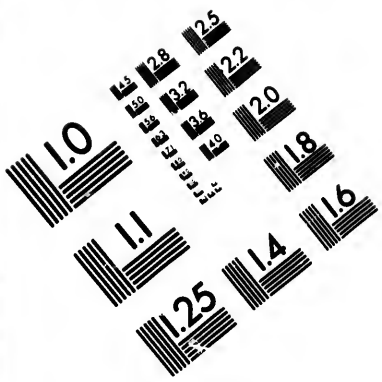

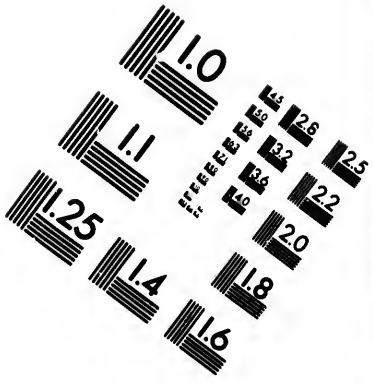

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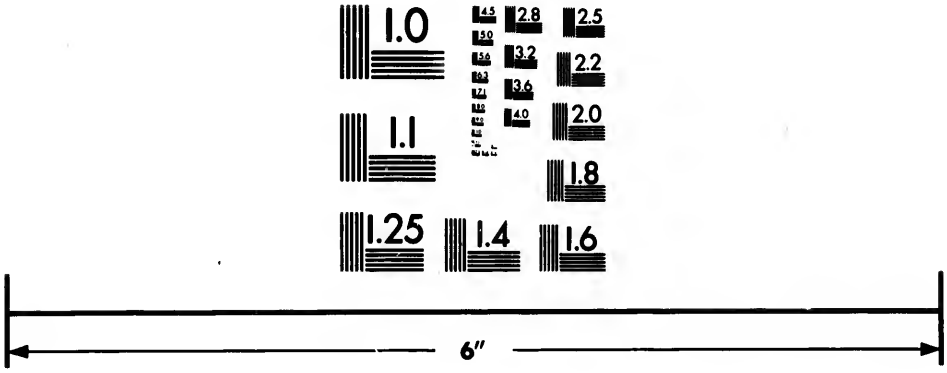

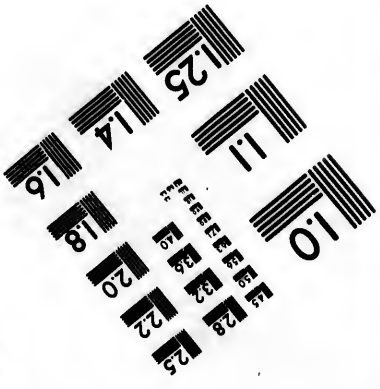

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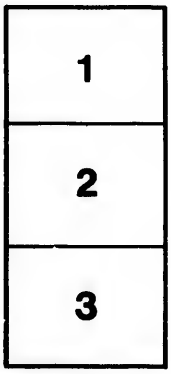

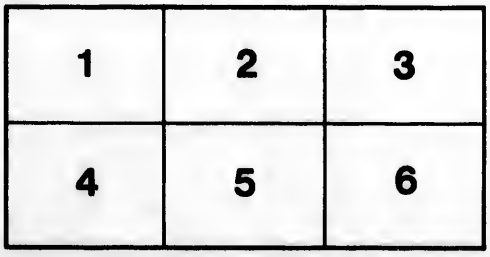

THE

CONQUEST OF CANADA.

BY

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ROYAL ARTILLERY.

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INTRODUCTION.

ENGLAND and France started in a fair race for the magnificent prize of supremacy in America. The advantages and difficulties of each were much alike, but the systems by which they improved those advantages and met those difficulties were essentially different. New France was colonised by a government, New England by a people. In Canada the men of intellect, influence, and wealth, were only the agents of the mother country: they fulfilled, it is true, their colonial duties with zeal and ability, but they ever looked to France for honour and approbation, and longed for a return to her shores as their best reward: they were in the colony, but not of it; they strove vigorously to repel invasion, to improve agriculture, and to encourage commerce for the sake of France, but not for Canada.

The mass of the population of New France were descended from settlers sent out within a short time after the first occupation of the country, and who were not selected for any peculiar qualifications. They were not led to emigrate from the spirit of adventure, disappointed ambition, or political discontent; by far the larger proportion left their native country under the pressure of extreme want or in blind obedience to the will of their superiors. They were then established in points best suited to the interests of France, not those best suited to their own. The physical condition of the humbler emigrant, however, became better than that of his countrymen in the Old World; the fertile soil repaid his labour with competence; independence fostered self-reliance, and the unchecked range of forest and prairie inspired him with thoughts of freedom. But all these elevating tendencies were fatally counteracted by the blighting influence of feudal organisation. Restrictions, humiliating as well as injurious, pressed upon the person and property of the Canadian. Every avenue to wealth and influence was closed to him and thrown open to the children of Old France. He saw whole tracts of the magnificent country lavished upon the favourites and military followers of the court, and, through corrupt or capricious influences, the privilege of exclusive trade granted for the aggrandisement of strangers at his expense.

France founded a state in Canada: she established a feudal and ecclesiastical frame-work for the young nation, and into that Procrustean bed the growth of population and the proportions of society were forced. The State fixed governments at Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec; there towns arose: she divided the rich banks of the St. Lawrence and of the Richelieu into seigneuries; there population spread: she placed posts on the lakes and rivers of the far west; there the fur-traders congregated: she divided the land into dioceses and parishes, and appointed

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bishops and curates; a portion of all produce of the soil was exacted for their support: she sent out the people at her own cost, and acknowledged no shadow of popular rights; she organised the inhabitants by an unsparing conscription, and placed over them officers either from the old country or from the favoured class of Seigneurs: she grasped a monopoly of every valuable production of the country, and yet forced upon it her own manufactures to the exclusion of all others: she squandered her resources and treasures on the colony, but violated all principles of justice in a vain endeavour to make that colony a source of wealth: she sent out the ablest and best of her officers to govern on the falsest and worst of systems: her energy absorbed all individual energy; her perpetual and minute interference aspired to shape and direct all will and motive of her subjects. The State was everything, the people nothing. Finally, when the power of the State was broken by a foreign foe, there remained no power of the People to supply its place. On the day that the French armies ceased to resist, Canada was a peaceful province of British America.

A few years after the French Crown had founded a State in Canada, a handful of Puritan refugees founded a People in New England. They bore with them from the Mother Country little beside a bitter hatred of the existing government, and a stern resolve to perish or be free. One small vessel—the Mayflower—held them, their wives, their children, and their scanty stores. So ignorant were they of the country of their adoption, that they sought its shores in the depth of winter, when nothing but a snowy desert met their sight. Dire hardships assailed them; many sickened and died, but those who lived still strove bravely: and bitter was their trial; the scowling sky above their heads, the frozen earth under their feet, and, sorest of all, deep in their strong hearts the unacknowledged love of that venerable land which they had abandoned for ever.

But brighter times soon came: the snowy desert changed into a fair scene of life and vegetation. The woods rang with the cheerful sound of the axe; the fields were tilled hopefully, the harvest gathered gratefully. Other vessels arrived bearing more settlers, men for the most part like those who had first landed. Their numbers swelled to hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands. They formed themselves into a community; they decreed laws, stern and quaint, but suited to their condition. They had neither rich nor poor; they admitted of no superiority save in their own gloomy estimate of merit; they persecuted all forms of faith different from that which they themselves held, and yet they would have died rather than suffer the religious interference of others. Far from seeking or accepting aid from the government of England, they patiently tolerated their nominal dependence only because they were virtually independent. For protection against the savage; for relief in pestilence or famine; for help to plenty and prosperity, they trusted alone to God in heaven, and to their own right hand on earth.

Such in the main were the ancestors of the men of New England, and in spite of all subsequent admixture such in the main were they themselves. In the other British colonies also, hampered though they were by Charters, and proprietary rights, and alloyed by a Babel congregation of French Huguenots, Dutch, Swedes, Quakers, Nobles, Roundheads, Cana-

dians, Rogues, Zealots, Infidels, Enthusiasts, and Felons, a general prosperity had created individual self-reliance, and self-reliance had engendered the desire of self-government. Each colony contained a separate vitality within itself. They commenced under a variety of systems, more or less practicable, more or less liberal, and more or less dependent on the Parent State. But the spirit of adventure, the disaffection, and the disappointed ambition which had so rapidly recruited their population, gave a general bias to their political feelings which no arbitrary authority could restrain, and no institutions counteract. They were less intolerant and morose, but at the same time also less industrious and moral than their Puritan neighbours. Like them, however, they resented all interference from England as far as they dared, and constantly strove for the acquisition or retention of popular rights.

The British colonists, left at first in a great measure to themselves, settled on the most fertile lands, built their towns upon the most convenient harbours, directed their industry to the most profitable commerce, raised the most valuable productions. The trading spirit of the mother country became almost a passion when transferred to the New World; enterprise and industry were stimulated to incredible activity by brilliant success and ample reward. As wealth and the means of subsistence increased, so multiplied the population. Early marriages were universal; a numerous family was the riches of the parent. Thousands of immigrants also from year to year swelled the living flood that poured over the wilderness. In a century and a half the inhabitants of British America exceeded nearly twenty-fold the people of New France. The relative superiority of the first over the last, was even greater in wealth and resources than in population. The merchant navy of the English colonies was already larger than that of many European nations, and known in almost every port in the world, where men bought and sold. New France had none.

The French colonies were founded and fostered by the State with the real object of extending the dominion, increasing the power, and illustrating the glory of France. The ostensible object of settlement, at least that holding the most prominent place in all Acts and Charters, was to extend the true religion, and to minister to the glory of God. From the earliest time the ecclesiastical establishments of Canada were formed on a scale suited to these professed views. Not only was ample provision made for the spiritual wants of the European population, but the labours of many earnest and devoted men were directed to the enlightenment of the Heathen Indians. At first the Church and the civil government leant upon each other for mutual support and assistance, but after a time, when neither of these powers found themselves troubled with popular opposition, their union grew less intimate; their interests differed, jealousies ensued, and finally they became antagonistic orders in the community. The mass of the people, more devout than intelligent, sympathised with the priesthood; this sympathy did not, however, interfere with unqualified submission to the government.

The Canadians were trained to implicit obedience to their rulers, spiritual and temporal: these rulers ventured not to imperil their absolute authority by educating their vassals. It is true there were a few seminaries and schools under the zealous administration of the Jesuits;

but even that instruction was unattainable by the general population; those who walked in the moonlight which such reflected rays afforded, were not likely to become troublesome as sectarians or politicians. Much credit for sincerity cannot be given to those who professed to promote the education of the people, when no printing-press was ever permitted in Canada during the government of France.

Canada, unprovoked by Dissent, was altogether free from the stain of religious persecution: hopelessly fettered in the chains of metropolitan power, she was also undisturbed by political agitation. But this calm was more the stillness of stagnation than the tranquillity of content. Without a press, without any semblance of popular representation, there hardly remained other alternatives than tame submission or open mutiny. By hereditary habit and superstition the Canadians were trained to the first, and by weakness and want of energy they were incapacitated for the last.

Although the original charter of New England asserted the king's supremacy in matters of religion, a full understanding existed that on this head ample latitude should be allowed; ample latitude was accordingly taken. She set up a system of faith of her own, and enforced conformity. But the same spirit that had excited the colonists to dissent from the Church of England, and to sacrifice home and friends in the cause, soon raised up among them a host of dissenters from their own stern and peculiar creed. Their clergy had sacrificed much for conscience-sake, and were generally 'faithful, watchful, painful, serving their flock daily with prayers and tears,' some among them also men of high European repute. They had often, however, the mortification of seeing their congregations crowding to hear the ravings of any knave or enthusiast who broached a new doctrine. Most of these mischievous fanatics were given the advantage of that interest and sympathy which a cruel and unnecessary persecution invariably excites. All this time freedom of individual judgment was the watchword of the persecutors. There is no doubt that strong measures were necessary to curb the furious and profane absurdities of many of the seceders, who were the very outcasts of religion. On considering the criminal laws of the time, it would also appear that not a few of the outcasts of society also had found their way to New England. The code of Massachusetts contained the description of the most extraordinary collection of crimes that ever defaced a statute-book, and the various punishments allotted to each.

In one grand point the pre-eminent merit of the Puritans must be acknowledged: they strove earnestly and conscientiously for what they held to be the truth. For this they endured with unshaken constancy, and persecuted with unremitting zeal.

The suicidal policy of the Stuarts had, for a time, driven all the upholders of civil liberty into the ranks of sectarianism. The advocates of the extremes of religious and political opinion flocked to America, the furthest point from Kings and Prelates that they could conveniently reach. Engrafted on the stubborn temper of the Englishman, and planted in the genial soil of the West, the love of this civil and religious liberty grew up with a vigour that time only served to strengthen; that the might of armies vainly strove to overcome. Thus, ultimately, the persecution under the Stuarts was the most powerful cause ever yet

employed towards the liberation of man in his path through earth to Heaven.

For many years England generally refrained from interference with her American Colonies in matters of local government or in religion. They taxed themselves, made their own laws, and enjoyed religious freedom in their own way. In one State only, in Virginia, was the Church of England established, and even there it was accorded very little help by the temporal authority: in a short time it ceased to receive the support of the majority of the settlers, and rapidly decayed. On one point, however, the mother country claimed and exacted the obedience of the colonists to the imperial law. In her commercial code she would not permit the slightest relaxation in their favour, whatever the peculiar circumstances of their condition might be. This short-sighted and unjust restriction was borne, partly because it could not be resisted, and partly because at that early time the practical evil was but lightly felt. Although the principle of representation was seldom specified in the earlier charters, the colonists in all cases assumed it as a matter of right: they held that their privileges as Englishmen accompanied them wherever they went, and this was generally admitted as a principle of colonial policy.

In the 17th century England adopted the system of transportation to the American Colonies. The felons were, however, too limited in numbers to make any serious inroad upon the morals or tranquillity of the settlers. Many of the convicts were men sentenced for political crimes, but free from any social taint; the labouring population therefore did not regard them with contempt, nor shrink from their society. It may be held, therefore, that this partial and peculiar system of transportation introduced no distinct element into the constitution of the American nation.

The British colonisation in the New World differed essentially from any before attempted by the nations of modern Europe, and has led to results of immeasurable importance to mankind. Even the magnificent empire of India sinks into insignificance, in its bearings upon the general interests of the world, by comparison with the Anglo-Saxon empire in America. The success of each, however, is unexampled in history.

In the great military and mercantile colony of the East an enormous native population is ruled by a dominant race, whose number amounts to less than a four-thousandth part of its own, but whose superiority in war and civil government is at present so decided as to reduce any efforts of opposition to the mere outbursts of hopeless petulance. In that golden land, however, even the Anglo-Saxon race cannot increase and multiply; the children of English parents degenerate or perish under its fatal sun. No permanent settlement or infusion of blood takes place. Neither have we effected any serious change in the manners or customs of the East Indians; on the other hand, we have rather assimilated ours to theirs. We tolerate their various religions, and we learn their language; but in neither faith nor speech have they approached one tittle towards us. We have raised there no gigantic monument of power either in pride or for utility; no temples, canals, or roads remain to remind posterity of our conquest and dominion. Were the English rule over India suddenly cast off, in a single generation the tradition of our Eastern empire would

appear a splendid but baseless dream, that of our administration an allegory,—of our victories a romance.

In the great social colonies of the West the very essence of vitality is their close resemblance to the parent State. Many of the coarser inherited elements of strength have been increased. Industry and adventure have been stimulated to an unexampled extent by the natural advantages of the country, and free institutions have been developed almost to license by general prosperity, and the absence of external danger. Their stability, in some one form or another, is undoubted: it rests on the broadest possible basis—on the universal will of the nation. Our vast empire in India rests only on the narrow basis of the superiority of a handful of Englishmen; should any untoward fate shake the Atlas strength that bears the burthen, the superincumbent mass must fall in ruins to the earth. With far better cause may England glory in the land of her revolted children than in that of her patient slaves: the prosperous cities and busy seaports of America are prouder memorials of her race than the servile splendour of Calcutta, or the ruined ramparts of Seringapatam. In the earlier periods the British Colonies were only the reflection of Britain; in later days their inherent light has served to illumine the political darkness of the European Continent. The attractive example of American democracy has proved the most important cause that has acted upon European society since the Reformation.

Towards the close of George II.'s reign England had reached the lowest point of national degradation recorded in her history. The disasters of her fleets and armies abroad were the natural fruits of almost universal corruption at home. The admirals and generals, chosen by a German king and a subservient ministry, proved worthy of the mode of their selection. An obsequious parliament served but to give the apparent sanction of the people to the selfish and despotic measures of the crown. Many of the best blood and of the highest chivalry of the land still held loyal devotion to the exiled Stuarts; while the mass of the nation, disgusted by the sordid and unpatriotic acts of the existing dynasty, regarded it with sentiments of dislike but little removed from positive hostility. A sullen discontent paralysed the vigour of England, obstructed her councils, and blunted her sword. In the cabinets of Europe, among the colonists of America, and the millions of the East alike, her once glorious name had sunk almost to a bye-word of reproach. But 'the darkest hour is just before the dawn:' a new disaster, more humiliating, and more inexcusable than any which had preceded, at length goaded the passive indignation of the British people into irresistible action. The spirit that animated the men who spoke at Runnymede, and those who fought on Marston Moor, was not dead, but sleeping. The free institutions which wisdom had devised, time hallowed, and blood sealed, had been evaded but not overthrown. The nation arose as one man, and with a peaceful, but stern determination, demanded that these things should cease. Then for 'the hour,' the hand of the All Wise supplied 'the man.' The light of Pitt's genius, the fire of his patriotism, like the dawn of an unclouded morning, soon chased away the chilly night which had so long darkened over the fortunes of his country.

But not even the genius of the great minister, aided as it was by the

awakened spirit of the British people, would have sufficed to rend Canada from France without the concurrent action of many and various causes: the principal of these was, doubtless, the extraordinary growth of our American settlements. When the first French colonists founded their militaryand ecclesiastical establishments at Quebec, upheld by the favour and strengthened by the arms of the mother country, they regarded with little uneasiness the unaided efforts of their English rivals in the South. But these dangerous neighbours rose with wonderful rapidity from few to many, from weak to powerful. The cloud, which had appeared no greater than 'a man's hand' on the political horizon, spread rapidly wider and wider, above and below, till at length from out its threatening gloom the storm burst forth which swept away the flag of France.

As a military event, the conquest of Canada was a matter of little or no permanent importance: it can only rank as one among the numerous scenes of blood that give an intense but morbid interest to our national annals. The surrender of Niagara and Quebec were but the acknowledgment or final symbol of the victory of English over French colonisation. For three years the admirable skill of Montcalm and the valour of his troops deferred the inevitable catastrophe of the colony: then the destiny was accomplished. France had for that time played out her part in the history of the New World; during 150 years her threatening power had served to retain the English colonies in interested loyalty to protecting England. Notwithstanding the immense material superiority of the British Americans, the fleets and armies of the mother country were indispensable to break the barrier raised up against them by the union, skill, and courage of the French.

Montcalm's far-sighted wisdom suggested consolation even in his defeat and death. In a remarkable and almost prophetic letter, which he addressed to M. de Berryer during the siege of Quebec, he foretells that the British power in America shall be broken by success, and that when the dread of France ceases to exist, the colonists will no longer submit to European control. One generation had not passed away when his prediction was fully accomplished. England by the conquest of Canada breathed the breath of life into the huge Frankenstein of the American Republic.

The rough schooling of French hostility was necessary for the development of those qualities among the British colonists, which enabled them finally to break the bonds of pupilage, and stand alone. Some degree of united action had been effected among the several and widely different states; the local governments had learned how to raise and support armies, and to consider military movements. On many occasions the Provincial militia had borne themselves with distinguished bravery in the field; several of their officers had gained honourable repute; already the name of WASHINGTON called a flush of pride upon each American cheek. The stirring events of the contest with Canada had brought men of ability and patriotism into the strong light of active life, and the eyes of their countrymen sought their guidance in trusting confidence. Through the instrumentality of such men as these the American Revolution was shaped into the dignity of a national movement, and preserved from the threatening evils of an insane democracy.

The consequences of the Canadian war furnished the cause of the

quarrel which led to the separation of the great colonies from the mother country. England had incurred enormous debt in the contest; her people groaned under taxation, and the wealthy Americans had contributed in but a very small proportion to the cost of victories by which they were the principal gainers. The British Parliament devised an unhappy expedient to remedy this evil: it assumed the right of taxing the unrepresented colonies, and taxed them accordingly. Vain was the prophetic eloquence of Lord Chatham; vain were the just and earnest remonstrances of the best and wisest among the colonists: the time was come. Then followed years of stubborn and unyielding strife; the blood of the same race gave sterner determination to the quarrel. The balance of success hung equally. Once again France appeared upon the stage in the Western World, and Lafayette revenged the fall of Montcalm.

However we may regret the cause and conduct of the revolutionary war, we can hardly regret its result. The catastrophe was inevitable: the folly or wisdom of British statesmen could only have accelerated or deferred it. The child had outlived the years of pupilage; the interests of the old and the young required a separate household. But we must ever mourn the mode of separation: a bitterness was left that three quarters of a century has hardly yet removed; and a dark page remains in our annals, that tells of a contest begun in injustice, conducted with mingled weakness and severity, and ended in defeat. The cause of human freedom, perhaps for ages, depended upon the issue of the quarrel. Even the patriot minister merged the apparent interests of England in the interests of mankind. By the light of Lord Chatham's wisdom we may read the disastrous history of that fatal war, with a resigned and tempered sorrow for the glorious inheritance rent away from us for ever.

The reaction of the New World upon the Old may be distinctly traced through the past and the present; but human wisdom may not estimate its influence on the future. The lessons of freedom learned by the French army, while aiding the revolted colonies against England, were not forgotten. On their return to their native country they spread abroad tidings that the new people of America had gained a treasure richer a thousand fold than those which had gilded the triumphs of Cortes or Pizarro—the inestimable prize of liberty. Then the down-trampled millions of France arose, and with avaricious haste strove for a like treasure. They won a specious imitation, so soiled and stained, however, that many of the wisest amongst them could not at once detect its nature. They played with the coarse bauble for a time, then lost it in a sea of blood.

Doubtless the tempest that broke upon France had long been gathering. It was, however, the example of popular success in the New World, and the republican training of a portion of the French army during the American contest, that accelerated the course of events. A generation before the 'Declaration of Independence' the struggle between the rival systems of Canada and New England had been watched by thinking men in Europe with deep interest, and the importance to mankind of its issue was fully felt. While France mourned the defeat of her armies, and the loss of her magnificent colony, the keen-sighted philosopher of Ferney gave a banquet to celebrate the British triumph at Quebec, not as the triumph of England over France, but as that of freedom over despotism.

The overthrow of French by British power in America, was not the effect of mere military superiority. The balance of general success and glory in the field is no more than shared with the conquered people. The morbid national vanity, which finds no delight but in the triumphs of the sword, will shrink from the study of this chequered story. The narrative of disastrous defeat and doubtful advantage must be endured before we arrive at that of the brilliant victory which crowned our arms with final success. We read with painful surprise of the rout and ruin of regular British regiments by a crowd of Indian savages, and of the bloody repulse of the most numerous army that had yet assembled round our standards in America, before a few weak French battalions, and an unfinished parapet.

For the first few years our prosecution of the Canadian war was marked by a weakness little short of imbecility. The conduct of the troops was indifferent, the tactics of the generals bad, and the schemes of the minister worse. The coarse but powerful wit of Smollett and Fielding, and the keen sarcasms of 'Chrysal,' convey to us no very exalted idea of the composition of the British army in those days. The service had sunk into contempt. The withering influence of a corrupt patronage had demoralised the officers; successive defeats incurred through the inefficiency of courtly generals had depressed the spirit of the soldiery, and were it not for the proof shown upon the bloody fields of La Feldt and Fontenoy we might almost suppose that English manhood had become an empty name.

Many of the battalions shipped off to take part in the American contest were hasty levies without organisation or discipline: the colonel, a man of influence, with or without other qualifications as the case might be; the officers, his neighbours and dependants. These armed mobs found themselves suddenly landed in a country, the natural difficulty of which would of itself have proved a formidable obstacle, even though unenhanced by the presence of an active and vigilant enemy. At the same time, there devolved upon them the duties and the responsibilities of regular troops. A due consideration of these circumstances tends to diminish the surprise which a comparison of their achievements with those recorded in our later military annals might create.

Very different were the ranks of the American army from the magnificent regiments, whose banners now bear the crowded records of Peninsular and Indian victory · who within the recollection of living men have stood as conquerors upon every hostile land, yet never once permitted a stranger to tread on England's sacred soil, but as a prisoner, fugitive, or friend. In Cairo and Copenhagen; in Lisbon, Madrid, and Paris; in the ancient metropolis of China; in the capital of the young American Republic, the British flag has been hailed as the symbol of a triumphant power, or of a generous deliverance. Well may we cherish an honest pride in the prowess and military virtue of our soldiers; loyal alike to the crown and to the people; facing in battle, with unshaken courage, the deadly shot and sweeping charge, and, with a still loftier valour, enduring in times of domestic troubles, the gibes and injuries of their misguided countrymen.

In the stirring interest excited by the progress and rivalry of our kindred races in America, the sad and solemn subject of the Indian

people is almost forgotten. The mysterious decree of Providence which has swept them away may not be judged by human wisdom. Their existence will soon be of the past. They have left no permanent impression on the constitution of the great nation which now spreads over their country. No trace of their blood, language, or manners may be found among their haughty successors. As certainly as their magnificent forests fell before the advancing tide of civilisation, they fell also. Neither the kindness or the cruelty of the white man arrested or hastened their inevitable fate. They withered alike under the Upas-shade of European protection, and before the deadly storm of European hostility. As the snow in spring they melted away, stained, tainted, trampled down.

The closing scene of French dominion in Canada was marked by circumstances of deep and peculiar interest. The pages of romance can furnish no more striking episode than the battle of Quebec. The skill and daring of the plan which brought on the combat, and the success and fortune of its execution, are unparalleled. There a broad open plain, offering no advantages to either party, was the field of fight. The contending armies were nearly equal in military strength, if not in numbers. The chiefs of each were men already of honourable fame. France trusted firmly in the wise and chivalrous Montcalm: England trusted hopefully in the young and heroic Wolfe. The magnificent stronghold which was staked upon the issue of the strife, stood close at hand. For miles and miles around, the prospect extended over as fair a land as ever rejoiced the sight of man; mountain and valley, forest and waters, city and solitude, grouped together in forms of almost ideal beauty.

The strife was brief, but deadly. The September sun rose upon two gallant armies arrayed in unbroken pride, and noon of the same day saw the ground where they had stood, strewn with the dying and the dead. Hundreds of the veterans of France had fallen in the ranks, from which they disdained to fly; the scene of his ruin faded fast from Montcalm's darkening sight, but the proud consciousness of having done his duty deprived defeat and death of their severest sting. Not more than a musket-shot away lay Wolfe; the heart that but an hour before had throbbed with great and generous impulse, now still for ever. On the face of the dead there rested a triumphant smile which the last agony had not overcast, a light of unfailing hope that the shadows of the grave could not darken.

The portion of history here recorded is no fragment. Within a period comparatively brief, we see the birth, the growth, and the catastrophe of a nation. The flag of France is erected at Quebec by a handful of hardy adventurers; a century and a half has passed, and that flag is lowered to a foreign foe before the sorrowing eyes of a Canadian people. This example is complete as that presented in the life of an individual: we see the natural sequence of events; the education and the character, the motive and the action, the error and the punishment. Through the following records may be clearly traced combinations of causes, remote, and even apparently opposed, uniting in one result, and also the surprising fertility of one great cause in producing many different results.

Were we to read the records of history by the light of the understanding, instead of by the fire of the passions, the study could be productive only of unmixed good; their examples and warnings would afford us

constant guidance in the paths of public and private virtue. The narrow and unreasonable notion of exclusive national merit, cannot survive a fair glance over the vast map of time and space which history lays before us. We may not avert our eyes from those dark spots upon the annals of our beloved land where acts of violence and injustice stand recorded against her, nor may we suffer the blaze of military renown to dazzle our judgment. Victory may bring glory to the arms, while it brings shame to the councils of a people: for the triumphs of war are those of the general and the soldier; increase of honour, wisdom, and prosperity, are the triumphs of the nation.

The citizens of Rome placed the images of their ancestors in the vestibule, to recal the virtues of the dead, and to excite the emulation of the living. We should also fix our thoughts upon the examples which history presents, not in a vain spirit of selfish nationality, but in earnest reverence for the great and good of all countries, and a contempt for the false, and mean, and cruel, even of our own.

THE CONQUEST OF CANADA.

CHAPTER I.

The philosophers of remote antiquity acquired the important knowledge of the earth's spherical form ; to their bold genius we are indebted for the outline of the geographical system now universally adopted. With a vigorous conception, but imperfect execution, they traced out the scheme of denoting localities by longitude and latitude : according to their teaching the imaginary equatorial line, encompassing the earth, was divided into hours and degrees.

Even at that distant period hardy adventurers had penetrated far away into the land of the rising sun, and many a wondrous tale was told of that mysterious empire, where one-third of our fellow men still stand apart from the brotherhood of nations. Among the various and astounding exaggerations induced by the vanity of the narrators, and the ignorance of their audience, none was more ready than that of distance. The journey, the labour of a life ; each league of travel a new scene ; the day crowded with incident, the night a dream of terror or admiration. Then as the fickle will of the wanderer suggested, as the difficulties or encouragement of nature, and the hostility or aid of man impelled, the devious course bent to the north or south, was hastened, hindered, or retraced.

By such vague and shadowy measurement as the speculations of these wanderers supplied, the sages of the past traced out the ideal limits of the dry land which, at the word of God, appeared from out the gathering together of the waters.

The most eminent geographer before the time of Ptolemy, places the confines of Seres—the China of to-day—at nearly two-thirds of the distance round the world, from the first meridian. Ptolemy reduces the proportion to one half. Allowing for the supposed vast extent of this unknown country to the eastward, it was evident that its remotest shores approached our western world. But beyond the Pillars of Hercules, the dark and stormy waters of the Atlantic forbade adventure. The giant minds of those days saw, even through the mists of ignorance and error, that the readiest course to reach this distant land must lie towards the setting sun, across the western ocean. From over this vast watery solitude no traveller had ever brought back the story of his wanderings. The dim light of traditionary memory gave no guiding ray, the faint voice of rumour breathed not its mysterious secrets. Then poetic imagination filled the void ; vast islands were conjured up out of the deep, covered with unheard-of luxuriance of vegetation, rich in mines of incalculable value, populous with a race of conquering warriors. But this magnificent vision was only created to be destroyed ; a violent earthquake rent asunder in a day and a night the foundations of ATLANTIS, and the

waters of the western ocean swept over the ruins of this once mighty empire. In after ages we are told, that some Phœnician vessels, impelled by a strong east wind, were driven for thirty days across the Atlantic: there they found a part of the sea where the surface was covered with rushes and seaweed, somewhat resembling a vast inundated meadow. The voyagers ascribed these strange appearances to some cause connected with the submerged Atlantis, and even in later years they were held by many as confirmation of Plato's marvellous story.

In the Carthaginian annals is found the mention of a fertile and beautiful island of the distant Atlantic. Many adventurous men of that maritime people were attracted thither by the delightful climate and the riches of the soil; it was deemed of such value and importance that they proposed to transfer the seat of their republic to its shores in case of any irreparable disaster at home. But at length the Senate, fearing the evils of a divided state, denounced the distant colony, and decreed the punishment of death to those who sought it for a home. If there be any truth in this ancient tale, it is probable that one of the Canary Islands was its subject.

Although the New World in the West was unknown to the Ancients, there is no doubt that they entertained a suspicion of its existence; the romance of Plato—the prophecy of Seneca, were but the offsprings of this vague idea. Many writers tell us it was conjectured that, by sailing from the coast of Spain, the eastern shores of India might be reached; the length of the voyage, or the wonders that might lie in its course, imagination alone could measure or describe. Whatever might have been the suspicion or belief of ancient time, we may feel assured that none then ventured to seek these distant lands, nor have we reason to suppose that any of the civilised European races gave inhabitants to the New World before the close of the fifteenth century.

To the barbarous hordes of North-eastern Asia, America must have long been known, as the land where many of their wanderers found a home. It is not surprising that from them no information was obtained; but it is strange that the bold and adventurous Northmen should have visited it nearly five hundred years before the great Genoese, and have suffered their wonderful discovery to remain hidden from the world, and to become almost forgotten among themselves.

In the year 1001 the Icelanders touched upon the American coast, and for nearly two centuries subsequent visits were repeatedly made by them and the Norwegians, for the purpose of commerce or for the gratification of curiosity. Biorn Heriolson, an Icelander, was the first discoverer: steering for Greenland he was driven to the south by tempestuous and unfavourable winds, and saw different parts of America, without however touching at any of them. Attracted by the report of this voyage, Leif, son of Eric the discoverer of Greenland, fitted out a vessel to pursue the same adventure. He passed the coast visited by Biorn, and steered south-west till he reached a strait between a large island and the mainland. Finding the country fertile and pleasant, he passed the winter near this place, and gave it the name of Vinland from the wild vine which grew there in great abundance. The winter days were longer in this new country than in Greenland, and the weather was more temperate.

Leif returned to Greenland in the spring: his brother Thorvald suc-

ceeded him, and remained two winters in Vinland, exploring much of the coast and country. In the course of the third summer the natives, now called Esquimaux, were first seen; on account of their diminutive stature the adventurers gave them them the name of *Skrælingar*. These poor savages, irritated by an act of barbarous cruelty, attacked the Northmen with darts and arrows, and Thorvald fell a victim to their vengeance. A wealthy Icelander, named Thorfin, established a regular colony in Vinland soon after this event; the settlers increased rapidly in numbers, and traded with the natives for furs and skins to great advantage. After three years the adventurers returned to Iceland enriched by the expedition, and reported favourably upon the new country. Little is known of this settlement after Thorfin's departure till early in the twelfth century, when a bishop of Greenland went there to promulgate the Christian faith among the colonists; beyond that time scarcely a notice of its existence occurs, and the name and situation of the ancient Vinland soon passed away from the knowledge of man. Whether the adventurous colonists ever returned, or became blended with the natives, or perished by their hands, no record remains to tell.

Discoveries such as these by the ancient Scandinavians—fruitless to the world and almost buried in oblivion—cannot dim the glory of that transcendant genius to whom we owe the knowledge of a New World.

The claim of the Welch to the first discovery of America, seems to rest upon no better original authority than that of Meridith-ap-Rees, a bard who died in the year 1477. His verses only relate that Prince Madoc, wearied with dissensions at home, searched the ocean for a new kingdom. The tale of this adventurer's voyages and colonisation was written 100 years subsequent to the early Spanish discoveries, and seems to be merely a fanciful completion of his history: he probably perished in the unknown seas. It is certain that neither the ancient principality nor the world reaped any benefit from these alleged discoveries.

In the middle of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, the Venetian Marco Polo, and the Englishman Mandeville, awakened the curiosity of Europe with respect to the remote parts of the earth. Wise and discerning men selected the more valuable portions of their observations; ideas were enlarged, and a desire for more perfect information excited a thirst for discovery. While this spirit was gaining strength in Europe, the wonderful powers of the magnet were revealed to the Western world. The invention of the mariners' compass aided and extended navigation more than all the experience and adventure of preceding ages: the light of the stars, the guidance of the sea-coast, were no longer necessary; trusting to the mysterious powers of his new friend, the sailor steered out fearlessly into the ocean, through the bewildering mists, or the darkness of night.

The Spaniards were the first to profit by the bolder spirit and improved science of navigation. About the beginning of the fourteenth century, they were led to the accidental discovery of the Canary Islands, and made repeated voyages thither, plundering the wretched inhabitants, and carrying them off as slaves. Pope Clement VI. conferred these countries as a kingdom upon Louis de la Cerda, of the royal race of Castile; he, however, was powerless to avail himself of the gift, and it passed to the stronger hand of John de Bethancourt, a Norman baron.

The countrymen of this bold adventurer explored the seas far to the south of the Canaries, and acquired some knowledge of the coast of Africa.

The glory of leading the career of systematic exploration, belongs to the Portuguese: their attempts were not only attended with considerable success, but gave encouragement and energy to those efforts that were crowned by the discovery of a world: among them the great Genoese was trained, and their steps in advance matured the idea, and aided the execution of his design. The nations of Europe had now begun to cast aside the errors and prejudices of their ancestors. The works of the ancient Greeks and Romans were eagerly searched for information, and former discoveries brought to light. The science of the Arabians was introduced and cultivated by the Moors and Jews, and geometry, astronomy, and geography, were studied as essential to the art of navigation.

In the year 1412, the Portuguese doubled Cape Non, the limit of ancient enterprise. For upwards of seventy years afterwards they pursued their explorations with more or less of vigour and success along the African coast, and among the adjacent islands. By intercourse with the people of these countries they gradually acquired some knowledge of lands yet unvisited. Experience proved that the torrid zone was not closed to the enterprise of man. They found that the form of the continent contracted as it stretched southward, and that it tended towards the east. Then they brought to mind the accounts of the ancient Phœnician voyagers round Africa, long deemed fabulous, and the hope arose that they might pursue the same career, and win for themselves the magnificent prize of Indian commerce. In the year 1486 the adventurous Bartholomew Diaz first reached the Cape of Good Hope; soon afterwards the information gained by Pedro de Covilham, in his overland journey, confirmed the consequent sanguine expectations of success. The attention of Europe was now fully aroused, and the progress of the Portuguese was watched with admiration and suspense. But during this interval, while all eyes were turned with anxious interest towards the East, a little bark, leaky and tempest-tossed, sought shelter in the Tagus. It had come from the far west,—over that stormy sea where, from the creation until then, had brooded an impenetrable mystery. It bore the richest freight that ever lay upon the bosom of the deep,—the tidings of a New World.

It would be but tedious to repeat here all the well-known story of Christopher Columbus; his early dangers and adventures, his numerous voyages, his industry, acquirements, and speculations, and how at length the great idea arose in his mind, and matured itself into a conviction; then how conviction led to action, checked and interrupted, but not weakened, by the doubts of pedantic ignorance, and the treachery, coolness, or contempt of courts. On Friday, the 3rd of August, 1493, a squadron of three small crazy ships, bearing ninety men, sailed from the port of Palos, in Andalusia. Columbus, the commander and pilot, was deeply impressed with sentiments of religion; and, as the spread of Christianity was one great object of the expedition, he and his followers before their departure had implored the blessing of Heaven upon the voyage, from which they might never return.

They steered at first for the Canaries, over a well-known course; but

on the 6th of September they sailed from Gomera, the most distant of those islands, and, leaving the usual track of navigation, stretched westward into the unknown sea. And still ever westward for six-and-thirty days they bent their course through the dreary desert of waters; terrified by the changeless wind that wafted them hour after hour further into the awful solitude, and seemed to forbid the prospect of return; bewildered by the altered hours of day and night, and more than all by the mysterious variation of their only guide, for the magnetic needle no longer pointed to the pole. Then strange appearances in the sea aroused new fears: vast quantities of weeds covered the surface, retarding the motion of the vessels; the sailors imagined that they had reached the utmost boundary of the navigable ocean, and that they were rushing blindly into the rocks and quicksands of some submerged continent.

The master mind turned all these strange novelties into omens of success. The changeless wind was the favouring breath of the Omnipotent; the day lengthened as they followed the sun's course; an ingenious fiction explained the inconstancy of the needle; the vast fields of seaweed bespoke a neighbouring shore; and the flight of unknown birds was hailed with happy promise. But as time passed on, and brought no fulfilment of their hopes, the spirits of the timid began to fail, the flattering appearances of land had repeatedly deceived them; they were now very far beyond the limit of any former voyage. From the timid and ignorant these doubts spread upwards, and by degrees the contagion extended from ship to ship: secret murmurs rose to conspiracies, complaints, and mutiny. They affirmed that they had already performed their duty in so long pursuing an unknown and hopeless course, and that they would no more follow a desperate adventurer to destruction. Some even proposed to cast their leader into the sea.

The menaces and persuasions that had so often enabled Columbus to overcome the turbulence and fears of his followers, now ceased to be of any avail. He gave way to an irresistible necessity, and promised that he would return to Spain, if unsuccessful in their search for three days more. To this brief delay the mutineers consented. The signs of land now brought almost certainty to the mind of the great leader. The sounding line brought up such soil as is only found near the shore: birds were seen of a kind supposed never to venture on a long flight. A piece of newly-cut cane floated past, and a branch of a tree bearing fresh berries was taken up by the sailors. The clouds around the setting sun wore a new aspect, and the breeze became warm and variable. On the evening of the 11th of October, every sail was furled, and strict watch kept, lest the ships might drift ashore during the night.

On board the admiral's vessel all hands were invariably assembled for the evening hymn; on this occasion a public prayer for success was added, and with those holy sounds Columbus hailed the appearance of that small shifting light, which crowned with certainty his long-cherished hope, turned his faith into realisation, and stamped his name for ever upon the memory of man.

It was by accident only that England had been deprived of the glory of these great discoveries. Columbus, when repulsed by the Courts of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother Bartholomew to London, to lay his projects before Henry VII., and seek assistance for their execution. The

king, although the most penurious of European princes, saw the vast advantage of the offer, and at once invited the great Genoese to his court. Bartholomew was, however, captured by pirates on his return voyage, and detained till too late, for in the meanwhile Isabella of Castile had adopted the project of Columbus, and supplied the means for the expedition.

Henry VII. was not discouraged by this disappointment: two years after the discoveries of Columbus became known in England, the king entered into an arrangement with John Cabot, an adventurous Venetian merchant, resident at Bristol, and on the 5th of March, 1495, granted him letters patent for conquest and discovery. Henry stipulated that one-fifth of the gains in this enterprise was to be retained for the crown, and that the vessels engaged in it should return to the port of Bristol. On the 24th of June, 1497, Cabot discovered the coast of Labrador, and gave it the name of *Primavista*. This was, without doubt, the first visit of Europeans to the continent of North America, since the time of the Scandinavian voyages. A large island lay opposite to this shore: from the vast quantity of fish frequenting the neighbouring waters, the sailors called it *Bacallaos*; Cabot gave this country the name of St. John's, having landed there on St. John's day. Newfoundland has long since superseded both appellations. John Cabot returned to England in August of the same year, and was knighted and otherwise rewarded by the king; he survived but a very short time in the enjoyment of his fame, and his son Sebastian Cabot, although only twenty-three years of age, succeeded him in the command of an expedition destined to seek a north-west passage to the South Seas.

Sebastian Cabot sailed in the summer of 1498: he soon reached Newfoundland, and thence proceeded north as far as the fifty-eighth degree. Having failed in discovering the hoped-for passage, he returned towards the south, examining the coast as far as the southern boundary of Maryland and perhaps Virginia. After a long interval the enterprising mariner again, in 1517, sailed for America, and entered the bay which a century afterwards received the name of Hudson. If prior discovery confer a right of possession, there is no doubt that the whole eastern coast of the North American continent may be justly claimed by the English race.

Gaspar Cortereal was the next voyager in the succession of discoverers: he had been brought up in the household of the King of Portugal, but nourished an ardent spirit of enterprise and thirst for glory, despite the enervating influences of a court. He sailed early in the year 1500, and pursued the track of John Cabot as far as the northern point of Newfoundland; to him is due the discovery of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and he also pushed on northward by the coast of Labrador, almost to the entrance of Hudson's Bay. The adventurer returned to Lisbon in October of the same year. This expedition was undertaken more for mercantile advantage than for the advancement of knowledge; timber and slaves seem to have been the objects; no less than fifty-seven of the natives were brought back to Portugal, and doomed to bondage. These unhappy savages proved so robust and useful, that great benefits were anticipated from trading on their servitude; the dreary and distant land of their birth, covered with snow for half the year, was despised by the Portuguese,

whose thoughts and hopes were ever turned to the fertile plains, the sunny skies, and the inexhaustible treasures of the East.

But disaster and destruction soon fell upon these bold and merciless adventurers. In a second voyage the ensuing year, Cortereal and all his followers were lost at sea: when some time had elapsed without tidings of their fate, his brother sailed to seek them, but he too, probably, perished in the stormy waters of the North Atlantic, for none of them were ever heard of more. The King of Portugal feeling a deep interest in these brothers, fitted out three armed vessels and sent them to the north-west. Inquiries were made along the wild shores which Cortereal had first explored, without trace or tidings being found of the bold mariner, and the ocean was searched for many months, but the deep still keeps it secret.

Florida was discovered in 1512 by Ponce de Leon, one of the most eminent among the followers of Columbus. The Indians had told him wonderful tales of a fountain called Bimini, in an island of these seas; the fountain possessed the power, they said, of restoring, instantly, youth and vigour to those who bathed in its waters. He sailed for months in search of this miraculous spring, landing at every point, entering each port however shallow or dangerous, still ever hoping; but in the weak and presumptuous effort to grasp at a new life, he wasted away his strength and energy, and prematurely brought on those ills of age he had vainly hoped to shun. Nevertheless this wild adventure bore its wholesome fruits, for Ponce de Leon then first brought to the notice of Europe that beautiful land which, from its wonderful fertility and the splendour of its flowers, obtained the name of Florida.

The first attempt made by the French to share in the advantages of these discoveries, was in the year 1504. Some Basque and Breton fishermen at that time began to ply their calling on the Great Bank of Newfoundland, and along the adjacent shores. From them the island of Cape Breton received its name. In 1506, Jean Denys, a man of Harfleur, drew a map of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Two years afterwards, a pilot of Dieppe, named Thomas Aubert, excited great curiosity in France by bringing over some of the savage natives from the New World: there is no record whence they were taken, but it is supposed from Cape Breton. The reports borne back to France by these hardy fishermen and adventurers, were not such as to raise sanguine hopes of riches from the bleak northern regions they had visited: no teeming fertility or genial climate tempted the settler, no mines of gold or silver excited the avarice of the soldier; and for many years, the French altogether neglected to profit by their discoveries.

In the meantime, Pope Alexander VI. issued a bull bestowing the whole of the New World upon the kings of Spain and Portugal. Neither England nor France allowed the right of conferring this magnificent and undefined gift; it did not throw the slightest obstacle in the path of British enterprise and discovery, and the high-spirited Francis I. of France, refused to acknowledge the papal decree.

In the year 1523, Francis I. fitted out a squadron of four ships to pursue discovery in the west; the command was intrusted to Giovanni Verazzano of Florence, a navigator of great skill and experience then residing in France: he was about thirty-eight years of age, nobly born, and liberally educated; the causes that induced him to leave his own

country and take service in France, are not known. It has often been remarked as strange, that three Italians should have directed the discoveries of Spain, England, and France, and thus become the instruments of dividing the dominions of the New World among alien powers, while their own classic land reaped neither glory nor advantage from the genius and courage of her sons. Of this first voyage the only record remaining is a letter from Verazzano to Francis I., dated 8th of July, 1524, merely stating that he had returned in safety to Dieppe.

At the beginning of the following year Verazzano fitted out and armed a vessel called the Dauphine, manned with a crew of thirty hands, and provisioned for eight months. He first directed his course to Madeira; having reached that island in safety, he left it on the 17th of January and steered for the west. After a narrow escape from the violence of a tempest, and having proceeded for about nine hundred leagues, a long low line of coast rose to view, never before seen by ancient or modern navigators. This country appeared thickly peopled by a vigorous race, of tall stature and athletic form; fearing to risk a landing at first with his weak force, the adventurer contented himself with admiring at a distance the grandeur and beauty of the scenery, and enjoying the delightful mildness of the climate. From this place he followed the coast for about fifty leagues to the south, without discovering any harbour or inlet where he might shelter his vessel; he then retraced his course and steered to the north. After some time Verazzano ventured to send a small boat on shore to examine the country more closely: numbers of savages came to the water's edge to meet the strangers, and gazed on them with mingled feelings of surprise, admiration, joy, and fear. He again resumed his northward course, till driven by want of water, he armed the small boat and sent it once more towards the land to seek a supply; the waves and surf, however, were so great that it could not reach the shore. The natives assembled on the beach, by their signs and gestures eagerly invited the French to approach: one young sailor, a bold swimmer, threw himself into the water, bearing some presents for the savages, but his heart failed him on a nearer approach, and he turned to regain the boat; his strength was exhausted, however, and a heavy sea washed him almost insensible up upon the beach. The Indians treated him with great kindness, and when he had sufficiently recovered, sent him back in safety to the ship.

Verazzano pursued his examination of the coast with untiring zeal, narrowly searching every inlet for a passage through to the westward, until he reached the great island, known to the Breton fishermen—Newfoundland. In this important voyage he surveyed more than two thousand miles of coast, nearly all that of the present United States, and a great portion of British North America.

A short time after Verazzano's return to Europe, he fitted out another expedition with the sanction of Francis I., for the establishment of a colony in the newly-discovered countries. Nothing certain is known of the fate of this enterprise, but the bold navigator returned to France no more; the dread inspired by his supposed fate deterred the French king and people from any further adventure across the Atlantic during many succeeding years. In later times it has come to light that Verazzano was alive thirteen years after this period: those best informed on the subject

are of opinion, that the enterprise fell to the ground in consequence of Francis I. having been captured by the Emperor Charles V., and that the adventurer withdrew himself from the service of France, having lost his patron's support.

The year after the failure of Verazzano's last enterprise, 1525, Stefano Gomez sailed from Spain for Cuba and Florida; thence he steered northward in search of the long-hoped-for passage to India, till he reached Cape Race, on the south-eastern extremity of Newfoundland. The further details of his voyage remain unknown, but there is reason to suppose that he entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence and traded upon its shores. An ancient Castilian tradition existed that the Spaniards visited these coasts before the French, and having perceived no appearance of mines or riches, they exclaimed frequently, 'Aca nada;' the natives caught up the sound, and when other Europeans arrived repeated it to them. The strangers concluded that these words were a designation, and from that time this magnificent country bore the name of CANADA.

CHAPTER II.

IN the year 1534, Philip Chabot, Admiral of France, urged the king to establish a colony in the New World, by representing to him in glowing colours the great riches and power derived by the Spaniards from their transatlantic possessions. Francis I., alive to the importance of the design, soon agreed to carry it out. Jacques Cartier, an experienced navigator of St. Malo, was recommended by the admiral to be intrusted with the expedition, and was approved of by the king. On the 20th of April, 1534, Cartier sailed from St. Malo with two ships of only sixty tons burden each, and 120 men for their crews: he directed his course westward, inclining rather to the north; the winds proved so favourable that on the twentieth day of the voyage he made Cape Bonavista in Newfoundland. But the harbours of that dreary country were still locked up in the winter's ice, forbidding the approach of shipping: he then bent to the south-east, and at length found anchorage at St. Catherine, six degrees lower in latitude. Having remained here ten days, he again turned to the north, and on the 21st of May reached Bird Island, fourteen leagues from the coast.

Jacques Cartier examined all the northern shores of Newfoundland without having ascertained that it was an island, and then passed southward through the Straits of Belleisle. The country appeared everywhere the same bleak and inhospitable wilderness, but the harbours were numerous, convenient, and abounding in fish. He describes the natives as well-proportioned men, wearing their hair tied up over their heads, like bundles of hay, quaintly interlaced with birds' feathers. Changing his course still more to the south, he then traversed the Gulf of St. Lawrence, approached the mainland, and on the 9th of Julye ntered a deep bay; from the intense heat experienced there he named it the 'Baye de Chaleurs.' The beauty of the country, and the kindness and hospitality of his reception, alike charmed him; he carried on a little trade with the friendly savages, exchanging European goods for their furs and provisions.

Leaving this bay, Jacques Cartier visited a considerable extent of the gulf-coast; on the 24th July he erected a cross thirty feet high, with a

shield bearing the fleurs-de-lys of France on the shore of Gaspè Bay. Having thus taken possession of the country for his king in the usual manner of those days,he sailed, the 25th of July, on his homeward voyage: at this place two of the natives were seized by stratagem, carried on board the ships, and borne away to France. Cartier coasted along the northern shores of the gulf till the 15th of August, and even entered the mouth of the River St. Lawrence, but the weather becoming stormy, he determined to delay his departure no longer: he passed again through the Straits of Belleisle, and arrived at St. Malo on the 5th of September, 1534, contented with his success and full of hope for the future.

Jacques Cartier was received with the consideration due to the importance of his report. The court at once perceived the advantage of an establishment in this part of America, and resolved to take steps for its foundation. Charles de Moncy, Sieur de la Mailleraye, vice-admiral of France, was the most active patron of the undertaking; through his influence Cartier obtained a more effective force, and a new commission, with ampler powers than before. When the preparations for the voyage were completed, the adventurers all assembled in the cathedral of St. Malo on Whitsunday, 1535, by the command of their pious leader; the bishop then gave them a solemn benediction with all the imposing ceremonials of the Romish Church.

On the 19th of May Jacques Cartier embarked, and started on his voyage with fair wind and weather. The fleet consisted of three small ships, the largest being only 120 tons burthen. Many adventurers and young men of good family accompanied the expedition as volunteers. On the morrow the wind became adverse, and rose to a storm; the heavens loured over the tempestuous sea; for more than a month the utmost skill of the mariners could only enable them to keep their ships afloat, while tossed about at the mercy of the waves. The little fleet was dispersed on the 25th of June: each vessel then made for the coast of Newfoundland as it best might. The general's vessel, as that of Cartier was called, was the first to gain the land on the 7th July, and there awaited her consorts; but they did not arrive till the 26th of the month. Having taken in supplies of fuel and water, they sailed in company to explore the Gulf of St. Lawrence. A violent storm arose on the 1st of August, forcing them to seek shelter. They happily found a port on the north shore, at the entrance of the great river, where, though difficult of access, there was a safe anchorage. Jacques Cartier called it St. Nicolas, and it is now almost the only place still bearing the name he gave. They left their harbour on the 7th, coasting westward along the north shore, and on the 10th came to a gulf filled with numerous and beautiful islands. Cartier gave this gulf the name of St. Lawrence, having discovered it on that saint's festival day.

On the 15th of August they reached a long rocky island towards the south, which Cartier named L'Isle de l'Assumption, now called Anticosti. Thence they continued their course, examining carefully both shores of the Great River, and occasionally holding communication with the inhabitants, till on the 1st of September they entered the mouth of the deep and gloomy Saguenay. The entrance of this great tributary was all they had leisure to survey; but the huge rocks, dense forests, and vast body of water, forming a scene of sombre magnificence such as had never before

met their view, inspired them with an exalted idea of the country they had discovered. Still passing to the south-west up the St. Lawrence, on the 6th they reached an island abounding in delicious filberts, and on that account named by the voyagers Isle aux Coudres. Cartier, being now so far advanced into an unknown country, looked out anxiously for a port where his vessels might winter in safety. He pursued his voyage till he came upon another island, of great extent, fertility, and beauty, covered with woods and thick clustering vines. This he named Isle de Bacchus: it is now called Orleans. On the 7th of September Donnacona, the chief of the country, came with twelve canoes filled by his train, to hold converse with the strangers, whose ships lay at anchor between the island and the north shore of the Great River. The Indian Chief approached the smallest of the ships with only two canoes, fearful of causing alarm, and began an oration, accompanied with strange and uncouth gestures. After a time he conversed with the Indians who had been seized on the former voyage, and now acted as interpreters. He heard from them of their wonderful visit to the great nation over the salt lake, of the wisdom and power of the white men, and of the kind treatment they had received among the strangers. Donnacona appeared moved with deep respect and admiration; he took Jacques Cartier's arm and placed it gently over his own bended neck, in token of confidence and regard. The admiral cordially returned these friendly demonstrations. He entered the Indian's canoe, and presented bread and wine, which they ate and drank together. They then parted in all amity.

After this happy interview, Jacques Cartier with his boats pushed up the north shore against the stream, till he reached a spot where a little river flowed into a 'goodly and pleasant sound,' forming a convenient haven. He moored his vessels here for the winter on the 16th of September, and gave the name of St. Croix to the stream, in honour of the day on which he first entered its waters: Donnacona, accompanied by a train of 500 Indians, came to welcome his arrival with generous friendship. In the angle formed by the tributary stream and the Great River, stood the town of Stadacona, the dwelling-place of the chief; thence an irregular slope ascended to a lofty height of table-land: from this eminence a bold headland frowned over the St. Lawrence, forming a rocky wall 300 feet in height. The waters of the Great River—here narrowed to less than a mile in breadth—rolled deeply and rapidly past into the broad basin beyond. When the white men first stood on the summit of this bold headland, above their port of shelter, most of the country was fresh from the hand of the Creator; save the three small barks lying at the mouth of the stream, and the Indian village, no sign of human habitation met their view. Far as the eye could reach, the dark forest spread; over hill and valley, mountain and plain; up to the craggy peaks, down to the blue water's edge; along the gentle slopes of the rich Isle of Bacchus, and even from projecting rocks, and in fissures of the lofty precipice, the deep green mantle of the summer foliage hung its graceful folds. In the dim distance, north, south, east, and west, where mountain rose above mountain in tumultuous variety of outline, it was still the same; one vast leafy veil concealed the virgin face of Nature from the stranger's sight. On the eminence commanding this scene of wild but magnificent beauty, a prosperous city now stands;

the patient industry of man has felled that dense forest, tree by tree, for miles and miles around; and where it stood, rich fields rejoice the eye: the once silent waters of the Great River below, now surge against hundreds of stately ships; commerce has enriched this spot, art adorned it; a memory of glory endears it to every British heart. But the name QUEBEC, still remains unchanged; as the savage first pronounced it to the white stranger, it stands to-day among the proudest records of our country's story.

The Chief Donnacona and the French continued in friendly intercourse, day by day exchanging good offices and tokens of regard. But Jacques Cartier was eager for further discoveries; the two Indian interpreters told him that a city of much larger size than Stadacona, lay further up the river, the capital of a great country; it was called in the native tongue Hochelaga: thither he resolved to find his way. The Indians endeavoured vainly to dissuade their dangerous guests from this expedition; they represented the distance, the lateness of the season, the danger of the great lakes and rapid currents; at length they had recourse to a kind of masquerade or pantomime, to represent the perils of the voyage, and the ferocity of the tribes inhabiting that distant land. The interpreters earnestly strove to dissuade Jacques Cartier from proceeding on his enterprise, and one of them refused to accompany him. The brave Frenchman would not hearken to such dissuasions, and treated with equal contempt the verbal and pantomimic warnings of the alleged difficulties. As a precautionary measure to impress the savages with an exalted idea of his power as a friend or foe, he caused twelve cannon loaded with bullets to be fired in their presence against a wood: amazed and terrified at the noise, and the effects of this discharge, they fled howling and shrieking away.

Jacques Cartier sailed for Hochelaga on the 19th of September; he took with him the Hermerillon—one of his smallest ships, the pinnace and two longboats, bearing thirty-five armed men, with their provisions and ammunition. The two larger vessels and their crews were left in the harbour of St. Croix, protected by poles and stakes driven into the water so as to form a barricade. The voyage presented few of the threatened difficulties; the country on both sides of the Great River was rich and varied, covered with stately timber, and abounding in vines. The natives were everywhere friendly and hospitable; all that they possessed was freely offered to the strangers At a place called Hochelai, the chief of the district visited the French, and showed much friendship and confidence, presenting Jacques Cartier with a girl seven years of age, one of his own children.

On the 29th, the expedition was stopped in Lake St. Pierre by the shallows, not having hit upon the right channel. Jacques Cartier took the resolution of leaving his larger vessels behind, and proceeding with his two boats; he met with no further interruption, and at length reached Hochelaga on the 2nd of October, accompanied by De Pontbriand, De la Pommeraye, and De Gozelle, three of his volunteers. The natives welcomed him with every demonstration of joy and hospitality; above a thousand people, of all ages and sexes, came forth to meet the strangers, greeting them with affectionate kindness. Jacques Cartier, in return for their generous reception, bestowed presents of tin, beads, and other

baubles upon all the women, and gave some knives to the men. He returned to pass the night in the boats, while the savages made great fires on the shore, and danced merrily all night long. The place where the French first landed was, probably, about eleven miles from the city of Hochelaga, below the rapid of St. Mary.

On the day after his arrival Jacques Cartier proceeded to the town; his volunteers, and some others of his followers, accompanied him, arrayed in full dress; three of the natives undertook to guide them on their way. The road was well beaten, and bore evidence of being much frequented; the country through which it passed was exceedingly rich and fertile. Hochelaga stood in the midst of great fields of Indian corn; it was of a circular form, containing about fifty large huts, each fifty paces long and from fourteen to fifteen wide, all built in the shape of tunnels, formed of wood, and covered with birch bark; the dwellings were divided into several rooms, surrounding an open court in the centre, where the fires burned. Three rows of palisades encircled the town, with only one entrance; above the gate, and over the whole length of the outer ring of defence, there was a gallery, approached by flights of steps, and plentifully provided with stones and other missiles to resist attack. This was a place of considerable importance even in those remote days, as the capital of a great extent of country, and as having eight or ten villages subject to its sway.

The inhabitants spoke the language of the great Huron nation, and were more advanced in civilisation than any of their neighbours: unlike other tribes, they cultivated the ground, and remained stationary. The French were well received by the people of Hochelaga; they made presents, the Indians gave fêtes; their fire-arms, trumpets, and other warlike equipments filled the minds of their simple hosts with wonder and admiration, and their beards and clothing excited a curiosity which the difficulties of an unknown language prevented from being satisfied. So great was the veneration for the white men that the chief of the town, and many of the maimed, sick and infirm came to Jacques Cartier, entreating him, by expressive signs, to cure their ills. The pious Frenchman disclaimed any supernatural power, but he read aloud part of the Gospel of St. John, made the sign of the cross over the sufferers, and presented them with chaplets and other holy symbols; he then prayed earnestly that the poor savages might be freed from the night of ignorance and infidelity. The Indians regarded these acts and words with deep gratitude and respectful admiration.

Three miles from Hochelaga, there was a lofty hill, well tilled and very fertile; thither Jacques Cartier bent his way after having examined the town. From the summit he saw the river and the country for thirty leagues around, a scene of singular beauty. To this hill he gave the name of Mont Royal; since extended to the large and fertile island on which it stands and to the city below. Time has now swept away every trace of Hochelaga: on its site the modern capital of Canada has arisen; 50,000 people of European race, and stately buildings of carved stone, replace the simple Indians and the huts of the ancient town.

Jacques Cartier having made his observations returned to the boats attended by a great concourse: when any of his men appeared fatigued with their journey the kind Indians carried them on their shoulders.

This short stay of the French seemed to sadden and displease these hospitable people, and on the departure of the boats they followed their course for some distance along the banks of the river. On the 4th of October Jacques Cartier reached the shallows where the pinnace had been left; he resumed his course the following day, and arrived at St. Croix on the 11th of the same month.

The men who had remained at St. Croix had busied themselves during their leader's absence, in strengthening their position so as to secure it against surprise, a wise precaution under any circumstances among a savage people, but, especially in the neighbourhood of a populous town, the residence of a chief whose friendship they could not but distrust, in spite of his apparent hospitality.

The day after Jacques Cartier's arrival, Donnacona came to bid him welcome, and intreated him to visit Stadacona. He accepted the invitation, and proceeded with his volunteers and fifty sailors to the village, about three miles from where the ships lay. As they journeyed on, they observed that the houses were well provided and stored for the coming winter, and the country tilled in a manner showing that the inhabitants were not ignorant of agriculture; thus they formed, on the whole, a favourable impression of the docility and intelligence of the Indians during this expedition.

When the awful and unexpected severity of the winter set in, the French were unprovided with necessary clothing and proper provisions; the scurvy attacked them, and by the month of March twenty-five were dead, and nearly all were infected; the remainder would probably have also perished, but that when Jacques Cartier was himself attacked with the dreadful disease, the Indians revealed to him the secret of its cure: this was the decoction of the leaf and bark of a certain tree, which proved so excellent a remedy, that in a few days all were restored to health.

Jacques Cartier, on the 21st of April, was first led to suspect the friendship of the natives from seeing a number of strong and active young men make their appearance in the neighbouring town; these were probably the warriors of the tribe, who had just then returned from the hunting grounds where they had passed the winter, but there is now no reason to suppose that their presence indicated any hostility. However Jacques Cartier, fearing treachery, determined to anticipate it. He had already arranged to depart for France. On the 3rd of May he seized the chief, the interpreters, and two other Indians to present them to Francis I.: as some amends for this cruel and flagrant violation of hospitality, he treated his prisoners with great kindness; they soon became satisfied with their fate. On the 6th of May he made sail for Europe, and after having encountered some difficulties and delays, arrived safely at St. Malo the 8th of July, 1536.

The result of Jacques Cartier's expedition was not encouraging to the spirit of enterprise in France; no mines had been discovered, no rare and valuable productions found. The miserable state to which the adventurers had been reduced by the rigorous climate and loathsome diseases, the privations they had endured, the poverty of their condition, were sufficient to cool the ardour of those who might otherwise have wished to follow up their discoveries. But happily for the cause of civilisation some of those powerful in France judged more favourably of Jacques

Cartier's reports, and were not to be disheartened by the unsuccessful issue of one undertaking; the dominion over such a vast extent of country, with fertile soil and healthy climate, inhabited by a docile and hospitable people, was too great an object to be lightly abandoned. The presence of Donnacona, the Indian Chief, tended to keep alive an interest in the land whence he had come; as soon as he could render himself intelligible in the French language, he confirmed all that had been said of the salubrity, beauty, and richness of his native country. The pious Jacques Cartier most of all strove to impress upon the king the glory and merit of extending the blessed knowledge of a Saviour to the dark and hopeless heathens of the west; a deed well worthy of the prince who bore the title of Most Christian King, and Eldest Son of the Church.

Jean François de la Roque, Lord of Roberval, a gentleman of Picardy, was the most earnest and energetic of those who desired to colonise the lands discovered by Jacques Cartier; he bore a high reputation in his own province, and was favoured by the friendship of the king. With these advantages he found little difficulty in obtaining a commission to command an expedition to North America; the title and authority of lieutenant-general and viceroy was conferred upon him; his rule to extend over Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Belle Isle, Carpon, Labrador, La Grand Baye, and Baccalaos, with the delegated rights and powers of the crown. This patent was dated 15th of January, 1540. Jacques Cartier was named second in command. The orders to the leaders of the expedition enjoined them to discover more than had been hitherto accomplished, and if possible to reach the country of Saguenay, where from some reports of the Indians, they still hoped to find mines of gold and silver. The port of St. Malo was again chosen for the fitting out of the expedition: the king furnished a sum of money to defray the expenses.

Jacques Cartier exerted himself vigorously in preparing the little fleet for the voyage, and awaited the arrival of his Chief with the necessary arms, stores, and ammunition; Roberval was meanwhile engaged at Honfleur in fitting out two other vessels at his own cost, and being urged to hasten by the king, he gave his lieutenant orders to start at once, with all authority to act as if he himself were present. He also promised to follow from Honfleur with all the required supplies. Jacques Cartier sailed on the 23rd of May, 1541, having provisioned his fleet for two years. Storms and adverse winds dispersed the ships for some time, but in about a month they all met again on the coast of Newfoundland, where they hoped Roberval would join them. They awaited his coming for some weeks, but at length proceeded without him to the St. Lawrence; on the 23rd of August they reached their old station near the magnificent headland of Quebec.

Donnacona's successor as Chief of the Indians at Stadacona, came in state to welcome the French on their return, and to inquire after his absent countrymen. They told him of the Chief's death, but concealed the fate of the other Indians, stating that they were enjoying great honour and happiness in France and would not return to their own country. The savages displayed no symptoms of anger, surprise, or distrust at this news, their countenances exhibited the same impassive calm, their manners the same quiet dignity as ever, but from that hour their

hearts were changed, hatred and hostility took the place of admiration and respect, and a sad foreboding of their approaching destruction darkened their simple minds. Henceforth the French were hindered and molested by the inhabitants of Stadacona to such an extent, that it was deemed advisable to seek another settlement for the winter. Jacques Cartier chose his new position at the mouth of a small river three leagues higher on the St. Lawrence; here he laid up some of his vessels, under the protection of two forts, one on a level with the water, the other on the summit of an overhanging cliff; these strongholds communicated with each other by steps cut in the solid rock; he gave the name of Charlesbourg Royal to his new station. The two remaining vessels of the fleet he sent back to France, with letters to the king, stating that Roberval had not yet arrived.

Under the impression that the country of the Saguenay—the land of fabled wealth—could be reached by pursuing the line of the St. Lawrence, Jacques Cartier set forth to explore the rapids above Hochelaga on the 7th of September. The season being so far advanced he only undertook this expedition with a view to being better acquainted with the route, and to being provided with all necessary preparations for a more extensive exploration in the spring. In passing up the great river he renewed acquaintance with the friendly and hospitable chief of Hochelai, and there left two boys under the charge of the Indians to learn the language. On the 11th he reached the sault or rapids above Hochelaga, where the progress of the boats was arrested by the force of the stream, he then landed and made his way to the second rapid. The natives gave him to understand that above the next sault there lay a great lake; Cartier having obtained this information returned to where he had left the boats; about 400 Indians had assembled and met him with demonstrations of friendship: he received their good offices and made them presents in return, but still regarded them with distrust on account of their unusual numbers. Having gained as much information as he could, he set out on his return to Charlesbourg Royal—his winter-quarters. The chief was absent when Jacques Cartier stopped at Hochelai on descending the river; he had gone to Stadacona to hold counsel with the natives of that district for the destruction of the white men. On arriving at Charlesbourg Royal, Jacques Cartier found confirmation of his suspicions against the Indians; they now avoided the French and never approached the ships with their usual offerings of fish and other provisions: a great number of men had also assembled at Stadacona. He accordingly made every possible preparation for defence in the forts, and took due precautions against a surprise. There are no records extant of the events of this winter in Canada, but it is probable that no serious encounter took place with the natives; the French, however, must have suffered severely from the confinement rendered necessary by their perilous position, as well as from want of the provisions and supplies which the bitter climate made requisite.

Roberval, though high-minded and enterprising, failed in his engagements with Jacques Cartier: he did not follow his adventurous lieutenant with the necessary and promised supplies till the spring of the succeeding year. On the 16th of April, 1542, he at length sailed from Rochelle with three large vessels, equipped principally at the royal cost. Two hundred

persons accompanied him, some of them being gentlemen of condition, others men and women purposing to become settlers in the new world. Jean Alphonse, an experienced navigator of Saintonge, by birth a Portuguese, was pilot of the expedition. After a very tedious voyage, they entered the road of St. John's, Newfoundland, on the 8th of June, where they found no fewer than seventeen vessels engaged in the inexhaustible fisheries of those waters.

While Roberval indulged in a brief repose at this place, the unwelcome appearance of Jacques Cartier filled him with disappointment and surprise. The lieutenant gave the hostility of the savages and the weakness of his force as reasons for having abandoned the settlement where he had passed the winter. He still, however, spoke favourably of the richness and fertility of the country, and gladdened the eyes of the adventurers by the sight of a substance that resembled gold ore, and crystals that they fancied were diamonds, found on the bold headland of Quebec. But, despite these flattering reports and promising specimens, Jacques Cartier and his followers could not be induced by entreaties or persuasions to return. The hardships and dangers of the last terrible winter were too fresh in memory, and too keenly felt, to be again braved. They deemed their portion of the contract already complete, and the love of their native land overcame the spirit of adventure, which had been weakened, if not quenched, by recent disappointment and suffering. To avoid the chance of an open rupture with Roberval, the lieutenant silently weighed anchor during the night, and made all sail for France. This inglorious withdrawal from the enterprise paralysed Roberval's power, and deferred the permanent settlement of Canada for generations then unborn. Jacques Cartier died soon after his return to Europe. Having sacrificed his fortune in the pursuit of discovery, his heirs were granted an exclusive privilege of trade to Canada for twelve years, in consideration of his sacrifices for the public good; but this gift was revoked four months after it was bestowed.

Roberval determined to proceed on his expedition, although deprived of the powerful assistance and valuable experience of his lieutenant. He sailed from Newfoundland for Canada, and reached Cap Rouge, the place where Jacques Cartier had wintered, before the end of June, 1542. He immediately fortified himself there, as the situation best adapted for defence against hostility, and for commanding the navigation of the Great River. Very little is known of Roberval's proceedings during the remainder of that year and the following winter. The natives do not appear to have molested the new settlers; but no progress whatever was made towards a permanent establishment. During the intense cold, the scurvy caused fearful mischief among the French; no fewer than fifty perished from that dreadful malady during the winter. Demoralized by misery and idleness, the little colony became turbulent and lawless; and Roberval was obliged to resort to extreme severity of punishment before quiet and discipline were re-established.

Towards the close of April the ice broke up, and released the French from their weary and painful captivity; on the 5th of June, Roberval set forth from Cap Rouge to explore the province of Saguenay, leaving thirty men and an officer to protect their winter quarters: this expedition produced no results, and was attended with the loss of one of the

boats and eight men. In the mean time the pilot, Jean Alphonse, was dispatched to examine the coasts north of Newfoundland, in hopes of discovering a passage to the East Indies; he reached the fifty-second degree of latitude, and then abandoned the enterprise; on returning to Europe he published a narrative of Roberval's expedition, and his own voyage, with a tolerably accurate description of the River St. Lawrence, and its navigation upwards from the Gulf. Roberval reached France in 1543; the war between Francis I. and the Emperor Charles V. for some years occupied his ardent spirit; and supplied him with new occasions for distinction, till the death of the king, his patron and friend, in 1547. In the year 1549 he collected some adventurous men, and accompanied by his brave brother, Achille, sailed once again for Canada; but none of this gallant band was ever heard of more. Thus for many a year were swallowed up in the stormy Atlantic, all the bright hopes of founding a new nation in America: since these daring men had failed, none others might expect to be successful.

In the reign of Henry II. attention was directed towards Brazil; splendid accounts of its wealth and fertility were brought home by some French navigators who had visited that distant land. The admiral Gaspard de Coligni was the first to press upon the king the importance of obtaining a footing in South America, and dividing the magnificent prize with the Portuguese monarch. This celebrated man was convinced that an extensive system of colonisation was necessary for the glory and tranquillity of France. He purposed that the settlement in the New World should be founded exclusively by persons holding that reformed faith to which he was so deeply attached, and thus would be provided a refuge for those driven from France by religious proscription and persecution. It is believed that Coligni's magnificent scheme comprehended the possession of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, gradually colonising the banks of these great rivers into the depths of the continent, till the whole of North America, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, should be hemmed in by this gigantic line of French outposts. However, the first proposition was to establish a colony on the coast of Brazil; the king approved the project, and Durand de Villegagnon, vice-admiral of Brittany, was selected to command, in 1555; the expedition, however, entirely failed owing to religious differences.

Under the reigns of Francis II., and Charles IX., while France was convulsed with civil war, America seemed altogether forgotten. But Coligni availed himself of a brief interval of calm to turn attention once more to the Western World. He this time bethought himself of that country to which Ponce de Leon had given the name of Florida, from the exuberant productions of the soil, and the beauty of the scenery and climate. The River Mississippi had been discovered by Ferdinand de Soto, about the time of Jacques Cartier's last voyage, 1543; consequently the Spaniards had this additional claim upon the territory, which, they affirmed, they had visited in 1512, twelve years before the date of Verazzano's voyage in 1524. However, the claims and rights of the different European nations upon the American continent, were not then of sufficient strength to prevent each state from pursuing its own views of occupation. Coligni obtained permission from Charles IX. to attempt the establishment of a colony in Florida, about the year 1562. The king was

the more readily induced to approve of this enterprise, as he hoped that it would occupy the turbulent spirits of the Huguenots, many of them his bitter enemies, and elements of discord in his dominions. On the 18th of February, 1562, Jean de Ribaut, a zealous Protestant, sailed from Dieppe, with two vessels and a picked crew; many volunteers, including some gentlemen of condition, followed his fortunes. He landed on the coast of Florida, near St. Mary's river, where he established a setttlement and built a fort. Two years afterwards, Coligni sent ou reinforcement under the command of Renè de Laudonnière; this was the only portion of the admiral's great scheme ever carried into effect; when he fell in the awful massacre of Saint Bartholomew, his magnificent project was abandoned. After six years of fierce struggle with the Spaniards the survivors of this little colony returned to France.

CHAPTER III.

LITTLE or no effort was made to colonise any part of Canada for nearly fifty years after the loss of Roberval, but the Huguenots of France did not forget that hope of a refuge from religious persecution which their great leader Coligni had excited in their breasts. Several of the leaders of subsequent expeditions of trade and discovery to Canada and Acadia were Calvinists, until 1627, when Champlain, zealous for the Romish faith, procured a decree forbidding the free exercise of the reformed religion in French America.

Although the French seemed to have renounced all plan of settlement in America by the evacuation of Florida, the fishermen of Normandy and Brittany still plied their calling on the Great Bank and along the stormy shores of Newfoundland, and up the Gulf and river of St. Lawrence. By degrees they began to trade with the natives, and soon the greater gains and easier life of this new pursuit transformed many of these hardy sailors into merchants.

When, after fifty years of civil strife, the strong and wise sway of Henry IV. restored rest to troubled France, the spirit of discovery again arose. The Marquis de la Roche, a Breton gentleman, obtained from the king, in 1598, a patent granting the same powers that Roberval had possessed. He speedily armed a vessel, and sailed for Nova Scotia in the same year, accompanied by a skilful Norman pilot named Chedotel. He first reached Sable Island, where he left forty miserable wretches, convicts drawn from the prisons of France, till he might discover some favourable situation for the intended settlement, and make a survey of the neighbouring coasts. Whether La Roche ever reached the continent of America remains unknown, but he certainly returned to France, leaving the unhappy prisoners upon Sable Island, to a fate more dreadful than even the dungeons or galleys of France could threaten. After seven years of dire suffering twelve of these unfortunates were found alive, an expedition having been tardily sent to seek them by the king. When they arrived in France they became objects of great curiosity; in consideration of such unheard-of suffering their former crimes were pardoned, a sum of money was given to each, and the valuable furs collected during their dreary imprisonment, but fraudulently seized by the captain of the

ship in which they were brought home, were allowed to their use. In the meantime the Marquis de la Roche, who had so cruelly abandoned these men to their fate, harassed by law-suits, overwhelmed with vexations, and ruined in fortune by the failure of his expedition, died miserably of a broken heart.

The misfortunes and ruin of the Marquis de la Roche did not stifle the spirit of commerical enterprise which the success of the fur trade had excited. Private adventurers, unprotected by any especial privilege, began to barter for the rich peltries of the Canadian hunters. A wealthy merchant of St. Malo, named Pontgravè, was the boldest and most successful of these traders; he made several voyages to Tadoussac, at the mouth of the Saguenay, bringing back each time a rich cargo of rare and valuable furs. He saw that this commerce would open to him a field of vast wealth, could he succeed in obtaining an exclusive privilege to enjoy its advantages, and managed to induce Chauvin, a captain in the navy, to apply to the king for powers such as de la Roche had possessed: the application was successful, a patent was granted to Chauvin, and Pontgravè admitted to partnership. It was, however, in vain that they attempted to establish a trading post at Tadoussac: after having made two voyages thither without realising their sanguine expectations of gain, Chauvin died while once more preparing to try his fortune.

At this time the great object of colonisation was completely forgotten in the eager pursuit of the fur trade, till de Chatte, the governor of Dieppe, who succeeded to the privileges of Chauvin, founded a company of merchants at Rouen, for the further development of the resources of Canada. An armament was fitted out under the command of the experienced Pontgravè; he was commissioned by the king to make further discoveries in the St. Lawrence, and to establish a settlement upon some suitable position on the coast. Samuel de Champlain, a captain in the navy, accepted a command in this expedition at the request of de Chatte; he was a native of Saintonge, and had lately returned to France from the West Indies, where he had gained a high name for boldness and skill. Under the direction of this wise and energetic man the first successful efforts were made to found a permanent settlement in the magnificent province of Canada, and the stain of the errors and disasters of more than seventy years, was at length wiped away.

Pontgravè and Champlain sailed for the St. Lawrence in 1603. They remained a short time at Tadoussac, where they left their ships, then trusting themselves to a small open boat with only five sailors, they boldly pushed up the Great River to the sault St. Louis, where Jacques Cartier had reached many years before. By this time Hochelaga, the ancient Indian city, had, from some unknown cause, sunk into such insignificance, that the adventurers did not even notice it, nor deem it worthy of a visit. But they anchored for a time under the shade of the magnificent headland of Quebec. On the return of the expedition to France, Champlain found to his deep regret that de Chatte, the worthy and powerful patron of the undertaking, had died during his absence: Pierre du Guast, sieur de Monts, had succeeded to the powers and privileges of the deceased, with even a more extensive commission.

De Monts was a Calvinist, and had obtained from the king the freedom of religious faith for himself and his followers in America, but under the

engagement that the Roman Catholic worship should be established among the natives. Even his opponents admitted the honesty and patriotism of his character, and bore witness to his courage and ability, he was nevertheless unsuccessful; many of those under his command failed in their duty, and the jealousy excited by his exclusive privileges and obnoxious doctrines, involved him in ruinous embarrassments.

The trading company established by de Chatte was continued and increased by his successor. With this additional aid de Monts was enabled to fit out a more complete armament than had ever hitherto been engaged in Canadian commerce. He sailed from Havre on the 7th of March, 1604, with four vessels. Of these, two under his immediate command were destined for Acadia. Champlain, Poutrincourt, and many other volunteers, embarked their fortunes with him, purposing to cast their future lot in the New World. A third vessel was dispatched under Pontgravè to the Strait of Canso, to protect the exclusive trading privileges of the Company. The fourth steered for Tadoussac, to barter for the rich furs brought by the Indian hunters from the dreary wilds of the Saguenay.

On the 6th of May, de Monts reached a harbour on the coast of Acadia, where he seized and confiscated an English vessel, in vindication of his exclusive privileges. Thence he sailed to the island of St. Croix, where he landed his people, and established himself for the winter. In the spring of 1605 he hastened to leave this settlement, where the want of wood and fresh water, and the terrible ravages of the scurvy, had disheartened and diminished the number of his followers. In the mean time Champlain had discovered and named Port Royal, now Annapolis, a situation which presented many natural advantages. De Monts removed the establishment thither, and erected a fort, appointing Pontgravè to its command. Soon afterwards he bestowed Port Royal and a large extent of the neighbouring country upon de Poutrincourt, and the grant was ultimately confirmed by letters patent from the king. This was the first concession of land made in North America since its discovery.

When de Monts returned to France in 1605, he found that enemies had been busily and successfully at work in destroying his influence at court. Complaints of the injustice of his exclusive privileges poured in from all the ports in the kingdom. It was urged that he had interfered with and thwarted the fisheries, under the pretence of securing the sole right of trading with the Indian hunters. These statements were hearkened to by the king, and all the Sieur's privileges were revoked. De Monts bore up bravely against this disaster. He entered into a new engagement with de Poutrincourt, who had followed him to France, and dispatched a vessel from Rochelle, on the 13th of May, to succour the colony in Acadia. The voyage was unusually protracted, and the settlers at Port Royal, at length reduced to great extremities, feared that they had been abandoned to their fate. The wise and energetic Pontgravè did all that man could do to reassure them; but finally their supplies being completely exhausted, he was constrained to yield to the general wish, and embark his people for France. He had scarcely sailed, however, when he heard of the arrival of Poutrincourt and the long-desired supplies. He then immediately returned to Port Royal, where he found his chief

already landed. Under able and judicious management, the colony increased and prospered until 1614, when it was attacked and broken up by Sir Samuel Argal with a Virginian force.

The enemies of de Monts did not relax in their efforts till he was deprived of his high commission. A very insufficient indemnity was granted for the great expenses he had incurred. Still he was not disheartened: in the following year, 1607, he obtained a renewal of his privileges for one year, on condition that he should plant a colony upon the banks of the St. Lawrence. The trading company did not lose confidence in their principal, although his courtly influence had been destroyed; but their object was confined to the prosecution of the lucrative commerce in furs, for which reason they ceased to interest themselves in Acadia, and turned their thoughts to the Great River of Canada, where they hoped to find a better field for their undertaking. They equipped two ships at Honfleur, under the command of Champlain and Pontgravè, to establish the fur trade at Tadoussac. De Monts remained in France, vainly endeavouring to obtain an extension of his patent. Despite his disappointments, he fitted out some vessels in the spring of 1608, with the assistance of the Company, and dispatched them to the river St. Lawrence on the 13th April, under the same command as before.

Champlain reached Tadoussac on the 3rd of June; his views were far more extended than those of a mere merchant; even honest fame for himself, and increase of glory and power for his country, were, in his eyes, objects subordinate to the extension of the Catholic faith. After a brief stay, he ascended the Great River, examining the shore with minute care, to seek the most fitting place where the first foundation of French empire might be laid. On the 3rd of July, 1608, he reached QUEBEC, where, nearly three quarters of a century before, Jacques Cartier had passed the winter. This magnificent position was at once chosen by Champlain as the site of the future capital of Canada: centuries of experience have proved the wisdom of the selection; admirably situated for purposes of war or commerce, and completely commanding the navigation of the Great River, it stands the centre of a scene of beauty that can nowhere be surpassed.

On the bold headland overlooking the waters of the basin, he commenced his work by felling the trees, and rooting up the wild vines and tangled underwood from the virgin soil. Some rude huts were speedily erected for shelter; spots around them were cultivated to test the fertility of the land; this labour was repaid by abundant production. The first permanent work undertaken in the new settlement, was the erection of a solid building as a magazine for their provisions. A temporary barrack on the highest point of the position for the officers and men, was subsequently constructed. These preparations occupied the remainder of the summer. The first snow fell on the 18th of November, but only remained on the ground for two days: in December it again returned, and the face of nature was covered till the end of April. From the time of Jacques Cartier, to the establishment of Champlain, and even to the present day, there has been no very decided amelioration of the severity of the climate: indeed, some of the earliest records notice seasons milder than many of modern days.

The town of Stadacona, like its prouder neighbour of Hochelaga

seems to have dwindled into insignificance since the time when it had been an object of such interest and suspicion to Jacques Cartier. Some Indians still lived in huts around Quebec, but in a state of poverty and destitution, very different from the condition of their ancestors. During the winter of 1608, they suffered dire extremities of famine; several came over from the southern shores of the river, miserably reduced by starvation, and scarcely able to drag along their feeble limbs, to seek aid from the strangers. Champlain relieved their necessities and treated them with politic kindness. The French suffered severely from the scurvy during this first winter of their residence.

