The Heart of Sainte Genevieve
Vallé High School, Catholic Church and Convent
In this place we were introduced to amiable and polished people, and saw a town evidencing the possession of a considerable degree of refinement. . . . Traces too of their regard for their worship begin to be seen.

Timothy Flint.
Imprimi potest:

S. H. Horine, S.J.,
Praepositus Prov. Missourianae

Nihil obstat:

Joannes Rothensteiner,
Censor Librorum

Imprimatur:

Joannes J. Glennon,
Archiepiscopus Sti. Ludovici

6 Junii, 1935
TO
MY FATHER
THROUGH A LONG COURSE OF YEARS
HE HAS OBSERVED
THE DEVELOPMENT OF SAINTE GENEVIEVE
FURTHERED IT
WITH UNSELFISH EFFORT
ADORNED IT
WITH A GRACIOUS AND NOBLE LIFE
# CONTENTS

Foreword ........................................... i

I. Along the Spanish Highway .................. 1

II. The Conquest of the Great River .......... 5

III. Saint Joachim — Sainte Geneviève aux Illinois .......... 21

IV. The Interregnum in Louisiana .............. 35

V. The Spanish Regime Begins .................. 46

VI. On the Little Hill ............................. 61

VII. The Years of Change ......................... 90

VIII. Black Forest Folk ........................... 109

IX. Knowledge Comes ............................... 123

X. Twilight of the French Tradition ............ 134

List of References ............................... 144

Notes ............................................. 146
FOREWORD

This little book lays no claim to great originality or thoroughness. It is the work, not of a scientific investigator, but of an amateur in the field of history. Particular aspects of the subject of which it treats, have been set forth by competent scholars in special studies and in histories of more general scope, such as Houck's *History of Missouri* and Monsignor Rothensteiner's *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*. The present writer acknowledges his indebtedness to all these admirable works. He wishes especially to pay tribute to the valuable pioneering of General Firmin Rozier in his *History of the Early Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*. There is some danger that, in consequence of our more definite knowledge, the merits of this interesting book may be ignored.

It is not easy for the general reader to follow the history of Sainte Genevieve in these scattered and often inaccessible studies. And again the many able interpretations of its spirit and significance which he has read or heard, have left him hungering for facts. It has seemed desirable to meet this wholesome curiosity by gathering our actual knowledge into a coherent and comprehensive narrative.

After waiting long for someone more capable to begin the work, I have at last yielded to the urging of friends and to my own interest in the subject, and have undertaken it myself. The amount of available source material has turned out to be surprisingly large. The Archives of Sainte Genevieve and the Vallé Papers in the library of the Missouri Historical Society, are voluminous. I may not claim to have sifted these thoroughly. If this book throws a little light on an interesting and significant phase of American history, it will have accomplished its purpose.

I am very grateful to numerous friends who have helped me gather scattered and elusive data. My special
thanks are due to Very Reverend C. L. van Tourenhout, who first suggested writing the history of Sainte Genevieve and who has placed at my disposal his parish registers and a large amount of material which he has been gathering for many years. The Right Reverend John Rothensteiner has been kind enough to permit me to draw on his monumental history of the archdiocese and other writings. Sister Antonella has supplied me with data from the archives of the motherhouse of the Sisters of Loretto. Mrs. Edward Schaaf has given me the benefit of her extensive knowledge of the old records. Doctor W. A. Dorrance of the University of Missouri, has allowed me to use his brilliant and sympathetic study, *The Survival of French in the Old District of Sainte Genevieve*. The encouragement and assistance of Mr. Joseph Desloge has furthered my work not a little. I have sometimes felt compelled to part company with these kind guides but have done so regretfully and respectfully.

I have been greatly assisted also by a number of those fine self-sacrificing gentlemen, my younger confreres of the Society of Jesus, as well as by the Reverend Fathers W. R. Corrigan, S.J.; E. F. Hendrix, S.J.; L. J. Kenny, S.J.; W. R. O'Donnell, S.J., and H. H. Regnet, S.J.; Mr. M. J. Donnelly, S.J., and Mr. C. W. Mulligan, S.J.; by Sister M. Lucida of the Sisters of St. Joseph; by Mrs. Beauregard, the archivist of the Missouri Historical Society, Miss Drumm, the librarian, and their assistants, Miss Kinnaird and Mrs. Ware; by Mrs. Edward J. Coffey and Mrs. Leslie McHenry, Miss Irene Vogt, Miss Anna Yealy and Miss Berenice Yealy; by Messrs. Raymond Donze, Herbert Fallert, Leclere Janis, Thomas F. O'Connor, F. J. Rozier, H. L. Rozier, Guy Turner and Jules F. Vallé.

F. J. Y.
Along the Spanish Highway

The traveler who approaches Sainte Genevieve by the State highway from the north, has historic ground about him and beneath his feet. The road which he is following corresponds in great part to the route of the royal highway between Saint Louis, Sainte Genevieve and New Madrid, laid down by officials of the King of Spain when that monarch held sway over this region. For ages before that time it had been a trace or trail used by the numerous Indian tribes who roamed the western shore of the Mississippi. The traveler of today may conjure up a spectacular pageant of those who have followed this route in all that long course of years, savage warriors and wandering fur-traders, miners and merchants, couriers and soldiers, priests and nuns. What a jargon of tongues, what quaint outlandish fashions of garb, what strange mixture of dreams that have come to nothing and of projects that have stood the test!

He crosses Isle au Bois Creek to enter Sainte Genevieve County and sees that the pioneers must have come as far as this very long ago. Yet the country round about is still wild and sparsely settled, for as a whole it consists of stony hills with very light soil and offers little encouragement to the farmer. Small fertile valleys there are; but nowhere the vast tracts of opulent soil for which the American Bottom across the Mississippi is so highly praised.

And yet for its great and varied beauty, the country is one to admire and to love. At every turn the splendid vision of the hills unfolds a new aspect of its grandeur. Now the long ridges part and disclose a cluster of blunt peaks rising thickly wooded from a sea of boughs, and beyond them the white cliffs of Illinois. And now, as the land falls sharply beside the road, the traveler sees ample valleys
of alternating farmland and forest sweep away to distant horizons where the majestic foothills of the Ozarks uplift their rugged masses to meet the sky.

Some twelve miles from the old town a marker beside the road will call his attention to a prospect almost idyllic. The meadows in the great valley below are diversified like an English park with lovely copses and dingles. A grass-grown wagon track vanishes beneath the trees; and a little stream, La Fourche à Duclos, wanders in its gravelly bed on the edges of an old farmstead at the foot of the steep declivity. The sturdy old farmhouse of other days, and the flavorful alien name will carry him back to the hardy Canadian French, who came long ago to make this country their home.

A few miles over the hills another actual name of one of these pioneers is recalled when he crosses the North Gabouri, one of the two little creeks (the other is the South Gabouri), which flow from the west through the town.

Half a mile on his left he will catch a brief glimpse of a limestone quarry; and about the same distance to the right a little farther on, clouds of smoke will draw his eye to three large lime-kilns in and about which the daily bread of many Sainte Genevieve families is earned in grinding toil. These are hints of the interesting geological character of the surrounding country and of the valuable deposits of limestone, sandstone and marble throughout it.

The town itself is mostly hidden by intervening hills. The tall slender spire of the church rises above them, a symbol of the institution which has played so large a part in the history of this old settlement. Beyond it can be seen the waters of the great Mississippi, which has its own important place in our story.

Many a tourist has come over this route in recent years, his mind filled with romantic ideas gathered from fanciful articles in newspapers and magazines. He has perhaps half-expected a sort of museum specimen of old
world village—at least an American Grand Pré or Oberammergau—with its simple and childlike inhabitants moving about the streets in colorful peasant garb or working at primitive handicrafts, living wholly on memories of the past and altogether unacquainted with the modern world.

The reality is not quite so poetic; and the visitor who has come with such prepossessions, has naturally gone away disappointed. He encounters, in fact, a curious mixture of the modern and the antique. Leaving the highway, he turns down the historic Plank Road, once literally such, but now surfaced with gravel and oil. The dignified modern mansion of a wealthy citizen looks down from its terraced gardens on the ancient cemetery whose stone monuments dating back to the 1790's, are periodically rescued from collapse by friendly hands. The streets are infested with the same superfluity of motor cars as in every other American town. Here and there quaint dwellings built far back in the nineteenth century, crowd up to the sidewalks, like those of age-old villages in France and Germany.

Everyone who travels through our smaller cities, has somewhere been appalled at uniform rows of ghastly housings set up by the dozen at the behest of some industrial corporation which owns the inhabitants body and soul. But along the streets of this community there is no such hideous repetition. Seven or eight stately plantation houses, put up a hundred and fifty years ago, mingle with simple cottages of frame and more spacious residences of brick and stone, reflecting the fashions of every decade of the nineteenth century and the twentieth. The homes of Sainte Genevieve are not all gems of art. But comparatively few of the people are mere tenants; and about their homes and gardens is an atmosphere of humanity, of good repute and of secure possession.

And in the midst of these homes the great structure of the Catholic Church towers in significant pride of place above the courthouse and the jail. The profession of the
law is held in due esteem here; but its victories and its rewards are not thrilling. The work of city and county officials is, for the most part by far, the routine business of government; and the lives of the citizens are kept orderly and serene more by the Ten Commandments than by the sanctions of the civil law.

Hence it is that this old town possesses a temper which is too subtle and complex to be expressed in a brief formula, and which the casual and hasty passer-by is almost sure to miss. But if he takes time to pause and observe, he will discover something of the underlying character. He will find a spirit which is not wholly of the past nor unaware of progress, but which has not so far yielded to the pressure of modern influences as to lose touch entirely with its two centuries of rich tradition. It is a genial spirit of Christian kindliness, hospitality and fear of God, not wholly free from the frailties of human nature, but still far removed from the heartlessness and villainy of the predatory modern world and the narrowness and meanness of so many American towns. The traditional character of Sainte Genevieve is a living reality; its heritage of romance is embodied in the events of its history which we shall now set out to follow.
II

THE CONQUEST OF THE GREAT RIVER

Our story takes us back to the time of the earliest explorations of the Mississippi Valley. One may hesitate to believe that in 1543 De Soto, the discoverer of the great river, led his followers as far as southern Missouri. But it is certain that he sent two of his men farther north to procure salt and copper; and as they actually returned with the salt and the metal, they probably reached the Saline and its tributary salt spring which later had so much to do with the settlement of Sainte Genevieve. This spring seems always to have been the best known source of salt in the whole region.¹

This first visit of civilized man to a historic spot which had been buried for centuries in an obscure and secluded wilderness and was to lapse into long obscurity again, has undoubtedly a decided romantic interest. But after all, the Spanish expeditions from the South led to no settlements along the Mississippi, and are striking only as isolated incidents. The explorations which would lead to the development of the valley, were to come by way of the St. Lawrence; and it is to that quarter that we must turn our attention.

It is a well known fact that the early voyages to the western continent, including those of Columbus himself, were undertaken in the hope of reaching Asia. This hope was still so strong a hundred and forty years later that Jean Nicolet was sure he would find Chinamen on his travels in the Green Bay district, and took with him a mandarin’s costume for the ceremonial meeting. It still persisted at the time of the Jolliet-Marquette expedition down the Mississippi in 1673. Quite naturally therefore when Jacques Cartier, a sea-captain of St. Malo in Brittany, discovered the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1534, he was confident that he had found a passage to the Molucca
Islands in the Malay Archipelago. Cartier returned to the St. Lawrence several times during the next seven years, and explored the river as far as the rapids of Lachine (China!) near Montreal.

We may pass over the other French voyages up the St. Lawrence and the various successful and unsuccessful attempts to colonize Canada and to convert the Indians to Christianity. The founding of Quebec by Samuel de Champlain in 1608, is a very significant event in the history of North America and is very much to our present purpose. It gave France a permanent stronghold in the center of the continent, and made possible the exploration of the Great Lakes, the establishment of Indian missions and trading posts along their shores and finally the discovery of the Mississippi River from the north.

No doubt the fur traders and the prospectors for metal were the first explorers of the Great Lakes; but they left scanty records, or none at all, of their travels. Our knowledge of the advance of the French into the interior of the continent is based on the records of the missionaries, and especially on the great Jesuit Relations.²

The Franciscan Friars (the Recollects) were the pioneer missionaries to the Indians of the Great Lakes region; and one of their number, Father Nicholas Viel, who was killed by the Indians in 1625, was the first martyr of Canada. But in time their work was largely taken over by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and carried on with striking heroism and some measure of permanent success. It is not to our purpose to dwell on the details of this enterprise, which has been called one of the most thrilling stories in the annals of Christianity. Its principal importance is, of course, religious; but we are here concerned with it only in so far as it contributed to French dominion in the Mississippi Valley.³

The French Jesuits had their headquarters at Quebec. Setting out with parties of Indians who had come to the capital to trade, they established missions on the
THE CONQUEST OF THE GREAT RIVER

upper Lakes, notably near Georgian Bay, Lake Huron, 1634-1639, at Detroit, 1641, at Sault Sainte Marie, 1641, at Pointe Saint Esprit, or La Pointe, on Lake Superior near the site of Ashland, Wisconsin, 1665, on the Fox River, near Green Bay, 1669, and at Saint Ignace, near Mackinac, 1670.4

In the meantime rumors of a large river flowing south or southwest to the sea, had been coming to the knowledge of the authorities at Quebec. In 1640 Father Vimont, the superior of the Canadian Jesuits, wrote to the Father Provincial in Paris, that an English adventurer who had come to New France, had spoken of the possibility of sailing to Mexico through seas that are north of it. “I will say in passing,” Father Vimont observes, “that it is highly probable that one can descend through the second great lake of the Hurons (Lake Michigan) into this sea that he was seeking. Sieur Nicolet, who has advanced farthest into these distant countries, has assured me that if he had sailed three days journey farther upon a great river which issues from this lake, he would have found the sea. Now I have strong suspicions that this is the sea which answers to that north of new Mexico and that from this sea there would be an outlet towards Japan and China.”5

In 1660 one of the Quebec Jesuits declares as a known fact that “proceeding southward three hundred leagues from the end of Lake Superior, we come to the bay of St. Esprit . . . in the Gulf of Mexico.” (Though he does not speak of traveling by river, it is fairly clear that he has this in mind.) Two years later the Superior at Quebec reports that the Iroquois are about to undertake a hostile expedition into a warm country twelve hundred miles to the southwest (“more westerly than southerly”), where the natives live along a beautiful river which flows either into the Gulf of Mexico or into the Gulf of California. There they trade with Europeans who practice Catholic devotions and whom he judges to be Spaniards.6
In the course of the next ten years the geographical knowledge of the missionaries on the upper Lakes, became much more definite. They write of the possibility of reaching Japan by three waterways—to the North, to the West and to the South. Speaking of the last, the writer says that their ideas have been "confirmed more and more by the report of the savages. This is to the effect that at some days' journey from the mission of Saint Francis Xavier" (near the present Green Bay, Wisconsin), is found "a great river more than a league in width," flowing toward the South, "and to such a distance that the savages who have navigated it, . . . after a good many days' journey have not found its mouth which can only be toward the Sea of Florida or that of California." 7

In 1670 Father James Marquette hears from the Illinois Indians who came to his mission at Mackinac, of a great river "nearly a league in width," flowing south "to such a distance that they have not yet heard any mention of its mouth." He thinks that it has its outlet in California, and hopes to explore it in order to open up the country for missionary work and to obtain full knowledge of the South Sea (that is the Pacific Ocean), or of the Western Sea. In the report which went to the Provincial in France the following year, information concerning the great river is fairly precise and complete. It is called by the natives "Mississippi", takes a southward course and "must empty somewhere in the region of the Florida sea, more than four hundred leagues hence,"—that is, twelve hundred miles from the mission of Saint Esprit on the southwestern shores of Lake Superior. It is very wide; it flows for a great distance between treeless prairies; and near its mouth men resembling the French have been seen building ships. 8

To us these details are commonplace enough; but to the people of the seventeenth century, when the geographical knowledge of North America was based on romantic hopes, clever guesses and the jumbled reports
of the Indians, they brought a great light. The French of this period were at the height of their political greatness and their worldly enterprise. Among their explorers and pioneers there was a spirit of adventure as vigorous and daring as that of the English and Spanish in the preceding century.

The religious life too of a great part of the nation was intense and zealous. The missionaries who came to Canada were true heroes of the cross. The letters of these holy and self-sacrificing men give frequent expression to their ardent zeal for the salvation of the souls of the Indians. They were willing enough to let those who would, derive temporal profit from the extension of their missions. But they regarded it as their country’s chief glory to be the protector of the true faith; and if the savages would bring their peltries down to the settlements, these priests would enrich them with a spiritual treasure beyond all comparison more valuable. To all Frenchmen, therefore, the reports about mighty waterways through and beyond the vast mysterious forests, were intoxicating in their promise of conquest and empire.9

This excitement undoubtedly accounts for the activity of the French in pushing their explorations to the Southwest during the succeeding decade. The first step was a grandiose and significant ceremony performed at Sault Sainte Marie on June 14, 1671. At this historic spot, the junction of the waterways nearer the St. Lawrence with those leading toward the Canadian Northwest and toward the Mississippi Valley, "a cross was erected to advance the interests of Christianity," and the Jesuit missionaries and French traders of the locality together with representatives of fourteen Indian tribes, were assembled to hear the proclamation made by Simon Francois Daumont, Seigneur de Saint Lusson, as envoy of the French king. "After an address by Father Claude Allouez eulogizing the greatness of the Grand Monarque, the country and all adjacent regions ('inhabited and uninhabited') were declared to be in the possession of King
Louis XIV.” All nations were warned against trespassing on them. The proclamation was made each time that Nicholas Perrot, an interpreter, lifted a sod of earth on the north, east, south and west, while shouting “Vive le Roy,” and making the whole of the assembly, the French as well as the Indians, repeat the same.10

Next King Louis XIV, through his great prime minister, Jean Baptiste Colbert, sent instructions to Talon, the Intendant at Quebec, to encourage the exploration of a passage to the South Sea and to offer a large reward to those who should discover it. “After the increase of the colony,” he wrote in 1672, “nothing is more important for that country and for the service of His Majesty than the discovery of the passage to the South Sea.”11

The authorities at Quebec accordingly chose Sieur Louis Jolliet to lead an exploring party down the Mississippi. Jolliet had often discussed plans for such an expedition with Father James Marquette, the missionary at Mackinac, whose knowledge, influence and apostolic zeal gave him the right to be, not merely the chaplain, but the associate of the official leader of the party. Marquette was then chosen for this role; and on May 17, 1673, the two explorers with their five assistants set out from the mission of St. Ignace at Mackinac.

If other Frenchmen had been on the river before, their claims are not taken very seriously by most historians of the present day. And since the findings of the Spaniards had made little impression on the world in general, the exploration of Jolliet and Marquette has come to be regarded for all practical purposes as a real discovery.12

The interesting story of their voyage can be given here only in brief summary. Crossing the upper end of Lake Michigan, the travelers drove their canoes up Green Bay and Lake Winnebago and on to the headwaters of the Fox River. There they made a portage to the Wisconsin and followed it to its junction with the Mississippi, which they entered on June 17, “with a joy”, writes Marquette, “which I cannot express.” “After a month’s Navigation,”
Old Salt Kettle from the Saline
Jean Baptiste Vallé House
he continues, "while descending the Mississippi from the 42nd to the 34th degree, and beyond, and after preaching as well as I could to the Nations that I met, we start on the 17th of July to retrace our steps."

They had reached the mouth of the Arkansas which was beyond the latitude of the mouths of the large rivers on the Atlantic coast, and they thus properly regarded as verified the idea that the Mississippi must flow into the Gulf of Mexico. They returned to the mission on Green Bay by way of the Illinois River and Lake Michigan. Near the place where the Illinois Fox and the Illinois Rivers unite, they paused to allow Marquette to preach at the village of the Kaskaskia Indians. "They received me very well and obliged me to promise that I would return to instruct them."13

Jolliet spent some months in further explorations along Lake Michigan before returning to Quebec to make his report to the governor. He was wrecked in the rapids of Lachine near Montreal and lost his journal of the expedition. It is to a copy retained by Father Marquette that we are indebted for our knowledge of these discoveries.

It now remained for France to take formal possession of the country bordering on the Mississippi. Count Frontenac planned to do this by means of a military occupation of the whole valley. To execute his plan he chose the daring explorer Robert Cavelier de la Salle. The governor's nominee had prepared himself for such an undertaking by extensive travels and explorations between Niagara and the middle Mississippi Valley. In due course he was commissioned by the king and set out from Fort Miami on the Eastern shore of Lake Michigan, December 21, 1681. In the party were his lieutenant, Henri Tonti, his chaplain, the Franciscan Father Membre, some Frenchmen and some Indians, men, women and children,—forty-nine persons in all.

La Salle's career first and last was filled with adventure and misfortune. Adventures enough befell him on this expedition; but in the end he fulfilled his commission.
Reaching the mouth of the river April 7, 1682, he took possession of the Mississippi Valley in the name of the king and gave France a claim to an empire so vast that its boundaries could not be determined.

His effort to confirm by occupation the title of France to the lower Mississippi basin, ended in stark tragedy. He had returned to France, gathered four hundred colonists and, in the summer of 1684, sailed for the mouth of the Mississippi. He reached this part of the Gulf in November, but missed the river and established his colony, first on the shore of Matagorda Bay and later on the Garcitas River, within the boundaries of modern Texas. Three years later on the fourth of his expeditions northward to find the Mississippi, he was murdered by his companions. In 1689 the colony on the Gulf was wiped out by an Indian massacre. It was not until 1699 that the first permanent French settlement in the Gulf region was established at Biloxi by Le Moyne D'Iberville.¹⁴

But before this event the great river especially in its middle and upper reaches had been traveled several other times by explorers. In 1680 Father Louis Hennepin, the Recollect friar, with two of La Salle's men had traveled north from the mouth of the Illinois and discovered the Falls of St. Anthony. Henri Tonti went from the Illinois country to the Gulf several times. Members of the ill-fated colony on the Gulf made their way back to the Illinois outpost in 1687. One of these refugees, Joutel, kept a journal which contains an entry of especial interest to us: "We proceeded on our journey the 28th and 29th (of August), coasting along the foot of an upright rock about sixty or eighty feet high, around which the river glides." This answers to the description of the perpendicular cliffs which, until the stone was removed by the government about thirty-five years ago, rose sheer from the water above Little Rock Landing near Sainte Genevieve. Eleven years after the voyage just referred to, the stream was explored by the Seminary priests, St. Cosme, Davion and Montigny.¹⁵
And so by the time that the French on the Gulf had made their control of the Mississippi fairly secure, the great waterway had become a reliable artery of communication and trade, open to the ocean at all seasons. We are not to think that a voyage on its waters did not involve perils and uncertainties beyond our power to conceive; but at least these pioneers could now embark on them and know where they were going.

But the development of the great French empire in the region was affected by many conflicting interests. Factional disputes, disagreement between missionaries and traders, problems created by the oversupply of beaver skins, by the sale of brandy to the Indians, by the lawlessness of the forest-ranging fur-traders, all contributed to reversals of policy at the French court and at the Canadian capital.

The king's prime minister, Colbert, in particular, was not in favor of a rapid expansion into the newly acquired territory. He had, as we have seen, encouraged the exploration of "the passage to the South Sea." But when the vast extent of the new lands became known, he warned the officials in Canada not to establish posts and settlements in them too hastily. "In regard to your discoveries," he wrote to Frontenac, "you ought not to turn thereunto without urgent necessity and very great advantage, and you ought to hold as a maxim that it is much better to occupy less territory and people it thoroughly, than to spread oneself out more, and to have feeble colonies which can be destroyed by any sort of accident" (April 15, 1676). But in the end the commercial interests won the day. A chain of forts was established enclosing the great region, roughly triangular in shape between Niagara, the Gulf of Mexico and Lake Superior.16

In spite of the aggressive policy of commercial and military expansion just described, the first important settlements on the Mississippi grew out of missionary efforts. When Father Marquette preached to the Kas-
river ran the fields of the settlers, laid out in strips of from forty to a hundred and eighty acres.

A "tithe", one twenty-sixth of the produce of the farms, was levied for the support of the church. Wheat was introduced early by the Jesuits and became the staple crop. Oats, hemp, hops and tobacco were also raised. Corn was cultivated only for the stock. The gardens produced a few varieties of vegetables and fruits. Beef, pork and especially wild game completed the menu of the settlers.20

The account of goods shipped to New Orleans when the settlement was solidly established, is interesting. "Vaudreuil, who in 1743 succeeded Bienville as governor, and who is not a partial witness, in a letter to the minister, says that every year in the latter part of December, there came from 'the Illinois' boats loaded with 'flour, corn, bacon, hams, both of bear and hog, corned pork and wild beef, myrtle and beeswax, cotton, tallow, leather, tobacco, lead, copper, buffalo-wool, venison, poultry, bear's grease, oil, skins, fowls, and hides.' Varied as is this list, it is not complete, for Captain Pittman, who traveled up the river soon after the eastern portion of the valley fell into the hands of the English, adds 'beer and wines'."21

The French province of Louisiana, as constituted early in the eighteenth century, included all the territory south of the Missouri and Illinois Rivers between the Alleghenies and the Rockies. The district to the north was a part of Canada or New France. Louisiana was at first under the control of one or other of the great mercantile companies, the Company of the West, the Company of the Indies, and the Mississippi Company headed by John Law. In 1721 Illinois was made a separate military and civil district. The commandant and the judge (commissaire-ordonnateur) made their headquarters at Fort de Chartres which had been established the year before, and not at Kaskaskia. Another important official of the district was the garde-magasins, or controller of the warehouse, who had the custody of government supplies
and of goods destined for export. The government also maintained a royal notary, a doctor and an interpreter.

Since the company held a monopoly of all the marketable products of the district, they were brought to the warehouse just mentioned to be invoiced and billed to their destinations. This arrangement may explain why we do not hear sooner of a settlement on the west bank of the river from which lead and salt were brought.

In Kaskaskia there was no regular military garrison. A company of militia was organized in 1723; and its captain was the principal citizen of the village and the representative of the commandant and of the judge. A certain limited measure of democratic rule was exercised in civil affairs by the marquillers or church trustees, who were elected by the parishioners.

In trade a beaver pelt was the standard of value; and this, with other furs for small change, was used as currency. It was impossible to keep coined specie in the colony; and instead were sometimes passed various forms of paper money, especially orders on the royal warehouse.

There was considerable difference between the manner of life of the officials and wealthy burghers and that of the poorer habitants. The spacious homes of the former were comparatively well-furnished and were adorned with silver-plate, framed religious pictures and French mirrors in gilt frames. The rough cabins of the poor were sparsely equipped with crude hand-made furniture.

"In dress there was a distinction between the officers, the well-to-do traders and the habitants." Military men and wealthier people imitated as best they could the fashions of Paris; and the inventories of their estates show much luxury and gaiety of raiment. Men of the poorer class wore colored cotton shirts, trousers and moccasins of deerskins, and in the winter flannel coats with blue hoods. A belt or sash held the trousers; and the head was invariably enveloped in a colored handkerchief. Their wives wore short skirts reaching to the
knees, over longer petticoats; and their feet were likewise encased in deerskin moccasins. In summer they wore home-made straw hats; in winter fur caps or bonnets.

These people were light hearted and convivial. Although the gambling, drinking and boisterous merry-making of some of their number shocked visitors from more settled communities, their ordinary social gatherings—dances, Mardi-gras parties and even the charivari—were marked by good fellowship, good behavior and absence of vulgarity. On the whole, we are probably safe in concluding that they were no better than they should have been and not a whit worse, to put it mildly, than any group of people would be in a similar situation.

