross the Apalachians and lastly, during the year just past, he thwarted Colonel Connelly in his schemes to induce the people of Kentucky to attack this Province, as I informed your Excellency in Private Despatch No. 34, and I know also that he augmented his domestic expenses in order to entertain in his home all those parties he wished to attract.

The present circumstances of the American Government and the activities of Great Britain have somewhat dimmed the ardor of some of the Kentuckians to recur to Spain as was the case at the time of his first voyage: for this very reason I deem it necessary and I believe that it is of supreme importance, that some policy not then considered ne-

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cessary be now adopted and applied before the said Government gains strength or Great Britain succeeds in her attempts. The means which now seem applicable are no other than the disbursement of some money to which I beg your Excellency incline H.M. to authorize me to do, with such restrictions as may be his Royal pleasure.

C. In this paragraph and the following three he expresses his opinion on each one of the points of the secret Royal Order of the first of December '88, in reply to my Private Despatch No. 13, in which I inclosed his first Memorial. He recognizes them all as adaptable to the success of the Project with the exception of the article granting free trade generally to all the Settlements of the Ohio, to which he ^{is} vehemently opposed, and he anxiously asks that it be prohibited as soon as possible, as he believes such a concession capable of preventing emigration and that they continue imbued with the idea of separating themselves from the United States. If this thought is adhered to I beg your Excellency to advise me whether I am to carry it out in my own way, for already this concession has spread to all the Settlements of the Ohio and it will be very difficult to make known the prohibition, for the former the people accept without question, whereas the second, being contrary, will authorize all those who come down with their effects to say they have seen no official document to the contrary or declare that they did not know of the prohibition, and thus will pass a long time before I am able to

stop temporizing with those who come down under the terms of the first advices.

D. The interesting part of this paragraph is that which relates that Mr. John Brown has been prevented from abandoning Wilkinson's party on account of his having been named to represent the Kentuckians in Congress, which he alleges as his principal justification for his having directed himself to D. Diego Gardoqui for a concession of land, for in that way he succeeded in obtaining the signatures of Brown and others, and that the former should communicate to him all that took place in Congress concerning our affair.

E. Upon this paragraph in which Wilkinson explains his situation and the advantages he has spurned in order to serve Spain I have already expressed myself.

F. I have already touched upon this paragraph with regard to the seven thousand pesos he requests at the end thereof, so that I will speak only of the other points of which it treats.

Upon hearing of the new Kentucky Convention authorized by act of the Virginia Assembly, he adds that he endeavored to prevent the renewal of Kentucky's petition to be declared a separate State and a member of the Union with the use of the Navigation of the Mississippi, which Memorial I included in Private Despatch No. 34, for Wilkinson feared that if this petition was renewed the new

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Government would grant it on account of having discovered the designs of Spain and Great Britain, and having questioned him on this point I satisfied myself that when it was presented the Kentucky Convention has already terminated and it was therefore illegal, for which reason I was sure it never would be again brought up.

In this paragraph he continues promising to present himself to the New Convention and to act in accordance with the circumstances, and that if he is permitted to do so, will move the separation of Kentucky from the United States and that without loss of time, he will encourage emigration for which purpose he will send emissaries to all the Settlements of the Ohio, and solicit that he be authorized to incur all necessary expenses; as your Excellency will see in copy No. 2, I have opposed this, advising him not to incur any expense with regard to emigration as I believe that it will be sufficient in order to create this movement that copies of the conditions under which families are admitted here be published.

G. Here he clamors that the purchase of tobacco be augmented to ten million pounds, the same as was proposed by Don Sebastian de Arrieta, the commissioner charged with gathering and purchasing the said leaf, and there is no doubt as I have expressed in my various despatches, that on this point all is lost if Spain cannot consume or sell at the present time at least eight millions; finding myself to-day in a most critical situation for it is now time for

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the tobacco of the new crop to begin to come down, which tobacco I have ordered the planters to keep on their premises until I advise them that I have orders to buy it.

H. He proposes that the Post of Anse a la Graisse be garrisoned with two hundred men and an armed galley; there is no doubt that that place is suitable to impose respect to the Settlements of the Ohio and to notify Natchez and other places in the Province of any movement that may be prepared in the said Settlements; but I do not believe that these fears are of such an urgent character as to force us to take such a step immediately and I am of this opinion with regard to the Post that Lieutenant D. Pedro Foucher has gone to establish as per my advices to you contained in Private Despatch No. 42. He also urges the establishment of Militia and this will be done as the population of Louisiana increases; I have sent the rosters of four Companies in Natchez, one of which is of cavalry, which I proposed to Captain General D. Josef de Espeleta, under date of the 21st of May 1788, without his having replied anything, although I know as a fact that he has received them, hence, I beg your Excellency to authorize me to organize them in accordance with requirements, the Officers being able to hold commissions from this Government until such a time as those of H.M. arrive and these I will ask for through the Captain General, reporting to him with regard to the operation.

I. I know that in accordance with the commercial usages of Spain it will seem an exorbitant thing to suggest that New Orleans be declared a Free Port for all Nations, as Wilkinson proposes in this and the subsequent paragraph; but it is absolutely true that Louisiana must be governed by different means than the other Provinces of America because it adjoins the new American power and because the large number of people who have crossed to this side of the Mountains have no other means of disposing of their products but the Mississippi; it is also patent that the more extensive this commerce is here the easier it will be to bring the States comprising the Settlements of the Rivers that flow into the Ohio and Mississippi to terms, and I will only say that I leave to your foresight and that of those with whom you shall consult on this subject to decide whether it is more advisable to allow France alone to enjoy the monopoly of the products of this country, which unfortunately, with the exception of the Tobacco, are not suitable to/commerce of Spain, or permit that trade be general for all Nations, taking into account the great increase in the duties that these Royal Vaults would collect, capable in a few years to cover all the expenses of the Province; being able to assure that it is absolutely impossible to introduce contraband by land into the Kingdom of Mexico and very easy to detect, hence to prevent that anyone should dare to load goods in this River for some place on the Gulf of Mexico.

J. He requests that a supply of arms and ammunition be kept at Anse a la Graisse so that once Kentucky declares herself independent she may acquire promptly such help as she may need. In Private Despatch No. 34 I requested the same thing, making known also the harm that could be occasioned by delay and this could be obviated by having a supply in Anse a la Graisse, although it would then be necessary to erect better defenses there and increase the detachment, for some ill-intentioned person, on the sole incentive of capturing the arms and ammunition, might attempt to do so by surprise.

K. He here states that he has been able to obtain in favor of the commerce of this River the knowledge that it is possible to go up the Mississippi in lighters from this city to Kentucky, he having made the experiment with one of them as I advised your Excellency in Private Despatch No. 26 and which was approved in the Rl. Order of the 13th of last March, and he adds that having sold the goods in exchange for Tobacco of the present crop, not being able to do otherwise on account of the lack of a medium of exchange, there should be delivered to him on his return two hundred hogshead that he begs be taken off his hands at the reduced price of eight pesos the hundredweight, which I have already proposed and I have replied that I would advise your Excellency, as you will see in No. 2, so that if on receipt of this the purchase of Tobacco has not been increased, I beg your Excellency to receive them as

extraordinaries, besides the regular amount and to advise the Viceroy of New Spain to send me Sixteen thousand pesos more, it being understood that Wilkinson is to send the Tobacco next Spring, and I have advised him not to enter into any more similar speculations.

I have touched upon all the paragraphs of the said paper, extracting from them almost the few indispensable remarks I have made and having endeavored not to be too confusing. In order to be clearer still I have dictated them in the presence of the new Colonel D. Manuel Gayoso de Lermas, Governor of Natchez, who has helped me in some of them, being on all of them of my opinion; I have made him come down here from his Post on account of the tenacious fevers from which he was suffering, from which he has just been able to rid himself; in the meanwhile, he has had the misfortune of losing his wife, so that I shall keep him here where he can be useful, principally in this affair, and whilst the affluence of emigrants does not make his presence necessary. I beg your Excellency that you place before H.M. all I have stated so that I may be advised of his RL. pleasure and that the determination I have been compelled to take with regard to the above mentioned seven thousand pesos may be approved.

God keep your Excellency many years. -- New Orleans,
 31st of December 1789. -- Exmo. Esteban Miro - Sr. Don
 Antonio Valdes.

D E S P A T C H N O . 46 .

ENCLOSURE N o . 1 .

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BRIGADIER WILKINSON

TO

ESTEBAN MIRC

The Filson Historical Society

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DOCUMENT NO. 1.

*Walkeusons 2nd Memorial (delivered late 1787)
Sept. 89 to Mero Sec p: 77
* Sec p 2/8**

Sir: I have come down to this city desirous of furthering the interests of Louisiana which I could not do except blindly whilst I did not know the resolution of the Court upon my Memorial, and to communicate to your Honor affairs of a delicate nature, a verbal examination of which may produce better effect and also suggest the best way by which I must in future proceed: on my arrival I have found that the orders of H.M. has been good enough to give your Honor (with the exception of one point) are in accordance with wisest principles of good politics, and I have discovered with the greatest satisfaction that your Honor concurs with me in the principal opinions. Notwithstanding the singular pleasure I have derived from the various private conversations I have had with your Honor, it seems to me necessary to reduce to writing my observations which your Honor will confirm as he thinks best and transmit to the Minister, so that they may be placed before H.M. to be resolved in accordance with his Royal pleasure.

A. Events have taken place during the last winter prejudicial to the original plan I presented to your Honor and Sr. Martin Navarro in my Memorial of 1787, and it therefore appears to me to be my duty to find out if a change of policy can be put into effect which, whilst equally beneficial to the Crown, could be more surely and more positively carried out: the bias in favor of my first opinion, my singleness of purpose and doubts as to my capacity to find the

right manner of assuring to H.M. all the desirable advantages and at the same time remove all the obstacles that presented themselves, seemed to be arduous difficulties indeed, and for a long time I was looked upon as being irresolute and perplexed; but my sense of duty was such that it prevailed over all other considerations and I adopted the following plan: it will be more practical for Spain to abandon the idea of receiving the People of Kentucky under the dominion of H.M. and to direct all her efforts towards separating this country from the United States, which event must be followed by an agreement with Spain to the exclusion of any other Power, Kentucky governing herself, and emigration into Louisiana being encouraged in the meantime. Your Honor will recall that I suggested this alternative in my Memorial in case we did not obtain our first and primary object and to justify this there must necessarily exist some powerful motives which it will be well to state here. Let your Honor therefore permit me to recall the circumstances of the American Union at the time I wrote my Memorial, and it will be seen that it was weak, disorganized and divided, the Government being unable even to regulate the inclinations of the smallest district; but the new Government installed by the Federal Convention, although inexperienced and of doubtful capacity, has inspired the highest hopes in the common people, who do not take into consideration the innumerable events that must necessarily confront and take up the time of the new Government, and such is the irrespon-

sibility and caprice of men who by habit and education are accustomed to wander unrestrained to the extent that they do not hear the voice of reason or philosophy until some private misfortune or public calamity brings them under the dominion of sane thought and shows them the error of their ways, that they become captivated by the novelty of this Government to which they attribute all the force of a Powerful Monarchy.

This is the principal reason why Kentucky has not separated herself from the United States, although I cannot refrain from saying that the long silence of the Court regarding my Memorial gave rise to the fears of the people I have already explained, and originated apprehension amongst various ^{of the} Notables already won over to our cause, because without the reply of Spain we could not expose ourselves, not knowing whether she would sustain us in a dispute with Congress: for in case this answer was negative we would all be lost and obliged to expatriate ourselves or seek the protection of Great Britain; the truth is that if the people of Kentucky were so united as at the time of my first visit to Louisiana we would have nothing to fear from Congress; but unfortunately on account of the reasons I have just mentioned and the propositions of Great Britain, they are divided in sentiment and politics, and although by my diligence and persistency I have obtained a decisive superiority among all classes in the said district in favor of the interests of Spain, yet if we undertook openly to ruin the Government of

the United States we would expose the heads of the party and any intervention on the part of Spain to protect them would involve the two countries in war. The foregoing will, I flatter myself, justify the opinion that emigration into Louisiana is the object from which, from now on, we must dedicate ourselves and that it will be more to the interest of H/C.M. to receive the Americans under the terms of an offensive and defensive alliance, than to admit them as vassals, adding to support this opinion the following remarks:

1st: Besides the benefits which result from mutual commerce, the important advantage that Spain may promise herself by the acquisition of dominion over the Americans of the West is to erect them into a barrier against the usurpations of Great Britain.

2nd: At any time the people of Kentucky separate themselves from the United States and declare themselves subject to Spain, it will behoove the King, in the interest of his Honor and Dignity, to adopt measures for their protection and the introduction of his own form of Government; on account of local circumstances in a country so distant and of difficult access; the expense of doing this would be excessive in time of Peace and in case of War with Great Britain or the United States it would be immense; but on the contrary, if the People of Kentucky separate themselves from the United States, establish their own Government, once form a strong offensive and defensive alliance with H.C.M., these extraordinary disbursements would be obviat-

ed and yet that country bound by its own interest would continue to be just as complete a barrier for Louisiana and Mexico as if it has passed under the dominion of H.M., and thus at one stroke the expense and the peril would be removed.

3rd: Emigration must therefore have preference over all other objects because it can be carried out by direct means without private risks, without embroiling Spain with Congress, and if Louisiana is peopled as we expect, the present fears caused by the Settlements of the Ohio will cease and the Spanish Government may then change its policy to suit its purpose, thus compelling the inhabitants to subscribe to the conditions of alliance and trade that it may wish to dictate.

B. Whilst the greatest vigor should be employed in promoting emigration, at the same time secret means should be devised to obtain the separation of Kentucky from the United States and to gain the affection and interest of the influential men in the principal districts surely and without risk; for this your Honor should be authorized, with such restrictions as the Court judges necessary, to distribute pensions and gratifications amongst the principal ones in accordance with his influence, merit and the services he renders. The advantages that such a policy would secure are infallible as have been frequently experimented by the Courts and Kingdoms of Europe for the men of influence amongst the Western

Americans being attracted to Spain, she will direct the opinions of their Assemblies and say whether they may or not effect their separation from the United States; by this means she will always find herself in condition to arrest any hostile attempt against her Settlements in Louisiana, and at the same time will facilitate emigration: until now by my personal effort, the influence of my friends and the sacrifice of my properties, I have been able to maintain these interests in Kentucky, but they should be more or less extended to the other settlements of the Ohio as circumstances require. It will probably be objected that I prescribe an expensive system more calculated to augment the fortunes of individuals than to further the interests of H.M., to which I reply that in the occurrences of daily life the expense is always in keeping with the purchase: that this is the current resort of Ministers in political endeavors: that Great Britain has already adopted ^{it} to further the propositions made through Colonel Conolly, and that twenty or thirty thousand dollars distributed annually with precaution and judgment amongst the Americans in their own country may eventually save twenty or thirty millions to the Crown with a vast extent of rich lands: in order to make clear this opinion let us suppose a party of four thousand men with a few cannons should come down the Mississippi, attack and take possession of Natches: your Honor, finding himself without information as to the exact purpose of and numbers of this force would naturally solicit aid from the Captain General: if the state of his forces would permit it he would send you help

to the extent of say two thousand men, but as a matter of fact these would be of no use to your Honor inasmuch as the blow would be struck before your advices has even reached Havana. And how much expense would this movement of troops from Havana to Louisiana cost the crown? Let your Honor investigate this question and he will find an irrefutable argument in favor of my policy and a complete answer to the objections I formerly suggested to the contrary. The designs of Great Britain, as also the policies that Congress may follow, are both of equal interest to H.C.M., so that no opportunity for vigorous action may be lost. I have no doubt that Great Britain will persist in her intention, ready to take advantage of the first opportunity that offers. Congress has an alternative, but it is difficult to state whether it will limit its policies to safeguarding the Atlantic States, abandoning the Western Country to its fate, or if it will endeavor to conciliate the affection of these and confirm the links connecting it with the United States: in the midst of the many arguments and opinions advanced upon this question the public finds itself perplexed as to what will be the outcome; my opinion is that the contrary and irreconcilable interests of these countries will absolutely prevent any union between them, more so as the settlements of the west believe themselves to be in a condition to maintain their independence, and every measure taken by Congress to preserve this country will only hasten the event which it most desires to avoid. Nevertheless, the thirst for power

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and dominion inherent to man is so great, and the sane thought of political parties and individuals is so susceptible to meet with opposition caused by biased or ambitious projects, that I judge that Congress will follow the last named plan, in which case its first care will be to prevent emigration and reconcile the interests of the Notables of the Western Country to the interests of those of the Atlantic States, which is the greatest peril and opposition that we may have to fear for the accomplishment of our ideas; but as desperate diseases require desperate remedies and Congress will have no other alternative in order to prevent emigration than that of involving in a dispute the Citizens of the Western Settlements with the Vassals of Louisiana by secretly instigating the first to commit depredations on the outposts and frontier Settlements which will at once arrest all friendly negotiations between the two countries, I have no doubt that Congress will apparently respect the representations of the Court of Spain and will disapprove of such outrages, will publish bans and offer rewards for the apprehension of the perpetrators; but at the same time it will be in secret connivance with such actions and will permit the guilty parties to go unpunished: such intrigues are common in the Courts of Europe and the Falkland Island affair, whilst not exactly alike, can be taken as a criterion. Nor is it less to be feared that they attempt to insure the predominating interests of the country because new Ministers and Officials for

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the Executive and Judicial Departments must be appointed and without doubt the shrewdest and most influential citizens will be selected for these posts. If Congress attempts this means and succeeds, all our projects are ruined in their very incipiency, in which case the Americans of the West, far from being the friends of Spain will become its enemies, and instead of forming a barrier for Louisiana and Mexico will conquer the former and attack the latter before the secession of the Atlantic States occurs: but these events will be delayed on account of the slow progress of popular assemblies and on account of the pressure of business before the new Congress; to grasp this opportunity and derive advantage therefrom seems to be the true policy Spain should follow; my aims, my desires and my most ardent wishes are that she should not let the moment slip by, and on my part, being always ready to act or consult swiftly, will execute promptly whatever instructions your Honor may have to give me. In this circumstance it behooves your Honor to determine whether it is not of the greatest interest to the Crown of Spain that your Honor immediately anticipate the intentions of Congress and nullify the present activities of Great Britain; the situation is critical and it is for your Honor to determine upon the extension of your powers and the ideas of H.M., but I am of opinion no time should be lost in adopting such measures as will extend the influence of Spain in the American Settlements of the West generally and actually pledge to the services of H.M. the most distinguished Notables of Kentucky,

which on account of its position, number of inhabitants and flourishing condition, is the most important of the American Settlements west of the Appalachian Mountains and consequently deserving of the most attention. Let Spain, therefore, take advantage of the favorable impression already created there, and from that place send out active and intelligent emissaries who will insinuate its interests and extend its influence in the vast dispersed Settlements of Cumberland, ^{Clinch} Cluich, Franklin, Holstein, New River, Green Briar, Tiger Valley, Monongahela, Alleghany and the Settlements that are formed to the Northwest of Ohio on the Muskingum and Miami Rivers.