On the 18th of April, 1609, Champlain, accompanied by two Frenchmen, ascended the Great River with a war-party of Canadian Indians. After a time, turning southward up a tributary stream, he came to the shores of a large and beautiful lake, abounding with fish; the shores and neighbouring forests sheltered, in their undisturbed solitude, countless deer and other animals of the chase. To this splendid sheet of water he gave his own name, which it still bears. To the south and west rose huge snow-capped mountains, and in the fertile valleys below dwelt numbers of the fierce and hostile Iroquois. Champlain and his savage allies pushed on to the furthest extremity of the lake, descended a rapid, and entered another smaller sheet of water, afterwards named St. Sacrement. On the shore they encountered 200 of the Iroquois warriors: a battle ensued; the skill and the astonishing weapons of the white men soon gave their Canadian allies a complete victory. Many prisoners were taken, and, in spite of Champlain's remonstrances, put to death with horrible and protracted tortures. The brave Frenchmen returned to Quebec, and sailed for Europe in September, leaving Captain Pierre Chauvin, an experienced officer, in charge of the infant settlement. Henry IV. received Champlain with favour, and called him to an interview at Fontainebleau: the king listened attentively to the report of the new colony, expressing great satisfaction at its successful foundation and favourable promise. But the energetic de Monts, to whom so much of this success was due, could find no courtly aid: the renewal of his privilege was refused, and its duration had already expired. By the assistance of the Merchant Company, he fitted out two vessels in the spring of 1610, under the tried command of Champlain and Pontgravè: the first was destined for Quebec, with some artisans, settlers, and necessary supplies for the colony; the second was commissioned to carry on the fur trade at Tadoussac. Champlain sailed from Honfleur on the 8th of April, and reached the mouth of the Saguenay in eighteen days, a passage which even all the modern improvements in navigation have rarely enabled any one to surpass in rapidity. He soon hastened on to Quebec, where, to his great joy, he found the colonists contented and prosperous; the virgin soil had abundantly repaid the labours of cultivation, and the natives had in no wise molested their dangerous visitors. He joined the neighbouring tribes of Algonquin and Montagnez Indians, during the summer, in an expedition against the Iroquois. Having penetrated the woody country beyond Sorel for some distance, they came upon a place where their enemies were entrenched: this they took, after a bloody resistance. Champlain and another Frenchman were slightly wounded in the encounter.

In 1612, Champlain found it necessary to revisit France; some powerful patron was wanted to forward the interests of the colony, and to provide the supplies and resources required for its extension. The Count de Soissons readily entered into his views, and delegated to him the authority of viceroy, which had been conferred upon the count. Soissons died soon after, and the Prince of Condè became his successor. Champlain was wisely continued in the command he had so long and ably held, but was delayed in France for some time by difficulties on the subject of commerce with the merchants of St. Malo.

Champlain sailed again from St. Malo on the 6th of March, 1613, in a vessel commanded by Pontgravè, and anchored before Quebec on the 7th of May. He found the state of affairs at the settlement so satisfactory that his continued presence was unnecessary; he therefore proceeded at once to Montreal, and after a short stay at that island, explored for some distance the course of the Ottawa, which there pours its vast flood into the main stream of the St. Lawrence. The white men were filled with wonder and admiration at the magnitude of this great tributary, the richness and beauty of its shores, the broad lakes and deep rapids, and the eternal forests, clothing mountain, plain, and valley for countless leagues around. As they proceeded they found no diminution in the volume of water; and when they inquired of the wandering Indian for its source, he pointed to the north-west, and indicated that it lay in the unknown solitudes of ice and snow, to which his people had never reached. After this expedition Champlain returned with his companion, Pontgravè, to St. Malo, where they arrived in the end of August.

Having engaged some wealthy merchants of St. Malo, Rouen, and Rochelle in an association for the support of the colony, through the assistance of the Prince of Condè, viceroy of New France, he obtained letters patent of incorporation for the Company. The temporal welfare of the settlement being thus placed upon a secure basis, Champlain, who was a zealous Catholic, next devoted himself to obtain spiritual aid. By his entreaties four Recollets were prevailed upon to undertake the mission. These were the first ministers of religion settled in Canada. They reached Quebec in the beginning of April, 1615, accompanied by Champlain, who, however, at once proceeded to Montreal.

On arriving at this island he found the Huron and other allied tribes again preparing for an expedition against the Iroquois. With a view of gaining the friendship of the savages, and of acquiring a knowledge of the country, he injudiciously offered himself to join a quarrel in which he was no wise concerned. The father Joseph Le Caron accompanied him in the view of preparing the way for religious instruction, by making himself acquainted with the habits and language of the Indians. Champlain was appointed chief by the allies, but his savage followers rendered slight obedience to this authority. The expedition proved very disastrous: the Iroquois were strongly entrenched and protected by a quantity of felled trees; their resistance proved successful; Champlain was wounded, and the allies were forced to retreat with shame and with heavy loss.

The respect of the Indians for the French was much diminished by this untoward failure; they refused to furnish Champlain with a promised guide to conduct him to Quebec, and he was obliged to pass the winter among them as an unwilling guest. He however made the best use of

his time; he visited many of the principal Huron and Algonquin towns, even those as distant as Lake Nipissing, and succeeded in reconciling several neighbouring nations. At the opening of the navigation, he gained over some of the Indians to his cause, and finding that another expedition against the Iroquois was in preparation, embarked secretly, and arrived at Quebec on the 11th of July, 1616, when he found that he and the father Joseph were supposed to have been dead long since. They both sailed for France soon after their return from among the Hurons.

In the following year, a signal service was rendered to the colony, by a worthy priest named Duplessys: he had been engaged for some time at Three Rivers in the instruction of the savages, and had happily so far gained their esteem, that some of his pupils informed him of a conspiracy amongst all the neighbouring Indian tribes for the utter destruction of the French; 800 chiefs and warriors had assembled to arrange the plan of action. Duplessys contrived with consummate ability to gain over some of the principal Indians to make advances towards a reconciliation with the white men, and by degrees succeeded in arranging a treaty, and in causing two chiefs to be given up as hostages for its observance.

For several years Champlain was constantly obliged to visit France for the purpose of urging on the tardily provided aids for the colony. The court would not interest itself in the affairs of New France since a Company had undertaken their conduct, and the merchants, always limited in their views to mere commercial objects, cared but little for the fate of the settlers so long as their warehouses were stored with the valuable furs brought by the Indian hunters. These difficulties would doubtless have smothered the infant nation in its cradle, had it not been for the untiring zeal and constancy of its great founder. At every step he met with new trials from the indifference, caprice, or contradiction of his associates; but with his eye steadily fixed upon the future, he devoted his fortune and the energies of his life to the cause, and rose superior to every obstacle.

In 1620 the Prince of Condè sold the viceroyalty of New France to his brother-in-law the Marshal de Montmorenci for eleven thousand crowns. The marshal wisely continued Champlain as lieutenant-governor, and intrusted the management of colonial affairs in France to M. Dolu, a gentleman of known zeal and probity. Champlain being hopeful that these changes would favourably affect Canada, resolved now to establish his family permanently in that country. Taking them with him, he sailed from France in the above-named year, and arrived at Quebec in the end of May. In passing by Tadoussac he found that some adventurers of Rochelle had opened a trade with the savages, in violation of the Company's privileges, and had given the fatal example of furnishing the hunters with fire-arms in exchange for their peltries.

A great danger menaced the colony in the year 1621. The Iroquois sent three large parties of warriors to attack the French settlements. This savage tribe feared that if the white men obtained a footing in the country, their alliance with the Hurons and Algonquins, of which the effects had already been felt, might render them too powerful. The first division marched upon sault St. Louis, where a few Frenchmen were established. Happily there was warning of their approach; the defenders, aided by some Indian allies, repulsed them with much loss, and took

several prisoners. The Iroquois had, however, seized Father Guillaume Poulain, one of the Recollets, in their retreat; they tied him to a stake, and were about to burn him alive, when they were persuaded to exchange the good priest for one of their own chiefs, who had fallen into the hands of the French. Another party of these fierce marauders dropped down the river to Quebec, in a fleet of thirty canoes, and suddenly invested the Convent of the Recollets, where a small fort had been erected; they did not venture to attack this little stronghold, but fell upon some Huron villages near at hand, and massacred the helpless inhabitants with frightful cruelty; they then retreated as suddenly as they had come. Alarmed by this ferocious attack, which weakness and the want of sufficient supplies prevented him from avenging, Champlain sent Father Georges le Brebeuf as an agent, to represent to the king the deplorable condition of the colony, from the criminal neglect of the Company. The appeal was successful; the Company was suppressed, and the exclusive privilege transferred to Guillaume and Emeric de Caen, uncle and nephew.

The king himself wrote to his worthy subject Champlain, expressing high approval of his eminent services, and exhorting him to continue in the same career. This high commendation served much to strengthen his hands in the exercise of his difficult authority. He was embarrassed by constant disputes between the servants of the suppressed Company, and those who acted for the De Caens; religious differences also served to embitter these dissensions, as the new authorities were zealous Huguenots.

This year Champlain discovered that his ancient allies, the Hurons, purposed to detach themselves from his friendship and unite with the Iroquois for his destruction. To avert this danger he sent among them Father Joseph la Caron and two other priests, who appear to have succeeded in their mission of reconciliation. The year after he erected a stone fort at Quebec for the defence of the settlement, which then only numbered fifty souls of all ages and sexes. As soon as the defences were finished Champlain departed for France with his family, to press for aid from the government for the distressed colony.

On his arrival he found that Henri de Levi, Duke de Ventadour, had purchased the vice-royalty of New France from the Marshal de Montmorenci, his uncle, with the view of promoting the spiritual welfare of Canada, and the general conversion of the heathen Indians to the Christian faith. He had himself long retired from the strife and troubles of the world, and entered into holy orders. Being altogether under the influence of the Jesuits, he considered them as the means given by heaven for the accomplishment of his views. The pious and exemplary Father Lallemant, with four other priests and laymen of the Order of Jesus, undertook the mission, and sailed for Canada in 1625. They were received without jealousy by their predecessors of the Recollets, and admitted under their roof on their first arrival. The following year three other Jesuit fathers reached Quebec in a little vessel provided by themselves; many artisans accompanied them. By the aid of this reinforcement, the new settlement soon assumed the appearance of a town.

The Huguenot de Caens used their powerful influence to foment the religious disputes now raging in the infant settlement; they were also far more interested in the profitable pursuit of the fur trade than in pro-

moting the progress of colonisation; for these reasons the Cardinal de Richelieu judged that their rule was injurious to the prosperity of the country; he revoked their privileges, and caused the formation of a numerous Company of wealthy and upright men; to this he transferred the charge of the colony. This body was chartered under the name of 'The Company of One Hundred Associates:' their capital was 100,000 crowns; their privileges as follows:—To be proprietors of Canada; to govern in peace and war; to enjoy the whole trade for fifteen years, (except the cod and whale fishery,) and the fur trade in perpetuity; untaxed imports and exports. The king gave them two ships of 300 tons burthen each, and raised twelve of the principal members to the rank of nobility. The Company, on their part, undertook to introduce 200 or 300 settlers during the year 1628, and 16,000 more before 1643, providing them with all necessaries for three years, and settling them afterwards on a sufficient extent of cleared land for their future support. The articles of this agreement were signed by the Cardinal de Richelieu on the 19th of April, 1627, and subsequently approved by the king.

At this time the Indians were a constant terror to the settlers in Canada: several Frenchmen had been assassinated by the ruthless savages, and their countrymen were too feeble in numbers to demand the punishment of the murderers. Conscious of their strength, the natives became daily more insolent; no white man could venture beyond the settlement without incurring great danger. Building languished, and much of the cleared land remained uncultivated. Such was the disastrous state of the colony.

The commencement of the Company's government was marked by heavy misfortune. The first vessels sent by them to America fell into the hands of the English, at the sudden breaking out of hostilities. In 1628, Sir David Kertk, a French Calvinist refugee in the British service, reached Tadoussac with a squadron, burned the fur houses of the fur traders, and did other damage: thence he sent to Quebec, summoning Champlain to surrender. The brave governor consulted with Pontgravè and the inhabitants; they came to the resolution of attempting a defence, although reduced to great extremities, and sent Kertk such a spirited answer, that he, ignorant of their weakness, did not advance upon the town. He however captured a convoy under the charge of de Roquemont, with several families on board, and a large supply of provisions for the settlement. This expedition against Canada was said to have been planned and instigated by de Caen, from a spirit of vengeance against those who had succeeded to his lost privileges.

In July, 1629, Lewis and Thomas, brothers of Sir David Kertk, appeared with an armament before Quebec. As soon as the fleet had anchored, a white flag with a summons to capitulate was sent ashore. This time the assailants were well informed of the defenders' distress; but offered generous terms, if Champlain would at once surrender the fort. He, having no means of resistance, was fain to submit. The English took possession the following day, and treated the inhabitants with such good faith and humanity, that none of them left the country. Lewis Kertk remained in command at Quebec; Champlain proceeded with Thomas to Tadoussac, where they met the admiral, Sir David, with

the remainder of the fleet. In September they sailed for England, an Champlain was sent on to France, according to treaty.

When the French received the news of the loss of Canada, opinion wa much divided as to the wisdom of seeking to regain the captured settle ment. Some thought its possession of little value in proportion to th expense it caused; while others deemed that the fur trade and fisheri were of great importance to the commerce of France, as well as a usefu nursery for experienced seamen. Champlain strongly urged the gover ment not to give up a country where they had already overcome th principal difficulties of settlement, and where, through their means, th light of religion was dawning upon the darkness of heathen ignorane His solicitations were successful, and Canada was restored to France the same time with Acadia, and Cape Breton, by the treaty of S Germain-en-Laye. At this period the fort of Quebec, surrounded by score of hastily built dwellings and barracks, some poor huts on th Island of Montreal, the like at Three Rivers and Tadoussac, and a fe fishermen's log-houses elsewhere on the banks of the St. Lawrence, wer the only fruits of the discoveries of Verazzano, Jacques Cartier, Roberva and Champlain, the great outlay of la Roche and de Monts, and the toi and sufferings of their followers, for nearly a century.

By the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye the Company were restored all their rights and privileges, and obtained compensation for the loss they had sustained, but it was some time before the English could b effectually excluded from the trade which they had established with th Indians during their brief possession of the country. In 1633 Champla was re-appointed governor of New France, and on his departure for th colony took with him many respectable settlers: several Protestan were anxious to join him; this, however, was not permitted. Tw Jesuits, Fathers de Brebeuf and Enemond Masse, accompanied th governor; they purposed to devote themselves to the conversion of th Indians to Christianity and to the education of the youth of the colon The Recollets had made but little progress in proselytism; as yet ver few of the natives had been baptized, nor were the Jesuits at first muc more successful: these persevering men were, however, not to b disheartened by difficulties, and they were supported by the hope th when they became better acquainted with the language and manners their pupils, their instructions would yield a richer harvest.

As New France advanced in population and prosperity, the sentimen of religion became strengthened among the settlers. On the first arriv of the Jesuits, Réné Rohault, the eldest son of the Marquis de Gamach and himself one of the Order, adopted the idea of founding a college Quebec for the education of youth, and the conversion of the Indian and offered 6000 crowns of gold as a donation to forward the objec The capture of the settlement by the English had, for a time, interrupte the execution of this plan; but Rohault at length succeeded in layi the foundation of the building in December, 1635, to the great joy of th French colonists.

In the same month, to the deep regret of all good men, death depriv his country of the brave, high-minded, and wise Champlain. He w buried in the city of which he was the founder; where, to this day, he fondly and gratefully remembered among the just and good. Gift

with high ability, upright, active, and chivalrous, he was at the same time eminent for his Christian zeal and humble piety. 'The salvation of one soul,' he often said, 'is of more value than the conquest of an empire.' To him belongs the glory of planting Christianity and civilization among the snows of those northern forests; during his life indeed a feeble germ, but sheltered by his vigorous arm—nursed by his tender care—the root struck deep. Little more than two centuries have passed since the faithful servant went to rest upon the field of his noble toils. And now a million and a half of Christian people dwell in peace and plenty upon that magnificent territory, which his zeal and wisdom first redeemed from the desolation of the wilderness.

CHAPTER IV.

HAVING followed the course of discovery and settlement in New France up to the death of the man who stamped the first permanent impression upon that country, it is now time to review its character and condition at the period when it became the abode of a civilised people. Champlain's deputed commission of governor gave him authority over all that France possessed or claimed on the continent and islands of North America; Newfoundland, Isle Royal, and Acadia, were each portions of this vast but vague territory; and those unknown boundless solitudes of ice and snow, lying towards the frozen north, whose very existence was a speculation, were also, by the shadowy right of an European king, added to his wide dominion. Of that portion, however, called Canada, it is more especially the present subject to treat.

Canada is a vast plain, irregular in elevation and feature, forming a valley between two ranges of high land; one of these ranges divides it to the north from the dreary territories of Hudson's Bay, the other to the south, from the republic of the United States and the British province of New Brunswick. None of the hills rise to any great height; with one exception, Man's Hill in the State of Maine, 2000 feet is their greatest altitude above the sea. The elevated districts are, however, of very great extent, broken, rugged, and rocky, clothed with dense forests, intersected with rapid torrents, and varied with innumerable lakes. The great plain of Canada narrows to a mere strip of low land by the side of the St. Lawrence, as it approaches the eastern extremity. From Quebec to the Gulf on the north side, and towards Gaspè on the south, the grim range of mountains reaches almost to the water's edge; westward of that city the plain expands, gradually widening into a district of great beauty and fertility; again, westward of Montreal, the level country becomes far wider and very rich, including the broad and valuable flats that lie along the lower waters of the Ottawa. The rocky elevated shores of Lake Huron bound this vast valley to the west; the same mountain range extends along the northern shore of Lake Superior; beyond lie great tracts of fertile soil, where man's industrious hand has not yet been applied.

Canada may be described as lying between the meridians of 97° 50′, and 90° west; from the mouth of the Esquimaux river on the confines of Labrador, to the entrance of the stream connecting the waters of Lake

Superior and the Rainy Lake, bordering on Prince Rupert's Land. The parallels of 42° and 52° inclose this country to the south and north. The greatest length is about 1300 miles, the breadth 700. A space of 348,000 square miles is inclosed within these limits.

The great lakes in Canada give a character to that country distinct from any other in the Old World or the New. They are very numerous; some far exceed all inland waters elsewhere in depth and extent; they feed, without apparent diminution, the great river St. Lawrence; the tempest ploughs their surface into billows that rival those of the Atlantic, and they contain more than half of all the fresh water upon the surface of the globe.

Superior is the largest and most elevated of these lakes; it is crescent-shaped, convex to the north; to the south-east and south-west its extremities are narrow points: the length through the curve is 360 geographical miles, the breadth in the widest part 140, the circumference 1500. The surface of this vast sheet of fresh water is 627 feet above the level of the Atlantic; from various indications upon the shores there is good reason to conclude that at some remote period it was forty or fifty feet higher. The depth of Lake Superior varies much in different parts, but is generally very great; at the deepest it is probably 1200 feet. The waters are miraculously pure and transparent; many fathoms down the eye can distinctly trace the rock and shingle of the bottom, and follow the quick movements of the numerous and beautiful fish inhabiting these crystal depths. No tides vary the stillness of this inland sea, but when a strong prevailing wind sweeps over the surface, the waves are lashed to fury, and the waters, driven by its force, crowd up against the leeward shore. When in the spring the warm sun melts the mountain snows, and each little tributary becomes an impetuous torrent pouring into this great basin, the level of the surface rises many feet. Although no river of any magnitude helps to supply Lake Superior, a vast number of small streams fall in from among clefts and glens along the rugged shores; there are also many large islands, one, Isle Royale, is more than forty miles in length. In some places lofty hills rise abruptly from the water's edge, in others there are intervals of lower lands for sixty or seventy miles, but everywhere stands the primeval forest, clothing height and hollow alike. At the south-eastern extremity of this lake, St. Mary's Channel carries the superabundant waters for nearly forty miles, till they fall into Lake Huron; about midway between, they rush tumultuously down a steep descent with a tremendous roar through shattered masses of rock, filling the pure air above with clouds of snowy foam.

Lake Huron is the next in succession and the second in magnitude of these inland seas. The outline is very irregular, to the north and east formed by the Canadian territory, to the south-west by that of the United States. From where the Channel of St. Mary enters this lake, to the furthest extremity is 240 miles, the greatest breadth is 220, the circumference about 1000; the surface is only 32 feet lower than that of Superior; in depth and in pure transparency the waters of this lake are not surpassed by its great neighbour. Parallel to the north shore, runs a long narrow peninsula called Cabot Head, which together with a chain of islands shuts in the upper waters so as almost to form a separate and distinct lake. The Great Manitoulin Island, the largest of this chain, is

eventy-five miles in length. In the Indian tongue the name denotes it he abode of the Great Spirit, and the simple savages regard these woody hores with reverential awe.

To the north and west of Lake Huron the shores are generally rugged nd precipitous; abrupt heights of from 30 to 100 feet rise from the ater's edge, formed of clay, huge stones, steep rocks, and wooded cclivities; further inland, the peaks of the Cloche mountains ascend to considerable height. To the east, nature presents a milder aspect; a lain of great extent and richness stretches away towards the St. Lawence. Many streams pour their flood into this lake; the principal are he Maitland, Severn, Moon, and French rivers; they are broad and deep, nt their sources lie at no great distance. By far the largest supply of ater comes from the vast basin of Lake Superior through the channel f St. Mary. Near the north-western extremity of Huron, a narrow strait onnects it with Lake Michigan in the United States; there is a slight ifference of level between these two great sheets of water, and a current onstantly sets into the southern basin; this lake is also remarkable for s depth and transparency.

At the southern extremity of Lake Huron, its overflow pours through river about thirty miles in length into a small lake; both lake and river ear the name of St. Clair. Thence the waters flow on through the road but shallow stream of the Détroit until they fall into Lake Erie hirty miles below; on either side the banks and neighbouring districts re rich in beauty and abundantly fertile.

Lake Erie is shallow and dangerous, the anchorage is bad, the harbours ew and inconvenient. Long low promontories project for a considerable distance from the main land and embarrass the navigation. But the oasts both on the Canadian and American side are very fertile. Lake rie is about 265 miles long, and 63 wide at its greatest breadth, the circumference is calculated at 658 miles, its surface lies 30 feet below the level of ake Huron. The length of the lake stretches north-east, almost the me direction as the line of the river St. Lawrence.

The Niagara river flows from the north-eastern extremity of Lake Erie o Lake Ontario in a course of 33 miles, with a fall of not less than 334 et. About twenty miles below Lake Erie is the grandest sight that ature has laid before the human eye—the Falls of Niagara. A stream hree-quarters of a mile wide, deep and rapid, plunges over a rocky ledge 50 feet in height; about two-thirds of the distance across from the anadian side stands Goat Island, covered with stately timber: four times s great a body of water precipitates itself over the northern or Horseoe Fall as that which flows over the American portion. Above the ataract the river becomes very rapid and tumultuous in several places, articularly at the ferry of Blackrock, where it rushes past at the rate of even miles an hour; within the last mile there is a tremendous indraught o the Falls. The shores on both sides of the Niagara river are of unsurassed natural fertility, but there is little scenic beauty around to divert ttention from the one object. The simplicity of this wonder adds to the rce of its impression; no other sight over the wide world so fills the ind with awe and admiration. Description may convey an idea of the eight and breadth—the vast body of water—the profound abyss—the ark whirlpools—the sheets of foam—the plumy column of spray rising

up against the sky—the dull deep sound that throbs through the earth, and fills the air for miles and miles with its unchanging voice—but of the magnitude of this idea, and the impression stamped upon the senses by the reality, it is vain to speak to those who have not stood beside Niagara.

The descent of the land from the shores of Lake Erie to those of Ontario is general and gradual, and there is no feature in the neighbourhood of the Falls to mark its locality. From the Erie boundary the river flows smoothly through a level but elevated plain, branching round one large and some smaller islands. Although the deep tremulous sound of Niagara tells of its vicinity, there is no unusual appearance till within about a mile, when the waters begin to ripple and hasten on, a little further it dashes down a magnificent rapid, then again becomes tranquil and glassy, but glides past with astonishing swiftness. There are numberless points whence the fall of this great river may be well seen: the best is Table Rock at the top of the cataract—the most wonderful, is the recess between the falling flood and the cliff over which it leaps.

For some length below Niagara the waters are violently agitated; however, at the distance of half a mile a ferry plies across in safety. The high banks on both sides of the river extend to Queenston and Lewiston, eight miles lower, confining the waters to a channel of no more than a quarter of a mile in breadth, between steep and lofty cliffs; midway is the whirlpool, where the current rushes furiously round with encircling heights. Below Queenston the river again rolls along a smooth stream between level and cultivated banks, till it pours its waters into Lake Ontario.

Ontario is the last and the most easterly of the chain of lakes. The greatest length is 172 miles; at the widest it measures 59 miles across; the circumference is 467 miles, and the surface is 334 feet below the level of Lake Erie. The depth of Ontario varies very much along the coast, being seldom more than from three to 50 fathoms; and in the centre, a plummet, with 300 fathoms of line, has been tried in vain for soundings. A sort of gravel, small pieces of limestone, worn round and smooth by the action of water, covers the shores, lying in long ridges sometimes miles in extent. The waters, like those of the other great lakes, are very pure and beautiful, except where the shallows along the margin are stirred up by violent winds: for a few days in June a yellow unwholesome scum covers the surface at the edge every year. There is a strange phenomenon connected with Ontario, unaccounted for by scientific speculation; each seventh year, from some inscrutable cause, the waters reach to an unusual height, and again subside, mysteriously as they arose. The beautiful illusion of the mirage spreads its dreamy enchantment over the surface of Ontario in the summer calms, mixing islands, clouds, and waters in strange confusion.

The outline of the shores is much diversified,—to the north-east lie low lands and swampy marshes,—to the north and north-east extends a bold range of elevated grounds,—southward the coast becomes again flat for some distance inland, till it rises into the ridge of heights that marks the position of Niagara. The country bordering the lake is generally rich and productive, and was originally covered with forest. A ridge of lofty land runs from the beautiful Bay of Quinté, on the north-west of the lake westward along the shore, at the distance of nine or more miles: from

these heights innumerable streams flow into Ontario on one side, and into the lakes and rivers of the back country on the other. At Toronto the ridge recedes to the distance of twenty-four miles north-east from the lake, separating the tributary waters of Lakes Huron and Ontario; thence emerging in the Burlington Heights, it continues along the south-west side from four to eight miles distant from the shore to the high grounds about Niagara.

Besides the great stream of Niagara, many rivers flow into Ontario both on the Canadian and American sides. The bays and harbours are also very numerous, affording great facilities for navigation and commerce: in this respect the northern shore is the most favoured—the Bays of Quinté and Burlington are especially remarkable for their extent and security.

The north-east end of Lake Ontario, where its waters pour into the St. Lawrence, is a scene of striking beauty; numerous wooded islands in endless variety of form and extent divide the entrance of the Great River into a labyrinth of tortuous channels, for twelve miles in breadth from shore to shore: this width gradually decreases as the stream flows on to Prescott fifty miles below; a short distance beyond that town the rapids commence, and thence to Montreal the navigation is interrupted for vessels of burthen; boats, rafts, and small steamers, however, constantly ascend these tumultuous waters, and not unfrequently are lost in the dangerous attempt. The most beautiful and formidable of these rapids are called the Cedars, from the rich groves of that fragrant tree covering numerous and intricate islands which distort the rushing stream into narrow and perilous channels: the water is not more than ten feet deep in some places, and flows at the rate of twelve miles an hour. The river here widens into Lake St. Francis, and again into Lake St. Louis, which contains a large branch of the Ottawa at its south-western extremity. The water of this great tributary is remarkably clear and of a bright emerald colour; that of the St. Lawrence at this junction is muddy from having passed over deep beds of marl for several miles above its entrance into Lake St. Louis: for some distance down the lake the different streams can be plainly distinguished from each other. From the confluence of the first branches above Montreal these two great rivers seem bewildered among the numerous and beautiful islands, and hurrying past in strong rapids, only find rest again in the broad deep waters many miles below.

The furthest sources of the Ottawa river are unknown. It rises to importance at the outlet from Lake Temiscaming, 350 miles west of its junction with the St. Lawrence. Beyond the Falls and Portage des Chaumettes, 110 miles above Hull, this stream has been little explored. There it is divided into two channels by a large island fifteen miles long: the southernmost of these expands into the width of four or five miles, and communicates by a branch of the river with the Mud and Muskrat Lakes. Twelve miles further south the river again forms two branches, including an extensive and beautiful island twenty miles in length; numerous rapids and cascades diversify this wild but lovely scene: thence to the foot of the Chenaux, wooded islands in picturesque variety deck the bosom of the stream, and the bright-blue waters here wind their way for three miles through a channel of pure white marble. Nature has bestowed abundant fertility as well as beauty upon

this favoured district. The Gatineau river joins the Ottawa near Hull, after a course of great length. This stream is navigated by canoes for more than 300 miles, traversing an immense valley of rich soil and picturesque scenery.

At the foot of the Chenaux the magnificent Lake des Chats opens to view, in length about fifteen miles; the shores are strangely indented, and numbers of wooded islands stud the surface of the clear waters. At the foot of the lake there are falls and rapids; thence to Lake Chaudière, a distance of six miles, the channel narrows, but expands again to form that beautiful and extensive basin. Rapids again succeed, and continue to the Chaudière Falls. The boiling pool into which these waters descend is of great depth: the sounding-line does not reach the bottom at the length of 300 feet. It is supposed that the main body of the river flows by a subterraneous passage, and rises again half a mile lower down. Below the Chaudière Falls the navigation is uninterrupted to Grenville, sixty miles distant. The current is scarcely perceptible: the banks are low, and generally overflowed in the spring; but the varying breadth of the river, the numerous islands, the magnificent forests, and the crystal purity of the waters, lend a charm to the somewhat monotonous beauty of the scene. At Grenville commences the Long Sault, a swift and dangerous rapid, which continues with intervals till it falls into the still Lake of the Two Mountains. Below the heights from whence this sheet of water derives its name, the well-known Rapids of St. Anne's discharge the main stream into the waters of the St. Lawrence.

Below the Island of Montreal the St. Lawrence continues, in varying breadth and considerable depth, to Sorel, where it is joined by the Richelieu river from the south; thence opens the expanse of Lake St. Peter, shallow and uninteresting; after twenty-five miles the Great River contracts again, receives in its course the waters of the St. Maurice, and other large streams; and 180 miles below Montreal the vast flood pours through the narrow channel that lies under the shadow of Quebec. Below this strait lies a deep basin, nearly four miles wide, formed by the head of the Island of Orleans: the main channel continues by the south shore. It would be wearisome to tell of all the numerous and beautiful islands that deck the bosom of the St. Lawrence from Quebec to the Gulf. The river gradually expands, till it reaches a considerable breadth at the mouth of the Saguenay. There is a dark shade for many miles below where this great tributary pours its gloomy flood into the pure waters of the St. Lawrence: 120 miles westward it flows from a large circular sheet of water, called Lake St. John; but the furthest sources lie in the unknown regions of the west and north. For about half its course, from the lake to Tadoussac at the mouth, the banks are rich and fertile; but thence cliffs rise abruptly out of the water to a lofty height,—sometimes 2000 feet,—and two or three miles apart. The depth of the Saguenay is very great, and the surrounding scenery is of a magnificent but desolate character.

Below the entrance of the Saguenay the St. Lawrence increases to twenty miles across, at the Bay of Seven Islands to seventy, at the head of the large and unexplored island of Anticosti to ninety, and at the point where it may be said to enter the Gulf between Gaspè and the Labrador coast, reaches the enormous breadth of 120 miles. In mid-channel both

coasts can be seen. The mountains on the north shore rise to a great height in a continuous range, their peaks capped with eternal snows.

Having traced this vast chain of water communication from its remotest links, it is now time to speak of the magnificent territory which it opens to the commerce and enterprise of civilised man.

Upper or Western Canada is marked off from the eastern province by the natural boundary of the Ottawa or Grand River. It consists almost throughout of one uniform plain. In all those districts hitherto settled or explored there is scarcely a single eminence that can be called a hill, although traversed by two wide ridges, rising above the usual level of the country. The greater of these elevations passes through nearly the whole extent of the province from south-east to north-west, separating the waters falling into the St. Lawrence and the great lakes, from those tributary to the Ottawa: the highest point is forty miles north of Kingston, being also the most elevated level on that magnificent modern work, the Rideau Canal; it is 290 feet above the Ottawa at Bytown, and 160 feet higher than the surface of Lake Ontario. Towards these waters the plain descends at the gradient of about four feet in the mile: this declivity is imperceptible to the eye, and is varied by gently undulating slopes and inequalities. Beyond the broad rich valley lying to the north of this elevation there is a rocky and mountainous country; still farther north are seen snow-covered peaks of a great but unknown height; thence to the pole extends the dreary region of the Hudson Bay territory.

The lesser elevation begins near the eastern extremity of Ontario, and runs almost parallel with the shores of the lake to a point about twenty-four miles north-west from Toronto, where it separates the streams flowing into lakes Huron and Ontario: it then passes south-east between lakes Erie and Ontario, and terminates on the Genessee in the United States. This has a more perceptible elevation than the southern ridge, and in some places rises into bold heights.

The only portion of the vast plain of Western Canada surveyed or effectually explored, is included by a line drawn from the eastern coast of lake Huron to the Ottawa river, and the northern shores of the great chain of lake and river: this is however nearly as large as the whole of England.

The natural features of Lower or Eastern Canada are unsurpassed by those of any other country in grace and variety: rivers, lakes, mountains, forests, prairies, and cataracts are grouped together in endless combinations of beauty and magnificence. The eastern districts, beginning with the bold sea-coast and broad waters of the St. Lawrence, are high, mountainous, and clothed with dark forests on both sides, down to the very margin of the river. To the north, a lofty and rugged range of heights runs parallel with the shore, as far westward as Quebec; thence it bends west and south-west to the banks of the Ottawa. To the south, the elevated ridge, where it reaches within sixty miles of Quebec, turns from the parallel of the St. Lawrence, south-west and south into the United States: this ridge, known by the name of the Alleghanies, rises abruptly out of the Gulf of St. Lawrence at Percé, between the Baye de Chaleur and Gaspé Cape, and is more distant from the Great River than that upon the northern shore. Where the Alleghanies enter the United States,

they divide the plains of the Atlantic coast from the basin of the Ohio; their greatest height is about 4000 feet above the level of the sea.

The valley of the St. Lawrence, lying between these two ranges of heights, is marked by great diversities of hill, plain, and valley. Both from the north and south numerous rivers pour their tributary flood into the great waters of Canada: of those eastward of the Saguenay little is known beyond their entrance; they flow through cliffs of light-coloured sand, rocky wooded knolls, or in some places deep swampy mossbeds nearly three feet in depth. From the Saguenay to Quebec the mountain ridge along the shore of the St. Lawrence is unbroken, save where streams find their way to the Great River, but beyond this coast-border the country is in some places level, in others undulating, with hills of moderate height, and well-watered valleys. From Quebec westward to the St. Maurice, which joins the St. Lawrence at Three Rivers, the land rises in a gentle ascent from the banks of the Great River, and presents a rich tract of fertile plains and slopes: in the distance a lofty chain of mountains protects this favoured district from the bitter northern blast. Along the north bank of the St. Lawrence from the St. Maurice, the country towards the Ottawa is slightly elevated into table ridges, with occasional abrupt declivities and some extensive plains. In this portion of Canada are included the islands of Montreal, Jesus, and Perrot, formed by the various branches of the Great River and the Ottawa where their waters unite. Montreal is the largest and most fertile of these islands; its length is thirty-two miles and breadth ten, the general shape is triangular. Isle Jesus is twenty-one miles by six in extent, and also very rich; there are besides several other smaller islands of considerable fertility. Isle Perrot is poor and sandy. The remote country to the north of the Ottawa is but little known.

On the south shore of the St. Lawrence, the peninsula of Gaspé is the most eastern district: this large tract of country has been very little explored: so far as it has been examined, it is uneven, mountainous, and intersected with deep ravines; but the forests, rivers, and lakes, are very fine, and the valleys fertile. The sea-beach is low and hard, answering the purposes of a road; at the Cape of Gaspé, however, there are some bold and lofty cliffs. Behind the beach the land rises into high round hills, well wooded: sheltered from the Gaspé district to the Chaudière river the country is not so stern as on the northern side of the St. Lawrence; though somewhat hilly, it abounds in large and fertile valleys. The immediate shores of the river are flat, thence irregular ridges arise, till they reach an elevated table-land fifteen or twenty miles from the beach. From the Chaudière river westward, extends that rich and valuable country now known by the name of the Eastern Townships. At the mouth of the Chaudière, the banks of the St. Lawrence are bold and lofty; but they gradually lower to the westward, till they sink into the flats of Baye du Febre, and form the marshy shores of Lake St. Peter, whence a rich plain extends to a great distance. This district contains several high isolated mountains, and is abundantly watered by lakes and rivers. To the south lies the territory of the United States.

CHAPTER V.

Upon the surface of Canada are found manifest indications of that tremendous deluge, the effects of which are so plainly visible in the Old World. Huge boulder stones abound in almost every part of the province; sometimes they are seen rounded, piled in high heaps on extensive horizontal beds of limestone, swept together by the force of some vast flood. Masses of various kinds of shells lie in great quantities in hollows and valleys, some of them hundreds of feet above the level of Lake Ontario. Near to great rivers, and often where now no waters are at hand, undulations of rocks are seen like those found in the beds of rapids where the channels are waved. These have evidently, at some remote period, been the courses of floods now no longer existing. On the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence detached boulder stones appear, some of enormous size, many tons in weight; they must have come from a great distance, for nowhere in that region is there any rock of similar material. In the upper strata of the country, are abundant fossil remains of distinct animal existences now unknown; they are blended with the limestone in which they lie.

It seems certain that the whole of Canada has been violently convulsed by some effort of nature, since the floods of the deluge passed away; the mountains are abrupt and irregular in outline, and in some places cleft with immense chasms; the rivers also show singular contortions. North of Quebec, and in St. Paul's Bay, are many traces of volcanic eruptions, and vast masses of alluvial rocks, bearing marks of vitrification, frequently appear on the surface of the earth. There is, besides, strong evidence that this portion of the American Continent has lain for unknown ages beneath the great deep, or that it is of later formation than Europe or Asia.

As far as it has been explored, the general geological structure of Canada exhibits a granite country, with some calcareous rocks of a soft texture in horizontal strata. The lower islands in the St. Lawrence are merely inequalities of the vast granite strata which occasionally stand above the level of the waters; the whole neighbouring country appears as if the Great River had, at one time, covered it. The banks of the St. Lawrence are, in many places, formed of a schistus substance in a decaying state, but still granite is everywhere found in strata, inclined, but never parallel to the horizon. In the Gaspé district many beautiful quartz, and a great variety of cornelians, agates, copals, and jaspers have been found, and traces of coal have also been observed.

The north shore of the St. Lawrence, from thirty miles below Quebec eastward, and along the coast of Labrador, is generally of the primitive formations. Except in the marshes and swamps, rocks obtrude upon the surface in all quarters; in many places deep fissures of from six inches to two feet wide, are seen bearing witness to volcanic violence: the Indians describe some of these rents as several miles long, and forty or fifty feet deep; when covered with the thick underwood they are, at times, very dangerous to the traveller. These chasms are probably owing to some great subterranean action: there is a manuscript in the Jesuits' College at Quebec, which records the occurrence of an earth-

quake on the 5th of February, 1663, at about half-past 5 P.M., felt through the whole extent of Canada: trees in the forests were torn up and dashed against each other, with inconceivable violence; mountains were raised from their foundations and thrown into valleys, leaving awful chasms behind; from the openings issued dense clouds of smoke, dust, and sand; many rivers disappeared, others were diverted from their course, and the great St. Lawrence became suddenly white as far down as the mouth of the Saguenay. The first shock lasted for more than half an hour, but the greatest violence was only for fifteen minutes. At Tadoussac, a shower of volcanic ashes descended upon the rivers, agitating the waters like a tempest. This tremendous earthquake extended simultaneously over 180,000 square miles of country, and lasted for nearly six months almost without intermission.

In the neighbourhood of Quebec, a dark clay slate generally appears, and forms the bed of the St. Lawrence, as far as Lake Ontario and even at Niagara; boulders and other large masses of rock, however, of various kinds, occur in detached portions at many different places. The great elevated ridge of broken country, running towards the Ottawa river, at the distance of from fifty to one hundred miles from the north shore of Lake Ontario, and the course of the St. Lawrence, is rich in silver, lead, copper, and iron. On the north shore of the Saguenay, the rugged mountains abound in iron to such an extent, as to influence the mariner's compass. The iron mines of St. Maurice have been long known and found abundantly productive of an admirable metal, inferior to none in the world; it is remarkably pliant and malleable, and little subject to oxidation. In 1667, Colbert sent M. de la Potardière, an experienced mineralogist, to examine these mines: he reported the iron very abundant, and of excellent quality, but it was not till 1737, that the forges were established by the French; they failed to pay the expenses of the speculation: the superintendent and fourteen clerks, however, gained fortunes by the losses of their employers.

There is no doubt that immense mineral resources remain undiscovered among the rocky solitudes of Lower Canada. Marble of excellent quality, and endless variety of colour, is found in different parts of the country, and limestone is almost universal. Labrador produces a beautiful and well-known spar of rich and brilliant tints, ultramarine, greenish yellow, red, and some of a fine pearly grey.

In Upper Canada, the country north of Lake Ontario is generally characterised by a limestone subsoil, resting on granite. The rocks about Kingston are usually a very compact limestone, of a bluish-grey colour, having a slight silicious admixture, increasing as the depth increases, with occasional intrusions of quartz or hornstone. The limestone strata are horizontal, with the greatest dip when nearest to the elder rock on which it rests; their thickness, like the depths of the soil, varies from a few feet to a few inches: in these formations many minerals are observed; genuine granite is seldom or never found.

West of Lake Ontario the chasm at the falls of Niagara shows the strata of the country to be limestone, next slate, and lowest sandstone. Limestone and sandstone compose the secondary formations of a large portion of Canada, and of nearly all that vast extent of country in the United States drained by the Mississippi. At Niagara the interposing

structure of slate is nearly forty feet thick, and fragile, like shale crumbling away from under the limestone; thus strengthening the opinion that there has been for many ages a continual retrocession of the Great Falls. Around Lake St. Clair masses of granite, mica slate, and quartz are found in abundance. The level shores of Lake Huron offer little geological variety; secondary limestone, filled with the usual reliquiæ, is the general structure of the coast, but detached blocks of granite and other primitive rocks are occasionally found: this district appears poor in minerals. The waters of lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior have evidently at some remote period formed one vast sheet, which probably burst its bounds by a sudden action of nature, and subsided into the present divisions, all lower than the former general level: the separating ridges of these waters are but slightly elevated; great masses of rock and huge boulders of granite are found rolled at least 100 miles from their original situations, and immense alluvial beds of fresh-water shells, apparently formed since the deluge, but when the waters were still of a vast depth and extent, are found in the east of Lake Huron.

Little or nothing is known of the dreary solitudes beyond Lake Superior: enormous muddy ponds and marshes are succeeded by open, dry, sandy plains; then forests of hemlock and spruce arise, again swamp, bog, windfalls, and stagnant water succeed; in the course of many miles there may not be one dry spot found for a resting-place. The cold is intense in this desolate region: in winter spirits freeze into a consistency like honey; and even in the height of summer the thermometer only shows thirty-six degrees at sunrise. Part of the north and east shore of this greatest of the lakes present old formations—sienite, stratified greenstone, more or less chloritic, and alternating five times with vast beds of granite—the general direction east, with a north or perpendicular dip. Great quantities of the older shell limestone are found strewn in rolled masses on the beach. Amygdaloid occupies also a very large tract to the north, mingled with porphyries, conglomerates, and various other substances. From Thunder Mountain, westward, trappose green-stone is the prevailing rock; it gives rise to some strange pilastered precipices near Fort-William. Copper abounds in this region to an extent, perhaps, unsurpassed anywhere in the world. At the Coppermine river, 300 miles from the sault de St. Marie, this metal, in a pure state, nearly covers the face of a serpentine rock, and is also found within the stone in solid masses. Iron is abundant in many parts of Upper Canada; at Charlotteville, eight miles from Lake Erie, the metal produced is of a very fine quality. The Marmora Iron Works, about thirty-two miles north of the bay of Quintè, on the river Trent, are situated, on an extensive white rocky flat, apparently the bed of some dried-up river; the ore is found on the surface, and is very rich, yielding ninety-two per cent: the necessary assistants, lime and fuel, abound close at hand. Various other minerals have also been found there; among the rest, small specimens of a metal like silver.

There are many strong mineral springs in different parts of Canada; the most remarkable of these is the Burning Spring above Niagara; its waters are black, hot and bubbling, and emit, during the summer, a gas that burns with a pure bright flame: this sulphuretted hydrogen is used to light a neighbouring mill. Salt-springs are also numerous; gypsum is

obtained in large quantities, with pipe and potter's clay; yellow ochre sometimes occurs; and there are many kinds of valuable building stones. It is gathered from the Indians that there are incipient volcanoes in several parts of these regions, particularly towards the Chippewa hunting grounds.

The soil of Lower Canada is generally fertile: about Quebec it is light and sandy in some parts, in others it is a mixture of loam and clay. Above the Richelieu Rapids, where the great valley of the St. Lawrence begins to widen, the low lands consist of a light and loose dark earth, with ten or twelve inches of depth, lying on a stratum of cold clay, all apparently of alluvial formation. Along the banks of the Ottawa there is a great extent of rich alluvial soil; each year developes large districts of fertile land, before unknown. The soils of Upper Canada are various; brown clay and loam, intermixed with marl, predominates, particularly in the rich district between the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa: north of Ontario it is more clayey, and extremely fertile. A rich black mould prevails in the district between lakes Ontario and Erie. There is in this upper country an almost total absence of stone or gravel for building and other common purposes. So great is the fertility of the soil in Canada, that fifty bushels of wheat an acre are frequently produced, even where the stumps of trees still occupy a considerable portion of the ground: near Toronto 100 bushels of wheat have been grown upon a single acre, and in some districts the land has yielded rich crops of that grain for twenty successive years, without being manured.

The quality of the soil in wild lands may be known by the timber growing upon it. Hardwood trees, those that shed their leaves during winter, show the best indication; such as maple, basswood, elm, black walnut, hickory, butternut, ironwood, hemlock, and a giant species of nettle. A mixture of beech is good, but where it stands alone, the soil is generally light. Oak is uncertain, as an indication, being found on various bottoms. Soft, or evergreen wood, such as pine, fir, larch, and others of the species, are considered decisive of a very light soil. The larch or tamarack, on wide flat plains, indicates sand upon a substratum of marly clay, which the French Canadians hold in high estimation. It is, however, right to add that some very respectable authorities dispute that the nature of the timber can be fully relied on as a guide to the value of the land. The variety of trees found in the Canadian forest is astonishing, and it is supposed that many kinds still remain unknown. Of all these, none is more beautiful and useful than the maple: its brilliant foliage changing with each season of the year is the richest ornament of the forest; the timber is valuable for many purposes, and from the sap might be produced an immense quantity of excellent sugar; a great deal is at present made, but like all the other resources of this magnificent country, it is very partially turned to the use of man: the sap of the maple is valuable also for distillation.

There is a considerable variety of climate in Canada, from the north-east, chilled by the winds of the Atlantic, to the south-west, five degrees lower, and approaching the centre of the continent; the neighbourhood of ranges of bare and rugged mountains has also a marked effect upon the temperature of different localities. However, in all parts the winters are very severe, while the heat of summer is little inferior to that of the

tropics. But on the whole, the clear blue sky unobscured by fog or mist, and the pure elastic air, bespeak the salubrity of these provinces in all seasons.

In Lower Canada the extreme severity of the winter is, in a measure, caused by the vicinity of the range of lofty and rugged mountains, as well as by its more northern position. The fall of snow commences in November, but seldom remains long on the ground till December; in that month constantly successive falls of snow rapidly cover the whole surface of the country. Towards the end of December the heavy clouds disperse, and the rude storm is followed by a perfect calm; the air becomes pure and frosty, and the skies of a clear and beautiful azure. The River St. Lawrence is frozen over every winter from Montreal to the Richelieu Rapids, but from thence to Quebec only once in about five years: at other times, however, enormous fields and masses of ice drift up and down with the changing tides, increasing or diminishing with the severity or mildness of the weather: where the Island of Orleans divides the Great River into two branches, the northern channel is narrow and less acted upon by tides; here these huge frozen masses are forced together by the winds and waters, and form an enormous bridge from shore to shore. The greatest degree of cold prevails towards the end of January, for a few days occasionally so intense that the human frame can scarcely endure exposure to it for any length of time. When winter has set in nearly every bird disappears, and few wild animals are any longer to be seen; some, like the bear, remain torpid, others change their colour to a snowy white, and are rarely observed. Rocks of the softer kinds are often rent asunder, as if with the explosion of gunpowder, by the irresistible expansive power of the frost. Dogs become mad from the severity of the cold, and polished iron or other metal when exposed in the air for a little time, *burns* the hand at the touch, as if it were red hot. During the still nights of intense frost the woods send forth a creaking sound, like the noise of chopping with thousands of hatchets. Sometimes a brief thaw occurs in the middle of winter, when a very extraordinary effect, called by the Canadians *ver glas*, is occasionally produced upon the bare trees; they are covered with an incrustation of pure ice from the stem to the extremities of the smallest branches: the slight frost of the night freezes the moisture that covered the bark during the day; the branches become at last unable to bear their icy burden, and when a strong wind arises, the destruction among trees of all kinds is immense. When the sun shines upon the forest covered with this brilliant incrustation, the effect is indescribably beautiful.

The months of March and April are usually very hot, and the power of the sun's rays is heightened by the reflection of the ice and snows. Towards the end of April, or the beginning of May, the dreary winter covering has altogether disappeared; birds of various kinds return from their wintry exile; the ice accumulated in the great lakes and streams that are tributary to the St. Lawrence breaks up with a tremendous noise, and rushes down in vast quantities towards the ocean, till again the tides of the Gulf drive them back. Sometimes the Great River is blocked up from shore to shore with these frozen masses; the contending currents force them together with terrible violence, and pile them over each other in various fantastic forms. The navigation of the river is not fairly prac-

ticable till all these have disappeared, which is generally about the 10th of May.

When the young summer fairly sets in, nothing can be more charming than the climate,—during the day bright and genial, with the air still pure and clear; the transition from bare brown fields and woods to verdure and rich green foliage is so rapid, that its progress is almost perceptible. Spring has scarcely begun before summer usurps its place, and the earth, awakened from nature's long wintry sleep, gives forth her increase with astonishing bounty. This delightful season is usually ushered in by moderate rains, and a considerable rise in the meridian heat; but the nights are still cool and refreshing. In June, July, and August, the heat becomes great and for some days intense; the roads and rocks at noon are so hot as to be painful to the touch, and the direct rays of the sun possess almost tropical power; but the night brings reinvigorating coolness, and the breezes of the morning are as fresh and tempered as in our own favoured land. September is usually a delightful month, although at times oppressively sultry. The autumn, or fall, rivals the spring in healthy and moderate warmth, and is the most agreeable of the seasons. The night-frosts destroy the innumerable venomous flies that have infested the air through the hot season, and by their action on the various foliage of the forest, bestow an inconceivable richness of colouring to the landscape.

During the summer there is a great quantity of electric fluid in the atmosphere; but storms of thunder and lightning are not of very frequent occurrence. When they do take place, their violence is sometimes tremendous, and serious damage often occurs. These outbursts, however, usually produce a favourable effect upon the weather and temperature.

The most remarkable meteoric phenomenon that has occurred in Canada since the country became inhabited by civilised man, was first seen in October, 1785, and again in July, 1814. At noonday a pitchy darkness, of a dismal and sinister character, completely obscured the light of the sun, continuing for about ten minutes at a time, and being frequently repeated during the afternoon. In the interval between each mysterious eclipse dense masses of black clouds, streaked with yellow, drove athwart the darkened sky, with fitful gusts of wind; thunder, lightning, black rain, and showers of ashes added to the terrors of the scene; and when the sun appeared its colour was a bright red. The Indians ascribe this wonderful phenomenon to a vast volcano in the unknown regions of Labrador. The testimony of M. Gagnon gives corroboration to this idea. In December, 1791, when at St. Paul's Bay, in the Saguenay country, he saw the flames of an immense volcano, mingled with black smoke, rising to a great height in the air. Several violent shocks as of an earthquake accompanied this strange appearance.

The prevailing winds in Lower Canada are the north-east, north-west, and south-west, and these exercise considerable influence on the temperature of the atmosphere and the state of the weather. The south-west wind, the most prevalent, is generally moderate, accompanied by clear bright skies; the north-east and east wind bring rain in summer, and snow in winter, from the dreary regions of Labrador; and the north-west blast is keen and dry from its passage over the vast frozen solitudes that lie between the Rocky Mountains and Hudson's Bay. Winds from the

north, south, or west, are seldom felt: the currents of the neighbouring air are often affected by the direction of the tidal streams, which act as far as 400 miles from the mouth of the Great River.

The effect of a long continuance of snow upon the earth is favourable to vegetation; were the surface exposed to the intense severity of wintry frosts, unprotected by this ample covering, the ground could not regain a proper degree of heat, even under a Canadian sun, before the autumn frosts had again chilled the energies of nature. The natural heat of the earth is about 42°, the surface waters freeze at 32°, and thus present a non-conducting incrustation to the keen atmosphere; then the snow becomes a warm garment till the April sun softens the air above; the latent heat of the earth begins to be developed, the snow melts, and penetrates the ground through every pore, rendering friable the stiffest soil. For a month or more before the visible termination of the Canadian winter, vegetation is in active progress on the surface of the earth, even under snow several feet thick.

In Upper Canada the climate does not present such extremes of heat and cold as in the Lower Province. In the Newcastle District, between latitude 44° and 45°, the winter is little more severe than in England, and the warmth of summer is tempered by a cool and refreshing south-west breeze, which blows throughout the day from over the waters of the great lakes. In spring and autumn this south-west wind brings with it frequent rains; the north-west wind prevails in winter, and is dry, cold, and elastic; the south-eastern breezes are generally accompanied by thaw and rain: from the west, south, or north, the wind rarely blows. The most sudden changes of weather consequent upon varying winds are observed from the north-west, when the air becomes pure and cool; thunder storms generally clear away with this wind: the heaviest falls of snow, and the most continued rains, come with the eastern breezes.

The great lakes are never frozen in their centres, but a strong border of thick ice extends for some distance from the shore: in severe weather a beautiful evaporation in various fantastic shapes ascends from the vast surfaces of these inland seas, forming cloudy columns and pyramids to a great height in the air: this is caused by the water being of a higher temperature than the atmosphere above. The chain of shallow lakes from Lake Simco towards the midland district are rarely frozen over more than an inch in thickness till about Christmas, and are free from ice again by the end of March. The earth in Upper Canada is seldom frozen more than twelve or eighteen inches deep, and the general covering of the snow is about a foot and a half in thickness.

In Canada the Indian summer is perhaps the most delightful period of the year; during most of November the weather is mild and serene, a soft dry haze pervades the air, thickening towards the horizon; in the evenings the sun sets in a rich crimson flush, and the temperature is mild and genial: the birds avail themselves of the Indian summer for their migration. A phenomenon called the "tertian intervals" has excited much interest, and is still unexplained; at the end of the third day the greatest intensity of frost is always remittent, and succeeded by several days of mild weather. The climate is so dry that metals rarely are rusted by exposure to the air; this absence of humidity prevents the ex-

tremes of heat and cold from being so powerful here in their effects upon the sensations of the human frame as in other countries.

The Aurora Borealis, or northern lights, appear with great brilliancy in the clear Canadian sky, especially during the winter nights; starting from behind the distant horizon, they race up through the vault of heaven, spreading over all space one moment, shrinking to a quivering streak the next, shooting out again where least expected, then vanishing into darkness deeper than before; now they seem like vast floating banners of variegated flame, then as crescents, again as majestic columns of light, ever changing in form and colour. It is said that a rustling sound like that of silk accompanies this beautiful appearance.

The climate of Canada has undergone a slight change since the discovery of the country: especially from the year 1818, an amelioration has been perceptible, partly owing to the motion of the magnetic poles and partly to the gradual cultivation and clearing of the country. The winters are somewhat shorter and milder, and less snow falls than of old; the summers are also hotter. The felling of the forests, the draining of the morasses, partial though it may still be, together with the increasing population, have naturally some effect. The thick foliage, which before interposed its shade between the sun and the earth, intercepting the genial warmth from the lower atmosphere, has now been removed in many extensive tracts of country: the cultivated soil imbibes the heat, and returns it to the surrounding air in warm and humid vapours. The exhalations arising from a much increased amount of animal life, together with the burning of so many combustibles, are not altogether without their influence in softening the severity of the climate.

Canada abounds in an immense and beautiful variety of trees and shrubs; among the timber trees, the oak, pine, fir, elm, ash, birch, walnut, beech, mapel, chestnut, cedar, and aspen, are the principal; of fruit-trees and shrubs there are walnut, chestnut, apple, pear, cherry, plum, elder, vines, hazel, hiccory, sumach, juniper, hornbeam, thorn, laurel, whortleberry, cranberry, gooseberry, raspberry, blackberry, blueberry, sloe, and others; strawberries of an excellent flavour are luxuriantly scattered over every part of the country; innumerable varieties of useful and beautiful herbs and grasses enrich the forests, whose virtues and peculiarities are as yet but little known to Europeans. In many places, pine trees grow to the height of 120 feet and upwards, and are from nine to ten feet in circumference; of this, and of the fir species, there are many varieties, some of them valuable from their production of pitch, tar, and turpentine. The American oak is quicker in its growth and less durable than that of England; one species, however, called the live oak, grown in the warmer parts of the continent, is said to be equal, if not superior, to any in Europe for ship-building. The white oak is the best found in the Canadian settlements, and is in high repute; another description is called the scrubby oak—it resembles the British gnarled oak, and is remarkably hard and durable. The birch tribe is very numerous: the bark is much used by the Indians in making canoes, baskets, and roofings, the wood is of a useful quality, and the sap, when extracted in the spring, produces by fermentation a pleasant but weak wine. The maple is one of the most variable and beautiful of all the forest trees, and is adopted as the emblem of Canadian nationality.

Two plants, formerly of great importance in these countries, are now almost extirpated, or little noticed as articles of commerce—ginseng and capillaire. The first was found in great abundance by the French in their earlier settlement of the colony, and large quantities were exported to Europe, from whence it was forwarded to China; the high value it then possessed in that distant market induced the Canadians to collect the roots prematurely; and the Indians also gathered them wherever they could be found; consequently this useful production was soon exhausted, and is now rarely seen. The capillaire is now either become rare or neglected for other objects; a small quantity is, however, still exported. In the woods there is a vast variety of wild plants and flowers, many of them very beautiful; the sweet garlic especially deserves notice; two large pale-green leaves arise from the root, between them stands the delicate stem about a foot in height, bearing a cluster of graceful flowers, resembling blue-bells in shape and colour. The wild turnip is also very beautiful. There are besides many valuable herbs and roots, which the Indians use for various purposes: the reindeer moss often serves for support and refreshment to the exhausted hunter; when boiled down into a liquid it is very nourishing; and an herb called Indian tea produces a pleasant and wholesome draught with a rich aromatic flavour. Wild oats and rice are found in some of the marshy lands. The soil and climate are also favourable to the production of hops and a mild tobacco, much esteemed for the manufacture of snuff. Hemp and flax are both indigenous in America. Father Hennepin, in the seventeenth century, found the former growing wild in the country of the Illinois; and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in his travels to the western coast, met with flax in the interior, where no European was ever known to have been before. The Indian hemp is seen in abundance upon the Canadian soil, particularly in light and sandy places; the bark is so strong that the natives use it for bowstrings; the pod bears a substance that rivals down in softness and elasticity; the culture is easy; the root penetrating deep into the earth survives the frosts of winter, and shoots out fresh stalks every spring. When five or six years old it attains the greatest perfection. It may be added, that in these favoured provinces all European plants, fruits, vegetables, grain, legumes, and every other production of the earth required for the subsistence or luxury of man, yield their increase even more abundantly than in the old continents.

The animals originally belonging to America appear to be of an inferior race—neither so robust, fierce, or numerous as those of the other continents: some are peculiar to the New World; but there is reason to suppose that several species have become utterly extinct, and the spread of cultivation and increase of the human race rapidly extirpate many of those that still remain. America gives birth to no creature of equal bulk to the elephant and rhinoceros, or of equal strength and ferocity to the lion and tiger. The particular qualities in the climate, stinting the growth and enfeebling the spirit of the native animals, have also proved injurious to such as have been transported to the Canadas by their present European inhabitants. The soil, as well as temperature, of the country seems to be rather unfavourable to the development of strength and perfection in the animal creation. The general quality of the natural grasses covering those boundless pastures is not good or sufficiently nutritious.

The native animals of Canada are the buffalo, bison, and musk bull, belonging to the ox kind. The buffalo is still found in herds of immense numbers upon the prairies of the remote western country, where they have wandered from the hated neighbourhood of civilized man: the skin is invaluable to the Canadians as a protection from the keen wintry air, and is abundantly supplied to them by the hunters of the Hudson's Bay Company. This animal is about the size of an ox, with the head disproportionably large; he is of a lighter colour, less ferocious aspect, and inferior strength to those of the old world. Both the bison and musk ox are varieties of the domestic cow, with a covering of shaggy hair; they possess considerable strength and activity. There are different descriptions of deer: the black and grey moose or elk, the cariboo or reindeer, the stag and fallow deer. The moose deer is the largest wild animal of the continent; it is often seen upwards of ten feet high, and weighing twelve hundred weight; though savage in aspect the creature is generally timid and inoffensive even when attacked by the hunter, and like the sheep may be easily domesticated: the flesh and skin are both of some value.

The black and brown bear is found in various parts of America, but chiefly in the north-west: some few are seen in the forests to the north of Quebec. This animal chooses for his lurking-place the hollow trunk of an old tree, which he prepares with sticks and branches, and a coating of warm moss; on the approach of the cold season he retires to his lair, and sleeps through the long winter till the return of spring enables him again to seek his prey. The bear is rather shy than fierce, but very powerful and dangerous when driven to extremities: he displays a strong degree of instinct, and is very dexterous and cunning in procuring food: the flesh is considered a delicacy and the skin highly prized for beauty and warmth. Foxes are numerous; they are of various colours and very cunning. Hares are abundant, and turn white in winter like those of Norway. The wolverine or carcajou is called by the hunters beaver-eater, and somewhat resembles a badger; the skin is soft and handsome. A species of porcupine or urchin is found to the northward, and supplies the Indians with quills about four inches long, which, when dyed, are worked into showy ornaments. Squirrels and various other small quadrupeds with fine furs are abundant in the forests. The animals of the cat kind are the cougar or American lion, the loup-cervier, the catamount, and the manguay or lynx.

Beavers are numerous in North America. These amphibious animals are about two feet nine inches in length, with very short fore-feet and divided toes, while the hinder are membranous, and adapted for swimming. The body is covered with a soft, glossy, and valuable fur; the tail is oval, scaly, destitute of hair, and about a foot long. These industrious creatures dam up considerable streams, and construct dwellings of many compartments, to protect them from the rigour of the climate, as well as from their numerous enemies; their winter food, consisting of poplar logs, pieces of willows, alder, and fragments of other trees, is collected in autumn, and sunk in the water near the habitation. The beaver exhibits an extraordinary degree of instinct, and may be easily tamed; when caught or surprised by the approach of an enemy, it gives warning to its companions by striking the water with the flat of its tail. The

musk rat and otter resemble the beaver in some of their habits, but are inferior in ingenuity, and of less value to the hunter.

The walrus has now disappeared from the frequented waters of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but is still found on the northern coasts of Labrador. In shape he somewhat resembles the seal, but is of much greater size, sometimes weighing 4000 lbs. When protecting their young, or when wounded, they are dangerous, from their immense tusks; when out of the water, however, they are very helpless.

Nearly all these wild animals are pursued by the Indians, and the hunters of the Hudson's Bay Company, for their skins; they are consequently growing rarer, and their haunts become more remote each succeeding year: probably, at no distant time, they will be altogether extinct.

The birds of Canada differ little from those of the same names in Europe; but the severe climate is generally uncongenial to them. There are eagles, vultures, hawks, falcons, kites, owls, ravens, crows, rooks, jays, magpies, daws, cuckoos, woodpeckers, hoopers, creepers, humming-birds, thrushes, blackbirds, linnets, finches, sparrows, fly-catchers, pigeons, turkeys, ducks, geese, swans, grouse, ptarmigans, snipes, quails, and many others. The plumage of the American birds is very brilliant; but the sweet voices that fill the European woods with melody are never heard. Many of the birds of Lower Canada are migratory; the water-fowl seek the cooler north during the heat of summer, and other species fly to the south to shun the wintry frosts. In the milder latitudes of Upper Canada, birds are more numerous; they are known by the same names as those of corresponding species in England, but differ from them to some extent in plumage and character.

In Lower Canada the reptiles are few and innocuous, and even these are not met with in the cultivated parts of the country; in the Upper Province, however, they are more numerous; some species are very dangerous, others harmless, and exquisitely beautiful. Two kinds of rattlesnakes are found here; one of a deep brown and yellow colour, and seldom more than thirty inches in length; it frequents marshes and low meadows, and is very dangerous to cattle, often fastening its fangs upon their lips while grazing. The other is a bright-greenish yellow clouded with brown, and twice the size of the former. These reptiles are thicker in proportion to their length than any others: the rattle is at the end of their tail, and consists of a number of dry horny shells inclosed within each other. When wounded or enraged the skin of the rattlesnake assumes a variety of beautiful colours; the flesh is white as that of the most delicate fish, and is esteemed a great luxury by the Indians. Cold weather weakens or destroys their poisonous qualities. In the spring, when they issue from their place of winter concealment, they are harmless till they have got to water, and at that time emit a sickening smell so as to injure those who hunt them. In some of the remoter districts they are still numerous, but in the long-settled parts of the country they are now rarely or never seen.

Several varieties of lizards and frogs abound; the latter make an astonishing noise in marshy places during the summer evening, by their harsh croaking. The land crab is found on the northern shore of Lake Erie. A small tortoise, called a terrapin, is taken in some rivers, creeks, and

swampy grounds, and is used as an article of food. Seals have been occasionally seen on the islands in Lake Ontario.

Insects are very numerous and various, some of them both troublesome and mischievous. Locusts or grasshoppers have been known to cause great destruction to the vegetable world. Mosquitoes and sandflies infest the woods and the neighbourhood of water in incredible numbers during the hot weather. There are many moths and butterflies resembling those seen in England. The beautiful firefly is very common in Canada, their phosphorescent light shining with wonderful brightness through the shady forests in the summer nights.

The lakes and rivers of Upper Canada abound in splendid fish of almost every variety known in England, and others peculiar to the country: sturgeon of 100 lbs. weight are frequently taken, and a giant species of pike, called the maskenongi, of more than 60 lbs. The trout of the upper lakes almost rivals the sturgeon in size but not in flavour. The delicious whitefish, somewhat resembling a shad, is very plentiful, as is also the black bass, which is highly prized. A fresh-water herring abounds in great shoals, but is inferior in delicacy to the corresponding species of the salt seas. Salmon are numerous in Lake Ontario, but above the Falls of Niagara they are never seen.

CHAPTER VI.

Perhaps the saddest chapter in the history of the sons of Adam is furnished by the Red Man of America. His origin is unknown, no records tell the tale of his ancient deeds. A foundling in the human family, discovered by his stronger brethren wandering wild through the forests and over the prairies of the western desert; no fraternal welcome greeted this lost child of nature; no soothing voice of affection fell upon his ear, no gentle kindness wooed him from his savage isolation. The hand of irresistible power was stretched out—not to raise him from his low estate and lead him into the brotherhood of civilised man, but to thrust him away with cruel and unjust disdain.

Little more than three centuries and a half have elapsed since the Indian first gazed with terror and admiration upon the white strangers, and already three-fourths of his inheritance are rent away, and three-fourths of his race have vanished from the earth; while the sad remnant, few and feeble, faint and weary, 'are fast travelling to the shades of their fathers, towards the setting sun.' Year by year they wither away; to them the close breath of civilized man is more destructive than the deadliest blight. The arts and appliances which the accumulated ingenuity of ages has provided to aid the labour and enhance the enjoyments of others, have been but a curse to these children of the wilderness. That blessed light which shines to the miserable of this world through the vista of the 'shadowy valley,' cheering the fainting spirit with the earnest of a glorious future, sheds but a few dim and distorted rays upon the outskirts of the Red Man's forest land.

All the relations of Europeans to the Indian have been alike fatal to him—whether of peace or war; as tyrants or suppliants; as conquerors

armed with unknown weapons of destruction; as the insidious purchasers of his hunting-grounds, betraying him into an accursed thirst for the deadly fire-water; as the greedy gold-seekers, crushing his feeble frame under the hated labours of the mine; as shipwrecked and hungry wanderers, while receiving his simple alms, marking the fertility and defencelessness of his lands; as sick men enjoying his hospitality, and, at the same time, imparting that terrible disease which has swept off whole nations; as woodmen in his forest, and intrusive tillers of his ground, scaring away to the far West those animals of the chase given by the Great Spirit for his food; there is to him a terrible monotony of result. In the delicious islands of the Carribean Sea, and in the stern and magnificent regions of the north-east, scarcely now remains a mound, or stone, or trace even of tradition, to point out the place where any among the departed millions sleep.

The discovery of the American Indians brought to light not only a new race, but also a totally new condition of men. The rudest form of human society known in the Old World, was far advanced beyond that of the mysterious children of the West, in arts, knowledge, and government. Even among the simplest European and Asiatic nations the principle of individual possession was established; the beasts of the field were domesticated to supply the food and aid the labours of man, and large bodies of people were united under the sway of hereditary chiefs. But the Red Man roamed over the vast forests and prairies of his undiscovered continent, accompanied by few of his fellows, unassisted by beasts of burden, and trusting alone to his skill and fortune in the chase for a support. The first European visitors to the New World were filled with such astonishment at the appearance and complexion of the Red Man, that they hastily concluded he belonged to a different species from themselves. As the native nations became better known, their warriors, statesmen, and orators, commanded the admiration of the strangers. Especially in the northern people, every savage virtue was conspicuous; they were gentle in peace, but terrible in war; of a proud and noble bearing, honest, faithful, and hospitable, loving order though without laws, and animated by the strongest and most devoted loyalty to their tribe. At the same time, while willingly recording their high and admirable qualities, pity for the devoted race must not blind us to their ferocious and degrading vices.

It was not until the end of the seventeenth century that the manners and characteristics of this strange race attracted to any considerable degree the attention of philosophers and theorists; a chasm in human history then seemed about to be filled. Eager to throw light upon the subject, but too impatient to inquire into the facts necessary for the formation of opinions, the conclusions formed were often unjust to the native dignity of the Red Indian, and have been proved erroneous by subsequent and more perfect information. On the other hand, one of the most gifted but dangerous of modern philosophers, would exalt these untutored children of nature to a higher degree of honour and excellence than civilization and knowledge can confer: he deemed that the elevation and independence of mind, resulting from the rude simplicity of savage life, is sought in vain among the members of refined and organised societies.

Everything tended to render inquiry into the state of the rude tribes of America difficult and obscure: in the generality of cases they presented

characteristics of a native simplicity, elsewhere unknown; and even in the more favoured districts, where a degree of civilisation appeared, it had assumed a form and direction totally different from that of the Old World.

The origin of this mysterious people has been the subject of an immense variety of speculations, and has involved the question, whether all men are the sons of Adam, or whether the distinctions of the human race were owing to the several sources from whence its members sprung? The sceptic supposition that each portion of the globe gave its own original type of man to the human family at once solves the difficulty of American population; but as both Christianity and philosophy alike forbid acceptance of this view, it becomes necessary to consider the relative probabilities in favour of the other different theories which enthusiasm, ingenuity, and research have contributed to lay before the world.

Without referring to the most sacred and ancient of authorities, we may find existing natural evidence abundantly sufficient to establish the belief of the common descent of our race. There are not in the human form differences such as distinguish separate species of the brute creation. All races of men are nearly of like stature and size, varying only by the accidents of climate and food favourable or adverse to their full development. The number, shape, and uses of limbs and extremities are alike, and internal construction is invariably the same: these are circumstances the least acted upon by situation and temperature, and therefore the surest tests of a particular species. Colour is the most obvious and the principal indication of difference in the human families, and is evidently influenced to a great extent by the action of the sun, as the swarthy cheek of a harvest labourer will witness. Under the equator we find the jet black of the Negro; then the olive-coloured Moors of the southern shores of the Mediterranean; again, the bronzed face of the Spaniard and Italian; next, the Frenchman, darker than those who dwell under the temperate skies of England; and last, the bleached and pallid visages of the north. Along the arctic circle, indeed, a dusky tint again appears: that, however, may be fairly attributed to the scorching power of the sun, constantly over the horizon, through the brief and fiery summer. The natives remain generally in the open air during this time, fishing, or in the chase; and the effect of exposure stamps them with a complexion which even the long-continued snows cannot remove. In the rigorous winter season, the people of those dreary countries pass most of their time in wretched huts, or subterranean dwellings, where they heap up large fires to warm their shivering limbs; the smoke has no proper vent in these ill-constructed abodes; it fills the confined air, and tends to darken the complexions of those constantly exposed to its influence.

The difference of colour in the human race is doubtless influenced by many causes, modifying the effect of position with regard to the tropics; the great elevation of a particular district, its proximity to the sea, the shades of a vast forest, the exhalations from extensive marshes, all tend to diminish materially the power of a southern sun. On the other hand intensity of heat is aggravated by the neighbourhood of arid and sandy deserts, or rocky tracts. The action of long-continued heat creates a more permanent effect than the mere darkening of the outer skin, it alters the character of those subtle juices that display their colour through the almost transparent covering. We see that from a constitutional pecu-

liarity in individuals the painful variety of the albino is sometimes produced in the hottest countries. Certain internal diseases, and different medicines, change the beautiful bloom of the young and healthy into repulsive and unnatural tints. A peculiar secretion of the carbon abounding in the human frame produces the jet black of the negro's skin, and enables him to bear without inconvenience the terrible sultriness of his native land. The dark races, inferior in animal and intellectual powers to the white man, are yet nearly free from the deformities he so often exhibits, perhaps on account of a less susceptible and delicate structure. The Caucasian or European races, born and matured under a temperate climate, manifestly enjoy the highest gifts of man; wherever they come in contact with their coloured brother he ultimately yields to the irresistible superiority, and becomes, according to the caprice of their haughty will, the victim, the dependant, or the slave.

There are other characteristics different from, but generally combined with colour, which are influenced by constitutional varieties. The hair usually harmonises with the complexion, and like it shows the influence of climate. In cold countries the natural covering of every animal becomes rich and soft, the plentiful locks and manly beard of the European show a marked contrast to the coarse and scanty hair of the inhabitants of tropical countries. The development of mental power, and refined habits of life have also a strong but slow effect upon the outward form; certain African nations of a higher intelligence and civilisation than their rude neighbours, show much less of the peculiarities of the negro features. The refined Hindoo displays a delicate form and expression under his dark complexion. The black colour and the negro features are accidentally, not necessarily, connected, and it seems to require both climate and inferiority of intellect to unite them in the same race.

When circumstances of climate or situation have effected peculiar appearances in a nation or tribe, the results will long survive the causes, when people are removed to widely different latitudes; a dark colour is not easily effaced even under the influence of moderate temperature and heightened civilisation. For these reasons, there appear many cases where the complexion of the inhabitants and the climate of their country do not correspond, but the original characteristics will be found undergoing the process of gradual change, ultimately adapting themselves to their new country and situation. The marked and peculiar countenances of the once 'chosen people' vary, in colour at least, wherever they are seen over the world, although uninfluenced by any admixture of alien blood; in England the children of Israel and the descendant of the Saxon are alike of a fair complexion, and on the banks of the Nile the Jew and the Egyptian show the same swarthy hue.

At first sight this American race would appear to offer evidence against the supposed influence of climate upon colour, as one general form and complexion prevail in all latitudes of the New World, from the tropics to the frozen regions of the north. Great varieties, however, exist in the shade of the red or copper colour of the Indians. There are two extremes of complexion among mankind,—those of the northern European and the African negro; between these there is a series of shades, that of the American Indian being about midway. The structure of the New World, and the circumstances of its inhabitants, may

account for the generally equal colour of their skin. The western Indian never becomes black, even when dwelling directly under the equator. He lives among stupendous mountain ranges, where cool breezes from the snowy heights sweep through the valleys and over the plains below. The vast rivers springing from under those lofty peaks inundate a great extent of country, and turn it into swamps, whence perpetual exhalations arise and lower the temperature. There are no fiery deserts to heat the passing wind, and reflect the rays of the sun; a continual forest, with luxuriant foliage, and a dense underwood, spreads a pleasant shade over the surface of the earth. America, under the same latitudes, especially on the eastern coast, is everywhere colder than the Old World. The nearest approach to a black complexion is seen in the people of Brazil, a country comparatively low, and immediately under the equator. The inhabitants of the lofty Mexican table land are also very dark, and on those arid plains the sun pours down its scorching rays upon a surface almost devoid of sheltering vegetation.

The habits of savage life, and the constant exposure to the elements, seem sufficient to cause a dark tint upon the human skin even in the temperate regions of America, where the cold is far greater than in the same latitude in Europe. The inhabitants of those immense countries are badly clothed, imperfectly defended against the weather, miserably housed; wandering in war or in the chase, exposed for weeks at a time to the mercy of the elements, they soon darken into the indelible red or copper colour of their race. On the north-west coasts, about latitude 50°, in Nootka Sound, and a number of other smaller bays, dwell a people more numerous and better provided with food and shelter than their eastern neighbours. They are free from a great part of the toils and hardships of the hunter, and from the vicissitudes of the season. When cleansed from their filthy and fantastic painting, it appears that their complexion and features resemble those of the European.

Modern discoveries have to a great extent dispelled the mystery of the Indian origin, and proved the fallacy of the numerous and ingenious theories formerly advanced with so much pertinacity and zeal. Since the north-west coasts of America and the north-east of Asia have been explored, little difficulty remains on this subject. The two continents approach so nearly in that direction that they are almost within sight of each other, and small boats can safely pass the narrow strait. Ten degrees further south the Aleutian and Fox Islands form a continuous chain between Kamtschatka and the peninsula of Alaska, in such a manner as to leave the passage across a matter of no difficulty. The rude and hardy Tschutchi inhabiting the north-east of Asia frequently sail from one continent to the other. From the remotest antiquity this ignorant people possessed the wonderful secret of the existence of a world hidden from the wisest and most adventurous of civilised nations. They were unconscious of the value of their vast discovery; they passed over a stormy strait from one frozen shore to another, as stern and desolate as that they had left behind, and knew not that they had crossed one of the great boundaries of earth. When they first entered upon the wilderness of America, probably the most adventurous pushed down towards the genial regions of the south, and so through the long ages of the past the stream of population flowed slowly on, wave by

wave, to the remotest limits of the east and south. The Indians resemble the people of north-eastern Asia in form and feature more than any other of the human race: their population is most dense along the districts nearest to Asia, and among the Mexicans, whose records of the past deserve credence, there is a constant tradition that their Aztec and Toultec chiefs came from the north-west. Everywhere but to the north, America is surrounded with a vast ocean unbroken by any chain of islands that could connect it with the Old World. Possibly no living man ever crossed this immense barrier before the time of Columbus. It is certain that in no part of America have any authentic traces been found of European civilisation; the civilisation of America, such as it was, arose, as it flourished, in the fertile plains of Mexico and in the delightful valleys of Peru; there, where the bounty of nature supplied an abundance of the necessaries of life, the population rapidly multiplied, and the arts became objects of cultivation.

There is something almost mysterious in the total difference between the languages of the Old and New World. All the tongues of civilised nations spring from a few original roots, somewhat analogous to each other; but it would seem that among wandering tribes dispersed over a vast extent of country, carrying on but little intercourse, and having no written record or traditionary recital to preserve any fixed standard, language undergoes a complete change in the course of ages. The great varieties of tongues in America, and their dissmilarity to each other, tend to confirm this supposition.

In various parts of America remains are found which place beyond a doubt, the ancient existence of a people more numerous, powerful, and civilized than the present race of Indians. But the indications of this departed people are not such as to bespeak their having been of very remote antiquity: the ruined cities of Central America, concealed by the forest growth of centuries, and the huge mounds of earth in the valley of the Mississippi, and upon the table-lands of Mexico, their dwellings and mausoleums, although long swept over by the storm of savage conquest, afford no proofs of their having existed very far back into those dark ages when the New World was unknown to Europe. The history of those past races of men will probably for ever remain a sealed book; but there is no doubt that a great population once covered those rich countries which the first English visitors found the wild hunting-grounds for a few savage tribes. Probably the existing race of Red Men were the conquerors and exterminators of the feeble but civilized aboriginal nations, and as soon as they possessed the land they split into separate and hostile communities, waging perpetual war with each other so as constantly to diminish their numbers.

Far up the Mississippi and the Missouri the exploration of the country brings to light incontestable proofs of the existence of the mysterious aboriginal race; wells artificially walled, and various other structures for convenience or defence, are frequently seen; ornaments of silver, copper, and even brass are found, together with various articles of pottery and sculptured stone; sepulchres filled with vast numbers of human bones have often been discovered, and human bodies in a state of preservation are sometimes exhumed; on one of these the hair was yellow or sandy, and it is well known that an unvarying characteristic of the present red race

is the lank black hair. A splendid robe of a kind of linen, made apparently from nettle fibres, and interwoven with the beautiful feathers of the wild turkey, encircled this long-buried mummy. The number and magnitude of the mounds bear evidence that the concurrent labours of a vast assembly of men were employed in their construction.

In the progress of early discovery and settlement, striking views were presented of savage life among the red men inhabiting the Atlantic coast; but later researches along the banks of the Mississippi and its tributaries, and by the great Canadian lakes, exhibited this people under a still more remarkable aspect. The most prominent among the natives of the interior for power, policy, and courage, were the Iroquois or Five Nations: their territory extended westward from Lake Champlain, to the farthest extremity of Ontario, along the southern banks of the St. Lawrence, and of the Great Lake. Although formed by the alliance of five independent tribes, they always presented an united front to their foes, whether in defence or aggression. Their enemies, the Algonquins, held an extensive domain on the northern bank of the St, Lawrence; these last were at one time the masters of all that portion of America, and were the most polished and mildest in manners of the northern tribes. They depended altogether for subsistence on the produce of the chase, and disdained those among their neighbours who attempted the cultivation of the soil. The Hurons were a numerous nation, generally allied with the Algonquins, inhabiting the immense and fertile territory extending westward to the Great Lake, from which they take their name: they occupied themselves with a rude husbandry, which the fertile soil of the west repaid, by affording them an abundant subsistence; but they were more effeminate and luxurious than their neighbours, and inferior in savage virtue and independence. The above-named nations were those principally connected with the events of Canadian history.

Man is less affected by climate in his bodily development than any other animal; his frame is at the same time so hardy and flexible, that he thrives and increases in every variety of temperature and situation, from the tropic to the pole; nevertheless in extremes, such as these, his complexion, size, and vigour, usually undergo considerable modifications. Among the red men of America, however, there is a remarkable similarity of countenance, form, manners, and habits, in every part of the continent; no other race can show people speaking different languages, inhabiting widely different climates, and subsisting on different food, who are so wonderfully alike. There are, indeed, varieties of stature, strength, intellect, and self-respect to be found among them; but the savage of the frozen north, and the Indian of the tropics, have the same stamp of person, and the same instincts. There is a language of signs common to all, conveying similar ideas, and providing a means of mutual intelligence to every red man from north to south.

The North American Indians are generally of a fair height and proportion. Deformities or personal defects are rare among them; and they are never seen to fall into corpulency. Their features, naturally pleasing and regular, are often distorted by absurd attempts to improve their beauty, or render their appearance more terrible. They have high cheek-bones, sharp and rather aquiline noses, and good teeth. Their skin is generally described as red or copper-coloured, approaching to the tint of cinnamon

bark, a complexion peculiar to the inhabitants of the New World. The hair of the Americans, like that of their Mongolian ancestors, is coarse, black, thin, but strong, and growing to a great length. Many tribes of both these races remove it from every part of the head except the crown, where a small tuft is left, and cherished with care. It is a universal habit among the tribes of the New World to eradicate every symptom of beard: hence the early travellers were led to conclude that the smoothness of their faces resulted from a natural deficiency. One reason for the adoption of this strange custom was to enable them to paint themselves with greater ease. Among old men, who have become indifferent to their appearance, the beard is again seen to a small extent.

On the continent, especially towards the north, the natives were of robust and vigorous constitution. Their sole employment was the chase of the numerous wild animals of the forest and prairies: from their continual activity, their frame acquired firmness and strength. But in the islands, where game were rare, and the earth supplied spontaneously an abundant subsistence, the Indians were comparatively feeble, being neither inured to the exertions of the chase nor the labours of cultivation. Generally, the Americans were more remarkable for agility than strength, and are said to have been more like beasts of prey than animals formed for labour. Toil was hateful, and even destructive to them; they broke down and perished under tasks that would not have wearied an European. Experience proves that the physical strength of civilized man exceeds that of the savage. Hand to hand in war, in wrestling, leaping, and even in running for a short distance, this superiority usually appears. In a long journey, however, the endurance of the Indian has no parallel among Europeans. A red man has been known to travel nearly eighty miles between sunrise and sunset, without apparent fatigue. He performs a long journey, bearing a heavy burden, and indulging in no refreshment or repose; an enemy cannot escape his persevering pursuit, even when mounted on a strong horse.

It has been already observed that the Americans are rarely or never deformed, or defective in their senses while in their wild state, but in those districts where the restraints of law are felt, an extraordinary number of blind, deaf, dwarfs and cripples, are observed. The terrible custom among the savage tribes of destroying those children who do not promise a vigorous growth, accounts for this apparent anomaly: infancy is so long and helpless that it weighs as a heavy burden upon a wandering people; food is scanty and uncertain of supply, hunters and their families must range over extensive countries, and often move from place. Judging that children of feeble or defective formation are not likely to survive the hardships of this errant life, they destroy all such unpromising offspring, or desert them to a slower and more dreadful fate. The lot of all is so hard that few born with any great constitutional defect could long survive, and arrive at maturity.

In the simplicity of savage life, where labour does not oppress, nor luxury enervate the human frame, and where harassing cares are unknown, we are led to expect that disease and suffering should be comparatively rare, and that the functions of nature should not reach the close of their gradual decay till an extreme old age. The decrepit and shrivelled forms of many American Indians would seem to indicate that they had

long passed the ordinary time of life. But it is difficult or impossible to ascertain their exact age, as the art of counting is generally unknown among them, and they are strangely forgetful and indifferent to the past. Their longevity, however, varies considerably, according to differences of climate and habits of life. These children of nature are naturally free from many of the diseases afflicting civilised nations; they have not even names in their language to distinguish such ills, the offspring of a luxury to them unknown. The diseases of the savage, however, though few, are violent and fatal; the severe hardships of his mode of life produce maladies of a dangerous description. From improvidence they are often reduced for a considerable time to a state bordering on starvation: when successful in the chase, or in the seasons when earth supplies her bounty, they indulge in enormous excesses; these extremes of want and abundance prove equally pernicious; for, although habit and necessity enable them at the time to tolerate such sudden transitions, the constitution is ultimately injured: disorders arising from these causes strike down numbers in the prime and vigour of youth, and are so common that they appear the necessary consequences of their mode of life. The Indian is likewise peculiarly subject to consumption, pleurisy, asthma, and paralysis, engendered by the fatigues and hardships of the chase and war, and constant exposure to extremes of heat and cold. Experience supports the conclusion that the average life is greater among people in an advanced condition of society, than among those in a state of nature; among savages all are affected by circumstances of over-exertion, privation, and excess, but in civilised societies the diseases of luxury only affect the few.

