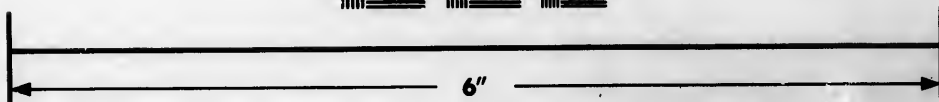
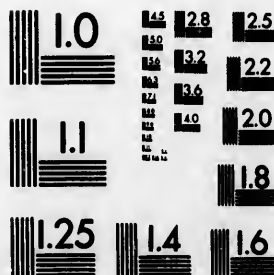


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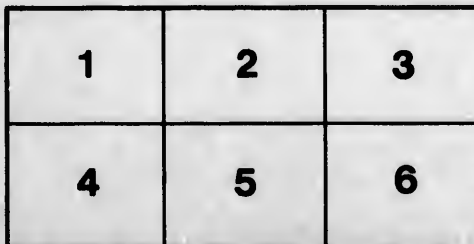
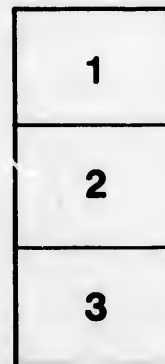
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THE
CONTENTS
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*PRELIMINARY Discourse on the Origin of the
Americans.*

LETTER I.

Historical Journal of Travels in North-America. Page 1

LETTER II.

*A Voyage from Rochelle to Quebec. Some Remarks upon
the Voyage, the Great Bank of Newfoundland, and
the River St. Laurence. 5*

LETTER III.

*A Description of Quebec, Character of the Inhabitants,
and the Manner of Living in the French Colony. 27*

LETTER IV.

*Of the Huron Village: What has hindered the Progress
of the French Colony of Canada: Of the Money cur-
rent there.*

Vol. I.

A

39
LEY.

C O N T E N T S.

L E T T E R V.

Of the Beavers of Canada, how they differ from the Beavers of Europe : Of their Manner of Building : The Manner of Hunting the Beavers : Of the Advantage to be made of them. Of the Musk Rat. 53

L E T T E R VI.

A Journey from Quebec to Trois Rivieres (the Three Rivers :) How they go Post upon the Snow. Of the Lordships or Manors of New France. A Description of Beckancourt. The Tradition in regard to the Name of the River Puante (the Stinking River.) A Description of Trois Rivieres. A Continuation of the several Huntings of the Savages. 67

L E T T E R VII.

Description of the Country, and the Islands of Richlieu and St. François. Of the Abenaki Village. Of the Antient Fort of Richlieu, and of those that have been built in each Parish. A brave Action of two Canadian Ladies. 81

L E T T E R VIII.

A Description of the Country between Lake St. Pierre, and Montreal: In what it differs from Quebec. A Description of the Island and Town of Montreal, and its Environs. Of the Fishery for Seals, the Sea Cow, Porpoise, and Whale. 99

L E T T E R IX.

Of the Port of Chambly: Of the Fish; of the Birds: And of some Animals, peculiar to Canada. Of the Trees which are the same with those of France; and of those which are peculiar to this Country. 115

L E T-

C O N T E N T S.

L E T T E R X.

Of the Causes of the Cold of Canada. Of the Resources they have for Subsistence. Of the Character of the French Canadians. 131

L E T T E R XI.

Of the Iroquois Village. Of the Fall of St. Louis; and of the different People who inhabit Canada. 143

L E T T E R XII.

Voyage to Catarocoui. A Description of the Country, and of the Falls of the River St. Laurence. Description and Situation of the Port Catarocoui. Of the Languages of Canada, and of the People who speak them. The Occasion of the War between the Iroquois and the Algonquins. 157

L E T T E R XIII.

A Description of the Country up to the River of the Onnontagues: Of the Flux and Reflux in the great Lakes of Canada. The Manner how the Savages sing their War-Song. Of the God of War amongst these People. Of the Declaration of War. Of the Necklaces of Shells: Of the Calumet, and of their Customs of Peace and War. 173

L E T T E R XIV.

A Description of the Country from Famine Bay, to the River of Sables. Motives of the Wars of the Savages. Departure of the Warriors, and what precedes their Departure. Their Farewell. Their Arms Offensive and Defensive. The Care they take to carry with them their Tutelar Deities. Particulars of the Country up to Niagara. 185

L E T

C O N T E N T S.

L E T T E R X V.

What passed between the Tsonnonthouans and the English, on the Occasion of our Settlement at Niagara. The Fire-Dance: A Story on this Occasion. A Description of the Fall of Niagara. 199

L E T T E R X V I.

The first Reception of the Prisoners. The Triumph of the Warriors. The Distribution of the Captives: How they decide their Fate, and what follows after. With what Inhumanity they treat those who are condemned to die: The Courage they shew. The Negotiations of the Savages. 217

C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

S E C N N D V O L U M E.

L E T T E R X V I I.

Description of Lake Erie. Voyage to Detroit (the Strait:) A Project of a Settlement in this Place: How it failed. The Commandant of the Fort de Pontchartrain holds a Council, and on what Occasion. The Games of the Savages. 1

L E T T E R X V I I I.

Various Remarks on the Character, Customs, and Government of the Savages. 15

L E T T E R X I X.

Voyage from Detroit (the Strait) to Michillimakinac. Description of the Country. Of the Marriages of the Savages. 29

L E T

C O N T E N T S.

L E T T E R XX.

Voyage to the Bay. Description of the Route, and of the Bay. Irruption of the Spaniards against the Misouris, and their Defeat. The Dances of the Savages. 45

L E T T E R XXI.

Departure from Michillimakinac. Remarks on the Currents of the Lake. Portrait of the Savages of Canada. Their good and bad Qualities. 59

L E T T E R XXII.

Journey to the River St. Joseph. Remark on the Rivers which run into Lake Michigan from the East. Of Father Marquette's River, and the Origin of its Name. Two Games of the Savages. Some Remarks on the Character of these People. 71

L E T T E R XXIII.

Sequel of the Character of the Savages, and their Way of living. 85

L E T T E R XXIV.

Of the Traditions, and of the Religion of the Savages of Canada. 107

L E T T E R XXV.

Sequel of the Traditions of the Savages. 127

L E T

English,
The
Description
199

of the
with they
With
ned to
of the
217

S

Strait :)
failed.
holds a
the Sa-
I

Govern-
15

c. De-
the Sa-
29
L E T

C O N T E N T S.

L E T T E R XXVI.

Departure from the Fort of the River St. Joseph. The Sources of the Theakiki. What passes at the Death of the Savages: Of their Funerals; of their Tombs; of their Mourning; of Widowhood; of the Festival of the Dead. 139

L E T T E R XXVII.

Journey to Pimiteouy. Of the River of the Illinois. Reception of the Prisoners among these People. Their Manner of burning them. Some Things peculiar in their Way of living. 149

L E T T E R XXVIII.

Journey from Pimiteouy to the Kaskaskias. Of the Course of the River of the Illinois. Of the Copper-Mines. Of the Missouri. Of the Mines of the River Marameg. Description of Fort de Chartres, and of the Mission of the Kaskaskias. Of the Fruit-Trees of Louisiana. Description of the Mississippi above the Illinois. Different Tribes of that Nation. Some Traditions of the Savages. Their Notions of the Stars and Planets, Eclipses, and Thunder: Their Manner of computing Time. 161

L E T T E R XXIX.

Of the Colony of the Illinois. Journey to the Akanfas. Description of the Country. 175

L E T-

C O N T E N T S.

L E T T E R XXX.

Journey from the Akansas to the Natchez. Description of the Country: Of the River of the Yalous: Of the Manners, Customs, and Religion of the Natchez. 187

L E T T E R XXXI.

Journey from the Natchez to New Orleans. Description of the Country, and of the several Villages of the Savages, and of the Capital of Louisiana. 207

L E T T E R XXXII.

Journey from New Orleans to the Mouth of the Mississippi: Description of this River quite to the Sea. Reflexions on the Grants. 219

L E T T E R XXXIII.

Description of Biloxi: Of the Cassine, or Apachine: Of the Myrtle Wax: Of Maubile: Of the Tobacco: Of the Bay of St. Bernard. Voyage from Biloxi to New Orleans by the Lake of Pontchartrain. 229

L E T T E R XXXIV.

Voyage to the Channel of Bahama. Shipwreck of the Adour: Return to Louisiana along the Coast of Florida: Description of that Coast. 239

L E T T E R XXXV.

Voyage from Biloxi to Cape François in Saint Domingo. 267

L E T T E R XXXVI.

Description of Cape François in St. Domingo. Return to France, landing in England. 281

A P P E N -

The
ath of
s of
of the
139

. Re-
Their
ar in
149

f the
pper-
River
of the
Lou-
inois.
ns of
anets,
uting
161

De-
175
E T -

A P P E N D I X.

S E C T. I.

Climate of the West-Indies. 289

S E C T. II.

Spanish Settlements. Islands of Cuba, Hispaniola and Porto Rico. 292

S E C T. III.

The French Settlements. Hispaniola. 293

S E C T. IV.

Martinico, Guadeloupe, and other French Islands. 299

S E C T. V.

Dutch and Danish Settlements. 300

S E C T. VI.

British Settlements. Jamaica. 304

S E C T. VII.

Barbadoes. 315

S E C T. VIII.

St. Christopher's. Antigua, Nevis, Montserrat; their present condition and force. 319

S E C T. IX.

Of Granada, the Granadilloes, St. Vincent, Dominica and Tobago. 321

S E C T. X.

The Trade of Mexico. Some account of that city. The affairs of Apaculco, and La Vera Cruz. The flota, register ships and Galleons. 322

S E C T. XI.

Of the nature of Sugar, and the manner of manufacturing it; Planters in the West-Indies; their way of life and management of their Affairs. The Negroes. 329

S E C T. XII.

Observations on the settlement of the West-Indies. Advantages there for tempers prejudicial at home. Bad tempers not always noxious in every sense. 333

K.

289

aniola *and*
292

293

ands. 299

300

304

315

rrat; *their*
319

Dominica
321

city. *The*
the flota, re-
322

manufacturing
of life and
329

ndies. *Ad*
ome. Bad
333

Preliminary Discourse

ON THE

O R I G I N

OF THE

AMERICANS.

AFTER reading almost every Thing that has been writ on the Manner in which *America* might have been peopled, we seem to be just where we were before this great and interesting Question began to be agitated; notwithstanding, it would require a moderate Volume to relate only the various Opinions of the learned on this Subject. For most Part of them have given so much into the marvellous, almost all of them have built their Conjectures on Foundations so ruinous, or have had recourse to certain Resemblances of Names, Manners, Customs, Religion and Languages, so very frivolous, which it would, in my Opinion, be as useless to refute, as it is impossible to reconcile with each other.

It is not, perhaps, to be wondered at, that those who have first treated this matter should wander in a Way which had not as yet been marked out, and in which they must travel without a Guide. But what I am surpris'd at is, that those who have gone deepest into this Affair, and

VOL. I.

B

who

who have had the Advantage of Helps beyond all those who have gone before them, should have been guilty of still greater Mistakes, which at the same Time they might easily have avoided, had they kept to a small Number of certain Principles, which some have established with sufficient Judgment. The simple and natural Consequences they ought to have drawn from them, would have been, in my Opinion, sufficient to satisfy and determine the Curiosity of the Publick, which this unseasonable and erroneous Display of Erudition throws back into its original Uncertainty. This is what I flatter myself I shall be able to make appear, by that small Portion of these Conjectures which I am now going to relate.

Those of our Hemisphere were, no Doubt, much surprized, when they were told of the Discovery of a new World in the other, where they imagined nothing was to be seen, but an immense and dangerous Ocean. Notwithstanding, scarce had *Christopber Columbus* found out some Islands, and among others that of *Hispaniola*, in which he discovered Gold Mines, but he was presently of Opinion, sometimes that this was the *Ophir* of *Solomon*, and at others the *Zipangri*, or the *Cipango* of *Mark Pol* the *Venetian*. *Vatablus* and *Robert Stephens* were likewise persuaded, that it was to *America* that *Solomon* sent Fleets in quest of Gold, and *Columbus* thought he saw the Remains of his Furnaces in the Mines of *Cibas*, by much the finest and richest of the Island of *Hispaniola*, and perhaps of all the new World.

Arius Montanus not only places *Ophir* and *Parvaim* in the new World, but likewise makes *Joctan*, the Son of *Heber*, the founder of *Juctan*, a chimerical City in *Peru*; and also pretends, that the Empire of *Peru* and that of *Mexico*, which he will have to be the same with *Ophir*, were founded by a Son of *Joctan* of that name. He adds, that another Son of the same Patriarch, called in the Scripture *Jobab*, was the Father of the Nations on the Coast of *Paria*, and that the Eastern Mountain *Sepbar*, to which *Moses* says the Children of *Joctan* penetrated after departing from *Messa*, is the famous Chain of the *Ardes*, extending from North to South quite through *Peru* and *Cbili*.

Cbili. The Authority of this learned Interpreter of the Scriptures has drawn *Postel*, *Becan*, *Possevin*, *Genebrard*, and many others, into the same Opinion. Lastly, the *Spaniards* have asserted, that in the Time when the *Moors* invaded their Country, Part of the Inhabitants took Refuge in *America*. They even pretended in the fifteenth Century, that they discovered certain Provinces of their Empire, which the Misfortunes of those Times had robbed them of, and to which, if you believe them, they had an incontestable Right. *Oviedo*, one of their most celebrated Authors, was not afraid to affirm, that the *Antilles* are the famous *Hesperides*, so much vaunted of by the Poets; and that God, by causing them to fall under the Dominion of the Kings of *Spain*, has only restored what belonged to them three thousand one hundred and fifty Years ago in the Time of King *Hesperus*, from whom they had this name; and that *St. James* and *St. Paul* preached the Gospel there, which he supports by the Authority of *St. Gregory* in his *Morals*. If we add to this what *Plato* has advanced, that beyond his own Island of *Atalantis*, there were a great Number of Islands, and behind them a vast Continent, and behind this Continent the true Ocean, we shall find that the new World was very far from being new to the Ancients. What then must become of the Opinion of *Paracelsus*, who maintains, that each Hemisphere had its own *Adam*?

Postel, whom I have already cited, and who has made himself famous by his adventurous Conjectures, believed that all *North America* was peopled by the *Atlantides*, Inhabitants of *Mauritania*; and he is the first who has made such a Difference between the two *Americas*, by Means of the Isthmus of *Panama*; that according to him, and those who have adopted his Opinions, the Inhabitants of those two Continents have nothing common in their Original. But in this Case, I should rather be for placing with *Budbecks* the *Atalantis* in the North, as well as the Pillars of *Hercules*, and maintaining, that *North America* has been peopled from *Scandinavia*, than by sending thither the *Moors* from the Coast of *Africa*. On the other Hand, *Gomara* and *John de Lery* make the *Americans* come from the *Canaanites*, driven out of the pro-

mised Land by *Josua*: Some, on the contrary, make those *Israelites*, whom *Salmanazus* led captive into *Media*, pass into *America* by the North of *Asia*. But *Thevet*, who believed, like them, that the *Israelites* peopled the new World, concludes, that they must have spread themselves over the whole World, from the Circumstance of the finding a Tomb with *Hebrew* Characters on it in one of the *Azores* or Western Islands. This Author was misinformed as to the Fact: It was not a Tomb that was discovered in *Corvo*, the most northerly of those Islands, but an equestrian Statue, erected upon a Pedestal, on which were certain Characters, which could not be deciphered.

Augustine Torniel is of Opinion, that the Descendants of *Shem* and *Japhet* have passed to *America*, and from thence to the Countries lying to the Southward of the Streights of *Magellan*, by the Way of *Japan*, and the Continent, to the Northward of the *Archipel*, or Cluster of Islands. A *Sicilian*, whose Name is *Marinocus*, makes no Doubt of the *Romans* having sent a Colony into this Country, for which he has no other Reason than a Report current in his Time, that a Medal of *Augustus* was found in one of the Mines of *Peru*; as if it had not been more natural to suppose, that some *Spaniard* had accidentally dropt this Medal, when visiting these Mines. *Paulus Jovius* has dreamt that the *Mexicans* have been among the *Gauls*, which ridiculous Opinion he founds upon the human Sacrifices which those two Nations offered to their false Divinities. But if this pretended Resemblance proves any Thing, it would much rather prove that the *Gauls* had been in *Mexico*, a People whom we know to have been always of a wandering Disposition, and to have peopled many Provinces by the Colonies they sent out.

The *Friezelanders* have likewise had their Partisans with Respect to the Origin of the *Americans*. *Juffridius Petri* and *Hamconius* assert, that the Inhabitants of *Peru* and *Cbili* came from *Friezeland*. *James Charron* and *William Postel* do the same Honour to the *Gauls*. *Abraham Milius* to the antient *Celtæ*, *Father Kirker* to the *Egyptians*,
and

and *Robert Le Compte* to the *Phenicians*; every one of them at the same Time excluding all the Rest. I pass by a great many other Opinions, still less tenable than the foregoing, equally founded on simple Conjecture, and void of all Probability, to come to those who have made the deepest Researches into this Affair.

The first is *Father Gregorio Garcia*, a *Spanish Dominican*, who having been a long Time employed in the Missions of *Peru* and *Mexico*, published at *Valencia* in the Year 1607, a Treatise in *Spanish*, on the *Origin of the Indians of the New World*, where he both collects and examines a great Number of different Opinions on this Subject. He proposes every Opinion, as if it were some Thesis or Question in Philosophy: Names its Authors and Advocates, sets down the Arguments, and lastly, answers the Objections, but gives no Decision. To these he has added the Traditions of the *Peruvians*, *Mexicans*, and Islanders of *Haiti*, or *Hispaniola*, all which he was informed of, when on the Spot. In the Sequel he gives his own Opinion, which is, that several different Nations have contributed to the peopling of *America*: And here I think he might have stopt. This Opinion is somewhat more than probable, and it appears to me, that he ought to have been contented with supporting it, as he does, with some Arguments drawn from that Variety of Characters, Customs, Languages and Religions, observable in the different Countries of the new World. But he admits such a Number of these, which the Authors of other Opinions had before made use of, that instead of strengthening, he really weakens his own. In the Year 1729, *Don Andre Gonzalez de Garcia* reprinted the Work of this Father at *Madrid*, with considerable Augmentations, but though he has made many learned Additions to it, he has contributed nothing to the farther Satisfaction of his Readers.

The second is *Father Joseph de Acosta*, a *Spanish Jesuit*, who had likewise spent a great Part of his Lifetime in *America*, and has left behind him two very valuable Works; one in the *Castilian* Language, intitled, *The natural and moral History of the Indies*; the other in *Latin*,

Latin, the Title of which is, *De promulgando Evangelio apud Barbaros, sive de procuranda Indorum Salute.* This Author in the first Book of his History, after taking Notice of the Opinion of *Parmenides*, *Aristotle*, and *Pliny*, who believed there were no Inhabitants between the Tropicks, and that there never had been any Navigation farther to the Westward of *Africa* than the *Canary* Islands, gives it as his Opinion, that the pretended Prophecy of *Medea* in *Seneca*, could be no more than a bare Conjecture of that Poet, who, seeing that the Art of Navigation was beginning to receive considerable Improvements, and not being able to persuade himself that there was no Land beyond the Western Ocean, imagined that in a short Time some Discoveries would be made on that Side of the Globe. At the same Time, this *Spanisb* Historian looks upon the Passage I have already cited from the *Timæus* of *Plato*, as a mere Fiction, in which, in order to save his Reputation, the Disciples of that Philosopher, zealous for his Glory, strained their Imagination to find out some ingenious Allegory.

In his sixteenth Chapter, Father *Acosta* begins to examine by what Means the first Inhabitants of *America* might have found a Passage to that immense Continent, and at the first View he rejects the direct and premeditated Way of the Sea, because no ancient Author has made mention of the Compass: However, he sees no Improbability in saying, that some Vessels might have been thrown upon the Coast of *America* by Strefs of Weather, and on this Occasion he mentions *, as a certain Fact, the Story of a Pilot, driven by a Tempest on the *Brazils*, who, at his Death, left his Memoirs to *Christopher Columbus*. Afterwards, he takes Notice of what *Pliny* relates concerning some *Indians*, who being driven by bad Weather on the Coast of *Germany*, were given in a Present to *Quintus Metellus Celer*, by the King of the *Suevi*. In the same Manner, he finds nothing improbable in the Report which goes under *Aristotle's* Name, viz. that a *Cartbaginian* Vessel having been driven very far to the Westward by a strong Easterly Wind,

* Chap. .x.

Wind, the People on board discovered Lands, which had, till that Time, been unknown; and from those Facts he concludes, that according to all Appearance, *America* has, by such like Means, received one Part of its Inhabitants; but adds, that we must of Necessity have recourse to some other Way to people that Quarter of the World, were it only to account for the Transportation of certain Animals found in those Parts, which we cannot reasonably suppose to have been embarked on board of Ships, or to have made so long a Passage by swimming.

The Way by which this has been done, continues Father *Acosta*, could only be by the North of *Asia* or *Europe*, or by the Regions lying to the Southward of the Straits of *Magellan*; and, were only one of these three Passages practicable, we may sufficiently comprehend how *America* has been peopled by Degrees, without having recourse to Navigation, of which there are no Traces in the Traditions of the *Americans*. In order to strengthen this Argument, he observes, that those Islands, such as *Bermudas*, which were too remote from the Continent to suppose that such small Vessels as were used in that Part of the World could find their Way thither, were upon their first discovery uninhabited; that the *Peruvians* testified an extreme Surprize at the first Sight of Ships on their Coasts; and that those Animals, such as Tygers and Lions, which might probably have got thither by Land, or at most by traversing small Arms of the Sea, were altogether unknown even in the best peopled Islands of that Hemisphere.

In Chapter twenty-second, he returns to the *Atalantis* of *Plato*, and refutes, with a great deal of Gravity, the Notion of some who believed the Reality of this Chimera, and who fancied, that there was but a very short Passage from this imaginary Island to *America*. In the following Chapter, he rejects the Opinion of those who have advanced on the Authority of the fourth Book of *Esdras*, that this vast Country was peopled by the *Hebrews*. To these he Objects, First, that the *Hebrews* were acquainted with the Use of Characters, which no Nation of *America* ever was. Secondly, that these lat-

ter held Silver in no Manner of Estimation, whereas the former have always sought after it with extreme Avidity. Thirdly, that the Descendants of *Abraham* have constantly observed the Law of Circumcision, which is practised in no Part of *America*. Fourthly, that they have always preserved with the greatest Care their Language, Tradition, Laws and Ceremonies; that they have always, without ceasing, looked for the coming of the *Messiah*; that ever since their Dispersion over all the Earth, they have never in the least relaxed from all those Particulars; and that there is no Reason to believe they should have renounced them in *America*, where not the smallest Vestige of them remains.

In the twenty-fourth Chapter, he observes, that in a Discussion of this Nature, it is much easier to refute the System of others than to establish any new one, and that the Want of Writing and certain Traditions, have rendered the Discovery of the Origin of the *Americans* extremely difficult, so that nothing could be determined in it without being guilty of great Temerity; and that all that can be allowed to the Uncertainty of Conjecture is, that this great Continent has been peopled by Degrees in the Way we have just now mentioned; that he cannot believe these Transmigrations to be very antient, and that, according to all human Appearance, the first who attempted this Passage were Hunters; or wandering Nations, rather than a civilized People; but even granting the first Inhabitants of the new World to have been such, there would be but little Cause to wonder, that their Descendants should degenerate and vary from the Religion and Manners of their Ancestors: that the Want of several Things was enough to make them forget the Use of them, and that for Want of certain Helps for transmitting their Traditions from Age to Age, they should come by Degrees altogether to forget them, or at least to disfigure them in such a Manner as to render it impossible to distinguish them: That the Example of several Nations of *Spain* and *Italy*, who seem to have had nothing belonging to the human Species besides the Figure, gives all these Reasons a great Air of Probability: That the Deluge, of which the *Americans* have preserved the Remembrance, does not appear

appear to him to be that spoken of in Scripture, but some particular Inundation, whereof some Persons of great Ability pretend there still remain certain Marks in *America*: Lastly, that it cannot be proved, that the most antient Monuments in *America* are older than the thirteenth or fourteenth Century, and that all beyond this is nothing but a confused Heap of Fables and Tales, and those so very childish as to render it impossible to form one reasonable Conjecture from them.

The third Author *John de Laet*, whose Opinion I ought to relate, acknowledges that there is a great deal of good Sense and solid reasoning in that of Father *de Acofta*. What he does not approve of is what follows. First, he pretends that the Jesuit is in the wrong to suppose that long Passages by Sea cannot be made, without the Help of the Needle, since we may Navigate by the Help of the Stars only; and, that he even seems to contradict himself, by asserting that the Compass is a late Invention, after telling us, that the Use of it was very antient on the Coast of *Mozambique* in the fifteenth Century; that he Advances without Proof that the *Oriental*s were unacquainted with it, till it had been found out by the People of the *West*; lastly, that it was very evident either that we could do without it, or that it must have been known in the earliest Times, since several Islands, even of our Hemisphere, and those at a considerable Distance from the Continent, were peopled very soon after the Deluge.

Secondly, that he relates as a Thing certain, the Story of the Pilot, from whose Memoirs it is pretended *Christopher Columbus* learned the Route of the *New World*, as also that of the *Indians* sent to *Metellus Celer* by the King of the *Suevi*; that we know that the *Spaniards* spread abroad the first Report merely out of Jealousy of that Great Man to whom they owed the Obligation of having put them in Possession of so many rich Countries, and whose only Misfortune it was not to have been born in *Spain*; and that the Occasion of their publishing the second was only to rob the *Portuguese* of the Glory of having first opened a Way to the *Indies* by sailing round *Africa*; that he is deceived if he thinks it possible

possible to make the Passage from *Terra Australis* to the Streights of *Magellan*, without crossing the Sea, the Discovery of the Streights of *Le Maire* having shewn its utter impracticability. The Error of Father *de Acosta*, if it is one, was, however, excusable, as at the Time when he wrote *Le Maire* had not as yet discovered the Streights which bear his Name.

Thirdly, That he makes the peopling of *America* too late; and that it is contrary to all probability, that this vast Continent, and some of the Islands which surround it, should have so great a Number of Inhabitants at the End of fifteenth Century, had they only begun to be inhabited two hundred Years since. *John de Laet* pretends, that there is no Reason to think, that the Deluge, the tradition of which is still preserved amongst the *Americans*, is not the universal Deluge which *Moses* mentions in the Book of *Genesis*.

Besides the *Spanish* Jesuit, three other Writers, a *Frenchman*, an *Englishman*, and a *Dutchman*, who have handled the same Topick, have passed under the Examination of this learned *Fleming*. These are *Lescarbot*, *Brerewood*, and the famous *Grotius*. He probably knew nothing of the Work of Father *Garcia*, whereof I have already spoken, no more than of that of *John de Solorzano Pereyra*, a *Spanish* Lawyer, entitled, *De Jure Indiarum*; whereof the first Volume, in which the Author relates all the Opinions of the learned on the Origin of the *Americans*, was printed in 1629.

Be this as it will, *Mark Lescarbot*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, was a Man of Sense and Learning, but a little addicted to the marvellous. I have spoken of him in several Places of my History. In relating the different Opinions on the present Question, which were in Vogue in his Time, he rejects as frivolous, the Applications made of certain Prophecies on this Subject, and especially that of *Abdias*, which had been applied to the Conversion of the *West-Indies* by the Ministry of the *French* and *Spaniards*, the only Nations who have truly undertaken this great Work; for the *Portuguese*, to whom

whom the *Brazils* owe their Conversion, may be comprehended under the Name of *Spaniards*, and the Missionaries of the other Nations of *Europe*, who have had a Share in the Publication of the Gospel in the New World, went thither under the Banner of the Crowns of *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*. In fact, *Abdias* could possibly have had the *Idumeans* only in View, and there is not a single Word in his Prophecy that can be applied to *America* with any degree of Probability.

Lescarbot leans somewhat more towards the Sentiment of those who have transported into the New World the *Canaanites*, who were driven out of the promised Land by *Joshua*. He thinks there is at least some probability in this Notion, because these Nations, as well as the *Americans*, were accustomed to make their Children pass through the Fire, and to Feed upon human Flesh, while they invoked their Idols. He approves what Father *Acosta* says of the Accidents which might have caused certain Ships to Land in *America*, and also with respect to the Passage by the North of *Asia* and *Europe*. He believes that all the Parts of the Continent are contiguous, or at least, that if there be any Streight to pass, like that of *Magellan*, which he supposes separates two Continents from each other, the Animals which are to be found in the New World might have made their Passage good notwithstanding, since *Jacques Cartier* saw a Bear as large as a Cow, swim over an Arm of the Sea fourteen Leagues in Breadth. Lastly, he proposes his own Opinion, which he seems to give only by way of simple Conjecture.

Is it, says he, to be believed, that *Noah*, who lived three hundred and fifty Years after the Deluge, should be ignorant that a great Part of the World lay beyond the Western Ocean; and if he did know it, could be destitute of Means to People it? Was it more difficult to pass from the *Canaries* to the *Azores*, and from thence to *Canada*, or from the *Cape Verd* Islands to *Brazil*, than from the Continent of *Asia* to *Japan*, or to other Islands still more remote? On this Occasion he relates, all that the Antients, and especially *Ælian* and *Plato*, have said

of

of those Vestiges, which according to him still remained in their Time, with respect to the Knowledge of *America*. He sees nothing to hinder us from saying, that the *Hesperides* of the Ancients were the same with the Islands of the *Antilles*; and he explains the Fable of the Dragon, which according to the Poets guarded the golden Apples, to be the different Streights winding in a Serpent-like Manner round those Islands, and which the frequency of the Shipwrecks might have caused to be looked upon as unnavigable. To this he adds many geographical Observations, which are far from being altogether exact, and which *John de Laet* very well retutes.

The same Critick justly remarks, that if the *Canaanites* sacrificed their Children to their Idols, we, however, read in no Place of the Scripture of their being *Anthropophagi*. He acknowledges the possibility and probability of the Passage of Men and Animals into *America* by the North; and confesses, that it is easy to conceive that Men thus transplanted into a desert and remote Country should there become savage and barbarous; but he looks upon it as a real and most ridiculous Paradox to suppose that *Noah* ever entertained any thoughts of peopling that immense Continent. The Ill-humour he is in, and which is no doubt excited by some of *Lescaubst's* Arguments, which to tell Truth, are far from being without Alloy, hinders him from seeing what is solid and sensible in this Conjecture. But this Proceeding is common enough to the learned; as if Truth and Probability ceased to be such from the mixture of real Proofs amongst those others by which they may happen to be supported.

Edward Brerewood, a learned *Englishman*, after having refuted the ill-grounded Opinion, which makes all the *Tartars* descend from the *Israelites*, and after shewing that the ignorance of the true Etymology of the Name of *Tartar*, which comes neither from the *Hebrew* nor the *Syriack*, but from the River *Tartar*, will have the New World to have been entirely peopled from this numerous Nation; his Proofs are these following. First,
America

America has always been better peopled on the Side towards *Asia*, than on that towards *Europe*. Secondly, the genius of the *Americans* has a very great conformity with that of the *Tartars*, who never applied themselves to any Art; which is, however, not universally true. Thirdly, the Colour of both is pretty much alike; it is certain, the difference is not considerable, and is, perhaps, the Effect of the Climate; and of those Mixtures with which the *Americans* Rub themselves. Fourthly, the wild Beasts that are seen in *America*, and which cannot reasonably be supposed to have been transported thither by Sea, could only have come by the Way of *Tartary*. Lastly, he answers an Objection made to him with respect to the Circumcision of the *Tartars*, and maintains, that this Rite was never in Use with that Nation, till after they had embraced the *Mabometan* Religion.

De Laet is contented with barely narrating the Opinion of this learned *Englishman*, which consists in rejecting the Notion of those who make the *Tartars* descendants of the *Israelites*, who were transported by *Salmanazar*; and in making the *Tartars* Ancestors to all the *Americans*. We shall see what he himself thinks, when we come to relate his own Opinions on this Article. But it is necessary in the first Place, to examine what passed between him and the famous *Grotius* upon this subject. The Dispute was very hot on both Sides, and as is usual in such Cases, only embroiled the Question.

In the Year 1642, *Grotius* published a small Treatise in *Quarto*, intituled, *De Origine Gentium Americanarum*, which he begins, with supposing that the Isthmus of *Panama* had been looked upon, before the Discovery of the New World by the *Spaniards*, as an impenetrable Barrier between the two Continents of *America*: Whence he concludes, that the Inhabitants of both could have nothing common in their Original. *Milius*, whom he does not cite, had advanced this Paradox before him. Now, if we may credit the learned *Dutchman*, excepting *Yucatan*, and some other neighbouring Provinces, whereof he makes a Class apart, the whole of *North America* has been peopled by the *Norwegians*, who passed thither

thither by Way of *Iceland*, *Greenland*, *Estotiland* and *Narembeqa*. He, notwithstanding, confesses, that they were followed some Ages after by the *Danes*, *Swedes*, and other *German Nations*.

He draws the greatest Part of his Proofs from the Conformity of their Manners, and the Resemblance of Names. But we must acknowledge, that nothing can be farther fetched than these pretended Resemblances, of which he seems, notwithstanding, fully persuaded, though very few will be convinced besides himself. What obliges him to place *Yucatan* apart by itself, is the Custom of Circumcision, of which he has taken it into his Head to believe, he has found some Traces in this Province, and a pretended ancient Tradition amongst the Inhabitants, which said, that their Ancestors had escaped being swallowed up by the Waves of the Sea; and this according to him is what gave rise to the Opinion of some that they were descended from the *Hebrews*. Notwithstanding he refutes this Opinion, with much the same Arguments which *Brerewood* made use of, and believes with *Don Peter Martyr d'Anglerie*, that the first who peopled *Yucatan* were some *Ethiopians* cast away on this Coast by a Tempest, or by some other Accident. He is even of Opinion, that these *Ethiopians* were *Christians*, a Conjecture which he infers from a kind of Baptism in Use in the Country. He could not help allowing that the Language of the Northern *Americans* is quite different from either the *Ethiopian* or *Norwegian*, but this Difficulty does not stop his Career; he searches in the best Manner he can for a Solution to it, in the mixture of different Nations, who, in process of Time, established themselves in this Part of the New World, and in their wandering way of Life, and which according to him reduced them to the Necessity of inventing new Jargons.

Hence he passes to the Nations in the Neighbourhood of the Straights of *Magellan*, and imagining he has found a strong Resemblance between those settled on this Side of it in the Continent of *South-America*, and those who have their Abode beyond it, he gives it as his Decision that

that the former derive their Original from the latter, and that these as well as the Inhabitants of *New Guinea* have come from the *Moluccas* and the Island of *Java*. Yet for all that the peculiar Genius of the *Peruvians*, their Laws, their Customs, their Police, the superb Edifices they had built, and the Wrecks of *Cbinese* Vessels, which, he says, the *Spaniards* found at the Entry of the *Pacifick* Ocean, after coming through the Straits of *Maggellan*, permit him not to Doubt that this Nation is, originally, a *Cbinese* Colony, which is confirmed, adds he, by the Worship of the Sun, which prevails equally in both Empires, by the resemblance of their Characters and manner of Writing, and by the Reputation of the ancient *Cbinese* of excelling in the Art of Navigation. Lastly, he rejects the *Tartar* or *Scythian* Original of the *Americans* from the little Conformity that is found according to him between the Manners and Customs of both Nations: He insists chiefly on the Circumstance of the *Americans* having no Horses, which we know, says he, the *Scythians* cannot be without. To destroy this System, it will be sufficient to prove, that it leads constantly to false Conclusions, a Point, which the *Flemish* Critick has rendered extremely evident. He proves with equal clearness, that *Grotius* is every whit as unhappy in attacking the Opinions of others, as he is in establishing his own. In Effect, he proves, that all the *Scythians* have not the Use of Horses, several of them inhabiting Countries utterly incapable of maintaining them; to which he adds, that according to the Opinion of those, who pretend that *Scythia* is not the Country whence *America* has been peopled, it is not Necessary to say, that all those who have penetrated that Way into the New World were *Scythians* or *Tartars*; that the Countries they must of Necessity traverse, were no way proper for Horses; that the Custom of the *Scythians*, when they find themselves under the Necessity of crossing an Arm of the Sea, is to kill their Horses, to slay them, and to cover the Boats in which they embark with their Hides. Lastly, he maintains, that according to all Appearance, these Transmigrations happened very soon after the dispersion of *Noab's* Grandsons, and that at that Time, the

Scythians

Scythians and *Tartars* might as yet be unacquainted with the Use of Horses.

He proves the Antiquity of these Colonies by the Multitude of People inhabiting *North-America* when it was first discovered; and as to the pretended Impossibility of getting past the Isthmus of *Panama*; he shews the Absurdity of it by the few Obstacles the *Europeans* met with in that Passage. He afterwards undertakes to shew, that the most Northern *Americans* have much greater resemblance, not only in the Features of their Countenances, but also in their Complexion, and in their Manner of Living, with the *Scythians*, *Tartars*, and *Samoeides*, than with the *Norwegians* and *German Nations*: And with respect to what *Grotius* says, in making these pass from *Iceland*, he very well remarks, that this Island began to be peopled only towards the End of the Ninth Century; that even then there passed only a few Families thither, and that thus this Island could not presently be in a Condition to send over to *America* such numerous Colonies as to have produced so many thousands of Inhabitants as replenished those vast Regions in the fifteenth Century.

The Route which *Grotius* makes his *Norwegians* take, likewise furnishes his Adversary with dangerous Weapons against him. He makes him observe, that *Greenland* is cut through with vast and deep Arms of the Sea, almost always frozen up, that the whole Country is covered with Snows of a prodigious Depth, and which are never entirely melted; that *Friezeland*, if such a Country is in being, can be no more than a Part of *Greenland*, or of *Iceland*, and that there is no Reliance to be had on all that the two *Zani's* have published about it: That *Estotiland*, according to the Account of these two noble *Venetians*, is at a great Distance from *Friezeland*, since in their Time there was very little Correspondence between these two Countries, and that it was a Matter of pure Chance that some Fishermen happened on this latter: that this enchanted Kingdom, the Monarch of which had such a magnificent Library, has entirely disappeared since the Discovery of the Northern Parts of *America*;

America; that *Norembega*, whither *Grotius* conducted his *Norwegians*, is no less fabulous; that this Name in which this learned Man finds with a secret Complacency so strong a Conformity with that of *Norvegia*, or *Norway*, is not the Name of any Country, but a fictitious one whereof nobody knows the Original; that the Natives of the Country call it *Agguncia*; that this Country lies very far to the South of the Place where *Esotiland* was supposed to be, since it makes Part of the South-Coast of *New-France*, between *Accadia* and *New-England*.

Grotius had relied very much on the Termination in *are*, so common in old and new *Mexico*. *Laet* draws him from this Intrenchment, by shewing that almost all of these Names are modern, and of *Spanish* Extraction. He overthrows, with the same Ease, the Argument which *Grotius* drew from the Traditions of the *Mexicans*, by observing, that when these Nations placed themselves in the Neighbourhood of the Lake of *Mexico*, they found great Numbers of Barbarians, who spoke all Sorts of Languages, between which there was no Manner of Affinity or Analogy; so that after having conquered them, they were obliged to make Use of Interpreters to be able to govern them. This frivolous Resemblance of Names likewise made *Grotius* imagine in *California* a Nation called *Alavard*, which he makes descend from the *Lombards*; *Laet*, in answer, says, that the Name of *Alavard*, might possibly have no other Original than that of *Alvarado*, a *Spanish* Captain, who had followed *Ferdinand Cortez* into *Mexico*, and perhaps too into *California*, of which we know this Conqueror made the first Discovery.

Laet, as he goes on, makes it appear, that *Grotius* is equally unsuccessful in his Attempts to shew a Conformity of Manners, Customs, Traditions; and Form of Government, between the Northern *Americans* and the *Norwegians*; every Thing he advances on that Head being founded on false Memoirs. He then proceeds to consider the Argument which his Antagonist draws from the pretended Circumcision and Baptism of the People of

Yucatan. He maintains, that it is contrary to all Probability to look out for a Country surrounded by *Norwegian Colonies* for a Settlement to his *Africans*, who must have been much more naturally supposed to have landed in *Brasil*, or at least to have stopped at the *Antilles*, which Islands they must have met with in their Passage, supposing them to have crossed the Line. He confesses that *Don Peter Martyr de Anglerie*, when speaking of the People of *Yucatan*, affirms that many of them were circumcised; but he alledges, that this *Italian Author* has been misinformed, since neither *Antonio de Herera*, Father *de Acofta*, nor *Oviedo*, Writers of much better Credit than he, have ever mentioned the Circumcision, Baptism, or Crosses upon the Tombs of this People but as meer Fables. Lastly, before the *Abyssinians* could have passed to *America*, they must have taken their Departure from the Western Coast of *Africk*; and *Laet* is confident, that the Dominions of the King of *Ethiopia* do not extend so far that Way. In the mean Time, it is certain, from the Accounts of the *Portuguese*, that the King of *Benin* had his Crown of the Emperor of *Abyssinia*.