I am very insistent on this point because several of the most able and zealous partisans of Spain, particularly Mr/ Sebastian, are determined to emigrate into Louisiana, and in this case I will be deprived of some of my most distinguished coadjutors, as I am unable to prevent the consumation of their projects, for in so doing they consult their own interest and I cannot offer them any recompense for the sacrifice of remaining in Kentucky; for Sir, without feeling the undue desire of praising my own merits, I can assure your Honor that it is a sacred truth that the zeal with which I have followed this cause during two years has led me to take such steps that I have been compelled to give, lend and augment my domestic expense, which has placed me in a critical and straightened circumstance without being able to continue maintaining my own personal influence and that of those co-

operating with me if the Government does not help: your Honor knows that the shipments of Tobacco which have been granted to me have not been very profitable, that I have suffered much from the wrecking of lighters, and that I have been greatly hampered by the rains and poor quality of the goods, a great part of which was rejected. I mention this detail with extreme repugnance, but I am determined to explain myself with all frankness, without giving vain hopes, and with this remark I will not speak on the subject any more.

C: I beg your Honor to forgive my presumption in speaking on the points of the Royal Order of H.M. which your Honor has had the goodness of communicating to me in reply to my Memorial of 1787. I believe that the great art of organizing political projects is to adapt them to the character of the People amongst whom they are to be executed and in this particular the Ministry has acted very successfully.

The prudent precaution and judicious disposition of the first article enjoining that before Kentucky is admitted to any connection it is necessary that it shall have been declared a free and independent state, exceeds all praise and I shall use the argument with special advantage in the furtherance of our Project.

The general admission of emigrants, with the exception of vagrants and the religious tolerance clause are to be highly approved; and extention of emigration and exemption

from duties in favor of the actual inhabitants was absolutely necessary, but I am very sorry to find myself obliged to condemn in explicit terms the general concession of commerce under an impost of fifteen per cent, for this will bring about the most pernicious circumstances from whatever angle you may examine it. It is contrary to all the principles manifested by me in this affair and will prejudice the two great objects of emigration and separation from the United States for the People of the Ohio will willingly pay fifteen per cent for the enjoyment of the free commerce of the Mississippi, because on account of the superiority of soil and climate they can, even with the burden of fifteen per cent, sell the provisions of their Country more cheaply than the inhabitants of Louisiana, who for these same reasons will prefer to remain in the condition in which they now find themselves. But so as not to abuse without necessity of the patience of your Honor, I beg to refer you to my letter of the 12th of February, in which I treat this matter at length; this commerce, therefore, should be prohibited at once; the sooner the better, for it disarms and prevents me from using two of the most powerful instruments possible for furthering H.M. aims, and I fear that this will destroy our whole plans.

The system of distributing lands is the most favorable to the population that may be found, but in order to make it adaptable to the Notables of Virginia your Honor should be empowered to increase it to three thousand acres in special cases, because many of them have from one hundred to three

hundred negroes and are accustomed to large concessions ever since the very beginning of the Settlements of North America. All the other parts of the Rl. Order I find without any exception very favorable to the ends proposed.

D. As the plan for the distribution of lands to the emigrants meets with my approval it is necessary for me to explain to your Honor what seems to be a slight inconsistency in my conduct in soliciting from D. Diego de Gardoqui six hundred thousand acres. Your Honor well knows that I have been consistently opposed to the plan of Colonel Morgan, and the destruction of this project by preventing emigration to his Settlement which I considered dangerous for Louisiana and indecorous to the Crown on account of the conditions he boasted had been granted him, was one of the reasons therefor, and to assure an asylum for myself and my friends in case of failure was another. But a second consideration more important still impelled me to do this, i.e., to bind my political associates in Kentucky in some interesting affair demonstrative of their principles and opinions, which I took as a guarantee of their good faith in any hour of stress or peril, this at the same time being in the nature of a compensation for the assistance they had given me. This was very necessary as one of these gentlemen, Mr/ John Brown, our representative in the new Congress, where it was necessary for me to have a confident, and as he was already informed of our affairs prudence suggested that I inform him

x? of the obligation under which he was to be discreet and constant. The place in Congress having been offered to me by the People^x, I rejected it for I judged that my presence in Kentucky was more necessary to our projects, hence it was conferred on Mr. John Brown.

This gentleman immediately after his election attempted to withdraw from the connection he had formed with me, arguing the matter with me and pointing out the strong reason of the incompatibility of occupying a seat in Congress at the same time that he negotiated with the Spanish Minister for a Settlement in Louisiana. This step demonstrated very clearly how well founded had been my precaution, for had I not bound him with us in our petition to Sr. Gardoqui, he would have abandoned our cause and betrayed our confidence without the slightest fear of apprehension or public censure: I protested strongly against his proposition and appealing to the critical condition of our country, to the debt we owe it and the solemn obligation by which we are bound one to the other, I painted a vivid picture of the consequence that must necessarily accompany union, fidelity and perseverance, contrasting this with the terrible spectacle that would accompany disunion, treason and loss of faith; after some difficulties, he decided to continue supporting our plan, and bound himself to send me regularly all the proceedings of Congress that could affect our cause.

E. With regard to myself, I would remain silent, even though your Honor has asked me to state my pretensions, if

I did not find myself in such critical circumstances. I separated myself spontaneously from the United States without knowing whether I would be admitted by Spain; I have rejected the honors and rewards that Great Britain has offered me and have declined the preeminence with which the United States has courted me; I have employed my time, my property and all my faculties to promote the interests of the Spanish Monarchy: by so doing I have exposed myself to the indignation of the United States without knowing if my person would be protected, without knowing if I would be reimbursed for the loss of my property or if His Catholic Majesty would reward my work.

I am not dissatisfied, because I know that it is necessary that I show clearly and self-evidently the solidity of my principles and my singleness of purpose before I could establish my pretention to the favor of the King. But I flatter myself that the solemn obligations I owe my wife and three small children will justify my appealing solemnly to the munificence of H.M., for some settlement that may recompense the actual sacrifices I have made and that will assure me against any reverse of fortune I may suffer on account of the resentment of the United States where I have my property. Your Honor has seen the proposition made by Lord Dorchester through Colonel Conolly, but I have not shown your Honor the offers made to me, nor will I show them for fear of being considered an exaggerator. I have assured your Honor that recently I rejected the nomination for Congress and for political motives obtained the election of Mr. John

Brown: this Sir, is a fact I can prove. What more will I therefore say of myself? I detest veniality, whilst modesty, delicacy and self-esteem together prevent me from estimating my own value. Therefore I beg your Honor that you will permit me to refer my situation to the Justice and goodness of H.M., with the suggestion that having been brought up in the profession of arms, I would prefer a Military Commission, because knowing the force of my own character inclines me toward the science of War, I could then give stronger proofs of my fidelity, loyalty and zeal, to which I will add that in the event of my death whatever reward is assigned to me should remain in favor of my wife and children.

F. In my letter of the 12th of February, to which I beg your Honor to refer, I have explained all the proceedings of the People of Kentucky up to that time. After this, by virtue of a Law of the State of Virginia, a new convention was elected, empowered to again examine the question of separation and adopt such measures as were thought necessary to obtain the admittance of Kentucky to the Union as an independent member of the Federal body, if this was judged proper. This convention was elected in April and should have been convoked on the 24th of this month, to remain in session until the first of January 1791. But as the general tenor of the advices I had received from the Atlantic States during the months of March, April and May induced me to believe that Congress had penetrated our pol-

icies and was much alarmed by the measures that Great Britain and Spain were taking with regard to Kentucky and the countries of the west, so that it began to be believed that the fears and jealousies of Congress would make it admit us to the Union if the petition was renewed: therefore, I judged necessary to change our policies and took such steps with my friends as would prevent the renewal of the petition, because our admittance would reinforce the bonds of alliance and once we had been made part of the federative agreement our separation would become more difficult and more exposed to the objections of the human race: having declared the separation from Virginia necessary and impressed this idea into the minds of the people, it is our intention to remain as we are until circumstances present themselves that justify us to reject the Government of Congress, and nothing may be more useful in this case than the support and protection which H.M. has been so graciously pleased to grant. I will leave in a few days and by passing through a country full of difficulties and perils and Indian Nations, I hope to reach Kentucky within sixty days: as soon as I arrive and have prepared my friends for the occasion I shall present myself to the convention to whose members I shall communicate the kindly and liberal intentions of H.M., and if circumstances are favorable I shall take advantage of them to propose and force the desired separation, but if at this juncture something prevents me from doing this I shall take my measures and await a more favorable opportunity. At the same time

I shall devote all my attention to the system of emigration upon which I shall work incessantly, promoting it in all the Settlements of the West, for which purpose it is essential that I send out at once from Kentucky confidential agents to the various Settlements on the other side of the mountains to speak of the assistance that is given to the emigrants, advertise the advantages which the people of Louisiana enjoy and make them know the friendly dispositions which H.M. graciously manifests in favor of the Western Americans and in order to draw to our interests two or three of the most chosen Notables in each district. It is superfluous to state to your Honor that these indispensable dispositions will entail considerable expense, for no individual will be found who will serve the public without compensation unless his personal interest is immediately affected, and your Honor knows for the reasons above mentioned that it is not within my power to make these disbursements: therefore, in order to fulfil the intentions of the Court, promote the prosperity of Louisiana that depends upon emigration and the separation of Kentucky from the United States and I trust you will feel sufficiently empowered to advance the sum necessary which I judge will be at least seven thousand pesos, because it is still my duty to assure that without this help your Honor can expect nothing from me except supplications and good wishes, as my present situation is so critical and embarrassing that it will overcome all the vigorous efforts of my will and will cause me great trouble to

support my family and maintain my private affairs.

G: Thus having passed upon and examined the present condition of our plan and seen the causes that may harm it, let us see what are the best policies to accelerate emigration, conciliate and assure firmly the affection of the emigrants to the Crown, preserve the tranquility of the Province and protect it from any foreign aggression. Consider these important points together, because their intimate connection and dependence prevent a separate analysis. The great inducement for emigration into Louisiana is that Tobacco should find a market there; this important affair should, however, be modified so as to excite emigration, removing at the same time all causes for future discontent and complaints, and to that end H.M. should extend his purchases to ten million pounds; this would satisfy the most ardent hopes of the Americans, and as it would be to their interest to emigrate without loss of time, the Province would gain a considerable increase in the number of vassals during the next ten years, and as a matter of fact it is indispensable for the welfare of our plans that the purchases be immediately increased, for if the present crop which greatly exceeds two millions is not taken this will provoke complaints and clamors that reaching the American Settlements will detain emigration in its very beginning and will ruin our newly born projects.

H: I will do all within my power to promote emigration to Natchez in preference to L'Anse a la Graisse for various obvious reasons already mentioned, nevertheless I am firmly of the opinion that at the latter Post is where the Great Guard of the Province should be established: a respectable force posted near the Ohio will inspire our American friends and will diminish their apprehensions of the power of Congress; a garrison of 200 men with an armed galley manned by fifty sailors will be amply sufficient at this time to protect the lower Settlements against any outrage or party of bandits that it is feared may attack it. But Sir, no time must be lost in organizing and arming the Militia by companies, battalions and regiments, commanded by the influential amongst their fellow citizens, which at the same time will interest the pride and honor of the Notables and they will thus help the Government to remove the difference between vassals which are always impolitic and sometimes dangerous; with such dispositions judiciously taken your Honor will always have ready a respectable force which can act in connection with the regular troops.

I: But, Sir, whilst these measures are sufficient for our immediate needs, it is our duty to look forward to the population that must eventually cover the banks of the Mississippi and its current tributaries, and in order to assure the permanent happiness and conserve the peace of the Empire we must measure our designs on a proportionate scale. Great indeed is this consideration. At present the productions of Louisiana and the American Settlements West of the Appalaches

Mountains are not considerable; but in a few years the scene will change. When this vast fertile extent of Country full of rich materials is ready to flood Europe with the abundant variety of its products, what must be the consequences if the commerce of Louisiana remains in its present condition? Who will receive the tobacco, hemp, flour, indigo, rice, meats, pork, iron, copper, etc., etc., or what will be done with these? The Royal Treasury will not be able to consume all of it, and the tiller will not be able to find adequate exchange with the merchant for his products: the latter will not be able to give him reasonable prices in specie and under such circumstances the Empire must be tormented by convulsions and torn by revolutions, and the cause of all these calamities, if they are well examined, will be found to originate in the embarrances placed upon our commerce.

Our navigation is limited at present to Spanish ships and our commerce to a few ports of the Islands and competition, the vital principle of commerce, is dead and in its wake follow the immediate consequences: Our dry goods are at present sold from 75 to 150 per cent higher than in North America and the freight on one hogshead of tobacco from New Orleans to any port in Europe costs the same as that of four hogshead from the United States to the same place: permit your Honor that I point out that from these commercial limitations I fear the population of Louisiana will be considerably harmed and that the Province will

never attain that degree of richness and splendor which Providence has provided for it until this cause is removed. And how simple is the remedy for all these stupenduous evils. Let New Orleans be a free port, with only the necessary distinctions in favor of Spanish shipping, and these threatening calamities will immediately disappear, the transportation of tobacco will be limited to Spanish ships at reasonable rates of freight, Cadiz will be the general depot for same from where it will be exported to all parts of the world and in less than fifty years all Europe will depend upon her for supplies of this Article, for after the free commerce of the Mississippi has been established the cultivation of this plant will be transferred from the East and the exhausted lands of the Atlantic to the fertile woods of the Ohio and Mississippi/ What a prodigious fountain of revenue presents itself to us there! In other respects, excepting, perhaps, a moderate tonnage tax for foreign ships, all our commerce will be free with the present Customs dues upon the Manufactures and Commodities from Europe and the Indies and our exports will be unrestricted: our productions will then increase and our merchandise become cheaper: The farmer and planter will obtain due compensation for their work and will be able to supply themselves with the necessities and luxuries of life on as favorable terms as the citizens of the United States. Nothing will more effectually complete the disunion of the Eastern and Western parts of America as the interior navigation exclusively conceded to

Spain. The Mississippi, the Ohio and rivers flowing into them will be covered with Spanish ships manned by vassals of Spain, a vigorous race of men who, well armed and organized, will constitute an impenetrable barrier at very little cost to the Crown.

Such measures as are adopted upon these principles, based as they will be on the foresight of a Minister, will produce the most important effects. New Orleans will become the greatest emporium of commerce known in the World, because here must be brought the supplies for millions of people and the Merchant and Speculator may find all the products of North America of superior quality and in greater abundance: the income of Spain will increase as agriculture is developed and I am sure that I do not exaggerate when I say that in less than a century the Crown of Spain will receive from the Port of New Orleans alone more than the Congress of the United States from all the commerce of the Atlantic. O, Sir, if I possessed the eloquence of an Angel all my strength and fire could be consumed in impressing the Ministry this new but necessary doctrine/ Louisiana important of itself, when it is considered as the frontier of Mexico cannot be fully appreciated; this Province lost to Spain, would provoke in less than fifty years a commotion that would shake the Kingdom of Mexico to its very foundations. In vain Spain peoples her dominions of Louisiana; in vain, indeed, if an outlet for their products can not be found for the Western Americans or they can not be supplied on the same basis as other Nations; at least let an

effort he made to obtain their sympathies, for if they can not sell or exchange the fruits of their industry their situation will be the same as if the severest restrictions were placed on the Mississippi and the consequences will be the same. I fear that this language will not meet with the favor of the Ministry: Rarely are disagreeable truths well received or those who predict misfortune recompensed; but, Sir, acting in accordance with the principles which I profess, I feel it my bounden duty to frankly state my opinion and offer such advice as I consider best calculated to promote the aims of the Sovereign and give permanent security to his extensive domains against all possible harm: for the mind that meditates no study must appear more rational or important than to avoid misfortune and prevent all harm even though it be remote: in all time the intelligence of the prudent, the treasures of the Rich, the faculties of the Powerful have been employed to further these aims. Truly we find ourselves to-day in the most profound tranquility and we see our perils from a great distance: but let us not be deceived by appearances, black clouds may shortly pile up on ^{the} heads of those whose heaven is now most brilliant, and in the midst of the false calm they now enjoy perhaps the storm that will oppress them has already started to brew.

J: I observe in the Resolutions of the King that H.M. has had the goodness of promising to the people of Kentucky all the favor, protection and help consistent with his Royal bounty, the situation in which they find themselves and in

accordance to the condition of his Kingdom; therefore, may your Honor permit that through you I solicit help of Arms and Ammunition for this country that will be made use of when circumstances require it. The moment that we determine to separate ourselves from the United States, we must arm ourselves for defense against the Indians or any other enemy that may attempt to embarrass us, and we have no other places to secure these but New Orleans or the Channel: if the Court judges it advisable to grant this petition, I would recommend that the arms and ammunition destined for this service be sent to Anse a la Graisse when in any event they may be transported to Kentucky in a few days.