CHAPTER VII.

The Indian is endowed with a far greater acuteness of sense than the European; despite the dazzling brightness of the long-continued snows, and the injurious action of the smoke of burning wood to which he is constantly exposed, he possesses extraordinary quickness of sight. He can also hear and distinguish the faintest sounds, alike through the gentle rustling of the forest leaves, and in the roar of the storm; his power of smell is so delicate that he scents fire long before it becomes visible. By some peculiar instinct the Indian steers through the trackless forests, over the vast prairies, and even across wide sheets of water with unerring certainty. Under the gloomiest and most obscure sky he can follow the course of the sun, as if directed by a compass. These powers would seem innate in this mysterious race; they can scarcely be the fruit of observation or practice, for children who have never left their native village can direct their course through pathless solitudes as accurately as the experienced hunter.

In the early stages of social progress, when the life of man is rude and simple, the reason is little exercised, and his wants and wishes are limited within narrow bounds; consequently his intellect is feebly developed, and his emotions are few but concentrated. These conditions were generally observable among the rudest tribes of the American Indians.

There are, however, some very striking peculiarities in the intellectual character of the red men. Without any aid from letters or education, some of the lower mental faculties are developed in a remarkable degree. As orators, strategists and politicians, they have frequently exhibited very great power. They are constantly engaged in dangerous and difficult enterprises, where ingenuity and presence of mind are essential for their preservation. They are vigorous in the thought which is allied to action, but altogether incapable of speculation, deduction, or research. The ideas and attention of a savage are confined to the objects relating to his subsistence, safety, or indulgence: everything else escapes his observation, or excites little interest in his mind. Many tribes appear to make no arrangement for the future; neither care nor forethought prevents them from blindly following a present impulse, regardless of its consequences.

The natives of North America were divided into a number of small communities; in the relation of these to each other, war or negotiation was constantly carried on; revolutions, conquests, and alliances frequently occurred among them. To raise the power of his tribe, and to weaken or destroy that of his enemy, was the great aim of every Indian. For these objects schemes were profoundly laid, and deeds of daring valour achieved: the refinements of diplomacy were employed, and plans arranged with the most accurate calculation. These peculiar circumstances also developed the power of oratory to an extraordinary degree: upon all occasions of importance speeches were delivered with eloquence, and heard with deep attention. When danger threatened, or opportunity of aggrandisement or revenge offered itself, a council of the tribe was called, where those most venerable from age, and illustrious for wisdom deliberated for the public good. The composition of the Indian orator is studied and elaborate, the language is vigorous, and at the same time highly imaginative; all ideas are expressed by figures addressed to the senses; the sun and stars, mountains, and rivers, lakes and forests, hatchets of war, and pipes of peace, fire and water, are employed as illustrations of his subject with almost oriental art and richness. His eloquence is unassisted by action or varied intonation, but his earnestness excites the sympathy of the audience, and his persuasion sinks into their hearts.

The want of any written or hieroglyphic records of the past among the northern Indians was, to some extent, supplied by the accurate memories of their old men; they were able to repeat speeches of four or five hours' duration, and delivered many years before, without error or even hesitation, and to hand them down from generation to generation with equal accuracy, their recollection being only assisted by small pieces of wood, corresponding to the different subjects of discourse. On great and solemn occasions, belts of wampum were used as aid to recollection whenever a conference was held with a neighbouring tribe, or a treaty or compact is negotiated; one of these belts, differing in some respects from any other hitherto used, was made for the occasion; each person who speaks holds this in his hand by turns, and all he says is recorded in the 'living books' of the bystanders' memory in connexion with the belt. When the conference ends, this memorial is deposited in the hands of the principal chief. As soon as any important treaty is ratified, a

broad wampum belt of unusual splendour is given by each contracting party to the other, and these tokens are deposited among the other belts, that form, as it were, the archives of the nation. At stated intervals they are reproduced before the people, and the events which they commemorate are circumstantially recalled. Certain of the Indian women are intrusted with the care of these belts; it is their duty to relate to the children of the tribe the circumstances of each treaty or conference, and thus is kept alive the remembrance of every important event.

On the matters falling within his limited comprehension, the Indian often displays a correct and solid judgment; he pursues his object without hesitation or diversion. He is quickly perceptive of simple facts or ideas; but any artificial combination or mechanical contrivance, he is slow to comprehend; especially as he considers everything beneath his notice which is not necessary to his advantage or enjoyment. It is very difficult to engage him in any labour of a purely mental character; but he often displays vivacity and ardour in matters that interest him, and is frequently quick and happy in repartee.

The red man is usually characterised by a certain savage elevation of soul and calm self-possession, that all the aid of religion and philosophy cannot enable his civilised brethren to surpass; master of his emotions, the expression of his countenance rarely alters for a moment even under the most severe and sudden trials. The prisoner, uncertain as to the fate that may befal him, preparing for his dreadful death, or racked by agonising tortures, still raises his unfaltering voice in the death song, and turns a fearless front towards his tormentors.

The art of numbering was unknown in some American tribes, and even among the most advanced it was very imperfect; the savage had no property to estimate, no coins to count, no variety of ideas to enumerate. Many nations could not reckon above three, and had no words in their language to distinguish a greater number; some proceeded as far as ten, others to twenty; when they desired to convey an idea of a larger amount, they pointed to the hair of the head, or declared that it could not be counted. Computation is a mystery to all rude nations; when, however, they acquire the knowledge of a number of objects, and find the necessity of combining or dividing them, their acquaintance with arithmetic increases; the state of this art is therefore, to a considerable extent, a criterion of their degree of progress. The wise and politic Iroquois had advanced the farthest, but even they had not got beyond one thousand; the smaller tribes seldom reached above ten.

The first ideas are suggested to the mind of man by the senses: the Indian acquires no other. The objects around him are all important; if they be available for his present purposes they attract his attention, otherwise they excite no curiosity: he neither combines nor arranges them, nor does he examine the operations of his own mind upon them; he has no abstract or universal ideas, and his reasoning powers are generally employed upon matters merely obvious to the senses. In the languages of the ruder tribes there were no words to express anything that is not material, such as faith, time, imagination, and the like. When the mind of the savage is not occupied with matters relating to his animal existence, it is altogether inactive. In the islands, and upon the exuberant plains of the south, where little exertion of ingenuity was

required to obtain the necessaries of life, the rational faculties were frequently dormant, and the countenance remained vacant and inexpressive. Even the superior races of the north loiter away their time in thoughtless indolence, when not engaged in war or the chase, deeming other objects unworthy of their consideration. Where reason is so limited in a field for exertion, the mind can hardly acquire any considerable degree of vigour or enlargement. In civilised life men are urged to activity and perseverance by a desire to gratify numerous artificial wants; but the necessities of the Indian are few, and provided for by nature almost spontaneously. He detests labour, and will sometimes sit for whole days together without uttering a word, or changing his posture. Neither the hope of reward nor the prospect of future want can overcome this inveterate indolence.

Among the northern tribes, however, dwelling under a rigorous climate, some efforts are employed, and some precautions taken, to procure subsistence; but the necessary industry is even there looked upon as a degradation: the greater part of the labour is performed by women, and man will only stoop to those portions of the work which he considers least ignominious. This industry, so oppressive to one half of the community, is very partial, and directed by a limited foresight. During one part of the year they depend upon fishing for a subsistence, during another upon the chase, and the produce of the ground is their resource for the third. Regardless of the warnings of experience, they neglect to apportion provision for their wants, or can so little restrain their appetites, that, from imprudence or extravagance, they often are exposed to the miseries of famine like their ruder neighbours. Their sufferings are soon forgotten, and the horrors of one year seem to teach no lesson of providence for the next.

The Indians for the most part are very well acquainted with the geography of their own country. When questioned as to the situation of any particular place, they will trace out on the ground with a stick, if opportunity offer, a tolerably accurate map of the locality indicated. They will show the course of the rivers, and, by pointing towards the sun, explain the bearings of their rude sketch. There have been recorded some most remarkable instances of the accuracy with which they can travel towards a strange place, even when its description had only been received through the traditions of several generations, and they could have possessed no personal knowledge whatever of the surrounding country.

The religion of the natives of America cannot but be regarded with an interest far deeper than the gratification of mere curiosity. The forms of faith, the rites, the ideas of immortality; the belief in future reward, in future punishment; the recognition of an invisible Power, infinitely surpassing that of the warrior or the chief; the dim traditions of a first parent, and a general deluge,—all these, among a race so long isolated from the rest of the human family, distinct in language, habits, form and mind, and displaying, when societies began to exist, a civilisation utterly dissimilar from any before known, afford subject for earnest thought and anxious inquiry. Those who in the earlier times of American discovery supplied information on these points, were generally little qualified for the task. Priests and missionaries alone had leisure or inclination to

pursue the subject; and their minds were often so preoccupied with their own peculiar doctrines, that they accommodated to them all that fell under their observation, and explained it by analogies which had no existence but in their own zealous imaginations. They seldom attempted to consider what they saw or heard in relation to the rude notions of the savages themselves. From a faint or fancied similarity of peculiar Indian superstitions to certain articles of Christian faith, some missionaries imagined they had discovered traces of an acquaintance with the divine mysteries of salvation; they concluded that the savage possessed a knowledge of the doctrine of the Trinity, of the Incarnation, of the sacrifice of a Saviour, and of sacraments, from their own interpretation of certain expressions and ceremonies. But little confidence can be placed in any evidence derived from such sources.

The earlier travellers in the interior of the New World received the impression that the Indians had no religious belief; they saw neither priests, temples, idols, nor sacrifices among any of the various and numerous tribes. A further knowledge of this strange people disproved the hastily-formed opinion, and showed that their whole life and all their actions were influenced by a belief in the spiritual world. It is now known that the American Indians were pre-eminent among savage nations for the superior purity of their religious faith, and indeed over even the boasted elegance of poetical mythology. From the reports of all those worthy of credence, who have lived intimately among these children of the forest, it is certain that they firmly believe in the power and unity of the Most High God, and in an immortality of happiness or misery. They worship the Great Spirit, the Giver of life, and attribute to him the creation of the world, and the government of all things with infinite love, wisdom, and power. Of the origin of their religion they are altogether ignorant. In general they believe that after the world was created and supplied with animal life by the Great Spirit, he formed the first red man and woman, who were very large of stature and lived to an extreme old age; that he often held council with his creatures, gave them laws and instructed them, but that the red children became rebels against their Great Father, and he then withdrew himself with sorrowful anger from among them, and left them to the vexations of the Bad Spirit. But still this merciful Father, from afar off where he may be seen no more, showers down upon them all the blessings they enjoy. The Indians are truly filial and sincere in their devotions; they pray for what they need and return hearty thanks for such mercies as they have enjoyed. They supplicate him to bestow courage and skill upon them in the battle; the endurance which enables them to mock the cruel tortures of their enemies is attributed to his aid: their preparation for war is a long-continued religious ceremony; their march is supposed to be under omnipotent guidance, and their expeditions in the chase are held to be not unworthy of divine superintendence. They reject all idea of chance on the fortune of war, and believe firmly that every result is the decision of a Superior Power. Although this elevated conception of the One God is deeply impressed upon the Indian's mind, it is tainted with some of the alloy which ever must characterise the uninspired faith. Those who have inquired into the religious opinions of the uneducated and laborious classes of men, even in the most enlightened and civilised communities,

find that their system of belief is derived from instruction, and not from instinct or the results of their own examination: in savage life it is vain to expect that men should reason accurately, from cause to effect, and form a just idea of the Creator from the creation. The Indian combines the idea of the Great Spirit with others of a less perfect nature. The word used by him to indicate this Sovereign Being does not convey the notion of an immaterial nature; it signifies with him some one possessed of lofty and mysterious powers, and in this sense may be applied to men and even to animals.

To the first inquirers into the religious faith of the native Americans, the subject of their mythology presented very great difficulties and complications; those Indians who attempted to explain it to Europeans, had themselves no distinct or fixed opinions. Each man put forward peculiar notions, and was constantly changing them, without attempting to reconcile his self-contradictions.

Some of the southern tribes, who were more settled in their religious faith, exhibited a remarkable degree of bigotry and spiritual pride. They called the Europeans "men of the accursed speech:" while they styled themselves "the beloved of the Great Spirit." The Canadian and other northern nations, however, were less intolerant, and at any time easily induced to profess the recantation of their heathen errors for some small advantage. Among these latter, the hare was deemed to possess some mystic superiority over the rest of the animal creation; it was even raised to be an object of worship, and the Great Hare was confounded in their minds with the Great Spirit. The Algonquins believed in a Water God, who opposes himself to the benevolent designs of the Great Spirit; it is strange that the name of the Great Tiger should be given to this Deity, as the country does not produce such an animal, and from this it appears probable, that the tradition of his existence had come from elsewhere. They have also a third Deity who presides over their winter season. The gods of the Indians have bodies like the sons of men, and subsist in like manner with them, but are free from the pains and cares of mortality; the term "spirit" among them only signifies a being of a superior and more excellent nature than man. However, they believe in the omnipresence of their deities, and invoke their aid in all times and places.

Besides the Great Spirit and the lesser deities above mentioned, every Indian has his own Manitou, Okki, or guardian power; this divinity's presence is represented by some portable object, often of the most insignificant nature, such as the head, beak, or claw of a bird, the hoof of a deer or cow. No youth can be received among the brotherhood of warriors, till he has placed himself, in due form, under the care of this familiar. The ceremony is deemed of great importance: several days of strict fasting are always observed in preparation for the important event, and the youth's dreams are carefully noted during this period. While under these circumstances, some object usually makes a deep impression upon his mind; this is then chosen for his Manitou or guardian spirit, and a specimen of it is procured. He is next placed for some time in a large vapour bath, and having undergone the process of being steamed, is laid on the ground, and the figure of the Manitou is pricked on his breast with needles of fishbone, dipt in vermilion; the intervals between the scars are then rubbed with gunpowder, so as to produce a mixture of

red and blue. When this operation is performed, he cries aloud to the Great Spirit, invoking aid, and praying to be received as a warrior.

The Indian submits with resignation to the chastening will of the Great Spirit; when overtaken by any disaster, he diligently examines himself to discover what omission of observance or duty has called down the punishment, and endeavours to atone for past neglect by increased devotion. But if the Manitou be deemed to have shown want of ability or inclination to defend him, he upbraids the guardian power with bitterness and contempt, and threatens to seek a more effectual protector. If the Manitou continue useless, this threat is fulfilled. Fasting and dreaming are again resorted to in the same manner as before, and the vision of another Manitou is obtained. The former representation is then, as much as possible, effaced; the figure of the newly-adopted amulet painted in its place. All the veneration and confidence forfeited by the first Manitou are now transferred to the successor.

It is also part of the Indian's religious belief, that there are inferior spirits to rule over the elements, under the control of the Supreme Power, he being so great that he must, like their chiefs, have attendants to execute his behests. These inferior spirits see what passes on earth, and report it to their Great Ruler: the Indian, trusting to their good offices, invokes these spirits of the air in times of peril, and endeavours to propitiate them by throwing tobacco or other simple offerings to the winds or upon the waters. But amidst all these corrupt and ignorant superstitions, the One Spirit, the Creator and Ruler of the World, is the great object of the red man's adoration. On him they rest their hopes —to him they address their daily prayers, and render their solemn sacrifice.

The worship of the Indians, although frequently in private, is generally little regulated either by ceremonies or stated periodical devotions. But there are at times great occasions when the whole tribe assembles for the purpose, such as in declaring war or proclaiming peace, or when visited by storms or earthquakes. Their great feasts all partake of a religious character; everything provided must be consumed by the assembly, as being consecrated to the Great Spirit. The Ottawas seem to have had a more complicated mythology than any other tribe: they held a regular festival in honour of the sun; and while rendering thanks for past benefit, prayed that it might be continued to the future. They have also been observed to erect an idol in their village, and offer it sacrifice; this ceremony was, however, very rare. Many western tribes visit the spring whence they have been supplied with water during the winter, at the breaking up of the ice, and there offer up their grateful worship to the Great Spirit for having preserved them in health and safety, and having supplied their wants. This pious homage is performed with much ceremony and devotion.

Among this rude people, who were at one time supposed to have been without any religion, habitual piety may be considered the most remarkable characteristic; every action of their lives is connected with some acknowledgment of a Superior Power. Many have imagined that the severe fasts sometimes endured by the Indians were only for the purpose of accustoming themselves to support hunger; but all the circumstances connected with these voluntary privations leave no doubt that they were

solemn religious exercises. Dreams and visions during these fasts were looked upon as oracular, and respected as the revelations of Heaven. The Indian frequently propitiates the favour of the inferior spirits by vows; when for some time unsuccessful in the chase, or suffering from want in long journeys, he promises the genius of the spot to bestow upon one of his chiefs in its honour a portion of the first fruits of his success; if the chief be too distant to receive the gift, it is burned in sacrifice.

The belief of the Indian in a future state, although deeply cherished and sincere, can scarcely be regarded as a defined idea of the immortality of the soul. There is little spiritual or exalted in his conception. When he attempts to form a distinct notion of the spirit, he is blinded by his senses: he calls it the shadow or image of his body, but its acts and enjoyments are all the same as those of its earthly existence. He only pictures to himself a continuation of present pleasures. His heaven is a delightful country far away beyond the unknown western seas, where the skies are ever bright and serene, the air genial, the spring eternal, and the forests abounding in game; no war, disease, or torture are known in that happy land; the sufferings of life are endured no more, and its sweetest pleasures are perpetuated and increased; his wife is tender and obedient, his children dutiful and affectionate. In this country of eternal happiness, the Indian hopes to be again received into the favour of the Great Spirit, and to rejoice in his glorious presence. But in his simple mind there is a deep and enduring conviction that admission to this delightful country of souls can only be attained by good and noble actions in this mortal life. For the bad men there is a fate terribly different—endless afflictions, want and misery; a land of hideous desolation; barren, parched, and dreary hunting-grounds, the abode of evil and malignant spirits, whose office is to torture, whose pleasure is to enhance the misery of the condemned. It is also almost universally believed that the Great Spirit manifests his wrath or his favour to the evil and the good in their journey to the land of souls. After death the Indian believes that he is supplied with a canoe; and if he has been a virtuous warrior, or otherwise worthy, he is guided across the vast deep to a haven of eternal happiness and peace by the hand of the Great Spirit. But if his life be stained with cowardice, vice, or negligence of duty, he is abandoned to the malignity of evil genii, driven about by storms and darkness over that unknown sea, and at length cast ashore on the barren land, where everlasting torments are his portion.

The Indians generally believe in the existence of a Spirit of Evil, and occasionally pray to him in deprecation of his wrath. They do not doubt his inferiority to the Great Spirit, but they believe that he has the power to inflict torments and punishments upon the human race, and that he has a malignant delight in its exercise.

The souls of the lower animals are also held by the red man to be immortal: he recognises a certain portion of understandiug in them, and each creature is supposed to possess a guardian spirit peculiar to itself. He only claims a superiority in degree of intelligence and power over the beasts of the field. Man is but the king of animals. In the world of souls are to be found the shades of every thing that breathes the breath of life. However, he takes little pains to arrange or develop these

strange ideas. The enlightened heathen philosophers of antiquity were not more successful.

To penetrate the mysteries of the future has always been a favourite object of superstition, and has been attempted by a countless variety of means. The Indian trusts to his dreams for this revelation, and invariably holds them sacred. Before he engages in any important undertaking, particularly in war, diplomacy, or the chase; the dreams of his principal chiefs are carefully watched and examined; by their interpretation his conduct is guided. In this manner the fate of a whole nation has often been decided by the chance visions of a single man. The Indian considers that dreams are the mode by which the Great Spirit condescends to hold converse with man; thence arises his deep veneration for the omens and warnings they may shadow forth.

Many other superstitions, besides those of prognostics from dreams, are cherished among the Indians. Each remarkable natural feature, such as a great cataract, a lake, or a difficult and dangerous pass, possesses a spirit of the spot, whose favour they are fain to propitiate by votive offerings: skins, bones, pieces of metal, and dead dogs are hung up in the neighbourhood, and dedicated to its honour. Supposed visions of ghosts are sometimes, but rarely, spoken of: it is, however, generally believed that the souls of the dead continue for some time to hover round the earthly remains: dreading, therefore, that the spirits of those they have tortured, watch near them to seek opportunity of vengeance, they beat the air violently with rods, and raise frightful cries to scare the shadowy enemy away.

Among some of the Indian tribes, an old man performed the duty of a priest at their religious festivals; he broke the bread and cast it in the fire, dedicated the different offerings, and officiated in the sacrifice. It was also his calling to declare the omens from dreams and other signs, as the warnings from heaven. These religious duties of the priest were totally distinct from the office of the juggler, or 'medicine-man,' although some observers have confounded them together. There were also vestals in many nations of the continent who were supposed to supply by their touch a precious medicinal efficacy to certain roots and simples.

The 'medicine-men,' or jugglers, undertook the cure of diseases, the interpretation of omens, the exorcising of evil spirits, and magic in all its branches. They were men of great consideration in the tribe, and were called in and regularly paid as physicians; but this position could only be attained by undergoing certain ordeals, which were looked upon as a compact with the spirits of the air. The process of the vapour bath was first endured; severe fasting followed, accompanied by constant shouting, singing, beating a sort of drum, and smoking. After these preliminaries the jugglers were installed by extravagant ceremonies, performed with furious excitement and agitation. They possessed, doubtless, some real knowledge of the healing art; and in external wounds or injuries, the causes of which are obvious, they applied powerful simples, chiefly vegetable, with considerable skill. With decoctions from ginseng, sassafras, hedisaron, and a tall shrub called bellis, they have been known to perform remarkable cures in cases of wounds and ulcers. They scarified the seat of inflammation or rheumatic pain skilfully with sharp-pointed bones, and accomplished the cupping process by the use of gourd

shells as substitutes for glasses. For all internal complaints, their favourite specific was the vapour bath, which they formed with much ingenuity from their rude materials. This was doubtless a very efficient remedy, but they attached to it a supernatural influence, and employed it in the ceremonies of solemn preparation for great councils.

All cases of disease, when the cause could not be discovered, were attributed to the influence of malignant spirits. To meet these the medicine-man or juggler invested himself with his mysterious character, and endeavoured to exorcise the demon by a great variety of ceremonies, a mixture of delusion and imposture. For this purpose he arrayed himself in a strange and fanciful dress, and on his first arrival began to sing and dance round the sufferer, invoking the spirits with loud cries. When exhausted with these exertions, he attributed the hidden cause of the malady to the first unusual idea that suggested itself to his mind, and in the confidence of his supposed inspiration, proclaimed the necessary cure. The juggler usually contrived to avoid the responsibility of failure by ordering a remedy impossible of attainment when the patient was not likely to recover. The Iroquois believed that every ailment was a desire of the soul, and when death followed it was from the desire not having been accomplished.

Among many of the Indian tribes the barbarous custom of putting to death those who were thought past recovery existed, and still exists. Others abandoned these unfortunates to perish of hunger and thirst, or under the jaws of the wild beasts of the forest. Some nations put to death all infants who had lost their mother, or buried them alive in her grave, under the impression that no other woman could rear them, and that they must perish by hunger. But the dreadful custom of deserting the aged and emaciated among the wandering tribes is universal. When these miserable creatures become incapable of walking or riding, and there is no means of carrying them, they themselves uniformly insist upon being abandoned to their fate, saying that they are old and of no further use—they left their fathers in the same manner—they wish to die, and their children must not mourn for them. A small fire and a few pieces of wood, a scanty supply of meat, and perhaps a buffalo skin, are left as the old man's sole resources; when in a few months the wandering tribe may revisit the spot where he was deserted, a skull, and a few scattered bones will be all that the wolves and vultures have left as tokens of his dreadful fate.

The Indian father and mother display great tenderness for their children, even to the weakness of unlimited indulgence: this affection, however, appears to be merely instinctive, for they use no exertion whatever to lead their offspring to the paths of virtue. Children on their part show very little filial affection, and frequently treat their parents, especially their father, with indignity and violence. This vicious characteristic is strongly exemplified in the horrible custom above described.

When the Indian believes that his death is at hand, his conduct is usually stoical and dignified. If he still retain the power of speech, he harangues those who surround him in a funeral oration, advising and encouraging his children, and bidding them and all his friends farewell. During this time, the relations of the dying man slay all the dogs they

can catch, trusting that the souls of these animals will give notice of the approaching departure of the warrior for the world of spirits; they then take leave of him, wish him a happy voyage, and cheer him with the hope that his children will prove worthy of his name. When the last moment arrives, all the kindred break into loud lamentations, till some one high in consideration desires them to cease. For weeks afterwards, however, these cries of grief are daily renewed at sunrise and sunset. In three days after death the funeral takes place, and the neighbours are invited to a feast of all the provisions that can be procured, which must be all consumed. The relations of the deceased do not join in the banquet: they cut off their hair, cover their heads, blacken their faces, and for a long time deny themselves every amusement.

The deceased is buried with his arms and ornaments, and a supply of provisions for his long journey: the face is painted, and the body arrayed in the richest robes that can be obtained: it is then laid in the grave in an upright posture, and skins are carefully placed around that it may not touch the earth. At stated intervals of eight, ten, or twelve years, the Indians celebrate the singular ceremony of the Festival of the Dead; till this has been performed, the souls of the deceased are supposed still to hover round their earthly remains. At this solemn festival, the people march in procession to the burial ground, open the tombs, and continue for a time gazing on the mouldering relics in mournful silence. Then, while the women raise a loud wailing, the bones of the dead are carefully collected, wrapped in fresh and valuable robes, and conveyed to the family caban. A feast is then held for several days, with dances, games, and prize combats. The relics are next carried to the council-house of the nation, where they are publicly displayed, with the presents destined to be interred with them. Sometimes the remains are even carried on bearers from village to village. At length they are laid in a deep pit, lined with rich furs: tears and lamentations are again renewed, and for some time fresh provisions are daily laid, by this simple people, upon the graves of their departed friends.

CHAPTER VIII.

In the warmer and milder climates of America none of the rude tribes were clothed; for them there was little need of defence against the weather, and their extreme indolence indisposed them to any exertion not absolutely necessary for their subsistence. Others were satisfied with a very slight covering, but all delighted in ornaments. They dressed their hair in different forms, stained their skins, and fastened bits of gold, or shells, or bright pebbles, in their noses and cheeks. They also frequently endeavoured to alter their natural form and feature; as soon as an infant was born, it was subjected to some cruel process of compression, by which the bones of the skull, while still soft, were squeezed into the shape of a cone, or flattened or otherwise distorted. But in all efforts to adorn or alter their persons, the great object was to inspire terror and respect. The warrior was indifferent to the admiration of woman, whom he enslaved and despised, and it was only for war or the council that

he assumed his choicest ornaments, and painted himself with unusual care The decorations of the women were few and simple; all those that were precious and splendid were reserved for their haughty lords. In several tribes the wives had to devote much of their time to adorning their husbands, and could bestow little attention upon themselves. The different nations remaining unclothed show considerable sagacity in anointing themselves in such a manner as to provide against the heat and moisture of the climate. Soot, the juices of herbs having a green, yellow, or vermilion tint, mixed with oil and grease, are lavishly employed upon their skin to adorn it and render it impervious. By this practice profuse perspiration is checked, and a defence is afforded against the innumerable and tormenting insects that abound everywhere in America. Black and red are the favourite colours for painting the face. In war, black is profusely laid on, the other colours being only used to heighten its effect, and give a terrible expression to the countenance. The breast, arms, and legs of the Indian are tattooed with sharp needles or pointed bones, the colours being carefully rubbed in. His Manitou, and the animal chosen as the symbol of his tribe, are first painted, then all his most remarkable exploits, and the enemies he has slain or scalped; so that his body displays a pictorial history of his life.

In the severe climate of the north the Indian's dress is somewhat more ample. Instead of shoes, he wears a strip of soft leather wrapped round the foot, called the moccasin. Upwards to the middle of the thigh a piece of leather or cloth, fitting closely, serves instead of pantaloons and stockings: it is usually sewed on to the limb, and is never removed. Two aprons, each about a foot square, are fastened to a girdle round the waist, and hang before and behind. This is their permanent dress. On occasions of ceremony, however, and in cold weather, they also wear a short shirt, and over all a loose robe, closed or held together in front. Now an English blanket is generally used for this garment; but before the produce of European art was known among them, the skins of wild animals furnished all their covering. The chiefs usually wear a sort of breastplate, covered with shells, pebbles, and pieces of glittering metal. Those who communicate with Europeans display beads, rings, bracelets, and other gauds, instead. The ear, too, is cumbrously ornamented with showy pendants, and the tuft of hair on the crown of the head is interwoven with feathers, the wings of birds, shells, and many fantastic ornaments. Sometimes the Indian warrior wears buffalo horns, reduced in size and polished, on his head: this, however, is a distinction only for those renowned in war or in the council. The dress of the women varies but little from that of the men, except in being more simple. They wear their hair long and flowing, and richly ornamented, whenever they can procure the means.

The dwellings of the Indians usually receive much less attention than their personal appearance. Even among tribes comparatively far advanced in civilisation, the structure of their houses or cabans was very rude and simple. They were generally wretched huts, of an oblong or circular form, and sometimes so low, that it was always necessary to preserve a sitting or lying posture while under their shelter. There were no windows; a large hole in the centre of the roof allowed the smoke to escape; and a sort of curtain of birch bark occupied the place of the

door. These dwellings are sometimes 100 feet long, when they accommodate several families. Four cabans generally form a quadrangle, each open to the inside, with the fire in the centre common to all. The numerous and powerful tribes formerly inhabiting Canada and its borders usually dwelt in huts of a very rude description. In their expeditions, both for war and the chase, the Indians erect temporary cabans in a remarkably short space of time. A few poles, raised in the shape of a cone, and covered with birch bark, form the roof, and the tops of pine branches make a fragrant bed. In winter the snow is cleared out of the place where the caban is to be raised, and shaped into walls, which form a shelter from the wind. The permanent dwellings were usually grouped in villages, surrounded with double and even triple rows of palisades, interlaced with branches of trees, so as to form a compact barrier, and offering a considerable difficulty to an assailing foe.

The furniture in these huts was very scanty. The use of metal being unknown, the pots or vessels for boiling their food were made of coarse earthenware or of soft stone hollowed out with a hatchet. In some cases they were made of wood, and the water was boiled by throwing in a number of heated stones.

The Indian displays some skill in the construction of canoes, and they are admirably adapted for his purpose. They are usually made of the bark of a single tree, strengthened by ribs of strong wood. These light and buoyant skiffs float safely on stormy or rapid waters under the practised guidance of the Indian, and can with ease be borne on his shoulder from one river or lake to another. Canoes formed out of the trunk of a large tree are also sometimes used, especially in winter, for the purpose of crossing rivers when there is floating ice, their great strength rendering them capable of enduring the collision with the floating masses, to which they are liable.

Even among the rudest Indian tribes a regular union between man and wife was universal, although not attended with ceremonials. The marriage contract is a matter of purchase. The man buys his wife of her parents,—not with money, for its value is unknown,—but with some useful and precious article, such as a robe of bear, or other handsome skin, a horse, a rifle, powder and shot. When the Indian has made the bargain with his wife's parents, he takes her home to his caban, and from that time she becomes his slave. There are several singular modes of courtship among some of the tribes, but generally much reserve and consideration are exhibited. In many respects, however, the morals and manners of the Indians are such as might be expected in communities where the precepts of Christianity are unknown, and where even the artificial light of civilisation is wanting. There are occasionally instances of a divorce being resorted to from mere caprice; but usually the marriage tie is regarded as a perpetual covenant. As the wife toils incessantly, and procures a great part of the subsistence, she is considered too valuable a servant to be lightly lost. Among the chiefs of the tribes to the west and south polygamy is general, and the number of these wife-servants constitute the principal wealth; but among the northern nations this plurality is very rarely possessed. The Indian is seldom seen to bestow the slightest mark of tenderness upon his wife or children: he, however, exerts himself to the utmost for their welfare, and will sacrifice his life

to avenge their wrongs. His indomitable pride prompts him to assume an apparent apathy, and to control every emotion of affection, suffering, or sorrow.

Parents perform few duties towards their children beyond procuring their daily bread. The father is by turns occupied in war and the chase, or sunk in total indolence; while the mother is oppressed by the toils of her laborious bondage, and has but little time to devote to her maternal cares. The infant is fastened to a board, cushioned with soft moss, by thongs of leather, and is generally hung on the branch of a tree, or, in travelling, carried on the mother's back. When able to move, it is freed from this confinement, and allowed to make its way about as it pleases. It soon reaches some neighbouring lake or river, and sports itself in the water all day long. As the child advances in years it enjoys perfect independence; it is rarely or never reproved or chastised. The youths are early led to emulate the deeds of their fathers; they practise with the bow, and other weapons suited to a warrior's use; and, as manhood approaches, they gradually assume the dignified gravity of the elders. In some tribes the young men must pass through a dreadful ordeal when they arrive at the age of manhood, which is supposed to prepare them for the endurance of all future sufferings, and enables the chiefs to judge of their courage, and to select the bravest among them to lead in difficult enterprises.

During four days previous to this terrible torture the candidates observe a strict fast, and are denied all sleep. When the appointed day arrives certain strange ceremonies of an allegorical description are performed, in which all the inhabitants of the village take part. The candidates then repair to a large caban, where the chiefs and elders of the tribe are assembled to witness the ordeal. The torture commences by driving splints of wood through the flesh of the back and breasts of the victim; he is next hoisted off the ground by ropes attached to these splints, and suspended by the quivering flesh, while the tormentors twist the hanging body slowly round, thus exquisitely enhancing the agony, till a death-faint comes to the relief of the candidate: he is then lowered to the ground and left to the care of the Great Spirit. When he recovers animation, he rises and proceeds on his hands and feet to another part of the caban; he there lays the little finger of the left hand upon a buffalo skull as a sacrifice to the Great Spirit, and another Indian chops it off. The fore-finger is also frequently offered up in the same manner; this mutilation does not interfere with the use of the bow, the only weapon for which the left hand is required. Other cruel tortures are inflicted for some time, and at length the wretched victim, reeling and staggering from the intensity of his suffering, reaches his own dwelling, where he is placed under the care of his friends. Some of the famous warriors of the tribe pass through this horrible ordeal repeatedly, and the oftener it is endured the greater is their estimation among their people. No bandages are applied to the wounds thus inflicted, nor is any attention paid to their cure, but from the extreme exhaustion and debility caused by want of sustenance and sleep, circulation is checked and sensibility diminished; the bleeding and inflammation are very slight, and the results are seldom injurious.

The native tribes are engaged in almost perpetual hostility against

each other. War is the great occupation of savage life, the measure of merit, the high road of ambition, and the source of its intensest joy—revenge. In war the Indian character presents the darkest aspect, the finer and gentler qualities are veiled or dormant, and a fiendish ferocity assumes full sway. It is waged to exterminate, not to reduce. The enemy is assailed with treachery, and if conquered treated with revolting cruelty. The glory and excitement of war are dear to the Indian, but when the first drop of blood is shed, revenge is dearer still. He thirsts to offer up the life of an enemy to appease the departed spirit of a slaughtered friend. Thus each contest generates another even more embittered than itself. The extension or defence of the hunting-grounds is often a primary cause of hostility among the native nations, and the increase of the power of their tribe by incorporating with them such of the vanquished as they may spare from a cruel death is another frequent motive. The savage pines and chafes in long continued peace, and the prudence of the aged can with difficulty restrain the fierce impetuosity of the young. Individual quarrels and a thirst for fame often lead a single savage to invade a hostile territory against the counsels of his tribe, but when war is determined by the general voice, more enlarged views, and a desire of aggrandisement guide the proceedings.

As soon as the determination of declaring war is formed, he who is chosen by the nation as the chief, enters on a course of solemn preparation, intreating the aid and guidance of the Great Spirit. As a signal of the approaching strife, he marches three times round his winter dwelling, bearing a large blood-red flag, variegated with deep tints of black. When this terrible emblem is seen, the young warriors crowd around to hearken to the words of their chief. He then addresses them in a strain of impassioned but rude and ferocious eloquence, calling upon them to follow him to glory and revenge. When he concludes his oration, he throws a wampum-belt on the ground, which is respectfully lifted up by some warrior of high renown, who is judged worthy of being second in command. The chief now paints himself black, and commences a strict fast, only tasting a decoction of consecrated herbs to assist his dreams, which are strictly noted and interpreted by the elders. He then washes off the black paint. A huge fire is lighted in a public place in the village, and the great war-cauldron set to boil; each warrior throws something into this vessel, and the allies who are to join the expedition also send offerings for the same purpose. Lastly, the sacred dog is sacrificed to the God of War, and boiled in the cauldron, to form the chief dish at a festival, to which only the warriors and men great in council are admitted.

During these ceremonies the elders watch the omens with deep anxiety, and if the promise be favourable they prepare for immediate departure. The chief then paints himself in bright and varied colours, to render his appearance terrible, and sings his war-song, announcing the nature of the projected enterprise. His example is followed by all the warriors, who join a war-dance, while they proclaim with a loud voice the glory of their former deeds, and their determination to destroy their enemies. Each Indian now seizes his arms, the bow and quiver hang over the left shoulder, the tomahawk from the left hand, and the scalping-knife is stuck in the girdle. A distinguished chief is appointed to take charge of the Manitous or guardian powers of each warrior; they

are collected, carefully placed in a box, and accompany the expedition as the ark of safety. Meanwhile the women incite the warriors to vengeance, and eagerly demand captives for the torture to appease the spirits of their slaughtered relatives, or sometimes indeed to supply their place. When the war party are prepared to start, the chief addresses his followers in a short harangue; they then commence the march, singing and shouting the terrible war-whoop. The women proceed with the expedition for some distance; and when they must return, exchange endearing names with their husbands and relations, and express ardent wishes for victory. Some little gift of affection is usually exchanged at parting.

Before striking the first blow, the Indians make open declaration of war. A herald, painted black, is sent, bearing a red tomahawk, on one side of which are inscribed figures representing the causes of hostilities. He reaches the enemy's principal village at midnight, throws down the tomahawk in some conspicuous place, and disappears silently. When once warning is thus given, every stratagem that cunning can suggest is employed for the enemy's destruction.

As long as the expedition continues in friendly countries, the warriors wander about in small parties for the convenience of hunting; still, however, keeping up communication by means of sounds imitating the cries of birds and beasts. None ever fail to appear at the appointed place of meeting upon the frontier, where they again hold high festival and consult the omens of their dreams. When they enter the hostile territory a close array is observed, and a deep silence reigns. They creep on all fours, walk through water, or upon the stumps of trees, to avoid leaving any trace of their route. To conceal their numbers they sometimes march in a long single file, each stepping on the foot-print of the man before him. They sometimes even wear the hoofs of the buffalo or the paws of the bear, and run for miles in a winding course to imitate the track of those animals. Every effort is made to surprise the foe, and they frequently lure him to destruction by imitating from the depths of the forest the cries of animals of the chace.

If the expedition meet with no straggling party of the enemy, it advances with cautious stealth towards some principal village; the warriors creep on their hands and feet through the deep woods, and often even paint themselves the colour of dried leaves to avoid being perceived by their intended victims. On approaching the doomed hamlet, they examine it carefully but rapidly, from some tree-top or elevated ground, and again conceal themselves till nightfall in the thickest covert. Strange to say these subtle warriors neglect altogether the security of sentinels, and are satisfied with searching the surrounding neighbourhood for hidden foes; if none be discovered they sleep in confidence, even when hostile forces are not far off. They weakly trust to the protecting power of their Manitous. When they have succeeded in reaching the village, and concealing themselves unobserved, they wait silently, keeping close watch till the hour before dawn, when the inhabitants are in the deepest sleep. Then crawling noiselessly like snakes through the grass and underwood, till they are upon the foe, the chief raises a shrill cry and the massacre begins. Discharging a shower of arrows they finish the deadly work with club and tomahawk. The great object,

however, of the conquerors is to take the enemy alive, and reserve him to grace their triumph and rejoice their eyes by his torture. When resistance is attempted this is often impossible, and an instant death saves the victim from the far greater horrors of captivity and protracted torment. When an enemy is struck down, the victor places his foot upon the neck of the dead or dying man, and with a horrible celerity and skill tears off the bleeding scalp. This trophy is ever preserved with jealous care by the Indian warriors.

After any great success the war party always return to their villages, more eager to celebrate the victory than to improve its advantages. Their women and old men await their return in longing expectation. The fate of the war is announced from afar off by well-known signs; the bad tidings are first told. A herald advances to the front of the returning party and sounds a death-whoop for each of their warriors who has fallen in the fray. Then after a little time the tale of victory is told, and the number of prisoners and of the slain declared. All lamentations are soon hushed, and congratulations and rejoicing succeed. During the retreat, if the war party be not hard pressed by the enemy, prisoners are treated with some degree of humanity, but are very closely guarded. When the expedition has returned to the village, the old men, women, and children form themselves into two lines; the prisoners are compelled to pass between them, and are cruelly bruised with sticks and stones, but not vitally injured by their tormentors.

A council is usually held to decide the fate of the prisoners, the alternatives are, to be adopted into the conquering nation, and received as brothers, or to be put to death in the most horrible torments; thus either to supply the place of warriors fallen in battle, or to appease the spirits of the departed by their miserable end. The older warriors among the captives usually meet the hardest fate, the younger are most frequently adopted by the women, their wounds are cured, and they are thenceforth received in every respect as if they belonged to the tribe. The adopted prisoners go out to war against their former countrymen, and the new tie is held even more binding than the old.

The veteran warrior, whose tattooed skin bears record of slaughtered enemies, meets with no mercy; his face is painted, his head crowned with flowers as if for a festival, black moccasins are put upon his feet, and a flaming torch is placed above him as the signal of condemnation. The women take the lead in the diabolical tortures to which he is subjected, and rage around their victim with horrible cries. He is, however, allowed a brief interval to sing his death-song, and he often continues it even through the whole of the terrible ordeal. He boasts of his great deeds, insults his tormentors, laughing at their feeble efforts, exults in the vengeance that his nation will take for his death, and pours forth insulting reproaches and threats. The song is then taken up by the woman to whose particular revenge he has been devoted. She calls upon the spirit of her husband or son to come and witness the sufferings of his foe. After tortures too various and horrible to be particularised, some kind wound closes the scene in death, and the victim's scalp is lodged among the trophies of the tribe. To endure with unshaken fortitude is the greatest triumph of an Indian warrior and the highest confusion to his enemies, but often the proud spirit breaks under

the pangs that rack the quivering flesh, and shouts of intolerable agony reward the demoniac ingenuity of the tormentors.

Many early writers considered that the charge of cannibalism against the Indians was well founded; doubtless in moments of fury portions of an enemy's flesh have been rent off and eaten. To devour a foeman's heart is held by them to be an exquisite vengeance. They have been known to drink draughts of human blood, and in circumstances of scarcity they do not hesitate to eat their captives. It is certain that all the terms used by them in describing the torture of prisoners relate to this horrible practice, yet as they are so figurative in every expression, these may simply mean the fullest gratification of revenge. The evidence upon this point is obscure and contradictory; the Indian cannot be altogether acquitted or found guilty of this foul imputation.

The brief peace that affords respite amidst the continual wars of the Indian tribes, is scarcely more than a truce. Nevertheless, it is concluded with considerable form and ceremony. The first advance towards a cessation of hostilities, is usually made through the chief of a neutral power. The nation professing the first overture dispatches some men of note as ambassadors, accompanied by an orator, to contract the negociation. They bear with them the calumet of peace as the symbol of their purpose, and a certain number of wampum belts to note the objects and conditions of the negociation. The orator explains the meaning of the belts to the hostile chiefs, and if the proposition be received, the opposite party accept the proffered symbols, and the next day present others of a similar import. The calumet is then solemnly smoked, and the burial of a war hatchet for each party and for each ally, concludes the treaty. The negociations consist more in presents, speeches, and ceremonies, than in any demands upon each other: there is no property to provide tribute, and the victors rarely or never require the formal cession of any of the hunting-grounds of the vanquished. The unrestrained passions of individuals, and the satiety of long-continued peace, intolerable to the Indian, soon again lead to the renewal of hostility.

The successful hunter ranks next to the brave warrior in the estimation of the savage. Before starting on his grand expeditions, he prepares himself by a course of fasting, dreaming, and religious observances, as if for war. He hunts with astonishing dexterity and skill, and regards this pursuit rather as an object of adventure and glory than as an industrious occupation.

With regard to cultivation and the useful arts, the Indians are in the very infancy of progress. Their villages are usually not less than eighteen miles apart, and are surrounded by a narrow circle of imperfectly cleared land, slightly turned up with a hoe, or scraped with pointed sticks, scarcely interrupting the continuous expanse of the forest. They are only acquainted with the rudest sorts of clay manufactures, and the use of the metals (except by European introduction) is altogether unknown. Their women, however, display considerable skill in weaving fine mats, in staining the hair of animals, and working it into brilliant coloured embroideries. The wampum-belts are made with great care and some taste. The calumet is also elaborately carved and ornamented; and the painting and tattooing of their bodies sometimes presents well-executed and highly descriptive pictures and hieroglyphics. They construct light and elegant baskets from the swamp cane, and are

very skilful in making bows and arrows; some tribes indeed were so rude as not to have attained even to the use of this primitive weapon, and the sling was by no means generally known.

Most of the American nations are without any fixed form of government whatever. The complete independence of every man is fully recognised. He may do what he pleases of good or evil, useful or destructive, no constituted power interferes to thwart his will. If he even take away the life of another the bystanders do not interpose. The kindred of the slain, however, will make any sacrifice for vengeance. And yet in the communities of these children of nature there usually reigns a wonderful tranquillity. A deadly hostility exists between the different tribes, but among the members comprising each, the strictest union exists. The honour and prosperity of his nation is the leading object of the Indian; this national feeling forms a link to draw him closely to his neighbour, and he rarely or never uses violence or evil speech against a countryman. Where there is scarcely such a thing as individual property, government and justice are necessarily very much simplified. There exists almost a community of goods. No man wants while another has enough and to spare. Their generosity knows no bounds. Whole tribes when ruined by disasters in war find unlimited hospitality among their neighbours; habitations and hunting-grounds are allotted to them, and they are received in every respect as if they were members of the nation that protects them.

As there is generally no wealth or hereditary distinction among this people, the sole claim to eminence is founded on such personal qualities as can only be conspicuous in war, council, or the chace. During times of tranquillity and inaction all superiority ceases. Every man is clothed and fares alike. Relations of patronage and dependence are unknown. All are free and equal, and they perish rather than submit to control, or endure correction. During war indeed, or in the chace, they render a sort of obedience to those who excel in character and conduct, but at other times no form of government whatever exists. The names of magistrate and subject are not in their language. If the elders interpose between man and man, it is to advise, not to decide. Authority is only tolerated in foreign, not in domestic affairs.

Music and dancing express the emotions of the Indian's mind. He has his songs of war and death, and particular moments of his life are appointed for their recital. His great deeds and the vengeance he has inflicted upon his enemies are his subjects; the language and music express his passions rudely but forcibly. The dance is still more important: it is the grand celebration at every festival, and alternately the exponent of their triumph, anger, or devotion. It is usually pantomimic and highly descriptive of the subject to which it is appropriate.

The Indians are immoderately fond of play as a means of excitement and agitation. While gaming they who are usually so taciturn and indifferent, become loquacious and eager. Their guns, arms, and all that they possess are freely staked, and at times, where all else is lost, they will trust even their personal safety to the hazard of the die. The most barbarous of the tribes have unhappily succeeded in inventing some species of intoxicating liquor: that from the root of the maize was in general use: it is not disagreeable to the taste, and is very powerful. When the

accursed fire-water is placed before the Indians, none can resist the temptation. The wisest, best, and bravest succumb alike to this odious temptation, and when their unrestrained passions are excited by drinking, they are at times guilty of enormous outrages, and the scenes of their festivities often become stained with kindred blood. The women are not permitted to partake of this fatal pleasure, their duty is to serve the guests and take care of their husbands and friends when overpowered by the debauch. This exclusion from a favourite enjoyment is evidence of the contempt in which females are held among the Indians.

In the present day he who would study the character and habits of these children of nature, must travel far away beyond the Rocky Mountains where the murrain of perverted civilisation has not yet spread. There he may still find the virtues and vices of the savage, and lead among those wild tribes that fascinating life of liberty, which few have ever been known to abandon willingly for the restraints and luxuries of civilisation and refinement.

CHAPTER IX.

While the French were busied in establishing themselves upon the banks of the St. Lawrence, their ancient rivals steadily progressed in the occupation of the Atlantic coasts of North America.

Generally speaking, the oldest colonies of England were founded by private adventurers, at their own expense and risk. In most cases the soil of the new settlements was granted to powerful individuals or companies of merchants, and by them made over in detail to the actual emigrants for certain considerations. Where, however, as often occurred, the emigrants had settled prior to the grant, or were in a condition to disregard it, they divided the land according to their own interests and convenience. These unrecognised proprietors prospered more rapidly than those who were trammelled by engagements with non-resident authorities. The right of government, as well as the nominal possession of the soil, was usually granted in the first instance, and the new colonies were connected with the Crown of Great Britain by little more than a formal recognition of sovereignty. But the disputes invariably arising between the nominal proprietors and the actual settlers speedily caused, in most cases, a dissolution of the proprietary government, and threw the colonies one by one under royal authority.

The system then usually adopted was to place the colony under the rule of an English governor, assisted by an Upper House of Parliament, or Council, appointed by himself, and a Lower House, possessing the power of taxation, elected by the people. All laws, however, enacted by these local authorities were subject to the approbation of the British Crown. This was the outline of colonial constitutions in every North American settlement, except in those established under peculiar charters. The habit of self-government bore its fruit of sturdy independence and self-reliance among our transatlantic brethren, and the prospect of political privileges offered a special temptation to the English emigrant to embark his fortunes in the New World. At their commencement trade was free in all, and religion in most of the new colonies; and it was only by slow degrees

that their fiscal regulations were brought under the subordination of the mother country.

Although a general sketch of British colonisation in North America is essential to the illustration of Canadian history, it is unnecessary to detail more than a few of the leading features of its nature and progress, and of the causes which placed its interest in almost perpetual antagonism with those of French settlement. This subject is rendered not a little obscure and complicated by the contradictory claims and statements of proprietors, merchant adventurers and settlers, the separation of provinces, the abandonment of old, and the foundation of new settlements.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, of Compton, in Devonshire, formed the first plan of British colonisation in America. Queen Elizabeth, who then wore the crown, willingly granted a patent conveying most ample gifts and powers to her worthy and distinguished subject. He was given for ever all such 'heathen and barbarous countries' as he might discover, with absolute authority therein, both by sea and land. Only homage, and a fifth part of the gold and silver that might be obtained, was reserved for the Crown.

The first expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert failed in the very commencement. The adventurers were unfortunately selected; many deserted the cause, and others engaged in disastrous quarrels among themselves. The chief was ultimately obliged to set out with only a few of his own tried friends. He encountered very adverse weather, and was driven back with the loss of a ship, and one of his trustiest companions. This disaster was a severe blow to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, as most of his property was embarked in the undertaking. However, with unshaken determination, and aided by Sir George Peckham, Sir Walter Raleigh, and other distinguished men, he again equipped an expedition, and put to sea in the year 1583.

The force with which this bold adventurer undertook to gain possession of a new continent was miserably small. The largest vessel was but of 200 tons burthen; the Delight, in which he himself sailed, was only 120 tons, and the three others composing the little fleet were even much smaller. The crew and adventurers numbered altogether 260 men, most of them tradesmen, mechanics, and refiners of metal. There was such difficulty in completing even this small equipment, that some captured pirates were taken into the service.

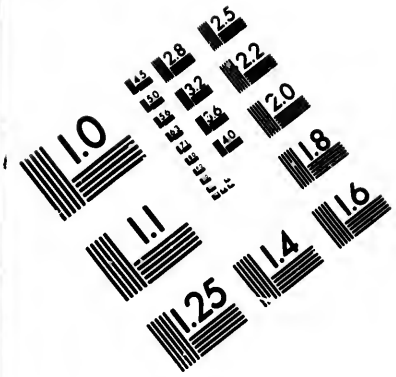
The expedition sailed from Concert Bay on the 11th of May, 1583. Three days afterwards the Raleigh, the largest ship of the fleet, put back to land, under the plea that a violent sickness had broken out on board, but in reality from the indisposition of the crew to risk the enterprise. The loss of this vessel was a heavy discouragement to the brave leaders. After many delays and difficulties from the weather and the misconduct of his followers, Sir Humphrey Gilbert reached the shores of Newfoundland, where he found thirty-six vessels engaged in the fisheries. He, in virtue of his royal patent, immediately assumed authority over them, demanding and obtaining all the supplies of which he stood in need: he also proclaimed his own and the queen's possession of the country. Soon, however, becoming sensible that this rocky and dreary wilderness offered little prospect of wealth, he proceeded with three vessels, and a crew diminished by sickness and desertion, to the American coast. Owing

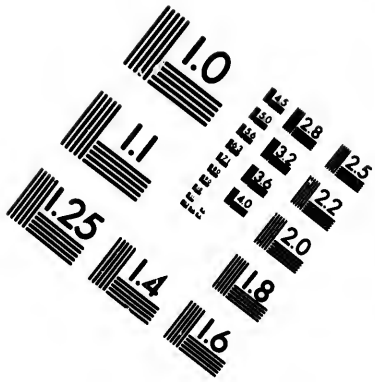
to his imprudence in approaching the foggy and dangerous shore too closely, the largest vessel struck, and went to pieces. The captain and many of the crew were lost: some of the remainder reached Newfoundland in an open boat, after having endured great hardships.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert altogether failed in reaching any part of the mainland of America. The weather became very bad, the winter approached, and provisions began to fail: there was no alternative but to return, and with bitter regret and disappointment he adopted that course. The two remaining vessels proceeded in safety as far as the meridian of the Azores; there, however, a terrible tempest assailed them. On the afternoon of the 9th of September the smaller of the two boats was observed to labour dangerously. Sir Humphrey Gilbert stood upon her deck, holding a book in his hand, encouraging the crew. 'We are as near to heaven by sea as by land,' he called out to those on board the other vessel, as it drifted past just before nightfall. Darkness soon concealed his little bark from sight; but for hours one small light was seen to rise and fall, and plunge about among the furious waves. Shortly after midnight it suddenly disappeared, and with it all trace of the brave chief and his crew. One maimed and storm-tossed ship alone returned to England of that armament which so short a time before had been sent forth to take possession of a new world.

The English nation was not diverted from the pursuit of colonial aggrandisement by even this disastrous failure. The queen, however, was more ready to assist by grants and patents than by pecuniary supplies. Many plausible schemes of settlement were put forward; but the difficulty of obtaining sufficient means of carrying them into effect prevented their being adopted. At length the illustrious Sir Walter Raleigh undertook the task of colonisation at his own sole charge, and easily obtained a patent similar to that conferred upon Sir Humphrey Gilbert. He soon sent out two small vessels, under skilful naval officers, to search for his new government. Warned by the disasters of their predecessors, they steered a more southerly course. When soundings indicated an approach to land, they already observed that the breeze from the shore was rich with delicious odours of fruits and flowers. They proceeded very cautiously, and presently found that they had reached a long low coast without harbours. The shore was flat and sandy; but softly undulating green hills were seen in the interior, covered with a great profusion of rich grapes. This discovery proved to be the island of Okakoke, off North Carolina. The English were well received by the natives, and obtained from them many valuable skins in exchange for trinkets. Some limited explorations were made, after which the expedition returned to England, bearing very favourable accounts of the new country, which filled Raleigh with joy, and raised the expectations of the whole kingdom. In honour of England's maiden queen, the name of Virginia was given to this land of promise.

Sir Walter Raleigh now embarked nearly all his fortune in another expedition, consisting of seven small ships, which he placed under the able command of Sir Richard Greenville, surnamed 'the Brave.' The little fleet reached Virginia on the 29th of June, 1585, and the colony was at once landed; the principal duties of settlement were intrusted to Mr. Ralph Lane, who proved unequal to the charge. The coast, however,





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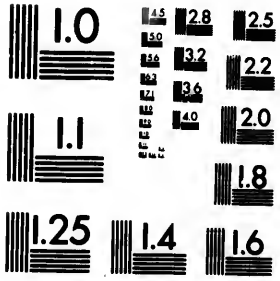

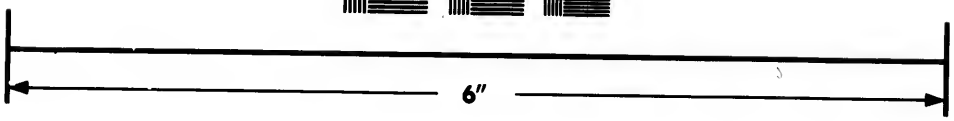

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was explored for a considerable distance, and the magnificent Bay of Chesapeake discovered.

Lane penetrated to the head of Roanoke Sound; there, without provocation, he seized a powerful Indian chief and his son, and retained the latter a close prisoner in the hope through him of ruling the father. The natives, exasperated at this injury, deceived the English with false reports of great riches to be found in the interior. Lane proceeded up the river for several days with forty men, but suffering much from the want of provisions, and having been once openly attacked by the savages, he returned disheartened to the coast, where he found that the Indians were prepared for a general rising against him, in a confederacy formed of the surrounding tribes, headed by a subtle chief called Pemisapan. In the meantime, however, the captive became attached to the English, warning them of the coming danger, and naming the day for the attack. Lane resolving to strike the first blow, suddenly assailed the Indians and dispersed them; afterwards at a parley he destroyed all the chiefs with disgraceful treachery. Henceforth the hatred of the savages to the English became intense, and they ceased to sow any of the lands near the settlement, with the view of starving their dangerous visitors.

The colonists were much embarrassed by the hostilities of the Indians; the time appointed by Raleigh and Greenville for sending them supplies had past; a heavy despondency fell upon their minds, and they began earnestly to wish for a means of returning home. But suddenly notice was given that a fleet of twenty-three sail was at hand, whether friendly or hostile no one could tell; to their great joy it proved to be the armament of Sir Francis Drake. Lane and his followers immediately availed themselves of this opportunity, and with the utmost haste, embarked for England, totally abandoning the settlement. A few days after this unworthy flight, a vessel of 100 tons amply provided with aid for the colony, arrived upon its deserted shores; the crew in vain searched the coast and neighbourhood for their fellow-countrymen, and then steered for England. A fortnight after Sir Richard Greenville arrived with three well-appointed ships and found a lonely desert where he had expected a flourishing colony: he also returned to England in deep disappointment, leaving, however, a small party to hold possession of the country till he should return with ampler resources.

The noble Raleigh was not discouraged by this unhappy complication of errors and disasters; he immediately dispatched another expedition, with three ships, under the command of John White. But a terrible sight presented itself on their arrival; the fort razed to the ground, the houses ruined and overgrown with grass, and a few scattered bones, told the fate of their countrymen. The little settlement had been assailed by 300 Indians, and all the colonists destroyed or driven into the interior, to an unknown fate. By an unfortunate error White attacked one of the few tribes that were friendly to the English, in the attempt to revenge the cruel massacre. After this unhappy exploit he was compelled by the discontent of his followers to return to England, for the purpose of procuring them supplies. From various delays it was not till 1590 that another expedition reached Virginia. But again silence and desolation reigned upon that fatal shore. The colony left by White had been destroyed like its predecessor. Raleigh at last abandoned the scheme of

settlement that had proved ruinously disastrous to him and all concerned, and the brave Sir Richard Greenville was soon after slain.

The interest of the public in Virginia remained suspended till the year 1602, when Captain Bartholomew Gosnold undertook a voyage thither and brought back such brilliant reports of the beauty and fertility of the country, that the dormant attention of the English towards this part of the world was again aroused. In 1606, Arundel, Lord Wardour, sent out a vessel under the command of Captain Weymouth, to make further discoveries; the report of this voyage more than confirmed that of the preceding.

The English nation were now at length prepared to make an efficient attempt to colonise the New World. In London, and at Plymouth and Bristol, the principal maritime cities of the kingdom, the scheme found numerous and ardent supporters. James I., however, only granted such powers to the adventurers as suited his own narrow and arbitrary views: he refused to sanction any sort of representative government in the colony, and vested all power in a council appointed by himself. Virginia was, about that time, divided somewhat capriciously into two parts; the southern portion was given to a merchant company of London, the northern, to a merchant company of Bristol and Plymouth.

The southern, or London Company, were the first to commence the work of colonisation with energy. On the 19th of December, 1606, they dispatched an expedition of three vessels, commanded by Captain Newport, comprising a number of people of rank and distinction. Among these was Captain John Smith, whose admirable qualities were afterwards so conspicuously and usefully displayed. The expedition met with such delays and difficulties that it was at one time on the point of returning to England. At length, however, they descried an unknown Cape, and soon afterwards entered Chesapeake Bay, where the beauty and fertility of the shores even surpassed their expectations. On first landing they met the determined hostility of the savages, but when the fleet proceeded to Cape Comfort, they there received a more friendly reception, and were invited ashore. The Indians spread their simple store of dainties before the strangers, smoked with them the calumet of peace, and entertained them with songs and dances. As the expedition moved higher up the Bay, where no English had been before seen, it met with a still more cordial welcome.

James Town was the first permanent English settlement established in America, although it has not since risen to very great importance. The site was chosen by this expedition about forty miles above the entrance upon the banks of James' River, where the emigrants at once proceeded to establish themselves. They suffered great distress from the commencement on account of the bad quality of the provisions, furnished under contract by Sir Thomas Smith, one of the leading members of the Company. Disease soon followed want, and in a short time fifty of the settlers died. Under these difficult circumstances the energy and ability of Captain John Smith pointed him out as the only person to command, and by the consent of all he was invested with absolute authority. He arranged the internal affairs of the colony as he best could, and then set out to collect supplies in the neighbouring country. The Indians met him with derision, and refused to trade with him; he therefore, urged by

nccessity, drove them away, and took possession of a village well stocked with provisions. The Indians soon returned in force and attacked him furiously, but were easily repulsed: after their defeat they opened a friendly intercourse, and furnished the required supplies. Smith made several further excursions. On returning to the colony he found that a conspiracy had been formed among his turbulent followers to break up the settlement and sail for England; this he managed to suppress, and soon again started to explore the country. In this expedition he rashly exposed himself unprotected to the assaults of the Indians, and was taken prisoner after a most gallant attempt at escape. He was led about in triumph for some time from village to village, and at length sentenced to die. His head was laid upon a stone, and the executioner stood over him with a club, awaiting the signal to slay, when Pocahontas, daughter of the Indian chief, implored her father's mercy for the white man. He was inexorable, and ordered the execution to proceed, but the generous girl laid her head upon that of the intended victim, and vowed that the death blow should strike her first. The savage chief, moved by his daughter's devotion, spared the prisoner's life. Smith was soon afterwards escorted in safety to James' Town, and given up on a small ransom being paid to the Indians.

Smith found on his arrival that the colonists were fitting out a pinnace to return to England. He with ready decision declared that the preparations should be discontinued immediately, or he would sink the little vessel. His prompt determination was successful, and the people agreed to remain. Through the generous kindness of Pocahontas supplies of provisions were furnished to the settlement, till the arrival of a vessel from England replenished its stores. Soon after his happy escape from the hands of the savages, Smith again started fearlessly upon an expedition to explore the remainder of Chesapeake Bay. He sailed in a small barge accompanied only by twelve men, and with this slender force completed a voyage of 3,000 miles along an unknown coast, among a fierce and generally hostile people, and depending on accident and his own ingenuity for supplies. During several years Pocahontas continued to visit the English, but her father was still hostile, and once endeavoured to surprise Smith and slay him in the woods, but again the generous Indian girl saved his life at the hazard of her own; in a dark night she ran for many miles through the forest, evading the vigilance of her fierce countrymen, and warned him of the threatened danger. An open war now ensued between the English and the Indians, and was continued with great mutual injury, till a worthy gentleman named Thomas Rolfe, deeply interested by the person and character of Pocahontas, made her his wife; a treaty was then concluded with the Indian chief, which was henceforth religiously observed.

The colony meanwhile proceeded with varied fortunes. The emigrants had been very badly selected for their task: 'poor gentlemen, tradesmen, serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoil a commonwealth than either to begin or maintain one.' These men were tempted into the undertaking by hopes of sudden wealth, and were altogether disinclined to even the slight labour of tilling that exuberant soil, when only a subsistence was to be their reward. In 1619 James commenced the system of transporting malefactors, by sending 100

'dissolute persons' to Virginia. These men were used as labourers, or rather slaves, but tended seriously to lower the character of the voluntary emigration. In 1625 only 1800 convicts remained alive out of 9000 who had been transported at a cost of 15,000*l*. The contracted and arbitrary system of the exclusive Company was felt as a great evil in the colony. This body was at length superseded by the forfeiture of its charter, and the Crown assumed the direction of affairs. Many years of alternate anarchy and tyranny followed. During the rebellion of Bacon in 1676, the most remarkable event in this early period of Virginian history, English troops were first introduced into the American colonies. Sir William Berkeley, who was appointed governor in 1642, visited the insurrectionists with a terrible vengeance, when the death of the leader, Bacon, left them defenceless. 'The old fool,' said Charles II. (with truth), 'has taken away more lives in that naked country than I for the murder of my father.' But though the complaints of the oppressed were heard in England with impartiality, and Berkeley was hunted to death by public opinion on his return there to defend himself, the permanent results of Bacon's rebellion were disastrous to Virginia; all the measures of reform which had been attempted during its brief success were held void, and every restrictive feature that had been introduced into legislation by the detested governor was perpetuated.

Among the first settlers in Virginia gold was the great object; it was everywhere eagerly sought, but in vain. Several ships were loaded with a sort of yellow clay, and sent to England under the belief that it contained the most precious of metals, but it was found to be utterly worthless. The colonists next turned their attention to the cultivation of tobacco; this speedily became so profitable that it was pursued even to the exclusion of all other industry.

There yet remains to be told one terrible incident in the earlier story of Virginia, an incident that resulted in the total destruction of the Indian race. The successor to the father of Pocahontas had conceived a deadly enmity against the English: this was embittered from day to day as he saw the hated white men multiplying and spreading over the hunting-grounds of his fathers. Then a fierce determination took possession of his savage heart. For years he matured his plans, and watched the favourable moment to crush every living stranger at a blow. He took all his people into counsel, and such was their fidelity, and so deep the wile of the Indian chief, that during four years of preparation, no warning reached the intended victims. To the last fatal moment a studied semblance of cordial friendship was observed; some Englishmen who had lost their way in the woods were kindly and carefully guided back again.

On Friday morning (March 22nd, 1622) the Indians came to the town in great numbers, bearing presents, and finding their way into every house. Suddenly the fierce shout of the savages broke the peaceful silence, and the death-shriek of their victims followed. In little more than a minute, three hundred and forty-seven, of all ages and sexes, were struck down in this horrid massacre. The warning of an Indian converted to Christianity saved James' Town; the surviving English assembled there, and began a war of extermination against the savages. By united force, superior arms, and, it must be added, by treachery as black as that

of their enemies, the white men soon swept away the Indian race for ever from the Virginian soil.

As has been before mentioned, the northern part of Virginia was bestowed by royal grant upon a Merchant Company of Plymouth, and other southern and western seaports. The first effort to take possession of the new territory was feeble and disastrous. Twenty-nine Englishmen and two Indians were sent out in a little bark of only fifty-five tons burthen; they were taken by the Spaniards off the coast of Hispaniola, who treated them with great cruelty. Some time after this ill-fated expedition had failed, another colony of 100 men, led by Captains Popham and Gilbert, settled on the river Sagahadock, and built a fort called by them St. George. They abandoned the settlement, however, the following year, and returned to England. The next project of British North American colonisation was set on foot by Captain John Smith, already so highly distinguished in transatlantic history. After much difficulty he effected the equipment of two vessels, and sailed for the Virginian shore, but, although successful as a trading speculation, the only permanent fruits of the voyage was a map of the coast, which he presented to Charles I. The king, always interested in maritime affairs, listened favourably to Smith's accounts of the New World, but proved either unable or unwilling to render him any useful assistance. The next year this brave adventurer again crossed the seas in a small vessel, containing only sixteen emigrants; the little expedition was captured by the French, and the leader with great difficulty effected his return to England.

Meanwhile, a man named Hunt, who had been left in charge of one of the ships in Smith's first expedition, committed an outrage upon the natives that led to deplorable results; he inveigled thirty of them on board, carried them suddenly away, and sold them into slavery. The savages rose against the next English party that landed upon their coast, and killed and wounded several in revenge. Captain Dormer, a prudent and conciliatory person, with one of the betrayed natives, was sent by the Company to explain to the furious Indians that Hunt's crime was the act of an individual, and not of the nation: this commission was well and wisely executed. For about two years Dormer frequently repeated his visits with advantage to his employers, but finally was attacked by strange savages, and wounded fatally.

But still through all these difficulties and disasters, adventurers pressed on to the fertile Western desert, allured by liberal grants of land from the chartered companies. The undefined limits of these concessions led to constant and mischievous quarrels among the settlers, often attended with violence and bloodshed; from these causes the early progress of the colony was very slow. One hundred and twenty years after England had discovered North America, she only possessed a few scattered fishing huts along the shore. But events were now at hand which at once stamped a peculiar character upon the colonisation of this part of the New World, and which were destined to exercise an influence upon the human race of an importance even yet incalculable.

CHAPTER X.

THE Protestant Reformation was eminently suited to the spirit of the English people, although forced upon them in the first instance by the absolute power of a capricious king, and unaccompanied by any acknowledgment of those rights of toleration and individual judgment upon which its strength seemed mainly to depend. The monarch, when constituted the head of the Church, exacted the same spiritual obedience from his subjects as they had formerly rendered to the Pope of Rome. Queen Elizabeth adopted her father's principles; she favoured the power of the hierarchy and the pomp and ceremony of external religious observances. But the English people, shocked by the horrors of Mary's reign, and terrified by the papal persecutions on the Continent, were generally inclined to favour the extremes of Calvinistic simplicity, as a supposed security against another reaction to the Romish faith. The stern and despotic Queen, encouraged by the councils of Archbishop Whitgift, assumed the groundless right of putting down the opinions of the Puritans by force. Various severities were exercised against those who held the obnoxious doctrines; but despite the storm of persecution the spirit of religious independence spread rapidly among the sturdy people of England. At length a statute was passed of a nature now almost incredible—secession from the Church was punishable by banishment, and by death in case of refusal on return.

The Puritans were thus driven to extremity. The followers of an enthusiastic seceder named Brown formed the first example of an independent system: each congregation was in itself a Church, and the spiritual power was wholly vested in its members. This sect was persecuted to the uttermost: the leader was imprisoned in no less than thirty-two different places, and many of his followers suffered death itself for conscience' sake. Some of the Brownists took refuge in Holland, but impelled by a longing for an independent home, or perhaps urged by the mysterious impulse of their great destiny, they cast their eyes upon that stern Western shore, where the untrodden wilderness offered them at least the 'freedom to worship God.' They applied to the London Company for a grant of land, declaring that they were 'weaned from the delicate milk of their native country, and knit together in a strict and sacred band; whom small things could not discourage, nor small discontents cause to wish themselves home again.' After some delay they accomplished their object; however, the only security they could obtain for religious independence was, a promise that as long as they demeaned themselves quietly, no inquiry should be made.

Much of the history of nations may be traced through the foundation and progress of their colonies. Each particular era has shown in the settlements of the time types of the several mother countries, examples of their systems and the results of their exigencies. At one time, this type is of an adventurous, at another of a religious character; now formed by political, again by social influences. The depth and durability of this impress may be measured by the strength of the first motives, and the genius of the people from whom the emigration flows. The ancient colonies of Asia Minor displayed the original characteristics of the mother

country long after her states had become utterly changed. The Roman settlements in Italy raised upon the ruins of a subjugated nation a fabric of civilisation and power that can never be forgotten. The proud and adventurous, but ruthless spirit that distinguished the Spanish nation at the time of their wonderful conquests in the New World, is still exhibited in the haughty tyranny of Cuba, and the sanguinary struggles of the South American Republics. The French Canadian of to-day retains most or many of the national sentiments of those who crossed the Atlantic to extend the power of France and of her proudest king. And still in that great Anglo-Saxon nation of the west, through the strife of democratic ambition, and amidst the toils and successes of an enormous commerce, we trace the foundations, overgrown perhaps, but all unshaken, of that edifice of civil and religious liberty which the Pilgrim Fathers raised with their untiring labour, and cemented with their blood.

The peculiar nature of the first New England emigration was the result of those strong tendencies of the British people, soon afterwards strengthened into a determination sufficiently powerful to sacrifice the monarch and subvert the Church and State.

The Brownists, or, as they are more happily called, the Pilgrim Fathers, set sail on the 12th of July, 1620, in two small vessels. There were in all 120 souls, with a moderate supply of provisions and goods. On the 9th of November they reached Cape Cod, after a rough voyage: they had been obliged to send one of their ships back to England. From ignorance of the coast, and from the lateness of the season, they could not find any very advantageous place of settlement: they finally fixed upon New Plymouth, where they landed on the 21st of December. During the remainder of the winter they suffered terribly from cold, want, and sickness: no more than fifty remained alive when spring came to mitigate their sufferings. The after progress of the little colony was, for some time, slow and painful. The system of common property had excited grievous discontent: this tended to create an aversion to labour that was to be productive of no more benefit to the industrious than to the idle; in a short time it became necessary to enforce a certain degree of exertion by the punishment of whipping. They intrusted all religious matters to the gifted among their brethren, and would not allow of the formation of any regular ministry. However, the unsuitableness of these systems to men subject to the usual impulses and weaknesses of human nature soon became obvious, and the first errors were gradually corrected. In the course of ten years the population reached to 300, and the settlement prospered considerably.

King James was not satisfied with the slow progress of American colonisation. In the same year that the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth he formed a new company under the title of the Grand Council of Plymouth, and appointed many people of rank and influence to its direction; little good, however, resulted from this step. Though the council itself was incapable of the generous project of planting colonies, it was ever ready to make sale of patents, which sales, owing to parliamentary opposition to their claims, soon became their only source of revenue. They sold to some gentlemen of Dorchester a belt of land stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and extending three miles south of the river Charles, and three miles north of *every* part of the

river Merrimac. Other associates in the enterprise were sought and found in and about London: Winthrop, Johnson, Pinchon, Eaton, Saltonstall, Bellingham, famous in colonial annals. Endicott, the first governor of the new colony, was one of the original purchasers of the patent. They were all kindred spirits, men of religious fervour, uniting the emotions of enthusiasm with unbending resolution in action.

The first winter brought to these colonists the usual privation, suffering, and death; but a now rapidly increasing emigration more than filled up the places of all casualties. From this period, many men of respectability and talent, especially ministers of the gospel, sought that religious freedom in America which was denied them at home. A general impulse was given among the commercial and industrious classes; vessels constantly crowded from the English ports across the Atlantic, till at length the court took the alarm. A proclamation was issued 'to restrain the disorderly transportation of his Majesty's subjects, because of the many idle and refractory humours, "whose only or principal end is to live beyond the reach of authority."' It has long been a popular story that eight emigrant ships were seized when on the point of sailing for America, and the passengers forced to land; among whom were John Hampden, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, and Oliver Cromwell. This tale has, however, been proved untrue by modern historians.

Notwithstanding these unjust and mischievous prohibitions, a considerable number of emigrants still found their way across the Atlantic. But when the outburst of popular indignation swept away all the barriers raised by a short-sighted tyranny against English freedom, many flocked back again to their native country to enjoy its newly-acquired liberty. The odious and iniquitous persecution of the Puritans resulted in a great benefit to the human race, and gave the first strong impulse to the spirit of resistance that ultimately overthrew oppression. It caused also the colonisation of New England to be effected by a class of men far superior in industry, energy, principle, and character to those who usually left their English homes to seek their fortunes in new countries. That religion, for which they had made so great a sacrifice, was the mainspring of all their social and political systems. They were, however, too blindly zealous to discriminate between the peculiar administration of a theocracy and the catholic and abiding principles of the gospel. If they did not openly profess that the judicial law of Moses was still in force, they at any rate openly practised its stern enactments.

The intolerance of these martyrs of intolerance is a sad example of human waywardness. In their little commonwealth, seceders from the established forms of faith were persecuted with an unholy zeal: imprisonment, banishment, and even death itself, were inflicted for that free exercise of religious opinions which the Pilgrim Fathers had sacrificed all earthly interests to win for themselves. In those dark days of fanatic faith or vicious scepticism, the softening influence of true Christianity was but little felt. The stern denunciations and terrible punishments of the Old Testament were more suited to the iron temper of the age than the gentle dispensations of the New—the fiery zeal of Joshua than the loving persuasiveness of St. John.

As the tenets of each successive sect rose into popularity and influenced the majority, they became state questions, distracted the church, and

threatened the very existence of the colony. The first schism that disturbed the peace of the settlements was raised by Roger Williams at Salem. This worthy and sincere enthusiast held many just and sound views among others that were wild and injurious; he stoutly upheld freedom of conscience, and inconveniently contested the right of the British crown to bestow Indian lands upon Englishmen. On the other hand he contrived to raise a storm of fanatic hatred against the red cross in the banner of St. George, which seriously disturbed the state, and led to violent writings and altercations. At length Williams was banished as a distractor of the public peace, but a popular uproar attended his departure, and the greater part of the inhabitants were with difficulty dissuaded from following him. He retired to Providence, Rhode Island, where a little colony soon settled round him, and he there lived and died in general esteem and regard.

The Antinomian sect shortly after excited a still more dangerous commotion in the colony. Mrs. Hutchinson, a Lincolnshire lady of great zeal and determination, joined by nearly the whole female population, adopted these views in the strongest manner. The ministers of the church, although decided Calvinists, and firmly opposed to the Romish doctrines of salvation by works, earnestly pressed the reformation of heart and conduct as a test of religion. Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers held that to inculcate any rule of life or manners was a crime against the Holy Spirit; in their actual deportment, however, it must be confessed that their bitterest enemies could not find grounds of censure. With the powerful advocacy of female zea, these doctrines spread rapidly, and the whole colony was soon divided between 'the covenant of works and the covenant of grace;' the ardour and obstinacy of the disputants being by no means proportioned to their full understanding of the point in dispute. Sir Harry Vane, whose rank and character had caused him to be elected governor in spite of his youth, zealously adopted Antinomian opinions, and in consequence was ejected from office by the opposite party at the ensuing election, Mrs. Hutchinson having failed to secure in the county districts that superiority which she possessed in the town of Boston. After some ineffectual efforts to reconcile the seceders to the church, the new governor and the ministers summoned a general synod of the colonial clergy to meet at Cambridge, where, after some very turbulent proceedings, the whole of the Antinomian doctrines were condemned.

As might have been supposed, this condemnation had but little effect. The obnoxious principles were preached as widely and zealously as before, till the civil authority resorted to the rude argument of force, banished Mr. Wheelwright, one of the leaders, with two of his followers, from the colony, and fined and disfranchised others. Mrs. Hutchinson was ultimately accused, condemned, and ordered to leave the colony in six months. Although she made a sort of recantation of her errors, her inexorable judges insisted in carrying out the sentence. The unhappy lady removed to Rhode Island, where her husband, through her influence, was elected governor, and where she was followed by many of her devoted adherents. Thus the persecutions in the old settlement of Massachusetts had the same effect as those in England,—of elevating a few stubborn recusants into the founders of states and nations. After

her husband's death Mrs. Hutchinson removed into a neighbouring Dutch settlement, where she and all her family met with a dreadful fate: they were surprised by the Indians, and every one destroyed.

Although by these violent and unjust punishments, and by disarming the disaffected, the Antinomian spirit was for a time put down, unity was by no means restored. Pride and the love of novelty continually gave birth to new sects. Ministers, who had possessed the highest reputation in England, saw with sorrow that their colonial churches were neglected for the sake of ignorant and mischievous enthusiasts. Even common profligates and rogues, when other lesser villanies had failed, assumed the hypocritical semblance of some peculiar religion, and enjoyed their day of popularity.

The Anabaptists next carried away the fickle affections of the multitude, and excited the enmity of their rulers. This schism first became perceptible by people leaving the church when the rites of baptism were being administered; but at length private meetings for worship were held, attended by large congregations. The magistrates, as usual, practised great severities against these seceders, first by fine, imprisonment, and even whipping; finally by banishment. The Anabaptists were, however, not put down by the arm of power, but were speedily forgotten in the sudden appearance of a stranger sect than any that had hitherto appeared even in New England.

The people called Quakers had lately made their appearance in the north of England; they soon found their way to America, where they were received with bitter hostility from the commencement. The dangerous enthusiasts, who first went forth to preach the doctrines of this strange sect were very different men from those who now command the respect and good-will of all classes, by their industry, benevolence, and love of order. The original propagandists believed that the divine government was still administered on earth by direct and special communication, as in the times chronicled by Holy Writ; they therefore despised and disregarded all human authorities. To actual force, indeed, they only opposed a passive resistance; and their patience and obstinacy in carrying out this principle must excite astonishment, if not admiration. But their language was most violent and abusive against all priests and ministers, governors and magistrates. The women of this novel persuasion were even more fanatic than the men. Several, leaving their husbands and children in England, crossed the seas to bear witness to their inspiration at Boston. They were, however, rudely received, their books burned, and themselves either imprisoned or scourged and banished. Nowise intimidated by these severities, several other women brought upon themselves the vengeance of the law by frantic and almost incredible demonstrations; and a man named Faubord endeavoured to sacrifice his first-born son under a supposed command from heaven.

The ministers and magistrates came to the conclusion that the colony could never enjoy peace while the Quakers continued among them. These sectarians were altogether unmanageable by the means of ordinary power or reason; they would neither pay fines nor work in prison, nor, when liberated, promise to amend their conduct. The government now enacted still more violent laws against them, one amongst others, rendering them liable to have their ears cut off for obstinacy; and yet

this strange fanaticism increased from day to day. At length the Quakers were banished from the colony, under the threat of death in case of return. They were, however, scarcely beyond the borders when a supposed inspiration prompted them to retrace their steps to Boston: scarcely had their absence been observed, when their solemn voices were again heard denouncing the city of their persecutors.

The horrible law decreeing the punishment of death against the Quakers had only been carried by a majority of thirteen to twelve in the Colonial Court of Deputies, and after a strong opposition; but, to the eternal disgrace of the local government, its atrocious provisions were carried into effect, and four of the unhappy fanatics were judicially murdered. The tidings of these executions filled England with horror. Even Charles II. was moved to interpose the royal power for the protection of at least the lives of the obnoxious sectarians. He issued a warrant on the 9th of September, 1661, absolutely prohibiting the punishment of death against Quakers, and directing that they should be sent to England for trial. In consequence of this interference no more executions took place, but other penalties were continued with unabated severity.

While the persecution of the Quakers and Anabaptists raged in New England, an important addition to the numbers of the colonists was gained; a large body of Nonconformists having fled across the Atlantic from a fresh assault commenced against their liberties by Charles II. This puritan emigration was regarded with great displeasure by the king; he speedily took an opportunity of arbitrarily depriving the colony of its charter, and sent out Sir Edmund Andros to administrate as absolute governor. The country soon felt painfully the despotic tyranny of their new ruler; and the establishment of an English Church with the usual ritual spread general consternation. When James ascended the throne a proclamation of tolerance somewhat allayed the fears of the settlers. But the administration of temporal affairs became ruinously oppressive: on the pretence that the titles of all land obtained under the old charter had become void by its abrogation, new and exorbitant fees were exacted, heavy and injudicious taxes arbitrarily imposed, and all right of representation denied to the colonists. At length in the year 1689 a man, named Winslow, brought from Virginia the joyful news of the Prince of Orange's proclamation; he was immediately arrested for treason, but the people rose tumultuously, imprisoned the governor, and re-established the authority of their old magistrates. On the 26th of May, a vessel arrived with the intelligence that William and Mary had been proclaimed in England. Although the new monarch declared himself favourably disposed towards the colonists, he did not restore their beloved charter. He, however, granted them a constitution nearly similar to that of the mother-country, which rendered the people of New England tolerably contented.

The colony was now fated to suffer from a delusion more frantic and insane than any it had hitherto admitted, and which comprised its very existence. The New Englanders had brought with them the belief in witchcraft prevalent among the early reformers, and the wild and savage wilderness where their lot was now cast, tended to deepen the impressions of superstition upon their minds. Two young girls, of the family of Mr.

Paris, minister of Salem, were suddenly afflicted with a singular complaint, probably of an hysterical character, which baffled the united skill of the neighbouring physicians; till one, more decided than the rest, declared that the sufferers were bewitched. From this time prayers and fasting were the remedies adopted, and the whole town of Salem at length joined in a day of humiliation. The patients, however, did not improve; till an Indian serving-woman denounced another, named Tituba, as the author of the evil. Mr. Paris assailed the accused, and tortured her in the view of extracting a confession of guilt, which she at length made, with many absurd particulars, hoping to appease her persecutor. From this time the mischievous folly spread wider; a respectable clergyman, Mr. Burroughs, was tried for witchcraft on the evidence of five women, and condemned to death, his only defence being, that he was accused of that which had no existence, and was impossible. New charges multiplied daily; the gaols of Salem were full of the accused, and prisoners were transferred to other towns, where the silly infection spread, and filled the whole colony with alarm.

Nothing could afford stronger proof of the hold which this sad delusion had taken of the popular mind, than the readiness so constantly displayed by the accused to confess the monstrous imputation, whose punishment was infamy and death. Many detailed long consultations held with Satan for the purpose of overthrowing the kingdom of heaven. In some cases these confessions were the result of distempered understandings; but generally they may be attributed to the hope of respite and ultimate reprieve, as none but the supposed impenitent sorcerers were executed. Thus, only the truthful and conscientious suffered from the effects of this odious insanity. Some among the wretched people who had confessed witchcraft showed a subsequent disposition to retract; a man named Samuel Wardmell, having solemnly recanted his former statement, was tried, condemned, and executed. Despite this terrible warning, a few others followed the conscientious but fatal example. Every one of the sufferers during this dreadful period, protested their innocence to the last. It seems difficult to discover any adequate motives for these atrocious and constant accusations. There is too much reason to believe that the confiscation of the condemned person's property, malice against the accused, a desire to excite the public mind, and gain the notice and favour of those in power, were generally the objects of the witnesses.

The evil at length attained such a frightful magnitude, that the firmest believers in witchcraft began to waver. In two months nineteen unhappy victims had been executed, eight more remained under sentence of death, 150 accused were still in prison, and there was no more room for the crowds daily brought in. No character or position was a shield against these absurd imputations; all lay at the mercy of a few mad or malignant beings. The first mitigation of the mischief was effected by the governor assembling the ministers to discuss whether what was called spectre evidence should be held sufficient for the condemnation of the accused. The assembly decided against that particular sort of evidence being conclusive; but at the same time exhorted the governor to persevere in the vigorous prosecution of witchcraft, 'according to the wholesome statutes of the English nation.' Public opinion, however, soon began to run strongly against these proceedings, and finally the governor took the

bold step of pardoning all those under sentence for witchcraft, throwing open all the prisons, and turning a deaf ear to every accusation (January, 1693). From that time the troubles of the afflicted were heard of no more. Those who had confessed, came forward to retract or disclaim their former statements, and the most active judges and persecutors publicly expressed contrition for the part they had taken in the fatal and almost incredible insanity. In the reaction that ensued, many urged strict inquiry into the fearful prejudices that had sacrificed innocent lives, but so general had been the crime, that it was deemed wisest to throw a veil of oblivion over the whole dreadful scene.