Laet says but little of the Manner in which *Grotius* imagines *South-America* has been peopled by the Inhabitants of those Countries, which lie to the Southward of the Straights of *Magellan*; he is satisfied with observing that they are only Islands, beyond which, as far as *Terra Australis*, there is nothing but an immense Extent of Ocean: That we are not as yet acquainted well with what lies between that Country and *New-Guinea*, and that all the Southern *American Nations*, not excepting those under the Dominion of the Incas of *Peru*, spoke an infinite Variety of different Languages. The Reasons on which *Grotius* establishes the *Chinese* Original of the *Peruvians*, appear no less frivolous to this Critick.

In the first Place, says he, the Character of the two Nations and their Taste for the Arts are extremely different. In the second Place no one has ever said that the *Chinese* pay any religious Adoration to the Sun; and were this even granted, that Worship is common to so many Nations, that no Arguments could be drawn from
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from hence of any Weight in the present Question. It is true, that the Incas of *Peru* as well as the *Chinese* Emperors, called themselves the Descendants of the Sun; but how many other Princes have either usurped themselves, or received that Title from their Subjects: Did not the *Mexicans* give the same Name to *Cortez*, either to do him Honour, or because he came from the East. In the third Place, *Grotius* is still more grossly mistaken in affirming that the *Peruvians* made Use of Characters like the *Chinese*, and which were written like theirs in perpendicular Lines, seeing that Father *Acosta*, who resided a long Time in *Peru*, and *Garcilasso de la Vega*, descended by the Mother's Side from the Blood of the Incas, inform us that they were neither acquainted with Characters, nor had the Use of any Sort of Writing. What is added by the learned *Dutchman*, that *Mango Capa*, the first of the Incas, was himself a *Chinese*, is no more than a bare Conjecture, or a Fable invented by some Traveller, there not being the least Notice taken of it in the Traditions of *Peru*.

In the last Place, *Laet* declares that he has never, in any Author, read of any Wrecks of *Chinese* Vessels in the *Pacifick Ocean*. The Fact itself appears to him very improbable, because in the Passage from *China* to *Peru*, the Winds are contrary during the whole Year, so that by making the great Round of the Ocean by the West, would be a shorter Passage in Point of Time, than the direct Course. He adds, that supposing the *Peruvians* had descended from the *Chinese*, they must have preserved at least some Vestiges of the Art of Navigation, or of the Use of Iron, whereas they were acquainted with neither; so that it is much more natural to suppose the *Peruvians* and their Neighbours, the Inhabitants of *Cbili*, came from some of the *Indian Nations*, some of which have always been sufficiently civilized to be capable of giving Birth to an Empire such as was that of *Peru*.

To this *Grotius* makes Answer, but with the Air of the Ambassador, and of a Person of profound Learning, and seems perfectly astonish'd, that any one should dare to contradict him. *Laet*, somewhat piqued at this Behaviour,

haviour, treats him in his Reply with less Ceremony than before; and maintains that in a Dispute purely literary, the Character of an Ambassador neither gives one Writer any Manner of Advantage over another, nor any additional Weight to his Reasoning.

Grotius triumphed upon his Adversary's agreeing that *Greenland* had been peopled by the *Norwegians*: See here, said he, one Part of *America*, the Inhabitants of which derive their Origin from *Norway*. Now what could have hindred these *Norwegian Greenlanders* from advancing farther? The Question is not, answered *Laet*, to determine, Whether or not any of the Northern People passed to *America* by the Way of *Greenland*; but if all the *Americans* came from *Norway*, which I maintain to be impossible. *Angrimus Jonas*, an *Icelander*, affirms, that *Greenland* was not discovered till the Year 964. *Gomara* and *Herrera* inform us, that the *Cbichimeques* were settled on the Lake of *Mexico*, in 721. These Savages came from *New-Mexico*, and the Neighbourhood of *California*, such is the uniform Tradition of the *Mexicans*: Consequently *North-America* was inhabited many Ages before it could receive any from *Norway* by the Way of *Greenland*.

It is no less certain, that the real *Mexicans* founded their Empire in 902, after having subdued the *Cbichimeques*, *Otomias*, and other barbarous Nations, who had taken Possession of the Country round the Lake of *Mexico*; and Father *Acosta* tells us, each of them spoke a Language peculiar to themselves. From other Authorities we learn, that the *Mexicans* themselves came from *California*, or from *New-Mexico*, and that they performed their Journey at least for the most Part by Land; consequently, they could not have come from *Norway*.

Grotius having thus set out with an evident Anachronism, every Thing he has built on that Foundation is a Consequence of that original Error; and his Antagonist, who, with all the Liberty of a *Fleming*, imagined he had a Right to consider him only as a Man of Letters, whose System appeared to him erroneous; and offended at the same

same Time, because having attacked him with sufficient Moderation, he had not met with the polite Return he expected, fails not to pursue him through all his Blunders, and to place them continually before his Eyes.

The learned Embassador imagined he had read in *Herrera*, that the Islanders of *Baccalaos* bore a perfect Resemblance to the *Laplanders*. *Laet*, after declaring he could meet with no such Fact in the *Spanish* Historian, repeats what he had already said, that he does not deny but some of the *Americans* might have had their Original from *Europe*; then bringing his Adversary back to *Mexico*, he asks him what Connection there was between the *Mexicans* and the Inhabitants of the Island *Baccalaos*? He acknowledges afterwards, that *Herrera* mentions a Sort of Baptism and Confession, that were practised in *Yucatan* and the neighbouring Islands; but he maintains, that the Worship of those Barbarians was mixed with so many Impieties, and those so plainly idolatrous, that it could not reasonably be supposed to be derived from the *Abyssinian* Christians. He adds, that it is much more natural to attribute all those equivocal Marks of Christianity and Judaism, which have been believed to subsist in divers Provinces of the New World, to the Devil, who has always affected to counterfeit the Worship of the true God. This Remark is made by all good Authors, who have spoken of the Religion of Nations newly discovered, and is besides founded on the Authority of the Fathers of the Church.

Grotius having advanced, without any Hesitation, that the *Ethiopians* might in Time have changed their Colour in a Climate not so sultry as that which they had quitted; *Laet* makes Answer, that though Whites might possibly lose some of their Colour by removing to a warmer Climate than that where they were born, yet that there is no Example of the Descendants of the Blacks becoming white in a cold Country; and that the Colour of the Negroes proceeds not solely from the Heat of the Sun, since the *Brazilians*, and many others inhabiting the same Latitudes have it not. Lastly, he takes Notice of another Error of *Grotius*, who suffered his Prejudices to

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carry him so far, as to be persuaded that the *Cbinese* were not acquainted with the Art of Printing before the Arrival of the *Portuguese* in their Country, that he might thereby obviate an Objection which might have been started against his System of making the *Peruvians* descend from the *Cbinese*.

There can nothing, in my Opinion, be added to the Criticism, which *John de Laet* has published on the Hypothesis of the celebrated *Grotius*. We are now going to see whether he has been equally happy in establishing his own. He sets out with relating, on the Authority of some Authors quoted by *Pliny*, but who do not appear to have been very able Geographers, that in some Islands near the Coast of *Africa*, amongst which are the *Canaries*, some ancient Edifices have been seen, and which are a certain Proof that these Islands were inhabited before they were discovered by the *Europeans*: Now it is certain, says he, that since they were afterwards entirely deserted, the Inhabitants must have retired elsewhere; and there is great Reason to believe that they passed over to *America*, the Passage being neither long nor difficult.

This Migration, according to the Calculation of these Authors, must have happened about two thousand Years ago: at that Time, the *Spaniards* were much infested by the *Carthaginians*, and a short while afterwards, no less so by the *Romans*. Now is it not natural to think, that several amongst those should bethink themselves of taking Refuge in a Country, where they might have nothing to fear from the Ambition of their Enemies; and what could have hindered them from retiring to the *Antilles* by Way of the Western Islands, which are situated exactly half Way in that Voyage? the Vessels of the *Carthaginians* were very proper for this Navigation, and might very well serve the *Spaniards* for Models, by which to build others of the same Construction. They had the still recent Example of *Hanno*, the famous *Carthaginian*, before their Eyes, who had sailed very far to the Westward. It is no less probable, that People might have crossed from the *Cape Verd* Islands to *Brazil*. The
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Autololes, whom *Pliny* has placed in their Neighbourhood, were *Getulians*, and not *Ethiopians*; their Colour and Manners sufficiently correspond with those of the *Brafsians*.

Great-Britain, *Ireland*, and the *Orcades*, appear also to the learned *Fleming*, extremely proper for founding a like Conjecture in Favour of *North-America*; he relates on this Head, what is recorded in the *History of Wales*, written by *Dr. David Powel*, under the Year 1170. *Madsoc*, says this Historian, one of the Sons of Prince *Owen Gwynnith*, being tired and disgusted with the civil Wars which broke out between his Brothers after the Death of their Father, fitted out several Vessels, and after providing them with every Thing necessary for a long Voyage, went in Quest of new Lands to the Westward of *Ireland*; there he discovered very fertile Countries, and destitute of Inhabitants; wherefore, landing a Part of his People, he returned to *Britain*, where he made new Levies, and afterwards transported them to his Colony. *Laet* seems to rely much on this Story, and concludes from it, that the like Enterprizes might possibly have been carried into Execution from all the *Britannic* Islands. It were to be wished, adds he, that some Persons had applied themselves to compare the Languages of some Parts of *America* with those of *Ireland* and *Wales*.

From thence he comes to the *Scythians*, and draws a Parallel of their Manners with those of the *Scythians*: First, he proves, by the Testimony of *Pliny*, that this Name was formerly common to all the Nations living in the North of *Asia* and *Europe*; that it was even sometimes given to the *Sarmatians* and *Germans*, although it was afterwards restrained to the Nations inhabiting the Northern Extremities of the two Continents, where several of them have been for a long Time unknown to the Rest of the World. He pretends, that amongst those many were *Anthropopbagi*, that all of them might have sent Colonies into *America*; and that if it be objected, that there never were any *Anthropopbagi*, except in *South-America*, it is because all those Nations, amongst whom

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this detestable Custom prevailed, passed thither. He might, no Doubt, have saved himself the Labour of making so weak an Answer to an Objection; which no Person would probably ever have made, since several of the *North-Americans* have ever been, and still are, *Anthropophagi*: But let us proceed to follow him in the Explication of his Hypothesis. I call it Hypothesis, because where Memoirs are wanting for establishing the Truth, he is reduced, like all those who have handled this Question, to the Necessity of having recourse to Probability, and it must be esteemed sufficient to keep within Sight of it.

Pliny indeed, says, that the *Scythians* valued themselves for having many Horses; but he does not say, that all the *Scythians* did so. *Strabo* mentions several Nations of them living North of the *Caspian* Sea, and Part of whom led a wandering Life: What he says of their Manners and way of Living, agrees in a great many Circumstances, with what has been remarked in the *Indians* of *America*: Now it is no great Miracle, adds *Laet*, that these Resemblances are not absolutely perfect; and those People, even before they left their own Country, already differed from each other, and went not by the same Name: Their change of Abode effected what remained. We find the same likeness between several *American* Nations and the *Samoeides*, settled on the Great River *Oby*, such as the *Russians* have represented them to us; and it is much more natural to suppose, that Colonies of these Nations passed over to *America*, by crossing the icy Sea on their Sledges, than to cause the *Norwegians* to travel all the Way that *Grotius* has marked out for them. Besides that the *Americans* have much less resemblance to these, than to the *Samoeides* and the *Scythian Nomades*.

From *North*, *Laet* passes to *South-America*, and examines whether that Continent could have received Part of its Inhabitants by Way of the *Pacifick* Ocean. The Islands of *Solomon* are situated eight hundred Leagues from the Coasts of *Peru*, and we now know them to be separated from *Terra Australis* by a Sea, the Extent of which is not as yet fully ascertained. Father *de Acosta* believes

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lieves it to be not very distant from *New Guinea*, which he imagines is a Continent. But Sir *Richard Hawkins*, an *Englishman*, pretends to have certainly discovered it to be an Island. We must therefore, continues the learned *Fleming*, say that *South America* has been peopled by Way of this great Continent of *Terra Australis* and the Coast of which, Don *Pedro Hernando Giros*, a *Portuguese*, and Don *Hernando de Quiros*, a *Spaniard*, ranged along for the Space of eight hundred Leagues in the Years 1609 and 1610. The latter, who has given his Name to Part of this Continent, observes in his Letter to his Catholick Majesty, that this Country, in several Places where he landed, was extremely well peopled, and that too with Men of all Complexions. But is it not strange, that *Laet* should rather chuse to people *South-America* from a Country, separated from it by a much greater Extent of Ocean than the rest of the World, than from *North-America*, which, on the supposition that it was first peopled, ought naturally to have supplied all the New World with Inhabitants.

In order to support his Assertion, that *America* could not have been peopled by Means of the *Pacifick* Ocean, he observes, that Easterly Winds, which constantly prevail there, prevent all Navigation from the *West* to the *East*; then he examines several *American* Languages, in order to compare them with one another, which is not the best Part of his Work, at least, if we may form a Judgment from the Extract he has given us of a Vocabulary of the *Haron* Language, in order to compare it with that of *Mexico*; for he has taken it from Brother *Gabriel Sagbart*, a *Recollet*, who understood very little of that Tongue.

He does not appear to be better acquainted with the Religion of the *Indians* of *Canada*, in which he endeavours to discover Traces which might have led him to their first Original; and indeed, all this display of Learning does not much conduce to the End he has in View: Besides, although no one of his Age has made a better connected Work, or treated of the *West-Indies* with so much

much Accuracy, yet we now meet with several Things in his Performance, which stand in need of Correction.

He concludes, with a short Explication of the Opinion of *Emanuel de Moraez*, a *Portuguese*, extracted from the Twentieth Book of his History of *Brazil*; a Work, which has not as yet been published. According to this Author, *America* has been wholly peopled by the *Carthaginians* and *Israelites*. With regard to the first, his Proof is, that they had made Discoveries at a great Distance from *Africa*, the Progress of which being put a stop to by the Senate of *Carthage*, hence it came to pass, that those who happened to be then in the newly discovered Countries, being cut off from all Commerce with their Countrymen, and destitute of many Necessaries of Life, fell soon into a state of Barbarity. As to the *Israelites*, *Moraez* pretends, that nothing but Circumcision is wanting, in order to constitute a perfect Resemblance between them and the *Brazilians*. Even this would be of great Importance, were we to consider the invincible Attachment of the former to that Ceremony. But there are many other Points equally essential, wherein the two Nations differ. I can safely affirm, that this pretended Resemblance, which appears so striking to the *Portuguese* Historian, is at best a false Show, which seizes one at the first Glance, but disappears when looked into more narrowly and without Prejudice.

John de Laet having in a satisfactory Manner, refuted what Opinions had been advanced before his Time, but not having been equally successful in establishing his own, *George de Hornn*, a learned *Dutchman*, entered the Lists, which he did with the greater Confidence, as he believed he should draw great Advantages from the New Discoveries his Countrymen and the *English* had lately made in the northern Parts of *Asia*, *Europe* and *America*.

After relating every Thing that has been imagined on the Subject he undertakes to handle, that is to say, all that is found in *Father Garcia* and *Solarzano*, he sets in the strongest Light the Difficulty of determining this Question;

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Question; a Difficulty occasioned by the imperfect Knowledge we have of the Extremities of the Globe towards the North and South, and the Havock which the *Spaniards*, the first Discoverers of the New World, made amongst its most ancient Monuments; as witness the great double Road between *Quito* and *Cuzco*; such an Undertaking, as the *Romans* have executed nothing that can be compared to it. However, he is not afraid to promise himself a happy Conclusion to his Enquiries, and condemns *Father Acoffa* for too hastily determining, that no one can engage to succeed in such an Enterprize, without great Rashness. Let us now see whether he himself is not an Example of what he finds fault with in the *Spanish* Historian.

He sets out with declaring, that he does not believe it possible *America* could have been peopled before the Flood, considering the short space of Time which elapsed between the Creation of the World and that memorable Event. Very able Men have, notwithstanding, believed that there were more Men on the Face of the Earth at that early Period, than there are at this present; the Thing is at least possible, and this is sufficient to prevent the destroying the absolute Certainty of the Opinion. Nevertheless it must be owned, that *de Hornn* is not single in this Opinion; but what he adds, gives us no great Notion either of his Accuracy or of his Piobity. According to him, *Lescarbot* places *Noab's* birth in the New World; whereas this *French* Historian has said nothing that bears the smallest Resemblance to such a Paradox:

In the next place, he lays it down for a Principle, that after the Deluge, Men and other terrestrial Animals have penetrated into *America* both by Land and by Water, and both too out of a formed Design, and by Accident; and that Birds have got thither by Flight, which does not appear to be improbable, seeing that they have been observed to follow Vessels without stopping, for the Space of three Hundred Leagues together, and since there are Rocks and Islands, where they might rest themselves, scattered about every where in the Ocean. Thus, according

according to him, *John de Laet* had Reason to say, that the Article of Birds occasioned no manner of Difficulty. All the World, however, will not be of their Opinion; for do not we know many of the feathered Species, which are neither able to fly nor to swim so far? Father *Acosta* has likewise very well observed, in the Opinion of this learned *Dutchman*, that wild Beasts might have found a free Passage by Land, and that if we do not meet in the New World with Horses or Cattle, to which he might have added, Elephants, Camels, Rhinoceros's, and many others; it is because those Nations who passed thither, either were not acquainted with their Use, or had no Convenience to transport them: Yet there are Cattle in *America*, but of a Species very different from any of those known in our Hemisphere.

As to what relates to the human Species, *de Hornn* excludes from *America*, 1. The *Ethiopians*, and all the Blacks, both of *Africa* and *Asia*; the few Negroes found in the Province of *Careta*, having without Doubt, been brought there by Accident, a short Time before. 2. The *Norwegians*, *Danes*, *Swedes*, *Celtas*, and in a Word, all the northern and middle Countries of *Europe* and *Asia*. Mean while it may be observed, the *Celtas* and ancient *Britons* were much addicted to Navigation, and as likely as any other People to transport themselves to *America*. 3. The *Samocides* and *Laplanders*. His Reason for excluding all these Nations is this, that there are no *Americans* who have white curled Hair and Beards, excepting the *Miges*, in the Province of *Zapoteca*, the *Scheries*, on the River of *Plate*, and the *Malopoques* in *Brazil*. The *Esquimaux* have likewise white Hair; which Exceptions embarrasses the Question not a little.

All the *Indians* of *Asia*, continues *de Hornn*, believe the *Metempsychosis*: Therefore that People could not have passed into *America*, where this Doctrine is not so much as known. Yet good Authors, and particularly the learned *Koempfer*, alledge, that the Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis* was first carried into *India* by *Xaca*, who was probably an *Egyptian* Priest, driven from his native Country by *Cambyfes*, when he conquered it.

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Before him the Religion of Fire, and the Worship of the Sun, were spread all over *Persia* and the *East-Indies*, both of which are of great Antiquity in a good Part of *North-America*. Here follows another Argument, which though supported by the Authority of *Diodorus Siculus*, does not appear to me a whit more convincing. The *Indians*, say they, have never sent Colonies abroad ; consequently they could not have contributed to the peopling of the New World. But such general Propositions are not susceptible of Demonstration, especially with respect to such a Country as the *Indies*, possessed by so many Nations, differing from one another in Manners, Customs, and Genius.

The *Greeks* and the *Latins* are likewise excluded from the New World. They could not, according to our Author, sail beyond *Cadiz*, because the *Carthaginians*, who had the command of the *Atlantick* Ocean, would not have suffered them. This Argument appears to me very weak, especially with regard to the *Greeks*, who having founded *Cadiz*, might very well be able to keep those Seas in spite of the *Carthaginians*. I should rather imagine that *Hercules* being persuaded that there was nothing beyond that Ocean, his Countrymen had never thought of embarking upon it, which, however, is a Conjecture, that might easily be destroyed.

In the last Place, neither *Christians*, *Hebrews*, nor *Mahometans*, if we believe *de Hornn*, have ever settled in the New World ; and if this learned Man does not absolutely reject those Accounts of Crosses, Baptism, Circumcision, Confession, Fasts, and other religious Ceremonies, some Vestiges of which have been pretended to have been found in *Yucatan* and elsewhere, we shall soon see what Regard he pays to them in the arrangement of his own System, of which here follows the Plan.

In the first Place, he supposes that *America* began to be peopled by the North ; and regarding the Barrier of the Isthmus of *Panama*, which *Grotius* imagines was not open before the Time of the *Spaniards*, as a supposition

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tion void of all Foundation, he maintains, that the primitive Colonies spread themselves far beyond it, since through the whole Extent of that Continent, and both in the northern and southern Parts of it, we meet with undoubted Marks of a Mixture of the northern Nations with those who have come from other Places. He believes that the first Founders of those Colonies were the *Scythians*; that the *Pbenicians* and *Carthaginians* afterwards got footing in *America* by way of the *Atlantick* Ocean, and the *Chinese* by way of the *Pacifick*; and that other Nations might, from Time to Time, have landed there by one or other of these Ways, or might possibly have been thrown on the Coast by Tempests; and lastly, that some *Jews* and *Christians* might have been carried there by some such like Event, but at a Time when all the New World was already peopled.

He, in my Opinion, very well observes, that those Giants, who may have been seen in some Parts of *America*, prove nothing; that though in the first Ages, they might possibly have been more frequently met with, yet it cannot be said, they ever composed the Body of a Nation: that as their Posterity did not all inherit their gigantic Stature, so Men of a common Size might have probably at first produced those Colossus's, as may be seen in the modern Accounts of *Virginia* and *Senegal*. Hitherto he has advanced nothing new, most of these Observations having been made before: Afterwards he has something, which is not only new, but which is also peculiar to himself; he passes from Probability to Certainty, and from Conjectures to positive Assertions; and this Method once tried, he carries it to a great Length; so that if we follow him, we shall find him sufficiently entertaining, and at Times saying very good Things.

Omitting the Consideration of the *Scythians*, whom he supposes to have entered *America* by the *North*, and there to have made the first Settlements, he establishes a first Migration of the *Pbenicians*, by laying it down for a Principle, that from the earliest Times they have been great Navigators, and have replenished all our Hemisphere with their Colonies: But it is to be observed, that
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under the Name of the *Pbenicians*, he likewise comprehends the *Canaanites*. From *Strabo* he learns, that the *Pbenicians* sailed into the *Atlantick* Ocean, and built Cities beyond the Pillars of *Hercules*. *Appian*, continues he, and *Pausanias*, inform us, that the *Carthaginians*, who were originally *Pbenicians*, covered all the Ocean with their Fleets; that *Hanno* made the Tour of *Africk*; and that the *Canaries* were known to the Ancients. We know from other Authorities, that the *Pbenicians* settled in *Africa*, waged long and bloody Wars with the Natives of the Country, who destroyed above three hundred of their Cities in *Mauritania*. *Eratosthenes* is his Warrant for this, and he prefers the Authority of that ancient Writer to that of *Strabo* and *Artemidorus*, who contradict him. Whither could the *Pbenicians*, adds he, have retired, after so many and great Losses, but to *America*?

This Migration being possible, he looks upon it of course as certain, and to have been very ancient; but he laughs at *Opmeer*, who had advanced, that the *Africans* living in the neighbourhood of *Mount Atlas*, sailed to *America* before the Deluge. He imagines *Plato* may possibly be mistaken in some Things he has said of *Atalantis*, but that his Description is notwithstanding founded on Truth. He observes, that all those Islands to the westward of *Africa*, have been called *Atlantides*, and he reckons it probable, that the *Atalantis* of *Plato* lay in *America*, and that it was drowned in a Deluge, of which there still remain some slender Traditions among the *Americans*. Further, he says, that according to *Peter Martyr d'Anglerie*; the Inhabitants of the *Antilles* report, that all their Islands were formerly joined to the Continent, and had been separated from it by Earthquakes and great Inundations: That the Vestiges of a Deluge are found in *Peru* to this Day, and that all *South-America* is full of Water. He might have added, that the north Part of *America* or *New-France*, alone contains a greater quantity of Water than all the rest of that vast Continent besides.

Diodorus Siculus relates, that the *Pbenicians* sailed far into the *Atlantick* Ocean, and that being constrained by tempestuous

tempestuous Weather, they landed upon a large Island, where they found a fruitful Soil, navigable Rivers, and magnificent Edifices. *De Hornn* takes this to be the second Migration of that People to *America*. *Diodorus* adds, that in the sequel the *Pbenicians* being harassed by the *Carthaginians* and the Inhabitants of *Mauritania*, who would neither grant them Peace nor a Truce, sent Colonies to that Island, but kept the Affair secret, in order that they might always have a secure Retreat in case of Necessity. Other Authors, whom *de Hornn* does not mention, have alledged, that these Voyages were carried on without the Knowledge of the Government, who, perceiving that the Country began to diminish in the Number of its Inhabitants, and having found out the Cause of this Disorder, prohibited that Navigation under very severe Penalties.

The third and last Migration of the *Pbenicians* to the New World was occasioned, according to this Author, by a three Year's Voyage, made by a *Tyrian* Fleet in the Service of *Solomon*. He asserts on the Authority of *Josephus*, that *Ezion Geber*, where the Embarkation was made, is a Port in the *Mediterranean*. This Fleet, he adds, went in quest of Elephants Teeth and Peacocks to the western Coast of *Africa*, which is *Tarsish*: This is likewise the Opinion of *Huet*: Then to *Ophir* for Gold, which is *Haiti*, or the Island *Hispaniola*: *Christopher Columbus* was of the same Opinion, according to some, as *Vetablus* certainly was. *De Hornn* returning afterwards to the *Atlantick* Islands, would fain persuade us, that the *Pbenicians* have, at divers Times, sent Colonies thither, and that the *Cerne* of the Ancients in *Grand Canaria*, for which Name it is indebted to the *Canaanites*, who took refuge there.

One of the *Canary* Islands is called *Gomera*: *De Hornn* makes no Doubt that it derives its Name from the *Amorites*, who went to settle there after they had been driven out of *Palestine* by the *Hebrews*. Ought we to be surprized, if after this he finds the *Cham* of the *Pbenicians* in the *Chemez* of the Island *Haiti*, in the *Camis* of *Japan*,
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and in the *Chile Cambal of Yucatan*? The Detail which he afterwards enters into, in order to discover Traces of the *Phenician* Religion and Manners in the New World, is pretty nearly in the same Taste, and carries the same Conviction along with it. But what ought not to be (he observes in this Place) passed over in Silence, is that the first *Phenicians*, who settled in *Africa* and the *Balearick* Islands, had neither any Letters or Characters, nor knew the Use of them; and that *Cadmus*, a *Phenician*, carried into *Greece*, not the Characters which his Countrymen afterwards made Use of, but those which in his Time were known among the *Egyptians*.

All those Migrations preceded the Christian Æ : a many Ages: Here follow such as are of a later Date. Our Author distinguishes three Sorts of *Scythians*, who passed into the New World, namely *Huns*, *Tartars* of *Cathay*, and the *Chinese*. Undoubtedly the Partizans for the Antiquity of the *Chinese* Nation, will not excuse his making *Scythians* the Founders of this great Empire, neither will those, who reject what is doubtful in the Pretensions of certain *Chinese*, be of his Opinion; for it is now past Doubt, that the *Chinese* Empire cannot be much later than *Noah's* Grand-Children. But we should never have done, were we to repeat all the false and arbitrary Conjectures of this *Dutch* Writer.

Under the Name of *Huns*, he comprehends numberless Nations, who possessed an immense Country; the Occasion of the Passage of many of them to *America*, was, according to him, their overgrown Numbers, and the intestine Wars raging amongst them. He pretends, that the Route they made Choice of, was by the Extremity of the North, where they met with frozen Seas. Then forgetting what he had just been saying of the infinite Numbers of those Barbarians, whose vast Countries could no longer contain them; as he had already forgotten what he said at first, that the first Settlements in *America* were composed of *Scythians*, he informs us, that the Reason why the Northern Regions of *America* are so thinly inhabited, is, because it was very late be-

fore the Country of the *Huns* was peopled at all, and that even at this Day they are far from being populous.

But did they all take the same Road? No; for while the greatest Number turned off to the Right towards the East, those whom he calls *Finnes*, and the *Samoeides* and *Carolians*, whom *Tacitus* places in *Finland*, went off to the East by the Westward, traversed *Nova Zembla*, *Lapland* and *Greenland*; whence he reckons that the *Norwegians*, who had before this Time landed in *Greenland*, and whereof not one was to be found in the Year 1348, penetrated into the Northern Parts of *America* in quest of more habitable Countries. Nothing can reasonably hinder us from believing, that the *Esquimaux*, and some other Nations in the Neighbourhood of *Hudson's Bay*, draw their Original from the *Norwegians* of *Greenland*, supposing such ever to have existed. What is certain, is, that the *Esquimaux* have nothing in common either in their Language, Manners, or Way of living, Complexion, or in the Colour of their Hair with the People of *Canada* proper, who are their nearest Neighbours.

As to certain Animals, such as Lions and Tigers, which, according to all Appearance, have passed from *Tartary* and *Hircania* into the New World, their Passage might very well serve for a Proof, that the two Hemispheres join to the Northward of *Asia*; and this Argument is not the only one we have of this Circumstance, if what I have often heard related by Father *Grollon*, a *French* Jesuit, as undoubted Matter of Fact, may be depended on. This Father, say they, after having laboured some Time in the Missions of *New France*, passed over to those of *China*. One Day as he was travelling in *Tartary*, he met an *Huron* Woman, whom he had formerly known in *Canada*: He asked her by what Adventure she had been carried into a Country so distant from her own? She made Answer, that having been taken in War, she had been conducted from Nation to Nation, till she arrived at the Place where she then was. I have been assured, that another Jesuit passing by Way of *Nantz*, in his Return from *China*, had there related

lated much such another Affair of a *Spanish* Woman of *Florida*: She had been taken by certain *Indians*, and given to those of a most distant Country, and by these again to another Nation, till she had thus been successively passed from Country to Country, had travelled Regions extremely cold, and at last found herself in *Tartary*, and had there married a *Tartar*, who had passed with the Conquerors into *China*, and there settled. It is indeed true, that those who have sailed farthest to the Eastward of *Asia*, by pursuing the Coasts of *Jesso* or *Kamtschatka*, have pretended to have perceived the Extremity of this Continent, thence concluding, that between *Asia* and *America*, there could possibly be no Communication by Land; but besides that, *Francis Guella*, a *Spaniard*, if we may believe *John Hugh de Linschooten*, hath confirmed, that this Separation is no more than a Streight, a hundred Miles over; the last Voyages of the *Japonesse* give Grounds to think that this Streight is only a Bay, above which there is a Passage over Land.

Let us return to *George de Hornn*. This Writer does not express himself with Accuracy, when he tells us, that *North-America* is full of Lions and Tigers. It is true, we find in the Country of the *Iroquoise*, a Kind of Tigers, the Hair of which is of a light grey, which are not spotted, but which have very long Tails, and whose Flesh is good eating: But except this, it is not till towards the Tropick that you begin to see true Tigers and Lions, which is, however, no Proof that they could not have come from *Tartary* and *Hircania*; but as by advancing always Southwards, they met with Climates more agreeable to their Natures, we may believe they have therefore entirely abandoned the Northern Countries.

What *Solinus* and *Pliny* relate that the *Scythian Anthropophagi* depopulated a great Extent of Country as far as the Promontory *Tabin*, and what *Mark Pol*, the *Venetian*, tells us, that to the North-East of *China* and *Tartary*, there are vast uninhabited Countries, might be sufficient to confirm our Author's Conjecture concerning the Retreat of a great Number of *Scythians* into *America*. We find in the Ancients the Names of some of these

Nations : *Pliny* speaks of the *Tabians* : *Solinus* mentions the *Apuleans* ; who, he says, had for Neighbours the *Massagetes*, and whom *Pliny* assures us to have entirely disappeared. *Ammianus Marcellinus* expressly says, that the Fear of the *Anthropophagi* obliged several of the inhabitants of those Countries to take Refuge elsewhere. All these Authorities form, in my Opinion, at least a strong Conjecture, that more than one Nation of *America* have a *Scythian* or *Tartar* Original.

Hitherto *de Hornn* keeps pretty close to his Point, and is sure to return to it from Time to Time, and we discover the Man of Learning even in his greatest Flights : But on the whole, one would say, that by dint of forming Conjectures upon the Agreement of Names, he fails prodigiously in Point of Judgment. Who, for Example, would not laugh to hear him seriously advance, that the *Apalaches*, a Nation of *Florida*, are the *Apaleans* of *Solinus*, and that the *Tabians* of *Ptolemy* are the Ancestors of the *Tombas* of *Peru* ? What follows is still more ridiculous. There is, says he, a People, who are Neighbours to the *Moguls* called *Huyrons* ; these are the *Hurons* of *Canada*. *Herodotus* calls the *Turks* *Trcas* ; these are the *Iroquoise* and *Souriquois* of *Accadia*. Unhappily for such rare Discoveries, this Conjecture leads to a false Conclusion ; all, or most of the Names of the *Indians* of *New-France* being of *French* Extraction.

Nay more, the *Hurons* and *Iroquoise*, to whom our Author gives so very different Originals, speak almost the same Language, the one being a Dialect of the other ; whereas the *Souriquois*, to whom *Hornn* gives the same Ancestors as to the *Iroquoise*, have absolutely nothing in common with them either in their Language or Genius. The Language they speak is a Dialect of the *Algonquin* ; and the *Huron* is as different from the *Algonquin* as the *Latin* is from the *Hebrew*. Must not one then have his Imagination very strongly impressed, to be able to persuade himself that the *Meyr Humona* of the *Brasilians*, and the *Paicura* of the Inhabitants of *Santa Cruz* come from *St. Thomas*, and are derived from the Language of the *Turks*,

Turks, who before they passed over to *America*, had some Knowledge of this Apostle?

Our Author's usual Confidence deserts him, when he seems to have most Occasion for it, and he dares not decide whether *South-America* has peopled the *Terra Australis*, or whether that Country may have thence received its own Inhabitants; but he very soon recovers it, and by Means of it undertakes to unravel the Origin of the Empires of *Peru* and *Mexico*. He agrees with several Historians, that these Monarchies were not very ancient when the *Spaniards* destroyed them, and that their Founders had to fight against barbarous Nations, that had been long settled in the Country they had made choice of, and chiefly *Mexico*, where the Manners were much more rugged in the Time of *Cortez*, than they were amongst the *Peruvians*. This Difference probably was owing to this, that the Conquerors of *Mexico* were not so much civilized as those of *Peru*.

Both the one and the other, if we may believe *Hornn*, are, notwithstanding, originally from the same Parts; these are, says he, the Nations of *Cathay*; the *Japonese*, who are originally descended from thence, the *Chinese*, whom he always supposes to be descended from the *Scythians*; some *Egyptians*, and some *Phenicians*, from the Time that these two Empires attained to Perfection, in Policy, Religion, and Arts. Here is certainly a very miscellaneous and capricious Original. But in fine, the learned *Dutchman* will have it, that all these Nations have sent Colonies into *America*, and to prove this, it is scarce conceivable, where he goes in quest of *Cathayan*, *Corean*, *Chinese*, and especially *Japonese* Names, in all Parts of the New World. Between these, there is often much the same Relation as the *Alfana*, and *Equus* of *Menage*; but he likewise causes them to take so very long a Journey, that we ought not to be surprized if they undergo very considerable Changes by the Way.

He even goes so far as to derive the Name of the *Chiquites* of *Paragua*, which is purely of *Spanish* Extraction from that of *Cathay*. The Name of *Inca*, which

was that of the imperial Family of *Peru*, has, according to him, too great a Resemblance with the same Name of *Cathay*, to suffer any Doubt that these Sovereigns derive their Original from this great Country. In a Word, to seek for the *Cathayans* in *America*, is, according to him, the same with searching for the *Greeks* in *Italy*, and the *Phenicians* in *Africk*. The *Coreans* called their Country *Caoli*; therefore, *California* has been peopled by a *Corean* Colony. *Cbiapa*, a Province of *Mexico*, whence can it come but from *Giapan*, a Name which some give to the Island of *Japan*? *Montezuma*, Emperor of *Mexico*, had a Beard after the *Cbinese* Fashion; he wants no more to make him come originally from *Cbina*. It is not, however without some Scruple, that our Author quits his Etymologies for the Figure of the Beard; but this Beard is very singular in a *Mexican*. He, moreover, finds that the Name of Monarch has a great Affinity with that of *Motuzaiuma*, which he pretends on I know not what Authority, to be a Title of Honour in *Japan*: Thus this Prince might very well derive his Original from these Islands.

However, it is neither the *Cathayans*, nor the *Japonesse* who have founded the *Mexican* Monarchy: *De Hornn* ascribes that Honour to *Facfur*, King of *Cbina*, who being dethroned by *Cublay*, great Cham of *Tartary*, fled with a hundred thousand *Cbinese*, in a thousand Vessels into *America*, and there became the Founder of a new Empire. *Manco*, another *Cbinese* Prince, originally of *Cathay*, had two Ages before founded that of *Peru*. Here are many Names, of which the *Fathers Couplet*, *Le Compte*, and *Dr. Halde* were entirely ignorant. *Manco* had carried the Arts to a very great Perfection, and it was he who reared those magnificent Edifices which so much astonished the *Spaniards*. He brought no Horses into *America*, because, in his Time, says *Mark Pol* the *Venetian*, there were none in *Cbina*. But it may be asked, why the *Cbinese* of *Peru* have not preserved their Characters? It is, answers *Hornn*, because they were too difficult to write; they found that it was a shorter and easier Way to supply the Use of them by symbolical Figures.

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This is a Part of what has been written on the present Question; and I am much mistaken if the bare setting down of so many different Opinions is not sufficient to furnish the attentive Reader with all the Lights necessary to lead him to the Choice of the proper Side in this great Controversy, which, by endeavouring to explain, they have hitherto rendered only more obscure. It may be reduced, as appears to me, to the two following Articles. 1. How the New World might have been peopled? 2. By whom and by what Means it has been peopled.

Nothing it would seem may be more easily answered than the first. *America* might have been peopled, as the three other Quarters of the World have been. Many Difficulties have been formed upon this Subject which have been deemed insolvable, but are far from being so. The Inhabitants of both Hemispheres are certainly the Descendants of the same Father. This common Father of Mankind received an express Order from Heaven to people the whole World, and accordingly it has been peopled. To bring this about, it was necessary to overcome all Difficulties in the Way, and they have also been got over. Were those Difficulties greater with respect to peopling the Extremities of *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, and the transporting Men into the Islands, which lie at a considerable Distance from those Continents, than to pass over into *America*? Certainly not. Navigation which has arrived at so great Perfection within these three or four Centuries, might possibly have been still more perfect in those first Times than at this Day. At least, we cannot doubt, but it was then arrived at such a Degree of Perfection as was necessary for the Design which God had formed of peopling the whole Earth.

Whilst those Authors whom I have cited, have kept to this Possibility which cannot be denied, they have reasoned very justly; for if it has not been demonstrated, that there is a Passage into *America* over Land, either by the North of *Asia* and *Europe*, or by the South, the contrary has not been made appear; besides, from the Coast of *Africa* to *Brazil*; from the *Canaries* to the

Western Islands, from the Western Islands to the *Antilles*; from the *Britannic Isles*, and the Coast of *France* to *Newfoundland*, the Passage is neither long nor difficult: I might say as much of that from *China* to *Japan*, and from *Japan* and the *Philippines* to the *Isles Mariannes*, and from thence to *Mexico*. There are Islands at a considerable Distance from the Continent of *Asia*, where we have not been surprized to find Inhabitants. Why then should we wonder to find People in *America*? And it cannot be imagined, that the Grandsons of *Noah*, when they were obliged to separate and to spread themselves in Conformity to the Designs of God over the whole Earth, should be in an absolute Impossibility of peopling almost one Half of the Globe?

They ought therefore to have kept to this; but the Question was too simple and too easy to be answered. The Learned must make Disquisitions, and they imagined they were able to decide how and by whom *America* has been peopled; and as History furnished no Materials for this Purpose, rather than stop short they have realized the most frivolous Conjectures. The simple Resemblance of Names, and some slight Appearances, seemed, in their Eyes, so many Proofs, and on such ruinous Foundations they have erected Systems of which they have become enamoured, the Weakness of which the most Ignorant are able to perceive, and which are often overturned by one single Fact which is incontestable. Hence it happens, that the Manner in which the New World has received its first Inhabitants remaining in very great Uncertainty, they have imagined Difficulties where none really were, and they have carried this Extravagance to such a Height, as to believe, that the *Americans* were not the Descendants of our first Parents; as if the Ignorance of the Manner in which a Thing hath happened, ought to make us look upon it as impossible, or at least as extremely difficult.

But what is most singular in this, is, that they should have neglected the only Means that remained to come at the Truth of what they were in Search of; I mean, the comparing the Languages. In effect, in the Research in Question, it appears to me, that the Knowledge

ledge of the principal Languages of *America*, and the comparing them with those of our Hemisphere, that are looked upon as primitive, might possibly set us upon some happy Discovery; and that Way of ascending to the Original of Nations, which is the least equivocal, is far from being so difficult as might be imagined. We have had, and still have Travellers and Missionaries, who have worked on the Languages that are spoken in all the Provinces of the New World. It would only be necessary to make a Collection of their Grammars and Vocabularies, and to collate them with the dead and living languages of the Old World that pass for Originals. Even the different Dialects, in Spite of the Alterations they have undergone, still retain enough of the Mother-Tongue to furnish considerable Lights.

