



*Between Colony and State*  
**LOUISIANA**  
IN THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD  
1803-1812



*The Historic New Orleans Collection*



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**AN EXHIBITION**

September 30, 2009–May 2, 2010

  
*The Historic  
New Orleans Collection*

## ★ INTRODUCTION

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The history we live differs from the history we write. Viewed in retrospect, history resolves into a series of watershed episodes and clearly demarcated epochs. Hindsight tempts historians to organize events in an intelligible—and comforting—way, a chronological sequence of cause and effect. But history, as lived, is replete with messy details. Disorder is the engine of historical change, complexity the keynote of historical analysis. With this exhibition, *Between Colony and State: Louisiana in the Territorial Period, 1803–1812*, the curators embrace the chaos of a transformative era.

The date markers that stake out the territorial period are precise: December 20, 1803, and April 30, 1812. The first denotes the transfer of the former French colony of Louisiana to the United States, the latter the entrance into the Union of the state of Louisiana. Very little about the intervening period can be summarized with similar precision. *Between Colony and State* offers a thematic survey of the unfolding drama: the clash of agendas, the swelling of population, and the striving of different cultural groups for prominence (and survival). In the end, we learn as much from those themes that remain unresolved as we do from those that teach clear lessons. The alliances created, destroyed, and rejoined in the territorial period foreshadow many of the cultural conflicts of modern Louisiana history.



The 524 million acres of the Louisiana Purchase, too vast for effective local governance, was soon divided into two political entities: the territory of Louisiana to the north, and the territory of Orleans to the south. The latter, created by congressional act on March 26, 1804, conforms cartographically, more or less, to the boundaries of present-day Louisiana. *Between Colony and State* focuses broadly on this territory and specifically on the city of New Orleans. The desire to acquire the port of New Orleans, and thereby sustain the nation's emerging trans-Appalachian economy, precipitated the Louisiana Purchase. The region's political, financial, and population hub, New Orleans would be the locus for most of the catalyzing events and enduring decisions of the territorial period. In a story replete with colorful individuals, the city emerges as a significant character in its own right.

Items on display were chosen, whenever possible, to reflect the multiple perspectives that characterized life in the territory. Attitudes toward slavery, security, and economic development differed radically across the region. Even those groups that had no official voices—Native Americans, slaves, and women of all colors and ethnicities—could exert occasional influence through “back channel” efforts. Throughout the exhibition, representative historical figures have been selected to symbolize particular viewpoints or constituencies.

Internal discord complicated the path to statehood. Debates over property—the right to land previously granted, the right to import slaves—proved particularly contentious. Cultural identity remained

in flux: three written languages (French, Spanish, and English) were in common use, and the dominance of the Catholic population would soon be challenged by citizens who practiced other faiths. Some residents of the territory pressed for immediate statehood, while others advocated independence from the United States. Indeed, the viability of the United States of America remained in question throughout this period. Unsettled boundary claims with Spain (including the de facto annexation of West Florida in 1810) and rumblings of war with Great Britain were persistent cause for concern.

And yet day-to-day life went on. The city expanded through the addition of suburbs. Émigrés from the former French colony of St. Domingue, some 10,000 strong, reinvigorated the area's Gallic disposition. The performing arts thrived in theaters and playhouses, and governmental structures and the legal system began to take shape. Port activities provided a constant commercial hum in the background.



Louisiana's first constitution was drafted in convention at New Orleans and signed on January 22, 1812, by the convention's president, Julien Poydras, and its secretary, Eligius Fromentin. The document (composed in French as well as English) also bore the signatures of 41 delegates representing the territory's 12 counties. The surnames of these signers—Marigny, Watkins, Prud'homme, and Wikoff, to list but a few—imply a mosaic of different backgrounds, perspectives, and priorities. Consensus could not have been easy, but it was achieved. Within four months of the convention, Louisiana became the Union's 18th member. *Between Colony and State* emphasizes the creative tension that existed in the territory of Orleans, ultimately yielding the multicultural, multifaceted territory known as Louisiana today. ★

— John T. Magill, Pamela D. Arceneaux,  
and John H. Lawrence  
*Exhibition Curators*

*A*s the boundaries of empire and state shift over time, so too do linguistic norms. The territory mapped in this exhibition has been known by a variety of names, including Louisiana, la Louisiane, and la Luisiana. The following summary traces the history of the linguistic labels applied to the territory in its various forms between 1683 and 1819.

La Louisiane is the term most often used to describe the North American colony under French governance. The name first appeared on maps in 1683, a year after René-Robert Cavelier, sieur de la Salle, claimed the Mississippi valley in the name of Louis XIV. Louisiana under France was a colony with poorly defined boundaries to the east and west. Cartographers wishing to promote French hegemony in North America showed la Louisiane extending from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Appalachian Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, though this may seem preposterous in light of British and Spanish holdings to the east and west.

In 1762 France ceded la Louisiane to Spain, its ally in the Seven Years' War, and la Luisiana remained a Spanish colony through 1800, when it was returned to France via the secret treaty of San Ildefonso. Spanish administration persisted, however, for a three-year span during which the colony was la Luisiana in practice and la Louisiane in fact. The ratification of the Louisiana Purchase Treaty, on October 20, 1803, brought this period of indeterminacy to an end. On November 30, at a transfer ceremony in New Orleans, Spain formally retroceded the colony to France; less than three weeks later, on December 20, a second ceremony transferred possession to the United States.

In the immediate aftermath of the 1803 Purchase, the entire territory ceded by France was known as the Louisiana Territory. American administrators quickly adopted more precise designations, dividing the vast territory into Lower Louisiana (the lands below the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers) and Upper Louisiana. Then, in 1804, the U.S. Congress carved the territory of Orleans from Lower Louisiana as a separate governmental entity. This territory roughly conforms to the contours of today's state of Louisiana, admitted to the Union in 1812. However, boundary disputes endured until 1819, when the United States and Spain signed the Adams-Onís Treaty, fixing the state's southwestern limits.

The remainder of the Louisiana Purchase territory became the District of Louisiana following the creation of the territory of Orleans. Later, after Louisiana's assumption of statehood in 1812, this district was renamed the Missouri Territory. ★

**Louisiana (*opposite*)**

published 1805; hand-colored engraving by Samuel Lewis, delineator; Henry Schenck Tanner, engraver; Aaron Arrowsmith, publisher



★ FOUNDATIONS

Commission for William C. C. Claiborne  
granting him temporary powers  
as general governor and intendant  
of the province of Louisiana  
October 31, 1803  
by Thomas Jefferson, author



William Charles Cole Claiborne  
©1903; Goupil gravure  
by Goupil and Company, publisher

Thomas Jefferson President of the United States of America  
To all to whom these presents shall come greeting

Whereas the Congress of the United States by an act passed on this thirty first day of October one thousand eight hundred and three, did enact that until the separation of the present ~~region of Congress~~ <sup>territory</sup> from the Union to be made to the temporary government of the territory ceded by France to the United States by the treaty concluded at Paris on the thirtieth of April last between the two nations all the military, civil and judicial powers, exercised by the officers of the existing government of the same shall be vested in and may be exercised by the commissioners and other officers of the Government of the United States shall exercise for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of Louisiana in the full enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion. Now know ye, That exposing special trust and confidence in the integrity, prudence and abilities of William C. C. Claiborne, governor of the Mississippi Territory, I do in virtue of the above recited act appoint him to exercise within the said ceded territories all the powers and authorities heretofore exercised by the officers and agents of the said commissioners and as governor let the said William C. C. Claiborne to execute and fulfill the duties of this present appointment according to law and to Hatch and to hold the same with all its powers and privileges until the said ~~region of Congress~~ <sup>territory</sup> with boundaries to be soon made forth temporary government of the territory ceded to the United States. Provided however and to the intent and meaning of this grant that the said William C. C. Claiborne or any person acting under him in the aforesaid territory shall have no power or authority to lay or collect any new or additional taxes or to grant or confirm to any person or persons whomever any title or claim to lands within the same.

In Testimony whereof these caused this letter to be made, sealed and the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed. Given under my hand at the City of Washington the thirty first day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and three and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twenty eighth.

J. W. JEFFERSON

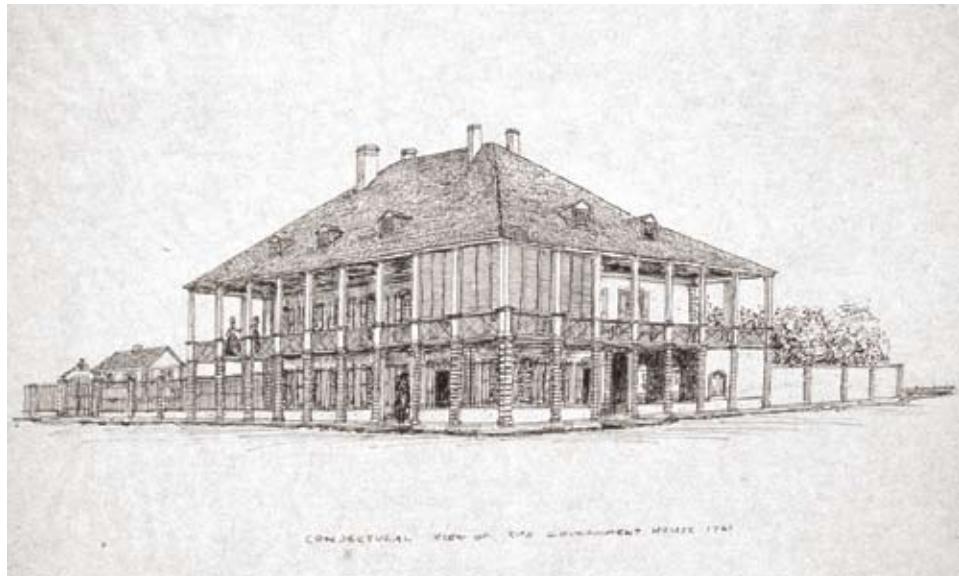
By the President  
James Monroe Secretary of State



**T**wenty days after officially assuming possession of Louisiana for Napoleon's France, Pierre Clément Laussat transferred the property to William Charles Cole Claiborne and General James Wilkinson, agents of the United States appointed by President Thomas Jefferson.

With the purchase of Louisiana, President Jefferson faced the challenging task of selecting a leader capable of integrating a population whose language, political customs, and religion differed greatly from those of the majority of the American populace. The capacity to guide Louisiana's inhabitants toward a political landscape that was more representative of the emerging American model was a fundamental component of Jefferson's expectations for the incoming governor. Yet despite repeated attempts to appoint an experienced leader, Jefferson failed to convince any of his preferred candidates (including James Monroe and Revolutionary War hero the Marquis de Lafayette) of the political gains to be had from entering what were essentially the uncharted waters of American colonization.