K: I trust your Honor will permit me to make a few remarks upon a personal affair and I will conclude this lengthy document. Your Honor will recall that at the beginning of this negotiation, I considered it very important to convince the people of the Ohio Settlements that the transportation of goods from this Place could be done with less cost than from the Atlantic and across the Appalachian Mountains, and your Honor may certify that in order to demonstrate this fact principally, I shipped 74 thousand pesos worth of goods taken in this city to the Falls of the Ohio. Now that the trip has been done I must report to your Honor; on account of the bad conduct of the pilot in charge, the cargo was greatly damaged, which of course did great harm: nevertheless, I demonstrated what I wished very clearly and

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to the satisfaction of the whole country, so that, Sir, I have at my own expense assured this important political point: I have suffered much in the experiment: but with the goods I was able to save I bought two hundred hogshead of Tobacco payable from this year's crop, which I shall receive on my return to Kentucky. If your Honor can not on account of the restrictions now placed upon him buy this Tobacco for account of the Royal Treasury, I shall lose the entire principal, and I therefore hope that on account of what I have stated above, that is that I undertook this matter to impress the people of Kentucky that they could do without the commerce of the Atlantic States, your Honor will promise to receive them, but of course, at the reduced price of eight dollars a hundredweight, with which I will about make up my disbursement, and this I think will not prejudice the interestsof the King.

May your Honor permit me to finish my observations and conclude the assiduous labor of two years in behalf of H.M., I will be very happy if these remarks are taken in the spirit in which they are meant, and if they obtain the results I so ardently desire I will be happier still, but whatever may be their merit I am certain of the purest of intentions when I say that I prefer being useful than pleasant. I have left to one side the language of pomp and adulation and have endeavored to explain myself simply to those who really understand me. I must beg that you let me

have your reply on such points as require same just as soon as possible, as I urgently wish to return to Kentucky where my presence is necessary at this juncture, inasmuch as the Convention is now assembled.

I have the honor of being your most obedient and humble servant - James Wilkinson -- To Brigadier Esteban Miro, Governor Intendant of the Province of Louisiana and Western Florida --- New Orleans, September 17, 1789.

The Filson Historical Society

1782

D E S P A T C H No. 46

ENCLOSURE NO. 2.

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ESTEBAN MIRO

TO

NRIGADIER WILKINSON

The Filson Historical Society

DOCUMENT No. 2.

My dear Sir: I have received your letter of the 17th *
of the current month, in which you explain the condition in
which our principal affair in Kentucky finds itself, with va-
rious remarks with regard to the development of Louisiana,
which I shall communicate to the Court so that if H.M. ap-
proves of them they may produce the desired results.

As from our conversations you are fully aware of my
way of thinking with regard to the matters mentioned in your
letter I will not answer your Honor chapter by chapter, but
will do so only on those points that I judge necessary.

It is well that your Honor direct all his energies
towards separating Kentucky from the Government of the United
States and that preserving her independence, she form a con-
junction with Spain to the exclusion of any other Power, and
I have already represented to the Court that this plan would
be much more useful than to have these people deliver them-
selves under the dominion of H.M., making use of the same
reasons expressed by your Honor.

It is a source of great satisfaction to note the change
in your Honor's opinion (from that expressed in your letter
of the 12th of February, no doubt prompted by the hopes
the People of Kentucky have placed in the new Government)
and that you agree that we should devote ourselves entirely
to the peopling of Louisiana and I depend of course, upon
the zeal and activity your Honor will display in furthering
this project, to which end I herewith enclose copy of the
conditions under which families will be admitted in this

Province, and I especially charge you to endeavor to induce them to prefer the district of Natchez, because I consider that it is the place where the principal force for the defense of the Province should be concentrated.

I know that in order to bind the Magnates of Kentucky to promote the interests of Spain so as to induce the people to obtain the above mentioned separation, and in order that they may assume the responsibility of their acts, it is necessary to reward or assign them an adequate pension; but I am not authorized to do so and I can only suggest this to H.M., and state that it will be a saving to the Royal Treasury, and in order that H.M. know the parties whom it is indispensable to reward, it is necessary that you send me a list of these individuals with the explanation of the employment or circumstance that makes their services valuable and the annual subsidy with which they will be satisfied.

Co-inciding, as do your Honor and myself on this point, I cannot, however, refrain from saying that I am opposed to the expenditure of money to promote emigration, because I am almost sure that it will be enough that your Honor distribute in the Settlements of the Ohio, on account of the many opportunities you have for so doing, copies of the conditions under which families are admitted, with a true statement of the advantages they will obtain by becoming citizens of this Province on account of the amount of treasure annually spent here by H.M., the sure sale of their crops, the mildness of the Government and all the other things which you are familiar with, and which prove that the inhabitants of Louisiana

should prosper much more under the dominion of H.M. than under any other Power: for this reason I have opposed the methods of Colonel Morgan, and in the same manner I now say to your Honor not to make any disbursements on account of emigration: at the end of next year when we see that this method is not sufficient, H.M. may, in view of my report, resolve to employ other methods.

Your Honor asks me, as absolutely indispensable, seven thousand pesos in order to obtain and retain in Kentucky the good will of men of prime influence, and although as I have stated above, I am not authorized to make expenses, yet knowing that when H.M. order reaches me to provide your Honor with the necessary amount I will be greatly embarrassed to find a way of delivering it into your hands because such a thing cannot be easily trusted, and that on the contrary by taking it now, when your Honor goes so well accompanied by land, the risk is less than on any other occasion, and besides it will be easy to advise you by messenger if you may use the sum mentioned, I have resolved to advance this amount to you on a simple receipt endorsed by some man of means and under the condition that you will keep it in your possession and return it if H.M. should not feel inclined to make this disbursement: I am convinced that your Honor can obtain advantages for Spain by sowing the hopes that the possession of the above seven thousand pesos will suggest and by making it known to such people as may be useful.

I cannot absolutely take upon myself to assure I will receive the two hundred hogsheads of Tobacco which are the

proceeds of the sale of the merchandise which the Lighter Speedwell brought up for your account, but as the reasons adduced by your Honor are true and of great weight, I am confident that although H.M. may not increase the purchase of Tobacco he will order me to buy this lot besides the specified amount, and so shall I propose, and it therefore seems to me best that you send these down for the delay in notifying you after I have received the order will be very prejudicial to your interests.

With regard to recompensing your Honor in the manner mentioned I will state to the Court your Honor's intentions and shall urge, of course, that a suitable pension be assigned to you, manifesting for that purpose the merits your Honor has acquired, which I shall recommend with all sincerity. - Your most attentive servant who kisses your hand, wishes your Honor all manner of happiness -- Esteban Miro -
Brigadier James Wilkinson.

D E S P A T C H No. 46.

ENCLOSURE No. 3.

BRIGADIER WILKINSON

TO

ESTEBAN MIRO

With list of Notables of Kentucky.

The Filson Historical Society

DOCUMENT No. 3.

New Orleans, September the 18th, 1789.

Sir: I have had the honor of receiving your Honor's favor of even date in reply to my remarks of the 17th of this month, and I will faithfully execute your instructions; enthused, as I am in all my undertakings, you may depend entirely that I will put in practice a constant activity and zeal in the cause I have embraced without sleeping at my post, and complying always with the duties of an alert and faithful sentinel.

As in all the course of my life I have despised venial things I fear that the assistance I have asked for may subject me to the suspicion that I am sordid and avaricious: really no other motives but the exigencies of the moment would have induced me to make a similar petition: finding myself at the present time facing large disbursements on account of loans and extraordinary domestic expense amounting to more than 12,000 pesos, which I have judged necessary in order to retain my friends and maintain the brilliancy of our cause, it has been impossible for me to proceed and fulfill your Honor's expectations and my own desires without help.

I am entirely satisfied to receive the seven thousand pesos under the conditions proposed by your Honor, but I must beg that none but the most confidential servitors of H.M. be informed of this loan, for if this circumstance were to transpire it would shortly be brought to the attention of Congress

and by exciting the jealousies of this body I would remain exposed to great embarassments indeed: with the greatest respect I have the honor, Sir, of being your Honor's most humble and obedient servant - James Wilkinson.

P.S. Inclosed herewith the list your Honor solicits. J.W.
To Brigadier General Esteban Miro.

The Filson Historical Society

See Memo to Washington this
week - date 219 X

See Mr. Lett's
enclaves
this p.
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List of the Notables of Kentucky that should be pledged to
the interests of H.C.M. with a note as to the character of
each.

*That the amounts given below
was designed to be annual,
See note p 219 X*

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- Harry Innes, Esquire, attorney and counselor
at law, now has \$500.00 from the State of
Virginia \$1000.00
- Benjamin Sebastian, Jurist 1000.00
- John Brown, Member of Congress 1000.00
- Caleb Wallace, one of our Judges, enjoys
\$1000.00 from the State of Virginia 1000.00
- John Fowler, zealous advocate of our cause
and a man of influence 1000.00

The above are confidential friends who support my plans.

- Benjamin Logan, lately a Major of Militia 800.00
- Isaac Shelly, a planter of means and influence 800.00
- James Gerard, Colonel of Militia and a man of
influence 800.00

These favor the separation from the United States and an
amicable agreement with Spain.

- William Wood, a Minister of great power 500.00
- Henry Lee, Colonel of Militia 500.00
- Richard Taylor, a planter of much influence 500.00
- Robert Johnston, Colonel of Militia 500.00

These favor the separation from Virginia, but their aims do
not go beyond that.

- General Lawson arrived in Kentucky just at the time
that I was leaving there; he is a gentleman of high
attainments and Military knowledge, is my friend,
and will embrace our policies 1000.00

George Nicolas has lately arrived in Kentucky, has not joined our political interests, he is among the more wealthy gentlemen of the Country, of great ability and it will be a great point to attract him to our political aims. I have for some time been an intimate friend of his and I believe that he will offer his services	2000.00
Alexander Scott Bullet, a man of means and ability, but very capricious. Nevertheless he will serve our cause	1000.00
Thomas Marshall, Surveyor	1000.00
Humphrey Marshall, a villain without principles, unscrupulous and may cause us much harm	600.00
George Mutter has \$1000.00 annually from the State of Virginia	1200.00
Green Clay, a private party of some influence	500.00
Samuel Taylor, " " " " "	500.00
Robert Caldwell, Colonel of Militia	500.00
Richard Sanderson, Surveyor, popular, but not very capable	500.00
T O T A L	18,700.00

See ante 141*

Some of these favor the party of Great Britain, some the interests of Congress: Some are for the separation from Virginia and others are against it; there is no union nor singleness of purpose amongst them but they are our enemies and it is therefore necessary to win them over.

It will be good policy to pledge the men of influence and ability in the other settlements of the Ohio and the Rivers that flow into it; with this object in view your Honor should have prudential powers to diminish, increase, withdraw or advance the salaries in accordance with the conduct of the actors and what the interests of the King re-

quire. The two Congressional Judges and the two Ministers, Parsons and Summers, to the Northwest of the Ohio and who are the heads of the Settlements of the Muskingum and Miami Rivers are persons able for such work: they both, however, enjoy \$1000.00 annually, but I judge that in order to separate them from the United States it will require two thousand. In most cases I would simply make conditional deals, so much for each service rendered.

James Wilkinson.

The Filson Historical Society

JAMES WILKINSON

TO

MESSRS. MOULTINE, ⁿⁱHUGHES, SNIPES & WASHINGTON

Lexington, January 4, 1790.

Translated from the Spanish Documents belonging to the

"Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

A. No. 12.

Lexington, Kentucky, the 4th of January, 1790.

Gentlemen, the certainty one may have of one's rectitude of principles will never prevent that an unmeritted reply be given to an innocent party, nor will it cover a man of delicate sentiments from the thrusts of accusations although these also are not meritted; Nevertheless, I venture, although with extreme repugnance, to write to you, to whom I am not personally known, with reference to a matter in which I have no direct interest. I can only offer the importance of the affair as an excuse for disturbing you and I flatter myself that I will find in your candor and liberality ample security against any injurious suspicion as to the rectitude of my intentions. If you do not approve, you can find no just motive for condemning or divulging the observations that come from my pen, for all of which I hope you will excuse the formality of this preamble, that is dictated by an intimate conviction that in this manner it is best for yourselves and myself.

About the month of April last, I received a letter from your partner Washington, under date of the 21st of February, with my propositions regarding the matter of the purchase of a vast extensive territory of the State of Georgia on the shores of the Mississippi; at that time I was seriously occupied in my preparations to go down to New Orleans; however, I answered Major Washington, and delivered the letter to the care of Mr. Adair, who had delivered me his: I have mislaid the copy of this letter, nor can I recall the precise contents of it, but I recall

very well that I did not entirely approve his plan and endeavoured to correct an error therein contained respecting the Choctaw Indians, assuring him at the same time of my determination to pass through Georgia on my return from Louisiana: whether that letter reached the Major's hands or no; I cannot determine, but his silence makes me presume that he has not received it.

I embarked at the Falls of the Ohio on the 5th of June and arrived in the City of New Orleans about the 1st of July and remained there up to the 19th of September; during my stay I had occasion to have a frank and free intercourse with the Governor, Dn. Esteban Miro, entered upon the discussion of the affair contained in Major Washington's letter, and I became informed of the only plan under which a settlement could be established in those regions. In accordance with my engagement with Major Washington, it was my intention to have visited him upon my return, but my long stay in New Orleans exceeded my calculations so much, that, hurried by my engagements in this country, I saw myself compelled to return to Kentucky by the shortest route, and passing ^{through} the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations I made my voyage in thirty days.

A few days ago Captain Cape called ^{on} me and placed in my hands Major Washington's letter of the 28th of September, and that of Messrs. Moultime, Hughes and Shipes of October 1st, with a copy of his letter to

Colonel John Holder; my first observation to Mr. Cape after reading the above letters was that unless these had strong proof of authenticity, I at once pronounced them false. As it is not my intention to disparage the merits of any man, nor is it my desire to wound anyone's reputation with you, I will call your attention to the measures taken by you, and will suggest such preliminary steps as are indispensably necessary to the completion of your aims.

This is a stupendous undertaking, worthy of the attention it has attracted, and if it is executed with success will produce immense riches for those interested in it; but there are difficulties to be overcome proportionate to the magnitude and importance of the object. The foundations necessary on the present occasion are active funds and the agency of gentlemen of the greatest education, of good habits, popular talents and political shrewdness. It will be impossible in the present circumstances to effect the establishment of a settlement before next autumn. At the same time a gentleman duly authorized and decorated should pass through New Orleans so as to assure the good offices of the Governor, Dn. Esteban Miro, and without this step you may abandon your plan as wholly impracticable. Having assured the friendship of this gentleman, his influence will facilitate you to negotiate successfully with the Choctaws so as to occupy and possess peacefully and quietly the land. After-

ward you should explore the country, fix the place of the first settlement. Measures should be adopted without delay to promote emigration, and this work should be begun in Monongahela, where you should send funds by the way of Alexandria with the utmost expedition, under the custody of a responsible man of the world, industrious, and who has a knowledge of the country. I am sure that a respectable number of colonists can be moved by assuring an ample supply of provisions, although the principal means of subsistence must be drawn from the country; whatever may be the result of this letter I recognize it to be my duty to undeceive you with regard to the large concession Mr. Woods has from the Choctaws. Believe me, gentlemen, this paper is not worth a pinch of tobacco dust. I detest imposition, and from here is born the information I give to you; nevertheless, you should permit me to observe that you should have a care not to excite the jealousies of persons who have had your confidence in this matter; a disgruntled friend becomes the most cruel enemy, and an active enemy, although hidden, may upset the most carefully laid plans.

After these observations, nothing remains for me to say except to inform you that I wish to co-operate with you as your Agent, leaving the conditions to be determined later, under principles of Justice, and I will only stipulate that in whatever specific case where the aid of an

assistant is required, that a man of probity and ability be associated to me, to whom I have no objection to subordinate myself: if after due consideration, you are inclined to follow my plan, I will be very happy to treat with any gentleman you will authorize in due form for the occasion; I will facilitate a conference on the other side of the descent, although I would prefer receiving him in my house here in Louisville, and this perhaps is the best way, for the same gentleman may thus pass through New Orleans on this business, which will require despatch, as the negotiations may be completed there and the results known in November, so that the colonists may pass the first autumn freshets in the indicated place.

Captain Cape will deliver this letter and whatever may be your determinations upon the propositions therein contained, I hope you will communicate them to me through a special messenger at my expense, and as quickly as possible. On the other hand I rest on your well-known candor and Justice, and I have the honor to remain your most obedient and humble servant - James Wilkinson - To the Honorable Alexander Moutine, Issac Hughes, Major William Snipes and G. Washington - a true copy Esteban Miro.

B E N J A M I N S E B A S T I A N

to

J A M E S W I L K I N S O N .

Belmont, January 5th, 1790.

Translated from documents belonging to the
"LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY", New Orleans, La.,

" A " No. 13.

Belmont, 5th of January 1790.

My esteemed Wilkinson: After having reflected on the news you gave me in which was expressed the Governor, Dn. Esteban Miró's wish that I should remain in Kentucky to promote emigration to Louisiana; I have decided, although I believe it contrary to my private interest, to abandon the idea of emigrating until his Excellency so disposes. But, as you must be well persuaded that my engagement in this matter will necessarily take up a great portion of my time and attention and will not permit that I take up any other business, I will certainly expect to receive at least some indemnification from the Government, if not a generous recompense for my services. By principle, I am as much bound up in the interest of Louisiana as any vassal of H. C. M., but you know my circumstances do not permit me to engage myself in this affair and lay aside all other things, without the prospect of a recompense. It will not be amiss for me to mention that it will be necessary, as an incentive, that I accompany the emigrants down the river: I trust that my expenses for this voyage shall be paid by the Government.

Please present my respects to your esteemed consort and believe me your friend, Benjamin Sebastian.-
 General Wilkinson - Esteban Miró.

BRIGADIER WILKINSON

TO

Dn. ESTEBAN MIRO.

Lexington, 20th January, 1790.

Translated from the Spanish Documents belonging to the
"Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

A. No. 14.

Lexington, 20th of January 1790.

