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INVITATION

AUX HABITANTS DES ILLINOIS

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Club for Colonial Reprints

The fourth publication of the Club will be issued in April, with the title:

Invitation Serieuse aux Habitants des Illinois

by

Un Habitant des Kaskaskias

Reprinted in facsimile from the original edition
published at Philadelphia in 1772

THE only copy of this account of the pre-revolutionary settlements in the upper Mississippi Valley which is now known to be in existence, is preserved in the collection of the Library Company of Philadelphia, which has kindly permitted this facsimile to be made.

The tract was brought to light through the researches of Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, the Vice-President of the recently organized Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and of Mr. Clarence E. Carter, of the University of Illinois. They have co-operated

in writing the Introduction to this reprint, and in preparing the brief Bibliographical Notes which are appended. The events which led to the publication of the tract, just on the eve of the outbreak of active Colonial resistance to the policy of the British government, have quite escaped the notice, not only of the historians of National development, but almost as completely that of the local chroniclers of Westward expansion. Mr. Alvord and Mr. Carter show very clearly that these events were not without significance in themselves, and that they left a distinct impression upon the development of a most important section in the Middle West. The history of the genesis of the pamphlet makes equally plain that by the beginning of the last third of the eighteenth century, the Western land had come to be almost as closely related to the Atlantic seaboard at New York, Philadelphia and along the Potomac as it was to the valley of the St. Lawrence. "The events of the prairie and those of the tidewater were being impelled by the same forces, and the ideas in which the revolution had its source raised the waters to a flood in French Illinois."

The original tract was issued without any statement of the place or date of printing. Dr. Victor H. Paltsits, the State Historian of New York, who con-

tributed an important bibliographical section to the third publication of the Club, has again aided by solving what seemed likely to be a most perplexing puzzle. His letter, printed in the Appendix, is not only a satisfactory answer to a single question, but a suggestive illustration for the guidance of those who are confronted by similar problems.

One hundred copies of this volume have been printed on Van Gelder paper, the type and page the same as this announcement. Such copies as are not taken by members of the Club are offered for sale, at two dollars and fifty cents each. Copies numbered to correspond with those of previous publications of the Club will be reserved for the owners of those volumes until June first.

Address:

The Club for Colonial Reprints,

Box 1275,

Providence,

Rhode Island.

MARCH 20, 1908.

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Invitation Sérieuse
aux Habitants
des
Illinois

The fourth publication of the Club for Colonial Reprints
of Providence, Rhode Island

ONE HUNDRED COPIES

1098

Invitation Serieuse aux Habitants
des Illinois

by

Un Habitant des Kaskaskias

Reprinted in facsimile from the original edition
published at Philadelphia in 1772
with an introduction

by

Clarence Walworth Alvord

and

Clarence Edwin Carter



Providence, Rhode Island

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Ill Hist Survey

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Introduction

by

Clarence Walworth Alvord

and

Clarence Edwin Carter

of the

University of Illinois



THE year 1772 — the date written by Du Simitiere on the title page of the following pamphlet — saw the burning of the *Gaspee* and the appointment of the first committees of correspondence. During the previous year the obnoxious Townsend act had been withdrawn, making reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies seem hopeful; but in the following year occurred the famous Boston Tea Party, which was the prelude to the acts of coercion and rebellion. These events in American history form part of the main current of development, which swept on, from the time of the Treaty of Paris, to the cataract of revolution. Contemporaneously occurred the events from which the pamphlet reprinted in this volume sprang, but so seemingly insignificant were these that the eyes fixed on the main current have scarcely noted the passing of the prairie stream. Yet the history of the genesis of the pamphlet will show that the western land was not unrelated to the East, that the events of the prairie and those of the tidewater were impelled by the same force, and that the ideas in which the revolution had its source raised the waters to a flood in French Illinois.

Before the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, France had nominal possession of the land watered by the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi with all its tributaries. Territorially considered she was the predominant power in North America. In these extensive valleys, however, less than one hundred thousand white persons were permanently settled; Canada at the north and the region around New Orleans at the extreme south containing the bulk of the population, while throughout the Old Northwest French possession was insecurely maintained by a few scattered trading posts and small villages, such as Vincennes and Ouiatanon on the Wabash River, Detroit, Niagara, and Mackinac on the Great Lakes, and other isolated places. The most important center of French population in this region, outside of Detroit, was situated in the Illinois country. Nestled under the lime-stone bluffs on the alluvial soil cast by the turbid Missouri upon the eastern bank of the Mississippi were the villages of Cahokia, St. Philippe, Nouvelle Chartres, Prairie du Rocher, and Kaskaskia. Although this settlement was half a century old, the population, counting whites, blacks, and Indians, numbered scarcely a couple of thousand.

Contrasted with this vast area of French territory

with its sparse population, were the British colonies with more than a million people wedged in between the Appalachian mountains and the Atlantic Ocean. Here the enterprising homeseekers of English, Scotch-Irish, and German extraction were rapidly settling the better lands, so that pressure on the western borders increased every year; and the fertile, unoccupied valley of the Ohio allured the colonists westward in spite of hostile Frenchman and lurking Indian. By the fifth decade the barrier was crossed by constantly increasing numbers, and the French found their possession of the West and their monopoly of the lucrative fur-trade of the lake region seriously threatened. Already the more enterprising and foresighted of the British colonists appreciated the future value of the region and began to plan for its systematic exploitation. In 1748 the Ohio Company, composed of London merchants and Virginia land speculators, obtained from the crown a grant of territory south of the Ohio River. This was the precursor of several companies formed for similar purposes. In 1754 the question of western expansion had assumed sufficient importance to engage the attention of the Albany Congress, and plans for the division of the West into colonies were discussed by that body.

To prevent such encroachments and enterprises, the French erected a line of forts to protect the frontier, and succeeded in holding back the westward-pushing Americans for a few years. The outcome of the Seven Years' War brought this rivalry to a close. Defeated both in Europe and America, France paid the enormous war indemnity of the cession of all her possessions east of the Mississippi River except the Village of New Orleans.