Instead, Jefferson granted an appointment as governor of the Purchase territory to the 28-year-old Claiborne, then serving as governor of nearby Mississippi Territory. The commission was intended to be a temporary one, until Jefferson managed to coax a more qualified candidate into accepting the post. The most important political appointment of William Claiborne's career, then, resulted not from any remarkable display of leadership skills but rather from the convenience of his being "on the spot." Jefferson continued to search



for a more suitable, and preferably French-speaking, candidate until 1807, when it appears he resigned himself to Claiborne's permanency.

During Claiborne's tenure as territorial governor, he made political opponents of several influential Anglo-Americans, including Edward Livingston, Daniel Clark, and James Workman. But his marriages to well-connected Louisiana natives Clarissa Duralde of Attakapas (who died in 1809 of yellow fever) and Cayetena Susanna Bosque y Fangui of New Orleans, and his swift suppression of the 1811 slave uprising along the German Coast, improved his standing. Claiborne's appointment was renewed each year until 1812, when the governor won a sizable majority in a race against native Jacques Villeré to become the state of Louisiana's first elected governor. ★

#### **Conjectural View of the Government House, 1761**

1960s; ink on tracing paper  
by Henry W. Krotzer Jr., draftsman and artist

Dating to 1761, the Government House (or State House) was one of the last governmental buildings constructed during the French regime. Depicted here in a conjectural sketch as it may have looked in 1800, it occupied a site on Decatur and Toulouse streets and survived the great fires of 1788 and 1794. Until it burned in 1828, the Government House was the seat of the Louisiana Legislature.

## *Exploring the Territory*

The Corps of Discovery, the name given to the expedition led by Meriwether Lewis (President Thomas Jefferson's personal secretary) and William Clark (a retired U.S. Army captain), is the fact-finding mission most associated with the Louisiana Purchase. Following congressional authorization granted in March 1804, the 43-member Corps departed from St. Louis on May 14. For 28 months the party rode, floated, and walked the northwestern reaches of the territory, all the while compiling data on the territory's Native American population, flora, fauna, geology, and climate. The map accompanying the three-volume 1815 account of the journey suggests the expedition's scale.

The Lewis and Clark expedition, though the most celebrated, was not the

only government-sponsored trip launched to explore the reaches of the Louisiana Purchase territory. Two notable exploratory journeys took place under the command of Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike. Under General James Wilkinson's orders, Pike left St. Louis in August 1805, ascending the Mississippi River with a laundry list of objectives ranging from the discovery of the Mississippi's source to the establishment of friendly relations with Native Americans. Pike's expedition lasted nine months and covered 5,000 miles yet produced little accurate or useful information; it was, however, important in establishing Minnesota as part of the Louisiana Purchase and defining the territory's northern reaches.

Pike's next command differed greatly in both its location and result. He set out again from St. Louis in July 1806 with

orders from General Wilkinson to explore the southwestern areas of the Purchase territory, adjacent to Spanish lands. Pike's second journey blazed what ultimately became known as the Santa Fe Trail. His explorations of the drainage basins of the Arkansas and South Platte rivers resulted in improved maps of the region, though the expedition failed to fulfill one of its primary mandates: to explore the Red River. The party traveled northwest as far as present-day Colorado, where the mountain peak that now bears Pike's name was identified. Wary of Pike's presence along their border, Spanish troops captured Pike and his party

### **Travels to the Source of the Missouri River and across the American Continent to the Pacific Ocean**

by Meriwether Lewis; London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1815



on the Rio Grande and brought them first to Santa Fe and then to Chihuahua, Mexico, where they were held months for questioning before being escorted through Texas to the territory of Orleans. Upon his return to St. Louis, Pike faced charges of conspiracy with the Wilkinson-Burr intrigues but was cleared. Publication of his journal in 1811 brought Pike a brief moment of fame before his 1813 death.

Unlike the Lewis and Clark or Pike expeditions, Captain Amos Stoddard's exploration of the Purchase territory took place in the course of his duties as a military commander. On March 10, 1804, one day after receiving Upper Louisiana from Spain on behalf of France, Stoddard took control of the territory for the United States. Seven months later, Stoddard began his extensive travels throughout the territory of Orleans and the District of Louisiana. His observations and commentary on subjects ranging from agriculture and geography to politics and culture were published in 1812 as *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana*. Stoddard's *Sketches* remains an important source for the study of Louisiana's territorial period. ★



**Baxa Luisiana**  
between 1799 and 1803; ink and watercolor  
by Juan Pedro Walker, cartographer

### The Lay of the Land

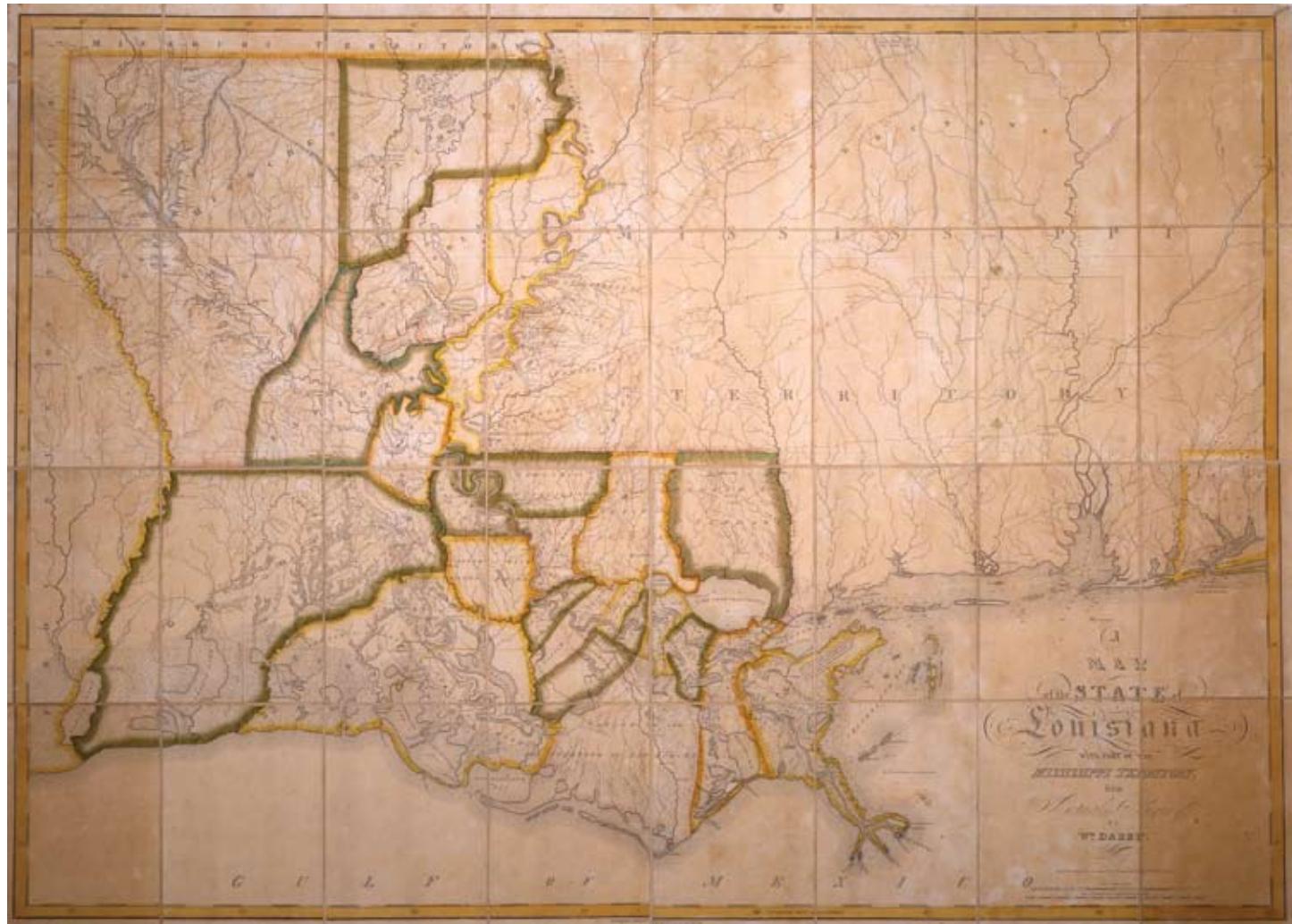
The gross contours of Louisiana—first as European colony, later as United States territory—have been drawn and redrawn in war and in peace, in diplomatic session and in legislative debate. The Louisiana Purchase, an undisputed political coup for the United States, failed to resolve the region's ongoing boundary disputes. Spain and Great Britain continued to jockey for territory, and Louisiana's borders remained in flux even after the assumption of statehood in 1812. The 1810 annexation of the Florida Parishes (land formerly part of Spanish West Florida) was not confirmed by treaty until 1819, nor was the Texas border secured until the conclusion of the Mexican War in 1848.

But boundary disputes tell only part of the story. Effective governance demands that

internal as well as external lines be clearly drawn. Here enters the land surveyor, charged with reconciling the political language of treaty, the physical reality of terrain, and the insistent claims of personal property. Over the nine-year span of Louisiana's territorial period, geographic knowledge advanced by leaps and bounds. Yet this knowledge was gained at great physical cost. Even a quick glance at Juan Pedro Walker's *Baxa Luisiana* (Lower Louisiana) suggests the unforgiving environment in which surveyors labored: trackless stretches of prairie lands and swamps, bayous and marshes, and sinuous and shifting coastal areas.

The surveyor's task was complicated in Louisiana by the need to reconcile older (French, Spanish, and British) systems of

## ★ LAND & DEMOGRAPHICS



**A Map of the State of Louisiana with Part of the Mississippi Territory**  
ca. 1816; hand-colored engraving  
by William Darby, surveyor; Samuel Harrison,  
engraver; John Melish, publisher

measurement with newer models established by the U.S. government. The Public Lands Survey System (PLSS), first implemented in the Ohio River valley in 1785, set standards for surveying lands in the public domain. The U.S. General Land Office (a predecessor of the Bureau of Land Management) commenced surveying the territory of Orleans in 1807. Unlike the long-lot system favored in much of colonial Louisiana, the

PLSS carved terrain into regular grids. Any point on the map could be measured against a fixed vertical meridian and horizontal baseline; in Louisiana, these lines stood at  $92^{\circ} 24' 55''$  west and  $31^{\circ} 00' 31''$  north. Working in the field with basic tools—typically a compass and a rod and chain—surveyors proceeded to block out and subdivide sections of the territory.