In the numerous church festivals they took enthusiastic part. Their religious observance in general, however, did not always meet the demands of their pastors, who at times compared them unfavorably in point of edifying conduct with the Indian converts. The coureurs de bois had a particularly troublesome tendency to enter into marriage according to Indian rites with the young squaws. The policy of the priests to regularize these marriages according to the law of the Church, was condemned by the civil officials who expected by outlawing the practice, to stamp it out altogether. But the trouble continued to some extent; and in a few instances the fine Norman blood brought by their ancestors from France was diluted and debased in the veins of the villagers of Kaskaskia.23

Thus the life of this interesting old village went on placidly enough in general. It was enlivened at times by the visits of officials and travelers from Canada and the South and by the arrival and departure of freight-bearing fleets of river craft,—canoes, pirogues, and bateaux. Sometimes too this milder excitement gave place to genuine alarm when the Fox Indians, the inveterate enemies of the French made one of their frequent incursions into the neighborhood.24
In the meantime the territory on the opposite bank of the river had begun to play its part in the life of the Illinois settlements. It aroused attention in the first instance by its mineral resources, especially lead and salt. Father Marquette had observed some evidences of the presence of metal along the western shore of the Mississippi on his journey of 1673. Twenty-five years later Pierre Charles le Sueur received a liberal concession to mine and to trade in furs in the upper Mississippi Valley. He led an expedition up the river in 1700; and Pénicaud, the chronicler of the party, records that when they came to the mouth of the Meramec-sipy (the Meramec) they were told by the Indians that there was a mine of lead a hundred and fifty miles away. Making allowances for pardonable error in this report, we can easily refer it to the rich deposits of the mineral on the head-waters of the Negro Fork. A few months later Father Gravier, the founder of the Kaskaskia mission, describing a journey to the Gulf, tells us of this same rich deposit "twelve or thirteen leagues," or about forty miles, from the mouth of the "Miramigoua."

D'Iberville, the governor of Louisiana, petitioned for mining rights in 1702. Another governor, La Mothe Cadillac, made an actual attempt at mining in 1715; and, it would seem, gave his name to Mine La Mothe, or La Motte. The commandant of Cahokia visited the diggings in 1719. These deposits, which were supposed to contain silver in paying quantities, were one of the principal assets of Law's grandiose Mississippi scheme. About 1720 the work of taking out lead was begun in real earnest by Philip Francois Renault. We shall have occasion to speak of his activities a little later.

There is, as we have seen, some reason for believing that De Soto's men secured salt on the Saline a few miles west of Kaskaskia, when they came to Missouri in 1543. Joutel, the refugee from La Salle's colony, visited the spring a hundred and fifty years later. In 1700 the party of le Sueur, the mining prospector,
stopped there and were able to replenish their scanty larder on the spot by shooting roebucks, “because these animals love the salt very much.” After the settlement of Kaskaskia, the inhabitants of that village procured their supply of salt from these springs, as we learn from a letter of Father Gabriel Marest, the parish priest, “We have salt springs in the neighborhood which are of great benefit to us.” Nothing was more natural than that a community should be founded at the source of supply of an important staple which was in demand, not only for consumption in the immediate vicinity but also for export to other regions. A good supply of fine sandstone not far away would offer an additional inducement. And finally the valley of the Saline afforded a convenient access to the mining district of the interior. The stage was set for the settlement of Sainte Genevieve.²⁵

Signatures of Two Early Settlers.

valé

François Vallé (1716-1783).

DeGuire

Jean Baptiste de Guire (1715-1781).
III
SAINT JOACHIM—SAINTE GENEVIÈVE AUX ILLINOIS

It would be agreeable to begin this chapter with a graphic account of a group of officials coming up or across the river and searching the shores for a site for the settlement which was to grow into Sainte Genevieve. We should like to watch them return with their laborers a few months later, solemnly turn the sod and record for future generations the act of foundation. But sad to say, the men who make history all too seldom consult the feelings of those who are to write and read it. It is impossible to learn how the event in question took place and extremely difficult so far to determine exactly when it took place.

Sainte Genevieve was the first white settlement within the present State of Missouri which proved permanent; but it was not the first which was actually made. That distinction belongs to the community of Frenchmen—about a hundred in number—who settled in the Kaskaskia Indian mission on the River Des Peres in 1701. So far as Missouri is concerned, this village did not last more than two or three years. The whole establishment was transferred to the mouth of the Kaskaskia River in Illinois about 1703.¹

Next in order comes the little military post of twenty men founded in 1720-23 by Sieur de Bourgmond along the Missouri near the mouth of the Grand River. The purpose of this post, Fort Orleans, was to aid exploration, to protect the mines and to open up trade with the Spanish settlements in the Southwest. There is a somewhat dubious report that it was destroyed by an Indian massacre in 1726. It may have been abandoned for lack of funds. Anyhow it is not heard of after that year.²

The mines in Washington County are said in older histories to have been opened shortly before 1723 by a
certain Renaudière whose settlement was known as *Cabanage à Renaudière*. He comes into these accounts and goes out of them as vague as a spectre. But an entry in the old baptismal record of Kaskaskia makes it clear that he was no other than Philippe François Renault, concerning whom history has very definite knowledge. He was the son of a noted iron-founder of Consobre in France and had grown up to be an enterprising and capable operator of mines. He became a stockholder in the Company of the West, which at that time may really be said to have owned the province of Louisiana, and he was made the director general of its mining operations. In 1723 he brought miners from France and Negro slaves from the West Indies, and began to take out lead in the locality described above and also in the Mine La Motte district. The industry was lucrative for a time; but in 1744 Renault sold his holdings and returned to France with most of his miners. It is supposed that mining never ceased on the site; but we have no knowledge of a continuous settlement there.³

There was, as we shall see, some connection between the mining operations of Renault and the early life of the village of Sainte Genevieve. A tradition of many years' standing assigned the founding of the old town to the year 1735. Some doubt is thrown on this dating by two old maps of the middle Mississippi, one obviously copied from the other and both dated 1755. Beneath the name of Sainte Genevieve on these maps, occurs the phrase, "French Village founded 3. years ago," (*Village François établi depuis 3. ans.*). This would place the settlement of the village in 1752. The period following the numeral may, however, indicate an abbreviation for 30 or 33. Or the engraver may by mistake have omitted another numeral either before or after the figure 3. If these maps were the only evidence available, the matter would call for more thorough examination.⁴

A much more serious difficulty is raised by the assertion of Father Phillibert Watrin, S.J., who attended the
mission of Sainte Genevieve from Kaskaskia and has signed most of the baptismal and marriage records in the oldest parish register. When the Society of Jesus was supressed in France and its dominations in 1763, Father Watrin returned to his native country and in 1764 wrote a protest against the attack on his order and the banishment of the Jesuits from their mission fields. In the course of his defence of his confreres against the charge of neglecting the spiritual care of the settlers, he says, “Fifteen years ago, at a league from the old village, on the other bank of the Mississippi, there was established a new village under the name of Sainte Genevieve.”

This would bring the date back to 1749. Now the statement of the missionary is capable of two interpretations: Either “the old village” is Kaskaskia and the very first settlement “on the other bank,” was established in 1749; or else there was an older village on the Missouri side, say at the Saline, which was newly established, or moved, three miles from its original site in that year. From the position of the phrases and from the relative distances between old Sainte Genevieve and Kaskaskia, and Sainte Genevieve and the Saline, the latter acceptance is somewhat more plausible. Several advantages would have been gained by removal. The river trip from the settlement to Kaskaskia would have been reduced by several miles. This would not only facilitate the transportation of freight, but also the attendance of the priests from the older village.

However we need not be greatly concerned to resolve this ambiguity. All our reasoning cannot bring us beyond probability. And besides, the presence of stronger and clearer evidence makes it possible that, along with the engraver of the maps, Father Watrin was simply mistaken. We can readily account for his disagreement with this evidence, by the very great disturbance of mind in which he must have written his memorial. Although he came to Kaskaskia in 1747, two years before the
date to which he refers, his sorrow and indignation at the harsh and unjust treatment which he and his associates had received, may well have made his memory unreliable on such a detail.

The date is placed some years earlier by Captain Pittman, who visited Sainte Genevieve about the time of the transfer to Spain. Writing in 1767, he tells us that "the first settlers of this village removed from Cascasquias about 28 years ago." 8

But within the past few years a much more conclusive piece of evidence has come to light. On May 25, 1732, Father Mercier, the Superior of the mission at Cahokia wrote to one of the priests at the Seminary of Quebec as follows: "Scarcely a month ago I had the honor to send you with a certain Louis Poulin from the parish of Saint Joachim, all the papers and documents that will help you," etc. 7

Now we know that for many years Saint Joachim was the patron of the church at Sainte Genevieve and that he gave his name to the parish. In the oldest parish register of the settlement we find a record of the marriage of Sieur André de Guire, dit La Rose, captain of the militia at the post of Saint Joachim, and Marie La Boissiere of the parish of Saint Anne at Fort de Chartres. February 26, 1759. (Signed) P. F. Watrin, Missionary of the Company of Jesus. 8

This is the oldest entry in the church records of Sainte Genevieve. Later entries refer to the place as Saint Joachim village de Sainte Geneviève, Saint Joachim Sainte Geneviève pays des Illinois, Saint Joachim Sainte Geneviève aux Illinois, or simply Saint Joachim. Evidently then Saint Joachim was the parish of Sainte Genevieve; and there can be no doubt that it was in existence as early as 1732, not merely as a small cluster of cabins, but as a settlement of sufficient size to have a name and to be called in the broad sense a parish. This testimony seems to me to outweigh the statements to the contrary which we
have noticed. It is much more likely that even a careful historical scholar writing after the event should err in assigning a date, than that a contemporary should casually remark that a person came his way from a settlement which began to exist only some eighteen or twenty years later.

A story which confirms this dating is offered here for what it may be worth. In 1881 a citizen of Sainte Genevieve, while exploring the river bank near the site of the earlier settlement, discovered the remains of an old well among the brushwood. The water had washed away the surrounding earth and left the stone lining free like a tower or a chimney. In one of the stones at the top was distinctly cut the date “1732”. The well had evidently been near one of the houses on the outskirts of the old village. Like the rest of the original settlements this last vestige of human habitation was later washed away by the river.

The settlement may in fact have been made even earlier than 1732. In 1798 Zenon Trudeau, the Spanish lieutenant governor informed his government that the inhabitants of the old village had been subject to inundations for more than sixty years and had been obliged on this account to move their dwellings to higher ground. If we bear in mind that the dwellings of the town had practically all been moved to the new site in 1787, we arrive at a date sometime in the 1720’s. It is easy to accept this dating as probable when we learn that some years after the opening of Renault’s mines, the lead produced there was moulded into the shape of collars and carried on the necks of horses to Sainte Genevieve for shipment across the river.

West of the river these pack trains followed the most convenient road from the mines to the stream at Sainte Genevieve; and this was later made into a wagon road, the oldest one in Missouri. “It has remained the public highway to the mines from the Mississippi since the settlement of the country.” It is natural to suppose that
this path should have been found out soon after Renault's mines began to produce in paying quantities.\textsuperscript{10}

It may be that a few years after the news reached the Illinois country that Law's Company of the West (or of the Mississippi) had failed and that its monopoly of mining rights had come to an end (1720), the lead from the mines was no longer taken to the government warehouse across the river but shipped directly from the Missouri side. This would almost certainly lead to the founding of a small settlement of factors and workmen. In a letter written by Father Meurin many years later, Sainte Genevieve is referred to as a place "on which depend the mines and the salines." In other words, this settlement was found to be a necessity for the proper handling of the output.\textsuperscript{11}

The famous \textit{Relation de Pénicaut} says, in connection with his visit to the Saline in 1700, "there is at present a settlement (un établissement) of Frenchmen in this neighborhood." He promises to describe the settlement later, but says nothing further of a settlement near the Saline. He does, however, go on to describe Cahokia; and, since his map was so large as to include the whole Mississippi Valley, he may have regarded Cahokia as being in the same neighborhood. What he means by "présentment" is not quite clear. It may refer to the time of his visit in 1700, or to the time when his book was written twenty year later. Pénicaut is not very helpful.\textsuperscript{12}

Homan's Map of Louisiana, published in 1720, indicates what may be a settlement almost opposite Kaskaskia, nearer to the Mississippi than to the Saline. But the drawing is somewhat crude and inaccurate; and we cannot be certain that this represents a settlement at all, much less the original of Sainte Genevieve.\textsuperscript{13}

Diron Dartaguiette, who was at Kaskaskia in April, 1723, speaks of the use made by the people of the village of the salt spring at the Saline, but has not a word to say of a settlement on that side of the Mississippi. Finally an investigator who has spent many months in careful
A Pioneer Mother
Madame François Moreau
examination of the French Colonial Archives, has found no mention of Sainte Genevieve at this period.\textsuperscript{14}

We can then safely assert that the village was founded as early as 1732 and perhaps a few years earlier. Beyond this our present knowledge does not go.

When we come to the question of the original settler, we are on somewhat more certain ground. After the transfer of Louisiana to the United States in 1803, the validation of land titles was a serious concern to the American government for many years. In 1825 Julien Ratté, dit Labriere (more properly Ratti, or Ratés, dit Labruyere), appeared before the recorder and, in the course of his deposition under oath, stated that he remembered “seeing a man, then very old, named Baptiste La Rose, who was the first settler in the old village. (This man died when He was One hundred and three years old.)”\textsuperscript{15}

At least two persons in early Sainte Genevieve went by the name of Baptiste La Rose. The history of the family is involved in obscurity and contradiction. A Jean Baptiste de Guire, dit La Rose, died in 1773, a date which corresponds well enough with the time when Julien Labruyere, then almost four years old, “first had any recollection.” But from the records of the settlement of his estate, it seems probable that he was a man of forty years or less. His burial is not recorded in the parish register. Another, “a native of Montreal, about sixty-five years of age,” died in 1781,—far short of the one hundred and three years attributed to the first settler. Perhaps the father of the elder André de Guire is the man we are seeking; but no record of him has been found. It is not safe to go beyond Labruyere’s evidence as it stands.\textsuperscript{16}

Now it is likely enough that our friend Baptiste La Rose often came to the Saline to make salt. He probably found the frequent trips across the Mississippi and several miles overland to the spring a tiresome and useless task. Why not settle on the western bank and avoid the hard pull across the river with a loaded boat? He
would lose the conveniences of life in a settled community; but he would also avoid a great deal of monotonous drudgery. The pioneering spirit overcame the love of security and order as it always did in the lives of these adventurous old Frenchmen.

We can easily picture him in his habitant costume from the handkerchief on his head to the moccasins on his feet, as he walks about the still unsettled shore, pulling at his inevitable pipe and looking for a place to build. He finds a convenient site, stakes out some land and begins work on his log house. By and by neighbors from Kaskaskia follow suit. Perhaps they were concerned with the reshipment of Renault’s lead across the river; and maybe the fine sandstone to be had nearby attracted them. Anyhow here was the new settlement—a reality.

It was situated some three miles southeast of the present town and about the same distance northeast of the salt spring. The site is said to have projected out into the river towards Kaskaskia, not quite three miles away to the southeast. It was low and exposed—no wonder,—to inundation at every period of high water.

For the rest Nature was not harsh towards the new settlers. The summers were sometimes extremely hot; but the winters were not too severe for these open-air people. At their back was the rich bottom, now known as the Big Field, extending for several miles to the north, west and south of their homes. The level stretches of rich alluvial mould, unbroken except by two Indian mounds not far away, gave promise of easy cultivation and abundant harvests. In time this Big Field was divided into long narrow allotments running back from the river, enclosed by a common fence and regulated by a committee of syndics whose office survived until late in the nineteenth century. The individual plots were measured in arpents. The Parisian or Canadian arpent, eighty-four hundredths of an acre, was probably the standard here.
Above the limestone cliffs to the west of these fields, wooded hills rolled away to merge at length into the Ozarks. In the spring and summer they would be carpeted with bloodroot, violets, phlox and wild geranium; in the autumn gorgeous with the brilliant yellow of goldenrod and hickories, and the russet and scarlet of the oaks, the maples and sumac.

In these woods and on the floor of the valley were an abundance of edible nuts. Nowhere does the pecan grow sweeter; and in time the French housewives learned to make up its meats into the delicious Creole pralines. Strawberries, blackberries and other wild fruits were within easy reach to flavor the simple diet.

If pork, beef, and poultry were the staple meats, they could be replaced in season by plentiful wild game. Quail, ducks, woodcocks, pigeons and turkeys, rabbits, squirrels, opossums and deer were abundant in the neighborhood for many a year after. The large fat bears also served the larder. Their flesh was often eaten either fresh or salt; and an oil rendered from their fat was in esteem for cooking. Wolves, foxes, raccoons, along with the bears and rabbits, provided fur for articles of clothing. One could also bring down buffalo if he got out into the open country beyond the woods.

The Friday dinner could be built around the produce of the neighboring streams. The Saline and the Rivière aux Vases offered bass, perch, and soft-shelled turtles; in the Mississippi sturgeon could be taken, and buffalo fish and, lord of all these waters, the great Missouri catfish.

The casual way in which the fathers of the village crossed the river and built their cabins must have made their new home a sorry contrast to the stable and orderly arrangement of Kaskaskia. We may be sure that their architecture was aimless and crude and their landscaping thoroughly haphazard. They forgot to lay out streets; they flung their barns, middens, and woodpiles about with happy unconcern; they placed their rough
miscellaneous huts anywhere—on the trail that led to the spring, on the deer tracks, the bear tracks, the dog tracks. In the rambling roadway, grassgrown, dusty, or full of puddles and sticky mud, as the case might be, poultry, cattle, and hogs undoubtedly enjoyed the right of eminent domain. This is of course speculation, not history, but it harmonizes beautifully with the scornful and eloquent nickname which the place soon came to acquire. The folks at home in Kaskaskia called it Misère. In time officialdom took up the jibe, inserted it into scientific maps and sober documents and drummed it up and down the world for many a year.

For twenty years the records are silent about the doings of the new community. The oldest known document relating to it is a bill of sale of December, 1754, by which Laurent Gabourie transferred a house and lot to Jean Baptiste Saint Jeme Beauvais. A little earlier the building of a church was being discussed; and it may have been erected soon after 1752. In that year François Rivard, petitioning for a parcel of land in the common field of Sainte Genevieve promises to donate a portion of it for a church. In the memorial cited above Father Watrin says that after the establishment of the village (or perhaps of the parish), which he dates about 1749, "the curé of Caskaskias found himself obliged to go there to administer the sacraments at least to the sick; and when the inhabitants saw their houses multiplying, they asked to have a church built there. This being granted them the journeys of the missionary became much more frequent." 17

He says also that a regular pastor was soon appointed. It has been concluded that this was Father J. B. de la Morinie, one of the Jesuits attached to the mission at Kaskaskia. An Indian war compelled him to flee from his mission at St. Joseph (Niles) in Michigan in 1761; and he has signed all the records at Sainte Genevieve between November 10 of that year and October 15, 1763, when the Jesuits were expelled. 18
The earliest church records begin with the year 1759. They are contained in a small notebook about six by eight inches in size. It was found some years ago in the form of loose papers among the records of the parish of Sainte Genevieve. Parts of a few of the pages were torn away, but it has been patched and bound in substantial covers. Careful transcripts of the entries were made. The records in this precious old book were signed by Fathers P. F. Watrin, J. B. de la Morinie, J. B. de Salleneuve, J. B. Aubert and S. L. Meurin, of the Society of Jesus, missionaries stationed at Kaskaskia.

The first entry is dated February 26, 1759, and records the marriage of André de Guire, dit La Rose, and Marie la Boissiere, widow of Joseph Baron. The first baptism recorded is that of Frances (Françoise) the daughter of François le Beau and Marguerite Partius, his wife. The child was born on December 22, 1759, and was baptized by some lay person. Father Watrin here records that he merely supplied the ceremonies of solemn baptism as is ordinarily done in such cases. The next three entries also record the supplying of the ceremonies of baptism.

Besides those just mentioned, the following names occur in this earliest register: Pierre Aritsag; Antoine Aubuchon, his wife Elizabeth de Launay and their son Antoine; Pierre Aubuchon, Jr., his wife Charlotte Lalande and their son Pierre; François Barron; Jean Baptiste Beauvais; Charles Beauvais, his wife Françoise Riché and their daughter Marie; Jacques Billeron, dit Le Fatigué; Marie Chauvin; J. Choquet; Marie Joseph Choquette; Guillaume Clouet; Jean Baptiste Couturier, his wife Catherine Petit and their daughter Marie Joseph; André de Guire, his wife Marguerite Gouvreau and their children Hypolite and Marie Rose; Jean Baptiste de Guire, his wife Cecile Baron and their children Angelique and Hypolitte. (These two men seem to have been sons of the André de Guire mentioned in a previous paragraph.) Baptiste Denis; Desnoyers and his wife Marie Joseph; Antoine Diel, his wife Élizabeth Aubuchon
and their son François; Charles D'Isle (?), and his wife Elizabeth Lalande; Pierre Desrosiers; François Dorlac and his wife Françoise Philippeaux; Jean Baptiste Gagnon; Agatha Gouvreau; Jean Baptiste Gouvreau dit Saintonge; Joseph Marie Gouvreau; Marie Louise Gouvreau; — Grusnel and his wife Louise Gouvreau; Antoine Hunaut, his wife — Chapiu (Chapuis) and their daughter Angelique; Jacques Lacourse, his wife Charlotte Lalande and their son Antoine; Dominique Lacourse, his wife Elizabeth Aubuchon and their daughter Marie; Louis La Croix; Étienne Lalande, his wife Jeanne Pertuis and their son Louis; Jean Baptiste Lalande and his wife Charlotte Marchand; Paul Larche, his wife Alce (Alice) Angloise and their son Charles; Judith Larose; Marie Laurière; Joseph Leau (?); Charles Lecomte; Jean Marie Le Fevre, his wife Louise Rondeau, and their daughter Marguerite; Jean Marie Malboeuf, his wife Marguerite La Pierre and their daughter Cecile; André Manterol and his wife Angelique Pertuis; Pierre Marcou; Pierre Mespliés; Jean François Perigord, his wife Madeleine Schneyder and their son Joseph; Joseph Petit; Michael Placé(t), his wife Marie La Vigne and their children Pelagie and Pierre; Pierre Rompré and his wife Rachel; Nicholas Roussain; Joseph St. Aubin; Louis Tibière; Louis Maurice Tirard dit St. Jean, his wife Marie Joseph de Guire and their children Magdelaine and Marie Joseph; Louis Trutcare; Louis Truto, his wife Marguerite de Cour and their son Louis; François Vallé, his wife Marianne Billeron and their daughter Marie Louise; André Vignon.

It will be noted that several of these persons bore alternative names, which were always attached in the records to the true name by the word “called” (dit). Sometimes these were mere nick-names, but commonly they had the dignity of a true surname. Very often they showed a touch of poetic fancy. Besides those already given we find these—Aubuchon dit Yoche; Beauvais dit St. Jamme (St. Gemme or St. Gem); Belon dit La Violette; Bertrand dit Beaulieu; Bienvenu dit De Lisle; Calliot dit
La Chance; Chassard *dit* Griffard; Chauvin *dit* Charleville (this was really the family title); Lalumondière *dit* La Fleur; Maurice *dit* Chatillon; Partenait *dit* Mason; Taumure (Thaumure or Thomure) *dit* La Source. Monsieur Bontabac mentioned in the funeral records of 1797, may have been a La Rose. Several of the family bore this nick-name much later.

The branch of the DeGuire-LaRose family which remained at Sainte Genevieve adopted the name La Rose; but were sometimes called De Guire as well. Those who removed to Fredericktown retained the name De Guire. The family has preserved the tradition that their ancestors founded the village. The late Francis La Rose of Sainte Genevieve used to say, “We were the first settlers.”

The second and fourth entries of the old register refer to the children of Negro slaves. They were usually given the ordinary run of French Christian names—Alexis, André, Jacques, Louis, Pierre and Toussaint, Agathe, Angelique, Geneviève, Janette, Marie Louise and Suzanne. Some bizarre nick-names also appear—Coco, Jaqui, Fanchonette, Marine, Niagara, Papillon, Portorico. The christening of one adult slave goes to show that there was no calculating where the genial wit of these people would strike. “His common name,” says Father Watrin in the record, “was Bari;” so he concluded that a destined patron saint was ready to hand in the person who is known to us as Saint Nicholas of Bari. “One has given him the name of Nicholas.”

Indians, as well as Negroes, we learn, were at first held as slaves in the village; and the record of baptisms is evidence that their spiritual interests were a concern to their owners and pastors. These people were not profound students of the rights of man. They accepted and utilized the unlovely institution of slavery; but they entertained no supercilious doubts as to whether the subject races had immortal souls like their own. The Negro inhabitants especially have from the first
been treated with consideration in Sainte Genevieve; and have in general stood in good repute for their sober and industrious lives.

The free Indians on their part generally seem to have lived at peace with the villagers. The warlike Foxes were kept busy on the other side of the river until their strength was broken in 1730. Some Indians killed seven persons at Mine La Motte on April 17, 1774; but there is no record of an attack on the settlement. Still the Osages, who ranged over a great part of this district, were believed to be confirmed horse thieves; and besides they were not well enough known to be trusted in other matters.\(^{19}\)

This may have been one reason why a company of militia was organized in the village some time prior to 1759. In that year, as the records tell us, André de Guire was the actual captain of the company. He was succeeded in this office in 1760 by François Vallé. Their command must have been a mere corporal's guard, since even in 1764 the whole population was just about one hundred. This figure however was to be greatly increased by great international developments which at this time were approaching a crisis.\(^{20}\)
France was not to hold her vast transatlantic possessions in peace. On the basis of the explorations of John and Sebastian Cabot, England laid claim to the whole northern part of North America. Various of the British charters conferred on the colonies the lands of the interior all the way across the continent. Although France was ahead of her rival in occupying the region now known as Canada, as well as the Mississippi Valley, it was only a matter of time until the conflicting claims would come into collision. The capture of Quebec by the English Admiral Kirke in 1629 was an omen of future conflict. This time Canada was restored to France; but the dispute was by no means finally settled.

From the time that England secured possession of New York in 1664, trouble began to brew in that quarter; and the encounters between the French traders along the Mississippi and the English who sought to attract the peltries of the Indians to markets on the south Atlantic seaboard, could only be ended by a great decision between the home countries. King William's War (1690-1698) was entirely indecisive. But by 1748 two other conflicts had gained for England the province of Acadia and Cape Breton Island. Now the struggle for possession of the Ohio Valley and for the trade of the Southern Indians, rapidly became more acute. Both England and France sent ships and troops to North America. In 1755, before war was declared, there was fighting in western Pennsylvania. In the next year France became involved in the European war of Austria against Prussia. It was largely no doubt to bring the dispute in America to a decision that the English entered the war on the side of their Prussian allies. Then Spain joined forces with France and Austria. The sovereigns of the three powers were relatives.
At first the French forces in America were victorious; but soon the British began to gain the advantage. When they captured Quebec in 1759, the American Empire of France was doomed. When they took Montreal in 1760, it was utterly lost. The Treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763, ended the war and conferred on England four of the French West India Islands, Canada, and all the territory of Louisiana and Illinois east of the Mississippi. Spain was compelled to cede Florida to England and received from France by secret treaty the country of Louisiana and Illinois west of the great river, in other words the great region later acquired by the United States in the Louisiana Purchase.

Government in Lower Louisiana was badly disorganized. Technically this region belonged to Spain, but the Spaniards had not yet taken possession. In February, 1763, the French King sent to New Orleans M. D'Abbadie to act as his procurator until the formal transfer of West Louisiana should be made to Spain. His commission states that the legal transfer to England of the country east of the Mississippi has been made, and that Governor Kerlerec of Louisiana has been instructed to deliver to the English officials the post of Mobile and all the others on the left bank of the Mississippi. D'Abbadie is to co-operate with the Governor in withdrawing the French troops from these posts and sending them elsewhere.¹

But the new procurator also brought with him a royal decree which involved disastrous consequences to the spiritual interests and the peace of mind of many people, both white and Indian, in the Kaskaskia district. The Jesuits were to be banished from all the French dominions. The story of the collision between the Society of Jesus and the French government is a long and distressing one. In part it was the old story of John the Baptist and Herodias. Persons in high places resented having their scandalous conduct rebuked. Jealousy on the part of some good people added to the
bad feeling. The anti-religious sentiment of infidel philosophers was the most powerful factor of all. We shall not follow out the sorry tale. The enemies of the Society did not cease their machinations until, by threats of schism, they had induced the Pope to suppress it entirely.²

France however did not wait for this consummation, but in 1763 decreed its banishment from the home country and all its colonial dependencies. There were at this time six Jesuit Fathers attached to the mission of Kaskaskia. Among them were Fathers Watrin, Meurin, De la Morinie, De Salleneuve and Aubert who at various times served the church at Sainte Genevieve and ministered to the congregations at Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, Fort de Chartres, Saint Anne, Saint Philippe, and Vincennes and to the Indians near by.