This cession gave a fresh impetus to the spirit of land speculation and exploitation which had been discouraged during the first years of the war. Immediately after the signing of the treaty at Paris in 1763, and before the British ministry had determined its policy in regard to the new acquisitions, the Mississippi Land Company was organized by prominent Virginians and Marylanders for the purpose of planting colonies in the Illinois and Wabash regions. Plans of this character received an official check, when the British ministry announced its western policy in a proclamation on October 7th of the same year. By this proclamation, civil governments were created for the provinces of Quebec, the two Floridas, and Granada, and all the territory lying north of the Floridas and west of the Alleghanies was reserved for the use of the Indians.

Henceforth the colonial governors were forbidden to issue patents for land within this reservation without the consent of the crown. This royal proclamation made no provision for the isolated French villages in the Northwest. Consequently they were left with no government except such as might be exercised by the military officers stationed in them for the regulation of the Indians.

The policy thus proclaimed marks the beginning of that vacillating and at times restrictive policy of Great Britain towards the West, which was continued henceforth through the Revolutionary War. The proclamation was correctly interpreted by the most intelligent American colonists as temporary in character and as issued to reassure the restless and alarmed Indians. It did not, therefore, deter the land speculators and fur-traders. The attitude of several members of the British ministry gave assurance that some plan for the settlement of the region would be finally adopted. Conspicuous among these was Lord Shelburne, who received very favorably Benjamin Franklin's suggestion for the establishment of a proprietary colony in the Illinois country and who agreed to throw all his influence in favor of its adoption. Supported by the influence of such men, successive plans were formed in 1766,

1768, and 1773 to put into execution colonizing enterprises. In these plans such trading companies as Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan of Philadelphia and Franks and Company of Philadelphia and London were promoters, and men such as Sir William Johnson, Benjamin Franklin, William Franklin, the Washingtons, Lees, Fitzhughs with other prominent men in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia were interested.

The earlier plans for colonization were not confined in area, and the promoters allowed their fancies to play with the thought of colonies in Illinois, around Detroit, and on the Ohio; but in 1768 a more definite direction was given to their enterprises. By that time the British ministry had returned to their original purpose of running a boundary line between the settlements and the Indians west of the Alleghanies. At the Treaty of Fort Stanwix this line was determined, and there was opened up for colonization the valley of the upper Ohio River. Lord Hillsborough's hint that the plan for a proprietary colony in this region would receive a more favorable hearing than one in the Illinois, which was at the time under consideration, gave birth to the Vandalia scheme; and the persons who had been most interested in the Illinois

country turned their attention in that direction. It was not until 1773 that new plans for the colonizing of Illinois were formed, and a beginning was made by the purchase of land by the Illinois Land Company. It was during these few years of comparative quiet from speculative enterprises in the far west that the following French pamphlet was printed.

Almost as soon as the Illinois country was occupied by the British Troops, there was an eager rush of English and Americans thither. These were for the most part merchants and traders anxious to participate in the fur-trade and in any other possible advantages which the new country might offer. Many of these purchased lands from the French and even from the Indians in spite of the prohibition by the British government, and some agricultural enterprises were conducted with success.

By coming into contact with these men, the French inhabitants were aroused from a lethargy which had enveloped them for over half a century. Most of the French people of Illinois came originally from Canada. There were among them two classes, the "gentry" and *habitants*, the latter being greatly in the majority. These had belonged to the lower classes of Canada and possessed few of

those social and intellectual attainments which marked their superiors. Occupied chiefly in the collection of furs or in the humbler duties of commerce, they came into close contact with the Indians, in whose villages much of their time was spent. They were in many ways well adapted for this mode of life, for they were active and reckless, and fond of the forest life. Outside of the gains made by the trade in peltry or their wages as boatmen, their lives were not productive, and the little they earned was spent in the pleasures of the village. They cared nothing for agriculture and similar pursuits, and exhibited in all their activities a total lack of initiative and of capacity to adapt themselves to settled life. On the other hand the "gentry," comprising the traders and farmers, came from the better classes in Canada and France. Many were wealthy and influential; some were even of noble birth; and all possessed considerable education. The members of this class were particularly affected by the example of the Americans, and the desire was born within them to acquire for themselves some of the benefits of their position. Illinois was favorably situated to participate in the Ohio and Mississippi trade, and to control a large part of the exportation of furs from the West to

Europe. The various attempts of the Americans to settle the territory had drawn the attention of the more enterprising French to the value of their land for agricultural purposes, and the latter began to dream of a large and prosperous colony of French people in the heart of North America.

It is possible to trace the birth and development of this idea in the minds of the French colonists. Since civil government was not provided for the West by the Proclamation of 1763, it remained under the control of the British commander of the army in North America, General Gage, whose headquarters were in New York. From the time of the occupation of Fort de Chatres in October, 1765, the French settlers and the American traders were subjected to the varying caprices of half a dozen different commandants. All the evils of such a military regime were present. Not only was there friction between the soldiers and the inhabitants, but the commanding officers were frequently guilty of arbitrary and oppressive acts. This was particularly true of Commandants Reed and Wilkins during the years 1766 to 1771. The former demanded, among other unjust exactions, exorbitant fees from the French for administering the oath of allegiance. The inhabitants might

have meekly submitted to such acts of tyranny, had they not been inspired to resist by some of the Americans among them. The most prominent of these latter was a Philadelphia merchant, George Morgan, whose letter-book, kept during these years, is one of the principal sources of our knowledge of the British government in this far away country. Under Morgan's direction, a petition praying the board of trade to grant a civil government to the country was circulated. For the first time the French had used the British method of bringing to the notice of the authorities the wrongs from which they were suffering. From the time of this first declaration of rights their courage grew, and, with their courage and increasing knowledge of English law, their desire for greater liberty developed.