While the settlers of New England were distracted by their own madness and intolerance, they had to contend with great external difficulties from the animosity of the Indians. The native races in this part of the continent appear to have been in some respects superior to those dwelling by the shores of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lake. They acknowledged the absolute power of a Sachem or king, which gave a dangerous vigour and unity to their actions. They at first received the English with hospitality and kindness, and the colonists on their part, passed laws to protect not only the persons of the natives, but to insure them an equitable price for their lands. The narrowed limits of their hunting-grounds, however, and the rapid advance of the white men, soon began to alarm the Indians; when their jealousy was thus aroused, occasions of quarrel speedily presented themselves; the baneful influence of strong liquors, largely furnished in spite of the strictest prohibitions, increased their excitement. Some Englishmen were slain, the murderers were seized, tried, and executed by the colonial government, according to British law. These proceedings kindled a deep resentment among the savages, and led to measures of retaliation at their hands.

It has been an unfortunate feature of European settlement in America, that the border population, those most in contact with the natives, have been usually men of wild and desperate character, the tainted foam of the advancing tide of civilisation. These reckless adventurers were little scrupulous in their dealings with the simple savage, they utterly disregarded those rights which his weakness could not defend, and by intolerable provocation, excited him to a bloody but futile resistance. The Indians naturally confounded the whole English race with these contemptuous oppressors, and commenced a war that resulted in their own extermination. They did not face the English in the field, but hovered round the border, and, with sudden surprise, overwhelmed detached posts and settlements, in a horrible destruction. The astute colonists soon adopted the policy of forming alliances, and taking advantage of ancient enmities to stir up hostilities amongst them. By this means they accomplished the destruction of the warlike Pequods, their bitterest foes. Other enemies, however, soon came into the field, and at length, the original allies of the English, jealous of the encroaching power of the white strangers, also took arms against them. The Indian chiefs after a time began to adopt European tactics of war, and for many years kept the colony in alarm by their formidable attacks: they were, however, finally driven altogether from the field.

The New England settlers showed more sincerity than any other adventurers in endeavouring to accomplish their principal professed object of

colonisation, that of teaching Christianity to the Indians. They appointed zealous and pious ministers for the mission, and established a seminary for the education of the natives, whence some scholars were to be selected to preach the gospel among their savage countrymen. Great obstacles were encountered in this good work; the Indians showed a bigoted attachment to their own strange religious conceits, and their priests and conjurors used all their powerful influence against Christianity, denouncing in furious terms all who forsook their creed for the English God. Despite these difficulties a number of savages were induced to form themselves in villages, and lead a civilised and Christian life, under the guidance of ministers of their own race. In a few years thirty congregations of 'praying Indians,' their numbers amounting to 3000, were established in Massachusetts.

CHAPTER XI.

THE principal characteristics of that colonisation by which the vast republic of the west was formed, have been exhibited in the settlement of Virginia and Massachusetts. The other states were stamped with the impress of the two first, and in a great measure peopled from them. Rhode Island and the rest of the New England States were founded by those who had fled from the religious persecutions of Massachusetts, with the exception of Connecticut, which owes its origin chiefly to the spirit of adventure, and the search for unoccupied lands. The first settlers divided this last-named state among themselves, without the sanction of any authority, and then proceeded to form a constitution of unexampled liberality. They had to bear the chief burden in the Indian war, on account of their advanced and exposed position; but Connecticut prospered in spite of every obstacle. Several Puritans of distinction sought its shore from England. Charles II., on his restoration, granted a most liberal charter, and it continued to enjoy the benefits of complete self-government till Massachusetts was deprived of her charter by James II., when Connecticut shared the same fate. At the Revolution the younger state, more fortunate than her neighbour, was restored to all the privileges formerly enjoyed.

The states of New Hampshire and Maine were originally founded on loyalist and Church of England principles. Sir Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason, the most energetic member of the Council of Plymouth, undertook the colonisation of these districts, but their tyrannical and injudicious conduct stunted the growth of the infant colonies, and little progress was made till the religious dissensions of Boston swelled their population. Violent and even fatal dissensions, however, distracted this incongruous community, till the government of Massachusetts assumed the sway over it, and re-established order and prosperity. Gorges and Mason disputed for many years the rights of authority with the new rulers; nor was the question finally settled till Massachusetts was deprived of her charter, when a royal government was established in New Hampshire.

The important State of New York was founded under very different auspices from those of its neighbours. In 1609, Henry Hudson, while sail-

ing in the service of the Dutch East India Company, discovered the magnificent stream which now bears his name. A small colony was soon sent out from Holland to settle the new country, and a trading post established at the mouth of the river. Sir Samuel Argal, governor of Virginia, conceived that this foreign settlement trenched upon the rights granted by the English Crown to its subjects, and by a display of superior force constrained the Dutch colony to acknowledge British sovereignty; but this submission became a dead letter some years later, when large bodies of emigrants arrived from the Low Countries; the little trading post soon rose into a town, and a fort was erected for its defence. The site of this establishment was on the island of Manhattan; the founders called it New Amsterdam. When it fell into the possession of England, the name was changed to New York. Albany was next built, at some distance up the Hudson, as a post for the Indian trade, and thence a communication was opened for the first time with the Northern Indian confederacy of the Iroquois, or the Five Nations.

Charles II., from hatred to the Dutch, as well as from the desire of aggrandisement, renewed the claims of England upon the Hudson settlements, and in 1664 despatched an armanent of 300 men to enforce this claim. Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, was totally unprepared to resist the threatened attack, and after a short parley agreed to surrender. The settlers were, however, secured in property and person, and in the free exercise of their religion, and the greater part remained under their new rulers. In the long naval war subsequently carried on between England and Holland, the colony again passed for a time under the sway of the Dutch, but at the peace, was finally restored to Great Britain. James, then Duke of York, had received from his brother a grant of the district which now constitutes the State of New York. On assuming authority he appointed governors with arbitrary power; but the colonists, in assertion of their rights as Englishmen, stoutly resisted, and even sent home Dyer, the collector of customs, under the charge of high treason, for attempting to levy taxes without legal authority. The Duke judged it expedient to conciliate his sturdy transatlantic subjects, and yielded them a certain form of representative government; in 1682, Mr. Dongan was sent out with a commission to assemble a council of ten, and a house of assembly of eighteen popular deputies. The new governor soon rendered himself beloved and respected by all, although at first distrusted and disliked, as professing the Romish faith. New York was not allowed to enjoy these fortunate circumstances for any length of time; the capricious and arbitrary Duke on his accession to the crown, abrogated the colonial constitution: shortly afterwards the State was annexed to Massachusetts, the beloved governor recalled, and the despotic Andros established in his stead. At the first rumour of the Revolution of 1688, the inhabitants, led by a merchant of the name of Leisler, rose in arms, proclaimed William and Mary, and elected a house of representatives. The new monarch sent out a Colonel Slaughter as governor, whose authority was disputed by Leisler; however, the bold merchant was soon overcome, and with quick severity tried and executed. The English parliament, more considerate of his useful services, subsequently reversed his attainder and restored the forfeited estates to his family. With the view of aiding the resources and progress of the colony, 3000 German Protestants,

called Palatines, were subsequently conveyed to the banks of the Hudson, and subsisted for three years, at a great expense by England; these sober and industrious men proved a most valuable addition to the population.

New Jersey was formed from a part of the original territory of New York. Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret were the proprietors, by grant from James: they founded the new state with great judgment and liberality, establishing the power of self-government and taxation. The Duke of York, however, on the reconquest of the country from the Dutch, took the opportunity of abrogating the constitution: the colonists boldly appealed against this tyranny, and with such force, that the Duke was led to refer the question to the judgment of the learned and upright Sir William Jones, who gave it against him. James was obliged to acquiesce in this decision, till he ascended the throne, when he swept away all the rights of the colony, and annexed it, like its neighbours, to the government of Massachusetts. After the accession of William, New Jersey was entangled for ten years in a web of conflicting claims, but was finally established under its own independent legislature.

The state of Maryland was so named in honour of Henrietta Maria, the beautiful Queen of Charles I., to whose influence the early settlers were much indebted. Religious persecution in England drove forth the founders of the colony; but in this case the Protestants were the instigators, and the cruel laws of Queen Elizabeth's reign against the Roman Catholics were the instruments. Lord Baltimore, an Irish peer, and other men of distinction in the popish body, obtained from Charles I., as an asylum in the New World, a grant of that angle of Virginia lying on both sides of the River Chesapeake, a district rich in soil, genial in climate, and admirably situated for commerce. An expedition of 200 Roman Catholics, many among them men of good birth, was sent under Mr. Calvert, Lord Baltimore's brother, to take possession of this favoured tract. Their first care was to conciliate the Indians, in which they eminently succeeded. The natives were even prevailed upon to abandon their village and the cleared lands around to the strangers, and to remove themselves contentedly to another situation.

Maryland was most honourably distinguished in the earliest times by perfect freedom of religious opinion. Many members of the Church of England, as well as Roman Catholics, fled thither from the persecutions of the Puritans. The Baltimore family at first displayed great liberality and judgment in their rule; but, as they gained confidence from the secret support of the king to their cherished faith, their wise moderation seems to have diminished. However, the principal grievance brought against them was, that they had not provided by public funds for Church of England clergymen, as fully as for those of their own faith, although by far the larger portion of the population belonged to the flock of the former. The unsatisfactory state of morals, manners, and religion in the colony, was attributed to this neglect. At the Revolution, the inhabitants of Maryland rose with tumultuous zeal against their Roman Catholic lords, and published a manifesto in justification of their proceedings, accusing Lord Baltimore's government of intolerable tyranny. These statements, whether true or false, afforded King William an opportunity to assume the colonial power in his own hands, 1691, and to deprive the

Calverts of all rights over the country, except the receipt of some local taxes.

For a long time but few settlers had established themselves in that part of North America, now called Carolina; of these some were men who had fled from the persecutions of New England, and formed a little colony round Cape Fear; others were Virginians, attracted by the rich unoccupied lands. After the restoration of Charles, however, the energies of the British nation, no longer devoted to internal quarrels, turned into the fields of foreign and colonial adventure. Charles readily bestowed upon his followers vast tracts of an uncultivated wilderness which he had never seen; and Monk, Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Clarendon, Lords Berkeley and Ashley, Sir George Carteret, and a few others, were created absolute lords of the new province of Carolina. Great exertions were then made to attract settlers, immunity from prosecution from debt was secured to them for five years, and at the same time a liberal constitution was granted, with a popular house of assembly. The proprietors, anxious to perfect the work of colonisation, prevailed upon the celebrated Locke to draw up a system of government for the new state, which, however excellent in theory, proved practically a signal failure. The principal characteristic of the scheme was the establishment of an aristocracy with fantastic titles of nobility, who met with the deputies in a parliament, where, however, the council solely possessed the power of proposing new laws. The whole colonial body was subject to the court of proprietors in England, which was presided over by a chief called the Palatine, possessing nearly supreme power. The sturdy colonists neglected, or deferred for future consideration, every portion of this new constitution that appeared unsuitable to their conditions, alleging that its provisions were in violation of the promises that had induced them to adopt the country.

Carolina for a long time progressed but slowly. The colonists had no fixed religion, and their general morals and industry were very indifferent. They drew largely upon the resources of the proprietors, without giving any return, and when at length that supply was stopped they resorted to every idle and iniquitous mode of raising funds. They hunted the Indians and sold them as slaves to the West Indies, and their seaports became the resort of pirates. These atrocious and ruinous pursuits soon reduced them to a state of miserable poverty, and the baneful influence of a series of profligate governors completed the mischief. One of these, named Sette Sothel, was especially conspicuous for rapacity and injustice; his misrule at length goaded the people into insurrection, they seized him and were about to send him as a prisoner to England, but released him on a promise of renouncing the government and leaving the colony for a time. After these, and some other commotions, they succeeded in re-establishing their ancient charter in its original simplicity.

Carolina now began to improve rapidly from the influx of a large and valuable immigration. The religious freedom that had been secured under the old charter, was continued unrestricted even under Mr. Locke's complicated constitution. Many Puritans flocked in from Britain to seek refuge from the persecutions of Charles II., and by their steadiness and industry soon attained considerable wealth. New England had also furnished her share to the new settlement of useful and energetic men who had been expelled by her Calvinistic intolerance. But the narrow-minded

jealousy of the original emigrants soon interrupted the prosperity of the colony. Under the hypocritical plea of zeal for the Church of England, to which their conduct and morals were a scandal, they obtained, by violent means, a majority of one in the assembly, and expelled all dissenters from the legislature and government. They even passed a law to depose all sectarian clergy, and devote their churches to the services of the established religion. The oppressed dissenters appealed to the British Parliament for protection; in the year 1705, an address was voted to the queen by the House of Commons, declaring the injustice of these acts, but nothing was done to relieve the colony till in 1721, when the people rose in insurrection, established a provisional government, and prayed that the king, George I., would himself undertake their rule. He granted their petition, and soon afterwards purchased the rights of the proprietors.

In the year 1732 a plan was formed for relieving the distress then severely pressing upon England by colonising the territory, still remaining unoccupied, to the south of the Savannah. Twenty-three trustees, men of rank and influence, were appointed for this purpose, and the sum of 15,000*l.* was placed at their disposal by Parliament, and by voluntary subscription. With the aid of these funds about 500 people were forwarded to the new country, and some others went at their own expense. In honour of the reigning king, the name of Georgia was given to the new settlement. The lands were granted to the emigrants on conditions of military service, and a large proportion of them were selected from among the hardy Scottish Highlanders, and the veterans of some German regiments. Besides being the advance-guard of civilisation in the Indian country, the colony was threatened with the rival claims of the Spaniards in Florida, the boundaries of whose territory were very vague and uncertain. Happily for Georgia, Mr. Oglethorpe, the original founder of the settlement, succeeded in establishing a lasting friendship with the powerful Creek Indians, the natives of the country; but the Spaniards never ceased to alarm and threaten the colony, till British arms had won the whole Atlantic coast. Owing to this disadvantage, and still more to certain humane restrictions upon the Indian trade, no great influx of population took place until 1763, when peace restored confidence, and men and money were freely introduced from England.

One of the most important of the Great American States that declared their independence in 1783, was, with the exception of Georgia, the latest in its origin. Under the wise, and gentle influence of the founders, however, it progressed more rapidly than any other. When time and reflection had cooled the ardour and softened the fanaticism of the early Quakers, the sect attracted general and just admiration by the mild and persevering philanthrophy of its most distinguished members. The pure benevolence and patient courage of William Penn, was a tower of strength to this new creed; well born, and enjoying a competent fortune, he possessed the means as well as the will powerfully to aid in its advancement. He endured with patience, but with unflinching constancy, a continual series of legal persecutions and even the anger of his father, until the unspotted integrity of his life, and his practical wisdom, at length triumphed over prejudice and hostility, and he was allowed the privilege of pleading before the British Parliament in the cause of his oppressed brethren.

William Penn inherited from his father a claim against the government for 16,000*l.*, which King Charles gladly paid by assigning to him the territory in the New World, now called Pennsylvania in honour of the first proprietor. This was a large and fertile expanse of inland country, partly taken from New York, New Jersey, and Maryland. It was included between the 40th and 43rd degrees of latitude, and bounded on the east by the Delaware river. The enlightened and benevolent proprietor bestowed upon the new state a constitution that secured, as far as human ordinance was capable, freedom of faith, thought, and action. He formed some peculiar institutions for the promotion of peace and good-will among his brethren, and for the protection of the widow and the orphan. By his wise and just dealings with the Indians, he gained their important confidence and friendship: he sent commissioners to treat with them for the sale of their lands, and in the year 1682 met the assembled chiefs near the spot where Philadelphia now stands. The savages advanced to the place of meeting in great numbers, and in warlike guise, but as the approach of the English was announced, they laid aside their weapons and seated themselves in quiet groups around their chiefs. Penn came forward fearlessly with a few attendants, all unarmed, and in their usual grave and simple attire, in his hand he held a parchment on which were written the terms of the treaty. He then spoke in a few plain words of the friendship and justice that should rule the actions of all men, and guide him and them and their children's children. The Indians answered, that they would live in peace with him and his white brothers as long as the sun and moon shall endure. And in the Quaker's parchment and the Indians' promise was accomplished the peaceful conquest of that lovely wilderness, a conquest more complete, more secure and lasting, than any that the ruthless rigour of Cortes, or the stern valour of the Puritans had ever won.

The prosperity of Pennsylvania advanced with unexampled rapidity. The founder took out with him two thousand well-chosen emigrants, and a considerable number had preceded him to the new country. The orderly freedom that prevailed, and the perpetual peace with the Indians, gave a great advantage to this colony, emigration flowed thither more abundantly than to any other settlement, and thus, although of such recent origin, this state soon equalled the most successful of its older neighbours.

CHAPTER XII.

HAVING noticed the principal features of the origin and progress of the English colonies; the powerful and dangerous neighbours of the French settlements in the New World; it is now time to return to the course of Canadian history subsequent to the death of the illustrious founder of Quebec.

Monsieur de Montmagny succeeded Champlain as governor, and entered with zeal into his plans, but difficulties accumulated on all sides. Men and money were wanting, trade languished, and the Associated Company in France were daily becoming more indifferent to the success of the colony. Some few merchants and inhabitants of the outposts, indeed, were enriched by the profitable dealings of the fur trade, but their

suddenly acquired wealth excited the jealousy, rather than increased the general prosperity of the settlers. The work of religious institutions was alone pursued with vigour and success in those times of failure and discouragement. At Sillery, one league from Quebec, an establishment was founded for the instruction of the savages, and the diffusion of Christian light. The Hôtel Dieu owed its existence to the Duchesse d'Aiguillon two years afterwards, and the Convent of the Ursulines was founded by the pious and highborn Madame de la Peltrie.

The partial success and subsequent failure of Champlain and his Indian allies in their encounters with the Iroquois had emboldened these brave and politic savages; they now captured several canoes belonging to the Hurons, laden with furs, which that friendly people were conveying to Quebec. Montmagny's military force was too small to allow of his avenging this insult; he, however, zealously promoted an enterprise to build a fort and effect a settlement on the Island of Montreal which he fondly hoped would curb the audacity of his savage foes. The Associated Company would render no aid whatever to this important plan, but the religious zeal of the Abbé Olivier, overcame all difficulties. He obtained a grant of Montreal from the king, and dispatched the Sieur de Maisonneuve and others to take possession. On the 17th of May, 1641, the place destined for the settlement was consecrated by the Superior of the Jesuits.

At the same time the governor erected a fort at the entrance of the River Richelieu, then called the Iroquois; the workmen employed at this labour were constantly exposed to the harassing warfare of the Indians, but at length completely repulsed them. A garrison, such as could be spared from the scanty militia of the colony, was placed in the little stronghold for its defence. Although the minds of the fierce Iroquois were fixed upon the utter destruction of the French, and in their confident boastings they declared that they could drive the white men into the sea, they indicated from time to time a desire for peace. Montmagny was compelled by weakness, and the difficulties of his situation, to accept overtures which he could not but dread as insidious and treacherous, and he assumed an air of confidence which he by no means felt. His native allies were also eagerly anxious for the blessings of peace, and through their means an opportunity for opening negociations soon offered. The governor and the friendly native chiefs met the deputies of the Iroquois nation at Three Rivers to arrange the terms of the proposed treaty. After various orations, songs, dances, and exchanges of presents, peace was concluded to the satisfaction of both parties; and for the time at least, with apparent good faith, for the following winter, the French and their new allies joined together in the chase, and mixed fearlessly in friendly intercourse.

M. de Montmagny was superseded as governor of Canada by M. d'Ailleboust in the year 1647. He had proved himself a man of judgment, courage, and virtue, and had gained the love of the settlers and Indians, as well as the approval of the court. But in consequence of the governor of the American islands having recently refused to surrender office to a person appointed by the king, it was decreed that no one should hold the government of a colony for more than three years. M. d'Ailleboust was a man of ability and worth, and having held the com-

mand at Three Rivers for some time, was also experienced in colonial affairs, but he received no more support from home than his predecessor; and, despite his best efforts, New France continued to languish under his rule.

The colony, however, was now free from the scourge of savage hostility. The Indians turned their subtle craft and terrible energy to the chase instead of war. From the far distant hunting-grounds of the St. Maurice, and of the gloomy Saguenay, they crowded to Three Rivers and Tadoussac with the spoils of the forest animals. At those settlements the trade went briskly on, and many of the natives became domesticated among their white neighbours. The worthy priests were not slow to take advantage of this favourable opportunity; many of the hunters from the north, who were attracted to the French villages by the fur trade, were told the great tidings of redemption; and usually, when they returned the following year, they were accompanied by others, who desired with them to receive the rites of baptism.

The most numerous and pious of the proselytes were of the Huron tribe, an indolent and unwarlike race, against whom the bold and powerful Iroquois held deadly feud, which the existing peace only kept in abeyance till opportunity might arise for effective action. The little settlement of St. Joseph was the place where first an Indian congregation assembled for Christian worship; the Father Antoine Daniel was the pastor, the flock were of the Huron tribe. Faith in treaties and long-continued tranquillity had lulled this unhappy people into a fatal security, and all cautions were forgotten, when on the morning of the 4th of July, 1648, while the missionary was performing service, there suddenly arose a cry of terror that the Iroquois were at hand. None but old men, women, and children were in the village at the time; of this the crafty enemy were aware, they had crept silently through the woods and lain in ambush till morning gave them light for the foul massacre. No one of the inhabitants escaped, and last of all the good priest was likewise slain.

During this year the first communication passed between the French and British North American colonies. An envoy arrived at Quebec from New England, bearing proposals for a lasting peace with Canada, not to be interrupted even by the wars of the mother countries. M. d'Ailleboust gladly entertained the wise proposition, and sent a deputy to Boston with full powers to treat, providing only that the English would consent to aid him against the Iroquois. But the cautious Puritans would not compromise themselves by this stipulation. They were sufficiently remote from the fierce and formidable savages of the Five Nations to be free from present apprehension, and to their steady and industrious habits the plough was more suitable than the sword. The negociation, therefore, totally failed; which was probably of little consequence, for it is difficult to perceive how these remote and feeble colonies could have preserved a neutrality in the contentions of England and France, which was impossible even to powerful states.

After a treacherous calm of some six months' duration, the unhappy Hurons again relapsed into a fatal security; the terrible lessons of the past were forgotten in the apparent tranquillity of the present. Watch and ward were relaxed, and again they lay at the mercy of their ruthless

enemies. When least expected, 1000 Iroquois warriors started up from the thick coverts of a neighbouring forest, and fell fiercely upon the defenceless Hurons, burnt two of their villages, exterminated the inhabitants, and put two French missionaries to death with horrible tortures. Then the remnant of the defeated tribe despaired; the alliance of the French had only embittered the hostility of their enemies, without affording protection; therefore they arose and deserted their villages and hunting-grounds, wandering away, some into the northern forests, others as suppliants among neighbouring nations.

The greater body of the Hurons, however, attached themselves to the fortunes of the missionaries, and under them formed a settlement on the island of St. Joseph, but they neglected to cultivate the land. As the autumn advanced, the resources of the chase became exhausted, and the horrors of famine commenced. They were shortly reduced to the most dreadful extremities of suffering; every direst expedient that starvation could prompt and despair execute, was resorted to for a few days' prolonging of life. Then came the scourge of contagious fever, sweeping numbers away with desolating fury. While these terrible calamities raged among the Hurons, the Iroquois seized the opportunity of again invading them. The village of St. John, containing nearly 3000 souls, was the first point of attack. The feeble inhabitants offered no resistance, and, with their missionary, were totally destroyed. Most of the remnant of this unhappy tribe then took the resolution of presenting themselves to their conquerors, and were received into the Iroquois nation. The few who still remained wandering in the forests were hunted down like wolves, and soon exterminated.

The terror of the Iroquois name now spread rapidly along the shores of the great lakes and rivers of the north. The fertile banks of the Ottawa, once the dwelling-place of numerous and powerful tribes, became suddenly deserted, and no one could tell whither the inhabitants had fled.

About this time was introduced among the Montagnez and the other tribes of the Saguenay country, an evil more destructive than even the tomahawk of the Iroquois—the 'accursed fire-water;' despite the most earnest efforts of the governor, the fur traders at Tadoussac supplied the Indians with this fatal luxury. In a short time intoxication, and its dreadful consequences, became so frequent, that the native chiefs prayed the governor to imprison all drunkards. At Three Rivers, however, the wise precautions of the authorities preserved the infant settlement from this calamity.

In the year 1650, M. d'Ailleboust was worthily succeeded by M. de Lauson, one of the principals of the Associated Company. The new governor found affairs in a very discouraging condition, the colony rapidly declining, and the Iroquois, flushed by their sanguinary triumphs, more audacious than ever. These savages intruded fearlessly among the French settlements, despising forts and entrenchments, and insulting the inhabitants with impunity. The island of Montreal suffered so much from their incursions, that M. Maisonneuve, the governor, was obliged to repair to France to seek succours, for which he had vainly applied by letter. He returned in the year 1653, with a timely reinforcement of 100 men.

Although the Iroquois had now overcome or destroyed all their native

enemies, and proved their strength even against the Europeans, some of their tribes were more than ever disposed to a union with the white men. The Onnontagués dispatched an embassy to Quebec to request that the governor would send a colony of Frenchmen among them; he readily acceded to the proposition, and fifty men were chosen for the establishment, with the Sieur Dupuys for their commander. Four missionaries were appointed to found the first Iroquois church, and to supply temporal wants, provisions for a year, and sufficient seed to sow the lands about to be appropriated, were sent with the expedition. This design excited the jealousy of the other Iroquois tribes; the Agniers even tried to intercept the colonists with a force of 400 warriors; they, however, only succeeded in pillaging a few of the canoes that had fallen behind. The same war-party soon after made an onslaught upon ninety Hurons, working on the Isle of Orleans under French protection, slew six, and carried off the rest into captivity. As they passed before Quebec they made their unhappy prisoners sing aloud, insultingly attracting the attention of the garrison. The marauders were not pursued; they dragged the prisoners to their villages, burned the chiefs, and condemned the rest to cruel bondage. M. de Lauson can hardly be excused for thus suffering his allies to be torn from under his protection without an effort to save them from their merciless enemies. These unfortunates had been converted to Christianity, which increased the rage and ferocity of the captors against them. One brave chief, whose tortures had been prolonged for three days, as a worshipper of the God of the white men, bore himself faithfully to the last, and died with the Saviour's name upon his quivering lip.

In the meantime the expedition to the country of the Onnontagués suffered great privations, and only escaped starvation by the generosity of the natives. Their spiritual mission was, however, at first eminently successful, the whole nation seeming disposed to adopt the Christian faith. But the allied tribes having carried their insolence to an intolerable degree, and massacred three Frenchmen near Montreal, the commandant at Quebec seized all the Iroquois within his reach, and demanded redress.

The answer of the haughty savages was, to prepare for war. Dupuys and his little colony were now in a most perilous position; there was no hope of aid from Quebec, and but little chance of being able to escape from among their dangerous neighbours. They laboured diligently and secretly to construct a sufficient number of canoes to carry them away in case some happy opportunity might arise, and found means to warn the people of Quebec of the coming danger. By great industry and skill the canoes were completed, and stored with the necessary provisions. Through an ingenious stratagem the French escaped in safety while the savages slept soundly after one of their solemn feasts. In fifteen days the fugitives arrived at Montreal, where they found alarm on every countenance. The Iroquois swarmed over the island, and committed great disorders, although still professing a treacherous peace. The savages soon, however, threw off the mask, and broke into open war.

On the 11th July, 1658, the Viscomte d'Argenson landed at Quebec as governor. The next morning the cry 'to arms' echoed through the town. The Iroquois had made a sudden onslaught upon some Algonquins under the very guns of the fortress, and massacred them without

mercy. Two hundred men were instantly dispatched to avenge this insult, but they could not overtake the wily marauders. In the same year, however, a party of the Agniers met with a severe check in a treacherous attempt to surprise Three Rivers; the lesson was not lost, and the colony for some time enjoyed a much-needed repose. The missionaries seized this interval of tranquillity to recommence their sacred labours; they penetrated into many remote districts where Europeans had never before reached, and discovered several routes to the dreary shores of Hudson's Bay. In the year 1659 the exemplary François de Laval, Abbé de Montigny, arrived at Quebec to preside over the Canadian Church as the first American bishop.

The temporal affairs of the colony were falling into a lamentable condition, no supplies arrived from France, and the local production was far from sufficient. Terror of the Indians kept the settlers almost blockaded in the forts, and cultivation was necessarily neglected. It was proposed by many that all the settlements should be abandoned, and that they should again seek the peaceful shores of their native country. Many individuals were massacred by the savages, and two armed parties, one of thirty and the other of twenty-six men, were totally destroyed. But some of the Indians, too, began to weary of this murderous war, and to long again for Christian instruction and peaceful commerce. The new governor was at first little inclined to negociate with his fierce and capricious enemies, but influenced by the miserable state of the colony which even a brief truce might improve, he at length agreed to an exchange of prisoners, and a peace.

In 1662, the King of France was at last induced to hearken to the prayers of his Canadian subjects; M. de Monts was sent out to inquire into the condition of the country, and 400 troops added to the strength of the garrison. But these encouraging circumstances were more than neutralised on account of the permission then granted by the new governor, Baron d'Avaugour, for the sale of ardent spirits. The disorder soon rose to a lamentable height, and the clergy in vain opposed their utmost influence to its pernicious progress. At length the worthy bishop hastened to France, and represented to the king the dreadful evil that afflicted the colony; his remonstrances were effectual; he succeeded in obtaining such powers as he deemed necessary to stop the ruinous commerce.

The year 1663 was rendered memorable by a tremendous earthquake, spoken of in a preceding chapter. In the same year the Associated Company remitted to the crown all their rights over New France, which the king again transferred to the West India Company. Courts of Law were for the first time established, and many families of valuable settlers found their way to the colony. Up to this period extreme simplicity and honesty seems to have prevailed in the little community, and it was not till then that a council of state was appointed by the crown to co-operate with the governor in the conduct of affairs. The king sent out the Sieur Gaudais to inquire into the state of his newly-acquired dependency, and to investigate certain complaints preferred against the Baron d'Avaugour, who had himself prayed to be recalled. The Sieur performed his invidious task to the satisfaction of all parties; he made valuable reports as to the general character of the colonial clergy, of the advantages and disadvan-

tages of the local administration of government, and imputed no fault to the Baron d'Avaugour, but a somewhat too rigid and stern adherence to the letter of the law, and the severity of justice. The Baron then joyfully returned to France, but soon afterwards fell in the defence of the fort of Serin against the Turks, while, with the permission of the French king, serving the Emperor.

M. de Mésy succeeded as governor, upon the recommendation of the bishop of Canada, whose complaints on the subject of the sale of spirituous liquors had been the principal cause of the Baron d'Avaugour's recall. The new appointment proved far from satisfactory to those by whose influence it was made. M. de Mésy at once raised up a host of enemies by his haughty and despotic bearing; he thwarted the Jesuits to the utmost extent of his power, the council supported them, alleging that their influence over the native race was essential to the well-being of the colony. Various representations of these matters were made to the court of France, and the final result was, that the governor was recalled.

Alexandre de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy, was next appointed viceroy in America by the king, with ample powers to establish, destroy, or alter the institutions of the Canadian colony. Daniel de Remi, Seigneur de Courcelles, the new governor, and M. Talon, the intendant, were conjoined with the viceroy in a commission to examine into the charges against M. de Mésy. M. de Tracy was the first to arrive at Quebec; he bore with him the welcome reinforcement of some companies of the veteran regiment of Carignan-Salières. He sent a portion of this force at once against the Iroquois, accompanied by the allied savages; the country was speedily cleared of every enemy, and the harvest gathered in security. The remaining part of the regiment arrived soon after with the viceroy's colleagues; a large number of families, artisans, and labourers; the first horses that had ever been sent to New France; cattle, sheep; and, in short, a far more complete colony than that which they came to aid.

Being now established in security, and confident in strength, the viceroy led a sufficient force to the mouth of Richelieu River, where he erected three forts to overawe the turbulent Iroquois. These works were rapidly and skilfully executed, and for a time answered their purpose; but the wily savages soon perceived that there were other routes by which they could enter the settlements. In the meantime M. Talon remained at Quebec, collecting much valuable information concerning the country and its native inhabitants. He was spared, however, the task of inquiring into the conduct of M. de Mésy, for that gentleman died before the news of his recall reached Canada.

Towards the end of December, 1665, three tribes of the Iroquois nation dispatched envoys to the viceroy of Quebec, with proposals for peace, and for an exchange of prisoners. The terms were readily complied with; M. de Tracy received the Indians with politic kindness and attention, and sent them back with valuable presents. But the formidable tribes of the Agniers and Onneyouths still kept sullenly apart from the French alliance; it was, therefore, determined to give them a severe lesson for their former insolence and treachery, and make them feel the supremacy of France. M. de Courcelles and M. de Sorel were sent with two corps to humble the haughty savages. The hostile Indians alarmed at the preparations for their destruction, now sent deputies to Quebec to avert the threatening

storm, although some of their war parties still infested the settlements, and had lately put to death three French officers, amongst them M. de Chasy, the viceroy's nephew. One of the Indian deputies boasted at M. de Tracy's table that he had slain the French officers with his own hands; he was immediately seized and strangled, and the negociations broken off.

The two French expeditions found the hostile country altogether deserted, and returned without effecting anything, having suffered great fatigue and hardship. M. de Tracy then took the field in person, at the head of 1200 French, and 600 friendly Indians, with two pieces of cannon. As he was setting out on the march, chiefs again came from the Agniers and Onneyouths to pray for peace, but he would hear of no accommodation, and even imprisoned the deputies. The French army marched on the 14th of September, 1666; provisions soon failed in the solitary desert through which they had to pass; in their greatest necessity, however, they entered a wood abounding in chesnut trees, whose fruit supplied them with sustenance till they gained the first village of the enemy. The warriors had abandoned the old men, women, and children, and ample stores of food, and retired through the forest. The French found the Indian cabins larger and better than any they had seen elsewhere, and in ingeniously contrived magazines, sunk under the ground, sufficient grain was discovered to supply the whole colony for two years. The invaders burnt and utterly destroyed all the villages, and carried away, as captives, all the inhabitants that remained, but they could not succeed in overtaking the warriors to force them to action. They then retraced their steps, strengthening the settlements on the river St. Lawrence as they passed; when M. de Tracy reached Quebec, he caused some of the prisoners to be put to death as a warning, and dismissed the remainder. Having established the authority of the West India Company instead of that of 'The Hundred Associates,' he returned to France the following spring.

The humiliation of the Iroquois restored profound peace to New France. Then the wisdom and energy of M. Talon were directed to the development of the resources of the country. Scientific men were sent to examine the mineral resources of several districts where promising indications had been observed. The clearing of land proceeded rapidly, and invariably discovered a rich and productive soil. The population increased in numbers, and enjoyed abundant plenty; all were in a condition to live in comfort. According to the perhaps partial authority of the Jesuit missionaries, the progress in morality and attention to religious observances kept pace with the temporal prosperity of this happy colony.

Although M. de Courcelles showed little activity in conducting the internal government of the colony, which was principally directed by M. Talon, he was highly energetic and vigorous in his relations with the Indians. Having learnt that the Iroquois were intriguing with the Ottawas to direct their fur trade to the English colonies, thus probably to ruin the commerce of New France, he resolved to visit the Iroquois, and impress them with an idea of his power. For this purpose he took the route of the deep and rapid St. Lawrence, making his way in bateaux for 130 miles above Montreal. His health, however, suffered so much in this difficult expedition, that he was obliged to demand his recall.

On his return to Quebec he found that several atrocious murders and robberies had been committed upon Iroquois and Mahingan Indians by Frenchmen, which filled the savages with indignation, and roused them to a fury of revenge. They attacked and burnt a house in open day, and a woman perished in the flames. Numbers of the two injured nations and their savage allies hovered round Montreal, awaiting an opportunity for vengeance. M. de Courcelles, with his wonted vigour in emergencies, hastened to the threatened settlement, and called upon the Indian chiefs to hold parley. They assembled, and hearkened with attention while he enumerated the advantages that both parties derived from the existing peace. He then caused those among the murderers who had been convicted of the crime to be led out and executed on the spot. The Indians were at once appeased by this prompt administration of justice, and even lamented over the malefactors' wretched fate; they were also fully indemnified for the stolen property. The assembly then broke up with mutual satisfaction.

But soon again the repose of the country was threatened by the Iroquois and Ottawas, who had begun to make incursions upon each other. M. de Courcelles promptly interfered to quell this growing animosity, declaring that he would punish with the greatest severity either party that would not submit to reasonable conditions; he required them to send deputies to state their wrongs, and the grounds of dispute, and took upon himself to do justice to both parties. He was obeyed: the chiefs of the contending tribes repaired to Quebec, and by the firmness and judgment of the governor, the breach was healed, and peace secured.

At this time a scourge more terrible than even savage war, visited the red race of Canada. The small-pox first appeared among the northern tribe of the Attikamegues, and swept them totally away: many of their neighbours shared the same fate. Tadoussac, where 1200 Indians usually assembled to barter their rich furs at the end of the hunting season, was deserted. Three Rivers, once crowded with the friendly Algonquins, was now never visited by a red man, and a few years after the frightful plague first appeared, the settlement of Sillery near Quebec was attacked, 1500 savages took the fatal contagion and not one survived. The Hurons, who had been always most intimately associated with the French, suffered least among the native nations from the malady. In 1670 Father Chaumonat assembled the remnant of this once-powerful tribe in the neighbourhood of Quebec, and established them in the village of Lorette, where a mixed race of their descendants remains to this day.

Even the presence of the dreadful infliction of the small-pox and the fear of French power could not long restrain the savage impulse for war. The most distant tribe of the Iroquois became engaged in a sanguinary quarrel with a neighbouring nation, and took a number of prisoners. The governor immediately sent to warn these turbulent savages that if they did not desist from war, and return their prisoners, he would destroy their villages as he had those of the Agniers. This peremptory message raised the indignation of the Iroquois, they at first proudly disclaimed the right of the French to dictate to the free people of the forest, and vowed that they would perish rather than bow down to the strangers' will: but finally the wisdom of the old men prevailed in the council, they knew that they were not prepared to meet the power of the Europeans; it was therefore

decided that they should send a portion of their prisoners to the governor. He either believed, or pretended to believe, that they had fully complied with his demands, deeming it prudent not to drive the Indians to extremities.

CHAPTER XIII.

TAKING advantage of the profound peace which now blessed New France, M. Talon, the intendant, dispatched an experienced traveller named Nicholas Perrot to the distant northern and western tribes, for the purpose of inducing them to fix a meeting at some convenient place with a view of discussing the rights of the French Crown. This bold adventurer penetrated among the nations dwelling by the great lakes, and with admirable address induced them all to send deputies to the falls of St. Mary, where the waters of Lake Superior pour into Lake Huron. The Sieur de St. Lusson met the assembled Indian chiefs at this place in May, 1671; he persuaded them to acknowledge the sovereignty of his king, and erected a cross bearing the arms of France.

M. de Courcelles was succeeded by the able and chivalrous Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac; the new governor was a soldier of high rank, and a trusty follower of the great Henry of Navarre; his many high qualities were however obscured by a capricious and despotic temper. His plans for the advancement of the colony were bold and judicious, his representations to the government of France fearless and effectual, his personal conduct and piety unimpeachable, but he exhibited a bitterness and asperity to those who did not enter into his views, little suited to the better points of his character, and it is said that ambition and the love of authority at times overcame his zeal for the public good.

M. Talon, the intendant, was at this time recalled by his own wish, but before he departed from the scenes of his useful labours, he planned a scheme of exploration more extensive than any that had yet been accomplished in New France. From the rumours and traditions among the savages of the far west, with which the meeting at St. Mary's had made the French acquainted, it was believed that to the south-west of New France there flowed a vast river, called by the natives Mechasèpè, or Mississippi, whose course was neither towards the great lakes to the north, nor the Atlantic to the east. It was therefore surmised that this unknown flood must pour its waters either into the Gulf of Mexico or the Pacific Ocean. The wise intendant was impressed with the importance of possessing a channel of navigation to the waters of the south and west, and before his departure from America made arrangements to have the course of the mysterious stream explored. He intrusted the arduous duty to Father Marquette, a pious priest, who was experienced in Indian travel, and an adventurous and able merchant of Quebec named Jolyet. The Comte de Frontenac gave hearty aid to this expedition, and in the meantime he himself extended the line of French settlement to the shores of Lake Ontario, built there the fort that still bears his name, and opened communication with the numerous tribes westward of the Alleghany Mountains.

The exploring party, led by Marquette and Jolyet, consisted of only

six men, in two little bark canoes: at the very outset the Indians of the lakes told them that great and terrible dangers would beset their path, and recounted strange tales of supernatural difficulties and perils for those who had ventured to explore the mysterious regions of the west. Hearkening carefully to whatever useful information the natives could bestow, but despising their timid warnings, these adventurous men hastened on over the great lakes to the north-western extremity of the deep and stormy Michigan, now called Green Bay. Numerous Indian tribes wandered over the surrounding country, among others the Miamis, the most civilised and intelligent of the native race that they had yet seen. Two hunters of this nation undertook to guide the expedition to one of the tributaries of the great river of which they were in search. The French were struck with wonder at the vast prairies that lay around their route on every side, monotonous and apparently boundless as the ocean.

The Fox river was the stream to which the Miamis first led them; although it was broad at its entrance into the lake, the upper portion was divided by marshes into a labyrinth of narrow channels; as they passed up the river the wild oats grew so thickly in the water that the adventurers appeared to row through fields of corn. After a portage of a mile and a half they launched their canoes in the Wisconsin river, a tributary of the Mississippi, and the guides left them to find their way into the unknown solitudes of the west. Their voyage down the tributary was easy and prosperous, and at length, to their great joy, they reached the magnificent stream of the Mississippi. The banks were rich and beautiful, the trees the loftiest they had yet seen, and wild bulls and other animals roamed in vast herds over the flowery meadows.

For more than 200 miles Marquette and his companions continued their course through verdant and majestic solitudes, where no sign of human life appeared. At length the foot-prints of men rejoiced their sight, and, by following up the tract, they arrived at a cluster of inhabited villages, where they were kindly and hospitably received. Their hosts called themselves Illinois, which means 'men' in the native tongue, and is designed to express their supposed superiority over their neighbours. Marquette considered them the most civilised of the native American nations.

Neither fear for the future nor the enjoyment of present comfort could damp the ardour of the French adventurers; they soon again launched their little canoes on the Father of Waters, and followed the course of the stream. They passed a number of bold rocks that rose straight up from the water's edge: on one of these, strange monsters were curiously painted in brilliant colours. Soon after they came to the place where the great Missouri pours its turbid and noisy flood into the Mississippi; and next they reached a lofty range of cliffs, that stretched nearly across from bank to bank, breasting the mighty stream. With great difficulty and danger they guided their little canoes through these turbulent waters. They passed the entrance of the Ohio, and were again astonished at the vast size of the tributaries which fed the flood of the mysterious river. The inhabitants of the villages on the banks accepted the calumet of peace, and held friendly intercourse with the adventurers; and although, after passing the mouth of the Arkansas river, a proposition was made in the council of one tribe to slay and rob them, the chief indignantly overruled the cruel suggestion, and presented them with the sacred pipe.

At the village where they were threatened with this great danger they were inaccurately informed that the sea was only distant five days' voyage. From this the travellers concluded that the waters of the Mississippi poured into the Gulf of Mexico, and not, as they had fondly hoped, into the Pacific Ocean. Fearing, therefore, that by venturing further they might fall into the hands of the Spaniards, and lose all the fruits of their toils and dangers, they determined to reascend the stream, and return to Canada. After a long and dreary voyage they reached Chicago, on Lake Michigan, where the adventurers separated. Father Marquette remained among the friendly Miamis, and Jolyet hastened to Quebec to announce their discoveries. Unfortunately their enlightened patron, M. Talon, had already departed for France.

There chanced, however, to be at Quebec at that time a young Frenchman, of some birth and fortune, named Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle, ambitious, brave, and energetic. He had emigrated to America with a hope of gaining fame and wealth in the untrodden paths of a new world. The first project that occupied his active mind was the discovery of a route to China and Japan, by the unexplored regions of the west of Canada. The information brought by Jolyet to Quebec excited his sanguine expectations. Impressed with the strange idea that the Missouri would lead to the Northern Ocean, he determined to explore its course, and, having gained the sanction of the governor, sailed for France to seek the means of fitting out an expedition. In this he succeeded by the favour of the Prince of Conti. The Chevalier de Tonti, a brave officer, who had lost an arm in the Sicilian wars, was associated with him in the enterprise.

On the 14th of July 1678, la Salle and Tonti embarked at Rochelle with thirty men, and in two months arrived at Quebec. They took Father Hennepin with them, and hastened on to the great lakes, where they spent two years in raising forts and building vessels of forty or fifty tons burthen, and carrying on the fur trade with the natives. The party then pushed forward to the extremity of Michigan. Their friendly relations with the Indians were here interrupted by a party of the Outagamis having robbed them of a coat. The French held a council to devise means of deterring the savages from such depredations, and it was somewhat hastily determined to demand restitution of the coat under the threat of putting the offending chief to death. The Outagamis having divided the stolen garment into a number of small pieces for general distribution, found it impossible to comply with this requisition, and thinking that no resource remained, presented themselves to the French in battle array. However, through the wise mediation of Father Hennepin, the quarrel was arranged, and a good understanding restored.

La Salle now set out with a party of forty-four men and three Recollets, to pursue his cherished object of exploring the course of the Mississippi. He descended the stream of the Illinois, and was charmed with the beauty and fertility of the banks; large villages rose on each side; the first, containing 500 wooden huts, they found deserted, but in descending the river they suddenly perceived that two large bodies of Indians were assembled on opposite banks, in order of battle. After a parley, however, the Indians presented the calumet of peace, and entertained the strangers at a great feast.

The discontents among his own followers proved far more dangerous

to la Salle than the caprice or hostility of the savages. They murmured at being led into unknown regions, among barbarous tribes, to gratify the ambition of an adventurer, and determined to destroy him and return to France. They were base enough to tell the natives that la Salle was a spy of the Iroquois, their ancient enemies, and it required all his genius and courage to remove this idea from the minds of the ignorant savages. Failing in this scheme, they endeavoured to poison him and all his faithful adherents at a Christmas dinner; by the use of timely remedies, however, the intended victims recovered, and the villains having fled, were in vain pursued over the trackless deserts.

La Salle was obliged to return to the forts for aid, on account of the desertion of so many of his followers, but he sent Father Hennepin with Dacan and three other Frenchmen, to explore the sources of the Mississippi, and left Tonti in the command of a small fort, erected on the Illinois, which he, however, was soon obliged to desert, in consequence of the hostility of the Iroquois. La Salle collected twenty men, with the necessary arms and provisions, and unshaken by accumulated disasters determined at once to make his way to the Gulf of Mexico down the course of the Mississippi. He passed the entrance of the swollen and muddy Missouri, and the beautiful Ohio, and still descending, traversed countries where dwelt the numerous and friendly Chickasaw and Arkansaw Indians. Next he came to the Taencas, a people far advanced beyond their savage neighbours in civilisation, and obeying an absolute prince. Farther on the Natchez received him with hospitality, but the Quinipissas, who inhabited the shores more to the south, assailed him with showers of arrows; he wisely pursued his important journey without seeking to avenge the insult. Tangibao, still lower down the stream, had just been desolated by one of the terrible irruptions of savage war; the bodies of the dead lay piled in heaps among the ruins of their former habitations. For leagues beyond, the channel began to widen, and at length became so vast that one shore was no longer visible from the other. The water was now brackish, and beautiful sea-shells were seen strewn along the shore. They had reached the mouth of the Mississippi, the Father of Rivers.

La Salle celebrated the successful end of his adventurous voyage with great rejoicings. Te Deum was sung, a cross was suspended from the top of a lofty tree, and a shield bearing the arms of France was erected close at hand. They attempted to determine the latitude by an observation of the sun, but the result was altogether erroneous.

The country immediately around the outlet of this vast stream, was desolate and uninteresting. Far as the eye could reach, swampy flats and inundated morasses filled the dreary prospect. Under the ardent rays of the tropical sun, noisome vapours exhaled from the rank soil and sluggish waters, poisoning the breezes from the southern seas, and corrupting them into the breath of pestilence. Masses of floating trees whose large branches were scathed by months of alternate immersion and exposure, during hundreds of leagues of travel, choked up many of the numerous outlets of the river, and cemented together by the alluvial deposits of the muddy stream gradually became fixed and solid, throwing up a rank vegetation. Above this dreary delta, however, the country was rich and beautiful, and graceful undulations succeeded to the monotonous level of the lower banks.

After a brief repose, la Salle proceeded to reascend the river towards Canada, eager to carry the important tidings of his success to France. His journey was beset with difficulties and dangers. The course of the stream, though not rapid, perpetually impeded his progress. Provisions began to fail, and dire necessity drove him to perilous measures for obtaining supplies. Having met with four women of the hostile tribe of the Quinipissas he treated them with great kindness, loading them with such gifts as might most win their favour. The chief of the savages then came forward and invited the French to his village, offering them the much-needed refreshments which they sought. But a cruel treachery lurked under this friendly seeming, and the adventurers were only saved from destruction by the careful vigilance of their leader. At daybreak the following morning, the Indians made a sudden attack upon their guests; the French, however, being thoroughly on the alert, repulsed the assailants, and slew several of the bravest warriors. Infuriated by the treachery of the savages the victors followed the customs of Indian warfare, and scalped those of the enemy who fell into their power.

As they ascended the river they were again endangered by the secret hostility of the Natchez, from the effects of which a constant front of preparation alone preserved them. After several months of unceasing toil and watchfulness, with many strange and romantic adventures, but no other serious obstruction, the hardy travellers at length joyfully beheld the headland of Quebec.

Immediately after his arrival, la Salle hastened to France to announce his great discovery, and reap the distinction justly due to his eminent merits. He was received with every honour, and all his plans and suggestions were approved by the court. Under his direction and command, an expedition was fitted out, consisting of four vessels, and 280 men, for the purpose of forming a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi, and thence establishing a regular communication with Canada, along the course of the Great River. At the same time he received the commission of governor over the whole of the vast country extending between the Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico. The little squadron sailed from la Rochelle on the 24th of July, 1684, along with the West India fleet, and having touched at St. Domingo and Cuba by the way, arrived in safety on the coast of Florida.

La Salle was involved in great perplexity by ignorance of the longitude of the river's mouth: not having descended so far in his former expedition as to be able to judge of its appearance from the sea, he passed the main entrance of the Mississippi unawares, and proceeded 200 miles to the westward, where he found himself in a bay, since called St. Bernard's. Attracted by the favourable appearance of the surrounding country, la Salle here founded the fort which was to be the basis of his future establishment. But difficulties and misfortunes crowded upon him; the vessel containing his stores and utensils was sunk through the negligence or treachery of her commander, and a great portion of the cargo lost or seized by the Indians. The violent measures he adopted to compel restitution of the plundered goods, kindled a deep resentment in the minds of this fierce and haughty tribe, the Clamcoets by name. They made a sudden midnight attack upon the settlement, slew two of the French and wounded several, and whenever opportunity offered after-

wards, repeated their assaults. The tropical climate, however, proved a far deadlier foe than even the savage, and at length the spirit of the colonists gave way under accumulated difficulties.

Meanwhile Tonti, who had descended the Mississippi to join la Salle, sought him in vain at the mouth of the river, and along the coast for twenty leagues at either side; having found no trace or tidings of the expedition, he relinquished the search in despair, and sailed upwards again to the Canadian Lakes.

La Salle bore up with noble courage and energy against the difficulties that surrounded him. His subordinates thwarted him on every occasion, and at length broke out into a violent mutiny, which he, however, vigorously suppressed. But when he discovered that the settlement founded and sustained by his unceasing labours was not, as he had fondly supposed, at the mouth of the Great River, he experienced the bitterest disappointment. The surrounding country, though fertile, offered no brilliant prospect of sudden wealth, or hopes of future commerce. He determined, therefore, once again to explore the vast streams of the Mississippi and Illinois, and to endeavour to gain a greater knowledge of the interior of the continent. He took with him on this expedition, his nephew, a worthy but impetuous youth, named Moranger, and about twenty men. This young man's haughty spirit excited a savage thirst of vengeance in the minds of his uncle's lawless followers; they watched their opportunity, and in a remote and dreary solitude in the depths of the new continent, la Salle and Moranger were both slain by their murderous hands. Thus sadly perished, in a nameless wilderness, one of the most daring and gifted among those wonderful men, to whom the discovery of the New World had opened a field of glory. His temper was, doubtless, at times violent and overbearing, but he was dearly loved by his friends, respected by his dependants, and fondly revered by those among the Indians who came within his influence. His greatest difficulties arose from those who were placed under his command, abandoned and ungovernable men, the very refuse of society, and amenable to no laws, human or divine.

It has been already mentioned that la Salle had sent Dacan and Father Hennepin to explore the Mississippi on his first return from the Illinois to Lake Michigan. They descended that great river almost to the sea, but their followers, becoming alarmed at the idea of falling into the hands of the Spaniards, compelled them to return without having perfected their expedition. They reascended the stream and passed the mouths of the Illinois and Wisconsin, and even reached beyond those magnificent falls to which the adventurous priest has given the name of St. Anthony. Continual danger threatened these travellers from the caprice or hostility of the Indians; they were held for a long time in a cruel captivity, forced to accompany their captors through the most difficult countries at a pace of almost incredible rapidity, till with their feet and limbs cut and bleeding they were well nigh incapable of moving and further. After some time Hennepin was adopted by a chief as his son, and treated with much kindness; when winter came on, however, and a great scarcity of provisions arose, the Indians being unable any longer to support their captives, allowed them to depart. The Father and his companions used this liberty to continue their explorations down

the Mississippi. After many other perils and adventures they at length met the Sieur de Luth who commanded a party sent in search of them, and with further instructions to form a settlement on the Great River. Hennepin at first turned back with the sieur, but found so many obstacles and difficulties that he determined for the present to return to Canada.

The disasters attending the expeditions of la Salle and Hennepin for some time deterred others from venturing to explore the dangerous regions of the west, and the government totally neglected to occupy the splendid field which the adventure of those men had opened to French enterprise. It was left to the love of gain or glory, or the religious zeal of individuals, to continue the explorations of this savage but magnificent country. The Baron la Hontan was one of the first and most conspicuous of these dauntless travellers. He had gone to Canada in early life, with a view of retrieving the broken fortunes of his ancient family, and had obtained employment upon the Lakes under the French government. While thus occupied, he became intimately acquainted with the life and customs of the savages; and from his intercourse with them, formed the idea of penetrating into the interior of their country, where the white man's foot had never before trodden. His actual discoveries were probably not very important, and his record of them is confused and imperfect; but he was the first to learn the existence of the Rocky Mountains, and of that vast ocean which separates the western coast of North America from the continent of Asia.

CHAPTER XIV.

An embittered disagreement between the governor-general, Comte de Frontenac, and the intendant, M. de Cheneau, M. Talon's successor, rendered it necessary to recall both those officers from the colony. The French court attributed the greater share of blame to the governor, but the haughty and unbending disposition of the intendant was probably a principal cause of those untoward disputes. M. le Févre de la Barre and M. de Meules succeeded them in their respective offices, with special recommendation from the king to cultivate friendly relations with each other, and with M. de Blénac, the governor-general of the French American islands.

New France had for many years remained in a state of great confusion, and had made but little progress in prosperity or population, and now the prospects of a disastrous war darkened the future of the colonists. Various causes had united to revive the hostility of the Iroquois, their ancient and powerful foes. Since New York had fallen into English hands, the savages found it more advantageous to carry their trade thither, than to barter their furs with the privileged company of France. The falling off of commercial intercourse soon led to further alienation, which the death of an Iroquois chief by the hands of an Illinois, in the territory of the Ottawas, then allies of the white men, soon turned into open hostility. The Comte de Frontenac had failed in his attempts to negociate with the savages; and on the arrival of his successor, an invasion of the colony was hourly expected. M. de la Barre at once

perceived the dangerous state of affairs; he therefore summoned an assembly of all the leading men in the country, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, and demanded counsel from them in the emergency.

The assembly was of opinion that the Iroquois aimed at the monopoly of all the trade of Canada by the instigation of the English and Dutch of New York, who were also supposed to incite them to enmity against the French, and that consequently those nations should be held hostile. It was also believed that the savages had only endeavoured to gain time by their negociations, while they either destroyed the tribes friendly to the colonists, or seduced them from their alliance. With this view they had already assailed the Illinois, and it was therefore the duty of the French to save that nation from this attack, whatever might be the cost or danger of the enterprise. For that purpose the colony could only furnish 1000 men; and to procure even this number, it was necessary that the labours of husbandry should be suspended. Reinforcements of troops and a supply of labourers were therefore urgently required for the very existence of the settlements; and an earnest appeal for such assistance was forwarded to the king, as the result of the deliberations of the assembly. This application was immediately answered by the dispatch of 200 soldiers to New France and by a remonstrance addressed to the King of Great Britain, who instructed Colonel Dongan, the English governor of New York, to encourage more friendly relations with his French neighbours.

While M. de la Barre pushed on his preparations for war against the Iroquois, he still kept up the hope of treating with them for peace in such a manner as not to forfeit the dignity of his position. In the mean time, however, he received intimation that a formidable expedition of 150 warriors had assembled, ostensibly to wage war with the Illinois, but in reality for the destruction of the Miamis and Ottawas, both allies of the French. The governor promptly dispatched an envoy, who arrived at the village where the Iroquois had mustered on the evening of the day appointed for the beginning of their campaign. The envoy was received with dignity and kindness; and he succeeded in obtaining a promise that the expedition should be deferred, and that they would send deputies to Montreal to negociate with the French chief. But the wily savages had promised only to deceive; and in the month of May following, the governor received intelligence that 700 of these fierce warriors were on their march to attack his Miami and Ottawa allies, while another force was prepared to assail the settlements of the French themselves. He attributed these dangerous hostilities to the instigation of the English.

The governor made urgent representations to the minister at home as to the necessity of crushing two of the Iroquois tribes, the most hostile and the most powerful. For this purpose, he demanded that a reinforcement of 400 men should be sent to him from France as soon as possible, and that an order should be obtained from the Duke of York, to whom New York then belonged, to prevent the English from interfering with or thwarting the expedition.

The Iroquois found the free trade with the English and Dutch more advantageous than that with the French, which was paralysed by an injudicious monopoly; but they were still unwilling to come to an open

rupture with their powerful neighbours. They therefore sent deputies to Montreal to make great but vague professions of attachment and good will. For many reasons de la Barre placed but little confidence in these addresses: their object was obviously to gain time, and to throw the French off their guard. He, however, received the deputies with great distinction, and sent them back enriched with presents. But a few months after this, however, a small detachment of Frenchmen was assailed by the Iroquois, and plundered of merchandise which they were bearing to traffic with the Illinois.

After this flagrant outrage, nothing remained for M. de la Barre but war. He had received intelligence that the Iroquois were making great preparations for an onslaught upon the French settlements, and that they had sent ambassadors to the Indians of the south for the purpose of insuring peace in that quarter, while they threw all their power into the struggle with the hated pale faces. The governor promptly determined to adopt the bolder but safer course of striking the first blow, and making the cantons of his savage enemies the field of battle. As yet, few and small were the aids he had received from France, and a considerable time must elapse ere the further supplies he anticipated could arrive; he was, therefore, unwillingly compelled to avail himself of the assistance of his Indian allies. The native tribes dwelling around the shores of Lake Michigan, entertained a deep and ancient jealousy of the powerful confederacy of the Iroquois or Five Nations, who aspired to universal dominion over the Northern Continent; they, therefore, held themselves equally interested with the French in the destruction of those formidable warriors. M. de la Durantaye, who commanded the fort on the far-distant shores of Lake Michigan, announced to his Indian neighbours that his countrymen were about to march against the Iroquois, and requested that all the native warriors friendly to the white men should meet them in the middle of August at Niagara. He was not, however, very successful in making levies, and with difficulty led 500 warriors to the place of meeting, where, to his dismay, he found that the French had not arrived: his followers were not easily reconciled to this disappointment.

In the mean time. M. de la Barre had, on the 9th of July, 1683, marched from Quebec to Montreal, where he appointed the troops to assemble for the expedition. No precautions to insure success were neglected. He dispatched a message to the English governor of New York, to invite him to join in the attack, or at least to secure his neutrality. He also sent belts and presents to three of the Iroquois tribes to induce them to refrain from joining in the quarrel of those among their confederates who alone had injured him and his nation. He arrived at Montreal on the 21st, with 700 Canadians, 130 soldiers, and 200 Indians; his force was organised in three divisions. After a brief stay he continued his march westward.

The governor had not proceeded far when he received intelligence that the other Iroquois tribes had obliged the Tsonnonthouans, his special enemies, to accept of their mediation with the French, and that they demanded the Sieur le Moyne, in whom they placed much confidence, to conduct the negociation. At the same time he learned that the tribe he proposed to assail, had put all their provisions into a place

of security, and were prepared for a protracted and harassing resistance. His appeals both to the remaining Iroquois tribes and to the English had also failed, for the former would assuredly make common cause against him in case of his refusing their mediation, and the latter had actually offered to aid his enemies with 400 horse, and a like force of infantry. Influenced by these untoward circumstances he dispatched M. le Moyne to treat, and agreed to await the Iroquois deputies on the shores of Lake Ontario. In the mean time M. de la Barre and his army underwent great privations from the scarcity and bad quality of their provisions; they could with difficulty hold their ground till the arrival of the savages, and such was their extremity that the name of the Bay of Famine was given to the scene of their sufferings.

The savage deputies met the French chief with great dignity, and well aware of the advantage given them by the starvation and sickness of the white men, carried their negociations with a high hand. They guaranteed that the Tsonnonthouans should make reparation for the injuries inflicted on the French, but at the same time insisted that the governor and his army should retire the very next day. With this ignoble stipulation M. de la Barre was fain to agree; on his return to Quebec, he found, to his chagrin, that considerable reinforcements had just arrived from France, which would have enabled him to dictate instead of submitting to dictation. The new detachment was commanded by MM. Monterlie and Desnos, captains of marine, who were commissioned by the king to proceed to the most advanced and important posts, and to act independently of the governor's authority. They were further instructed to capture as many of the Iroquois as possible, and to send them to France to labour in the galleys. In this same year the Chevalier de Callières, an officer of great merit, was sent from France to assume the duties of governor of the Montreal district, as successor to M. Perrot who had embroiled himself with the members of the powerful order of St. Sulpicius.

In the year 1685, the Marquis de Dénonville arrived at Quebec as governor-general in succession to M. de la Barre, whose advanced age and failing health unfitted him for the arduous duties of the office. The new governor was selected by the king for his known valour and prudence; a reinforcement of troops was placed at his disposal, and he was determined to spare no effort to establish the colony in security and peace. Dénonville lost not a moment in proceeding to the advanced posts on the lakes, and at the same time he devoted himself to a diligent study of the affairs of Canada and the character of the Indians. His keen perception promptly discovered the impossibility of the Iroquois being reconciled and assimilated to the French, and he at once saw the necessity of extirpating, or at least thoroughly humbling, these haughty savages. But beyond the present dangers and difficulties of Indian hostility, this clear-sighted politician discerned the far more formidable evils that threatened the power of his country from the advancing encroachments of the hardy traders and fearless adventurers of the English colonies. He urged upon the king the advantage of building and garrisoning a fort at Niagara to exclude the British from the trade of the lakes, and interrupt their communications with the Iroquois, and also to check the desertion of the French, who usually escaped by the

route, and transferred the benefits of their experience and knowledge of the country to the rival colonies. The North-west Company of merchants at Quebec earnestly desired this establishment, and engaged to pay an annual rent of 30,000 livres to the crown for the privilege of exclusive trade at the proposed station.

The suspicions of the Marquis de Dénonville as to English encroachments were soon confirmed. He received a letter from the governor of New York, dated 29th of May, 1686, demanding explanations of the preparations which were being made against the Iroquois—the subjects of England—as any attack upon them would be a breach of the peace then existing between England and France. The British governor also expressed surprise that the French should contemplate erecting a fort at Niagara, 'because it should be known in Canada that all that country was a dependancy of New York.' M. de Dénonville, in reply, denied the pretensions of the English to sovereignty in New France, and pointed out the impropriety of hostile communications between inferiors, while the kings whom they served remained on amicable terms. He rendered, however, some sort of evasive explanation on the subject of his preparations against the Iroquois.

The following year the governor-general received from the court the notification of a most important agreement between England and France; that, 'notwithstanding any rupture between the northern countries, the colonies on the American continent should remain at peace.' Unfortunately, however, the force of national prejudice, and the clashing of mutual interests, rendered this wise and enlightened provision totally fruitless.

In the summer of 1687, M. de Dénonville marched towards Lake Ontario with a force of 2000 French and 600 Indians; having already received all the supplies and reinforcements which he had expected from France. His first act of aggression was one that no casuistry can excuse, no necessity justify—one alike dishonourable and impolitic. He employed two missionaries, men of influence among the savages, to induce the principal Iroquois chiefs to meet him at the fort of Cataracouy, under various pretences; he there treacherously seized the unsuspecting savages, and instantly dispatched them to Quebec, with orders that they should be forwarded to France, to labour in the galleys. The missionaries who had been instrumental in bringing the native chiefs into this unworthy snare, were altogether innocent of participation in the outrage, never for a moment doubting the honourable intentions of their countrymen towards the Indian deputies. One, who dwelt among the Onneyouths, was immediately seized by the exasperated tribe, and condemned to expiate the treachery of his nation and his own supposed guilt in the flames; he was, however, saved at the last moment by the intervention of an Indian matron, who adopted him as her son. The other—Lamberville by name—was held in great esteem among the Onnontagués, to whose instruction he had devoted himself. On the first accounts of the outrage at Cataracouy, the ancients assembled and called the missionary before them. They then declared their deep indignation at the wrong which they had suffered; but at the moment when their prisoner expected to feel the terrible effects of their wrath, a chief arose, and with a noble dignity addressed him:—

'Thou art now our enemy—thou and thy race. We have held counsel, and cannot resolve to treat thee as an enemy. We know thy heart had no share in this treason, though thou wert its tool. We are not unjust; we will not punish thee, being innocent, and hating the crime as much as we do ourselves. But depart from among us; there are some who might seek thy blood, and when our young men sing the war-song, we may be no longer able to protect thee.' The magnanimous savages then furnished him with guides, who were enjoined to convey him to a place of safety.

M. de Dénonville halted for some time at Cataracouy, and sent orders to the commanders of the distant western posts to meet him on the 10th of July at river Des Sables, to the eastward of the country of the Tsonnonthouans, against whom they were first to act. The governor marched upon this point with his army, and by an accident of favourable presage, he and the other detachments arrived at the same time. They immediately constructed an intrenchment, defended by palisades, in a commanding situation over the river, where their stores and provisions were safely deposited. M. d'Orvilliers, with a force of 400 men, was left for the protection of this depôt, and to insure the rear of the advancing army.

On the 13th the French pushed into the hostile country, and passed two deep and dangerous defiles without opposition, but at a third they were suddenly assailed by 800 of the Iroquois, who, after the first volley, dispatched 200 of their number to outflank the invaders, while they continued the front attack with persevering courage. The French were at first thrown into some confusion by this fierce and unexpected onslaught, but the allied savages, accustomed to the forest warfare, boldly held their ground, and effectually covered the rallying of the troops. The Iroquois, having failed in overpowering their enemies by surprise, and conscious of their inferiority in numbers and arms, after a time broke their array, and dispersed among the woods. The French lost five men killed and twenty wounded; the Iroquois suffered far more—forty-five were left dead upon the field, and sixty more disabled in the conflict. The Ottawas serving under M. de Dénonville, who had been by no means forward in the strife, with savage ferocity mangled and devoured the bodies of the slain. The Hurons, and the Iroquois Christians following the French standard, fought with determined bravery.

The army encamped in one of the four great villages of the Tsonnonthouans, about eight leagues from the fort at the river Des Sables; they found it totally deserted by the inhabitants, and left it in ashes. For ten days they marched through the dense forest with great hardship and difficulty, and met with no traces of the enemy, but they marked their progress with ruin; they burnt about 400,000 bushels of corn, and destroyed a vast number of hogs. The general, fearing that his savage allies would desert him if he continued longer in the field, was then constrained to limit his enterprise. He, however, took this opportunity of erecting a fort at Niagara, and left the Chevalier de la Troye with 100 men in garrison. Unfortunately, a deadly malady soon after nearly destroyed the detachment, and the post was abandoned and dismantled. The constant and harassing enmity of the savages combined with the bad state of the provisions left in the fort to render the disease which had broken out so fatal in its results.

The French had erected a fort called Chambly, in a strong position on the left bank of the important river Richelieu. This little stronghold effectually commanded the navigation of the stream, and through it, the communication between Lake Champlain and the southern districts with the waters of the St. Lawrence. On the 13th of November, 1687, a formidable party of the Iroquois suddenly attacked the fort; the little garrison made a stout defence, and the assailants abandoned the field with the morning light; the settlement which had grown up in the neighbourhood was, however, ravaged by the fierce Indians, and several of the inhabitants carried away into captivity. The French attributed this unexpected invasion to the instigation of their English neighbours, and it would appear with reason, for on the failure of the assault, the governor of New York put his nearest town into a state of defence, as if in expectation of reprisals.

In this same year there fell upon Canada an evil more severe than Indian aggression or English hostility. Towards the end of the summer a deadly malady visited the colony, and carried mourning into almost every household. So great was the mortality, that M. de Dénonville was constrained to abandon, or rather defer, his project of humbling the pride and power of the Tsonnonthouans. He had also reason to doubt the faith of his Indian allies; even the Hurons of the far west, who had fought so stoutly by his side on the shores of Lake Ontario, were discovered to have been at the time in treacherous correspondence with the Iroquois.

While doubt and disease paralysed the power of the French, their dangerous enemies were not idle. Twelve hundred Iroquois warriors assembled at Lake St. Francis, within two days' march of Montreal, and haughtily demanded audience of the governor, which was immediately granted. Their orator proclaimed the power of his race and the weakness of the white men, with all the emphasis and striking illustration of Indian eloquence. He offered peace on terms proposed by the governor of New York, but only allowed the French four days for deliberation.

This high-handed diplomacy was backed by formidable demonstrations. The whole country west of the river Sorel, or Richelieu, was occupied by a savage host, and the distant fort of Cataracouy on the Ontario shore was with difficulty held against eight hundred Iroquois who had burned the farm stores with flaming arrows, and slain the cattle of the settlers. The French bowed before the storm they could not resist, and peace was concluded on conditions that war should cease in the land, and all the allies should share in the blessings of repose. M. de Dénonville further agreed to restore the Indian chiefs who had been so treacherously torn from their native wilds, and sent to labour in the galleys of France.

But in the mean time some of the savage allies, disdaining the peaceful conclusions of negociation, waged a merciless war. The Abenaquis, always the fiercest foes of the Iroquois confederacy, took the field while yet the conferences pended, and fell suddenly upon the enemy by the banks of the Sorel. They left death behind them on their path, and pushed on even into the English settlements, where they slew some of the defenceless inhabitants, and carried away their scalps in savage

triumph. On the other hand the Iroquois of the rapids of St. Louis and the Mountain made a deadly raid into the invaders' territories.

The Hurons of Michilimakinac were those among the French allies who most dreaded the conclusion of a treaty of which they feared to become the first victims. Through the extraordinary machinations and cunning of their chief, Kondiaronk, or the Rat, they continued to re-awaken the suspicions of the Iroquois against the French, and again strove to stir up the desolating flames of war.

In the midst of these renewed difficulties, M. de Dénonville was recalled to Europe, his valuable services being required in the armies of his king. In colonial administration he had shown an ardent zeal for the interests of the sovereign and the country under his charge, and his plans for the improvement of Canada were just, sound, and comprehensive, but he was deficient in tenacity of purpose, and not fortunate or judicious in the selection of those who enjoyed his confidence. His otherwise honourable and useful career can, however, never be cleansed from the fatal blot of one dark act of treachery. From the day when that evil deed was done, the rude but magnanimous Indian scorned as a broken reed the sullied honour of the French.

The Comte de Frontenac was once again selected for the important post of governor of New France, and arrived at Montreal on the 27th of October, 1689, where his predecessor handed over the arduous duties of office. The state of New France was such as to demand the highest qualities in the man to whose rule it was intrusted; trade languished, agriculture was interrupted by savage aggression, and the very existence of the colony threatened by the growing power of the formidable Iroquois confederacy. At the same time, a plan for the reduction of New York was being organised in Paris, which would inevitably call for the co-operation of the colonial subjects of France, and, in the event of failure, leave them to bear the brunt of the dangerous quarrel. M. de Frontenac was happily selected in this time of need.

Impelled by the treacherous machinations of the Huron chief Kondiaronk, the Iroquois approached the colony in very different guise from that expected. While M. de Dénonville remained in daily hopes of receiving a deputation of ten or twelve of the Indians to treat for peace, he was astounded by the sudden descent of 1200 warriors upon the Island of Montreal. Terrible indeed was the devastation they caused; blood and ashes marked their path to within three leagues of the territory, where they blockaded two forts, after having burnt the neighbouring houses. A small force of 100 soldiers and 50 Indians, imprudently sent against these fierce marauders, was instantly overpowered, and taken or destroyed. When the work of destruction was completed, the Iroquois re-embarked for the western lakes, their canoes laden with plunder, and 200 prisoners in their train.

This disastrous incursion filled the French with panic and astonishment. They at once blew up the forts of Cataracouy and Niagara, burned two vessels built under their protection, and altogether abandoned the shores of the western lakes. The year was not, however, equally unfortunate in all parts of New France. Whilst the island of Montreal was swept by the storm of savage invasion, M. d'Iberville supported in the north the cause of his country, and the warlike Abenaquis avenged upon the English

settlers the evils which their Iroquois allies had inflicted upon Canada. Upon his arrival, the Comte de Frontenac determined to restore the falling fortunes of his people by means of his great personal influence among the triumphant Iroquois, backed as he was with the presence of those prisoners who had been so treacherously seized by his predecessor, but whose entire confidence and good-will he had acquired while bringing them back to their native country. A chief named Oureouharé, the most distinguished among the captives, undertook to negociate with his countrymen—a duty which was performed more honestly than efficiently: an exchange of prisoners took place, but nothing further was accomplished.

The northern Indians, allies of the French, had long desired to share the benefits of English commerce with the Iroquois; it had, however, been the policy of the Canadian government to keep these red tribes continually at war, with the view of interrupting the communications of traffic through their country. But the allied savages soon began to see the necessity of making peace with the Iroquois, in order to establish relations with the traders of the British settlements. With this view the Ottawas sent ambassadors to the cantons of the five nations, restoring the prisoners captured in the war, and proffering peace and amity. The agent and missionaries of the French strongly remonstrated against these proceedings, but in vain; their former allies replied by insulting declarations of independence, and contemptuous scoffs at their want of power and courage to meet the enemy in the field; their commerce too was spoken of as unjust, injurious, and inferior to that of the English, of which they had endeavoured to deprive those whom they could not protect in war; the French were also accused of endeavouring to shelter themselves under a dishonourable treaty, regardless of the safety and interests of the Indians who had fought and bled in their cause.

When M. de Frontenac became aware of this formidable disaffection, he boldly determined to strike a blow at the English power, that should restore the military character of France among the savages, and deprive the recreant Indians of their expected succour. He therefore organised three expeditions to invade the British settlements by different avenues. The first, consisting of 110 men, marched from Montreal, destined for New York, but only resulted in the surprise and destruction of the village of Corlar, or Schenectady, and the massacre and capture of some of the inhabitants. They retreated at noon the following day, bearing with them forty prisoners; after much suffering from want of provisions they were obliged to separate into small parties, when they were attacked by their exasperated enemies, and sustained some loss. Many would have perished from hunger in this retreat, but that they found a resource in living upon horse-flesh; their cavalry from fifty was reduced to six by the time they regained the shelter of Montreal.

The second invading division was mustered at Three Rivers, and only numbered fifty men, half being Indians. They reached an English settlement called Sementels (Salmon Falls), after a long and difficult march, and succeeded in surprising and destroying the village, with most of its defenders. In their retreat they were sharply attacked, but succeeded in escaping, through the aid of an advantageous post, which enabled them to check the pursuers at a narrow bridge. They soon after fell in

with M. de Mamerval, governor of Acadia, with the third party, and, thus reinforced, assailed the fortified village of Kaskebé, upon the sea-coast, which surrendered after a heavy loss of the defenders.

To regain the confidence of his Indian allies, M. de Frontenac saw the necessity of rendering them independent of English commerce, and safe from the hostility of the Iroquois. To accomplish these objects he dispatched a large convoy to the west, escorted by 143 men, and bearing presents to the savage chiefs. On the way they encountered a party of the Five Nations, and defeated them after a sanguinary engagement.

All these vigorous measures produced a marked effect; the convoy arrived at Michilimakinac at the time when the ambassadors of the French allies were on the point of departing to conclude a treaty with the Iroquois. When, however, the strength of the detachment was seen, and the valuable presents and merchandise were displayed, the French interests again revived with the politic savages, and they hastened to give proofs of their renewed attachment: 110 canoes bearing furs to the value of 100,000 crowns, and manned by 300 Indians, were dispatched soon after for Montreal to be laid before the governor-general. He dismissed the escort with presents and exhorted them and their nation to join with him in humbling their mutual and deadly foe. They departed well pleased with their reception, and renewed professions of friendship for the French.

In the mean time the terrible war-cry of the Iroquois was never silent in the Canadian settlements. Bands of these fierce and merciless warriors suddenly emerged from the dense forests when least expected, and burst upon isolated posts and villages with more or less success, but always with great loss of life to the assailants and assailed, and with great destruction of the fruits of industry. These disastrous events caused much disquietude to the governor. He called to his counsels the Iroquois chief, Oureouharé, who still remained attached to him by the closest bonds of friendship and esteem, and complained of the bitter hostility of his nation: 'You must either not be a true friend,' said M. de Frontenac, 'or you must be powerless in your nation, to permit them to wage this bitter war against me.' The generous chief was mortified at this discourse, and answered that his remaining with the French, instead of returning to his own hunting-grounds where he was ardently beloved, was a proof of his fidelity, and that he was ready to do anything that might be required of him; but that it would certainly need time and the course of circumstances to allay the fury of his people against those who had treacherously injured them. The governor could not but acknowledge the justice of Oureouharé's reply; he gave him new marks of esteem and friendship, and determined more than before to confide in this wise and important ally.

But now the greatest danger that had ever yet menaced the power of France upon the American continent hung over the Canadian shores. The men of New England were at last aroused to activity by the constant inroads and cruel depredations of their northern neighbours, and in April, 1690, dispatched a small squadron from Boston, which took possession of Port Royal and all the province of Acadia. In a month the expedition returned, with sufficient plunder to repay its cost. Meanwhile the British settlers deputed six commissioners to meet at New York

in council for their defence. On the 1st of May, 1690, these deputies assembled, and promptly determined to set an expedition on foot for the invasion of Canada. Levies of 800 men were ordered for the purpose, the contingents of the several states fixed, and general rules appointed for the organisation of their army. A fast-sailing vessel was dispatched to England with strong representations of the defenceless state of the British colonies, and with an earnest appeal for aid in the projected invasion of New France; they desired that ammunition and other warlike stores might be supplied to their militia for the attempt by land, and that a fleet of English frigates should be directed up the River St. Lawrence to co-operate with the colonial force. But at that time England was still too much weakened by the unhealed wounds of domestic strife to afford any assistance to her American children, and they were thrown altogether on their own resources.

New York and New England boldly determined, unaided, to prosecute their original plans against Canada. General Winthrop with 800 men was marched by the way of Lake Champlain, on the shores of which he was to have met 500 of the Iroquois warriors; but through some unaccountable jealousy, only a small portion of the savages came to the place of muster. Other disappointments also combined to paralyse the British force: the Indians had failed to provide more than half the number of canoes necessary for the transport of the troops across the lake, and the contractor of the army had imprudently neglected to supply sufficient provisions. No alternative remained for Winthrop but to fall back upon Albany for subsistence.

In the mean time Major Schuyler, who had before crossed Lake Champlain with a smaller British force, pushed on against the French post of La Prairie de la Madeleine, and attacked it with spirit. He soon overcame the handful of Canadian militia and Indians who formed the garrison, and compelled them to fall back upon Chambly, a fort further to the north. Having met M. de Sanermes and a considerable force advancing to their relief, they turned and faced their pursuers. Schuyler rashly ventured to attack this now superior enemy; he was soon forced to retire, with the loss of nearly thirty men. The French, however, suffered much more severely in this affair; no less than thirteen officers and nearly seventy of their men having been killed and wounded.

The naval expedition against Quebec was assembled in Nantasket Road, near Boston, and consisted of thirty-five vessels of various size, the largest being a 44-gun frigate. Nearly 2,000 troops were embarked in this squadron, and the chief command was confided by the people of New England to their distinguished countryman Sir William Phipps, a man of humble birth, whose own genius and merit had won for him honour, power, and universal esteem. The direction of the fleet was given to Captain Gregory Sugars. The necessary preparations were not completed, and the fleet did not get under way till the season was far advanced: contrary winds caused a still further delay. However, several French posts on the shores of Newfoundland and of the Lower St. Lawrence were captured without opposition, and the British force arrived at Tadoussac on the Saguenay before authentic tidings of the approaching danger had reached Quebec.

When the brave old Frontenac learned from his scouts that Winthrop's

corps had retreated, and that Canada was no longer threatened by an enemy from the landward side, he hastened to the post of honour at Quebec, while by his orders M. de Ramsey and M. de Callières assembled the hardy militia of Three Rivers and the adjoining settlements to reinforce him with all possible dispatch. The governor found that Major Provost, who commanded at Quebec before his arrival, had made vigorous preparation to receive the invaders; it was only necessary, therefore, to continue the works, and confirm the orders given by his worthy deputy. A party, under the command of M. de Longueuil, was sent down the river to observe the motions of the British, and, if possible, to prevent their landing. At the same time two canoes were dispatched by the shallow channel north of the Island of Orleans to seek for some ships with supplies, which were daily expected from France, and to warn them of the presence of the hostile fleet.

The Comte de Frontenac continued the preparations for defence with unwearied industry. The regular soldiers and militia were alike constantly employed upon the works till, in a short time, Quebec was tolerably secure from the chances of a sudden assault. Lines of strong palisades, here and there armed with small batteries, were formed round the crown of the lofty headland, and the gates of the city were barricaded with massive beams of timber and casks filled with earth. A number of cannon were mounted on advantageous positions, and a large windmill of solid masonry was fitted up as a cavalier. The lower town was protected by two batteries each of three guns, and the streets leading up the steep rocky face of the height were embarrassed with several entrenchments and rows of 'cheveux-de-frise.' Subsequently, during the siege, two other batteries were erected a little above the level of the river. The commanding natural position of the stronghold, however, offered far more serious obstacles to the assailants than the hasty and imperfect fortifications.

At daylight on the 5th of October the white sails of the British fleet were seen rounding the headland of Point Levi, and crowding to the northern shore of the river, near the village of Beauport: at about ten o'clock they dropped anchor, lowered their canvas, and swung round with the receding tide. There they remained inactive till the following morning. On the 6th, Sir William Phipps sent a haughty summons to the French chief demanding an unconditional surrender in the name of King William of England, and concluding with this imperious sentence: 'Your answer positive in an hour, returned with your own trumpet with the return of mine, is required upon the peril that will ensue.'

The British officer who bore the summons was led blindfold through the town and ushered into the presence of Comte Frontenac in the council-room of the castle of Quebec. The bishop, the intendant, and all the principal officers of the government surrounded the proud old noble. 'Read your message,' said he. The Englishman read on, and when he had finished laid his watch upon the table with these words: 'It is now ten: I await your answer for one hour.' The council started from their seats, surprised out of their dignity, by a burst of sudden anger. The Comte paused for a time ere he could restrain his rage sufficiently to speak, and then replied, 'I do not acknowledge King William, and I well know that the Prince of Orange is an usurper, who has violated the most

sacred rights of blood and religion . . . . . who wishes to persuade the nation that he is the saviour of England and the defender of the faith, though he has violated the laws and privileges of the kingdom, and overturned the Church of England: this conduct, the Divine Justice to which Phipps appeals will one day severely punish.'

The British officer, unmoved by the storm of indignation which his message had aroused, desired that this fierce reply should be rendered to him in writing for the satisfaction of his chief. 'I will answer your master by the mouth of my cannon,' replied the angry Frenchman, 'that he may learn that a man of my rank is not to be summoned in this manner.' Thus ended the laconic conference.

On the return of the messenger Sir William Phipps called a council of war: it was determined at once to attack the city. At noon, on the 8th, 1300 men were embarked in the boats of the squadron under the command of Major Walley, and landed without opposition at La Canardière, a little to the east of the river St. Charles. While the main body was being formed on the muddy shore, four companies pushed on towards the town in skirmishing order to clear the front. They had scarcely begun the ascent of the sloping banks when a sharp fire was poured upon them by 300 of the Canadian militia posted among the rocks and bushes on either flank, and in a small hamlet to the right. Some of the British winced under this unexpected volley, fired and fell back, but the officers with prompt resolution gave the order to charge, and themselves gallantly led the way: the soldiers followed at a rapid pace, and speedily cleared the ground. Major Walley then advanced with his whole force to the St. Charles River, still, however, severely harassed by dropping shots from the active light troops of the French: there he bivouacked for the night, while the enemy retreated into the garrison.

Towards evening of the same day the four largest vessels of Phipps's squadron moved boldly up the river, and anchored close against the town. They opened a spirited but ineffectual fire: their shot, directed principally against the lofty eminence of the Upper Town, fell almost harmless, while a vigorous cannonade from the numerous guns of the fortress replied with overwhelming power. When night interrupted the strife the British ships had suffered severely: their rigging was torn by the hostile shot, and the crews had lost many of their best men. By the first light of morning, however, Phipps renewed the action with pertinacious courage, but with no better success. About noon the contest became evidently hopeless to the stubborn assailants: they weighed anchor, and, with the receding tide, floated their crippled vessels down the stream beyond the reach of the enemy's fire.

The British troops under Major Walley, although placed in battle array at daylight, remained inactive through some unaccountable delay, while the enemy's attention was diverted by the combat with Phipps's squadron. At length, about noon, they moved upon the formidable stronghold along the left bank of the river St. Charles. Some allied savages plunged into the bush in front to clear the advance; a line of skirmishers protected either flank, and six field-pieces accompanied the march of the main body. After having proceeded for some time without molestation, they were suddenly and fiercely assailed by 200 Canadian volunteers under M. de Longueuil: the Indians were at once swept away, the

skirmishers overpowered, and the British column itself was forced back by their gallant charge. Walley, however, drew up his reserve in some brushwood a little in the rear, and finally compelled the enemy to retreat. During this smart action M. de Frontenac, with three battalions, placed himself upon the opposite bank of the river, in support of the volunteers, but showed no disposition to cross the stream. That night the English troops, harassed, depressed, diminished in numbers, and scantily supplied, again bivouacked upon the marshy banks of the stream: a severe frost, for which they were but ill-prepared, chilled the weary limbs of the soldiers and enhanced their sufferings.