It might have seemed that their residence in territory which no longer belonged to France, would have placed them beyond the reach of the harsh provisions of the decree. This was the view of the British authorities when they took over Illinois a few years later. But this view was not shared by the powerful Superior Council at New Orleans. They enacted a special measure applying the royal decree to the Jesuits at New Orleans and Kaskaskia. It was served on the latter group with altogether unnecessary harshness in the following September. Their property was confiscated and sold; and they themselves were taken to New Orleans to be sent back to France.

Father du Verger, the Seminary priest at Cahokia, took alarm at the proceedings, and began to fear that he might fare like the Jesuits when the British officials arrived. He sold the church farm and a dozen slaves—unhappily on credit—and went to New Orleans; and more than three thousand Catholics in the eight scattered villages of the vast Illinois country were left without a priest.³

The Superior Council of Louisiana had also set on foot in this same year an enterprise of a far more salutary
character. With Cahokia, Fort de Chartres, Prairie du Rocher and Kaskaskia gone, the small village of Sainte Genevieve was the only settlement in the vast expanse of Upper Louisiana. It became urgent to establish another settlement which might be the seat of the district government and control the trade of the upper rivers. Entirely out of funds itself, the Superior Council commissioned the firm of Maxent, Laclède and Company of New Orleans to establish a trading post and granted it some sort of monopoly of trade. The junior partner, Pierre Laclède Liguest, brought an expedition north and the next spring founded Saint Louis. The new village soon profited by the unsettled condition of Illinois.

Owing to the hostility of the Indians the British were unable to take possession for more than two and a half years. Villiers, the commandant of Fort de Chartres, withdrew to New Orleans with most of his troops and many civilians, including, it seems, the judge of the district, and left in command his aide, Louis Saint Ange de Bellerive, with a detachment of only forty soldiers. The civil administration of the district was completely disorganized. Life was not what it had been; there was no religion, no law and order; and the prospect of living under the rule of their recent enemies seemed to the French inhabitants uncertain and ominous. Many of the most substantial French families crossed over to the new settlement and to the older one of Sainte Genevieve. How numerous they were we do not know, but within three years the population of Sainte Genevieve was more than trebled. From one hundred people in 1764 it grew to about seventy families, or three hundred and fifty people at least in 1767.4

We may be sure that many came to the old village to spend their days in the midst of compatriots in a place where the French language and customs still survived. And it may be that the more devout of the newcomers were attracted by the strange turn of events which brought back one of the banished Jesuits to be
the pastor of Sainte Genevieve. As we have seen, the missionaries of Kaskaskia were under orders to return to France. Five of them obeyed; happily the sixth, Father Sebastian Meurin, entered an objection against being deported and was able to have it sustained.

Sebastian Louis Meurin was born at Charleville in France, December 26, 1707. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1729, was ordained priest in due course and came to Canada in 1741. The next year he was sent to Kaskaskia and began to work among the Indians. In 1749 he was in charge of the white parish at Vincennes (Indiana). We next hear of him at the time of the banishment of the Jesuits from Kaskaskia. He was then fifty-six years old and already enfeebled by the hardships of missionary life. But his zeal and devotion would not permit him to abandon his charge without a struggle.

He spent a month in New Orleans petitioning the Superior Council to be allowed to go back to his work in the North. He represented to them that the whole of that extensive district would be without a pastor, and that the spiritual interests of the inhabitants, especially the Indians, demanded that he return. In fact the Indians themselves seem to have made an appeal to the same effect.

Harsh, fractious and mercenary as the members of the Council were, they were still Catholics and they acknowledged the force of the missionary’s reasoning. He was allowed to return to the Illinois district, and was promised that the French government would be asked for a pension for his support and that a written confirmation of his appointment and his jurisdiction would be sent him. But he was ordered to have his headquarters at Sainte Genevieve and not to reside in British territory. He was also obliged to promise under oath that he would not hold jurisdiction from any other ecclesiastical authority than the Father Superior of the Capuchin Friars in New Orleans. Father Meurin felt that in such a crisis this
last requirement was a bit frivolous; and he could not avoid commenting on it with somewhat malicious French humor. He submitted to the oath on condition that he should receive a written certificate of his jurisdiction on demand, "adding that when it should please his Holiness to give the jurisdiction to the highest chief of the Negroes, I should be submissive to him as to one merit-
ing more than Bishops."

There was political craft, of course, in these regulations of the Council. They were not going to encourage the French settlers to live in British territory by providing them with a resident priest; and they did not intend to allow the priest to reside there in spite of them by permitting him to hold faculties of the Bishop of Quebec.

Father Meurin, then, gathered up his permissions, commissions, and restrictions, and departed for Sainte Genevieve where he arrived, it would seem, some time before the middle of May, 1764. He was welcomed by the people in this and the other villages; and for a time all went well. Besides performing the duties of pastor at Sainte Genevieve, he paid two regular visits each year to the Illinois villages and answered sick calls there as occasion required. He put some organization into the conduct of church affairs as we learn from an account of an election of church trustees, June 1, 1766. Michel Placet was elected to succeed Charles Beauvais as president of the board and received from his predecessor the funds of the church, amounting to some sixteen hundred dollars. The priest's infirmities and his poverty did not permit him to travel the two hundred and forty miles to Vin-cennes; but the Catholics of that place—and of others—came to him at Sainte Genevieve for ecclesiastical marriage. An interesting instance of the kind, perhaps the most interesting marriage ceremony ever performed in Sainte Genevieve, turned up in October, 1764. Marc Con-
stantinot, a Canadian, had lived eight years among the Shawnee Indians and during that time had contracted
a common law marriage with Susanne Henn, “a native of Prague in Bohemia,” who was a slave of the tribe. Having lived with the Indians for about five years longer they came with their two children to settle in Sainte Genevieve. On October 31 they renewed their promises before Father Meurin and had their marriage regularized according to the rites of the Church.  

Experiences such as this had already convinced Father Meurin that he needed large discretionary powers in solemnizing marriage. He must have applied to the Holy See for them before he left New Orleans, or at the latest not long after he arrived in Sainte Genevieve. On September 4, 1765, Pope Clement XIII granted him for the space of three years the faculty of dispensing from the impediment of disparitas cultus in the celebration of marriages, “for the relief,” as the decree goes on to say, “of a mission almost destitute of every aid, and for the spiritual comfort of a Christian flock, so far remote by sea and land.” This power of dispensing in the case of Catholics who were marrying unbaptized persons was decidedly extraordinary, and had never before been conceded by the Pope to any prelate or missionary in America.  

The need of such powers was undoubtedly soon to become more urgent, since numbers of non-Catholic English, Scotch and Americans now began to come among the members of Father Meurin’s flock. The British officials arrived at Fort de Chartres in October, 1765. Saint Ange de Bellerive formally delivered the country to them and withdrew his troops to Saint Louis where he was to act as commandant as long as the French held the territory. In his work east of the river Father Meurin found the first of the British officers, Captain Stirling and Major Farmar, kind and helpful enough. But from their successors he received scant courtesy. Rough wilderness fighters could hardly be expected to appreciate the fine details of the interest which he represented. In fact the English government
has been criticized for appointing men of such antecedents to the civil administration of their new possessions. Within a few years, however, this deficiency was relieved by the establishment of a regular civil and criminal court, which unfortunately continued its sessions for less than two years.

The unfortunate missionary now began to find himself in other and more trying difficulties. He was naturally somewhat discredited by the misfortunes of the Society of Jesus in which he had been involved, and by the fact that he was now virtually a Spanish subject. The Illinois villagers began to treat him with disrespect and refused to pay their church dues. They told him "haughtily enough" that he was not their pastor, that he had no right to give them advice and that they were not obliged to listen to him. Since he was able to visit Illinois rather rarely, the people there were from lack of instruction failing notably in virtue and piety. Moreover the congregation of Sainte Genevieve, being obliged to bear the burden of his support alone, while others shared the benefit of his services, began to complain.

The lonely infirm old priest was oppressed by his labors and sufferings, and almost baffled by a sense of helplessness in the midst of the legal tangles in which he was involved and of the spiritual needs of the vast mission district which he was too feeble and poor to serve adequately. He bore on bravely; but clearly there was need of several more priests in the Illinois country.

Father Meurin appealed for help to the church authorities in New Orleans, in Philadelphia and in Paris. He got no response from any. Finally he wrote to Bishop Briand of Quebec. The bishop was unable just then to send any priests to the assistance of the old missionary; but appointed him his vicar general for the whole of Illinois and Louisiana and granted a jubilee indulgence to the faithful there. The jubilee might also be proclaimed in Sainte Genevieve if Father Meurin thought proper. Father Meurin, however, was a man who "bore his
Bolduc House and Loretto Convent

The Green Tree Tavern
Ziegler House
faculties so meek” that he said nothing about being made vicar general and did not publish the jubilee in Sainte Genevieve. Instead he had a Corpus Christi procession through the streets of the village, the first perhaps that was ever held in this region.7

Mails traveled slowly in those days; and but a few months after the bishop’s letter reached the missionary, there arrived from Canada an able assistant, or rather one to whom he was to serve as assistant, in his pastoral work. On March 18, 1768, Bishop Briand had raised to the priesthood Pierre Gibault, a young man of thirty-one, who was destined for work on the mission of Illinois. The bishop had given him the powers of vicar general and had dispatched him in the summer for his new field of labor. Accompanied by his aged mother and a younger sister who were to care for his household, Father Gibault reached Kaskaskia in September. Father Meurin never missed “an opportunity to explain to him that the inhabitants of Saint Louis, of Cahokia, of Prairie du Rocher, Sainte Genevieve and Vincennes are as much his parishioners as the people of Kaskaskia. Thus the whole country would become one great parish, until there were priests in all the villages.” The young priest fulfilled the duties of his overwhelming charge with exemplary devotion. He was able to adapt himself promptly to the changing order of political events. When George Rogers Clark captured Kaskaskia ten years later, it was Father Gibault who reassured the inhabitants and won them over to the American cause. His place in our country’s history is a glorious one.

With such a vigorous worker come to share his burden, Father Meurin undoubtedly took new courage. But his sense of relief was not to last long. The very next month some voyageurs informed the Spanish commandant at Sainte Genevieve that Father Meurin had been made vicar general by the Bishop of Quebec. This official, Philip Rastel de Rocheblave, was not the man to let such a matter pass without notice. He was a soldier of fortune,
"bold and resourceful, avaricious and not too scrupulous in his methods, and by nature suspicious." Having been one of the bidders for the Jesuit property at Kaskaskia, he could hardly be called a devout Catholic.

The priest on his part in exercising jurisdiction under the Bishop of Quebec, had undoubtedly violated the letter of his agreement with the Superior Council of Louisiana. But it must be said in his defence that they had never fulfilled their part of the contract with him. He had never received the promised confirmation of his appointment or obtained the pension from the French government. To his appeal for help on the missions they made no reply whatever. Again the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec over the Spanish territory on the Mississippi had never been validly withdrawn. The Holy See alone had the power to divide his diocese and this had not yet been done. Consequently the bishop was not exceeding his powers in allowing Father Meurin to exercise authority over the clergy there, including the Capuchins in New Orleans! And finally the extensive powers which he had received from the Pope may have appeared to Father Meurin to dispense him from the obligations to the Spanish which he had assumed unwillingly and conditionally.

The actual merits of the case are not altogether clear even now; and Rocheblave did not take time to examine into them. On learning of Father Meurin's relations with the Bishop of Quebec, he angrily declared, "I know no English bishop here; and in a post where I command, I wish no ecclesiastical jurisdiction except that of the Archbishop of Santo Domingo." Then he pronounced the old missionary a state criminal and issued orders for his arrest. Father Meurin was warned of his danger by a friend in authority, perhaps François Vallé, and fled across the river, under cover of night, some time in the latter part of October, 1768.

He arranged with Father Gibault to attend the mission of Sainte Genevieve, while making his headquarters
at Kaskaskia where he was better able than the older man to unhold the dignity and authority of the Church. Meurin went to live at Cahokia, from which he made occasional visits *incognito* to Saint Louis.

We cannot follow him through all the many vicissitudes and sorrows of his last years. He spent his last days at Prairie du Rocher. There he died on February 23, 1777; and there he was buried beneath the sanctuary of the church. But when the Society of Jesus was restored by the Pope and his younger brethren in the Order came to labor in the Mississippi Valley, they were concerned to honor the mortal remains of the devoted and heroic missionary. In 1849 his bones were exhumed and transferred to the place of honor in the cemetery of the Jesuit Novitiate at Florissant, Missouri. The young scholastics of the Society who pass that simple headstone, may find great inspiration in the name of Sebastian Louis Meurin. His deeds were less conspicuous and impressive than those of other great missionaries of their Order. His spirit seems to have been tested more by endurance of petty vexations and embarrassments than by the accomplishment of important projects. And yet his ardor, his determination and his zeal never gave way; and his virtue proved itself to be of the same sterling quality as that of his greater brethren. From the people of Sainte Genevieve his memory deserves great reverence. It is one of the glories of the parish to have been served, even for a short time, by a pastor of such heroic soul.
THE SPANISH REGIME BEGINS

We must now return to follow the main course of our narrative from the time of the transfer of Louisiana to Spain. The government of that country did not receive its large grant of territory with much enthusiasm. The colony had brought no profit to France and was not likely to bring any to its new owners. As a result they were in no haste to take possession of it. For two or three years the only effects of the cession felt in Sainte Genevieve were the coming of Father Meurin and the transfer of five pieces of artillery from a fort which had been delivered to the British.

D'Abbadie, the French commissioner in New Orleans, died in 1765, and his place was taken by Charles Aubry. While waiting for the arrival of the Spaniards, Aubry drew up a long memorial for the use of the future governor. In it he treated of the government of the Indians and of the defense of the colony. Among other measures of defense he insisted on the absolute necessity of constructing a large and well-armed fort at Sainte Genevieve to guard against possible encroachments of the English at Fort de Chartres.¹

These precautions were not without point. In 1767 Captain Philip Pittman, who had been with the British troops in Illinois, visited all the settlements of the valley and put his observations on record. And some twenty years later a mysterious "English" lord—he was really Irish—came down the river and stopped at Saint Louis and Sainte Genevieve. He turned out to be Sir Edward Fitzgerald, Major of the Fifty-fourth Regiment of Foot, who was found to have conferred with the Indians on the upper Mississippi as well as with the Shawnees and Delawares of this region. An observer noticed the "rather extraordinary" fact that he kept away from the
settlements on the English side. It argues no deep villainy in the English to have used their eyes and got ready to take over if possible a large and rich province which its actual owners did not seem to care for. Their secret negotiations with the Indians were not so innocent; they recall unpleasantly the severe words of their own prime minister, Pitt, spoken during their last war with the French. When the fort recommended by Aubry was actually built we do not know. It was in existence in 1796 but was not large, nor heavily armed, nor well placed.2

The indifferent owners of Louisiana at last came to take possession. Even now they acted without haste. In July, 1765, Don Antonio Ulloa, the new governor, wrote from Havana to the Council of Louisiana to announce his approaching arrival at New Orleans. It was not until eight months later that he arrived off the mouth of the Mississippi. On March 5, he disembarked at his seat of government. He had given the council and the citizens plenty of time to resign themselves to the new order; instead the truculent spirits among them utilized the delay to organize an opposition which grew into revolt. A scientist rather than an executive, of unimpressive figure, finical, unsteady, undiplomatic, Don Antonio was not the man to cope with the difficulties which confronted him; and in less than three years he was virtually driven from his province by the insurgents. But with his misfortuntes we are not now concerned.3

To life in Sainte Genevieve, the new political order brought few important changes. French remained the language of the people and French customs continued to prevail. The old industries of the place were flourishing. Several of the villagers had salt works on the Saline and supplied great quantities of salt to the Indians, the hunters and the other settlements. The lead mines thirty miles away provided the whole country with shot. Grain and other provisions were raised in quantities; and from here the needs of the rising village of Saint Louis were
supplied. François Vallé besides being the wealthiest person in the whole "country of the Illinois," was the largest producer of foodstuffs in Sainte Genevieve. A hundred Negro slaves besides hired white people, were constantly employed on his farms and in his "very fine water-mill for corn and planks."  

The traffic in all these products, as well as in furs from the Northwest was bringing prosperity to the merchants of the little town. Jean Louis Lambert, dit La Fleur, amassed a considerable fortune in trade. Louis Viviat, a shareholder in large holdings of land along the Ohio, was in partnership with Jean Louis Datchurut at Sainte Genevieve. They traded in furs along the Missouri, and were strong enough to contest the claim of Laclède to a monopoly of the business of that region. In 1765 a boatload of their merchandise in charge of their clerk, Joseph Calvé, was seized on the Missouri by Laclède's men. Datchurut and Viviat carried the case to the Superior Council at New Orleans, which gave judgment in their favor. Laclède was ordered to return the goods seized, and to pay the costs of the suit. Other citizens of Sainte Genevieve also seem to have been engaged in merchandising, sometimes in secret partnership with associates in Kaskaskia.

In 1766 Louis Cabaziere was appointed the first notary and recorder of the village. His office had a more judicial character than that of an American notary. In fact, he was a sort of superior justice of the peace and could pronounce decisions in a number of cases. Cabaziere was succeeded in his office by Jean Louis Robinet and Charles Augustin Fremont de Laurière.

In 1766 Sainte Genevieve became a military post under the command of Philip François Rastel de Rocheblave. No doubt he had been appointed by the Superior Council of Louisiana. Rocheblave was an intelligent, vigorous, avaricious and quarrelsome person, who was always apparently involved in quarrels and secret intrigues. During the war he had been accused of treachery by the
Governor of Louisiana. While at Sainte Genevieve, he attempted to stir up the Indians against the British. Then he quarreled with the Spaniards and sold his services to the British in Illinois, where he was put in command of the post of Kaskaskia. When Clark captured the place in 1778, Rocheblave was sent as a prisoner to Virginia. It is said that he broke parole and escaped to Canada.

We can see his changeable and passionate nature in his treatment of two of the pastors of Sainte Genevieve. He had threatened Father Meurin with arrest because he held jurisdiction of the bishop of Quebec. No ecclesiastical superior would be recognized by him except the bishop of Santo Domingo! Father Gibault, who had been given his faculties by the bishop of Quebec and who never had any traffic whatever with the bishop of Santo Domingo, was received by the commandant and apparently treated as a friend. "Being very devout," says Gibault, "he would wish me to have (the parish) forever!"

Be the explanation of this what it may, Father Gibault served the parish for five years, until August, 1773. It appears from a remark of his own that he came rather as a missionary than as a regular parish priest. "I do not cross to the other side except for marriages and baptisms and to attend the sick." Especially when he began to attend the congregation at Vincennes (1769-70), his ministrations here must have been rather infrequent. The activities of his distinguished career might well receive fuller treatment; but they were exercised in the missions of Illinois more than in Sainte Genevieve and so they fall outside the scope of our narrative.

In the winter of 1768-9, another gesture made by Governor Ulloa probably caused a little thrill of excitement in Sainte Genevieve. At the time of his arrival in Louisiana, he had sent Captain Don Francisco Rui y Morales with forty-five men to build two forts at the mouth of the Missouri. As a matter of fact only one fort,
El Principe de Asturias, was actually built. Morales had not given satisfaction and he was now being replaced by Don Pedro Piernas, who started up the river in August, 1768. The channel was found to be frozen ninety miles below Sainte Genevieve; and on December 18, the captain with half of his crew stumbled, crippled and frost-bitten, into the village to pass the winter. They were undoubtedly the first Spaniards to spend any time there. Provisions were sent to the rest of the men; and these brought the boat to the settlement when the river opened at the end of the next month. A week was spent repairing the vessel which then proceeded on its way to the fort. Piernas had no more success than his predecessor. While making an inventory of his munitions and supplies, he received orders, issued four months before, to evacuate the fort and deliver it to Lieutenant Governor Saint Ange. He had been in actual command less than three weeks.

Don Pedro Piernas was not quite favorably impressed by his seven weeks in Sainte Genevieve. "Each person," he wrote to the Governor in New Orleans, "lives as he pleases and does whatever he premeditates. License, laxity of conduct and vice are the characteristics of its inhabitants. Religion is given but scant respect, or to speak more correctly is totally neglected, whether because of the abandonment of the obligations which distinguish a Catholic from a gentile given over to every excess without fear of punishment imposed by the laws, as they have no law and no justice which restrains them, or for lack of a spiritual minister to correct, instruct and withdraw them from the license in which they are living, forming a small rabble which is no wise different from the very savages." Of the transient traders and boatmen he had naturally even worse things to say.⁸

There was perhaps a measure of truth in the strictures of Don Pedro. The spiritual and moral interests of these people must certainly have suffered from the lack of a regular pastor to instruct, exhort and rebuke them. It
is likely enough that in the case of many of them, mirth and conviviality got the better of piety and orderly conduct. But it is even more probable that the disgruntled Spanish officer, who perhaps was not too kindly received, exaggerated what he saw and drew broad inferences regarding the morals of people whom he misunderstood and despised. The disorderly element would naturally attract most attention. The informal and carefree manners of the others may have made him suspect an utter lack of self-restraint which he did not actually observe.

The creole inhabitants were well aware of "a certain condescension in foreigners" in their regard. Some forty years later Madame Beauvais had occasion to dress down a lively young European French merchant, who was her boarder, for this very sort of arrogance. "My friend," said the old lady, "I believe you Europeans look upon us Creoles as no better than savages, as you regard the savages as baboons."

By the time that Piernas had returned to New Orleans, a new Governor had succeeded Ulloa (August 16, 1769). This was Count Don Alexander O'Reilly, an Irishman by birth, who had been raised to the nobility for distinguished services in the armies of Spain. He was a very capable administrator and at once began to put the affairs of his province in order. One of his early acts was the removal of Rocheblave from his position of command and the appointment of François Vallé in his stead as civil and military commandant. The regular garrison of the post was to consist of a lieutenant, a corporal and seven soldiers. No doubt a more numerous body of militia was available in case of trouble.

In some strange way this little military post seems to have remained French to all practical intents for almost two years longer. Piernas was sent back to Saint Louis as lieutenant-governor in the spring of 1770; but O'Reilly must have insisted on making the transference of authority in full and exact juridical form. This could not be effected quickly; and by a strange anomaly the
French colors floated over Sainte Genevieve until the spring of 1771. It was the last post in continental North America to haul them down.\textsuperscript{11}

By 1773 the political disorders in lower Louisiana were put down, and the ecclesiastical status of the province was made definite by annexation to the diocese of Santiago de Cuba. This made the position of Father Gibault at Sainte Genevieve somewhat irregular. No doubt he was happy to be relieved of this mission so as to be free to devote more care and attention to his extensive charge in Illinois. At all events he was now relieved and replaced at Sainte Genevieve by Monsignor Francis Hilaire de Génoveaux, a distinguished Capuchin friar.

Father Hilaire was a man of fine intellectual gifts, of great vigor, determination and, it must be confessed, ambition. He seems to have been the first person appointed a protonotary apostolic in the western part of North America, if not in the whole of it. Moreover he was no stranger to the province of Louisiana. As early as 1752 he appears in a group of French Capuchins working in and about Mobile. A few years later when a dispute was raging about the jurisdiction of the Jesuits in the Mississippi Valley, the Superior Council was appealed to and pronounced in favor of the Jesuits. Father Hilaire was among those who objected vigorously to this decision. He posted a written protest against it and was in consequence compelled to return to France in 1756 or 1757.

In August, 1764, he reappeared in New Orleans and presented to M. D'Abbadie the bulls creating him a protonotary apostolic and other credentials, including no doubt his appointment as local superior of the Capuchins. The royal commissioner was probably not pleased at the return of the priest whom he and the other civil officials regarded as a turbulent intriguer. Whatever chagrin he felt, he veiled under a diplomatic expression of surprise that an ecclesiastic of such rank and authority should have returned to the province without being
announced by the Spanish Minister of the Colonies. Father Hilaire explained this lack of proper formality by the delays incident to the transfer of Louisiana to Spain. Nine months later the Abbé de l’Ile Dieu arrived in New Orleans as vicar general of the Bishop of Quebec and placed Father Hilaire under suspension. In the meantime it appears that the Superior Council tried to enlist his services in the plot to expel Governor Ulloa. He refused, was ordered by the Council to leave the colony and not long after was expelled by force.

In 1772 Father Hilaire was back again with formal confirmation of his authority by the Spanish Government. Again he failed to take office as superior of the Capuchins. A group of Spanish members of the order had arrived on the same ship as Father Hilaire; and in the interests of peace, it was deemed best to retain in office Father Dagobert, the actual superior.

Perhaps it was to put him out of harm’s way that Father Hilaire was sent to a remote mission; anyhow the next year we find him at Sainte Genevieve. Now at last the parish had a pastor of its own who could devote himself to systematic instruction, exhortation and administration of the sacraments, without being distracted and worn out by the care of an excessively large mission. But even in this secluded village his restless spirit could not find peace. He does not seem to have been a missionary at heart and was evidently not in love with his work at Sainte Genevieve. Perhaps he felt that his talents and dignity entitled him to a more important field of activity.12

The story of his misadventures is not set down here to invite sneers at this unhappy priest who has long ago rendered his account to God. They are detailed for the light they throw on the geniality and moderation of a group of truly Christian people who could see the funny side of their own grievances and could voice objections against the conduct of their pastor without irreverence or cynicism.
Father Hilaire believed, as he later declared to the lieutenant governor, that the dignity of his ecclesiastical status required the services of a servant, who in the conditions then prevailing at Sainte Genevieve, would be a Negro slave. He did not see how he could purchase and maintain one with the funds at his disposal, so he increased the tax paid by the inhabitants for the support of the church. In the Illinois country, as we have already observed, the amount of this tax, or tithe, was fixed by custom at one twenty-sixth of the annual earning of each man's farm. But a tithe is a tithe, Father Hilaire reasoned—not one twenty-sixth of the year's income, but one-tenth; my parishioners shall pay me one-tenth of what they earn each year!

Naturally enough, this imposition aroused a complaint from the heads of families, which they embodied in a petition addressed to the lieutenant governor. After stating the substance of their grievance, they go on to say that they "are surprised at seeing this attempt made by a religious, who, since he has been among us, has given no instruction to the children, or preached a sermon, or given an exhortation to his parishioners. We have not in any way endeavored to relax the old custom in regard to Father Hilaire, and we would be willing, if our powers permitted, to make a greater sacrifice; but our poverty does not permit us to do it, for we find it very difficult to support our families. We pay the fifth to the mill (that is, the fifth of the meal ground, as a royal tax), as well as the defense of our boundaries; the beadle serves him for twenty sols per livre; labor is excessively dear, as well as things of first and indispensable need; which together with the intemperateness of the climate and the other calamity that from three harvests, there is nothing left for us of it than air which, although it is good, is not sufficient for the support of our families. . . ."

"Another surprise on our part was for us to hear that Father Hilaire has forbidden us all spiritual aid from the
religious of the other bank (of the river) in his absence. We are unaware of the reason which imposes so severe a law on us.”

Besides the flicker of Gallic pleasantry about the air, there are several matters in this petition which deserve notice. In the first place, there is expressed a concern for religious ministrations which does not bear out the accusation of Don Pedro Piernas, made but a few years before, that these people were thoroughly irreligious. And secondly, such men as Datchurut, La Fleur, Viviat and the elder Vallé, whom we know to have been men of some wealth, did not attempt to profit by the situation and save money. Their names were not signed to the petition. It may also be worth noticing that the name of Vallé, Junior, is among those of the signers. Young Auguste Chouteau, as a lad of fourteen, had supervised the founding of the trading post of Saint Louis; and here is François Vallé, but two years older, already exercising the prerogatives and responsibilities of a grown man.

