

"The chiefs of these nations bore witness to me, with tears in their eyes, that I accused them wrongfully of so black a perfidy, that they had not forgotten that I was their Calumet chief, that, very far from wishing to destroy us, they were ready to sacrifice their lives in our service, that it was true that the war chief had had the imprudence to talk badly because he had ~~engaged in conversation~~ ^{held some discussion} with a warrior of my nation, but that he was a young man who had spoken without reflection; that what he ~~could~~ ^{might} have said would decide nothing, having no authority whatever among them, that the title of war chief was an honor that had been bestowed on him in consideration of his having killed, at the age of sixteen years, two warriors of the Chickasaw nation who had scalped his father. They begged me to pardon him, which I willingly granted them; but in their presence I had the soldier who had had the discussion with him, put in irons.

"On the 12th, a Massonite of standing having assured me that he had seen some metallic rocks in the mountains, which are north of the Cado-
 daquies ^{at} at 40 leagues distance, on which rocks the Spaniards set great value, I begged him to conduct me to them. I had great difficulty in persuading him to it, owing to his fear of meeting on that route some hostile party; I took with me three soldiers, ~~and~~ with whom we began our journey. The first two days, our guide, was brave, but ^{on} the third, some men's footprints ^{which} ~~that~~ he came across on the road, and which he recognized as of the Anahons*, completely disconcerted him. It was

*"The Chevalier de Beaurain puts it 'Osages' ". Margry's reference here, ~~is to the Journal Historique~~ like his other references to Beaurain, is to a work entitled "Journal historique de l'établissement des Français à la Louisiane", which was published in New Orleans and Paris in 1851. ~~Manuscript~~ This work often differs in details from the Journal of La Harpe as given by Margry; and the latter frequently introduces the alternative reading of the former, in footnotes. In the ~~Manuscript~~ Narrative and Critical History of America, Davis says of the said Journal historique, "It consists of an anonymous historical narrative, to which is appended a memorial signed by Bernard de La Harpe. It is generally quoted as "La Harpe". The narrative is founded largely upon the journals of Le Sueur and La Harpe, though it is evident that the author had other sources of information. Within its pages may be found a record of all the expeditions despatched by the colony to the Red River region and to the coast of Texas. The work of compilation was done by a clear-headed, methodical man. Margry quotes from the work, and attributes its authorship to 'le Chevalier de Beaurain, géographe du roy' ". Manuscript copies of this work, under the title, Journal historique concernant l'établissement des Français à la Louisiane, tiré des mémoires de Messieurs D'Iberville ~~et de Bienville~~ et de Bienville, commandants pour le roy au dit pays, et sur les découvertes et recherches de M. Bernard de la Harpe, nommé aux commandement de la Baye St. Bernard, are to be found in some of our libraries"; (l.c. ~~vol. V, pp. 63, 64.~~) In a footnote (l.c. p. 64), Davis states, "The libraries of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia) and of the Department of State (Washington) each have a copy of this manuscript. A copy belonging to the Louisiana Historical Society is deposited in the State Library at New Orleans". To this footnote Winsor, as editor, adds, "from the Philadelphia copy the English translation in French's Historical Collections of Louisiana, part VIII, was made. A. R. Smith, in his London Catalogue, 1874, no. 1,391, held a manuscript copy,

The Chevalier de Beaurain

Conclusion
Footnote

dated 1766, at \$ 7 17s. 6d., and another is priced by Leclerc (Bibl. Amer., no. 2,811) at 500 francs. This manuscript has five plans and a map, while the printed edition of 1831 has but a single map. The manuscripts are usually marked as 'Dédicé et présenté au roi par le Chevalier Beaurain', who is considered by Leclerc as the author of the drawings only". — F.W.C.]

necessary to use threats to make him proceed a few leagues. We next fell upon extensive prairies, within sight of the mountains, whence we perceived the ~~fire~~ fire of ~~the hostiles~~ the hostiles. Upon that, it was not possible to reassure our guide; nothing could induce him to conduct us further; we had to adopt the course of returning the same evening. We camped on the prairie; we were observed by the Anahons. They approached us in the night, with the intention of surprising us. My dog (Chienné) barked, we were alert, but a little ~~late~~ late, the Indians having ~~made~~ made off with two of my horses, a thing which obliged us to return thence, part on foot.

"On the 20th, I sent four soldiers and six of my men well armed, into the country, three days' journey from the Cadodaquious, ~~thence~~ to a creek, to make ^{some} salt there; they were back again June 3rd with 200 pounds of salt.