Early 19th-century maps of Louisiana reveal the evolution of the surveyor's craft. The first official map of the territory of Orleans, commissioned by Governor Claiborne and produced by Barthélémy Lafon in 1806, shows natural boundaries on three sides: the Sabine River to the west, the

Mississippi River to the east, and the Gulf of Mexico (and tidal lakes) to the south. Only the northern boundary is artificial: a line of latitude corresponding to  $33^{\circ}$  north. The first map to depict Louisiana as a state—issued by Matthew Carey in 1813 and published the following year in Carey's *General Atlas*—includes the recently annexed Florida parishes north and east of Baton Rouge. William Darby was the first surveyor to cover the southwestern reaches of the territory; his 1816 map is rich in detail where Carey's is lacking. ★



**Slave sale and runaway advertisements  
from the *Courrier de la Louisiane* [detail]**

New Orleans: Thierry & Co., January 24, 1810

In newspapers across the country, slave sale and runaway notices appeared alongside ship schedules and advertisements for livestock, real estate, and dry goods. Federal census returns indicate that Orleans Territory was home to more than 33,000 slaves in 1810, with some 10,824 (32.7%) residing in Orleans Parish. Runaway ads are an exceptionally rich source for details on individual slaves, as they provide intimate physical descriptions of skin, hair, and eye color, body markings (including scarification and "country marks"), and clothing.



**Sauvages du Mississippi**

1821; lithograph  
by Edouard de Montulé, draftsman  
and artist; Brocas, publisher

The Indian population in Orleans Territory was a diverse assortment of established and recently arrived tribes. Some, like the Biloxi, Pascagoula, Alibamon, Upper Creek, and Choctaw Indians, migrated to the region west of the Mississippi during the latter half of the 18th century, while others, including the territory's largest tribe, the Caddo, called the region home long before the arrival of European explorers. Historian Daniel Usner estimates the total Indian population during the territorial period to have been as high as 5,000. More precise estimates are difficult to establish, as federal policy excluded Indians from census enumerations until 1860.

## The City of New Orleans

**J**ust how many individuals resided in the city of New Orleans at the time of the Purchase remains unclear. Estimates fall between 6,000 and 20,000, though a census completed in August 1805 makes the latter estimate seem unlikely. The 1805 census was part of a series of reforms and public works projects made possible by the organization of the territory of Orleans and the subsequent passage of a city charter for New Orleans on February 17, 1805. The charter provided for 14 elected city council members, a governor-appointed mayor and city recorder, and a council-appointed city treasurer. The census, authorized by the newly formed council on May 11, 1805, captured 8,475 permanent residents of the city of New Orleans and its first suburb, the Faubourg Ste. Marie. This figure included 3,551 whites (41.9%), 1,566 free people of color (18.5%), 3,105 slaves (36.6%), and 253 “other free persons” (2.9%), a vague category typically reserved for Native Americans.

The territorial period was one of rapid

expansion for New Orleans. Farmers and rivermen from Upper Louisiana and Appalachia flooded the city, taking full advantage of their newly secured access to the Mississippi River and port of New Orleans. For those bringing their goods to market, residency was often temporary; most shepherded their cargo downriver, oversaw its sale, and headed home. Other Anglo-Americans, however, viewed New Orleans as a city where fortunes—both political and monetary—could be made, especially if the number of permanent English-speaking residents reached the critical mass necessary to tilt the balance in their favor.

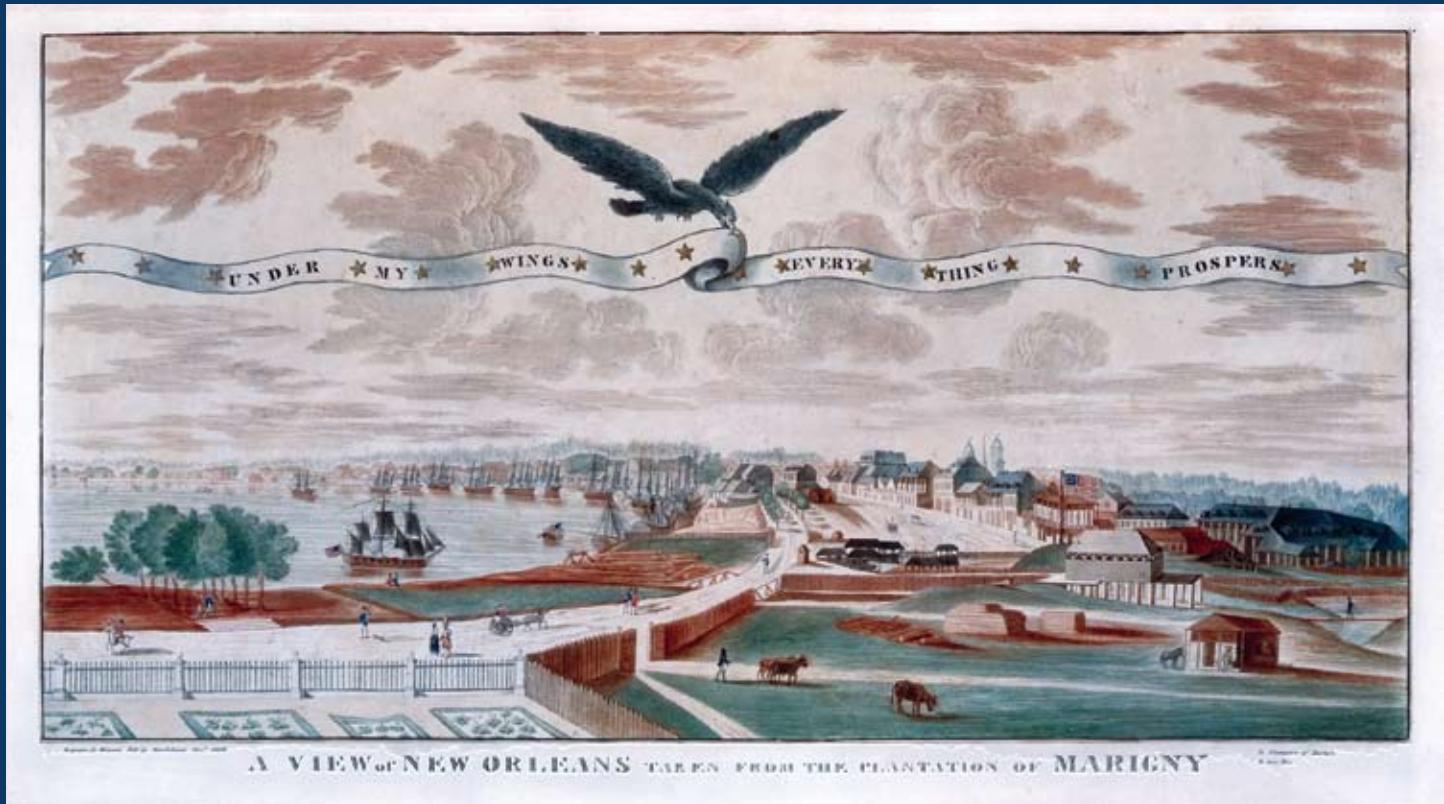
But as had so often been the case in New Orleans’s colonial past, events taking place in Europe conspired to change the course of the city’s development. In an 1808 bid to secure newly conquered Spain, Napoleon Bonaparte forced the Spanish royal family from the throne and installed his brother Joseph. Spaniards’ animosity toward France quickly spilled over into Spain’s Caribbean colony of Cuba, where many former

residents of French St. Domingue had settled during and after the Haitian Revolution. In Cuba, property confiscation and harassment of French-speaking settlers soon turned into a general order of expulsion. On April 10, 1809, Havana governor Sebastian Kindelan issued a ban requiring that “all free French settlers and foreigners regardless of class, status, sex, color, and age, residing in Santiago de Cuba or its vicinities since the advent of the French Revolution” leave the island.

In the span of less than three months, from early May to late July 1809, more than 5,700 refugees from Cuba descended on the city of New Orleans. In total, some 10,000 French-speaking refugees—including whites and free people of color, and their slaves—arrived in New Orleans in 1809–10. Their arrival ensured that New Orleans would remain predominantly Gallic or Afro-Gallic until the late 1840s. It also meant that for decades to come the city would remain linguistically and racially stratified in ways that made New Orleans more similar to urban environments throughout Latin America and the Caribbean than to those elsewhere in the United States. ★

Census Figures 1805–1810	1805				1810				% increase		
	whites	f.p.c.*	slaves	other	whites	f.p.c.	slaves	whites	f.p.c.	slaves	
New Orleans	3,043	1,408	2,684	253	4,507	3,332	4,386	48.1%	136.7%	63.4%	
Faubourg Marigny	(est. 1806)				681	961	587				
Faubourg Ste. Marie	508	158	421		1,143	657	988	125%	315.8%	134.7%	
Total by group	3,551	1,566	3,105	253	6,331	4,950	5,961	78.3%	216.1%	91.9%	
GRAND TOTAL	8,475				17,242				103.5%		

\*free people of color

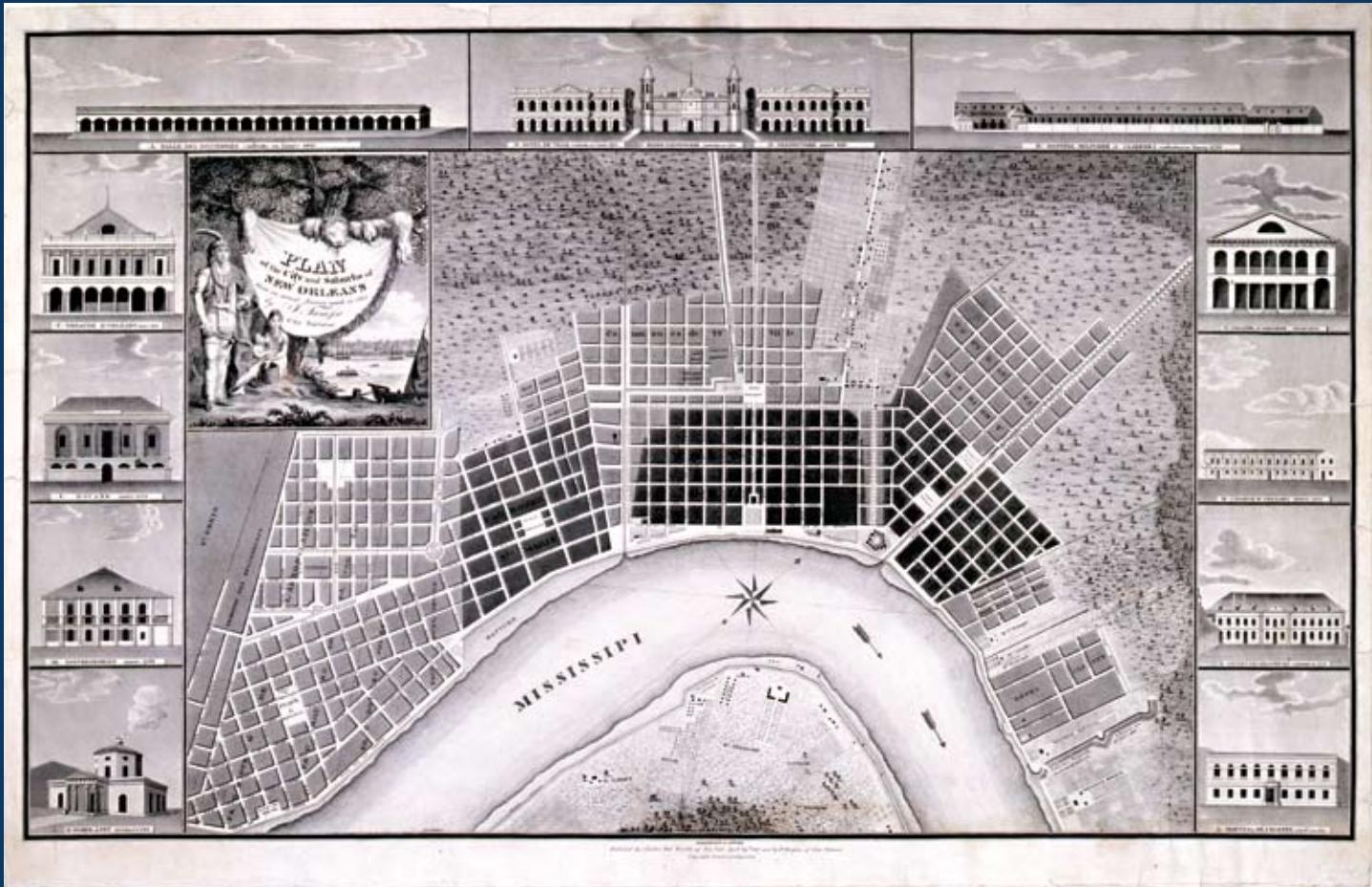


**A View of New Orleans Taken from  
the Plantation of Marigny**

November 5, 1803; aquatint with  
etching and watercolor  
by John L. Boqueta de Woiseri, printmaker