On the 10th, Walley once more advanced upon the French positions, in the hope of breaching their palisades by the fire of his field-pieces, but this attempt was altogether unsuccessful. His flanking parties fell into ambuscades, and were very severely handled, and his main body was checked and finally repulsed by a heavy fire from a fortified house on a commanding position, which he had ventured to attack. Utterly dispirited by this failure, the British fell back in some confusion to the landing-place, yielding up in one hour what they had so hardly won. That night many of the soldiers strove to force their way into the boats, and order was with great difficulty restored. The next day they were harassed by a continual skirmish: had it not been for the gallant conduct of 'Captain March, who had a good company, and made the enemy give back,' the confusion would probably have been irretrievable. When darkness put an end to the fire on both sides, the English troops received orders to embark in the boats, half a regiment at a time. But all order was soon lost, four times as many as the boats could sustain crowded down at once to the beach, rushed into the water, and pressed on board. The sailors were even forced to throw some of these panic-stricken men into the river, lest all should sink together. The noise and confusion increased every moment despite the utmost exertions of the officers, and daylight had nearly revealed the dangerous posture of affairs before the embarkation was completed. The guns were abandoned, with some valuable stores and ammunition. Had the French displayed, in following up their advantages, any portion of the energy and skill which had been so conspicuous in their successful defence, the British detachment must infallibly have been either captured or totally destroyed.

Sir William Phipps having failed by sea and land, resolved to withdraw from the disastrous conflict. After several ineffectual attempts to recover the guns and stores which Major Walley had been forced to abandon, he weighed anchor and descended the St. Lawrence to a place about nine miles distant from Quebec, whence he sent to the Comte de Frontenac to negociate for an exchange of prisoners. Humbled and disappointed, damaged in fortune and reputation, the English chief sailed from the scene of his defeat; but misfortune had not yet ceased to follow him, for he left the shattered wrecks of no less than nine of his ships among the dangerous shoals of the St. Lawrence. The government of Massachusetts was dismayed at the disastrous news of which Phipps was himself the bearer. He arrived at Boston on the 19th of November, with the remains of his fleet and army, his ships damaged and weather-beaten, and his men almost in a state of mutiny from having received no pay. In these straits the colonial government found it impracticable to raise

money, and resorted to 'bills of credit,' the first paper-money which had ever been issued on the American continent.

Great, indeed, was the joy and triumph of the French when the British fleet disappeared from the beautiful basin of Quebec. With a proud heart the gallant old Comte de Frontenac penned the dispatch which told his royal master of the victory. He failed not to dwell upon the distinguished merit of the colonial militia, by whose loyalty and courage the arms of France had been crowned with success. In grateful memory of this brave defence the French king caused a medal to be struck, bearing the inscription, 'FRANCIA IN NOVO ORBE VICTRIX: KEBECA LIBERATA.—A.D., M.D.C.X.C.' In the lower town a church was built by the inhabitants to celebrate their deliverance from the British invaders, and dedicated to 'Notre Dame de la Victoire.'

On the 12th of November the vessels long expected from France arrived in safety at Quebec, having escaped the observation of the English fleet by ascending for some distance the land-locked waters of the Saguenay. Their presence, however, only tended to increase a scarcity then pressing upon the colony, the labour of the fields in the preceding spring having been greatly interrupted by the harassing incursions of the Iroquois. The troops were distributed into those parts of the country where supplies could most easily be obtained, and were cheerfully received by those who had through their valour been protected from the hated dominion of the stranger.

CHAPTER XV.

IN May, 1691, the Iroquois, to the number of about 1000 warriors, again poured down upon the settlements near Montreal, and marked their course with massacre and ruin. Other bands, less numerous, spread themselves over the fertile and beautiful banks of the Richelieu river, burning the happy homesteads and rich storeyards of the settlers. At length, the Sieur de la Mine, with a detachment of militia, surprised a party of these fierce marauders, at Saint Sulpice, and slew them without mercy. Twelve of the Iroquois escaped into a ruinous house, where they held out for a time with courage and success; but the French set fire to the building, and they were obliged to abandon it: some were killed in their efforts to escape, but five fell alive into the hands of their exasperated enemies, and were burned with a savage cruelty, such as they themselves would have exhibited.

Intelligence now arrived that a formidable force of English, Iroquois, and Mahingan Indians were advancing upon Montreal, by the River Richelieu, or Sorel; 800 men, led by the Chevalier de Callières, were sent to oppose their progress, and encamped on the Prairie de la Madeleine, by the borders of the Saint Lawrence. Before daylight the following morning, the invaders carried an important position by surprise, slaying several of the defenders, and finally retreated in good order and with little loss. On falling back into the woods, they met and destroyed a small French detachment, and boldly faced a more considerable force under M. de Valrenes. For an hour and a half these formidable warriors withstood the fire, and repelled the charges of the Canadian troops; but,

at length they were overpowered and dispersed, not however before inflicting a loss of no less than 120 men upon their conquerors. An Englishman captured in the engagement declared that the invaders had purposed to destroy the harvest, which would have reduced the colony to the last extremity. The design, in a great measure, failed, and an abundant crop repaid the industry and successful courage of the French.

At the first news of this alarming inroad, M. de Frontenac hastened to the post of danger, but tranquillity had already been restored, and the toils of the husbandman were again plied upon the scene of strife. At Montreal he found a dispatch from the governor of New England, proposing an exchange of prisoners and a treaty of neutrality with Canada, notwithstanding the war then carried on between the mother countries. The Canadian governor mistrusted the sincerity of the English proposals, and they were not productive of any result. During the remainder of the year, the Iroquois continued to disturb the repose of the colony by frequent and mischievous irruptions, and many valuable lives were lost in repelling those implacable savages.

The war continued with chequered results and heavy losses on both sides in the two following years. An invasion of the canton of the Agniers, by the French, was at first successful, but in the retreat the colonists suffered great privation, and most of their prisoners escaped, while any of their number that strayed or fell in the rear, were immediately cut off by their fierce pursuers. The fur trade was also much injured by these long continued hostilities, for the vigilant enmity of the Iroquois closed up the communication with the western country by the waters of the St. Lawrence and its magnificent tributaries.

We have seen that for a long period the history of the colony is a mere chronicle of savage and resultless combats, and treacherous truces between the French and the formidable Iroquois confederacy. This almost perpetual warfare gave a preponderance to the military interests among the settlers, not a little injurious to their advance in material prosperity. The Comte de Frontenac had by his vigorous administration and haughty and unbending character, rendered himself alike respected and feared by his allies and enemies. But while all acknowledged his courage and ability, his system of internal government bore upon the civil inhabitants with almost intolerable severity; upon them fell all the burden and labour of the wars; they were ruined by unprofitable toil, while the soldiers worked the lands for the benefit of the military officers whom he desired to conciliate. He also countenanced, or at least tolerated the fatal trade in spirituous liquors, which his authority alone could have suppressed. Owing to these causes the colony made but little progress, commerce languished, and depression and discontent fell upon the hearts of the Canadian people.

In the year 1695, M. de Frontenac re-established the fort of Cataracouy, despite the universal disapprobation of the settlers, and the positive commands of the king. The object was, however, happily and ably accomplished by M. de Crisasy in a very short time and without the loss of a man. This brave and active officer made good use of his powerful position. He dispatched scouts in all directions, and by a judicious arrangement of his small forces checked the hostilities of the Iroquois upon the Canadian settlements.

The Sieur de Révérin, a man of enlightened and enterprising mind, had long desired to develope the resources of the Canadian waters, and in 1697 at length succeeded in associating several merchants with himself, and establishing a fishery at the harbour of Mount Louis among the mountains of Notre Dame, half-way between Quebec and the extremity of the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the southern side. The situation was well chosen, the neighbouring soil fertile, and the waters abounded in fish. But where nature had provided everything that industry could require, the hand of man interfered to counteract her bounty. The hostility of the English embarrassed the infant settlement and alarmed its founders: despite of these difficulties, a plentiful harvest and successful fishing at first rewarded the adventurers; subsequently however, they were less fortunate, and the place was for some time neglected and almost forgotten.

Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, died in the seventy-eighth year of his age, 1698, having to the last preserved that astonishing energy of character which had enabled him to overcome the difficulties and dangers of his adventurous career. He died as he had lived, beloved by many, respected by all; with the unaided resources of his own strong mind, he had preserved the power of France on the American continent, undiminished if not increased, through years of famine, disaster, and depression. He loved patronage and power, but disdained the considerations of selfish interest. It must, however, be acknowledged that a jealous, sullen, and even vindictive temper, obscured in some degree the lustre of his success, and detracted from the dignity of his nature. The Chevalier de Callières, governor of Montreal, was appointed his successor to the satisfaction of all classes in the colony.

The new governor applied himself vigorously to the difficult task of establishing the tranquillity of his territories. He endeavoured to procure the alliance of all the Indian tribes within reach of French intercourse or commerce, but the high price charged by the Canadian merchants for their goods, proved a constant difficulty in the way of negociation, and ever afforded the savages a pretext for disaffection and complaint. In the midst of his useful labours this excellent chief was suddenly cut off by death; his upright and judicious administration won the esteem of all the colonists, and the truth and honesty of his dealings with the native tribes gave him an influence over them which none of his predecessors had ever won. On the petition of the inhabitants of Canada, the king willingly appointed the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the vacant government; soon after his accession a deputation of the Iroquois arrived at Quebec, and for the first time formally acknowledged the sovereignty of France, and claimed the protection of her flag.

M. de Raudot, the intendant, introduced various important judicial and fiscal improvements in the affairs of the colony at this time; by his influence and mediation he effectually checked a litigious spirit which had infused itself among the Canadians to a ruinous extent, and by strong representations induced the king to remove the cruel restrictions placed upon colonial industry by the jealousy of the mother country.

In the spring of 1708 a council was held at Montreal to deliberate upon the course to be pursued in checking the intrigues of the English among

the allied savages; the chiefs of all the Christian Indians and of the faithful and warlike Abenaquis were present on the occasion. It was resolved that a blow should be struck against the British colonies, and a body of 400 men, including Indians, was formed for the expedition, the object of which was kept secret. After a march of 150 leagues across an almost impracticable country, the French attacked the little fort and village of Haverhill, garrisoned by thirty New Englandmen, and carried them after a sharp struggle; many of the defenders were killed or captured, and the settlement destroyed. The neighbouring country was however soon aroused, and the assailants with difficulty effected a retreat, losing thirty of their men.

Intelligence reached the French in the following year, that Colonel Vetch, who, during a residence of several years at Quebec, had contrived to sound all the difficult passages of the River St. Lawrence, had successfully instigated the Queen of England to attempt the conquest of New France; that a fleet of twenty ships was being prepared for the expedition, and a force of 6000 regular troops were to sail under its protection, while 2000 English, and as many Indians, under the command of General Nicholson, were to march upon Montreal by the way of Lake Champlain. M. de Vaudreuil immediately assembled a council of war to meet the emergency, where some bold measures were planned, but a misunderstanding between the governor-general and one of his principal officers paralysed their execution. Finally, indeed, a considerable force was marched to anticipate the British attack, but the dissensions of the leaders, the insubordination of the troops, and the want of correct intelligence, embarrassed their movements, and drove them to an inglorious retreat. On the other hand, the English, mistrusting the faith of their Indian allies, and suffering from a frightful mortality, burned their canoes and advanced posts, and retreated from the frontier. The perfidious Iroquois, while professing the closest friendship, had poisoned the stream hard by the British camp, and thus caused the fatal malady which decimated their unsuspecting allies. The fleet destined for the attack of Quebec never crossed the Atlantic; it was sent to Lisbon instead, to support the falling fortunes of Portugal against the triumphant arms of Castile.

In the following year, another abortive expedition was undertaken by the English against Canada. Intelligence was brought to M. de Vaudreuil that ten ships of war of 50 guns each and upwards had arrived from England, and were assembled at Boston, together with 35 transports capable of conveying 3000 men; while a force of provincial militia and Indians of New York, nearly 2000 strong, were collected in that State to assail him by land. The French governor immediately called together the Iroquois deputies, and successfully urged their neutrality in the approaching struggle; he also secured the somewhat doubtful allegiance of the allied tribes, but only accepted the proffered services of a few warriors of each nation, and this more as hostages, than for the purpose of increasing his strength.

M. de Vaudreuil then hastened from Montreal to Quebec, where he found that his lieutenant, M. de Boucourt, had effectually executed his orders to strengthen the defences. The settlements along the coast below that important stronghold were sufficiently guarded to render a

hostile debarkation difficult and dangerous. The governor immediately re-ascended the St. Lawrence, and formed a corps of 3000 men under M. de Longueuil, at Chambly, to await the approach of the English. The invading army, however, retreated without coming to action, having received information of a great disaster which had befallen their fleet. The British admiral had neglected the warnings of an experienced French navigator, named Paradis, who accompanied him, and approached too near a small island in the narrow and dangerous channel of the Traverse; a sudden squall from the south-east burst upon him at that critical moment, and his own, with seven other ships of the fleet, were driven on the rocky shore, and utterly destroyed: very few men escaped from these ill-fated vessels.

The generosity and loyalty of the merchants of Quebec furnished the governor with 50,000 crowns, to strengthen the fortifications of their town, on the occasion of a rumour that the English were again preparing an invasion of Canada, in 1712, aided by the Iroquois, to whom they had become reconciled. At the same time, a new enemy entered the field—the fiercest and bravest of the native tribes; this people, called Outagamis, or Foxes, joined in a confederacy with the Five Nations, and undertook to burn the French fort at Detroit, and destroy the inhabitants A large force of their warriors advanced upon the little stronghold, but Du Buisson, the able and gallant commandant, having summoned the neighbouring allies to the assistance of his garrison of twenty Frenchmen, defeated the dangerous invaders after a series of conflicts almost unparalleled for obstinacy in Indian war, and destroyed more than a thousand of their best and bravest.

These important successes, however, could not secure to the French an equality in trade with their English rivals; their narrow and injudicious commercial system limited the supply of European goods to be exchanged for the spoils of the red man's forests; the fur trade, therefore, fell almost wholly into the hands of British merchants, and even those native tribes in closest alliance with the Canadian governor, obtained their scanty clothing from the looms of Yorkshire, and their weapons of the chase from the industrious hands of our colonists.

By the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, Louis the Magnificent, ceded away for ever, with ignorant indifference, the noble province of Acadia, the inexhaustible fisheries of Newfoundland, and his claims to the vast, but almost unknown regions of Hudson's Bay; his nominal sovereignty over the Iroquois, was also thrown into the scale, and thus a dearly purchased peace restored comparative tranquillity to the remnant of his American empire.

The fierce Outagamis, more incensed than weakened by their losses at Detroit, made savage and murderous reprisals upon all the nations allied to the French. Their vindictive vigilance rendered the routes between the distant post of Canada, and those southward to Louisiana, for many years almost impracticable. At one time, indeed, when overwhelmed by a successful invasion, these implacable savages made a formal cession of their territories to M. de Vaudreuil; but the moment opportunity offered they renewed hostilities, and although beaten in repeated encounters, having united the remnant of their tribe to the powerful Sioux and Chicachas, they continued for a long time to harass the steps of their detested conquerors.

On the 10th of April, 1725, M. de Vaudreuil closed his useful career. For one-and-twenty years he had discharged his important duties with unswerving loyalty, ability, and vigilance. Good-fortune crowned him with well-merited success, and he went to rest from his earthly labours with the blessings of a grateful people, who, under his wise rule, had rapidly progressed to prosperity.

The Marquis de Beauharnois, captain of the marine, succeeded to the government of the now tranquil colony. His anxiety was aroused, however, the year after his accession, by the vigorous efforts of the English to extend their commerce even into the heart of the Canadian territories. Governor Burnet of New York had erected a fort and trading post at Oswego with the view of monopolising the rich traffic of the western lakes. To counteract this design M. de Beauharnois sent the Baron de Longueuil to negociate with the Indians in the neighbourhood of Niagara, for their consent to the erection of a French fort and establishment upon the banks of their magnificent river where it enters the waters of Ontario. After many difficulties in reconciling the jealousy of the native tribes, the French succeeded in effecting their object. On the other hand the men of New York strengthened their defences at Oswego and increased the garrison. Angry communications then passed between the French and English governors in peremptory demands for its abandonment by the one, and prompt refusals by the other. Each was well aware of the importance of the position: it served as a means of diverting nearly all the Indian trade by Albany and the channel of the Hudson into the British Colonies; and also formed a frontier protection to those numerous and flourishing settlements which Anglo-Saxon industry and courage were rapidly forming in the wilderness.

In the vain hope of checking the irrepressible energies of rival colonisation, Beauharnois erected a fort at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, commanding its important navigation, and also serving to hold in terror the settlers on the neighbouring banks of the Hudson and Connecticut. The English remonstrated without effect against this occupation, and the French remained in peaceable possession of their establishment. The next war that broke out between the mother countries spread rapine and destruction over the colonial frontiers, without any real result beyond mutual injury and embittered hatred. From this fort at Crown Point, and other posts held by the Canadians, marauding parties poured upon the British settlements and destroyed them with horrid barbarity. A party of French and Indians even penetrated to Saratoga, within forty miles of Albany, attacked and burned the fort, and slew, or carried into captivity, the unhappy defenders.

For many subsequent years the history of Canada is but a chronicle of the accession of governors, and the registration of royal edicts. In comparison with her southern rivals, the progress in material prosperity was very slow. Idleness and drunkenness, with all their attendant evils, were rife to a most injurious extent. The innumerable fêtes, or holidays of the Church, afforded opportunities to the dissolute, and occasioned frequent instances of serious disorders, till the king was urged to interfere: the number of these fête days was then very much reduced, to the great benefit of the colony. The feudal system of tenure

also operated most unfavourably upon the development of agricultural resources, and the forced partition of lands tended to reduce all the landholders to a fraternity of pauperism. The court of France endeavoured vainly to remedy these evils, without removing the causes, and passed various edicts to encourage the further clearance of wild land and to stimulate settlement.

In 1745, the year when the power of France in Europe was exalted by the splendid victory of Fontenoy, a dangerous blow was struck at her sovereignty in America by the capture of Louisburg, and with it the whole Island of Cape Breton, by the New Englanders under Mr. Pepperel, aided by Admiral Warren's squadron. This disaster was no sooner known in Paris than an extensive armament was equipped under the command of the Duc d'Anville, an officer of known valour and ability. The wounded pride of the French hurried on rapidly the preparations for this expedition, which they confidently hoped would redeem the tarnished honour of their arms in the western world. Early in May the fleet was already completely appointed; but the elements did not second these energetic preparations, and contrary winds detained the armament till the 22nd of June. Then it at last put to sea, in the formidable strength of eleven ships of the line, thirty smaller vessels of war, and transports containing 3000 regular soldiers. Nova Scotia, the Acadia of other days, was their destination. There it was expected that the old French settlers, who had unwillingly submitted to English conquest, would readily range themselves once more under the fleur-de-lys; Canada had already sent her contingent of 1700 men under M. de Ramsay to aid the enterprise, and M. de Conflans, with four ships of the line from the West Indies, was directed to join the squadron.

This formidable fleet was but a short time at sea when the ships separated and fell into hopeless confusion. On the 12th of September, indeed, the Duc d'Anville reached the western continent in the Northumberland, accompanied by a few other vessels, but there no laurels awaited the gallant admiral; he was suddenly seized with apoplexy, and in four days his body was committed to the deep. The vice-admiral immediately proposed returning to France on account of the absence of the greater part of his force, but other officers strongly opposed this desponding counsel, and urged a bold attack upon Nova Scotia, rather than an inglorious retreat. The more vigorous course was adopted by a council of war, which threw the vice-admiral into such a state of frantic excitement that he ran himself through the body, fancying he had fallen into the hands of the enemy. De la Jonquière succeeded to the command, and although more than three score years of age, acted with unimpaired energy. But the elements were again hostile to France, the fleet was dispersed by a violent storm off Cape Sable, and the shattered remnant of the expedition returned ingloriously to their country, without having accomplished any of the objects for which they had been sent forth.

The government at Paris was however by no means cast down by these untoward occurrences; and the armament was speedily equipped to renew their efforts against the English colonies; the expedition was prepared at Brest under the command of M. de la Jonquière, and at the same time a squadron under M. de St. George was armed with a view to threaten the coasts of British India.

The English ministry, early informed of all the movements of their opponents, resolved to intercept both these squadrons, which they had been apprised would sail from port at the same time. Admiral Anson and Rear-admiral Warren were ordered upon this enterprise with a formidable fleet, and taking their departure from Plymouth steered for Cape Finisterre on the Gallican coast. On the 3rd of May they fell in with the French squadrons of six large men-of-war, as many frigates, four armed East Indiamen, and a valuable convoy of thirty ships. The enemy's heavier vessels immediately formed in order of battle, while the merchantmen made all sail away under the protection of the frigates. The British were also ready for action, and a severe combat ensued; before night all the French line-of-battle ships were captured after a spirited defence, but two-thirds of the convoy escaped through the darkness of the night. A considerable quantity of bullion fell into the hands of the victors, and their grateful sovereign rewarded the courage and good fortune of the admirals, by raising Anson to the peerage, and decorating Warren with the ribbon of the Bath.

Admiral de la Jonquière, the newly-appointed governor of Canada, was among the numerous captives who graced the triumph of the British fleet; when the news of this event reached Paris the king appointed to the vacant dignity the Comte de la Galissonière, an officer of distinguished merit and ability. The wisdom of this selection was speedily displayed; the new governor no sooner entered upon the duties of office than his active zeal found employment in endeavouring to develope the magnificent resources of his province. He made himself thoroughly acquainted with the face of the country, the climate, population, agriculture, and commerce, and then presented an able statement to the French court of the great importance of the colony, and a system which, had it been adopted in time, might have secured it against English aggression.

The Comte de la Galissonière proposed that M. du Quesne, a skilful engineer, should be appointed to establish a line of fortifications through the interior of the country, and at the same time urged the government of France to send out 10,000 peasants to form settlements on the banks of the great lakes and southern rivers. By these means he affirmed that the English colonies would be restricted within the narrow tract lying eastward from the Alleghany mountains, and in time laid open to invasion and ruin. His advice was, however, disregarded, and the splendid province of Canada soon passed for ever from under the sway of France.

Under the impression that the expected peace between the mother countries would render it important to define the boundaries of their colonial possessions, the active governor of Canada dispatched M. de Celeron de Bienville, with 300 men, to traverse the vast wilderness lying from Detroit south-east to the Apalachian mountains. Assuming this range as the limit of the British colonies, he directed that leaden plates, engraved with the arms of France, should be buried at particular places in the western country to mark the territories of France; and that the chief of the expedition should endeavour to secure a promise from the Indians to exclude for the future all English traders. At the same time he gave notice to the governor of Pennsylvania that he was commanded by the King of France to seize all British merchants found in those countries

and to confiscate their goods. De Celeron fulfilled his difficult commission to the best of his powers, but the forms of possession which he executed, excited the jealous apprehension of the Indians, who concluded that he designed to subject or even enslave them.

When M. de la Galissonière failed in his endeavour to obtain the aid of an extensive immigration from France, he turned his thoughts towards the Acadian settlers (whom the treaty of Utrecht had transferred to the British crown), with the object of forming a new colony. The readiest expedient to influence this simple and pious people was, obviously, by gaining over their clergy; the Abbe le Loutre was selected as the fittest ambassador to induce them to withdraw from allegiance to the English government. This politic and unscrupulous priest appealed to their interests, nationality, and religion as inducements to abandon the conquered country, and to establish themselves under the French crown in a new settlement which he proposed to form on the Canadian side of Acadia. Le Loutre's persuasions influenced many of these primitive people to proceed to the French posts, where every protection and attention was bestowed upon them.

Animated by the success of this measure, and sanguine that large numbers of the Acadians would follow the first seceders, de la Galissonière induced the home government to appoint a considerable sum yearly to carrying out his views; but in the midst of his patriotic exertions he was obliged to hand over the reins of government to M. de la Jonquière, who had now arrived to claim the post so ably held by another during his captivity with the English. Galissonière, however, before he sailed for France, magnanimously furnished his successor with the best information on colonial matters, and pointed out the most promising plans for the improvement of the province; De la Jonquière unwisely rejected such as related to the Acadian settlements, but the King of France disapproved of his inaction, and reprimanded him for not having continued the course of his predecessor. Instructions were given him to take immediate possession of the neighbouring country, to build new forts for its retention, and to occupy it with troops; he was also desired to aid Le Loutre in all his proceedings, and to forward his designs. In obedience to these orders, M. de Boishebert was dispatched with a body of troops and some peasants, to take post near the mouth of the River St. John, which was looked upon as an important post for the defence of the new settlement.

These measures inevitably aroused the jealousy of the English governor of Nova Scotia, who made repeated remonstrances on the subject, but with no other effect than that of causing De la Jonquière to warn his officers to avoid all possible grounds of dispute, as he expected the limits of the rival powers would be speedily arranged.

Supplies for the new post at St. John's could only be obtained from Quebec, and transmitted by the long and difficult circuit of the whole Acadian peninsula. M. de Vergor was sent on this mission in an armed sloop, containing military and other stores for the French and Indians. He was ordered to avoid all English vessels, but if he could no longer shun pursuit, to fight to the last. This stern command was not obeyed, for he surrendered without an effort to Captain Rous, who, apprised of his design, had intercepted him on the coast. On the news of the

capture of this sloop, M. de la Jonquière empowered the governor of Louisburg to make reprisals upon all English vessels that might enter his port.

General Cornwallis, governor of Halifax, sent a detachment of British troops, under Major Lawrence, to watch the movements of La Corne, the French commander, who had been directed to build a fort on the Bay of Fundy, called Beau-sejour. As soon as Le Loutre became aware of the arrival of the English, he caused the houses and homesteads of those unfortunate Acadians who remained faithful to England to be burned. Soon after this cruel severity the French and English leaders held a conference, and agreed to erect forts opposite to each other on each side of the River Beau-bassin, but to remain at peace till they received further instructions.

While occasions of dispute were thus arising on the Nova Scotia peninsula, a still more dangerous difficulty threatened the cause of peace in the far west. The governors of the British colonies continued to grant license to their merchants to trade on the banks of the Ohio, in contempt of the haughty pretensions of French sovereignty. By the orders of La Jonquière, three of these adventurers were seized, with all their goods, and carried captive to Montreal; after a long examination, however, they were discharged.

CHAPTER XVI.

In the year 1750, commissioners met at Paris to adjust the various boundaries of the North American territories, M. de Galissonière, and M. de Silhouette on the part of France, and Messrs. Shirley and Mildmay on the part of Great Britain. The English commissioners, however, soon perceived that there was little chance of arriving at a friendly arrangement. The more they advanced in their offers the more the French demanded, futile objections were started, and unnecessary delays continued; at length Mr. Shirley and his colleague broke up the conference and returned to England. It now became evident that a decisive struggle was at hand.

Under the rule of M. de la Jonquière a great and growing evil cankered the spirit of Canada. The scanty salaries allowed to the government officers afforded a great inducement to peculation; especially as the remoteness of the colony rendered retribution distant and uncertain. The Indian trade opened a field for enormous dishonesty; M. Bigot, the intendant, discontented with his inadequate stipend, ventured to farm out trade licences for his own profit and that of his creatures, and speedily accumulated considerable wealth; he, the governor, and a few others formed themselves into a company and monopolised nearly all the commerce of the country to the great indignation of the colonists. M. de la Jonquière and his secretary, St. Sauveur, also kept exclusively to themselves the nefarious privilege of supplying brandy to the Indians; by this they realised immense profits.

At length a storm of complaints arose against the unworthy governor, and even reached the dull ears of his patrons at the court of France. Aware

that his case would not bear investigation he demanded his recall, but before a successor could be appointed he died at Quebec on the 17th of May, 1752, aged sixty-seven years. Though not possessed of brilliant gifts, M. de la Jonquière was a man of considerable ability, and had displayed notable courage and conduct in many engagements; but a miserable avarice stained his character, and he died enormously wealthy while denying himself the ordinary necessaries of his rank and situation. Charles le Moine, Baron de Longueuil, then governor of Montreal, being next in seniority, assumed the reins of power until the arrival of a successor.

The Marquis du Quesne de Menneville was appointed governor of Canada, Louisiana, Cape Breton, &c., on the recall of M. de la Jonquière in 1752; he was reputed a man of ability, but was of haughty and austere disposition. Galissonière who had recommended the appointment, furnished him with every information respecting the colony and the territorial claims of France; thus instructed he landed at Quebec in August, where he was received with the usual ceremonies.

The orders given to the new governor with regard to the disputed boundaries, were such as to leave little doubt on his mind, that the sword alone could enable him to secure their execution, and the character of his stubborn though unwarlike rivals, promised a determined resistance to his views. His first attention was therefore directed to the military resources of his command; he forthwith organised the militia of Quebec and Montreal under efficient officers, and attached bodies of artillery to the garrison of each [illegible]; the militia of the country parishes next underwent a careful inspection and nothing was neglected to strengthen the efficiency of this army.

In 1753, several French detachments were sent to the banks of the Ohio with orders to establish forts and to secure the alliance of the Indians by liberal presents, and splendid promises. The wily savages, however, quickly perceived that the rival efforts of the two great European powers would soon lead to a war of which their country must be the scene, and they endeavoured to the utmost of their ability to rid themselves of both their dangerous visitors: disregarding these efforts and intreaties, both the English and French advanced nearer to each other, and the latter fortified several posts upon the Alleghany and the Ohio. When the hostile designs of France became thus apparent, Mr. Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, which was the most exposed of the British provinces, undertook to check these aggressions upon his own responsibility, and formed a regiment of militia for the purpose. A small detachment raised by the Ohio Company was immediately sent to protect the traders, and take possession of the Forks of the Ohio and Monongahela, the precise spot where the first efforts of the French would probably be made. They had scarcely begun the erection of a fort when M. de Contrecœur with 1200 men arrived from Venango in 300 canoes, drove them from the ground and completed and occupied their fortification; to this since well-known spot he gave the name of Fort du Quesne. In the mean time the Virginia militia marched to the aid of the English, and met them on their retreat at Wills Creek; the colonel of this body had died soon after it took the field, and the command devolved upon the officer next in seniority—George Washington, the father of the Great Republic.

To gain intelligence of the movements of the Virginians, frequent ex-

peditions were dispatched from Fort du Quesne. One of these, forty-five in number, commanded by M. Jumonville, was surprised by Colonel Washington, and destroyed or captured with the exception of one man. The victors immediately proceeded to entrench themselves on the scene of action, a place called Little Meadows, with the view of holding their ground till reinforcements should arrive; they gave to their little stronghold the name of Fort Necessity. They were soon after joined by the remainder of the Virginia militia and a company from South Carolina, which raised their strength to about 400 men. When M. de Contrecœur received intelligence of Jumonville's disaster, he sent M. de Villiers with 1000 regular troops and 100 Indians to obtain satisfaction. Colonel Washington resolved to await the attack in the fort, and trust to the arrival of some troops promised by the State of New York for his relief. He was, however, so warmly assailed by the French, on the 3d of July, that he found it necessary to surrender the same evening, stipulating to march out with all the honours of war, and everything in his possession except the artillery. The capitulation was scarcely signed when it was most shamefully broken, the baggage was plundered, the horses and cattle destroyed, and the officers detained for some time as prisoners. At length Colonel Washington retired as he best might, and met at Winchester the reinforcements that but a day before would have enabled him to stem the tide of French usurpation; he was then however fain to content himself with erecting Fort Cumberland at Wills Creek, where he held his ground.

Meanwhile the governor of the British colonies transmitted reports of these events to London, and the ambassador at Paris was instructed to remonstrate firmly against the French aggressions in America, but that court disregarded these communications, and took no further pains to conceal their hostile intentions. They publicly gave orders for the speedy reinforcement of their colonies, especially Quebec, with men and military stores, and prepared to follow up with vigour the success at Fort Necessity.

The English government only noticed these formidable preparations by letters of instruction to their colonial authorities, ordering them to unite for their common defence, and encouraging them to resist every aggression, without, however, furnishing any assistance. Commissioners were also appointed to meet the Indian chiefs in congress at Albany, and to endeavour to secure those important allies to the British power. The red warriors did not display much enthusiasm in the cause, but finally they accepted the presents offered them, and expressed a desire to receive vigorous assistance from the English to drive the French from their invaded hunting-grounds. At this congress a general union of the funds and forces of the colonies was proposed, but clashing interests in comparatively unimportant matters defeated these salutary designs.

While this congress continued its almost useless deliberations, Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, marched upon the Kennebec River, with about 1000 men, and erected forts at the most exposed points to secure the north-eastern frontier; he also accomplished the important object of gaining the confidence of the Indians, and their consent to his military occupation of the country. During the remainder of the year he repeatedly represented to the English ministry the dangerous condition of the colonies, and the urgent need of powerful assistance to defeat the hostility

of France. Shirley's appeal was successful; two regiments, Halkett's the 44th, and Dunbar's the 48th, were ordered from Ireland to America, and Major-General Braddock was appointed to the command of all the British forces on the western continent; the governor of Massachusetts was at the same time thanked by the king, and empowered to concert measures for attacking the French settlements in the Bay of Fundy. The disbanded colonial regiments, Shirley's and Pepperel's, were also re-established, and recruits were rapidly raised through the several provinces to form an army for the approaching war.

General Braddock arrived by the end of February, 1755, and immediately convened the governors of the different British colonies to meet him in council at Alexandria in Virginia on the 14th of April. It appeared his orders from home were positive that he should at once move upon Fort du Quesne, notwithstanding the danger, difficulty, and expense of carrying the war across the rugged barrier of the Alleghany mountains, instead of assailing the Canadian settlements, where the facility of transport by water, and their proximity to his resources, offered him every advantage. However, no alternative remained, and he obeyed. At the same time Shirley and Pepperel's newly raised regiments were directed upon Niagara, and a strong body of provincial troops commanded by General Johnson was commissioned to attack the French position of Fort Frederick, called by the English Crown Point.

While these plans were being carried out, Colonel Monckton, with Colonel Winslow, marched against the French settlements in the Bay of Fundy; their force of nearly 3000 men was aided by the presence on the coast of Captain Rous, with three frigates and a sloop. The Acadian peasants, and some regular troops with a few cannon, endeavoured to oppose his passage at the River Massaquash, but were speedily overpowered. Thence he moved upon Fort Beau-sejour and forced the garrison to capitulate after a bombardment of four days. He left some troops to defend this position, which he now called Fort Cumberland, and proceeded the next day to a small entrenchment on the River Gaspereau, where the French had established their principal depôt for the Indian trade, and the stores of arms, ammunition, and provisions; he then disarmed the peasantry to the number of 15,000 men. At the same time Captain Rous destroyed all the works erected by the French on the River St. John. By this expedition the possession of the extensive province of Nova Scotia was secured to the British crown almost without the loss of a man.

The court of France in the mean time hastened the equipment of a considerable fleet at Brest, under the orders of Admiral Bois de la Mothe; on board were several veteran regiments, commanded by the Baron Dieskau, who had distinguished himself under the celebrated Marshal Saxe.

The Marquis du Quesne had demanded his recall from the government of Canada, with the view of re-entering the naval service of France. His departure caused little regret, for though his management of public affairs was skilful and judicious, a haughty and domineering temper had made him generally unpopular in the colony. The Marquis de Vaudreuil de Cavagnac was appointed his successor at the request of the Canadian people, who fondly hoped to enjoy under the rule of the son of their

favourite, the same prosperity and peace which had characterised his father's administration. The new governor, who arrived in M. de la Mothe's fleet, was received with great demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants of Quebec.

Hearing of these hostile preparations, the English ministry, in the month of April, dispatched Admiral Boscawen with eleven sail of the line to watch the French squadron, although at the time no formal declaration of war had been made. The rival armaments reached the banks of Newfoundland almost at the same time: the friendly fogs of those dreary latitudes saved De la Mothe's fleet; two of his vessels, indeed, fell into the hands of his enemies, but the remainder entered the Canadian ports in safety. On the news of this attack reaching Paris, M. de Mirepoix, the ambassador, was recalled from London, and loud complaints were made by the French against Boscawen's conduct; on the part of Great Britain it was answered that the aggressions of the Canadians in Virginia justified the act of hostility.

On the 8th of May, 1755, General Braddock joined the head-quarters of the army at a village on the Potomac; on the 10th he marched to Wills Creek, and encamped on a hill near Fort Cumberland. Here he remained till the 28th, passing the time in horse-races, reviews, and conferences with the Indians. These red warriors were astonished at the number of the British, their uniform dress, and their arms, the regularity of their march, the tremendous effect of their artillery, and the strange noises of their drums and fifes; but, unfortunately, the haughty general was not wise enough to conciliate his important allies, or to avail himself of their experience in forest warfare; he, however, with disdainful generosity, gave them numerous presents, and provided the warriors with arms and clothing.

The force now assembled in camp at Fort Cumberland consisted of the 44th (Sir Peter Halkett's) and the 48th (Colonel Dunbar's) regiments, each of 700 men, with three New York and Carolina companies of 100, and ten of Virginia and Maryland (fifty strong), a troop of Provincial light horse, thirty seamen, and twelve pieces of field artillery: in all, 2300 men. The Delawares and other friendly Indians, whose services were unfortunately so lightly valued, added considerably to the numbers of this formidable body.

Braddock was aware that the French garrison of Fort du Quesne only numbered 200 men, and earnestly desired to advance in early spring with his overwhelming force, but by an unfortunate exercise of corrupt influence at home, his troops had been ordered to land in Virginia,—where the inhabitants, altogether engrossed with the culture of tobacco, were unable to supply the necessary provisions and means of transport. Had they been landed in the agricultural State of Pennsylvania, all demands could have been readily supplied, their march shortened, and a large outlay saved to the British government. When the general found that the Virginians could not meet his views, he made a requisition on the neighbouring State for 150 waggons, 500 horses, and a large quantity of forage and provisions; these were readily promised, but not a tenth part arrived at the appointed time. His disappointment was, however, somewhat mitigated, by a small supply which Mr. Franklin sent shortly after from Philadelphia. By the exertions of this energetic man,

Braddock was at length furnished with all his requisitions, and then prepared to advance.

The unfortunate selection of the chief of this expedition was, however, more fatal than difficulty or delay; his character was unsuited for such a command in every point except that of personal courage; haughty, self-sufficient, and overbearing, he estranged the good-will and rejected the counsel of his Indian and Provincial allies. His troops were harassed by the endeavour to enforce a formal and rigid discipline, which the nature of the service rendered impracticable. Through the tangled and trackless passes of the Alleghanies, he adhered with stubborn bigotry to a system of operations only suited to the open plains of civilised Europe. But his greatest and worst error was to despise his foe: in spite of the warnings of the Duke of Cumberland, his patron and friend, he scorned to take precautions against the dangers of ambush of the American savage.

On the 29th, Major Chapman, with 600 men and two guns, marched from the camp: Sir John St. Clair, quartermaster-general, some engineers and seamen accompanied this detachment to clear the roads and reconnoitre the country. From that time till the 10th of June an incredible amount of useless and harassing toil was wasted in widening and levelling the forest paths and erecting unnecessarily elaborate bridges. At length, on the 10th, Braddock followed with the rest of his army, and reached the Little Meadows that night, a distance of twenty-two miles. In spite of the facilities afforded by the labours of the pioneers, great difficulty was experienced in the conveyance of the heavy stores. During the route still to be pursued, where no preparations had been made, greater delays were to be expected. At the same time the general was stimulated to activity by information that the French soon expected a reinforcement at Fort du Quesne, of 500 regular troops. With more of energy than he had yet displayed, he selected 1200 men, and taking also ten guns, the seamen, and some indispensable supplies of provisions and ammunition, he pushed boldly on into the pathless and almost unknown solitudes of the Alleghanies. Colonel Dunbar, with the rest of the army and the heavy luggage, followed as they best might.

To trace the unfortunate Braddock through his tedious march of 130 miles would be wearisome and unnecessary. His progress was retarded by useless labours in making roads, or rather tracks, and yet no prudent caution was observed; he persisted in refusing or neglecting the offers of the Provincials and Indians to scour the woods and explore the passes in his front. Sir Peter Halkett and other British officers ventured to remonstrate in strong terms against the dangerous carelessness of the march, but their instances seemed only to confirm the obstinate determination of the general. Washington, who acted as his aide-de-camp, also urged an alteration of arrangement, and with such vehement pertinacity that the irritated chief ordered his Virginian companies to undertake the inglorious duties of the rear-guard.

M. de Contrecœur, commandant of Fort du Quesne, had received information of all Braddock's movements from the Indians; with the view of embarrassing the English advance rather than of offering any serious resistance, he dispatched M. de Beaujeu, with 250 of the marine, or colony troops, towards the line of march which Braddock was expected

to take; this detachment was afterwards strengthened by about 600 Indians, principally Outamacs, and the united force took up a favourable position where the underwood and long grass concealed them from the approaching enemy.

Intelligence of a contradictory nature as to the strength and movements of the French had been every day carried to the unfortunate Braddock by Indians professing to be his friends, and by doubly traitorous deserters. Still, under a fatal conviction of security, he had pursued his march, meeting with no interruption, except in taking 'eight or nine scalps, a number much inferior to expectation.' On the 8th of July, following the winding course which the difficulty of the country rendered necessary, he crossed the Monongahela River, encamped upon the bank at the opposite side from Fort du Quesne, and sent Sir John St. Clair forward to reconnoitre the enemy's fort. The quartermaster-general was successful in attaining the desired information: he reported that the defences were of timber, and that a small eminence lay close by, from whence red-hot shot could easily be thrown upon the wooden parapets.

At seven in the morning of the 9th of July, an advance guard of 400 men under Colonel Gage, pushed on and took possession of the fords of the river, where it was necessary to recross, unopposed, but somewhat alarmed by the ominous appearance of a few Indians among the neighbouring thickets. A little before mid-day the main body began to cross the broad stream with 'colours flying, drums beating, and fifes playing the Grenadiers' March;' they formed rapidly on the opposite side, and not having been interrupted in the difficult passage, recommenced their march in presumptuous security.

Three guides and six light horsemen led the way towards Fort du Quesne, through an open space in the forest, followed by the grenadiers of the 44th and 48th: flanking parties skirted the edge of the woods on both sides. The 44th regiment succeeded with two guns, behind them were the 48th with the rest of the artillery and the general: the Virginian companies, in unwilling obedience, sullenly brought up the rear. In this order they advanced with as much regularity as the rough road permitted; when within seven miles of the fort they left a steep conical hill to the right, and directed their march upon the extremity of the open space, where the path disappeared between the thickly wooded banks of a small brook: so far all went well.

At length the guides and the light horse entered the 'bush' in front and descended the slope towards the stream, while a number of axemen set vigorously to work felling the trees and clearing the underwood for the advance of the army, the grenadiers acting as a covering party. Suddenly from the dark ravine in front flashed out a deadly volley, and before the rattle of the musketry had ceased to echo, three-fourths of the British advance lay dead and dying on the ground. The French had coolly taken aim from their unseen position, and singled out the officers with fatal effect, for every one was killed or wounded in that first discharge; only two and twenty of the grenadiers remained untouched, they hastily fired upon the copse containing their still invisible foes, then turned and fled. One of these random shots struck down the French chief De Beaujeu, and for a short time checked the enemy's triumph; he

was dressed like an Indian, but wore a large gorgiton to denote his rank. At the moment of his death he was waving his hat and cheering his men on at a running pace.

Braddock instantly advanced the 44th regiment to succour the front, and endeavoured to deploy upon the open space, but simultaneously on all sides from the thick covert, burst the war-whoop of the Indians, and a deadly fire swept away the head of every formation. The 44th staggered and hesitated; Sir Peter Halkett and his son, a lieutenant in the regiment, while cheering them on, were shot dead side by side; Braddock's horse was killed and two of his aides-de-camp wounded; the artillery, although without orders, pressed to the front, and their leading guns plied the thickets with grape and canister, but in a few minutes all the officers and most of the gunners were stretched bleeding on the field. The broken remnant of the grenadiers who had formed the advance, now fell back upon the disordered line and threw it into utter confusion.

With stubborn purpose and useless courage the general strove to reform his ruined ranks; most of the officers nobly stood by him, but the soldiers were seized with uncontrollable terror; assailed on every side by foes, unseen save when a savage rushed out from his woody stronghold to tear the scalp from some fallen Englishman, they lost all order and fell back upon the 48th, which was now rapidly advancing to their aid under Colonel Burton. Braddock with these fresh troops made several desperate efforts to gain possession of the conical hill, from whence a strong body of the French galled him intolerably, but his well-drilled ranks were broken by the close trees and rocks, and shattered by the flanking fire of the Indians. Again and again he endeavoured to rally the now panic-stricken soldiers, without, however, any effectual movement of advance or retreat; his ill-judged valour was vain, the carnage increased, and with it his confusion. At length, after having had four horses shot under him, while still encouraging his men, a bullet shattered his arm and passed through his lungs; the luckless but gallant chief was placed in a waggon by Colonel Gage and hurried to the rear, although he was 'very solicitous to be left on the field.'

The remains of the two British regiments now broke into utter disorder and fled, leaving all the artillery and baggage in the hands of the enemy, and worst of all, many of their wounded comrades, who were scalped by the Indians without mercy. This horrible occupation and the plunder of the waggons, for a time interrupted the pursuers, and enabled Colonel Washington, the only mounted officer still unwounded, to rally the Virginian companies who had as yet borne little share in the action; he succeeded in holding the banks of the Monongahely River till the fugitives had passed, and then himself retired in tolerable order. One of his captains was Horatio Gates, afterwards Burgoyne's conqueror in the revolutionary war; this young officer distinguished himself by courage and conduct in the retreat, and was carried from the field severely wounded.

The routed army fled all through the night and joined Colonel Dunbar the following evening, at a distance of nearly fifty miles from the scene of their defeat. Braddock ordered that the retreat should be immediately continued, which his lieutenant readily obeyed, as his troops were

infected with the terror of the fugitives. A great quantity of stores were hurriedly destroyed that the wounded officers and soldiers might have transport, and the remaining artillery was spiked and abandoned. The unfortunate general's sufferings increased hourly, aggravated by the most intense mental anguish. On the 12th of July, conscious of the approach of death, he dictated a dispatch acquitting his officers of all blame, and recommending them to the favour of his country: that night his proud and gallant heart ceased to beat. His dying words expressed that astonishment at his defeat which had continued to the last: 'Who would have thought it? we shall know better how to deal with them another time.'

May he sleep in peace! With sorrow and censure, but not with shame, let his name be registered in the crowded roll of those who have fought and fallen for the rights and honour of England.

The number of killed, wounded, and missing, out of this small army amounted to 896 men, and sixty-four officers, as appeared by the returns of the different companies after the battle; some few, indeed, of these ultimately re-appeared, but most of the wounded and missing met with a fate far more terrible from their savage enemies than a soldier's death upon the field. Of fifty-four women who had accompanied the troops, only four escaped alive from the dangers and hardships of the campaign. The French on the other hand only report the loss of their commander, De Beaujeu, and sixty men in this astonishing victory.

On Braddock's death, Colonel Dunbar fell back with disgraceful haste upon Fort Cumberland; nor did he even there consider himself safe. Despite the intreaties of the governors of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, that he would remain to protect the frontier, he continued his march to Philadelphia, leaving only a small garrison of two Provincial companies at the fort. From Philadelphia the remains of the army, 1600 strong, was shipped for Albany, by the order of General Shirley, who had succeeded to the command of the British American forces.

In consequence of this lamentable defeat and the injudicious withdrawal of the remaining British troops, the western borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia were exposed during the ensuing winter to the ruthless cruelties of the victorious savages, and the scarcely less ferocious hostilities of their European allies. The French not only incited the Indians to these aggressions, but rewarded them by purchasing their hapless captives at a high price, and in turn exacted large ransoms for the prisoners' release. Their pretence was to rescue the English from the torture, their real motive gain, and the rendering it more profitable for the savages to hunt their enemies than the wild animals of the forest.

From the presumptuous rashness of Braddock and the misconduct of the 44th and 48th regiments, followed results of a far deeper importance than the loss of a battle, and the injury of a remote province. The conviction formerly held by the colonists of the superior prowess of English regulars, was seriously shaken if not destroyed, and the licentious and violent conduct of Dunbar's army to the inhabitants, during the retreat, excited a wide-spread feeling of hostility. 'They are more terrible to us than to the enemy,' said the discontented: 'they slighted our officers and scorned our counsel, and yet to our Virginians they owe their escape from utter destruction.' Some far-sighted and ambitious men there were

who, through this cloud upon the British arms, with hope espied the first faint rays of young America's ascending star.

The second expedition, set on foot by the council at Alexandria, was that under General Shirley: two Provincial regiments, and a detachment of the royal artillery were assembled by his order at Albany, to march against Niagara. All the young men who had been, during more peaceful times, occupied by the fur trade in the neighbouring country, were engaged to man the numerous batteaux for the transport of the troops and stores to Oswego. Part of the force commenced their westward journey in the beginning of July, and the remainder were preparing to follow, when the disastrous news of Braddock's ruin reached the camp. This struck a damp upon the undisciplined Provincial troops, and numbers deserted their colours, while the indispensable batteaux-men nearly all fled to their homes, and resisted alike threats and intreaties for their return. The general, however, still vigorously pushed on, with all the force he could keep together. Great hopes had been formed of the assistance likely to be rendered to the expedition by the powerful confederacy of the Five Nations, but these politic savages showed no inclination to trust to the then doubtful fortunes of the British colonies, and even remonstrated against the transit of their territories by the army, alleging that the Oswego fort was established and tolerated by them as a trading-post, but not as a place of arms for hostile purposes. After having undergone considerable hardships, and overcome great difficulties, Shirley reached Oswego by the 18th of August: his whole force, however, had not arrived till the end of the month. Want of supplies, and the lateness of the season, defeated his intention of attacking Niagara that year. On the 24th of October he withdrew from the shores of Lake Ontario, without having accomplished anything of the slightest importance; leaving 700 men under Colonel Mercer to complete and occupy the defences of Oswego, and those of a new fort to be called Fort Ontario, he retraced the difficult route to his old quarters at Albany.

The expedition against Crown Point was the last in commencement of those planned by the council at Albany, but the first in success. By the advice of Shirley, the command was intrusted to William Johnson, an Irishman by birth. This remarkable man had emigrated to New York at an early age, and by uncommon gifts of mind and body, united to ardent ambition, had gained wealth, consideration, and a seat at the council-board of his adopted country. For some years he had been settled on the fertile banks of the Mohawk river, where he had built two handsome residences, and acquired a large estate. He associated himself intimately with the Indians of the Five Nations, learned their language, habits, and feelings, and gained their affection and respect. In war, he was their chief and leader; in peace, the persevering advocate of their rights and interests. Accordingly, when called to the command of the army, Hendrick, a Mohawk sachem, and 300 warriors of that tribe, followed him to the camp.

General Johnson had never seen a campaign, his troops had never seen an enemy, with the exception of a few companies that had shared the glories of Louisburg, but his ability and courage, and their zeal and spirit, served instead of experience. To this force was intrusted the most difficult undertaking in the chequered campaign, and it alone gained a share of honour and success.

By the end of June, 6000 men, the hardy militia of the northern states, had mustered at Albany under Johnson's command; he soon after sent them forward with Major-General Lyman, to the carrying-place between Lake George and the Hudson river, sixty miles in advance; here they established a post called Fort Edward, in a strong position, while the artillery, provisions, and boats for the campaign, were being prepared under the general's eye. Towards the end of August, Johnson joined his army at the carrying-place, and proceeded to the southern extremity of Lake George, leaving Colonel Blanchard with 300 men to garrison the newly erected fort.

Here all the Indian scouts brought the news that the French had intrenched themselves at Ticonderoga on the promontory between the Lakes George and Champlain, but that the works were still incomplete. Johnson promptly prepared for the offensive; soon, however, his plans were changed by the news of Baron Dieskau's arrival on the Lake with a considerable force of regular troops from Old France. The well known ability and courage of the enemy, together with his formidable force, alarmed Johnson for the safety of the British settlements; he therefore immediately dispatched an earnest intreaty for reinforcements to the provincial governments, who loyally responded to the appeal, but the danger had passed before their aid reached the scene of action.

Baron Dieskau had been ordered to reduce the Fort of Oswego on Lake Ontario, as the primary object of his campaign, but on hearing that a British force was in motion upon Lake George, he determined first to check or destroy them, and pressed on rapidly against Johnson, with 2000 men, chiefly Canadians and Indians. The English chief was apprised of this movement, but could form no estimate of the enemy's strength, his savage informants being altogether ignorant of the science of numbers: he nevertheless made every possible preparation for defence, and warned Colonel Blanchard to concentrate all his little force within the fort; that officer was, however, slain in the mean time, by an advance party of the French.

Johnson now summoned a council of war, which recommended the rash step of dispatching a force of 1000 men and the Mohawk Indians to check the enemy; Colonel Ephraim Williams was placed in command of the detachment. Hardly had they advanced three miles from the camp when suddenly they were almost surrounded by the French, and after a gallant but hopeless combat, utterly routed, with the loss of their leader, Hendrick the Indian chief, and many of the men. The victors, although they had also suffered in the sharp encounter, pursued with spirit, till checked near the camp by Colonel Cole and 300 men, sent by Johnson in the direction of the firing. By this delay the British were enabled to strengthen their defences, and to recover, in some measure, from the confusion of their disaster. The most vigorous efforts of the officers were needed to overcome the panic caused by Williams's defeat and death, and by their ignorance of the advancing enemy's force.

After a brief pause, Dieskau made a spirited attack upon the British entrenchments, but his Canadians and Indians were suddenly checked by Johnson's guns; they at once gave way, and inclining to the right and left, contented themselves with keeping up a harmless fire on the flanks of the works. The French regulars, however, bravely maintained their

ground, although surprised by the strength of Johnson's position, and damped by finding it armed with artillery. But they could not long bear the brunt alone; after several gallant attacks, the few remaining still unhurt also dispersed in the forest, leaving their leader mortally wounded on the field. Early in the action General Johnson had received a painful wound, and was obliged unwillingly to retire to his tent: the command then devolved upon Lyman, who pursued the routed enemy for a short distance with great slaughter. The French loss in this disastrous action was little short of 800 men, and their regular troops were nearly destroyed.

The Canadians and Indians, who had fled almost unarmed, halted that evening at the scene of Williams's defeat to scalp the dead and dying. Finding they were not molested they prepared for rest and refreshment, and even debated upon the renewal of the attack. The heavy loss already sustained by the English (upwards of 200 men), and the consequent disorganisation, prevented them from following up their victory: this forced inaction had well-nigh proved the destruction of 120 men sent from Fort Edward to their aid under Captain Macginnis. This gallant officer, however, had secured his march by every proper precaution, and was warned by his scouts that he was close upon the spot where the still formidable enemy was bivouacked. He promptly formed his little band, and sustained a sharp engagement for nearly two hours, extricating his detachment at length with little loss, and much honour to himself. The brave young man was, however, mortally wounded, and died three days afterwards in Johnson's camp. The remnant of the French army then dispersed, and sought shelter at Ticonderoga.

Though the brilliance of this success was obscured by the somewhat timid inaction that followed, the consequences were of great importance. The English troops, it must be owned, were become so accustomed to defeat and disaster, that they went into action spiritless and distrustful. Now that a formidable force of the enemy had yielded to their prowess, confidence began to revive, and gradually strengthened into boldness. Had the French been successful in their attack, the results would have been most disastrous for the British colonies; nothing would have remained to arrest their progress into the heart of the country, or stem the tide of ruin that had followed on their track. The value of this unusual triumph on the western continent was duly felt in England; a baronetcy by royal favour, and a grant of 5000*l.* by a grateful parliament, rewarded the successful general.

General Johnson turned his attention immediately after the battle to strengthen the position he had successfully held with the view of securing the frontiers from hostile incursion when he should retire into winter quarters. The fort called William Henry was forthwith constructed by his orders; guns were mounted, and a regiment of Provincial troops, with a company of Rangers left to garrison it and Fort Edward. On the 24th of December Johnson fell back to Albany, and from thence dispersed the remainder of his army to their respective provinces. In the mean time, Captain Rogers, a daring and active officer, made repeated demonstrations against the French in the neighbourhood of Crown Point, cut off many of their detached parties, and obtained constant intelligence of their proceedings. By these means it was known that the French had assembled a force of no less than 2000 men, with a proportion of artillery, and a

considerable body of Indians, at Ticonderoga; the British were therefore obliged to use every vigilance to secure themselves against sudden attack from their formidable enemies, and to hasten by all means in their power the preparations for defence.

The fatal consequences of the unfortunate Braddock's defeat were rapidly developed in the south-western frontiers. The French were aroused by success to an unusual spirit of enterprise, and, together with the Indians, they carried destruction into the remote and scattered hamlets of the British settlements. To put an end to these depredations, the government of Virginia marched 500 men to garrison Fort Cumberland, and 160 more to the southern branch of the Potomac, lately the scene of a cruel massacre. But these isolated efforts were of little more than local and temporary advantage; as the marauders were checked or baffled in one district, they poured with increased ferocity upon another. The province of Pennsylvania now became their foray-ground; and the inhabitants, the faithful but fanatic men of peace, actually denied all assistance to their governor for defence, and zealously preached against any warlike preparations, recommending patience and forbearance as the best means of securing their properties and lives.

This fatal delusion was not even dispelled by the intelligence that 1400 Indians and 100 French were already mustered on the banks of the Susquehanna, only eighty miles from Philadelphia, with the object of again dividing and sweeping the whole country in separate parties. Soon after, news arrived that the peaceful and prosperous settlement of Great Cove was utterly destroyed, and all the inhabitants massacred or carried into captivity. Still the men of peace refused to use the arm of flesh. The spirited governor in vain urged the necessity of action upon his unmanageable assembly, till the sudden arrival of some hundreds of ruined fugitives strengthened his argument. These unfortunates crowded to the State House, dragging a waggon loaded with the dead and mutilated bodies of their friends who had been scalped by the Indians at a place only sixty miles distant: they threw the bleeding corpses at the door, and threatened violence if their demands for protection and revenge were not instantly complied with. The assembly, either moved by their distress, or overawed by their menaces, at length gave up its scruples and passed a bill to call out the militia and appropriate 62,000*l.* to the expenses of the war.

It must be said at the same time that the other English colonies, where no such scruples as those of the Quakers existed, were far from being active or united in raising supplies of men and money for their common safety. Those, however, where danger was most imminent, addressed strong and spirited appeals to their rulers for protection and support, and denounced in vigorous language the aggressions and usurpations of the French. These remonstrances had at length the desired effect of disposing the minds of the local authorities to second the views of the court of London for curbing the advances of Canadian power. On the 12th of December, 1755, a grand council of war was assembled at New York, consisting of as many provincial governors and superior officers as could be collected for the purpose. General Shirley presided, and laid before them the instructions which had been given to Braddock, his unfortunate predecessor. He exerted himself with energy and success to create

good understanding amongst the several governments, and was particularly happy in effecting a union for mutual protection and support between the important States of New England and New York. He also succeeded in regaining to his cause many of the Indians, who had either already gone over to the French or withdrawn to a cold neutrality.

The measures Shirley now proposed to the council were in accordance with the tenor of General Braddock's instructions; they were cheerfully assented to by that body through his successful negociations. It was agreed to strengthen the naval force on Lake Ontario, and to form an army of 6000 men upon its shores, while 10,000 more were to be directed against the French intrenchments at Ticonderoga. Another attempt was also proposed, upon Fort du Quesne, and a movement against the Canadian settlements on the Chaudière, provided that these schemes should not interfere with the main objects of the war. The council then unanimously gave their opinion, that a reinforcement of regular soldiers was indispensable for the assertion and security of the British sovereign's rights on the American continent.

The English government, though sensible of General Shirley's abilities as a negociator, had not sufficient confidence in his military capacity to intrust him with the execution of extensive warlike operations. The command in chief of all the forces in America was, therefore, conferred upon the Earl of Loudon, a nobleman of amiable character, who had already distinguished himself in the service of his country.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE campaign of 1755 had opened with evil promise for the cause of France in the western world; four formidable armies were arrayed to check her progress, and turn back the tide of war upon her own territory. A powerful fleet, under the brave and vigilant Boscawen, swept the Atlantic coast, insulted her eastern harbours, and captured her reinforcements and supplies. The doubtful allegiance of many of her Indian neighbours was far overbalanced by the avowed hostility of others no less numerous and powerful.

But the close of the year presented results very different from those that might have been anticipated. Braddock was defeated and slain; the whole of that vast valley of the Mississippi, whose unequalled fertility is now the wonder of mankind, had been freed from the presence of a British soldier by one decisive victory. Niagara was strengthened and unassailed; Crown Point had not been compromised by Johnson's partial success. The undisputed superiority upon Lake Ontario was upon the Canadian shore. From dangerous foes, or almost as dangerous friends, the forest tribes had generally become zealous allies, and thrown themselves with ready policy into the apparently preponderating scale; the ruined settlements, and diminished numbers of the British frontier colonists, marked the cruel efficiency of their co-operation. Notwithstanding the check of the Baron Dieskau's detachment, there still remained to the French more than 3000 regular troops, with a large force of the Canadian militia, who were in some respects even better qualified for forest warfare than their veteran brethren from the mother country. All these, united under one

able chief, formed a much more formidable military power than the English colonies, with their jarring interests and independent commanders, could bring forward. Nova Scotia again severed from the territories of New France, and the Acadian peasants reduced to British rule, formed but a slight offset to these hostile gains.

The civil progress of the French colony was, however, far from satisfactory. For two years past, the scarcity of grain and other provisions had almost amounted to famine. The inhabitants of the country, constantly employed in warfare against their English neighbours, were forced to neglect the cultivation of the soil, till absence from their own homesteads was almost as ruinous to themselves as their destructive presence to the enemy. Although the scanty supply of corn was too well known, the intendant Bigot, with infamous avarice, shipped off vast quantities of wheat to the West Indies for his own gain and that of his creatures. The price of food rose enormously, and the commerce of the country, hampered by selfish and stupid restrictions, rapidly declined.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil de Cavagnac, the successor of the Marquis du Quesne as governor, soon lost the confidence of his people. To him they had looked hopefully and earnestly for protection against the fatal monopolies of the Merchant Company, but they found that he readily sanctioned the oppression under which they suffered, and indeed rather increased its severity. Great stores of wheat had been purchased from the settlers by the Company in anticipation of a scarcity; when they had obtained a sufficient quantity to command the market, they arranged with the intendant to fix the price at an immense advance, which was maintained in spite of the misery and clamours of the people. Again, the intendant pretended that the dearth was caused by the farmers having secreted their grain, and in consequence issued an order that the city and troops should be immediately supplied at a very low rate, and those who would not submit to these nefarious conditions, had their corn seized and confiscated without any remuneration whatever.

Abuses and peculations disgraced every department of the public service, the example set in high places was faithfully followed by the petty officials all over the colony. The commissaries who had the supply of the distant posts, enriched themselves at the cost of the mother country, and to the detriment of the hardy and adventurous men occupying those remote and dreary settlements, boats were not allowed to visit them without paying such heavy fees that the venture became ruinous, and thus the trade was soon altogether confined to the commissaries.

Vessels sent to Miramichi with provisions for the unfortunate Acadians, returned loaded with that people, who, faithful to their king and nation, had left their happy homes, refusing the proffered protection of their conquerors. When they reached Quebec they met with a cruel reception. The intendant gave to a creature named Cadet the office of ministering to their wants; this heartless man shamefully abused the trust, and only considered it as a means of selfish profit, providing them with unwholesome and insufficient food; thus many fell victims to his cruel avarice. Some, indeed, who settled on lands belonging to the governor or his favourites, were amply supplied for the private advantage of the proprietors.

Loud and constant were the complaints of the colonists against these

shameful abuses of power, but they fell either upon ears determined not to hear, or were misrepresented and refracted by the medium through which they passed. The outer aspect of New France was bold and formidable, but within all was corruption, languor, and decay. The seignorial tenure, and the custom law of Paris, fatally embarrassed agricultural improvement, and the monopoly of the Merchant Company paralysed trade. The absolute system of government, and the intrusive exercise of imperial power in even the most trivial matters of colonial interest, cramped individual energy by the constraining force of centralisation. The military system of feudal organisation turned the ploughshares and reapinghooks of the most active among the population into weapons of war, and the settlements that were little else than scattered barracks for troops, made but small progress in the truly glorious war against the desolation of the wilderness. While the hardy *voyageurs* of the Ottawa, and the farmers of the rich valley of the St. Lawrence reaped the laurels of the bloody fight at Fort du Quesne, the canoes once richly laden with the furs of the western country floated idly in the stream, and the exuberant soil by the banks of the Great River was overrun with a harvest of useless or noxious weeds. Thus it was that while the military superstructure of this great French colony was strong and imposing, the social and political foundations were false and feeble.

On the other hand the dangerous British rivals had rapidly advanced to prosperity, and to the possession of formidable resources. The state of Massachusetts alone mustered 40,000 men capable of bearing arms, by one-third a greater number than all Canada could produce. The militia of Connecticut was 27,000 strong, and that of New Hampshire and Rhode Island also considerable. Pennsylvannia, Virginia, and other States were also in themselves powerful; but in military matters, New England ever took the lead. The sturdy non-conformists who first peopled that country had been long accustomed to encounter and overcome difficulties; they had continually waged a war of mutual extermination with the Indians. The unbending spirit of their ancestors lost nothing under such training; each separate settlement possessed an independent vitality; the habit of self-government engendered a feeling of confidence in their own power, and they who had marched with steady step over the barriers of an almost impenetrable forest, and swept away the warlike hordes of its savage inhabitants, were no mean foes to match even against the brilliant chivalry of France.

The peculiar and distinct institutions of these British colonies, while they fostered the development of individual energy and stimulated general prosperity, forbade at the same time that compact, and centralised organisation, which rendered the external power of New France so formidable. It was difficult or impossible to unite all the different States in one great effort, and hopeless to induce them to act in concert. The borderers of Maine or Massachusetts heard with almost indifference of Indian massacres upon the banks of the Susquehanna, and the men of Virginia felt but little sympathy with the victors of the north. English colonisation had already progressed to unheard of prosperity in its component parts, in spite of its utter want of large and comprehensive system, while that of France, planned on a scheme of magnificent ambi-

tion, had proved but a sickly exotic under the over-anxious care of the founders. In the one, powerful elements formed but a disjointed and unwieldy aggregate, in the other, indifferent materials were rendered strong by the firm framework in which they were united.

The defensive power of the British colonies was however very great; in cases of real peril, when the farmer tore himself from his fields, the merchant from his storehouse, and the hunter from the chase, a militia formidable in numbers and composition, was at the service of the State, while the vast extent and the scattered situations of the settlements, would have rendered complete conquest difficult, and occupation impossible.

The campaign of 1756 opened with a partial success of the French arms. The Marquis de Vaudreuil had learned that the British had erected a chain of small forts to protect their route to Oswego, and that they purposed building ships at that port to command the navigation of Lake Ontario, and thus break up the chain of his communications. He therefore ordered a detachment of about 350 Canadians and Indians under M. Chaussegros de Léry to march to Montreal, from whence they proceeded westward on the 17th of March. After a harassing journey of great length through the wilderness they came upon one of the small English forts on the Oswego route, garrisoned by Lieutenant Bull and twenty-five men; the British officer at once rejected the proposal of a capitulation and prepared to offer a vigorous resistance. He was however speedily overpowered, and he and his little party, with the exception of two, were massacred and scalped by the Indians, whose ferocity could not be repressed; the fort was then blown up and the ammunition destroyed.

The French fully alive to the danger of allowing their enemies to hold possession of the important position of Oswego, were determined to spare no efforts to drive them away. Another expedition was accordingly prepared to accomplish this grand object, consisting of 300 men, led by M. de Villiers. They proceeded to within a short distance of Oswego, where they constructed a small fort, placed among the dense woods in such a manner as to be unseen by the enemy; from this hiding-place they frequently intercepted parties with provisions destined for Oswego. When the Iroquois became aware of the designs of the French, they summoned Sir William Johnson, whom they greatly respected, to meet them in council for the purpose of considering the means of diverting hostilities from their country. He strongly advised them, if possible, to prevent the attack upon the fort, and thus avoid a war that would deluge the frontier with blood. Pursuing this counsel they dispatched thirty deputies to Montreal to assure M. de Vaudreuil that they wished to preserve the strictest neutrality, and to intreat him not to draw the sword in their country or interrupt their communications. The governor answered that he would seek his enemies wherever he could find them, but that the people of the Five Nations should be protected from every insult as long as they did not join the English.

From this time the war was to assume a more important form, and new and more illustrious actors were to appear upon the stage. The British government determined to increase its efforts in North America, and as the Earl of Loudon, lately appointed general-in-chief of the forces on that continent, was unavoidably detained in England for some time,

Major-General Abercromby was ordered to precede him and hold command until his arrival. Lord Loudon was intrusted with extraordinary powers to enable him to promote the essential object of union among the English colonies; he was also appointed governor of Virginia, and made colonel of a regiment of four battalions, chiefly officered by foreigners, called the Royal American. In the mean time the preparations were made in British America, to forward the execution of the plans recommended by the great council of war, and the militia of the several provinces were assembled at Albany, where they awaited the arrival of the English general. Abercromby did not reach the army till the latter end of June, 1756, and at that time only brought with him two regiments, the 35th and the 42nd, or Murray's Highlanders; the British troops in North America at this time consisted of those two corps, the 44th and 48th of the line, Shirley's and Pepperel's battalions, eight independent companies from New York and Carolina, and a large body of the Provincial milita.

General Abercromby considered the force under his command insufficient to carry out the extensive schemes recommended by the council at Albany; he was, however, cordially agreed with them upon the advantages to be gained by their execution. Desirous to avoid responsibility, he determined to await the arrival of the commander-in-chief, but in the mean time he marched the Provincial forces upon Fort William Henry, under the command of General Winslow, who there awaited reinforcements previous to his advance against Crown Point.

In the west, however, British energy and courage found employment under the able and adventurous Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet. He determined to execute, as far as in his power lay, the resolves of the council at Albany, and left Schenectady with about 300 boatmen, bearing supplies and military stores to strengthen the important post of Oswego. His detachment consisted of raw Irish recruits, utterly unacquainted with discipline, and unaccustomed to the sight of an enemy; but their native courage overcame all disadvantages, and they bravely did their duty, as their countrymen have ever done when striving for a good cause, and led by a worthy chief. Bradstreet passed in safety up the Onondaga river, reached Oswego, and accomplished his object. The French, being apprised of this expedition, collected in force some miles to the eastward of Oswego, and detached 700 men to intercept their enemy; happily, however, they became embarrassed in the tangled wilderness, and lost their way: when, at last, after much difficulty, they reached the banks of the Onondaga, the English had already passed up the stream in safety. They well knew, however, that Bradstreet must soon return by the same route; they therefore patiently awaited their opportunity, concealed beneath the favouring cloak of the dense forests surrounding the river.

The English chief—either informed of this ambuscade, or mistrusting the facility with which the dangerous navigation had been before accomplished—took the only precaution his difficult position permitted. To scour the neighbourhood of the rapid stream with light troops would have been impossible, owing to the thick underwood everywhere arresting the human foot; and yet, from each dark clump of cedars, or from behind each projecting crag on the rugged banks, he might at any moment expect to see the deadly flash of the Canadian musket, and to hear the war-

whoop of the savage. Bradstreet, therefore, determined on the precaution of proceeding in three divisions of canoes, within easy distances of each other: that thus, if any one were attacked, his stout boatmen might land from the others, and on equal terms encounter the assailants on the shore. He entered the first canoe; his gallant men followed with somewhat tumultuous good-will. The day of their departure was the 3rd of July; in that burning season the stream was low and difficult of navigation, and the stately trees and luxuriant underwood, rich in leafy honours, afforded complete concealment to the dangerous enemy.

For nine miles, the party forced their way up the Onondaga, laboriously but without interruption; at length they reached a spot where the waters flow in shallow rapids past a small island, and the dense woods throw their shade over the very margin of the stream. Suddenly, from the north shore, a loud volley, and a louder yell, broke through the silence of the wilderness. This first fire fell with deadly effect upon the leading division, but Bradstreet, with six of the survivors, forced their canoes quickly across the eddying current towards the island. Twenty of the enemy had at the same time plunged into the river, and taking advantage of the ford, arrived before him; nevertheless, Bradstreet threw himself on shore, and with desperate courage faced the foe. After a sharp struggle, he even dislodged them from the island, and drove them back upon the main land. When the remaining canoes of the advanced division joined, his little force amounted to no more than twenty men. The French, enraged at their first repulse, vigorously renewed the attack with doubled numbers, but they were again beaten, and leaving many of their foremost dead in the stream, returned to the shelter of the shore. A third time, however, the assailants, brave even in defeat, pushed across the ford with seventy men, and threw themselves upon the little knot of English. For nearly an hour, with fiery courage on the one side and stubborn resolution on the other, they fought among the rocks and trees, till the secluded spot, where perhaps human foot had never before trodden, was red with human blood. At length the French gave way, and, scattered and depressed, fell back upon the main body of their countrymen.

While this stout fight was raging on the little island the boatmen of the remaining divisions had landed in safety lower down on the southern shore, and moved in good order to the support of their hard-pressed comrades. The main body of the French pressed rapidly along the opposite bank towards another ford about a mile higher up the river, and many succeeded in crossing before Bradstreet's stout boatmen could intercept them. By this time, however, the British leader had arrived from the little island, and put himself at the head of his two last divisions; with prompt determination he threw himself upon the French advance, and, bravely supported by his followers, after a stubborn strife, forced it back into the river. Many of the conquered were struck down by the English marksmen in the close bush-fight, and even a greater number perished in their hurried passage of the stream.

In Bradstreet's absence another large body of the French swarmed across the ford by the little island where they had been before repeatedly repulsed, but this last effort was even more disastrous than the preceding. Before they could form in the tangled swamps, the boatmen and their gallant chief came down at a running pace, flushed with recent success.

One short struggle on the woody bank, and the assailants were forced back in utter rout. The remainder of the enemy dispersed in the forest and attacked no more, but above 100 of their number had perished in the stream or had fallen by the sword, while seventy prisoners, and a great quantity of arms rewarded the successful valour of the conquerors. Many of the French regular soldiers, strangers to the American wilderness, became bewildered in its mazes, and died miserably of starvation. On the other hand, no less than sixty of Bradstreet's boatmen were killed and wounded in this gallant action.

The English were too much fatigued and weakened by their hard-won victory to venture on pursuit, and prepared to rest that night upon the battle-field; they were, however, soon aroused by the approach of a body of troops, which, to their great joy, proved to be a detachment of their own grenadiers, on the march to Oswego, and the next morning 200 men also joined them from that garrison. -But in the mean time the rain had poured down in torrents, and the stream of the Onondaga swelled to an angry flood; to cross and follow up their success was therefore impossible, and the remnant of the French found refuge in their vessels on the waters of Lake Ontario. After a time, when the subsiding flood permitted, the detachment, and the grenadiers, descended the river to Oswego; and the victorious boatmen, with their leader, pushed on for Schenectady, where they arrived in safety on the 14th of July. The following day Bradstreet set out for Albany to warn General Abercromby of the designs of the French against Oswego: the prisoners had informed him that a force of 1200 men was encamped on the shores of the Lake not far from the eastern fort of that port, where the thick covert of the forest concealed them from the British garrison. Abercromby at once ordered the remains of the 44th regiment under Colonel Webb to hasten to Oswego, but owing to the interference of the Provincial governors a fatal delay intervened before this corps was put in motion.

On the 26th of July Lord Loudon arrived at New York from Europe; on the 29th he reached Albany and assumed the command of the army. He found a body of nearly 3000 regular troops, besides a large Provincial force, under his orders at Albany and Schenectady, including the survivors of the two unfortunate regiments which had been crippled and broken in Braddock's disaster. In the fort of Oswego were mustered 1400 bayonets, principally of Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments, besides sailors and peasants, and nearly 500 men in scattered detachments preserved the difficult communications through the Iroquois territories.

On the other hand the French held Crown Point and Ticonderoga with 3000 veterans, and found means to assemble a still more formidable force at Fort Frontenac for the purpose of attacking Oswego.

This year had arrived at Quebec from France a large body of regulars under the command of the Marquis de Montcalm, with the Brigadier de Levi, and Colonel de Bourlemaque. Montcalm remained but a few days at Quebec, and then hastened on with his veteran reinforcements to strengthen the force destined to act against Oswego. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, with a large body of Canadian militia raised at Montreal, was detached as the vanguard of the army, and arrived undiscovered on the 9th of August within a mile and a half of the British position; on the night of the 10th the first division also arrived; on the 12th, at midnight,

the second division joined. Then the French chief, having made all necessary preparations, opened his trenches before Fort Ontario, which which was situated at the opposite side of the river from the important position of Oswego.

From break of day until six in the evening Montcalm kept up a heavy fire, which was vigorously replied to by the defenders; then, however, the resistance suddenly ceased. The unpardonable neglect of the British authorities had left this important post almost unprovided with ammunition, and in the hour of extremest need the scanty supply failed. Further defence was impossible; the survivors of the little garrison spiked their cannon, and retreated without interruption to the neighbouring position of Fort Oswego, on the opposite side of the river. When the French perceived that the defenders had yielded the post, they quickly took possession, and turned such of the guns as in the hurry of retreat had been still left uninjured upon the walls of the remaining stronghold. The defences of the feeble fort soon crumbled beneath the crushing fire from Montcalm's battering train, and the now hostile guns of Fort Ontario; Colonel Mercer, the English chief, and many of his men were struck down, and the remainder, hopeless of a successful defence, surrendered upon not unfavourable terms on the evening of the 14th of August.

Seven armed vessels, mounting from 8 to 18 guns each, 200 batteaux, a vast quantity of provisions, and warlike stores, with 1200 prisoners, were gained by the victors; and for a brief space several British flags, the unwonted trophies of French conquest, decked with drooping folds the walls of the Canadian churches. This brilliant and important success was, however, stained by cruelty and doubtful faith; notwithstanding the terms of the capitulation, the savages were permitted to plunder all, and massacre many, of the captives; and, to the shame of Montcalm, the sick and wounded who had been intrusted to his protection were slain and scalped under the Indian knife. The remaining prisoners, however, were escorted to Montreal, where they were treated with kindness and consideration, and soon afterwards exchanged. The French having demolished the works at Oswego, returned to the eastern part of the province.

This conquest established Montcalm's already rising reputation. Canada rejoiced, and the British colonies were proportionately discouraged. The sad news was first carried to Albany by some French deserters, but remained unconfirmed for several days, till two sailors arrived who had escaped subsequently to the disaster. Indian rumour was also busy with the melancholy tale; it was for a time believed that the whole garrison of Oswego had been put to the sword, and that the bodies of the slain were left unburied upon the desolate shores of Lake Ontario. A panic spread. Colonel Webb with the 44th regiment, nearly 900 strong, and 800 boatmen, stopped short in his advance, now useless through culpable delay, and employed his whole force in felling trees to block up the navigation of the important passage of Wood Creek, while the French, equally anxious to avoid collision, performed a similar labour higher up the river.

The province of New York was the first to suffer by the unhappy loss of Oswego, and the pusillanimous retreat of Webb. The rich and beautiful settlements called the German Flats were speedily desolated by the

Indians, and the scarcely less vindictive Canadians; the crops were destroyed, the houses and homesteads burnt, and such of the inhabitants as could not escape were captured, or slain and scalped.

It has been before stated that all the resources of the British colonies were taxed to enable General Winslow to act against Crown Point, with a view to master the important navigation of Lake Champlain and to demolish the French forts upon its shores; but these preparations produced no results beyond that of strengthening Forts Edward and William Henry; no blow was struck, notwithstanding the opportunity afforded by the withdrawal of nearly all the French regular troops from that neighbourhood to aid the Oswego expedition. The inglorious campaign concluded by the retirement of the British regiments of the line to Albany, and the return of the Provincials to their several localities.

But while the genius and good fortune of Montcalm raised the military reputation of New France and strengthened her external power, tyranny and corruption withered her budding prosperity, and blighted it with premature decay. The paltry peculations and narrow despotism of the petty magnates of colonial government are nauseous and ungrateful subjects. The 'habitans' were oppressed and plundered, the troops were defrauded of their hard-earned stipend, traders were ground down under infamous extortions, and the unhappy Acadian refugees robbed of the generous bounties of the State. Eminent among the perpetrators of these shameless wrongs stood Bigot the intendant; Cadet and others of his creatures were worthy of their principal. A scarcity almost amounting to famine, which inflicted the severest privations upon the colony, was again seized as an opportunity of gain by these relentless men, under the pretence of the general good; great stores of provisions were bought by them at a low, compulsory price, and resold at an enormous advance for their private benefit. Even the sacred calling of the missionaries did not in all instances preserve them from the taint of these unworthy acts, and where wealth was thus largely and by such means increased, morals were naturally deteriorated.

The loss of Oswego was in some degree compensated to the English by the progress of Colonel Lawrence in Acadia, but sad it is to say that the stain of cruelty tainted our success as it had the victory of Montcalm. When the French settlers refused to acknowledge allegiance to the British crown and laws, they were pursued with fire and sword, their villages and farms destroyed, and at last many thousands were suddenly shipped off, and dispersed among the Atlantic colonies, where friends and kinsfolk might never meet again; thus, to use the language of the time, 'establishing peace and tranquillity throughout the whole province.' In the ensuing February, some of these ill-fated Acadians with a few allied Indians, about 300 in all, unexpectedly sallied out upon the new English settlements, driven by desperation from the snowy forests, but Lieutenant-Colonel Scott promptly called together an equal force of Provincials, and drove them back, with heavy loss, upon the inhospitable wilderness.

In the month of August of the year 1756, a small post on the borders of Pennsylvania, called Fort Granville, was surprised by a party of French and Indians, and the garrison carried into captivity. At the

same time, the Morian savages from the banks of the Ohio, rejoicing in the opportunity afforded by the contentions of the white men, suddenly burst upon the English western frontier, and massacred no less than 1000 of the scattered settlers. Then the thirst of vengeance burned among the hardy colonists; infuriated rather than appalled by this horrid butchery, 280 men hastily assembled, and with untiring energy pushed on towards the rugged Alleghanies to an Indian town called Kittaning, the rendezvous of the fierce marauders. The road was rude and difficult, the distance 150 miles, but the furious hatred of the pursuers spurred them forward, and on the morning of the fifth day the foremost scouts brought word that the Indian murderers were close at hand, celebrating their bloody triumph in songs and dances.

When morning light first chased away the darkness of the forest, the English Provincials burst upon the Indian camp. Armstrong, their leader, offered quarter, but the savages, conscious of their unpardonable cruelties, dared not submit. Then ensued a terrible slaughter; the Indians were beaten down in furious rage, or shot in attempting to fly, or shut up in their wooden huts and burned to death; some were seized and scalped in horrible imitation of their own ferocity, and not a few were blown up and destroyed by the stores of ammunition they had collected during their late incursion. Terrible as was this vengeance it availed but little; on almost every other part of the British frontiers parties of the Indians, and their almost equally savage French allies, swarmed among the woods, concealed in ambush during the day, and by night busied in their bloody work.

In the mean time the season had become too far advanced for the commencement of any important enterprise; the English colonies were divided in spirit, and all efforts for the general good were perpetually thwarted by jealousy and parsimony. Lord Loudon, with his armament, had not reached New York till the end of July; by that time little remained practicable but to strengthen some frontier forts, and push forward parties of observation into the French territories. Thus closed the campaign of 1756; England had a sorry account of her wasted blood and treasure in these western wars; opportunities had been neglected, resources wasted, laurels lost. The Indian trade and the commerce of the Great Lakes had been forfeited by the surrender of Oswego. To us only remained the barren boast of Bradstreet's gallant victory. The Indians were not slow to perceive the weakness of British councils, and Sir William Johnson's powerful influence was barely sufficient to restrain the politic Iroquois from openly declaring for the enemy.

CHAPTER XVIII.

STIMULATED by the general success of their arms during the campaign of 1756, the French suffered not their energies to slumber even through the chilly Canadian winter. With detachments of Indians and hardy 'habitans,' they scoured the northern frontiers of the British colonies, and gained intelligence of every movement. From information thus acquired, Montcalm determined to move a force suddenly on Fort

William Henry, at the southern extremity of Lake George, where the English had formed a depôt for a vast quantity of provisions and warlike stores, which was as yet unprotected by any sufficient garrison. Fifteen hundred men, of whom four hundred were Indians, led by Rigaud de Vaudreuil and the Chevalier de Longueuil, were dispatched to surprise and escalade the fort, and in case of failure to destroy the stores and buildings beyond the protection of its walls, and also the shipping and batteaux on the neighbouring lake. On the 19th of March, at the dead of night, the French noiselessly approached the little fortress, but the vigilant sentries discovered them in time, and alarmed the defenders, who drove them back with a brisk fire of cannon and musketry. Having failed to surprise, they invested the place the following day, and twice again vainly attacked the fort. On the 21st they summoned the commandant, Major Eyres, to surrender, which demand he instantly refused. The French assailed the stronghold a fourth and even a fifth time; but having been repulsed in every attack, contented themselves by destroying the undefended property without. Furthermore, they strengthened Ticonderoga and Crown Point with two battalions, and sent Captain Pouchot as commandant to Niagara, with orders to fortify that important post as he best might. They then returned to Montreal. Shortly afterwards they gained an advantage of some value over a detachment of 400 men, led by Colonel Parker, which had been sent by water to attack their advanced guard near Ticonderoga; by a cleverly devised ambuscade, and the opportune arrival of a reinforcement, they completely overpowered the British troops, and slew or captured more than half the number.

In the meanwhile the Earl of Loudon exerted himself to the utmost in collecting a sufficient force to strike a decisive blow. The favourite object of carrying Crown Point was laid aside, and the grander scheme of reducing the formidable stronghold of Louisburg, in Acadia, adopted instead. There the naval power of England could be brought to bear, and the distracting jealousies of the several colonies might not interfere to paralyse vigorous action. Preparations for this enterprise were rapidly pushed on in England, and by the end of January, 1757, seven regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery, all commanded by Major-General Hopson, were ordered to assemble at Cork, and await the arrival of a powerful fleet of fourteen line-of-battle ships, destined to bear them to America. June had nearly closed, however, before this powerful armament, under Admiral Holborne, arrived at the place of rendezvous. Lord Loudon had arranged to meet the expedition at Halifax with all the force he could collect; to accomplish this transport, he was injudiciously led to lay an embargo on all the ships in the British North American ports. This arbitrary measure at once aroused a storm of indignation among the merchants and planters, whose trade it ruinously affected. The home government, ever jealous of commercial liberty, immediately disapproved the high-handed proceeding, and issued peremptory orders against its repetition.