Documents Nos. 1, 2 and 3 will inform you of the purchase from the State of Georgia by a company of prominent people, of a large extent of country bordering on the Mississippi: Mr. Cape is dependent upon me for I have advanced him more than three thousand dollars; Holder is in my opinion, and on account of the protection I have always afforded him, unable to do harm, and both are unreliable. In thinking over the matter, in my own mind I began to fear they might after all hurt our cause, and after serious reflection determined to write to Messrs. Moultime, Hughes and Snipes, persons of standing and responsibility, as you will see in enclosure No. 4, and try to obtain the agency of their business and induce them to place the company under your protection; if I manage this I have no fear whatever of eventually adding their settlements to the dominions of H. M., and I am sure that they will shortly discover that therein lies their interests. I hope this act of mine will meet with your approval. It was necessary to have done something besides, but as I had no time to consult with you, I place into your hands the scope of this affair. You shall modify the plan in the manner you think best and that interest dictates, and I will keep you posted regularly of any movement I may observe, and you will have entirely in your hands the

means of preventing the settlement by inciting the Choctaws against them, thus compelling the colonists to go to the settlements of the government.

I remain your most faithful servant - James Wilkinson - Dn. Esteban Miro.

The Filson Historical Society

PRIVATE DESPATCH No. 49.

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ESTEBAN MIRO

TO

DON ANTONIO VALDES.

New Orleans, May 22nd, 1790.

With Four Documents

The Filson Historical Society

, Translated from the "PONTALBA" Group of Documents belonging
to the "Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

D. No. 5.

PRIVATE DESPATCH No. 49.

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The annexed copy No. 1 is a translation of a letter from Brigadier James Wilkinson, which together with the four documents he mentions, states that a company composed of a few rich individuals from the United States of North America have bought from the State of Georgia a vast tract of land belonging to the dominions of H. M., and lying between the Yazou and Natchez in Western Florida, and part to the Choctaw and Chicachas Nations.

The first of these documents is written by Thomas Washington, Sergeant Major, and nephew of the General of the same name, one of the principal partners of the referred to company, to John Cape in Kentucky, of which he appears to be a resident, in order that the said Cape recruit emigrants and begin the Settlement at once.

Document No. 2 of the said letters of the mentioned Brigadier is the most interesting, and worthy of being read entirely to H.M. In it Alexander Moultime, William Clay Sniper and Isaac Huger, partners of the Company, manifest to Colonel John Holder the enthusiasm which animates them to take possession of the said territory to which end the said Colonel shall proceed at once to Kentucky to organize an adequate expedition for that purpose.

Secondly, they charge him to cultivate the friendship of the Indians, and lastly they urge him to advise us,

the Spaniards, of all his movements and of their intentions of soliciting our friendship, for they consider that their interests and ours are connected and inseparable; concluding by telling him that he take possession at any rate.

From all the statements contained in this letter may be deducted that they consider themselves authorized to establish an independent State, for there is not one word that indicates the slightest subordination to the United States, and on the contrary, they flatter themselves that they will serve us as a barrier, which could not be unless they considered themselves a Sovereign State.

No. 3 is a translation of another letter from the above three partners to the aforesaid John Cape, inclosing a copy of the document of which I have just spoken, and in which they only express their great desire and anxiety to fix the proposed Settlement, begging him that to this end he consult with Colonel Holder.

In Document No. 4, which is the last comprised in Wilkinson's letter, he writes to the three aforesaid partners and to Major Washington, and having thus delayed the progress of the undertaking confided to Colonel Holder, for this one returns with Wilkinson's letter towards Georgia and all remains in suspense until a reply is received; he speaks of a letter received in April of last year from Major Washington, of which he delivered to me the original on his arrival here last July. In it he proposed to form a Settlement in the lands that they supposed ceded by the

Choctaws in the simulated treaty of Hopewell, and I having at the time convinced Wilkinson of the truth on this point, he assures him that the said concession is not worth a pinch of snuff.

Under No. 2 your Excellency will find the reply I have made to the above mentioned Brigadier, which I trust will meet H.M. approval, inasmuch as it aims to dissipate the idea of the much heralded Settlement, to which I do not doubt the document which accompanies it will contribute greatly, as it is a copy of the reasons adduced by the Choctaws and Chickachaws/^{and proves the}nullity of the before mentioned treaties upon which Wood bases his claims of concession of territory by the Indians.

I have taken up this matter directly with your Excellency, as it pertains to the affairs of Brigadier Wilkinson, of which I am particularly charged by the Royal Order of the 1st of December of 1788, and because having to speak less favourably in the succeeding number I deem it best that your Excellency should know at the same time this service he has done to H.M. in support of the opinions I shall explain in the said succeeding number, establishing the premises that we need to retain his services.

Notwithstanding, I will repeat what I have said through the Captain General with copies of letters from Alexander McGillebray and William Panton, in which this affair appears even more important, as I am told that three companies have bought lands from Georgia, totalling 52,900 square miles, and that Major Washington invited the former

to take shares in the enterprise, but the wily half-breed tells me: "that knowing it to be to the common interests of both to prevent the erection of Settlements, he has decided to save and secure his Country under the protection of Spain, or to perish with her."

I beg your Excellency to elevate the above to the notice of H.M., so that he may deign to order that instructions be given to me concerning this affair, in accordance with his Royal pleasure, trusting that should I be compelled to take action before, he will approve my opposing^{with} such forces as I may have available and the help of the Indians, the said usurpation; and should this event occur before receipt of the instructions I solicit, I shall take it upon myself to form a post of defense near the mouth of the Yazou at a spot called Nogales (Walnut Hills) which place is very advantageous for the purpose, as it is the first high land of Western Florida, which is found coming down the River on its Eastern shore, and it not only commands the River, but also the surrounding country, and there is a short distance away a favourable place for the erection of a town where all who come down for the purpose of forming the referred to Settlement must disembark.

God keep your Excellency many years. - New Orleans,
 22nd of May, 1790 - Excmo. Sr. Esteban Miro - Excmo. Sr.D.
 Antonio Valdes.

D E S P A T C H N o . 49.

ENCLOSURE No. 1.

CORRESPONDS TO SERIES A No. 14.

The Filson Historical Society

Augusta, Georgia, September 26, 1789.

Esteemed Sir - Under this date I am writing to Colonel Holder that he must take advantage of every instant in order to establish the Settlements without loss of time. It is not possible at the present moment for me to enter into the details of why we are compelled to urge immediate emigration.

We are here now endeavoring to secure a confirmation from the State for our rights and we must all find ourselves at the gathering of the Assembly, when there is not the least doubt of our success.

I wish you to endeavour to immediately obtain from the Choctaws an increase in our concessions as far up as their line goes, and fronting the Mississippi from the old concession upwards.

You will please write to Woods upon this subject and I will be ready to fulfill this contract with them and the Choctaws as soon as I am advised.

I have given Mr. Plat a paper which I hope corresponds to your expectations and that may prove to be the basis of your future happiness.

Tell Woods that I will send him directly the bill for the effects of the Company on the Mississippi in about twenty days.

I do not doubt that you will give Holder all the assistance in your power, and I desire you to see this great affair from the same angle that I do. I remain your most

obedient servant, T. Washington - I trust to receive your
reply by express messenger, and that the Settlement is al-
ready established. T. W.

To John Cape, Esq.

The Filson Historical Society

DOCUMENT No.2.

Of Those Mentioned in Wilkinson's Letter Enclosed in
PRIVATE DESPATCH No.49.

South Carolina, Charlestown, October 1st, 1789. - Sir: -
As a result of recent discussion among ourselves and our friends, who are our partners in Georgia and other places, we have found it advisable, even indispensable and necessary, to send you the present letter as quickly as possible. We can now inform you with satisfaction and pleasure that there is not the slightest obstacle to the business in which you have a share with us, that all has been arranged with our brother state of Georgia and others here, but we are all agreed that there is an essential thing to be done that cannot be delayed, and that of course will be productive of much good in future if it is executed at once. And that is to take possession and settle the Territory immediately. We must therefore beg of you, our good friends, not to delay one instant and to come as rapidly as possible with the full complement of inhabitants to form the Settlement as we have agreed. Our Title and right is now established, but if you will effect the Settlement at once we may then say to the world that our plan is in practical operation, by which means we may bring about certain events that will give wonderful increment to your interests and that of all the partners who find themselves inactive whilst the Settlement is not formed.

We therefore hope, friend, that this letter will carry due weight with you and that you will emigrate some time this month if it is possible, and that you will find yourself at the place selected for the Settlement as soon as possible. We hope to know how things are going on everywhere, so as to co-operate as far as we can to the prosperity and development of the Colony, as also to be on all occasions and in all our affairs as secure as we can, so that on return of the messenger who bears this you will please do us the favor of writing us a few lines telling us at what time you expect to set out with the full contingent of inhabitants and when you expect to arrive at your destination and give also full details upon the progress you are making.

We must also request you to inform us immediately you arrive at the Settlement, and how we may establish a sure means of communication with you for correspondence and advice, so as to assure prompt despatch to any Plan or measure directed to promote our Undertaking, which we trust will shortly startle and gain the applause of all good Christians and friends of the union of the States.

We do not doubt that you will lose no time in writing to our friends in the Choctaw Nation, advising them of your departure and arrival to be their neighbor and friend, as also that of all the Indians whose friendship we will seek and may possibly serve as an essential to our interests and pacific aims.

We hope you will write to our friends, the Spaniards at once, advising them also your departure and our firm intentions of cultivating and even of seeking their friendship as much as possible, and that we hope to be useful to them as we trust they will be useful to us, and when People are thus mutually and reciprocally bound by inseparable connections their ties are of the strongest kind and their aims and motives should always be advantageous. I trust we will form a barrier for and that we will even be of service to Spain, and that we will recognize that it is to our interests so to be.

Now, then dear friend, wishing you all good with all sincerity, and praying for the prosperity of your undertaking, we are your sincere and true friends - Ax. Moultime, William Clay Snipes, Ts. Huger.

P.S. Major Washington is now in Augusta and you will probably receive news of him from there.

Major Snipes has just arrived from that place and has lost the opportunity of meeting him, for he would have signed this letter together with us, but owing to news we have just received we write this without awaiting his arrival, which we think will be in a few days. Anyway, take possession, tell the Spaniards of the receipt of this letter, even of our contract; do not hide anything from them.-
To Colonel John Holder.

DOCUMENT NO. 2.

Mentioned in Wilkinson's Letter Included in
PRIVATE DESPATCH No. 49.

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Esteemed Sir - The enclosed is copy of a letter which we have written to Colonel Holder and which we beg of you to read attentively.

We ask of you as one of the individuals connected with the Company to put in practice all the means possible to advance and promote its success, in all of which we request that you consult with Colonel Holder as the only step remaining to be taken is the establishment of the Settlement.

We will be particularly gratified to have your frequent advices and we remain, Sir, with all esteem your servants - Ax. Moultime, William Clay Snipes, Isaac Huger -- Captain John Cape.

D E S P A T C H No. 49.

ENCLOSURE No. 4.

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CORRESPONDS TO SERIES A No. 12.

The Filson Historical Society

C O M M U N I C A T I O N N o . 18.

ENCLOSURE No. 2.

=====

JAMES O'FALLON

TO

SR. DON ESTEBAN MIRO

Residence of General Clarck, near Louisville,

December 17, 1790.

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The Filson Historical Society

ENCLOSURE No. 2.

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Residence of General Clarck, near Louisville, December the 17th, 1790.

Sir:

The last of the three letters which I have had the honor of writing to your Honor, after arrival in these Western Settlements, I delivered to General Wilkinson, a friend of your Honor's, who has assured me that he sent it by the last flat boats which he despatched to New Orleans with Tobacco. The two former ones must have been delivered to your Honor by Mr. January, who has already returned to this country, and the other by Mr. Nolan. These three letters stated equally and without mistake or subterfuge, not only the firm and sincere desire of the Company but also those of my heart, to have immediately a settlement and an organized territory as a free state, independent and sovereign, without any connection with Congress and firmly allied with Spain, providing that she be a sincere and true friend, but of course, she must at the very beginning see in the state an ally stronger and more formidable and which will radiate the principles that will promptly break up the Union of States and originate a new confederacy from them on this side of the Alleghany Mountains. The revolution must have its beginning with us, and all things are now ripe for this great operation.

Your Honor cannot but know that if we desired other alliances in Europe we could easily find them, but to your

Honor we direct our first offers, and Spain alone must be blamed if we abandon her.

Congress knows this, and also the advantage which the ground affords us for operating as we wish, and to separate Kentucky from its jurisdiction, as also Franklin, Cumberland, etc., so that in a letter recently written by the President of the United States to the Board of Proprietors, the forces of the Union are offered to support our Settlement if we require or desire it, and he requests besides that the Company's General Agent report regularly to the National Executive any affairs of importance that may occur with regard to the conduct of the Spaniards or their allies, the Indians, and offers besides to pay from Congressional funds the Regiment of 750 men which I have raised, reimbursing all advances that we have made for cannons, ammunitions, equipment of our cavalry and all military stores. This is the present condition of our business; this is our actual position. We are keeping this offer as a last resort.

The rapidity with which I recruited my troops and colonists in this district, as in Franklin, Cumberland and North Carolina, prevented me from going to New Orleans at the time I had desired to do so. I also awaited the arrival of some remittances which I have received. I had understood (although decidedly I did not believe it) that your Honor had desired to incite the Indians against our Colony even after having received my letters and that General Wilkinson and Mr. Sebastian were the head and front

of this intended slaughter. Of this there exists the declaration of a man named Lee, to whom this was told by some Chiefs of the Choctaws and Chicachas and who swore that they had shown him your Honor's letters, in which your Honor recommended to them that they should kill me and my friends. He adds also that the adjutant of the Fort of Natchez, informed him that Wilkinson, Innes and Brown hold commissions as Colonels in the service of Spain, bribed by the Court of Spain to act as spies of your Honor. The name of the adjutant is Minor. Lee is a distiller in Mr. Ellis' employ.

These rumors may possible ruin poor Wilkinson. Colonel Marshall, who as Magistrate received Lee's declaration, sent them to the National Executive for action. Lee's conversation with the Indian Chiefs was during last August.

If I had given credit to the story of the premeditated massacre, I would not now write to your Honor, nor would I renew my first assurances of friendship. I have never believed this and I fear a great deal more the treachery of the Secretary of War, and through him that of the Treasurer of these States, who look with evil intentions upon our Settlement. These parties, whether for the purpose of flattering your Honor or the Company, or to favor Great Britain in case of a war with Spain which may result from the present negotiations, have published notices with reference to a contract to supply during one year the garrison of the Yazoo and another Post higher up than Coles Creek.

This act, which really alarmed the Company and myself, I am determined to resist.

Therefore, this is the reason why I have excessively increased my troops, I mean the regular ones, at the same time made my militia formidable. This is the reason why I now have cannons and mortars of all kinds, ammunition and supplies, Cavalry, Artillery, Infantry, Riflemen and an Artillery Corps, and finally this is the reason why I am going down with Colonists and troops and will not be able to present myself to your Honor as I should and expected to do, until after having disembarked my forces nine miles higher up than the Yazoo, when I shall immediately go to New Orleans to arrange all the matters of which I am charged, in the manner which I have explained to you in my former letters, settling with you all that may be conducive to the defense of this Government and my Colony against anything that may be attempted by their enemies. In case of war with Great Britain or of any insurrection of the inhabitants of the district of Natchez, which I have reason to suspect may occur, my forces will be those of your Honor. I have with me 1000 regular troops or thereabouts, and four thousand well equipped militiamen. If any federal troops attempt to enter or aim to enter in my territory, I have determined if it is possible for me to do so, not leave one alive to carry the news. The Ministers cannot do more than the three Companies. One year after my arrival I will have over ten thousand combatants. All Georgia,

North and South Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, Franklin and Cumberland are preparing to emigrate to our Colony and all the Notables of these parts are interested with us. In case of danger General Clark (the hero of Illinois) will assume supreme command; he is a man of credit, a friend of Spain, much interested in our Plan and my agent in Kentucky, Virginia and Pennsylvania: General Sevier (at present in Congress) is my agent in Franklin and Colonel James Robertson for Cumberland.

I have McGillebray, one of our proprietors, behind the Choctaws, his old enemies, in case they make any movement: General Moultrie, the present Governor of South Carolina, General Huger, General Marian, General McDowell, General McIntosh, Mr. Felfair, the Governor of Georgia, and other proprietors of our Company, each with his respective forces, will pass to our Settlements through the Creek or Talapuche Nation.

As I expect just as soon after landing above the Yazoo to make a visit to your Honor, I earnestly beg that you arrange for my safe conduct in order that I may not be troubled on my journey for a lack of proper passport, which your Honor may have already sent me through Colonel Bruyn, as I solicited in my last letter. I expect to see you about the first of March, or before if your Honor requires my services and so notifies me.

At the same time I beg to advise that the Company expects as the first proof of a reciprocal good disposition

on your part that your Honor will exert all of his good offices so that the Choctaws and Chicachas may favor our cause, and the Company will do the same with the people of that Government. [This sentence is not very clear, and O'Fallon evidently refers to the fact that he will use his influence so that "the Government", i.e., the U. S., should favor Spain.]

Otherwise we shall find ourselves compelled to draw the sword one against the other and finally come to blows, for your Honor may depend on it that the Company also has its friends in both Nations. Your Honor will keep in mind McGillebray's desertion and a friendly condescension on the part of the Company will place all the interest of the Confederation on the side of these Indians; once this is begun, you will have us, the Talapuches, the Choctaws and Chicachas as combined and inexorable enemies. The prudent conduct of your Honor in the present circumstances may make us all everlasting friends, for the Colony has an ample field from which to choose, - America, England, the Indians and will your Honor care to destroy us?

I beg that your Honor send me an immediate reply; to that end I shall pay the expenses of a special messenger; kindly direct your letter to Edward Payne, Senior, near Lexington. I have been ill for several weeks and I can hardly write. I greatly desire to see your Honor, and remain with true and sincere esteem your Honor's surest and most devoted servant James O'Fallon - Sr. Gobernador Dn. Esteban Miro.

C O M M U N I C A T I O N N o . 18.

ENCLOSURE No. 3.

=====

BENJAMIN SEBASTIAN

TO

DON ESTEBAN MIRO.

Belmont, Kentucky, December 6th, 1790.

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The Filson Historical Society

ENCLOSURE No. 3.

Belmont, Kentucky, December 6th, 1790.

Sir: After having had the honor of receiving the visit of Doctor O'Fallon who in a general way explained to me his plan for a Settlement in Los Nogales, I am so impressed with the many advantages that will accrue to your Honor's Government that I cannot refrain from expressing my opinion thereon.