Instead of this Method, which has been neglected, they have made Enquiries into the Manners, Customs, Religion, and Traditions of the *Americans*, in order to discover their Original. Notwithstanding, I am persuaded, that this Disquisition is only capable of producing a false Light, more likely to dazzle, and to make us wander from the right Path, than to lead us with Certainty to the Point proposed. Ancient Traditions are effaced from the Minds of such as have not, or, who, during several Ages, have been, without any Helps to preserve them; and half the World is exactly in this Situation. New Events, and a new Arrangement of Things give Rise to new Traditions, which efface the former, and are themselves effaced in their Turn. After one or two Centuries have passed, there no longer remain any Marks capable of leading us to find the Traces of the first Traditions.

The Manners very soon degenerate by Means of Commerce with Foreigners, and by the Mixture of several Nations uniting in one Body, and by a Change of Empire always accompanied with a new Form of Government. How much more Reason is there to believe such a sensible Alteration of Genius and Manners amongst wandering Nations become savage, living without Principles, Laws, Education, or civil Government, which might

might serve to bring them back to the antient Manners. Customs are still more easily destroyed. A new Way of living introduces new Customs, and those which have been forsaken are very soon forgotten. What shall I say of the absolute Want of such Things as are most necessary to Life? And of which, the Necessity of doing without, causes their Names and Use to perish together.

Lastly, nothing has undergone more sudden, frequent, or more surprizing Revolutions than Religion. When once Men have abandoned the only true one, they soon lose it out of their Sight, and find themselves entangled and bewildered in such a Labyrinth of incoherent Errors, Inconsistency and Contradiction being the natural Inheritance of Falshood, that there remains not the smallest Thread to lead us back to the Truth. We have seen a very sensible Example of this in the last Age. The *Buccaners* of *St. Domingo*, who were Christians, but who had no Commerce except amongst themselves, in less than thirty Years, and through the sole Want of religious Worship, Instruction, and an Authority capable of retaining them in their Duty, had come to such a Pass, as to have lost all Marks of Christianity, except Baptism alone. Had these subsisted only to the third Generation, their Grandchildren would have been as void of Christianity as the Inhabitants of *Terra Australis*, or *New-Guinea*. They might possibly have preserved some Ceremonies, the Reason of which they could not have accounted for, and is it not precisely in the same Manner, that so many infidel Nations are found to have in their idolatrous Worship Ceremonies which appear to have been copied after ours.

The Case is not the same with Respect to Languages. I allow that a living Language is subject to continual Changes, and as all Languages have been so, we may say with Truth, that none of them have preserved their original Purity. But it is no less true, that in Spite of the Changes, introduced by Custom, they have not lost every Thing by which they are distinguished from others, which is sufficient for our present Purpose; and that
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from the Rivulets, arising from the principal Springs, I mean the Dialects, we may ascend to the Mother-Tongues themselves; and that by attending to the Observation of a learned Academician*, that Mother-Tongues are distinguished by being more nervous than those derived from them, because they are formed from Nature; that they contain a greater Number of Words imitating the Things whereof they are the Signs; that they are less indebted to Chance or Hazard, and that that Mixture which forms the Dialects, always deprives them of some of that Energy, which the natural Connection of their Sound with the Things they represent always give them.

Hence, I conclude, that if those characteristical Marks are found in the *American* Languages, we cannot reasonably doubt of their being truly original; and, consequently, that the People who speak them have passed over into that Hemisphere, a short Time after the first Dispersion of Mankind; especially, if they are entirely unknown in our Continent. I have already observed, that it is an arbitrary Supposition that the great Grandchildren of *Noah* were not able to penetrate into the New World, or that they never thought of it. In effect, I see no Reason that can justify such a Notion. Who can seriously believe that *Noah* and his immediate Descendants knew less than we do; that the Builder and Pilot of the greatest Ship that ever was, a Ship which was formed to traverse an unbounded Ocean, and had so many Shoals and Quick-sands to guard against, should be ignorant of, or should not have communicated to those of his Descendants who survived him, and by whose Means he was to execute the Order of the great Creator, to people the Universe, I say, who can believe he should not have communicated to them the Art of sailing upon an Ocean, which was not only more calm and pacifick, but at the same Time confined within its ancient Limits?

It is even determined on sufficient Grounds, that *America* had not Inhabitants before the Deluge? Is it probable,

* M. P. Abbe du Bos, *his History of Painting and Poetry*.

ble, that *Noah* and his Sons should have been acquainted with only one Half of the World, and does not *Moses* inform us, that all, even the remotest Continents and Islands were once peopled? How shall we reconcile this with the Supposition of those who maintain, that the first Men were ignorant of the Art of Navigation; and can it seriously be said, contrary to the Authority of so respectable a Testimony, as *John de Laet* has done, that Navigation is an Effect of the Temerity of Mankind; that it does not enter into the immediate Views of the Creator, and that God has left the Land to the human Species, and the Ocean to Fishes; Besides, are not the Islands a Part of the Earth, and are there not many Places on the Continent, to which it is much more natural to go by Sea, than by long Circuits frequently impracticable, or at least so very difficult, as to induce Men to undertake almost any Thing in order to avoid them.

It is certain that the Art of Navigation has shared the same Fate with many others, of which we have no proof that our early Ancestors were entirely Ignorant, some of which are now lost, and others again preserved only among a few Nations; but what does this prove? We must always return to this Principle, that the Arts necessary to the Designs of God have never been unknown to those whose Business it was to put them in Execution. Industry, has, perhaps, invented some which were Useful only, and Luxury discovered others which served only to gratify the Passions. We may also believe, that what has caused many to fall into Oblivion, is their having become no longer Necessary, and that such has been the making long Voyages as soon as all the Parts of the World were supplied with Inhabitants. It was sufficient for the Purposes of Commerce to range along the Coasts, and to pass over to the nearest Islands. Need we then be surpris'd, if Men for want of Practice, lost the Secret of making long Voyages on an Element so Inconstant, and so frequently Tempestuous.

Who can ever affirm that it was lost so soon? *Strabo* says in several Places, that the Inhabitants of *Cadiz*, and all the *Spaniards*, had large Vessels, and excelled in the Art

Art of Navigation. *Pliny* complains, that in his Time, Navigation was not so perfect as it had been for several Ages before; the *Carthaginians* and *Pbenicians* were long possessed of the Reputation of being hardy and expert Mariners. Father *Acosta* allows, that *Vasco de Gama* found, that the Use of the Compass was known among the Inhabitants of *Mozambique*. The Islanders of *Madagascar* have a Tradition importing, that the *Cbinese* had sent a Colony into their Country. And is it not a meer begging of the Question, to reject that Tradition on Account of the Impossibility to sail so far without the Help of the Compass. For if the Compass is necessary for sailing from *Cbina* to *Madagascar*, I have as much Right to say, on the Faith of a Tradition, universal in that great Island, that the *Cbinese* have sailed to *Madagascar*, therefore they had the Use of the Compass; as any other Person has to reason in this Manner, the *Cbinese* were unacquainted with the Compass, therefore they never were at *Madagascar*. However, I do not undertake to support this as Matter of Fact, which I might safely do with very good Authors; I only say I am as well grounded in advancing, as they are in rejecting it.

The *Cbinese* whose Original reaches up as high as the Grandsons of *Noah*, have anciently had Fleets; this is a Fact sufficiently established in History: What could have hindered them from passing to *Mexico* by the Way of the *Philippines*? The *Spaniards* perform this Voyage every Year; from thence by coasting along Shore, they might have peopled all *America* on the Side of the South-Sea. The *Isles Mariannes*, and many others, of which Discoveries are every Day made in that Extent of Ocean, which separates *Cbina* and *Japan* from *America*, might have received their Inhabitants in the same Manner, some sooner and some later. The Inhabitants of the Islands of *Solomon*, those of *New-Guinea*, *New-Holland*, and *Terra Australis*, bear too little Resemblance to the *Americans*, to leave room to imagine they could have sprung from the same Original, unless we trace it up to the remotest Ages. Such is their Ignorance that we can never know from whence they really draw their Descent; but in fine, all these Countries are peopled; and it is probable,

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ble, some have been so by Accident. Now if it could have happened in that Manner, why might it not have been done at the same Time, and by the same Means with the other Parts of the Globe ?

It cannot be denied, that the Original of the ancient *Celts* and *Gauls*, so renowned for their Expertness in Navigation, and who have sent so many Colonies to the Extremities of *Asia* and *Europe*, ascends as high as the Children of *Japhet* ; and might not they have penetrated into *America* by Way of the *Azores* ? Should it be objected that these Islands were uninhabited in the fifteenth Century ; I answer that their first Discoverers, had, undoubtedly, neglected them in Order to settle themselves in larger and more fertile Countries, in an immense Continent, from which they were at no great Distance. The *Eskimaux*, and some other Nations of *North-America*, bear so strong a Resemblance to those of the North of *Europe* and *Asia*, and so little to the rest of the Inhabitants of the New World, that it is easy to perceive they must have descended from the former, and that their modern Original has nothing in common with the latter ; I say, modern Original, for there is not the least Appearance of its being Ancient ; and it is reasonable to suppose, that Countries so very far from being tempting, have been inhabited much later than others.

The same does not hold good with respect to the rest of *America*, and I can never think that so considerable a Portion of the Globe was unknown to, or neglected by the first Founders of Nations ; and the Argument drawn from the Characters of the *Americans*, and the frightful Picture which was at first given of them, proves nothing against their Antiquity. It is three Thousand Years at most since *Europe* was full of People as savage and as little civilized, as the greatest Part of the *Americans* ; and of these there are still some remains. Does not *Asia*, the first Seat of Religion, Policy, Arts, and Sciences, and the Centre of the purest and most ancient Traditions, still behold her most flourishing Empires environed by the grossest Barbarity ? *Egypt* which has boasted of having
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been the source of the finest Improvements, and which has relapsed into the profoundest Ignorance; the Empire of the *Abyssinians* so ancient, and heretofore so flourishing; *Lybia*, which has produced so many great Men; *Mauritania* which has sent forth so many Men learned in all Sciences: Have not these always had in their neighbourhood People who seemed to possess nothing human but the Figure? Why then should we be surprized that the *Americans*, so long unknown to the rest of the World, should have become Barbarians and Savages, and that their most flourishing Empires should be found destitute of so many Articles which we reckon indispensably necessary in our Hemisphere.

Let us enquire what has rendered the Mountaineers of the *Pyrenees* so fierce as many of them are at this Day; what is the Original of the *Laplanners* and *Samoeides*, the *Cafres*, and *Hottentots*; why under the same Parallels of Latitude there are Blacks in *Africa*, and not elsewhere; and we shall then find an Answer to the same Questions, respecting the *Eskimaux* and *Algonquins*, the *Hurons* and *Sioux*, the *Guayranis* and *Patagonians*. If it be asked, why the *Americans* have no Beards, nor Hair on their Bodies, and why the greatest Part of them are of a reddish Colour, I shall ask in my turn, why the *Africans* are mostly black? This Question is of no Consequence in the Dispute on the Original of the *Americans*.

Primitive Nations have been mixed and divided by various Causes, foreign and domestick Wars as ancient as the Lust of dominion, or the Passion for domineering, the Necessity of separating and removing to greater Distances, either because the Country was no longer able to contain its Inhabitants multiplied to an infinite Degree, or because the weaker were obliged to fly before the stronger; that Restlessness and Curiosity, so natural to Mankind, a Thousand other Reasons easily to be imagined, and which all enter into the Designs of Providence; the Manner in which those Migrations have been made; the difficulty of preserving Arts and Traditions amongst Fugitives transplanted into uncultivated Countries, and out of the Way of carrying on any Correspondence with civilized

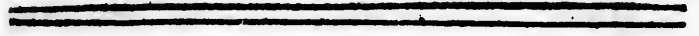
civilized Nations : All this I say is easy to conceive. Unforeseen Accidents, Tempests, and Shipwrecks, have certainly contributed to people all the habitable Part of the World ; and ought we to wonder after this, at perceiving certain Resemblances between the remotest Nations, and at finding such a Difference between Nations bordering upon one another.

We may likewise further understand, that some Part of these Wanderers, either forced by Necessity to unite for mutual Defence, or to withdraw from the Domination of some powerful People, or induced by the Eloquence and Abilities of a Legislator, must have formed monarchical Governments, submitted to Laws, and joined together in regular and national Societies. Such have been the Beginnings of the most ancient Empires in the Old World ; and such might have been the Rise of those of *Peru* and *Mexico* in the New ; but we are destitute of historical Monuments to carry us any farther, and there is nothing, I repeat it, but the Knowledge of the primitive Languages which is capable of throwing any Light upon these Clouds of impenetrable Darkness. It is not a little surprizing that a Method so natural and practicable has been hitherto neglected of making Discoveries as interesting at least, as the greatest Part of those which for these two Ages past have employed the Attention of the Learned. We should, at least, be satisfied amongst that prodigious Number of various Nations inhabiting *America*, and differing so much in Language from one another ; which are those who speak Languages totally and entirely different from those of the Old World, and who, consequently, must be reckoned to have passed over to *America* in the earliest Ages ; and those, who from the Analogy of their Language, with these used in the three other Parts of the Globe, leave room to judge that their Migration has been more recent, and ought to be attributed to Shipwrecks, or to some Accident similar to those of which I have spoken in the Course of this Dissertation.

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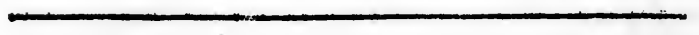
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A N
HISTORICAL JOURNAL
O F
TRAVELS in North America :

Undertaken
By Order of the King of FRANCE.



LETTER FIRST.

MADAM, *Rochefort, June 30th, 1720.*

YOU were pleas'd to express a Desire I should write to you regularly by every Opportunity I could find, and I have accordingly given you my Promise, because I am not capable of refusing you any Thing; but I am greatly afraid you will soon grow weary of receiving my Letters: for I can hardly persuade myself you will find them near so interesting as you may imagine they ought to be. In a Word, you have laid your Account with a continued Journal; but in the first Place I foresee that the Messengers, by whose Hands I must transmit my Letters to you, will never be over and above exact in conveying them, and may possibly sometimes fail in delivering them altogether; in which Case, you can only have a mutilated and imperfect Journal: Besides, I am as yet at a Loss where I am to find Materials to fill it. For you must certainly know, that I am sent into a

VOL. I. E Country,

Country, where I shall often be obliged to travel a hundred Leagues and upwards, without so much as meeting with one human Creature, or indeed any Thing else but one continued Prospect of Rivers, Lakes, Woods, and Mountains. And besides, what Sort of Men shall I meet with? With Savages, whose Language I do not understand, and who are equally unacquainted with mine. Besides, what can Men, who live in the most barbarous Ignorance, say to me, that can affect me; or what can I find to say to them, who are full as indifferent and unconcerned as to what passes in *Europe*, and as little affected with it, as you and I, Madam, are, with what relates to their private Concerns.

In the second Place, should I make Use of the Privilege of a Traveller, I know you too well to venture upon taking that Liberty with you, or to flatter myself I should find any Credit with you, should I attempt it. You may therefore lay aside all such Apprehensions in myself, for I feel no Manner of Inclination to forge Adventures: I have already had an experimental Proof of the Truth of what is said by an ancient Author, that Men carry their own peculiar Genius and Manners about with them cross all Seas, and through all Changes of Climate, let them go where they will; and I, for my Part, hope to preserve that Sincerity, for which you know me, cross the vast Regions of *America*, and through those Seas, which separate that New World from ours. You are pleased to express some Concern for my Health, which you do not think sufficiently confirmed to undertake so long and fatiguing a Voyage; but thank God, I gather Strength daily, and I wish I could promise myself with the same Certainty, or at least Probability, every other Qualification necessary to acquit myself, as I ought of the Commission, with which I have been entrusted. But would you believe it, Madam, I thought I should have lost my Life about half Way between *Paris* and *Rochefort*. Perhaps you still remember what you have often heard me say, that our Rivers in *France* were no more than Rivulets, compared with those of *America*: I can assure you, the *Loire* was very near taking a severe
Revenge

Revenge on me for this Outrage and Affront done to the Dignity of that River.

I had taken Boat at *Orleans* with four or five Officers belonging to *Conti's* Regiment of Infantry. On the sixteenth, being over-against *Langets*, and being unable to advance any farther, on account of a strong Wind blowing directly in our Teeth, we wanted to gain that Village, to make sure of good Lodgings, in Case of being obliged to pass the Night there. For this Purpose it was necessary to cross the River, which we accordingly proposed to our Boatmen, who shewed great Reluctance to undertake it; but being young People, and we insisting on it, they durst not contradict us. We had hardly got to the Middle of the Channel, when we could have wished to have been back again; but it was now too late, and what troubled me most of all, it was I who proposed the Advice we so heartily repented of. We were really in great Danger, which was evident from the Countenances of our Conductors; however, they were not discouraged, and managed so well, that they extricated us out of this Difficulty.

The Danger being over, one of the Company who had frequently been on the Point of stripping, in order to betake himself to swimming, took upon him to cry out with all his Force, but with a Tone which showed there was still a Palpitation at his Heart, that I had been in a great Fright. Perhaps he spoke truer than he thought of; all this was, however, nothing but Guess-work; and especially to ward off the Reproaches they were Beginning to make me, and in order to persuade others that there was no Danger, I had always preserved a tolerable good Countenance. We frequently meet with those false Braves, who, to conceal their own Apprehensions, endeavour to make a Diversion by rallying those who have much greater Courage than themselves. In the mean Time, Madam, were I to believe in Omens, here was sufficient to form a bad Augury of a Voyage I was going to undertake for above three thousand Leagues by Sea, and to sail in a Canoe of Bark on two of the greatest Rivers in the World, and on Lakes almost as large, and at least full as tempestuous as the *Pontus Euxinus*, or the *Caspian* Sea.

The *Loire* continued to be full as untractable all the rest of the Day, so we slept at *Largets*; our Officers, who had their *Lieutenant de Roy* at their Head, were civil Men enough, and extremely agreeable Company. They were, moreover, very religious, and they gave one Proof of it, which was far from being doubtful. There was a Kind of Adventurer that had joined them at *Paris*, who was half Wit, half *petit Maitre*: as far as *Orleans* he had kept tolerably within Bounds, but the Moment we were embarked, he began to break out a little, and by Degrees came to talk on religious Matters in a very libertine Manner. I had the Satisfaction to see that all our Officers were so much offended at it, that at *Largets* none of them would lodge in the same House with him. A young Lieutenant took it upon him to tell him of it, and obliged him to seek a Lodging elsewhere.

I arrived here the 19th; I was expected as I was charged with Packets from the Court; but they looked for somewhat besides, that is to say, some Money, which arrived not till To-day. To-morrow I embark on board the *Camel*, a large and fine Frigate belonging to the King, now in the Road below the Isle of *Aix*, where I shall find myself in the Midst of my Acquaintances. I have already been at Sea with M. de *Voutron*, who is Captain of her, and with *Chaviteau* the first Pilot; and I have lived with several of the Officers and Passengers in *Canada*. We are told that we are extremely well-manned, and there is not a Sea-Officer who is better acquainted with the Voyage we are going to make than our Captain. Thus I have nothing to desire, whether with regard to the Safety or Agreeableness of the Passage.

I am, &c.

LETTER

 L E T T E R II.

A Voyage from ROCHELLE to QUEBEC. Some Remarks upon the Voyage, the Great Bank of NEWFOUNDLAND, and the River ST. LAURENCE.

MADAM,

QUEBEC, Sept. 24. 1720

I Arrived in this City after a tedious and troublesome Passage of 83 Days: We had however but 1000 Leagues to make, so that you see we don't always go Post at Sea, as M. the Abbot *de Choisy* used to say. I made no Journal of this Voyage, because I suffered greatly by the Sea Sicknefs above a Month. I flattered myself that I should have been free from it, because I had suffered it twice before; but there are some Constitutions which cannot sympathize with this Element, and such is mine. And in the Condition we find ourselves under this Sicknefs, it is not possible to attend to what passes in the Ship: On the other Hand, nothing is more barren than a Voyage like this; for the chief Observation to be made, is, whence the Wind blows, how much the Ship gets forward, and if it keeps in the right Course; for during two thirds of the Way there is nothing to be seen but Sky and Water. However, I shall proceed to inform you of what I can remember, that is most likely to give you some Minutes Amusement; to keep, as well as I can, the Promise I made you.

We staid in the Road of *Aix* the 1st of July, and the 2d we got under Sail by Favour of a small Breeze from

the North-East. The three first Days we had scarce any Wind, but yet it was in our Favour, and we comforted ourselves, because this made the Sea very pleasant. It looked as if it wanted to flatter us, before it shewed itself in it's worst Humour. The 4th or the 5th the Wind changed, and came directly against us, the Sea ran high, and for near six Weeks we were tossed in a very extraordinary Manner; the Winds changed continually, but they were oftner against than for us, and we were almost always obliged to sail as near the Wind as possible.

The 9th of *August* our Pilots thought themselves upon the *Great Bank of Newfoundland*, and they were not much mistaken. But from the 9th to the 16th we made scarce any Way. What they call the *Great Bank of Newfoundland*, is properly a Mountain hid under Water, about 600 Leagues from *France* to the West. The *Sieur Denys*, who has given us a very good Work of *North-America*, and a very instructive Treatise on the Cod Fishery, makes this Mountain extend 150 Leagues from North to South; but according to the most exact Sea Charts, it begins on the South Side, in 41 Degrees North Latitude, and it's Northern End is in 49 Degrees 25 Minutes. The Truth is, it's two extremities grow so narrow, that it is difficult to mark it's Bounds. It's greatest Width from East to West, is about 90 *French and English* Sea Leagues; between 40 and 49 Degrees of Longitude. I have heard some Seamen say, that they have cast Anchor in five Fathom Water, which is against the *Sieur Denys*, who says, that he never found less than 25 on the Bank; it is certain that in many Places there are above 60. About the Middle of it's Length on the Side of *Europe*, it forms a kind of Bay, which they call the *Pit*; and this is the Reason, that of two Ships which are upon the same Line, and in Sight of each other, one shall find Ground, and the other none.

Before we arrive at the *Great Bank* we meet with a smaller one, which is called the *Jacquet Bank*: Some say that there is another before this, which is of a conical Figure; but I have seen some Pilots who of the three make but one, and they answer the Objections which are made

made to this, by saying, that there are Hollows in the *Great Bank*, the Depth of which has deceived those who make three of it, because they did not let out Line sufficient. Whatever may be the Figure and Extent of this Mountain, which it is impossible to know exactly, they find here a prodigious Quantity of Shells, and many kinds of Fish of all Sizes; the greatest Part of which serve the Cod for Food; the Number of which seem to equal the Grains of Sand that cover the Bank. For above two Centuries they have loaded two or three hundred Ships every Year, and the Number scarce appears to be lessened. But they would do well to discontinue this Fishery now and then, especially as the Gulph of *St. Laurence*, the River itself for above 60 Leagues, the Coasts of *Acadia*, of *Isle Royal**, and of *Newfoundland*, are almost as well stocked with this Fish as the *Great Bank*. These are, Madam, real Mines, which are more valuable, and require much less Expence, than those of *Mexico* and *Peru*.

We suffered greatly all the Time that the contrary Winds kept us upon the Frontiers of this Kingdom of Cod Fish, for it is the most disagreeable and inconvenient Part of the whole Ocean. The Sun scarce ever shews himself and the greatest Part of the Time we have thick and cold Fogs; which is such a Sign of approaching the Bank, that they cannot be mistaken. What can be the Cause of a Phænomenon so remarkable and constant? Can it be the Neighbourhood of the Land and the Woods that cover it? But, besides that *Cape Race*, which is the nearest Land to the *Great Bank*, is Thirty-five Leagues distant, the same Thing does not happen upon all the other Sides of the Island; for the Island of *Newfoundland* is not subject to Fogs but on the Side of the *Great Bank*, every where else its Coasts enjoy a pure Air, and a serene Sky. It is therefore probable, that it is the Nearness of the *Great Bank* that causes Fogs that cover *Cape Race*, and we must seek for the Cause upon the Bank itself. The following are my Conjectures upon it, which I submit to the Judgment of the Learned.

* This is what we call *Cape Breton*.

I begin by observing that we have another Sign of approaching the *Great Bank*, which is that upon all its Extremities, which they commonly call its deep Shores or Precipices; the Sea is always rough, and the Winds high. May we not look upon this as the Cause of the Fogs which reign here, and say that the Agitation of the Water, the Bottom of which is mingled with Sand and Mud, thickens the Air, and makes it greasy and that the Sun draws only the thick Vapours from it, which it can never disperse: It may be asked me, Whence comes this Agitation of the Sea upon the Borders of the *Great Bank*, whilst every where else, and upon the Bank itself, there reigns a profound Calm? This is the Cause if I mistake not: We find every Day in these Seas, Currents which run sometimes one Way, and sometimes another. The Sea, irregularly driven by these Currents, and striking impetuously against the Sides of the Bank, which are almost every where perpendicular, is repulsed with the same Violence; which causes the Agitation we find here.

If the same Thing does not happen upon the Approach of all deep Coasts, it is because all have not such a great Extent as this; that they have no Currents about them, or that they are not so strong; or that they do not cross one another; that they do not meet such steep Coasts, and are not repulsed with so much Force. Skilful Mariners agree, that the Agitation of the Sea, and the Mud which it stirs, contribute greatly to thicken the Air; but that the Winds occasioned hereby do not reach far; and upon the *Great Bank*, at some Distance from its Sides, the Sea is as calm as in a Road, unless there is a strong Wind coming from some other Part.

It was on *Friday* the 17th of *August*, at seven o'Clock in the Evening, we found ourselves upon the Bank, in 75 Fathom Water. Our Ship's Crew longed for fresh Cod; but as the Sun was set, and the Wind was fair, it was thought best to take Advantage of it. About eleven o'Clock at Night we had a strong Wind at South East, which with a Mizen Sail alone would have driven us three Leagues

Leagues in an Hour. If this had been all, by furling all our other Sails, which was instantly done, we should have had no Cause of Complaint ; but there followed such a heavy Rain, as if all the Cataracts of Heaven were opened, attended with Thunder and Lightning, which fell so near us, that the Rudder remained unmoveable, and all the Seamen who worked the Ship felt the Blow. It redoubled afterwards, and a Hundred Pieces of Cannon fired together would not have been louder : We could not hear one another ; one Clap succeeded another, before the first was over. We could not see each other in the midst of the Lightning, because it dazzled our Eyes ; in short, during an Hour and a half we seemed to be in the hottest Fire of a Trench ; the Hearts of the Boldest trembled, for the Thunder always remained over our Heads ; and if it had fallen a second Time upon us, we might have gone to feed the Cods, at whose Expence we reckoned soon to have feasted. Had not what is called *St. Elmo's * Fire* given us Notice of this Hurricane, we might have been surprized and overfet under Sail.

After an Hour and a Half the Rain ceased, the Thunder grumbled only at a Distance, and the Lightenings were only weak Flashes in the Horizon. The Wind was still fair, but not so strong, and the Sea appeared as smooth as Glas ; then every one wanted to lie down, but all their Beds were wetted ; the Rain had penetrated through the imperceivable Cracks, which is inevitable when the Vessel is greatly loaded : We shifted as we could, and thought ourselves happy to come off so well. Whatever is violent never lasts long, especially the South East Wind ; at least in these Seas. The Calm returned with the Day, we made no Way ; but we made ourselves Amends by Fishing.

Every Thing is good in the Cod while it is fresh ; it loses nothing of its Goodness, and becomes something firmer

* These Fires most commonly appear upon the Yards ; at the Approach of a Storm.

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firmer when it has been two Days in Salt ; but it is the Fishers only who eat the best Parts of it ; *that is to say*, the Head, the Tongue, and the Liver : To preserve all these Parts would take up too much Salt ; so they throw all into the Sea which they cannot consume at the Time of Fishing. The largest Cod that I saw was not three Feet long ; yet those on the *Great Bank* are the largest ; but there is perhaps no other Creature in Proportion to its Bigness, that has so wide a Mouth, or that is more voracious. We find in the Stomach of this Fish, Pieces of broken Pots, and Bits of Iron and Glass. Some People fancy they digest all this, but this is discovered to be a Mistake, which was founded upon finding in them some Pieces of Iron half worn away. Now we are convinced, that the Cod can turn itself Inside-out like a Pocket, and that the Fish frees itself from any Thing that troubles it by this Means. The Fish of the *Great Bank* is what is salted ; and this is what they call *White Cod*, or more commonly *Green Cod*. M. Denys says, he has seen as fine Salt made in *Canada* ; as they bring from *Brouage* ; but after they had made the Experiment in Marshes, which they had dug for that Purpose, they stopped them up again. Those who most exclaimed that this Country was good for nothing, have been more than once the very People that have hindered us from making any Advantage of it. The Dry Cod cannot be made but upon the Coast ; and this requires great Care and Experience. M. Denys, who allows that all those that he has seen carry on this Trade in *Acadia*, had ruined themselves by it, proves perfectly, and makes it appear very plain, that it was wrong to conclude from hence, that there was not a Plenty of Cod. But he alledges, that to carry on the Fishery with Success, the Fishermen must be settled in the Country ; and these are his Reasons. Every Season is not fit for this Fishery, it can only be carried on from the Beginning of *May* to the End of *August*. Now if you have Seamen from *France*, either you must pay them for the whole Year, and the Charges will eat up the Profit ; or you will only pay them during the Time of the Fishing, and that will not do for them. To think of employing them the rest of the Time in sawing Planks, and cutting

cutting Wood, is quite a wrong Notion, for it would not answer the Expence.* But if they are Inhabitants, you will be better served; and it will be their own Faults if they don't thrive: They will take their Time for the Fishery; they will chuse the best Places; they will gain much during four Months, and the rest of the Year they will work for themselves, in their Habitations. If this Method had been taken a Hundred and Fifty Years ago, *Acadia* had now been one of the most poweriul Colonies in *America*. For whilst they affected to publish in *France*, it was impossible to make any Thing of this Country, it enriched *New England*, by the Fishery alone; although the *English* had not all the Advantages there, which we could have had.

When we are passed the *Great Bank*, we meet with several smaller ones, almost equally abounding with Fish as the *Great Bank*. There are indeed few or none of those Fish which require warmer Seas; but there are a great Number of Whales, Spouting-Fish, Porpoises, &c. and many others of less Value. We have more than once had the Diversion of the Fight between the Whale and the Sword-Fish, and nothing is more entertaining: The Sword-Fish is as thick as a Cow, seven or eight Feet long, gradually lessening towards the Tail. It takes its Name from its Weapon, a Kind of Sword three Feet long, and four Inches wide; it is fixed above its Nose, and has a Row of Teeth on each Side an Inch long, at an equal Distance from each other: This Fish is good with any Sauce, and is excellent eating; its Head is better eating than a Calf's, and is bigger and squarer; and the Eyes are very large.

The Whale and the Sword-Fish never meet without fighting, and the latter, they say, is always the Aggressor. Sometimes two Sword-Fish join against a Whale, and then it is not an equal Match: The Whale has neither Weapon offensive nor defensive but his Tail; to
make

* This Remark, if a just one, may put us out of Fear of the *French* rivalling us at present in the Fishery by what is allowed to them by the late Treaty.

make Use of it against his Enemy, he plunges his Head under Water, and if he can strike his Enemy he kills him with a Blow of his Tail; but he is very dexterous to shun it, and instantly falls upon the Whale, and runs his Weapon in his Back; most commonly it pierces not to the Bottom of the Fat, and so does it no great Injury. When the Whale can see the Sword-Fish dart to strike him, he plunges; but the Sword-Fish pursues him in the Water, and obliges him to appear again: Then the Fight begins again, and lasts till the Sword-Fish loses sight of the Whale, which fights always retreating, and swims best on the Surface of the Water.

The *Flettan* or *Hallibut* is like a large Plaice; what they call the *Flet*, is a smaller Kind; it is dark coloured on the Back, and white under the Belly; it is generally four or five Feet long, and at least two Feet broad, and a Foot thick; it has a large Head: Every Part of it is extremely good and tender; they get a Juice out of the Bones, which is better than the finest Marrow. The Eyes and Edges of the two Sides, which they call *Relingues*, are very delicate Bits. They throw the whole Body into the Sea to fatten the Cod, whose most dangerous Enemy is the *Flettan*, who will eat three of them at a Meal.—I shall say nothing of the various Kinds of Birds which live upon these Seas, and subsist only by Fishing; for here all are Fishers, many Travellers have described them, and have said nothing on this Head that deserves to be repeated.

The 18th, the Wind fair, we think the Winds have carried us a little too much to the South, and we steer West North West, to get into our Latitude. The Reason is, we have not seen the Sun these ten or twelve Days, and therefore could not observe our Latitude. This frequently happens, and is what causes the greatest Danger of this Voyage. About eight in the Morning we saw a small Vessel, which seemed to make towards us; we met it, and when we were near we enquired in what Latitude we were: It was an *English* Ship, and the Captain answered in his own Language: We thought we understood him that we were in 45 Degrees; we could not greatly trust
to

to this Account, for he might be under the same Mistake as ourselves: However we took Courage, and as the Wind continued fair, we flattered ourselves, if it did not change, we should have passed the Gulph in two Days.

About four in the Afternoon the Wind fell, which was a Concern to us; however, this saved us. At eleven at Night the Horizon appeared very dark before us, tho' every where else the Sky was very serene: The Sailors of the Watch * made no scruple to say it was Land; the Officer made a Jest of it, but when he found they persisted in the same Opinion, he began to think they might be in the right. By good Fortune there was very little Wind; so that we hoped Day would appear, before we should come too near the Land. At Midnight the Watch changed; the Sailors who succeeded the first, were directly of their Opinion; but their Officer undertook to prove by good Reasons, that the Land could not be there, and what they saw was only a Fog, which would disperse in the Morning; he could not make them think so, and they continued positive in their Opinion, that the Sky was too clear to have any Fog on that Side, if there was no Land.

At Day-break they all cried out that they saw Land, the Officer would not vouchsafe so much as to look that Way, but shrugged up his Shoulders, and four o'Clock striking, he goes to Bed, affirming that when he waked, they would find this pretended Land melted away. The Officer that succeeded, who was the Count *de Vaudreuil*, being more wary, began furling some Sails, and soon saw this Precaution was necessary. As soon as it was Day-light they saw the Horizon almost all bordered with Land; and they discovered a small *English* Vessel at Anchor, about the Distance of two Cannon Shot from us. *M. de Voutron*, who was informed of it, immediately sent for the incredulous Officer, who came out of his Cabin with much Reluctance, where he still persisted that

* A Ship's Company is divided into four Bands, each of which are on Duty four Hours; each Band is commanded by an Officer.

that we could not be so near Land ; he came, however, after two or three Summonses, and at Sight of the Danger we had been exposed to by his Obstinacy, he stood astonished. He is, notwithstanding, the most skilful Man in *France* to navigate these Seas ; but too much Skill sometimes does Harm, when we rely too much upon it.

Nevertheless, Madam, if the Wind had not failed the Day before, at four in the Afternoon, we had certainly been lost in the Night ; for we were running full Sail upon some Breakers, from whence we could not have escaped. The Difficulty was to know whereabouts we were ; it was certain we were not in 45 Degrees the Day before, but were we more to the South or North ? On this we were divided in our Opinions. One of our Officers affirmed, that the Land we saw before us was *Acadia* ; that he had been there before, and remembered it : Another asserted, that it was the Isles of *St. Peter* : But what Probability is there that we are so far advanced ? It is but twenty-four Hours since we were upon the *Great Bank*, and it is more than one Hundred Leagues from the *Great Bank* to the Isles of *St. Peter*. The Pilot *Chaviteau* maintained it was *Cape Race* : What a Mistake, says he, is there in our Reckoning ! There is no Doubt of it, and it is no Wonder, as it is impossible to make Allowances for Currents we don't know, and which vary continually, as we have had no Observation to correct our Errors ; but there is no Probability that we should be either on the Coasts of *Acadia*, or on the Isles of *St. Peter*. His Reasons appeared * good, yet we should have been very glad if he had been mistaken ; for we conceived how vexatious it would be to be Wind-bound under *Cape-Race*. In this Uncertainty we resolved to enquire of the Captain of the *English* Ship, and
Chaviteau

* About five Years after, the same *Chaviteau* mistook in his Reckoning in a Manner much more fatal ; he was still Master of the *Camel*, and having been several Days without an Observation, the Night of the 25th of *August*, this Ship was wrecked upon a Rock near *Louisbourg*, in *Ile Royal*, and no Person was saved. They found by the Journals of the Pilots, that they reckoned themselves 70 Leagues from that Place.

Chaviteau had Orders to do it: At his Return he reported, that the *English* were as much surprized as we to find themselves in this Bay, but with this Difference, that it was the Place they were bound to: That *Cape Race* was before us, and *Cape Brolle* ten Leagues lower; that from the midst of those Breakers, upon which we had run a Risk of being lost, there issued a River, at the Entrance of which there was an *English* Village, whither this little Vessel was carrying Provisions.

About 15 Years since, there happened to us in the same Place a very singular Adventure, which put us in as much Danger as that which I have just now mentioned. It was in *August*, and we had till then felt the Weather very hot: One Morning when we rose, we were so pierced with the Cold, that every Body put on their Winter Garments. We could not conceive from whence it could proceed, the Weather being fine, and no North Wind. In short, the third Day at four o'Clock in the Morning, a Sailor cried as loud as he could, *Luff*; that is to say, turn the Helm to the Windward; he was obeyed, and the Moment after, they perceived a vast floating Piece of Ice, which ran close to the Ship's Side, and against which we should have been wrecked, if the Sailor had not had good Eyes, and if the Steersman had not directly turned the Helm.

I did not see this Ice, for I was not yet up; but all who were then upon Deck assured us, that it seemed as high as the Towers of *Notre Dame* at *Paris*, and was for Certainty much higher than the Masts of the Ship. I have often heard it affirmed that such a Thing was impossible, because it must have been prodigiously deep to rise so high above the Sea; and that it was not possible that a Piece of Ice should acquire that Height: To this I answer in the first Place, that to deny the Fact we must give the Lie to many People, for it is not the first Time that such floating Rocks have been seen in the Sea. The Ship called the *Mother* of the *Incarnation*, making the same Course as we did, ran the same Danger in open Day; the Rock of Ice which nearly occasioned its Loss, for Want of Wind to shun it, was seen by the whole Ship's Company,

Company, and judged to be much greater still, than that which we met. They add that the general Absolution was given, as in Cases of the greatest Danger.

It is certain in the second Place, that in *Hudson's Bay* there are some of these Rocks of Ice formed by the Fall of Torrents, which come from the Tops of the Mountains, and which break away with a vast Noise during the Summer, and are afterwards driven about by the Currents. The *Sieur Jeremy* who lived many Years in this Bay, says he had the Curiosity to sound at the Foot of one of these Rocks of Ice which was aground, and that they let out an hundred Fathoms of Line without reaching the Bottom. But I return to our Voyage.

Cape Race, Madam, is the South East Point of the Island of *Newfoundland*; it is situated in 46 Degrees, and about 30 Minutes North Latitude; the Coast runs from thence 100 Leagues to the West, making a little to the North, and terminates at *Cape Ray*, which is in 47 Degrees. About half Way is the great Bay of *Placentia*, which makes one of the finest Ports in *America*. West South West of this Bay, there is a high Land, which is seen at a great Distance, and serves to make it known: It is called *le Chapeau rouge* (the red Hat) because at a Distance it appears in the Shape of a Hat, and is of a reddish Colour. The 23d at Noon we were over against it, and in the Evening we came up with the Isles of *St. Peter*, which were on our right Hand.

They are three Islands, the two first of which are very high, and from the Side on which we were, they appeared to be nothing but Mountains covered with Moss. They say that this Moss covers in several Places fine Porphyry. On the Side of *Newfoundland* there are some Lands which may be cultivated; and a pretty good Port, where we formerly had some Habitations. The greatest and most Western of the three, which is most commonly called the *Isle Miquelon*, is not so high as the other two, and appears very level; it is about three Quarters of a League long. The 24th at Day break, it was 5 or 6 Leagues

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NEW FOUND LAND

Part of the Great Fishing
 Bank of New Found Land

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 Burnt I
 I.S. John
 Old Port
 Port Choix
 B. St. Paul

Belle I. the common Rendezvous
 of the French Fishing Vessels



St. Peter's Bank

50

49

48

47

37° 56° 55° 54° 53°
 Beaver R.
 Old Port Choix
 Casbas Bay
 Degrat de Cheval
 Orange R.
 White Bin
 I.S. Barb
 I.S. John
 la Seye
 Pinguin I.
 Fog I.
 Fog B.
 Gull I.
 C. Bonavista
 P.S. Giles
 C. Lorian
 Birds I.
 New Cape
 Catalina Bay
 Saints C.
 Trinity
 Green Bay
 Robin Hood Bay
 Smiths Sound
 C. Bonaventura
 Break
 R. Randon
 Bay of Bulls
 Trinity Bay
 Bacalao I.
 Tiddes
 Carboniere
 Havre de Grace
 Roberts Bay
 Salmon Cove
 Main Pt.
 Holy Road
 Goose I.
 C. Broyle
 Foreland Pt.
 Crown I.
 Bear Cove
 Rensow Rocks
 C. Ballard
 C. Race
 Bay of St. Lawrence
 Bay of Placentia
 C.S. Mary
 Bull's Cove
 Ship Harb.
 Harbour
 C. Broyle
 C. May's
 C. H.
 C. B.
 C. Pine
 Trepassy Bay
 Mistake
 C. Race

Leagues behind us; but after Midnight we had no Wind: About four o'Clock in the Morning, there arose a small Breeze from the South East. Waiting till it was strong enough to fill our Sails, we amused ourselves with fishing, and took a pretty large Quantity of Cod. We stopt two Hours longer than we should have done, for this Fishery, and we had soon Cause enough to repent it: It was eight o'Clock when we got under Sail, and we run all the Day in Hopes of discovering *Cape Ray*, which was on our Right, or the little Isle of *St. Paul*, which we were to leave on the Left, and which is almost over against *Cape Ray*; but the Night came on before we could discover either. We heartily wished then, we had made Use of the Time we had lost. What was the more vexatious we had about Midnight another Storm, much like that on the *Great Bank*, and knowing that we were near one of those two Islands which we were to pass between, we did not dare to make Use of the Wind, which would have carried us on at a great Rate. So, contrary to the Opinion of *Chaviteau*, who engaged to go forward without Danger, we lay by.