Piernas forwarded this memorial, along with a recommendation of his own in favor of Father Hilaire, to Don Luis de Unzaga, the new Governor at New Orleans. Unzaga gave orders that, since no slave was available, Father Hilaire should be paid each year from the royal treasury, a sum sufficient to hire a servant. He also decreed that the commandant should not tolerate any alteration in the amount of the church taxes and that the pastor should leave the imposition and fixing of taxes where they belonged, in the hands of the King and his officials. No doubt the alleged failure of the priest to instruct and preach was referred to the vicar general. What orders he gave and how they were obeyed, are matters not known to us.¹³

Father Hilaire remained the pastor of Sainte Genevieve for four years longer. Then he silently and mysteriously disappeared from the place. One day in January, 1778, Jean Datchurut, the chief trustee of the church, called at the rectory. He found it open, deserted, of
course, and in disorder. Father Hilaire had gone away and left the house in this condition "without informing any trustee". Business man as he was, Datchurut was attracted by two church record books, which he found "abandoned" in the presbytery. The disorderly departure of the priest, or perhaps what the merchant already knew of the former's carelessness in keeping records, made him suspect that they were not in good order.

On the eleventh day of the month at the conclusion of public prayer, he called a meeting of his fellow trustees at the home of François Vallé, the civil commandant and judge. He told them how things stood at the rectory and with them proceeded to examine the record books. They were found to be registers of baptisms, marriages and burials.

Observing that the funeral records of a number of deceased persons were missing, they determined to send the books to the governor in the care of Datchurut who was going to New Orleans on business. Their object in doing so is notable. There was no reference to Father Hilaire's former infidelities, no intention expressed of squaring up past grievances with him. There was no manifestation of revengefulness or bad temper at all. With a charitable simplicity and moderation which almost make a modern reader smile, they quietly stated their purpose "to prove the negligence of Father Hilaire." The report of these proceedings was subscribed by thirty-five of the parishioners and attested by Vallé, the commandant.

Acting on this information, the Capuchin Father Cyril of Barcelona, the vicar general of Louisiana, instructed his fellow-religious, Father Bernard of Limpach, the pastor of Saint Louis, to go to Sainte Genevieve, and, after inspecting the registers of the parish, to draw up a record of the baptisms, marriages and funerals omitted by Father Hilaire. Father Bernard went to Sainte Genevieve, summoned the inhabitants to appear before him on September 14, 1778, and supplied twenty-two missing records.¹⁴
For the next eight years there was no regular pastor settled in the town. During most of this time, Father Gibault acted as administrator. From May 18, 1785, until July 10, 1786, Father Paul de Saint Pierre acted as Gibault’s curate for Sainte Genevieve, while awaiting the completion of his house at Cahokia.

In the mean time important events in the secular order were taking place. The American Revolution was in progress and was proving a source of bewilderment to the French settlers in Illinois. Obviously they did not understand the issues involved and did not see why they should be asked to fight for their English masters against the American colonists, or “Bostoneses”. And poor as they were, they were being victimized by crafty Anglo-American adventurers. The officials of Spanish Louisiana were instructed by the king to encourage them to settle west of the river and to supply them with the means of earning their livelihood. Some of them seized the opportunity; and of these a number of families settled in Sainte Genevieve.

On June 14, 1778, a new lieutenant governor, Don Fernando de Leyba, arrived at Saint Louis. He appends an interesting postscript to the letter announcing his arrival to the governor general. “I return the two swivel guns which I bought in the bateau, but retain the banner. For since I must go quite often to the village of Santa Geneviva, I have no other to fly in the boat which transports me.”

De Leyba appointed Don Francisco Sylvio de Cartabona to be military commandant of this village. François Vallé remained in office as civil commandant and judge. A few days after his arrival, Don Sylvio stood as godfather to Marie Françoise, the daughter of the civil commandant, June 21, 1778.

Cartabona was evidently a man of ability. When De Leyba lay dying three years later, he sent for him to witness his will. Immediately after his death, Don Francisco Cruzat was appointed his successor; but the commandant of Sainte Genevieve acted as interim lieutenant governor
of the province until 1787. About 1783 he was succeeded at Sainte Genevieve by Don Antonio de Oro.

In the summer of 1779 war broke out between England and Spain; and the English officers at Mackinac planned an attack on Saint Louis for the purpose of securing the fur trade on the Missouri River. Sainte Genevieve and Kaskaskia were also to be attacked. A body of whites and Indians, under the British Captain Hesse, came down the Mississippi in May, 1780. News of the attack reached the commandant of Saint Louis; and he summoned Cartabona to bring troops from Sainte Genevieve to aid in the defense of the village. The latter is said to have brought sixty men. The assault was made about noon on May 26; but the attackers were beaten off. Discovering that the place could not be taken, the Indians dispersed through the country-side and put to death a number of farmers and others who had not believed the report of the coming attack and had failed to seek protection.

The story got around that when the attack began, Cartabona could not be found and that the greater part of the regulars and militia of his command hid themselves in garrets and other safe places. General Firmin Rozier, writing about sixty years ago, became quite incensed at this slur on the honor of his native town and was at pains to explain the supposed failure of Cartabona and his men to participate in the defense. A later historian, Houck, dismisses the whole story as certainly fictitious like "many other statements palmed off as early history of Saint Louis."

As a matter of fact, Cartabona had been detailed with twenty men to defend the house of the commandant in which a number of women and children had taken refuge. The King of Spain expressed his great pleasure "at the victorious defense made by Captain Don Fernando de Leyba and Lieutenant Don Francisco Cartabona in repulsing the English Captain Esse (!) . . . and in proof of his sovereign gratitude, he has decided to confer upon the first the rank of lieutenant colonel and on the
second that of captain.” Cartabona was instructed to convey the thanks of the governor general of Louisiana “to the special lieutenant of Santa Genoveva, Don Francisco Vallé, M. Picote de Veletre, Don Benito Vasquez and other inhabitants in general and in particular. You shall thank them abundantly . . . for their noble intrepidity,” etc. After all Sainte Genevieve did not come off so badly. As a final comment on the incident, we may observe that the influential citizens of Saint Louis would have shown a most remarkable forbearance in tolerating Cartabona for seven years as their ranking officer, if he had shown himself the coward he was accused of being.16

The lieutenant of Cartabona and his associate in the government of Sainte Genevieve, passed away in 1783. He and his descendants have been so intimately concerned in the fortune of the old town that we ought to recall here a few details of their history.

Of the personality of the first Vallé of Sainte Genevieve we know very little. He was a capable man of business so far as that field of endeavor was open to the planters and traders of the frontier in the eighteenth century. In 1767 he was said to be the richest man of the Illinois country; and for those days his fortune was certainly large. He enjoyed the respect of his French fellow townsmen and was regarded by them as the leading man of the community. This esteem they expressed by electing him captain of the militia for several years in succession. The Spanish officials too showed confidence in him. He was undoubtedly the first to be formally appointed to the post of commandant by a royal governor. For the nine years following 1769 he had charge of the civil as well as the military administration. After the appointment of the Spaniard, Cartabona, to the command of the troops, he retained the post of civil commandant until his death.

His family has been traced back to Pierre La Vallée, a resident of the town of Saint Saens near Rouen in old Normandy. François, the son of Pierre, came to Canada
in 1660 at the age of fifteen years. A son, Charles, was born to him at Quebec in 1679 and died there in 1743. The future commandant of Sainte Genevieve was a son of this Charles La Vallée. He was born at Beauport, in the province of Quebec, January 2, 1716, and is said to have come to Kaskaskia about 1740. There he married Marie Billeron on January 7, 1748. In 1744 the French government had conferred on him a large grant of land with mining rights at Mine La Motte. When he came to Sainte Genevieve is not definitely known. Certainly it was before 1758, for in the baptismal record of his son François, in the Kaskaskia registers, he and his wife are described as residents of Sainte Genevieve. The elder François Vallé left three sons, Charles, François and Jean Baptiste, and a daughter, Marie Louise. Another son, Joseph, was killed by the Indians at Mine La Motte in 1774.

François Vallé, the younger, married Marie Carpentier and is said to have had a very large family. But the descendants of his younger brother have been identified in larger numbers with the history of the town. This brother, Jean Baptiste, married Jeanne Barbeau, the daughter of the builder of Fort de Chartres. Three of his granddaughters married sons of Ferdinand Rozier. Their son, Felix Vallé, married Odile Pratte; and this couple lived to a venerable age and were esteemed for their numerous deeds of benevolence in the town.

The name of this family was continuously represented in Sainte Genevieve for about a century and a half. The tradition was interrupted soon after the death of Louis Bartholomew, familiarly known as Bert, Vallé. All the actual bearers of the name left the town about this time.

The younger François Vallé and his brother, Jean Baptiste, lived to see the territory of Louisiana transferred to the United States. Their father passed away just two years before the most striking event in the history of the village in which he was such a conspicuous figure.
WE HAVE seen that during the whole of its early history the little village on its low and swampy flats suffered from rather frequent overflows of the river. The inhabitants endured the annoyance and hardships, as pioneers so often must, with good-natured and hardy resignation. About 1784 a good deal of the water front was carried away by the stream; and a number of the villagers began to erect dwellings on higher ground. "Three men named Loisel, Maurice Chatillon and Jacque Boyer, removed from the old village and established the present village of St. Genevieve." But in the spring of 1785 came "the Great Waters," Les Grandes Eaux, which submerged the village and its surrounding farmlands to a depth in some places of twelve and fifteen feet. The oldest inhabitants could well assure Don Esteban Miro, the governor, that they had never seen a flood like it. Many of the log houses were completely under water; and one of Monsieur Chouteau's boats, which came along, docked beside the roof of "the house of old André" (probably De Guire), and wound its hawser about the chimney! This was getting a bit thick.¹

The villagers all escaped with their lives, it would appear; but they were not going to take any more chances. Some began to build new homes on the slopes which bordered their Big Field on the west; many others followed Loisel, Maurice and Boyer to the elevation beyond its northwestern boundary. It was not a day of forced construction; but in two years the village as a whole had been moved to safety on "the little hill," as the French called it, between the forks of the Gabouri Creek. The old site was not abandoned until 1791, and not until three years after that was the church structure taken down and set up again in the new village.
It may surprise residents of the present day to read in the governor's report, that their forefathers "were obliged to retire with great haste to the mountains which are one league (three miles) away from the (old) village," and that the commandant, "Don Antonio D'Oro was in the like need of retiring with all his troops (of less than a dozen men!) to the above said mountains." These mountains may have been the present site of the town, which is interestingly described by a military observer some years later. He refers to it as a "plateau," which rises gradually toward the northwest, the heights being connected with each other for a great distance and commanding each other successively. Along the southern and eastern sides of this plateau were extensive level spaces more than sufficient for the homes of the villagers and quite safe from the river.

Early accounts of the new village describe its site as being the banks of the Gaboury Creek, or between the forks of the Gaboury. A visitor of the early nineteenth century locates it a mile up the Gaboury Creek. No doubt this is somewhat mystifying to present-day inhabitants, even the oldest of whom do not know of a Gaboury Creek with two branches, but have always heard of two streams, the North and the South Gaboury. The fact is that in those early days the Gaboury proper flowed from the west along the southern boundary of the new town. After crossing the road from the Saline, it flowed south and east for about half a mile, where it was joined by the Vallé Spring Branch. Then it turned abruptly and flowed north, parallel to the Mississippi but in the opposite direction. A quarter of a mile from the southern edge of the village it was joined by the North Fork, "La Fourche," as the old villagers called it (the present North Gaboury), and met the main channel of the river not quite a mile farther on.

This description is borne out by the reminiscences of a nonagenarian lady, Mrs. Celeste Thomure, published in 1888, who recalled that in her girlhood "the Big Field
extended almost to Judge Bantz's residence," about a mile north of the town. Joining the Mississippi at such a preposterous angle the waters of the Gabouri could not have been carried off very rapidly. There must often have been stagnant backwater in the creek; and this was probably what led observers to describe the situation of the town as unhealthy. It may have been the great flood of 1844 that rushed into the upper part of the bed of the Gabouri, opened a way southeastward to the Mississippi and cut off the northern end of the Big Field. After this time there were two Gabouris emptying into this slough, into which, when the river was not very low, steamboats could enter at either end and land at the very edge of the town. Thus the statement so often heard, that the present site of Sainte Genevieve was once on the main channel of the river, is not true. 3

Here, then, Sainte Genevieve began its career anew. It still contained a number of lowly cabins, to be sure, but a considerable number of spacious dwellings as well. Streets, quite broad for a small village, were laid out at right angles. There was excellent natural drainage. The village was no longer "Misère."

As was stated above, the Carmelite friar, Father Paul de Saint Pierre, spent a year in the village, May 18, 1785, to July 11, 1786. He then went back to his regular post at Cahokia and was succeeded by the Capuchin, Father Louis Guignes. Father Guignes resided in a house in the new village, probably on the present church property just east of the rectory of today. Of his history we know very little; and of his activity in the parish, only that he performed his regular duties and paid a few visits to the dependent mission of Poste Arkansas, founded by Tonti in the seventeenth century. After his departure in December, 1788, the parish was served by Father Ledru of Kaskaskia. 4

When the village was in process of being moved to its new site, Cartabona was replaced as military commandant, by Henri Peyroux de la Coudrenière, a man
of considerable ability and learning. His conversational powers seem to have impressed Thomas Jefferson, whom he met in Philadelphia in 1791 while on his way to Europe. Twelve years later Jefferson wrote to Peyroux, expressing his pleasure in the renewal of their acquaintance. He is said to have written several scientific essays on matters geographical and to have enjoyed a considerable literary reputation in his day. In 1789, during his incumbency, the royal highway, "El Camino Real," was laid out from New Madrid through Sainte Genevieve to Saint Louis. It followed an immemorial Indian trail and was probably little better than a trail itself. Seven years later a French military observer stated that it was practicable only for horsemen and foot passengers, and that no communication by land for carriages had yet been opened to St. Louis.  

In September, 1789, Father de Saint Pierre was back in Sainte Genevieve as regular pastor. A German by birth (Paul von Heiligenstein was his true name), he had come to America as chaplain to Rochambeau's army during the Revolution and had been requested by the French envoy to the colonies to remain in the country as a missionary among the French Catholics along the Mississippi. But unfortunately he had no testimonial letters from his religious superiors in Europe; and Father Carroll of Baltimore, who was now Vicar Apostolic of the United States and exercised jurisdiction as far as the Mississippi, was reluctant to grant him faculties to minister in the Illinois villages. Father Paul was, however, energetic, determined, and zealous (unmanageably zealous, Father Gibault thought), and he continued to petition and contrive until he had his way. With the great dearth of priests in the French settlements at the time, it was clearly providential that he did so.

In 1785 he journeyed to Vincennes and presented to Father Gibault, the vicar general of the bishop of Quebec, a testimonial letter from the American ecclesiastical
authorities. Not wishing to take action in the conflict of authority which then prevailed, Gibault advised him to petition the Spanish officials for the parish of Sainte Genevieve, but permitted him for the time to minister in the settlements on the Illinois side. It was thus that he came to Cahokia and, while waiting for his living quarters to be repaired, served for fourteen months as temporary pastor of Sainte Genevieve and missionary to Kaskaskia.

Father de St. Pierre did not overlook the Indians, living near the village, who had been neglected for some years. He must have instructed and prepared them, and on June 10, 1786, "at the chapel of the savages called Epés" (Peorias), he baptized fifty-two persons of various ages. A week later he blessed the marriages of seventeen Indian couples.

But before his petition for appointment reached the vicar general of Louisiana, Father Louis Guignes had been appointed pastor of Sainte Genevieve. The Carmelite then returned to Cahokia, where he remained for three years. He devoted himself with industry and zeal to the instruction of his people and to his other priestly duties. He helped on the project of building a new church at Cahokia. He replaced Father Bernard, the pastor of Saint Louis, during the latter's absences on missionary trips. Father de St. Pierre also dealt vigorously with the abuses which prevailed in the villages of Illinois. He induced the civil officials to prohibit supplying the Indians with liquor. Then he turned his attention to the profiteers who were victimizing the poor French settlers, and of course incurred their bitter enmity and excited complaints and counter-accusations. He also had some minor troubles with his parishioners. But in the end they willingly and "with a unanimous voice" declared their confidence, respect, and reverence for him, and applauded his attachment to themselves, his disinterestedness, and the spiritual zeal with which he ministered to them.
It may be that Father de Saint Pierre was induced by the Spanish officials of upper Louisiana to take up his abode within their jurisdiction. At all events, on May 1, 1787, he sent another petition to the vicar general of Louisiana, asking for a parish on the Spanish side of the river and mentioning his qualifications, a knowledge of English and German, to serve in the recently settled village of New Madrid. The request of Father de Saint Pierre was granted beyond his hopes. He was appointed pastor, not of New Madrid, but of Sainte Genevieve, and entered upon his duties there in September, 1789.

It is quite clear that he held the respect and affection of his people by his energy and devotion to duty. He himself regarded their attachment to him as a further incitement to fidelity. His superiors were able to testify that his conduct as pastor was altogether above reproach. Evidently, then, he was diligent in giving religious instruction; all the inhabitants of the village were in fact said by an observer to be strict and exemplary Catholics. The boys were trained to serve Mass; and the ceremonies of the Church were carried out with as much dignity and splendor as was possible. The pain bénit was distributed at Sunday Mass, and Vespers were chanted on Sunday afternoon. Religious processions on the appropriate feast days engaged the interest and devotion of the people. “On Christmas Eve it was the custom to keep the Church open all night.” Mass was celebrated at midnight, and for this the altar “was splendidly decorated and lighted with the largest wax candles the village could afford.” The zealous pastor did not close his eyes to public infractions of morality. Finding personal exhortation in one case of no avail, he put a stop to the scandal by appealing to the commandant.

It would seem that for some years after the flood, divine services were held in a temporary church building in the new village. In 1793 Father de Saint Pierre petitioned Lieutenant Governor Trudeau to call a meeting of the parishioners to discuss the erection of a new
church. It was decided that the material of the old church should be used in building the one now proposed. Trudeau promised that the government would bear its share of the expenses. As a matter of fact, the large old church of logs seems to have been taken down, and rebuilt in the new village just as it was. It was completed in 1794. At this time the inhabitants of the new settlement of New Bourbon, two miles to the south, petitioned for a chapel of their own; but there is no evidence that they ever got it.

Shortly after this, accusations against Father de Saint Pierre began to grow out of the difficulties in obtaining jurisdiction which he had had on first coming to the West. In December, 1795, he went to Baltimore to clear himself of them. Before his return an Irish priest, Father James Maxwell, was appointed pastor of Sainte Genevieve and vicar general of upper Louisiana. Father de Saint Pierre returned to Sainte Genevieve in the following May. Some seven months later he sold his property here and went to New Orleans, where he was again called upon to defend his record. After a few years he was sent to Iberville, Louisiana, and died there October 15, 1826, after a zealous and successful pastorate of about twenty-two years. The "upright and good St. Pierre," Bishop du Bourg styled him.8

The village of New Bourbon was separated from the district of Sainte Genevieve in 1793. It grew out of the movement of royalist members of the nobility away from France at the time of the Revolution. A group of them had formed a settlement at Gallipolis in southeastern Ohio. In 1793 Pierre Audrain, a merchant of Pittsburgh, with his friend Barthelmi Tardiveau, conceived the idea of taking a number of them to form a colony in the Spanish territory, where royalist sentiment would naturally be stronger than in the young democracy of the East. Chevalier Pierre de Hault de Lassus de Luzière, one of the settlers of Gallipolis, was induced to join in and head the new community. An additional inducement
in his case was the fact that Baron Carondelet was, like De Luzièrè himself, a native of Flanders, where the two men had been acquainted. The promoters were authorized to reconnoitre for an appropriate site between New Madrid and New Orleans. The actual site chosen was as a matter of fact a hundred miles farther north, near the middle of the range of hills which bordered the Big Field of Sainte Genevieve. This was within the jurisdiction of the old town; but New Bourbon was at once made a separate post with territorial jurisdiction extending from the new settlement to the Saline and from the Big Field of Sainte Genevieve to Mine La Motte. De Luzièrè was made commandant of the post.

Several reasons may have prompted this separation. It seems to have been contemplated from the first to put De Luzièrè at the head of the new village. It may also have been considered incongruous to put a European nobleman under the authority of a Creole official. And finally the Vallés were supposed to be democratic in feeling and sympathetic towards the new American republic, so that the spirit prevailing in their sphere of influence would not be in keeping with the royalist political faith which the new community was intended to foster.

But the actual number of emigrant nobles who came to New Bourbon from Gallipolis did not, it seems, amount to more than four or five families, those of De Luzièrè himself, of his son Camille de Hault de Lassus, of Jacques de Mun, a military man from San Domingo, and of Jean René Guiho from Brittany. Another son of De Luzièrè, Jacques Marcelin Ceran de Hault de Lassus de Saint Vrain, who was a naval officer in Louisiana, also made his home in the village. In 1797 New Bourbon was said to contain forty houses, and in 1798 Trudeau reported that there were four hundred and seven persons of both sexes there. The latter figure does not refer to a compact village of that size but to the whole jurisdiction. In those early days town names, such as Saint
Louis and New Madrid, do not seem to have been restricted to closely built settlements, but to such scattered collections of homes and farms as were called towns in New England, or to what we call a township at the present day. Five years after the date of settlement, Lieutenant Governor Trudeau made a grant of a common field, Le Grand Parc, to the inhabitants of New Bourbon. During the nineteenth century the village declined and disappeared. The family of De Luzière, more commonly known as De Lassus, moved away. The district two miles south of Sainte Genevieve is still known as New Bourbon, but there is nothing to mark the site of the village except a small district school and three or four farm houses.

Until the district of New Bourbon was made independent, the commandants of Sainte Genevieve exercised jurisdiction over a large extent of territory. It extended from Cinque Hommes Creek (later from Apple Creek) on the south to the Meramec, and from the Mississippi westward indefinitely. All the settlements within this district, including even New Bourbon, were dependencies of Sainte Genevieve. When Henri Peyroux died in 1796, François Vallé the younger became sole commandant and remained in office until his death in 1804. François Vallé, like the other members of his family, enjoyed great favor with the Spanish authorities at New Orleans. He was plainly a very estimable man. Though said to be inclined towards the democratic idea of government, he did not (since, of course, he could not) try to apply it to the political life of his people. He took care of all affairs of government. But in all other relations he was simple, kindly and unpretentious. In fact, the entire absence of ceremony greatly shocked a distinguished French visitor who had had his expectations aroused by the stiff and splendid etiquette of the Spanish official circle at New Orleans. But this very person, Monsieur Perrin du Lac, was constrained to acknowledge that the commandant had received him with the open-hearted cordiality and unaffected civility which had been cus-
tory in France before the days of politics and tiresome etiquette. The people were happy in living under a commandant who brought all their disagreements to a peaceful settlement. Monsieur and Madame Vallé were the parents of a very large family; and their experience in dealing with the maladies and mishaps of young children, their money and even their personal services were at the disposal of those who needed them. "Humane, generous and compassionate, they were regarded in the whole village as the father and mother of the poor."

Lieutenant Governor Zenon Trudeau wrote of Vallé that "the personal qualities which this man possesses, make him one of the most to be recommended of the country, for not only is he esteemed by those habitants, but he is their true friend and protector." The competence and ability and the successful administration of Vallé are all the more remarkable when we remember that at his death in 1804, after thirteen years in charge of civil affairs, and eight years more as civil and military commandant of Sainte Genevieve, he was only forty-six years of age.¹⁰

It has been said that there was a fort called Saint Joachim in the old village as early as 1759. This seems to me an entirely unwarranted inference from the simple statement in the church records that André de Guire and others were captains of militia of the post of Saint Joachim. We learn from Governor Miro's report of the flood of 1785 that a small number of regular troops were quartered in the house of François Vallé in the Big Field; but until 1796 we have no knowledge of a regular fortification. In that year the settlements of Louisiana were visited by the French General, Victor Collot. He had wished to come west during the Revolution; but it was not until the nineties that all the necessary arrangements were made. General Collot seems to have made his tour as an expert military observer. Very naturally he recorded his opinions about the defensive strength of the various posts. His description makes it clear that the
The fort was in the southeastern part of the village along the south Gabouri. Its position was extremely bad, he thought. It was too far from the river to protect navigation. It would have been entirely at the mercy of an attacking force because the elevation on which it was built rose in successive heights for a great distance. These heights rise, as can be plainly seen, chiefly towards the Northwest. There is also higher ground across the creek to the south. From any of these hills an enemy could easily drop cannon balls into the fort. The fort of Sainte Genevieve was small and of the same form and material as that of Saint Louis, "that is to say, square and surrounded with planks to support the earth and to serve at the same time for palisades." It was manned by a corporal and two privates and equipped with two small cannon, two-pounders.\textsuperscript{11}

The position of the fort was confirmed and made more definite many years later by the reminiscences of Mrs. Celeste Thomure cited above. She remembered that it stood on the north bank of the Gabouri Creek a little to the west (on the second residence plot in fact) of the present Main Street. During her childhood the inhabitants took refuge in it a few times when the neighboring Indians became restless and unruly. Collot found twelve hundred inhabitants of both sexes, white and black, slave and free, in Sainte Genevieve in 1796. Two hundred and forty bore arms, but of that number sixty only could be considered as soldiers. In his references to points in the surrounding territory, the General is not always accurate. "Two leagues from Sainte Genevieve," he says, "is a lead mine and a lime quarry . . . on the heights of Marimeck." The lead mine was of course ten or twelve leagues away, and the lime quarry probably less than one league. Iron had been discovered; and the deposit was being investigated by prospectors from the Eastern States.\textsuperscript{12}

These mineral deposits were now beginning to attract enterprising American settlers to the Sainte Genevieve
district. The commandant at Sainte Genevieve could no longer make concessions of land to them. He and the officials at Saint Charles and Cape Girardeau were particular commandants. The only two "patented officers" with authority to convey public lands to private persons were the commandants of Saint Louis and New Madrid. In 1797 Zenon Trudeau, the commandant of Saint Louis, made a grant of about nine square miles in the Mine à Breton district near the present town of Potosí to Moses Austin, who later became the founder of an American colony in Texas. Austin began shaft mining there in the following year, opened a shot factory, a saw mill and a grist mill, and made a road from Mine à Breton to Mine à Renault. He employed some forty or fifty men. In 1799 he built a sort of fortified residence which he called Durham Hall and which became the nucleus of the first American settlement in the Sainte Genevieve district. Murphy Settlement, now Farmington, and Cook Settlement, now Libertyville, were also made by Americans between 1798 and 1802. Saint Michael or Fredericktown on the other hand was settled by the French in 1800. During these same years a number of the French "habitants" of Sainte Genevieve began to farm to the southwest of the village along the Rivière aux Vases and the Saline and to the northwest along the Establishment Creek and the Fourche à Duclos.13

The career of Father James Maxwell as pastor of Sainte Genevieve and vicar general of Upper Louisiana began in 1796; but it fell for the most part within the years following the Louisiana Purchase and will be described in detail somewhat later. But we must note here that Father Maxwell was sent to Sainte Genevieve by the King of Spain for the particular purpose of dealing with the American settlers who were coming into Upper Louisiana. An Irishman by birth, he spoke the language of the newcomers. His years of study at the university of Salamanca seemed to have aroused his sympathy for things Spanish and for the reigning house
of Bourbon. Thus he had important qualifications for being a pastor in a country which was passing through a period of transition: loyalty to the Church, loyalty to the crown and the "Anglo-Saxon" speech and outlook, as the French would have said, which must inevitably influence the destiny of his new parish. Father Maxwell arrived at Sainte Genevieve in April, 1796. In keeping with his royalist sympathies he took up his abode, not in the village itself, but in the neighboring settlement of New Bourbon within easy reach of his church and of the principal part of his pastoral charge. As an official of the king he was to solemnize the marriages of non-Catholics. He read the banns of these marriages at the door of the Church on three successive Sundays. About seventy-five of them were performed by him within the next fifteen years, "according," his records go on say, "to the ordinances of his Majesty the King regarding the marriage of his non-Catholic subjects." In all cases he exacted of them a promise to observe the laws of the State and the Church. Three years after his arrival Father Maxwell obtained a large grant of land on which he intended to establish an Irish colony, but the development of it was not attempted until the early years of the American Regime.¹⁴

During the seventeen years, 1787-1804, the earliest years of the new village, the closing ones of the Spanish Regime, Sainte Genevieve seems to have reached the height of its importance and its happiness. It contained about as many inhabitants as Saint Louis; in certain years the old town had the larger population of the two. The number had increased from five hundred and ninety-two in 1778 to some thirteen hundred in 1802. It was still one of the principal settlements in the whole of Louisiana. Its trade and industries were thriving. The older merchants, Datchurut, La Fleur and Viviat had passed away; but their place was taken by Bolduc, Lorimier, Menard, Peyroux and Vallé. The fur trade along the Missouri had probably been taken over by merchants of Saint Louis who had been given a monopoly
of this business; but peltries from the back country were still handled at Sainte Genevieve. Salt meats—hams of hogs and bears—along with a cooking oil made of bears' grease, were shipped to New Orleans. The latter, we are told, was preferred to inferior grades of olive oil.