The Gentlemen who compose the South Carolina Company in the Yazoo possess immense resources and are extreme anti-federalists. They bought territories from the State of Georgia for the express purpose of establishing an independent Government and enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with Spain, and McGillebray being one of the proprietors, that Government may rest assured of tranquility on all sides: but for this assurance the Company expects some commercial privileges which will be stipulated in a treaty.

Although the Doctor will go down the Mississippi with pacific intentions, he proposes, however, to bring with him a considerable body of Infantry, and Cavalry so as to counteract any opposition the Indians may offer to this Settlement and to prevent any attempt on the part of the Federals to establish a Post in Los Nogales, which is apparently premeditated, judging from the notices given out by the Secretary of War, and also to act in accord with your Honor with reference to any attack which Great

Britain or any other power may be planning against that Government (Spain).

Interest is the great principle which influences all our affairs, and is the strongest link that can bind mankind. If your Honor favor the Doctor's Settlement to the extent of granting them commercial privileges which may result to their advantage, without harming your own interests, they will remain the firm and fast friends of your Government, and from this cause the most certain results will be that the inhabitants of Franklin, Kentucky and of the Northwestern Settlements of the Ohio, who from day to day are more and more discontented with the Federal Government, seeing themselves unable to enjoy the advantages that the Yazoo Settlement has, will shake their dependence on the Union and enter also into a similar alliance with that Government. Add to this the firm determination of the Doctor to help that Government in the district of Natchez: many of the American inhabitants of the district are anxiously awaiting his arrival, having decided, so I have been informed lately, to join forces with him, believing his intentions to be hostile.

Doctor O'Fallon has assured me that such are the aims of the Company, and these are in my opinion the consequences that will result therefrom.

In this supposition your Honor will determine whether the Settlement of Los Nogales working in perfect harmony with that Government, strong from its very beginning, backed by a powerful and rich company, whose interest will

be the gauge of its fidelity, will not furnish greater security and stability to that Government than the same country peopled by American Vassals of whose loyalty there are great reasons of suspecting on account of the combination of circumstances that present themselves.

Upon this important and interesting object, which considered from my standpoint may produce great events, I have made bold to express my opinion, although I have done so with repugnance, and I trust that should time and experience show that I was wrong and that my observations were not based on reason and good politics, your Honor will do me the justice of believing that it was an error of understanding and not a willful one, for when your Honor knows me better he will ^{be} convinced that I am incapable of deceit or duplicity.

Doctor O'Fallon expects to visit your Honor in New Orleans shortly after his arrival in Los Nogales, in order to report to your Honor all of his plans and designs, so that your Honor may determine whether it will be advantageous and proper to admit his propositions; but the Doctor expects that before this you will send him a passport in the care of General Bruyn, for he does not wish to be detained for lack of this formality.

In recommending to your Honor that he help the Doctor's Settlement, I do not pretend that your Honor relax in the least his efforts to people his own Government. Man's comprehension seeks various channels, and although the Settlement of the Yazoo may increase very rapidly on

account of the great number of notables and influential people who are interested in promoting it, yet whilst there remains on the Mississippi one vacant lot available there will always be an emmigrant from here or elsewhere ready to occupy it, provided that measures be adopted to instruct men in the many advantages that they will find in the region. I have the honor of being your Honor's most obedient and humble servant

Benjamin Sebastian.

The Filson Historical Society

C O M M U N I C A T I O N N o . 18.

ENCLOSURE No. 4.

=====

JAMES WILKINSON

TO

SR. BRIGADIER ESTEBAN MIRO

Louisville, Kentucky, December 16, 1790.

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The Filson Historical Society

ENCLOSURE No. 4.

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Louisville, Kentucky, December the 16, 1790.

Sir: The last letters I had the honor of receiving from your Honor were those of the 10th and 30th of April, which were delivered to me by a certain Briant, who told me that he had been sent as special messenger by Don Carlos de Grand Pré. Briant left here on the 1st of October and carried letters for you and for my friend, Don Manuel Gayoso: since that date no opportunity has presented itself of writing to your Honor, and I have just met Mr. Ford, who is going to that Capital and takes charge of this letter.

I must now inform your Honor that the Agent of the South Carolina Company in the Yazoo is a man destitute of sincerity and good faith, judging by the plan he seems to follow and the details he first gave out and detailed to your Honor. Through Jennings or Thomas I gave him all the help I could; but afterwards when I discovered that he was attempting to deceive both your Honor and myself I took measures to destroy his designs, without leaving him perceive my suspicions.

His plan was to raise a corps of 750 men and take forcible possession of Los Nogales: to this end he had already engaged 400 of that kind of men who are easily led, by promising to each man a quantity of effects, arms, ammunition and provisions for one year, on account of which I excused myself from contributing further to his aims; but at the same time hiding from him my determination to oppose this by all means in my power.

I do not act openly against him, but as a consequence of my decision his best officers and a great many of his people have refused to accompany him. I can not now speak with certainty upon the success of this venture; it is probable that here it will be reduced to nothing, but at the same time it is possible that he may gather a hundred or a hundred and fifty vagabonds to take possession of the Yazoo or of Los Nogales. I can not state whether he will proceed, accompany or follow them, or if he will await here the results of his undertaking, for although I have endeavored to retain his confidence as much as possible, yet I feel that he is exceedingly suspicious of my inclination towards Spain, for which reason it is possible that he will not let me know what he desires to hide with reference to her: nevertheless, I have been able to learn that he will positively send an agent to the Chicas and Choctaws in order to draw these Nations to his party. No matter what his actions or designs may be, Spain has nothing to fear on his account, as President Washington and Congress have manifested their utter disapproval of his plan and will without a doubt take measures to prevent it.

I am informed on good authority that the Virginia Company, the most powerful of the three, has desisted from any undertaking for the formation of a Settlement within the limits of the territories they have purchased. Several obscure individuals are attempting to do so on the Hatchey River, or a little higher up than Chicacha Bluffs. Your

Honor may be perfectly assured as to my intentions regarding anything that may be prejudicial to the interests of Spain, and I beg your Honor to believe me to be with the sentiments of sincerest affection, your most humble servant James Wilkinson -- Sr. Brigadier Esteban Miro.

The Filson Historical Society

C O M M U N I C A T I O N N o . 1 8 .

ENCLOSURE No. 1.

=====

COL. MANUEL GAYOSO DE LERMAS

TO

ESTEBAN MIRO.

Natchez, February 8th, 1791.

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The Filson Historical Society

ENCLOSURE No. 1.

I have just received a letter from Colonel Don Pedro Bruyn, under date of yesterday, in which he remits to me two letters which I in turn send you, the originals under numbers 1 and 2, written by Doctor O'Fallon, as also another under Number 3, written by the same Doctor to Mr. Edmund Phelon, and which the mentioned Colonel Bruyn opened in error, and lastly under No. 4 a closed letter for Mr. Philip Nolan.

Nos. 1 and 3 for Bruyn and Phelon bear the same date and their text is the same, stating in both that he has ready a corps of trained troops composed of 750 men, Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery, officered by competent men, the whole engaged for two years, expecting to increase this corps up to one thousand, besides four thousand well armed and equipped militia who will bring their families along with them. These forces are set out from Kentucky, Franklin and Cumberland. That the point of re-union will be the mouth of the Tennessee on the day to be appointed to that effect. The Doctor says that these are his recruits and that on the Company's part they will all set out at the same time, crossing through the Creek Nation as follows: two thousand men from Georgia, seven hundred from South Carolina and five hundred from North Carolina, and that at the head of these three divisions will come General Macdowell, Colonel Farr and Major Christmas. He says also that he does not exaggerate when he assures that within a year the colony will probably consist of ten thousand men

of arms. That General Clark is Commander-in-Chief, and General Levier who is now in Congress will be second in command, all to be under the direction of the said Doctor, not only because of the authority vested in him by the Company, but also on account of the authority he has just been invested with by the State of Georgia, That he will carry supplies and provisions for one year for the Regiment which is now almost ready, with ten seige cannons, three field pieces, three mortars, five swivel guns, thirty thousand pounds of powder and sixty thousand pounds of lead, iron balls, bombs, etc., that he is also as well provided with materials to make a forge as to prepare incendiary bombs. That he has also ten thousand pounds sterling worth of effects for the colonists and Indians and that everything is so well arranged that in one hour all can be ready.

He says also that it is his purpose to maintain the closest friendship with his friends the Spaniards and that he will only use force if they are the first to insult -- whether it be by penetrating into the country of their concessions, by hostile insult or by inciting the Indians, that for any of the above three reasons they will indispensably be enemies, and the weakest will perish. He counts upon the firm alliance of McGillebray, who is one of the proprietors of the Company. He begins in both letters by saying that he hopes to be in the neighborhood of the Yazoo in March; and in letter No.1 that he writes to him in the care of General Clarck near Louisville, or in care of Mr.

William Morten, merchant, in Lexington. Here the said Doctor contradicts himself when he says under date of the 17th of December last that he expects to be in the vicinity of the Yazoo in March and then requests that an answer be forwarded to him from this district to that of Kentucky without having arranged for a special messenger, from which I infer that what he states is probably not true and that he had written these letters to give more weight to his designs, for he says in No. 3 that he is going to write to your Honor, besides we might add to this that in Document No. 1, which I sent your Honor in Communication No. 4 under date of the 17th of last January, John Williams declares and Doctor Flower, a planter of this district corroborates, that at the time there was no disposition in Kentucky to carry out an undertaking of this magnitude; so that in all probability he has written these letters in the firm belief that they would be intercepted, or that on account of the deep sense of honor of Colonel Peter Bruyn they would be delivered to the Government.

No. 2 is a letter from the Doctor to Colonel Bruyn under date of the 27th of December last from General Clark's residence and refers to business matters which he recommends to the said Bruyn and in which he repeats his request for a reply as expressed in the former letter, adding that the one is his commercial agent whilst the other his deputy agent in Kentucky, Old Virginia and Pennsylvania. General Levier (who is to come down in March at the head of one thousand men of arms with their families) is

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his deputy agent in Franklin, and Colonel James Robinson (who at the same time will come down at the head of five hundred men) is his deputy agent for Cumberland. That Clarck and himself will come down together with one thousand five hundred men and their families from Kentucky, Old Virginia, Red Stone and Pittsburgh, all of these being Militia Colonists; that with them will also come down the regular troops, consisting of fifty artillery men, eighty cavalrymen and the balance infantry and riflemen. Thirteen companies of fifty men are already recruited and these he is increasing up to a thousand, being able to easily go as far as two thousand if he so wished. He continues saying that he will carry a year's supply of provisions, cannons, arms and ammunition and that all is now ready. That he has the protection of the President of the Union: but that for the present he will hold this in reserve until he finds out if he will obtain favors from the Spaniards, and here again expresses the hope which they all have of being able to form the closest alliance with us and other things of the same tenor: that if this is obtainable they will immediately erect the Company into an independent Government, on the lines of that of Belmont, without any connection whatever with the Atlantic States, forming at the same time a defensive and offensive alliance with Spain, erecting themselves into an impregnable barrier for Louisiana, but that if they do not find themselves welcomed by the Spaniards they will be by Great Britain; that what they desire from the Span-

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iards is indulgence for their commerce and through their means obtain a reconciliation with the Chactas and Chichas; that if this is refused they have an offer from Great Britain and if this last should fail Congress will attempt to obtain these things for them, and, says the Doctor, what have we if we should fail? Congress, the Creeks and our own forces will unite themselves to exterminate them in case they would attempt hostilities: but our first propositions are to Spain: here follow repetitions as to their preparedness, concluding this matter by saying that Kentucky, Franklin, Cumberland and the other Settlements will follow the example of the Company, to join themselves to Spain in the manner mentioned above, which is the agreed plan and that Congress knows this.

In the same letter he writes a long narration in which he undertakes to describe the character of Brigadier James Wilkinson, attributing to him a thousand defects, the principal of which is the duplicity of interests which he tries to serve, for no other purpose than his own advancement, whether that be through the Spaniards, the English, Congress, his own Country or the Company, he having endeavored to obtain the command conferred to General Clarck and a concession of fifty thousand acres of land which was refused him.

As on account of your Honor's confidence in me I am intimately informed of all the matters referring to Wilkinson, I believe that the Doctor is not far wrong .

when he speaks of the facility with which he conceives, proposes and facilitates projects that probably can never be carried out. As to his duplicity, I do not dare believe that he is as O'Fallon paints him, but rather that he is not well informed of Wilkinson's intrigues in order to ascertain in Fort Pitt and in Congress what was being planned against us, nor that he established a correspondence with the Company in order to better serve our ends, advising your Honor of developments from time to time. My belief is supported by the above mentioned declaration of John Williams, who says further that General Wilkinson had refused the command which General Clarck obtained, refusing to have any connection with the Company, and it may well be out of vengeance that the Doctor has affected things that can so particularly do Wilkinson harm, and it is one more reason to believe that when Dr. O'Fallon wrote those letters he thought that in some way they would reach the Government.

Although I can not convince myself that all the preparations of which O'Fallon boasts of are real or can be made ready in the time which he mentions, yet I do not doubt that later in the course of the year a number of adventurers who halucinated by O'Fallon's promises may be placed in movement, and although they will not be in sufficient force to obtain their object, they may cause harm which prudence dictates us to avoid. I am also of opinion that if the first adventurers who present themselves do not meet such resistance as will teach them a lesson, others

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will surely follow them which may some day cast a shadow over this part of H.M. dominions. I therefore consider it my duty to again urge that the reinforcements which I have requested under date of the 17th of January last be sent me, for the galley and armed launches well manned and equipped, a reinforcement of troops and some artillery are required so as to establish a Post in Los Nogales without loss of time, and finding myself with these floating forces I will be able to set forth to encounter any expedition that may come down from the Settlements of the Ohio, which I am sure of destroying if I have this help. I also need five hundred guns to arm as many citizens who have no arms, and who without them will be useless. I have no armorer in this district and I find myself compelled to request your Honor to send me one as promptly as possible and let him bring all the tools necessary for his trade.

I count upon the good will of the major portion of the inhabitants of this district, who I am sure will follow me anywhere I may conduct them in defense of the rights of our august Sovereign; but it is necessary to assure their confidence that the Government on its part make some effort and that it show them that ^{not} by word alone does it endeavor to protect them. With the floating forces which I have asked your Honor to send me I beg to assure that the force that comes down even though it numbers two thousand, will get a reception that will dispel not only

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their hopes but also those of others who may attempt in the future such an undertaking.

If the help which I have asked for does not arrive with the necessary celerity, just as soon as I get word that there are any number of flat-boats being prepared to come down the River, even though I do not know their mission, I shall take such measures as honor and prudence dictate to forestall any surprise, taking particular pains not to commit any hostile act until after they shall have passed the mouth of the Yazoo, but if they remain on the other shore I shall, on the contrary, endeavor by every means to draw them not as enemies but as friends, offering them the best of treatment if they should wish to establish themselves as Vassals of H.M.

I do not doubt that your Honor, on account of the great interest which he has in the intact conservation of H.M. dominions in this Province, will help me in the most beneficial manner, and that he will advise me whatever he considers opportune regarding the present circumstances. In order that the enclosed advices should reach me with the briefest delay, Colonel Peter Bruyn sent them down by a special messenger, to whom I have paid the sum of eleven pesos fuertes for his work, which I hope you will order reimbursed to me. - God keep your Honor many years. -
Natchez, February the 8th 1791. Manuel Gayoso de Lermas -
Sr. Don Esteban Miro.

C O M M U N I C A T I O N No. 18.

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ESTEBAN MIRO

TO

DON LUIS DE LAS CASAS

With Four Enclosures

New Orleans, February the 24th, 1791.

Translated from the "PONTALBA" Group of Documents belonging
to the "Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

D No. 7.

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COMMUNICATION No. 18.

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I enclose herewith four documents concerning the operations of Dr. O'Fallon, General Agent of the South Carolina Company in the Yazoo.

The first of these is a secret letter of the Governor of Natchez, Don Manuel Gayoso, in which he analyzes that written by the said Doctor to Don Peter Bruin, an inhabitant of the district, who, faithful vassal that he is, sent it to him with another directed to Edmund Phelon, a new Colonist.

No. 2 is a translation of the one sent to me by O'Fallon.

No. 3 is a translation of one written to me by Benjamin Sebastian and No. 4 copy of one written by Brigadier Wilkinson with regard to the matter.

I will make a few brief remarks upon them, for their lecture will be sufficient to enable Your Honor to form an idea of these events, and I will point such contradictions and diversity of opinion as I have noted.

The analysis which the said Governor of Natchez makes of the letters of O'Fallon excuses me from sending your Honor copy of them, and although I am certain they were written with the intention that they should come to the notice of the Government, which is a logical inference, for the contents of O'Fallon's letter to me were not known, this one repeats all that the former state, and even more extensively, which makes it clear that they were not writ-

and be sent to me; there are however, contradictions between those sent by Colonel Bruin and mine for in those O'Fallon says he will use force against us if we enter the territory of his concession; that is to say from Coles Creek up, and in mine he twice assures that he will not reach the mouth of the Yazoo, (limits of Western Florida) which confirms what I have said to your Honor in private letter No. 3, so that if his intentions are as he states to me, it is certain that there will be no reason to prevent the establishment of his Settlement, but he corroborates the contrary and that his plan is to enter further down than the Yazoo: letter No. 3 is from Benjamin Sebastian, in which is seen the determination of settling Los Nogales and this is the result of what he has heard O'Fallon say, this news is trustworthy for he writes me without the former's knowledge, and perhaps it is to Sebastian's advantage to endeavor to conceal the fact of his having established a correspondence with me and further that this is in accord with what he has promised to do for me, namely to keep me posted on O'Fallon's operations, confirming this my opinion, the fact that if the latter knew that Sebastian wrote to me and they were in accord, O'Fallon would have charged him to write to me in the manner he desired. I judge, therefore, that O'Fallon is not really sincere and that he exaggerates greatly. This suspicion is confirmed more and more by Wilkinson's last letter in which he informs me of the measures he has taken to thwart his project of settling Los Nogales, which Settlement he

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assures me O'Fallon desires to form and in this he coincides with Sebastian; but Wilkinson, after claiming credit for dissuading many of the officers and men he had engaged from following him, belittles his power to the extent of saying that he will only be followed by about one hundred and fifty vagrants which he may be able to enlist, which is in line with Colonel Gayoso's opinion.