At Break of Day we discovered *Cape Ray*, upon which the Currents bore us, and to encrease our Misfortune we had no Wind to keep us off: We were almost upon it, when about half an Hour past five in the Morning a small Breeze from the North West, came in very good Time to our Assistance. We lost nothing of it, and we got out of Danger. The North West after having done us this good Office, would have obliged us extremely, if it had given Place to some other Wind; but it did not, and for two Days kept us at the Entrance of the Gulf of *St. Laurence*. On the third Day we passed between the Isle of *St. Paul*, and *Cape St. Laurence*, which is the most northerly Point of *Isle Royal*; This Passage is very narrow, and we do not hazard ourselves in it when the Air is foggy. The Passage which is between the Isle of *St. Paul* and *Cape Ray*, is much wider; but our Sails were set to take the other, and we made Use of it.

The Gulf of *St. Laurence* is 80 Leagues long, which we passed with a good Wind in twenty-four Hours, by the Help of the Currents. About half Way we meet with the *Bird Islands*, which we passed within Cannon Shot, and which must not be confounded with those which *James Cartier* discovered near the Island of *Newfoundland*. These I speak of are two Rocks, which appeared to me to rise perpendicular, about 60 Feet above the Sea; the largest of which is not above 2 or 300 Paces in Circumference: They are very near each other, and I believe there is not Water enough between them for a large Boat. It is difficult to say what Colour they are, for the Dung of the Birds entirely covers their Surface and Sides: Yet we discovered in some Places, Veins of a reddish Colour. They have been often visited, and Boats have been entirely loaded here with Eggs of all Sorts: they say that the Stench is insupportable. They add, that with the *Penguins*, which come from the neighbouring Lands, they find many other Birds which can't fly. The Wonder is, that in such a Multitude of Nests, every Bird immediately finds her own. We fired a Gun, which gave the Alarm thro' all this flying Commonwealth, and there was formed above the two Islands, a thick Cloud of these Birds, which was at least two or three Leagues round.

The next Day, about the Dawn, the Wind dropt all at once. In two Hours more we could have doubled *Cape Rosiers*, and have entered the River *St. Laurence*, which runs North East and South West, and the North West Wind which rose soon after, would have served us; but we lost two Hours of the twenty-four in Fishing, and in Consequence two Days at the Entrance of the Gulf; and we were obliged to wait here till the North West dropped, which was not in five Days, in which we made only five Leagues.

Cape Rosiers is properly the Entrance of the River *St. Laurence*, and from hence we must measure the Width of its Mouth, which is about 30 Leagues. A little on this Side, more to the South, are the Bay and Point of *Gaspé*, or *Gachepe*. Those who pretend that the River

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St. Laurence is 40 Leagues wide at its Mouth, measure it probably from the Eastern Point of *Gaspé*. Below the Bay we perceive a Kind of Island, which is only a steep Rock, about 30 Fathoms long, 10 high, and 4 in Breadth: It looks like Part of an old Wall, and they say it joined formerly to *Mount Joli*, which is over against it on the Continent. This Rock has in the Midst of it an Opening like an Arch, under which a Boat of *Biscay* may pass with its Sail up, and this has given it the Name of the *pierced* Island: Sailors know they are near it, when they perceive a flat Mountain stand above others; and which is called *Rowland's Table*. The Island of *Bonaventure* is a League distant from the pierced Island; about the same Distance is the Island *Miscou*, which is eight Leagues in Compass, and has a very good Haven. Not far from this Island, there rises out of the Sea a Spring of Fresh Water, which bubbles up, and makes a Jet like a Fountain pretty high.

All these Coasts are excellent for their Fishery, and the Anchorage is good every where. It would be easy also to establish Magazines here for the Use of *Quebec*. But we have lost a great deal of Time in pursuing the Fur Trade, which we should have employed in the Fishery for Cod and many other Sorts of Fish, with which this Sea abounds, and in fortifying ourselves in those Ports, the Importance of which we have discovered too late.

But to return to our Voyage: It was natural upon having near us such safe and convenient Retreats, that we should have made Use of them, to wait for the Return of a fair Wind; but they hoped it would return every Minute, and they wanted to take advantage of it immediately.

At length, on *Thursday* the 10th of *September*, the North West Wind dropt about Noon, when finding we could not advance, or scarcely work the Ship, we amused ourselves with fishing, and this Amusement was again hurtful to us; for the Steersman minding his fishing more than his Helm, let the Wind come upon his Sails:

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During the Calm, we had driven much upon the Isle of *Anticoste*, and this Neglect of the Steerfman brought us so near, because the Currents carried us that Way, that we saw plainly all the Breakers with which the Island is bordered. To compleat our Misfortune, the little Wind which was just risen failed us in our Necessity.

Had this Calm continued but a short Time, we had been lost. A Moment after our Sails swelled a little, and we endeavoured to change our Course, but the Ship, contrary to what is usual, would not come to the Wind, and this twice together: A certain Proof, that the Current by which it was carried was very strong. We thought ourselves lost without Resource, because we were very near the Rocks: To run the Risk of turning about with the Wind in our Poop was extremely hazardous; but after all, there was nothing else to be done; so we set ourselves to work, rather to have nothing to reproach ourselves with, than in Hopes of saving ourselves; and in an Instant we found by Experience, that GOD comes to the Assistance of those that endeavour to help themselves. The Wind changed to the North, it freshened by Degrees, and about seven o'Clock at Night we cleared the Point of *Anticoste*, which had put us in so much Fear.

This Island extends about 40 Leagues North East, and South West, about the Middle of the River *St. Laurence*, but has little Breadth. It was granted to the Sieur *Foliet*, upon his Return from the Discovery of the *Mississippi*, but they made him no great Present. It is absolutely good for nothing: It is poorly wooded, its Soil is barren, and it has not a single Harbour where a Ship may be in Safety. There was a Report some Years ago, that there was a Mine of Silver discovered in this Island; and for Want of Miners, they sent from *Quebec* (where I was at that Time) a Goldsmith to make the Proof of it; but he did not go far. He soon perceived by the Discourse of the Person who raised the Report, that the Mine existed only in his own whimsical Brain.

The Coasts of this Island are pretty well stored with Fish; nevertheless I am persuaded, that the Heirs of the Sieur *Foliet* would willingly change their vast Lordship, for the smallest Fief of *France*.

When we have passed this Island, we have the Pleasure to see Land on both Sides, and to be assured of the Way we make; but we must sail with a great deal of Caution up the River. *Tuesday* the 3d, we left on the left Hand the Mountains of *Notre Dame*, and *Mount Louis*; it is a Chain of very high Mountains, between which there are some Vallies, which were formerly inhabited by Savages. The Country round about *Mount Louis* has some very good Land, and some *French* Habitations. They might make here a very good Settlement for the Fishery especially for Whales; and it would be convenient for Ships which come from *France*, to find Assistance here, which they sometimes extremely want. The next Night the Wind encreased, and was very near playing us an ugly Trick. We were not far from *Trinity Point*, which we were to leave upon our right; and the Steersman thought us wide enough from it to be out of Danger; but *M. de Voutron* started up in a Fright, crying out to the Steersman to keep off the Shore. If this Order had been deferred a Quarter of an Hour, the Ship had run upon the Point, which appeared some Moments after. The 4th at Night, we anchored for the first Time, a little below what they call the *Paps* of *Matane*. They are two Heads of the same Mountain, which is about two Leagues within Land. I do not think one can see a wilder Country; there is nothing to be seen but poor Woods, Rocks, Sands, and not one Inch of good Land; there are indeed some fine Springs, and Plenty of good Wild-Fowl; but it is impossible for any but Savages and *Canadians* to follow their Game in such a Place. On the other Side of the River is the Shoal of *Manicouagan*, famous for more than one Ship-wreck, which advances two Leagues into the River. It takes its Name from a River which rises in the Mountains of *Labrador*, makes a pretty large Lake, which bears the same Name, but more commonly that of *St. Barnabas*,

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and discharges itself into the River *St. Laurence* across the Sand: Some of our Maps call it *la Riviere Noire* (the *Black River*.)

The 8th we set Sail; but it was not worth our while for the Way we made; but Variety of Amusement and Exercise is good for Sailors. In the Night of the 10th we made 15 Leagues; and in half a League more we had cleared the most difficult Passage of the River. We also should have got into the strong Tides, for to this Place they are hardly yet perceivable but at the Shores: But the Wind changed suddenly to the South West, and obliged us to seek for Shelter, which we found under Isle *Verte* or *Green Island*, where we remained five Days. We wanted nothing here, but at the End of this Time, we resolved to try if we could not find on the North Side, as we were made to hope, some Land Winds, which would carry us into the great Tides.

We went therefore, and anchored at *Moulin Baude* (*Baude Mill*) the Traverse is five Leagues over. Upon arriving here, I asked to see the Mill, and they shewed me some Rocks, from whence issued a Stream of clear Water. They might build a Water-Mill here, but it is not likely it will ever be done. There is not perhaps a Country in the World less habitable than this. The *Saguenay* is a little higher; it is a River which the largest Vessels may go up 25 Leagues; at the Entrance we leave the Port of *Tadoussac* to the Right. The greatest Part of our Geographers have here placed a Town, but where there never was but one *French* House, and some Huts of Savages who came there in the Time of the Trade, and who carried away their Huts or Booths, when they went away; and this was the whole Matter. It is true that this Port has been a long Time the Resort of all the Savage Nations of the North and East, and that the *French* resorted hither as soon as the Navigation was free, both from *France* and *Canada*; the Missionaries also made Use of the Opportunity, and came to trade here for Heaven: And when the Trade was over, the Merchants returned to their Homes, the Savages took the Way to their Villages or Forests, and the Gospel Labourers followed the last, to compleat their Instructions. Yet some
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Accounts and some Travellers, have spoken much of *Tadoussac*; and the Geographers have supposed it was a Town; and some Authors have given it a Jurisdiction.

Tadoussac in other Respects, is a good Port, and they assured me that 25 Men of War might lie here sheltered from all Winds; that the Anchorage is safe, and Entrance easy. Its Shape is almost round, some steep Rocks of a prodigious Height surround it on all Sides, and a small Stream runs from them, which may supply the Ships with Water. All the Country is full of Marble; but its greatest Riches would be the Whale Fishery. In 1705, being at Anchor with the *Heroe* in this Place, I saw four of these Fish, which were between Head and Tail, almost as long as our Ship. The *Biscaniers* have followed this Fishery formerly with Success, and there is still upon a little Island of their Name, and which is little lower than *Isle Verte* (*Green Island*) some Remains of the Furnaces. and the Ribs of the Whales. What a Difference is there betwixt a fixt Fishery, which they might follow quietly in a River, and that which they go to *Greenland* for with so much Danger and Expence. The two following Days there was no Land Wind, and we greatly regreted our first Anchorage, near which there were some *French* Habitations, whereas here we saw neither Man nor Beast: In short, the 3d. Day at Noon we weigh'd Anchor, and we cleared the Passage of *L'Isle Rouge* (*Red Island*) which is difficult. You must first bear upon the Island as if you would Land on it, this is to shun the *Pointe aux Allouettes* (*Lark Point*) which is at the Entrance of *Saguenay* upon the Left, and which advances greatly into the River; having done this, we change our Course. The Passage on the South of *L'Isle Rouge* is much safer, but to do this we must have gone back, and the Wind might have failed us. *L'Isle Rouge* is only a Rock a little above Water, which appears red, and upon which more than one Ship has been lost.

The next Day with little Wind and Tide, we came to an Anchor above the Island *Coudres*, which is 15 Leagues from *Quebec* and *Tadoussac*; and this Passage is dangerous, when the Wind is not to our Desire; it is rapid, straight, and a Mile long. Formerly it was much safer,

but in 1663 an Earthquake rooted up a Mountain, and threw it upon the Isle of *Coudres*, which was made one half larger than before, and in the Place of the Mountain there appeared a Gulph, which it is not safe to approach. We might have passed on the South of the Island *Coudres*, and this Passage would have been safe and easy; it bears the Name of *M. D'Iberville*, who tryed it with Success, but it is the Custom to pass by the North, and Custom is an absolute Law for the Generality of Mankind.

Above the Gulph I have just mentioned is the Bay of *St. Paul*, where the Habitations begin on the North Side; and there are some Woods of Pine-Trees, which are much valued: Here are also some red Pines of great Beauty. Messrs. of the Seminary of *Quebec* are Lords of this Bay. Six Leagues higher, there is a very high Promontory, which terminates a Chain of Mountains, which extend above 400 Leagues to the West: It is called *Cape Torment*, probably because he that gave it this Name, suffered here by a Gust of Wind. The Anchorage is good, and we are surrounded by Islands of all Sizes, which afford a very good Shelter. The most considerable is the Isle of *Orleans*, the Fields of which being all cultivated, appear like an Amphitheatre, and terminate the Prospect very pleasingly. This Island is about 14 Leagues in Compass; and in 1676 it was made a Title of Honour, and first gave Title of Count to *Francis Berthelot*, Secretary General of the Ordnance, by the Stile of Count *St. Laurence*; who purchased it of *Francis de Laval*, first Bishop of *Quebec*. It contained then four Villages, but it has now six Parishes pretty well peopled. Of the two Channels made by this Island, that of the South only is navigable for Ships: Even Boats cannot pass that of the North but at high Water: So that from *Cape Torment* we must traverse the River to go to *Quebec*, and this Traverse has its Difficulties; we meet with some moving Sands, on which there is not always Water enough for large Vessels, so that this is never attempted but whilst the Tide flows. But this Difficulty might be surmounted by taking the Passage of *M. D'Iberville*. *Cape Torment*, from which we pass to make the Traverse,

§ A very good Lead Mine has been found here lately.

verse, is 110 Leagues from the Sea, and yet the Water is a little brackish : It is not fit to drink, but at the Entrance of the two Canals, which form the Isle of Orleans. This is a Phænomenon pretty hard to explain, especially if we consider the great Rapidity of the River, notwithstanding its Breadth. The Tide flows here regularly five Hours, and ebbs seven. At *Tadoussac* it ebbs and flows six Hours ; and the higher we go up the River, the more the Flood diminishes, and the Ebb increases. At twenty Leagues above *Quebec* it flows three Hours, and ebbs nine. Higher up the Tide is not perceivable. When it is half Flood in the Port of *Tadoussac*, and at the Entrance of *Saguenay*, it is but just beginning to flow at *Cbecoutimi*, twenty-five Leagues higher up the River *Saguenay* ; and yet it is high Water at the three Places at the same Time : This happens no Doubt because the Rapidity of the River *Saguenay*, greater than that of *St. Laurence*, running against the Tide, makes an Equilibrium for some Time between *Cbecoutimi*, and the Entrance of the *Saguenay* into the Great River. This Rapidity was not so great but since the Earthquake of 1663. This Earthquake overthrew a Mountain in the River, which straitened its Bed, and formed a Peninsula, which they call *Cbecoutimi*, above which the Stream is so strong, that Canoes can't get up it. The Depth of *Saguenay*, from its Mouth up to *Cbecoutimi*, is equal to its Rapidity : So that it would not be safe to anchor in it, if they could not make fast their Vessels to the Trees that cover the Banks of this River.

It is also found that in the Gulph of *St. Laurence*, at eight or ten Leagues from the Land, the Tides are different, according to the various Situations of the Land, or the Difference of the Seasons ; that in some Places they follow the Winds, and in others they run against the Wind ; that at the Mouth of the River, at certain Months of the Year, the Currents always run to the Sea, and in others always towards the Land ; and lastly, that in the River itself, till near the seven Islands, *that is to say*, sixty Leagues, there is no Flux on the South Side, nor any Reflux on the North Side. It is not easy to give any good Reasons for all this ; all that can be said, with the greatest Probability, is, that there are some Motions under

under Water, which produce these Irregularities, or that there are some Currents which come and go from the Surface to the Bottom, and from the Bottom to the Surface, in the Manner of Pumps. Another Observation to be made here is, that the Variation of the Compass (which in some Ports of *France*, is but two or three Degrees North West) continues always decreasing till we come to the *Azores*, where there is no longer any Variation; but from thence it increases in such a Manner, that upon the *Great Bank of Newfoundland* it is twenty-two Degrees and more; afterwards it begins to decrease, but slowly, since it is still sixteen Degrees at *Quebec*, and twelve in the Country of the *Hurons*, where the Sun sets thirty-three Minutes later than at *Quebec*.

Sunday the twenty-second, we cast Anchor by the Isle of *Orleans*, where we went to take an Airing, till the Return of the Tide. I found this Country fine, the Soil good, and the Inhabitants pretty well at their Ease. They have the Character of being given to Witchcraft; and they are consulted, they say, upon future Events, and concerning what passes in distant Places. For Instance: If the Ships of *France* do not arrive so soon as usual, they are consulted to hear News of them, and it is said they have sometimes answered pretty true; *that is to say*, having guessed right once or twice, and having out of Diversion made People believe that they spoke from a certain Knowledge, People fancied they had consulted the Devil.

When *James Cartier* discovered this Island, he found it full of Vines, and named it the Isle of *Bacchus*. This Navigator was a *Breton*. After him there came some *Normans*, who plucked up the Vines, and substituted *Pomona* and *Ceres* in the Room of *Bacchus*. In Fact, it produces good Wheat and excellent Fruit. They also begin to cultivate Tobacco, and it is not bad.—At length, on *Monday* the 23^d, the *Camel* anchored before *Quebec*, where I arrived two Hours before in a Canoe of Bark. I have a thousand Leagues to travel in these brittle Vehicles: I must use myself to them by Degrees.—This is, Madam, all that I could recollect of the Particulars of my Voyage.—I shall have something of more Consequence to write hereafter.

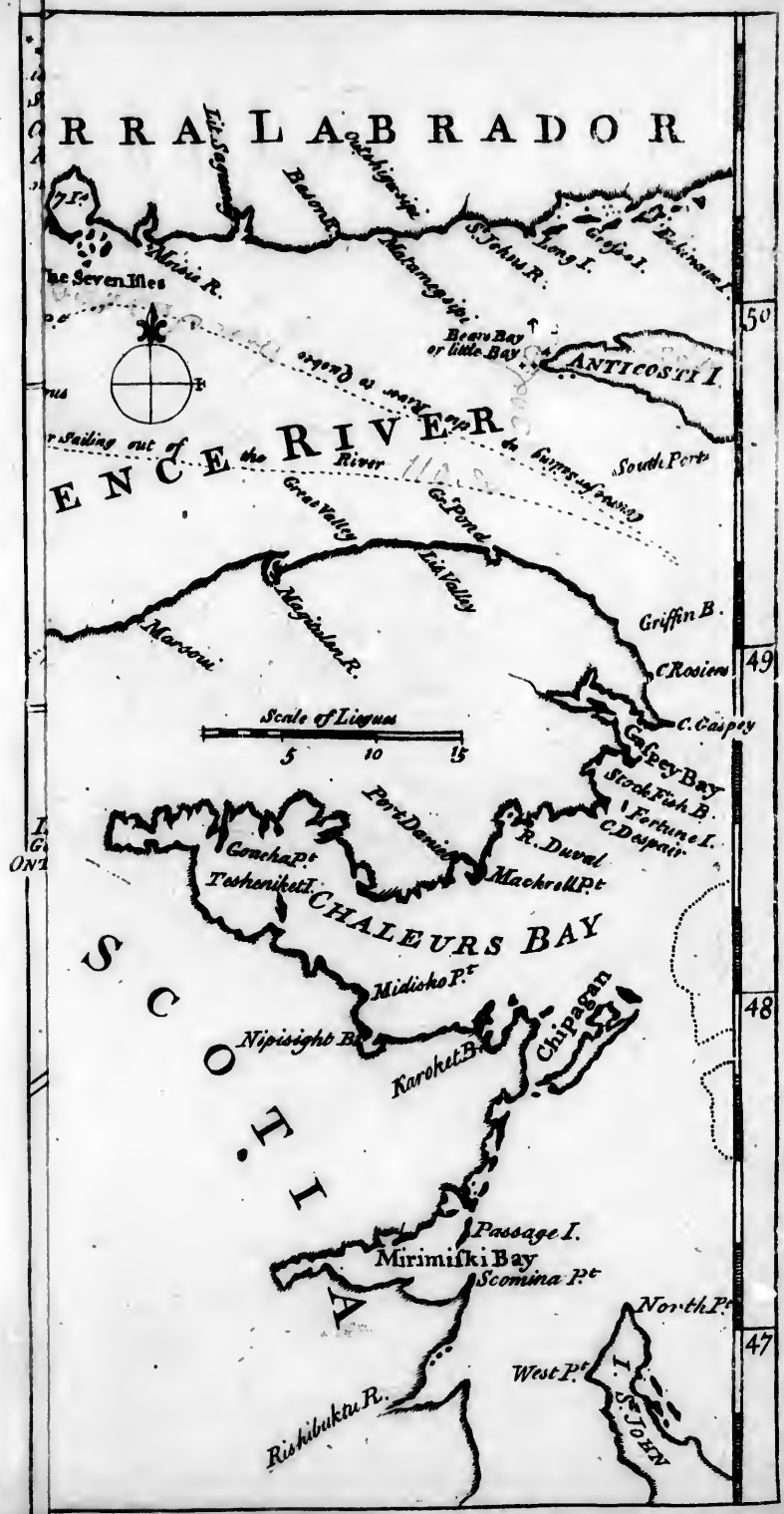
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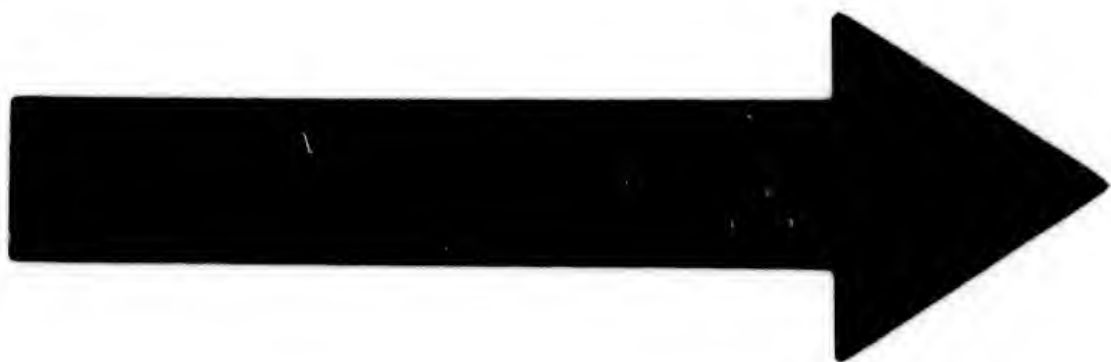
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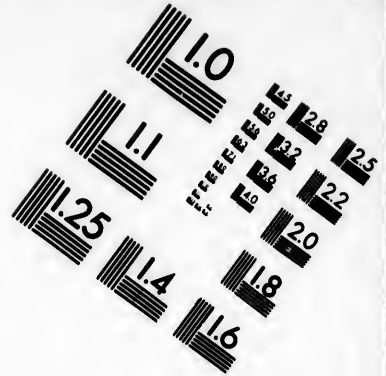
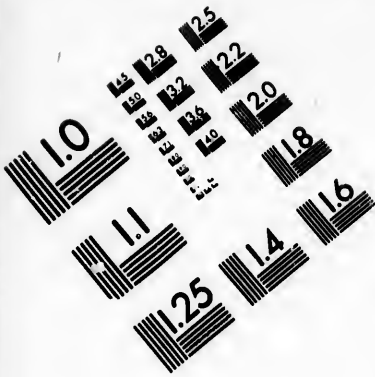
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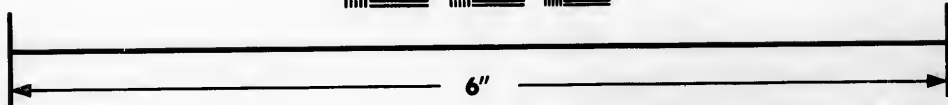
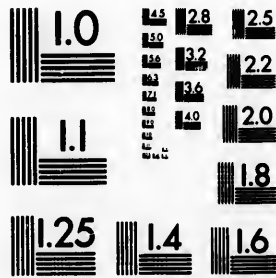
A NEW CHART
 of the RIVER
 ST. LAWRENCE
 from the
 ISLAND of ANTICOSTI
 to
 LAKE ONTARIO
 By T. Kitchin Geog.

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 47





**IMAGE EVALUATION
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The first Thing that appears upon entering the Road, is a fine Sheet of Water, about thirty Feet wide, and forty Feet high. It is directly at the Entrance of the little Channel of the Isle of *Orleans*, and it is seen from a long Point of the South Coast of the River; which, as I said before, seems to bend upon the Isle of *Orleans*. This Cascade is called the *Fall of Montmorenci*, and the Point bears the Name of *Levi*; for *New-France* had successively for Viceroy, the Admiral *Montmorenci*, and the Duke *de Ventadour* his Nephew. Every Body would judge that such a large Fall of Water, which runs continually was the Discharge of some fine River, but it is only derived from an inconsiderable Current which in some Places is not Ankle deep; but it runs continually, and has its Rise from a Lake about twelve Leagues from the Fall.

The City is a League higher, and on the same Side, in the very Place where the River is narrowest; but between the City and the Isle of *Orleans*, there is a Bason a full League in Extent every Way, into which the River *St. Charles* discharges itself, which comes from the North-West. *Quebec* is between the Mouth of this River and *Diamond Cape*, which advances a little into the River *St. Laurence*. The Moorings are over-against the City. There is twenty-five Fathom Water, and good Anchorage; yet, when the North-East blows hard, Ships sometimes drive upon their Anchors, but without Danger.

When *Samuel de Champlain* founded this City in 1608, the Tide rose sometimes to the Foot of the Rock. Since that Time the River has retired by Degrees, and left a great Space dry, where they have built the lower City, which is at present high enough above the Shore to secure the Inhabitants against the Inundations of the River. The first Thing we find at landing, is a pretty large Spot of an irregular Figure, which has in Front a Row of Houses pretty well built, their Backside close to the Rock, so that they have but little Depth: They make a pretty long Street, which takes up the whole Breadth of the Place, and extends from Right to Left to two Ways, which lead to the upper City. The Place is bounded on the

the Left by a small Church, and on the Right by two Rows of Houses built on a Parallel. There is one Row on the other Side between the Church and the Port; and at the Turning of Cape *Diamond*, there is another pretty long Range of Houses on the Side of a small Bay, which is called the *L'Anse des Meres*, (*Mother's Bay*.) This Quarter may be reckoned a Kind of Suburb to the lower City.

Between the Suburb and the Great Street we ascend to the upper City, by a Way so steep, that they have been obliged to make Steps, so that we can only ascend on Foot: But taking the Right Hand Side, they have made a Way which is not so steep, and which is bordered by Houses: 'Tis at the Spot where the two Ways meet, that the upper City begins on the Side towards the River *St. Laurence*; for there is another lower City on the Side of the River *St. Charles*. The first remarkable Building we find to the Right of the first Side, is the Bishop's Palace: All the Left is bordered with Houses. Twenty Paces further, we arrive at two pretty large Squares, or Openings: That on the Left is the Place of Arms, which is before the Fort, where the Governor-General resides. The *Recollets* are over-against it, and some pretty good Houses are built on the other Side of the Square.

In that on the Right Hand, we meet first the Cathedral, which also serves as a Parish Church to all the City. The Seminary is on one Side, upon the Angle made by the River *St. Laurence* and the River *St. Charles*. Over-against the Cathedral, is the *Jesuits* College, and between both there are pretty good Houses. From the Place of Arms, we enter two Streets, which are crossed by a Third, which is entirely taken up by the Church and Convent of the *Recollets*. The second Opening has two Descents to the River *St. Charles*; one very steep on the Side of the Seminary, where there are few Houses; the other, by the Side of the *Jesuits* Inclosure, which winds very much, and has the *Hotel Dieu* about the Mid-way, is bordered by small Houses, and ends at the Palace of the Intendant. On the other Side of the *Jesuits* College, where

where the Church is, there is a pretty long Street; in which are the *Ursulines*.—To conclude, all the upper City is built on a Foundation of Marble and Slate*.

This is, Madam, the Topography of *Quebec*; which, as you see, has a pretty large Extent. Most of the Houses are built of Stone; and yet it is reckoned to contain but about seven thousand Souls.—But to give you a just Idea of this City, I shall describe its principal Buildings more particularly, and then I shall give an Account of its Fortifications.—The Church of the lower City was built in Consequence of a Vow made during the Siege of *Quebec*, in 1690. It is dedicated to *Our Lady of Victory*, and serves the Inhabitants of the lower City. It is a very plain Building: All its Ornament is a modest Neatness. Some Sisters of a Congregation which I shall mention hereafter, are lodged between this Church and the Port. There are but four or five and keep a School.

This Episcopal Palace is finished, excepting the Chapel, and half the Buildings of the Design, which was intended to be a long Square. If it is ever finished, it will be a very fine Building. The Garden extends to the Brow of the Rock, and commands all the Road.—When the Capital of *New France* shall be as flourishing † as that of the *Old*, (we must despair of nothing, *Paris* was a long Time much less than *Quebec* is now,) as far as the Eye can reach they will see only Towns, Castles, Country-Houses; and all this is already sketched out: And the River *St. Laurence*, that majestically rolls her Waters, and brings them from the Extreimity of the North or the West, will be covered with Vessels. The Isle of *Orleans*, and the two Banks of the two Rivers that form this Port, will

* This City is considerably increased within the last twenty Years.

† The Event of Things has shewn, that this Author had not a true Prophetic Spirit. How must the *French* be mortified, to find all their fond Hopes of raising *Quebec* to such a Height of Magnificence, frustrated by the Valour of the *English* Arms; and to see that vast Empire, which they flattered themselves they should be able to establish in *North America*, all transferred and annexed to the Imperial Crown of *Britain*!

will discover fine Meadows, rich Hills, and fertile Fields; and nothing is wanting for this End, but to be more peopled. A Part of a charming Valley (which the River *St. Charles* winds pleasingly through) will, no Doubt, be joined to the City, of which it will certainly make the finest Quarter: And when they have bordered all the Road with noble Quays, and we shall see three or four hundred Ships loaded with Riches, which hitherto we have not known how to value, and bringing back in Exchange those of the Old and New World, you will acknowledge, Madam, that this Terrace will afford a Prospect that nothing can equal.

The Cathedral would not be a fine Parish Church in one of the smallest Towns in *France*. Judge, then, if it deserves to be the Seat of the only Bishoprick which is in all the *French Empire in America*, of greater Extent, than was ever that of the *Romans*. The Architecture, the Choir, the great Altar, the Chapels of this Cathedral, appear only fit for a Country Church. The most tolerable Thing belonging to it, is a very high Tower or Steeple, solidly built, and which at a Distance makes some Appearance. The Seminary, which joins to the Church, is a large Square, the Buildings of which are not finished: What is built, is well done, and with all the Conveniencies necessary in this Country. This is the third Time of Building this House. It was burnt entirely in 1703. And in *October, 1705*, when it was just rebuilt, it was almost totally destroyed by Fire. From the Garden there is a Prospect of the Road, and the River *St. Charles*, as far as the Eye can reach.

The Fort is a fine Building, which is to be flanked with two advanced Pavillions. There is but one built at present. They say the other is to be built very soon*. The Entrance is a large and regular Court; but it has no Garden, because the Fort is built upon the Edge of the Rock. A fine Gallery, with a Balcony that runs the whole Length of the Building, makes some Amends for this Defect. It commands the Road; to the Middle of which one may easily make one's Self heard with a Speaking

* It is now finished.

ing-Trumpet; and the lower City appears under your Feet. Coming out of the Fort, and passing to the Left, we enter into a pretty large Esplanade; and, by a gentle Ascent, we arrive at the Top of *Diamond Cape*, which is a very fine Platform. Besides the Pleasure of the Prospect, we breathe in this Place the purest Air, we see Numbers of Porpoises, white as Snow, play on the Surface of the Water, and sometimes pick up Stones which are more beautiful than those of *Alencon*, or *Bristol*. I have seen some as well formed as if they came out of the Hands of the best Workman. Formerly they were common, and this gave the Name to the Cape. At present they are very scarce.—The Descent to the Country here is more gentle than on the Side of the Esplanade.

The *Recollets* have a large and fine Church, which would be an Honour to them at *Versailles*. It is neatly roofed, adorned with a large Gallery (something heavy) of Wood, well-wrought, which goes all round; in which are made the Confessionals. In short, it wants nothing; but they should take away some Pictures that are very poorly painted. Father *Luke* has placed some here that do no Credit to the Place. The House is answerable to the Church: It is great, solidly built, and convenient, accompanied with a large Garden well cultivated. The *Ursuline* Nuns have suffered twice by Fire, as well as the Seminary: And withal they have such a slender Provision, and the Portions they receive with the Maids of this Country are so small, that the first Time their House was burnt, they had Thoughts of sending them back to *France*: However, they have made a Shift to re-establish themselves both Times, and their Church is quite finished. They are neatly and conveniently lodged: It is the Fruit of the good Name they have acquired in the Colony by their Piety, Oeconomy, Sobriety, and Labour: They gild and embroider. All are usefully employed; and whatever comes from their Hands, is generally of a good Taste.

You have seen, without Doubt, Madam, in some of the Relations, that the College of the *Jesuits* is a very fine Building. It is certain, that when this City was a rude Heap of *French* Barracks, and savage Cabins,
this

this House (the only one with the Fort that was built of Stone) made some Figure. The first Travellers, who judged by Comparison, have represented it as a very fine Building. Those who followed them, and who, according to Custom, copied after them, spoke the same Language: But the Cabins have disappeared, and the Barracks are changed to Houses, most of them well built; so that the College is now a Disgrace to the City, and is in a very ruinous Condition*.

The Situation is bad: It is deprived of the greatest Advantage it could have, which is the Prospect. It had at first the View of the Road, and its Founders were good enough to fancy that they would be allowed to enjoy it, but they were deceived. The Cathedral and the Seminary make a Mask that leaves them nothing but the View of the Square, which has nothing to make Amends for what they have lost. The Court of the College is small and dirty; nothing resembles more a Farm Yard. The Garden is large and well kept, and is bounded by a little Wood, a precious Remain of the ancient Forest that formerly covered this whole Mountain.

The Church has nothing fine on the Outside, but a pretty Sort of a Steeple: It is entirely covered with Slate, and is the only one of *Canada* that has this Advantage, for every Thing here is covered with Shingles. The Inside is well adorned: It has a fine Gallery, bordered with an Iron Balustrade, painted, gilt, and well contrived; a Pulpit entirely gilt, and well wrought in Wood and Iron; three handsome Altars; some good Pictures; the Roof not arched, but flat, and pretty well ornamented; no Pavement, but a good Floor, which makes this Church more supportable in Winter, whilst People are frozen with Cold in the others. I do not mention *the four great cylindric massive Columns, made of one Block of a certain Porphyry black as Jet, without Spots or Veins*, with which it pleased the Baron *de la Fontaine* to enrich the grand Altar. They would certainly be much better than those they have, which are hollow, and coarsely covered with Marble. But this Author might

VOL. I.

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easily

* The College is since rebuilt, and is now very fine.

easily obtain Pardon, if he had disguised the Truth, only to adorn the Churches.

The Hospital has two large Halls, one for the Men and the other for the Women; the Beds are well kept, the Sick are well attended, and every Thing is convenient, and very neat. The Church is behind the Women's Hall, and has nothing remarkable but the great Altar, the Altar-piece of which is very fine. This House is served by some Nuns of *St. Austin*, the first of which came from *Dieppe*. They have begun a good House here, but it is very likely they will not soon finish it for Want of a Fund. As their House is situated on the Midway of a Hill, on a Spot that advances a little upon the River *St. Charles*, they have a very pretty Prospect.

The House of the Intendant is called the *Palace*, because the Chief Council meets there. It is a Grand Pavillion, the Ends of which project some Feet, to which we ascend by a double Flight of Steps. The Front towards the Garden is much pleasanter than that of the Entrance, having a View of the little River. The *Magazines* are on the right Side of the Court, and the Prison is behind. The Gate at the Entrance is marked by the Mountain, on which the upper City stands, and which presents in this Place only a steep Rock, very disagreeable to the Sight. It was much worse before the Fire, which some Years ago entirely destroyed this * *Palace*, for it had no Court in Front, and the Buildings stood upon the Street, which is very narrow. Going down this Street, or more properly speaking, this Way, we come into the Country, and about half a Mile distant stands the General Hospital. It is the finest House in *Canada*, and would be no Disgrace to our greatest Cities of *France*. The *Recollets* formerly possessed this Place: *M. de St. Vallier*, Bishop of *Québec*, removed them into the City, bought the Ground, and spent 100,000 Crowns in Buildings, Furniture, and a Fund for its support. The only Defect of this Hospital is, its being built in a Marsh; however, they hope to remedy it by draining the Marsh; but the River *St. Charles* makes an Elbow in this Place, and

* This Palace was again entirely burnt down,

and the Waters do not easily run off, and this can never be well mended.

The Prelate, who is the Founder, has his Apartment in the House, and makes it his ordinary Residence; he lets out his own Palace, which is also his own Work, for the Benefit of the Poor. He did not disdain to serve as Chaplain to the Hospital, as well as to the Nuns, and he performed the Duty of this Office with a Zeal and Assiduity, which would be admired in a common Priest, who was to live by this Employment. Artists or others, whom great Age or Infirmities have deprived of getting their Living, are received into this Hospital, to a certain Number of Beds that are appropriated for this Purpose, and thirty Nuns, are employed to attend them. It is a Copy of the *Hôtel Dieu* of *Quebec*, but to distinguish the Nuns, the Bishop has given them some particular Regulations, and makes them wear a Silver Cross upon their Breasts. The greatest Part of them are of good Families, and as they are not of the richest of the Country, the Bishop has given Portions to many.

Quebec is not regularly fortified, but they have been long employed in making it a defensible Place: This City is not easy to be taken in its present Condition. The Port is flanked by two Bastions, which at the high Tides, are almost level with the Water, *that is to say*, about twenty-five Feet high, for the Equinoctial Tides rise so high. A little above the Bastion on the Right, they have made an half Bastion in the Rock, and higher up, by the Side of the Gallery of the Fort, there is a Battery of twenty-five Pieces of Cannon. There is a little square Fort called the Citadel still above this; and the Ways to go from one Fortification to another are very steep. To the Left of the Port, all along the Road up to the River *St. Charles*, there are good Batteries of Cannon, and some Mortars.

From the Angle of the Citadel, which looks towards the City, they have made an *Oreille* of a Bastion, from whence they have made a Curtain at right Angles, which runs to join a very high Cavalier, upon which there is a

Mill fortified. Descending from this Cavalier, we meet, at about the Distance of Musket Shot, a first Tower with Bastions, and at the same Distance from this a second. The Design was to cover all this with a Stone Facing, which was to have the same Angles as the Bastions, and which was to terminate at the End of the Rock over-against the Palace, where there is a little Redoubt, as well as on the *Diamond Cape*. I know not why this has not been executed. Such was, Madam, pretty near the State of the Place in 1711, when the *English* fitted out a great Fleet for the Conquest of *Canada*, which failed of Success through the Rashness of the Commander, who, contrary to the Advice of his Pilot, came too near the seven Isles, and lost all his largest Ships, and three thousand Men of his best Troops.

After having mentioned what is most material in our Capital, I must say a Word or two of its Inhabitants; this is its Beauty. And if upon considering only its Houses, Squares, Streets, and public Buildings, we may reduce it to the Rank of the smallest Cities of *France*, the Worth of those who inhabit it, secures it the Title of Capital.

I have already said that that they reckon scarcely at *Quebec* seven thousand Souls; but we find here a little chosen World, which wants nothing to make an agreeable Society. A Governor General * with his Attendants, Nobility, Officers of the Army, and Troops: An Intendant † with an upper Council, and the inferior Jurisdictions: A Commissary of the Marine ‡: A Grand Provost §: A Grand Surveyor of Highways, and a Grand Master of the Waters and Forests || whose Jurisdiction is certainly the most extensive in the World: Rich Merchants, or who live as if they were such: A Bishop and a numerous Seminary: *Recollets* and *Jesuits*: Three Societies of Maidens, well composed: Circles as brilliant as in any other Place, at the Governor's, and the Intendant's Ladies. Here seems to me to be every Thing for all
Sorts

* The Marquis de *Vaudreuil*. † M. *Begon*. ‡ M. *Clerambaut d'Aigremont*. § M. *Denys de St. Simon*. || M. le Baron de *Bekancourt*.