The lead mines seem to have been controlled for the most part by citizens of Sainte Genevieve. They furnished ammunition for the Spanish arsenals and added to the income both of large commercial producers and of poorer habitants who occasionally spent a few days at the mines digging on their own. Salt from the Saline was sold as far away as the interior of Kentucky, as well as in the villages on both sides of the Mississippi. In fact, Israel and Henry Dodge employed at times several hundred laborers in making salt. Flour too was an important article of export. In 1793 the Spanish government let a contract for six thousand barrels of flour a year to supply a large bakery at New Madrid which was to manufacture bread and biscuit for the troops. Part of this flour was to be ground at Sainte Genevieve in a mill controlled by Pierre Derbigny (D'Herbigny) and Pierre Ménard. Whether this mill ever became a reality is not clear; but there were several smaller mills in the district.15

Trading with the Indians was still no doubt a profitable business, although it kept these insolent neighbors uncomfortably near the settlement. The Osages, Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, Peorias and others were not far away and at times came in and took the town. The inhabitants then had to retreat to their houses and bar themselves in though they were not safe even there. The Osages were the most inveterate thieves; and from them Sainte Genevieve suffered more than any other settlement. Their craving for horses was particularly keen and on one occasion they left the village without so much as one horse to turn a mill.

At the end of the century a group of Peorias is said to have lived "in the center of the village." This seems
This sketch follows an old map based on the survey of 1817. The fort has been traced in, as well as two streets, Main Street with the St. Mary Road, and the Spanish Royal Highway (Third Street), no longer open beyond the South Gabouri. Mill Creek is now called Vallé Spring Branch. Other variations are easily understood. (Courtesy of Mr. Charles Delcommune of the U. S. Engineering Dept.)
to be a mistake. Perhaps they camped within the settlement for short periods, but their regular abode was a short distance to the south, perhaps near Vallé Spring; and there were times, as we learn from the Church registers, when they did not enter the village. These Peorias were the remnant of a numerous tribe which had been greatly reduced in number by war, small-pox and intemperance. They had been evangelized by the Jesuits in Illinois and were still Catholic of a sort. Though very skillful with the rifle, they were by no means formidable in war and hung about this white settlement largely for the sake of safety. This gave them much easier access to a market for their pelts, but it also caused them to lose their original energy and resourcefulness and to become slothful and dishonest. The only articles of attire which they continued to make for themselves were their moccasins. Their garments of tanned buckskin and their buffalo robes had been replaced by calico shirts and tunics, pantaloons, and blankets of red and blue worsted which they received from the traders in exchange for their furs.\(^{16}\)

Retail business in merchandise was also carried on by the traders in the village. The articles on sale were kettles, pots, guns, hoes, and certain kinds of garments, dry goods, and notions. They were kept under lock and key in chests in the homes of the merchants. Of course the extent of all this traffic was small enough when judged by later standards; but profits were large, and the merchants amassed what were then regarded as large fortunes.

There were several tan yards in the district; and after the Americans began to settle the Spanish side, the manufacture of whiskey became an important industry. A few trades were practiced in the community. There was a brewer, a tailor, a carpenter, and several masons whose services seem to have been in considerable demand. There were two physicians, Gibkin and Lafont, but they died in 1783 and 1790; and after that the villagers had to
rely in times of illness on home remedies and careful nursing. Their building, spinning, weaving and the making of their clothes were done by slaves or members of the family.

Coined money and treasury notes were probably possessed by the merchants who did business in New Orleans and the larger American settlements, and by them alone. Among the rest of the population, peltries, lead and salt served as currency. Another medium of exchange was the strong black domestic tobacco. This was moulded into cigar-shaped “carrots” some fifteen inches long, and tightly wrapped about with cord or wedged in a hollow piece of wood until it became almost as solid as the wood itself.17

Farming was still the principal occupation of the villagers. “It was a pleasing sight, to mark the rural population going and returning, morning and evening, to and from the field, with their working cattle, carts, old-fashioned wheel-plows, and other implements of husbandry.” The carts (charettes) were constructed without an atom of iron. They were made of “two pieces of scantling some ten or twelve feet long, framed together by two or more cross-pieces, upon one end of which the body of wicker work was placed, and the front ends rounded to serve as shafts, and the whole set on the axle-tree of the wheels.” “Their plows were made entirely of wood without a single iron fastening. The mouldboard had only the curve that would be found in a root of appropriate shape, but the beam was strong and the wooden point sharpened. A harrow or two were held as the common property, so to speak, of all the cultivators of the common field.” With these crude implements and a few hand tools whose design “had not changed from remotest antiquity,” they had no trouble in gaining from their Big Field whose “fertility exceeds all that can be imagined,” not only their subsistence for the year but a sufficient surplus for marketing.18

The wealthier farmers, Vallé and Beauvais, employed slave labor on a large scale, and the parish registers
record the deaths of several "volontaires" who may have been indentured servants. In 1796 the slaves of the village were more numerous than the free inhabitants. They numbered seven hundred and seventy-three against five hundred and thirty-two whites, eight free mulattos, and thirty-four free negroes. This item implies that a fair number of slaves had been set at liberty; and the fact is borne out by the civil archives of several of the old settlements. They were so well cared for by their masters that as late as 1824 a German visitor was able to say that in respect of bodily comfort, protection from disease and amount of labor the lot of slaves in Missouri was more fortunate than that of household servants and day laborers in his native country. The owners of large numbers of slaves were sometimes stern in their personal relations with them; but their interests, especially their religious concerns, were looked after with care. Not only were the children of Catholic slaves baptized and given the sacraments; but adult negroes who were not Catholics were instructed and received into the Church.  

We are fortunate in possessing a description of Sainte Genevieve in the 1790's from the pen of Henry Brackenridge who was brought to Sainte Genevieve from Pittsburgh to learn French and received into the family of Vital Beauvais. He was about six years old at the time and the year was apparently 1792. "The house of Monsieur Beauvais was a long, low building, with a porch or shed in front and another in the rear; the chimney occupied the center, dividing the house into two parts, with each a fireplace. One of these served for dining-room, parlor, and principal bed-chamber; the other was the kitchen; and each had a small room taken off at the end for private chambers or cabinets. There was no loft or garret, a pair of stairs being a rare thing in the village. The furniture, excepting the beds and the looking glass, was of the most common kind, consisting of an armoire, a rough table or two, and some coarse chairs. The yard was inclosed with cedar pickets, eight or ten inches in diameter and seven feet high, placed upright, sharpened
at the top, in the manner of a stockade fort. In front the yard was narrow, but in the rear quite spacious, and containing the barn and stables, the negro quarters, and all the necessary offices of a farm-yard. Beyond this there was a spacious garden inclosed with pickets in the same manner as the yard. It was, indeed, a garden—in which the greatest variety and the finest vegetables were cultivated, intermingled with flowers and shrubs: on one side of it there was a small orchard containing a variety of the choicest fruits. The substantial and permanent character of these inclosures is in singular contrast with the slight and temporary fences and palings of the Americans. The house was a ponderous wooden frame, which, instead of being weather-boarded, was filled in with clay, and then whitewashed. As to the living, the table was provided in a very different manner from that of the generality of Americans. With the poorest French peasant, cookery is an art well understood. They make great use of vegetables, and prepared in a manner to be wholesome and palatable.”

From the description of this house some idea may be formed of the rest of the village. A dozen or more houses were as large and fine as that of Monsieur Beauvais. Some were even larger and more substantial. A stone house, later the home of Mrs. Elizabeth Saint James, follows the style of this period; and in 1800 what is thought to be the oldest brick house west of the Mississippi was erected by John Price. Some of them probably contained better furniture. A massive wardrobe of walnut, showing water stains of the flood of 1785, is not without elegance of design. It is now in the sacristy of the Church. These were the homes of the wealthier merchants and planters; but the houses, the dress and the manner of life of the other villagers, if humbler, were of much the same fashion.

“M. Beauvais was a tall, dry, old French Canadian, dressed in the costume of the place: that is, with a blue cotton handkerchief on his head, one corner thereof
descending behind and partly covering the eel-skin which bound his hair, a check shirt, coarse linen pantaloons on his hips, and the Indian sandal or moccasin, the only covering to the feet worn here by both sexes. He was a man of grave and serious aspect, entirely unlike the gay Frenchman we are accustomed to see; and this seriousness was not a little heightened by the fixed rigidity of the maxillary muscles, occasioned by having his pipe continually in his mouth, except while in bed, or at mass, or during meals. Let it not be supposed that I mean to speak disrespectfully or with levity, of a most estimable man; my object in describing him is to give an idea of many other fathers of families of the village. Madame Beauvais was a large fat lady, with an open cheerful countenance, and an expression of kindness and affection to her numerous offspring, and to all others excepting her colored domestics, toward whom she was rigid and severe. She was, notwithstanding, a most pious and excellent woman, and, as a French wife ought to be, completely mistress of the family.”

Young Henry was sent to the village school which seems to have been under the charge of Father Saint Pierre. He won a prize in a public examination. He became a general favorite; he was honored by being appointed an altar boy and given a larger share of the pain bénit. He even used to be singled out for flogging “for the edification of the other scholars.”

The first thing which struck this “little English lad” on his arrival in the village was the courtesy even of the children. “Not a soul in the village, except the curate, understood a word of English; and I was possessed of but two French words, ‘oui’ and ‘non’. I sallied into the street, or rather highway, for the houses were far apart, a large space being occupied for yards and gardens by each. I soon found a crowd of boys at play; curiosity drew them around me, and many questions were put by them, which I answered alternately with the aid of the before-mentioned monosyllables. ‘Where have you come
from? ’Yes.’ ‘What is your name?’ ‘No.’ To the honor of these boys be it spoken, or rather to the honor of their parents, who had taught them true politeness—instead of turning me into ridicule as soon as they discovered I was a strange boy, they vied with each other in showing me every act of kindness.”

Politeness flowered out of the very amusements. “I sometimes went with other children to the ball, which was by no means a place of frivolity, but rather a school of manners. The children of the rich and poor were placed on a footing of perfect equality, and the only difference was a more costly, but not a cleaner or neater dress. The strictest decorum and propriety were preserved by the parents who were present. There was as much solemnity and seriousness at these assemblies as at our Sunday schools; the children were required to be seated, and no confusion or disorder was permitted. The minuet was the principal dance. I think it is in some measure owing to this practise that the awkward, clownish manners of other nations are scarcely known among the French. The secret of true politeness, self-denial, or the giving the better place to others, was taught me at these little balls. . . . The Sunday balls of Sainte Genevieve were comparatively innocent, and, in other respects, the people of the village, and particularly Monsieur and Madame Beauvais, were rigid Sabbatarians.”

Besides the dances on Sunday afternoons, other parties with their cotillions, reels, minuets, waltzes and two-steps, enlivened many an evening. The French habitants were also fond of card-playing. The custom of paying new years calls survived for a long time; and the beautiful formula of greeting is still remembered: “Bonne année, bon santé et paradis à la fin de vos jours.”

The culmination of the social season was the Guignolée, or Guianne, on New Year’s Eve. After nightfall a company of masked and costumed men called at the homes of the villagers to offer greetings in a curious
old song in which the cuckoo and nightingale motif of the Middle Ages mingles with the homely mirth of the frontier. A dance, of course, topped off the evening.

Bonsoir le maître et la maîtresse
Et tout le monde du logis.
Pour le dernier jour de l'année
La Guignolée vous nous devez.

Si vous n'avez rien à nous donner, dites nous le.
Nous vous demandons seulement une échinée;
Une échinée n'est pas grande chose.
Elle n'a que quatre pieds de longue;
Et nous ferons une fricassée
De quatre-vingt pieds longue.

Si vous n'avez rien à nous donner, dites nous le.
Nous vous demandons seulement la fille ainée.
Et nous lui ferons faire bonne chère,
Nous lui ferons chauffer les pieds
Nous lui ferons faire bonne chère
Nous lui ferons chauffer les pieds.

Quand nous fûmes aux milieux des bois,
 nous fûmes à l'ombre,
J'ai attendu le coucou chanter et la colombe,
Et le rossignol du vert berceau
L'ambassadeur des amoreaux
Va aller dire à ma maîtresse
Que j'ai toujours le coeur joyeux.

Et j'ai toujours le coeur joyeux, point de tristesse;
Mais ces jeunes filles qu'ont pas d'amants,
 comment font elles?
Ce sont les amours qui les réveillent
Et qui empêchent de dormir.
Bonsoir le maître et la maîtresse
Et tout le monde du logis.
Épilogue

En suppliant la compagnie
De vouloir bien nous excuser
Si nous avons fait quelque folie,
C'était pour nous désennuyer.
Une autre année nous y prendons garde
Si nous avons l'honneur de revenir.

Bonsoir le maître et la maîtresse
Et tout le monde du logis.
Pour le dernier jour de l'année
La Guignolée vous nous devez.

Other old folk songs were sung about the fireside and have been handed down in the French families to our own day. Their place in the recreation of a summer evening is charmingly described by an English traveler. The inhabitants "were all in groups outside their doors, the women at work, the children at play, and the men performing music, singing songs or telling stories. . . . Nearly every house had its group and every group its guitar, fiddler (!), storyteller or singer. As the evening advanced and the heat diminished, walking commenced, and towards midnight the music of the village united, the little world crowded to the spot and danced with infinite gaiety and mirth till past one in the morning."

All these lively and decorous amusements promoted considerateness, refined manners, geniality, humor, and general good-fellowship. The women especially were said by one who had lived in the French settlements, to have been "remarkable for the grace and elegance of their manners and the sprightliness of their conversation". Brackenridge's account of the Sunday dance implies that rich and poor associated on terms of democratic equality, hard to conceive at the present day. A sort of family spirit pervaded the whole village. "Nearly all of them being related, blood binds them to maintain the fast friendship and harmony which has
always existed among them.” The attitude of the commandant helped still more to maintain this friendly spirit. He was more a father than a mere civil functionary and managed always to bring to an amicable settlement the disagreements which arose among the inhabitants.

It must not be imagined that the women meekly accepted a completely subordinate and passive function in this democratic society. They were virtuous and affectionate wives but would not consent to “be considered secondary personages in the matrimonial association. The advice of the wife is taken on all-important, as well as less weighty, concerns; and she generally decides.”

The temper of these people was typically French; but they had retained a serenity which the people of old France had lost under stress of the scepticism, the dissatisfaction and the revolutionary excitement of the eighteenth century. This “paisibilité” induced a certain mildness, softness and not unpleasant lack of animation in their use of language. They had a tendency to drawl and had adopted the corruptions,—such as “aujourd'hui” for “aujourd'hui,”—which were current in Canada. They had also coined new words and retained others which had become obsolete in France.

Their education at best was but rudimentary. Very few people acquired more than reading, writing and a little arithmetic; and not all of them even as much as this. There is of course no means of estimating the extent of illiteracy in Sainte Genevieve at that day; but we learn from the registers of the parish that quite a fair number of people could at least write their names. Out of about a hundred people who witnessed the records of baptisms in 1802, more than thirty were able to sign them. Perrin du Lac exaggerates considerably when he says that one could hardly find two persons in the village capable of witnessing and signing legal documents. Nor was it true that the inhabitants were perfectly content to live in a state of crass ignorance. Only four years after
the transfer of Louisiana to the United States young Louis Vallé successfully completed his course at West Point; and six years later than that another young man of Sainte Genevieve, Henri Pratte, finished his theological studies and was ordained to the priesthood at Montreal. Naturally the low standard of education and the easy-going habits of the people in general did not encourage original literary composition, or the cultivation of art. Still it must be said that their wills, their petitions and their letters are not without grace and energy of expression.24

If the indictment of Piernas was correct, the morals of the people of Sainte Genevieve must have improved considerably after they obtained a settled pastor. No doubt the boatmen and the wandering hunters and traders caroused and disturbed the peace as long as they continued to spend their periods of leisure in the settlement. Even among the permanent residents there were of course backsliders who were a source of scandal. Indeed the evidence of the baptismal registers is at first sight very damaging. But if we take into consideration the nature of the floating population, set aside the misconduct of a few well-to-do rakes and remember the presence of ignorant negro slaves, of poor degraded Indians and of lawless prowlers from the American territory, the moral character of the average French resident is pretty well redeemed.

The people of Sainte Genevieve were in fact praised by Brackenridge in the words, “They were all exemplary Catholics.” “I do not believe,” said Governor Reynolds of Illinois, “that there has ever been a more devout people than these primitive French.” If these expressions seem to us unduly strong, we can at least believe that the French villagers generally were decent, upright and religious people.25

All the French creoles of upper Louisiana have been commended for their punctuality, truthfulness and great honesty. Not only did citizens of Sainte Genevieve show
themselves indifferent to opportunities for safe official peculation, they even refused to profit by the increased values of their property during the early years of the American regime. "After the United States had acquired Louisiana, and lands and lots increased wonderfully in value, they often ratified and confirmed the verbal contracts of their ancestors, although legally they could not be compelled to do so." Their failure to pursue their own financial advantage was due rather to a high minded disdain of pelf than to indolence and lack of thrift.

This fine integrity of spirit made them uneasy when in debt and caused them to abhor litigation. They were more sensitive than other people to the disgrace attaching to the punishment of crime. Naturally then "in no country were aggravated crimes more rare than in Louisiana." But their law-abiding conduct was not based on servility and fear. They were educated to obedience and reverence for law and to habitual respect for men in power.  

Brackenridge gives us a picture of himself receiving instructions in morals at the knee of his French foster mother. It might have been duplicated, we may be sure, in many other homes in the village. "Madame Beauvais caused me every night to kneel by her side, to say my pater noster and credo, and then whispered those gentle admonitions which sink deep into the heart. To the good seed thus early sown I may ascribe any growth of virtue in a soil that might otherwise have produced only noxious weeds."

Moral character was thus developed in close connection with religion which was its ultimate motive and sanction. As a matter of fact, with no concern for politics, no degrading amusements, no bitter social rivalries, no hard and heartless lust of gain, these villagers gave their interest and devotion to affairs of religion to an extent, we are told, which can not be imagined by one who has not lived in a Catholic community with a like simplicity of outlook.
The parish now enjoyed the ministrations of a steady succession of good pastors. Mass, vespers, processions, the solemn celebration of great feasts, the administration of the sacraments and religious instructions were regularly provided. The ceremonies of Holy Week were duly carried out; and they gave rise to a quaint custom which is still followed in the parish. At the Gloria of the Mass on Holy Thursday, the bells were silenced as the rubrics of the Missal prescribe (they took their flight to Rome, it was said), and wooden rattles called rick-racks were used in place of them during Mass. This is of course a general usage; but in Saint Genevieve the altar boys still call the congregation to services by marching around the Church square three times rattling their rick-racks and calling out “Premier coup” (first bell), “deuxième coup” and “dernier coup.”

The priests, it is true, were sometimes absent on missionary duty at neighboring churches but at such times funerals were conducted by the chanter or by the sacristan and beadle. They or the chief church-warden seem also to have called the congregation together for public prayer and conducted the service when the priest was absent. François Marc held the office of sacristan and beadle during these latter years of the old regime. François Corset held the office of chanter of the parish for many years. “By his virtues and good services he had the general respect of the church-wardens and inhabitants of the parish.” He died in January, 1798, and was buried beneath the Church.

We shall not understand the character of these French pioneers, unless we appreciate the profound effect which religion had on their lives. It was not merely a matter of ceremonial usage and occasional public worship. They accepted their Catholic faith as an established fact demanding submission of the intellect and will. Yet they were not bigoted or superstitious. Their system of belief gave them an uplifting philosophy of life which sustained them in their cheerful contented outlook. Sin
is sin, they knew, and God is not to be mocked; but they
did not believe that human nature is wholly depraved and
that all enjoyment is sinful. The Mass, the Eucharist
and the Corpus Christi procession lit up their homely
surroundings with unearthly beauty and dignified their
isolation with a joyous sense of God's presence in their
midst. The veneration of the Blessed Virgin kept before
them an attractive ideal of personal morality, which has
steadied and inspired the best spirits throughout the
Christian ages. Pastors came among them from Canada,
from France, from Germany, from Ireland and Spain and
ministered to Indians, negroes and whites and brought a
liberalizing consciousness of brotherhood with their
fellow Catholics all over the world under the fatherhood
of the Pope. The passage of the years did not sound
gloomy funeral marches to the grave; for paradise was
in prospect at the end of their days.

Let us not make their story too idyllic. The visitors
who praised them, saw failings to condemn. To one they
seemed to have been born without ambitions or desires.
Without either learning or the desire to learn, their
young people lived in the most crass ignorance of the
very things which touched their dearest interests.
Brought up pell mell with the young savages they
acquired their tastes, their habits and particularly their
indolence. He could discover in them no quality except
good fellowship. To another they were devoid of public
spirit, of enterprise or ingenuity and were indolent and
uninformed. Of political subjects they were as ignorant
as children are of life and manners. To the French of
Louisiana in general Collot was willing to concede forti-
tude and persevering energy in following out difficult
projects; but he considered them ignorant, superstitious
and stubborn, indolent, lazy and drunken.28

Dismissing his accusations of superstition, which was
denied by one who knew the people better, and of drunk-
keness, which, so far as Sainte Genevieve is concerned,
seems to be contradicted by the whole tenor of our avail-
able evidence, we may reduce this body of charges to two—indolence and ignorance. It is probable enough that the serene character of these villagers was baffling to men like Victor Collot and Perrin du Lac whose minds and hearts had been kindled at the tempestuous fires of the French Revolution. But the fact remains that the deficiencies of which they stand accused, are not admirable.

The impulse to acquire knowledge and the desire to extend man’s dominion over the forces of nature, unquestionably have a sacred character. And yet the question is, which one of us can afford to cast the first stone. We have learned to look on these ambitions differently from the ardent romanticists and revolutionaries of the early nineteenth century. Our experience with the results of their industry and their thought has not been altogether happy. The irrepressible initiative which developed our commerce and multiplied our comforts, has sentenced millions of our city dwellers to a servitude more dismal than that of the negro slave of old Sainte Genevieve. The lives of many of the very pioneers of industry were so cruel, so dishonest and so illiberal that one of their own associates could say that he would not care to meet most of them again in this world or any other. The wide dissemination of information has not always led to happiness and power. It has left the mental life of great multitudes as benighted as that of the ignorant pioneer. Much of our knowledge is simply irrelevant to our greatest spiritual concerns. Much speculation of which we boast as searching, energetic and brave, leaves men bewildered about their own nature and the purpose of life.

Few of us would have the courage to turn back the clock; but still something can be said on the side of the old French pioneers. It must not be thought that they belonged to the class of those who have been called “white trash.” They were not so indolent as to risk destitution. There was no beggary among them; and in
two hundred years no one in their village has ever starved. They worked for a subsistence and with this they were content. They had in fact solved the problems which uplifters are trying to solve for the masses of our modern world; they had found leisure and had learned to use it. A reasonable number of them appear to have been engaging personalities. Their lives were not grim and wretched. They impressed one intelligent observer as “apparently the happiest people on the globe”. Priests and laymen of interesting mentality who had seen something of the world, came to settle among them. Their religion gave them lofty and encouraging ideas to ponder, to love and to enjoy. They looked at the landscape and the stars and thought not of cash values or mathematical formulae, but of God. And as death drew near they could serenely bid one another, good night and a merry eternity. They missed many of the fruits of inquisitiveness and ambition which would have increased their material and intellectual wealth and which we of all men can not pretend to despise. But since they were as happy as we are, if not happier, they might have told us that all this was a world well lost.
VII
THE YEARS OF CHANGE

The transfer of Louisiana to Spain had left Sainte Genevieve to all intents a French village. This character was to survive the next great political change for a number of years; but in the end its language, its homely simplicity and most of its quaint customs gave way before the new influences. Louisiana was ceded back to France by the Treaty of San Ildefonso, October 1, 1800, but France did not take formal possession until this territory had been sold to the United States. It was only on March 9, 1804, some four months after the articles of transfer had been ratified by Congress, that the French colors were flown for a short time over the fort in St. Louis. A salute was then fired. The fort was delivered to the Americans under Captain Amos Stoddard, and the flag of the United States was raised over the fort in place of the French tricolor.

There was a small riot at Mine à Breton in the district of Sainte Genevieve, some slight disorder at Cape Girardeau, and considerable anger and grief at New Madrid. No other unfriendly demonstration accompanied the transfer; although it is said that the French inhabitants were grieved at the passing of the old order and that Lieutenant Governor De Lassus was heart-broken. De Lassus under orders from the Spanish government recalled all official records except those which concerned the cession of the land and "the fortune and interest of these inhabitants." When he stopped at Sainte Genevieve on his journey down the river he is thought to have met Governor William Henry Harrison, of Indiana, to whose jurisdiction the territory of Upper Louisiana had been annexed and who was certainly there about this time. François Vallé had died on March 6, 1804, before the United States had formally taken over the new territory. Harrison appointed his brother, Jean
The Old Church (1837-1880)
Felix Vallé House
Baptiste, civil commandant of the town. Jean Baptiste Vallé is said to have held the judicial powers of this office until his own death in 1840. He was remembered by Mrs. J. F. St. James (Elizabeth Sargeant), as an old gentleman of cultured and courteous manners who wore a cocked hat, knee breeches and an old-fashioned coat with broad cuffs,—altogether a striking memorial of the ancient regime.

Captain Stoddard, while retaining his command of the American troops at Saint Louis, had been put in charge of the civil affairs of Upper Louisiana. He issued commissions to the civil commandants, and reorganized the militia. Major Seth Hunt was put in command of the post of Sainte Genevieve.

In 1807 serious difficulties with England began to occur, and the militia was newly organized. The next year Meriwether Lewis, who had been appointed governor of the new territory of Upper Louisiana, ordered the enlistment of several bodies of troops. In Sainte Genevieve there were two battalions of infantry and two troops of light cavalry under Captains Bibb and Whitely. In 1809 the quota of troops to be supplied by the district was seventy-seven men. When the war of 1812 broke out the militia was increased and put into regular service under Brigadier General Dodge of Sainte Genevieve; and the first United States recruiting office west of the Mississippi was opened in the town by Captain O. Allen. The place became the rendezvous for enlisted men during the war. The actual engagements were fought against the Indians mostly north of the Missouri River. The troops of Sainte Genevieve County made up the second regiment which was composed of two battalions of four and three companies, respectively. The names of the officers reflect the changing character of the population. Although a few French names occur among them the great majority are American.¹

The French had a somewhat better representation on the bench, but the personnel of the Court of Common
Pleas and Quarter Sessions, organized in Sainte Genevieve in December, 1804, shows that here too the older occupants of the territory were losing influence to the more aggressive immigrants from the eastern States. When Henry Brackenridge came back to Sainte Genevieve in 1811 to practice in the court he was not favorably impressed with its atmosphere.

It was presided over by "two judges unlearned in the law." "There were some things which grated harshly on my feelings. On the first day of the term I remarked the number of armed people about me,—some with pistols behind them under their coats; nearly all with dirks peeping from their bosoms; even the judges on the bench had their pistols and atagahns by their sides! What a state of society! thought I. On inquiry, I found that the blood and slaughter was less than might be expected from the belligerent attitude of everyone—perhaps for the very reason that all were armed."