Colonel Reed was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Wilkins, who remained commandant until his dismissal in 1771. Wilkins used his position to further his private interests. He was evidently assisted in this by the American merchants, for several grants of land in which the commandant was partly interested are entered in the Kaskaskia book of records. It was, however, his arbitrary dismissal of the law-court which finally aroused the French to action. This court had been

established by the proclamation of the commandant in November of 1768 for the purpose of trying civil cases and its jurisdiction had been extended to criminal affairs at a later date. Originally the majority of the justices were Americans, the president being George Morgan. For reasons unknown the personnel of the court was rapidly changed, so that at the close of its career, eighteen months after its inauguration, six of the seven justices were of French extraction, but the presidency continued to be held by Morgan. This body became the center about which the French opposition to the military commandant gathered, and its members finally drew up a protest against his arbitrary acts. The protest sounded the death knell of the court, for after June it ceased to meet and Wilkins assumed again the power of jurisdiction.

This act of Wilkins' aroused the French people to take a decided stand for their rights. Henceforth they ceased to depend on their American associates, whose actions appear to have been too often inspired by selfish motives, and several of whom were connected with the speculative schemes of the eastern merchants for exploiting the country by means of American settlers. The French people readily perceived that their interests would not be

promoted by such measures; and yet what had been in the minds of the Americans might be carried to fulfillment by themselves along different lines. At this time Lord Hillsborough was secretary for the colonies and he was known to be a bitter opponent of western expansion, so that restriction seemed to have become a permanent policy, and already many of the American traders who had been interested in the promoters' schemes had become discouraged and were leaving the Illinois. The plan of a French colony appeared to be justified, however, by the actual settlements in existence, and the leaders might reasonably hope that, should proper representations be made to the minister, no opposition to the creation of a French colonial government on the Mississippi was likely to be met.

It was with this idea in mind that the leaders of the French inhabitants called an assembly shortly after the downfall of the court. A citizen of Kaskaskia, Daniel Blouin, was chosen to go to New York and explain the situation to General Gage. He carried with him a memorial, setting forth the grievances of the people against the military commandant and certain of the American merchants, and instructions to use all possible efforts to obtain a civil government for the country. The French

people had thus advanced beyond their position of 1768, and, without the assistance of the Americans, they had assumed the initiative in a movement for the extension of civil rights to the colony.

The French agent, Daniel Bloüin, chose as an associate in this mission William Clazon, a Frenchman with more experience in English affairs than himself. These two presented their credentials and memorial to General Gage and prayed that a civil government be established in the Illinois country. Their reception was not very gracious, but finally Gage did demand an outline of their plan. Probably the draft of government — Gage speaks of it as a rough outline — had been drawn up by Clazon, for the model of the proposed government was the constitution of Connecticut, the most liberal of the eastern colonies, of which the average Illinois Frenchman could have known nothing. Such a proposal was naturally rejected by the general, who, in order that he might have more information about the conditions, ordered Major Hamilton, the acting commandant in the Illinois, to question the people concerning their wishes. Gage evidently hoped to discredit the two representatives, but in this he was not successful. In a letter to Gage in August, 1772, Major Hamilton relates the results of his

inquiry: "According to your Excellency's directions to me I convened the principal inhabitants of the three villages & desired M. Deberniere to talk to them in the manner you desired about some scheme of Civil Government, they were very high on the occasion & expected to appoint their Governor & all other Civil Magistrates, but on being desired to draw up their plan in writing and sign it, they told me that before M. Bloüin left the Country, at a General meeting they had fixed upon a Scheme which Mons. Bloüin was to lay before your Excellency & till he returned & they knew what success he had met with, they could give no answer."

A few weeks later, Gage transmitted to Secretary Hillsborough the following account of these negotiations: "An answer has been returned to the proposals sent to the Illinois for the arrangements for that Country, with an account of the motives the people of those Settlements have formed of a Civil Government; which I transmit your Lordship in the inclosed Extract of a letter from Major Hamilton. These ideas were given them by the Mons. Bloüin mentioned in the Major's letter, or rather an associate of his named Clajon, a Frenchman by birth, an adventurer, artful and intelligent, who

after passing some years in these Colonies went to the Spanish side of the Mississippi & during his residence in the Colonies, he learnt the English language & got a shallow knowledge of our Laws. Those two people came to me from the Illinois about twelve months ago; but from their character, the disturbance they had occasioned in the Country & the extravagant proposals they brought, I refused to enter into any conference with them on subjects that had relation to Civil Government.”

While these negotiations were being carried on, there was printed at Philadelphia the following pamphlet, entitled, “*Invitation Serieuse aux Habitants des Illinois.*” Aside from the interest of the pamphlet as an historical document, it is worthy of notice that it is the first publication written for western readers by one who could call himself a citizen of Illinois. A careful reading of the pamphlet shows that it must have been composed by some member of the French party which was seeking to obtain a civil government, for the ideals set before the readers are those which would promote the development of the French communities. As its title implies it is an urgent exhortation to the Illinois French, inviting them to unite in an effort to win for themselves economic independence.

“For this purpose let us unite in heart and interest to encourage the agriculture and commerce of our country in its whole extent,” is the burden of the message. The body of the work consists of an enumeration and description of the products, such as lead, salt, liquors, wines and sugar, which can be produced in the Mississippi valley. The readers are told that with industry and care the amount of money which is now expended on the importation of such articles can be saved. Other industries can also be introduced, as the brewing of beer, the cultivation of tobacco, hemp, flax, silk and cotton.

The author's admiration for the English and their ways is evident. He urges his compatriots to lay aside their ill-humour at the introduction of new ways and industries by these strangers, for they have proved the possibility of distilling liquors at Kaskaskia, and one of them has introduced several kinds of fruit trees. The writer expects that New Orleans will be occupied by the British in a short time, so that the navigation of the Mississippi will be open to the colonists. It seems probable that there is in the thought of the author the possibility of a French colony occupying both banks of the Mississippi: “for we all know that there is no extent of bad land on either bank of the Mississippi from

the sea to the Falls of St. Anthony. There is no lack of hills and plains fitted for the culture" of vines. The Illinois French have not yet enjoyed any advantages from becoming British subjects; but this has been due to their great distance from their sovereign and parliament. These latter would long since have granted them a civil government, had they been informed of the importance and consequence of the colony to the empire. There is added the hope that in a short time the right to enjoy their religion will be confirmed and a civil government established. The pamphlet closes with an exhortation that schools be founded so that all the children may be taught to read and write their mother tongue and that some may be able to learn the English language.