Drawn and painted views of New Orleans at the time of the Louisiana Purchase are scarce, but Woiseri's sweeping effort permits a view of the city at a critical moment in time. Woiseri's depiction shows that New Orleans was not a political and strategic abstraction but a substantial place with solid buildings, an active port, and a diverse population. Bernard de Marigny's house and plantation lands, the vantage point for this panorama, would soon be subdivided to accommodate the city's growing population. In trumpeting the United States' acquisition of Louisiana, Woiseri was either a gambler or clairvoyant. He published his print some six weeks prior to the official transfer.

## ★ LAND & DEMOGRAPHICS



**Plan of the City and Suburbs of New Orleans from an Actual Survey made by J. Tanesse in 1815**

April 29, 1817; engraving by Jacques Tanesse, surveyor; Rollinson, engraver; Charles Del Vecchio and Pierre Maspero, publishers

By 1803 New Orleans had already spread beyond the boundaries of the original 1718 French settlement. Faubourg Ste. Marie was established in 1788, adjacent to the city's southwestern, or upriver, border, and was home to many of the city's Anglo-American residents and business interests. In the decade following the Purchase, the city's footprint more than tripled as new subdivisions carved from land owned downriver by Bernard de Marigny (1806) and to the northwest by Claude Tremé (1810) provided room

for New Orleans's rapidly growing population. The new faubourgs attracted an economically and racially mixed population, primarily French-speaking, including a sizable proportion of free people of color. By 1815, faubourgs Ste. Marie and Marigny themselves were surrounded by newly subdivided lands that included faubourgs Delord (1806), La Course (1807), Annunciation (1807), Saulet (1810), and Nouveau Marigny (1810).

★ TERRITORIAL ECONOMY

New Orleans La Dec 10, 1804

*Ship Sarah cargo Slaves*

*To Basade & Claverie for furnishing  
meat from Sept 24 to Dec 10*

<i>1113 meat @ 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>¢</i>	<i>69 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub></i>
<i>74 Heads @ 17<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>¢</i>	<i>13 7</i>
<i>380 feet @ 4¢ per ft</i>	<i>5 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub></i>
	<i>89. 3</i>

*Received the above from John McDonogh  
New Orleans Dec 10 1804*

*A. Claverie  
for Basade & Claverie*

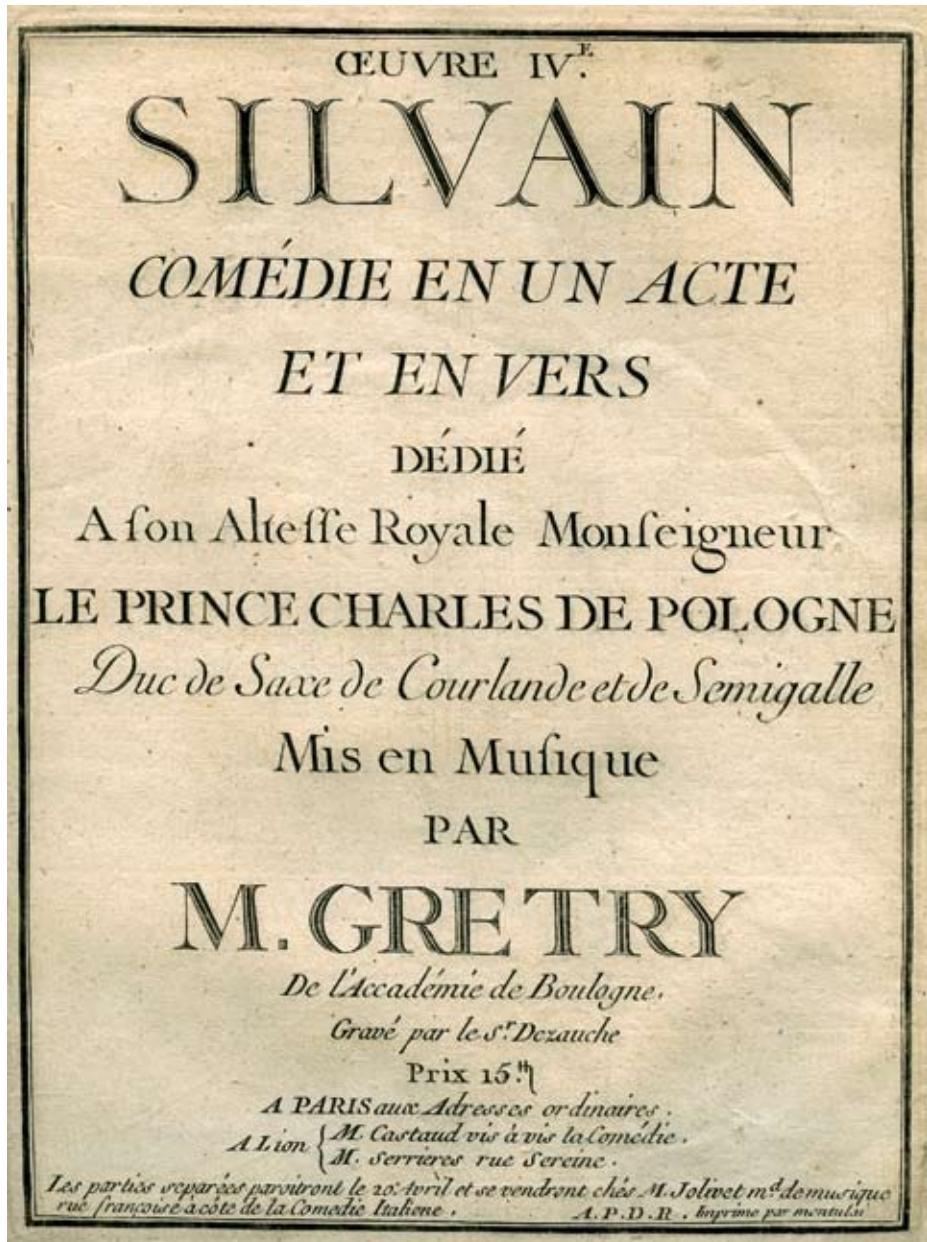
**John McDonogh receipt**  
December 10, 1804

Louisiana's role as provisioner to the French and Spanish Caribbean, established in the colonial period, continued in the years following the Purchase. Between 1804 and 1814, 64% of all flour passing through the port of New Orleans was bound for Caribbean markets, where it helped fuel the plantation economies of places like Cuba and Jamaica. The Purchase also opened up new markets for the region's foodstuffs in communities east of the Mississippi. The receipt depicted at left shows a typical provisioning transaction between local merchant and planter John McDonogh (future benefactor of the New Orleans public schools) and William Little, captain of the slave ship *Sarah*. Between September 24 and December 10, 1804, McDonogh supplied more than 1,100 pounds of meat to the *Sarah*, a ship likely engaged in the domestic slave trade on the Baltimore-to-New Orleans circuit.

**Steamboat New Orleans**  
1911; relief halftone  
by the Historical Society of Western  
Pennsylvania, publisher



Commissioned by Nicholas and Lydia Roosevelt (Theodore Roosevelt's great-uncle and -aunt) in 1810, the steamboat *New Orleans* began its maiden voyage from Pittsburgh to New Orleans on October 11, 1811. The *New Orleans* measured 148' 6" in length, 32' 6" in width, and weighed just over 370 tons. Designed and built by New Yorkers Robert Fulton and Robert Livingston, the *New Orleans* was the first steam-powered vessel to travel the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Its January 1812 arrival in its namesake city helped launch steam power's century-long domination of America's waterways.



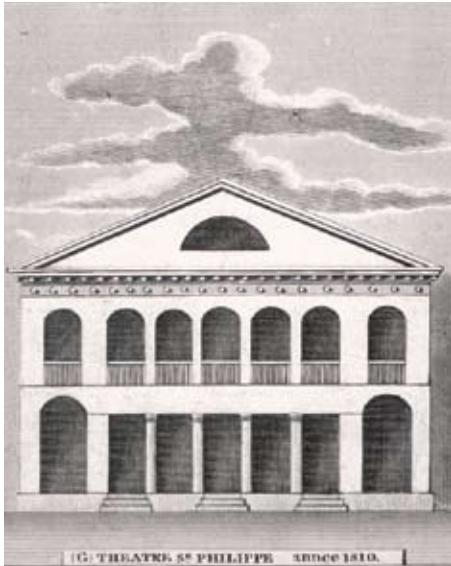
Silvain [Sylvain]: Comédie en un acte  
et en vers  
by André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry;  
Paris: Montulai, ca. 1770

### Music & Theater

New Orleans's first theater, the Spectacle de la Rue Saint-Pierre, opened on October 4, 1792. Located on St. Peter Street between Bourbon and Royal, the theater was renamed the Théâtre de Saint-Pierre sometime between 1792 and 1796. The first documented operatic performance in New Orleans, André Grétry's *Sylvain*, took place here on May 22, 1796. Grétry, whose *Sylvain* debuted in Paris in 1770, was celebrated for his pastoral style. His popularity in New Orleans spanned three decades, with over 100 performances of Grétry operas in the city between 1796 and 1821.

The Théâtre de Saint-Pierre operated as the city's only theater until the 1807 opening of the Variétés Amusantes. The Variétés were first housed in a ballroom on St. Philip Street that had once been the site of racially mixed balls, but the theater's popularity soon prompted its owners to construct a larger performance space. The new theater, renamed the Théâtre de la Rue St. Philippe, opened on January 30, 1808.