The newcomers in the district, who were pretty largely responsible for this reversion to barbaric manners, did not represent the best element in the American States. Unlike the peaceful French colonists they were mostly adventurers and desperadoes. About the mines especially were to be met "some of the rudest and most savage of the uncivilized portion of civilized society." They lived "almost in a state of nature;" and "perpetual wrangles and many bloody quarrels took place about their natural rights. . . From necessity they had to adopt a code of laws defining in very rude manner their respective rights and privileges, but these were mostly sullied by the arbitrament of the bludgeon, the fist, the dirk or rifle."

One picturesque character among them was Colonel John Smith T, as he called himself, who possessed most of the characteristic virtues and vices of the old robber barons. He was hospitable and kindly towards inoffensive strangers; but he regarded an appeal to pistols and rifles as "the rational way"—the phrase is his own,—of settling differences among gentlemen. Among his slaves
were two of the best gunsmiths in the whole district. Smith T had more than one notch on the stock of his musket.  

The Americans were evidently far more "jealous in honor" and "sudden and quick in quarrel" than the French of the old settlements. They were the principals of most of the historic duels of early Missouri. On October 1, 1811, a duel was fought on Moreau's Island opposite Sainte Genevieve, by Dr. Walter Fenwick and Thomas T. Crittenden, a young lawyer from Kentucky. Dr. Fenwick was mortally wounded at the first exchange of shots. Their quarrel had grown out of a lawsuit at Sainte Genevieve in which Crittenden successfully defended a client against a charge of slander made by Fenwick's brother, Ezekiel. It is said that this duel, together with the New Madrid earthquake and a comet which appeared during the same year, had a very disturbing effect on the people of the old town. Five years later a duel at sight took place on the steps of the territorial courthouse at Sainte Genevieve between William McArthur and Auguste de Mun, a native of France and son of one of the founders of New Bourbon.

What has been said of the desperate character of some of the American pioneers in southeastern Missouri, does not of course apply to all of them. Men of distinguished character and ability began to take their places in the old settlements. The family of Israel Dodge had come from Vincennes to Kaskaskia and then, as we have observed, to Sainte Genevieve during the Spanish Regime. It was Israel Dodge who raised the flag of the United States over Sainte Genevieve at the time of the transfer of Louisiana. His son, Henry, rose from the position of Sheriff of Sainte Genevieve County to be United States Senator from Wisconsin.

In 1815 Dr. Louis F. Linn, a physician and the half brother of Henry Dodge, came to Sainte Genevieve from Louisville, Kentucky, where he had been born nineteen years before. He spent some fifteen years here in the
practice of his profession. In 1830 he was elected State Senator from the Sainte Genevieve district. Two years later he was appointed to the commission to settle the Spanish and French land grants. In 1833 he was appointed by Governor Dunklin to fill the unexpired term of United States Senator, Alexander Buckner, and was twice reelected. He was a man of handsome appearance, fine manners and great powers of speech. His sterling integrity of character won for him the complete confidence of his associates in the Senate. He died suddenly in Sainte Genevieve in 1843; and over his remains in the Protestant cemetery was erected a monument bearing the inscription: “Here lie the remains of Lewis F. Linn the model Senator of Missouri.”

The first lawyer who settled in Sainte Genevieve was that picturesque character John Scott. Born in Hanover County, Virginia, in 1785, he was graduated at Princeton and removed with his parents first to Pennsylvania and then to Vincennes, Indiana. He read law under Governor William Henry Harrison and received from him a license to practice in the courts. After coming to Sainte Genevieve in 1805, he acquired a reputation by his defense of John Smith T, and built up a lucrative practice following the circuits. His speech was vigorous, logical and concise and was abundantly punctuated with “genteel” profanity.

He may have been one of those who shocked Brackenridge by appearing armed in the court-room, for he is said to have always carried a dirk and a pistol. Scott became a member of the Territorial Legislature and was one of the framers of the State Constitution. As delegate from the territory of Missouri he presented to Congress the petition of the inhabitants for admission as a State (January, 1818). After Missouri was admitted to the Union, Scott became its first Congressman. In the contested presidential election of 1828, he incurred the enmity of Senator Benton by voting for John Quincy Adams and thus brought his political career to an end.
He then returned to Sainte Genevieve and carried on his legal practice until his death in June, 1861. John Rice Jones, another member of the constitutional convention of Missouri and afterwards a judge of the State supreme court, also came to Sainte Genevieve to practice law some time after the transfer of Louisiana. He later removed to Washington County.4

The political organization of Upper Louisiana was also a matter of interest and concern to the pastor of Sainte Genevieve. The Spanish priests of Upper and Lower Louisiana were invited by the Spanish officials to withdraw when Louisiana was ceded to the United States. Twenty-two of the twenty-six did so; and Lieutenant Governor De Lassus expected Father Maxwell to leave with the others. But he was probably still vicar general and the responsibility of his position may have decided him to remain. Perhaps he was influenced by more mundane considerations. His Irish colony had been begun and the immigrants had claims on him. Besides as we have observed he had a deep interest in public affairs and may have wished to take his part in the development of the country.

Father Maxwell had evidently planned his colony on a large scale. The parcels of land which he acquired for it, totaled about 130,000 arpents, or approximately 110,000 acres. The largest grant 116,896 arpents, between the Black and Current Rivers, mostly in Reynolds County, was made by De Lassus, November 3, 1799. The smallest 290 arpents, on the Gaboury Creek, was probably obtained for his personal use. Maxwell's Hill to the north of Sainte Genevieve must have been part of this allotment. Three other tracts of some thousands of arpents each were claimed by him. One of these was near the present town of St. Marys, the other two near the St. François River. Whether Father Maxwell's titles to these large holdings were confirmed by the Government of the United States, is not certain; in fact, it is doubtful whether he ever applied for a validation. His heirs
received several small sums for quit-claim deeds: but neither they nor the diocese of St. Louis were able to obtain legal possession of the land. It was afterwards sold by the government to new settlers.

It is evident from this that the colony was never fully developed. In his petition of October 15, 1799, Father Maxwell states that several settlers had already come from Ireland and that many others, including members of his own family were on the way. Some of them were actually settled on the large tract and were remembered later by other old inhabitants as being "very ignorant of the way to get along in a new country." This was to be expected in view of the conditions then prevailing among the peasantry in Ireland. A store which the proprietor of the colony had built for them proved to be a great convenience to the neighboring settlers who were thus spared the trouble of a thirty-five mile trip. With the colony itself, it came to an end at the time of the priest's death in 1814.

Father Maxwell was very well thought of by his new fellow citizens of American birth. One of them has described him as a well-informed liberal gentleman: another as a "learned and practical Irish Catholic priest." His patriotic interest in the development of Missouri did not pass without recognition. When the government of the territory was organized, its first House of Representatives presented to President Jefferson the names of eighteen candidates for membership in the Legislative Council. Among the nine members chosen by the President was Father Maxwell, who at the first session of the Council on January 19, 1814, was elected its presiding officer.

Four years previously when he was sixty-eight, Father Maxwell had complained of feeling the effects of old age and infirmities. Before the Legislative Council could assemble for its second session he had met his death. One Saturday afternoon, May 28, 1814, when he had finished hearing confessions in his church, he mounted
his horse to return to his home in New Bourbon. "The animal shied and jumped across the road, throwing him against the fence. He was borne into the house of Mrs. La Porte, close by, where he died during the night." Two days later his remains were buried under the church by Father Francis Savine of Cahokia. During the next sixteen months the parish was visited occasionally by the saintly Father Donatien Olivier of Prairie du Rocher.5

Father Maxwell's conduct as a priest has met with some severe criticism. The French physician, Paul Alliot, who visited Sainte Genevieve about 1802, declares that, "although the city is rich enough and large enough to support a priest, yet it does not have any." Obviously Father Maxwell was not much in evidence about the place. Brackenridge wrote that when he returned to the village about 1811, "the good curate St. Pierre had gone to Lower Louisiana, his place being supplied by an Irish priest who took more pleasure in his dog and gun than in the celebration of mass for his flock." This impression probably reflected the sentiments of the Beauvais family and other friends of Brackenridge, who had been on more intimate terms with Father de St. Pierre. Many years later the old lady whose reminiscences we have noticed above, asserted that during her childhood Father Maxwell resided in New Bourbon and visited Sainte Genevieve only about once a month to hear confessions. Father Rosati's commendation of Father Pratte for renewing piety in the country, may perhaps imply some criticism of Father Maxwell's pastoral solicitude.

In 1810 a more vigorous attack was made on the good name of Father Maxwell. Father Stephen Badin, pioneer missionary of Kentucky and the first native American priest, wrote to Archbishop Carroll to urge the appointment of a bishop for the territory of Missouri. "Many causes demand" it, among them the shortcomings of the pastor of Sainte Genevieve. He reenforces his plea with a remonstrance against Father Maxwell and a
petition for his removal. It was signed by forty-three persons, twelve of whom, Father Badin admitted, were unknown to him, and seven others not much entitled to esteem. Father Maxwell appended the comment that one of the petitioners had lately been arraigned in court for larceny and the leader of the group was a hypocrite who had brought up his children without the love and fear of God.

Archbishop Carroll wrote to Father Maxwell to acquaint him with the accusation and to notify him that he had appointed, or intended to appoint, Father Badin to look into the grounds of the charges. His letter has not come to light, so we do not know how far he had proceeded or what the charges were. At all events, the accused defended himself with vigor. He felt that he had been made a stalking horse in this project to secure a bishop. The real object, as shown by a previous attempt, was to remove him so that Father Badin might get his parish. Twenty-four of the signers were in fact former parishioners of the latter in Kentucky. None of them belonged to the congregation of Sainte Genevieve, and they could know but little of its pastor's conduct.

Father Maxwell respectfully but energetically declined to have his actions inquired into by one who had such a personal interest in the matter. "I consider him judge and party; I should always object to him as a judge in either an ecclesiastical or civil tribunal in a case of mine." He went on to state that he would desist from exercising pastoral duties in Sainte Genevieve, Saint Louis, Saint Charles and Saint Ferdinand, "all of which churches I have attended since the evacuation of the country by the Spanish government." He evidently, however, changed his mind since the records show that he continued to act as pastor of Sainte Genevieve until his death.

Father Maxwell, as we have seen, made his home at New Bourbon two miles away from his church. The arrangement was not a desirable one; he was probably not often to be seen at his church or about the village.
Sometimes too he must have made the journey of ninety miles to the site of his colony. On such a trip through unsettled country one would naturally take a dog and gun. To say nothing of his important secular activities, the care of his other parishes must have occupied him much. He was sometimes the only priest in the extensive territory of eastern Missouri. He was at Saint Ferdinand (Florissant), as we know, on May 16, 1806, and for several days in 1808 and 1809. Several times during 1806 and 1807 he said mass at the home of Joseph Tucker for the colony of Catholic Kentuckians in Perry County; and when a church was built by them in 1812, Father Maxwell blessed it and returned to serve the congregation in 1813. Occasionally he attended the settlements at New Madrid, Cape Girardeau, Saint Michael’s, Potosi and Old Mines. The statement quoted above that he visited Sainte Genevieve once a month for confessions is perhaps misleading. Baptisms, funerals and marriages are recorded at frequent, if irregular intervals and the pastor must have said Sunday mass at Sainte Genevieve when he was not ministering to congregations elsewhere.6

Father Maxwell was evidently zealous and energetic in the discharge of his principal priestly duties; but he was probably too aristocratic and exclusive in his tastes and too much inclined to neglect the close personal care of the spiritual concerns of his people and to let abuses run.

As a matter of fact, the spiritual condition of the parish at the time of his death was not good. Bishop Flaget of Bardstown, who was now administrator of the diocese of Louisiana, was not a little shocked at the situation when he came to Sainte Genevieve in September, 1814, to give a mission. He was, it is true, “received with the same pomp as if I had been in Paris;” but he exclaims, “My God, how much this visit was wanting here!” The church and presbytery had been thoroughly repaired in preparation for his coming, but only a month before they had been about to collapse. Scandalous living was not
unknown in the town. A number of Catholics had joined a Masonic lodge. Some of the oldest and richest inhabitants had not been to the sacraments for twenty, forty and even fifty years. Abstinence was observed but once a year on Good Friday.

Bishop Flaget went to work with the spirit of a Savonarola. He preached with such force that he brought the worst offenders to their knees and even astonished himself. For several days he and Father Olivier spent nine hours daily hearing confessions. Before the mission was over six hundred persons had received confirmation. He would tolerate no nonsense in the practice of religion. Not content with ordinary Christian virtues, he inculcated ascetical ideals. He spoke against dancing especially on Sundays. So many young women converted their earrings into crosses that the goldsmith was kept busy; and the bishop himself had to bless them every day by the dozen. The change which had taken place was almost miraculous. "Disposed as the people are now," the bishop wrote, "a prudent and zealous priest would lead them at his will; but that is just what is wanting."

Such a priest as the bishop desired was about to present himself in the person of Father Henri Pratte, the first native son of Louisiana to be raised to the priesthood. He was the son of Jean Baptiste Sylvestre du Prat and his second wife, Therese Billeron, and was born in Sainte Genevieve, January 19, 1788. His father, a descendant of Gabriel du Prat of Rochelle, France, had run away from an oppressive uncle and guardian in his native Canada, had changed his name and had come to Sainte Genevieve some time after 1750. Henri seems to have received his primary education in a Sisters' school in Montreal. From this institution he passed into the Sulpician seminary there. He was ordained in 1815 and at once offered himself to Bishop Flaget to serve the parish in his native town. The bishop no doubt was only too happy to fill the vacant post with such a promising young priest.
Father Pratte went to work in Sainte Genevieve in October, 1815. One of his first cares was the preparation of young people for first communion. He took personal charge of their religious instruction and gave it "great attention." Some time later he petitioned the bishop for a Christian Brother to teach school and was fortunate enough to get three instead of only one. His efforts to obtain teaching Sisters were not so successful.

Father Pratte seems to have had a natural flair for building. His congregation had outgrown the old log church, so he provided more room by building a new sacristy and making the old one into a sanctuary. A new roof and new flooring and plastering insured the building for some twenty years more of service. Thomas Ashe, who visited the town in 1806, has left us a description of its altar. "Its fronton," he says, "is brass gilt and enriched in medio-relievo representing the Religious of the world, diffusing the benefits of the gospel over the new world. In the middle of the altar, there is crucifix of brass gilt, and underneath it a copy of a picture by Rafael, representing the Madonna and Child, St. Elizabeth and St. John. In a second group there is a St. Joseph, all perfectly well drawn and colored. The action, beauty and grace of the Virgin is beyond description and the little Jesus and St. John are charming." The first picture is still in Sainte Genevieve.

In 1817 Father Pratte was sent to Saint Louis to prepare the dilapidated church and presbytery for the coming of Bishop du Bourg. During his absence of three and a half months, his parishioners had the honor of being served by the saintly Vincentian, Father Felix de Andreis, whose cause of beatification is now before the Holy See. Father Pratte also built a church at Saint Michael's (Fredericktown), and another at Old Mines, sixty miles northwest of Sainte Genevieve. On his journeys to the latter mission, he probably spent the night and said mass at a halting place on the way where the settlement of Petit Canada, or French Village, grew up.
Besides busying himself with such undertakings, the young pastor proved a friend in need to the new community of Vincentians in Perry County. His letters to the priests there, most of them are addressed to Father Rosati, treat of financial transactions, of the handling of mail and of purchases of clothing, utensils, furniture and provisions. His home also served as a stopping place for priests and students on their way to and from the seminary at "the Barrens."8

When Bishop du Bourg came to St. Louis in 1818, it was not as a mere visitor. The appointment of a bishop to Upper Louisiana had, as we have seen, been spoken of as a necessity by the French missionaries in Kentucky as many as eight years before. Father du Bourg had been sent to New Orleans in 1812 as Administrator Apostolic of Louisiana and the two Floridas, and three years later had gone to Europe in the interests of his diocese. There he was appointed and consecrated bishop. Religious disturbances in New Orleans and other considerations induced him to petition the Holy See to allow him to make his residence in Saint Louis, and to suggest dismembering his diocese and leaving him in the North.

In the meantime Bishop Flaget had been urging the appointment of a bishop to Saint Louis. In February, 1816, he notified the people of Upper Louisiana that before the end of the year they were to have a resident bishop either at Sainte Genevieve or at Saint Louis, and prescribed the preparations they were to make to receive him. "It would not be out of place," he goes on to say, "to discuss the question where it would be more advantageous to erect the episcopal see, at Saint Louis or at Sainte Genevieve. . . . I am determined to oppose with all my power the selection of Saint Louis, if it be true what has been written to me, that a theatre was opened there, which must neutralize the efforts of even the most zealous and most holy bishop."

But the place of the new bishop's abode had been put beyond discussion, although some months were still to
pass before he set out from Europe for Saint Louis. The people of Sainte Genevieve had the honor of solemnly receiving him into his diocese on December 31, 1818. Forty mounted citizens met him at the steamboat landing and escorted him to the rectory; and the whole community, Catholics and Protestants together, heard his discourse in the Church. The next day he celebrated his first pontifical mass. On January 5 he was welcomed in Saint Louis. We may hope that Father Pratte had made the rectory fairly habitable. But the poor old “cathedral” was beyond repair. The bishop himself wrote that it looked like a stable and was falling to pieces; and Father de Andreis complained that the “miserable log-cabin” was open to every wind that blew.9

The young pastor of Sainte Genevieve returned to his parish at the end of January. Before the end of the year, on All Saints’ Day in fact, his congregation had the unusual privilege of witnessing the solemn and beautiful ceremonies of ordination in their own church. Bishop du Bourg raised to the priesthood, Hercules Brassac, who later became vicar general to Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati. Francis Xavier Dahmen, the successor of Father Pratte, was ordained deacon; and Leo Deys and Casto Gonzalez subdeacons. One candidate received minor orders and one the tonsure. All of these young clerics were students in the seminary at the Barrens who had been recruited by the bishop himself on his recent visit to Europe.

At the close of the year another mission was given in the parish by Father Niel of Saint Louis and Father Desmoulins of Kaskaskia. Father Pratte’s solicitude for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the townspeople won for him their gratitude and affection. He was an honored guest at every social gathering and was asked to stand as godfather for ninety per cent of the children he baptized.10

An amusing incident reflects his interest in the everyday concerns of his relatives and friends. At this time
the handkerchief worn on the head by the creole women, was going out of fashion, and the use of a lace cap was coming in. It is said that Father Pratte’s sister found the old-fashioned headgear more comfortable and refused to conform to the new mode. Her brother liked to see her smartly dressed and did not believe in being the last to lay the old aside. They could not come to an agreement; and yet it would not do to annoy the beloved pastor. So the worthy lady instructed a shrill-voiced slave to give a warning whenever Monsieur le Curé came in sight. The handkerchief came off; the little piece of lace was adjusted; and the call passed pleasantly with crullers and wine.

In July, 1822, Father Pratte excused himself from joining the Vincentian Fathers in keeping the feast of their founder, St. Vincent de Paul. There was an epidemic in the settlements; and he was being summoned to the bedsides of great numbers of people who were ill at Sainte Genevieve and Kaskaskia. Early in the following month, he himself was stricken. After an illness of three weeks, he died on September 1, 1822, and was buried by Fathers Olivier and Rosati beneath the sanctuary of the church. For its wistful beauty his epitaph by Rosati deserves to be given in the original French.

MODÈLE DE CHARITÉ
ET DE TOUTES LES VERTUES SACERDOTALES
SI SA MORT FUT LE COMMENCEMENT
DE SON BONHEUR DANS LE CIEL
CELLE LAISSA SUR LA TERRE
DES REGRETS PLUS DURABLE
QUE LE MARBRE QUI LE COUVRE.

In the days of Fathers Maxwell and Pratte, Sainte Genevieve was still one of the “rising towns” of the territory,—“a fine flourishing town,” says Ogden, who visited it about 1822. The Reverend Timothy Flint, Bachelor of Arts of Harvard, had been pleased with his visit a few years before. “In this place,” he writes, “we
were introduced to amiable and polished people, and saw a town evidencing the possession of a considerable degree of refinement. . . . Here we first see the French mode of constructing houses and forming a village. The greater proportion of the houses have mud walls whitened with lime, which have much the most pleasant appearance at a distance. . . . Here French is the predominant language. Traces too of their regard for their worship begin to be seen. You see the Catholic Church. On the ridges of the houses or over the gates you frequently see the wooden cross.”

The town was being outstripped by Saint Louis; but business was still very active and growing. Jean Baptiste Vallé was one of the leading operators of the lead mines; and “Sainte Genevieve lead” was shipped to considerable distances and sold at great profits. Nearly all the citizens were said to be interested in the lead industry or employed in it in some way. Salt and flour were also important articles of export. The town is said to have imported British goods and French and West Indian produce and to have had eight or ten stores.

The Green Tree Tavern deserves a bit of notice. It stood on the road to New Bourbon outside the new village near the south fork of the Gabouri. The building was erected by François Janis in 1791 and some years later was converted into a hotel. Later on it was purchased by Matthew Ziegler, some of whose descendants still occupy it. In 1806 the English traveler, Thomas Ashe, found accommodation there. “I heard the bells of the Catholic Church ring for vespers long before I entered the town. I did not wander from the peal but rode on with speed and animation, and put up at an inn which had strong indications of comfort. I was by no means disappointed; the landlord, a lively Frenchman, looked after my horses and his wife made me a cup of coffee with as much perfection as ever I drank at the Palais Royale or at the foot of Pont Neuf.”
Among the prominent merchants were Robert Brown, the founder of Perryville, Rene le Meillieur, Ferdinand Rozier, William Shannon and Louis Vallé. The coming of Rozier to Sainte Genevieve is interesting. Born at Nantes in Brittany, he was in the French navy in 1802. At the end of his term of service he met John James Audubon in his native city of Nantes. They formed a mercantile partnership, came to America in 1807 and kept store in Louisville and Henderson, Kentucky.

“Birds were birds,” says Audubon, “then as now, and my thoughts were ever and anon turning toward them as the objects of my greatest delight. I shot, I drew, I looked on Nature only. . . . I seldom passed a day without drawing a bird or noting something respecting its habits, Rozier meantime attending to the counter.”

When business became slack in Kentucky, they decided to remove to Sainte Genevieve, packed their goods, which included three hundred barrels of whiskey, on a keel boat and started down the Ohio. Audubon relieved the monotony of the journey by hunting and by sketching birds, beasts, and Indians. When they had traveled as far up the Mississippi as the Tywappity Bottom below Cape Girardeau, the weather turned cold and they were obliged to go into camp for the rest of the winter. Audubon was in his element. He roamed the woods, exploring, observing, and sketching. But to the more practical-minded Rozier, this delay meant a loss of time and profit. His sorrow, says Audubon, was too great to be described. “Wrapped in his blanket, like a squirrel in winter quarters with his tail about his nose, he slept and dreamed away his time, being seldom seen except at meals.”

Early in the spring the river opened; and the two merchants moved on to Sainte Genevieve, sold their whiskey at a handsome profit and opened another store. We may suppose that there again Rozier attended the counter. After a few months Audubon sold his share in the business, engaged in one or two more unsuccessful
ventures and then set out in good earnest on his travels to gather material for his famous "Birds of America." About four years later his partner married Constance Roy, a descendant of one of the early settlers. They raised a family of ten children and both lived to an advanced age. Rozier became a very prosperous merchant. He left his business in Sainte Genevieve to his son, Francis. It has continued in existence to the present day; and so is one of the oldest business organizations in Missouri with an unbroken tradition.14

Another prominent business man of the period was Edward Walsh, who came to Sainte Genevieve from Ireland in 1818 and at once opened a steam mill—no doubt one of the first of its kind there—which he continued to operate for eight years. He finally settled in Saint Louis and amassed a fortune in railroads, steamboating and many other interests. After the death of his first wife, Mary Tucker, he married Isabella De Mun, the granddaughter of one of the pioneers of New Bourbon. They were the parents of Edward and Julius Walsh, in their turn very prominent business men and citizens of Saint Louis.

Steamboating, we may remark, began during the period we have been describing. The "General Pike" came to Saint Louis in August, 1817. Most of the inhabitants of that city lined the shore to see her come in; and we may be certain that many of the people of Sainte Genevieve also trudged to their own landing to see the wonder of the age pass by.15

We have heard from Brackenridge that there was no physician in the old village in the early nineties. Bernard Gibkin, or Gebken, "a German surgeon in the place," had died in February, 1783. The funeral register of the parish records the burial of "Jean Baptiste Lafont, a physician aged forty," on February 19, 1790. He was perhaps a younger brother or a son of the man who had assisted Clark in the capture of Vincennes. The latter Lafont is said to have died at New Madrid.
In the early years of the nineteenth century there were several medical men in the town. Doctor Walter Fenwick began the practice of medicine there about 1804. At nearly the same time came Dr. Aaron Elliot of Connecticut, who is said to have been a descendant of John Eliot, the Puritan "Apostle of the Indians." Lewis F. Linn and Henry Lane were associated in medical practice from 1815. Doctor Linn followed his profession in Sainte Genevieve until he was appointed to the United States Senate in 1833.16

The year before the death of Father Pratte, a newspaper was established by Thomas Foley and was called the "Sainte Genevieve Correspondent and Record." It continued to appear for three years. This project is an indication of the changing spirit of the people. The romantic days of the hardy explorers, the restless traders and the carefree, picturesque villagers, have passed away. Swashbuckling Yankee adventurers begin to settle down to an orderly life. A new racial strain is about to enter the settlement and to affect its character profoundly. Sainte Genevieve must adapt itself to the hard realities of which the newspaper provides such a useful record. The commercial importance of the little community is being transferred to other centers; and its prominence in the affairs of states and nations is fated to diminish. But it is still to serve a necessary function and to bear witness to principles which the modern world may not ignore.17
The next pastor of Sainte Genevieve was Father Francis Xavier Dahmen, a member of the Congregation of Mission, better known as the Vincentians, or Lazarists. On his visit to Europe in 1815, Bishop du Bourg had, by order of Pope Pius VII, engaged some members of the Congregation to establish an ecclesiastical seminary in his diocese. He had also recruited for work in his mission field, a number of priests and clerical students most of whom were either members, or members to be, of the Vincentian Congregation. Among them were Father de Andreis, Father Rosati, the future bishop of Saint Louis, and others who were to render distinguished service to the Church in the United States.

On June 13, 1816, the advance party of the bishop's missionaries set sail from Bordeaux. They numbered five priests, four clerics and four brothers. For about a year they resided at Bishop Flaget's seminary of St. Thomas near Bardstown, Kentucky, studying English and assisting in the missionary work. In the latter part of 1818 they came to establish their own seminary in Perry County twenty-five miles from Sainte Genevieve. The colony of Anglo-American Catholics settled round about, had called their smiling meadows "The Barrens" after their old home in the salt barrens of Kentucky. Bishop du Bourg had in the meantime brought another party of twenty-nine persons from Europe. Some of the young clerics included in it became students at the new seminary, which, from a poor and humble beginning, was to attain a position of immense influence throughout the Middle West.

Father Dahmen was one of the first party of the bishop's recruits to come to America. Born at Dueren on the Rhine, March 23, 1789, he was already a mature
man of the world. He had been obliged to interrupt his studies for the priesthood and to serve in the army of Napoleon. His experience in the wars had given a soldierly tone to his character, supplied him with a store of interesting anecdotes and with sound opinions on military matters and aroused in him an admiration for the genius of the emperor. He remained, however, a pious and amiable man of high courage and uprightness. After his discharge he had resumed his clerical studies in Rome and had joined the forces of Bishop du Bourg. Entering the Congregation of the Mission in 1818, he made his novitiate under Father de Andreis, and was ordained deacon at Sainte Genevieve in the same year and priest at Saint Louis in the year following. After this he served for a time as pastor of Vincennes and as temporary pastor at Florissant. He came to Sainte Genevieve September 29, 1822.