The writer signs himself, "An Inhabitant of Kaskaskia," and there is no other indication in the pamphlet of his identity. The whole tone of the work forbids assigning its authorship to one of the many Americans who were interested in the Illinois country. The language, also, is that of the French-Canadian of the West rather than the more perfect French of the school, which would have been written by an American. Instinctively the names of Daniel Bloüin and William Clazon come to the

mind, and one or both may have been the author, for they were in the East, and were both so full of hope in their mission that they might well have written in 1772 that it was possible that a civil government would soon be inaugurated.

The pamphlet was printed in Philadelphia in the year 1772 according to Du Simitiere, from whose library the only existent copy was acquired by the Philadelphia Library Company, which has kindly permitted the present facsimile to be made. Had the pamphlet been printed in New York, we should not have hesitated to assign its authorship to Bloüin or Clazon, by preference to the former, for he was an inhabitant of Kaskaskia and Clazon was not. On account of the close commercial relation between the West and Philadelphia it is possible that these representatives of Illinois spent some of their time in the more southern city; but for a similar reason other members of the French party may have been called to the same place; or the pamphlet may have been written in the West, and the manuscript sent to Philadelphia with a consignment of furs. The possibilities of authorship are, therefore, too numerous to warrant ascribing the writing of the pamphlet to anyone. We must be content to have shown the causes from which it arose and

the party to which its author must have belonged.

The French party failed to attain its purpose, for the British ministry would not even entertain the proposed plan of government. The attention of the authorities had been called, however, to the needs of the Illinois villages; and it was to relieve the situation that General Gage, acting under advices from the ministry, sent thither in 1773 an outline of a plan of government, which contained some popular elements, but which retained the power of appointment and control in the hands of the home authorities. This plan was submitted to the people by the British commandant at Kaskaskia, but was promptly rejected.

This event closed the successive attempts to create in Illinois an independent colony. The same year the Illinois Land Company purchased from the Indians a large tract which they proposed to colonize, but the purchase was shortly annulled by the authorities, and nothing further was done by the promoters until after the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.

During the years passed in review by this sketch, events were occurring in Canada, which caused the ministry to take into consideration the needs of that colony. The proclamation of 1763,

by introducing English law, had brought many hardships to the French-Canadians. The grievances of these latter were at last to be investigated by the ministry and parliament. The British government understood now, better than in 1763, the conditions in the far West, and a solution of the problem there appeared to be closely connected with that of Canada. It was determined, therefore, to consider both questions at the same time. For this purpose among others General Gage was summoned home in 1773 in order that he might give information in regard to the West. The result of his recommendations and of the investigations of the ministry and parliament was the Quebec Act of 1774. By this act the whole Northwest was united to the province of Quebec, and provision for the government of the Illinois villages was made in the instructions to the governor, which were shortly afterwards issued. These were never put into execution, because the outbreak of the war with the colonies made the maintenance of a military force in such distant villages seem dangerous. A new series of events now began in the French villages, which was to end in the acquisition of the whole region by the new state which was born; but these events have no bearing on the following pamphlet.

The Reprint

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT

PHILOSOPHY 101

LECTURE NOTES

INVITATION

S E R I E U S E

A U X

H A B I T A N T S

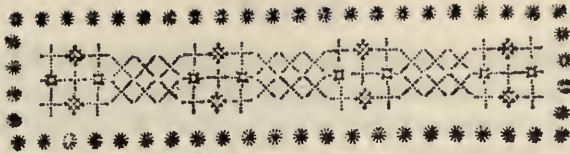
D E S

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PHILADELPHIE

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INVITATION

SERIEUSE AUX HABITANTS

D E S

I L L I N O I S.

MES FRERES,



LES connoissances sont de peu d'usage, lorsqu'elles sont restreinte à la simple speculation ; mais lorsque des verités speculatives sont reduit à la pratique, lorsque des theoricis, fondés sur l'experiance sont appliqué aux usages de la vie, et lorsque par ces
" moyens l'agriculture est perfectionnée, le commerce etendu,
" les facilités de la vie rendus plus aisé et plus agreable, &
" consequemment, l'accroissement et le bonheur du genre hu-
" main augmenté, alors les connoissances fant avantageuses."

Tous les membres d'une societé qui en ont la capacité et le pouvoir, sont sans doute obligé de contribuer, au progrès de ces connoissances. Ceux qui ne le peuvent par la communication des leurs, et de leur experiances, doivent soigneusement écouter les instructions de ceux qui le peuvent, et qui le font

sont avec verité et bonté de coeur, particulierement, les habitants des nouveaux établissemens, afin de pouvoir obtenir les connoissances necessaires ; et par ce moyen la perfection de leur établissemens.

Les habitants des Illinois souffrent de grandes difficultés par les defavantages et les grands découragemens qui s'opposent à leurs efforts, en tâchant de perfectionner leur agriculture, leur commerce et tous les autres arts necessaires. Mais si chacun de nous, selon notre situation et pouvoir voulions nous efforcer, d'améliorer notre situation, et notre pays, nous pourrions en peu d'années, rendre cette colonie la plus heureuse du continent.

Pour cet effet, unissons nous de coeur et d'intérêt afin d'encourager l'agriculture et le commerce de notre patrie dans toute son étendue ; en nous opposant aussi, à l'introduction de toute les choses étrangères, dont nous puissions nous passer avec facilité et sans inconvenient, ou que nous puissions fabriquer nous mêmes. Les articles suivantes peuvent immédiatement être effacé de nos memoires d'introduction, et sous peu d'années, nous serons en état de nous passer de nombres d'autres, que nous pourrions nous procurer ; et que nous sommes actuellement obligé de tirer d'Europe, ou de quelque colonie Americaine.