Mine even differs from both of these, inasmuch as I believe that he will come down alone, unless the orders of the members of the Company that he not take possession of Los Nogales without first conferring with me, be not positive. I base this belief on the fact that I judge that the determination to come down accompanied by forces was taken in view of the contents of my letter to Brigadier Wilkinson, of which I have sent a copy marked No. 2 in Communication No. 87 to your predecessor, in which I expressed my opposition to his entering into the territory of H.M., and that of the Indians; but eight days after the 17th of December, which is the date of his last letter, O'Fallon should have received mine of the 30th of September which must have removed all his fears, for I said that his letters had appeared very well to me and that I desired very much to see him and that therefore he would be well received, to which end he would find a passport in Colonel Bruin's home.

Really, I wrote this letter thinking that it would not find him in Kentucky, and now I congratulate myself on having done so, for I am convinced that personal fear

will make him seek such company as will in his opinion sustain him, and that his voyage down the river will be so long delayed that your Honor will have time to be informed of the intentions of the Court, and I again propose that I be told whether or no I should send him to Madrid accompanied by Gayoso, as I suggested in my private communication No. 12, to which I have as yet received no reply.

The publication by the Secretary of War and Treasurer of the United States of notices asking for bids to supply provisions during one year for the garrison above Coles Creek and the Yazoo, and of which both O'Fallon and Sebastian advise us, is incomprehensible to me; this might lead us to suppose that the United States wishes to take possession of the Territory which Great Britain unduly ceded to it in the last treaty.

All of the above only goes to show how wise has been the decision to establish a Post in Los Nogales, for this will do great credit to the vigilance of this Government among the Settlements of the Ohio; and the shelter that the above mentioned Post offers against the Indians may promote emigration to that place, for those lands are particularly famous, and even though O'Fallon should come down alone, as I expect, it will be a very good thing that he see that we are taking precautions before hand and it is possible that the emigration which the Post will promote will greatly reduce the number of his partisans, and induce the Company to content itself with establishing its Settlement on the

right bank of the Yazoo, where they will find a great many difficulties, because during the high waters the Mississippi floods the surrounding country for many leagues from its banks and no Settlement can be made lower than the Bluffs called Margot, that find themselves 260 leagues from the mouth of the said Yazoo by following the Mississippi.

This leads me to tell your Honor that I am informed of the instructions which were given to Don Diego de Gardoqui by the Count of Galvez who was empowered to do so, that he ask that the boundary be fixed at the mouth of the Ohio and that if the Congress of the United States did not agree that he gradually descend to the mouth of the Yazoo, and that from there he should not move and so place himself that he could draw a circular line that would comprise the Chicachas Nation behind the Margot or Chicasaw Bluffs, which circumstance differs greatly from the limits of Western Florida, for these were established at the mouth of the Yazoo from where the line should run East by West and which a few leagues from the Mississippi cuts the Yazoo, for both run almost parallel until the last mentioned approaches its origin.

The news that McGillebray has consented to become a partner in the Company which O'Fallon and Sebastian give us is very interesting indeed: you will recall that he was one of the first who advised me of the projects of the three companies, offering at the same time to oppose them with all of his strength, and I am of the opinion that he should be asked openly if what O'Fallon says is true, but I will

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await your instructions before doing this, requesting your Honor at the same time to reply to my representations made to your Honor in communications 48 and 97 regarding McGillibray.

Your Honor will observe also that Wilkinson states that the Virginia Company has abandoned its plan and that General Washington and Congress will oppose Doctor O'Fallon's Settlement on the Yazoo, but O'Fallon affirms in documents No. 2 that they offer him the forces of the Union and the payment of the expenses of that which he is now raising, but at the same time he contradicts himself by saying, as Gayoso informs us in No. 1, that Washington and Congress are informed of the Revolution which he is preparing in order to separate himself from the Union, and if this were true it appears to me impossible that he should have made such an offer as he speaks of.

In view of all the above, I think it will be wise to send to Natchez the 500 guns asked for by Gayoso so as to arm the inhabitants of the district in any emergency, but I am much chagrined in not being able to send him accoutrements, for they have all been consumed in the fire which raged in this city, and of which I have advised your Honor, for as those people are strangers it will be shameful to oblige them to carry cartridges in their pockets and the bayonets tied to strings and I therefore trust that you will see fit to make an effort to send me a supply of these articles even though they be from the militia of that place. With regard to the armorer which he solicits I consider him

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very necessary, but I shall await your Honor's orders before appointing him, as also all others I will find necessary with regard to the events of which I am informing your Honor in this record, and which shall be carried out as exactly as possible.

God keep your Honor many years. - New Orleans, February the 24th, 1791. - Esteban Miro - Sr. Don Luis de las Casas.

The Filson Historical Society

PRIVATE DESPATCH No. 51.

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ESTEBAN MIRO

TO

DON ANTONIO VALDES.

New Orleans, August 10th, 1791.

With four Enclosures

Translated from the "PONTALBA" Group of Documents belonging
to the "Louisiana Historical Society", New Orleans, La.

D. No. 6.

The Filson Historical Society

PRIVATE DESPATCH No. 51.

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I have just received various documents from Brigadier James Wilkinson, who continues to give me such news as he judges I should know, and as most of these comprise the efforts General Washington is making to establish friendship and commerce with the Choctaws and Chicachas for the purpose of ultimately separating them from the protection of H.M., I will be excused from communicating them, for the reason that the original letter which the referred to President wrote was delivered to me by the Indians, together with the other documents, all of which I have sent through ^{the} Captain General, by whom H.M. will be informed of the assurance they have given of remaining under his protection and to refuse the above mentioned advances: I will therefore limit myself to informing your Excellency of the condition in which the South Carolina affair finds itself, they having obtained concessions of land that belong to H.M., and to the above mentioned Indians; the said Brigadier having succeeded by means of the letter which he wrote to his partners, and of which I sent a copy in Despatch #49, not only to prevent the rapidity with which Colonel Holder was to take possession of the indicated territory, but also that I may manage this affair in the manner that I may judge more useful and advantageous to the interests of H.M.

The annexed document No. 1 is the provisional re- ^{scat} 300

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ply that Colonel Moultrie, one of the partners of the said company has given Wilkinson, in the name of those present until after the meeting which they were to hold the 20th of March should approve his propositions with all due formalities.

Number 2^x is a copy of a letter from Brigadier Wilkinson, in which he explains the friendship which has bound him to Dr. O'Fallon, General Agent of the above mentioned company, because he had discovered that he held the same ideas with reference to our obtaining that the Settlements West of the Appalachian Mountains on the Rivers that flow into the Ohio should separate themselves from the United States and form an impenetrable barrier for the perpetual security of this Province and the Kingdom of Mexico. He congratulates himself on having obtained from Dr. O'Fallon a statement over his signature, of his opinion, as you will see in Document No.3, in which he declares that a long time ago he had offered his services to Spain through Don Diego de Gardoqui.

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The propositions of O'Fallon, whom he assures me I shall see on his arrival, are documents authorized by all the partners, and require the most serious reflection, combining as they do the advantages that would accrue therefrom with the danger of permitting an independent Settlement adjoining the possessions of H.M., or better the sheltering of a Foreign State: I will thus limit myself to making such remarks as my limited intelligence

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suggests, so that your Excellency may have a basis by which you may propose to H.M. that which seems best, I deeming it too hazardous to give an opinion on so delicate a matter.

PROPOSITION.

The Company will Settle the Territory which it has obtained from the State of Georgia under the condition that it will separate itself entirely from the United States, forming an offensive and defensive alliance with Spain, so as to serve as a barrier against the said States, flattering themselves that within eighteen months its Colony will have more than ten thousand men capable of bearing arms.

DESCRIPTION OF SAID TERRITORY.

The annexed plan No. 4, which Brigadier Wilkinson has sent me, shows its extension, its limits in its lowest part of this River is found in the estuary called Coles Creek, six leagues higher up than Fort Natchez, which I have already settled with Americans, going from there up the River as far as the 33rd degree, ten miles above the mouth of the Yazoo. All this territory belongs to H.M. from the margin of the Mississippi for a distance of about 40 leagues inland East by West, where begins that of the Indians of which it takes up a great part: these are all very rich lands above all those of H.M., having the Yazoo and its various Estuaries as a means

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of transporting its products. Whether, if the Company is admitted, it will be advantageous for H.M. to make the sacrifice of ceding these lands is the delicate point upon which I will now present arguments both for and against.

REMARKS IN FAVOR OF THE PROJECT.

1st - The United States have not desired thus far to fix the boundaries of these Provinces, maintaining in its conception of them the right which the treaty of Peace with Great Britain unduly gave them in this River up to the 31st degree, which is 12 leagues lower than Fort Natchez: they are incessantly endeavouring to gain the friendship of the Indian Nations without doubt because they consider them an impediment to the taking possession of their pretended right, which on the contrary will be facilitated if they induce the Indians in their favor. Once the Settlement of the Company is an established fact the hopes of the United States will vanish, or at least it will be an undertaking of great magnitude for them to send an adequate army for that purpose, and if H.M. reserves for himself up to six leagues above Natchez, it is as we have said the most thickly populated section in this district. On the contrary, if this proposition is rejected, this Province finds itself continually in danger of being attacked without the concurrence of Congress and by the sole efforts of the said Company who will find in the Settlements of the Ohio people who with

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the hope of pillage will be induced to go to war, in which case H.M. will have to go to considerable expense to defend his possessions.

2nd - The Shareholders of the Company are parties of great wealth, and the principal people of the said States, they find themselves discontented with the new Constitution to the extent of forming a Republican State to which it is probable they never would have been induced, having made considerable advanced disbursements, as your Excellency will see by the Postscript of Document No. 1, had they not been sure of a great many followers, which the exhausted lands of Virginia will furnish them for the cultivators will gladly embrace the opportunity of passing to new ones to which the said company will offer to bring them, with the result that in a short time they will be able to assemble a numerous population capable of forming the barrier which they have offered.

3rd: If there be no serious objection, the declaration of H.M. that New Orleans is a free port for all Nations within a few years with a small import and export tax Louisiana will produce on account of the new State an annual income worthy of the attention of the Crown; nor should there be any fears as to contraband from here to the neighboring possessions of H.M.: The only way of taking merchandise out is through the Valiza (the possibility of introducing merchandise into the Kingdom of Mexico by land being a chimera) and this facilitates

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its prevention, and that it will serve as an excuse for ships that intend to go to other ports when our corsairs find them in the Gulf, does not hold, for as they come from Jamaica they pass through the Gulf, and although they have been found in mistaken latitudes, yet they may give as an excuse the extravagant currents of the same, so that I do not think that any foreign vessels will be held up unless they are caught unloading on the coast or badly despatched.

4th: In the same plan No. 4, your Excellency will see the territory belonging to the other Company with name of Virginia in the Yazoo, its limits being from the aforesaid 33rd degree up to the 34th degree and 40 minutes North, which on account of the curves of the Mississippi comprises 40 leagues of its margin and about 40 leagues of depth East to West.

I am not sure that we have a right to these, for they are outside of Western Florida, besides being the hunting grounds of the Chicachas, which Nation may with Justice oppose its Settlement. As the Magnates of this Company operate under the same principles as the first one, once the proposition of the first is established it is almost certain they will follow its example as will also the third Company which is called the Tennessee, a River which flows into the Ohio, the nearest to the junction of this River with the Mississippi, distant about 40 leagues in the territory purchased from the Chicachas

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and Cheraquies: All this will open a favourable field for Brigadier Wilkinson to develop the same proposition in Kentucky and the Settlements of the Ohio on which he has been working up to now without very great success.

REMARKS AGAINST THE PROPOSITION OF THE ABOVE
MENTIONED COMPANY.

xV₂ deskburg

First: The land in question is the richest of any so far settled in this Province, and there are a great many individuals who have directed their gaze towards Walnut Hill,^x of which I have spoken in Private Despatch No.49, and it will therefore be possible to settle it with Vassals of H.M., and it is really very necessary so to do: for well peopled, its inhabitants will be able to contribute to the defense of this Province against any attempt on the part of the Settlements of the Ohio or those of the Virginia Company in the Yazoo, which State would adjoin it should they succeed in their project. Really emigration to this Province is slower than what was hoped for from the propositions that various individuals made to bring families.

Colonel Morgan has contented himself with making a publication to promote it; but he remains at his home in New Jersey without making any effort in the Ohio Settlements whither he promised me to go immediately, and without writing me a single word. Brigadier Wilkinson reports having limited the commerce which was granted him in Kentucky.

Now, then, the proposition of the South Carolina

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Company in the Yazoo having been rejected, means should be found to accelerate emigration, which leads me to the proposition to which I have referred above: let New Orleans be declared a free port for all Nations, including even the United States of America, and let authority be given to me to restrict or suppress, whenever I think fit, the commerce of Kentucky and the Ohio Settlements and your Excellency will see Louisiana peopled in a few short years, H.M. deriving from the impost enough to pay the expense of the Province, besides the profit from Tobacco, whose price would fall, although it is already the lowest in any of H.M. Dominions.

I do not believe that I deceive myself when I say that the restriction of national commerce would mean the loss of Louisiana, and it would be more advantageous to allow the trade to be shared by the Dutch, English, etc., which would procure cheaper goods for those inhabitants and from this free trade would accrue the above mentioned advantages which would make for the security of Louisiana, key to the Kingdom of New Spain, for no advantage can be derived from the sole trade of France, although it be restricted to vassals of H.M. when as a matter of fact these colonists are but representatives of the French, who derive all the profit.

Second: If the Company is admitted to the Dominions of H.M. it is greatly to be feared that the similarity of language and customs, and above all the free and public

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use of religion will attract to it a great part of the inhabitants of Natchez, and they will therefore, by the withdrawal of our people, obtain the formation of their own State and the increase of their own strength. Such an evil requires an extraordinary remedy great enough to conquer any repugnance which might subsist to prevent the above free trade, the only remedy applicable to this case.

Third: No one can assure that the propositions of the Company are sincere, for knowing the opposition they will encounter it may be that they have made them with the preconceived idea of defaulting their agreement, having previously studied the means eluding it, knowing that once their State is peopled it would be extremely difficult to eject them, and even though this should not be the case we would live under the continual risk that they might control men addicted to the United States, who might decide to protect the right which it had left pending with regard to the 31st degree and the navigation of the Mississippi.

Fourth: Lastly it is self evident that it is very perilous to have a Power so near, which, without our being able to prevent it and with far-seeing designs for the conquest of this Province, would little by little accumulate Artillery and all other things necessary to obtain it: whilst the Expenses of the Crown do not permit the

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maintainance of adequate forces to resist them. Therefore, it being less difficult to prevent the Establishment if it is not desired to adopt the remedy proposed, it seems best that we should prepare for it. Here cease my remarks and eliminating others of lesser importance both for and against, I will only add that it may be well to propose to the said Company a compromise proposition. That is, that they be permitted to people the said Territory, under the condition that they remain Vassals of H.M., and subject to the rules for the admission of other emigrants. I do not know whether they will adopt this policy, nor do I suggest it as final: for imbued as they are with the idea that this territory belongs to them by right of purchase, it may be that they will accept any conditions now to overthrow them whenever they feel strong enough to do so.

I will inform your Excellency of the measures I have anticipated so that none of the Companies obtain its ends.

On account of the sensation which the news produced among the Indian Nations, a great many Chiefs and Warriors have come to see me: with regard to the Talapuches, your Excellency has seen in D. Alexander McGilibray's last letter that he is disposed to prevent any Settlements and without doubt his Indians will attack the first persons who appear on the Tennessee or the Margot Bluffs, even though I do not incite them to do so: so that the Virginia and Tennessee and Carolina Com-

panies will find a natural opposition in the Tallapuches: The Alabamas and Choctaws have proposed to destroy from now on whatever American passes through their lands and that they will always be ready to do so whenever I require it and the Chicachas have sent me word that there are six places ready from which to wage war on them, and that they are only awaiting my consent to begin.

All have been instructed to remain quiet and that should any one attempt to settle on their lands they should be told to retire from them and that under no circumstances should any be granted, for that would infallibly mean ruin, and that if in spite of these warnings they should not retire then they should be attacked and that they may depend that I will furnish them with powder and shot to defend their legitimate rights. I have sent the said nation a paper which they call "word", with these counsels and that they should call a meeting of the Chiefs to hear it.

With Doctor O'Fallon I shall manage so that he may preserve some hopes and in accordance with what he will divulge and the documents he will present I shall induce him to accompany me to Havana where I shall go during the middle or end of October if there is a ship, not having done so before because I do not know when the Captain General will arrive and also because I am convalescent and in poor health, and if your Excellency could communicate the first order, probably they will find me there with O'Fallon: this will facilitate our conference with the

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Captain General in accordance with what such an important affair requires, and he will explain to me verbally what his superior talent may have to suggest. God keep your Excellency many years. - New Orleans, August the 10th, 1791. - Excmo. Sr. Esteban Miro - - Excmo Sr. Dn. Antonio Valdes.

The Filson Historical Society

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D E S P A T C H N o . 51.

ENCLOSURE No. 1.

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ALEXANDER NOULTRIE

TO

BRIGADIER JAMES WILKINSON.

Charlestown, February 27th, 1790.

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The Filson Historical Society

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DOCUMENT No. 1.

To the Honorable James Wilkinson:

Charlestown, South Carolina, 27th of February, 1790

Sir:

Our common friend Captain Cape has delivered to us in due time your Honor's valued favor of the 4th of last January, the contents of which we have noted with the greatest attention.

The business which the South Carolina Company in the Yazoo proposes to carry out is of such magnitude and importance, its projects being to promote vast mercantile connections throughout the continent and that of Europe, that the advantages to be derived by it from a close and intimate correspondence with a Gentleman of the rank and talents of General Wilkinson, whose knowledge of our western territory should procure us great gains, cannot be looked upon with indifference.