All things considered, Father Dahmen was the most satisfactory pastor the parish had had thus far. He was to remain in charge of it for eighteen years, not distracted as Father Maxwell had been, by a multiplicity of concerns and by the care of widely separated missions, but able to devote his attention to the people of a small district. All the missions outside the present limits of the county, except French Village (Petit Canada), had been provided for; and there now remained in the care of the pastor only this mission along with Saint Matthew’s on the Establishment Creek, and Saint Philomena’s on the Rivière aux Vases. Father Dahmen’s character and abilities fitted him well for his position. He preached well in French and English and, of course, in his native German.¹

Two years after his arrival, there occurred in his rectory the death of a person notable in the religious history of the Middle West. Besides exerting himself heroically as a missionary in Kentucky, Father Charles Nerinckx had brought from his native Belgium candidates for the priesthood who as Jesuits were to do exten-
sive and effective missionary and pastoral work throughout the Mississippi Valley and the Far West and were to found a chain of strong educational institutions. He had also been the founder of a religious congregation, the Sisters of Loretto, whose schools provide excellent training for the young in many States. This saintly man had just paid a visit to the Sisters at the Barrens and another to the Jesuits at Florissant whom he had brought to America. On his homeward journey, he stopped at Sainte Genevieve where he fell ill and died August 12, 1824.²

The old log building erected in the original Sainte Genevieve some seventy years before and rebuilt in the new town by Father de Saint Pierre, was still serving as the parish church. It had been repaired twice since then; but its usefulness was now about at an end. Father Dahmen seems to have moved it to one side when he began the erection of a new stone church in 1831. The cornerstone was laid by Bishop Rosati on July 27 of that year. Just when it was completed is not certain. Bishop Rosati consecrated it on the twenty-sixth Sunday after Pentecost, November 12, 1837, assisted by Father Dahmen and some twenty other priests and clerics, mostly of the Vincentian Congregation. One of the parishioners, then a boy, has said that the old church was still standing on that day and that one of the priests explained the ceremonies of consecration to a group of people who could not gain admission to the new structure.³

By this time the population of Father Dahmen's parish was being augmented by immigrants from his German fatherland. They were destined to become the most numerous body in the town and county and to modify profoundly the character of both, although their own temperament was influenced not a little by the traditions which the French pioneers had established.

Many of the descendants of these French pioneers had left the neighborhood. A large number had gone to the
settlements among the lead mines, though without bettering their condition in all cases. The more ambitious had been drawn to larger centers by the greater opportunities for success in business and the professions. A considerable proportion were to remain identified with the life of their old home.

The Spaniards were considered by that airy citizen of the world, Thomas Ashe, to have been at one time the dominant element in the population. When he saw the family groups beside their doorsteps playing the guitar, singing and telling stories, he discovered, so he thought, "the vestige of Spanish customs. A little more observation soon convinced me of the justice of this conjecture. Sainte Genevieve was once principally inhabited by Spaniards; a disgust to an American connection has driven them all off; but their manners and habits remain with the French settlers who originally resided among them. Hence I have heard the guitar resound soon after sunset with the complaints and amorous tales of the French swains and heard the same hand which toiled all day in the wilderness and the waste, strike the tender notes of love in the evening."4

This affecting nocturne is thriftily reasoned, but it has left at least one reader unconvinced. The dominance of the Spaniards in this place was entirely political and to a slight extent perhaps commercial. Spanish goods were most probably brought from New Orleans by the merchants and with them the guitars which seemed to Ashe to clinch the argument. The handful of Spanish officials, soldiers and workmen who appear in the records, might easily enough have popularized the fandango, but they did not constitute the principal part of the inhabitants, and they could not have influenced the character of the people very profoundly. The French whom the traveler met in Sainte Genevieve were different from those whom he had encountered on his European travels; and the mild geniality and simple customs which seemed to him to indicate an affinity with Spanish villagers, were in reality
only the relics of an older France than the one he knew. The Basque country had indeed sent at least one of its offspring, Paschal d’Etchmendy, to found a family in the old village; but he, or his ancestors, probably came from the French side of the Pyrenees.

German names occur at every period of the history of the parish. Madeleine Schneyder, the wife of Jean François Perigord, whose name is mentioned in one of the very earliest records of baptisms (December 23, 1759), was a native of the German canton of Schaffhausen (Schaffouse) in Switzerland. Gibkin was practicing medicine in the place before 1783; and Father de Saint Pierre-Heiligenstein became pastor in 1789. Michael, Bartholomew and Sebastian Butcher and Peter Blum, or Blume, came in 1797 and worked as masons in various parts of the district. Otto Schrader, who was appointed territorial judge by President Jefferson, settled here in 1809.5

In the 1820's we find in the records the names of Bischoff, Bisch, Huwese, Keil, Nerwein and Swick (Zwick or Zweck). Francis Joseph Ziegler, the son of Matthew Ziegler and Barbara Haefner, was baptized on February 17, 1826. The family which is thought to be of German-Alsatian origin, has been represented in Sainte Genevieve ever since.6

It was in the fifteen or twenty years after 1830 that the German immigrants began to arrive in the greatest numbers. The political disturbances which became acute in their country in 1830 and again in 1848, may have caused many of them to leave it. In 1833 the German names now familiar in the town and country, begin to appear frequently in the records. The newcomers were from the Black Forest region in southern Baden. They were all devout Catholics and may have been attracted to their new home by the opportunities it offered for the practice of their religion.

Some of them remained in the town; Nicholas Muntsch, Erhardt Seckinger, Fidel Hettig and some of the Jock-
ersts and Sieberts were there early. But the greater number engaged in farming in the central part of the county. The choice lands along the streams had mostly been occupied before they came; but their persevering energy was a match for the stiff soil of the hills on which they settled. They prospered and came in time to occupy the fertile valleys as well. Industrious, steady, progressive and patriotic, they have taken their place as substantial citizens.

They gave their settlements the names of the towns in Baden from which they had come—Kehl, Offenburg, Weingarten and that most charming village, Zell-Harmersbach. New Bremen was probably named after the port from which they sailed.

The wives of these German settlers had perhaps devised the black sunbonnets which were so conspicuous in Sainte Genevieve for many years. The thing could be managed, if one may venture an opinion on this delicate subject, by adapting to the need of protection from the blazing suns of southeastern Missouri, any one of a number of black headdresses worn by the country women of old Baden. The style of the German millinery was sadly damaged in the process; but the bonnets were said to be very comfortable and were long numerous in Sainte Genevieve and the surrounding country. Visitors who saw them on the streets and in the church, sometimes thought that there must be a large convent of religious penitents in the vicinity.

Some years were to elapse before the German farmers had churches and chapels of their own. Their principal settlement was about six miles from Sainte Genevieve; and undoubtedly they attended mass in the old town. In the meantime the mother parish came very near losing its beloved pastor. In 1835 Father John Timon was made provincial superior, or Visitor, of the Vincentians in America. It seemed to him that the proper work for a man of Father Dahmen's personality and learning was in the seminary at the Barrens. He accordingly appointed
him a professor and directed Father Bergeron to replace him in the parish. The change had actually been made; but the parishioners did not consider this a reason for submitting to the loss.

At a parish meeting held on Pentecost Sunday, 1836, a diplomatic measure was decided on. The trustees sent Father Timon a proposal to sell the Congregation of the Mission the church and other real property of the parish. Then they dispatched a letter to the bishop, informing him of their action and of their hope that Father Dahmen would be sent back to them. His return, they assured the prelate, would be "as conducive to the progress of religion as it is calculated to insure the prosperity of the village." Father Timon concluded the proposed purchase. In six months Father Dahmen was back at his post. The title to the church property was recovered by the parish, not without great difficulty, in the time of Archbishop Kain.7

The material prosperity of the village, if we are to believe the reports of visitors, needed promoting at this period. Edward Flagg asserts that, at the time of his visit in 1836, the population was not more than eight hundred, and that it was said to have reached two thousand some years previously. These figures may not be exact. The inhabitants are said to have numbered more than four thousand six hundred in 1810, though this figure may include the whole district. It is probably true that the commerce and industries of the place were no longer flourishing. Many of the wealthy old citizens were coming to set a high value on dignity and leisure; while the energetic young men were following the commercial activity of the state to Saint Louis.

Flagg does record, however, that there were nearby "caves of pure white sand, of dazzling lustre, quantities of which are transported to Pittsburgh for the manufacture of flint glass." These caves were situated some ten miles to the northwest between the present village of Bloomsdale and the old Saint Louis road. The sand was
packed in barrels and hauled to the river at a place which came to be known as White Sand Landing.8

The deposits of ore at the Iron Mountain were of interest to some of the townspeople at this very time. Joseph Pratte, the son-in-law of François Vallé, the younger, received from Congress on July 4, 1836, a confirmation of the Spanish grant of this land to the Vallé family. Great plans was made for its development; but successful operations were not begun until several years later.9

Of the travelers who visited the town in the thirties, two were men of noble, in fact of royal, lineage. Prince Maximilian of Wied stopped here on his journey through the West in 1832 to 1834. The visit of King Otto of Greece is of somewhat greater interest. This Bavarian prince had been placed on the throne of the new kingdom two years after its independence had been gained in 1830. Bored by the cares of state, he sought escape by visiting America. His host, John Jacob Astor, could not meet the demands which the royal visitor made on his time, so he turned him over to a business associate, Pierre Chouteau of Saint Louis. Chouteau in turn put him in the care of friends in Sainte Genevieve.

He remained for three months and was pleased with the hospitality shown him by General John Bossier, the Vallés and other old French citizens. He enjoyed the card-playing, the shooting, the French dinners and the scenery. On his return to New York, Astor found means of inducing the king to resume his duties of government at home. Casting up his accounts the privileged host found that the royal visitor had cost him about twelve thousand dollars.10

Let us return to Father Dahmen. Toward the end of his incumbency as pastor, the labor of caring for his rapidly growing flock became heavy; and he received as assistant Father Mignard, C.M., and after him Father Hypolitte Gandolfo, C.M. In 1838 he completed a new chapel at the mission of Petit Canada. In 1837 he brought
the Sisters of Loretto to open a school in his parish. This was his last notable act as pastor. Two years later his superiors recalled him to the seminary—this time finally and without appeal—and put his curate Father Gandolfo in charge of the parish.

The German immigrants were now arriving in swarms. “One can scarcely form an idea of the multitude arriving daily,” wrote Father Gandolfo; “a hundred thousand are expected.” He set himself to learn their language, but found it “a hard saying.” His pun, “durus est hic sermo,” has a better flavor in the Latin. No doubt one of his curates, Father Stehle, had the care of the newcomers. A church was built for them—the cornerstone was laid in 1845, at Offenburg, now Zell, six miles from the parish church. It was on or near the property of Anton Fallert, one of the pioneer German settlers, who secured property there in 1833 and for some years operated a brewery.

We may suppose that the French curate Father Brands was in charge of the mission at Rivière aux Vases where a church had been dedicated in 1842. The congregation was then, and for a long time after, predominantly French. In 1847 another mission chapel was blessed at the “Byrne-Charvin place,” now Ozora. It was given up some time later.

In 1849 the Vincentians relinquished the charge of Sainte Genevieve. Owing largely to their own educational work a greater number of priests was now at the disposal of the bishop; and the Vincentian superiors wished their members to enjoy the benefits of religious life in community contemplated by their rule. Father Gandolfo was succeeded by Father J. M. I. St. Cyr, who is well known as the pioneer priest of modern Chicago.

St. Cyr was already a subdeacon twenty-seven years of age when he came to Saint Louis from his native France in 1831. He spent two years completing his studies at the seminary of St. Mary at the Barrens, and was ordained by Bishop Rosati, April 6, 1833. Two weeks later he left for his first mission field in Chicago,
where he found about a hundred and fifty white Catholics with a number of Indians and half breeds in the surrounding country.

Father St. Cyr was so poor that, for lack of wine and candles, he was often unable to say Mass on week days; but he saw at once that "this mission holds out the fairest hopes for the future." After four years of heroic parochial and missionary labor in the whole of upper Illinois, he was recalled by Bishop Rosati and spent ten years in various parishes along the Mississippi. He came to Sainte Genevieve on October 17, 1849, and was in charge of the parish for thirteen rather uneventful years of its history. He conferred one outstanding and permanent benefit on the community in bringing the Sisters of St. Joseph to establish an academy when the Sisters of Loretto found it necessary to withdraw. He was a zealous and holy man; and the excellence of his work lay rather in the faithful and thorough performance of common priestly duties than in external organization and development.11

During the pastorate of Father St. Cyr, a son of the parish destined to be a prominent figure in the religious and civic life of Saint Louis, was raised to the priesthood. This was Charles F. Ziegler, the son of Matthew Ziegler, one of the pioneers of the German colony of Southeast Missouri. Born on September 3, 1832, he received his education at St. Mary's of the Barrens and at Archbishop Kenrick's Theological Seminary in Carondelet. After his ordination on October 2, 1854, he was appointed pastor of St. Patrick's Church in Saint Louis.

The members of the congregation had forgotten that their parish had been organized by a German priest, Father Joseph Lutz. They told the archbishop of their preference for an Irish pastor. His reply was terse and uncompromising: "I have appointed him, and he will suit." Father Ziegler's own comment was equally decisive and was as well full of the spirit of the universal Church. "I am as much an Irishman as St. Patrick was. I am
sent here by the Pope through my bishop who is an Irishman. I shall do for the children of St. Patrick what he did for their ancestors. ‘They are Hebrews, so am I. They are Israelites, so am I. They are the seed of Abraham, so am I.’”

There was in fact nothing in the character and speech of the young priest to suggest his German parentage. He was not proficient in German, but spoke English and French fluently. His progressiveness and his devotion, especially during the epidemic of cholera of 1866, commended him to the members of his congregation and to the whole body of citizens both Catholic and Protestant. In 1868 he was appointed pastor of St. Malachy’s, which he built up into one of the most flourishing and best equipped parishes in the city. Father Ziegler was made secretary of the archdiocese and accompanied the archbishop as his theologian to the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. He remained in charge of St. Malachy’s until his death in 1908.

The quiet of the two decades from 1840 to 1860, was not constant and universal. The Mississippi Valley was again visited by a great flood, the most spectacular and disastrous in its history. There had been notable inundations in 1811, 1823 and 1826. None of these reached the mark of the “great waters” of 1785. But the unusually severe winter of 1843-44 had brought heavy and prolonged snow storms to the country about the upper Missouri. Heavy rains sent the Mississippi over its banks in May; but early in June it was back in its channel. It was again swollen by continued rains just as the melted snow from the Northwest reached the mouth of the Missouri. By June 20 the Mississippi was running over the whole country from the cliffs of Missouri to those of Illinois. In some places it was nine miles wide. The water rose two and a half feet higher than the flood of 1785.

A portion of Kaskaskia was twenty feet under water. The religious and students of the Visitation Academy
there boarded a steamboat from the second floor of the building. A boat is said to have landed in Sainte Genevieve at the stone residence of Eloi Lecompte on the west side of Main Street near the North Gabour. It may have been this flood which cut through the Big Field and converted the upper portion of the creek bed into a slough of the Mississippi.\(^{13}\)

During this period there was a revival of interest in the deposits of iron at the Iron Mountain and Pilot Knob. The ore had been assayed and had been commended by experts; and it seemed incongruous for Missouri to be importing iron from England when deposits bearing seventy per cent were within its own borders. The construction of western railroads which was about to begin, tended to hasten the exploitation of Missouri iron. In 1845 the American Iron Company was organized to work the deposit at Iron Mountain. Conrad Ziegler and Felix Vallé of Sainte Genevieve were stockholders.

It had been proposed as early as 1836 to build a railroad from the Iron Mountain to the Mississippi. When the mines actually began to be worked in 1845, the ore was probably taken to Sainte Genevieve over the existing roads. But some three years later a craze for plank roads struck Missouri. A company was organized to construct one from the Iron Mountain to Sainte Genevieve. The cost of paving the forty-two miles was $200,000. Work was begun in August, 1851; and the first shipment of ore was made in 1853. For several years great quantities of ores, granite and farm products were brought over this road to the river.

The plank roads were naturally not a success. The construction of the Iron Mountain Railroad provided a more direct route from the mine to Saint Louis, and ended the commercial importance of the Sainte Genevieve Plank Road. But the name became traditional; and the site of the toll gate just beyond the western limits of the town was a landmark for many years.\(^{14}\)
During the summer of 1846 two companies of infantry were recruited in the county for service in the Mexican War. The South Missouri Guards under Captain Firmin Rozier were ordered to California, but were detained at Fort Leavenworth over the winter and were then mustered out. Another company, organized and commanded by Captain Thomas Horine, joined the regiment under Colonel Sterling Price and was in active service in New Mexico.

The participation of Missouri in the Civil War was affected by several peculiar circumstances. The inhabitants were divided in their loyalties. From fifty to seventy-five per cent of them supported the Union. This division resulted in guerilla fighting rather than important battles. The State was bounded on three sides by free territory, and was not much valued by the Confederate Government. Hence the supporters of the Southern cause were left to fight a losing battle alone.

Many of the French people of Sainte Genevieve were slave owners and adherents of the Confederacy. The Germans, disposed by family tradition to make their way by their own exertions, naturally gave their support to the other side. They seem to have constituted most of the rank and file of the county's detachment of the militia of the district, which was organized by Colonel Joseph Bogy. Captain Gustave St. Gem was commissioned captain of a company of militia and served as provost marshal of the county until he became captain of Company K of the Forty-seventh Missouri Volunteers. In 1864 Colonel Frank Leavenworth reorganized the militia of the county and recruited about two hundred and fifty men. Two companies of infantry were raised in the county by Captains William Cousins and Robert Holmes and served in the Confederate armies throughout the war.

There were no battles in the neighborhood. On August 15, 1861, the town was occupied by a battalion of Zouaves. The funds of the bank were seized; but on the protest
of its president, Firmin Rozier, General Fremont ordered them released. Troops were stationed on the outskirts of the town for short periods in 1862 and 1863. Lieutenant Colonel J. F. St. James, a native of Sainte Genevieve, took part in the attack on Fort Donelson and in the battle at Shiloh. He was fatally wounded in the latter engagement and died in April, 1862.15

During the greater part of the war the parish was under the charge of Father Philip Hendrickx (April 1, 1862, to March 1, 1865). These unsettled times brought about a decline, both financial and spiritual, in the fortunes of the parish. The income of the church was ridiculously low; and the fabric was becoming dilapidated. Shortly after his arrival, Father Hendrickx called a parish meeting (June 1, 1862), explained the financial condition of the church and its needs and left the members to their deliberations. They drew up a report, determined taxes and fees and fixed penalties. There the matter seems of have ended.

The pastor apparently had no greater success in improving the spiritual condition of his charge, although we know that he applied himself to the task. In a report of the parish for the years 1838 and 1839, Father Dahmen reports a Catholic population of sixteen hundred with fourteen hundred and sixteen paschal communions. This indicates that all persons of sufficient age had fulfilled their Easter duty. The successor of Father Hendrickx complained that during the early years of his pastorate, so few adults approached the sacraments that he was often at a loss to provide eligible sponsors for baptisms.16
Sainte Genevieve Academy

Reverend Walked He Among Them
Father Weiss Passing the Guibourd House
IX
KNOWLEDGE COMES

The decline of religious observance, which has just been mentioned, was undoubtedly the result of insufficient instruction, especially among the men of the parish. But if the young people of the early days, or of any other period, had no desire for education, their elders were not content to leave them in their blissful ignorance.

The first person to show concern about the matter was Madame Charles Peyroux. In a will dated January 8, 1791, she bequeathed her house and land for an orphanage and school for children of both sexes. The institution was to be under the care of nuns if they could be obtained. A short time before her death three religious from France came to Sainte Genevieve; and on April 1, 1794, Madame Peyroux made a will in their favor, beseeching them to settle in Sainte Genevieve and to allow her to prepare for "the way of eternal life" in their community. Nothing is said of educational work. In fact, it was outside the scope of the rule of these religious who belonged to the order of St. Clare and had been driven from their strict enclosure in France by the Revolution. They do not seem to have acceded to the request of Madame Peyroux. Twelve days later their superior, Dame Genevieve Marie de la Marche, stood godmother for an Indian child baptized in Saint Louis. This is the last we hear of these wayfarers who found their way so strangely to this remote French community long ago.¹

In the meantime the school had actually been established, and in 1795, Pierre Charles Peyroux, the son of Madame Marguerite, left it lands and books. Brackenridge gives us our earliest information about its activity. It was the first institution in the West to draw a student from the outside and he was the first to be drawn. The school was in operation in 1792 when the boy was sent
to it from Pittsburgh for the purpose of learning French. The public examination at which he won a prize goes to show that the progress of the pupils was watched with interest by their parents. No great display of knowledge was expected from the poor lumpkins in the male section; for the set of little cups and saucers which Henry carried off to "Zouzou" Beauvais in her cradle, had been chosen in advance for one of the more accomplished sex.

Houck tells us without indicating his authority, that the teacher was François Moreau. The statement fits our available data well enough. On August 30, 1785, Moreau married, in Sainte Genevieve, Madame Cecile la Source, née Chouquette, whose interesting portrait appears on another page. She had been married to François Regis la Source on November 21, 1768. She and François Moreau were the ancestors of the present bearers of the name in Sainte Genevieve, as well as of the Guignons, the Stantons, and the descendants of Francis Ziegler. Moreau died on October 8, 1801; and in the following year we find Perrin du Lac deploring the want of education in the village.²

What became of the school after the death of Moreau is unknown. Ten or twelve years later it may have been reopened by his son Joseph who was born in 1791. Joseph Moreau is said to have been teaching school in a building on the church property in the fifties. He died in 1857.

There must have been some provision for primary education in the early years of the century, since a secondary school, The Louisiana Academy, was organized in December, 1807. At the first meeting of the organizing board, Father Maxwell was elected chairman and Thomas Oliver, secretary. Joseph Pratte was appointed treasurer. On June 21, 1808, a charter was granted by the Territory of Louisiana to the following trustees: James Maxwell, Jean Baptiste Vallé, Jacques Guibourd, St. Gemme Beauvais, François Janis, Jean Baptiste Pratte, Joseph Pratte, Walter Fenwick, Andrew Henry, Timothy
Phelps, Aaron Elliot, Nathaniel Pope, Joseph Spencer, Jr., John Scott, William James, Thomas Oliver, Joshua Penneman, William Shannon, George Bullet, Henry Dodge and William Diel. From that time the institution was known as the Sainte Genevieve Academy. The priest seems to have been the leading spirit. It was he who gave a personal guarantee to secure real estate for a building, and who came to the rescue when funds were wanting to pay the builders.

The Academy was not to be a "select school" in the full sense. As soon as its funds should permit, the children of poor people and of Indians who were found to be qualified, were to be instructed gratis. The course of studies was to be based on the English and French languages. Freedom of conscience was to be respected in the trustees, teachers and students. The instruction of boys was to be begun as soon as possible; and similar opportunities for girls were to be provided when adequate funds could be raised.

In 1810 the building seems to have been ready. It stood, and still stands, on a beautiful eminence in the western part of the town which commands a magnificent view of the lowlands, the river and the hills of Illinois. Daniel Barry was appointed the first instructor (April 24). He undertook to teach "English, French, Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Surveying, Logic, Metaphysics, Geography, History, Natural and Moral Philosophy, agreeably to the prospectus already exhibited." It is not certain that he actually began to carry out this ambitious schedule. Eleven months later another candidate for the post of instructor was rejected as inadequately prepared.

In the spring of 1812 Mann Butler, a pioneer historian of "The Commonwealth of Kentucky," was put in charge and seems to have entered upon his duties before June 27. Butler must have relinquished his position in 1814. On July 24, less than two months, be it noted, after the death of Father Maxwell, the property passed into the hands of the merchant, William Shannon, who in 1818
gave bond to provide for the establishment of a new academy, or to turn over the property "to the use of any academy to be thereafter established."³

At this time Father Pratte took a hand in the promotion of education. During his visit to Europe (1815-1817), Bishop du Bourg had asked the superior general of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, more commonly known as the Christian Brothers, to send a number of his subjects to teach in Louisiana. Brother Gerbaud refused on the plea of scarcity of men; but in response to a personal recommendation of Pope Pius VII, December 30, 1815, he appointed Brothers Antonin, Aubin and Fulgence to accompany the bishop to America. They were first sent to the seminary at the Barrens to learn English.

In 1818, then, Father Pratte asked the bishop to send one of the Brothers to teach at Sainte Genevieve. Brother Antonin, who was the most proficient in English, was on duty there the following January. Bishop du Bourg had promised the superior that the Brothers should be kept together so as to be able to observe community life, and accordingly the two others soon followed Brother Antonin. For three years they carried on their work in the building erected for the Academy. It was the first foundation of the Christian Brothers in the United States.

After the death of Father Pratte, two of them were removed by the bishop and placed in charge of other schools. The fears of their superior were realized. Contact with each other and with the superior was very difficult. Gradually all three lost the spirit of their order and left it. The story has a pathetic sequel. In 1853, four years after a community of Christian Brothers had been established in Saint Louis; one of them came to the college and asked to make a retreat and to pass his last days among them.

A few months before the coming of the Brothers, Father Pratte had made an effort to provide for the religious education of girls. During the summer, Mother
Philippine Duchesne came from France with four other religious of the Sacred Heart, to begin work in the diocese of Saint Louis.

The steamboat Franklin on which they were traveling from New Orleans, stopped at Sainte Genevieve one morning in August. We shall hear the rest of the incident from Mother Duchesne herself. “When the steamboat stopped there, the parish priest... came to see us, bringing a conveyance in the hope of taking us to his church and presbytery for Mass and breakfast. But the captain said there was no time. This the Father regretted and added that he had asked the bishop to send us to his parish... He says that there are over forty young girls in Sainte Genevieve who would have run to the landing to see us had they known that we were there.”

Bishop du Bourg’s plan was to establish these religious at Saint Charles; but Mother Duchesne on reaching Saint Louis two days later, added her entreaty to the petition of Father Pratte. “Although Sainte Genevieve is further away from Saint Louis (than Saint Charles), I asked him to send us there instead.” But the bishop’s plan was carried out; and Sainte Genevieve had to wait more than twenty-five years for a Catholic school for girls.4

The life of the Academy was by no means at an end. New charters were granted it by the State of Missouri in the years 1824, 1849 and 1853. Of the first effort at reorganization, no records have been preserved. In 1836 the building was reported by Edward Flagg to be in a state of “ruinous perfection”. In August, 1847, an appeal for contributions was circulated for the purpose of repairing the building and making it into a comfortable public school “to give the poor youth an advantage equal to any for the improvement of the mind.” Money, materials and labor, from fifty cents to fifty dollars in value, were promised by eighty of the citizens, many of whom indicated the number of their children on the subscription list. In the following April, subscriptions were
again solicited; and in August another appeal was sent round.

These efforts to revive the institution were a success. In 1849 we learn that Firmin Rozier was in charge and that there were perhaps forty pupils. Rozier secured the title to the property and a new charter, erected a two-story brick addition to the building and made a fresh start in 1854. He himself tells us that it was brought into a flourishing condition in that year and was conducted "until 1862 when the troubles of the civil war prevented its continuance." In the prospectus of 1861, he is listed as principal with four instructors assisting: Albert Moffat, A.M., R. G. Warner, Duncan Donegan and Sebastian Seyasler, D.Ph. 5

When the work of the Academy was interrupted in 1814, an independent venture in education was begun near Sainte Genevieve by Joseph Hertich. He had come to America from his native Switzerland in 1796, and had been conducting a rather unsuccessful mercantile business in Sainte Genevieve since 1810. He closed his store and resumed his former occupation of teaching in 1815. His school, quaintly called "The Asylum," was situated on a hillside in the heart of wild nature near the Little Saline, some ten miles southwest of the town. The place was later known as the Rudloff farm. The strange old house followed the slope of the land; and the floors of its rooms were on many different levels.