On the 20th of June, 1757, Lord Loudon had embarked at New York with a considerable force drawn from the protection of the vast colonial borders. Sir Charles Hardy commanded a fleet of four ships of war and seventy transports for the troops; each ship had orders, in case of sepa-

ration, to make the best of her way to Halifax. On the 30th they all reached that port, where they found eight vessels of war and some artillery, with two regiments of infantry. The troops were landed as soon as possible, and busied in various and somewhat trivial occupations, while fast-sailing vessels were dispatched to examine the French strength at Louisburg, and also to watch for the arrival of the remainder of the English fleet under Holborne. By the 9th of July the whole of the enormous armament had assembled. Nineteen ships of the line with a great number of smaller craft, and an army of thirteen battalions in high spirit and condition were now at the disposal of the British leaders.

Much valuable time was wasted at Halifax in unnecessary drills and silly sham fights; at length, however, on the 1st and 2nd of August, the troops were embarked with orders to proceed to Gabarus Bay, to the westward of Louisburg, but on the 4th, information received by a captured sloop, that eighteen ships of the line and 3000 regular troops, with many militia-men and Indians, were prepared to defend the harbour, altered the views of the English chiefs. The attack was abandoned, the troops were directed to land in various places on the Acadian peninsula, while the fleet was to cruise off Louisburg and endeavour to bring the French to action. About the middle of the month, a dispatch from Boston containing the disastrous news of the loss of Fort William Henry reached Lord Loudon; in consequence his orders were again altered. The luckless general himself, with a part of the troops and fleet, made sail for New York; the remaining regiments, not before landed, were directed upon the Bay of Fundy, and Admiral Holborne with the bulk of this vast armament bore away for the harbour of Louisburg.

The objects of this cruise can hardly be even conjectured; some imagine that curiosity was Holborne's sole motive. It is obvious that he did not mean to engage the enemy, for when he approached within two miles of the hostile batteries and saw the French admiral's signal to unmoor, he immediately made the best of his way back to Halifax. Being reinforced by four ships of the line about the middle of September, Holborne again sailed within sight of Louisburg, being then certain that the French would not leave the shelter of their batteries to encounter his superior strength, and thus risk unnecessarily the safety of their colony.

Whilst continuing this useless demonstration a violent storm from the southwest assailed the British fleet, on the 24th of October, at the distance of about forty leagues from the rock-bound coast. In twelve hours the ships were driven almost to within gunshot of the shore, when a happy shift of wind saved them from total destruction. But the Tilbury, a magnificent vessel of sixty guns, went to pieces on Cape Breton and 225 of her crew perished in the waves; the Newark drove into Halifax crippled and damaged; others subsequently gained the same shelter, dismasted and in a still more disastrous plight. When the weather moderated, Admiral Holborne made the best of his way for England with the remainder of the fleet, leaving, however, a small squadron under Lord Colville to protect the British traders in those northern seas.

While the main force of the British armies had been occupied in the ill-fated expedition against Louisburg, Colonel Stanwix had marched to protect the western frontier with a detachment of regular troops, and

nearly 2000 of the Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia militia. At the same time the borders of Carolina were intrusted to the care of Colonel Bouquet with a nearly similar force. But to the north, the province of New York and the New England states were feebly held by Colonel Webb with about 4000 men, and Colonel Monro with his garrison of Fort William Henry, against the able and vigilant Montcalm. Although Webb could not be aware of the movements of his dangerous enemy, he unaccountably neglected to avail himself of the means of defence within his reach. With an indifference bordering on infatuation, he abstained from calling out the numerous and hardy militia of the surrounding states, in themselves a force sufficient to overpower his active antagonist. At length when the white banner of France had actually been unfurled on the shores of Lake Champlain, Webb awoke from his lethargy, but only to make a precipitate and disgraceful retreat. He fell back upon Fort Edward the following day, leaving Colonel Monro, with about 2000 men, to bear the brunt of battle, and defend the post which he had thus shamefully abandoned.

When Lord Loudon had put to sea with the main army, Montcalm seized the opportunity of renewing his favourite project of gaining the command of Lake George, through the reduction of Fort William Henry. He rapidly concentrated his forces at Ticonderoga, including a considerable body of Indians, numbering altogether 8000 men, well appointed and provisioned, with a proportionate force of artillery; and without delay pushed on a large division of his army under M. de Levi, along the shores of the lake. On the 1st of August, he followed with the remainder, who, together with the heavy ordnance and warlike stores, were embarked in canoes and batteaux. On the night of the 2nd, both divisions met in a bay near the English fort, and soon afterwards the general learned from some prisoners, who were the survivors of a party surprised by the Indians, the retreat of Webb, and the weakness of the British garrison. He immediately advanced upon the fort in three columns, sending M. de Levi with all his savage allies to scour the neighbouring woods; these fierce warriors suddenly fell upon a small foraging party of the English, slew and scalped forty of their number, and carried off fifty head of cattle.

Montcalm spent the 3rd of August in reconnoitring the fort and neighbourhood, and in erecting batteries, but the Indians scorned the delays of regular warfare, and urged an immediate attack without waiting for the aid of artillery. The chief listened not unwillingly to this daring counsel; first, however, he determined to try the virtue of negotiation, and dispatched a peremptory summons to Colonel Monro demanding an immediate surrender. The English chief, although but too well aware of his own weakness, returned a spirited answer to this haughty message: 'I will defend my trust,' said he, 'to the last extremity.'

This bold reply quickened the ardour of the French: during the 4th and 5th day and night their labours ceased not; they dug and delved into the earth with vindictive and untiring zeal, pushing on the trenches of the attack close to the ramparts of the fort. At daybreak on the 6th, ten guns and a large mortar broke the silence of the morning with a salvo upon the beleaguered garrison. The British paid back the deadly salute vigorously, but with far inferior power. Meanwhile, the Indians and

some Canadian sharpshooters swarmed around at every point; som hiding behind the stumps of the forest trees, others finding shelter in a adjoining garden, from their covert swept the works of the defende with a murderous fire. The odds were great, but in a vain hope tha Webb would not see him lost without an effort, Monro held out wit stubborn courage. His loss was heavy, his defences rapidly giving wa under the crashing artillery of the French; yet still he resisted th threats and promises of the enemy. At length ammunition failed; th savages soon perceived this, and redoubled their fire, crowding close round the failing defenders. While yet they strove to hold their ground an intercepted letter from Webb to Monro was sent in by the Frenc general; this destroyed the last remaining hope, for it stated that n timely relief could reach them, and advised that they should make th best terms in their power. Monro then no longer hesitated, and a capitu lation was signed, with conditions such as a chivalrous conqueror shoul give to those who had nobly, but unsuccessfully, performed their duty.

The sequel of this gallant defence is as sad as it is unaccountable. Th Indians despised the rights of the conquered; when they saw the garriso march out on the following day, with arms and baggage, and protecte by a French escort, their rage knew no bounds; but with savage cunnin they suffered their victims to proceed uninterruptedly till a place wa reached favourable to their murderous designs; then suddenly wit horrible yells they burst from the woods upon the English colum This unexpected onslaught paralysed with terror the men who but th day before had fought with dauntless bravery; few attempted to resis some were instantly struck down by the tomahawks of the savage others found tardy protection from the French escort, and about 600 di persed among the woods, and finally reached Fort Edward in miserab plight.

The endeavour to clear the memory of the illustrious Montcalm fro the dark stain of connivance with this ferocious treachery is now a grat ful task. While the dreadful story was fresh on the English ear, fe voices were raised in his defence; the blood of the murdered man w laid at his door; the traitor to a soldier's faith was held in scornf detestation. But time, 'that reverses the sentence of unrighteou judges,' has served to clear away the cloud that shaded the brightness the gallant Frenchman's fame. He may, indeed, still be censured for n having provided a sufficient escort for the surrendered garrison. Surel however, he may well have deemed 2000 men, such as those who had b fore defended themselves with becoming bravery against his host, mig hold their own against an inferior number of savages. When the o slaught began he used his utmost endeavour to arrest it; he rushed in the bloody scene, and strove earnestly to stop its progress; baring h breast, he called upon the savages to slay him, their father, but to spa the English for whom his honour was plighted. Then finding his inte ference useless, he called upon the prisoners to defend themselves, a fire upon their pursuers; it was in vain, however, so overpowerin were the terrors of the Indian tomahawk. Montcalm's officers also thre themselves in the way of the vindictive savages, and some were ev wounded in the attempt.

Immediately after the victory Montcalm demolished the fort, destroye

all the English vessels and boats upon the Lake, triumphantly carried off the artillery, warlike stores, and baggage, 100 live oxen, and provisions for six months for a garrison of 5000 men. They did not endeavour to push further their important advantages, but once again retired within their own territories.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil took the earliest opportunity to inform the court of France, that his gallant general's expedition had been thus eminently successful. He moreover accompanied the cheering news by earnest demands for aid in troops, artillery, and warlike stores, and prayed that he might be speedily informed of the intentions of the ministry, and their plans for the defence of the still endangered colony.

Meanwhile peculation and corruption had frightfully increased among those intrusted with the Provincial administration. The Associates' Company cast aside all decent seeming of honesty, and robbed the government, the settlers, and the Indians, with unblushing effrontery. The officers in command of outposts followed this infectious example; under pretext of supplying the savages, they made frequent and large demands for goods, which, when obtained, were applied to their own use. And not even content with this wholesale plunder, they gave certificates, amounting to large sums of money, for articles never furnished: from this source arose that immense amount of paper currency which deluged the colony at the time of the conquest, leaving no less than eighty millions of livres then unprovided for. This enormous dishonesty brought down its own punishment; agriculture and trade were paralysed, loyalty shaken, while diminished resources, and a discontented people, hastened the inevitable catastrophe of British triumph.

Immediately on Lord Loudon's return from the disgraceful expedition to Halifax he repaired to Fort Edward, which was the English advanced post in the direction of Canada since the loss of Fort William Henry. As soon as he had given directions for its defence, he took up his winter quarters at Albany: thence he dispatched Captain Rogers with a small party to capture stragglers of the enemy and gain intelligence of their movements. This officer succeeded in ascertaining that the important posts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been left insufficiently garrisoned. The English general formed designs, and even made extensive preparations to take advantage of the opportunity thus offered but with vacillating weakness soon abandoned the project. In Acadia some ineffectual marching and counter-marching was performed by his orders, and the troops suffered considerably from privation and from the harassing enmity of the French and Indians.

The feeble conduct and the contemptible results of this campaign demonstrated the inability of the English chief for military command; but Lord Loudon's merits in council should not be overlooked, while he stands condemned as a general. He aroused the different colonial governments from a dangerous apathy, induced them to unite in some measure their great but disjointed power, and exert for the general good the means which Providence had abundantly supplied. These favourable conditions were improved by the politic wisdom of his successors in the post of commander-in-chief in North America.

The return of Holborne's shattered fleet and the news of the resultless manœuvres of Lord Loudon aroused a storm of indignation in England.

Enormous preparations had proved fruitless, a vast force had warred only against the hardships of the wilderness or the dangers of the ocean. Twenty thousand regular troops, with a large Provincial army, had wasted the precious season of action in embarkations and disembarkations, disgraceful retreats, and advances almost equally disgraceful. Twenty magnificent ships of the line had left the British posts for the American shore in the pride of irresistible power; and without firing a gun for the honour of their flag, returned to whence they came, or, maimed and dismantled, sought refuge in friendly ports. England had to lament her gallant children, her stately ships, her hard-earned treasures, and above all, her military glory, lost in the western deserts or swallowed up in the waters of the Atlantic.

CHAPTER XIX.

During the disastrous campaign of 1757, a strife of greater importance than that on the American continent was carried on in the English House of Commons. In the preceding year, the falsehood and incompetency of the Duke of Newcastle, prime minister of England, had aroused a storm of indignation, to which the shameful losses of Minorca and Oswego had given overwhelming force. Mr. Fox, the only commoner of character and ability who still adhered to the ministry, determined to lend his name no longer to the premier's policy, and in the month of October resigned the seals of office. This blow proved fatal for the tottering cabinet. To the almost universal joy of the people, the Duke of Newcastle did not dare the encounter with his gifted rival in the approaching session of parliament, and reluctantly yielded up those powers the exercise of which in his hands had led the nation to embarrassment and shame.

By the wish of the king, Mr. Fox endeavoured to induce Mr. William Pitt to join with him in the conduct of the national councils. The 'Great Commoner,' however, decisively rejected this overture. The Duke of Devonshire, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, a man more remarkable for probity and loyalty than for administrative capacity, next received the royal commands to form a ministry; he sacrificed his personal predilections towards Mr. Fox to the public good and at once appointed Pitt secretary of state, with Legge as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Most of the subordinate members of the cabinet retained their places, but several of Pitt's relatives received appointments to important offices.

Almost the first step of the new cabinet was to apply to parliament for the means of aiding the King of Prussia against 'the vindictive designs of France.' Notwithstanding the great popularity of the ministry, and the general confidence in its capacity and integrity, the apparent contrast between this proposition and former protestations against continental interference excited the hostility of many, and the observation of all. The supplies, however, were voted to the full extent demanded by the ministers.

Despite these concessions to the king's Hanoverian interests, nothing could overcome the personal dislike of his majesty to Pitt, and to his brother-in-law, Lord Temple. The appointment of the Duke of Cumberland to command the British force on the continent, gave opportunity

for the manifestation of this royal hostility. The duke refused to undertake his duties while such an anti-Hanoverian as Pitt remained as virtual head of the ministry. The king's love for his son, and hatred of his gifted servant, combined to prompt him to the decided step of dismissing the great minister from his councils. An interval of nearly three months elapsed in vain attempts to form a cabinet from which Pitt should be excluded. There was, however, another party interested in these arrangements, which neither prerogative nor parliamentary influence might long venture to oppose—the British Nation. As with one voice, all ranks and classes spoke out their will, that Pitt should hold the helm. His rivals saw that it was impossible to stem the stream, and wisely counselled the king to yield to the wishes of his people. In June the patriot minister was once again ruler of England's destiny.

This illustrious man knew no party but the British nation, acknowledged no other interest. To exalt the power and prosperity of his country and to humble France was his sole aim and object. Personally disagreeable to the highest power in the state, and from many causes regarded with hostility by the several aristocratic confederacies; it needed the almost unanimous voice of his countrymen, and the unacknowledged confidence of those powerful men whose favour he neither possessed nor desired, to sweep away these formidable difficulties, and give to England in the hour of need the services of her greatest son.

For the remainder of the campaign of 1757, however, the energy and wisdom of Pitt were too late brought to the council, and the ill-conducted schemes of his predecessors bore, as has been shown, the bitter fruit of disaster and disgrace. But no sooner was he firmly established in office, and his plans put in execution, than the British cause began to revive in the western hemisphere, and although still chequered with defeat, glory and success rewarded his gigantic efforts. He at once determined to renew the expedition against Cape Breton, and, warned by previous failures, urged upon the king the necessity of removing both the naval and military officers who had hitherto conducted the operations. With that admirable perception which is one of the most useful faculties of superior minds, he readily discerned in others the qualities requisite for his purpose,—his judgment ever unwarped and his keen vision unclouded by personal or political considerations. In Colonel Amherst he had discovered sound sense, steady courage, and an active genius; he therefore recalled him from the army in Germany, and casting aside the hampering formalities of military rule, promoted him to the rank of major-general, and to the command of the troops destined for the attack of Louisburg. At the same time, from the British navy's brilliant roll, the minister selected the Hon. Edward Boscawen as admiral of the fleet, and gave him also, till the arrival of General Amherst, the unusual commission of command over the land forces. With vigorous zeal the equipments were hurried on, and on the 19th of February a magnificent armament sailed from Portsmouth for the harbour of Halifax on the Acadian Peninsula. The general was delayed by contrary winds, and did not reach Halifax till the 28th of May, where he met Boscawen's fleet coming out of the harbour; the admiral, impatient of delay, having put all the force in motion, with the exception of a corps of 1600 strong left to guard the post. No less than 22 ships of the line and 15 frigates, with 120 smaller vessels,

sailed under his flag, and 14 battalions of infantry with artillery and engineers, in all 11,600 almost exclusively British regulars, were embarked to form the army of General Amherst. The troops were told off in three brigades of nearly equal strength, under the brigadier-generals, Whitmore, Lawrence, and JAMES WOLFE.

At dawn on the 2nd of June, the armament arrived off Cape Breton, where the greatest part of the fleet came to anchor in the open roadstead of Gabarus Bay. Amherst entertained a strong hope to surprise the garrison of Louisburg, and with that view issued an order to forbid the slightest noise, or the exhibition of any light on board the transports near the shore: he especially warned the troops to preserve a profound silence as they landed. But the elements rendered these judicious orders of no avail; in the morning a dense fog shrouded the rocky shore, and as the advancing day cleared away the curtains of the mist, a prodigious swell rolled in from the Atlantic, and broke in impassable surf upon the beach. Nevertheless in the evening, the general, with Lawrence and Wolfe, approached close to the dangerous shore, and reconnoitred the difficulties which nature and the enemy might oppose to their landing. They found the French had formed a chain of posts for some distance across the country, and that they had also thrown up works and batteries at the points where a successful debarkation seemed most probable. The next morning the sea had not abated, and for six successive days the heavy roll of the ocean broke with undiminished violence upon the rugged shore. During this interval the enemy toiled day and night to strengthen their position, and lost no opportunity of opening fire with guns and mortars upon the ships.

On the 8th the sea subsided into calm, and the fog vanished from the shore. Before daybreak the troops were assembled in boats, formed in three divisions: at dawn Commodore Durell examined the coast, and declared that the landing was now practicable. When his report was received, seven of the smaller vessels at once opened fire, and in about a quarter of an hour the boats of the left division began to row in towards the shore; in them were embarked twelve companies of grenadiers, 550 light infantry men, with the Highlanders and a body of Provincial Rangers; Brigadier-General Wolfe was their chief. The right and centre brigades, under Whitmore and Lawrence, moved at the same time towards other parts of the shore, and three sloops were sent past the mouth of the harbour to distract the attention of the enemy.

The left division was the first to reach the beach at a point a little eastward of Freshwater Cove, and four miles from the town. The French stood firm, and held their fire till the assailants were close in shore; then, as the boats rose on the dangerous surf, they poured in a rattling volley from every gun and musket that could be brought to bear. Many of the British troops were struck down, but not a shot was returned. Wolfe's flag-staff was shivered by a bar-shot, and many boats badly damaged, still with ardent valour the sailors forced their way through the surging waves, and in very few minutes the whole division was ashore, and the enemy flying in disorder from all his entrenchments. The victors pressed on rapidly in pursuit, and despite the rugged and difficult country, inflicted a heavy loss on the fugitives, and took seventy prisoners. At length the cannon of the ramparts of Louisburg checked

their further advance. In the mean time the remaining British divisions had landed, but not without losing unearly 100 boats and many men from the increasing violence of the sea.

During the two following days the fury of the waves forbade all attempts to land the artillery and the necessary stores for the attack of the hostile stronghold; on the 11th, however, the weather began to clear, and some progress was made in the preparations. Hitherto the troops had suffered much from want of provisions and tents; now their situation was somewhat improved.

Louisburg is a noble harbour: within is ample shelter for the largest fleets England or France have ever sent from their shores. A rugged promontory, on which stood the town and somewhat dilapidated fortifications, protects it from the south-west wind; another far larger arm of the land is its shelter to the south-east. About midway across the entrance of this land-locked bay stands Goat Island, which at that time was defended by some works, with a formidable array of guns: a range of impassable rocks extends thence to the town. From an elevation to the north-west of the harbour, the grand battery showed a threatening front to those who might seek to force the entrance of the Sound. For the defence of this important position, M. de Drucour, the French chief, had at his disposal six line-of-battle ships; five frigates, three of which he sank, to impede the entrance of the harbour; 3000 regular troops and burgher militia, with 350 Canadians and Indians.

On the 12th the French withdrew all their outposts, and even destroyed the Grand Battery that commanded the entrance of the harbour, concentrating their whole power upon the defence of the town. Wolfe's active light troops soon gave intelligence of these movements, and the following day the brigadier pushed on his advance round the northern and eastern shores of the bay, till they gained the high lands opposite Goat Island with little opposition; there, as soon as the perversity of the weather would permit, he mounted some heavy artillery, but it was not till the 20th that he was enabled to open fire upon the ships and the land defences. On the 25th the formidable French guns on Goat Island were silenced. Wolfe then left a detachment in his battery, and hastened round with his main force to a position close to the town, where he erected works, and from them assailed the ramparts and the shipping.

For many days the slow and monotonous operations of the siege continued, under great difficulties to the assailants, the marshy nature of the ground rendering the movement of artillery very tedious. The rain poured down in torrents, swamping the labours of the engineers; the surf still foamed furiously upon the shore, embarrassing the landing of the necessary matériel and impeding the communication with the fleet. On the night of the 9th of July, the progress of the besiegers was somewhat interrupted by a fierce and sudden sally; five companies of light troops, supported by 600 men, burst upon a small English work during the silence of night, surprising and overwhelming the defenders. The young Earl of Dundonald, commanding the grenadiers of the 17th, who held the post, paid for this want of vigilance with his life; his lieutenant was wounded and taken, and his men struck down, captured, or dispersed. Major Murray, however, with the grenadiers of the 22nd and 28th, arrived ere long, and restored the fight. After a time, the French

again betook themselves to the shelter of their walls, having left twenty of their men dead upon the scene of strife, and eighty more wounded or prisoners in the hands of the besiegers.

Meanwhile the British generals pushed on the siege with unwearied zeal, and, at the same time, with prudent caution secured their own camp by redoubts. Day and night the batteries poured their ruinous shower upon the ramparts, the citadel, and shipping. On the 21st three large vessels of war took fire in the harbour, from a live shell, and the English gunners dealt death to those who sought to extinguish the flames. The next day the citadel was in a blaze; the next, the barracks were burned to the ground; and Wolfe's trenches were pushed up to the very defences of the town. The French could no longer stand to their guns. On the night of the 25th two young captains, La Forey and Balfour, with the boats of the fleet, rowed into the harbour under a furious fire, boarded the two remaining vessels of war, and thus destroyed the last serious obstacle to British triumph. The following morning M. de Drucour surrendered at discretion.

In those days, the taking of Louisburg was a mighty triumph for the British arms: a place of considerable strength, defended with skill and courage, fully manned, and aided by a powerful fleet, had been bravely won; 5600 men, soldiers, sailors, and marines, were prisoners; eleven ships of war taken or destroyed, 240 pieces of ordnance, 15,000 stand of arms, and a great amount of ammunition, provisions, and military stores, had fallen into the hands of the victors, and eleven stand of colours were laid at the feet of the British sovereign: they were afterwards solemnly deposited in St. Paul's Cathedral.

But while the wisdom and zeal of Amherst, and the daring skill of Wolfe, excite the gratitude and admiration of their countrymen, it must not be forgotten that causes beyond the power and patriotism of man mainly influenced this great event. The brave admiral doubted the practicability of the first landing. Amherst hesitated, and the chivalrous Wolfe himself, as he neared the awful surf, staggered in his resolution, and purposing to defer the enterprise, waved his hat for the boats to retire. Three young subaltern officers, however, commanding the leading craft, pushed on ashore, having mistaken the signal for what their stout hearts desired—the order to advance; some of their men, as they sprung upon the beach, were dragged back by the receding surge and drowned; but the remainder climbed up the rugged rocks, and formed upon the summit. The brigadier then cheered on the rest of the division to the support of this gallant few, and thus the almost desperate landing was accomplished.

Nor should due record be omitted of that, which enhances the glory of the conquerors—the merit of the conquered. To defend the whole line of coast with his garrison was impossible; for nearly eight miles however, the energetic Drucour had thrown up a chain of works, and occupied salient points with troops. And when at length the besieger effected a landing, he still left no means untried to uphold the honour of his flag. Hope of relief or succour there was none; beyond the water of the bay the sea was white with the sails of the hostile fleet. Around him on every side the long red line of British infantry closed in from day to day. His light troops were swept from the neighbouring woods;

sallies were interrupted or overwhelmed. Well-armed batteries were pushed up to the very ramparts; a murderous fire of musketry struck down his gunners at their work; three gaping breaches lay open to the assailants; his best ships burned or taken; his officers and men worn with fatigue and watching; four-fifths of his artillery disabled; then, and not till then, did the brave Frenchman give up the trust which he had nobly and faithfully held. To the honour of the garrison, not a man deserted his colours through all the dangers, privations, and hardships of the siege, with the exception of a few Germans who served as unwilling conscripts. This spirited defence was in so far successful, that it occupied the bulk of the British force, while Abercromby was being crushed by the superior genius and power of Montcalm; by thus delaying for seven weeks the progress of the campaign, the season became too far advanced for further operations, and the final catastrophe of French American dominion was deferred for another year.

On the 7th August detachments were sent, under Major Dalling and Lord Rollo, to take possession of the other settlements in Cape Breton, and of the Isle de St. Jean, now Prince Edward's Island: this latter territory had long been an object of great importance to Canada; the fertility of the soil, the comparative mildness of the climate, and the situation commanding the navigation of the Great River, rendered it invaluable to the settlers of New France.

On the 15th the French prisoners were dispatched to Europe, in transports. On the 28th, Admiral Sir Charles Hardy with seven ships of the line and three frigates, conveying a force of some artillery, and three battalions of infantry, was sent round to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The object of this expedition was to destroy the French settlements at Miramichi, the Baye de Chaleurs, Gaspé, and as far up the banks of the Great River as the season might permit; then to disperse or carry away the inhabitants: by this it was hoped that the troublesome marauders on the English frontier might be chastised and kept in check, and that a portion of the enemy's strength might be diverted from Abercromby's front. The execution of this painful duty was committed to Brigadier-General Wolfe.

These stern orders were punctually obeyed; but as much humanity as was possible tempered the work of destruction. All the Acadian villages on the north-eastern coast were laid in ruins; some hundreds of the inhabitants were borne away to captivity, and the rest driven from their blackened hearths, and desolated farms, to the grim refuge of the wilderness. Among the settlements devastated by this expedition, was the flourishing fishing station of Mont Louis; the intendant in charge of the place offered a ransom of 150,000 livres to save the stores and provisions his people's industry had created, but the relentless law of retribution took its course, and the hoarded magazines of corn, fish, and other supplies for their own use and for the market of Quebec, were totally destroyed. Colonel Monckton, with three other battalions, was sent on a similar errand to the Bay of Fundy and to the River St. John, and in like manner fulfilled his task.

It may perhaps be partial or unjust to single out one tale of woe from among the crowded records of this war's gigantic misery to hold up in the strong light of contrast with the glory of the recent victory. But

we may not hear without a blush of shame and sorrow, how the simple Acadian peasantry were made to pay the penalties of banishment and ruin for the love of France, and for loyalty to their king, at a time when Pitt was the minister, Amherst the general, and Wolfe the lieutenant.

Having executed his orders, Wolfe repaired to Halifax and assumed the command of the troops in garrison. Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst came to a conclusion that for that season nothing more could be effected by them against the power of France. They therefore agreed, although their instructions did not extend to any part of the continent beyond Nova Scotia, that it would be advisable to detach a portion of the army to strengthen Abercromby, and assist him to repair his disaster, of which they were informed. Accordingly Amherst sailed for Boston on the 30th of August with five battalions, arrived on the 13th of September, and the next day landed his troops. Despite the interested remonstrances of the local authorities, he soon pushed on through the difficult district of the Green Woods, by Kinderhook Mills, and through Albany to Lake George. Having there held counsel with the unfortunate Abercromby and delivered over his seasonable reinforcement, he returned to Boston, and finally to Halifax, where he had been instructed to await orders from the English government.

CHAPTER XX.

From the brilliant successes on the Island of Cape Breton it is now necessary to turn to the painfully chequered course of events on the American continent, where the execution of Pitt's magnificent designs was unhappily intrusted to very different men from the conquerors of Louisburg. The great minister's plan of operations had embraced the whole extent of French American dominion, from the embattled heights of Louisburg and Quebec, to the lone but luxuriant wilderness of the west. By the protracted defence of the loyal and skilful Drucour, the overwhelming forces of Amherst and Boscawen were delayed, till the advancing season had rendered impossible, for that year, their descent upon the valley of the St. Lawrence.

The next British expedition in order and in importance was directed against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. By the possession of these strongholds the French had long been enabled to harass the English frontier almost with impunity, and to command the navigation of the extensive Lakes which formed the high road to the heart of Canada.

The third army was destined to march upon Fort du Quesne, of disastrous memory, and to establish the British power in the valley of the Ohio, for the possession of which the sanguinary war had commenced, and the spot where blood had first been shed. By the success of this object, all communication between the French of Canada and Louisiana would be effectually cut off, and the countries watered by the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi left at the mercy of England's naval power.

The same express that bore the tidings of Lord Loudon's recall, conveyed a circular letter from Mr. Pitt to the colonial governors, declaring the determination of the British cabinet to repair, at any cost, the losses

and disasters of the last campaign. To encourage the vigorous co-operation of the colonists, they were informed that his majesty would recommend Parliament to grant the several provinces such compensation for the expenses which they might incur, as their efforts should appear to justly merit, and that arms, ammunition, tents, provisions, and boats would be furnished by the Crown. At the same time the colonial governors were required to raise as numerous levies of Provincial militia as their districts would supply, to pay and clothe them, and appoint their officers. Inspired by the energy of the great minister, and excited to a generous emulation with the awakened spirit of the parent state, the American colonies came nobly forward in the common cause, and used their utmost efforts to strengthen, by their co-operation, the promised armament from England. Massachusetts raised 7000 men, Connecticut 5000, and the thinly-peopled state of New Hampshire, 900; the numbers of the Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey levies have not been specified. These troops were ordered to take the field early in May, but the muster proceeded slowly and irregularly, insomuch that no movements were made towards the scenes of action until the middle of June.

The largest European army ever yet seen on the American continent was assembled at Albany and in the neighbourhood, under the command of Abercromby, the general-in-chief since Lord Loudon's recall. A detachment of the royal artillery, and seven strong battalions of the line, amounting altogether to 6350 regulars, with 9000 of the provincial militia, composed this formidable force. Their object was the destruction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Towards the end of June they broke up from Albany, and encamped upon the ground where the melancholy ruins of Fort William Henry still remained. On the 5th of July the cannon, ammunition, and stores arrived, and on that day the army embarked on the waters of Lake George: 1035 boats conveyed this powerful expedition, and a number of rafts armed with artillery accompanied them to overcome any opposition that might be offered to the landing.

The armament continued its progress steadily through the day: when evening fell Abercromby gave the signal to lie to at a place called Sabbath Point on the shores of the Lake; there the troops landed for a time, and lighted large fires to distract the attention of the enemy. In the dead of night they were suddenly reimbarked, and hurried on to the Narrows, where the waters contract into the stream that communicates with Wood Creek; there they arrived at five o'clock the following morning. An advanced guard of 2000 men was thrown ashore at first dawn under the gallant Bradstreet, and these having encountered no enemy, the remainder of the army was rapidly landed. As the troops disembarked they were formed into four columns; some light infantry were sent on to scour the line of march, and the advance was sounded. They soon reached a small encampment which had been occupied by a detachment of the regiment of Guienne, but found it abandoned, the ammunition and provisions destroyed, the camp itself in flames.

Ticonderoga, the first object of the British attack, was a fort of some strength, situated on the most salient point of the peninsula between Lakes George and Champlain. To the eastward the rugged shore afforded sufficient protection; to the west and north regular lines of defence had been erected by the French engineers, and an extensive

swamp spreading over nearly all the landward face embarrassed the approaches of an enemy. The neighbouring country was a dense and tangled forest.

Early in the summer of this year the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, had received intelligence of Abercromby's extensive preparations to gain the positions of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and with them the command of the important chain of waters leading to the River St. Lawrence and the heart of the French possessions. The governor saw the necessity of defeating this enterprise at any cost; he called to his aid Montcalm, already famous by deserved success, and placed at his disposal all the troops that could be spared from every part of the colony: on the 20th of June they reached the position they were directed to defend.

On the 1st of July, Montcalm sent an advance of three regiments under M. de Bourlemaque along the north-western shores of Lake George; he himself followed with three regiments and the second battalion of Berry to a place called the Falls, at the head of the Lake, where he encamped. The following day two active and intelligent officers, Captains de Bernard and Duprât, with some light troops, were pushed on over the mountains, towards the lower end of the Lake where Abercromby's army lay: when the boats of the English force covered the waters on the morning of the 5th of July, these French detachments signalled to their general that the time for action was come. M. de Bourlemaque immediately dispatched 300 men under the command of Captain de Trépézé to watch the hostile armament from the shore, and if possible to oppose its landing. The next day, however, when the British disembarked, they were in such force as to render opposition hopeless; this corps of observation therefore fell back upon M. de Bourlemaque, and he too retired towards the main body, under the command of Montcalm.

So difficult and tangled were the woods on their retreat that, in spite of their knowledge of the country, one French column of 500 men lost their way, fell into confusion, and in their bewilderment almost retraced their steps. The English pressed rapidly on in pursuit, and from the ignorance of the guides their divisions also became confounded, and mixed up together in alarming disorder. The officers vigorously exerted themselves to restore the broken ranks, but in the midst of their efforts the right centre column, led by the good and gallant Lord Howe, was suddenly fronted by the body of the enemy, who had gone astray in the forest. They joined in bitter strife: almost hand to hand, in the swamps, or from tree to tree on the hill side, the stout Frenchmen held their own against the British troops, and, nothing daunted by the unexpected danger, disdained to yield. At the first shock many of Howe's light infantry went down; he himself hurrying to the front was struck by a musket-ball in the breast, and instantly expired. His men, infuriated by the loss of their beloved leader, swarmed on through the thick woods, and finally overpowered or destroyed the enemy. Not, however, till four-fifths of the French were wounded, slain, or taken, and some of the conquerors killed and disabled, did they yield their ground.

That night the victors occupied the field of battle; to this their advantage was confined, for the disorganisation of the troops had frightfully increased during the unpropitious march, in the hard-fought

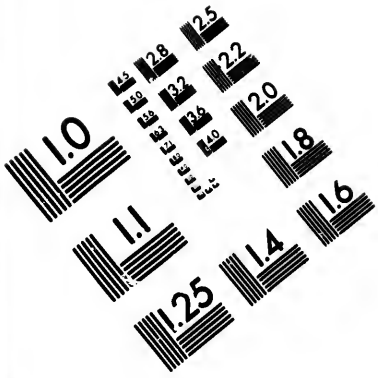
skirmish, and by the loss of their best and most trusted chief. The vigour and spirit of Abercromby's army seemed to pass away with Lord Howe. This gallant man, from the time he had landed in America, had wisely instructed his regiment for the peculiar service of that difficult country: no useless incumbrance of baggage was allowed; he himself set the example, and encountered privation and fatigue in the same chivalrous spirit with which he faced the foe; graceful and kind in his manners, and considerate to the humblest under his charge, his officers and soldiers heartily obeyed the chief because they loved the man. At the fatal moment when he was lost to England her glory and welfare most needed his aid. He lived long enough for his own honour, but not for that of his country.

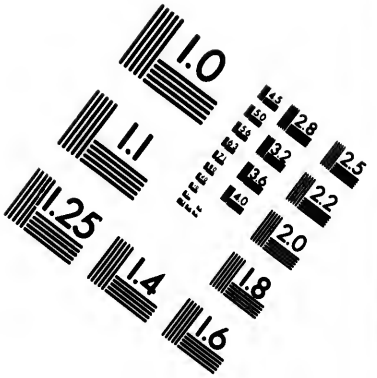
The price of this slight advantage was ruinous to the English army; from the unhappy moment when Lord Howe was slain, the general lost all resolution, and as a natural consequence the troops lost all confidence. Order and discipline were no longer observed, and the after-operations can only be attributed to infatuation. At dawn on the day subsequent to the combat, Abercromby actually marched his force back to the place where they had disembarked the day before, through the dreary and almost impassable wilderness, traversed with the utmost difficulty but a few hours before. However, on the return of the army to the landing-place, a detachment was sent to gain an important post held by the French at some saw-mills, two miles from Ticonderoga. Colonel Bradstreet was selected for this duty; with him were sent the 44th regiment, six companies of the 60th, some Rangers, and a number of boatmen, among them were those who had forced the passage of the Onondaga river; altogether nearly 7000 men.

The point to be assailed was approachable only by one narrow bridge; this the French destroyed, and not caring to encounter a very superior force, fell back towards their stronghold. Bradstreet was not to be deterred by difficulties: accustomed to the necessity of finding resources the stream was soon spanned by a temporary arch; with unwearied zeal he urged on the exertions of his men, and that very night not only his own command but the whole British army was once more advanced across the stream, and established in an advantageous position near Ticonderoga.

At earliest light, Colonel Clark, chief engineer, and several officers of rank, reconnoitred the enemy's position to the best of their power. They could discover but little: a dense forest and a deep morass lay between them and Ticonderoga. They observed indeed a breast-work, with some felled trees in front, rising out of the only accessible part of the dreary swamp, but as to its nature, strength, and disposition for defence, their military skill and experience could afford them no light. Their report included a variety of opinions: some treated the defences as slight and inconsiderable, and presenting only a deceptive show of strength; others, and they far better qualified to judge, acknowledged their formidable strength. Abercromby unfortunately adopted the former opinion, and rashly resolved to attack without waiting the essential aid of his artillery: his penalty was severe.

Prisoners informed the English chief that his enemies had assembled eight battalions, with some Canadians and Indians, and that they





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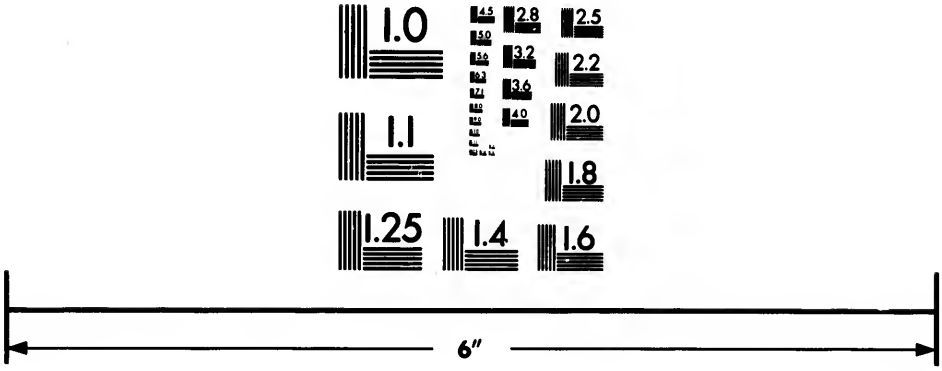

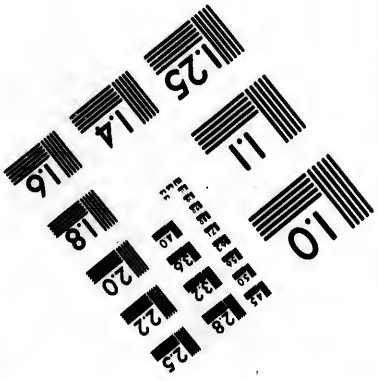

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mustered altogether a force of 6000 men. They were encamped at a place called Carillon, in front of the fort, and busily occupied in strengthening their position, that they might make good their defence till the arrival of M. de Levi, who hastened to their aid, with 3000 men, from the banks of the Mohawk River, where he had been making an incursion against the British Indian allies. General Abercromby was determined by this information, which, however, subsequently proved much exaggerated. M. de Levi's force had in fact already arrived, and was only 800 strong, and the French regular troops in the position barely reached 3000 men, although battalions of the splendid, but then much reduced, regiments of La Reine, La Sarre, Bearn, Guienne, Berry, Languedoc, and Royal Roussillon, were present in their camp.

On the morning of the 8th of July the French garrison was called to arms, and marched into the threatened intrenchments. The regiments of Bearn, La Reine, and Guienne, under M. de Levi, occupied the right of the defences; those of La Sarre, Languedoc, and two strong detachments under M. de Bourlemaque the left. In the centre Montcalm held under his own command the regiments of Berry, Royal Roussillon, and the light troops. The colonial militia and Canadian irregulars, with the Indians, were posted behind some field-works in the plain on the flanks of the main defence, supported by a small reserve. The French intrenchment presented in front, as was too late discovered, an almost impassable barrier; a solid earthen breast-work of eight feet in height protected the defenders from the hostile shot, and the gradual slope from its summit was covered for nearly 100 yards with abattis of felled trees laid close together, the branches sharpened and turned towards the foe. However, on either flank this grim position was open; no obstacle presented itself that could have stopped the stride of an English grenadier. Of this the hapless Abercromby was ignorant or unobservant. The French chief knew it well, and gave orders that in case of the assailants appearing on either of these weak points, his troops should abandon the field and retreat to their boats as they best might.

With the rashness that bears no relation to courage, the British general determined to throw the flower of his force upon the very centre of the enemy's strength. Whilst the army was forming for the ill-starred attack, Sir William Johnson arrived with 440 Indians, who were at once pushed forward into the woods to feel the way and occupy the enemy. The American Rangers formed the left of Abercromby's advance, Bradstreet's boatmen were in the centre, and on the right some companies of light infantry. Behind these a line of the Massachusetts militia extended its ranks on either side towards Lake Champlain and Lake George. Next were ranged the British battalions of the line, with the 42nd, Murray's Highlanders, and the 55th, the corps trained by Lord Howe, in reserve; on them fell the brunt of this desolating day. A numerous mass of the Connecticut and New Jersey Provincial regiments formed the rear-guard. Strict orders were issued that no man should fire a shot till he had surmounted the breastwork; then the arrangements were complete. During these formations and through the forenoon some French detachments came forward and skirmished with the advance, but they were always overpowered with ease, and driven hurriedly back to shelter.

At one o'clock when the mid-day sun poured down its burning rays

upon the scene of strife, Abercromby gave the fatal order to attack. As his advance felt the fire, the light troops and the militia were moved aside, and the regular battalions called to the front. The grenadier companies of the line led the way, Murray's Highlanders followed close behind. With quick, but steady step, these intrepid men pressed on through the heavy swamp and tangled underwood; their ranks now broken by the uneven ground, now shattered by the deliberate fire of the French; impeded, though not confused, they passed the open ground, and without one faltering pause or random shot, the thinned but unshaken column dashed against the abattis.

Then began a cruel and hopeless slaughter. With fiery valour the British grenadiers forced themselves through the almost impenetrable fence; but still new obstacles appeared, and while writhing among the pointed branches they threatened the inaccessible enemy in impotent fury, the cool fire of the French from behind the breastwork smote them one by one. The Highlanders, who should have remained in reserve, were not to be restrained, and rushed to the front; they were apparently somewhat more successful; active, impetuous, lightly clad and armed, they won their way through the felled trees, and died upon the very parapet; ere long, half of these gallant men and nearly all their officers were slain or desperately wounded. Then fresh troops pressed on to the deadly strife, rivalling the courage, and sharing the fate, of those who had led the way. For nearly four hours, like the succeeding waves of an ebb tide, they attacked again and again, each time losing somewhat of their vantage ground, now fiercely rushing on, unflinchingly enduring the murderous fire, then sullenly falling back to re-form their broken ranks for a fresh effort. It was vain at last as it was at first: the physical difficulties were impassible, and upon that rude barrier—which the simplest manœuvre would have avoided, or one hour of well-plied artillery swept away—the flower of British chivalry was crushed and broken. The troops that strove with this noble constancy were surely worthy of a better fate than that of sacrificing their lives and honour to the blind presumption of such a general.

An accident at length arrested this melancholy carnage. One of the British columns, in a hurried advance, lost their way, and became bewildered in the neighbouring forest; when, after a time, they emerged upon the open country, a heavy fire was perceived close in front, as they thought from the French intrenchments. With unhappy promptitude, they poured a deadly volley upon the supposed enemy, but when a breeze from the lake lifted the curtain of the smoke from the bloody scene, they saw that their shot had fallen with fatal precision amongst the red-coats of their countrymen. Then indeed hesitation, confusion, and panic arose in the English ranks; their desperate courage had proved vain—a frightful loss had fallen upon their best and bravest—most of their officers were struck down—the bewildered general gave them no orders, sent them no aid—their strength was exhausted by repeated efforts under the fiery sun—and still, from behind the inaccessible breastwork, the French, steady and almost unharmed, poured a rolling fire upon their defenceless masses. The painful tale must now be told: the English infantry turned and fled. The disorder, in a few minutes, became irretrievable; those who had been foremost in the fierce assault

were soon the first in the disgraceful flight. Highlanders and Provincials, Rangers and Grenadiers, scarce looked behind them in their terror, nor saw that no man pursued. In this hour of greatest need, General Abercromby remained at the saw-mills, nearly two miles from the field of battle.

When the fugitives found that the French did not venture to press upon their rear, they in some measure rallied upon a few still unbroken battalions that were posted around the position occupied by the general. Scarcely, however, had anything of confidence been restored, when an unaccountable command from Abercromby, to retreat to the landing-place, renewed the panic. The soldiers instantly concluded that they were to embark with every speed to escape the pursuit of the victorious enemy, and, breaking from all order and control, crowded towards the boats. Happily, the brave Bradstreet still held together a small force, like himself, unshaken by this groundless terror; with prompt decision, he threw himself before the landing-place, and would not suffer a man to embark. To this gallant officer may be attributed the preservation of Abercromby's army: had the disordered masses been allowed to crowd into the boats, thousands must have perished in the waters of the lake. By this wise and spirited step, regularity was, in a little time, again restored, and the troops held their ground for the night.

The loss remains to be recorded: 1950 of the English army were slain, wounded, and missing; of these 1642 were regular troops with a large proportion of officers. The French had nearly 390 killed and disabled, but as their heads only were exposed above the breastwork, few of those who were hit recovered. It is unnecessary to speak of their admirable conduct and courage, or of the merit of their chief; their highest praise is recorded with the deeds of those they conquered.

The sad story of Ticonderoga is now seldom told and almost forgotten: the disasters or triumphs of that year's campaign have left upon its scene no traces more permanent than those of the cloud and sunshine of an April day. In the eventful century since past our country has emerged from the direst strife that ever shook the world, triumphant by land and sea, great in power and in wisdom, proudest among the nations of the earth, still humblest in reverence of heaven. The memory of this remote disaster cannot now, even for a moment, dim the light of 'England's matchless glory.' But such records give a lesson that may not be forgotten. Men bearing the same name have each at different periods played important parts in British military history; though both have long since passed away, their examples are still before us. The British soldier in time of danger will not hesitate to elect between the fate of Abercromby who survived the shameful rout of Ticonderoga, and that of the stout Sir Ralph who fell upon the Egyptian plains.

On the 9th the troops were ordered to embark and retire to Fort William Henry, which place they reached that night. Even when there the general did not consider his army safe, till he had strengthened the defences; still diffident, he sent the artillery and ammunition on to Albany, and afterwards even to New York. By this defensive attitude he neutralised the advantage which his greatly superior strength gave him over the enemy, and thus for another year was deferred the acquisition of the 'Gates of Canada'—the Lakes George and Champlain, and the Richelieu River.

When Abercromby was fully secured in his old position, and discipline in a measure re-established in the army, he hearkened to the earnest solicitations of the indefatigable Bradstreet, that a force might be sent to revenge on Fort Frontenac the ruin of Oswego, and thus to gain the command of Lake Ontario. The carrying out of this plan was worthily committed to him who had designed it, and a detachment of artillery, and two companies of regulars, with 2800 Provincial militia and boatmen, were allotted for the task. The pusillanimous destruction of the navigation of Wood Creek, by General Webb, in 1756, proved a most vexatious and harassing difficulty in this expedition. But the resolution and energy of Bradstreet overcame every obstacle; with immense labour and hardship his men removed the logs from the river, and at length rendered it navigable. On the 13th of August, the artillery and stores were embarked, and the same day the army moved by land to the Oneida Lake, thence, by the stream of the Onondaga, past the scene of their leader's brilliant victory, to the waters of Lake Ontario, where they again embarked.

On the 25th, Bradstreet landed without opposition, within a mile of Fort Frontenac; he found this famed position weakly fortified, and worse garrisoned, through the unaccountable negligence of the Marquis de Vaudreuil. After the victory of Ticonderoga, the French governor had dispatched the Chevalier de Longueuil, with immense presents, to meet the chiefs of the Iroquois at Oswego, with a view of gaining their important alliance, and of inducing them to abandon all relations with the English, by representing their cause as ruined through Abercromby's defeat. He in some measure succeeded in his mission: the Indian deputies assured him of their attachment, but said that as all their brethren had not been consulted they must communicate with them before giving a decisive answer. When the conference ended, the Chevalier returned to Montreal by Fort Frontenac, where he stopped for a day, and informed M. de Noyan, the commandant, of the danger that threatened his position from Bradstreet's advance. Everything was speedily done to strengthen the fort, which the limited means at hand permitted; but de Noyan, well aware that without aid resistance would be vain, urged upon De Longueuil to send him reinforcements as soon as he could reach the governor. This the chevalier neglected, and Fort Frontenac and its worthy commmandant were left to their fate. When too late, indeed, the Marquis de Vaudreuil dispatched M. de Plessis Fabiot, with 1500 Canadian militia, towards Lake Ontario, but by the time they reached La Chine, intelligence arrived, that caused the greater part of the force to return to whence they came.

Bradstreet at first threw up his works at 500 yards from the fort; finding that the distance was too great, and the fire of the enemy little to be feared, he pushed closer on, and gained possession of an old entrenchment near the defences, whence he opened fire with vigour and effect. A little after seven o'clock, on the morning of the 27th, the French surrendered, being without hope of succour, and of themselves alone utterly incapable of a successful defence. The garrison, consisting of only 120 regular soldiers, and forty Indians, became prisoners of war; and sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen mortars, an immense supply of provisions, stores, and ammunition, with all the shipping on the lake, fell

into the hands of the victors. Among the prizes were several vessels richly laden with furs, to the value, it is said, of 70,000 louis d'ors. The attacking army had not to lament the loss of a single soldier.

The fort thus easily won was a quadrangle, each face about 100 yards in length; thirty pieces of cannon were mounted upon the walls, and the rest of the artillery was in reserve, but the garrison was altogether insufficient for the defence of the works. The very large amount of stores, ammunition, and provision which were thus left exposed, were of vital importance to the supply of the distant western forts, and the detachments on the Ohio, at Fort du Quesne and elsewhere. In obedience to an unaccountable order of General Abercromby, Bradstreet had no choice but to burn and destroy the artillery, provisions, and stores of every kind, and even the shipping, except two vessels which were retained to convey the valuable peltries to the southern shores of the lake. The fort was also ruined and abandoned: however, M. du Plessis Fabiot sent on a detachment from La Chine with M. de Pont le Roy, the engineer, who speedily restored it. At the same time another body of troops was sent to strengthen the distant post of Niagara. In the meanwhile Bradstreet re-embarked his force and returned to the British colonies by the same route as he had advanced.

At this time Fort Frontenac was the general rendezvous of all the northern and western Indian nations, the centre of trade not only with the French but also among themselves. Thither they repaired from all directions, even from the distance of 1000 miles, bearing with them their rich peltries with immense labour, to exchange for European goods. The French traders had learned the art of conciliating these children of the forest, and among them attachment and esteem overcame even the force of interest. It was notorious that the British merchants at Albany could supply far better and cheaper articles, and actually forwarded large stores of all kinds to furnish the warehouses of their Canadian rivals; yet the savages annually passed by this favourable market, and bore the spoils of the chace to the French settlement on the distant shores of Lake Ontario.

These annual meetings of the red men, however, had another object besides that of commerce: the events of the preceding year were related and canvassed, and council held upon the conduct of the future. Here feuds were reconciled by the good offices of neutral tribes; old alliances were strengthened and new arranged. In these assemblies the actual presence of the French gave them an important influence over the deliberations, and coloured to a considerable extent the policy, of the Indian nations. On every account, therefore, the destruction of Fort Frontenac was a great gain to the British cause.

It now remained for the Marquis de Vaudreuil to announce the loss of Fort Frontenac to the court of France, and to endeavour to make it appear that he was free from blame in the unfortunate transaction. He determined at all hazards to conceal the fact that his neglecting to forward the required reinforcements was the direct cause of the disaster. The only mode of escape which suggested itself to his mean mind was to throw the blame upon another: the unhappy commandant, de Noyan, was selected as the victim of his falsehood. To prevent that officer from forwarding to France his own statement of the case, the treacherous

governor himself undertook to represent the affair in a light that could not fail to clear de Noyan of all responsibility. The snare was successful: the brave commandant, guileless himself, doubted not the honour of his chief and blindly trusted him. De Vaudreuil, unmindful alike of truth and justice, threw the whole weight of blame upon his subordinate, and ascribed without scruple the loss of the fort to the pusillanimity of the defenders. De Noyan, when too late, found that he had been cruelly deceived: he appealed in vain again and again to the court for redress, and at length retired from the service in which he had met only with treachery and injustice.

While Abercromby's intrenchments afforded him complete security, the presence of his great but now useless army gave no protection to the English frontier. The ever active and vigilant Montcalm lost no opportunity of harassing outposts, assailing remote settlements, and intercepting convoys. On the 17th of July a party of twenty Provincials with three officers was destroyed by the French light troops in the neighbourhood of Half Way Brook; and ten days afterwards near the same place 116 waggoners with their escort of sixteen Rangers were surprised and horribly massacred in spite of the late severe warning. At length, the general was aroused to exertion: he selected Major Rogers, already famous in partisan warfare, and, with a force of 700 men, sent him to seek the marauders; they, however, effected their escape unharmed. When the British were returning from this vain pursuit, a dispatch arrived from head-quarters directing them to scour the country to the south and east of Lake Champlain, and retire by the route of Fort Edward.

According to these orders, Rogers pursued his difficult march, without, however, much success in distressing the enemy, as, from the superior information furnished to the French by the Indians, they always managed to avoid the unequal combat. On the 8th of August, however, they assembled a force of about 500 men, and, choosing a favourable situation, in some measure surprised the British detachment despite the unsleeping caution of its able chief. Rogers' strength had been by this time, through hardship, desertion, and other causes, reduced almost to a level with that of his present opponents, and it was not without extreme difficulty that he succeeded in holding his ground. In the first onset a major and two lieutenants fell into the hands of the enemy, and several of his advance guard were slain. However, under his brave and skilful conduct, the British soon in turn won the advantage; and, after a sharp and sanguinary combat of an hour's duration, the assailants abandoned the field, leaving no less than 190 of their men killed and wounded. Although the victors lost only 40 of their number, fatigue, and the caution observed by the enemy during the retreat, forbade pursuit. Rogers, therefore, continued his march homewards, and arrived at head-quarters without anything further worthy of record having occurred.

Brigadier-General Stanwix had been detached with a considerable force of Provincial troops to erect a fort in a favourable position on the important carrying-place between Wood Creek, at the Oneida Lake, and the Mohawk River, with a view to encourage and protect the friendly Indians in those districts from the enmity of the French and their allies. He performed this valuable but unostentatious service with ability and

success: the works which he there established and garrisoned still bear his name.

We must now return to the third expedition of the campaign against Fort du Quesne, led by General Forbes. Although this chief had put his army in motion before Abercromby marched upon the northern lakes, he had not been able to get his last division out of Philadelphia till the 30th of June: 350 of the 60th, or Royal American, regiment; 1200 of the 77th, Montgomery's Highlanders, and upwards of 5000 Provincials, composed his force.

The march over the Alleghanies was long and difficult: the defiles, forests, swamps, and mountains were in themselves formidable obstacles, had there even been no hostile force in front. But the judicious arrangements of the general overcame alike the impediments and the perils of the advance, and some dangerous attacks of the Indians were repelled with vigorous alacrity. When the army reached Raystown, a place about ninety miles from Fort du Quesne, Forbes halted his main body, and detached Lieutenant-Colonel Bouquet with 2000 men to take post in advance of Loyal Hanning, while he constructed a new road, being determined not to avail himself of the route used by Braddock.

Bouquet was unfortunately fired with ambition to reduce the hostile stronghold before the arrival of his chief, and accordingly he detached Major Grant and 800 Highlanders to reconnoitre the works of Fort du Quesne. The major, probably with a similar ambition to that of his chief, endeavoured to induce the French to give battle, and drew up his men on a neighbouring height, beating a march as a challenge. The combat was accepted; the garrison sallied out, and, after a very severe action, routed the Highlanders with loss, and took 300 prisoners, including the commander. The broken remnant of Grant's force fell back in great disorder upon their comrades at Loyal Hanning.

Cautioned but not dispirited by this untoward occurrence, Forbes advanced with his whole army as rapidly as the rugged country and unfavourable weather would permit, although so debilitated from illness that he was obliged to be borne on a litter. Several parties of French and Indians endeavoured to impede his march, but were always repulsed: once, however, in a night attack, some loss and confusion were occasioned by the Highlanders and the Virginian Provincials firing upon each other through mistake. The French were not sufficiently elated by their victory over Grant to venture any serious opposition to Forbes's advance, and the loss of Fort Frontenac, from whence they had been expecting a supply of provisions and warlike stores, rendered successful resistance hopeless: M. de Lignières, their leader, therefore dismantled and abandoned the celebrated fort, and dropped down the stream of the Ohio to the friendly settlements on the Mississippi. The following day, the 25th of November, the British took possession of the deserted stronghold, and at once proceeded to put it in repair: under the new owners, Pittsburg was substituted for the former name of disastrous memory—Fort du Quesne.

This advantage was of considerable importance to the British: the respect for their power among the Indians, which recent disasters in the country had much shaken, was fully restored, and most of the western native tribes sent to offer aid, or at least neutrality. Brigadier-General

Forbes lived but a brief space to enjoy the credit gained by this success; his naturally weak constitution was broken by the hardships of the expedition, and he died soon afterwards at Philadelphia, in honour, and regretted by all who knew him.

With this expedition concluded the campaign of the year 1758. Although its events were chequered with disaster and disgrace, the general result was eminently favourable to England, and honourable to the illustrious minister who then directed her councils. The reduction of Louisburg and its dependencies would have been of itself sufficient to reward the sacrifices so freely made by her patriotic people. Now in possession of a magnificent harbour—the key of the River St. Lawrence, it would be an easy task to intercept any succour which France might endeavour to send to prop her tottering sway in Canada. The reduction of the Forts Frontenac and Du Quesne had paralysed the enemy's power in the west, and given to England all the territory for the possession of which the war had arisen. Abercromby's defeat had been solely a negative event; his overwhelming force still hung like a thunder-cloud upon the shores of the lakes, and Montcalm well knew that he owed his brilliant victory to the incapacity of the British general, not to the want of military virtue in the British troops. The men—whose desperate valour had been wasted against the impassable barrier at Carillon—burning with ardour to avenge their defeat under an abler chief, were still straining, like bloodhounds in a leash, by the Canadian frontier.

With the full accord of the British king and people, the great minister distributed honour and punishment to the principal actors in the important events of the past campaign. General Abercromby was superseded in his command, and Amherst, the conqueror of Louisburg, appointed chief of the American armies in his place. Immediately on receiving this commission, the new general embarked at Halifax for Boston, and thence proceeded to New York, where he arrived on the 12th of December, and assumed the command of the forces. On the 24th of January following, the unhappy Abercromby sailed for England in the Remmington man-of-war. Brigadier-General Wolfe accompanied him, in consequence of permission granted in his original order of service to return when the expedition had succeeded. Colonel Monckton was left in command at Nova Scotia.

CHAPTER XXI.

It will now be advisable to consider the state of the two great rival races on the North American continent, before entering upon the relation of the eventful campaign which was but the crisis of a surely approaching fate. Although the decisive blow that for ever crushed the power of France was doubtless dealt by the immortal Wolfe upon the Plains of Abraham, the slow but certain conquest of Canada had progressed for many a previous year; with the wisdom and rectitude of the councillor, with the axe and plough of the settler, with the thrift and adventure of the merchant, with the sober industry of the mechanic, and the daring hardihood of the fisherman, was the glorious battle won. Against

weapons such as these the chivalry of Montcalm and of his splendid veteran regiments vainly strove. To them victory brought glory without gain, inaction danger, and disaster ruin. Despite their courage, activity, and skill, the rude but vigorous British population, like surging waves, gained rapidly on every side, and at length burst the opposing barriers of military organisation, and poured in a broad flood over the dreary level of an oppressed and spiritless land.

In the year 1759 the population of Canada had only reached to 60,000 souls, and it was found to have decreased during the last twenty years of war and want; of these 6700 dwelt under the protection of the ramparts of Quebec, 4000 at Montreal, and 1500 at the little town of Three Rivers. The greater part of the remainder led a rural life on the fertile banks of the St. Lawrence and its tributaries, while a few wandered with gun and rod among Indian tribes scarcely more savage than themselves, over prairies, and on the shores of the Great Lakes and rivers of the west. The settlements on both shores below Quebec were then almost as advanced as now; small white houses, dainty in the distance, stretched in rows for many miles along the level banks, or dotted the hill side in picturesque irregularity. Here and there neat wooden churches, of a peculiarly quaint architecture, stood the centres of hamlets and knots of farms. In their neighbourhood the encumbering forest was usually cleared away with careful industry, and each fertile nook and valley, and the borders of each stream, were rich with waving corn. Through these lower settlements a sort of rude track extended for many miles by the water side. On the large and beautiful Island of Orleans many thousand acres of corn and pulse were sown, the farms carefully separated by wooden paling, and intersected with tolerable roads.

Between Quebec and Montreal the banks of the Great River were hardly in so advanced a state as those towards the sea; the churches were fewer and more distant, the houses ruder and more scattered. There were many miles indeed where no traces of human industry greeted the traveller's eye. The shores of the Great Lakes, or rather expansions of the stream, were dreary swamps and thickets, and the slopes of the distant hills still bore the primeval forest. On the sandy flats of Three Rivers, in a scattered village, dwelt a population more numerous than that of the present day; a small surrounding district was cleared and cultivated, but the main occupation and support of the inhabitants was the fur trade with the Indians who resorted thither from the unknown north by the waters of the broad streams here uniting with the St. Lawrence.

The rich and fertile Island of Montreal was already generally cleared, and extensively but thinly peopled. The city, at times called Ville Marie in old maps, ranged somewhat irregularly for more than a mile along the river side, and was even then remarkable for the superiority of its public buildings over those of its colonial neighbours.

The Fathers of the Sulpician Order, by virtue of a grant in the year 1663, were proprietors of the whole of this rich district. They had established three courts of justice in the city, and erected a stately church of cut stone at a great expense. The Knights Hospitallers also possessed a very handsome building. A large solid rampart of heavy beams, with eleven separate redoubts, protected the landward face of

Montreal, and two platform batteries commanded the streets from end to end.

Here was the great depôt of the north-western fur trade, and here also the best market for the plentiful crops of the adjoining island, of the prairie, and of the Richelieu district.

In the month of June the savages came hither in canoes from places even at 500 miles distance, to exchange their peltries for guns, ammunition, clothes, weapons, and utensils of iron and brass. The meeting or fair lasted for nearly three months, and during that time the town presented a strange and sometimes fearful spectacle; motley groups of fierce and hostile Indians occupied the streets, now engaged in bloody strife, again sunk in brutal intoxication. The French used every effort to prevent the sale of ardent spirits, but in vain, although sentinels were posted night and day to forbid the supply of the maddening liquor, and to preserve something of order in the wild gathering; all precautions proved ineffectual, and the drunkard frequently became also a murderer. At one time the little town of Chambly rivalled Montreal in the gainful but dangerous traffic; however, in 1759, there only remained a fort to prevent the English from enjoying the doubtful advantage of this trade. At Sorel, the entrance of the Richelieu River, an agricultural village, had also arisen rather beyond the neighbouring settlements in extent and population.

South-west of Montreal there was no town of any consideration: near where the modern Kingston stands a few poor hamlets were indeed grouped round Fort Frontenac, but on the shores of the sheltered Bay of Toronto, where 20,000 British subjects now ply their prosperous industry, myriads of wild fowl then found undisturbed refuge from the stormy waters of the Lake. At Niagara there was a small village round the fort; there were trading posts at Detroit, Michilimackinac, and elsewhere; but the splendid tract of country, lying between the northern shores of Erie and Ontario, was almost unknown, save to the wandering Indian.

At this period the first in importance, as well as population, among the settlements of New France, unquestionably was Quebec, the seat of government and of the supreme tribunals of justice. From its lofty headland the successors of the wise Champlain looked down upon the subject stream of the St. Lawrence, and held the great highway of Canada as if by a gate. No doubtful or hostile vessel could elude their vigilance; more than one powerful fleet had already recoiled, shamed and crippled, from before their embattled city. Here were deposited the public records, with most of the arms, ammunition, and resources of the colony; here too the principal establishments of religion, law, and learning were first founded and best sustained. The citizens and neighbouring peasantry were less lowered by Indian intercourse than their other countrymen, and among them the refreshing immigration from the Fatherland produced its most invigorating effect.

On the summit of the rocky height a number of large and somewhat imposing public buildings, grouped irregularly together, with the well-built private dwellings of the wealthier inhabitants, formed the upper town. The lofty spires of no less than nine large ecclesiastical edifices arose within this comparatively limited space.

There were the bishop's palace, the courts of judicature, and the house of the Knights Hospitallers, the latter built of stone, extensive, handsome, and adorned with two stately pavilions. There, also, in a commanding situation, stood the Jesuits' college and their church, which was almost magnificent in the interior decorations. The governor's palace, however, erected in 1639, was the proudest ornament of the colonial capital.

South-west of the Upper Town, on the crest of the headland, was the citadel, a large imperfectly quadrangular fort, with flanking defences at each corner, only protected, however, by a wall on the inner side. Further on, a large work of great design, but not yet finished, crowned the height of Cape Diamond: from the northern angle of this work, an irregular line of bastioned defences ran across the whole promontory to the River St. Charles. Some rude and imperfect field-works, with redoubts, strengthened the front towards the Plains of Abraham.

The Lower Town covered the beach of the Great River under the cliffs of the promontory: the dwellings, stores, and offices of the merchants, many of them handsome and solid, filled up this narrow space. The only edifice of note, however, was the church of Notre Dame de Victoire, built to commemorate Phipps's defeat in 1690. The defence of this part of the city was a large platform-battery on the most salient point of the shore, placed scarcely above the level of the waters. The access from the Lower to the Upper Town was steep, narrow, and difficult, and protected by flanking loop-holed walls.

There was also a considerable suburb called St. Roch's, on the side of the River St. Charles, where dwelt the chief part of the labouring population, in irregular streets of mean and temporary houses. A large portion of the now valuable space was unoccupied, and here and there the rocky hill-side remained as nature had made it. A few of the primeval forest trees still ornamented the gardens and terraces of the city and clothed the neighbouring cliffs.

In the wide plain lying by the banks of the River St. Charles many handsome country-houses and pleasant seats, with well-cultivated gardens and rich orchards, met the eye, and on the slopes beyond, the trim villages of Charlesburg, Lorette, and Beauport: the distant mountain range, with its forest covering, formed, as now, the background of the broad and beautiful picture.

From the Falls of Montmorency to Quebec a continuous chain of intrenchments defended the northern bank of the St. Lawrence. A large boom lay across the mouth of the River St. Charles, and the bridge, about a quarter of a mile high up the stream, was protected by a 'tête du pont.' All these various works and fortifications were, however, rude and imperfect: the strength, as well as the beauty, of this magnificent position, was chiefly due to the bountiful hand of Nature.

The cultivation of the fertile Canadian soil was of a very rude description; but even the feeble industry of the 'habitant' was generally repaid by rich and plentiful crops. The animals of the chase, and the inexhaustible supplies of fish in their lakes and rivers, were resources that better suited the thriftless and scanty population, than the toilsome produce of the field. Tillage was neglected; they cared not to raise more grain than their own immediate wants demanded. The unparalleled

monopolies of the colonial government deprived labour of the best stimulant—the certain enjoyment of its fruits. The farmer hardly cared to store up his superabundant harvest, when his haggard was exposed to the licensed plunder of cruel and avaricious officials, or served but as a sign where the domineering soldiery of Old France might find free quarters. He that sowed the seed knew not who might reap the crop. Often when the golden fields were almost ripe for the sickle, the war-summons sounded in the Canadian hamlets, and the whole male population were hurried away to stem some distant Indian onslaught, or to inflict on some British settlement a ruin, scarcely more complete than their own. In the early wars with the Iroquois, this rude militia had ever answered their leaders' call with ready zeal, and fought with worthy courage; when the savage was subdued and humbled, and a new and more dangerous foe arose in the hereditary enemies of their Fatherland, the Canadians again took the field, strong in the spirit of national hatred. But as year after year the vain strife continued, and, despite their valour and even success, the British power hemmed them more closely in, their hearts sickened at the hopeless quarrel, and they longed for peace even under a stranger's sway. Their fields desolate, their villages deserted, their ships driven from the seas, what cared they for the pride of France, when its fruit to them was ruin, oppression, and contempt. What cared they for the Bourbon lily, when known but as the symbol of avarice and wrong!

The manufactures of this neglected, though splendid colony, scarcely merit even a passing notice. Flax and hemp were worked only sufficiently to show how much was lost in their neglect, and the clothing of this simple peasantry was chiefly of a coarse grey woollen stuff, the produce of their own wheels and looms. At the forges of St. Maurice, near Three Rivers, indeed, iron-works were carried on with some skill, and profit to the employed, if not to the employers.

The commercial spirit of the French, such as it was, the fur trade almost wholly engrossed; the fisheries were never carried on with any vigour by the colonists; some adventurers indeed from the home ports bore the produce of the northern waters, with Canadian timber and provisions, to the tropical islands, but even this limited trade was monopolised by a privileged few through the corrupt connivance of the authorities. In the official returns of the colonial customs, there appears every year an enormous surplus of imports over exports, which can only be accounted for by the clandestine shipment of great quantities of furs and other goods, to restore in some measure the necessary balance of exchange. The sole view of the local officials was rapidly to accumulate wealth at the expense of the State or of their Canadian fellow-subjects: such of their books and accounts as fell into the hands of the English were so confused and irregular that it was difficult or impossible to discover the exact nature of their undoubted dishonesty.

The French East India Company enjoyed the exclusive privilege of exporting the valuable furs of the beaver; they had therefore an agent, director, and comptroller, in each separate government of Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec. A stated price was fixed for each skin, and on the hunter presenting it at the store, he received a receipt which became current in the colony as money, and was held to the last in

higher estimation than the notes of the Royal Treasury. It has already been stated that bills of exchange to an immense amount on the government of France, were afloat in the colony at a considerable depreciation; in the emergency of the year 1759, they ceased to be negotiable at any price.

Although the Canadian population was at this time poor, rude, and dispersed, it presented in some respects features usually characteristic of older and more prosperous communities. The emigration from whence it mainly sprung contained within itself the embryo forms of organization; nobility, clergy, merchants, and peasants, were sent out from the fatherland, and commissioned especially for their several offices. No voluntary influx of ambitious, truculent, but energetic men swelled the population or disturbed the fatal repose of the young nation; no free development was permitted to its infant form, but clothed in the elaborate garments of maturer years, the limbs were cramped, and the goodly proportions of nature dwarfed into a feeble frame. No safety-valve offered itself to the quick spirit of the young Canadian; military rank was limited to the favourites of the powers at home; mercantile success was debarred by vile and stupid monopolies; territorial possessions were unattainable but by interest or wealth; here the proud man, for a time, chafed and murmured, and at length strode away to the Far West, and sought the irresistible attractions of free and savage life.

No colony was ever governed by a succession of more able and excellent men than that of New France, perhaps none (except Algiers) has been apparently so much indebted to the mother country in tender infancy; none ever exhibited more thorough failure. A fertile soil, invigorating climate, and unsurpassed geographical advantages also offered themselves to the men of France; royal liberality and power lent them every aid; but clogged by the ruinous conditions of their ecclesiastic and feudal organisation, healthy action was impeded, and the seed, thus freely sown and carefully tended, grew up into a weak and sickly exotic. Experience has amply proved, as wisdom might have suggested, that in colonies, certainly, 'the best government is that which governs least.' When bold and vigorous men struggle forth from among the crowded thousands of the old communities, let them start in a fair race in the land of their adoption; the difficulties are great, let high hope cheer them; nature there only opens her rich stores and bestows her treasures to brave and patient industry! the uncertain seasons, the Indian, and the wolf, are check and tax sufficient. The fatal error of despotic restraint cost France Canada by conquest, and cost us the noblest land God ever gave to man, by the deeper disgrace of a deserved and violent divorce.

The Canadian nobility, or rather gentry, were descended from the civil and military officers who from time to time settled in the country: through their own influence or that of their ancestors, this privileged class was altogether supported by royal patronage. Some enjoyed grants of extensive Seigneuries; others were speedily enriched by an appointment to the command of a distant post, where ample opportunities of dishonest aggrandisement were afforded and improved. Even the largest and least fortunate class were provided for by the less profitable favour of commissions in the colonial corps.

These favourites of power were generally vain and indolent men; they

disdained trade and agriculture alike as beneath their high-born dignity; but they did not scruple to grasp at every convenient opportunity of easy profit, whether lawful or contraband; and they exacted, frequently with unequal justice, a large portion of the fruits of the earth from their peasant vassals. The feeble complaints of poverty against oppression were seldom loud enough to awake the attention of judges who were themselves often as guilty as the accused. From the especial favour enjoyed by the Canadian gentry under the rule of France, they were staunch to the last to her, and to their own interests, and, as far as they went, were the most effective garrison in the colony: to them the prospect of British conquest was hateful and ruinous; with it must end their reign of corruption and monopoly.

At the time of the first settlement of Canada, the feudal system existed in the mother country in all its Gothic rigour, and thus it was naturally established in spirit and in letter as the basis of the new society. Every territorial possession in New France was originally held by grants under the strictest form of these iron laws; but as the country became more populous, and of increasing importance, a variety of modifications was gradually introduced, tending to curb the exorbitant power of the seigneurs, and proportionally to elevate the condition of their vassals. By degrees many of the more obnoxious features of feudalism were effaced, and the nature of the tenure became to a certain extent adapted to the peculiar circumstances of the colony. The independent holdings by 'free and common soccage' were not, however, effectually introduced till thirty years after the conquest.

The favoured classes of the Canadians were devoted to social amusements; excursions by day, parties for gaming, and the dance, at night, occupied their summer; and in winter sleighing, skating, snow-shoeing, and evening réunion, turned that dreary time into a season of enjoyment. Lively, free, and graceful in manners, their vanity and want of education were little noticeable in the intercourse of daily life. They were inclined to ostentation and extravagance: the means, often unscrupulously procured, were squandered with careless profusion, and they generally endeavoured to keep up an appearance of wealth beyond that which they really possessed. Henri de Pont Brian, Bishop of Quebec, in his remarkable address to the Canadian people immediately before the conquest, draws a dark picture of the religious and moral condition of the inhabitants at that time, and attributes the threatened danger to the 'especial wrath of Heaven for the absence of pious zeal—for the profane diversions—the insufferable excesses of games of chance—the contempt of religious ordinances—open robberies—heinous acts of injustice—shameful rapines. The contagion is nearly universal.' Making every allowance for the worthy ecclesiastic's probable exaggeration of the causes which excited his indignation, the evidence of their own spiritual pastor must bear heavily against the reputation of the French colonists.

The clergy were usually classed in the second rank of Canadian precedence; in actual importance, however, they had no superior. Those holding the higher offices of the church were chiefly or exclusively of French origin, and some among them were men of high talents and attainments; the parochial ministers and curates were generally colonists, sprung from the humble orders of society, locally educated, and limited in their ideas. Nevertheless their influence over the still simpler parishioners

was very great. These inferior clergy were placed under the absolute control of their bishops, by them promoted, removed, or dispossessed at pleasure; a certain degree of jealousy, therefore, not unnaturally mingled itself with the curate's reverend awe of his alien prelate, whose lessons of humility were often less strongly inculcated by example than by precept. Although many of the country priests exerted themselves zealously against the English, under the impression that a heretic conquest would be the ruin of their church, they were not altogether contented with the intimacy of the connexion that bound them to France. The idea had arisen, increased, and ripened among them, that from their own body a discriminating government could have selected wise and holy men upon whose heads the apostolic mitre might have been judiciously placed. The arrival of a new bishop or other ecclesiastical dignitary from France was no more a matter of rejoicing to the reverend fathers of Canada than that of a Parisian collector or intendant to the provincial merchant and farmer. In the year 1759, however, the Bishop of Quebec, the Abbé de la Corne, was of Canadian origin; notwithstanding which he was at that critical time in France. When the Bishopric of Quebec was erected by Louis XIV. in 1664, he endowed the new see with the revenues of the two abbacies, Benevent and l'Estrie; subsequently these were resigned to a general fund for the increase of small livings, from which a yearly income of 8000 livres was allowed instead for the colonial bishopric. The chapter was also enriched by a royal pension and an abbey in France, together valued at 12,000 livres annually.

Besides some liberal allowances from the French crown, the Hôtel de Ville, and other external sources, no less than one-fourth of all the granted lands was bestowed upon the church establishment, and the several religious, educational, and charitable institutions of the colony, and a tithe of a twenty-sixth part of all the produce of the fields was also appropriated to the support of the parochial clergy.

First in establishment, and beyond all compare foremost in importance, among the religious orders in the colony, was that of the Jesuits: to their particular care were intrusted the education of youth and the Indian missions. Here, as in all other countries where that mysterious and once terrible brotherhood had taken root, the traces of their vampire energy were plainly and painfully visible. We cannot, however, but regard with admiration the courage and unquenchable zeal of these extraordinary men; their union of strange and contradictory qualities astounds us—the strong will of the tyrant, the enterprise of the freeman, and the discipline of the slave. With variety and versatility of power, but singleness of purpose, they pursued their appointed course—whether warping the minds of their civilised pupils in the chill tranquillity of the cloister, or denouncing idols among the fiercest of the heathen, ever devoted and unwearied.

The mission of the Jesuit priests was to bring the savage, on any terms, within the pale of the visible Church; not to advance him in civilisation, but to tame him to the utmost possible docility. They overleaped the tedious difficulties of conversion, and proselyted whole tribes in a single day. At times they even adapted the forms of Catholicism to the ferocious customs of the Indians: on one occasion, when the Christian Hurons were about to torture and slay some heathen Iroquois taken in battle, the missionary, by bribes and prayers, gained

permission to baptise the victims, but made no intercession to save them from an agonising death: while under the torments of the fire and the knife they recited their new creed instead of chanting the last war-song. The Jesuit historian of this dreadful scene calls on his readers to rejoice in the providential mercy that brought the captured Iroquois within the blessed fold of the Church. In the triumph of christianising the Heathen, he despised the task of humanising the Christian.

Even the wise and benevolent Charlevoix seemed to have forgotten that Christianity is 'the religion of civilised man,' and that its doctrine and practice are utterly incompatible with the habits of savage life. He, in common with his Jesuit brethren, ever exhibited a jealous hesitation and dislike to the enlightenment of the Indian by secular instruction, or to the improvement of their physical condition; any effort made by others with this object caused them deep uneasiness. When, in 1667, M. de Talon the intendant, urged by the far-sighted Colbert, endeavoured to introduce the language and civilisation of Europe among the savages, he was defeated by the determined opposition of the missionaries, who alone at that time exercised influence over the red children of the forest. Nearly twenty years afterwards the same policy was pressed upon M. de Dénonville, and by him attempted; but as Charlevoix complacently says, when the French were brought into contact with the Indians for this purpose, 'the French became savages instead of the savages becoming French.' This readiness in adapting themselves to the habits of the natives, which, for a time, gained them great power and popularity, was ultimately fatal to their success as colonists. The Anglo-Americans, on the other hand, despising their Indian neighbours, and in return hated and feared by them, were seldom or never infected by the contagion of savage indolence.

M. de Frontenac writes, in the year 1691, that 'the experience of twelve years' residence in Canada has convinced me that the Jesuit missions ought not to be separated as they are from the settlements of the French, but that free intercourse should be encouraged between the Indians and Europeans; thus they might become "*francisé*," at the same time that they are christianised, otherwise more harm than good will accrue to the king's service.'

But on this question of the improvement of the Indians, the civil and military authorities of the colony were at perpetual issue with the formidable brotherhood; the Canadian people generally concurred with their temporal rulers on this point, hence it resulted that in later years the Jesuits were little loved or esteemed in the colony.

More than a century after the missionaries first penetrated the Indian's country, their writers describe his condition as disgusting and degraded rather with contentment than with regret. From their observations we may learn the views of the Jesuits, and in a measure see the result of their practice. 'It must nevertheless be confessed that things have somewhat changed on this point (native civilisation) since our arrival in this country; some of the Indians already begin to provide for future wants, in case of the failure of the chase, but it is to be feared that this may go too far, and by creating superfluous wants, render them more unhappy than they now are in their greatest poverty. The missionaries, however, cannot be blamed for causing this danger; they well know that

it is morally impossible to keep the 'juste milieu,' and provide the proper restraint; they have rather desired to share with the Indian the hardships of his lot than to open his eyes to the dangerous means of its amelioration.'

When at one time the christianised Iroquois had remained at peace for the unusual period of six months, they almost forgot the neighbourhood of deadly and implacable enemies; the missionaries could not prevail upon their careless disciples to take the necessary precautions for defence; they therefore redoubled their endeavours to sanctify, and prepare for the worst fate, those whom they could not preserve from it: in this respect the Indian proved perfectly docile, and became readily imbued with the sentiments suitable to his perilous position: he was in consequence soon reduced to a degree of indolence and indifference which has perhaps no parallel in history. Enthusiasts in the cause, the Jesuits, Charlevoix says, regarded 'every simple Indian who perished, as an additional intercessor above for them and their labour of charity.'

Almost the only civilisation, and permanent religious faith and practice, was established among the Indians by the labours of Protestant missionaries. They, from the beginning, sought to cherish habits of industry and forethought, and to give their converts a taste for the comforts of life; in every instance of successful effort in the cause of civilisation, from the earliest time to the present day, the native population has increased in numbers, and become gradually exempt from that mysterious curse of decay, which seems to cling to all the rest of their savage brethren.

The descendants of the now neglected Jesuit converts are in nowise distinguishable from other savages. By the labours of the brotherhood no permanent impression was stamped upon the Indians; they yielded themselves up in a great measure to the guidance of their missionary, who, in return, taught them the outward form and ceremony of his faith, but nothing more. He was the mind and the soul of the community; he alone exercised forethought, guarded against danger, and measured out enjoyment; to a certain extent he improved the temporary circumstances of his disciples, but he robbed them of their native energy, and crushed all freedom of thought and of individual action: he being removed, the body remained deprived of all directing intellect; the condition of the christianised but uninstructed savage soon became almost the lowest of human existence, till weakness, hardship, and famine swept him away from the scene of earthly suffering.

A very able writer on colonisation ascribes the rapid decay in numbers of all Jesuit congregations, whether in the snows of Canada, or the burning sunshine of Paraguay, to the unnatural restraint in which they live. No vigilant superintendence, moral instruction, and physical well-being can compensate for the loss of freedom of action and the habit of self-guidance. The necessity for taking thought for himself, and living by the sweat of his brow, seems indispensable to the healthy action of man's nature. It cannot be denied that many of these communities have held together for generations free from the corroding cares and corrupting vices of civilisation; amply supplied (superstition apart) with religious instruction, and free from crime and punishment; and many may be tempted favourably to contrast the feeble innocence of this theocracy with the turbulent passions and vices which deform more advanced

societies, and to forget that the man whose mind is thus enslaved is sunk below the level of his kind; his contentment and simplicity are apathy and ignorance, and his obedience is degradation.

Although the evident aim of the brotherhood is to paralyse intellectual life in others, nothing is left undone to give vitality to their own. The Jesuit regards his society as the soul or citadel of Catholic theocracy, and sacrifices to it every social tie, his free will, and his life; fired with its gigantic ambition and its pride, they become his faith and morals; his constant idea is the hope of his Order's universal sway; in darkness and secresy, with patience and invincible perseverance, he works on at the labour of centuries, devoted to the one great purpose, the fulfilment of which his dilating eye sees through the vista of unborn generations. Yet this wonderful organisation holds the eternal passion of its deep heart riveted upon an object ever unattainable. For the Jesuit seeks not to rear the supremacy of his church upon the firm foundations of virtue, truth, and reason; his earnest toil is wasted on the shifting quicksands of ignorance and superstition; the loftier the building, the more complete and extensive must be the ruin. Nevertheless through failure and success alike, his faith's sombre fire burns unceasingly upon the inward altar of his soul.

The merchants of Canada were chiefly of French, the retail dealers of native, birth. From the nature of the colonial system, trade conferred neither wealth nor respect, except to the favoured few enjoying monopolies. Everyone in business was deeply involved by the depreciated bills of exchange upon the home government, and their only hope of ultimate payment rested upon the maintenance of the connexion with the parent state. The trading classes may, therefore, be counted as generally hostile to the British power, but their importance was very small; like all the French race, they were more inclined to small trading transactions than those on a larger scale, and preferred enterprise to industry. It has been seen that one of the leading objects in the establishment of the colony was the trade in fur, especially that of the beaver, but the very abundance of this commodity ultimately proved of great detriment: the long and frequent journeys for the purpose of obtaining it gave the Canadians idle and wandering habits, which they could not shake off even when the low value of the now over-plentiful fur rendered their enterprises almost unprofitable.

The Canadian peasantry, or 'habitans,' were generally a healthy, simple, and virtuous race, but they were also extremely ignorant; indeed the jealousy of their rulers would never suffer a printing-press to be erected in the country; few could read or write, and they were remarkably credulous of even the grossest fabrications which emanated from their superiors. Chiefly of Norman origin, they inherit many ancestral characteristics: litigious, yet impetuous and thoughtless; brave and adventurous, but with little constancy of purpose. The resemblance of the interior of a peasant's dwelling in Normandy, and on the banks of the St. Lawrence, was remarkable to a practised eye: with the exception of the flooring,—which in Canada is always of wood, and in France of stone,—everything is nearly the same; the chimney always in the centre of the building, and the partitions shutting off the sleeping apartments, at each end of the large room where the inhabitants dwell by day.

The French minister, Colbert, in his instructions to M. de Talon and the Sieur de Courcelles, dwelt much on the dangerous practice of the early Canadian colonists building their residences without rule or order, wherever convenience suited, and neglecting the important point of settling near together for mutual assistance and defence. This system being, obviously, a serious obstacle to successful colonisation, an edict was issued by the king, that henceforth there should be no clearing of lands except in close neighbourhood, and that the dwellings should all be built according to rule: this ordinance proved useless, as it would have been necessary for the habitans to commence the toilsome task of new clearings and to abandon the lands where their fathers had dwelt. In 1685, however, the French government again renewed the attempt to alter this pernicious system, but Charlevoix says that 'every one agreed that their neighbour was in danger, but no one could be got to fear for himself in particular.' Even those who had been the victims of this imprudence were not rendered wiser by experience; any losses that could be repaired, were repaired as soon as possible, and those that were irreparable were speedily forgotten. The sight of a little present advantage blinded all the habitans to the future. This is the true savage instinct, and it appears to be inspired by the air of the country. In the present day an evil of exactly opposite description exists; as population became denser, the settlements became continuous, and the holdings smaller. The habitans, who are social to a vice, cannot be induced to separate and clear new lands on a fresher but remoter soil.