The presence of two rival theaters in a small city posed problems. Initially the St. Pierre and St. Philippe alternated performances, preventing direct competition, but when they began simultaneous performances, it strained the pool of local actors and theater personnel. Plans were made to unite the two troupes and operate out of the larger, finer St. Philippe, but the deep rift between the two theater companies prevented a merger. Both theaters operated



**St. Philip Theater [detail] from Plan of the City and Suburbs of New Orleans from an Actual Survey made by J. Tanesse in 1815**  
April 29, 1817; engraving  
by Jacques Tanesse, surveyor; Rollinson, engraver; Charles Del Vecchio and Pierre Maspero, publishers

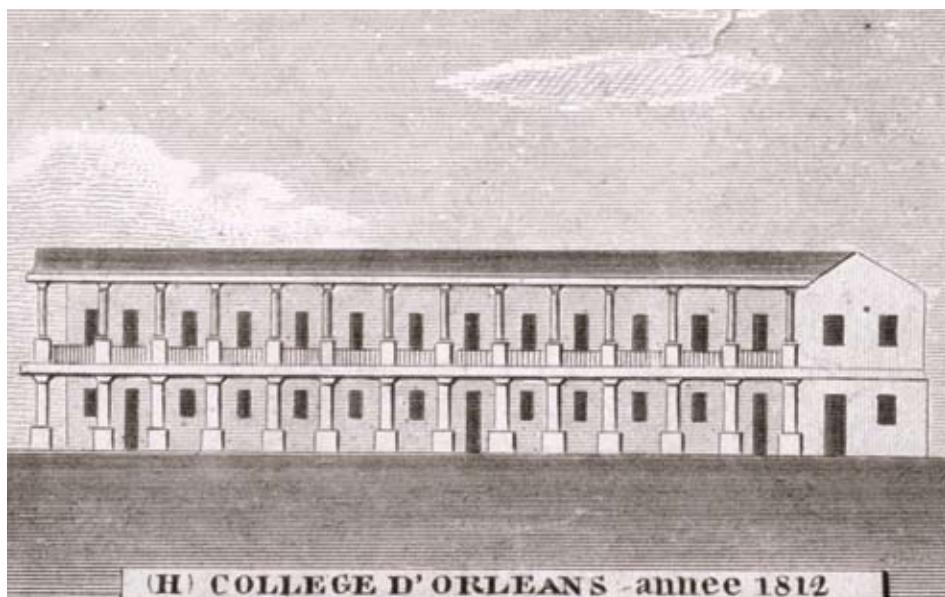
on shaky ground between 1808 and 1810, but another facelift at the St. Philippe secured its survival. The remodeled St. Philippe opened on December 7, 1810; two days later the St. Pierre closed for good. In 1811 the St. Philippe, under the guidance of an American company, began hosting the city's first organized English-language productions. ★

## *Education*

**W**hen Governor Claiborne arrived in New Orleans in 1803, there was only one public and a handful of private schools in operation. Literacy hovered just under 50%. Concerned about the population's limited access to education, Claiborne sought and received the territorial legislature's support for public education. Education acts passed in 1805, 1806, and 1811 met with mixed success. With the support of the legislature, Claiborne established a territorial school system with affiliated schools in each county. But insufficient funding and a lack of public support caused the territory-wide system to fail. In New Orleans the push for education was more successful. In 1812 the Collège d'Orléans

opened its doors in the newly created Faubourg Tremé. The school was not free, though there were a limited number of city-council-sponsored scholarships available to needy students. Classes were conducted in French and competition for scholarships was fierce, especially among the children of St. Domingue refugees. Internal struggles at the Collège resulted in its closure in the 1820s. ★

**Collège d'Orléans [detail] from Plan of the City and Suburbs of New Orleans from an Actual Survey made by J. Tanesse in 1815**  
April 29, 1817; engraving  
by Jacques Tanesse, surveyor; Rollinson, engraver; Charles Del Vecchio and Pierre Maspero, publishers





**General James Wilkinson**

©1903; Goupil gravure  
by Goupil and Company, publisher

**Public Plunder**

1809; broadside  
by William Simmons, author

Maryland native James Wilkinson first served as an officer in the Revolutionary War. After settling in Kentucky in the 1780s, he cultivated relationships with Spanish officials in New Orleans. In exchange for trading rights, land, and pension payments granted by Spanish officials, Wilkinson swore an oath of allegiance to Spain and provided intelligence on American political and military objectives in the Trans-Appalachian West. Wilkinson successfully concealed his role as dual agent, and in 1803 he became one of two U.S. commissioners to formally take possession of the Louisiana Purchase territory for the United States. In 1805 President Thomas Jefferson appointed Wilkinson governor of the Louisiana Territory. This powerful position—headquartered in St. Louis and far from official oversight—emboldened Wilkinson to continue in his intrigues with Spanish officials. He appears to have been actively involved in the Burr Conspiracy and was also accused of misuse of public funds. In the broadside printed at right, the "Watchmen" accuse Wilkinson of "public plunder" of the U.S. Treasury in excess of \$56,000. Wilkinson was eventually court-martialed and subjected to congressional inquiries for his suspicious activities. He escaped indictment, but his reputation was forever tarnished.

# PUBLIC PLUNDER.

**FELLOW CITIZENS,**

We would not, without the strongest cause, nor without the best proof, charge any of our public officers with corrupt and improper conduct. We would not, but upon the most satisfactory evidence of guilt, accuse them of so foul a crime as peculation. But when immense sums of public money, without law or authority, are lavished upon a worthless tool of the executive, and a traitor to his country—it becomes our duty to sound the alarm, and arouse the people to a sense of their wrongs.

Fellow-Citizens, it is in evidence before the public, that Gen. James Wilkinson, commander in chief of the American army, who has distinguished himself as the bold assailant of the constitution—who has received a bribe from a foreign government, and who has attempted to set up a military despotism, by substituting the bayonet and the sword, for law—it is in evidence, we say, that this man has drawn from the treasury of the United States, in the short period of three or four years, upwards of **FIFTY-SIX THOUSAND DOLLARS!**

This enormous depredation upon our public funds, was disclosed by Mr. Hillhouse, in a speech delivered in the Senate of the United States, on the 15th of February last. A committee was appointed, on motion of Mr. Hillhouse, to inquire into this nefarious transaction; and this committee obtained, not only a statement attested to by the accountant of the War Department, Mr. Simmons, shewing that Wilkinson had, under various pretences, drawn *fifty-six thousand, one hundred and sixteen dollars*, out of the treasury; but also a series of documents, to prove, that the president, the secretary of war, and the attorney-general of the United States, had clothed their wits to screen the plunderer from punishment.

It is unnecessary to detail all the items which compose Wilkinson's account. As a specimen, however, of the whole, we beg leave to mention, that he drew for his table expences at New-Orleans, for four months and an half, *six thousand, six hundred and nineteen Dollars, and seventy-two cents!* By an attested copy of the bill on which this draft was predicated, it appears, that there were, amongst the articles for his table, for that short period, *twelve hundred and seventy-six bottles, two hundred and eight glasses, and one quarter cask of WINE*—making in the whole *nine thousand three hundred and seventy-six bottles, or eighteen bottles per day—three hundred and thirty-nine bottles of Porter and Ale—seventy-four gallons of Brandy, Rum and Whisky—one case *Gin—three barrels* Cider—besides *Cordials, Bitters, Capers, Brandy Fruits, Raisins, Sugar-Plums*, and *eleven thousand, three hundred and fifty SEGARS!**

The following are amongst the documents presented by the committee:—

**ACCOUNTANT'S OFFICE.**

SIR,  
On the adjustment of the accounts of the military agents and their assistants, it appears that disbursements have been made on your account, which the act of congress, fixing the military peace establishment, does not authorize. I have, consequently, been compelled to charge all such disbursements to your personal account, thereby considerably increasing the balance standing to your debt on the books of this office.

Of this circumstance I have thought it my duty to acquaint you, and to suggest the propriety of a settlement of your public accounts while your presence at the seat of government may afford the means of effecting such settlement. I am, &c.

(Signed) WM. SIMMONS, Accountant of War Department.  
Brigadier General Wilkinson, City of Washington.

**ACCOUNTANT'S OFFICE.**

SIR,  
I have received your letter of the 16th instant, and in reply have to observe, that it was not my intention by the letter addressed to you on the 20th ultimo, to bring into view any of the *irregular expenditures* which may have been made by your orders arising under the peculiar circumstances you have mentioned. Those to which my letter had reference are the payments made by the military agents and their assistants from time to time for the transportation of your baggage, purchase of fuel, forage, &c. on your personal account, *allowances which are POSITIVELY FORBIDDEN* by the fourth section of the law fixing the military peace establishment, under date the 16th March, 1802.

I am, &c.

(Signed) WM. SIMMONS.  
Brigadier General J. Wilkinson, City of Washington.

**NOTES.**

SIR,  
In reply to your letter of the 10th instant, requesting to be informed what was the daily allowance admitted for your services when engaged as a commissioner on Indian affairs in 1801, 2, and 3, I have the honor to state, that your account on that head has been credited with the following amounts, viz:

Commissioner as commissioner for holding treaties with the Cherokee, Choctaw and Creek Indians, from 12th Sept., 1801, to 20th October, 1802, 465 days at \$ dollars.	3,728
Compensation as commissioner to determine and mark the Cherokee boundary line, from 1st October, 1802, to 24 December, 1803, 409 days at \$ dollars.	2,454
Commissioner while on your route from Mobile to New-Orleans, from 4th to 16th December, 1803, and from New-Orleans to Palafox-Isles, from 25th April, to 1st June, 1804, 50 days at \$ dollars.	490

It will be understood that the above compensations are in addition to the expenses of your table as a commissioner, and travelling expenses; and also in addition to your pay as commander in chief.

While on the subject of your accounts, permit me again to call your attention to the contents of my letter to you of the 23d March last, and to add that since that date the debts to your accounts have considerably increased, the amount of which will constitute one of the items in the list of balances about to be laid before Congress, unless previously accounted for.

I am, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM SIMMONS.  
Brigadier-general J. Wilkinson, City of Washington.

The peculator, annoyed by this bold and independent conduct of the honest, upright and patriotic officer, Mr. Simmons,<sup>4</sup> applied to his friend and patron, the president—and the president directed Gen. Dearborn, Secretary of War, to allow the whole amount of Wilkinson's account. The Secretary of War, on the 6th of January, 1809, informed the Controller of the Treasury, (G. Duval) of this allowance, and of the president's approbation. Mr. Duval, on the 9th, enclosed all the accounts to the account of the War Department—and on the 10th received the following reply:—

**DEPARTMENT OF WAR.**

SIR,  
ACCOUNTANT'S OFFICE, January 10, 1809.