Hertich followed the pedagogical doctrines of Pestalozzi and was the first person to put them into practice in Missouri. His method favored "real" rather than abstract knowledge, and aimed at moral and religious development. It supposed sympathetic interest and close personal direction of the efforts of the pupils; and this, Hertich, who was well equipped with learning and in love with his work, was qualified to give. If the achievements of its alumni are an indication of merit, this school, which could never have been very large, must receive a high rating. Two of its students, George W. Jones and
Augustus Dodge, became United States Senators from Iowa. A third, Lewis V. Bogy, after serving a short time as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, represented Missouri in the Senate from 1874 to 1877. Dodge and Bogy were both natives of Sainte Genevieve. We are told that other students of the “Asylum,” though they did not fill “positions so conspicuous, became useful and distinguished in their local spheres.” Hertich seems to have carried on his work until about 1830, when he was appointed a member of a commission to formulate a plan for the common school system of Missouri.6

When the common, or public, school was established in Sainte Genevieve, is not clear. Between 1824 and 1842 classes were held in the brick house at Third and Market Streets, built by John Price in 1800. In the fifties a school was conducted first by Matthew Doyle and then by A. H. Parker on the site of the old fort on the South Gabouri. Then it was removed to the brick building on Washington Street, now used as a Negro school. The teachers there were John Bodkin, Elvira Adams and Amanda Chadwell. In 1872 the residence lot of the famous John Scott, adjoining the site of the first Loretto Academy, was secured and a substantial school building was erected. The first teachers there were Joseph Ernst, principal, and Mr. and Mrs. Felix Janis. High school classes were begun in 1911.7

Catholic education was at last put on a permanent basis by Father Dahmen. In the spring of 1837 he brought six Sisters of Loretto to open an academy. This congregation of religious had been founded in Kentucky twenty-five years before by the heroic missionary, Father Charles Nerinckx. In 1823 they had opened a convent called Bethlehem, at Perryville; and it was from there that Mother Agnes Hart and five Sisters came to Sainte Genevieve.

In the group was Odile de Lassus Pratte Vallé, the granddaughter of de Luzière, the first commandant of New Bourbon. She had been twice left a widow and was
now a novice of the Congregation of Loretto, called in religion Sister Catherine. Being possessed of considerable wealth, she financed the purchase of two lots, each containing a building, at the southwest corner of Main and Market Streets. After some alterations had been made, the school was opened here, as it appears, on June 25, 1837. It was called Our Lady of Mount Carmel.

In October, Mother Agnes and some of the Sisters were sent to open a school at Pine Bluff, Arkansas; and Sister Catherine, who had now been professed, was made superior. She appears to have held office during the years 1838-1839. In 1848 Mother Harriet Spink sold the property and purchased a large tract opposite the church at Fourth and Merchant Streets. It contained several stone warehouses, still standing, which had been built by a former owner, Joseph Pratte, for storing merchandise and furs. A convent and school building was erected; and the rooms in the old stone structure were used as auxiliary class rooms.

The only remaining records of the school cover the years 1850 to 1858. The attendance rose from sixty-one pupils in the first of these years to seventy-one in 1854. In the next year it had fallen to fifty; in 1857 it was seventy-two; and in 1858 it again fell to forty-two.

The school made a very good impression on visitors. Major Uriel Wright thought that “if this excellent seminary were located in any other spot but the quiet unostentatious city of Sainte Genevieve, never yet invaded by the science of puffing, the fathers and mothers of Missouri would know more of it.” After being shown the convent, its orchard, its playgrounds and its garden, he concluded that he had not “seen within our State any seminary so well equipped for the instruction of young females, or so deserving of public patronage.”

A very sentimental “Rover”, writing in the Saint Louis Republican in 1850, thought that the conservatism of the town was due to selfishness rather than modesty; but he shared Major Wright’s admiration for the Female
Academy. "Never have I been more pleased with the appearance and manners of any young ladies than I was with those of this Academy. Easy, graceful, unembar-rassed, yet extremely modest, they appeared like beings of a superior mould, as indeed they are. . . . The exercises commenced with the reading of compositions; and it was delightful to listen to the simple theme of school-girl thoughts, pictured in language so chaste, beautiful and expressive. . . . Then followed some of the sweetest music that ever charmed mortal ear. The piano, guitar and accordéon were touched with exquisite skill, and voices sweet as the nightingale's, poured forth a flood of enchanting harmony. The premiums were then distributed, and it was a real pleasure to catch the proud gleam of the bright eye as the name of the successful student was called."

"A word of the teachers. I was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of several of the ladies of the Academy, and more accomplished ladies I have never met in any place East or West. The Lady Superioress is one of the most gifted ladies to be found in any land, and an hour's conversation with her is the richest intellectual treat any man need desire." The "Lady Superioress" was Sister Teresa Augusta McSorley, an accomplished French scholar, who was in charge of the school for a long time. The other account quoted also pays tribute to her. "She is intellectual, highly so, and admirably qualified to instruct her sex. Nature has left upon her face and brow the stamp of superiority, and culture has improved the impression."

Besides the school at Pine Bluff, an Indian school at Osage Mission in southeastern Kansas, was founded from Sainte Genevieve. After appealing in vain to several other sisterhoods, Father John Schoenmakers, S.J., the superior of the mission, addressed himself to the order of Loretto. The care of the Indians had been a cherished project of their founder, Father Nerinckx. In the autumn of 1848 four Sisters under Mother Concordia
Henning, were ordered to go from Sainte Genevieve to the Osage Mission.

The records of the mother house of Loretto were destroyed by fire in 1858; and we have no means of knowing why the Sisters withdrew from Sainte Genevieve in that year. At the request of Father St. Cyr, Mother Gonzaga Grand and five other Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet were sent to replace them. The property of the Academy was purchased by Mother St. John Facemaz, their superior general (July 19). It would appear from a letter written by her to the Reverend D. A. de Parcq, the ecclesiastical superior of the Sisters of Loretto (July 20, 1858), that he had offered her some inducements to take over the school. 8

The Sisters of St. Joseph opened the Academy of St. Francis de Sales, a select school for girls, which, like its predecessor, enjoyed good patronage for many years and drew students from various parts of the Mississippi Valley. In the next year three additional Sisters were sent to the Academy. “The Superior, Sister Gonzaga, one of the four Sisters who had come from France in 1854, was an accomplished woman of striking personality and dignified bearing. An habitual reserve gave her the appearance of sternness; but in reality covered great sweetness and gentleness of character, as well as a delightful sense of humor that relieved of awkwardness many an otherwise embarrassing situation. She quickly endeared herself to the kindly villagers, and pupils and parents were her devoted friends.” A large substantial brick building, which still serves as the convent of the Sisters, was put up in 1867.

Some sort of beginning of a parochial grammar school appears to have been made as early as the sixties, providing for boys as well as girls. Father Weiss seems also to have contemplated a boys’ academy. In 1873 he completed a stone building near the church, which he intended to devote to this purpose. Felix Vallé, “Papa Vallé,” as he was called, engaged himself to endow the institution
with a large farm. Father Weiss journeyed to Dayton, Ohio, to ask his old teachers, the Brothers of Mary, to supply the faculty. Their superior replied that he had no men to spare; and besides what could they do “out there in the bush?” The pastor returned to tell his old friend of the failure of his plan. “Eh, bien, Père Weiss,” said Papa Vallé, “then you keep your college; and I keep my farm.”

But the old gentleman did not escape so easily. In the following year he advanced $7,500 to the Sisters who engaged to maintain “three able teachers,” two for girls and one for boys under twelve years of age. The older boys were taught by a secular teacher. This arrangement seems to have come to an end in 1886 when Joseph Flynn retired from the position after six years of service. After that time all the teaching was done by the Sisters. In 1893 the parochial school was moved into a new building erected by the parish, and rapidly grew into a standard eight grade school.

St. Francis de Sales Academy gradually declined; but high school classes continued to be conducted as need required. In 1925 a regular high school was organized and was very appropriately named for Felix and Odile Vallé, the great benefactors of the parish. Vallé High School was moved into the building erected by Father Weiss for school purposes many years before; and its enrollment has grown to seventy-five.9

One does not meet with such handsome journalistic eulogies of the work of the Sisters of St. Joseph as that of their predecessors had evoked. But their teaching has been uniformly thorough and substantial and often brilliant. There are those who have gone on to higher studies, happy and proud to have had the benefit of it.
TWILIGHT OF THE FRENCH TRADITION

WE HAVE been anticipating the course of events in the history of the town, and must now go back to follow the career of one of its most conspicuous figures in the latter years of the century. On July 27, 1821, a child was born at Schlettstadt in Alsace and a few days later was baptized Francis Xavier Weiss. As a boy of twelve, he may sometimes have gone up to the episcopal city of Strassbourg and climbed to the platform beneath the great spire of the Cathedral. If he did so, he could look off to the East and see the hills of the Black Forest above the villages from which, at that moment, emigrants were setting out for the banks of the Mississippi. But it could hardly have entered his mind that Providence had cast his lot among these departing neighbors and intertwined the fortunes of more than fifty years of his life with theirs.

The lad was put to school with the Brothers of Mary and in time passed on to the seminary of Besançon. Before he had completed his studies there, Father Joseph Melcher, the vicar general of Archbishop Kenrick, visited the seminary and enlisted the young cleric, along with eleven other students and four priests from various parts of Italy, Switzerland, Alsace and Lorraine, for service in the archdiocese of Saint Louis. Young Weiss completed his theological course at the seminary on South Ninth Street in Saint Louis, and was ordained priest on April 27, 1848. The whole of his priestly life was spent in Sainte Genevieve County.

His knowledge of German induced the archbishop to appoint him to the parish of Zell, of which he was the first regular pastor. His charge included the care of the mission at Rivière aux Vases and of practically all the German settlers of the county. Father St. Cyr,—
Father Weiss used to call him "le vieux,"—invited him to preach in Sainte Genevieve after Vespers on Sunday afternoons, to the Germans now rather numerous in the town itself.

In 1862 Father Weiss went back to Alsace to look after some financial concerns of his family. After a year in Europe he returned to Saint Louis in 1863. During his absence Father Theodore Stein, a man of striking personality and great eloquence, had been in charge of Zell and had endeared himself to the congregation. Father Weiss was offered St. Peter's Parish in St. Charles, but asked leave to establish himself in his former mission of Rivière aux Vases. The mission was now made a regular parish. Father Weiss built a stone church and served the congregation for two years.

On March 1, 1865, he succeeded Father Hendrickx at Sainte Genevieve. We have no detailed knowledge of the measures used by him to improve the financial and spiritual condition of the parish, but we do know that in the end he succeeded. When his attempt to found a "college" ended in failure, he moved from his ruinous old presbytery into the rooms intended for the Brothers. The rapid growth of the Catholic population made it necessary either to divide the parish or to build a larger church. The latter course was unanimously decided upon by the trustees. Father Weiss himself made the plans—except for those of the vaulting and the roof,—of a Gothic "hall church," that is, one without clerestory. It was built around the old stone structure. The cornerstone was laid on April 30, 1876, by Father Charles Ziegler. On September 29, 1880, the Right Reverend P. J. Ryan, coadjutor bishop of Saint Louis, dedicated the new church; and Father Ziegler celebrated solemn High Mass in presence of the bishop. The nationalities of the congregation were still so mixed that three sermons were required, English, French and German. All of them, the record says, were attended by large numbers of the people.
Eighteen thousand dollars, three-fourths of the cost of the church, were contributed by the saintly benefactress of the parish, Mrs. Odile Vallé. She also donated a handsome set of stations and a set of vestments. "Mamma Vallé" now carried out a project which her husband had entertained, by endowing the parish school with a large farm from the family estate just south of the town. The large and beautiful Vallé Spring thus passed into the hands of the parish and was put at the disposal of the public. Father Weiss segregated a portion of this farm for a cemetery. He next turned his attention, as has been said, to provide a more commodious building for the parish school.

In the meantime his work had been shared by three successive curates, Fathers Huettler, Schultz and Gnielinski. At the time of the latter's removal to a pastorate, it happened that Father Weiss was in such bad health that he had some thought of resigning. As a consequence his next curate, Father Charles van Tourenhout, was sent with right of succession, January 5, 1889. To him the pastor turned over a great deal of the administrative work of the parish. Some ten years later a second assistant, Father William A. Kotte, was appointed by Archbishop Kain. Before the death of Father Weiss two more sons of the parish, Leon Dufour, and Martin Bahr, were ordained priests, and a third, Joseph Fitzkam, had begun his seminary course.

The golden jubilee of the ordination of this beloved priest, April 27, 1898, was a memorable event. It was the first golden jubilee of a priest ever celebrated publicly in the archdiocese. It was the grandest demonstration ever witnessed in the old town. Visitors came in throngs. At the Mass celebrated by the jubilarian in presence of Archbishop Kain, the sermons in English, French and German, bore witness to the history of the growth of the parish and to the breadth of sympathy of its aged pastor.
The torchlight procession which closed the festivities, probably made history too. A newspaper reporter of the time triumphantly asserted that it was "about five blocks in length, the largest thing of the kind ever seen in Sainte Genevieve". Since this dear old nineteenth century institution is not likely to be revived, its preeminence will no doubt stand unchallenged.

Two years later when Father Weiss had passed his seventy-ninth birthday, he tendered his resignation to the archbishop. The trustees of the parish voted him an annuity of six hundred dollars. He survived only a little more than six months. The day of death was March 3, 1901.¹

Father Weiss was in every way an impressive character. His moral stature was in keeping with his gigantic physique and his great bodily strength. If he had imbibed austere moral and pastoral principles in his French seminary, they did not impede the greatest kindliness in his relations with his flock. Those who were children when he was in charge of the parish, can remember his dealing with them and even playing with them, with the utter simplicity of a great man. His repertory of jokes, it is said, was restricted to one Latin pun; but he was not deficient in humor and could smile at the foibles of his people and laugh at the stories of his friends. He was not an eloquent preacher; but his reprehensions and counsels were effective because they were delivered with the perfect candor of an upright soul.

His personality was well adapted to the characteristics of his mixed congregation. His outlook was traditionally French; and he was at ease among the descendants of the French pioneers. Still he possessed the steadiness and sobriety of the German; and probably few of his parishioners, who derived from this race, ever suspected that he was a Frenchman at heart and was disposed to be slightly aristocratic in his political faith. Father Weiss was loved and revered during his lifetime. Among the
genuinely great men who have served the community as pastors, he personified as well as any the dignity and charity of the priestly office; and his memory the people should not willingly let die.

The career of Father van Tourenhout, the successor of Father Weiss, has happily not yet passed into history, to which our account has been restricted as rigidly as might be. And yet he may not be passed over in silence. Bringing from his years of study in the Old World a taste for mellow and venerable traditions, he has found in this old town so full of memories, a congenial field of labor. For forty-six years he has brooded over its traditions, fostered them, interpreted them, even dramatized them in charming and eloquent addresses. He has brought to it scholarly tastes and a cultured mind which have crystallized and intensified the refinement observed in the people more than a hundred years ago. His energy, his command of language, his interest in all progressive movements and his sympathy which reaches the members of his parish of every age, race and condition of life, have made him a potent and eminent leader. In the minds of many he is a living embodiment of the character of the place.

The intellectual idealism of "Father Van" has carried forward those efforts of the community to secure good education which are one of the most conspicuous features of its history. The founding of the Vallé High School has already been described. In 1925 Father van Tourenhout built a new rectory and turned over to the high school classes the old stone building which had served as a pastoral residence since 1873.

But unquestionably his chief concern has been the promotion of the spiritual life of the parish. He is regular in hearing confessions and attends in person many of the sick of the congregation. It was he who a number of years ago revived the Corpus Christi procession through the streets. The completeness, dignity and reverence
Father Weiss

Father van Tourenhout
with which the ceremonies of the liturgy are carried out, are what first and foremost impress visitors to the parish Church. The continued growth of the congregation had necessitated a larger seating capacity; and in 1911 Father van Tourenhout met this need by removing the rear wall of the church and erecting a hexagonal apse and two small transepts. New marble altars were installed and over the high altar was built a graceful baldachin of “Texas marble.” The sumptuous chancel, which was further enriched with a rood beam and stalls, provides a dignified setting for the ceremonial. Here his familiar figure is seen officiating or assisting at all the services.

Among the German immigrants who came to Sainte Genevieve in the course of the century, was a small body of Lutherans. These have maintained a church of their own since 1869. At various periods they have had resident pastors, but ordinarily they are served by a visiting missionary. They are the only non-Catholic body which holds frequent services in the town.

The fortunes of the community have been chronicled in about seventeen different newspapers. Of these the most important and permanent have been The Plaindealer, founded by Oliver D. Harris in 1859, The Fair Play, founded by Henry Smith in 1872, and The Herald, founded by Joseph A. Ernst in 1882. The Herald and The Fair Play are still published. Henry Smith secured some decidedly sensational copy the year after he began his venture in journalism. The bank robbery of 1873 was effected without machine guns or high-powered motor cars; but the shot guns and navy revolvers of the desperadoes on horse-back secured the money, terrorized the town and called out the full battery of vehement adjectives and adverbs from the pressrooms of Sainte Genevieve and Saint Louis.

The commercial importance which the old town had enjoyed in its early years, was lost in the course of the nineteenth century. Modern methods of producing salt
put an end to the industry at the Saline. Railroads diverted the output of the lead mines. But the manufacture of flour on a considerable scale was continued for many years, at first by Eloi Lecompte and afterwards by Mauntel, Borgess and Company, and by Francis Fischer. Sandstone had been quarried in the neighborhood for the building of Fort de Chartres in 1753. The quarry was reopened and worked in the 1860's to supply stone for the State Capitol at Des Moines, Iowa, and for the piers of the Eads Bridge at Saint Louis. Lime has probably been manufactured in the district since the beginning. After the Civil War this industry was carried on above Little Rock Landing by Peter Saugrain and Francis von Phul of Saint Louis, and Emile Vogt of Sainte Genevieve. Kilns were operated nearer the town by Frederick Petrequin, by Jules Boyer and by Ferdinand Moser. These three plants were the foundation of the extensive lime industry developed within the present century.

In 1875 copper mining was begun at the Cornwall Mines ten miles west of the town. Four years later O. D. Harris and Company were reported to be operating there at a good profit. Likewise in 1879, the Swansea Copper Mine, four miles north of the other, was being worked by John L. Bogy, Leon Bogy and Leon Jokerst. Although considerable quantities of ore were being extracted at this time, the mines never fulfilled expectations. Operations were, however, resumed at intervals until 1913.²

During the seventies also the Sainte Genevieve County Agricultural and Mechanical Society held a fair for some four years in the northern end of the Big Field. Some of the pavilions remained there for a long time after; but this noisy and spectacular form of amusement and education would not have had great chances of success at that period.

The old town was in fact still definitely under the influence of its French traditions. When Father Weiss
had come to it, he had found a number of people who were born when English was a foreign language here. A few of them were natives of old France. Many never became habituated to the English speech; and many more said "Hein," and declared that "My father, he always do this way."

To such as these the vulgar, aggressive, mercenary spirit of the age was a thing abhorred. They were perhaps much too easy-going and serene; and on some of them, the pastor found, religious obligations sat very lightly. Those who most needed the French sermon delivered once a month, were seldom on hand to hear it. It cost a long tusstle to bring them into line. But they had patrician virtues. Their sense of honor, their generosity, their refined tastes and their gentleness and grace of speech carried a fine tradition over to the newer members of the community.

Some of these old people survived until near the end of the century. Among them and their sons and daughters were many quaint characters, such as Mrs. Gaskell and Austin Dobson would have found subjects to their taste. There was old Papa Girard, the last French bedeau of the church. How often he had to pause on his rounds at the offertory, to recover a long wisp of white hair and twist it again about his bald crown! Slumberers were roused to their duty by a vigorous nudge from his collection box; and worshippers who made a handsome contribution were rewarded with a bow and an offer of snuff. A few of the ladies of quality surviving from the olden times had uncompromising opinions and sharp tongues. Does not Mr. Chesterton tell us that when a French woman becomes a mother she is a holy thing; and when she becomes a grandmother she is often a holy terror?

Of the past thirty-five years there is little that is striking to record. Good schools have raised the standard of literacy. Easy transportation and modern con-
veniences have brought the town into line with the world about it. But its hereditary dignity survives in many persons of interesting and admirable character whose modesty and unselfishness alone keep them from the notice of the world. In commenting upon this, one who is bound to the place by many ties must restrain his praise. The population is not composed of ideal Christians, inhumanly wise and circumspect. Yet the standard of conduct is correct and high. And the watchfulness, the decisive teaching and the sacramental life of the Church have succeeded in maintaining a sound public opinion on moral issues and a vigorous religious life, and in drawing the wayward back to God. The community has had periods of spiritual decline, but it has shown a remarkable power of self-renewal. So completely are the principles of their Catholic faith carried into the lives of these people that they have been pointed out by their archbishop more than once as an example of how the evils besetting our age might be removed.

The records of other rising towns in respect of commercial ambition and energy are more impressive. The historian of the Last Years of French Louisiana is somewhat disedified at the fact that, while Saint Louis has grown to be a great metropolis, Sainte Genevieve, once its superior, "remains a straggling village." The case is not so bad as that; and Sainte Genevieve has avoided the arrogant materialism of booming towns and the unhappy extremes of fortune which prevail in great cities. Here are no forgotten men. The wealthiest is assessed at less than a million, and some of the poorest have a garden and a pig. There is, to be sure, no blame attaching to the just attainment of great wealth, as there is nothing sublime in the possession of a cabbage patch and a lowly domestic beast. But this reasonable distribution of ownership indicates the sound and honest economic condition which carried the people through a worldwide financial upheaval without disaster; and the entire absence of degrading indigence throughout two hundred years of
their history, has maintained among them a due respect for the dignity of man. Without so many means of pleasure and excitement as the modern hives of business provide, their city is a far more human and cheerful place.\textsuperscript{3}

Sainte Genevieve had failed to realize its prospect of becoming an important center of higher education. Its commercial advantage has been drawn away. Its destiny has been to exemplify an attainable culture and to provide the general body of its people with the means of wholesome life.
LIST OF REFERENCES

Alliot, Paul—Réflexions historiques et politiques sur la Louisiane. (In Louisiana under Spain, France and the United States, 1785-1807.) (Ed. Robertson.) Cleveland, 1911.


Archives of Sainte Genevieve—(Concessions, Deeds, etc. etc.) In the library of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.


Brackenridge, H. M.
—Recollections of Persons and Places in the West. Philedelphia, 1868.
—Views of Louisiana. Pittsburgh, 1814.


Fair Play, The Sainte Genevieve, 1872-


Houck, Louis.
—The Spanish Regime in Missouri. Chicago, 1909.


Illinois Catholic Historical Review. Chicago.


Mid-America—*An Historical Review*. Chicago.


Rozier, Firmin A.—*History of the Early Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*. Saint Louis, 1890.

Sainte Genevieve, Registers of the Church of, 1759-

*Saint Louis Catholic Historical Review*. Saint Louis.


Schlarman, Most Reverend J. H.—*From Quebec to New Orleans*. Belleville, Ill., 1929.


Stoddard, Major Amos—*Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana*. Philadelphia, 1812.

Thwaites, R G.—*Early Western Travels*. Cleveland, 1904.

Villiers du Terrage, Baron Marc de.
—*La Découverte du Missouri*. Paris, 1925.

NOTES

Abbreviations

Brack, Rec.—Recollections of Persons and Places, by H. M. Brackenridge.
Brack. Views—Views of Louisiana, by the same author.
H—A History of Missouri, by Louis Houck.
J. R.—The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents.
I. C. H. R.—Illinois Catholic Historical Review.
P. du Lac.—Voyages dans les Deux Louisianes, by Perrin du Lac.
S. L. C. H. R.—St. Louis Catholic Historical Review.
Sp. Reg.—The Spanish Regime in Missouri.

There are no Notes to Chapter I.

I


2—J. R., I, vii-ix, 38—The Relations were usually digests of the reports of the Jesuit priests on the Indian missions, edited by the superior in Quebec and sent to the Father Provincial in Paris. They were there published by Sebastien Cramoisy, from 1632 to 1673. The whole series has been reissued with large additions and an English translation of the whole in seventy-three volumes.


4—J. R., I, 21-34. 5—J. R., XLV, 233. 6—J. R., XLVII, 146f. 7—J. R., LIV, 137. 8—J. R., LIV, 189ff, LV, 97, 207.


NOTES

19—Kenny, loc. cit.

III

3—H., I, 281ff.; Alvord, 154, 159, 209; Kaskaskia Records, Baptisms, 1721, p. 21. The name of the father of the child baptized is given as Philippe Francois de la Renaudiere. He resides in the village of Saint Philippe known to have been established by Renault.
4—Villiers du Terrage, *Dernières Années*, 121; Schlirman, op. cit., 272.
7—Schlarman, op. cit., 287.
13—H., I, 276.
15—Hunt’s *Minutes*, II, 206. 16—Baptisms, 1759-64; Deaths, 1764-84.
19—Brack., Rec., 209; H., I., 378. 20—Villiers du Terrage, op. cit., 175.

IV

1—Villiers du Terrage, op. cit., 157. 2—A convenient summary may be found in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. 3—Alvord, 268f.
4—Pittman, op. cit., 96.
7—J. R., LXXI, 45. 8—The complexity and uncertainty in which ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Illinois Country was then involved, is explained in R. St. L., I, 156-77.
V


4—Pittman, op. cit., 95 f. 5—H., I, 339, 341, 351; II, 5; I, 342 f.


14—Ms. record in archives of Church of Sainte Genevieve.


17—Missouri Historical Society Collections, II, No. 7, 54-82.

VI


7—Brack, Rec., 24 f.; R. St. L., I, 173 f.


16—Brack, Views, 125; P. du Lac, 174 f.


20—Brack, Rec., 20 f., 25. 21—Ashe, Travels, 288. Some of these very songs are reproduced in Dorrance, Survival, 122-29.


NOTES

VII

1—H., II, 355-75, 409f.; I, 349; III, 105f., and Ch. XXVI passim.
2—Brack., Rec., 207, 212; H., III, 55, 79.
3—Brack., Rec., 204; H., III, 74-79; I, 366; Rozier, 128. The pistols used in the Fenwick-Crittenden duel were made by a slave of John Smith T, and are preserved in the museum at Ste. Genevieve.
9—R. St. L., I, 240-54; 265-71. 10—Ms. in Archives of St. Mary’s Seminary, Perryville.
14—Herrick, Audubon, passim. The business of Ferdinand Rozier was continued by his son Francis. Francis Rozier took Francis L. Jokerst into his employment and later sold him an interest in the firm. After the withdrawal of the Rozier family, Charles C. Jokerst and Leo S. Yealy became partners. The business is still being conducted by Mr. Yealy and the family of the late Francis Jokerst. It has thus gone on without an abrupt break since its foundation.
15—H., III, 189, 198; E. M. H., VI, 317-18. 16—Brack., Rec., 26; Deaths, 1760-84 (Feb. 6, 1783); Deaths, 1785-1837, 12; H., III, 81f; I, 10. 17—H., II, 66; Rozier, 136.

VIII

3—R. St. L., 368; Ms. record in the archives of Ste. Genevieve Church. The incident was related to Father van Tourehnout by Captain G. W. St. Gem.
4—Ashe, Travels, 289. 5—Baptisms, 1759-64, 14; Kaskaskia Records, June 5, 1759; H., I, 355; II, 14.
15—Rozier, 6, 112ff.; Williams and Shoemaker, op. cit., IV, 369.

IX


From inventories of estates at this period, we learn that there were a number of substantial collections of books in the village. In the Archives of Ste. Genevieve at the Jefferson Memorial there is a receipt acknowledging payment of eighteen piasters for six months’ of schooling of Baptiste and Rosalie, children of “Madme Veuve Roussin.” (Signed) “Le Chenet, instituteur. *Sainte Genevieve, 23e Dbre 1813“.


5—Graham, loc. cit.; Rozier, 126. 6—H., III, 68, 251; Rozier, 279ff.; Williams and Shoemaker, op. cit., I, 293. 7—Data supplied by Mrs. Edward Schaaf from contemporary newspapers. 8—Data supplied from the archives of the motherhouse of the Sisters of Loretto, Nerinx, Kentucky.


X


2—*Sainte Genevieve Fair Play*, September 13, 1879.

3—Villiers du Terrage, *Dernières Années*, 368, n. 2. Other data used in this chapter have been supplied Father van Tourehnout, by Mrs. Edward Schaaf and by the father of the writer.