Sorts of People to pass their Time very agreeably. And so they do in Reality, and every one endeavours to contribute what they can towards it. They play, they make Parties of Pleasure, in Summer, in Chariots, or Canoes; in Winter, in Sledges on the Snow, or skating on the Ice. Shooting is much followed; Gentlemen find this their only Resource to live plentifully. The News current is but little, because the Country furnishes scarce any, and the News from *Europe* comes all together; but this affords Conversation for great Part of the Year: They make political Remarks on Things past, and raise Conjectures on future Events: The Sciences and the fine Arts have their Turn, and Conversation never grows dull. The CANADIANS, *that is to say*, the *Creoles* of *Canada*, breathe at their Birth an Air of Liberty, which makes them very agreeable in the Commerce of Life; and our Language is no where spoken with greater Purity.

There is nobody rich here, and 'tis Pity, for they love to live generously, and no one thinks of laying up Riches. They keep good Tables, if their Fortunes will afford it, as well as dress handsomely; if not, they retrench the Expence of their Table to bestow it on Dress; and indeed we must allow that our *Creoles* become their Dress. They are all of good Stature, and have the best Complexion in the World in both Sexes. A pleasant Humour, and agreeable and polite Manners are common to all; and Clownishness, either in Language or Behaviour, is not known among them.

It is not so, as they say, with the *English* our Neighbours, and they who know the two Colonies only by the Manner of living, acting and speaking of the Inhabitants, would certainly judge ours to be the most flourishing. In *New England*, and the other Provinces of the Continent of *America*, subject to the *British* Empire, there prevails an Opulence, of which they seem not to know how to take the Benefit; and in *New France*, a Poverty disguised by an Air of Ease, which does not seem constrained. Commerce, and the Culture of Plantations, strengthen the former; the Industry of the Inhabitants supports the latter, and the Taste of the Nation diffuses an unbounded Agreeableness.

ablenefs. The *Engliſh* Colonift gathers Wealth, and never runs into any ſuperfluous Expence; The *French* enjoys what he has, and often makes a Shew of what he has not. One labours for his Heirs; the other leaves them in the Neceſſity in which he found himſelf, to ſhift as well as they can. The *Engliſh Americans* are entirely averſe to War, becauſe they have much to loſe; they do not regard the Savages, becauſe they think they have no Occaſion for them. The Youth of the *French*, for the contrary Reaſons, hate Peace, and live well with the Savages, whoſe Eſteem they gain during a War, and have their Friendſhip at all Times. I could carry the Parralel further, but I muſt finiſh: The King's Ship is ready to ſail, and the Merchant Ships are preparing to follow it; and perhaps in three Days there will not be a ſingle Ship in our Road.

I am, &c.

LETTER

L E T T E R I V.

Of the HURON VILLAGE: What has hindered the Progress of the FRENCH COLONY of CANADA: Of the Money current there,

1721

Madam,

QUEBEC, Feb. 15.

I Am returned from a little Journey of Devotion, of which I shall give you an Account; but I must first acquaint you, that I was mistaken at the End of my last Letter, when I said the Road of *Quebec* would be empty in three Days. A Ship from *Marseilles* lies here still, and has found Means to be under Shelter of the Ice, with which this River is covered. This is a Secret which may be of some Use. It is good to have some Resource against any Accident that may happen. The Captain of this Ship weighed Anchor the 22d in the Evening, and after he had made about a League, he anchored again to wait for some of his Passengers, who embarked in the Middle of the Night: He then gave Orders to prepare for sailing as soon as the Tide should begin to fall, and went to Bed in pretty good Time. About Midnight they waked him, to let him know that the Vessel was filling with Water: They pumped, but to no Purpose: The Water increased continually, instead of diminishing. In short, every one began to think of saving himself, and it was Time. The last were not yet ashore when the Ship disappeared. A Bark loaded with Merchandize from *Montreal* met with the same Fate at the Lake *St. Pierre*, (*St. Peter*), but they hope to get them both up again, when the fine Weather returns; and they flatter themselves that the greatest Part of the Loading of these two

Vessels will not be lost.—The Affair of the Ship of *Marseilles* may have some Consequences; for the Captain suspects that some Body play'd him a Trick.

I now come to my Pilgrimage. Three Leagues from hence, to the North-East, there is a little Village of *Christian Hurons*, whose Chapel is built after the Model, and with all the Dimensions of the *Santa Casa* of *Italy*, or the House of *Loretto*; from whence they sent to our new Converts an Image of the *Virgin*, like that which is in that celebrated Place. They could not well have chosen a wilder Place for this Mission: Nevertheless, the Course here is very great; and whether it be fancy, Devotion, or Prejudice, or what you please, many Persons have assured me that they were seized upon their Arrival here with a secret and holy Horror, which they could not resist: But what makes a still greater Impression, is the solid Piety of the Inhabitants of this Desert.

They are Savages, but they retain nothing of their Birth and Original but what is valuable; *that is to say*, the Simplicity and Freedom of the first Age of the World, with the Addition of Grace; the Faith of the Patriarchs, a sincere Piety, that Rectitude and Docility of Heart, which is the Character of Saints, an incredible Innocence of Manners, a pure Christianity, on which the World has never breathed the contagious Air that corrupts it, and often Actions of the most heroic Virtue. Nothing is more affecting than to hear them sing in two Choirs, the Men on one Side, and the Women on the other, the Prayers of the Church, and Hymns in their own Language. Nothing is comparable to the Fervour and Modesty which they make appear in all their Exercises of Religion. I never saw any Person who was not touched with it to the Bottom of his Soul.

This Village was formerly more populous; but Diseases, and something, I know not what, that reduces insensibly to nothing all the Nations of this Continent, have greatly diminished the Number of Inhabitants. The Age and Infirmities of some of their antient Pastors had also made some Breaches in their first Fervour; but it

was

was not difficult to recover them; and he that governs them at present, has nothing to do but to keep Things upon the Footing he found them. It is true, that they take all Manner of Precautions to hinder their falling off again. Strong Liquors, the most common, and almost the only Stumbling-Block, which makes the Savages fall, are forbid by a solemn Vow, the Transgression of which is punished with publick Penance, as well as every other Fault which causes Scandal; and the second Offence generally suffices to banish the Guilty, without Hope of Return, from a Place which ought to be the impenetrable Asylum of Piety and Innocence. Peace and Subordination reign here intirely; and the whole Village seems to make but one Family, regulated upon the purest Maxims of the Gospel. This always surprizes every one who knows how far these People (and the *Hurons* especially) do naturally carry Pride and the Spirit of Independence.

The greatest, and perhaps the only Trouble of a Missionary here, is to find Provision for his Flock. The District they possess, cannot sufficiently supply them; and there are good Reasons why they do not permit them to abandon it—Monsieur and Madam *Begon* were of our Pilgrimage, and were received by these good People with a Respect due to Persons of their Rank, and who never let them want Necessaries. After a Reception entirely military on the Part of the Warriors, and the Shouts of the Multitude, they began the Exercises of Piety, which was mutually edifying: They were followed by a general Feast, at the Expence of Madam *Begon*, who received all the Honours of it. The Men, according to Custom, eat in one House, and the Women and Children in another: I say House, and not Cabin; for these Savages are lately lodged after the *French* Manner. The Women on these Occasions used only to shew their Gratitude by their Silence and Modesty; but because it was a Lady of the first Rank that was then in the Colony, who treated the whole Village, they granted the *Huron* Women an Orator, by whom they displayed to their illustrious Benefactors all the Sentiments of their Hearts. As for the Men, after the Chief had made a Speech to the Intendant, they danced and sung as long as we pleased.

Nothing,

Nothing, Madam, is less diverting, than these Songs and Dances: First, all are seated upon the Earth like Apes, without any Order. From Time to Time a Man rises up and comes forward slowly into the Midst of the Place, always keeping Time, as they say, he turns his Head from Side to Side, sings an Air, which is far from being melodious to any one but a Savage born, and pronounces some Words which have no great Meaning. Sometimes it is a Song of War, sometimes a Song of Death, sometimes an Attack or a Surprize; for as these People drink nothing but Water, they have no drinking Songs, and they have not yet thought of singing their Amours. Whilst they sing, all the Company never cease to beat Time by drawing from the Bottom of their Breast an *He*, which never varies. The Connoisseurs say they always keep Time exactly. I refer it to them. When one has ended, another takes his Place: And this continues till the Assembly returns them Thanks; which would soon happen, without a little Complaisance, which it is good to have for this People. It is in Fact a very tiresome and disagreeable Musick, at least to judge by what I have heard. Throats of Iron, always in one Tone; Airs which have always something fierce, or mournful. But their Voice is quite different when they sing at Church. As for the Women, their Voices have a surprizing Sweetness; they have also a good deal of Taste and Inclination for Musick.

Upon these Occasions, the Speech is the best Thing. They explain in a few Words, and generally very ingeniously, the Occasion of the Feast; to which they never fail to give some high Motives. The Praises of the Founder are never forgotten; and they take the Opportunity of the Presence of some Persons (especially when they speak before the Governor-General or the Intendant) to ask some Favour, or to make some Representation.

The Orator of the *Hurons*, on that Day, said such witty Things, that we suspected that the Interpreter (who was the Missionary himself) had lent him his Wit and Politeness with his Voice; but he protested that he had added nothing of his own; and we believe him, because he

he is known to be one of the most open and sincere Men in the World. §

Before I had taken this little Journey, I had made several Excursions about this City ; but as the Earth was every where covered with Snow, five or six Feet deep, I could thereby learn nothing of the Nature of the Soil ; but I have been over it formerly in all Seasons, and I can assure you that it is very rare to see Lands more fruitful, or of a better Quality. I applied myself very diligently this Winter, to inform myself of the Advantages which might be made of this Colony, and I will communicate to you the Fruit of my Labours.—*Canada* does not enrich *France* ; this is a Complaint as old as the Country, and it is not without Foundation. It has no rich Inhabitants : This is also true. Is this the Fault of the Country, or is it not owing also to the first Settlers ? I shall endeavour to make you able to decide this Point.

The first Source of the ill Fortune of this Country, which is honoured with the Name of *New France*, was the Report which was at first spread through the Kingdom, that it had no Mines ; and they did not enough consider that the greatest Advantages that can be drawn from a Colony, is the Increase of Trade : And to accomplish this, it requires People ; and these Peoplings must be made by Degrees, so that it will not appear in such a Kingdom as *France* : And that the two only Objects which presented themselves first in *Canada* and *Acadia*, (I mean the Furrs and the Fishery,) required that these Countries should be peopled : If they had been so, they had perhaps given greater Returns to *France*, than *Spain* has drawn from the richest Provinces of the New World ; especially if they had added Ship-building : But the Lustre of the Gold and Silver which came from *Mexico* and *Peru* so dazzled the Eyes of all *Europe*, that a Country which did not produce these precious Metals, was looked upon as a bad Country. Let us hear upon this Subject a sensible Author, who had been in these Places.

“ The

§ Father *Peter-Dan Richer*.

“ The common Questions they make (*says Mark Lef-*
carbot) are these : Is there any Gold or Silver ? And
 “ no Body asks, Are these People inclined to hear the
 “ *Christian* Doctrine ? And as to the Mines, there are
 “ some indeed, but they must be wrought with Industry,
 “ Labour and Patience. The finest Mine that I know
 “ of, is that of Corn and Wine, and the breeding of
 “ Cattle. They who have this, have Money ; and we
 “ do not live upon Mines. The Sailors who go from all
 “ Parts of *Europe* to get Fish at *Newfoundland* and be-
 “ yond, eight or nine hundred Leagues distant from their
 “ Country, find there good Mines, without breaking
 “ the Rocks, digging into the Bowels of the Earth, and
 “ living in the Darknes of Hell. They find, I say,
 “ good Mines at the Bottom of the Waters, and in the
 “ Trade of Furr and Skins, of which they make good
 “ Money.”

They not only gave *New France* a very bad Name
 without knowing it ; but those who thought to get some
 Profit by it, took no Measures for this Purpose. First,
 they were a long Time before they settled upon a Place :
 They cleared the Land without having first well examin-
 ed it : They sowed it, and raised Buildings upon it ; and
 then, without knowing why, they often abandoned it,
 and went to some other Place. This Inconstancy was the
 great Cause of our losing *Acadia*, and hindering us from
 making any Thing of it, whilst we were in Possession of
 that fine Country. — The Author I have already cited,
 and who was a Witness of our Want of Resolution, was
 not afraid to blame those who were most guilty in this
 Affair. “ It is thus (*says he*) that at all Times we make
 “ much ado about nothing, that we pursue new Enter-
 “ prizes with great Heat, and that we project fine Be-
 “ ginnings, and then quit every Thing. In Reality, for
 “ such Undertakings there must be a Subsistence and Sup-
 “ port ; but we must also have Men of Resolution, who
 “ will not soon be disheartened, and have this Point of
 “ Honour in View, *Victory or Death*, that Death being
 “ great and glorious which happens in executing a great
 “ Design ; such as laying the Foundation of a New
 “ Kingdom,

“ Kingdom, and establishing the *Christian* Faith among
 “ People where GOD is not known.”

I come now to Trade.—The Trade of *Canada* has been a long Time solely in the Fishery and Skins. The Cod Fishery was carried on upon the *Great Bank*, and upon the Coasts of *Newfoundland*, a long Time before they discovered the River of *St. Laurence*: They bethought themselves too late, of making a Settlement upon the Island; and we had suffered the *English* to be before-hand with us. At length we took Possession of the Port and Bay of *Placentia*. The Militia of *Canada* have performed here many warlike Exploits, equal to those of the boldest *Buccaneers* of *St. Domingo*. They have often destroyed the Inhabitants, and ruined the Trade of the *English* in this Island: But they who suffered their strongest Places to be easily taken from them, knew their Enemy too well to be disheartened. Accustomed to see the *Canadian* Fire break out amidst the Northern Ice, and die away of itself in the Midst of what ought to have given it more Power, they behaved themselves at the Approach of our Heroes like a skilful Pilot upon the Approach of a Storm. They prudently yielded to the Tempest, and afterwards repaired without any Hindrance the Damage which had been done to their Posts; and by this Conduct, though they were always beat in *Newfoundland*, either when they attacked or defended themselves, they have always carried on a much greater Trade than their Conquerors, and have at last remained the sole Masters and quiet Possessors of this Island. We have behaved still worse in *Acadia*. This great and rich Province has been a long Time divided amongst divers private Persons, none of which are grown rich, whilst the *English* have made an immense Profit of the Fishery upon the Coasts.

The Settlements which these Proprietors made here not being upon a solid Foundation, and wanting themselves Judgment, and ruining one another, they left the Country in much the same Condition they found it; and with such an ill Name, that it never recovered till the Moment we lost it. But our Enemies have made us know the Value of it.

The

The Trade to which they confined themselves solely for a long Time in *Canada*, was that of Skins or Furs. It is impossible to relate the Faults which have been here committed. The Genius of our Nation never, perhaps, was shewn more than on this Occasion. When we discovered this vast Continent, it was full of Deer and other Beasts of the Chace : But a Handful of *Frenchmen* have within a single Age found Means to make them almost entirely disappear, and there are some Species of them entirely destroyed. They killed the *Originals*, or Elks, for the sole Pleasure of killing them, and to shew they were good Marksmen. No Body thought of interposing the King's Authority to put a Stop to such an extravagant Disorder : But the greatest Evil proceeded from the insatiable Covetousness of private Persons, who applied themselves solely to this Trade. They came for the most Part from *France*, like *SIMONIDES* ; *that is to say*, possessing only what they had upon their Backs ; and they were impatient to appear in a better Condition. At first, this was easy : The Savages did not know the Treasure their Woods contained, but by the Eagerness the *French* shewed to get the Skins out of their Hands, they got from them a prodigious Quantity, by giving them Things which some People would not pick up : And even since they have been better informed of the Value of this Merchandize and expected to be something better paid for it, it was very easy for a long Time to satisfy them at a small Expence : With a little Conduct, this Trade might have been continued on upon a tolerably good Foundation. It would be difficult, however, to name a single Family, at this Time, that has been enriched by this Trade. We have seen some Fortunes, as immense as sudden, raised and disappear almost at the same Time ; like those moving Mountains of Sand which some Travellers speak of, and which a Whirlwind raises and levels again in the Plains of *Africa*. Nothing is more common in this Country, than to see People suffer a languishing old Age under Misery and Contempt, after having had it in their Power to have made a handsome Settlement for themselves.

After all, Madam, these private Persons who have missed making Fortunes which they did not deserve, would have

have been unworthy of the Public Concern, if the Effects of it did not fall upon the Colony; which soon found itself reduced to such a State, as to see entirely dried up, or running in another Channel, a Spring from whence so many Riches might flow into its Bosom.

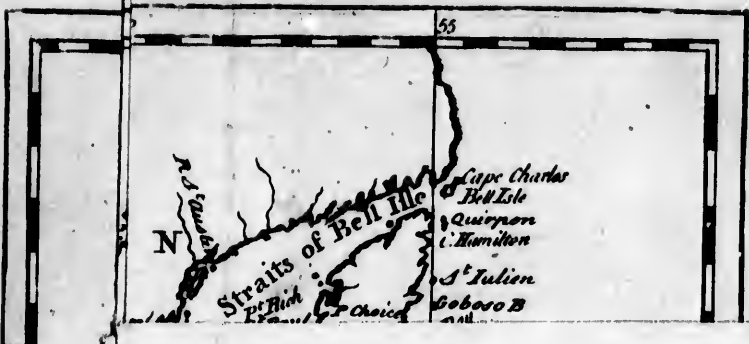
Its Ruin began by its Plenty. By Means of heaping up Beaver Skins, which were always the principal Object of this Trade, there was found such a vast Quantity in the Magazines, that they could not be disposed of: Whence it happened, that the Dealers not being willing to take them, our Adventurers, whom they call here *Coueurs de Bois*, (*Forest Rangers*) carried them to the *English*, and many of them settled in *New York*. Several Attempts were made to hinder these People from deserting the Colony, but with little Success; on the contrary, those who went over to our Neighbours for the Sake of Interest, were detained there by the Fear of Punishment; and some Vagabonds, who taking a Liking to Independency, and a wandering Life, remained among the Savages; from whom they could not be distinguished, but by their Vices. Recourse was had several Times to the publishing of Pardon to all that would return; which at first had little Effect; but at length this Method, managed with Prudence, answered the expected End.

They made Use of another Method, which was still more effectual. This was, to allow a Number of Persons, whom they thought they could confide in, to go and trade in the Countries of the Savages, and prohibit all other Persons to go out of the Colony. The Number of these Licences was limited, and they were distributed to poor Widows and Orphans, who could sell them to the Traders for more or less, according to the Value of the Trade; *that is*, according to the Places where the Licences permitted them to go; for they had taken the Precaution to mark out the Places, to hinder them from going all one Way.

Besides these Licences, (the Number of which was settled by the Court, and the Distribution of which belongs to the Governor-General) there are some of the Commanders

Commanders of Posts, and for extraordinary Occasions; and the Governor gives some also by Name of *simple Permissions*: So that a Part of the young Men are continually roving the Woods; and though they do not commit any longer, or at least so openly, the Disorders which have so much disgraced this Profession, yet they still contract a loose vagrant Habit, of which they are never entirely cured: They lose at least an Inclination for Labour; they waste their Strength, and become incapable of the least Restraint; and when they are no longer able to bear the Fatigues of these Journies (which soon happens, because these Fatigues are very great) they remain without any Resource, and are no longer fit for any Thing. From whence it proceeds, that much good Land lies still uncultivated, and that the Country is not peopled. It has been often proposed to abolish these pernicious Licences, and to make some *French* Settlements in some chosen Places, and where it would be easy to assemble the Savages, at least at certain Seasons of the Year. By this Means the Trade would be rendered more flourishing; these vast Countries would be insensibly peopled; and this would perhaps be the only Means to execute what the Court has had so long at Heart, to *frenchify* these Savages. I believe I may at least assert, that if this Project had been followed, *Canada* would have been at this Time much more populous than it is; that the Savages, attracted and retained by the Help and kind Treatment they would have found in our Habitations, would have been less roving, less miserable, and in Consequence would have encreased in Number, (instead of which their Numbers are surprizingly diminished) and they would have been attached to us in such a Manner, that we might have made the like Use of them by this Time, as of the Subjects of the Crown; and the more so, as the Missionaries would have found much less Difficulty in their Conversion.—What we now see at *Loretto*, and in some Measure amongst the *Iroquois*, the *Algonquins*, and the *Abenakis*, who live in the Colony, leaves no Room to doubt of the Truth of what I advance; and there is no Person amongst those who have been most conversant with the Savages, who does not agree that we can never

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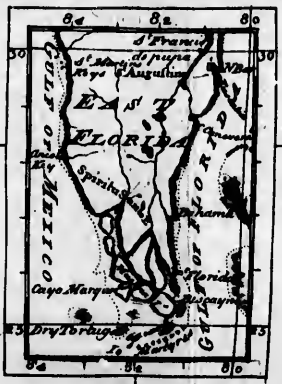
PART OF
LABRADOR
NEW BRITAIN

GULF OF ST. LAURENCE
ST. LAURENCE
NEWFOUNDLAND
The Great Fishing Bank of NEWFOUNDLAND

A T L A N T I C
O C E A N

The Oblique Lines show what formerly belonged to the French whose Ports are marked with double lines, the English Ports by a single line

To prevent too great a Contraction of the Gulf of Mexico Florida is contain'd here on the same Scale



A Scale of English Miles.

A MAP of
the
BRITISH
DOMINIONS

IN
NORTH AMERICA

As Settled by the late
Treaty of Peace

1763

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never depend on these People till they are *Christians*. I will cite no other Example than the *Abenakis*; who, though few in Number, were during the two last Wars the Principal Bulwark of *New France* against *New England*.

This Project, which I have laid before you, Madam, is as old as the Colony, it was that of *M. de Champlain* its Founder, and it was the Desire of almost all the Missionaries whom I have known, and whose painful Labours in the Situation in which Things have been a long while, do not produce any great Fruit in the Missions which are at any Distance. It would be in Fact very late to take up this Design now with Respect to the Savages, who disappear in such a Manner, as is scarce conceivable. But what should hinder us from following it, with Respect to the *French*, and to continue the Colony from one Neighbourhood to another, till it can reach out a Hand to that of *Louisiana*, to strengthen each other. By this Means the *English* in less than an Age and a half have peopled above five hundred Leagues of Country, and have formed a Power on this Continent, which we cannot help beholding without Fear when we take a nearer View of it.—*Canada* may and does sometimes carry on a pretty considerable Trade with the Isles of *America*, in Flour, Planks, and other Wood fit for Buildings; as there is not perhaps a Country in the World that has more Variety of Wood, nor a better Sort: Judge what Riches this may one Day produce. It appears that few People understand this Article; I do not understand it enough myself to enter into a more particular Account: I have something more Knowledge in the Article of Oils, of which I shall soon take Notice. Being in Haste to finish my Letter, I have only Time to compleat what concerns the Trade in general.

Nothing has more contributed to distress the Trade, than the frequent Changes which have been made in the Money; this is the History of it in few Words. In 1670, the West-India Company, to whom the King had given the Domain of the Islands of the Continent of *French America*, had leave to send to these Islands a hundred

thousand Livres * in small Money, marked with a particular Legend, that was proper to it. The King's Edict is dated in *February*, by which this Species was to be current only in the Islands. But upon some Difficulties which arose, the Council made an Order *November 18, 1672*, that the said Money, and all other Species that were current in *France*, should pass also, not only in the *French Islands*, but also on the Continent of *America* subject to the Crown, with an Augmentation of one fourth Part; *that is to say*, the Pieces of fifteen Sols for twenty, and the rest in Proportion. The same Order decreed that all Contracts, Notes, Accounts, Sales, and Payments, should be made according to the Rate of the Money, without making Use of Exchanges, or accounting in Sugar or other Merchandize, on the Penalty of making all such Acts void. And for all past it was ordered, that all Contracts, Notes, Debts, Dues, Rents in Sugar, or other Merchandize, should be paid in Money, according to the Currency of the said Species. In the Execution of this Order, Money encreased one fourth in *New France*, which soon occasioned many Difficulties. In Fact, *M. de Champigny Noroy*, who was made Intendant of *Quebec* in 1684, and who is now Intendant at *Havre-de-Grace*, found himself soon embarrassed, both in the Payment of the Troops, and other Expences of the King in this Colony.

Besides this, the Funds which were sent from *France*, almost always came too late; and by the first of *January* the Officers and Soldiers were to be paid, and other Payments to be made, which were equally indispensable. To satisfy the most pressing Demands, *M. de Champigny* made Notes to supply the Place of Money, observing always the Augmentation. And by Order of the Governor and the Intendant, they set on every Piece of this Money (which was a Card) the Treasurer's Sign Manual, the Arms of *France*, and the Seals of the Governor and Intendant in Wax; they afterwards got them printed in *France*, on Pasteboard, with the same Marks as the current Money of the Kingdom, and it was ordered that they should

* A Livre is 10 d. halfpenny of our Money.

should be presented every Year before the Arrival of the Ships from *France*, to add a Mark, to prevent Counterfeits.

This Pasteboard Money did not last long, and they made Use again of Cards, on which they graved new Devices. The Intendant signed all that were of four Livres Value and above, and only made a Flourish upon the others. In latter Times the Governor General signed all that were of six Livres or more. In the Beginning of the Autumn, all the Cards were carried to the Treasurer, who gave for their Value Bills of Exchange upon the Treasurer General of the Marines, or his Clerk at *Rochfort*, on the Account of the Expences for the next Year. Those which were damaged or defaced were burnt, after they had taken a proper Account of them. So long as these Bills of Exchange were faithfully paid, these Cards were preferred to Money; but when the Bills were not paid, the Cards were no longer carried to the Treasurer; so that in 1702, *M. de Champigny* gave himself a great deal of Pains to no Purpose, to call in those he had made. His Successors were obliged to make new ones every Year to pay Officers, which multiplied them to such a Degree, that they fell to no Price, and nobody would receive them any longer. Trade was hereby entirely ruined, and the Disorder went so far, that in 1713, the Inhabitants proposed to lose half, on Condition that the King would take them again and pay the other half: This Proposal was accepted the Year following, but the Orders given in Consequence, were not entirely executed till 1717. An Order was then made to abolish the Money of Cards, and they began to pay in Silver the Officers of the Colony. The Augmentation of one fourth was also abolished at the same Time: Experience having made it appear that the Augmentation of the Species in a Colony, is not the Way to keep it in it, which was the Thing proposed; and that Money can never circulate greatly in a Colony, but when they pay in Merchandize, for all they have from the Mother Country. In Fact, in this Case, the Colony keeps the Species, instead of which, if it has not Merchandize sufficient to answer the whole

Demands upon it, it is obliged to pay the Surplus in Money, and how will it come back again ?

In short, Madam, you will be surprized to hear, that in 1706, the Trade of the oldest of our Colonies was carried on with a Fund of only six hundred and fifty thousand Livres, and Things are not much changed since that Time. Now this Sum dispersed amongst thirty thousand Inhabitants, cannot set them at their Ease, nor afford them Means to purchase the Merchandize of *France*. So the greatest Part of them go naked, especially those who are in the distant Settlements. They do not even sell the Surplus of their Merchandize to the Inhabitants of the Towns, because the latter are obliged for a Subsistence to have Lands in the Country, and to improve them themselves.

When the King took *Canada* out of the Hands of the Companies, his Majesty spent much more for some Years than he has done since; and the Colony, during this Time, sent to *France* near the Value of a Million of Livres in Beaver Skins every Year, though it was less peopled than it is now: But it has always had more from *France* than it could pay, and has acted like a private Person, who has thirty thousand Livres a Year Estate, and who spends forty thousand or more. By this Means its Credit is fallen, and in falling, has brought on the Ruin of its Trade; which, since the Year 1706, has consisted in nothing more than small Peltry. All the Dealers fought for them, and this was their Ruin, because they often bought them dearer of the Savages, than they sold them in *France*.

I am, &c.

L E T-

 L E T T E R V.

Of the BEAVERS of CANADA, how they differ from the BEAVERS of EUROPE: Of their Manner of Building: The Manner of Hunting the BEAVERS: Of the Advantage to be made of them. Of the MUSK RAT.

MADAM,

QUEBEC, March 1.

I Was to go from hence a Day or two after I had closed my last Letter, but I must still stop for Want of Carriage. The best I can do in the mean Time, is to entertain you with the Curiosities of this Country; and I begin with what is most singular, that is, the Beaver. The Spoils of this Animal have hitherto furnished *New France* with the principal Object of its Trade. It is of itself one of the Wonders of Nature, and it may be to Man a great Example of Foresight, of Industry, Skill, and Constancy in Labour.

The Beaver was not unknown in *France* before the Discovery of *America*, and we find in some ancient Writings of the Hatters of *Paris*, some Regulations for making Beaver Hats: The Beaver or Castor is entirely the same Creature; but either that the *European* Beaver is become extremely scarce, or its Fur was not so good as that of the *American* Castor, we hear little mention now but of the last, unless it be with Respect to *Castoreum*, of which I shall say a few Words at the End of this Letter. I do not know that any Author has spoken of this Animal as being any Thing curious; perhaps it was for Want of observing it attentively; perhaps also that the Castors or Beavers of *Europe* are like the Land Castors, the Difference of which from the others I shall presently make you understand.

H 3

However

However that may be, Madam, the Beaver of *Canada* is an amphibious Quadrupede, which cannot however remain a long Time in the Water, and can do without being in it, provided it has the Opportunity of washing itself sometimes: The largest Beavers are something under four Feet long, about fifteen Inches from one Hip to the other, and weigh about sixty Pounds. The Colour of this Animal is different, according to the different Climates where it is found. In the most distant Parts of the North they are generally quite black, though sometimes they are found there white. In the more temperate Countries they are brown, and by Degrees, as they advance towards the South, their Colour grows more and more light. Amongst the *Illinois*, they are almost of a fallow Colour, and some have been found of a straw Colour. It is further observed, that the less black they are, the less they are furnished with Fur, and of Consequence their Skins are less valuable. This is an Effect of Providence, which defends them from the Cold, as they are the more exposed to it. Their Fur is of two Sorts all over the Body, except the Feet, where there is but one Sort very Short. The longest Sort is about eight or ten Lines, or Parts of an Inch long, suppose an Inch to be divided into twelve Parts. It is even two Inches long on the Back, but diminishes by Degrees towards the Head and Tail. This Fur is stiff and glossy, and is what gives the Colour to the Creature. Upon viewing it with a Microscope, the middle Part of it is found to be the clearest, which proves that it is hollow; this Fur is of no Use. The other Fur is a very fine Down, very thick, and at most not above an Inch long, and this is what is made Use of. It was formerly called in EUROPE, *Muscovy Wool*. This is properly the Cloathing of the Beaver, the first serves him only for Ornament, and perhaps helps him in swimming.

They say that the Beaver lives from fifteen to twenty Years; that the Female goes four Months with Young, and has commonly four Young ones; some Travellers make the Number amount to eight, but I believe this seldom happens: She has four Dugs, two on the great Pectoral Muscle, between the second and third Ribs, and
two

two about four Inches higher. The Muscles of this Animal are very strong, and bigger than seems necessary to its Size. Its Intestines on the contrary are very tender; its Bones are very hard, its two Jaws, which are almost even, have a very great Strength; each Jaw is furnished with ten Teeth, two cutting ones and eight Grinders. The upper cutting Teeth are two Inches and a half long, the lower are above three Inches, and follow the Bend of the Jaw, which gives them a Strength which is admirable in such little Animals. It is observed also, that the two Jaws do not meet exactly, but that the upper reach over the lower, so that they cross like the Edges of a Pair of Scissars; and lastly, that the Length of all their Teeth is exactly the third Part of the Roots of them. The Head of a Beaver is nearly like the Head of a Field Rat, the Snout is somewhat long, the Eyes little, the Ears short and round, covered with Down on the Outside, and naked within; its Legs are short, particularly those before, they are seldom above four or five Inches long, and like those of a Badger; its Nails are as it were cut sloping, and are hollow like a Quill. The hind Legs are quite different, they are flat, and furnished with a Membrane; so that the Beaver goes but slowly on Land, but swims as easily as any other Water Animal: And on the other Hand, by its Tail, it is entirely a Fish; and so it has been declared by the College of Physicians at *Paris*, and in Consequence of this Declaration, the Doctors of Divinity have agreed, that the Flesh might be eaten on Fast Days. *M. Lemery* was mistaken, when he said that this Decision was only confined to the Tail of the Beaver. It is true that we can make but little Advantage of this Condescension: The Beavers are so far from our Habitations at present, it is rare to have any that are eatable. The Savages who dwell amongst us, keep them after they have been dried in the Smoak, and I assure you, Madam, that I know of nothing more ordinary. We must also, when the Beaver is fresh, put it in some Broth to make it lose a wild and nauseous Taste; but with this Precaution there is no Meat lighter, more dainty, or wholesome: They say that it it is as nourishing as Veal: Boiled it wants something to give it a Relish, but roasted it wants nothing.

What is still most remarkable in the Shape of this Animal, is the Tail. It is near four Inches broad at its Root, five in the Midst, and three at the End, (I speak always of the large Beavers) it is an Inch thick, and a Foot long. Its Substance is a hard Fat, or a tender Sinew, which pretty much resembles the Flesh of a Porpoise, but which grows harder upon being kept a long Time. It is covered with a scaly Skin, the Scales of which are hexagonal, half a Line thick, and three or four Lines long, which lie one upon another like those of a Fish; they lie upon a very tender Skin, and are fixt in such a Manner, that that they may be easily separated after the Death of the Animal. This is, Madam, in few Words, the Description of this curious amphibious Creature.

The true Testicles of this Animal were not known to the Ancients, probably, because they are very small, and hid under the Groin. They had given this Name to the Purfes or Bags of the *Castoreum*, which are very different, and four in Number, in the lower Belly of the Beaver. The two first, which they call the upper, because they are higher than the others, have the Shape of a Pear, and communicate with each other like the two Pockets of a Wallet. The two others, which are called the lower, are rounded at the Bottom. These contain a resinous, soft, glewy Matter, mixt with small Fibres, of a greyish Colour without, and a yellowish within; of a strong Smeil, disagreeable and penetrating, and which is easily inflammable. This is the true *Castoreum*: It grows hard in the Air in a Month's Time, and becomes brown, brittle, and friable. If we are in a Hurry to harden it, it need only be hung in the Chimney.

They say that the *Castoreum* which comes from *Dantzic*, is better than that of *Canada*, I refer to the Drug-gists; it is certain that the Bags of the latter are smaller, and that here also the largest are esteemed. Besides their Bigness, they should be heavy, of a brown Colour, of a penetrating and strong Smell, full of a hard, brittle and friable Matter, of the same Colour, or yellow, interweaved with a thin Membrane, and of a sharp Taste. The Properties of *Castoreum*, are to attenuate viscus Matter,

Matter, to strengthen the Brain, to remove Vapours, to provoke the Menfes, to hinder Corruption, and to evaporate bad Humours by Transpiration; it is used also with Success against the Epilepsy, the Palsy, the Apoplexy, and Deafness.

The lower Bags contain an unctuous fat Liquor like Honey. Its Colour is a pale yellow, its Odour fetid, little differing from that of *Castoreum*, but something weaker and fainter. It thickens with keeping, and takes the Consistence of Tallow. This Liquor is resolving, and strengthens the Nerves; for this Purpose, it need only be applied to the Part affected. It is a Mistake to say, as some Authors do still, upon the Credit of the ancient Naturalists, that when the Beaver is pursued, it bites off these pretended Testicles, and leaves them to the Hunters to save his Life. It is of his Fur which he ought rather to deprive himself, for in Comparison of his Fleece, the rest is hardly of any Value. But however, it is this Fable, which has given it the Name of Castor. The Skin of this Animal, deprived of its Fur, is not to be neglected; they make Gloves and Stockings of it; but as it is difficult to get off all the Fur without cutting the Skin, they seldom use any but those of the Land Beaver. You have heard, perhaps, Madam, of the fat and dry Beaver Skins; the Difference is this, the dry Skin is the Skin of a Beaver that has never been used; the fat Skin is what has been worn by the Savages, which, after they have been well scraped within, and rubbed with the Marrow of certain Animals which I do not know, to make it more pliable, they sew several together, and make a Kind of Mantle, which they call a Robe, with which they wrap themselves up with the Fur inwards. They wear it continually in Winter, Day and Night; the long Hair soon falls off, and the Down remains and grows greasy: In this Condition it is much fitter for the Use of the Hatters; they cannot even use the dry Sort, without mixing some of the other with it. They say that it must be worn fifteen or sixteen Months to be in Perfection. I leave you to judge, if at first they were weak enough to let the Savages know, that their old Clothes were such a precious Merchandize. But a Secret of this Nature could not

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be long hid from them; it was trusted to Covetousness, which is never long without betraying itself.

About three Years ago one *Guignes*, who had the Farm of the Beaver Skins, finding himself burdened with a prodigious Quantity of these Skins, thought to encrease the Consumption, by having the Fur spun and carded with Wool; and with this Composition he made Cloths and Flannels, and wove Stockings, and such-like Works, but with little Success.

It is evident by this Tryal, that the Beaver Fur is good for nothing but to make Hats. It is too short to be spun alone, it must be mixed with above half Wool; so that there is but little Profit to be made of these Works. There is, however, still one of these Manufactures in *Holland*, where they make Cloths and Druggets; but these Stuffs are dear, and do not wear well. The Beaver Fur separates soon, and forms a Kind of Down upon the Surface, which takes off all their Beauty. The Stockings which were made of it in *France*, had the same Fault.

This is, Madam, all the Advantage this Colony can receive from the Beavers, with Respect to its Trade. The Industry of the Beavers, their Foresight, the Unity and Subordination so much admired in them, their Attention to procure themselves Conveniencies, the Comforts of which, we thought formerly Brutes were not sensible of, furnish to Man more Instruction than the Ant, to which the Holy Scriptures send the Idle. They are at least among Quadrupedes, what the Bees are amongst flying Insects. I never heard that they had a King or a Queen, and it is not true that when they are at Work together in Companies, that they have a Chief who commands and punishes the Idle: But by Virtue of that Instinct given to Animals, by him whose Providence governs them, every one knows what he has to do, and every Thing is done without Confusion, and with so much Order as can never be sufficiently admired. Perhaps, after-all, we are so much astonished but for Want of looking up to that Supreme Intelligence, who makes Use of these
Beings,

Beings, who want Reason, the better to display his Wisdom and Power, and to make us know that our Reason itself is frequently, by our Presumption, the Cause of our going astray.

The first Thing that is done by these Creatures, when they want to make a Habitation, is, to assemble themselves: Shall I say in Tribes or Societies? It shall be what you please: But there are sometimes three or four hundred together, making a Town, which might be called a little *Venice**. At first they chuse a Place where they may find Plenty of Provisions, and Materials for their building: Above all they must have Water. If there is no Lake or Pond near, they supply the Defect, by stopping the Course of some Brook or Rivulet, by the Means of a Dyke; or as they call it here, a *Causey*. For this End they go and cut down some Trees above the Place where they intend to build: Three or four Beavers set themselves about a great Tree, and cut it down with their Teeth. This is not all: they take their Measures so well, that it always falls on the Side towards the Water, that they may have the less Way to carry it when they have cut it to Pieces; as they are sensible their Materials are not so easily transported by Land as by Water. They have nothing to do after, but to roll these Pieces into the Water, and guide them to the Place where they are to be fixed. These Pieces are thicker or thinner, longer or shorter, as the Nature and Situation of the Place require; for one would say that these Architects conceive at once every Thing that relates to their Design. Sometimes they employ large Trunks of Trees, which they lay flat: Sometimes the *Causey* is made only of Stakes; some as thick as a Man's Thigh, or less; which they drive into the Earth very near each other, and interweave with small Branches; and every where the hollow Spaces are filled up with Clay so well applied, that not a Drop of Water can pass thro'. It is with their Paws that the Beavers prepare the Clay; and their Tail does not only serve them for a Trowel to build with, but for a Hod to carry this Mortar. To place and spread this Clay, they first make Use of their Paws, then their Tail. The Foundation of the Dams

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* The City of VENICE is built in the midst of Waters.

are generally ten or twelve Feet thick; but they decrease in Thickness upwards: So that a Dam which is twelve Feet thick at the Bottom, is not above two at the Top. All this is done in exact Proportion, and, as one may say, according to the Rules of Art; for it is observed, that the Side towards the Current of the Water is always sloping, in order to break the Pressure of the Water, and the other Side perfectly perpendicular. In a Word, it would be difficult for our best Workmen to make any Thing more solid and regular. The Construction of their Cabins is not less wonderful. They are generally made upon Piles in the midst of these little Lakes, which the Dykes have made: Sometimes by the Side of a River, or at the Extremity of a Point that advances into the Water. Their Shape is round or oval; and the Roof is arched. The Walls are two Feet thick, built with the same Materials as the Causey, but less, and every where so well plaistered with Clay on the Inside, that the least Breath of Air cannot enter. Two Thirds of the Building is out of the Water, and in this Part every Beaver has a separate Place, which he takes Care to strew with Leaves, or small Branches of Firs. It is always free from Ordure; and for this End, besides the common Door of the Cabin, and another Outlet by which these Creatures pass to bathe themselves, there are several Openings by which they can dung into the Water: The common Cabins lodge eight or ten Beavers, some have been found which held thirty, but this is uncommon. They are all near enough each other to have an easy Communication.