1. Plomb en Plaques a Balles et a Giboyer.
2. Sel.
3. Eau-de-vie de France, taffia, et liqueurs fortes de toute espece.
4. Vin, et
5. Sucre.

Il y a longtems que nous nous plaignons de manquer d'argent, et de notre incapacité de payer les debtes que nous avons contracté

contracté pour les susdits articles, et quoique nous paroissions être convaincu, que nous pouvons éviter d'en introduire, néanmoins nous continuons à le faire, et pour ce, sommes obligez de contracter de nouvelles debtes; sans faire le moindre effort, pour nous affranchir de ce mal dangereux. Il est vrai, que nombres de bon et vertueux habitants des Kaskaskias ont déjà vu leur erreur et ont commencé à y remédier; afin d'éviter les dangers, qui menaçoient leur négligence; je ne doute même pas, que soub peu de tems nous ne joignons nos efforts tous ensemble, pour encourager, et faire fleurir tout ce qui peut être cultivé ou manufacturé dans notre colonie.

AFIN d'y contribuer, et de rendre les habitants des Illinois aussi riche et heureux, qu'ils sont affectionnés et humain, je me propose de convaincre ceux d'entre nous, qui n'ont pas encore attentivement considéré cette matiere.

PREMIER. Que, nous sommes en possession, ou que nous pouvons cultiver, ou manufacturer, chacune des articles sus mentionnez, d'une aussi bonne qualité, et peut être meilleure que celles que nous faisons venir.

SECOND. Que, le montant de l'épargne ou profit, que cela donnera, au peu d'habitants qui sont actuellement aux Illinois, montera dès le principe, à deux cent vingt cinq mille livres par an. ce qui dans le cours de cinquante ans, montera à la somme de onze millions deux cents cinquante mille livres; une telle somme, nous rendra la plus riche et florissante colonie de l'Amerique, et mettra notre posterité en état, suivant leurs inclinations, ou, de se retirer en Europe en état de s'établir a leur aise, ou bien de se fixer dans cet heureux pays, pour y jouir des fruits de notre industrie, en poursuivant avec prudence les moyens que nous avons actuellement en notre pouvoir.

QUELQUES

QUELQUES uns de nous, sommes à la vérité avancé en âge, et il est souvent difficile de se persuader d'abandonner un sentier frayé et pratiqué par nos peres et nous mêmes ; d'autres faute de savoir mieux, sont prevenus en faveur des methodes dans lesquelles ils ont été élevé, et comme les sauvages, ne voulant pas être instruit persistent dans leur folle ignorance, mais comme je me flatte, qu'il n'y en a que très peu de ce dernier nombre parmi nous et que les autres ont un desir sincere de faire fleurir notre situation et celui de notre posterité, travaillons donc je vous prie conjointement à inspirer en tous les habitants sans distinction, les connoissances necessaires à cette heureuse fin ; et je ne doute nullement du plus heureux succès, Car.

PREMIER. Nous avons plusieurs mines de plomb, qui sans beaucoup de travail, nous donnera plus de ce metal, qu'il ne sera necessaire, pour la consommation de tous les habitants, et pour le commerce des Indiens ; et dans une suite d'années, nous pourrions être en etat d'en fournir, non seulement à tous les ports de l'Amerique, mais même à grande partie de l'Europe s'ils le requeroient. Ainsi j'espere qu'on conviendra sans difficulté, que nous aurions tort d'introduire dans cette colonie, du plomb en plaque à balles ou à giboyer, dailleurs, quelque une de ces mines sont mêlées d'argent, et nous avons toute raison de croire, que sous peu d'années, nous pourrons procurer des ouvriers, capable de separer ce precieux metal, à notre grand avantage. Les recherches même que ces mines nous occasioneront, pourront nous conduire, à la connoissance de quelques unes de fer ou de cuivre, metaux d'une valeur plus réelles que l'or et l'argent du Perou.

SECOND. Notre pays abonde en sources salées, desquelles nous pouvons tirer plus que deux fois la quantité de sel, necessaire pour notre consommation à beaucoup meilleur marché
que

que nous ne pouvons l'acheter, et presque égal en qualité; nous pouvons donc nous passer du sel d'Europe et d'ailleurs.

TROIS. Des vins fait de nos raisins, et des grains de notre crû, nous pouvons faire de l'eau-de-vie, égal pour la qualité et le goût, au meilleurs de Cognac, et du taffia beaucoup supérieur a celui qu'on nous porte, de la Nouvelle Orleans, et d'autre lieux; et a moins de la moitié du prix que nous payons pour ces articles. De ceci, nous avons une preuve convaincante, par la manufacture dernièrement établie aux Kaskaskias laqu'elle si elle étoit encouragée, sans jalousie ni préjugé contre les propriétaires, nous auroit été d'un grand avantage. Il est en vérité à souhaiter, que nous pussions nous passer de toutes liqueurs spiritueuses, mais comme cela est presque impossible et que les meilleurs, et les plus savants medecins, sont convenu que l'esprit extrait des bons grains, de la maniere qu'on le pratique actuellement, en France, en Hollande et a l'Amérique du Nord, est le plus sain et le meilleur de tous, nous devrions certainement, suivre ce plan heureux, que nous pouvons executer avec tant de facilité et distiller nos liqueurs spiritueuses nous mêmes; sans en acheter ni de la Nouvelle Orleans, Philadelphia, ni autre Lieux: Monsieur Tissot celebre Medecin Français et auteur de plusieurs ouvrages considerables et très estimez, dans ses instructions sur la conservation de la santé, dit, " Les esprits extraits des grains, sont " nourrissants et fortifiants, et peuvent être d'un grand usage; " riches et égayants autant que le vin, beaucoup plus nour- " rissant, pouvant servir de manger et de boisson." Boerhaave de qui le nom est fameux partout dans la medecine, dit, " L'esprit " extrait des grains, est le plus égayant et du meilleur usage."