I have consulted with three of the interested parties and other gentlemen from Georgia who are at present here and I have the pleasure of informing your Honor that they have unanimously accepted your offers to the Company; I beg to assure you at the same time none of them have the least doubt that when the other partners meet they will place the same confidence in the zeal and loyalty of General Wilkinson for the prosperity of the Company and that they will approve with the most honorable testimony that he continue employing himself to that end.

A meeting of the Company is called for the 2nd of

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March, on which occasion your letter will be brought before the full assembly, and we will advise you as promptly as possible of the results and I trust it will be in a most satisfactory manner and that your Honor will receive documents to that effect couched in no uncertain terms and worthy of the ambition of the most prominent parties of America. Doctor O'Fallon will have the honor of presenting to your Honor this letter and of communicating to you affairs of the greatest importance, exhibiting at the same time the documents that empower him to act.

He will also be able to inform your Honor with regard to our extensive system of commerce and Colonization and of the satisfactory progress of our affairs, which will be perfected in a short time, as also the policy we will follow:

After your Honor has received this letter we trust that your Honor will have the same confidence in the sincerity of our propositions and good intentions as we have given yours, consequently we beg your Honor to make the greatest efforts in order to accelerate and perfect an undertaking of the greatest importance to both.

As soon as the first meeting is held, I shall not lose a moment in advising your Honor of its results and in the meantime I remain, Sir, in the name of the members of the Company and in my own your Honor's most humble and obedient servant Alexander Moultrie. P.S. - The agency of the Company, having for some time been designated to Dr. O'Fallon, we find on this account that we cannot offer

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this employment to General Wilkinson, but his influence and talent will always be of great service to the said Doctor and the Company. With the greatest pleasure we beg to inform your Honor that the monies which we remitted from here to Augusta to pay for our concession have arrived already.

A true copy of the original in my possession.

James Wilkinson.

The Filson Historical Society

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D E S P A T C H N o. 51.

ENCLOSURE No. 2.

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BRIGADIER JAMES WILKINSON

TO

ESTEBAN MIRO.

Frankfort the 20th of June, 1790.

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The Filson Historical Society

Frankfort the 20th of June, 1790.

Sir: Since my last letter dated the 2nd of last month, I have had various opportunities of conversing with Doctor O'Fallon, General Agent of the South Carolina Company in the Yazoo, and I have the satisfaction of being able to inform your Honor that his plan, principles and designs concur perfectly with ours, at first he worked with a great deal of precaution, concealing his true intention, but after having sounded me and I not fearing to discover myself with him, he opened his breast to me and I found such similarity of thought that he gained my confidence in great part: nevertheless I believe it my duty to inform your Honor that his character appears rather light to me, although he is a man of education and intelligence, but at his age - forty-five and with a great deal of white hair - he permits his giddiness and pueril vanity to be seen, but if the general trend of his speech and opinion should be believed, and I am inclined to think so, he is a great friend of Spain.

He writes to your Honor on this occasion in terms that I flatter myself will be agreeable to you, I have induced him to do this so that your Honor may have a guage by which he may be prevented from retracting his statements to me and by which I won his confidence. I remain your Honor's most attentive servant - James Wilkinson -
Sr. Esteban Miro.

D E S P A T C H No. 51.

ENCLOSURE No. 3.

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JAMES O'FALLON

TO

ESTEBAN MIRO

Lexington the 24th of May, 1790.

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The Filson Historical Society

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DOCUMENT No. 3.

Lexington the 24th of May, 1790.

Sir:

The delay which I will probably experience in Kentucky where I have just arrived on my way to New Orleans, the importance of my mission to you not only with reference to the Spanish Empire in general, but more particularly and directly with reference to the interests of Louisiana and Western Florida, as also with those of the South Carolina Company in the Yazoo, whose general agent I have the honor of being by virtue of a unanimous appointment under a sealed commission of the Director and other proprietors, originators of a vast territorial concession in the vicinity of your Honor's Government, which was recently granted to them by the State of Georgia: the political nature of my business with you, the fact that it is right that you should be informed of the possibilities of the project before my arrival, when I shall present the credentials which I have and other authentic documents which confer upon me unlimited and most confidential powers, that I will state to you with the frankness that is characteristic of my own person and of the public situation in which I find myself, as also the natural propensity which I have for the glory and prosperity of the Crown which your Honor serves, which fact is notorious in the Court of Spain through the medium of its Minister in New York and the Governor of Saint Augustine, who by

long experience are informed thereof, have always inclined me to establish friendly relations with your Honor so as to be able to give him this advanced information which your Honor may examine at your leisure.

The matter which I will have the honor of presenting to your Honor's attention is connected with events of the utmost importance and that must promptly and inevitably occur, if the Court and your Honor opportunely support them and they are of such a nature that even to the gaze of the most indifferent they are of the greatest magnitude. This great Project was conceived by me a long time ago: by means of my insistence and influence the members of the Company (who are all discontented with the present Government of the Confederation) have generally and individually approved and for the execution of which, being part mine, they have appointed me one of the twenty proprietors of the concession, delegating me with full powers (as your Honor will see on my arrival) to complete it. At the same time that this important affair developed and progressed among the principal individuals of the Georgia Legislature, the Company honored me with its full confidence and without their suspecting my designs I insensibly induced them to adopt my genial policies (after the concession had been granted) leading them to become slaves of Spain under the appearance of a free and independent colony, thus forming a barrier for the dominions of Spain which adjoin, and es-

tablishing an everlasting and reciprocal alliance both
 defensive and offensive with them: this having at first
 been obtained with the greatest secrecy, I now believe
 will be the example which the other Settlements on the
 Western side of the Mountains will follow which will
 separate them from the Atlantic Confederation, for once
 they see our commerce under the protection of Spain they
 will unite themselves to her more intimately than the
 United States and France, receiving from her all sorts
 of supplies in time of war and confiding in her Power in
 time of peril. In order to induce the company to adopt
 this plan, I refused to take any interest in it under
 any other condition that was not this, and in order to
 all the more affirm their aversion to Congress which was
 then acting in a despotic manner, as also to the Chief
 and his Ministers who opposed their pretentions, I en-
 deavored to develop it by indirect, although^x unsuccess-
 ful, means which decided them to remove^{with} their families,
 dependents and effects to the territory of their conces-
 sion, determined if Spain favored them well not to sub-
 ject either themselves or the numerous colony they would
 bring there to the jurisdiction of the Congress of Wash-
 ington. The parties interested in this concession are
 those of the greatest influence, power and talent among
 the most prominent of the Confederation and are confi-
 dent that within eighteen months after their first Set-
 tlement is established they will have in their territory

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more than ten thousand men capable of bearing arms. All they wish from the Crown of Spain is a secret concurrence in their plans which really will be a real friendship. I assure that the Crown will obtain as a reward all that may not be the liberty of conscience and its Civil Government. I affirm this because I am empowered to do so in writing and by word of mouth, as appears in my secret instructions which I really shall show your Honor with the greatest sincerity on my arrival, for I propose to eliminate from my actions all attempt at secrecy.

Whilst the Company was making the greatest efforts to obtain its concession which took up all of two years, I was in secret correspondence with Don Diego de Gardôqui in New York and with the Government of Eastern Florida through my intimate friend, Captain Charles Howard, Secretary of that Province. At the same time, and at the request of the said Minister, I was confidentially employed in acquiring for the Court of Spain information of the greatest importance relating to Great Britain and the United States and also working for the introduction of ten thousand Irish, American and German families in the deserts of Eastern Florida. In order to close these affairs, I was on the point of following this Minister to Madrid when in spite of Congress and its Chief the Legislature of Georgia almost unanimously ceded to the South Carolina Company in the Yazoo and that of Tennessee the lands they had petitioned for in the neighborhood of your Honor's Government, in consequence of which these companies are incorporated and organ-

ized by an Act of the said Legislature and as such in condition to treat and establish its Settlements, and in spite of the opposition of the President and against his wishes, and those of some of his Ministers, are authorized with the approval of the New Constitution.

In this state of affairs I informed the Minister fully and also the Governor of St. Augustine, as to the circumstances of these events and of the intention of a few individuals of turning to Great Britain for their own particular advancement; I was able to foil these designs, and to better do so I abandoned the plan of introducing families into Eastern Florida; my efforts were fruitful and with the aim of conciliating the interests of the Company with those of Spain, I consequently accepted from the Company the property and appointment of General Agent which had been offered me, so as to negotiate with your Honor as said above and by this means treat of the establishment of the Colony, combining its interests with those of Louisiana under principles of reciprocal utility and defense.

This being so, there remains for me to advise your Honor that I will set out for that Province in the month of June for the purpose of conferring with you, frankly, sincerely and without limitation: without your approval I will do nothing, for my aims are solely for the purpose of advancing the interests of Spain, to whom I find myself hereditarily drawn, abandoning all other occupations to follow my natural inclination. I do not need to state to your Honor how much the Company and myself rely upon your Honor's

discretion and mutual understanding that our safety, as you may well infer, depends upon what I have so frankly stated above: if the Company does not require more than your decision to immediately place its plans into execution, which it will carry out faithfully and with discretion in a short time, surely the disposition cannot be better, and infallibly will produce better results in favor of Spain than what was expected of these fruitless efforts of her Minister in New York, with regard to the proposed treaty with Congress: the plan of the Company with the support of your Honor will greatly contribute to elevate the reputation of your Government, immortalizing your name as one of the most useful Vassals of the Crown and Political Father of Louisiana. Events will occur and unalterably I will co-operate with your Honor abiding in all things by your Honor's intentions. Until I have the honor of presenting myself personally to your Honor I take the liberty of subscribing myself your Honor's most obedient Servant, James O'Fallon, General Agent of the South Carolina Company in the Yazoo. To Brigadier D. Esteban Miro, Governor of Louisiana and Western Florida.

D E S P A T C H No. 51.

DOCUMENT No.4.

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M A P

OF THE LANDS MENTIONED IN THE PRECEDING DOCUMENTS
AND IS NOT TO BE FOUND IN THESE RECORDS.

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The Filson Historical Society

C O M M U N I C A T I O N N O . 21 .

ESTEVAN MIRO

to

DON LUIS de las CASAS

(With three documents.)

New Orleans, October 8th, 1791.

Translated from the "PONTALBA" group of documents
belonging to the Louisiana Historical Society,
New Orleans, La.

Series "D" # 8.

COMUNICACION NO. 21.

Document No. 1.

Doctor Santiago O'Fallon

to

Esteban Miro.

The Filson Historical Society

(Communication No. 21.)

Your honor will find herewith enclosed under Nos. 1 and 2 translated copies of two letters I have just received from Doctor O'Fallon to which I propose to reply what your honor will see contained in No. 3, but as there is time until Autumn to receive your Honor's approval, you will please take off or add what you judge advisable and authorize me to send a special messenger for I do not believe that it is well that the proposition that he pay same be admitted.

Whilst your Honor does not reply it will be impossible for me to take any steps, and I therefore beg that it be forthcoming without loss of sailing for this Port.

I will only add that what I say with regard to the Indians is perfectly true, and I hold that it will be very difficult to persuade them to cede lands without compensating them with merchandise. God keep your Honor many years. New Orleans, April 8th, 1791. Esteban Miro,-Sr.Don Luis de las Casas.

(Communication No. 21. Doc. No. 1)

Harrodsborough, Kentucky, the 15th of January 1791:

Esteemed sir: After having written my last letter from General Clarck's residence near the Falls of the Ohio, and which letter must have been delivered to your Honor by Mr. Ford, I have again visited my friends in Cumberland and Franklin from where I have just arrived, having found that there the desire to emigrate into the Territory of the Company is just as great as it is here in the two Carolinas, Georgia, Virginia, Maryland and the hinterlands of Pennsylvania, and so enthused are the rich Notables and men of influence and of antifederal principles in these countries (under the supposition of course of separating themselves from the Atlantic States and forming a new Western Confederation with an intimate and equal alliance offensive and defensive with the Court of Spain, if your Honor does not give cause for satisfaction, and if you do, with Great Britain, which connection has already been proposed to us through Lord Dorchester) that I fear that very few people will remain in the first two districts. In any case I will have two thousand men well armed and of the greatest intrepidity, so it seems to me, from Franklin and Cumberland who under command of General Sevier and Colonel Robinson will come down the Holston and Tennessee Rivers as far as Dutch Creek, marching from there by land without com-

mitting any hostilities against the Indians except if they are provoked, with pieces of artillery up to the point of the Settlement on the Yazoo. These will be accompanied by nearly two thousand men under the command of General McDowell and Colonel Farr from the country behind the Carolinas. Two thousand that are all the inhabitants of the Country of Talasie in Georgia, ceded by the last treaty to the Talapuche Nation, have Passports from McGillebray, and should take up the march through that Nation and that of the Choctaw without committing any offense unless they are attacked, and will be escorted by the Creeks or Talapuches up to the said Settlement, and will also carry field pieces and will be commanded by Major Christmas. The Regiment of 750 regular troops of Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery, which I mentioned to your Honor in my last letter has been recruited and completely armed, will be increased to 1000 excluding officers, and will comprise squadrons of dragoons, a company of Artillerymen, one of Bombardiers, and sixteen of Infantry and Riflemen. These with ten siege guns, five brass field pieces, six swivel guns, two mortars, balls, powder, lead, etc., accompanied by two thousand families from Kentucky, Vincennes in Illinois, and the Settlements behind Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, will go together to the said settlement and should arrive there at the same time as the other Colonists that I have just mentioned and in accordance with the marching orders which I have prescribed and caused to be sent to the

respective chiefs.

From the above your Honor may judge what stupendous acquisition of strength he will make and at the same time with what facility, your Honor will be able to counteract any hostile act on the part of the English or inhabitants of the Atlantic States by taking advantage of this precious moment.

This force will willingly fight for your Honor if he conducts himself as a friend, or against him if he is an enemy - all this without counting the emigrants who will annually follow nor the combined cooperation of the other two companies who will establish themselves near us under the same antifederal spirit and as allies of the Colony. That is to say all of Kentucky, Cumberland and Franklin. Any attempt of an enemy against our Colony will excite the resentment of all these colonists just as easily as a true friend of our colony may obtain them as everlasting friends.

Just as soon as we declare ourselves a free and Sovereign state, Independent and allied or enemies of any Power, the said Settlements as has already been positively arranged, will also be Independent States, confederating themselves with us and forming connections without European allies whoever they may be for our mutual defense and reciprocal protection.

This plan has been examined at length and is already too well prepared to fail. The first men of the continent are interested in our project through

the three companies. Even members of Congress and the Atlantic Confederation and of the Owest will without violence and as friends approve of its plans.

We should, however, prevent any ministerial interference from spoiling our plan. Knox and Hamilton, two of the Federal ministers, have conceived the idea of forming a Post on Walnut Hills next Spring, for the purpose of controlling our Colony and to open the long pending and thoughtout negotiation with Spain.

Some time ago the last of these Ministers, who is Secretary of the Treasury, made public a notice calling for bids for supplying provisions for this and other two Posts in the 31st degree, for one year.

This has prompted the Company to order me to accelerate my arrangements compelling me to raise a corps far superior to what I had expected.

For this reason and also because I had to await certain funds which the company was to send me and which have arrived and which I now have in possession, I have seen myself compelled to remain here until all the forces shall have gone forward, for this reason, for my ideas are of common utility to both, permit me to say to your Honor that for this reason alone, I will be prevented from seeing your Honor in New Orleans to arrange our plans completely, until the end of March or beginning of April. About the end of next summer I shall have ten thousand regular troops and militia. I will arrive with more than seven

thousand combatants including one thousand regular troops part of which are now enlisted and part will be enlisted for two years. The regular troops will be completely provisioned for a year's campaign. As far as I am concerned I shall go down by water in an armed ship that will mount six guns of large caliber convoyed by another with two hundred troops. Just as soon as I disembark a little further up than the Yazoo in the place which I mentioned in my last letter, I shall send a messenger to Colonel Bruin to get Your Honor's Passport in order to go down and come back freely from New Orleans. If the Messenger finds the Passport there I shall immediately present myself to you in order to comply with everything with fidelity and honor and to Your Honor's satisfaction as I have promised and stipulated.

If the messenger does not find it I shall interpret this as a negative answer considering it as an affront to my person, character and amicable propositions. In this event I shall not go down and I shall look upon your Honor's conduct as a slight upon the offers of the Company and its allies and as a manifest desire not to treat with them. Finally I shall judge both the Company and myself as not being bound by our former offers to your Honor, but, if on the contrary, I perceive that your Honor and the Government seriously think of accepting the Company, its allies and colonists as true friends, and that they have not attempted nor will they attempt to incite any tribe of Indians

to be our enemies (which would be their ruin) and if before my arrival I find that your Honor has tranquilized, reconciled and absolutely calmed them, making them our friends instead of our enemies, I give to your Honor my word of honor as a Gentleman that neither your Honor nor your Nation will have ever had an opportunity of having a more active, a more firm or more useful friend than myself in the new world, nor allies more decided nor more useful than the Company I have the honor of representing. In passing through the discontented Settlement of Natchez I shall speak only to the Commandant and I shall pay no attention to clandestine propositions, in a word, I shall act in accordance with the circumstances as a Gentleman and as a friend, as your Honor shall see. My heart is still sincere but do not make me your enemy, for between us there lies too great a purpose.

In the past few years the Creeks have been incited to make war on the Americans: but now as your Honor sees they are willing to fight for them: they will know that Spain does not care to go to war for them and finally they will not fail to see that this new Power is the only one in their neighborhood that can harm them or do them any good. They have definitely arranged with it and deserted their first allies: the Choctaws are we might say between two cross fires, McGillebray and our Colony. The Creeks and the Choctaws whom it is said your Honor has incited against us are hereditary enemies. The Choctaws have lands on the Tombeche that the Creeks need and that will be

the prize and recompense of their union with us and our cooperation with them. The Choctaws also own lands within the limits of our concession to the West of this River, which in the event of a war with us or with the Federal authorities would undoubtedly fall into the hands of the Americans without the necessity of purchasing them. The two strips of land belonging to the Choctaws and lying between that of the Creeks and Americans in Walnut Hills shall under the terms of an offensive and defensive alliance be divided between the confederated parties; if the Choctaws and Chicachas are not yet informed of this policy they shall soon be. These two Nations would hardly prove a mouthful for our colonial troops, with the help of Kentucky, Franklin and Cumberland with a few cannons, Artillerymen and five hundred horse. We will leave them in the hands of McGillebray if Spain unfortunately incites these two friendly Nations against the Americans. These will never know how the Creeks have safeguarded their interests. By such means the Spaniards will find in us always irreconcilable enemies. All the Western districts will most assuredly take up our cause. It will be to their interest as long as the Mississippi remains closed as it is and that your Honor hold on to Natchez, to wage war against your Honor, which all America will undoubtedly support. The Choctaws and Chicachas will then follow the example of the Creeks and will generally leave your Honor unprotected, and the English being then our allies will unite with us against your Honor.