The Beavers are never surprized by the Winter; all the Works I mention, are finished by the End of *September*, and then every one provides his Store for the Winter. Whilst they go backwards and forwards in the Woods or Fields, they live upon Fruits, the Bark and Leaves of Trees; they also catch Cray-fish and other Fish: Then they have Variety of Food. But when they are to provide themselves for the whole Season, that the Earth being covered with Snow supplies them with nothing, they content themselves with soft Woods, such as the Poplar and the Aspen, and such-like. They pile it up in such a Manner, that they can always take those
 Pieces

Pieces which are soaked in the Water. It is always observed, that these Piles are larger or smaller, as the Winter will prove longer or shorter; and this is an Almanack for the Savages, which never deceives them in Regard to the Cold. The Beavers before they eat the Wood, cut it in very small Pieces, and carry it into their separate Lodges; for every Cabin has but one Magazine for all the Family. When the melting of the Snow is at its Height, as it never fails to cause great Floods, the Beavers leave their Cabins, which are no longer habitable, and every one takes which Way he likes best. The Females return as soon as the Waters are run off, and then bring forth their Young: The Males keep the Country till towards the Month of *July*, when they re-assemble to repair the Breaches which the Floods have made in their Cabins or Dykes. If they have been destroyed by the Hunters, or if they are not worth the Trouble of repairing, they make others: But many Reasons oblige them to change their Abode frequently, the most common is the Want of Provision; they are also obliged to do it by the Hunters, or Beasts of Prey, against which they have no other Defence than Flight. We might think it strange, that the Author of Nature has given less Power of Defence to the greatest Part of useful Animals, than to those which are not useful; if this Circumstance did not the more display his Wisdom and Power, in that the former, notwithstanding their Weakness, multiply much more than the latter.

There are some Places which the Beavers seem to have taken such an Affection to, that they cannot leave them, though they are continually disquieted. In the Way from *Montreal* to *Lake Huron*, by the great River, they never fail to find every Year in the same Place, a Lodgment which these Animals build or repair every Summer. For the first Thing Passengers do who pass this Way, is to break down the Cabin, and the Causey which furnishes it with Water. If this Causey had not kept up the Water, they would not have enough to continue their Way, and they would be obliged to make a Portage; so that it looks as if these officious Beavers posted themselves here solely for the Convenience of Passengers. The same Thing, as they say, is

to be seen near *Quebec*, where the Beavers labouring for themselves, supply Water to a Mill for sawing Planks.

The Savages were formerly persuaded, if we believe some Relations, that the Beavers were a reasonable Kind of Creatures, which had their Laws, their Government, and their particular Language: that this amphibious People chose their Commanders, who in common Labours appointed to every one his Task, placed Centinels to give Notice of the Approach of an Enemy, and punished or banished the Idle. These pretended Exiles are probably those which they call the *Land Beavers*, which in Fact live apart from the others, do not labour, and live under Ground, where their whole Care is to make themselves a covered Way to go to the Water. They are known by the little Fur they have upon their Backs, which proceeds no doubt from their rubbing it constantly against the Earth; and withal they are lean, the Effect of their Sloth: More of these are found in the South than in the North. I have already observed, that our Beavers of *Europe* are more like these, than the others. In Fact, *M. Lemery* says, they live in Holes and Cavities on the Banks of Rivers, especially in *Poland*. There are some also in *Germany* upon the *Elbe*, and in *France* upon the *Rbone*, the *Ifere*, and the *Oise*.^a It is certain, that we do not find in the *European* Beavers those extraordinary Qualities which so much distinguish those of *Canada*. 'Tis a great Pity, Madam, that none of these wonderful Creatures were found in the *Tyber*, or in the Territories of *Parnassus*; what fine Things would the *Greek* and *Roman* Poets have said on this Subject!

It appears that the Savages of *Canada* did not disturb them greatly till our Arrival in their Country. The Skins of the Beavers were not the most used by these People for Garments, and the Flesh of Bears, Elks, and other wild Creatures was more approved by them. They hunted them, nevertheless, and this Chace had its Season, and its peculiar Ceremonies; but when they hunted only for what was meerly necessary for a present Supply, they made no great Ravages; and indeed when we came

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to *Canada*, we found a prodigious Number of these amphibious Creatures in the Country.

There is no Difficulty in hunting the Beaver, for this Animal has not in any Degree the Strength to defend himself, nor the Skill to shun the Attacks of his Enemy, which it discovers in providing for itself Lodging and Provisions. It is during Winter they make War against him in Form; *that is to say*, from the Beginning of *November* till *April*. Then it has, like all other Animals, more Fur, and the Skin is thinner; this hunting is performed four different Ways, with Nets, with the Gun, the Trench, and the Trap; the first is generally joined to the third, and they seldom make Use of the second, because the Eyes of this little Animal are so piercing, and his Ears are so quick, that it is difficult to approach near enough to shoot him, before he gets into the Water, which he never goes far from during this Season, and into which he immediately plunges. They would lose him also if he were wounded before he gets into the Water, because he never comes up again if he dies of his Wound; it is therefore the Trench or the Trap that are generally used.

Though the Beavers have made their Provision for the Winter, they still continue to make some Excursions into the Woods to find some fresher and tenderer Food, and this Daintiness costs many their Lives. The Savages set up Traps in their Way, made almost like a Figure of 4, and for a Bait they put little Pieces of soft Food newly cut; as soon as the Beaver touches it, a great Log falls upon him and breaks his Back, and the Hunter coming up makes an End of him without any Trouble. The Trench requires more Caution, and they proceed in this Manner: When the Ice is but half a Foot thick, they cut an Opening with an Ax, the Beavers come here to breathe more freely; the Hunters wait for them, and perceive them coming at a good Distance, because in blowing they give a considerable Motion to the Water; so that it is easy to take their Measures to kill them as soon as they appear above Water: But for the greater Certainty, and not to be seen by the Beavers, they throw
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upon the Hole which they make in the Ice some broken Reeds or Stalks of *Indian* Wheat, and when they find that the Animal is within Reach, they seize him by one of his Paws, and throw him upon the Ice, where they knock him on the Head before he has recovered of his Surprize.

If the Cabin is near some Rivulet, they are taken with less Trouble, they make a Cut across the Ice to let down their Nets, then they go and break down the Cabin. The Beavers that are in it never fail to run into the Rivulet, and are caught in the Net; but they must not be left there long, for they would soon make their Way out by gnawing it. Those which have their Cabins in the Lakes have, at three or four hundred Paces from the Shore, a Kind of Country-house, where they may breathe a better Air: Then the Hunters divide themselves in two Parties, one goes to break down the Country Cabin, and the other Party falls upon that of the Lake; the Beavers which are in the latter (and the Hunters take the Time when they are all there) fly for Refuge to the other; but they find nothing there but Dust, which has been thrown in on Purpose, and which blinds them so that they are easily taken. Lastly, in some Places, they make a Breach in the Caufey; by this Means the Beavers soon find themselves aground, and without Defence, or else they immediately run to remedy the Evil of which they do not know the Authors, and as they are well prepared to receive them, the Beavers seldom escape, or at least some of them are taken.

There are some other Particularities of the Beavers which I find in some Memoirs, the Truth of which I cannot warrant. They pretend, that when these Animals have discovered any Hunters, or any of those Beasts that prey upon them, they dive, striking the Water with their Tail, with such a great Noise, that they may be heard half a League off: This is probably to give Notice to the Rest to be upon their Guard. They say also that they have the Sense of Smelling so exquisite, that being in the Water they smell a Canoe at a great Distance. But they add, that they only see Side-ways like a Hare, and that through

through this Defect they often fall into the Hands of the Hunter whom they seek to shun. And lastly they affirm, that when a Beaver has lost his Mate, they never couple again with another, as is reported of the Turtle Dove. The Savages take great Care to hinder their Dogs from touching the Bones of the Beaver, because they are so hard they would spoil their Teeth; they say the same Thing of the Bones of the Porcupine. The Generality of the Savages give another Reason for this; it is, they say, not to enrage the Spirits of these Animals, which would hinder at another Time the Chase from being successful. For the rest, Madam, I wonder they have not tried to transport some of these wonderful Creatures into *France*; we have Places enough where they might find Food enough, and Materials for building, and I believe they would multiply there presently.

We have here also a little Animal much of the same Nature as the Beaver, which in many Respects seems to be a smaller Species, and is called the *Musk Rat*. It has, in Fact, almost all the Properties of the Beaver, the Shape of the Body, and especially of the Head of both, is so alike, that one would take the Musk Rat for a little Beaver, if his Tail was cut off, which is almost like that of our Rats; and if its Testicles were taken away, which contain a most exquisite Musk. This Animal, which weighs about four Pounds, is much like that which Mr. *Ray* describes under the Name of *Mus Alpinus*. It takes the Field in the Month of *March*, and its Food is then some Bits of Wood, which it peels before eating them. After the Snows are melted, it lives upon the Roots of Nettles, then on the Stalks and Leaves of this Plant. In Summer it feeds mostly on Raspberries and Strawberries, and afterwards on other autumnal Fruits. During this Season, the Male is seldom seen without the Female: When Winter begins they separate, and each goes to find a Lodging in some Hole, or the Hollow of a Tree, without any Provisions; and the Savages affirm that as long as the Cold lasts they eat nothing.

They build also Cabins, something like those of the Beavers, but very far from being so well built. As to
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their Situation, it is always by the Water Side, so they have no Occasion to make any Dams. They say that the Fur of the Musk Rat may be mixt with that of the Beaver in making Hats, without any Prejudice to the Work. Its Flesh is not bad but in rutting Time; then it is not possible to deprive it of a Muskiness, which is not so pleasant to the Taste as to the Smell.—I was very much inclined, Madam, to give you an Account of the other Chases of the Savages, and of the Animals that are peculiar to this Country, but I must defer it to another Opportunity. I am just now informed that my Carriage is ready, and I am going to set out.

I am, &c.

LETTER

 L E T T E R VI.

A Journey from QUEBEC to TROIS RIVIERES (the Three Rivers :) How they go Post upon the Snow. Of the Lordships or Manors of NEW FRANCE. A Description of BECKANCOURT. The Tradition in regard to the Name of the River PUANTE (the Stinking River.) A Description of TROIS RIVIERES. A Continuation of the several Huntings of the Savages.

Madam,

TROIS RIVIERES, March 6. 1721

I Arrived Yesterday in this Town, after two Days Journey, and though it is twenty-five Leagues distant from *Quebec*, I could have performed the Journey in twelve Hours, because I came in a Sledge, which the Snow and Ice make a very easy Way of travelling in this Country during the Winter, and which does not cost more than the common Carriages. The Sledge runs so smoothly, that a single Horse suffices to draw it, and always goes a Gallop. One finds at different Places fresh Horses at a cheap Rate. In Case of Need one might travel this Way threescore Leagues in twenty-four Hours, much more conveniently than in the best Post-Chaises.

I lay the first Night at *Pointe aux Trembles*, (*Aspen Tree Point*) seven Leagues from the Capital, which I left but one Hour before Night. This is one of the good Parishes of this Country. The Church is large and well built, and the Inhabitants in good Circumstances. In general, the old Inhabitants are richer here than the Lords of the Manors, and this is the Reason: *Canada* was but a great

Forest when the *French* first settled it. Those who obtained Lordships, were not People to improve the Land themselves; they were Officers, Gentlemen, and Companies, who had not Funds sufficient to establish a proper Number of Labourers for this Purpose. They were therefore obliged to settle Inhabitants, who, before they could get a Subsistence, were obliged to labour much, and to advance all the Charges; so that they paid their Lords but a very slender Rent; and all the usual Fines of a Manor amount here but to a small Sum. A Lordship of two Leagues in Front, and of an unlimited Depth, brings in but a small Income in a Country so thinly peopled, and where there is so little Trade in the inward parts.

This was without Doubt, one of the Reasons that engaged *Lewis* the XIVth to allow *all Nobles and Gentlemen settled in Canada, to trade both by Sea and Land, without being liable to be troubled on this Account, or reputed to have derogated from their Birth and Family.* These are the Terms of the Order, which was made by the Council, the 10th of *March* 1685. And further, there are no Lordships in this Country, even of those which give Titles of Honour, to which the Right of Patronage belongs; for upon the Claim of some Lords, founded upon their having built a Parish Church, his Majesty being present in Council, declared the same Year, 1685, that this Right belonged only to the Bishop, as well because he is more capable than any other of judging who are the fittest Persons, as because, that the proper Allowance of the Curates, is paid out of the Tythes that belong to the Bishop. The King in the same Order declares, that the Right of Patronage is not to give any Rank of Honour.

I departed from *Pointe aux Trembles* before Day, with a one eyed Horse, I changed him afterwards for a lame one, and then him for a broken winded one. With these three Relays, I went seventy Leagues in seven or eight Hours, and I arrived early at the Baron *de Beckancourt's*, chief Surveyor of the Highways of *New France*, who would by no Means suffer me to go forward. This Gentleman has a Village of *Abenakis*, under the Direction
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of a *Jesuit* in Matters of Religion, to whom I was very glad to pay my Respects by the Way. The Baron lives at the Entrance of a little River that comes from the South, which runs entirely through his Lordship, and bears his Name. The Life which *M. de Beckencourt* leads in this Desert (for here are no other *French* Inhabitants as yet but the Lord) naturally brings to Mind the ancient Patriarchs, who did not disdain to divide with their Servants the Labours of their Country, and lived almost in as plain a Manner as they. The Advantage which he makes by the Trade with the Savages his Neighbours, by buying Skins of them at the first Hand, is more than the Profits he could make of Inhabitants, to whom he should divide his Lands. In Time, it will be his own Fault if he has no Vassals, and he will make more advantageous Conditions when he has cleared all his Land. The River *Beckencourt* was formerly called *Riviere Puante*, or the *Stinking River*. I enquired the Cause of this Name, for the Water appeared to me very fine, and they assured me that it is very good, and that there is no bad Smell in all this Quarter. Yet some told me it was so called on Account of the bad Qualities of the Waters : Others attributed it to the great Number of Musk Rats that are found in it, the Scent of which the Savages cannot bear ; but here is a third Reason, which they who have made the greatest Researches into the antient History of the Country say, is the true one.

Some *Algonquins* were at War with the *Onnontcharonnons*, better known by the Name of the *Iroquet* Nation, which antiently dwelt in the Island of *Montreal*. The Name it bears proves, that it was of the *Huron* Language ; but they say it was these *Hurons* who drove them from their antient Habitation, and who have in Part destroyed them : However that may be, this Nation was at the Time I speak of, at War with the *Algonquins*, who, to make an End at once of the War, which they began to be weary of, contrived a Stratagem, which succeeded. They set themselves in Ambush on the two Sides of a little River, which is now called *Beckencourt*. Then they detached some Canoes, which made a Show of Fishing in the Great River. They knew that their Enemies were

not far off, and they made no Doubt that they would soon fall upon these pretended Fishermen : And in Fact, they soon saw a Fleet of Canoes coming in Haste to attack them ; they seemed to be affrighted, fled, and got up the River. They were followed very close by the Enemy, who thought to make a very easy Conquest of this Handful of Men ; and to draw them on, they affected to be greatly terrified. This Feint succeeded, the Pursuers still kept advancing, and making most hideous Cries, according to the Custom of these Barbarians, they thought they were instantly going to seize their Prey.

Then a Shower of Arrows from behind the Bushes which bordered the River threw them into Confusion, which they gave them no Time to recover. A second Discharge which followed close upon the first, entirely routed them. They strove to fly in their Turn, but they could no longer use their Canoes, which were every where pierced with Arrows : They leaped into the Water, hoping to save themselves by swimming ; but besides that the greatest Part were wounded, they met at landing the Death they fled from, and not one escaped the *Algonquins*, who gave no Quarter, and did not even amuse themselves with making Prisoners : The *Iroquet* Nation never recovered this fatal Blow, and though some of these Savages have been seen since the Arrival of the *French* in *Canada*, at present there are none remaining. In the mean Time the Number of dead Bodies which remained in the Water and upon the Sides of the River infected it in such a Manner that it still retains the Name of *Riviere Puante*, (*the stinking River.*)

The *Abenaki* Village of *Beckancourt* is not so populous as it was some Years ago, yet they would be of great Assistance to us in Case of a War. These Savages are always ready to make Inroads into *New England*, where their Name alone has often carried Terror even into *Boston*. They would also serve us as effectually against the *Iroquois*, to whom they are no ways inferior in Valour, and are better disciplined. They are all *Christians*, and they have a pretty Chapel, where they practise with much Edification all the Exercises of the *Christian* Religion.

gion. We must, nevertheless, acknowledge, that they are greatly fallen from the Fervour which appeared in them the first Years of their Establishment amongst us. They carried them Brandy, which they took a great Liking to, and the Savages never drink but to get drunk. We have learnt by fatal Experience, that in Proportion as these People depart from God, in the same Measure they pay less Respect to their Pastors, and grow more in the Interest of the *Englisb*. It is greatly to be feared that the Lord will permit them to become our Enemies, to punish us for having contributed, for a fordid Interest, to render them vicious, as it has already happened to some other Nations.

After having embraced the Missionary of *Beckancourt*, * visited his Village, and made with him some sorrowful Reflections which naturally arise from the Disorders I have mentioned, and for which he is often reduced to groan in the Sight of God, I crossed the River *St. Laurence* to come to this Town. Nothing is more charming than its Situation. It is built upon a gentle Hill of Sand, which is only barren for the Space it may occupy, if it ever becomes a considerable Town; for at present it is but of little Consequence. It is surrounded by whatever can render a Town agreeable and wealthy. The River, which is near half a League wide, runs at the Bottom. Beyond, we see a cultivated fruitful Country, that is crowned with the finest Forests in the World. A little below, and on the same Side as the Town, the Great River receives another tolerably fine River, which before it mixes its Water with the first, receives at the same Time two others, one to the right and the other to the left, which has given the Name of *Trois Rivieres* (*Three Rivers*) to the Town.

Above, and at about the same Distance, begins the Lake of *St. Pierre*, which is about three Leagues wide, and seven long: So that nothing bounds the Sight on that Side, and the Sun appears to set in the Waves. This Lake, which is only an Enlargement of the River *St.*

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*Laurence,** Father *Eustache Le Sueur*.

Laurence, receives many Rivers. It appears probable, that it is these Rivers that in a Course of Years have eaten away the low and light Soil, through which they run. This is most apparent in the River *St. Francois*, the Mouth of which hath many little Islands interspersed in it, which probably were formerly joined to the Continent. And moreover, in all the Lake, unless in the midst of the Channel where the Strength of the Current of the Great River has preserved its Depth, there is no passing but in Canoes. There are also some Places where great Canoes, if they are but lightly loaded, cannot easily pass. But it is every where full of Fish, and the Fish are excellent.

They reckon but about seven or eight hundred People in the Town of *Trois Rivieres*, but it has in its Neighbourhood wherewithal to enrich a great City; *that is to say*, very good Iron Mines, which may be wrought with Profit at any Time. Upon the whole, though this Town is but thinly peopled, its Situation renders it of great Consequence, and it is one of the oldest Settlements in the Colony. From the first, this Post has had a Governor, he has a thousand Crowns Salary, and an *Etat Major* (a certain Number of General Officers of the Army under him.) Here is also a Convent of *Recollets*, a pretty good Parish Church served by this Society, and a very fine Hospital, joined to a Nunnery of *Ursulines*, to the Number of forty, who are employed as Nurses to the Hospital. This is also a Foundation of *M. de St. Vallier*. From the Year 1650, the *Senechal* (whose Office and Power was afterwards abolished and invested in the Superior Council of *Quebec*, and the Intendant) had a Lieutenant at *Trois Rivieres*: At present, this Town has a common Court of Justice, the Chief of which is a Lieutenant General.

It owes its Origin to the great Resort of Savages of different Nations to this Place. At the Beginning of the Colony, there came down many, especially from the farthest

§ They are actually wrought at this Time, and produce the best Iron in the World.

farthest Parts of the North, by the three Rivers, which have given the Name to this Town, and by which they go up a great Way. The Situation of the Place, joined to the great Trade that was carried on here, engaged some *French* to settle here; and the Neighbourhood of the River *de Sorel*, then called the *Iroquois River*, (which I shall mention soon) induced the Governor General to build a Fort here, where was maintained a good Garrison, and which had from the first a Governor of its own. This Post was then looked upon, as one of the most important in *New France*. After some Years, the Savages being tired of being continually harrassed by the *Iroquois*, from whom the *French* themselves had trouble enough to defend themselves, and having no longer the Liberty of the Passes, where these proud Enemies laid wait for them continually, and not being safe even in Sight of, and under the Cannon of our Fort, they forbore to bring hither their Peltry or Skins. The *Jesuits* with all their new Converts retired three Leagues lower, upon some Lands that were given them by the Abbot *de la Madeleine*, one of the Members of the Society of the hundred Associates, formed by the Cardinal *de Richlieu*, from whence this Place took the Name of *Cape de la Madeleine*, which it bears to this Day §.

The Mission which was transported hither, did not subsist a long Time. This was partly the Effect of the Fickleness of the Savages, but principally the Consequence of the Wars and Diseases which have almost entirely destroyed this rising Church. There are still in the Neighbourhood a Company of *Algonquins*, the greatest Part of whom were baptized in their Infancy, but have now no regular Exercise of Religion. The Gentlemen of the *West-India* Company, who have now the Beaver Trade, have in vain endeavoured to draw them to *Cbecoutime*, where they have already re-united several Families of the same Nation, and of the Nation of the Mountains, under the Direction of a *Jesuit* Missionary. Others wanted to unite them with the *Abenakis* of *St. Francois*.

§ Besides the Iron Mines, which are very plentiful at *Cape Madeleine*, here have been discovered some Years ago, several Springs of Mineral Waters.

Francois. All their Answer to these Invitations was, that they could not resolve to quit a Place where the Bones of their Fathers rest. But some People believe, and not without Foundation, that this Refusal proceeds less from themselves, than from some People to whom their Neighbourhood is advantageous; and who, without Doubt, do not sufficiently consider that they sacrifice the Salvation of these Savages to a little Interest.

I have just been informed, Madam, that in a few Days I shall have an Opportunity of sending this Letter to *Quebec*, from whence it may go early to *France* by the *Isle Royal*. I shall fill it up with what concerns the Huntings of the *Savages*.—The hunting of the Beaver, as I have before observed, was not their principal Concern, till they saw the Value which the *French* set upon the Skin of this Animal. Before this, the hunting of the Bear held the first Place, and was performed with the greatest Superstition. This is what is observed at this Day in this Chase, amongst those who are not *Christians*.

It is always a War-Chief who fixes the Time, and has the Care of inviting the Hunters. This Invitation, which is made with great Ceremony, is followed with a Fast of eight Days; during which they must not drink even a Drop of Water. And I will tell you by the Way, Madam, that what the Savages call fasting, is to take absolutely nothing at all. Still more, in Spite of the extreme Weakness which such an Abstinence one may suppose cannot fail to cause, they never cease singing all the Time it lasts. They observe this Fast, in order to induce the Genii, or Spirits, to discover the Places where they may find many Bears. Many even do much more to deserve this Favour. Several have been seen to cut their Flesh in several Places of their Body, to render their Genii, or Spirits, more propitious. But it is proper to observe, that they do not ask their Assistance to conquer these furious Animals: It suffices them to be informed where they are. As *Ajax* did not ask of *Jupiter* to give him the Victory over his Enemies, but only Day enough to make an End of his Conquest.

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The Savages supplicate also on the same Account the Manes of the Beasts which they have killed in former Huntings; and as their Thoughts run wholly on the Matter whilst they are awake, it is natural that during their Sleep (which can't be very sound upon such empty Stomachs) they should often dream of Bears. But this is not enough to determine them: It is necessary that all, at least the greatest Number, should in their Sleep have seen Bears in the same Place: And how (you will say) should all their Dreams agree in this? The Case seems to be thus: Provided a skilful Hunter has thought he has dreamt two or three Times together of seeing Bears in a certain Place, either through Complaisance, or through continual talking of it, their chimerical Brain at last takes the Impression, and every Body presently dreams the same, or feign that they have dreamt so, and a Resolution is taken to go to that Place.—The Fast being over, and the Place of the Hunt settled, the Chief who is chosen for the Chase gives to all those who are to be of the Party a great Feast; but no Person dares be present, without having first bathed; *that is to say*, without having plunged into the River, let the Weather be ever so severe, provided the River is not frozen. This Feast is not like many others, in which they are obliged to eat up all: Though they have fasted so long before it, (and perhaps it is for this Reason) they eat moderately. He who gives the Feast, eats nothing; and all his Employment, whilst the others are at Table, is to relate his former Achievements in Hunting: Fresh Invocations of the Manes of dead Bears, finish the Feast. Then they begin their March, equipp'd as for War, and their Faces besmeared with Black, amidst the Acclamations of the whole Village; for the Chase, amongst these People, is as noble as War. The Alliance of a good Hunter is more sought after than that of a famous Warrior, because the Chase provides the whole Family with Provision and Cloathing, and the Savages desire nothing more: But a Man is not esteemed a great Hunter, till he has killed twelve great Beasts in one Day.

These People have two great Advantages over us in this Exercise; for, in the first Place, nothing stops them, neither

neither Bushes, Ditches, Torrents, Ponds, nor Rivers. They always go forward upon a straight Line. In the second Place, there are few, or rather no Creatures, which they cannot overtake in running: They have been seen, as it is said, entering a Village, leading Bears in a Wythe, (which they had tired by running down) as if they had been leading a Flock of Sheep; and the nimblest Deer is not swifter than they are. Lastly, the chief Hunter must make little Advantage himself of his Game: He is obliged to be very liberal of it: If they even prevent his Gift, and take it away from him, he must suffer the Loss without saying any Thing, and be contented with the Glory of having laboured for the Public. Nevertheless, it is not complained of, if in the Distribution which he makes of the Game, he gives the first Part to his own Family. But we must confess, that those Savages with whom we have most Commerce, have lost something of that antient Generosity, and that wonderful Disinterestedness which they were remarkable for.—Nothing is more contagious than the Spirit of Interest, and nothing more capable of altering the Manners of a People.

Winter is the Season for hunting the Bear: Then these Animals are hid in hollow Trees; or if they find any blown down, they shelter themselves under the Roots of them, and stop up the Entrance with Branches of Pine, so that they are perfectly screened from the Rigour of the Season; otherwise, they make a Hole in the Earth, and take great Care, when they are in, to stop up the Opening. Some have been found at the Bottom of a Cavern, hid in such a Manner as not to be perceived, tho' looked very narrowly for. But in what Manner soever the Bear is lodged, he never leaves his Retreat for the whole Winter: This is no longer doubted of. It is as certain that he never makes any Provision for the Winter, and of Consequence, that during all that Time he never eats or drinks: As to his living all this Time by sucking his Paws, as some Authors have affirmed, every one is allowed to believe what he pleases: But this is certain, that they have been kept chained up during the Winter, without having any Thing given them to eat or to drink, and at the End of six Months they were as fat as before. It is without Doubt surprizing that a Creature clothed with

with such a good Fur, and who has not the Appearance of being very tender, should take such Precautions against the Cold, which no one else would think there was any Need of. This shews we must not judge by Appearances: Every one best knows his own Wants.

There is no Need of running much to catch the Bear: It is only necessary to know the Places where the greatest Number is hid. As soon as the Hunters think they have found such a Place, they form a Circle of a Quarter of a League in Circumference, or more or less, according to the Number of the Hunters: Then they advance, coming still closer and closer together; and every one looks before him, to find out the Retreat of some Bear; so that if there is any, it is difficult for one to escape, for our Savages are excellent Ferrets. The next Day the same Manœuvre begins again at some Distance from thence, and all the Time of the Chase is employed in this Manner.

When a Bear is killed, the Hunter puts the End of his lighted Pipe between his Teeth, blows into the Bowl; and thus filling the Mouth and Throat of the Beast with Smoak, he conjures its Spirit to bear no Malice for what he has just done to the Body, and not to oppose him in his future Huntings: But as the Spirit does not answer, the Hunter (to know if his Prayer is granted) cuts the String under the Bear's Tongue, and keeps it till he returns to the Village: Then they all throw, with great Ceremony, and after many Invocations, these Strings into the Fire: If they crackle, and shrink up, as seldom fails to happen, this is taken for a certain Sign that the Spirit of the Bear is appeased; if not, they believe they are enraged, and that the Chase of next Year will not be successful, unless they can find a Way to reconcile them; for, in short, there is a Remedy for every Thing.

The Hunters make good Cheer, as long as the Chase lasts; and even if they have but little Success, they carry off with them enough to treat their Friends, and feed their Families for a long Time. This Flesh is in Reality no great Ragout, but every Thing is good to the Savages. To see how they are received, the Praises they give them, the

the pleased and self-sufficient Airs they take upon themselves, one would say they were returning from some grand Expedition, loaded with the Spoils of a whole Nation destroyed. The People of the Village say, *It must be a Man* (and the Hunters say so themselves) *to fight with and conquer Bears in this Manner.*—Another Thing for which they receive no less Praise, and upon which they as much pride themselves, is to leave nothing of the great Feast which is given them at their Return from the Chase by the chief Hunter. The first Service that is presented, is the largest Bear they have taken; and they serve it up whole, with all its Entrails: It is not even skinned; they only singe the Skin as one does that of a Hog for Bacon. This Feast is performed to a certain Spirit, whose Anger they think they should incur if they did not eat all: They must not even leave any of the Broth in which the Meat was boiled, which is scarce any Thing but Fat melted and reduced to Oil: Nothing can be worse; and it generally kills some of them, and makes many of them very sick.

The Bears are not mischievous in this Country, but when they are hungry or when they are wounded; however, People are on their Guard when they approach them. They seldom attack; they even generally run away as soon as they see any Person, and there needs only a Dog to make them scour quite away. The Bear ruts in *July*: He then grows so lean, and his Flesh is so insipid and ill tasted, that even the Savages who often eat those Things, the Sight of which would turn our Stomachs, can hardly touch it. Who would believe that this Passion should waste an Animal of this Kind and Shape more in one Month, than a total Abstinence from Food for six Months? It is less surprizing that he should then be so fierce and ill-natured, that it is not safe to meet him in his Way. This is the Effect of his Jealousy.

This Season being over, the Bear grows fat again, and nothing contributes more to it than the Fruits which he finds in the Woods, of which he is very fond. Above all, he is fond of Grapes; and as all the Forests are full of Vines, which grow to the Tops of the highest Trees, he

he makes no Difficulty to climb up them : But if a Hunter finds him there, his Daintiness costs him his Life. When he has thus well fed upon Fruits, his Flesh has a very good Taste, and keeps it till Spring : It has, nevertheless, always a great Fault ; it is too oily ; and if it is not used with Moderation, it causes the bloody Flux. On the other Hand, a Bear's Whelp is as good as a Lamb.

I forgot, Madam, to tell you that the Savages always carry a great Number of Dogs with them when they hunt ; they are the only domestic Creatures which they bring up, and they bring them up only for Hunting : They all seem to be of the same Species : Their Ears stand upright ; their Nose is long, like that of a Wolf ; but they are very faithful and attached to their Masters ; who, nevertheless feed them but poorly, and never fondle them : they break them betimes to that Kind of Chase they are intended for, and they are excellent Hunters. I have not Time to add any Thing more, for they call me to depart.

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L E T T E R VII.

A Description of the Country, and the Islands of Richlieu and St. François. Of the Abenauqui Village. Of the antient Fort of Richlieu, and of those that have been built in each Parish. A brave Action of two Canadian Ladies.

MADAM,

ST. FRANÇOIS, *March 11.*

I Departed on the 9th from *Trois Rivieres*, and crossed the Lake of *St. Peter*, inclining a little to the South. I performed this Journey in a Sledge, because the Ice was still strong enough to bear all Sorts of Carriages; and I arrived at Noon at *St. François*. I employed the Afternoon, and all Yesterday, to visit this Quarter; and I shall now give you an Account of what I observed here.

At the West End of Lake *St. Pierre*, there is a vast Number of Islands of all Sizes, which they call the *Islands of Richlieu*; and turning to the Left, when we come from *Quebec*, we find six others, which border a pretty deep Bay, into which a River discharges itself, the Spring Head of which is in the Neighbourhood of *New York*. The Islands, the River, and all the Country it waters, bear the Name of *St. François*. Each of these Islands is about a Mile long; their Breadth is unequal: The greatest Part of those of *Richlieu* are smaller: They were all formerly full of Stags, Deer, Goats, and Elks: Here was also a surprizing Plenty of wild Fowl, which is not now very scarce; but the great Beasts have disappeared.

We get also excellent Fish in the River of *St. François*, and at its Mouth. In Winter they make Holes in the
 VOL. I. K Ice,

Ice, and let down their Nets of five or six Fathom long, and they seldom take them up empty. The Fish which they commonly take, are the gilt Fish, *Achigans*, and particularly the *Masquinongez*, which are a Kind of Pike: It hath a Head larger than ours, and the Mouth under a hooked Snout, which gives them an odd Look. The Lands of *St. François*, if we may judge by the Trees that grow here; and by that which is already cultivated, are very good. The Inhabitants are, notwithstanding, poor enough; and many would be reduced to the greatest Indigence, if the Trade with the Savages their Neighbours, did not help them a little. But is it not this Trade that hinders them from mending their Circumstances, by making them lazy?

The Savages I speak of, are the *Abenakis*, amongst which there are some *Algonquins*, and also *Sokokis* and *Mabingans*, better known by the Name of the *Wolves*. This Nation was formerly settled upon the River of *Manbatte*, in *New York*, and it appears that they were antient Inhabitants of that Country. The *Abenakis* came to *St. François* from the Southern Parts of *New France*, which are nearest *New England*. Their first Station, upon leaving their Country to come to live amongst us, was a little River that discharges itself into the River *St. Laurence*, almost over-against SYLLERY; that is to say, about a League and a half above *Quebec*, on the South Side. They seated themselves in the Neighbourhood of a Fall, which was called the *Fall de la Chaudiere*, (the *Kettle*) They are now situated on the Bank of the River *St. François*, two Leagues from its Mouth, in the Lake *St. Pierre*. The Place is very pleasant; but the Misfortune is, that these People do not enjoy the Pleasures of a fine Situation, and the Cabins of the Savages, especially of the *Abenakis*, do not adorn a Country. The Village is well peopled, and is inhabited only by *Christians*. This Nation is docible, and were at all Times well affected to the *French*; * but the Missionary has no less Trouble on their Account, than his Brother of *Beckancourt*, and for the same Reasons.

I was

* Father *Joseph Aubery*.

I was treated here with Maple Juice: This is the Season in which it is drawn. It is delicious, of wonderful Coolness, and very wholesome. The Manner of drawing it is very easy. When the Sap begins to rise, they make a Jag or Notch in the Trunk of the Maple, and by the Means of a Bit of Wood which they fix in it, the Water runs as by a Spout: This Water is received into a Vessel, which they set under it. To make it run plentifully, there must be much Snow upon the Ground, the Night must be frosty, the Sky clear, and the Wind not too cold. Our Maples would have perhaps the same Virtue, if we had in *France* as much Snow as in *Canada*, and if it lasted as long. By Degrees, as the Sap thickens, it runs less, and after some Time it stops entirely. It is easy to judge, that after such a Bleeding, the Tree is not the more healthy: They affirm, however, that it can bear this many Years together. They would do better perhaps, to let it rest a Year or two, that it might recover its Strength. But at last, when it is worn out, it serves to cut down, and its Wood, Roots, and Knots, are fit for many Things. This Tree must be very Plenty here, for they burn much of it.

The Water of the Maple is pretty clear, though a little whitish; it is very cooling, and leaves in the Mouth a Taste like that of Sugar, very agreeable. It is a very good pectoral; and in what Quantity soever it is drank, though you are never so much heated, it never does Harm; for it has not that Rawness which causes the Pleurisy; but on the contrary, a balsamick Virtue, which sweetens the Blood, and a certain Salt, which keeps up the Heat of it. They add that it never congeals; but if they keep it a certain Time, it becomes an excellent Vinegar. I do not warrant this for Fact, and I know that a Traveller ought not to take every Thing for Truth which he hears. It is very probable that the Savages, who are well acquainted with the Virtues of all their Plants, have at all Times made the same Use of this Water, which they do at this Day; but it is certain that they did not know how to make a Sugar of it, which we have since taught them. They were contented to let it boil a little, to thicken it something, and make a Sort of Syrup, which

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is pretty enough. What is further required to make Sugar of it, is to let it boil till it takes a proper Consistence, and it purifies itself without any foreign Mixture. There needs only care not to boil it too much, and to scum it well. The greatest Fault in making it, is to let it harden too much in its Syrup, which makes it oily, and to keep a Taste of Honey, which renders it less palatable, unless it is refined.

This Sugar made with Care, and it requires much less than ours, is natural, pectoral, and does not burn the Stomach. Besides, the making of it is very cheap. It is commonly thought that it is impossible to refine it, like that which is made from Canes; but I do not see the Reason of this; and it is certain, that as it comes out of the Hands of the Savages, it is purer and much better than the Sugar of the Islands, which has undergone no more Management. I gave some to a Sugar Baker of Orleans, who found no other Defect in it, than that which I have already mentioned, and which he attributed solely to its not being sufficiently purified. He thought it also of a better Kind than the other, and made some Lozenges of it, which I had the Honour to present to you, Madam, and which you found so excellent. It will be objected, that if it was of such a good Quality, it would have become an Object of Trade, but there is not enough made for this Purpose; but perhaps they are in the wrong in not trying what may be done. There are many other Things besides this, that are neglected in this Country. — The Plane-Tree, the small Cherry, the Ash, and the Walnut-Trees of different Sorts, give also a Water that makes Sugar, but in less Quantity, and the Sugar is not so good. Yet some People give the Preference to that which is drawn from the Ash, but there is very little made. Could you have believed, Madam, that we should find in Canada, what Virgil says in foretelling the Renewal of the golden Age, that Honey should flow from the Trees*.

All this Country has been a long Time the Theatre of many bloody Scenes, because during the War with the

Iroquois,

* *Et duræ Quercus sudabant rosida Mella.*

Iroquois, it was the most exposed to the Excursions of those Barbarians. They came down upon the Colony, by a River that discharges itself into the River *St. Lawrence*, a little above Lake *St. Pierre*, on the same Side as that of *St. François*; and to which, for this Reason, they at first gave their Name. It has been since for some Time called *Richlieu*, and is now called the River *de Sorrel*. The Islands of *Richlieu*, which they came to first, served them equally for their Ambushes, and for a Retreat; but when we had shut up this Passage by a Fort, built at the Entrance of the River, they took their Way by the Lands above and below, and threw themselves especially on the Side of *St. François*, where they found the same Advantages to exercise their Robberies, and where they have committed Cruelties which are horrible to relate.

They spread themselves afterwards through the whole Colony, and they were obliged in order to defend themselves from their Fury, to build in every Parish a Kind of Fort, where the Inhabitants may take Refuge on the first Alarm. They kept in each Fort one or two Centinels, who did Duty Night and Day, and they had all some Field-Pieces, or at least some Patteraroes, as well to disperse the Enemy, as to give Notice to the Inhabitants to be upon their Guard, and to inform when they wanted Succours. These Forts are only Inclosures defended with Pallisadoes, with some Redoubts; The Church and the Manor-House are always in this Inclosure; and there is still Room enough left, in case of need, to give Refuge to the Women and Children, and the Cattle. This has been found sufficient to preserve them from any Insult; for I never heard the *Iroquois* took any of these Forts.

They very seldom block them up, and scarce ever attack them to take them by Assault. One is too dangerous for Savages, who have no defensive Arms, and do not love a Victory stained with their Blood: The other Way does not agree with their Manner of making War. Two Attacks of the Fort *de Vercheres*, are nevertheless famous in the Annals of *Canada*; and it looks as if the *Iroquois* had

had attempted it twice, contrary to their Custom, only to display the Valour and Intrepidity of two Amazons.

In 1690, these Savages being informed that Madam *de Vercheres* was almost alone in her Fort, approached it without being seen, and attempted to scale the Pallisadoes: Some Musket Shot that were fired to good Purpose, upon the first Noise they made, dispersed them; but they soon returned, and they were again repulsed; and what surpris'd them more was, that they saw only a Woman, and her they saw every where. This was Madam *de Vercheres*, who kept up as good a Countenance as if she had had a numerous Garrison. The Hope which the Besiegers had conceived at first, to take a Place easily, which they knew was without Men, made them return several Times to the Charge; but the Lady with the Help of the Women with her, always beat them off. She fought in this Manner two Days, with such Bravery and Prefence of Mind, as would have done Honour to an old Warrior; and at last she obliged the Enemy to retire, for Fear of having their Retreat cut off, greatly ashamed of being forced to fly before a Woman.

Two Years after another Party of the same Nation, much more numerous than the other, appeared in Sight of the same Fort, whilst all the Inhabitants were abroad, and the greatest Part employed in the Fields. The *Iroquois* finding them thus dispersed, without any Suspicion of an Enemy, seized them all one after another, then marched towards the Fort. The Daughter of the Lord, who was at most but fourteen Years old, was about two hundred Paces off the Fort. At the first Cry she heard, she ran to get in: The Savages pursued her, and one of them came up with her just as she got to the Door; but having seized her by a Handkerchief that was about her Neck, she let it slip from her, and so got in, and shut to the Gate.