"The desire that I had of gaining intelligence of the Wandering ~~Nations~~ Nations, situated to the west of the Nassonites, on the banks of Red river, ^{made} me resolve to send thither the Sieur Du Rivage, a famous geometrician whom I had brought with me from France. I sent with him four soldiers, six of my servants, and eight braves of the Nassoo's tribe, to whom I made considerable gifts to engage them for this voyage. I gave to the Sieur Du Rivage 1500 pounds of merchandise to be given to these Wandering Nations, from me, in order to contract alliance with them, well knowing that it would be for the interest of the Company to have them for allies, by reason of their proximity to New Mexico. I charged him to inform himself as to the nearest dwelling-place of the Spaniards, and to ^{learn if} ~~ascertain whether~~ they had acquaintance with those tribes, established in the [country] northwest of the Nassonites, on the banks of a river, in which case he should do his best to bring ^{a guide} ~~me~~ who could conduct me. He started out on this expedition, June 4th.

"On the 6th, Saint-François, corporal of the garrison, whom I had sent to the Assinais, arrived with the chiefs of the Nadaoo tribe, who came to sing me a Calumet. He brought me two letters; one from Don Martin de Alarconne, Governor of the province of Las-Texas, the other from Father Marsille. Following is the tenor of ^{said} ~~these~~ letters.

"The Governor expresses himself thus:

"Monsieur, I am quite sensible of the courtesies which Monsieur de Bienville and you do me the favor of showing me. The orders that I

have from the King, my master, are to maintain a good ~~conduct~~ ^{Union} with the French of Louisiana; my inclination equally impels me to render to them all the services which are at my disposal; but I can not forbear telling you that your arrival at the Nessonites surprises me very greatly. It must be that Monsieur your Governor ignores that the post which you occupy is in my jurisdiction (~~de la Nouvelle France~~), and that all the country situated to the west of the Nessonites is of the dependency of New Mexico. Therefore, Monsieur, I counsel you in friendship to give notice of this to Monsieur ^{de} Bienville; otherwise, I shall find myself ~~obliged~~ ^{forced} to ~~oblige~~ ^{oblige} you to abandon the country, which the French have no right whatever to settle. — I have the honor of being very perfectly, Monsieur, etc. ^{At the} Assinai, May 28, 1719".

Footnote *"The manuscript of Beaurain reads, at the River of the Trinity, this 20 May, 1719". (Margry.)

"In his letter" Father Marsillo said:

Footnote *"Dated at the Assinai the 24 May. (Beaurain.)" (Margry.)

"Monsieur, I had ^{agreeably} learned from the Indians of your arrival at the Nessonites, and, ~~knowing~~ ^{agreeably} to the account which our brother of the Adayes has given me of you, I wish to have the honor of becoming acquainted with you; you should then ~~be~~ ^{rest assured} that your friendship will be precious to me and that I will do my best to merit it. This correspondence, which you propose to me, being founded on principles of charity and esteem, I ~~shall~~ gladly accept. I will write to my friends in consonance with your intentions; however, as it is not seemly for a friar to mix himself up with commerce, it is a propos that our correspondence be secret, not only by reason of the consequences which may come from it, but because we are not ~~very~~ very friendly with Don Martin de Alarconne; he might cross our plans. I think nevertheless that he will not remain long in this province. There are several complaints against him: he has not, they say, executed the orders of the Viceroy, and he is accused of having rather indiscreetly managed the Indians. I shall take care, ^{Monsieur,} ~~to~~ to notify you of whatever shall transpire, and when the waters have lowered, I shall ^{cause to be} ~~bring~~ brought to your ~~plantation~~ plantation four cows and a bull, which is all that I can send you for the present. Be assured, Monsieur, of the perfect esteem which I have for you, etc."

"On the 8th, the chiefs of the Nadaco nation sung me four Calumets; they promised to maintain good union with the French; I made them some presents and charged them with a letter for Don Martin Alarconne, of which following is the tenor:

"Monsieur,

"The orders which you have from the Catholic King, of maintaining a good union with the French of Louisiana, and the inclination which impels you to render them service, does not at all agree with your procedure ~~XXXX~~ ^{in my} regard. ~~XXXX~~ Permit me, Monsieur, to tell you that Monsieur de Bienville, perfectly informed as to the limits of his jurisdiction, is certain that the Post of the Nessonites is by no means of the dependency of His Catholic Majesty. He knows even that the province of Las Texas, of which you have been appointed Governor, constitutes part of Louisiana. Monsieur de la Salle took possession of it in the year 1684; and since that time, it was renewed by Monsieur de Saint-Denis. As regards the country which is to the west of the Nessonites, I can not understand by what right you pretend that they would constitute part of New Mexico*. That which I am able to have

Footnote

*"The manuscript of Beaurain contains one clause additional. (What I have to represent to you on this subject, is that Don Antoine du Mirour, who discovered in 1683 the provinces of the North, never penetrated into the country to the east of New Mexico and the Rio Bravo. ~~XXXX~~ It is the French who have first there made alliance with the Indian nations; besides which it is natural to think that the rivers that flow into the Mississippi, etc." (Margry.)

the honor to say to you in this regard, is that all the rivers that flow into the Mississippi, belong to the King, my master, and, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{consequently,} all the country which they embrace between them. If you do me the honor of coming into these parts, you will realize that I occupy a post which I have maintained with justice. I have the honor to be very sincerely, Monsieur, etc.