The account of the brigadier general James Wilkinson, covered by your letter of the 8th instant, to be acted upon in this office, had been some days before exhibited to me for allowance, and was objected to, *because I conceived the claim EXPRESSLY PROHIBITED BY LAW.*

The 4th section of the act fixing the military peace establishment passed the 16th March, 1802, contains the following clause: "And it enacted, that the monthly pay of the officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates, be as follows, to wit: to the brigadier general, two hundred and twenty-five dollars, which shall be his full and entire compensation, without a right to demand or receive any rations, forage, travelling expences, or other perquisite or emolument whatsoever, except such stationary as may be requisite for the use of his department." Now the claim of brigadier general Wilkinson, being for thirty-six rations per day at Natchitoches, from 13th September, 1805, to 17th November following, and at New-Orleans, from 12th November, 1806, to 24th May, 1807, and for quarters, stables, &c. at the latter place, from 25th November, 1806, to 24th May, 1807. I have of course conceived as I have above stated, that its allowance was prohibited by law.

The clause contained in the 5th section of the above act, authorizing such additional number of rations to the commanding officer of each separate post, as the president of the United States may direct, I did not conceive was intended to include the brigadier general after the prohibitory clause contained in the preceding section, and such must have been the opinion heretofore held by others; for I found on examination that colonel Cushing received double rations, as commanding officer at Natchitoches for the greater part of the time charged by the general at that place, and that lieutenant colonel Freeman and colonel Cushing, received triple rations at New-Orleans, together, including nearly the whole period charged by the general at the latter place, and in no instance within my recollection have double rations been allowed to two officers for the same period, at the same post. Indeed the clause of the section last referred to, would seem to forbid it; because it limits the direction of the President of the United States, to the allowance of additional rations to the commanding officer of each separate post.

The item for quarters, stables, &c. while at New-Orleans, in my opinion, is also prohibited by the 4th section of the act first mentioned, and in conformity with this opinion held by me ever since the passing of this act, I have uniformly charged to the personal account of General Wilkinson, all sums paid by the agent of this department, for fuel, forage, transportation, &c. for his use, and at this time his account stands charged with a considerable amount composed of such items, as well as other moneys of long standing unaccounted for.

Under these impressions, I do not feel myself authorized to admit any part of the account, and therefore return it herewith to be revised by the accounting officers of the treasury as suggested in your letter.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM SIMMONS.  
G. DUVAL, Esquire, Comptroller of the Treasury.

Thus detected and exposed by this faithful officer, the secretary was resort to that humble and obsequious tool of the executive, the attorney-general of the United States, to obtain a cloak for his own or the president's iniquity. The attorney-general (who had more than once given evidence of his shameful subserviency to the views of the president) after admitting that the allowances to Wilkinson was unauthorized, nay, forbidden, by law, undertook to justify it, under the pretense that "usage and custom" had sanctioned it; and concluded by saying—"Under the best consideration I have been able to give the case, I believe the practice to be correct and legal."

Thus, fellow-citizens, has your treasury been plundered of more than **FIFTY-SIX THOUSAND DOLLARS**; not by the simple act of a petty offender; but BY THE CONNIVANCE OF THE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY OF WAR, AND THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES! It would be an insult to your understanding to offer any comment on transactions like these. Let it be remembered, that, with such facts staring them in the face, all the democratic members of the legislature of this state, have offered the most voluminous and unanimous approbation of every measure of the administration—thus, from mere party views, sanctioning, countenancing, and encouraging the most gross and abominable fraud and peculation.—Let no such men be trusted.

**WATCHMEN.**

\* If Mr. Simmons is turned out of office for his honest and independent conduct in this affair, we hope and trust that he will be gratefully remembered by the people of the United States. Such a man is truly deserving of public approbation.

*Corsair Alligator*  
1813; watercolor  
by C. Roussel, painter

The corsair *Alligator* was likely a privateer, a private vessel of war issued letters of marque and reprisal by a sponsoring government. The use of private vessels of war was critical to U.S. defense throughout the territorial period because America lacked a strong standing naval fleet. In Louisiana, both Governor Claiborne and U.S. Navy Commandant Daniel Todd Patterson repeatedly complained to Washington that naval assets in New Orleans were insufficient

to police territorial waters. Once open war broke out with Great Britain in 1812, the use of privateers augmented the national force and helped disrupt enemy commerce.



**A Translation of the Titles on Promises and Obligations, Sale and Purchase, and Exchange from the Spanish of Las siete partidas**

by Louis Moreau-Lislet and Henry Carleton;  
New Orleans: Roche Brothers, 1818

*The Law of the Land*

In 1712, six years before the founding of New Orleans, France established civil government in Louisiana based upon the *Coutume de Paris*, a code of 16 titles and 362 articles. These laws and ordinances, with the addition of the 1724 *Code Noir*—which regulated the treatment and actions of slaves and free people of color—formed the basis of the French colonial legal system. In 1769 Spanish Governor Don Alejandro O'Reilly replaced the French code with one based on *Las siete partidas*, an encyclopedic summary of Spanish law dating to the 13th century. Code law, in both its French and Spanish forms, was based on a civil tradition in which the community property system, principles of forced heirship and implied warranty, free alienation of property, and freedom of contract protected the rights of families and their members and simplified the laws of property and obligations.

Code law differed greatly from the English common law tradition in use



throughout the United States in 1803, in which trial by jury, the writ of habeas corpus, and reliance upon legal precedent were hallmarks. At the time of the Purchase the federal government agreed—at least provisionally—to continue the system of code law. But although President Jefferson intended to eventually replace Louisiana's civil system with the English common law system in use throughout the rest of the American states and territories, this strategy required thoughtful implementation. As Jefferson's appointed representative of federal policy, Claiborne understood that hasty action might antagonize the French Creole population or be seen as reneging on the federal government's initial agreement to respect the territory's existing laws. He proceeded with caution.

In "An Act for the punishment of crimes and misdemeanors," approved May 4, 1805, by the Legislative Council of the Territory of Orleans, common law was introduced

to address all criminal matters, except those involving slaves. After some acrimony between the governor and the territorial legislature, the lawmakers passed a resolution in 1806 appointing jurisconsults Louis Moreau-Lislet and James Brown to compile a civil code. The resulting code, adopted March 31, 1808, drew from a dizzying variety of legal sources, including the recently issued Napoleonic Code.

The 1808 code was useful but incomplete. For some areas of jurisprudence, lawyers, judges, and legislators still had to consult earlier, hard-to-locate, and often obscure volumes of colonial law to settle cases. Publications released in 1818 and 1820 attempted to fill the legal gaps, but the issue was not fully addressed until the 1825 publication of the *Civil Code of the State of Louisiana*—which, with the exception of a handful of revisions made in 1870, governed vast areas of Louisiana's private law into the late 20th century. ★

## The Batture Controversy

**B**efore late 19th-century efforts by the United States Army Corps of Engineers began to confine the channel of the Mississippi River with levees and dredging, the waterway's natural meandering routinely added and removed land along its banks. The beachlike swath of shifting land along the river's edges was called the batture. The batture's utility and accessibility varied with the height of the river and the erosive actions of the channel. The case to decide batture ownership became a celebrated—and protracted—legal battle during the territorial period.

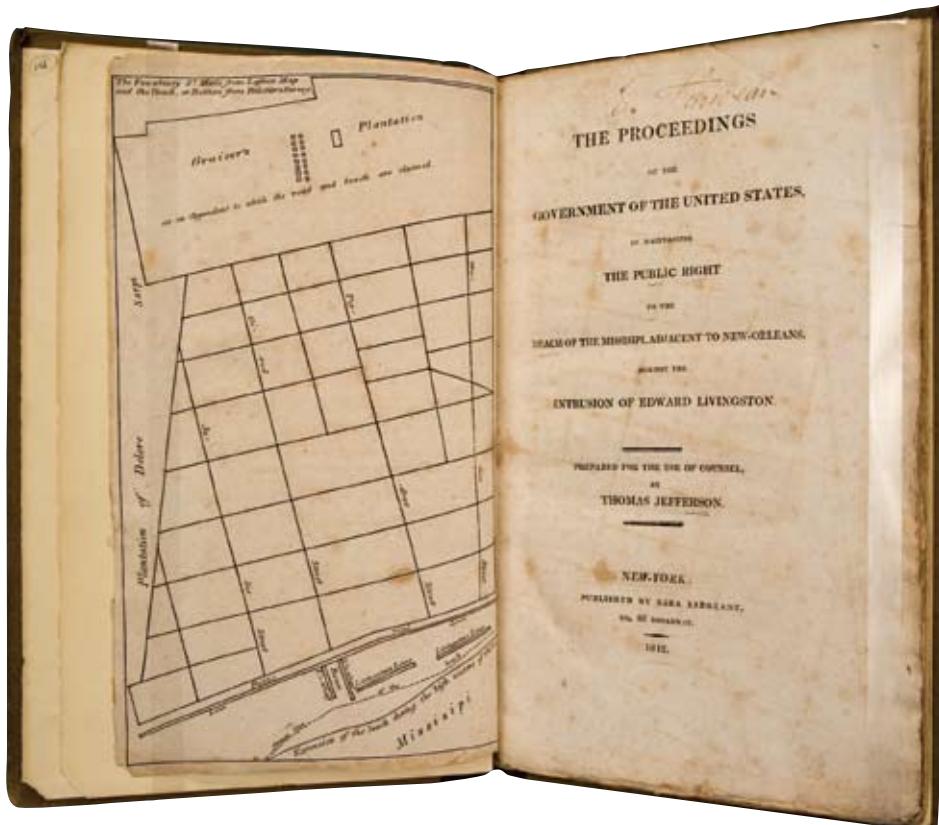
In 1803, Jean Gravier, a planter and real

estate developer whose property fronted the riverbank, claimed ownership of the batture lands adjoining his own. His claim countered the longstanding assumption that the batture was public property. With the help of attorney Edward Livingston, Gravier successfully brought suit against the city, with Livingston receiving a portion of Gravier's batture claim as his fee. Despite Gravier's legal triumph, however, the case did little to alter the popular perception that the batture was public land, and the city distanced itself from further legal dispute by declaring the batture federal land.

By late summer 1807, persistent questions

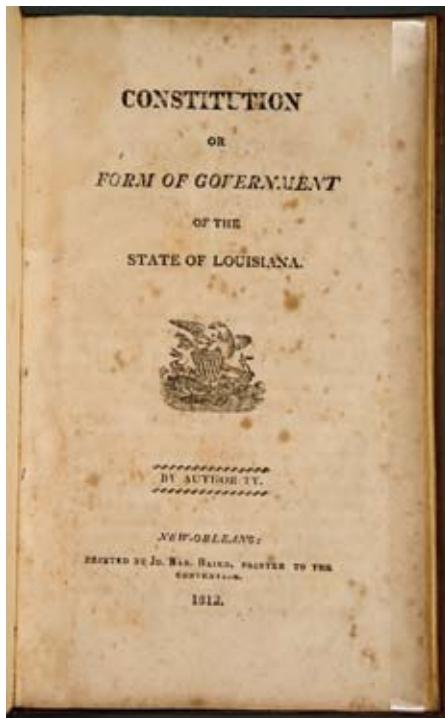
about batture ownership and growing public contention over the issue led Governor Claiborne to petition President Jefferson in hopes of resolving the situation. Jefferson asserted that the batture belonged to the United States and attempted to use the Squatters' Act of 1807 to force Livingston from his batture property. Before Jefferson's order could be carried out, Livingston obtained an injunction from the Superior Court of the Territory of Orleans, but the federally appointed marshal ordered Livingston off the land anyway. With this, a war of pamphlets authored by some of New Orleans's leading citizens ensued, with each side presenting arguments and counterarguments for rightful ownership. The pamphlet campaign spilled over into the pages of the nation's leading newspapers, and batture ownership became the subject of court cases and congressional debate.