There was nobody in the Fort but a young Soldier and a Company of Women; who, at the Sight of their Husbands whom the Savages were binding and carrying away Prisoners, sent forth most lamentable Cries. The young

young Lady lost neither her Judgment nor Courage. She began by pulling off her Cap, she tied up her Hair, put on a Hat and a Jacket, and locked up all the Women, whose Cries and Tears could but encourage the Enemy. Then she fired a Cannon and some Musket Shot, and shewing herself with her Soldier sometimes in one Redoubt, and sometimes in another, changing frequently their Dress, and firing to good Purpose whenever she saw the *Iroquois* approach the Pallisade, the Savages fancied there were many People in the Fort, and when the *Chevalier de Crislay*, upon hearing the firing, came to succour the Place, the Enemy was already marched off.

Let us now return to the Chase. — That of the Original would not have been less profitable to us at present, than that of the Beaver, if our Predecessors in this Country had given more Attention to the Profits which might have been made of it, and had not almost entirely destroyed the Species, at least in those Places which are within our Reach.

What they call here the Original, is what in *Germany*, *Poland*, and *Muscovy*, they call the Elk or Great Beast. This Animal here, is as big as a Horse, or a Mule of *Auvergne*. The hind Quarters are large, the Tail but only an Inch long, the Hams very high, the Legs and Feet like those of a Hart; a long Hair covers the Withers, the Neck, and the upper Part of the Hams: The Head is above two Feet long, and he carries it out, which gives him an ill Look: His Muzzle is large, and lessens in the upper Part like that of a Camel, and his Nostrils are so large one may easily thrust in half one's Arm. His Horns are not less long than those of a Hart, and much wider: They are flat and forked like those of a Deer, and are renewed every Year; but I know not if upon the new Growth, they make an Increase which denotes the Age of the Animal.

They say that the Original is subject to the Epilepsy, and when the Fits seize him, he gets over them by scratching his Ear with his left hind Foot till he draws Blood, which has made the Hoof of this Foot be esteem-

ed a Specific against the Falling Sicknefs. It is applied to the Heart of the Patient, and they do the ſame to cure the Palpitation of the Heart: They put it alſo into the left Hand of the Perſon who is diſordered, and rub his Ear with it: But why ſhould they not draw Blood from him alſo, as the Original does? This Hoof is alſo reckoned very good againſt the Pleuriſy, Cholick Pains, the Flux, the Vertigo, and the Purples, by reducing it to Powder, and giving it in Water. I have been told that the *Algonquins*, who formerly made the Fleſh of this Animal their common Food, were very much ſubject to the Epilepſy, and never uſed this Remedy: Perhaps they had better. The Hair of the Original is a Mixture of light grey and dark red. It grows hollow as the Beaſt grows old, and never loſes its elaftic Power: Beat it ever ſo long it ſprings up again. Mattreſſes are made of it, and Saddles. The Fleſh is well taſted, light, and nourifhing; it would be a Pity that it ſhould cauſe the Epilepſy; but our Hunters, who have lived upon it whole Winters, never found that it had any bad Quality. The Skin is ſtrong, ſoft, and ſubſtantial; it is made into Shamois, and excellent Buff, which is very light. The Savages look upon the Original as a Creature of good Omen, and believe that thoſe who dream frequently of it, may flatter themſelves with long Life: But they think quite the contrary with Regard to dreaming of the Bear, except in the Time when they are diſpoſed to hunt thoſe Creatures. There is alſo current among theſe Barbarians a comical Tradition of a great Original, near which all the reſt appear but as Ants: They ſay his Legs are ſo long, that eight Feet Depth of Snow is no Hindrance to him; that his Skin is Proof againſt all Sorts of Arms, and that he has a Kind of Arm which grows out of his Shoulder, which he makes Uſe of as we do of our's; that he never fails to have after him a great Number of Originals, who form his Court; and who render him all the Services he requires of them. Thus the Antients had their Phoenix, and their Pegafus; and the *Chineſe* and the *Japanefe* had their Kirin, their Foe, their Water Dragon, and their Bird of Paradife.—*Every Country has its ridiculous Notions.*

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The Orignal loves cold Countries; he feeds on Grass in Summer, and in Winter he gnaws the Trees. When the Snows are high, these Animals troop together into some Pine-Grove, to shelter themselves under the Verdure from the bad Weather, and they continue there as long as they find Food. Then it is easy to hunt them; but easier still, when the Sun begins to have Strength enough to melt the Snow; for the frosty Nights making a Sort of Crust upon the Snow melted in the Day, the Orignal (which is an heavy Creature) breaks it with his cloven Foot, flays his Legs, and has some Trouble to get out of the Holes he makes. Without this, and especially when there is but little Snow, they cannot approach him without Trouble, nor without Danger; because, when he is wounded, he grows furious, turns suddenly upon the Hunter, and tramples him under his Feet. The Way to escape this, is for the Hunter to throw him his Coat, upon which he discharges all his Fury; whilst the Hunter, hid behind a Tree, can take his Measures to kill him. The Orignal always goes a great Trot, which is near equal to the Speed of the Buffaloe, and he holds it a long Time: But yet the Savages can out-run him. They say that he kneels down to drink, to eat, and to rest himself, and that there is in his Heart a little Bone, which being reduced to Powder, and taken in broth, appeases the Pains of Child-birth, and facilitates Delivery.

The most Northern Nations of *Canada* have a Way of performing this Hunt which is very easy, and without Danger. The Hunters divide themselves into two Companies: One embarks in Canoes; and these Canoes keeping at some Distance from each other, form a large Semicircle, the two Ends of which touch the Shore: The other Company that remains on the Land, performs much the same Operation, and enclose a large Space. Then these Hunters let go their Dogs, and rouse all the Orignals that are in that Space; and driving them forward, oblige them to run into the River, or the Lake. They are no sooner in the Water, than they fire upon them from all the Canoes: Every Shot takes Place, and very seldom even a single Orignal escapes.

Champlain

Champlain speaks of another Manner of hunting not only the Originals, but also Harts and Caribous, which is something like this Way. They inclose (says he) a Part of a Forest with Stakes, interwoven with Branches of Trees, and leave but one narrow Opening where they lay Snares made of raw Skins. This Space is triangular, and from the Angle of the Entrance they draw another Triangle, much larger: So these two Inclosures communicate together by the two Angles: The two Sides of the second Triangle are also shut up with Stakes, and the Hunters range upon a Line from the Base. Then they advance, without breaking the Line; and drawing nearer and nearer to each other, they make a great Shouting, and strike upon something that makes a great Noise. The Beasts being driven forward, and not able to escape either to Right or Left, and being affrighted with the Noise, know not where to fly, but into the other Inclosure; and many, as they enter it, are caught by the Horns or the Neck. They struggle greatly to get loose, and sometimes they carry with them or break the Snares: Sometimes also they strangle themselves, or at least give the Hunters Time to shoot them at their Ease. Those which escape this, fare no better: They are inclosed in too small a Space to shun the Arrows which the Hunters let fly at them from all Sides.

The Original has other Enemies than the Savages, and which make a no less rough War against him. The most terrible of all is the Carcajou, or Quincajou, a Sort of wild Cat; whose Tail is so long, that it can twist it several Times round its Body: Its Hair is a reddish brown. As soon as this Hunter can come up with an Original, he leaps upon him; and fixing upon his Neck, twists its long Tail round it; after which it tears the Jugular Vein. The Original has but one Way to escape this Misfortune; *that is*, to get into the Water as soon as he is seized by this dangerous Enemy. The Carcajou, who cannot bear the Water, lets go his hold immediately. But if the Water is too far off, it has Time to kill the Original before he can get into it. Commonly this Hunter, whose Smell is not the best, brings three Foxes to the Chase, and sends them out upon the Discovery. As soon as they
have

have smelt out an Original, two place themselves at his Sides, and the third behind him, and they all three make such a fine Manœuvre, harassing the Beast, that they oblige him to go where they have left the Carcajou, with which they agree afterwards about dividing the Game.— Another Stratagem of the Carcajou, is to climb up a Tree : There lying along upon an extended Branch, he waits for the passing by of an Original, and leaps upon him as soon as he is within his Reach.

Many People have imagined, Madam, that the Relations of *Canada* give the Savages more Wit and Sense, than they have. They are, nevertheless, Men : And under what Climate shall we find Brutes that have an Instinct more ingenious than the Beaver, the Carcajou, and the Fox ?

The Hart of *Canada* is absolutely the same as in *France*, perhaps commonly a little larger. It does not appear that the Savages disturb him much ; at least, I do not find that they make War against him in Form, and with any Preparations. It is not the same with Regard to the Caribou †. This is an Animal not so high as the Original, which has more of the Ass than the Mule in its Shape, and which equals the Hart in Swiftness. Some Years ago, one appeared upon *Cape Diamond*, above *Quebec* : It was, no Doubt, flying from the Hunters, but he perceived soon he was not in a Place of Safety, and he made almost but one Leap from thence into the River. A wild Goat of the *Alps* could not have done more : Then he swam very swiftly across the River ; but it was all to no Purpose : Some *Canadians*, who were going to make War, and who were encamped near the Point of *Levi*, having discovered him, waited for his landing, and killed him. They greatly esteem the Tongue of this Animal, which herds most about *Hudson's Bay*. The *Sieur Jeremy*, who has passed many Years in these Northern Parts, says, that between the *Danes River* and *Port Nelson*, during the whole Summer, they see prodigious
Numbers

† It differs not from the Rain-Deer but in its Colour ; which is brown, or a little reddish.

Numbers of them ; which being driven from the Woods by the Flies and Gnats, come to refresh themselves by the Sea Side ; and that for the Space of forty or fifty Leagues they meet almost continually with Herds of ten thousand at least.

It appears that the Caribou has never been in any great Numbers in the most frequented Places of *Canada* ; but the Originals abounded every where when we first discovered the Country ; and it might have made an Article of Trade, and a great Convenience of Life, if they had been careful to preserve the Breed : But this they have not done ; and, either because they have thinned the Species, by killing great Numbers, or that by frightening them they have been driven to some other Country, nothing is more scarce at present.

In the Southern and Western Parts of *New France*, on both Sides the *Mississipi*, the most famous Hunt is that of the Buffaloe, which is performed in this Manner : The Hunters range themselves in four Lines, which form a great Square, and begin by setting Fire to the Grass and Herbs, which are dry and very high : Then as the Fire gets forwards they advance, closing their Lines : The Buffaloes, which are extremely afraid of Fire, keep flying from it, and at last find themselves so crowded together, that they are generally every one killed. They say that a Party seldom returns from Hunting without killing Fifteen Hundred or Two Thousand. But lest the different Companies should hinder each other, they all agree before they set out about the Place where they intend to hunt. There are also some Penalties appointed against those who transgress this Rule, as well as against those who, quitting their Posts, give way to the Beasts to escape. These Penalties consist in giving a Right to every Person to strip those who are guilty, and to take away even their Arms, which is the greatest Affront that can be given to a Savage ; and to pull down their Cabins. The Chiefs are subject to this Penalty as well as the others, and if any were to endeavour

vous

your to exempt them from this Law, it would raise a Civil War amongst them, which would not end soon.

The Bull, or Buffaloe, of *Canada* is bigger than ours; his Horns are low, black, and short; he has a great Beard of Hair under his Muzzle, and a great Tuft of Hair upon his Head, which falls down upon his Eyes, and gives him a hideous Look. He has a great Bump upon his Back, which begins at his Hips, and goes increasing up to his Shoulders; and this Bump is covered with Hair, something reddish, and very long; the rest of the Body is covered with black Wool, which is much valued. They say that the Skin of a Buffaloe has eight Pounds of Wool on it. This Animal has a large Chest, the hind Parts small, the Tail very short, and one can scarce see any Neck it has, but its Head is bigger than that of the *European* Bulls. He runs away generally at the Sight of any Person, and one Dog is enough to make a whole Herd take to full Gallop. The Buffaloe has a good Smell, and to approach him without being perceived near enough to shoot him, you must go against the Wind. When he is wounded he is furious, and turns upon the Hunters. He is as furious when the Cows have newly calved. His Flesh is good, but they seldom eat any but that of the Cows, because the Buffaloes are too tough. As for his Skin, there are none better; it is easily dressed, and tho' very strong, it becomes supple, like the best Shamois. The Savages make Shields of it, which are very light, and which a Musket Ball will not easily pierce.

They find about *Hudson's Bay* another Bull, whose Skin and Wool are the same with those I have already described. This is what *M. Jeremy* says of it: "Fifteen Leagues from the *Danes River*, is the River of *Seals*, so called because there are many in this Place. Between these two Rivers there is a Kind of Bulls which we call the *Musk Bulls*; because they have so strong a Smell of Musk, that at some certain Times there is no such Thing as eating their Flesh. These Animals have a very fine Wool, and it is longer than that of the *Barbary* Sheep. I brought some to *France* in

" 1708.

“ 1708, of which I had some Stockings made, which
 “ were finer than those made of Silk. These
 “ Bulls, though they are smaller than ours, have Horns
 “ much thicker and longer : Their Roots join on the
 “ Crown of the Head, and descend by the Side of the
 “ Eyes almost as low as the Throat ; afterwards the
 “ End rises up, and forms a Kind of Crescent. There
 “ are some so large, that I have seen of them, which
 “ being separated from the Skull, weighed both together
 “ sixty Pounds : Their Legs are very short, so that
 “ their Wool drags upon the Ground when they walk ;
 “ which makes them so deformed, that it is difficult at a
 “ little Distance to know which Way the Head stands.
 “ There are not many of these Animals ; so that the Sa-
 “ vages would soon destroy them, if they were to hunt
 “ them. Moreover, as their Legs are very short, when
 “ there is much Snow they kill them with Lances, as
 “ they are not able then to make any Speed.”

The most common Quadrupede at this Time in *Canada*, is the Roe-Buck, which differs in nothing from ours. It is said that it sheds Tears when it is run down by the Hunters. Whilst it is young its Hair is striped with many Colours lengthwise : Afterwards this Hair falls off, and another grows up of the Colour of the common Roe-Buck. This Creature is not fierce, and is easily tamed, and seems naturally to have an Affection for Man. The Female that is used to the House, retires into the Woods in rutting Time, and as soon as it has coupled with the Male, returns again to the House of her Master. When her Time is come to bring forth, she returns into the Woods, and remains there some Days with her Young ; then she returns again to her Master ; but continues to visit her Young very assiduously : When they think proper, they follow her and take her Young, and she brings them up in the House. It is something strange that all our Habitations have not whole Herds of them. The Savages hunt them but seldom.

There are also in the Woods of *Canada* many Wolves, or rather wild Cats, for they only resemble the Wolves in a Kind of Howling : In every Thing else, says Mr. *Sarrafin*,

Sarrafin, they are *ex genere felino* (of the Cat Kinds) They are true Hunters, which live only on the Animal they catch, and which they pursue to the Tops of the highest Trees. Their Flesh is white and good to eat. Their Skins are well known in *France*; it is one of the finest Furs of this Country; and one of the greatest Articles of its Trade.

There is a Sort of black Foxes in the northern Mountains, whose Skins are much valued, but they are very scarce. There are some that are more common, the Hair of which is black or grey, and others of a tawny red. They find some going up the *Mississippi* that are very beautiful, the Fur of which is of a Silver Colour. We also meet with Tygers here, and Wolves of a smaller Kind than ours. The Foxes here catch Water-Fowl in a very ingenious Manner. They go a little Way into the Water, and come out again, and make a thousand Capers upon the Bank of the River. The Ducks, the Bustards, and the like Birds who are pleased with this Sport, approach the Fox: When he sees them within his Reach, he keeps himself very quiet at first, not to scare them; he only wags his Tail to draw them nearer, and the silly Birds give into the Snare so far as to pick his Tail. Then the Fox leaps upon them, and seldom misses his Aim. Some Dogs have been broke to this Way with Success, and these Dogs make a sharp War with the Foxes.

Here is a Kind of Pole-Cat, which they call *Enfant de Diable* or *Bete Puante* (the Child of the Devil, or stinking Beast) because when it is pursued, it makes a Urine which stinks the Air for half a Mile round. It is in other Respects, a very pretty Animal. It is about as high as a small Cat, but bigger round, has bright Hair inclining to grey, with two white Lines which form on the Back an oval Figure from its Head to the Tail. Its Tail is bushy like a Fox's, and it carries it like a Squirrel. Its Fur is like that of the Pekans, another Kind of wild Cat, about the same Bigness of ours. Otters Skins, common Pole-Cats, the *Pitois* or Stote, the Field Rat's, the Ermine's, and the Marten's, are what we call the small Peltry. The Ermine is about the Size of our Squirrel, but something

something longer; its Hair is a fine white, and it has a very long Tail, the End of which is as black as Jet. The Martens in *Canada* are not so red as those of *France*, and have a finer Fur. They keep generally in the midst of the Woods, out of which they never come but once in two or three Years; but they always come out in great Troops. The Savages believe that the Year when they see them come out, will be good for Hunting; *that is to say*, that there will be a deep Snow. The Martens Skins are actually sold here at a Crown a-piece, I mean the common ones, for those that are brown fetch up to twenty-four Livres, and more. The *Pitot* or *Stote* differs nothing from the Pole-Cat, but in that the Fur is blacker, longer, and thicker. These two Animals make War with the Birds, even with the largest, and make great Ravages in Hen-Roosts and Dove-Houses. The Field Rat is twice as big as ours, and has an hairy Tail, and its Fur is of a very fine Silver grey. There are some which are entirely white, and a very beautiful White. The Female has a Purse under the Belly, which opens and shuts when she will. She puts her young ones in it when she is pursued, and saves them with herself. As to the Squirrels, they give them very little disturbance here, so that there are a prodigious Number in this Country. They distinguish them into three Sorts; the red, which does not differ from ours, the *Swifts*, which are a little smaller, and are so called because their Fur is striped lengthwise with red, black, and white, much like the *Swifts* of the Pope's Guard; and the flying Squirrels, of much the same Size as the *Swifts*, whose Fur is a dark grey. They call them flying, not because they really fly, but because they leap from one Tree to another, the Distance of forty Paces at least. When they leap from a high Place to a lower, they leap twice as far. What enables them to make such Leaps, are two Skins which they have on their Sides, between the fore and hind Feet, and which stretch to the Breadth of two Inches. They are very thin; and only covered with Down. This little Animal soon grows familiar; it is very lively when it does not sleep; but it often sleeps in any Place it can creep into, as a Pocket, Sleeve or Muff. It soon grows fond of
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its Master, and will find him out amongst twenty Persons. The Porcupine of *Canada* is as thick as a middling Dog, but shorter, and not so high; its Quills are about four Inches long, about the thickness of a small Straw, white, hollow, and very strong, particularly on the Back. These are its Arms, both offensive and defensive. It darts them directly at those who attempt its Life, and if it enters ever so little in the Flesh, it must be drawn out instantly, or else it sinks in entirely. It is for this Reason that they are very careful to hinder their Dogs from approaching these Animals. Their Flesh is good eating. A roasted Porcupine, is as good as a sucking Pig. The Hares and Rabbits here are like those of *Europe*, excepting that their hind Legs are longer. Their Skins are of no great Use, because they shed their Fur continually; which is a Pity, for their Fur is very fine, and would do no Damage in the Hat Manufacture. In Winter these Animals turn grey, and seldom come out of their Holes, where they live upon the smallest Branches of the Birch Tree. In Summer, their Fur is of a yellowish red. The Foxes make a sharp War with them in all Seasons, and the Savages take them in Winter in Gins, when they go out to seek for Food.

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L E T T E R VIII.

A Description of the Country between Lake St. PIERRE, and MONTREAL: In what it differs from QUEBEC. A Description of the Island and Town of MONTREAL, and its Environs. Of the Fishery for Seals, the Sea Cow, Porpoise, and Whale.

MADAM,

MONTREAL, *March 20.*

I Departed the 13th from *St. Francois*, and the next Day I arrived in this Town. I had not in passing here, which is about twenty Leagues, the Pleasure I had formerly in coming this same Route in a Canoe, in the finest Weather in the World, to see open before me by Degrees as I advanced, Canals that reached out of Sight, between a prodigious Number of Islands, which at a Distance seemed to make one Land with the Continent, and stop the River in its Course, those pleasing Views, which changed every Moment like the Decorations of a Theatre, and which one would think were contrived on Purpose to recreate a Traveller: But I had some Recompence in the Singularity of the Sight of an *Archipelago*, that was become in some Manner a Continent; and by the Convenience of travelling in a Sledge, or Kind of Calash, upon Canals between Islands, which appeared as if they had been placed by a Line like Orange Trees.

As for the Prospect, it is not fine in this Season. Nothing is more melancholy than that White which covers every Thing, and which takes the Place of that beautiful Variety of Colours which is the greatest Ornament of

the Country; than Trees, which appear planted in the Snow, and which present to our Sight only hoary Heads, and Branches loaded with Isicles.—In other Respects, Madam, the Lake of *St. Pierre* is here what the River *Loire* is in *France*. On the Side of *Quebec* the Lands are good; but in general you see nothing that can recreate the Sight. Moreover, the Climate is very severe; for the more we go down the River, and the more we advance towards the North, of Consequence the Cold is more piercing. *Quebec* is in 47. 56. Latitude. *Trois Rivieres* is in 46. and some Minutes: And *Montreal* between 44. and 45. The River *St. Laurence*, above the Lake of *St. Pierre*, making an Elbow to the South. It seems therefore, when we are past the *Islands of Richlieu*, as if we were transported all at once into another Climate. The Air is softer, the Land more level, the River finer; and its Banks have a *Je ne scai quoi*, more pleasing. We meet from Time to Time with Islands, some of which are inhabited; the others, in their natural State, offer to the Sight the finest Landscapes in the World. In a Word, it is *Touraine* and *la Limagne* of *Auvergne* compared with *Maine* and *Normandy*.

The Isle of *Montreal*, which is as it were the Centre of this fine Country, is ten Leagues long from East to West, and near four Leagues over in its greatest Breadth. The Mountain from which it takes its Name, and which has two Heads of unequal Height, is almost in the Midst of the Length of the Island, but it is but half a League from the South Coast, upon which the Town is built. This Town was called *Ville-Marie*, by its Founders; but this Name hath never been brought into common Use: It is only mentioned in public Writings, and amongst the Lords, who are very tenacious of it. These Lords, who have the Domain not only of the Town, but also of the whole Island, are Missionaries of the Seminary of *St. Sulpice*: And as all the Lands here are very good, and well cultivated; and as the Town is as well peopled as *Quebec*, we may affirm that this Lordship is worth half a Dozen of the best in *Canada*. This is the Fruit of the Labour and good Conduct of the Lords of this Island; and certainly twenty private Persons, amongst whom this might

might have been divided, would not have put it in the State we now see it, nor have made the People so happy. The Town of *Montreal* has a very chearful Aspect: It is well situated, open, and well built. The Agreeableness of its Environs, and its Prospects, inspires a certain Gaiety, of which every one feels the Effect. It is not fortified: A single Pallisade, which is but poorly kept up, is all its Defence; with a bad Redoubt upon a little Eminence, which serves for a Bulwark, and which terminates with a gentle Slope at a little Square. This is what we meet with at first, in coming from *Quebec*. It is not forty Years ago, since the Town was quite open, and exposed to be burnt by the Savages or the *English*. It was the *Chevalier de Callieres*, Brother of the Plenipotentiary of *Ryswick*, who enclosed it whilst he was Governor. They have talked some Years of surrounding it with Walls §; but it will not be easy to engage the Inhabitants to contribute towards it: They are brave, and not rich; and are hard to be persuaded of the Necessity of this Expence, being fully convinced that their Valour is more than sufficient to defend the Town against any Enemy that should dare to attack it. Our *Canadians*, on this Article, have all a pretty good Opinion of themselves, and we must allow it is not ill founded; but in Consequence of the Confidence which this gives them, it is not so difficult to surprize them, as to conquer them.

Montreal is a long Square, situated on the Bank of the River; which rising insensibly, divides the Town in its Length into High and Low; but the Ascent from one to the other is scarcely perceivable. The *Hotel Dieu*, and the King's Magazines are in the Lower Town, and almost all the Traders live there. The Seminary and the Parish Church, the *Recollets*, the *Jesuits*, the Maids of the Congregation, the Governor, and greatest Part of the Officers, are in the Higher Town. Beyond a little Rivulet, which comes from the North West, and bounds the Town on that Side, there are some Houses and the Hospital General; and going to the Right, beyond the *Recollets*, whose Convent is at the End of the Town, on

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§ This is now done.

the same Side, there begins to be formed a Kind of Suburb, which in Time will make a very fine Quarter.

The *Jesuits* here have but a very little House ; but their Church, which is just finished, is large and well built. The Convent of the *Recollets* is much larger, and the Society more numerous. The Seminary is in the Centre of the Town : It appears that they studied more to make it solid and convenient, than fine ; but yet it has the Air of belonging to the Lords of the Place : It communicates with the Parish Church, which has much more the Appearance of a Cathedral than that of *Quebec*. The Service is performed here with a Modesty and Dignity which inspires Respect for the Majesty of the God who is here adored.

The House of the Maids of the Congregation, though one of the largest in the Town, is yet still too little to lodge so numerous a Society : It is the Chief of an Order, and the Noviciate of an Institution, which ought to be so much dearer to *New France*, and to this Town in particular, because it took its Rise here, and because all the Colony feels the Advantages of this fine Foundation. The *Hotel Dieu* is served by Nuns, the first of which were taken from *la Fleche* in *Anjou*.

They are poor, yet their Poverty does not appear in their Hall ; which is large and well furnished with Beds and other Furniture ; nor in their Church, which is fine and well adorned ; nor in their House, which is well built, neat and convenient : But they have but a poor Maintenance, though they are all indefatigably employed in the Instruction of Youth, and in the Care of the Sick.

The Hospital General owes its Foundation to a private Person, named *Charron*, who associated himself with many pious Persons, not only for this good Work, but also to furnish the Country Parishes with School-Masters, who should instruct the Boys, as the Sisters of the Congregation do the Girls : But the Society was soon dissolved : Some left it for other Affairs, and some through Fickleness ; so that the *Sieur Charron* was left alone. However,
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he was not discouraged ; he emptied his own Purse, and found Means to open those of some powerful Persons : He built a House, and procured a Number of School-Masters, and Persons to attend the Hospital. The Public took a Pleasure to assist and give Authority to a Man who spared neither his own Substance, nor his Pains, and whom nothing could discourage. In short, before his Death, which happened in 1719, he had the Comfort to see his Project out of all Danger of failing, at least with Respect to the Hospital General. The House is fine, and the Church very pretty. The School-Masters are not yet well established in the Parishes ; and the Order they have received from Court, forbidding them to wear an uniform Habit, or to engage themselves by Vows, may hinder their Establishment.

Between the Island of *Montreal* and the Continent on the North Side, there is another Island about eight Leagues long, and two Leagues over : It was first named the Island of *Montmagny*, from the Name of a Governor General of *Canada* : It was afterwards granted to the *Jesuits*, who called it the Island of *Jesus* ; and it has preserved this last Name, though it has passed from the Hands of the *Jesuits* to Messieurs of the Seminary of *Quebec*, who have begun to place some Inhabitants here ; and as the Lands are good, there is room to hope that the whole Island will soon be cleared.

The Channel which separates the two Islands, is called the River *des Prairies*, (*Meadows*) because it runs in the Midsts of fine Meadows. Its Course is impeded towards the Middle by a Torrent which they call *the Recollet's Fall*, in Memory of one of that Order, who was drowned here. The Ecclesiastics of the Seminary of *Montreal* for a long Time, had a Mission of Savages near this Place, which they have since removed to another Place.

The third Arm of the River is strewed as it were with such a prodigious Number of Islands, that there is almost as much Land as Water. This Channel is called *Millesilles*, or River of *St. Jean*, (*thousand Islands*, or *St. John's River*.) At the Head of the Island *Jesus*, is the

little Island *Bizard*, so called from the Name of a *Swiss* Officer, to whom it belonged, and who died a Major at *Montreal*. A little higher towards the South, is the Island *Perrot*; thus called by Mr. *Perrot*, who was the first Governor of *Montreal*, and the Father of Madam the Countess de la *Roche-Allard*, and of Madam the Presidentess of *Lubert*. This Island is near two Leagues every Way, and the Lands are good, and they begin to clear them. The Isle *Bizard* terminates the Lake *des deux Montagnes* (of the two Mountains) and the Island *Perrot* separates the same Lake from that of *St. Louis*.

The Lake of the two Mountains is properly the Mouth of the *Great River*, otherwise called the River of the *Outaouais*, into the River *St. Laurence*. It is two Leagues long, and near as wide. The Lake of *St. Louis* is something larger, but it is in Fact nothing more than an Enlargement of the River *St. Laurence*. Till lately the *French* Colony extended no farther to the West; but they begin to make some new Habitations a little higher, and the Lands are every where excellent.

That which has been the Security of *Montreal* and its Environs during the last Wars, are two Villages of *Iroquois Christians*, and the Fort de *Chambly*. The first of the two Villages is that of the Fall of *St. Louis*, situated on the Continent on the South Side, three Leagues above the Town of *Montreal*. It is very populous, and has always been esteemed one of our strongest Barriers against the *Heathen Iroquois*, and the *English* of *New York*. It has already been twice removed within the Space of two Leagues. Its second Situation, where I saw it in 1708. was over against the Fall of *St. Louis*; and it keeps this Name, though it is now a good Distance from it. It looks as if they had fixed it now; for the Church, which is just finished, and the House of the Missionaries are, each in its Kind, two of the finest Buildings in the Country. The Situation is charming: The River *St. Laurence*, which is very wide here, is also hereabouts full of Islands, which have a very fine Effect. The Island of *Montreal*, entirely peopled, is a Perspective on one Side; and the View has scarce any Bounds on the other Side,

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on Account of the Lake *St. Louis*, which begins a little higher.

The second Village is called *de la Montagne*, (of the Mountain) because it was a long Time on the Mountain) which gave the Name to the Island. It has since been removed to the *Recollet's* Fall, as I said before. It is now on the Continent, over-against the West End of the Island. It is govern'd by the Ecclesiastics of the Seminary of *Montreal*. These two Villages have produced many brave Men, and their Fervour in Religion was admirable before the Avarice of our Traders had introduced Drunkenness, which has made still greater Ruin here than in the Missions of *St. François* and *Beckancourt*.

The Missionaries have in vain employed all their Industry and Vigilance to put a Stop to this Disorder. It was to no Purpose that they called in the Aid of the Magistrates, threatened the Wrath of Heaven, and offered the most persuasive Reasons: All signified nothing. Even the most fatal Accidents, in which the Hand of GOD evidently appeared heavy on the Authors of this Evil, have not been sufficient to open the Eyes of some *Christians*, whom a Thirst after sordid Gain hath blinded. One sees even in the Squares and Streets of *Montreal* the most frightful Spectacles, the certain Consequences of the Drunkenness of these Barbarians: Husbands and Wives, Fathers, Mothers and their Children; Brothers and Sisters, taking each other by the Throat, tearing off each other's Ears, and biting one another like furious Wolves. The Air resounds in the Night with Howlings, more horrible than those which the wild Beasts make in the Woods.

Those who have most to reproach themselves with for these horrible Disorders, are the first to ask, If these People are *Christians*? We may answer them, Yes, they are *Christians*, and new Converts, who know not what they do: But those who coolly, and knowing the certain Effect, bring them by their Avarice to this Condition, have they any Religion? They know that the Savages would give all that they have for a Glass of Brandy:

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This is a Temptation to the Traders ; against which neither the Cries of the Pastors, nor the Zeal and Authority of the Magistrates, nor Respect of the Laws, nor the Severity of the Sovereign Jurisdiction, nor the Fear of GOD's Judgments, nor the Thoughts of Hell, (a Representation of which is seen in the Drunkenness of these Savages) have been able to restrain them.—But let us turn away our Eyes from these disagreeable Objects.

The great Trade for Skins, after the Town of *Trois Rivieres* was no longer frequented by the Nations of the North and West, was carried on several Years at *Montreal*, whither the Savages resorted at certain Seasons from all Parts of *Canada*. This was a Kind of Fair, which brought many *French* to this Town. The Governor General, and the Intendant, came hither also, and they took Advantage of this Occasion to accommodate the Difference that might have happened between our Allies. But if you meet, Madam, by Chance, with the Book of *La Hontan*, where mention is made of this Fair, I would have you take Care how you give Credit to what he says of it : He does not even preserve Probability. The Women of *Montreal* never gave any Foundation for what this Author reports of them, and there is no Fear that their Honour should ever suffer any Blemish from the Savages. There is no Example that any have ever taken the least Liberty with the *French* Women, even when they were their Prisoners : They do not even seem to have an Inclination to it ; and it were to be wished that the *Frenchmen* had the same Dislike to the Savage Women. *La Hontan* could not be ignorant of what is so publickly known in the Country ; but he wanted to give a Gaiety to his Memoirs, and for this Purpose he said any Thing. We are always sure to please certain Persons, when we give no Bounds to a Liberty of inventing Stories, and of slandering.

One sees now and then little Fleets of Savages arrive at *Montreal* ; but nothing in Comparison of former Times. It is the *Iroquois* War that has interrupted this great Concurrence of Nations in the Colony. To make Amends for this Failure of the Savages coming to *Montreal*, they have established

established amongst the greatest Part of them Magazines and Forts, where there are always an Officer and Soldiers enough to secure the Merchandize. The Savages will always have a Gunsmith in these Places; and in many there are Missionaries; who would do more good if there were no other *French* there. There is Reason to believe it would be better to set Things upon the antient Footing, since Peace has been established both within and without the Colony: This would be the Means to restrain the Wood-Rangers, whose Covetousness (not to mention the Disorders caused by their Licentiousness) makes them every Day guilty of mean Actions, which render us despicable in the Sight of the Savages, have lowered our Merchandizes, and raised the Price of Skins. Besides, the Savages, naturally proud, are grown insolent, since they find that we seek after them.

The Fishery might much more enrich *Canada* than the Chase; and this does not depend on the Savages: Two weighty Reasons for following it, which yet have not been sufficient to engage our Colonists to make it the principal Object of their Trade.—I have nothing to add to what I have already said on the Cod Fishery, which alone would be worth more to us than *Peru*, if the Founders of *New France* had taken proper Measures to secure the Possession of it to ourselves.—I begin with the Fishery for Seals, Sea-Cows, and Porpoises, which may be carried on every where in the Gulph of *St. Lawrence*, and a great Way up the River.

The Sea Wolf, or the Seal, takes its Name from its Cry, which is a Sort of Howling; for in its Shape it resembles not the Wolf, nor any Land Animal that we know. *Lescarbot* asserts, that he has heard some cry like Screech-Owls; but these might be only young ones, whose Cry was not quite formed. They make no Hesitation here, Madam, to place it in the Rank of Fishes; though it is not mute, though it is brought forth on the Land, and lives as much on it as in the Water, and is covered with Hair: In a Word, though it wants nothing to make it to be considered as an amphibious Creature. But we are in a new World, and it must not be required of us always
to

to speak the Language of the Old; and Custom, against which there is no reasoning, is here in Possession of all its Rights. So that the War they make with the Seals, tho' it is often on Land, and with the Gun, is called a Fishery; and that which they make with the Beavers in the Water, and with Nets, is called a Chase.

The Head of a Seal is something like a Bull-Dog's - He has four Legs, very short, especially those behind: In every other Respect it is a Fish. It drags itself rather than walks upon its Feet. Its Legs before have Nails, those behind are like Fins: His Skin is hard, and covered with short Hair of divers Colours. There are some Seals all white, and they are all so at first; but some, as they grow up, become black, others tawney: Many are of all these Colours mixed together.

The Fishermen distinguish several Species of Seals: The largest weigh up to two thousand Pounds, and they say their Nose is more pointed than the others. There are some that only frisk about in the Water: Our Sailors call them *Brasseurs*, (*Brewers*.) They have given the Name of *Nau* to another Sort; for which I can give no Reason, nor know the Meaning of the Word. Another Sort they call *Grosses Tetes*, (*Great Heads*.) There are some small ones that are very lively and skilful in cutting the Nets they are taken in: They are of a Tyger Colour; they are full of Play and Spirit, and as pretty as Creatures of this Shape can be. The Savages teach these to follow them like little Dogs, and eat them notwithstanding.

M. *Denys* speaks of two Sorts of Seals that are found upon the Coasts of *Acadia*. One Sort (says he) are so big, that their Young are larger than our largest Porkers. He adds, that soon after they are brought forth, the old ones carry them to the Water, and from Time to Time bring them ashore again to suck: That the Time of sucking them is the Month of *February*; when the young ones, which they aim chiefly to catch, go scarce any more into the Water: That at the first Noise the old ones fly, making a great Noise to give Notice to the young ones to follow

follow them; which they never fail to do, if the Fishermen do not make Haste to give them a Blow on the Nose with a Stick, which is enough to kill them.—The Number of these Animals must be very great upon these Coasts, if it be true, as the same Author affirms, that in one Day they take sometimes eight hundred of the young ones.

The second Species of these Seals, which M. *Denys* speaks of, is very small, and has little more Oil but what it has in its Bladder. These last never go far from the Shore, and there is always one that stands Centinel: At the first Signal he gives, they all throw themselves into the Sea: After some Time they approach the Land, and raise themselves upon their hind Feet to see if there is nothing to fear: But in Spite of all their Precautions, they surprize a great Number of them on Shore, and it is almost impossible to take them any other Way.

It is agreed that the Flesh of the Seal is not bad to eat, but it is more profitable to make Oil of it: This is not difficult. They melt the Fat on the Fire, and it dissolves into an Oil. Sometimes they only put the Fat of a great many Seals on square Planks; and leave it to dissolve of itself, a Hole being made at the Bottom, for the Oil to run through. This Oil whilst it is new is very good for Kitchen Uses; but that of the young Seals soon grows rank, and the other dries too much, upon keeping any Time: They then use it to burn, or to dress Skins with. It keeps clear a long Time, has no Smell, and leaves no Lee, nor any Kind of Foulness at the Bottom of the Vessel.

At the first settling the Colony, they used a great Number of Seal Skins to make Muffs; but that is now out of Fashion; and their chief Use at present is to cover Trunks, &c. When they are tanned they have almost the same Grain as *Morocco* Leather: They are not so fine, but they are stronger, and wear better. They make of them very good Shoes, and Boots; which will not take Water. They are also used to cover Seats of Chairs, the Frames of which are sooner worn out than the Covers.

They

They tan these Skins here with the Bark of the Spruce Fir, and in the Tincture, they use to dye them black, they mix a Powder, drawn from certain Stones they find upon the Banks of the Rivers, which are called *Thunder Stones*, or *Marcasites*.

The Seals couple upon the Rocks, and sometimes upon the Ice, where also the Females bring forth their Young. They have commonly two, and they suckle them pretty often in the Water, but oftener upon the Land. When they would accustom them to swim, they carry them, as they say, on their Backs in the Water, and let them off from Time to Time into the Water, then take them again, and continue this Practice till the young ones can swim alone. If this Fact is true, this is a strange Fish, which Nature has not taught what the greatest part of Land Animals are capable of almost as soon as they come into the World. The Seal has its Senses very quick, and this is its sole Defence; but this does not hinder them from being often surprized, as I have before remarked; but the most common Method of fishing for them is this: The Custom of this Animal, when it is in the Water, is to come with the Tide into the Creeks. When they have discovered the Creeks, where a great Number come, they shut them up with Stakes and Nets; they only leave a small Space open by which the Seals enter. When the Tide is up, they stop this Opening, so that after the Tide is out, these Fish remain on the Shore, and they have only the Trouble to knock them on the Head. They follow them also in a Canoe, in Places where there is Plenty of them, and when they put their Heads out of the Water to breathe, they shoot them. If they are only wounded, they easily take them; but if they are shot dead, they sink directly to the Bottom, like as the Beavers do. But they have great Dogs, which are train'd to fetch them up at the Depth of seven or eight Fathom. Our Fishermen take but few Sea-Cows on the Coasts of the Gulph of *St. Laurence*; I know not whether they have taken any in other Places. The *English* formerly establish'd a Fishery for them at the Isle of *Sable*; but they made no great Advantage of it. The Shape of this Animal is not very different from the Seals. What is peculiar

cular to it, are two Teeth, of the Bignefs and Length of a Man's Arm, a little bent back at Top, and which appear at a Distance like Horns; this is probably the Reason they are called Sea-Cows. Our Sailors call them more plainly *la bete a la grande dent*, (the great toothed Beast) these Teeth are of very fine Ivory, as well as all those which are in the Jaw of this Fish, and which are four Inches long.

There are in the River *St. Laurence* Porpoises of two Colours: In the Salt Water; *that is to say*, till a little below the Isle of *Orleans*, they do not differ from those found in the Sea: In the fresh Water they are all white, and as big as a Cow. The first go generally in Companies, I have not observed the same of the others, though I have seen many of them playing in the Port of *Quebec*. They seldom go higher than this City, but there are many on the Coasts of *Acadia*, as well as of the first Kind; so that the Difference of their Colour does not proceed from the Difference of the salt and fresh Water. The white Porpoises yield a Hogshhead of Oil, and this Oil is little different from that of the Seals: I never saw any Person who had eaten the Flesh of this Animal; but as to the Black Porpoise, they say, that they are not bad eating: They make Puddings and Chitterlings of their Entrails, the Harflet is excellent in Fricassee, and the Head better than that of a Sheep, but not so good as a Calf's.