In 1689 the King of France was urgently intreated by Comte de Frontenac to make a great effort against the English at New York. His answer was that he could spare no forces from Europe for America, and that the Canadians, by settling in closer neighbourhood, would be fully capable of defending themselves. Thus, while the king could not understand the difficulty of the habitans giving up their old and cherished homes to seek others closer together, on the other hand they could not be convinced of his inability to send supplies. And indeed the system advocated by the Crown would have been more costly in property than the most vigorous aggressive campaign could have proved.

Before the continuous wars with the English colonies, and internal corruption, had exhausted the sap of Canada, no people in the world enjoyed a happier lot than the simple habitans; they were blessed in a healthy climate, in the absence of all endemic diseases, in a fertile soil and an unlimited domain. These advantages might at least have retained in the colony those to whom it gave birth, and who could not be ignorant of its advantages; but love of change, hatred of steady labour, and impatience of restraint, have always urged many of the young and energetic, the life-blood of the population, to seek the irresistible allurements of the distant prairie, and of the forest.

The Canadians were accused of an excessive greed of gain even by their greatest panegyrists; no enterprise was too difficult or dangerous that offered a rich reward. They were, however, far from miserly, and often dissipated their hardly-won treasures without restraint or consideration. Like all people in isolated communities, they had a high opinion of their own merits; this was not without some advantages, as it strengthened self-reliance and gave spirit to overcome difficulties.

The form and stature of the Canadian ranked high in the scale of mankind, but his vitality, though great, was not lasting; at a comparatively early age his frame exhibited symptoms of decline, and the snows of time descended upon his head.

Father Charlevoix simply remarks upon the intellectual powers of the Canadians, that 'they are supposed to be incapable of any great scientific acquirements, or of patient study and application: I cannot, however, answer for the justice of this remark, for we have never yet seen any one attempting to follow such pursuits.' He gives them credit, however, for a rare taste for mechanics, and states that they frequently arrive at great perfection in trades to which they have never been apprenticed.

To reduce this volatile people to the rules of military discipline was always found extremely difficult; but, in many respects, their own peculiar manner of waging war, at least against the Indians, was far more efficient in the wild scenes of savage contest: they were more to be depended upon for a sudden effort, than for the continuous operations of a campaign, and in a time of excitement, and under a commander whom they could trust, they have shown themselves capable of deeds of real daring. They were not commendable for filial affection, but elicited the warmest eulogiums from the reverend father (Charlevoix) on their piety and zeal. The sum of their virtues and vices denoted the promise more of a good than of a great people.

The Provincial revenue, produced by custom dues on imports and exports, charges on the sales of land, duties on spirituous liquors, rights on intestate deaths, shipwrecks, and miscellaneous sources, amounted to something under 14,000*l.* sterling the year of the conquest, and the aid from the coffers of France to the ecclesiastical, civil, and military establishments was nearly 4760*l.* These resources could not provide liberal salaries for the numerous colonial officials; as before stated, however, they made up for the deficiency by shameless and enormous peculations.

All the male inhabitants of the colony, from ten to sixty years of age, were enrolled by companies in a Provincial militia, except those who by birth or occupation enjoyed the privileges of nobility. The captains were usually the most respectable men in the country parishes, and were held in great respect. When the services of the militia were required, their colonels, or the town-majors, transmitted the order of levy to the captains, who chose the required numbers, and conducted them under escort to the town; there each man received a gun, ammunition, and a rude sort of uniform; they were then marched to their destination. This force was generally reviewed once or twice a year for the inspection of their arms; that of Quebec was frequently exercised, and had attached thereto an efficient company of artillery. Many duties of law, police, and the superintendence of roads in the country districts were also imposed on the captains of militia; the governor-general was every year accustomed to bestow a quantity of powder and ball by way of gratification upon these useful officials.

Beside this numerous but somewhat uncertain militia force, there were in Canada ten veteran battalions of French infantry. These, however, were much reduced from their original strength by desertion, fatigue, and the casualties of war. The peculiar nature of the service, and the

necessity of quartering the troops abroad in small detachments, had relaxed the rigour of European discipline, but the loss in this respect was more than counterbalanced by the knowledge of the country, and the habit of braving the severity of the climate. Their high military virtue was still well worthy of men who had fought under Marshal Saxe. The proud carriage and domineering conduct of these soldiers of Old France rendered them little loved by the Canadian people, and as their pretensions were invariably supported by the government, it shared in the general unpopularity.

The 150 years that had elapsed since Champlain first planted the banner of France upon the headland of Quebec, told with terrible effect upon the Red Men: already among the Canadian hamlets on the banks of the Great River they were well-nigh forgotten. Whole tribes had sunk into the earth, and left not a trace behind; others had wandered away, and were absorbed among those more fortunate races as yet undisturbed by the white man's neighbourhood; while some, in attempting a feeble and fatal imitation of civilised life, had dwindled to a few wretched families, who had cast away the virtues of savage life, and adopted instead only the vices of Europe. The Hurons of Jeune Lorette, near Quebec, were, however, as yet a happy exception to this general demoralisation. Many years before, they had been driven from the fertile countries between Lakes Huron and Erie, and found refuge upon the Jesuit lands; they lived much in the same manner as the Canadian peasantry, tilled the soil with equal success, and dwelt in comfortable houses. But in one respect they had not escaped the mysterious curse which has ever hung upon the Red Race in their contact with their European brethren; from year to year their numbers diminished in an unchecked decay.

CHAPTER XXII.

During the early part of the 18th century, the British North American provinces had made extraordinary progress in population and wealth: a progress then unequalled in the world's history, and only now excelled by that of the Australian settlements. From many of the European nations swarms of the energetic and discontented poured into the land of plenty and comparative freedom. By far the greater number of immigrants, however, were from the British islands, and their national character, in a great measure, absorbed the peculiarities of all the rest. The natural increase of the population also far exceeded that of European States; the abundant supply of the necessaries of life, and immunity from oppressive restraint, produced their invariable results. In the absence of any harassing care for the future, early marriages were almost universally contracted. The man who possessed no capital but his labour, found in it the means of present support, and even of future wealth; if he failed to obtain remunerative employment in the old districts, he needed only to carve out his way in the new. The fertile wilderness ever welcomed him with rude but abundant hospitality; every tree that fell beneath his axe was an obstacle removed from the road to competence; every harvest home an earnest of yet richer rewards to come.

From the first, the British colonists had applied themselves to agricultur

as the great business of life; then trade followed, to supply luxuries in exchange for superabundant products; and manufactures came next, to satisfy the increasing necessities of a higher civilisation. From the peculiarities of the country, and the restless and irregular habits of many of the earlier immigrants, a system of cultivation arose which, however detrimental to the progress of some individuals, tended to develope the resources of the country with astonishing rapidity. A number of the hardy men, who first began the clearing of the wilderness, only played the part of pioneers to those who permanently settled on the fertile soil; they felled the trees with unequalled dexterity, erected log-houses and barns, hastily inclosed their farms, and in an incredibly short space of time, reduced the land to a sort of cultivation. With their crops, a few cattle, and the produce of the chase, they gained subsistence for themselves and their families. These men could not endure the restraints of regular society; as the population advanced towards them, and they felt the obnoxious neighbourhood of the magistrate and the tax-gatherer, they were easily induced to dispose of their clearings, at a price enhanced by that of surrounding settlements: once again they plunged into the wilderness and recommenced their life of almost savage independence.

The new owner of the pioneer's clearing was generally a thrifty and industrious farmer: his object, a home for himself and an inheritance for his children. In certain hope of success, he laboured with untiring energy, and converted the half-won waste into a fruitful field. His neighbours have progressed equally with himself; the dark shadows of the forest vanish from the surrounding country; detached log-huts change to clusters of comfortable dwellings; churches arise, villages swell into towns, towns into cities.

This system exercised an important influence on the politics and manners of the colonists; the restless, impatient, and discontented, found ample scope and occupation in the wilderness, instead of waging perpetual strife against the restraints of law and order in the older districts; many of these men ultimately even became useful and industrious. The acquisition of a little property of their own, and the necessity of law and order for the preservation of that property, reconciled them to the forfeiture of the wild liberty in which they had before exulted. The truculence of the desperate often turned into the healthy ambition of the prosperous.

Along the shores of the magnificent bays and estuaries of the Atlantic coast had already arisen many populous and thriving cities. Boston numbered more than 30,000 inhabitants; her trade was great; her shipping bore the produce of all countries through all seas, either as carriers for others, or to supply her own increasing demands; her sailors were noted for hardihood and skill, her mechanics for industry, and her merchants for thrift and enterprise; her councils, and the customs of her people still bore the stamp which the hands of the Pilgrim Fathers had first impressed. Moral, sober, persevering, thoughtful, but narrow-minded and ungenial, they were little prone to allow the enjoyment of social intercourse to interfere with the pursuit of wealth. Although at times oppressive and always intolerant themselves, they ever resented with jealous promptitude the slightest infringement of their own freedom of conscience or action. They despised but did not pity the Indian, and had no scruple in profiting largely by the exchange of the deadly fire-water for his valuable furs.

At the time of which we treat, the people of the New England States numbered more than 380,000; they were the bone and sinew of British power in America; in peace the most prosperous and enterprising, and in war the most energetic, if not the most warlike of the Anglo-Americans. Their hostility against the French was more bitter than that of their southern fellow-countrymen: in the advance guard of British colonisation they came more frequently in contact with the rival power, and were continually occupied in resisting or imitating its aggressions. The senseless and unchristian spirit of 'natural enmity' had spread in an aggravated degree among the children of the two great European States who had cast their lot of life in the New World.

The colony of New York had also arrived at considerable importance, but from the varied sources of the original population, the 100,000 inhabitants it contained at the time of the war were less exclusively British in character and feeling than their Puritan brethren of New England. Many of the Dutch and Swedish farmers, as well as of the French emigrants, retained unaltered the language and customs of their fathers, and felt little affection for the metropolitan State, formerly their conqueror and now their somewhat supercilious ruler. The trade of New York city, aided by the splendid navigation of the Hudson river, was very large in proportion to the then small population of 8000. Great quantities of corn, flour, and other provisions were conveyed from the rich western country by the inland waters to the noble harbour at their mouth, and thence found their way to the West Indies and even to Europe. The town of Albany, although inferior in population, was important and prosperous as the chief depôt for the Indian trade, and the place where conferences were usually held between the English and the fast-failing tribes of the once formidable Iroquois. New Jersey partook in some respects of the characteristics of New York, and contained about 60,000 souls. Owing to the protection of the larger neighbouring states, this fertile province had suffered but little from Indian hostility, and the rich soil and mild climate aided the undisturbed labours of its husbandmen. The forests abounded with oak, ash, cypress, hickory, and other valuable timber, and the cultivation of flax and hemp was largely carried on: these different productions were disposed of in the markets of New York and Philadelphia, principally for European consumption.

The great and prosperous state of Pennsylvania, nearly 5000 square miles in extent, contained 250,000 inhabitants, and carried on a large trade with Europe and the West Indies; through the rich and beautiful capital an immense surplus of agricultural produce, from its fertile soil, was exported to other less-favoured countries. Philadelphia was happily situated upon the tongue of land formed by the confluence of the two navigable rivers, Delaware and Schuylkil: the streets were broad and regular, the houses spacious and well-built, and the docks and quays commodious. This city still continued largely impressed by the spirit of Quakerism; the stiffness of outline, the trim neatness of the dwellings, the convenient but unpretending public buildings, and the austere manners of the inhabitants, bespoke the stronghold of the former men of peace. Here it was, not twenty years afterwards, in a vulgar and unsightly brick edifice, that a few bold and earnest men pledged their sacred honour, their fortunes, and their lives to an act, perhaps the most important that history records,—'THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.'

The State of Maryland lies next in succession southward; to the east and south the waters of the Atlantic and the Potomac river wash its fertile shores. About 40,000 white men here held 60,000 of their negro brethren in toilsome slavery, and enriched themselves by the fruits of this unholy labour. Tobacco, large in quantity and good in quality, was the staple produce of the country. The capital, Annapolis, was beautifully situated on the banks of the Patuxent river.

South of the River Potomac and west of Chesapeake Bay, the State of Virginia stretches inland to the Alleghany mountains. This rich province produced corn and every kind of fruit in abundance; the forests were of great extent and value, and supplied much good timber for exportation; flax, hemp, tar, and iron, were also produced in some quantity, but, as in Maryland, the principal wealth of the country was in tobacco, cultivated by the labour of nearly 100,000 slaves. The white population numbered about 70,000. The magnificent Bay of Chesapeake extended through this territory for nearly 300 miles from south to north, and received many considerable streams at both sides. However, no commercial town of any great importance had grown up on the shores of these navigable waters.

The Carolinas, bounded to the north by Virginia, extend along the Atlantic coast for upwards of 400 miles, and stretch westward 300 miles into the interior of the vast continent. They are divided into two provinces, the North and the South; the first the more populous, richer in production, more advanced in commerce and prosperity. Here, as the tropics are approached, the sultry climate favours the cultivation of rice, indigo, and tobacco; great numbers of slaves laboured in the fertile swamps, and beautiful but unhealthy valleys of these States, enriching the ruling race by their lives of unrequited toil. We do not find any exact record of the population at the time of which we treat, but that of both the Carolinas was probably not less than 260,000; of these more than one-half were whites.

Georgia, the most southern of the British settlements in America, skirts the Atlantic shore for about sixty miles, and includes the whole extent of the western country to the Apalachian mountains, nearly 300 miles away, widening gradually to 150 miles in breadth. To the south lay the Spanish limits, marked by the river Attamaha, and the deserted fort of San Augustin. At this time the province was thinly peopled, its resources little known, and its luxuriant savannahs still wasted their exuberant fertility in rank vegetation and pestilential decay. The inhabitants, however, raised some quantities of rice and indigo, and had even made progress in the culture of silk. At Augusta, the second town in importance, situated 200 miles in the interior, a profitable fur trade was established with the Cherokees, and other comparatively civilised Indians.

It has been seen that the British North American colonies contained upwards of 1,300,000 inhabitants at the commencement of the campaign which destroyed the power of France on the western continent. Enormous as was this physical superiority over the rival colony of Canada, the wealth and resources of the British bore a vastly greater proportion to those of their enemies. Burnaby, an intelligent English traveller who at this time visited America, informs us, that all the luxurious fruits of wealth were displayed in our transatlantic settlements; and that, in a journey of 1200 miles through the country, he was never once solicited

for alms. At the same time he observes that the people were already imbued with a strong spirit of independence, and that a deep but vague impression existed that they were destined for some splendid future. But among these sturdy and ambitious men mutual jealousies rendered a permanent union of their councils apparently impossible: the mother country failed in every effort to bring the strength of her gigantic colonies to bear together upon any imperial object, although she subsequently succeeded but too well in creating unanimity of feeling against herself.

By the fall of Louisburg, and the complete subjection of the Acadian peninsula, the high road of the St. Lawrence lay open to the British fleets; the capture of Fort du Quesne, and the occupation of the forks of the Ohio, had given to England the command of the vast chain of navigable communication which connected the Canadian lakes with the distant waters of the Gulf of Mexico. Thus the 60,000 French of North America were hopelessly isolated from their parent state, and left to the mercy of their exasperated and powerful foes. Already their Indian allies had wavered or seceded: no longer able to afford protection or supply their commerce, the Canadian governor sank rapidly in savage estimation; and even the 'Great Father' beyond the seas ceased to be regarded with the superstitious reverence formerly felt towards him by his Red Children.

But the lofty spirit of France was still unbroken by these losses and dangers; even in this time of need she disdained to abandon or modify her pretensions to the dominion of those western wilds of America, for the possession of which she had first drawn the sword, and she determined to risk the utter ruin of her transatlantic power rather than patiently submit to its diminution. Quebec and Canada might have been saved had she acquiesced in our just right and title to the ancient limits of Acadia, as marked out by former treaties, and had she refrained from the prosecution of that vast scheme of encroachment by which the British settlements would have been inclosed from Louisiana to the Great Lakes of the north.

At the same time the British nation, inflamed by hopeful ambition, was stimulated to renewed exertion by the triumphs and advantages of the late campaign. Had the illustrious man who wielded England's strength ever doubted in his own far-seeing mind the policy of removing the Canadian incubus from the rising ambition of the colonies, the strong tide of public opinion would have doubtless swept him away. But he possessed neither the inclination nor the power to halt in the career of glory and success, when the magnificent dominions of France in America lay within his grasp: he firmly resolved to seize the prize, and devoted all the energies and abilities of his mind to the one great object.

The British parliament addressed the throne in terms of the highest approbation of the minister; they applauded the conduct of the campaign, and pledged themselves zealously and cheerfully to furnish all necessary supplies. The king sent them a message representing the spirited efforts made by his American subjects in the prosecution of the war, and recommending compensation for the losses and expenses they had incurred in the maintenance of his rights and England's glory; the prompt answer was a vote of 200,000*l.* for the required purpose. The people even surpassed their representatives in ardour; one universal spirit pervaded all ranks and classes—a confidence in British triumph and French humiliation. The

conquest of Canada was now the first and darling object of the nation.

Mr. Pitt decided upon pursuing the same plan of operations which had been partially successful in the last campaign; he purposed to throw three separate expeditions at once against the three strongholds of Canadian power—Niagara, Montreal, and Quebec. The mainspring of this grand design was, that these attacks should be simultaneous, and thus distract the attention and divide the force of the defenders. A formidable armament was zealously and speedily equipped in the English ports to carry a force of from 7000 to 8000 men, by the River St. Lawrence to the walls of Quebec. The main army of America, 12,000 strong, was assembled on the woody shores of Lake George; it was destined to penetrate the heart of Canada by the Richelieu river and occupy Montreal, after having first overwhelmed the French detachments at Ticonderoga and Crown Point; thence the British troops were to descend the broad stream of the St. Lawrence till they joined their strength to that of the besiegers of Quebec. At the same time another British corps, and a large body of Indians, was directed upon Niagara, with orders to take and garrison the fort, and then hasten down over Ontario, and the rapids of the Great River, to co-operate with the other expeditions. This scheme was as impracticable in its execution as it was bold and comprehensive in design.

When Pitt cast his eye over the scantily traced map of the Western World, he disdained to note the almost insurmountable difficulties which its broad blanks unobtrusively represented. As his bold hand struck out the several lines of operation, he forgot the hideous wilderness, the stormy ocean, and the dangerous lake, over the tracings of which his pencil passed, and his daring heart doubted not for a moment of success. It is a trite observation, that a combined movement is always precarious, even under the most favourable circumstances. Uncertainty of weather, or different degrees of zeal and activity in the leaders, may disjoint the most elaborate scheme; but in such a case as this, with all the superadded chances of the sea, the river, and the desert, a wisdom greater than that of the wisest, a power stronger than that of the most powerful, could alone have given us the victory.

The French possessed the immense advantage of acting as it were on a smooth highroad, while their assailants were entangled in a broken and difficult country. The River St. Lawrence furnished a means of intercommunication that enabled them to throw the mass of their force upon any one of the hostile armies they might select, and thus outnumber each in succession: the bold position of Quebec supplied them with a place of arms, and an advantageous battle-ground when all else should be lost. The able and skilful Montcalm was not likely to fail in turning these favourable circumstances to full account.

The most vulnerable, and at the same time the most vital, part of Canada was the spot where the Richelieu river pours into the St. Lawrence. Thence to the magnificent harbour of New York, a scarcely interrupted chain of navigable water, by the Lakes Champlain and George and the Hudson river, offered a practicable route to the invading force. Looking back upon the past with that wisdom which is the humble disciple of experience, it would appear that the whole British power should

have been thrown at once upon that single point. By uniting the veteran corps embarked in the fleet from England and Nova Scotia with the formidable force destined against Niagara, to the main army, nearly 25,000 British troops could have been brought to bear against the feeble defences of the Lakes, and poured down with irresistible strength on the valley of the St. Lawrence. Thence to Quebec the watery path lay free and unembarrassed, and no hostile power existed strong enough to dare a battle against such a host. In the mean time the English fleet should have anchored in the broad basin above the Island of Orleans, intercepted all European aid, and by vigorous demonstrations kept in play as much as possible of the enemy's strengh. Had this scheme been adopted the decisive battle might probably have still been fought on the Plains of Abraham, but with far greater chances in favour of British triumph than in the fight which was subsequently bravely won. The whole disposable force of Canada would naturally have opposed the invading army, and would have been either forced down upon the defence of Quebec, or driven to an unequal combat. The French army overpowered and their great stronghold taken, Montreal, with Niagara and the western country, must have lain an easy prey.

To find out the weakest point of the enemy's position, and to assail it with his greatest power, was the constaint aim of the first of modern captains, and the talisman of his matchless success. The British minister's scheme for the conquest of Canada presents exactly the reverse of this system; the several strongholds of the French were selected for simultaneous attack by separate and insufficient forces. By an overruling Providence, however, the skill and daring of a British general, and the valour of his troops, together with the incomprehensible error of their chivalrous opponent, gave to the arms of England victory and glory, and to the ruler of her councils complete ultimate success.

To pave the way for the campaign of 1759, a grand conference was held with the Indians in the October of the preceding year, at Easton, about ninety miles from Philadelphia; there peace was formally established between England and the several native nations inhabiting the country, which extends from the Apalachian Mountains to the Lakes. Some tribes, however, still held aloof. The business of the British agents at this meeting was to ascertain the limits of the several lands about the possession of which disputes had occurred with the natives, to reconcile the bitter hostilities of different tribes against each other, to remove every cause of misunderstanding between the Indians and ourselves, and effectually to detach them from the interests of the French. The conferences were continued from the 8th to the 26th of October, when every article was finally arranged to the satisfaction of all parties. The Indians were then given presents, made drunk, and dismissed to their several dwellings.

General Amherst, and his gallant colleague Admiral Boscawen, had, as the conquerors of Louisburg, received the high honour of thanks from the representatives of a grateful people in the British parliament. The vigour, ability, and courage displayed by Amherst in the previous year, inspired a universal hope of future success among his countrymen, and all eyes were fixed with deep and sanguine interest on the movements of the formidable armies which he was now to direct against the failing power of the French. But the memory of Abercromby's fatal disaster was still

fresh in the English mind, and somewhat damped the rising hopes of conquest and of glory. The difficulties before which he had recoiled, disgraced and ruined, were since increased rather than diminished: the fort of Chambly, which defended the pass by the Richelieu river to the St. Lawrence, had been strengthened and garrisoned by a body of regular troops and militia: Crown Point had been reinforced, and an increase of vessels had completely given the command of Lake Champlain to the French.

The British colonies were eager in seconding the grand designs of the parent state; designs, indeed, far more important to them than to England. But they found it difficult to keep pace with the expenditure which the great minister's splendid and thriftless conduct of the war rendered necessary. Some reluctance was now expressed, especially in New England, to raise the levies required by the Provincial governments. In the opening of last year's operations it had been promised that a single campaign would suffice to end with success the deadly and ruinous strife. The same promise was now once more offered, but received by no willing ears. The taxes were already excessive, the demand for men most burdensome, and the liberal compensation voted by the British parliament was still insufficient to remunerate the colonists for past losses and advances, and had been unfortunately so long delayed by official interruptions as to create considerable mistrust and dissatisfaction. It was not without much difficulty that Connecticut was induced to keep up her last year's contingent of 5000 men, and Massachusetts at first declined to raise more than the same number, until prevailed upon by the instances of Amherst, who was universally respected and esteemed. The thinly-peopled State of New Hampshire, however, exceeded her former exertions, and sent no less than 1000 men into the field.

The movements of the last campaign, and the extensive preparations in the British settlements, no longer afforded room for doubt that the aim of England was the annihilation of the power of France in America. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, therefore, issued a proclamation at the close of the year 1758, to the several officers of Canadian militia, to excite their zeal and quicken their activity in preparations for resistance. 'Notwithstanding our glorious successes,' said he, 'the state of the colony is perilous. The enemy are making great efforts both by sea and land; we must prepare, therefore, to meet them boldly as soon as the season of the year allows them to act. No time must be lost in organising our defence.' He then directed that all the male inhabitants of the province, from sixteen to sixty years of age, should be enrolled in the militia, and should remain in readiness to march at a moment's notice.

The captains of militia faithfully endeavoured to comply with these orders, but the farmers, or habitans, showed great disinclination to abandon the cultivation of their fields for the certain hardships and dangers, and the uncertain glories, of a soldier's life. Where the levies were efficiently carried out the country remained waste; the last harvest had been far from abundant, and the rapacious seizures of grain for the real or fictitious wants of the government caused a pinching scarcity. The intendant had arbitrarily fixed the price of wheat at twelve sous the bushel, yet none was sold under a far higher rate. Every device of peculation was resorted to by the unworthy civil officers to increase their gains from the distresses of the people, while the vicious decrees of a cor-

rupted court of law supported instead of curbing them in their iniquities. Dishonest exactions and forced contributions caused a reckless waste of those resources, upon the enjoyment of which no man could confidently count, and the intendant finding it at length difficult or impossible to obtain the necessary supplies, quartered the troops upon the unfortunate inhabitants.

The misery and distress of the colony at length deepened into absolute famine. Cadet, the commissary-general, by the intendant's orders, killed a number of horses for the use of the inhabitants and troops at Montreal and Quebec. Finally the governor and M. de Montcalm dispatched an officer to France with a detail of the deplorable state of Canada, and an earnest entreaty for succour. This officer, De Bougainville, afterwards distinguished alike in literature and adventure, although he had sailed very late in the autumn, escaped the dangers of the season, and the vigilance of the British navy, and laid his melancholy dispatch before the throne of France.

Early in January, 1759, a census was taken of all those capable of bearing arms in Canada; the result showed 15,229 men. Of these, however, a large proportion were neither available nor worthy of trust. A detachment of artillery, eight battalions of French regulars, and thirty-three companies of the marine or colony troops, formed the real strength of the Canadian army.

Montcalm was indefatigable in his preparations for the approaching struggle. Regulars and militia were kept at constant work on the several fortifications. Three armed vessels were built to command the navigation of Lake Champlain. Captain Pouchot, a skilful engineer, was sent to strengthen the works of Niagara and undertake their defence. On the 14th of May, M. de Bougainville arrived from France with decorations and promotions for the governor, the general, and other officers whose merit had been conspicuous in the last campaign, but he was also bearer of the alarming intelligence that England was about to assail the colony forthwith, both by sea and land. As yet, however, no supplies or reinforcements from France made their appearance in this hour of peril, and the governor M. de Vaudreuil was simply instructed to make the best provision in his power for the defence of Canada.

The governor addressed a notice to the militia to be ready at a moment's warning, and endeavoured to excite their somewhat dormant patriotism by a spirited appeal. 'This campaign,' said he, 'will give the Canadians an opportunity of displaying once again their loyalty and valour: their king doubts not that they will faithfully defend his and their rights, their religion, homes, and properties against the cruel English. These invaders hate our name and nation, they accuse us of the evil deeds of a few savage Indians, and burn for revenge. We will protect our people by every possible means from falling into the hands of our ruthless enemies, and from such mercies as the people of Acadia, Cape Breton, and St. John's received from them. Better would it be for us, our wives, and our children, to be buried in the ruins of the colony than to fall alive into the hands of the English. We have, however, no fears for our safety, and accordingly we direct that every suitable step be taken for a successful defence.'

A council of war was held at Montreal which, after frequent meetings, decided that a body of troops under Montcalm, with the brigadier-

generals, the Marquis de Levi and M. de Senezergues, should be posted at Quebec; that M. de Bourlemaque should hasten to Ticonderoga, blow up the works at the approach of the English, retire by the Lake to Isle aux Noix, and there make a stubborn resistance. The Chevalier de la Corne, with 800 regulars and militia, was directed to hold the rapids above Montreal, to intrench himself in a strong position, and hold out to the best of his power. These resolutions taken, Montcalm hastened to Quebec, and pushed on the works of the city and its outposts. To embarrass the hostile fleet, he removed the buoys and other marks for navigation in the Great River; above all he strove to raise the drooping spirit of the Canadian people.

CHAPTER XXIII.

We must now return to the proceedings in the British camp. In the stern climate of Northern America the season for military action was very limited. From the breaking up of the ice on the lakes and rivers, and the melting of the forest snows, till they again hindered or forbid the movement of troops, but little interval was left for the march of an invading army. To pursue with effect the great plan of the campaign, it was necessary to take the field with the earliest signs of returning spring. General Amherst, therefore, left New York on the 28th of April, and arrived at Albany on the 3rd of May: there he busied himself in assembling and organising his army for the field, preparing boats for transporting the troops, artillery, and stores, and instructing the raw Provincial levies in the rudiments of military discipline. Before this time, he had dispatched the active partisan officer Major Rogers, with 350 men, from Fort Edward, to feel the strength of the enemy at Ticonderoga and Crown Point: they succeeded in surprising a French working-party close to the disastrous scene of the previous year's defeat, killed some men, and took several prisoners, with but little loss to themselves. The intense severity of the weather, however, made the victors pay dearly for their success: two-thirds of the detachment were frost-bitten in the feet, some of them to such an extent that their more fortunate companions were obliged to carry them back to the British camp.

The whole month of May was occupied in preparation for the advance. The Provincial regiments, as fast as they arrived at head-quarters, were encamped, and instructed with all diligence. The regular troops were pushed on by the road to Fort Edward, and posted at a place fifty-six miles from Albany, while a detachment under Major West constructed a small stockaded fort between Fort Edward and the Lake. On the 3rd of June the near divisions of the army were ordered to take the field. That same day the general left Albany, and encamped at Fort Edward on the 6th.

During this time of military inaction but of tedious toil, an alarming spirit of desertion broke out among the British troops. A large proportion of even the regulars were young and untrained men, unaccustomed to the dull restraint of discipline, and as yet almost unconscious of that professional pride which, to a certain extent, may practically supply the place of a higher principle in the soldier's mind. The Provincials were

chiefly new levies, and not always very zealous recruits. The duties of the camp were harassing, the labours on the works were wearying; before them lay a dreary and dangerous march, behind them the pleasant villages and well-stored homesteads of New England. The temptation was strong, the principle of resistance weak. Appeals to patriotism, stringent orders, and moderate punishments proved ineffectual: still by twos and threes, and at length by scores, Amherst's army melted away into the neighbouring forests. The last example became necessary; a general court-martial sentenced two deserters, Dunwood and Ward, to death, and they were immediately executed. Despite this terrible warning, despite all promises and threats, the vile treason still prevailed, especially among the Provincials; two other traitors, Rogers and Harris, were also apprehended, convicted, and shot.

An insidious attempt to examine the British strength under the pretext of a flag of truce from M. de Bourlemaque, was frustrated by Amherst's vigilance; he would not suffer the French officers to enter the camp, but examined the dispatches, and returned answer while they remained at a suitable distance. The general's active care could not protect the frontier settlers from the atrocious cruelties of the French and Indians; although scouting parties were constantly moving through the forests, the subtle and ferocious enemy eluded their vigilance, and scalped men, women, and children without mercy. These outrages gave rise to the following order by Amherst, which he found means to forward to the governor of Canada and his general:—

'No scouting party, or others in the army, are to scalp women or children belonging to the enemy. They are, if possible, to take them prisoners; but not to injure them on any account. The general being determined, should the enemy continue to murder and scalp women and children, who are the subjects of the King of Great Britain, to revenge it by the death of two men of the enemy for every woman or child murdered by them.'

It were a needless pain to dwell upon the cruelties of this bloody war. Our countrymen must bear their share, although not an equal share, of the deep disgrace. The contending parties readily acquired the fiendish ingenuity in torture of their Indian allies; the Frenchman soon became as expert as his Red teacher in tearing the scalp from a prostrate enemy; and even the British soldier counted these odious trophies with unnatural triumph. In the exterminating strife, the thirst of blood became strong and deep, and was slaked, not only in the life-streams of the armed foe, but in that of the aged, the maimed, the helpless woman, and the innocent child. The peaceful hamlet and the smiling corn-field excited hostile fury alike with the camp, the intrenchment, and the fort, and shared in their destruction, when the defenders were overpowered. Yet still over these murdered corpses and scenes of useless desolation, the spotless flag of France and the Red Cross of St. George waved in alternate triumph, proudly and remorselessly, by their symbolic presence sanctioning the disgraceful strife.

The greater part of the troops, artillery, and stores being now arrived, the general advanced from Fort Edward on the 21st June, with about 6000 men in two columns; he visited the several posts established on the communications by the way, and that night encamped on the woody

banks of Lake George, where the following morning he traced out the plan of a small fort. The remainder of the troops and the boats were brought up to this point with all dispatch, but the difficulties of the carrying-place, the intense heat of the weather, and the badness of the roads proved harassing impediments to the British chief. During these delays several unimportant affairs occurred between our advanced parties and the French light troops and Indians, which usually ended in favour of the enemy. However, the time was profitably employed by Captain Loring of the navy, who exerted himself bravely and successfully in the arrangements for embarkation; he raised, rigged, and armed the sloop Halifax, and also a floating battery of eight heavy guns, both of which had been sunk in the last campaign. On the 21st of July, all was in readiness, the troops and stores had arrived; the army embarked upon the Lake.

The force with which General Amherst now undertook the invasion of Canada, consisted of 111 of the Royal Artillery, having under charge fifty-four pieces of ordnance of various descriptions; six battalions of Regulars, numbering, officers included, 5743 men, nine battalions of Provincials, with a regiment of light infantry, newly raised and commanded by General Gage, 5279 men, in all numbering 11,133. This army crossed the Lake in four columns: the following day it reached the second Narrows without interruption except from the roughness of the weather, and landed near the spot where Abercromby had disembarked the year before. The British vanguard, composed principally of light troops, pushed on rapidly into the bush, and soon fell upon a detachment of the Regiment de Berry and some Indians, commanded by Captain Bournie; the French were instantly overpowered and dispersed, two were 'made prisoners, and four were scalped; their wounded they carried off with them in their flight.' Amherst followed with his main body in good order, and took up a position of great strength near the Saw-mills. He learned from the French prisoners that M. de Bourlemaque commanded at Carillon, his garrison three battalions of Regulars, a large body of Canadian militia, and some Indians, in all 3400 men.

That night the British troops lay on their arms, and at earliest dawn the heavy sound of the advancing artillery warned the French that a formidable attack was about to open upon the lines under the shelter of which their brilliant victory of the preceding year had been gained. They ventured not to try the issue of a second combat against a different chief, and, abandoning the bloodstained breastworks, fell back upon the neighbouring fort. The grenadiers of the English Regulars immediately occupied the deserted intrenchments, and the rest of the army encamped at a short distance to the rear.

In the centre of these remarkable lines, the French had, in celebration of the victory of Carillon, erected a lofty cross, which still remained; a deep grave was sunk before it, and on the cross was affixed a plate of brass, with this inscription:—

'Pone principes eorum sicut Oreb et Zebec et Zalmanna.'

The French kept up a warm fire from the fort upon the position where the British lay encamped, but the great height and strength of the breastworks erected for their own defence now sheltered their enemies,

and rendered the shower of shot and shells perfectly harmless. The preparations for the siege rapidly progressed, and the garrison were apparently equally vigorous in dispositions for defence; M. de Bourlemaque soon perceived that the English general possessed the skill and determination, as well as the necessary force, to insure success; he therefore silently abandoned the fort on the night of the 23rd, leaving 400 men to continue such a resistance as might mask the retreat of his army. This small but gallant band, while their countrymen filed cautiously down towards the Lake, made a sudden attack upon the advanced guard in the besiegers' trenches, killed and wounded sixteen men, and caused such confusion that in the darkness of the night the British fired upon each other.

On the 24th and 25th, the remaining French in the fort kept up a continuous fire upon the besiegers' camp, and having ascertained the range, caused much annoyance and some loss. Colonel Townshend, a brave and beloved officer,—the Lord Howe of Amherst's army,—was struck down by a cannon-shot in the trenches, and he instantly expired, to the great grief of all who knew him. Meanwhile the English approaches were advanced within 600 yards of the fort, and the Indians, under Major Rogers, harassed the defenders with a continuous fire from the advanced works. At ten o'clock on the night of the 26th some deserters to the British camp informed the general that the French had abandoned the fort, but that they had left every gun loaded and pointed, several mines charged for the utter destruction of the defences, and a lighted fuse communicating with the well-stored powder magazine. While they yet spoke, an awful explosion, bursting upon the silence of the night, confirmed the tale; then, from under the dense cloud of smoke and dust, and the shower of burning embers, arose the flames of the wooden breastworks, barracks, and stores, while at intervals, from the mass of fire, the yellow flash of the bursting guns, and the exploding mines, varied the tints of the light that fell far and near upon the Lake and the surrounding forest.

The retreat of the French had been so hurried, that they were unable to give warning to their scouting parties, who, on returning to the fort, fell into the hands of the English. Colonel Haviland, with some Rangers and light troops in fast boats, pursued the flying enemy across the Lake, and succeeded in capturing some batteaux laden with powder, and sixteen prisoners. At daylight in the morning a serjeant of the British Regulars volunteered for the dangerous duty of entering the burning fort, to strike the French flag and raise that of England in its place; he succeeded, and carried the white banner in safety to his general. Soon afterwards a detachment was sent to extinguish the flames, and save any guns which yet might have remained uninjured. This object was accomplished with some difficulty but no loss. No more than seventy-six men of the British force had been killed and wounded in all the preceding operations.

Amherst set vigorously to work in repairing the fort of Ticonderoga; most of the ramparts, the covered way, and the walls of the buildings remained uninjured; his principal exertions were therefore employed in levelling his own now useless siege works, and completing the road from the shore. Meanwhile Captain Loring still laboured to strengthen the

British naval power on the Lake; he weighed some French batteaux which had been sunk, and constructed a brig with all possible dispatch. The general was intent in the mean time on forwarding the main objects of the campaign. Crown Point was the next obstacle to be overcome; little was known as to its defences or situation, but it at least was not guarded by the gloomy memories which had hung around the neighbouring stronghold of Ticonderoga.

Major Rogers, who had so often proved his activity and skill, was pushed on with about 200 Rangers to feel the strength of the enemy and examine the position of Crown Point; his orders were to seize some strong and safe post near the fort, and in case of attack to hold out at all hazards until relieved by the advancing army. After a little fruitless skirmishing and scalping, the Rangers established themselves in a commanding situation, but on the 1st of August intelligence arrived which proved that all precautions had been needless: the enemy had abandoned Crown Point. A small English detachment immediately took possession, but Amherst, with the main army, did not arrive till the 4th. He then encamped his troops and traced out the lines of a new fort, as a defence in future against the savage scalping parties which had so long been a terror to the frontier settlers of New York.

The skilful and cautious movements of the British general had thus, with scarcely any loss, secured possession of the two important strongholds which ruled the destiny of the long disputed Lakes: where his predecessor had not only been baffled, but had received a terrible chastisement, he with an inferior power had almost uninterruptedly won his way, and overcome all opposition more by demonstration than by force. The country, now thus cheaply won, was rich and beautiful; far as the eye could reach, magnificent forests and verdant turf alternated on the undulations of the landscape, down to the margin of the transparent Lake. The sugar-tree and various fruits and flowers abounded in the sunny valleys, and the scent of aromatic herbs filled the pure air with a delightful perfume. Deep was the sorrow of the French when they abandoned for ever that lovely land which had been adorned by their taste and industry, strengthened by their skill and toil, defended by their best blood, and endeared to their vain but gallant hearts by memories of glorious victory.

The orders of M. de Bourlemaque were to impede more than to resist the overwhelming British force. The naval superiority which he still retained upon the Lakes, enabled him to carry out these orders despite the vigour and skill of his opponent; but his losses in material, if not in life and honour, were considerable. Besides a large quantity of guns, ammunition, and stores sunk or destroyed, several pieces of cannon of various sizes, some swivels, small arms, powder and intrenching tools fell into the hands of the English.

On the 16th of August, Amherst was informed by deserters that the French had encamped on Isle aux Noix, at the northern extremity of Lake Champlain, where a strong position gave them the command of the entrance to the Richelieu River. Joined by some small detachments, sufficient to repair their losses by defection and in the field, they still mustered 3500 men; 100 pieces of cannon, and four armed vessels commanded by naval officers, and manned by picked soldiers of the line, enabled them even yet to offer a formidable front.

The fate of this portion of the campaign now evidently turned upon the relative strength of the contending parties on the waters of the Lake. Amherst's great superiority of troops was unavailable while French vessels cruised triumphantly between him and his enemy. He therefore stimulated Captain Loring to increased exertions; on the 17th a large raft to carry six heavy guns was commenced. But the enemy were also active, and in a fortnight afterwards launched a new vessel pierced for sixteen guns. On the 3rd of September the English began the construction of a sloop equal in size to that of the French. It was not however till the 11th of October that the raft, the brig from Ticonderoga, and the new sloop were ready for action. And already the bleak autumnal winds were sweeping over the Lake; the nights fell dark and chill; the dreary winter approached when no zeal or courage could avail an invading force. Montcalm had therefore insomuch succeeded, and Amherst failed, in their several objects: the main force of the British army was destined once again to waste its strength upon the very threshold of Canada, and played no part of real importance in the great results which the hand of Providence directed surely but unexpectedly elsewhere.

In consequence of intelligence received of General Prideaux's death before Niagara, Brigadier-General Gage had been dispatched by Amherst on the 28th of July to join that army, and the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders was also sent from head-quarters to Oswego to support if necessary the movement in the west. Gage had been instructed, in case of the reduction of Niagara, to take post immediately at a place called La Galette, a position commanding the entrance of the River St. Lawrence from Lake Ontario. Amherst knew that the occupation of this post was so essential for the security of the British frontiers from the enemy's scalping parties, that on the receipt of Gage's dispatch he instantly sent Major Christie to the brigadier to repeat and enforce his former orders. The difficulties in the way of this movement were, however, considerable, and General Gage had conceived himself justified in representing them to his chief, and deferring the execution of his orders until a more favourable opportunity. Meanwhile the dreary winter advanced apace, and difficulty became impossibility: to Amherst's infinite chagrin this important operation was necessarily postponed to another year.

General Gage does not appear to have sufficiently felt the importance of fulfilling the portion of the great scheme which fell to his lot; doubtless the difficulties in his path were many and formidable, but it was to overcome difficulties that he was selected for the proud post of leader to thousands of gallant men. His first duty assuredly was to fulfil the task confided to him, upon which perhaps the success or failure of the campaign and his country's glory might depend. One object lay distinctly before him; in accomplishing that object he could not have been too cautious, or too precious of his men; but rather than abandon the enterprise, and fail in his share of the combination, far better would it have been for England's cause and his own honour had he dared the worst dangers of the trackless wilderness and of the stormy Lake.

Meanwhile General Amherst sent Captain Kennedy with a flag of

truce to the warlike Indians of St. François, offering them peace and amity; their populous village lay at the western extremity of Lake St. François. The savages, however, detained the British officer and his party as prisoners, and returned no answer to their communications. Amherst promptly determined to inflict the severest chastisement for the insult. The expedition undertaken for this purpose was p' aps the most daring and extraordinary of any during the progress of the war.

Early in October, 200 men were dispatched against these Indians under the command of Major Rogers. His orders were to inflict condign punishment on the warriors of this tribe for a long arrear of cruelties and atrocities committed upon the unprotected British settlers, but to spare all women and children. A glance at the map of North America will show the great distance of the point of attack from Amherst's head-quarters; the route lay through one vast forest, utterly a wilderness, and untrodden by human foot, except where the invaders' deadly enemies lay in wait, or scoured the country for their destruction. The casualties and hardships of the march reduced Rogers's small detachment by more than a fourth of its strength; the survivors, however, came in sight of the Indian village on the evening of the 22nd day. The leader left his men in a place of concealment, and went forward alone with necessary caution to observe the enemy. For several hours he hovered about, now approaching close to the dangerous scene, now again falling back into the darkness of the night, and still darker shades of the forest, until he had at length fully informed himself of the situation and state of the village. It so chanced that the savages were engaged in celebrating some of their wild and mysterious rites: they danced and shouted furiously, and devoured the war-feast with ravenous zeal. At length they lay down to sleep, exhausted by fatigue and repletion. Major Rogers, satisfied with his observations, returned to his party at two o'clock in the morning.

A little before dawn the English detachment marched silently to within 500 yards of the sleeping village, and laid aside their packs and all other incumbrances. Not a sound arose, not a limb moved among the Indians; in the fatal confidence of savage tactics not a scout or sentinel was placed to give notice of impending danger. When the sun had already risen, but not yet gained sufficient strength to reach the drowsy eyes of the slumberers, Rogers formed his men and gave the long-wished-for order to attack; with a loud cry of vengeance they burst upon the sleeping village. The surprise was complete; the Indians had no time to arm or resist; they were slain without mercy; many never wakened, others were struck down at the doors of their huts as they endeavoured to fly; some few escaped to the Great River, but were pursued by the English, and with their frail canoes swamped in the waters. The conquerors then fired the village, saving only three houses where corn was stored; the wretched savages who had concealed themselves in the cellars and lofts perished in the flames. By seven o'clock in the morning the destruction was accomplished, and more than 200 Indian warriors were slain. Women and children were spared by the sword, but doubtless many must have perished in the fire, and in the confusion of the strife; twenty were taken alive, six of these however only were detained, the rest received the scanty mercy of freedom to wander back to their ruined homes, and to the now lonely hunting-grounds of their tribe.

Five English captives were released from slavery by this success, and taken under the protection of their countrymen. The loss to the victors was very slight; one friendly Indian was killed, and Captain Ogden with six men were wounded. The situation of the little detachment was however most perilous; the prisoners informed Major Rogers that a party of 300 French with some savages had discovered and seized his boats, down the river, about four miles from the village of St. François; he could not doubt the truth of this unwelcome news, for they told him the exact number of his boats and described the place where they had been left. He also learned that another force of 200 French and 15 Indians lay in wait for him higher up the stream. The English officers held a hurried council on their almost desperate position, and agreed unanimously that the only chance of safety lay in a return to the British settlements by the upper branches of the Connecticut River. This route was attended with toils and hardships well nigh incredible.

Rogers marched his detachment for eight successive days to the south-east without interruption, but provisions began to fail, and it became necessary to divide his people into small parties, that each might provide for themselves as they best could. A guide was appointed to every division, and they parted near the beautiful shores of Lake Memphramagog, with orders to re-assemble at the point where the Amansook pours into the Connecticut River: there the provident chief had before caused a depôt of provisions to be prepared. Major Rogers and his party reached the place of meeting in safety on the 5th of November, worn out with fatigue and cold, and almost famished.

Another party commanded by Lieutenant George Campbell of the Rangers, underwent trials more severe than any of their companions had suffered. At one time, they were four days without a morsel of food; they had wandered from the direct route, and knew not whither they went. The weak in mind went mad from suffering and despair; the weak in body sank. They had already devoured their leather straps, and the covers of their cartouch boxes: no resource, and but a faint glimmering of hope remained. At length, on the 28th of October, in crossing a small stream dammed up with logs, they espied some human bodies, scalped and horribly mangled, probably the corpses of their companions. Their furious hunger knew no restraint; they did not wait even for a fire to prepare the ghastly banquet, but ate like beasts of prey; then collecting carefully the remnants, pursued their journey. A squirrel and a few roots helped to keep them alive till the 4th of November, when to their unutterable joy they saw a boat on the Connecticut River, sent by Rogers to their relief. On the 7th they rejoined their companions.

We must now return to the insignificant conclusion of General Amherst's campaign. On the 10th of October, the brig arrived from Ticonderoga with eighteen guns; seventy seamen and sixty soldiers embarked as marines: the following day the little fleet was completed, by the arrival of the new sloop carrying sixteen guns, sixty sailors, and fifty soldiers, under the command of Lieutenant Grant, of Montgomery's Highlanders. In the afternoon the troops embarked for Isle aux Noix in the batteaux; the armed vessels got out first, and sailed up the lake with a fair wind, the army following in four divisions. As night fell, lights were hoisted on board the brigantine and Great Radeau, to guide

the expedition. In the grey of the morning, some guns were suddenly heard in the advance, and a message was sent to the general that his armed vessels were in action with those of the French. He hastened to the front, and soon discovered the mistake. The batteaux containing a wing of the 42nd Regiment, under Major Reid, had gone astray in the night, and got unexpectedly among the enemy's sloops; the first light of day revealed the dangerous error, and they happily ran the gauntlet of the French guns in safety. One boat, however, with a lieutenant and twenty men, being very far in advance, could not effect an escape, and was captured. The enemy's squadron, content with this small advantage, crowded all sail, and disappeared among the numerous islands. Towards the evening of the 12th the wind increased, and the waters of the lake rose into formidable waves; the light batteaux and clumsy rafts were equally unfit to face this boisterous weather. The general was most unwillingly compelled to order the expedition to seek the shelter of a neighbouring bay on the western shore, where commodious anchorage opportunely offered. The troops were then landed, and allowed to stretch their cramped limbs, while Gage's light infantry scoured the adjacent forest to guard against surprise; at the same time, the Rangers disembarked on an island that commanded the entrance of the harbour, and overlooked the Lake. Meanwhile, despite the angry skies, Captain Loring with the armed vessels still stoutly kept at sea, and strove with untiring zeal to bring the enemy to action. At daylight in the morning he had caught sight of a French schooner, about forty-five miles down the Lake, and crowded all sail in her pursuit; but ignorant of the navigation in those strange waters, he had run two of his vessels ashore. After much exertion, however, he succeeded in getting them off. At length, to his great joy, he espied the three hostile sloops, and immediately gave chase with all the sail he could carry. The French, finding escape impossible, ran for a small bay on the western shore, drove one of their vessels aground, and sank the two others. The crews, under their commandant, M. de Bolabarras, made their escape through the woods, after having encountered extreme difficulty and hardship.

The deepening shades of evening prevented the English from seeing the catastrophe of the enemy's squadron, and rendered it difficult or impossible for them to pursue into the rocky shallows; they therefore prepared as they best could to brave out the stormy night, and cast anchor at the entrance of the bay. When daylight came they saw the abandoned vessels; the French schooner, however, had escaped. Captain Loring left Lieutenant Grant with the sloop to endeavour to save the stranded vessel, with her guns, stores, and rigging; he himself again put out into the Lake in pursuit of the only hostile sail now left upon the waters.

The storm continued to the 15th of October, on the 16th there was frost, on the 17th a contrary wind again rose. During all this time General Amherst was forced to remain inactive. Every hour was precious; the fate of the campaign, his fame and England's interests might have hung upon his movements, and he did not stir. By flags of truce and letters of ceremony from the hostile chief, he had received information, vaguely, that a British fleet lay before Quebec, that combats had been fought, and blood had freely flowed, and while the balance of victory trembled under the walls of the great stronghold, he, with his

overwhelming power, lay helpless as in a nightmare on the banks of the stormy lake.

On the 18th the waters became somewhat calmer, and a south wind blew gently up Lake Champlain. Amherst made one other effort; the troops were once more hurried into the batteaux, and the expedition pushed on to the north. They reached in a few hours the bay where the French vessels had been driven ashore a few days previously; there again, however, the uncertain winds veered round; the clouds darkened in the north, and a chill blast swept down the Lake, ploughing the angry waters. The British general was now finally baffled; winter had almost commenced; he had no hope of grappling with the enemy before the season closed; the fate of Quebec must, ere then, have been decided; there was much to risk and little to gain by another effort upon the Lakes. Nothing was left but to prepare for the inglorious step of disposing his army in winter quarters. Amherst therefore fell back upon Crown Point on the 21st, directed the completion of the defences, made roads and bridges, and nursed the Provincials who had become uncommonly sickly. Thus ended his campaign.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE expedition against Niagara consisted of a detachment of the Royal Artillery, the 44th and 46th British regiments, the 4th battalion of the Royal Americans, two battalions of New York Provincials, and a large body of Indians under Sir William Johnson; Brigadier Prideaux commanded in chief. On the 20th of May the troops commenced their advance from Schenectady, where they had assembled, and moved upon Oswego; they embarked on Lake Ontario from that port on the 1st of July, after a march of great difficulty, but without interruption from the enemy. A detachment under Colonel Haldimand was left for the protection of Oswego.

The British force landed, unopposed, on the 7th of July, about six miles to the eastward of Fort Niagara, and at once set to work in opening a communication between the landing-place and the Niagara River. The fort was situated on a narrow peninsula, the lake on one side, the broad deep stream on the other: it was thus a matter of little difficulty to invest the position effectually on the land side, while the numerous batteaux cut off from the besieged all communication by water. Prideaux planned and advanced his approaches with skill and vigour. Batteries were speedily erected, from which he fired upon the defences, and kept under the artillery of the French. Still as the superiority of the besiegers' guns told more and more upon the crumbling ramparts, the works were pushed closer and closer, and fresh spirit was thrown into the attack.

On the first arrival of the English army before the fort, the general had sent a peremptory summons to M. Pouchot, the commandant, to surrender at discretion; this was promply refused by the stout Frenchman, who answered that 'his post was strong, his garrison faithful, and that the longer he held out, the more should he win the esteem of his enemy.' Early intelligence of the approaching danger had reached Pouchot; he

had not lost a moment in dispatching couriers eastward to Frontenac, to inform the Canadian government, and southward to Detroit, Presqu-Isle, Venango, and Le Bœuf, with orders for all the French detachments to assemble with their Indian allies at the Niagara Rapids, and to hasten to his relief.

On the 10th of July, M. Chaboust arrived, with a small party of French and some savages, and succeeded in getting into the fort. On the 11th the besieged attempted a sally upon the British trenches, but were overpowered, and pursued till they found shelter under the fire of their guns. By the 14th the besiegers' parallels were finished to the banks of the Lake, and the fire became so heavy that the defenders could only find safety in the covered way, and behind the ramparts. On the 19th the French schooner Iroquoise arrived from Frontenac, and lay-to abreast of the fort, but could not venture in under the English guns, which still, night and day, kept up their harassing fire.

General Prideaux being well informed of the enemy's formidable muster for the relief of the fort, made every preparation that zeal and prudence could suggest to meet their designs; but at this critical moment a melancholy accident deprived the army of his useful services, and gave to another the enjoyment of the honours which he had worthily won. On the evening of the 19th, while issuing some orders in the trenches, unperceived by the gunners in a battery close at hand, a cohorn mortar was unhappily fired, the shell of which burst prematurely, and a splinter struck the gallant general with a deadly wound. The command devolved to the hands of Sir William Johnson.

Meanwhile the besieged, though hardly pressed, were still buoyed up with the hope of relief from their advancing countrymen. On the 23rd four savages made their way into the fort with a letter to M. Bouchet, informing him that MM. d'Aubry and De Lignières were at hand with 1200 Frenchmen, and a still larger force of Indians, and that they were about to attack the British lines. On the result of this attack hung the fate of Niagara, and of all the western country, which still owned the sway of France: preparations were made to second it with all the efforts of the garrison. The cause of the French was, however, already all but desperate; the feeble defences of the fort shook and crumbled under the heavy and increasing fire of their enemies. An overpowering artillery forbade the approach of their vessel from the Lake. The beleaguering trenches intruded within 100 yards of their parapets, and gave shelter to swarms of British and Indian marksmen. The little garrison was worn by toil and wasted by death; the barracks and dwellings were ruined by shot and shell. And worst of all, the apparently favourable chance in the death of the besieging general, had only transferred the conduct of the attack to hands even more able and skilful than those of the deceased. It was true that the French detachment, then about to risk all for their relief, were brave and veteran troops; but their numbers were hopelessly inadequate, and little dependence could be placed in the politic and faithless savages who marched with them, more to witness than to contribute to their success or defeat.

On the other hand, Sir William Johnson had received ample notice of D'Aubry's approach, and, confident in his own strength and ability, made steady preparation for the combat. His great superiority of force enabled

him to leave the trenches crowded with troops, chiefly Provincials, while he marched out to overwhelm the advancing enemy. About sunset, on the evening of the 23rd, he pushed forward strong picquets, and the light companies of the regular regiments, into the woods, on either side of the rude track leading from Niagara Falls to the Fort, and scattered small parties of Indians on the flanks of the Europeans. Having posted their sentries, and no enemy being yet visible, Johnson's advance lay down to rest upon their arms. Never, perhaps, has a stranger scene been witnessed than the banks of the Niagara River presented on that September night: the dark ramparts of the Fort, every now and then illumined by the flash of the defenders' guns, or suddenly revealed by the red light of a salvo from the hostile trenches; in the open plain beyond, the white tents and the huts of the besieging army; and further on, the watch-fires of the advanced guard throwing their flickering glare upon the lofty arches of the forest, and upon the scattered groups of the British soldiery and Indian warriors. Away, still further to the west, unseen in the gloomy woods, the weak but gallant troops of France slept the sleep which most of them were to know no more. High over all, the soft misty spray from the neighbouring cataract, stood like a huge pillar of lightest summer clouds up against the sky, while the dull deep roar of falling waters filled the air with a solemn and unceasing voice.

At daylight on the 24th, Sir William Johnson advanced his grenadier companies and part of the 46th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Massey, to strengthen his front, while the 44th Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar, kept up the communication with Major Beckwith, who commanded the troops in the trenches, and remained in readiness to throw their force whenever aid might be required. These judicious dispositions being made, the British awaited the approach of the enemy.

At about eight o'clock the leading files of the French were first perceived advancing through the woods, flanked by large bodies of Indians; as they came on, the English outposts fell back on the reserves steadily, and without firing. In the mean time the Iroquois, serving under Johnson, endeavoured to parley with the Canadian savages, with a view of inducing them to make peace; these overtures were, however, unsuccessful, and the warriors of the Five Nations fell back on the flanks of the British. By nine o'clock D'Aubry's force was formed, and the order immediately given for the attack. With furious gestures, and terrible impetuosity, the Indians burst through the woods, and fell upon the English line, as they rushed to the charge, shouting the appalling war-cry which had once struck terror into their foes; but it fell upon accustomed ears: they were received with a calm front and steady fire. The grenadiers of the 44th, who had received a dreadful lesson in savage warfare under the unfortunate Braddock, now bore the shock unmoved, and stoutly supported by the 46th, with a few rolling volleys, they swept away the fierce assailants. So complete was the discomfiture of the Red warriors, that they rallied no more; and so sudden their disappearance from the scene of strife, that the French could only attribute it to a treachery which had pre-arranged defeat.

Undismayed by the dispersion of his allies, the gallant D'Aubry led on his men against the besiegers' position, now strengthened by a force of

Provincials from the trenches. The attack was vigorously and bravely pushed, but failed to shake the steady courage of the British troops; meanwhile Johnson's Indians made their way through the woods, and fell upon the flanks of the French. Attacked on all sides, deserted by allies, outnumbered by foes, the assailants hesitated, gave way, and in little more than half an hour broke into utter rout. D'Aubry and all his surviving officers were taken with a great part of his troops, the remainder were pursued with deadly zeal, and slain or driven into the wilderness.

It was not until two o'clock in the day that Pouchot and his garrison were informed that the firing heard in the morning had ended in the ruin of their hopes of succour. With great difficulty and danger an Indian had passed the besiegers' lines and borne the unwelcome intelligence of D'Aubry's defeat and capture. From the earliest dawn deep excitement had reigned in the beleaguered fort; while the shades of night still lingered under the tall forest trees, flashes of scattered musketry had occasionally burst forth. As the morning advanced, the dropping shots quickened into the sharp rattle of a skirmish, the sounds still approaching the besieged, and stimulating hopes of aid. A little before nine o'clock the skirmish had breezed up into a battle: for half an hour the line of fire waved to and fro, now bent towards the fort, again receded up the banks of the Great River, then held pertinaciously to a woody hollow, and at length fell back into the forest, became broken, interrupted, indistinct, and disappeared. With it vanished the last chance of succour for the garrison of Niagara.

When the first ardour of the pursuit had abated, and Sir William Johnson had got his forces somewhat in hand again, he sent Major Harvey with a flag of truce to inform the French chief of the morning's events, and to exhort him to surrender without further bloodshed; conveying also a terrible hint that in a little time he might not be able to restrain his Indian allies. Pouchot yet doubted, or affected to doubt, the truth of the woful disaster which had befallen his countrymen, and still endeavouring to gain time, requested that one of his officers might be allowed to see the prisoners, and hear the tale of defeat from their own lips. The request was granted, the facts were ascertained, and no further excuse for procrastination suggesting itself, the stubborn Frenchman then surrendered with his fort and garrison.

The terms of capitulation were liberal, and worthy of both conquerors and conquered. It was agreed that the French troops should march out with the honours of war from the ramparts they had so well defended, and lay down their arms on the banks of the Lake. There they were to embark immediately in vessels provided by Sir William Johnson, and to be carried to New York by the shortest and easiest route. The French ladies and all females and children were offered safe conveyance, subsistence, and escort to the nearest port of France; and the sick and wounded men were to be carefully tended till able to travel, when they were to rejoin their comrades. The victors undertook to protect their prisoners from every insult or injury, in person and in property. All stores, provisions, and arms, with everything belonging to his Most Christian Majesty, were to be delivered up in strict faith by M. Pouchot. At seven o'clock in the morning of the 26th of July, a British guard was to take possession of the fort gates.

Accordingly, a little before mid-day on the 26th, the French garrison, 607 strong, marched out from the lost stronghold. Drums were beating, colours flying, and bayonets fixed; but the downcast and sullen looks of the bronzed veterans showed that these 'honours of war' were but a mockery to their dejected hearts. Many a glance of angry sorrow and embittered regret was cast back upon the magnificent scene they were to revisit no more; never again was the 'spotless flag' to flaunt its ample folds upon the breezes of the Western Lakes; never again were the martial strains of France to sound through the majestic roar of nature's grandest wonder. A sufficient British guard attended under arms to keep the fierce and vindictive Indians at a distance. But the humane and extraordinary influence which Sir William Johnson exercised over the minds of his savage followers proved more effectual in restraining their ferocious passions than any mere show of force. The fear of alienating the allegiance of his Indians weighed not a feather weight in his loyal heart, when the cause of mercy and his plighted word were at stake. For the successful exercise of his well-earned power over the Red warriors, he must upon this occasion ever stand in most favourable contrast with Montcalm, his more brilliant rival.

Every article of the capitulation of Niagara was strictly observed in spirit and in letter; no insulting triumph dimmed the honour of British victory; but a demeanour of respectful sympathy with the vanquished, characterised the gallant conquerors throughout the embarkation, and all subsequent proceedings.

The English loss in this siege and in the action was very slight, with the exception of that of their worthy general, Prideaux, and of Colonel Johnson, a provincial officer of courage and capacity. Sir William Johnson enhanced the merit of his success by his modest and honourable dispatch to General Amherst. 'I have only to regret,' he writes, 'the loss of General Prideaux and Colonel Johnson. I endeavoured to pursue the late general's vigorous measures, the good effects of which he deserved to enjoy.'

Historians have dwelt with admiration upon the striking military merit displayed at this time by two untaught generals, Clive in the East, and Johnson in the West, 'who by a series of shining actions have demonstrated that uninstructed genius can, by its own internal light and efficacy, rival, if not eclipse, the acquired art of discipline and experience.' Thus writes Smollett: the learned Doctor's remark is capable of far more general application than to the cases here mentioned. Our military system always has trusted, and still trusts, to this 'uninstructed genius' in our chiefs, and by its own provisions furnished no teaching to a Marlborough and a Wellington beyond the knowledge of drill in a field-day, and of the forms of discipline in a barrack-yard. While we rest with pride and pleasure on the undoubted predominance of success over all foes which has attended our arms, we may not deny that to the never-failing chivalry of the officers and to the stubborn courage of the soldiery are these successes due. Many and sad are the records of combats where torrents of British blood have flowed to redeem the errors, or to make amends for the want of military science in a British chief. Our great captains, great in genius and skill as well as in success, have indeed been 'lone stars,' presenting, in comparison to those not so

gifted, very much the proportion which 'uninstructed genius' usually displays among men in other pursuits of life.

It may be urged that the officers of our instructed corps, the artillery and engineers, have never supplied the general service with a chief of conspicuous ability; but it is a remarkable fact that, except in the brief Syrian campaign of 1840, no member of those corps has ever led an English army, or even a brigade. Through the unvarying rule of promotion by seniority, no officer of artillery or engineers arrives at a sufficient rank to command, until a time of life when the experience of the veteran can hardly be aided by the energy of the man. Rare indeed must be the instances of those who have passed nearly half a century of service, in which the hope of reward was too faint to stimulate industry, the dread of censure too slight to alarm indolence, and who still retain sufficient zeal and vigour for their country's need. They are probably equally rare with the instances of successful 'genius' among their uninstructed brethren of the rest of the British army.

Many worthy and earnest though mistaken men there are, who dread the instruction of the toiling millions of our countrymen; who believe in all sincerity that the penetrating light of awakened intellect would flash upon the squalid purlieus of Manchester and Liverpool only to render degradation more degraded, and misery more miserable, by a keener appreciation. There can hardly, however, be found any one, beyond those grown grey under the existing system, who fears that professional education could perniciously influence the qualifications of our officers for their station in life, or damp their undoubted chivalry and spirit. To cast aside political or personal considerations, and select for command the man most conspicuous by merit and genius, has not been an unvarying rule with those in high authority. But a system requiring the qualifications of at least a careful education from all to whom the lofty trust of England's military honour is confided, might to a great extent supply the deficiencies of chiefs unendowed with the gift of genius, and undistinguished by pre-eminent merit.

By the capture of Niagara, the French posts to the westward, on the lakes and rivers, were cut off from all aid; and by the destruction of D'Aubry's army, composed principally of their garrisons, they were rendered incapable of any effectual resistance. Colonel Bouquet, therefore, who, with a small force, had been detached by Brigadier-General Stanwix against the principal of these, Presque-Ile, Venango, and Le Bœuf, had only to summon them to surrender and then to take possession, with no greater difficulties than those presented by the long and rugged route.

We must now for a moment return to Colonel Haldimand, who was, as before related, left in command at Oswego by General Prideaux. In the forenoon of the 5th of July, while superintending the works at the fort, he was startled by the well-known sound of the Indian war-whoop close at hand, but no enemy then appeared. The English colonel immediately sent out scouts upon the Lake, who brought word that an armament of 100 boats was lying a in neighbouring cove. About mid-day some Indians and Canadians appeared in the borders of the forest near the fort, and made a show of attacking two detached redoubts, but were speedily driven back among the trees; from thence, however, they kept

up a dropping fire which was only silenced by the approach of night. A deserter, who had passed over under cover of the darkness, gave information that the attacking party consisted of 300 colony troops, 1300 Canadian militia, and 150 Indians, and that M. de la Corne was in command. The French had hoped to carry the fort by surprise: their zeal was stimulated by the vindictive fury of a Canadian priest, named Piquet, who marched at their head till the fire commenced, urged them on with the hope of plunder, and denounced all who might give quarter to the heretic enemy.

The night passed without any alarm. At first dawn, however, the dusky forms of the Indians were seen cautiously approaching the western angle of the intrenchments, and mustering for an attack. But two guns loaded with grape, and a sharp volley of musketry from the fort, drove them back yelling into the woods. After a time they gathered sufficient determination to make an attempt at burning the English boats in the harbour, which they again and again repeated, but always without success. M. de la Corne did not bring his French troops into action; finding Colonel Haldimand well prepared for his reception, he abandoned the enterprise, having buried his dead, and carried off his wounded to the boats. The French chief acquired little honour by this impotent demonstration; not a prisoner rewarded his efforts, nor did he obtain a single scalp, although the deserters affirmed that he had offered 1000 livres for one such horrible trophy. The priest, Piquet, gained a reputation for cruelty and ferocity, which was not forgotten when Canada had passed from the sway of France.

Thus everywhere in the far west success attended the British arms. One small fort indeed at the remote extremity of Lake Erie, on the banks of the Detroit river, still remained in the possession of France, but distance and comparative insignificance were its sole protection; shut out from supplies or reinforcements, and feebly garrisoned, it only awaited the summons to surrender. The English force on Lake Ontario rested upon their arms after their somewhat easy victory; Amherst's strength, as we have seen, lay paralysed by the opposing winds on Lake Champlain; the plan of the campaign as yet had failed. Opposition had been overpowered, forts taken, guns, trophies, and stores captured, but still, at the vital point, at the great Canadian, stronghold, from the lofty headland of Quebec, the wise and gallant Montcalm with an outnumbering host looked down in unshaken confidence upon the invader's force. There the real battle was to be fought; there alone the die was to be cast which should decide the fate of France's noblest colony. Time rolled on, spring had warmed into summer, summer now deepened into autumn; the broad sycamore leaf drooped upon the stem; the rich foliage of the maple betrayed in its cameleon tints the approaching fall; the mysterious northern lights reappeared in the chilly darkness, and illumined the unclouded sky. Still, while these symptoms of the coming winter crowded upon the eyes of the British generals, on Champlain and Ontario, they gained no tidings of their colleague's fate, save such vague rumours as a wandering Indian or a false deserter might convey. And yet, with wonder be it said, they sat them down to rest, and inactively awaited the event of that all-important struggle.

CHAPER XXV.

From the indifferent progress of Amherst, and the untoward inactivity of Gage, we may now return to the more stirring events of the expedition against Quebec. Early in February a considerable squadron was equipped in the English ports for North America, under the command of Admiral Saunders. A land force was to proceed under convoy of the fleet for the same destination. Pitt justly estimated the importance and difficulty of the enterprise. He looked around in vain among the senior officers of the army for a chief worthy of the occasion; judging that among them the advantages of experience were more than counterbalanced by the infirmities of age, he determined to trust the military honour of England to the elastic vigour and sanguine confidence of youth.

While yet a boy James Wolfe had received the thanks of his general, the Duke of Cumberland, on the field of La Feldt; rapid promotion had followed this distinction. As lieutenant-colonel of a regiment, the young officer had justified the notice of his superiors. He was appointed to the staff in the inglorious expedition against Rochefort, and gathered laurels where all was barren to his associates. At the siege of Louisburg his transcendant merit shone in the strong light of opportunity and success, and while still in early manhood he had gained a fair maturity of fame. In him ambition was exalted by patriotism and purified by religion. Modest in manners and conversation, he nevertheless possessed in action self-reliance almost to presumption. With the prize of honourable distinction in view, his daring courage foiled every danger and difficulty; and 'obstacles were but the stepping-stones to his success.' He commanded the confidence and respect of the rude soldiers, in spite of an almost feminine sensibility. When reverses for a moment damped his hope, they at the same time served to brace his energy. Ardent and laborious, daring and provident, practical and studious, pertinacious yet reasonable, he was dignified in command and docile in obedience. Gifted, gentle, and generous, earnest in life and devoted in death, history may grace her page with the name of no greater hero, when she records the deeds of many a greater general.

Wolfe returned to England from Louisburg in the end of the year 1758; he suffered severely from an illness for which repose offered the only chance of relief, and an early prospect of the realisation of a long and dearly cherished hope drew him to home. But his aspiring spirit would not yield either to the weakness of his frame or to the strength of his affection, and almost immediately after landing from America he addressed Mr. Pitt in a modest and manly letter, and offered his services for the next American campaign.

Wolfe's name stood high in the esteem of all who were qualified to judge, but at the same time it stood low in the column of colonels in the Army List. The Great Minister thought that the former counterbalanced the latter. With instinctive genius he discerned that the young soldier possessed the peculiar qualifications suited for his purpose, and throwing aside the obstacles presented by official routine, he recommended the gallant brigadier of Louisburg to the especial notice of the king. One of the last gazettes in the year 1758 announced the promotion of Colonel

James Wolfe to the rank of major-general, and his appointment to the chief command of the expedition against Quebec.

About the middle of February the squadron sailed from England to Louisburg, where the whole of the British force destined for the River St. Lawrence was ordered to assemble. On the 21st of April, Saunders and his armament reached the coast of Cape Breton, but the harbours were still blocked up with the ice of the preceding winter, and he could not enter. He then bent his course for Halifax, on the neighbouring peninsula of Nova Scotia, and anchored the whole fleet in that magnificent seaport. Twenty-two ships of the line, five frigates, and nineteen smaller vessels of war, with a crowd of transports, were mustered under the orders of the admiral, and a detachment of artillery and engineers, and ten battalions of infantry, with six companies of rangers, formed Wolfe's command; the right flank companies of the three regiments which still garrisoned Louisburg, soon after joined the army, and were formed into a corps called the Louisburg Grenadiers. The total of the land forces embarked were somewhat under 8000; 2000 infantry, which had formed part of the expedition to the West Indies under Hodgson, were to have increased Wolfe's strength, but owing to unavoidable circumstances they were subsequently countermanded.

Before leaving England Admiral Saunders had received intelligence that the French would make an effort to run a convoy up the River St. Lawrence for the relief of Quebec, at the first opening of the navigation. He therefore dispatched Admiral Durell with a small squadron to intercept it. From Halifax, Saunders proceeded to Louisburg as soon as the break up of the ice permitted, and there held counsel with Wolfe upon the plan of the expedition. On the 15th of May he issued a general order to the fleet, that, in case of any temporary separation from adverse weather or other accidents, Gaspé Bay, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, was to be the first place of rendezvous, and the Island of Bic, 340 miles up the Great River, the next.

It was not, however, till the 1st of June that the British ships began to weigh anchor in Louisburg Harbour, and the huge armament had not altogether cleared the land for six days afterwards. While spreading sail the admiral received the unwelcome news that three French frigates and a cloud of store vessels had escaped Durell's squadron and reached Quebec in safety. Two prizes were captured, however, which had lagged somewhat behind, and they, besides a quantity of powder and other munition, contained French charts of the River St. Lawrence, the possession of which proved of great importance to the British fleet.

A cheerful and confident spirit pervaded all ranks and services in the expedition. A portion of the troops, among whom were the gallant 43rd, had been for a considerable time doomed to unwilling inactivity upon the dreary shores of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton; they especially were filled with hopeful enthusiasm; as each successive transport cleared the harbour and the broad expanse of sea appeared, shouts of joy burst from the soldiers on the crowded decks.

On the 7th the fleet made the coast of Newfoundland, still covered with the winter's snow; on the 9th it passed the Bird Islands in a stiff breeze, and on the 11th, made the headland of Gaspé. The desolate and dangerous Island of Anticosti was passed during the 13th with 'most delightful

weather and favourable breezes; the fleet well together.' Early in the morning of the 18th they cast anchor within sight of the Island of Bic, where they found the Richmond frigate which had got some distance in advance, perhaps urged forward by the eager spirit of Wolfe, who was on board. The next day they again sailed; on the 20th they were becalmed off the mouth of the deep and gloomy Saguenay, and many of the smaller vessels narrowly escaped being dashed against each other by the powerful currents. In the night a favourable breeze arose, and cleared them from their perilous entanglement, and now, at noon the following day, the first Canadian settlement came in sight. On the 22nd a French ship was taken, on board of which were several nuns, and some ladies of distinction, a relation of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, among the number; they were treated with the greatest respect and courtesy, and immediately sent back to Quebec under a flag of truce.

On the 23rd the fleet passed the Narrows between Isle au Coudre and the shore, and in the evening came to anchor opposite the little settlement of St. Joseph. There the first act of hostility took place; the inhabitants fired upon some sounding boats which had neared the shore; this was answered by a small detachment of the 15th Regiment, sent in a barge for the protection of the sounders; little or no damage, however, was inflicted by either party. In revenge for this attack the little Canadian village was subsequently burned, and the fields laid waste by a body of British troops from before Quebec.

On the 25th the difficult passage of 'the Traverse' was made in safety, and on the following day the armament anchored off the fair and fertile Island of Orleans, and the troops received orders of readiness to land.

About midnight, Lieutenant Meech and forty Rangers rowed silently towards the shore, and, unobserved by the Canadians, effected a landing. Leaving their boats they pushed on through the darkness almost to the northern side of the island; suddenly they came upon a numerous body of armed peasants, who were engaged in burying different valuables for safety against the invaders. The few shots which were speedily exchanged showed the rangers that they were outnumbered, and that a bold front was the only chance of safety. A smart skirmish ensued; the Canadians, surprised by the unexpected attack, and not aware what force might support their assailants, gave way and retired in confusion. Lieutenant Meech, happy in having escaped the danger, also fell back, and took refuge in a farm-house till the morning. During the night the inhabitants abandoned the island.

The troops landed early on the 27th, in a cove under the church of St. Lawrence, which sacred building they were implored to respect through the means of a placard directed to 'the worthy officers of the British army.' The soldiers were charmed with the beauty and richness of the island, and their comparative freedom after the weary voyage; but the mind of their young general was filled with deep and anxious interest by the sight of the stronghold that stood boldly out into the river a few miles above. Accompanied by the chief engineer, Major M'Kellar, and an escort of light infantry, Wolfe, as soon as he landed, pushed on to the extremity of the island, nearest to Quebec. A magnificent but disheartening scene lay before him. On the summit of the highest eminence, over the strait in the Great River from whence the bason before him opened, the French

flag waved. The crest of the rocky height was crowned with formidable works redoubted and flanked. On every favourable spot above, below, or on the rugged ascent, were batteries, bristling with guns. This stronghold formed the right flank of a position eight miles in extent, the falls and the deep and rapid stream of the Montmorency was the left. The shoals and rocks of the St. Lawrence protected the broad front, and the rich valley of the St. Charles, with the prosperous and beautiful villages of Charlesburg and Beauport gave shelter and hospitality in the rear. A crested bank of some height over the Great River marked the main line of the defences from east to west; parapets, flanked at every favourable spot, aided their natural strength. Crowding on this embattled bank, swarming in the irregular village streets, and formed in masses on the hills beyond, were 12,000 French and Canadian troops led by the gallant Montcalm.

While Wolfe still gazed upon this appalling prospect, a storm gathered over his head, and burst in sudden violence. The teeming rain fell like a veil between him and the beautiful but dangerous shore. Lightning hissed through the air, and a hurricane swept over the river with destructive strength. Transports were driven from their moorings and cast ashore; smaller boats were dashed against each other and swamped, and the vessels of war with difficulty held to their anchors. Silently and thoughtfully the young general retraced his steps to the landing place, his sanguine and sensitive spirit oppressed for a moment with the difficulties of his enterprise, and by the gloomy omen of the heavens. But before he rejoined the army, the weight was flung aside; the elastic spring of his mind had resumed its play, and he entered the camp with head erect and his usual bright and fearless aspect. He did not forget that he received his high command in the confidence that 'no dangers or difficulties should discourage him.'

The storm passed away as suddenly as it came; the evening of the 27th fell calm and serene, but very dark; a few stars only were faintly reflected from the surface of the waters. As the British sentinels paced slowly to and fro upon the rocky shore of the Island of Orleans facing towards Quebec, the silence of the night was only broken by the echo of their own footsteps, and the ripple of the rapidly receding tide. About midnight a soldier on one of the most advanced points called the attention of his comrades on the neighbouring posts to some dark objects moving along the river,—slowly, as if drifting with the tide, in the direction of the fleet, or rather towards some shoals to the northward of the fleet, which had been marked out by buoys during the preceding day. While the sentinels were yet debating about giving the alarm, each of the dark objects sent forth a crashing salvo of artillery; grape-shot rattled among the rocks and trees upon the shore, and ploughed up the surrounding waters. Shells and grenades leaped into the air, and exploded with loud reports, now here, now there, on every side of the astounded soldiers. At the same time bright red flames burst from these fire-ships, sprung up among the masts and spars, quivered through the distinctly visible tracery of the rigging, and spread out in broad sheets over the collapsing sails. The river, the hostile camps, the city, and the distant mountains, instantly stood revealed as in noon-day, by this lurid light. As the blaze spread, explosion after explosion racked the burning vessels; they staggered and

spun half-round under the shocks; but still the ebb-tide swept them rapidly on, near to where the crowded transports lay.

This strange and terrible sight struck the sentries with uncontrollable panic; they fled from their posts, carried their terrors to their picquets, and all retired hastily towards the English camp; falling in upon each other in the woods, they became utterly confused. The alarm spread; the whole line turned out, loaded their muskets, and prepared somewhat unsteadily for action. Order and confidence were not fully restored till daylight showed that there was no enemy at hand.

In the mean time upon the river, where real danger threatened, it was happily met with cool and courageous skill. As soon as the premature ignition of the fire-ships gave the alarm to the fleet, a number of well-manned boats put off, and pulled towards them. The sailors waited until the guns were discharged and the powder exploded; then fixing grappling-irons upon the burning vessels, and towed them leisurely ashore, where those least injured were anchored; the rest drifted with the tide upon the rocks, and soon broke into harmless ruin. Then, to the sharp report of cannon and grenade, succeeded the cheerful and sonorous 'All's well' of the British seamen.

On the following morning, the 28th of June, Wolfe published a manifesto to the Canadian people, to the following effect: 'We have a powerful armament. We are sent by the English king to conquer this province, but not to make war upon women and children, the ministers of religion, or industrious peasants. We lament the sufferings which our invasion may inflict upon you, but if you remain neuter we proffer you safety in person and property, and freedom in religion. We are masters of the river; no succour can reach you from France. General Amherst, with a large army, assails your southern frontier. Your cause is hopeless; your valour useless. Your nation have been guilty of great cruelties to our unprotected settlers; but we seek not revenge; we offer you the sweets of peace amidst the horrors of war. England in her strength will befriend you. France in her weakness leaves you to your fate.'

This judicious proclamation was however, at first, of little or no avail. The Canadian clergy used their utmost endeavours to excite their flocks against the heretical invaders, and implored them not to trust to British promises. Hereditary hatred of the haughty islanders still existed in the hearts of even the transatlantic French. The counter-proclamations and threats of Montcalm also bewildered the unhappy peasantry. He threatened them with death if they refused to serve, and with the fury of the savages if they aided the English. In consequence the 'habitans' generally used their best exertions to embarrass the invaders, and to assist the defence. They followed the French banners pretty freely, and furnished such supplies to the army as their means allowed. Not content with this, they gave the rein to the fierce passions which intercourse with the Indians had strengthened. They scalped without mercy all the English that fell into their hands; massacred the wounded, and mutilated the dead. Wolfe appealed to his gallant enemy to put a stop to these atrocities; but Montcalm's authority was insufficient to restrain the savages, and their almost as savage allies; and it must be admitted, to our shame, that the British general was in consequence induced to connive at a vindictive retaliation. Ultimately Wolfe issued the following strange,

and somewhat conditional order:—'The general strictly forbids the inhuman practice of scalping, *except* when the enemy are Indians, or Canadians dressed like Indians.' At the same time, however, he threatened with the punishment of death all who might offer cruelty to women, and decreed the severest penalties against plundering. The last order was ineffectual; for the soldiers plundered in all directions.

While the British fleet had been slowly ascending the river, Montcalm and his followers were busily preparing to receive it. They laboured unceasingly to add to the great natural strength of the country about Quebec. Parapets were thrown up upon every vulnerable point, guns mounted, and above all, no efforts were spared to organise the numerous, but somewhat doubtful, forces of the Canadian peasantry. Five veteran French battalions, filled up by picked men from the colonial levies, and two battalions of the 'marine,' or 'colony troops,' also trained soldiers, formed the main strength of the army. The armed peasantry or militia were chiefly posted for the defence of the long line of works between Quebec and Montmorency; and several tribes of friendly Indians hovered about among the neighbouring woods.

The Canadians trusted much to the supposed difficulty of the river navigation, and were inexpressibly disappointed when a preconcerted signal announced that the vast British armament had passed the Narrows in safety. When the crowding sails were seen rounding the Isle of Orleans, the people in despair flew to the churches to offer up ther prayers for the preservation of their country. At first the van of Admiral Durell's squadron hoisted French colours, and the joyful rumour spread along the shore that a fleet had arrived to their aid from France. Pilots hastened on board to offer assistance to their supposed friends; but when they were detained, and the British flag was hoisted instead of the French, the pleasing illusion was dispelled. A Canadian priest stood gazing delightedly upon the ships through a telescope: he was so overwhelmed with consternation when he perceived the mistake that he fell down and died.

The storm had taught the British admiral that the channel between the Island of Orleans and the south shore was neither a safe nor a convenient anchorage; he therefore determined to pass up into the basin with his whole fleet. Information had, however, been received that the French occupied, in some force of infantry and artillery, a headland called Point Levi, which is opposite to the headland of Quebec, and which with the latter forms the strait at the entrance of the basin. From this commanding position the enemy's guns might seriously annoy the English ships. Saunders therefore requested General Wolfe to drive the French away from this point, and to occupy it himself.

On the evening of the 29th of June, Brigadier-General Monckton with his brigade of four battalions and some light infantry and rangers were formed on the south-western extremity of the Island of Orleans, in readiness to pass over against Point Levi. Through some unforeseen delay they did not embark till dusk, and the light troops with one regiment only were enabled to cross the river before the ebb of tide rendered further movement impossible for the present. The remaining three regiments lay for the night on their arms by the shore. The troops which had embarked landed without opposition, and contented them-

selves with taking possession of Beaumont church on the south shore; where they barricaded themselves, lighted watchfires, and awaited the morning.

At earliest daylight Monckton embarked the rest of his brigade and pushed across to the advance. The sound of musketry from the southern shore soon stimulated the exertions of the rowers, and as the scattered shots breezed up into a skirmish, they used their utmost efforts to increase their speed. The troops scarcely waited to form after landing, but hastened on to the church where their comrades had passed the night. There, however, they only met with a couple of wounded men; the light infantry had speedily overpowered a detachment of colony troops, and were still pressing hard upon their retreating footsteps through the wood. The English brigadier found the banks of the river steep, the country rugged and difficult; a few resolute men might have embarrassed or baffled his expedition.

In the mean time the British light troopshad arrested the pursuit at a large farm-house at the foot of the hill which rises into the headland of Point Levi; they deemed it prudent to secrete themselves there lest the enemy should return with reinforcements before the succours arrived from Orleans, and also because there was plenty of provisions, some plunder and a good fire. While the English soldiers were availing themselves of these advantages, they were alarmed by hearing voices close at hand; they seized their arms, searched the house and the surrounding thickets without discovering any one. They at length determined to fire the building and fall back upon the church. In a few moments the farm-house was in a blaze. Then to their horror loud shrieks of women and children burst from the burning ruins; they hastened back and used their best endeavours to save the sufferers, but in vain; while they yet strove the roof fell in with a crash, and all was silent. The miserable victims had hidden themselves in a cellar at the approach of the British troops. After this horrible incident the light infantry fell back to Beaumont church, where they found the whole of Monckton's brigade assembled.

At ten o'clock the brigadier moved upon the heights of Point Levi, preceded by a cloud of skirmishers. The way lay over a pleasant road, with a highly cultivated country on either side, and was not disputed till the British troops began to ascend the hill. They soon forced the height, and hurried on to the village facing Quebec. Here, however, they received a check. A strong body of Canadians threw themselves into the church and the adjoining houses, and another detachment held stoutly to a rocky eminence further to the rear, The English rallied and gained possession of the buildings, but were speedily dislodged again; the position was not finally won till the 78th Highlanders forced the flank in overwhelming numbers, and Monckton himself, with four companies of grenadiers, broke through the front. The Canadians and Indians, who had fought so stoutly, although not altogether more than 1000 strong, crossed over to Quebec, when evening fell. The British brigade housed themselves luxuriously in the neat village of Point Levi: no guns fell into their hands, nor were any works in progress on that side of the river.

Montcalm felt that the assailants had gained a dangerous advantage in the possession of Point Levi. Although at a distance of three quarters of a mile from the city, heavy ordnance played from thence with ruinous

effect. In a council of war he had urged that 4,000 men should be strongly intrenched upon this position, with orders to hold it to the last extremity; but his opinion was overruled by the governor, M. de Vaudreuil, and from that time a fatal alienation arose between the two French authorities. However, in the morning of the 1st of July, Montcalm made a feeble effort to dislodge the British, by attacking their position from three floating batteries. For an hour and a half the French continued an annoying but almost harmless fire. Then Saunders dispatched the Trent frigate to check the insult; favourable winds carried her up to the scene of action, and a broadside concluded the business.