This I think is the real and sane policy. Will your Honor attempt it? Will your Honor undertake it alone? Will you accept the responsibility towards your Court of having provoked the war?

The affair, the affair I repeat of Nootka Sound is sufficiently recent. Much better is it for Spain to leave her Western Empire of the American States to her allies, as France has done with hers on the Atlantic. If the Choctaws attack us we will of course take it for granted that your Honor is the instigator. In this case the Western Americans will leave the Choctaws, Pensacola and Mobile with a few troops in the hands of McGillebray and throw themselves upon your Honor from Saint Louis to New Orleans. This will surely occur if the Indians raise a hand even though it would be without consequence to the Settlement of the Yazoo. I speak so much of the possibilities of this event on account of my sincerity and my esteem for the Spaniards, which alters my usual reserve and moderation and compels me to inform your Honor frankly and explicitly. To execute this more thoroughly the Colony is of itself sufficiently strong and formidable that it need have no fear either of the Indians or of Spain, but it desires to act in concert and in alliance with all: Your Honor may effect the union of all at this critical juncture or prevent it for all time, and thus make it cause of dispute and unforeseen disaster for that Nation and Government.

The Colony does not ask for favors that it is not

ready to repay ten times over. In other words if your Honor intervenes with the Indians in favor of the Colony in order to remove all cause of worry from the Western Settlements and those of the three Companies, permit me to assure your Honor that these will become the staunch friends and permanent allies of the Spanish Nation, more useful and sincere than if they were vassals of H. C. M. The loyalty of many vassals in Louisiana is a guarantee of this truth, for as many of them have communicated with me I have personal knowledge of the conditions, of which I judge it my duty to advise your Honor although I will delay explaining myself more clearly until I have the Honor of conversing confidentially with your Honor: Then your Honor will find me as I have studiously endeavored to be, liberal, explicit and uniform: In the same manner I ask to be treated, mystery and disguise will make me suspicious and reserved.

In my last letter to your honor, sent through Mr. Ford, I stated that I gave very little credit to the declaration of Lee with regard to the letters, which according to his declaration your Honor had sent to the Chactaw and Chicacha Nations, even though your Honor had received the amicable propositions which I had made in behalf of the Company, instigating them to cause the disunion and finally to exterminate the Americans that establish themselves on the Yazoo on the lands granted to the Company. I confess that at the time I could not give credit to the story even

though confirmed by a solemn oath, not only because I had formed a different opinion of what the true policies of the Spanish Nation should be, situated as it is close to the Americans as also the amicable propositions that I had the honor of making to the Nation in favor of the ideas of humanity and peace which the Court of Spain and your Honor have always professed and which it is said you still preserve with regard to the Americans.

On this occasion I addressed myself to General Wilkinson who assured me that such a report was absolutely false and that your Honor was incapable of Sanguinary projects more so after receiving my letter. But I greatly regret that at the present moment I have sufficient reason to report to your Honor a fact absolutely authentic and known among the above two Nations of Indians, and that is that the testimony of Lee has been substantiated as a truth impossible to doubt only incomplete insofar as the worse and blackest part of the attacks premeditated by your Honor against the Americans has not been told, for your Honor did not expect to strike directly but rather to do so indirectly through the Indians. It is not incumbent on me to either accuse or reason with Your Honor at this time; this will be left to the President of the States to adjust and arrange with the Court of Spain. Only, as an intimate friend of Spain, to which Nation I am bound by a thousand obligations, I am sorry of the distrust which this hostile act may bring about, unless I am

perfectly satisfied that your Honor is the real and true friend of our Colony and until all doubt is removed that your Honor has calmed the unrest among the Indians which your Honor himself has provoked, otherwise I shall redouble my efforts to come down by land and water better prepared and with such forces and officers as will not be easily dislodged without risking Louisiana and Florida on the first blow. The Indians will not be the first object although they will be the primary cause of hostilities. A blow from an Indian after this letter will be charged up against your Honor as an aggression of Spain and war will be the result just as sure as your Honor and I exist. I owe it to myself both as a gentleman and an intimate friend of Spain to make this explicit declaration as becoming of both conditions, and this really agrees with my principles on all occasions and in every circumstance of my private and public life: I aspire always to express myself in a manly fashion, and frankly, underscoring my designs with a sort of energetic decision. I still venerate your Honor and I wish to separate from your reputation, Government and Nation the accumulated misfortunes which must eventually occur if your Honor continues to incite the Indians to hostile the Americans. I desire by this sincere and frank representation of which only your Honor and myself have any knowledge to prevent the tempest which I am sure will come upon the Spanish Empire should your Honor persist in his secret and sanguinary conduct with the Indians, which tempest will break with particular

force against Louisiana and her dependencies unless your Honor immediately retract, revoke and countermand it. I address this letter to your Honor with the good intention of advising and intimating to him, as one of his best friends, that your Honor precaution himself as to coming events and as one who whilst he has nothing to fear from these events wishes to give this proof of friendship to Spain as a guarantee of the conduct of the American Nation, of the Company and its Colony, of the Kentuckians and people of Franklin, particularly if the events occur that must necessarily occur if your Honor denies. having received this letter and continue promoting war between the neighboring Indians and the Settlement of the Yazoo together with Western Settlements supported by their Britanic allies of Canada and the Straight and possibly the United States confederated against that Government and the Spanish Nation as I have before intimated to your Honor. I beg that I be permitted to repeat that the least aggression on the part of the Indians against the Company's Colony will be judged to come from your Honor and in such an event, that your Honor differs from the opinion of the General Agent of the Company and at this juncture declines or delays continuing or accepting the friendly offers which it has made through me. Preparations are so made that in this case that that Government will be the first to suffer from the ensuing war, and which it will be understood, it immediately desires to wage against the Company. This statement may be judged as visionary and boastful, but if your

Honor declines or despises our suggestions which I now present with the best of intentions, pledge my honor and reputation on its truth and veracity.

I have presented to you the good and evil not because I fear (God is my witness) the least thing from your Honor or the Indians, but rather because I wish to forstall the harm that I know must befall that Government as a consequence of your Honor's letter to the Indians for unless you retract it a great revolution will be provoked against Spain in all the Western country. If your Honor would only reconcile the Indians and make them friends of our Settlement and send me a special messenger to advise me that you have done so, never will your honor have done a better favor to your Nation nor to your own reputation. For then our alliance with Great Britain would never take place and Spain would surely gain our State (for such will it be within a few months) as also those that are being organized in the West and about to be confederated with us, for her eternal allies. If not, they, ourselves, the Indians and McGillebray will surely become allies of Great Britain.

I will liberally reward the messenger that your Honor may send, but I earnestly beg that you send him as promptly as possible for the reason that our preference to Spain is the only interest we have at heart. I hope your Honor will take in good part all I have said (which really are the promptings of my heart), let us treat one another in a friendly manner,

with frankness and confidence, let us leave to one side all intrigue which after all is a false policy and obscure negotiations which are of doubtful character and hardly procure any final advantage.

Let us declare to one another, with frankness and decision, our true sentiments, whether these be hostile or peaceful, of confidence or distrust, of friendship or strife: then we will understand one another better and end our negotiations as good friends or as true enemies: were I an enemy of your Honor or of your Honor's Nation I would not address you with such frankness: I remain the most intimate and true friend of your Honor and your Honor's Nation as ever may be found, James O'Fallon.

P.S. - The motive of so many scratches which I trust you will excuse, is that I am writing from a small inn amidst great noise and confusion and in a hurry to leave for Mr. Nicholas' home near Danville. In this supposition, I aspire to give your Honor a sincere acknowledgment of the just rights of H.C.M. to whom I am hereditarily addicted, although I am not a Catholic, as I have solemnly promised Don Diego de Cardoqui to do so and I urge your Honor not to withhold from him any secret and thus I shall reveal the truth in order to discharge my responsibility in the future in order that only those who have provoked the damage shall answer to the Court for the slightest provocation from the Indians or the Spaniards may interrupt our Settlement and your Honor shall be held to be the aggressor. In this case an adequate force

aided by regular troops and Indians from the Straight who will form a junction on the Illinois River which once they are united will under command of General Clarck, who is my deputy agent in Kentucky as is General Sevier in Franklin, immediately attack the Settlements of St. Louis and St. Genoveva going from there to the Yazoo in order to carry before any Post they may encounter in Louisiana on the Mississippi. In the meantime the main force of our Colony aided by the people of Kentucky and Franklin with such Indian allies as may be obtained will infallibly operate against New Orleans, Mobile and Pensacola. In God's name please dispatch at once the messenger which I ask you for in such a friendly spirit, and I stake my life on it that our Settlement will become an impregnable barrier for your Honor. The Western Confederation will shortly separate itself from Congress and will form an offensive and defensive league of intimate friends with Spain. Do this and all will be well.

COMUNICATION NO. 21.

Document No. 2.

(Not in the Archives.)

The Filson Historical Society

COMUNICACION NO. 21.

Document No. 3.

Esteban Miro

to

Doctor Santiago O'Fallon.

(Communication No. 21 - Doc. 3).

Dear sir: When I received your Honor's letter of the 17th of last December I thought that a few days after mine of the 30th of September would reach you and that the said letter having dissipated all your fears of being badly received, you would come down without delay, and this together with the lack of time in which to receive my answer should you have gone to the Yazoo as stated in your letter prevented me from answering.

Now I have received on the same day although from different sources your two letters of the 15th of January and 18th of February and in the last I note that you have postponed your voyage until next Fall, and there being time for you to receive my reply, I beg to send it as follows:

All that has been told to you with regard to Phe-lon is false, and the truth is so different that the Commandant of Natchez believing it was your Honor sent an officer to welcome you, proof of which is that Brian Bruin already had the letter which he will deliver to you when you pass there, with the passport which you asked me for in your first letter and I had written to you the above mentioned letter copy of which I herewith enclose.

It is also false that I have given orders to the Indians to attack your Honor and the Companies, but as falsehood is the daughter of something, it must

have been born in the fact that the King of the Chicachas wrote to me that Payé Mingo the only chief of that Nation that had not placed himself under the protection of Spain had received letters from General Washington and Major Doughty. The Choctaws Chiefs have received them also, having delivered to me the original documents: in these letters it was announced that Posts would shortly be established within their Nations for the purpose of trading with them in accordance with the null and void treaties of Hope Well and Seneca, and this compelled me to write a letter to each one of them and to another nation counselling them to have all the Chiefs meet and name a delegation not to kill and destroy but to go and persuade those who should come to establish these Posts that the said Treaties were of no value because only one Chief of the Chicachas concurred therein and only those of the Choctaws who had not as yet turned in the English medal, which subsequently all have done, and neither the former nor the latter were authorized by others of the Nation and in fact the last named ones have assured me that they made their mark believing that they were to receive presents and that just as soon as they became aware that it was a treaty they tore up the paper: that afterwards they were intoxicated and in this manner they were again induced to make their mark.

I hardly believe this trick on the part of the Congressional Commissioners: but it goes to show the desire of the Indians to excuse themselves with me.

My letter is founded on the rights of people and I even instructed them to exhibit it to the Commissioners, which must convince your Honor of the absurdity of the reports you have received.

I am compelled to correct your Honor's error with regard to McGillebray. Before he went to conclude peace he asked me for instructions, for during a great many years acting under orders of H.M. I had been urging him to do so: He has been in Pensacola lately and did not come here on account of an accident and a fall which he had, but he has informed me of the terms of peace to which he has agreed and although he recognizes the fact that there are two articles which he should not have accepted (to which he says circumstances compelled him), nevertheless, I can assure your Honor two things: the first is that the Talapuche Nation will maintain itself under the protection of my Sovereign and that they will side with me whenever I require it, the second is that it is untrue that McGillebray has taken a share in the concessions of the companies.

You have done wrong to explain in detail the forces of the Company, for they are so few that they place me in position to oppose them if such should be the intention of my Sovereign: but with the veteran troops and Militia of this province I have enough: and to these I can add twenty thousand Indians at any time, besides H.M. can with the greatest facility send an Army of ten or twelve thousand men or more, composed of veteran troops; but the propositions your

Honor has made may be acceptable and just as soon as I received your Honor's letter of July of last year I sent it to the Capitan General of these Provinces, Field Marshall Don Luis de las Casas, Governor of Havana, with a favorable report from me of the companies of which you are agent, which was remitted to the Court, and the said Capitan General awaits H.M. decision in order to advise me of it.

My opinion is, therefore, that your Honor will save the Company much expense, if he come down alone in order to discuss the matter with me, and settle it in accordance with the instructions I may have, the most difficult point being to obtain permission from the Indians for you to erect Settlements on their lands, for as a matter of fact the territories sold by the State of Georgia are not here for they belong to H. M. or to the Indians and I assure your Honor, that I myself would be greatly embarrassed if I wished to people these territories, a thing I could never do without compensating them; but they are extremely jealous of the titles of their lands and if you attempt to usurp them they will begin to destroy all the families they can in spite of anything I can do in favor of the companies; for this reason I believe it would be best to treat this affair with them in a meeting of all the Chiefs, in which we would induce them to give in, in accordance with the instructions of H. M. which the Capitan General will communicate to me, as I do not doubt he will have received them before your Honor's arrival.

The report which your Honor has made regarding the publication by the Ministers of the United States of advertisements calling for bids for supplying for one year a Post which they wish to establish in Los Nogales, has compelled me to safeguard its usurpation, by establishing a Fort there, for I am sure that H. M. will not cede to the United States one point of the limits of Western Florida which close the Yazoo, as much because it was conquered by his arms as because it was ceded by treaty with the English and if the latter in another treaty have given to the States up to the 31st degree it may be an error in calculating, that must not prejudice Spain's right of possession, and H. C. M. concurrence was necessary in order that the delivery of the District of Natchez should be expressed, for it is contained within the 31st degree.

It will be a source of satisfaction to see your Honor and discuss your Honor's important mission with all harmony and to the common interests of both parties as your Honor explains, wishing at the same time an opportunity of serving you particularly. - May God keep you many years. New Orleans, March 26, 1791.
Esteban Miro, - Mr. James O'Fallon.

288 '91 Aug 10

Mero - Valdes

Wilkinson tells of Washington's efforts to win Choctaws + Chickasaws. The Indians had given M. Washington letter to them re S. Carolina Co. Wilkinson's friendly visit see O'Fallon

Gayerres' letters omitted from Pontalbau copies

- 1788 - Feb 20. Mero - Grandjean (200)
- " [Feb 20 Washington to Mero (K. Kemper) 18
- " Sep 7. Morgan's memorial to Gayerres
- Oct 4 Gardouqi. Morgan (220)
- " " 7 do - Drum (221)
- " Nov 3. Mero - Valdes (221)

300 1790 Feb 27

Moultrie - Wilkinson

Recd W's letter of Jan 4. Have consulted + accept W's offers to the Co. Sends letter by O'Fallon Can't give Wagerney: O.F. has it

- 1789. Feb 12 Wilkinson - Mero. (223-40) ^{Pollock on Brune}
- 1788 Dec 5. S^r Clair - Drum (240)
- 1789 Mar 15. Mero - Valdes (252)

305 " June 20

Wilkinson - Mero

Endorses O. Fallon's scheme Has induced O. Fallon to write Mero to prevent retraction "won his confidence". Sketches him

- 1788 Sep 12 Sevier - Gardouqi. 257
- wants Sp protection, guns, money

306 " May 24

O'Fallon - Mero (Lexington)

Treason + falsehood. Subversive Says deceived his associates to become vassals of Spanish "slaves"

- 1789 Apr 18. White - Mero. "Cumberland" (258)
- " " 22 do do White says is "in service" of the two parties of the part
- " " 20 Mero - White (259)
- " " 30 Mero - Valdes (263)

314 1791 Oct 8

Mero - Don Louis de la Bodega

Sends 2 O'Fallon letters + copies of letter he prepares to write O'Fallon if approved.

- 1790 Jan [26] Wilkinson - Mero. (277) ²⁷⁸

317 " Jan 15

O'Fallon - Mero (Harrod's by) - wrote

"last letter from Gen Clarke residence" (?) Slow hand. Threats Charges Mero with plan to have Indians murder him. Clarke "my deputy agt in Ky, as is Gen Sevier of Franklin"

- " Apr 30 Mero - Wilkinson (281)
- " " " " (280)
- " " " " (280)
- May 22. Mero - Valdes (285-6)

334 no date not sent?

Mero - O'Fallon. (letter prepared to be sent O. Fallon if approved as stated above (Oct 8. letter)

claims to have anticipated O's letter of Dec 17 by answering previous one. Sevier visiting Indians. Says passport problem with Brune. Reports Brune's advice here come alone + discuss how to handle Indians

- 1790 do do Mero - Valdes (287)
- " Jan 20 Sevier - Mero

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The Filson Historical Society

secret
P 16 get copy Meres dispatch to 9 about
clark's meditated all day June 1/87

See "Reprints of Littell's Political Transactions in and concerning Kentucky and Letter of George Nicholas to his friend in Virginia also General Wilkinson's Memorial." With an introduction by Temple Bodley. (Louisville, Ky., 1926) Filson Club Publications : No. 31.

pp. cxix-cxxxix Wilkinson's Memorial and Expatriation Declaration . From copy of Pontalba Papers, Rogers Clark Ballard Thruston Ms. Collection, Louisville, Kentucky. Obtained from Louisiana Historical Society.

The original Pontalba Papers were in possession of Don Miguel de Pontalba, Senlis, France, in 1908. The town of Senlis were bombarded and burned by forces of the German Army under command of General Von Kluck during the first World War. *See p. 60.*