"At the Nessonites, June 9, 1719."

"On the 12th there arrived six Indians of the nation of the Canicons with two women; their village is situated on the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ banks of the Arkansas river.* On their arrival, our Indians made great rejoicings;

Foot-note

*"At one day's journey from Touacaro and other peoples, who are thought to be the Mentos. (Beaurain.)" (Margry).

this was the first time that they had seen this nation among them. The Calumet was sung to them, and several presents were made to them.

"On the 13th, the chief of the Canicons, with his suite, came to see me; I made a great deal of him and had him eat with me. I gave him quite a considerable present; I would have had several very useful conversations with him, but I found myself without a good interpreter. Those who would have been able to serve me as such on this occasion, had gone with the Sieur Du Rivage for the investigation of the Wandering Nations.

On the 16th, there arrived several Nadaco Indians, who brought me some very confused news on the subject of the Spaniards, who, said they, were angry at the French; that we had driven them from the Adayes;

and that the Governor of the Assinai and his warriors withdrew from their Presidio. I judged by these statements that we had war with Spain, and, in order to be more certain about it, I sent the corporal of the garrison to the Nadacos with the Indians of that nation. I ordered him to go as far as the Assinai, in order to inform himself as to all things; I gave him some goods to trade for some horses for me. He left for that journey on the 20th of June.

"On the 24th, there arrived an Indian of the nation of Gulehionis, to give notice to our Indians that the French were at war with the Spaniards, and that the chiefs of the nation had sent him to solicit them to declare themselves in our favor. The chiefs of our nations made reply to them that they did not at all wish to enter into our strifes, but that if the Spaniards attacked us, they would declare themselves against them.

"On the 29th*, the Sieur Du Rivage arrived from his voyage, with two

Further.

*"On the 29th of July Messieurs Mustel and Du Rivage, says the Chevalier de Beaurain". (Margry).

Indians of the nation Quidehais*; he reported to me that at 70 leagues

These

*These were probably the "Kitsaichas" (in modern English, the Keechies), whose village and one of the "Tawakayas" (Tawakonees) were found by Mabry, 23 years later, on Red river some distance above the Four ~~Sacramento~~ Nations, apparently between the 95th and 96th meridians. — F.W.C.

of road in the direction of the west and of the west a quarter north-west, he had met part of the Wandering Nations, who are the Quidehais, Naouydishes, Joyvan, Huanchan, Huané, Tangaoyo, by whom he had been very well received. He learned from them that they had just had a battle with a ^{division} ~~party~~ of the Cancy [Apache] nation, ~~and~~ over which they had the advantage; that the Cancy composed a strongly peopled village on the banks of Red river, at 60 leagues from the place where the Sieur Du Rivage found himself; that the Spaniards were established among the Cancy, whom they worked in extracting from the earth a very heavy substance; that during high waters one could go by Red river to within three days' journey of these nations; that sometimes they had pursued them by land as far as their village, but that the Spaniards had drawn on them some big guns (a term which they use to indicate cannons or swivel-guns).

"The Sieur Du Rivage gave to these nations the presents that I had intended for them; ~~and~~ for me, he solicited them to maintain a good union with the French, and, on his asking them if they were acquainted with some nations situated towards the north on the banks of a large river, they assured him that they were among their allies, and that

the principal one of these nations was called Touacara. He told them then that I desired to go there in order to make alliance with them, but that I had need of a guide. Thereupon, the chiefs ~~resolved~~ ^{resolved} among themselves to give me two of them, and assured the Sieur Du Rivage that, in one moon, they would be found there, to offer me their services. These ~~xxx~~ tribes are wandering, having no fixed dwelling; they follow the buffalo, which serve them for food, as their hides do for clothing. It is on these hunts that they are liable to meet their enemies. Between them all, they number 2500 men; but they are scattered by districts, in order more easily to find their subsistence. These nations are allied with that of the Quichuan*, situated

Footnote. * "Quichuan. (Beaurain.)"

two leagues to the left ~~of Red river~~ of Red river in ascending to the vicinity of the place where the Sieur Du Rivage had found these Wandering Nations.* These ~~xxx~~ peoples are warlike; they nearly