From that time Wolfe exerted himself to put Point Levi beyond the reach of further insult; batteries were thrown up, and guns mounted in commanding situations. In the afternoon skirmishes took place, both in the woods near this new position, and on the Island of Orleans: some lives were lost without any result, and both parties behaved with savage cruelty. On the following morning this useless mischief was continued: the same evening Wolfe made a reconnoissance in some force up the right bank of the river, and marked out the ground for batteries to bombard the town. Some of the rangers under Major Scott penetrated as far as the Chaudière river in this advance, but performed nothing worthy of notice.

The 48th Regiment, the Grenadiers and Light Infantry of the division, and the Rangers, with working parties from other corps, broke ground upon the high lands, to the west of Point Levi, on the 5th of July. They laboured with zeal, and the batteries which were to play from thence upon Quebec soon began to assume a formidable appearance. The Rangers took post during the day in small parties upon the adjoining hills, which commanded the several approaches to the works, and erected small breastworks for their defence, while they guarded against the sudden approach of an enemy. In the mean time a portion of Townshend's brigade, under Colonel Carleton, was engaged in throwing up strong intrenchments on the westernmost point of Orleans. When these two positions were occupied, the safety of the fleet in the basin was assured; nevertheless, by some unaccountable temerity or carelessness, the Leostoff cutter allowed herself to be surprised and taken by the enemy while sounding. This little incident brought on a brisk cannonade, which continued for nearly two hours, without, however, causing damage to either party.

When the works on Point Levi and on the western extremity of the Island of Orleans were in a respectably defensible condition, Wolfe turned his attention to the north shore of the St. Lawrence, where a favourable position offered for threatening the French left. On the morning of the 9th the lighter vessels of the British fleet hauled in to the shore as close as the depth of water would permit, and opened a fire upon the enemy's lines between Quebec and the Falls of Montmorency. The range was distant; nevertheless the seamen plied their guns with such effect, that Montcalm found it necessary to strike the encampments near the shore, and retire upon the high crest which extended along his whole front; there he was beyond reach of annoyance. At the first dawn Monckton's brigade, with the exception of the working parties, was formed on the slopes of the hills opposite Quebec, and ostentatiously marched up the left bank of the St. Lawrence westward from Point Levi. The object of

the bombardment by the ships, and this movement of the troops, was to divert the attention of the enemy from Wolfe's real object, which was to establish himself upon the north shore by the Falls of Montmorency.

The movement of Monckton's corps was marked by an incident pre-eminently lamentable, even among daily scenes of death and misery. A lieutenant of Rangers, with twenty men, was sent to scour the woods to the southward of the line of march, and if possible to gain information of the enemy's movements. They pressed forward with somewhat rash zeal into the woody solitudes, and being overtaken by the night, lay on their arms, and returned the next morning. While retracing their steps they were attracted by smoke rising from a neighbouring clearing. They approached, having spread themselves in a circle, to prevent the escape of those they might discover. The smoke proceeded from a log hut, where they found and captured a man and his three sons, the eldest a youth of fifteen years. The rangers then hurried homewards with their prize. They had not got far on their road when the horrible war-whoop of the Indians rose behind them, and a glance showed that their assailants were in overpowering numbers. There was, however, still hope of escape, for the Rangers were hardy and active men, skilled in forest craft, and happily well acquainted with the rugged and intricate paths. They plunged into the woods at a running pace, and in a few minutes emerged into another road unknown to their fierce pursuers. But here an unfortunate difficulty arose; the elder prisoners were hurried along, unwillingly enough, but in terrified silence: not so the two younger, who were mere children; they filled the air with lamentations and cries of alarm that neither intreaties nor threats could check. The British lieutenant then begged of them to leave him and return home; but the poor innocents only clung the more closely to him, and wailed the louder. The sole chance of escape lay in reaching, unobserved, a pass which led to the new position of Monckton's brigade, and by which the Indians might not expect them to retreat. The hapless children, however, by their screams, guided the savages in their pursuit through the tangled woods, and again the war-whoop sounded close behind the fugitives. An awful moment of irresolution was succeeded by an awful resolve; the British officer, with a mournful heart, gave the order that the young prisoners should be silenced for ever. The Rangers reached the brigade in safety before evening.

While the attention of the enemy was distracted by Monckton and the fleet, Wolfe passed over from Orleans to the eastward of Montmorency, with a large force, at about one o'clock in the day, and encamped, unopposed, on the left bank of the stream, close to the Falls. He immediately placed some light artillery in position, and commenced intrenching himself. The works were vigorously continued the following morning, and Captain Dank's company of Rangers were pushed forward into the woods to cover some parties who were engaged in making fascines for the intrenchments. The Rangers had scarcely entered the bush when they were suddenly and fiercely assailed by a considerable body of ambushed Indians, and driven back with considerable loss. When they got into the open ground, however, they rallied; the savages, elated with their first success, pressed boldly on and renewed the combat, forcing the British troops back over the fields towards the camp, and scalping and

massacring the wounded in the sight of their comrades. But the state of affairs was soon changed; some advanced companies of Townshend's brigade, with two field-pieces, hurried out on hearing the firing; they fell on the flank of the Indians and slaughtered them without mercy.

The plan of Wolfe's operations was now fairly developed. The mass of his army was formed in threatening array upon the extreme left of the French position, and from a considerable height looked down almost into the rear of their intrenchments. The British general had hoped that from hence he might find a ford across the rapid stream of the Montmorency, and force on an action in the open country behind the enemy's lines; there he doubted not that the courage and discipline of his troops would give him an easy victory over the numerous Canadian levies. But he had altogether mistaken the difficulties of the undertaking. The only ford was three miles up the stream; the bush was so dense and the country so rugged that a few Indians sufficed to baffle his repeated attempts to reconnoitre, and killed or wounded no less than forty of his men. He could no longer endure the slaughter of his magnificent light infantry by the hands of unseen savages, and altogether abandoned the idea of crossing the river above the Falls.

Montcalm quickly perceived the dangerous error of the English in dividing their small army. As soon as Monckton's brigade commenced to plant their guns on Point Levi, 1500 Canadians and savages were pushed across the St. Lawrence from Quebec, and posted in the woods on the right bank: they reconnoitred the English position, and having obtained a reinforcement of 300 colony troops, prepared for an attack on the night of the 13th. M. de Charrier, seigneur of Point Levi, a skilful and a resolute man, commanded the assailants; meanwhile Wolfe, on hearing of the enemy's movements, had taken the command, in person, at the south side of the river. The night came on still and cloudless, but very dark; the weather was intensely hot, and the British troops, wearied with the labours of the day, lay in profound repose, not dreaming that the French would venture a night attack. The sentries, indeed, paced their rounds, but unconscious of the danger that lay under the dark shadows of the neighbouring forest, they still shouted 'All's well,' as each hour passed away.

The French advanced in two columns, silently, and at first with great steadiness; as they proceeded, the difficulty of the road and the extreme darkness of the night threw them into some confusion; despite the skill of their leader and his perfect knowledge of the ground the disorder increased. The most perfect discipline and self-confidence are rarely proof against the hazards of a night attack; among raw levies, such as were the bulk of De Charrier's followers, disorder once commenced becomes inextricable. While he yet strove to re-form the broken ranks, an unexplained noise in a coppice by the roadside struck the Canadians with sudden panic, and they rapidly retraced their steps. The rear column hearing the approach of numerous footsteps from the front, supposed that the English were upon them, and poured a close volley among the fugitives, who again, under a like mistake, returned the fire. The bloodshed was only stayed by both parties flying in different directions. Not less than seventy of the French were killed and wounded in this untoward enterprise. The attempt was not renewed.

The British batteries being completed at Point Levi and at Montmorency, a fire of guns and mortars was poured night and day upon the city of Quebec, and upon the French lines to the westward. The enemy replied with spirit but with little effect. The Lower Town was much damaged by the constant bombardment from the opposite side of the river, and at eleven o'clock on the forenoon of the 16th, a fire broke out in the Upper Town where a shell had fallen. The flames spread with rapidity, fanned by a strong north-west wind; many buildings were destroyed before the conflagration was arrested, among others the great cathedral, with all its paintings, images, and ornaments. The defences remained untouched throughout this lamentable destruction; the assailants only diminished the value of the prize for which they strove, without approaching a whit nearer to its attainment.

Wolfe returned to the north camp on the 16th, and pushed the works above the Falls of Montmorency with vigour. He frequently, during the day, sent out detachments of troops to scour the neighbouring woods, and to keep the marauding Indians in check. The savages hovered constantly round the British position, and from their ambush sprang like tigers upon those who ventured unprotected within their reach. On the night of the 16th, they surprised and scalped four sentries of the Louisburg Grenadiers. While Wolfe busied himself in strengthening his position, and cannonading the French lines at a distance, M. de Levi, a distinguished French officer, solicited Montcalm to drive him away. 'Dislodge him thence and he will give us more trouble,' replied Montcalm, 'while there he cannot hurt us: let him amuse himself.'

The British general determined to reconnoitre the banks of the river above the town while he still continued his preparations below. With this view a small squadron under Captain Rous sailed with fair wind and tide a little before midnight on the 18th, and passed up unharmed in the face of the enemy's batteries. One frigate, however, the Diana, ran aground near Point Levi, and could not be got off till the following day. This bold passage was a complete surprise to the besieged; the English ships were not observed by the sentries till it was too late to brinh guns to bear; two of these unhappy soldiers paid the penalty of deatg for their carelessness; they were hung on a gibbet the following morning in sight of both armies.

Montcalm lost no time in sending some guns up the left bank of the river to annoy the British squadron; he erected a battery in a suitable position at a place called Sillery, and compelled Rous to weigh anchor and move up the stream. The French artillerymen had not been long inactive after this achievement when they were again called to their guns; a barge was discovered skirting the southern shore, and steering towards the nearest English ship. They gave her a salvo as she went by, and one shot carried away her mast; before they could reload she was out of reach. General Wolfe was in this barge on his way to reconnoitre the upper river.

Wolfe found the aspect of affairs as unpromising above the town as it was below; the banks were everywhere high and precipitous; at each assailable point intrenchments more or less formidable had been thrown up, and each movement was jealously watched from the shore. However, to divide and harass the enemy, and in the hope of procuring intelligence,

he sent Colonel Carleton, who commanded the troops embarked in Rous's squadron, to make a descent upon the small town of Point aux Trembles, to which many of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired with their stores, papers, and valuables.

Carleton landed on the 22nd at the head of three companies of grenadiers and a battalion of the Royal Americans: a few Indians offered some resistance at first, and wounded several of the leading files, but were soon overpowered and driven into the woods. A number of useless prisoners, some plunder, and several packets of letters, fell into the hands of the English. The latter were of importance. 'De Vaudreuil, the governor, and Montcalm have disagreed, and endeavour to embarrass each other,' quotes one writer. 'But for respect for our priests, and fear of the savages, we would submit,' writes the next. 'We are without hope, and without food,' says a third. 'Since the English have passed the town, our communication with Montreal is cut off—God has forsaken us,' laments another. The misery of the besieged was great, therefore great also was the hope of the besiegers.

To increase the distress of the enemy, an order was issued from the English head-quarters on the 24th of July. 'Our out-parties are to burn and lay waste the country for the future, sparing only churches, or houses dedicated to divine worship. However, it was again repeated, 'that women and children were not to be molested on any account whatsoever.' We may suppose men received scant mercy. 'We played so warmly on the town last night, that a fire broke out in two different parts of it at eleven o'clock, which burned with great rapidity until near three this morning. We are erecting a new six-gun battery to the right of the others, to keep the town in ruins, which appears to be almost destroyed.' So writes an officer of the 43rd, in his journal, dated Point Levi, 25th of July, 1759. Such is war, even when Wolfe, the pious, the domestic, and the tender-hearted, was the general!

On the 26th the indefatigable British general proceeded up the left bank of the Montmorency river to reconnoitre some works which the enemy were erecting on the opposite side. His escort was attacked by a swarm of Indians, and for a time hardly pressed; many of the English soldiers were struck down before they could get sight of their subtle enemy; and when the savages were finally silenced, it was with the loss of nearly fifty of Wolfe's men killed and wounded. The next morning the 78th Highlanders surprised a French detachment, and slew nine of them; their own colonel and a captain were, however, wounded in the struggle.

In consequence of some threatening movements in the British fleet, the French sent down a fire-raft on the night of the 28th. A number of small schooners, shallops, and rafts were chained together, to the breadth of 200 yards, and laden with shells, grenades, old guns, pistols, and tar-barrels; this mischievous contrivance floated rapidly down with the ebb tide. The English seamen, however, were, as before, alert, and towed the fire-raft ashore, without its having caused the slightest damage. The following morning Wolfe sent a flag of truce to the garrison of Quebec with the following message:—'If the enemy presume to send down any more fire-rafts, they are to be made fast to two particular transports in which are all the Canadian and other prisoners, in order that they may perish by their own base inventions.' The French constructed no more fire-rafts.

CHAPTER XXVI.

WOLFE had now been five weeks before Quebec; not a few lives had been lost, a vast quantity of ammunition expended, and, above all, the season of action was already half consumed. But as yet no important step in a military point of view had been gained. The high grounds which he occupied beyond Montmorency and Point Levi had scarcely been disputed by the enemy. From day to day the hostile parapets were strengthened and extended. He had carefully examined the north bank of the Great River above and below the city, and could discover no one spot where either nature or art did not forbid his landing. Whatever discontent or distress might exist in the Canadian camp, there appeared no diminution of numbers, or slackening of zeal in the defence. Montcalm had neither suffered himself to be provoked by insult or to be tempted by brilliant but dangerous opportunity. He rendered assurance doubly sure by keeping his superior force in a superior position; his raw provincial levies when behind breastworks were far from inefficient, and his numerous savage allies were terrible in their forest warfare; with the first he manned his lines, with the latter he lost no opportunity of harassing the invaders. On the other hand, the state of affairs in the British camp was by no means promising; under Wolfe's circumstances inaction was almost equivalent to defeat.

It was true that, before leaving England, he was instructed that his expedition was only auxiliary to that of Amherst. To the main army, which was advancing by the inland lakes, England looked for the conquest of the country. Wolfe had already occupied the most important points in the neighbourhood of Quebec, and might well be excused had he awaited the arrival of the general-in-chief for an attack upon the great stronghold. In this situation many a brave and experienced veteran would probably have written 'a most eloquent and conclusive apology for being beaten, or for standing still.' But Wolfe had been happily chosen. He deeply felt that his unusual selection should be justified by unusual achievements, and that it was his duty to risk his reputation, as well as his life, rather than fail the sanguine hopes of his country.

Before narrating Wolfe's determination in this crisis, and the events consequent thereupon, it will perhaps be well to recall the reader's attention to the position of the Canadian army. The north shore of the basin of Quebec is a curve of about eight miles long. The waters shoal as they approach this shore, and at low tide a muddy bank is exposed, in some places nearly half a mile in breadth. The long-crested height, mentioned in a former description, at some parts of the line overhangs high-water mark, at others recedes into the country, and leaves some rich alluvial fields between its base and the river's banks. Wherever this height was not sufficiently precipitous to form a natural defence, the face was scarped, the summit crowned with a parapet, and the foot pallisadoed or armed with abattis. The irregular line of this formidable front shaped itself here and there into projections and inclinations as if traced in flank and ravelin by the skill of the engineer. The extreme left of the French army rested on the rocky banks of the Montmorency. The beautiful cataract, and the foaming rapids for three miles up the stream forbade the

passage of an enemy: there was indeed a ford, but it was well defended; beyond that the tangled bush defied the strength of battalions. Below the Falls, however, the waters spread themselves in numerous shallow channels over the sands, and the stream is fordable except at high tide. To strengthen this weak point, Montcalm had thrown up a 4-gun redoubt at the foot of the overhanging cliffs: although defiladed from the British artillery these cliffs were altogether exposed to that of the French, and therefore untenable in case of falling into the assailants' hands.

Towards the right of the French position the crested ridge subsides in a gentle slope upon a valley, through the centre of which winds the St. Charles or Little River. The entrance to this stream is deep, and forms a small harbour: here the French had run their ships of war aground, and these powerful wooden batteries, with their heavy guns, swept the slopes on either side, both towards the city walls and the right shoulder of the crested height.

The almost desperate course upon which Wolfe at length determined was that of attacking the enemy in these intrenchments. He maturely weighed his plans: the skill and caution of the execution could alone justify the temerity of the resolve. The redoubt on the low ground, in front of the French left, and near the Falls of Montmorency, offered the most vulnerable point: detached from the main defences, and within reach of guns from the shipping, he doubted not that he could easily master it, or bring on a general action for its possession. On the other hand, this redoubt could not be held when taken, for it lay exposed to the artillery of the French. However, there were difficulties on every side: Wolfe chose that which he considered the least. He well knew that, even were he to carry the crested hill over the redoubt, and to force the enemy from their works, the river St. Charles and the inner intrenchments still lay between him and the city; 'but,' said he, 'a victorious army meets with no difficulties.'

Wolfe's available force was less by one-third than that of the defenders of this almost impregnable position. He had to risk the confusion of a debarkation, the despotism of the tides, and the caprice of the winds. The undertaking was all but desperate, and yet an overweening confidence in their chief and in themselves was more fatal to the British troops than the guns and parapets of the enemy.

Wolfe concerted the plan of attack with the admiral. A small frigate, the Centurion, was to sail towards the shore, as near as the depth of water would permit, and open fire upon the redoubt. Two armed transports received orders to second the frigate, and, if necessary, to run aground in a favourable position. In one of these the general himself embarked. The boats of the fleet were directed to take on board the greater part of Monckton's brigade at Point Levi, with the available troops from Orleans, and to muster at an early hour in the forenoon off the north-western point of that island. In the meantime the British batteries from Point Levi, and the heights over Montmorency Falls, were to open upon the city and the intrenchments with every gun and mortar. Townshend's and Murray's brigades were commanded to form in close columns eastward of the ford below the Falls, and there to await the general's orders.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 31st of July, the 15th and 78th

Regiments, 200 men of the Royal Americans, and all the grenadiers of Monckton's brigade, embarked in the boats of the fleet at Point Levi: they made for the north-west point of the Island of Orleans, where they were joined by four more companies of grenadiers. The whole flotilla then pushed out into mid-channel, and awaited orders. At eleven o'clock the two armed transports stood in for the Point de Lest, and grounded; one, under Lieutenant Garnier, within musket-shot of the French redoubt. At the same time Admiral Saunders, in the Centurion, brought to, a little further from the shore opposite the ford, and all three vessels opened fire. This gave the signal to the gunners at Point Levi, and on the east bank of the Montmorency: they also began to work; the enemy replied; and in a few minutes the whole of the vast amphitheatre resounded with the roar of artillery.

Wolfe was in the transport which had first grounded: he promptly observed that the redoubt, if taken, was too distant from the water to allow of effectual support by the guns and the small arms of the shipping. He saw, moreover, that his threatening movements had caused an unusual stir in the French lines; bodies of troops were moving to and fro between the several points of defence, with that degree of irregularity which usually attends the sudden re-formations of undisciplined men: two battalions of the enemy were observed marching from the rear of their left in the direction of the Ford three miles up the Montmorency River; their object was evidently to cross the stream, and fall upon the British batteries on the left bank, while the mass of Wolfe's army was occupied in the attack upon the intrenchments. This movement was immediately met by a counter-demonstration: the 48th Regiment, which had been left in the works at Point Levi, was ostentatiously pushed up the right bank of the St. Lawrence, as if about to cross and attempt the French position above the City. Montcalm, upon this, gave up his flank attack, and dispatched the two battalions to watch the 48th from the opposite side of the river.

For several hours during these demonstrations the firing on all sides had slackened; the flotilla still lay motionless in the centre of the northern channel of the St. Lawrence. A great part of the day had thus passed without anything of importance having been attempted. The clouds gathered heavily over the hills, and the receding tide warned Wolfe that only brief space was left for action. He hesitated for a time; circumstances were very adverse; but, unfortunately, the slight disorder in the enemy's lines confirmed the bolder counsel always most congenial to his mind. At four o'clock he signalled for a renewal of the cannonade; at five his barge put off from the second transport, and rowed towards the flotilla, and at the same moment a red flag ran up to the mizen peak of the stranded ship: it was the signal to advance.

With a loud cheer the sailors bent to the oar, and the long-motionless flotilla sprung into life. A few strokes somewhat disordered the regularity of the line: some boats were faster,—some crews more vigorous than others. As they approached, the French gunners tried the decreasing range: the shot fell near, hissed over head, and at length fell in among the boats. Some few struck with fatal effect, for the weak frames were easily shivered, and then sunk with all on board. While still pressing on through the fire, the leading boats grounded on a ledge of unseen

rocks at short musket-shot from the beach. The disorder then became dangerous.

Wolfe was now in action: hesitation was at an end. He gave orders that the flotilla should re-form in rear of the rocks, and when the boats were again afloat he signalled to Townshend to stop the advance of his brigade, which was already in motion upon the ford, then sprang into a cutter with some navy officers, and skirted the reef in search of an opening: he soon succeeded. It was now half-past five; the storm threatened close at hand; battalion after battalion the French were crowding from right to left; but Wolfe was not to be daunted, he renewed the signal of attack, and himself pointed out the way through the rocks. A few strokes carried the flotilla to the shore: while the eager troops sprang upon land the French gave a parting volley, and abandoned the redoubt and the detached battery which defended the ford.

The thirteen companies of grenadiers and the Royal Americans were first ashore: they had received orders to form in four columns on the beach, there to await the support of the remainder of Monckton's brigade from the boats, and Townshend's from beyond the ford. But these chosen men were flushed with an overweening confidence: proud of their post of preference, proud of their individual strength, and exasperated by long delay, they burst like bloodhounds from the leash. Despite the orders of their officers they raced across the intervening fields, and without any order or formation threw themselves against the crested height.

Wolfe soon saw that this rash valour had ruined the fortunes of the day: nothing remained but to make such preparations for retreat as might mitigate the inevitable disaster. Monckton's remaining regiments, the 15th and 78th, were now landed, and formed in admirable order upon the beach, while Townshend and Murray crossed the ford of the Montmorency and advanced to join them. Instead of risking this unbroken array in supporting the unfortunate attack of the advance, Wolfe kept his men in hand, and strove to recall the disordered assailants. Meanwhile the storm burst, and when the grenadiers reached the steep slope they found it impossible to keep their footing on the muddy side: their ammunition was soon rendered useless by the teeming rain, but still trusting to the bayonet they tried to make good their ground upon the hill. The position was far stronger than they had anticipated. They were out of breath and exhausted by their hurried advance; by the time they had clambered within reach of the enemy's parapets they were already beaten. One close and steady volley of the French sufficed to roll them back from off the crested hill.

In tumultuous disorder the grenadiers fell back upon the abandoned redoubt, and sought shelter under its parapets from the stinging fire of the French. The works had, however, been so constructed that little or no protection was afforded against the neighbouring heights. Officers and men were rapidly struck down in vain endeavours to reform the broken ranks, but still with sullen tenacity they held the unprofitable position. At length, in obedience to peremptory orders, they retired, and took post in the rear of Monckton's line.

The slope of the fatal hill now presented a melancholy scene to the British army. More than 200 of the grenadiers had fallen; the track of

the rash advance and disastrous retreat was marked by the dying and the dead. Some redcoats lay almost under the enemy's parapets, where a few of these impetuous men had won their way; others were seen dragging their maimed limbs to seek shelter behind rocks or trees from the vindictive fire which the French still poured upon their fallen foes. Among the wounded lay Captain Ochterlony and Ensign Peyton of the second battalion of the Royal Americans; they had refused the proffered aid of their retreating soldiers, and being bound by ties of the closest friendship determined to meet together the desperate chances of the field. They sat down side by side, bade each other farewell, and awaited their fate. In a few minutes a Frenchman and two Indians approached, plundered the wounded officers, and were about to murder Ochterlony, when Peyton shot one of the savages with a double-barrelled gun which he still held; the other then rushed upon him, and although receiving the contents of the second barrel, closed in mortal struggle. The Englishman succeeded after [illegible] in drawing a dagger, and with repeated stabs brought the Indian to the ground. In the meantime the French soldier had carried Ochterlony as a prisoner to his lines.

Peyton now started up, and although his leg was broken, ran for forty yards towards the river; there he sank exhausted. Presently a crowd of Indians, reeking from their work of butchery, approached him from the extreme left. Peyton reloaded his musket, leant upon his unwounded limb, and faced the savages; the two foremost hesitated before this resolute attitude, when to the deep disgrace of the French they opened a fire of musketry and even cannon from their breastworks upon the maimed and solitary officer. However at this desperate moment relief was nigh; the Indians who before had hesitated now turned and fled like scared vultures from their prey. A detachment of the gallant 78th Highlanders, undismayed by the still murderous fire, chased the marauders from the field, and bore the wounded Englishman in safety to the shore. This extraordinary scene occurred in full view of both armies.

The evening was now far advanced; the tide was beginning to flow; the ammunition of the whole army was damaged by the heavy rains; the waters looked angry beneath a threatening gale; the enemy's strength was concentrated; they had suffered little or no loss, while the British were weakened by 33 officers and 410 men. Wolfe had learned by painful experience the prodigious advantage of the French position, which although nearly invulnerable to attack, yet afforded admirable facilities for retreat. He was baffled; all that now remained was to conduct the re-embarkation with safety and regularity. Such of the wounded as could be yet saved were carried from the field; the stranded transports were abandoned and burnt, and the flotilla rowed away from the fatal shore. Townshend and Murray, whose untouched brigades had covered the embarkation, then recrossed the ford without interruption, and resumed their position on the heights east of the Montmorency.

Wolfe knew that the enterprise of the 31st of July was of such a nature that nothing but success could justify its temerity. By failure his military error had been thrown into strong light, and yet it was probable that he would have succeeded but for a strange adversity of circumstances. The officers of the fleet had remained in unaccountable ignorance of the reef of rocks which delayed and disordered the attack. The storm of

rain not only injured the ammunition of his men, but rendered the steep ascent of the enemy's position so slippery that they could not find firm footing, and the ill-timed audacity of the grenadiers had confounded all his calculations. The leading fault of his plan was undoubtedly the attempt of a combined attack by land and water: had Monckton's brigade been landed beyond the Falls, and the whole army crossed the ford together, the fatal embarrassments of the disembarkation would have been avoided. Wolfe suffered intense mental distress from this mishap; his mind preyed upon his feeble frame; his chronic ailment attacked him with unusual violence; fever supervened, and for some weeks he lay absolutely helpless, to the grief of the whole army. In the meantime, however, he issued the following merited rebuke to the corps whose indiscretion had led to results so disastrous:—

"The check which the grenadiers met with will, it is hoped, be a lesson to them for the time to come. Such impetuous, irregular, and unsoldierlike proceedings destroy all order, and put it out of the general's power to execute his plan. The grenadiers could not suppose, that they alone could beat the French army; therefore it was necessary the corps under Brigadiers Townshend and Monckton should have time to join them, that the attack might be general. The very first fire of the enemy was sufficient to have repulsed men who had lost all sense of order and military discipline. Amherst's (the 15th) and the Highland (the 78th) regiment, by the soldier-like and cool manner in which they formed, would undoubtedly have beaten back the whole Canadian army, if they had ventured to attack them. The loss, however, is very inconsiderable, and may be easily repaired when a favourable opportunity offers, if the men will show a proper attention to their officers."

Immediately after the repulse at Montmorency, Wolfe had dispatched 1200 men, under Brigadier Murray, to assist Admiral Holmes in the Upper River, and with orders to attempt the destruction of the French shipping which had passed up the stream. The brigadier was directed at the same time to take every favourable opportunity of engaging the enemy, and to endeavour, by all means in his power, to provoke them to attack him. In obedience to these orders Murray proceeded up the left bank of the river, with his detachment, consisting of the 15th Regiment, three companies of the Royal Americans, two of Marines, and one of Light Infantry: at a convenient place above the Chaudière river, he embarked under Admiral Holmes, and the squadron then made sail up the stream. The French ships easily avoided the danger by sending all their guns and stores ashore, and when thus lightened, taking refuge in the shallows towards Montreal; one brigantine of 200 tons was, however, abandoned and burnt in their retreat.

Murray found every place fortified where a landing might be effected, and the enemy always on the alert. After two vain attempts to disembark, he at length only succeeded by a surprise; he then pushed to the village of Dechambault, which was close at hand, carried it with scarcely any resistance, and burned some stores of provisions, clothing, and ammunition. Several prisoners of some note were taken in the onslaught, and a few important letters fell into the hands of the English. Through these letters Murray first heard of the occupation of Crown Point by Amherst, and of Johnson's victory at Niagara; finding that he could

effect nothing further, he hastened to convey this cheering news to his general.

Meanwhile fruitless damage was inflicted by each party upon the other: the Indians frequently surprised and scalped English stragglers, and the English batteries at Montmorency and Point Levi kept up a continued fire upon the lines and upon the city. On the morning of the 10th of August, at one o'clock, a shell pitched upon the vaulted roof of a cellar in the Lower Town, broke through and burst; a large quantity of brandy which was there stored, instantly ignited, the flames spread rapidly, and nearly the whole of the quarter, including the church of Notre Dame de la Victoire, was burned to the ground. A fire broke out simultaneously in the Upper Town, but was extinguished without having spread to any great extent.

The intelligence of Amherst and Johnson's progress, although satisfactory in itself, gave Wolfe no hope of their assistance before the close of the campaign: defeat could hardly have been more disastrous to the general interests of the war than their inactivity. Almost the whole force of Canada still mustered behind the formidable defences of Quebec. Nothing, however, could shake the resolution of the British general; while life remained he determined to persevere in the enterprise. Far from being disheartened, he was only stimulated by increasing difficulties. The fate of the campaign now hung upon him alone: the disaster at Montmorency had endangered his reputation; it only remained to clear away the cloud by success, or to silence censure by a soldier's death.

While Wolfe lay stricken with fever and unable to bear the presence of his officers, he meditated unceasingly upon plans of attack. At length, when somewhat recovered but still incapable of leaving his bed, he dictated the following letter to the brigadiers under his command:—

'That the public service may not suffer by the general's indisposition, he begs the brigadiers will meet and consult together for the public utility and advantage, and consider of the best method to attack the enemy.

'If the French army be attacked and defeated, the general concludes that the town would immediately surrender; because he does not find that they have any provision in that place.

'The general is of opinion that the army should be attacked in preference to the place, because of the difficulties of penetrating from the Lower to the Upper Town; in which attempt neither the guns of the shipping nor of our own batteries could be of much use.'

The letter then proceeds to suggest three different modes of attack,—all, however, upon the enemy's lines between the city and Montmorency.

The brigadiers assembled in consequence of this communication; and after having maturely deliberated, agreed in recommending the remarkable plan which Wolfe unreservedly adopted. The merit of this daring and skilful proposition belongs to Colonel George Townshend, although long-disputed, or withheld by jealousy or political hostility. This able officer had left every happiness that domestic life could bestow, and every gratification which fortune and position could procure, to face the hardships and seek the honours of his country's service. When the ministry's determination to prepare the expedition against Quebec became known, he successfully exerted his powerful interest to obtain employment, and was appointed to the third post of seniority in Wolfe's army.

The general plan of operations being arranged, preparations were commenced to carry it into execution. The prospect of action revived the drooping spirits of the British troops, and tended considerably to improve their health; fever had been rife among them; a number of men and officers had already died, and the temporary hospitals were still crowded. Supplies had become so scant, that horse-flesh was frequently served out as rations. The duties were rendered peculiarly harassing by the subtle and dangerous hostility of the savages; although invariably defeated, they seldom failed in the first instance to surprise and massacre some hapless stragglers; and no outpost was ever safe from their attacks. The Canadians were scarcely less dangerous and vindictive; their knowledge of the country, and activity in forest warfare, gave them a great advantage over the British soldiers in irregular encounters; but whenever they ventured to act in bodies they were sure to meet with severe chastisement. The invaders, however, were not backward in revenging these injuries; for miles round their camp, and on the banks of the river, they devastated the country without mercy.

Stimulated by the sight of the ruin wrought in neighbouring parishes, the unfortunate priest of Château Richer armed some eighty of his flock, and fortified himself in a large stone house, about ten miles eastward of the British camp at Montmorency: from thence he sent a message, defying to the combat an English detachment posted in his neighbourhood. At the same time, however, conveying in a note a polite request for the favour of the commanding officer's company at dinner, with an assurance of safe conduct. The strange but simple courtesy was of course rejected. In a short time a detachment of light troops, with a field piece, was sent against the fortified house; the English took post in an adjoining road, and by a stratagem contrived to draw the little garrison from their defences, and surrounded thirty of them, who were slain and scalped, including the unhappy priest himself. The excuse pleaded for this atrocious barbarity was, that the victims were disguised as Indians.

On the 29th of August the British troops began to evacuate their positions east of Montmorency, in pursuance of the new plan of operations. The sick, the women, and the heavy baggage were first embarked in the boats of the fleet, and conveyed past the enemy's batteries, at a respectful distance, to the camp at Point Levi: some of the heavy guns followed on the 31st. On the 2nd of the following month Wolfe sent home an admirable dispatch, with an account of his operations and failures. By the 3rd of September he was prepared to move the whole of his force from the north shore. Montcalm had anticipated this step from the stir in the British lines, and from the activity of the British light troops in burning houses and laying waste the country. He therefore marched two strong columns into the woods to make for the ford of the Montmorency, and, passing by it, to attack Wolfe while in the act of embarkation. From the distant hills of Point Levi, Brigadier Monckton observed the enemy's movements; he immediately ordered his brigade under arms, hurried two regiments on board of boats supplied by the admiral, supported by some sloops and frigates, rowed towards the Beauport shore, and formed within a safe distance, as if preparing to land. This demonstration was successful; the French columns were recalled from the ford, and the British embarked unmolested.

During the 7th, 8th, and 9th, Admiral Holmes manœuvred his fleet in the upper river, harassing the enemy by constant menaces of their different posts. At the same time Wolfe, now somewhat recovered, was, with his brigadiers, busily occupied in reconnoitring the northern bank of the St. Lawrence. At length he discovered a narrow path winding up the side of the steep precipice from the water's edge: at this spot, about three miles above the city, the lofty banks were slightly curved inwards. At that time the place was known by the name of Le Foullon: it now bears a name that may never be forgotten—Wolfe's Cove. At the top of the path the enemy had a small post; however, by the number of tents, which did not exceed a dozen, the British general concluded that its strength could not be more than 100 men. For miles on either side there was no other possible access to the heights than by that narrow path; but that narrow path sufficed to lead Wolfe to victory and to death.

As before stated, Quebec stands on the slope of the eastern extremity of that lofty range which here forms the left bank of the St. Lawrence; a table land extends westward for about nine miles from the defences of the city, occasionally wooded and undulating, but from the top of the narrow path to the ramparts, open, and tolerably level: this portion of the heights is called the Plains of Abraham. Wolfe's plan was to ascend this path secretly with his whole army, and make the plains his battle ground. The extraordinary audacity of the enterprise was its safety: the wise and cautious Montcalm had guarded against all the probable chances of war: he was not prepared against an attempt for which the pages of romance can scarcely furnish a parallel.

It was on the 9th of September that Wolfe addressed to the Secretary of State a letter which bears a deep and melancholy interest. His own view of the prospects of the expedition was most gloomy, and he seemed anxious to prepare the public mind in England for his failure. The letter conveys the impression that he only continued his operations to divert the attention of the enemy from other points; it concludes in the following desponding words:—'I am so far recovered as to do business, but my constitution is entirely ruined, without the consolation of having done any considerable service to the state, or without any prospect of it.' But while he wrote almost in despair, he acted as if he had never doubted of success.

On the 11th of September, Wolfe issued general orders to the army, from which the following are extracts:—

'The troops on shore, except the Light Infantry and Americans, are to be upon the beach to-morrow morning at five o'clock, in readiness to embark; the Light Infantry and Americans will re-embark at, or about, eight o'clock. The detachment of Artillery to be put on board the armed sloop this day. *The army to hold themselves in readiness to land and attack the enemy.*

'The troops must go into the boats (from the ships) about nine to-morrow night, or when it is pretty near high water; . . . and as there will be a necessity for remaining some part of the night in the boats, the officers will provide accordingly.

'When they (the boats) are to drop away from the Sutherland, she will show two lights in the maintop-mast shrouds, one over the other.

The men to be quite silent, and, when they are about to land, must not, upon any account, fire out of the boats.'

Great preparations were made throughout the fleet and army for the decisive movement, but the plans were still kept secret; a wise caution was observed in this respect, for the treachery of a single deserter might have imperilled the success of the expedition had its exact object been known. On the morning of the 12th, a soldier of the Royal Americans did desert: happily, he was unable to warn the enemy of their danger. Almost at the same time, one of the French regulars deserted to Wolfe, and brought a clear account of the state of affairs in Montcalm's camp. 'The main force is still below the town,' said he; 'our general will not believe that you meditate an attack anywhere but on the Montmorency side. The Canadians are dissatisfied, alarmed by the fall of Niagara, and in great distress for provisions. M. de Levi, with a large detachment, has left us for Montreal, to meet Amherst; and M. de Bougainville, with 1500 men, watches the motions of your fleet in the Upper River.'

From on board the Sutherland man-of-war, Wolfe issued his last orders to the army, on the evening of the 12th of September:—

'The enemy's force is now divided, great scarcity of provisions is now in their camp, and universal discontent among the Canadians; which gives us reason to think that General Amherst is advancing into the colony: *a vigorous blow struck by the army at this juncture may determine the fate of Canada.* . . . the troops will land where the French seem least to expect it. The first body that gets on shore is to march directly to the enemy . . . the battalions must form on the upper ground with expedition, and be ready to charge whatever presents itself . . . The officers and men will remember what is expected from them, and what a determined body of soldiers, inured to war, is capable of doing, against five weak French battalions, mingled with a disorderly peasantry.'

The heavier ships of the line moved, this evening, towards the Beauport shore, anchoring as near the enemy's lines as the depth of water would permit. While daylight yet remained, all the boats of that portion of the fleet were lowered, filled with marines and seamen, and ranged in order, threatening a descent upon the shore. At the same time the remaining ships suddenly hoisted sail; and with a favouring breeze they swept proudly past the batteries of Quebec, and joined Holmes's squadron at Cape Rouge eight miles above the city. Monckton and Murray, who, with their brigades, still occupied Point Levi and the village of St. Michael's, now pushed rapidly up the left bank of the St. Lawrence till they arrived opposite the fleet, and there embarked without being observed by the enemy. At nine o'clock at night the first division of the army, 1600 strong, silently removed into flat-bottomed boats; the soldiers were in high spirits.; Wolfe led in person. About an hour before daylight the flotilla fell down with the ebb tide. 'Weather favourable; a starlight night.'

CHAPTER XXVII.

We must leave Wolfe for awhile to take a brief review of the position of affairs in his enemy's camp. Montcalm's difficulties were also great. He knew not where to turn for a ray of hope, except, indeed, to the now rapidly advancing winter. The toils were spread on every side: the stately fleet riding below the town cut off all supplies from France: the fall of Niagara and of Fort Frontenac broke off the chain of communication with the distant west: Amherst, with an overwhelming force, hung over the weakest point of the Canadian frontier; Montreal, with neither army nor fortification, lay exposed to the British advance. But worst of all, distrust of his colleague and contempt of the prowess of his militia, paralysed Montcalm's vigour, and destroyed his confidence. 'You have sold your country,' exclaimed he, in uncontrollable indignation, to M. de Vaudreuil, when the latter opposed his views; 'but while I live I will not deliver it up.' And of the Canadian levies he writes to M. de Berryer, 'My Canadians without discipline, deaf to the sound of the drum, and badly armed, nothing remains for them but to fly; and behold me—beaten without resource!' 'But,' continued he, in the same remarkable letter, 'of one thing I can assure you, I shall not survive the probable loss of the colony. There are times when a general's only resource is to die with honour; this is such a time. No stain shall rest on my memory. But in defeat and death there is consolation left. The loss of the colony will one day be of more value to my country than a victory. The conqueror shall here find a tomb; his aggrandisement shall prove his ultimate ruin.'

Montcalm's utmost exertions failed to prevent desertion among the Canadians; he scourged some offenders, hanged others, threatened their villages with the vengeance of the savages, but still the unhappy peasantry were with difficulty held together. At the camp they were badly supplied with provisions, while their families almost starved at home. Their harvest, that which the English had not destroyed, remained unreaped. At length the general was obliged to yield to the urgent necessity of the case, and at a most critical period of the campaign he allowed 2000 of the militia to depart for the purpose of getting in their crops.

The Indians, however, still remained faithful; as long as a chance of blood and plunder offered, they were sure to be present. But in a pitched battle they were nearly useless, and the increased experience of the British troops rendered even their forest warfare now less dangerous.

Not only provisions but even ammunition were becoming scarce in Montcalm's camp: there was no hope of supplies from any quarter. The Lower Town and a large portion of the Upper Town were laid in ruins by the English artillery: the defences, it was true, still remained uninjured; but, except in natural advantages, they were by no means formidable. The repulse of the besiegers at Montmorency had, for a time, raised the spirits of the French, and given them a better opinion of Canadian prowess; for upon that occasion the peasantry had fired with great steadiness from behind their breastworks. But the daring though

misdirected valour of the British grenadiers, and the imposing front of their supports, failed not to confirm Montcalm's deep forebodings of the probable result of a battle. Then the incessant activity of the invaders, their pertinacious retention of any point which offered an apparent advantage, and their seemingly inexhaustible resources, showed that no stone would be left unturned for his destruction.

One only hope remained to the French general: the winter approached. In a few weeks the northern blast would scare away the stubborn enemy, against whom his arms and skill were ineffectual. Could he struggle on a little longer, the fate of Canada might be thrown upon the chances of another campaign; and a turn in European affairs yet preserve the splendid colony of France. 'Unless Wolfe lands above the town, and forces me to a battle, I am safe,' writes Montcalm. But while, on the night of the 12th of September, he watched in confident expectation the deceitful preparations of the fleet below the town, the ebbing tide silently floated down the British army towards that position the occupation of which he knew must be his ruin.

Silently and swiftly, unchallenged by the French sentries, Wolfe's flotilla dropped down the stream in the shade of the overhanging cliffs. The rowers scarcely stirred the waters with their oars; the soldiers sat motionless. Not a word was spoken, save by the young general; he, as a midshipman on board of his boat afterwards related, repeated in a low voice to the officers by his side 'Gray's Elegy in a Country Churchyard;' and as he concluded the beautiful verses, said, 'Now, gentlemen, I would rather be the author of that poem than take Quebec!' But while Wolfe thus, in the poet's words, gave vent to the intensity of his feelings, his eye was constantly bent upon the dark outline of the heights under which he hurried past. He recognised at length the appointed spot, and leaped ashore. Some of the leading boats conveying the light company of the 78th Highlanders had in the meantime been carried about 200 yards lower down by the strength of the tide. These Highlanders, under Captain Donald M'Donald, were the first to land. Immediately over their heads hung a woody precipice, without path or track upon its rocky face; at the summit a French sentinel marched to and fro, still unconscious of their presence. Without a moment's hesitation, M'Donald and his men dashed at the height. They scrambled up, holding on by rocks and branches of trees, guided only by the stars that shone over the top of the cliff: half the ascent was already won, when for the first time 'Qui vive?' broke the silence of the night. 'La France,' answered the Highland captain, with ready self-possession, and the sentry shouldered his musket and pursued his round. In a few minutes, however, the rustling of the trees close at hand at length alarmed the French guard; they hastily turned out, fired one irregular volley down the precipice, and fled in panic. The captain, M. de Vergor, alone, though wounded, stood his ground; when summoned to surrender, he fired at one of the leading assailants, but was instantly overpowered; the Highlanders, incensed at his vain valour, tore from his breast a decoration which he bore, and sent him a prisoner to the rear. In the meantime nearly 500 men landed and made their way up the height: those who had first reached the summit then took possession of the intrenched post at the top of that path which Wolfe had selected for the ascent of his army.

Wolfe, Monckton, and Murray, landed with the first division; as fast as each boat was cleared it put back for reinforcements to the ships, which had now also floated down with the tide nearly opposite to the point of disembarkation. The battalions formed on the narrow beach at the foot of the winding path, and as soon as completed, each ascended the cliff when they again formed upon the plains above. There all was quiet; the Light Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Howe, brother of the gallant Lord Howe who fell at Ticonderoga, had driven away the enemy's picquets. The boats plied busily; company after company was quickly landed, and as soon as the men touched the shore they swarmed up the steep ascent with ready alacrity. When morning broke the whole disposable force of Wolfe's army stood in firm array upon the table-land above the cove. Only one gun, however, could be carried up the hill, and even that was not got into position without incredible difficulty.

After a few minutes' anxious observation of the face of the country, Wolfe marched the army by files to the right in the direction of the city, leaving two companies of the 58th Regiment to guard the landing-place; he then formed his line of battle upon the Plains of Abraham, and resolved there to cast the die for Canada. The 35th Regiment held the extreme right over the precipice, at the distance of three quarters of a mile from the ramparts, where, to adapt themselves to the shape of a slight elevation which rises from the plains, they were ranged in a semicircle on its slope. Next came the Grenadiers of Louisburg. The 28th prolonged the line to the 43rd, which formed the centre. The 58th upon the left occupied the brow of the ridge which overlooks the valley of St. Charles; the 78th Highlanders extended over the plain to the right, and the 47th completed the front to the place where the 43rd were formed. Wolfe with Monckton commanded the right of the first line, Murray the left.

Townshend took charge of the second line. The 15th Regiment rested their right flank upon the precipice over the river: the two battalions of the 60th or Royal Americans held the plains to the left. Colonel Burton with the 48th Regiment in four columns of two companies each formed the reserve in a third line, and Colonel Howe with the light infantry, some in houses, others in the neighbouring coppices, covered the flank and rear.

About six o'clock some small parties of the enemy appeared upon the slopes under the ramparts of the city; at seven they mustered in greater force, and brought up two field-guns, which caused some annoyance. Shortly afterwards they threw a body of Canadians and Indians into the brushwood on the face of the precipice over the river, into a field of corn in front of the 35th Regiment, and into a coppice opposite the British centre; those skirmishers caused considerable mischief, but were speedily routed by Colonel Howe, with a detachment of the 47th. The whole line then received orders to lie upon their arms, while light infantry videttes covered their position at some distance in advance.

Meanwhile Montcalm had been completely deceived by the demonstrations of the fleet below the town. Through the whole of that anxious night boats were approaching the shore and again retiring, on various points of the line between the Montmorency and the St. Charles. The English ships of war had worked up as near as they could find depth of

water, and their guns played incessantly upon the beach, as if to prepare the way for a debarkation. Day broke before Montcalm even suspected that another struggle awaited him on his eastern lines; then, however, a stray cannon-shot, and the distant echo of musketry from above the town, caught his ear; while he yet doubted, a horseman reached him at full speed with tidings that the English had landed on the Plains of Abraham. The news spread like lightning through the Canadian camp. Aides-de-camp galloped to and fro in fiery haste: trumpets and drums aroused the sleeping soldiery. As fast as the battalions could be mustered they were hurried across the valley of St. Charles, over the bridge, and along the front of the northern ramparts of Quebec to the battle-ground. M. de Vaudreuil, with some Canadian militia, were left to guard the lines.

Under some mysterious and incomprehensible impulse, Montcalm at once determined to meet his dangerous enemy in the open field.

To account for this extraordinary resolution is impossible. Had the French general thrown himself into Quebec he might have securely defied his assailants from behind its ramparts till winter drove them away. But a short time before he had recorded his deliberate conviction that he could not face the British army in a general engagement. He was well aware that all the efforts of his indefatigable enemy had been throughout exerted to bring on an action upon any terms: and yet at length, on an open plain, without even waiting for his artillery, unaided by any advantage of position, he threw the rude Canadian militia against the veterans of England. Once, and only once, in a successful and illustrious career, did this gallant Frenchman forget his wisdom and military skill: but that one tremendous error led him to defeat and death.

Even when the alarming news of Wolfe's landing reached Montcalm, he professed confidence—confidence which he could not have felt. When the position of the English army was pointed out to him, he said, 'Yes, I see them where they ought not to be;' and he afterwards added, 'If we must fight, I will crush them.' He, however, altogether failed to communicate to the Canadian troops the sanguine spirit which he himself professed.

At eight o'clock the heads of French columns began to appear ascending the hill from the St. Charles to the Plains of Abraham; the only piece of artillery which Wolfe had been able to bring into action then opened with some effect, and caused them slightly to alter their line of march: as they arrived, they formed in three separate masses upon a slope to the north-west of the city, where they were sheltered from this solitary but mischievous gun.

At nine o'clock, Montcalm moved some distance to the front, and developed his line of battle; at the same time M. de Bougainville, who was hastening down the left bank of the St. Lawrence, made a demonstration with some light cavalry upon Wolfe's extreme left. Townshend checked this movement by throwing the third battalion of the 60th into a line extending from the threatened flank to the post over the landing-place.

Montcalm was already worsted as a general; it was, however, still left him to fight as a soldier. His order of battle was steadily and promptly arrayed. The centre column, under Montcalm in person, consisted of

the regiments of Bearne and Guienne, numbering together no more than 720 bayonets; with them were formed 1200 of the Canadian militia. On the right stood the regiments of La Sarre and Languedoc and a battalion of the marine or colony troops, in all 1600 veterans; 400 of the militia with one light field-piece completed this wing. On the left, the Royal Roussillon, and a battalion of the Marine, mustered 1300 bayonets, while these disciplined regiments were supported by no less than 2300 of the Canadian levies. The total force, therefore, actually engaged, amounted to 7520 men, besides Indians; of these, however, not more than one half were regular troops; it was on them the brunt of the battle fell, and almost the whole loss. Wolfe's 'field state' on the morning of the 13th of September, showed only 4828 men of all ranks from the generals downwards, but of these every man was a trained soldier.

The French attacked. At about ten o'clock a crowd of Canadians and Indians emerged from the bush on the slope which falls towards the valley of the St. Charles; as they advanced they opened fire upon the English picquets of the extreme left, and drove them into their supports. Under cover of the cloud of smoke which rose above the scene of this attack, the French veterans of the right wing passed swiftly round the left of Murray's brigade, and turned his flank; then throwing aside their irregulars, they fell upon Howe's light infantry. This gallant officer felt the importance of his post; the houses and the line of coppice which he occupied, formed almost a right angle with the front of the British army, covering it in flank and rear. He was hardly pressed; his men fell fast under the overpowering fire of the French, but in a few minutes, Townshend with the 15th came to his aid; soon afterwards the two battalions of the 60th joined the line, and turned the tide of battle.

In the mean time swarms of skirmishers advanced against the right and centre of the British army; their stinging fire immediately dislodged the few light infantry which Wolfe had posted in his front, and forced them back in confusion upon the main body. This first impression was not without danger: the troops who were in the rear, and could not see the real state of affairs, became alarmed at the somewhat retrograde movements in front. Wolfe perceived this: he hurried along the line, cheered the men by his voice and presence, and admonished them on no account to fire without orders. He succeeded: confidence was restored.

The spirited advance of the skirmishers was but the mask of a more formidable movement. The whole of the French centre and left, with loud shouts and arms at the recover, now bore down to the attack. Their light troops then ceased firing, and passed to the rear. As the view cleared, their long unbroken lines were seen rapidly approaching Wolfe's position. When they reached within 150 yards they advanced obliquely from the left of each formation, so that the lines assumed the appearance of columns, and chiefly threatened the British right. And now from flank to flank of the assailing battalions rolled a murderous and incessant fire. The 35th and the Grenadiers fell fast. Wolfe, at the head of the 28th, was struck in the wrist, but not disabled. Wrapping a handkerchief round the wound, he hastened from one rank to another, exhorting the men to be steady and to reserve their fire. No English soldier pulled a trigger: with matchless endurance they sustained the trial. Not a company wavered: their arms shouldered as if on parade, and motionless,

save when they closed up the ghastly gaps, they waited the word of command.

When the head of the French attack had reached within forty yards, Wolfe gave the order to 'fire.' At once the long row of muskets was levelled, and a volley, distinct as a single shot, flashed from the British line. For a moment the advancing columns still pressed on, shivering like pennons in the fatal storm, but a few paces told how terrible had been the force of the long-suspended blow. Numbers of the French soldiers reeled and fell; some staggered on for a little, then dropped silently aside to die; others burst from the ranks shrieking in agony. The Brigadier de St. Ours was struck dead, and de Senezergues, the second in command, was left mortally wounded upon the field. When the breeze carried away the dense clouds of smoke, the assailing battalions stood reduced to mere groups among the bodies of the slain. Never before or since has a deadlier volley burst from British infantry.

Montcalm commanded the attack in person. Not fifteen minutes had elapsed since he had first moved on his line of battle, and already all was lost! The Canadian militia, with scarcely an exception, broke and fled. The right wing, which had recoiled before Townshend and Howe, was overpowered by a counter-attack of the 58th and 78th: his veteran battalions of Berne and Guienne were shattered before his eyes under the British fire; on the left the Royal Roussillon was shrunk to a mere skeleton, and, deserted by their Provincial allies, could hardly retain the semblance of a formation. But the gallant Frenchman though ruined was not dismayed; he rode through the broken ranks, cheered them with his voice, encouraged them by his dauntless bearing, and, aided by a small redoubt, even succeeded in once again presenting a front to his enemy.

Meanwhile Wolfe's troops had reloaded. He seized the opportunity of the hesitation in the hostile ranks, and ordered the whole British line to advance. At first they moved forward in majestic regularity, receiving and paying back with deadly interest the vollies of the French. But soon the ardour of the soldiers broke through the restraints of discipline: they increased their pace to a run, rushing over the dying and the dead and sweeping the living enemy off their path. On the extreme right the 35th, under the gallant Colonel Fletcher, carried all before them, and won the white plume which for half a century afterwards they proudly bore. Wolfe himself led the 28th and the diminished ranks of the Louisburg Grenadiers, who that day nobly redeemed their error at Montmorency. The 43rd, as yet almost untouched, pressed on in admirable order, worthy of their after-fame in that noble Light Division which 'never gave a foot of ground but by word of command.' On the left, the 58th and 78th overcame a stubborn and bloody resistance; more than 100 of the Highlanders fell dead and wounded, the weak battalion by their side lost a fourth part of their strength in the brief struggle. Just now Wolfe was a second time wounded, in the body, but he dissembled his suffering, for his duty was not yet accomplished; again a ball from the redoubt struck him on the breast; he reeled on one side, but at the moment this was not generally observed. 'Support me,' said he to a grenadier officer who was close at hand, 'that my brave fellows may not see me fall. In a few seconds, however, he sank, and was borne a little to the rear. Colonel Carleton was desperately wounded in the head at a

ew paces from Wolfe: the aide-de-camp who hastened for Monckton, to call him to the command, found him also bleeding on the field, beside the 47th Regiment. At length Townshend, now the senior officer, was brought from the left flank to this bloody scene to lead the army.

The brief struggle fell heavily upon the British, but was ruinous to the French. They wavered under the carnage; the columns which death had disordered were soon broken and scattered. Montcalm, with a courage that rose above the wreck of hope, galloped through the groups of his stubborn veterans, who still made head against the advancing enemy, and strove to show a front of battle. His efforts were vain; the head of every formation was swept away before that terrible musketry; in a few minutes, the French gave way in all directions. Just then their gallant general fell with a mortal wound: from that time all was utter rout.

The English followed fiercely in the pursuit; the 47th and 58th, with fixed bayonets, pressed on close to the St. Louis and St. John's gates, till the first were checked by grape-shot from the ramparts, and the latter, by the artillery of the hulks which were grounded in the river. But foremost in the advance, and most terrible to the flying enemy, were the 78th Highlanders; active and impetuous in their movements and armed with the broadsword, they supplied in this case the want of cavalry to the British army. Numbers of the French fell beneath their vigorous blows; others saved themselves by timely surrender, piteously craving mercy, and declaring that they had not been at Fort William Henry. The remainder of Montcalm's right wing only found shelter beyond the bridge over the St. Charles. The survivors of the right and centre soon placed the ramparts of Quebec between themselves and their pursuers.

While some of the British battalions were disordered in the rapid advance, a body of about 800 French and Canadians collected in a coppice near the St. Charles, and assumed a somewhat threatening appearance on the left flank of the pursuers. Perceiving this, Townshend ordered Colonel Hunt Walsh, with the 28th and 43rd, to crush the new resistance. These two battalions were well in hand; Walsh wheeled them promptly to the left, and after a sharp struggle cleared the coppice.

The battle was now over, but the general of the victorious army had still to guard against another antagonist, as yet untouched and unbroken. It has been related, that before the commencement of the action the extreme left of the British position had been threatened by some light cavalry,—the advance guard of de Bougainville's formidable corps: the main body and their chief had now arrived upon the scene, but so rapid and complete had been the ruin of Montcalm's army, that his lieutenant found not a single unbroken company remaining in the field with which to co-operate. He himself, however, was still strong; besides 350 cavalry—an arm in which the invaders were altogether deficient—he had with him nearly 1500 men, a large proportion of whom were grenadiers and light infantry.

Townshend hastened to recall his disordered battalions, but he determined not to imperil the victory by seeking another engagement with fresh troops. His arrangements were strictly defensive; while re-forming a line of battle, he dispatched the 35th and the 48th with two field-pieces to meet de Bougainville, and if possible check his advance. The demonstration sufficed; the French soldiers, demoralised by the defeat of their

general-in-chief, were in no condition to meet a victorious enemy, they recoiled before the resolute front of the British force, and retreated with precipitation up the left bank of the St. Lawrence. There Townshend did did not deem it prudent to follow; the ground was swampy, and for the most part still covered with the primeval forest, affording every advantage to a retreating enemy.

As soon as the action was over, Townshend began to intrench his camp, and to widen the road up the cliff for the convenience of the artillery and stores. De Bougainville did not halt till he reached Cape Rouge, and M. de Vaudreuil, with his 1500 Canadians, deserted the lines west of the Montmorency, left all his artillery, ammunition, tents and stores behind him, and made a hurried retreat towards Jacques Cartier.

The loss of the English in this memorable battle amounted to fifty-five killed and 607 wounded of all ranks, and that of the French has never been clearly ascertained, but it was not probably less than 1500 in killed and wounded and prisoners. Moreover a very large proportion of the Canadian militia dispersed and never rejoined their colours. On the British side the Louisburg Grenadiers upon the right, and the 58th and 78th upon the left suffered the most severely. The five regular French battalions were almost destroyed, and one of the two pieces of artillery which they had brought into action was captured by the victors.

While the British troops were carrying all before them, their young general's life was ebbing fast away. When struck for the third time, he sank down; he then supported himself for a few minutes in a sitting posture, with the assistance of Lieutenant Brown, Mr. Henderson a volunteer, and a private soldier, all of the Grenadier Company of the 22nd; Colonel Williamson of the Royal Artillery, afterwards went to his aid. From time to time Wolfe tried with his faint hand to clear away the death-mist that gathered on his sight; but the efforts seemed vain; for presently he lay back, and gave no signs of life beyond a heavy breathing, and an occasional groan. Meantime the French had given way, and were flying in all directions. The grenadier officer seeing this, called out to those around him:—'See, they run.' The words caught the ear of the dying man; he raised himself, like one aroused from sleep, and asked eagerly, 'Who runs?' 'The enemy, sir,' answered the officer: 'they give way everywhere.' 'Go one of you to Colonel Burton,' said Wolfe: 'tell him to march Webbe's (the 48th) regiment with all speed down to the St. Charles River, to cut off the retreat.' His voice grew faint as he spoke, and he turned as if seeking an easier position on his side; when he had given this last order, he seemed to feel that he had done his duty, and added feebly, but distinctly—'Now, God be praised I die happy.' His eyes then closed; and, after a few convulsive movements, he became still. Despite the anguish of his wounds, he died happy: for through the mortal shades that fell upon his soul, there rose, over the unknown world's horizon, the dawn of an eternal morning.

'GENERAL ORDERS.

'14*th September*, 1759. *Plains of Abraham.*

'Parole—WOLFE. Countersign—ENGLAND.

'The remaining general officers fit to act take the earliest opportunity

to express the praise which is due to the conduct and bravery of the troops; and the victory, which attended it, sufficiently proves the superiority which this army has over any number of such troops as they engaged yesterday. They wish that the person who lately commanded them had survived so glorious a day, and had this day been able to give the troops their just encomiums. The fatigues which the troops will be obliged to undergo to reap the advantage of this victory will be supported with a true spirit, as this seems to be the period which will determine, in all probability, our American labours.'

Deep and sincere was the sorrow of the English army for the loss of their chief; they almost grieved over their dearly-purchased victory.

Late on the evening of the 14th of September Montcalm also died. When his wound was first examined, he asked the surgeon if it was mortal; and being answered that it was, he said, 'I am glad of it: how long can I survive?' 'Perhaps a day; perhaps less,' replied the surgeon. 'So much the better,' rejoined Montcalm, 'I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec.' When his wound was dressed, M. de Ramsay, the governor of the city, visited him, and desired to receive his commands for the defence; but he refused to occupy himself any longer with worldly affairs, 'My time is very short,' continued he, 'so pray leave me. I wish you all comfort, and to be happily extricated from your present perplexities.' He then called for his chaplain, who, with the bishop of the colony, administered the last offices of religion, and remained with him till he expired.

An officer of the 43rd regiment, whose carefully-kept journal furnishes much valuable information on the subject of this campaign, states that Montcalm paid the English army the following compliment after the battle: 'Since it was my misfortune to be discomfited, and mortally wounded, it is a great consolation to me to be vanquished by so great and generous an enemy. If I could survive this wound, I would engage to beat three times the number of such forces as I commanded this morning with a third of their number of British troops.'

Townshend, on the day succeeding the battle, busied himself incessantly in pushing on works against the city, and cutting off from the besieged all communication with the country. On the 17th, Admiral Saunders moved the whole of the British fleet into the basin, and prepared to attack the Lower Town; and by that evening no less than sixty-one pieces of heavy, and fifty-seven of light ordnance, were mounted on the British batteries, and ready to open fire. The besieged had endeavoured to retard these proceedings by constantly plying all their available guns, but did not succeed in inflicting any annoyance of importance. Before night-fall an officer bearing a flag of truce approached the English camp, and was conducted to the general; to him he gave the governor, M. de Ramsay's, proposition, to surrender if not relieved by the following morning.

In the meantime M. de Vaudreuil, who had, with his disorganised followers, joined de Bougainville at Cape Rouge on the evening of the 13th, dispatched a courier to M. de Levi, at Montreal, with tidings of the disaster, and to require his immediate presence to command the army in Montcalm's room. This done, the marquis summoned his principal officers to a council of war, and gave his opinion 'that they should take

their revenge on the morrow, and endeavour to wipe off the disgrace of that fatal day.' But this bold proposition met with no more support in the council than it really possessed in de Vaudreuil's own mind. The officers were unanimously of opinion 'that there was an absolute necessity for the army to retire to Jacques Cartier, and that no time should be lost.' In consequence of this decision, the French immediately resumed their retreat, leaving everything behind them, and marched all night to gain Point aux Trembles, which was fixed as the rendezvous of the whole remaining force.

On the receipt of the disastrous news of Montcalm's defeat and death, M. de Levi instantly departed from Montreal to take the command of the shattered army. On the 16th he arrived; after a few hours' conference with the Marquis de Vaudreuil, it was agreed to send the following message to M. de Ramsay: 'We exhort you by all means, to hold out to the last extremity. On the 18th the whole army shall be in motion; a disposition is made to throw in a large supply of provisions, and to relieve the town.' The courier reached the besieged early on the 18th, but it was too late; the governor was already in treaty with Townshend, and on that morning, the 18th day of September, 1759, QUEBEC SURRENDERED. In the evening, the keys of the city were delivered up, and the Louisburg Grenadiers marched in, preceded by a detachment of artillery, and one gun, with the British flag hoisted on a staff upon the carriage; this flag was then placed upon the highest point of the citadel. Captain Palliser of the navy, with a body of seamen, at the same time took possession of the Lower Town.

The news of these great events reached England but two days later than Wolfe's discouraging dispatch of the 9th of September; an Extraordinary Gazette was immediately published and circulated throughout the country, and a day of thanksgiving was appointed by proclamation through all the dominions of Great Britain.

'Then the sounds of joy and grief from her people wildly rose.'

Never, perhaps, have triumph and lamentation been so strangely intermingled. Astonishment and admiration at the splendid victory, with sorrow for the loss of the gallant victor, filled every breast. Throughout all the land were illuminations and public rejoicings, except in the little Kentish village of Westerham, where Wolfe was born, and where his widowed mother now mourned her only child.

Wolfe's body was embalmed, and borne to the river for conveyance to England. The army escorted it in solemn state to the beach; they mourned their young general's death as sincerely, as they had followed him in battle bravely. Their attachment to him had softened their toils, their confidence in him had cheered them in disasters, and his loss now turned their triumph into sadness. When his remains arrived at Plymouth they were landed with the highest honours; minute guns were fired; the flags were hoisted half-mast high, and an escort with arms reversed received the coffin on the shore. He was then conveyed to Greenwich, and buried beside his father, who had died but a few months before.

The House of Commons, on the motion of Mr. Pitt, unanimously voted that a monument should be erected to Wolfe's memory in Westminster

Abbey, at the public expense. The monument was accordingly executed, and inscribed with an eulogistic memorial in Latin. Not many years since a pillar was erected by Lord Dalhousie, on a lofty situation in the City of Quebec, to Wolfe and Montcalm, bearing a remarkably graceful Latin inscription, by Dr. Fisher, of Quebec. Lord Aylmer has also placed a small and simple monument on the Plains of Abraham, on which the date, and the following words only are engraved:—

'HERE WOLFE DIED VICTORIOUS.'

CONCLUSION.

On the 18th of October, Admiral Saunders with the whole fleet—the Racehorse of twenty, and the porcupine of eighteen guns, excepted—weighed anchor and dropped down the river to Isle aux Coudres, there to await a fair wind to sail for Halifax and England. Brigadier Monckton embarked at the same time for New York, where he soon recovered from his wound, and Brigadier Townshend proceeded direct to London. The government of Quebec was entrusted to Brigadier Murray, with Colonel Burton as lieutenant-governor, and all the soldiers of the several regiments engaged in the campaign, who were still fit for duty, remained to form the garrison; the number of all ranks and arms now only amounted to 7300 men. The sick and wounded, whose recovery was remote or improbable, were sent home with the Admiral. Having left a squadron at Halifax, the fleet reached England in safety ere the severity of the winter had set in.

Before the close of the navigation the French governor and intendant of Canada entrusted their melancholy dispatches to M. Cannon, who succeeded in passing Quebec unobserved, by taking advantage of a favourable wind and a thick fog. Having escaped the many other dangers which beset his voyage, he arrived safely in France. These dispatches were filled with criminations and recriminations: M. de Vaudreuil animadverted bitterly upon M. de Ramsay for his 'precipitate surrender' of Quebec, while from other quarters heavy complaints were put forward against M. de Vaudreuil, for his retreat or rather flight from the lines of Montmorency.

The condition of the once splendid colony of France was now very lamentable. To the east Quebec, to the west Niagara, to the south Crown Point and Ticonderoga, all the strongest positions in the northern continent of America, had passed from their hands in one disastrous campaign; many of their veteran soldiers had found graves in the land which they had bravely but vainly striven to defend, or had been borne away as prisoners across the Atlantic. Provisions of all kinds were scarce, almost to famine; the prices during winter rose to an enormous height: wheat was commonly sold at 30 or 40 livres a bushel, a cow was worth 900 livres, a pair of oxen 1500 or 2000, and sheep from 200 to 300 livres a-piece. Many people actually died of want; and at length no money would induce the farmers to part with their produce, when life itself depended upon their retaining such supplies as they possessed. The Indians were quick to observe the fallen condition of the French,

their poverty and their weakness; a general defection among doubtful allies was the consequence, increased activity of enemies, and a more measured assistance from friends.

As the winter approached, the Chevalier de Levi retreated to Montreal, where he put the greater part of his army into cantonments. He, however, busied himself during that period of forced military inaction in preparations for a bold atttempt to wipe out the memory of last year's disasters by the re-conquest of Quebec. At the first opening of spring he began to refit such of the shipping as still bore the French flag, repaired the small craft, built galleys, and at Sorel embarked the necessary stores and ammunition, which he had drawn from the depôts of St. John's and Chambly. M. de Vaudreuil seconded these exertions by the publication of an address to the Canadian people, representing in a highly coloured style the imaginary cruelties and oppressions of the British governor of Quebec. He also endeavoured to raise their hopes while he stimulated their animosity. 'We have a numerous and gallant army,' said he, 'and well-grounded assurances of powerful assistance from France.' His appeal met with no echo from a starving and discontented people.

During the winter the French had made several demonstrations against the British outposts at Point Levi, Cap Rouge, St. Foy, and Lorette, without, however, any result beyond bloodshed and mutually inflicted suffering. But on the 6th of April, M. de Bourlemaque, with three battalions of regular troops and a body of militia, marched from Jacques Cartier upon Cap Rouge, with the hope of surprising the English detachment at that place. His troops lay on their arms that night, with the exception of two companies of grenadiers whom he sent to reconnoitre. On their return the main body became alarmed, supposing them to be English troops, and fired among them; the grenadiers returned the fire, and the disastrous mistake was not discovered until twenty-two of their men were killed and wounded. Before dawn the unlucky expedition returned to their quarters at Jacques Cartier.

On the 17th of April, 1760, de Levi left Montreal with all his available force, and, collecting on his way the several detached corps, arrived in the neighbourhood of Cap Rouge with eight battalions of regular troops, recruited to 4500 men, 6000 Canadians, of whom 200 were Cavalry and 250 Indians. His heavy artillery, ammunition and stores, followed his march by the river in batteaux and other vessels.

Meanwhile Murray lost no time in strengthening his position at Quebec. He erected eight timber redoubts outside the works of the city, and armed them with artillery; he broke up the neighbouring roads, laid in eleven months' provision, and repaired 500 of the houses, which the English shot had ruined, for quarters for his troops. The outposts which he had established in the country round Quebec proved of considerable advantage: by them his movements were concealed, and those of the enemy watched. The inhabitants of eleven parishes in the vicinity placed themselves under British protection, and swore allegiance to the British Crown; they subsequently proved very useful in supplying fresh provisions and firewood for the army to their utmost ability. Nevertheless Murray's troops were obliged to undergo great hardship in collecting fuel for themselves; no less than a fourth of the whole army had to march ten miles each day for many successive days to cut timber in the forests, and

numbers of the men were frostbitten, or sank altogether under the trial. The scurvy raged also with extraordinary violence in the garrison; many fell victims to that dreadful disease; but a decoction of the hemlock-spruce, recommended by an old Canadian, was at length successfully employed as a remedy. The severity of the duty and the monotony of the winter proved intolerable to not a few of the British soldiers; designing Frenchmen were at hand to profit by this opportunity; they persuaded many of the soldiers to leave their colours, and the spirit of desertion was not checked till some of those taken in the act were hanged, and their abettors subjected to a like punishment.

When Murray was apprised of the approach of the French army, he marched out on the 27th of April with the whole disposable force to cover the retreat of his advanced posts; in this he succeeded with the loss of only two men. He then broke down all the bridges, and retired into the city the same evening. De Levi crossed the little stream at Cap Rouge, and cantoned his army, upwards of 10,000 strong, in and about the village of St. Foy; at nine the following morning he advanced within three miles of Quebec.

The British general, unwarned by Montcalm's fate, formed the unaccountable resolution of giving battle to the French in the open field, with his feeble army, which was now reduced by sickness, desertion, and the sword, to 3000 available men. In his letter to the Secretary of State reporting the consequent events, he states the following not very conclusive reasons for having taken this unfortunate step: 'Well weighing my peculiar position, and well knowing, that in shutting myself up within the walls of the city, I should risk the whole stake on the chance of defending a wretched fortification, which could not be lessened by an action in the field.'

At daylight on the 28th of April, Murray marched out to the Plains of Abraham with his ten skeleton battalions, and twenty pieces of artillery. His light troops easily drove in those of the French; he then proceeded to form his line of battle. On the right Colonel Burton led the 15th, the 48th, and the second battalion of the 60th. The centre consisted of the 43rd and 58th under Colonel James, and the left of the 28th, 47th, and 78th, under Colonel Fraser. The 35th, and the third battalion of the 60th, formed the reserve. Major Dalling's Light Infantry covered the right flank, and some Volunteers and the Rangers, the left. The guns were distributed in the most suitable positions.

When the formations were completed, Murray rode to the front to reconnoitre the enemy's position; he found them occupied in putting their arms, which had been damaged by heavy rains during the night, in order, and in other respects unprepared for action. This seemed to afford a favourable opportunity for striking a blow, and accordingly he returned in all speed, and gave orders to attack without delay. The little army joyfully obeyed, and moved forward in admirable order, over the brow of the heights, thence down the slope into the plains beyond.

At first de Levi could not bring himself to believe that the British were abandoning their vantage-ground to grapple with his overwhelming force; but when he perceived their colours still steadily advancing almost within gun-shot range, he called his men 'to arms.' The French hurried together, and formed their front of battle, not however without some confusion and

alarm. Two companies of Grenadiers were in the mean time pushed forward into the woods above Sillery as a covering party; here they came in collision with the Volunteers and Rangers of the British left, and after a short encounter they retired leisurely upon the main body. Murray's Irregulars now joined by the Light Infantry, pursued with unlucky zeal; this hasty advance exposed them to the fire of their own artillery and compelled its silence; finally they were repulsed and broken by the French battalions which had by that time attained to a steady formation. They then fell to the rear and showed no more during the combat.

De Levi's army was by this time ranged in battle array. Bourlemaque, with three battalions of Regulars, held the right, the general in person with a like force, held the left, and M. Dumas with two battalions occupied the centre. The lines were formed three deep, and in the intervals between the bodies of veteran troops the Canadian levies were formed. Some companies of the Marine or Colony troops, with the Indians, were posted in a wood somewhat in advance of the right of the position. The French had no artillery.

When the flight of the light troops opened the front of battle, a column of French infantry was seen winding up through the suburbs of St. Roch, so as to threaten Murray's right. Major Morris, with the 35th from the reserve, were quickly called into action, and they checked this movement. But in the mean time the British left was altogether overmatched. Fraser, with his brigade, had boldly attacked the French right, and at first gained some advantage, having, by an impetuous charge, driven Bourlemaque from two redoubts; but the superior weight of the enemy's fire soon told upon his weak battalions, and they were speedily reduced to a mere handful of men. The 43rd from the centre, and the 3rd battalion of the 60th from the reserve, now came to his aid, and still he bravely held his own ground against the overwhelming numbers of the French. At this critical time the Royal Roussillon from de Levi's centre, who had not as yet fired a shot, charged in upon the British left, and bore down all resistance. The whole of Fraser's brigade then gave way, and retired in confusion; Burton's men on the right, already hardly pressed, soon followed: all the artillery was lost: and had it not been for the firm front presented by the 15th and 58th, the disaster might have proved irreparable. Even as it was, the carnage was almost unexampled in proportion to the numbers engaged: Murray left no less than 300 dead upon the field, and upwards of 700 more of his men were wounded.

The triumph of the French was sullied by unusual cruelty to their gallant but unfortunate foes. Quarter was in vain asked by some of the British officers: four of them being conducted to the officers of the Regiment of La Sarre were received with a wave of the hand, and 'Allez-vous-en,' which speedily decided their bloody fate. Of the great number of wounded Englishmen who were unavoidably abandoned in the retreat, twenty-eight only were sent to the hospitals; the rest were given up to glut the rage of the Indians. Murray's artillery, and the steady fire of his veterans, caused the French to purchase victory at a very heavy cost: by their own computation 1800 of their men were killed and wounded.

De Levi followed up his success by intrenching himself before the city, and preparing for the siege. Murray was not idle. No more than 2200

of the British troops were now fit for duty; but even the wounded assisted as far as they were able; nearly 600 men, unable to walk without crutches, seated themselves on the ramparts, made sand-bags for the works and cartridges for the cannon. The women were also active in tending the wounded, and cooking rations for the soldiers, who were now too much occupied to perform those offices for themselves. By unremitting exertion 132 guns were soon mounted on the ramparts; and, as many of the infantry had during the winter been trained by the artillerymen, Murray was enabled to keep up a fire which altogether overpowered that of the French.

But the hopes of the besieged rested alone for final delivery on the arrival of the fleet. On the 9th of May the Leostoffe frigate rounded the headland of Point Levi, and stood over for the city. For a time an intense anxiety reigned in both armies, as the French also expected a squadron with supplies. At length, when the red-cross flag ran up to the mizen-peak of the strange ship, and a boat put off for the Lower Town, the joy of the garrison knew no bounds: officers and soldiers together mounted the parapets in the face of the enemy, and for nearly an hour together made the air ring with hearty British cheers. On the 16th, Commodore Swainton arrived with the Vanguard and the Diana frigate; the next day he passed the town, and destroyed or captured the whole of the French armament upon the river.

De Levi upon this raised the siege with inglorious haste. His camp, guns, ammunition, stores, provisions, and intrenching tools were all abandoned, and his retreat was almost a flight. Murray pushed out his grenadiers and light infantry in pursuit, and succeeded in taking some of the rear-guard prisoners. The French then took up their old quarters at Jacques Cartier. This attempt upon Quebec, the results of which were so disproportionate to the means employed, was called by the Canadians 'de Levi's Folly.'

Although the siege of Quebec lasted but a short time, it gave opportunity to the French officers of departments to indulge in enormous peculation. The public money was squandered with the utmost profusion, and with the most unblushing dishonesty. False estimates were authorised by the engineers, and paid by the intendant at Montreal. Among other charges against the French Government was put forward a bill for 300,000 moccasins for the Indians: the infamous Cadet managed this contract himself, in the name of his clerk, and charged the crown no less than 300,000 livres for the fraudulent supply. Large stores were constantly furnished to the army, the greater part of which became the property of the contractors, and was resold by them to the government at an exorbitant rate: meanwhile the soldiers were miserably supplied, and the people almost perishing with want.

But this reign of peculation and oppression was fast drawing to a close. The successful action at Sillery was 'Fortune's parting smile' upon the French in Canada. On the 3rd of May, General, now Sir Jeffery, Amherst, the commander-in-chief, embarked at New York and proceeded to Schenectady. From thence, with part of his army, he pursued his route to Oswego, where he encamped on the 9th of July. General Gage and the rest of the force was ordered to follow with all diligence: accordingly they also reached Oswego on the 22nd, and Sir

William Johnson with his Indians arrived the following day. In the mean time, Captain Loring of the navy, with two armed vessels, had cleared the Lake Ontario of the French cruisers, and driven them for refuge to the beautiful labyrinth of the 'Thousand Isles.'

Amherst's army now assembled on the shores of Lake Ontario, consisted of a detachment of the Royal Artillery, six complete battalions, and thirteen companies of regular troops, a corps of Grenadiers, and another of Light Infantry, with some Rangers, and eight battalions of Provincials, in all 10,142 men of all ranks; Johnson's Indians numbered 706.

The plan of the campaign was again founded on combined movements; the general-in-chief, warned by the untoward delays which he had experienced in the preceding year, himself chose to descend upon the enemy's capital by Lake Ontario and the Upper St. Lawrence, leaving the route of Lake Champlain to Colonel Haviland, with a force of some artillery, 1500 Regular troops, 1800 Provincials, and a few Indians, which were assembled at Crown Point. At the same time Murray with the disposable portion of the gallant garrison of Quebec, aided by Lord Rollo and two battalions from Louisburg, was to push up the St. Lawrence, and if possible meet the other two corps under the general-in-chief and Haviland on the Island of Montreal. Their movements were as follows:

Amherst embarked the grenadiers and light troops with a battalion of Highlanders, on the 7th of August, and dispatched them, under Colonel Haldimand, to take post at that end of Lake Ontario from whence issues the River St. Lawrence. On the 10th he himself, with the artillery, the remainder of the regular troops, and the Indians, followed in whale-boats. The Provincials, under Gage, joined the flotilla on the 12th, and the following day the whole army reached la Galette, on the banks of the Great River. They then dropped down the stream to Isle Royale without any occurrence worth record, except the gallant capture of an armed vessel by Colonel Williamson with a detachment of troops in row-boats.

Upon Isle Royale there was a French post of some strength, called Fort Levi, which Amherst determined to subdue; partly because he was unwilling to leave an enemy in his rear, but principally because among the little garrison were several men well skilled in the dangerous navigation of the St. Lawrence, whose services might prove of great value to the expedition; accordingly, the fort was completely invested by the 20th. On the 23rd the British batteries were in readiness, and the armed vessels placed in a favourable position, while a detachment of grenadiers with scaling-ladders were told off to storm the works. A cannonade was opened upon the fort; but the gallant little garrison returned the fire with such spirit, that one of the British vessels which had got aground was obliged to strike her colours, and was abandoned by her crew. Amherst, astonished at this vigorous resistance, deferred his contemplated assault to another day. The delay proved fortunate in preventing further bloodshed; for M. Pouchot, the French commandant, seeing that there was no hope of a successful defence, surrendered at discretion on the 25th.

When the fort was delivered up, a circumstance occurred which reflects far more honour upon Englishmen than the triumph of their arms. Johnson's Indians had secretly determined to seize their opportunity of

vengeance, and to massacre the gallant band of Frenchmen as soon as they gained admission within the works. Happily, Amherst was made aware of this atrocious scheme. He immediately gave orders to Sir William to dissuade the savages, if possible, from their intention; at the same time he promised them all the stores which might be found in the fort, and warned them that if they persisted he would restrain them by force. The Indians sullenly submitted, and returned to their camp, but they bitterly resented the interference, and Johnson informed the general that they would probably quit the army in anger. Amherst answered, 'Although I wish to retain their friendship, I will not purchase it at the expense of countenancing barbarity, and tell them that if they commit any acts of cruelty on their return home from the army, I will assuredly chastise them.' Amherst lost his Indians, but he preserved his honour. Nearly all abandoned him: they did not, however, dare to perpetrate any violence on their way home.

The British levelled the works at Fort Levi, and continued their route down the stream with little difficulty, till they reached the dangerous passage of the Cedars. About noon on the 4th of September, the van of the army entered the rapids. Here the vast flood of the St. Lawrence dashes swiftly through a comparatively narrow channel; broken rocks, eddies, and surging waves render the appearance of this navigation terrible to the unaccustomed eye, but under the guidance of experienced pilots light boats constantly pass with little or no danger. Amherst expected that the enemy would have opposed him at this critical point; he therefore did not deem it prudent to permit the boats to descend in the successive order which would have best suited the navigation; but, himself leading the way, he ordered on a number of boats filled with artillery, grenadiers, and light infantry, at the same time. Scarcely had they entered the boisterous waters when the boats became crowded together; some were stove in against each other, and many were dashed to pieces upon the rocks; no less than eighty-eight men, and sixty-four boats, with some artillery and stores, were lost by this lamentable disaster.

On the 6th of September, the British army landed on the Island of Montreal, nine miles from the town; the French retired before them within the walls, and the same evening the place was invested in form.

In pursuance of the plan of the campaign, Murray had sailed from Quebec on the 14th of June, to co-operate with the expeditions under Amherst and Haviland. His army consisted of 2450 men of all ranks, the veterans who had conquered under Wolfe. His voyage up the river, was an almost continuous skirmish; whenever the vessels approached the shore they were assailed with musketry, and by cannon at all suitable points; however, he met with no resistance of a nature materially to delay his progress. On the 8th of August the fleet passed Three Rivers, and on the 12th, anchored opposite to Sorel, where M. de Bourlemaque was posted with about 4000 men. Here Murray judged it prudent to await Lord Rollo with the regiment from Louisburg, and being joined by this reinforcement, he again sailed upwards on the 27th. On the 7th of September the troops were disembarked upon the Island of Montreal, and on the following day they encamped to the north-east of the city. M. de Bourlemaque had retired before them within the walls.

Colonel Haviland embarked upon Lake Champlain on the 11th of

August; on the 16th he encamped opposite the French port at Isle aux Noix, and by the 24th opened a fire of mortars upon it. On the night of the 27th, M. de Bougainville, the commandant, retired from the fort, leaving a garrison of only thirty men, who surrendered the next morning. Without any further interruption, Haviland also arrived upon the Island of Montreal by the 8th of September. A British force of 16,000 men was then assembled under the walls of the defenceless city. On the same day the Marquis de Vaudreuil signed the capitulation which severed Canada from France for ever.

All Canada was included in this capitulation, from the fishing stations on the coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the unknown wilderness of the west. The Regular troops were permitted to march out from their several posts with the honours of war, and were then conveyed to France in British ships, under an engagement that they were not again to serve before the conclusion of the first peace. The Provincial militia were allowed to return unmolested to their homes. The free exercise of religion was granted, and private property was held sacred. All the civil officers were also conveyed to France with their families, baggage, and papers, except such of the latter as might be deemed useful to the conquerors for the future government of the country. The French colonists were guaranteed the same civil and commercial privileges as British subjects, and were to be allowed to retain their slaves. The Indians who had supported the cause of France were to be unmolested in person, and the possession of their lands was secured to them.

The total effective force of the French included in the capitulation was eight battalions of the line, and two of the colony or marine, being 4011 regular troops; sixty-four companies of the Quebec Militia, 7976; nineteen of Three Rivers, 1115, and eighty-seven of Montreal, 7331; altogether 20,433 men. The French had destroyed all their colours, but the English regained possession of two of their own which had been taken from Shirley's and Pepperel's Provincial Regiments at the capture of Oswego.

Although the campaign of 1760 was unmarked by many events of stirring interest, its conduct was most creditable to the officers and men of the British army. Amherst's plans were as ably executed as they were judiciously conceived. By descending the St. Lawrence from Ontario he rendered it impossible for the French to retire westward from Montreal, and to prolong the war on the shores of the Great Lakes. His combinations were arranged with admirable accuracy, and carried out by his lieutenants with almost unparalleled success. With scarcely any loss, three considerable bodies of troops had accomplished journeys of uncommon difficulty, by routes of dangerous and almost unknown navigation, in the face of a vigilant and still formidable enemy, and all three had arrived at the place of meeting within forty-eight hours of each other.

While we dwell with pleasure upon the achievements of this British army and of their generals, we may not forget the merits of the gallant men against whom they fought. With a noble patriotism that no neglect could damp, Montcalm and his veterans strove for the honour of their country. From first to last they persevered almost against hope; destitute, and well nigh deserted by France, they never for a moment wavered in their loyalty; all that skill could accomplish, they accom-

plished; all that devotion could endure, they endured; and all that chivalry could dare, they dared. In these later times when the intoxication of triumph, and the sting of defeat have long since passed away, the soldiers of France and England may alike look back with honest pride to the brave deeds of their ancestors in the Canadian war.

One of the most momentous political questions that has ever yet moved the human race was decided in this struggle. When a few English and French emigrants first landed among the Virginian and Canadian forests it began; when the British flag was hoisted on the citadel of Quebec it was decided. From that day the hand of Providence pointed out to the Anglo-Saxon race that to them was henceforth intrusted the destiny of the New World.

THE END.

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