LES Anglois industrieux, ont introduit parmi nous, une boisson pour l'usage ordinaire qui ne nous étoit connu, que par le peu que les Reverend Peres Jesuites faisoit pour le
 leurs;

leurs; on s'apperçoit que je parle de la bierre, ils nous la vendent a fort bon marché et offrent d'instruire nos familles a la faire d'une qualité bien meilleurs et a une très petite dépense; ceci n'est pas la seule des choses necessaire qu'ils ont introduit parmi nous; l'un d'eux a apporté ici a des fraix considerables une grande quantité d'arbres fruitiers, de presque toutes les especes, et en outre du chanvre, du lin, de l'orge, des patattes, des navaux et bien d'autre choses que nous n'avions pas vu ici auparavant, lesquels il a distribué à tous ceux qui ont voulu prendre la peine de les cultiver et travailler à la propogation de ces denrées, si necessaire et avantageuse a cette partie du monde.

IL n'y a point de doute, que bien des particuliers qui font le commerce de la Nouvelle Orleans et de Philadelphia ici, auront de l'humeur contre ces Anglois nos bienfaiteurs, et tâcheront d'injurier leur commerce, en décriant la bonté et la qualité de leur marchandizes, en ce que, leur petit commerce est en quelque façon prejudicié par la distillerie et la brasserie établie ici; mais, n'ecoutons point ce que peuvent dire des gens, dont l'interêt est de nous tenir dans une ignorance, sur lequel il voudroit établir leur avantage. Car certainement aucun homme raisonnable ne pourra dire, que nous devrions introduire des eau-de-vie ni des taffia, de la Nouvelle Orleans, Philadelphia, ni autre lieux, pouvant nous mêmes en faire de meilleures; et en quantitéz suffisante pour notre consommation, et pour le commerce avec les Indiens, sans appauvrir notre pays, par la sortie de l'argent necessaire a l'achat de ces articles, qui nous ont couté jusqu'a present, au dessus de cent mille livres par an.

QUATR. A l'égard des vins étrangers de toute les especes, nous n'en aurions pas besoin d'une seule barrique, si nous voulions prendre la peine, de cultiver les differentes especes des vignes

vignes qui croissent naturellement en ce pays et en introduire des rejettons de France et d'autres lieux ce qui se pourroit faire a très peu de fraix ; d'ailleurs, comme le froid et la longueur de l'hiver augmente, plus nous montons le Mississipi, ainsi plus nous descendons, la froideur et la longueur de cette saison est plus modérée, de sorte que nous pouvons faire choix du climat le plus propre pour la culture de ces différentes especes de vignes, sans crainte de manquer de terres propre et excellente à cette fin, car nous savons tous, qu'il n'y a point d'étendue de mauvais terrain ni de l'un ni de l'autre coté du Mississipi, depuis la mer jusqu'au chutes de St. Antoine, ce qui fait plus de huit cent lieues le long de ce grand fleuve ; il n'y manque pas non plus de coteaux, ni de plaines propre à cette culture, la divine Providence nous a fait tous ces dons précieux, qui peuvent être regardés comme une recompense, pour la distance a la quelle nous sommes situées de la mer, et pour la difficulté de notre communication avec d'autre peuples,

MALGRÉ les difficultés que nous souffrons dans la recolte des raisins, le manque de vaisseaux necessaires, et la methode la plus propre, l'expérience nous a démontré, que dans nos divers villages, nous pouvons faire annuellement des vignes sauvages, cent cinquante barriques de vin rouge, de bonne qualité, et d'un bon corps ; et si nous voulions observer, de ne point couper et detruire les vignes comme nous le faisons en cueillant les raisins, en vue de faire plus de dépêche, nous pourrions en peu d'années en faire une quantité bien plus grande et de meilleure qualité. La raison ne dicte telle pas, que par la nous detruisons et faisons beaucoup de tort a nombres de vignes et en empêchons l'accroissement, mais si au lieu de les rompre et detruire de cette façon, nous voulions nous donner la peine de les tailler avec prudence, leur produit

nous recompenserait avantageusement. Nos coteaux, nos vallées, et nos plaines, sont remplies de vignes qui leur sont naturelles ils croissent dans tous les terroirs, et sont propres à tous les climats, sans culture ils se chargent de fruits en abondance, plusieurs des quels d'un goût riche et excellent, par ceci la nature se joint à la raison pour nous démontrer.

QUE si nous voulions prendre la peine de planter de petites vignobles, et leur donner le soin nécessaire, sous peu d'années leur production nous seroit d'un grand avantage; et par le moyen de quelque petite récompense, nous trouverions des gens qui nous instruiraient dans le menagement de la vendange et la façon de faire le vin, ce qui nous seroit d'autant plus avantageux, que nous pourrions le faire meilleur que celui qu'on nous apporte, et à aussi bon marché qu'on le boit en France; nous pourrions même par la suite des tems, en envoyer aux Anglois et à leur colonies.

QUELQUES Européens pourront se moquer de ce que j'avance ici, et diront que je propose des impossibilités; si on leur demande sur quoi ils fondent cette opinion ils diront; que les Creoles (nom qu'ils nous donnent par dérision) sont trop ignorants et trop paresseux, pour se donner de telles peines, que nous n'avons aucune expérience en de telles affaires, que le travail est trop cher parmi nous, et nombres d'autres raisons pareils, qui selon moi n'ont pas le moindre poids, force, ni fondement.

IL n'est en vérité que trop vrai, que jusqu'à présent nous avons été tenu dans une grande ignorance, mais cela ne prouve pas que nous devons y continuer. Nous devons aussi confesser, que nous avons trop négligé la recherche des connoissances nécessaires à notre bien être & à celui de notre postérité future, déterminons donc de ne plus nous abandon-

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ner à cette indolence, et comme nous avons déjà, dans les divers campagnes de la guerre passée démontré, que nous sommes égaux, et en bien des cas supérieurs, aux Européens, de même contestons avec eux, par notre industrie et par nos efforts, à nous procurer les richesses et les connoissances nécessaire a notre bien être, et a celui de notre posterité, & au lieu de passer notre temp a fumer du tabac, dans la vanité & l'indolence qu'ils nous reprochent, déterminons une fois, de regler notre conduite d'une façon toute contraire.