In 1817 Livingston and others who claimed private ownership of batture property proposed a compromise: they agreed to relinquish claims to the levee and a portion of the batture, as long as the city agreed not to interfere with improvements made to the property. On September 20, 1820, the agreement was finalized. ★



**The Proceedings of the Government of the United States, in Maintaining the Public Right to the Beach of the Mississippi, Adjacent to New-Orleans, against the Intrusion of Edward Livingston**  
by Thomas Jefferson; New York: Ezra Sargeant, 1812

## ★ THE EIGHTEENTH STATE



**O**n April 30, 1812, Louisiana became the 18th member of the United States. The road to statehood had been long. Residents of Orleans Territory first pressed for statehood in December 1804, when Edward Livingston delivered the "Louisiana Remonstrance" to the U.S. Congress on behalf of Louisiana's Creole and American planters. In the Remonstrance, the authors railed against restrictions on slavery, the lack of representative government, and Governor Claiborne's excessive powers and his ignorance of French language and customs. Though the Remonstrance failed to bring about immediate statehood, it did influence a congressional decision in 1805 that made Orleans Territory's legislative branch an elected one. Six years later, in February 1811, Congress passed the Enabling Act, permitting the territory to draft a constitution and apply for statehood.

For all of the differences in linguistic, cultural, and religious practices that made Louisiana so unlike the other 17

**Constitution or Form of Government of the State of Louisiana**  
New Orleans: Jo. Bar. Baird, 1812

states, its first constitution was modeled largely on a 1799 model drafted for the Commonwealth of Kentucky. Perhaps not coincidentally, two framers of Louisiana's constitution—Allan B. Magruder and James Brown—had recently moved from Kentucky to Louisiana. Like many other models of its day, Louisiana's constitution limited suffrage to property-owning, tax-paying white males who met the one-year residency requirement and turned 21 prior to casting their vote.

Unlike previous state constitutional conventions, however, the Louisiana convention was conducted in French. Julien Poydras of Pointe Coupée Parish was the chairman. The convention mandated that the final draft be promulgated in English; though a French version was not proscribed, one was indeed published. Another key difference was the perpetuation of Louisiana's civil law tradition. Article IV,

**Constitution ou forme du gouvernement de l'état de la Louisiane**  
New Orleans: Thierry, 1812

Section 11 maintained "the existing laws in this territory" and provided that "the legislature shall never adopt any system or code of laws, by general reference to the said system or code, but in all cases, shall specify the several provisions of the laws it may enact." This article, authored by Bernard de Marigny, maintained civil law in Louisiana and prevented the wholesale adoption of English common law—in use throughout the rest of the nation—despite Claiborne's objections.

The 1812 constitution maintained New Orleans as the seat of government. And although provisions for amending the constitution were present, no amendments were ever added. The 1812 constitution remained in effect for 33 years, until a new one was adopted in 1845. Of the original framers, only Bernard de Marigny participated in the 1845 convention. ★



**18-star American flag**  
ca. 1812; silk and cotton  
by the female residents of Hope  
Plantation for Colonel Philip Hicky

# ★ EXHIBITION CHECKLIST

## FOUNDATIONS

### Remarks on the Late Infraction of Treaty at New Orleans

by William Stephens Smith under the pseudonym Coriolanus; New York: Vermilye and Crooker, 1803  
76-649-RL

### Acts Passed at the First Session of the Eighth Congress of the United States of America

Washington, 1803  
99-123-RL

### Bonaparte Discussing the Louisiana Purchase Treaty with Talleyrand and Marbois

June 1904; photomechanical halftone print by Jean André Castaigne, draftsman and artist; H. Davidson, engraver  
1974.25.10.64

### Signing of the Louisiana Purchase Treaty by Marbois, Livingston, and Monroe

1904; halftone  
by Jean André Castaigne, delineator; H. Davidson, engraver  
1974.25.10.65

### Model of the Cabildo

early 20th century; plaster  
by John Boffato, model maker  
*lent by the Louisiana State Museum*

### Scene of Transfer of Louisiana from France to the United States in the Place d'Armes at New Orleans

©1901; Goupil gravure  
by T. de Thulstrup, artist; Goupil and Company, publisher  
1991.34.25  
gift of Mr. Thomas Lennox

### Louisiana

published 1805; hand-colored engraving  
by Samuel Lewis, delineator; Henry Schenck Tanner, engraver; Aaron Arrowsmith, publisher  
1974.74.2

### Proclamation au nom de la République Française

1803; broadside  
by Pierre Clément Laussat, author  
96-446-RL

### Conjectural View of the Government House, 1761

1960s; ink on tracing paper  
by Henry W. Krotzer Jr., draftsman and artist  
1978.245.7  
gift of Mr. Leonard V. Huber

### Commission for William C. C. Claiborne granting him temporary powers as general governor and intendant of the province of Louisiana

October 31, 1803  
by Thomas Jefferson, author  
78-115-L  
gift of Mr. Claiborne Perrilliat

### William Charles Cole Claiborne

©1903; Goupil gravure  
by Goupil and Company, publisher  
1991.34.26  
gift of Mr. Thomas Lennox

### General James Wilkinson

©1903; Goupil gravure  
by Goupil and Company, publisher  
1991.34.17  
gift of Mr. Thomas Lennox

### Commission for Benjamin Morgan to the post of Secretary of the Territory of Orleans

July 19, 1807  
by Thomas Jefferson, author  
*lent by the Louisiana State Museum*

### Commission for Peter Derbigny to the post of French and Spanish Interpreter

December 23, 1803  
by William C. C. Claiborne, author  
70-07-L  
gift of General L. Kemper Williams



## LAND AND DEMOGRAPHICS

### Laws, Treaties and Other Documents, Having Operation and Respect to the Public Lands

1810  
by Jun. Joseph Gales, printer  
2002-91-RL

### The Laws of the Territory of Louisiana Comprising All Those Which Are Now Actually in Force within the Same

St. Louis: J. Charless, 1808  
97-352-RL

### Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana

by Amos Stoddard; Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1812  
72-90-L.6  
73-989-L  
76-709-RL, gift of Mr. Ralph M. Pons  
95-508-RL, bequest of Mrs. Anita M. Nolan Pitot

### Report of the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures

1804  
by Samuel L. Mitchell, author  
99-263-RL.2

### Exploratory Travels through the Western Territories of North America

by Zebulon Montgomery Pike and Thomas Rees; London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1811  
73-29-L

### Travels to the Source of the Missouri River and across the American Continent to the Pacific Ocean

by Meriwether Lewis; London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1815  
73-991-L

### Anonymous letter and map of southeast Louisiana

February 30, 1807  
2009.0201

### Carte générale du Territoire d'Orléans comprenant aussi la Floride Occidentale et une portion du Territoire du Mississippi

1806; engraving  
by Barthélémy Lafon  
1971.52  
bequest of Richard Koch

### A Map of the State of Louisiana with Part of the Mississippi Territory

ca. 1816; hand-colored engraving  
by William Darby, surveyor; Samuel Harrison, engraver; John Melish, publisher  
1957.57  
gift of Richard Koch

### Baxa Luisiana

between 1799 and 1803; ink, watercolor, and pencil  
by Juan Pedro Walker, cartographer  
1977.97

### Louisiana

1814; hand-colored engraving  
by Mathew Carey, publisher  
1958.21

### Sauvages du Mississippi

1821; lithograph  
by Edouard de Montulé, draftsman and artist; Brocas, publisher  
1974.25.10.159

**A Plan of a Tract of Land on Bayou Boeuf**  
October 12, 1803; ink and watercolor  
by Samuel Wells, surveyor  
1988.142

**Border bottle with sealed stopper**  
ca. 1840; glass  
*lent by the Louisiana State Museum*

**Jean Etienne de Boré**  
©1903; Goupil gravure  
by Goupil and Company, publisher  
1991.34.28 iv  
*gift of Mr. Thomas Lennox*

**A View of New Orleans Taken from the Plantation of Marigny**  
November 5, 1803; aquatint with etching and watercolor  
by John L. Boqueta de Woiseri, printmaker  
1958.42

**Plan de la ville de la Nouvelle-Orléans**  
January 31, 1936, from an 1808 original by Gilbert Joseph Pilié; blueline print  
by L. Pelleter  
2008.0001.3

**Plan of the City and Suburbs of New Orleans from an Actual Survey Made by J. Tanesse in 1815**  
April 29, 1817; engraving  
by Jacques Tanesse, surveyor; Rollinson, engraver; Charles Del Vecchio and Pierre Maspero, publishers  
1971.4

**Plan de la ville et des faubourgs incorporés de la Nouvelle-Orléans**  
1870s; ink with watercolor  
by Claude Jules Allou d'Hémécourt, draftsman  
1966.33.30

**Plan de l'ancien Faubourg Marigny**  
January 1, 1811; ink  
by Gilbert Joseph Pilié, draftsman  
1985.39  
*gift of Mr. Jim Mills*

**The Seat of Mr. Duplantier near New Orleans, and Lately Occupied as Head Quarters, by Genl. J. Wilkinson**  
ca. 1816; hand-colored engraving  
by G. Birch, draftsman and artist; W. Birch, engraver  
1960.12  
*gift of Boyd Cruise*

**Delord-Sarpy House, Jefferson Parish**  
1956; watercolor  
by Clay Watson, painter  
1979.25.7

**Plan de l'habitation de M. Solet divisée en lots**  
September 17, 1810; ink  
by Barthélémy Lafon, draftsman  
1980.14.2

**Subdivision of Robin and Livaudais tracts**  
ca. 1811; ink  
1981.297

**Plan of the Front Part of the City of New Orleans in 1818**  
1827; wood engraving  
by Gilbert Joseph Pilié, surveyor  
2003.0016.4.7  
*gift of Mr. Frederick Lee Lawson*

**Plan des terrains appartenant à By. Lafon et distribués pour être vendus le 15 d'Avril**  
between 1807 and 1812; ink and watercolor  
by Barthélémy Lafon, draftsman  
1978.57

**Plan d'une portion de terre**  
June 4, 1811  
by Jacques Tanesse, draftsman  
1986.18  
*gift of Mr. Samuel Wilson Jr.*