Footnote. * Hence these Quichuan were two leagues south of Red river, and somewhat east of the Wandering Nations. — W.W.C.

always get the best of their enemies, although inferior in number. The Tancaoyes [Tonkaways] are renowned above the others; most of the chiefs are one-eyed, owing to arrow wounds which they have received. These nations and the Caney are so hostile toward each other that the conquerers eat the conquered*; they even spare neither the women nor

Footnote. *In May 1778, Masiorgs found the Tonkaways ~~living at the La Tortuga (The Turtle, an eminence in northern Texas)~~ ^{It is annually decreasing, and the tribe is destined to gradually disappear.} ~~living at the La Tortuga (The Turtle, an eminence in northern Texas)~~ ^{On Oct 25, 1862, a large party of the Tancaoyes, consisting of 100 men and 30 women, were seen at the reservation in northern Oklahoma. It is possible that from some former habitat or incident in the history of this tribe, the "cannibal lakes" of the Llano Estacado?, mentioned by historians of early ~~expeditions~~ ^{Spanish expeditions} on the plains, have taken their name. But the original form of the name seems to have been Cannibar, or Beanniba. — W.W.C.}*

the children. The arms of both ~~nations~~ are the arrow and the spear. The Caney, have some sabers, clothing, strouding and hats, but they ~~have~~ have no fire-arms, it being an inviolable law among the Spaniards to furnish none whatever of these to the Indians.

"The advantage which the Caney have over their enemies is that they have good horses*, whereas the other nations have few of them and even

Footnote. * "Beaurain says: 'The Cancey, of whom one of the principal villages is that of the Quirireches, have some very fine horses...'". (Margry.) Beaurain's "Quirireches", is perhaps a form of the same word as "Querechos", mentioned by the chroniclers of Coronado's expedition of 1541.

these come from the rout of their ~~enemies~~ ^{adversaries}. In their encampments they make lodges out of buffalo hides dressed like parchment; but what is singular is that on their journeys, ~~xxxx~~ their dogs ~~xxxx~~ carry these houses on their backs.

"It is of note that the system of mountains that extends to beyond

the Illinois has its beginning in these quarters, in latitude 35 degrees 30 minutes, and that from these mountains to Santa Fe, the capital town of New Mexico, there are only 100 leagues of road to be made across prairies.

"The Presido of Parral, so famous for its riches and for its situation, distant only from 40 to 50 leagues from ~~the~~ Rio Conchas, which descends to the sea of California, is situated, they say, at ³⁷35 degrees 30 minutes of latitude and some leagues to the west of the Rio del Norte, and to the southwest of the Caney's about 80 leagues. This should make ^{it} recognized of what importance it is to maintain the posts established on Red river, especially that of the Nassonites, which is, ^{distant} ~~mountain~~ overland, from the Caney nation, ~~among~~ among whom the Spaniards get gold, only 120 leagues of very beautiful country.

"On the 1st of August, the Corporal ^[Saint-Francois] arrived from the Assinais, with the chiefs of that nation, who came to assure me of their friendship for the French, notwithstanding the rupture with the Spaniards. I made them some presents, in order to pledge them to continue their good intentions; they sung me the Calumet as a mark of their sincerity. I learned from the Corporal that we were having war with the Spaniards, and that Monsieur Blondel, Commandant at the Natchitoches, had ^{driven} ~~expelled~~ the Recollect Fathers* from the mission of the Adayes, a thing that

Recollects. *Franciscan friars. - F.W.C.

appeared very strange to me, and so much the more since these good Fathers were performing the services of almoners at the Natchitoches. This Corporal had ^{latter} ~~latter~~ himself as an Indian and had ~~st~~ remained at the lodge of the chief of the Amediches until the departure of the Spaniards, who, apprehending our garrison and our Indians, had withdrawn from the other side of the Trinity river.

"Seeing that this war would be an obstacle to the commerce which I had undertaken to conduct with the Spaniards, and that I would have nothing to fear from them for the present at my post, I believed that it would be ^{for the King's} ~~an~~ interest ~~to the King~~ to go to the discovery of the nations, of which mention has been made, in the northwestern quarter, in order to make alliance with them for promoting the means of penetrating into New Mexico and among the Padouca [Comanche] nations; whence the Spaniards derive considerable wealth. The Corporal had traded, at the Nadaces and Assinais, for twelve horses, which he had brought me. I bought ten more of them from our Indians: I loaded them with ~~goods~~ effects and provisions, and on the 11th of the month of August I started on my way, with our two Guidehais guides, a Nassonite Indian, the Sieurs Du Rivage and de la Wiloche, a soldier, two engagés and two ne-