CINQ. Le sucre, est un article dont nous n'avons aucun besoin, ce pays ci étant rempli de sucriers, desquels plusieurs familles tirent déjà des quantités suffisantes pour leur consommation, et même pour vendre à d'autres, peu de gens par un travail modéré, pendant le cours d'un mois, pourroit en faire une quantité, suffisante pour la consommation de tous les habitants des Illinois. En outre, nous avons raison de croire, que l'arbre dont aux Indes on fait l'Arrack, est le même que notre érable dont nous tirons le sucre, s'il est ainsi, le sirop que nous en tirons seroit un esprit, bien supérieur à toute celle que nous ayons jamais vu en cette partie du monde. Dans la partie du ouest de la Virgine, ils tirent tout le sucre qu'ils consomment de l'Erable, quoiqu'ils ne soient qu'à une très petite distance de la mer.

OUTRES les articles susmentionnés, nous devrions aussi donner nos soins à la culture du chanvre, du lin, & de l'herbe a coton, toutes choses croissent ici beaucoup mieux qu'en aucune des colonies de la Nouvelle Angleterre; de ces productions, nos femmes & nos filles, pourroient faire tout le linge nécessaire au menage, pour notre usage et celui de nos domestiques, bas, et autre partie de nos habillements; ce qui nous seroit une epargne très considérable, je ne fais nul
doûte

doûte que les dames ne se portassent avec beaucoup de satisfaction, au succès d'un projet si avantageux.

UN autre article qui paroît très propre à ce pays & à ce climat, est la soie ; de cette manufacture nous pourrons ci après, nous promettre des richesses immenses, étant proprement établie. Les habitants des deux Carolines & de Pennsylvanie l'ont commencé et y trouvent déjà un avantage considérable, quoique ces provinces ni sont en aucune façon aussi propre que celle ci, la quantité des muriers dont nos campagnes abondent, nous le demontrent évidemment.

J'è ne dois pas omettre d'informer mes pays, que la culture du tabac dans la Virgine, (qui n'est qu'une petite colonie, dans le pays que nous appellons la Nouvelle Angleterre) procure annuellement au Roi d'Angleterre un revenu de trois cent mille livres sterling, égal à six millions six cent mille livres de notre monnaie ; outre le prix principal, qui appartient aux cultivateurs & aux négociants qui l'achètent, et cette somme leur est remboursé avec grand avantage par les Français à qui ils vendent cette marchandise ; outre cet avantage, ce commerce emploie au moins quatre mille matelots pour transporter cet article dans leurs vaisseaux en Europe ; si donc la petite île & ville de la Nouvelle Orleans appartenait à la Grande Bretagne, (ce qui ne pourra pas manquer d'être au cas d'une Nouvelle Guerre avec l'Espagne) le tabac sera un article bien considérable, & avantageux pour ceux qui voudront la cultiver sur les bords du Mississipi, car le terrain de de la Virgine est presque usé, et ne peut pas continuer longtemps à produire cette denrée comme elle a fait ci devant. D'ailleurs, les terrains sur le Mississipi, sont par leur quantité & qualité, si supérieure pour la production du tabac, que si les Anglois venoient à en avoir la possession, nous pourrions
devenir

devenir en peu de tems, la plus florissante colonie du monde; et par une conduite prudente, et soumise aux loix d'Angleterre, aux devoirs de notre sainte religion Catholique, et en conservant une charité universelle pour tous les hommes, nous deviendrions le peuple le plus heureux du genre humain. Il est vrai que jusqu'à présent, nous n'avons reçu que peu d'avantage d'être devenu sujets Anglois, quoique nous nous fussions formé les idées les plus avantageuses, de la douceur, de la liberté, et de la sagesse des loix de cette brave nation, mais nous devons attribuer ce contretemp, à la distance à laquelle nous sommes placé du Souverain et du parlement de la Grande Bretagne, qui s'ils estoient entierement informé de l'importance & de la consequence de cette colonie à leur empire, nous auroit sans doute avant ce tems accordé un gouvernement civil, au moyen duquel nous n'aurions point été sujet, aux impositions, et aux oppressions de nos tirans passé; néanmoins, nous devons actuellement reconnoître avec reconnaissance, que nous sommes heureux, d'avoir un Commandant * qui deteste toute action injuste ou arbitraire tâchons donc de le convaincre, que nous sommes des vrais & zelées sujets de sa Majesté Britannique, et ne doutons nullement que soub peu, la jouissance de nos droits religieux nous seront confirmées, et l'administration du gouvernement civil sera établi parmi nous. Nous ne pouvons à present que desirer ces heureux evenemens; et en même tems je m'efforcerais de prouver, les avantages qui resulteront si nous cessons cy apres d'introduire les articles suivantes, a savoir plomb, sel, eau-de-vie, taffia, vin, et sucre, et ne faisons usage que de ces mêmes articles, produites & fabriqués parmi nous a savoir 20,000 lb. plomb en plaque, a balles & a giboyer. Que

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* MONSIEUR Le Major Isaac Hamilton.

je suppose se vendront l'un en l'autre à 15 sous,	15,000
1000 l. boisseaux de sel à 15 livres,	15,000
2000 pots Eau-de-vie à 7 livres 10 sous,	15,000
20,000 pots taffia Anglais & Français à 5 livres, . .	100,000
150 barriques de vin à 400 livres,	60,000
10,000 l. sucre à 40 sous,	20,000
	<hr/>
	225,000

Il paroît par ce calcul qui est très modéré, que nous dépendons 225,000 livres par an pour ces six articles, que nous pourrions à très peu de frais manufacturer nous même, que dans le cours de cinquante ans ces mêmes articles nous conteroient la somme de 11,250,000 livres que nous pourrions sauver nous même, et remettre en Angleterre ou en France suivant nos inclinations. Si à cette somme, nous ajoutions ce que nous pourrions sauver, par la culture et manufacture du lin, du chanvre, & du coton, nous ne pourrions pas estimer cette somme, à moins de 15,000,000 de livres, c'est à dire, qu'au bout de cinquante ans nous serions plus riche que nous ne le sommes, de 15,000,000 de livres, pourvu nous cessions d'introduire les dites articles, et commençons à les manufacturer nous mêmes, que si nous persistons en notre conduite présente. Résolvons donc tous ensemble de coeur & d'affection, d'éviter le mal et de choisir le bien, pendant que nous l'avons encore en notre pouvoir, et cessons enfin d'être un reproche parmi nos frères Européens, qui ne cessent avec juste raison, de se moquer de notre indolence & de notre folie.