## TERRITORIAL ECONOMY

**Side elevation of the first steamboat New Orleans used to construct a model**  
ca. 1911  
1974.25.33.17

**Steamboat New Orleans**  
1911; relief halftone  
by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, publisher  
1974.25.33.84

**The Navigator**  
by Zadok Cramer; Pittsburgh: Zadok Cramer, 1806  
2008.0085.1

**Regulations for the Port of New-Orleans**  
1808; broadside  
86-2139-RL

**Jean Noël Destréhan**  
©1903; Goupil gravure  
by Goupil and Company, publisher  
1991.34.28 ii  
*gift of Mr. Thomas Lennox*

**Destréhan Plantation**  
1940s; oil on board  
by Homer E. Turner, painter  
2002.66.10  
*gift of Beverly Turner Lynds*

**Valcour Aime**  
©1903; Goupil gravure  
by Goupil and Company, publisher  
1991.34.28 v  
*gift of Mr. Thomas Lennox*

**Maison Duvergé à Alger**  
ca. 1887; watercolor and pencil  
by William R. Shaw, draftsman and artist  
1964.12

**John McDonogh receipts**  
between 1804 and 1806  
70-49-L

**Slave sale and runaway advertisements from the Courrier de la Louisiane**  
New Orleans: Thierry & Co., January 24, 1810  
86-2119-RL

**Plano figurativo de la posesion dada al Soguero Elias Winters**  
1819; ink  
by Vicente Sebastián Pintado, surveyor  
1979.243  
*gift of Mr. Samuel Wilson Jr. in memory of Mrs. Albert Lieutaud*

**John McDonogh land transaction**  
1809  
89-32-L  
*John McDonogh Land Tenure Records, Williams Research Center*

**Extract from the Rules and Regulations of the Bank of Orleans**  
ca. 1810; broadside  
by the Bank of Orleans, author; John Dacqueny, printer  
86-1998-RL

**Map of the south central United States showing the Natchez Trace**  
between 1812 and 1817; engraving  
1958.22

**Abandoned Trace, Madison County**  
between 1940 and 1947; photoprint  
1974.25.10.156

## ★ EXHIBITION CHECKLIST

**Natchez Trace Road, Claiborne County, near Coonbox Crossroads**  
between 1940 and 1947; photoprint  
1974.25.10.157

**Grindstone Ford**  
between 1940 and 1947; photoprint  
1974.25.10.158

**Model of the Custom House**  
early 20th century; plaster  
by Thompson and Foster, model makers  
*lent by the Louisiana State Museum*

**One-real coin (Spain)**  
1805; silver  
by T. H., assayer  
*lent by the Louisiana State Museum*

**One-real coin (Spain)**  
1812; silver  
by Henrique Buenaventura Azorin and  
Joaquin Davila Madrid, assayers  
*lent by the Louisiana State Museum*

**Eight-real coin (Spain)**  
1810; silver  
by Henrique Buenaventura Azorin and  
Joaquin Davila Madrid, assayers  
*lent by the Louisiana State Museum*

**Four-maravedí coin (Spain)**  
1807; copper  
*lent by the Louisiana State Museum*

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## SOCIETY & CULTURE

**Custom House [detail] from Plan of the City and Suburbs of New Orleans from an Actual Survey made by J. Tanesse in 1815**  
April 29, 1817; engraving  
by Jacques Tanesse, surveyor; Rollinson,  
engraver; Charles Del Vecchio and  
Pierre Maspero, publishers  
1971.4

**St. Philip Theater [detail] from Plan of the City and Suburbs of New Orleans from an Actual Survey made by J. Tanesse in 1815**  
April 29, 1817; engraving  
by Jacques Tanesse, surveyor; Rollinson,  
engraver; Charles Del Vecchio and  
Pierre Maspero, publishers  
1971.4

**Orleans Theater [detail] from Plan of the City and Suburbs of New Orleans from an Actual Survey made by J. Tanesse in 1815**

April 29, 1817; engraving  
by Jacques Tanesse, surveyor; Rollinson,  
engraver; Charles Del Vecchio and  
Pierre Maspero, publishers  
1971.4

**Collège d'Orléans [detail] from Plan of the City and Suburbs of New Orleans from an Actual Survey made by J. Tanesse in 1815**

April 29, 1817; engraving  
by Jacques Tanesse, surveyor; Rollinson,  
engraver; Charles Del Vecchio and  
Pierre Maspero, publishers  
1971.4

**Model of the St. Philip Theater**

early 20th century; plaster  
by Thompson and Foster, model makers  
*lent by the Louisiana State Museum*

**Silvain [Sylvain]: Comédie en un acte et en vers**

by André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry; Paris:  
Montulai, ca. 1770  
2007.0313

**Le Moniteur de la Louisiane**

New Orleans: J. B. L. S. Fontaine, July 22, 1809  
70-76-L.9

**Natura lenguarum or Theory and Practice of Three Languages Compared and Easely Learned**

by G. Mt. De Pays; New Orleans: Jerome  
Bayon, 1832  
79-923-RL

**On Royal Street, New Orleans**

June, 1871; pencil and white wash  
by Alfred Rudolph Waud, draftsman and artist  
1965.19 i

**Aaron Burr**

©1903; Goupil gravure  
by Goupil and Company, publisher  
1991.34.27  
*gift of Mr. Thomas Lennox*

**Public Plunder**

1809; broadside  
by William Simmons, author  
2001-1-RL.1.1

**Philemon Thomas**

©1903; Goupil gravure  
by Goupil and Company, publisher  
1991.34.32 iii  
*gift of Mr. Thomas Lennox*

**Survey of land on north shore of Lake Pontchartrain at junction with Tchefuncte River**

July 23, 1804; ink  
by David Bannister Morgan, draftsman  
1977.128

**Plan of the Fort of Baton Rouge**

1814; ink and watercolor  
by Barthélémy Lafon, draftsman and artist  
1970.2.16 i,ii

**Letter from John Randolph to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn requesting information on the state of American and Spanish forces in the Territory of Orleans and environs**

December 10, 1806  
by John Randolph, author  
86-2129-RL

**Postillon del mensagero Luisianes**

July 22, 1811; broadside  
by Vincente Folch, author; Joaquín de Lisa  
and José Antonio Bonivet, publishers  
2007.0068

★ ★ ★

## POLITICS AND THE LAW

**Regulations for the port of New Orleans**

1803; broadside  
by William Charles Cole Claiborne, author  
96-225-RL

**Police Code**

by New Orleans City Council; New Orleans:  
Jean Renard, 1808  
56-6-L

**Corsair Alligator**

1813; watercolor  
by C. Roussel, painter  
1939.7

**Plan of the Fort Claiborne, Natchitoches**

1814; ink and watercolor  
by Barthélémy Lafon, draftsman and artist  
1970.2.17

**Acts Passed at the First Session of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Orleans**

New Orleans: James M. Bradford, 1805  
60-30-L

**A Digest of the Civil Laws Now in Force in the Territory of Orleans**

New Orleans: Bradford & Anderson, 1808  
76-496-RL

**Orleans Term Reports or Cases Argued and Determined in the Superior Court of the Territory of Orleans**

by François-Xavier Martin; New Orleans: John Dacqueny, 1811  
92-395-RL  
gift of Mrs. Mary Morrison

**Copy and Translation from the Original Spanish Plan Dated 1798 Showing the City of New Orleans, Its Fortifications and Environs**

April 1875; lithograph with watercolor by Carlos Laveau Trudeau, surveyor; Alexander Debrunner, draftsman  
1953.42

gift of Boyd Cruise and Harold Schilke

**Julien Poydras**

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gift of Mr. Thomas Lennox

**Pierre Derbigny**

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**Edward Livingston**

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gift of Mr. Thomas Lennox

**The Proceedings of the Government of the United States, in Maintaining the Public Right to the Beach of the Mississippi, Adjacent to New-Orleans, against the Intrusion of Edward Livingston**

by Thomas Jefferson; New York: Ezra Sargeant, 1812  
76-803-RL

**Map from Saulet et al. vs. Shepherd: New Orleans Batture Case**

ca. 1858  
76-1462-RL

**Examen des droits des Etats-Unis et des préentions de M<sup>r</sup>. Edouard Livingston ur la batture en face du faubourg St<sup>e</sup>. Marie**

by Jean Baptiste Simon Thierry; New Orleans: Thierry & Co., 1808  
76-1065-RL.1  
gift of Mr. Ralph M. Pons

**Message of the President of the United States, Communicating Information of the Situation of Sundry Parcels of Ground, in and Adjacent to the City of New Orleans**

by Thomas Jefferson; Washington: A. & G. Way, 1808  
76-862-RL

**A Review of the Cause of the New Orleans Batture and of the Discussions That Have Taken Place Respecting It**

by Peter Stephen Du Ponceau; Philadelphia: Jane Aitken, 1809  
65-93-L

**Speech of Julien Poydras, Esq., the Delegate from the Territory of Orleans, in Support of the Right of the Public to the Batture in front of the Suburb St. Mary**

by Julien Poydras; Washington: A. & G. Way, 1810  
76-903-RL

**Mémoire à consulter, sur la réclamation de la batture : située en face du faubourg Sainte-Marie de la Nouvelle-Orléans**

by Pierre Derbigny; New Orleans: Jean Renard, 1807  
76-1065-RL.2  
gift of Mr. Ralph M. Pons

**The Laws of Las siete partidas**

translated by Louis Moreau-Lislet and Henry Carleton; New Orleans: James M'Kaher, 1820  
76-830-RL.1

**A Translation of the Titles on Promises and Obligations, Sale and Purchase, and Exchange from the Spanish of Las siete partidas**

by Louis Moreau-Lislet and Henry Carleton; New Orleans: Roche Brothers, 1818  
86-258-RL

**Jacques Villeré**

©1903; Goupil gravure  
by Goupil and Company, publisher  
1991.34.33 ii  
gift of Mr. Thomas Lennox

**A l'éditeur de la Louisiana Gazette / To the Editor of the Louisiana Gazette**

1812; broadside  
by William Charles Cole Claiborne and Albert Gallatin, authors  
86-2140-RL

**THE EIGHTEENTH STATE****Constitution or Form of Government of the State of Louisiana**

New Orleans: Jo. Bar. Baird, 1812  
61-51-L.1

**Constitution ou forme du gouvernement de l'état de la Louisiane**

New Orleans: Thierry, 1812  
61-51-L.3

**18-star American flag**

ca. 1812; silk and cotton  
by the female residents of Hope Plantation for Colonel Philip Hicky  
lent by the Louisiana State Museum

Note: All titles follow original spellings



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*endpapers:*

**Commission for William C. C. Claiborne granting him temporary powers as general governor and intendant of the province of Louisiana [detail]**  
October 31, 1803  
by Thomas Jefferson, author  
78-115-L  
gift of Mr. Claiborne Perrilliat

*back cover:*

**18-star American flag [detail]**  
ca. 1812; silk and cotton  
by the female residents of Hope Plantation  
for Colonel Philip Hicky  
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