AVANT que de prendre congé de vous permettez moi mes chers frères, avec l'amitié la plus sincère de vous faire encore une fois ressouvenir de notre postérité qu'il est de notre devoir absolu de leur procurer les connoissances les plus et en dues

& les plus salutaires. Cela étant, comment pouvons nous nous permettre, de les voir rôder dans nos rües, plus comme des vagabonds & des sauvages, que comme des chrétiens. Nous avons déjà eu, une longue expérience de la pitié & de la vertu exemplaire de nos respectables peres Murrain et Gibeauff employons donc un maitred' Ecole en chacun de nos villages, et supplions ces respectables supericurs, d'inspecter leur conduite, nous sommes tous en état et je me flatte porté de bonne volonté. A faire bâtir une Ecole au milieu de chaque village & d'en payer les maitres à leur satisfaction; les étrangers qui sont venu parmi nous, ont observé que la valeur 'du tabac que nous fumons dans l'oïsveté, suffiroit pour cette depense; mais il n'y a pas de doute, que nous pourrions payer ces fraix, en produit du pays ce qui couviendroit également, à un maitre d'Ecole qui auroit une famille; je voudrois donc proposer qu'on enseignat a toute notre jeunesse, à lire & à écrire correctement leur langues maternelles, & l'arithmetique commune au moins, il seroit aussi selon moi necessaire, que quelques uns et même tous s'il étoit possible, pussent apprendre la langue Anglaïse, ce qui leur seroit d'un très grand avantage.

Je souhaite de tout mon coeur que les avif sus mentionnéz, soyent acceptéz par mes pays, avec la même sincerité & la même affection que je les donne et je me flatte qu'après les avoir mûrement considéré, ils en feront leur avantage et le fondement de leur bonheur futur.

UN HABITANT des KASKASKIA.

Bibliographical

Data

IN writing the introduction we have made use of all available sources, some of which have not been seen by previous historians of the period. The "Kaskaskia Records," although not as rich for the British regime in Illinois as for either the previous or succeeding period, contain some most interesting documents. The most important of these is the "Register of the Court," begun in December, 1768, and continued by the military commandants after Colonel Wilkins discharged the justices in 1770. In the same volume is the power of attorney given to Daniel Bloüin by the Illinois French. In the collection, besides the "Register," are single papers that contain valuable information, among which is the original draft of the constitution sent by General Gage to Illinois. In the Haldimand Collection of the British Museum is a copy of this, made at Kaskaskia, with the endorsements of those through whose hands it passed. From the Haldimand Collection, the Public Record Office of London, the Gage letter-books in Harvard University Library, and from the Sir William Johnson MSS. in the New York State Library, we have managed to obtain an almost complete set of the letters concerning the West which passed between the commandants in Illinois, General Gage, and the minis-

istry. George Morgan's letter-book, referred to in the introduction, belongs to a descendant of Morgan. A copy of it is now in the Illinois State Historical Library in Springfield. It will be needless to mention the numerous volumes of printed sources that have been used.

IT will be noticed that there is no indication of the printers in the pamphlet, so that the indirect method of proof must be used in establishing their identity as in the case of the author. Fortunately results have been more certain, for we are limited by the evidence of Du Simitiere to the printers of Philadelphia. The problem appeared at first to be very simple. In Hildeburn's "Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania" appears this notice:

"Invitation Serieuse aux Habitants des Illinois.
[Philadelphia: W. and T. Bradford. 1772.] 8vo.
pp. 15. 2784

"'A Philadelphie MDCCLXXII,' says Du Simitiere."

Although Du Simitiere is quoted as authority only for the city and date, yet it was expected that the name of the printers might be given in his note books; but those both in the Ridgeway Library at Philadelphia and in the Library of Congress were searched without finding mention of the pamphlet.

There was a chance that the pamphlet was advertised in the newspapers of Philadelphia, but a search of the files for the years 1772 to 1774 failed to discover any notice of it.

We were limited, therefore, to the pamphlet itself. The solution of the problem was furnished

us by the following note from Dr. Victor H. Paltzits, at the time connected with the New York Public Library :

“The appearance of certain elementary ornaments in a printed book of the period is not, in my judgment, an essential criterion to establish the printer, unless such evidence is supported by other considerations. For example we find some of the same ornaments in books printed in this year (1772) at Salem, Mass., Newport, R. I., New York and Philadelphia — to mention those particularly investigated. You remember that Hildeburn states on the authority of Du Simitiere that the ‘Invitation’ was printed at Philadelphia in 1772. I think this is contributory evidence to some which I have found.

“If you will look in the copy of ‘Poems of Several Occasions, with some other Compositions,’ by Nathaniel Evans (Philadelphia; Printed by John Dunlap, in Market Street, 1772), you will find at the foot of page 142 precisely the same combination of ornaments that appears on the title page of the ‘Invitation;’ if you will look also on page xi, you will find that the headbolt is precisely the same combination of ornaments as the headbolt on p. 3 of the ‘Invitation.’ I am therefore strongly in favor of saying that this tract of yours was printed

by John Dunlap at the Newest Printing-Office, in Market-street, Philadelphia. I have also found that Evans was advertised as 'Just Published,' in the Pennsylvania Gazette for August 26, 1772."