The Skins of both Sorts are tann'd like *Morocco* Leather. At first it is soft like Fat, and is an Inch thick, they scrape it a long Time, and it becomes like a transparent Leather; and how thin soever it is, even so as to be fit for Waistcoats and Breeches, it is always very strong and Proof against a Musket Ball. There are some eighteen Feet long, and nine wide; they say that there is nothing better to cover the Tops of Coaches. They have lately established two Fisheries below *Quebec* for Porpoises, one in the Bay of *St. Paul*, and the other seven or eight Leagues lower, over-against a Habitation called *Camou-rasca*, from the Name of certain Rocks that rise considerably above the Water. The Expences are not great; and

and the Profits would be considerable, if the Porpoises were Animals settled in a Place: But either through Instinct, or Caprice, they often break the Measures of the Fishermen, and take another Route than that where they wait for them. Moreover, these Fisheries, which would only enrich some few Persons, have occasioned an Inconvenience which made the common People complain; which is, that they have greatly diminished the Eel Fishery, which is a great Help to the poor Inhabitants. For the Porpoises, finding themselves disturbed below *Quebec*, are retired to some other Place; and the Eels, finding no longer these great Fish in their Way, which obliged them to return back, go down the River without any Hindrance; whence it happens, that between *Quebec* and *Trois Rivieres*, where they took a prodigious Number every Year, they now scarce take any.

The Way of fishing for Porpoises is much the same as that I have been mentioning for Seals. When the Tide is out, they set Stakes in the Mud, or Sand, pretty near one another, and they fasten Nets to them in the Shape of Funnels, the Opening of which is pretty large, and made in such a Manner, that when once the Fish has entered, he can't find his Way out again. They take Care to put upon the Tops of the Stakes Branches of Greens. When the Tide rises, these Fish giving Chace to Herrings, which always run to the Sides, and being allured by the Greens which they greatly love, are engaged in the Nets, and find themselves shut up: As the Tide sinks, it is pleasant to see their Trouble, and their fruitless Attempts to escape: At last they remain on dry Land; and often one upon another in such great Numbers, that one Blow with a Stick kills two or three of them. They say that there have been found some among the white Sort, which weighed three thousand Pounds.

Every one knows the Nature of the Whale Fishery, therefore I shall say nothing of it. It is said here, that the *Biscayners*, who carried it on formerly in the River *St. Laurence*, discontinued it only to apply themselves entirely to the Fur-Trade, which required not so much Expence or Labour, and the Profits of which were then
more

more considerable, and of a quicker Return. On the other Hand, they had not all the Conveniences for this Fishery, which may be had at present, now there are Habitations very near the Gulph. Some Years ago they tried to re-establish it, but without Success: The Undertakers either had not a sufficient Fund to make the necessary Advances, or expected their Charges to be reimbursed sooner than the Thing would allow, or else they wanted Perseverance. It appears nevertheless certain that this Fishery might be a great Article in the Trade of this Colony *, and might be carried on with less Expence and Danger than on the Coasts of *Greenland*; and what should hinder to fix it here, as *M. Denys* proposed to do that of the Cod-Fishery in *Acadia*?—This is, Madam, all that concerns the Fisheries, that may enrich *Canada*.

I am, &c.

* It is to be hoped that we shall now establish a Whale Fishery in these Parts; as there seems great Probability that a vast Advantage may be reaped from it.

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L E T T E R IX.

Of the Fort of CHAMBLY: Of the Fish; of the Birds: And of some Animals, peculiar to CANADA. Of the Trees which are the same with those of FRANCE; and of those which are peculiar to this Country.

MADAM,

CHAMBLY, *March 1.*

ONE of the chief Defences of *Montreal* against the *Iroquois* and *New York*, is *Fort Chambly*: It is from this Fort I have the Honour to write to you. I came hither to pay a Visit to the Commandant, who is *M. de Sabrevois*, of one of the best Families of *Beauce*, my Friend, my Companion in the Voyage, and a good Officer. I shall describe this important Fort, and the Situation of it, in a few Words.

In the first Years of our Settlement in this Country, the *Iroquois*, to make their IncurSIONS into the very Centre of our Habitations, came down a River which discharges itself into the River *St. Laurence*, a little above *Lake St. Pierre*, and which for this Reason, was called first the *Iroquois* River. It has been since called the River of *Richelieu*, from a Fort which bore this Name, and which was built at its Mouth. This Fort being in a ruinous Condition, *M. de Sorel*, Captain in *Carignan-Salieres* Regiment, built another, which he called by his own Name. This Name communicated itself to the River, and it is still called so, tho' the Fort has not been standing for a long Time. When we have gone up the River about seventeen Leagues, going always towards the South, but a little to the South West, we find a Torrent or Water-Fall, and over-against it a Kind of little Lake,

formed by the River itself. It is by the Side of the Water-Fall, and over against the Lake, that the Fort is situated. It was first built of Wood, by M. de Chamby, at the same Time that M. de Sorel built his Fort, but it has been since built of Stone, and flanked with four Bastions, and there is always a pretty good Garrison kept in it. The Lands round it are very good, and they begin to establish some Habitations here, and many People think that in Time, they will build a Town in this Place. From Chamby to Lake Champlain, it is but eight Leagues. The River Sorel crosses the Lake; and there is perhaps no Part of *New France* which is more fit to be peopled. The Climate is milder than any other Part of the Colony, and the Inhabitants will have the *Iroquois* for Neighbours, who at the Bottom are a good Sort of People, who will not seek to quarrel with us, when they see us in a Condition not to be afraid of them, and who will find their Account I believe still better from this Neighbourhood, than from that of *New York*. Many other Reasons ought to engage us in this Settlement, but if I should write all, I should have nothing to say when I have the Honour to see you again. I shall take Advantage of the Leisure Hours I have here, to continue to entertain you with the Particularities of this Country. I have already given an Account of what the Gulf and the River of *St. Laurence* may supply for the Trade of *New France*; it remains for me to speak of the Resources which the Inhabitants may find here for the Support of Life.

Wherever the Water of the River is salt, *that is to say*, from Cape Torment to the Gulf, one may take almost all Fish that live in the Sea, as Salmon, Tunny, Shad, Trout, Lamprey, Smelts, Conger Eals, Mackerel, Soals, Herrings, Anchovies, Pilchards, Turbots, and many others that are not known in *Europe*. They are all taken with a Sein, or other Nets. In the Gulf, they take Hallibuts, three Sorts of Thornbacks, the common, the curled Sort, which they say is better than in *France*, and another Sort that is not esteemed; *Lencornets*, a Kind of Cuttle Fish, *St. Peter's Fish*, *Requiems*, Sea Dogs, a Kind of *Requiems* much less mischievous whilst alive, and

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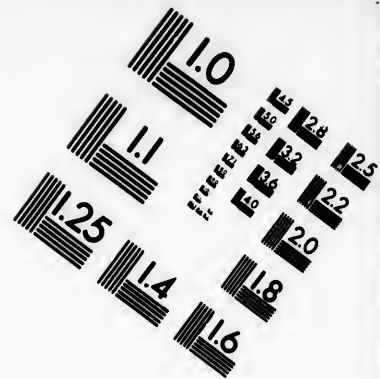
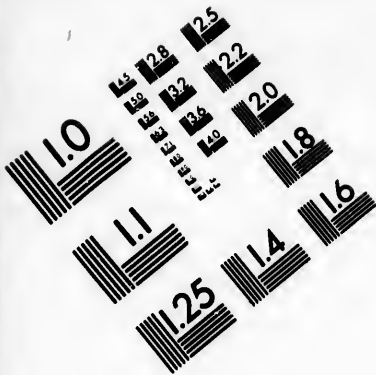
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and beyond Comparifon better when dead, than the common Sort. Oysters are very Plenty in Winter on the Coasts of *Acadia*, and the Manner of fifhing for them is fomewhat fingular. They make a Hole in the Ice, and they thruft in two Poles together in fuch a Manner, that they have the Effect of a Pair of Pincers, and they feldom draw them up without an Oyster. The *Lencornet* is, as I have faid, a Kind of Cuttle Fifh, but however it is very different from the common Cuttle Fifh. It is quite round, or rather oval; at the End of its Tail is a Sort of Ledge, which makes him a Kind of Shield, and his Head is furrounded with Barbs half a Foot long, which he makes Ufe of to catch other Fifh. There are two Kinds, which differ only in Bignefs; the fmaller Sort is about a Foot long. They take but few of the laft Sort, and thofe by the Light of a Flambeau: They love the Light much, they fhew it them on the Shore when the Tide is at Height, but juft upon turning, they approach it, and fo are left aground. The *Lencornet* roasted, boiled, or fricaffee'd, is very good eating, but makes the Sauce quite black.

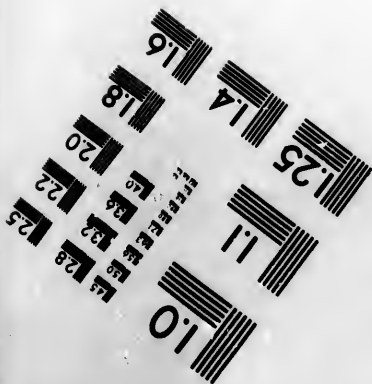
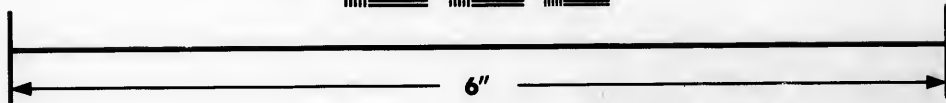
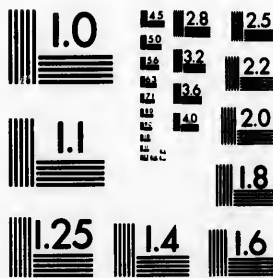
The *St. Peter's* Fifh is like a fmall Cod, has the fame Tafte, and is dried alfo like that. It has two black Spots on the Sides of its Head, and the Sailors fay, this is the Fifh in which *St. Peter* found the Piece of Money to pay the Tribute to the *Roman* Emperor, for our Lord and himfelf; and that its two Spots are the two Places by which he took hold of it: For this Reafon they call it *St. Peter's* Fifh. The Sea Plaice is firmer and better than the River Plaice. They catch them as well as Lobfters with long Sticks armed with a fharp Iron, which is notched to prevent the Escape of the Fifh. In fhort, in many Places, efpecially towards *Acadia*, the Ponds are full of Salmon Trouts, and Turtles two Feet in Diameter, the Flefh of which is excellent, and the Top Shell ftreaked with white, red, and blue.

Among the Fifh with which Lake *Champlain*, and the Rivers which flow into it, abound, M. *Champlain* obferved one pretty fingular, which he calls *Chaufarou*, probably from the Name given it by the Savages. It is





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a particular Species of the armed Fish, which is found in many Places. This has a Body nearly of the same Shape as a Pike, but it is covered with Scales that are Proof against the Stab of a Dagger: Its Colour is a silver grey, and there grows under his Mouth a long bony Substance, jagged at the Edges, hollow, and with a Hole at the End of it; which gives Reason to judge, that it breathes by it: The Skin that covers it is tender: The Length of it is proportioned to that of the Fish, of which it makes a third Part. It is two Fingers in Breadth in the smallest. The Savages assured *M. Champlain* that some of these Fish were eight or ten Feet long, but the largest he saw were but five Feet, and about as thick as a Man's Thigh.

One may easily conceive that such an Animal is a Ravager among the Inhabitants of the Water, but one would not imagine that it should make War with the Inhabitants of the Air; which he does, however, with much Art, in this Manner: He hides himself in the Reeds in such a Manner, that only this Instrument of his is to be seen, which he thrusts out of the Water in an upright Position; the Birds that want to rest themselves take this for a dry Reed, or Piece of Wood, and perch upon it. They are no sooner on it, than the Fish opens his Mouth, and makes such a sudden Motion to seize his Prey, that it seldom escapes him. The Teeth which edge the Instrument that he uses to such good Purpose, are pretty long and very sharp. The Savages say, that they are a sovereign Remedy against the Head-Ach, and that pricking with one of these Teeth where the Pain is sharpest, takes it away instantly.

These People have a wonderful Skill in striking Fish in the Water, especially in the Torrents. They fish also with the Sein, and they have an odd Ceremony before they use this Net. They marry it to two young Maids, and during the Wedding Feast they place it between the two Brides. They exhort it very seriously to take a great many Fish, and they think to engage it to do so by making great Presents to its pretended Fathers-in-Law.

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The Sturgeon here is a Sea and a fresh Water Fish; for they take it upon the Coasts of *Canada*, and in the great Lakes which cross the River *St. Laurence*. Many People think it is the real Dolphin of the Antients; if this is true, it was fitting that this King of Fish should reign equally in the Ocean and the Rivers. Be that as it may, we see here Sturgeons of eight, ten, and twelve Feet long, and big in Proportion. This Animal has on the Head a Sort of Crown raised about an Inch, and it is covered with Scales of half a Foot Diameter, almost oval, and sprinkled with small Figures which something resemble the Flower de Luce of the Arms of *France*. The Savages take them in the Lakes in this Manner: Two Men are at the two Ends of a Canoe; he behind steers, and the other stands up, holding a Dart in one Hand, to which a long Cord is fastened, and the other End is tied to one of the Bars of the Canoe. As soon as he sees the Sturgeon in his Reach, he throws his Dart, and endeavours to strike where there are no Scales; if the Fish is wounded it flies, and draws the Canoe also pretty swiftly, but after having swam about 150 Paces it dies, then they draw up the Cord and take it. There is a small Kind of Sturgeon, the Flesh of which is very tender and delicate.

The River *St. Laurence* produces many Fish which are not known in *France*: The most esteemed are the *Achigan*, and the *Poisson doré* (the *Gilt Fish*;) the other Rivers of *Canada*, and especially those of *Acadia*, are as well stocked as this River, which has perhaps the most Fish of any in the World, and of the most various Kinds, and the best of the Sorts. There are some Seasons when the Fish alone might feed the whole Colony; but I know not what Credit may be given to what I have seen in the Manuscript of an antient Missionary, who affirms that he saw a Mer-man in the River *de Sorel*, three Leagues below *Cbambly*. The Relation is written with much Judgment, but the better to state the Fact, and to shew that the first Appearance did not deceive him, the Author should have added to his Account a Description of this Monster. We are sometimes seized at the first Glance with a Resemblance, which upon viewing more attentive'y immediately vanishes. Furthermore, if this Fish

in human Shape came from the Sea, it came a long Way to get so near *Chambly*, and it is something strange that it was not seen but in this Place.

Our Forests are not so well stocked with Birds as our Lakes and Rivers are with Fish; however, here are some which have their Merit, and are peculiar to *America*. We see here two Sorts of Eagles, the largest has the Neck and Head almost white; they prey upon the Hares and Rabbits, which they take in their Talons, and carry to their Magazines and their Nests. The others are all grey, and are contented to make War with the Birds: And they are all pretty good Fishers. The Falcon, the Goshawk, and the Tassel, are entirely the same as in *France*; but we have a second Sort of Falcons which live only on Fish.

Our Partridges are of three Kinds, grey, red, and black; the last are the least esteemed, they have too much Taste of the Grape, Juniper, and Fir: Their Head and Eyes are like the Pheasant's, and their Flesh is brown. They all have a long Tail, and spread it as a Fan, like the Turkey Cock: These Tails are very fine, some are mixed with red, brown, and grey; and others of a light and dark grey. I said that the black Partridges were not most esteemed, but some People prefer them to the red. They are all bigger than in *France*, but so silly, that they suffer themselves to be shot, and even approached, without scarce stirring.

Besides the Snipes, which are excellent in this Country, and the small Game of the Rivers, which is every where plenty, they find some Woodcocks about the Springs, but in a small Number. Amongst the *Illinois*, and in all the southern Parts of *New France*, they are more common; *M. Denys* asserts, that the Crows of *Canada* are as good to eat as a Fowl. This may be true on the Side of *Acadia*, but I do not find in these Parts that they are much of this Opinion. They are bigger than in *France*, and something blacker, and have a different Cry. The Osprey on the contrary is smaller, and its Cry is not so disagreeable. The Screech-Owl of *Canada* differs from that of *France* only by a little white Ruff about

about the Neck, and a particular Cry: Its Flesh is good to eat, and many People prefer it to a Fowl. Its Provision for the Winter is Field Mice; whose Feet it breaks, and then nourishes and fattens them with Care till it has Occasion to feed upon them. The Bat is bigger here than in *France*. The Black-Birds and Swallows are here Birds of Passage. The first are not black, but inclining to red. We have three Sorts of Larks, the smallest of which are as big as a Sparrow. The Sparrow is but little different from our's, and has the same Inclinations, but an ugly Sort of a Look. We see in this Country a prodigious Quantity of Ducks, they reckon twenty-two different Species. The most beautiful, and those whose Flesh is most delicate, are the *Branch Ducks*: They call them so because they perch on the Branches of Trees; their Plumage is very much varied, and very brilliant. Swans, Turkeys, Water-Hens, Cranes, Teal, Geese, Bustards, and other great River Birds swarm every where except in the Neighbourhood of the Habitations, which they never approach. We have Cranes of two Colours, some white, and others gridelin. All of them make excellent Soup. Our Wood-Peckers are very beautiful; there are some which are of all Colours, others are black or a dark brown all over except the Head and the Neck, which are of a very fine red.

The Nightingale of *Canada*, is much the same as that of *France* for Shape, but it has but half its Song: The Wren has robbed it of the other Half. The Goldfinch has not so fine a Head as in *Europe*, and all its Plumage is mixt with Yellow and Black. As I never saw any of them in a Cage, I can say nothing of their Song. All our Woods are full of a Sort of Birds, which are Yellow all over, about the Bigness of a Linnet, which has a pretty Note, but its Song is very short, and not varied. It has no other Name but that of its Colour, being called the Yellow Bird. A kind of Ortolan, whose Plumage is of an Ash Colour on the Back, and White under the Belly, and which they call the White Bird, is the best Songster of all the Inhabitants of our Woods: It is little inferior to the Nightingale of *France*, but it is the Male only that sings,

sings, the Female which is of a deeper Colour is silent even in a Cage. This little Bird has a very pretty Plumage, and is well called an *Ortolan* for its Taste. I know not where it retires during the Winter, but it is always the first to proclaim to us the Return of Spring. As soon as the Snow is melted in some Places, they come in great Flocks, and we take as many of them as we please.

It is seldom, but at a hundred Leagues from hence towards the South, that we begin to see the *Cardinal Bird*. There are some at *Paris*, that were transported from *Louisiana*, and I believe they will make their Fortune in *Francia*, if they can breed them there like the Canary-Birds. The Sweetness of its Song, the Brilliancy of its Plumage which is of a fine Scarlet, a little Tuft of Feathers upon the Head, and which pretty well resembles the Crowns which Painters give to *Indian Kings* and *Americans*, seem to confirm to them, the Empire of the Air. They have nevertheless a Rival here who would have all the Votes for it, if it pleased the Ear as much as it charms the Sight. This is what they call in this Country *l'Oiseau Mouche*, (the Fly-Bird.) It is thus called for two Reasons: The first, on Account of its Smallness, for it is but little bigger than the common May-Bug, or Chaffer. The second, is on Account of a pretty loud Humming, which it makes with its Wings; which is much like that of a great Fly. Its Legs, which are about an Inch long, are like two Needles, its Bill is the same, and it puts out of it a little Trunk, which it thrusts into the Flowers, to draw out their Juice, upon which it feeds. The Female has nothing brilliant, a pretty fine White under the Belly, and an Ash Colour on the rest of her Body, is all its Ornament; but the Male is a perfect Beauty. It has on the Top of the Head, a little Tuft of a beautiful Black, the Throat red, the Belly white, the Back, the Wings, and the Tail of a green like that of Rose Leaves; a Lay of Gold spread over all this Plumage gives it a great Brilliancy, and a little imperceptible Down, gives it the finest Shades that can be seen.

Some Travellers have confounded it with the Humming-Bird of the Islands; and in Fact it appears to be a
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Species of it ; but that is a little bigger, its Plumage is not so brilliant, and its Bill bent a little downward. I may however be deceived in regard to the Brilliancy of the Humming-Bird's Plumage, because I have never seen any alive. Some have said it has a very melodious Song, if this be true, it has a great Advantage over our Fly-Bird, which Nobody has heard sing. But I have heard myself a Female, which whistled in a harsh and disagreeable Note. This Bird has a very strong Wing, and flies with surprizing Swiftness ; you see it upon a Flower, and in a Moment it rises up to a great Height in the Air, almost perpendicular. It is an Enemy to the Crow, and a dangerous one too. I heard one say, who was worthy of Credit, that he has seen one suddenly quit a Flower it was sucking, rise up as swift as Lightning, and go and thrust itself under the Wing of a Crow, that was floating very high in the Air, with its Wings spread out, and piercing it with its Trunk, made it fall down dead ; either kill'd by the Fall or the Wound.

The Fly-Bird seeks Flowers, which have the strongest Smell ; and it sucks them, keeping always upon the Fluttering : But it rests itself from Time to Time ; and then one may view it perfectly : They have been kept some Time upon sugared Water, and Flowers ; I kept one formerly for twenty-four Hours : It suffered itself to be taken, and handled, and feigned itself dead ; as soon as I let it go, it took its Flight, and kept fluttering about my Window : I made a present of it to one of my Friends, who the next Morning found it dead ; and that Night there had been a little Frost. These little Animals take Care to shun the first cold Weather. It is very probable, that they return towards *Carolina* ; and it is assured that they are not there but in the Winter. They make their Nests in *Canada*, where they hang them to a Branch of a Tree, and turn them in such Manner, that they are sheltered from all the Injuries of the Weather. Nothing is so neat as these Nests. The Bottom is made of very little Bits of Wood, platted like a Basket ; and the Inside is lined with I know not what Sort of Down, which appears like Silk. The Eggs are about the Bigness of a Pea,
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and have yellow Spots upon a white Ground. They say they have commonly three, and sometimes five Eggs.

Amongst the Reptiles of this Country, I know of none but the Rattle-Snake that deserves any Attention. There are some of these as big as a Man's Leg, and sometimes bigger, and they are long in Proportion : But there are some, and I believe the greatest Number, that are not bigger nor longer than our largest Adders in *France* : Their Shape is pretty singular. Upon a flat and very thick Neck they have but a small Head : Their Colours are lively, without being brilliant ; a pale Yellow predominates, with some Clouds that are pretty enough.

But what is most remarkable in this Animal, is its Tail, which is scaly like a Coat of Mail, a little flat ; and they say that it grows every Year one Ring or Row of Scales, so that they know its Age by its Tail, as we do that of a Horse by his Teeth. In moving, it makes the same Noise as a Cricket in flying : You know, without Doubt, Madam, that the pretended Singing of a Cricket is only the Noise of its Wings. And the Resemblance I speak of is so alike, that I have often been deceived by it myself : It is this Noise that has given this Serpent the Name it bears.

The Bite of this Serpent is mortal, if a Remedy is not applied immediately ; but Providence has provided a Remedy. In all the Places where this dangerous Reptile is found, there grows a Plant which is called *Rattle-Snake Herb* ; the Root of which is a certain Antidote against the Venom of this Serpent : It need only be pounded or chewed, and applied like a Poullice upon the Wound : It is a beautiful Plant, and easily known : Its round Stalk, a little bigger than a Goose's Quill, rises to the Height of three or four Feet, and ends in a yellow Flower of the Shape and Bigness of a common Daifey : This Flower has a very sweet Smell. The Leaves of the Plant are oval, and are supported five together, like the Claw of a Turkey, by a Stock of an Inch long.

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The Rattle-Snake seldom attacks the Passenger that does not meddle with it. I have had one at my Feet, which was certainly more afraid than myself; for I did not perceive it till it was running away: But if you tread upon it, you are immediately stung; and if you pursue it, if it has but a little Time to recover itself, it folds itself round with the Head in the Middle, and then darts itself with great Violence and Fury against its Pursuer: Nevertheless, the Savages chase it, and find its Flesh very good. I have even heard some *Frenchmen*, who had tasted it, say, that it was not bad eating; but they were Travellers, and such People think every Thing good, because they are often hungry. But this is at least certain, that it does no Harm to those that eat it.

I know not, Madam, whether I should undertake to speak to you of the Woods of *Canada*. We are in the Midst of the greatest Forests in the World. In all Appearance they are as old as the World itself, and were not planted by the Hands of Men. Nothing is more magnificent to the Sight; the Trees lose themselves in the Clouds; and there is such a prodigious Variety of Species, that even among those Persons who have taken most Pains to know them, there is not one perhaps that knows half the Number. As to their Quality, and the Uses to which they may be employed, the Sentiments are so different in this Country, and in *France*, that I even despair of ever being able to give you that Satisfaction which I could wish upon this Article: At least, for the present, I must confine myself to some Observations which I have made myself, and have had from other People, who have more Skill and Experience in this Matter than myself.

What struck my Sight most the first Time I came into this Country, were the Pines, the Firs, and the Cedars, which are of a surprizing Height and Bigness. There are here two Sorts of Pines. They all produce a Rosin which is very fit to make Pitch and Tar: The white Pines, at least some of them, have at the very Tops of them a Kind of Mushroom, which the Inhabitants call *Guarigue*, and which the Savages made Use of
with

with Success against Disorders of the Breast and Bloody-Fluxes. The red Pines are fullest of Gum, and the heaviest Wood, but they do not grow so large. The Lands which produce both Sorts, are not the best to produce Grain; they generally consist of Gravel, Sand, and Clay.

There are four Species of Fir in *Canada*; the first resembles our's: The other three Sorts are the White, the Red, and the Spruce: The second and the fourth Sort grow very high, and are fit for Masts, especially the White, which is also fit for Carpenters Work: It grows generally in wet and black Lands; but which being drained, may bear all Sorts of Grain: Its Bark is smooth and shining; and there grows upon it some little Bladders, the Bigness of a Kidney-Bean, which contain a Kind of Turpentine, most excellent for Wounds, which it cures in a short Time; and even for Fractures. They affirm that it allays Fevers, and cures the Disorders of the Stomach and Lungs. The Way to use it, is to put two Drops of it into Broth: It has also a purging Quality. This is what they call at *Paris*, the *White Balsam*. The red Fir has scarce any Resemblance with the white: Its Wood is heavy, and may be employed for Building. The Lands where it grows are only Gravel and Clay. The Spruce Fir is gummy, but does not throw out Gum enough to be made Use of: Its Wood lasts a long Time in the Earth without rotting, which renders it very fit to make inclosures: Its Bark is very fit for the Tanners; and the Savages make of it a Dye, which is pretty near a deep Blue. The greatest Part of the Land where this Tree grows, is Clay. I have nevertheless seen some very large in a sandy Soil, but perhaps under the Sand there might be Clay.

The Cedars are of two Species, White and Red: The first are the largest: They make Pales of it; and this Wood is what they generally make Shingles with, because of its Lightness. There distills from it a Kind of Incense or Perfume; but it bears no Fruit like that of Mount *Lebanon*. The red Cedar is smaller: The most sensible Difference between one and the other is, that the Smell of the first is in its Leaves, and of the other in the Wood: but the last is by much the most agreeable. The
Cedar,

Cedar, at least the White, grows only in a very good Soil.

There are every where in *Canada* two Species of Oaks, distinguished by the Names of White and Red. The first are often found in a low, wet, and fertile Soil, which is fit to produce Grain and Pulse. The Red, whose Wood is less esteemed, grows in a dry and sandy Soil: Both Kinds bear Acorns.—The Maple is very common in *Canada*, and some are very large, of which they make handsome Furniture: They grow on high Grounds, which are fittest for Fruit-Trees. They call the Female Maple here *Rbene*, the Wood of which is waved, but paler than that of the Male: In other Respects it has the same Shape and Qualities; but it requires a wet and fruitful Soil.—The wild Cherry-Tree, which grows promiscuously with the Maple and the White Wood, makes very fine Furniture: It yields more Water or Juice than the Maple; but it is bitter, and the Sugar made of it never loses its Bitterness. The Savages make Use of its Bark in certain Disorders that happen to Women.

There are in *Canada* three Sorts of Ash; the True, the Mongrel, and the Bastard: The first Sort, which grows amongst the Maples, is fit for the Carpenters Use, and to make Casks for dry Goods: The second has the same Properties, and grows as the Bastard Kind does, only in a low and good Soil.

They reckon also in this Country three Kinds of Walnuts; the hard, the soft, and a third Kind which has a very thin Bark: The hard Kind bears very small Nuts, good to eat, but hard to shell: Its Wood is good for nothing but to burn. The soft Kind bears long Nuts, as big as those of *France*, but the Shells are very hard: The Kernels are excellent. The Wood is not so fine as our's; but to make Amends, it scarce ever decays, either in Earth or in Water, and is with Difficulty consumed in the Fire. The third Sort bears Nuts of the Bigness of the first, but in a greater Quantity; which are bitter, and inclosed in very soft Shells. They make very good Oil of these Nuts. This Tree yields sweeter Water than
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the Maple, but in a smaller Quantity: It grows only, like the soft Walnut, in the best Soils.

Beach Trees are very plentiful here. I have seen some on sandy Hills, and in very fruitful low Lands: They bear much Mast, from which it would be easy to extract an Oil. The Bears make it their principal Food, as do also the Partridges. The Wood is very soft, and fit to make Oars for Boats; but the Rudders of Canoes are made of Maple. The White Wood, which grows amongst the Maple and the wild Cherry, is very plenty. These Trees grow large and straight: They make Boards and Planks of them, and also Casks for dry Goods: It is soft, and easy to work. The Savages peel off the Bark to cover their Cabins.

Elms are very common through the whole Country. There are white and red. The Wood of the first is hardest to work, but lasts the longest. The *Iroquois* make their Canoes of the Bark of the red Elm: There are some of a single Piece, which will hold twenty Men. There are also some hollow Elms, where the Bears and wild Cats retire from *November to April*. The Aspen-Tree commonly grows here by the Sides of Rivers and Marshes.

They find in the thickest Woods a great Number of Plum-Trees, loaded with Fruit, but very sour. The *Vinegar-Tree* is a Shrub very pithy, which yields Bunches of a sharp Fruit of an Ox-Blood Colour. By infusing them in Water they make a Kind of Vinegar. The *Pemine* is another Kind of Shrub which grows by the Side of Brooks, and Meadows. It bears a Bunch of Fruit of a lively red, which is astringent. There are three Sorts of Gooseberries that grow naturally in this Country. They are the same as in *France*. The Sloe grows here as in *France*: This Fruit is wonderful for curing the Bloody-Flux in a very short Time. The Savages dry them as we do Cherries in *France*.

The *Atoca* is a Fruit with Kernels as big as a Cherry: This Plant, which runs upon the Ground in the Marshes, produces its Fruit in the Water. The Fruit is sharp, and they make Sweet-Meats of it. The white-Thorn is found
by

by the Sides of Rivers, and produces much Fruit with three Kernels. This is the Food of many wild Beasts. They call here the Cotton-Tree a Plant which shoots up like Asparagus, to the Height of about three Feet, at the Top of which grow many Tufts of Flowers. In the Morning, before the Dew is off, they shake these Flowers, and there falls off with the Water a Kind of Honey, which is made into Sugar by boiling. The Seed grows in a Bladder, which contains a very fine Sort of Cotton. The *Soleil* (the Sun) is another Plant very common in the Fields of the Savages, and which grows seven or eight Feet high. Its Flower, which is very large, is in the Shape of a Marigold, and the Seed grows in the same Manner. The Savages by boiling it draw out an Oil, with which they grease their Hair. The Plants which these People principally cultivate are Maiz, or *Turkey* Wheat, Kidney-Beans, Gourds, and Melons.—They have a Kind of Gourd less than our's, which has a sweet Taste. They boil them whole, or roast them under the Ashes, and eat them thus without any Thing with them. The Savages before our Arrival here had the common Melons, and the Water Melons. The first are as good as our's in *France*, especially in this Island, where they are very Plenty. Hops and Maiden-Hair are the natural Growth of this Country; but the Maiden-Hair grows higher here, and is infinitely better than in *France*.—Here is a Letter, Madam, in which you will easily distinguish a Traveller who ranges thro' the Woods and Plains of *Canada*, and who is entertained with every Thing that presents itself to his View.

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L E T T E R X.

Of the Causes of the Cold of CANADA. Of the Resources they have for Subsistence. Of the Character of the FRENCH CANADIANS.

MADAM,

MONTREAL, April 22.

IT is surprising that in *France*, where they so often see Persons who have passed a good Part of their Lives in *Canada*, they should have such a wrong Idea of this Country. This proceeds without Doubt from the Information of those People who know it by its worst Side. The Winter generally begins before the Vessels sail for *France*, and it begins in a Manner that astonishes those who are not used to it. The first Frost fills the Rivers with Ice in a few Days, and the Earth is soon covered with Snow, which lasts six Months, and always rises six Feet high where the Wind has not Power.

There is indeed no Want of Wood to provide against the Cold, which soon becomes excessive, and lasts till the Spring is pretty forward: But it is very melancholy not to be able to stir out without being frozen, or without being wrapt up in Furs like a Bear. Besides, What a Sight is the Snow, which dazzles one's Eyes, and hides all the beauties of Nature! There is no longer any Difference between the Rivers and the Fields, no more Variety, even the Trees are covered with a Rime, and all their Branches are hung with Isicles, under which it is not safe to stand. What can one think when we see the Horses have Beards of Ice a Foot long? And how can one travel in a Country, where the Bears for six Months dare not

venture out of their Holes? And indeed I never passed a Winter in this Country, but I saw some People who were carried to the Hospital, to have their Legs and Arms cut off that were frozen. In Fact, if the Sky is clear, there blows from the western Parts a Wind that cuts the Face. If the Wind turns to the South or the East, the Weather grows a little milder, but there falls such a thick Snow, that you cannot see ten Paces at Noon Day. If there comes a thawing Air, adieu to all the Capons, Quarters of Beef and Mutton, the Fowls and the Fish, which had been laid up in the Store-Rooms: So that in Spight of the Rigour of the excessive Cold, they are still obliged to wish for its Continuance. It is to no Purpose to say the Winters are not so cold as they were eighty Years ago, that in all Appearance they will grow milder hereafter. The Misfortune of those who came before us, and the good Fortune of those who shall come after us, is no Cure for the present Evil which we suffer. A *Creole* of *Martinico*, who should have landed the first Time in *France* during the great Frost in 1709, would he have been much relieved by hearing me say, who came at that Time from *Quebec*, that the Cold was not so sharp as in *Canada*? For though I spoke the Truth, and had good Evidences of it, yet he might have answered me, that he did not find the Cold of *France* less piercing by hearing that it was sharper still in *Canada*. Nevertheless, as soon as the Month of *May* is come, the Scene is soon changed, the Sweetness of this End of the Spring is so much the more pleasing, as it succeeds a more rigorous Season. The Heat of the Summer, which in less than four Months Time shews us both Seed-Time and Harvest*, the Serenity of the Autumn, in which we enjoy a Course of fine Days, which are seldom seen in most of the Provinces of *France*: All this, added to the Liberty which they enjoy in this Country, is a Compensation which makes many People think an Abode here, at least as agreeable

* They plow the Fields in Summer, they sow from the midst of *April* to the 10th of *May*, they cut the Corn from the 15th of *August* to the 20th of *September*. The Lands that are not plowed till the Spring bear less, because they are not so well impregnated with the nitrous Parts of the Snow.

agreeable as in the Kingdom where they were born ; and it is certain, that our *Canadians* do not scruple to give it the Preference.

After all, there are in this excessive and long Cold, some Inconveniencies which can never be well remedied : I shall Place in the first Rank, the Difficulty of feeding Cattle, which during the whole Winter can find absolutely nothing in the Fields, and of Consequence cost much to feed, and the Flesh of which, after six Months dry Food, has scarce any Taste. The Fowls require also a great deal of Care, and much Corn, to preserve them during so long and severe a Winter. If we save the Expence by killing at the End of *October*, all the Animals we are to eat till *May*, one may easily judge that such Meat is very insipid, and in the Manner that I have said they take Fish under the Ice, they cannot be very plenty ; besides that, they are immediately frozen. So that it is almost impossible to have them fresh in the Season when it is most difficult to do without. We should also be very much embarrassed during Lent, without Cod and Fels. There is at that Time no fresh Butter and Eggs ; and there is but little Nourishment to be expected in eating the Pulse and Roots, which they preserve in Store-Rooms as well as they can, but which has scarce any Virtue when they have been kept there some Months.

Add to this, that excepting Apples, which are excellent here, and the small Summer Fruit which do not keep, the Fruits of *France* have not succeeded in *Canada*. These, Madam, are the Disadvantages which are caused by the great Cold. We are, notwithstanding, as near the Sun as they are in the most southern Provinces of *France*, and as we advance in the Colony, we come nearer still. From whence can this different Temperature of the Air proceed under the same Parallels ? This is what, in my Opinion, no Person has yet well explained.

The greatest Part of the Authors, who have treated on this Matter, have satisfied themselves with saying, that this long and severe Cold proceeds from the Snow's lying so long on the Ground, that it is impossible that the

Ground should be well warmed again. But this Answer makes the Difficulty still greater, for one may ask what is it that produces this great Quantity of Snow, in Climates as hot as *Languedoc*, and *Provence*, and in Parts that are much more distant from any Mountains. The *Sieur Denys*, whom I have cited several Times before, asserts, that the Trees grow green before the Sun is high enough above the Horizon to melt the Snow, and to warm the Earth; that may be true in *Acadia*, and on all the Sea Coasts, but every where else it is certain that all the Snow is melted in the thickest Forest before there is a Leaf upon the Trees. This Author seems not to have any better Authority for saying, that the Snow melts rather by the Heat of the Earth, than that of the Air, and that it is always at the Bottom that it begins to melt: For who can be persuaded that the Earth, covered with a frozen Water, should have more Heat than the Air, which receives immediately the Heat of the Rays of the Sun. Besides, it does not answer the Question, what is the Cause of this Deluge of Snow, which overflows vast Countries in the midst of the temperate Zone?

There is no Doubt but that, generally speaking, the Mountains, Woods, and Lakes, contribute much to it; but it appears to me, that we must still seek for other Causes. Father *Josepb Bressani*, an *Italian Jesuit*, who past the best Years of his Life in *Canada*, has left us in his native Tongue, a Relation of *New France*, in which he endeavours to clear up this Point of Philosophy. He cannot allow that we should attribute the Cold, of which we seek the Cause, to any of the Causes I have just mentioned, *viz.* the Mountains, Woods, and Lakes, with which this Country abounds; but he seems to go too far; for there is nothing to answer against Experience, which makes us sensible of the Abatement of the Cold, in Proportion as the Country is cleared of the Woods, altho' it is not in so great a Proportion as it ought to be, if the Thickness of the Woods was the principal Cause of it. What he allows himself, that it is common to see a Frost in Summer after a very hot Day, appears to me a Demonstration against him; for how can we explain this Phænomenon otherwise, than by saying that the Sun
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having opened in the Day Time the Pores of the Earth, the Moisture that was inclosed in it, and the nitrous Particles which the Snow left in it in great Quantities, and the Heat which is continued after the setting of the Sun, in an Air so subtil as that we breathe in this Country, form these little Frosts in the same Manner as we make Ice on the Fire : Now the Moisture of the Air is evidently a great Part of the Cause of the Cold ; and from whence should this Moisture come in a Country where the Soil is generally mixt with much Sand, if it was not from the Lakes and the Rivers, from the Thickness of the Forests, and from Mountains covered with Snow, which in melting water the Plains, and from Winds which carry the Exhalations every where.

But if Father *Bressani* was mistaken, as I think, from excluding all these Things from the Causes of the excessive Cold of *Canada*, what he substitutes in Lieu thereof, seems to me to contribute greatly towards it. There are, says he, in the hottest Climates, some moist Lands, and there are some very dry in the coldest Countries : But a certain Mixture of dry and moist makes Ice and Snow, the Quantity of which makes the Excess and Duration of the Cold. Now if one was to travel but very little in *Canada*, we should perceive this Mixture in a very remarkable Manner. It is without Contradiction a Country where there is the most Water of any Country in the World, and there are few, where the Soil is more mixt with Stones and Sand. Add to this, it seldom rains here, and the Air is extremely pure and healthy ; a certain Proof of the natural Dryness of the Earth. In Fact, Father *Bressani* affirms, that during sixteen Years that the Mission subsisted in the Country of the *Hurons*, there lived there at the same Time sixty *Frenchmen*, many of whom were of a tender Constitution ; that they all fared very hardly in Point of Diet, and suffered in other Respects beyond all Imagination, and that not one died.

In Fact, this prodigious Multitude of Rivers and Lakes, which occupy as much Space in *New France* as half the Lands in *Europe*, one would imagine should furnish the Air with new Vapours ; but, besides that the greatest

Part of these Waters are very clear, and on a sandy Bottom, their great and continual Agitation blunt the Rays of the Sun, hinder it from raising many Vapours, or causes them to fall again in the Fogs; for the Winds excite upon these fresh Water Seas as frequent and as violent Storms as upon the Ocean: And this also is the true Reason why it seldom rains at Sea.

The second Cause of the excessive Cold of *Canada*, according to Father *Bressani*, is the Neighbourhood of the Northern Sea, covered with monstrous Heaps of Ice above eight Months in the Year. You may here recollect, Madam, what I said in my first Letter of the Cold we felt in the Dog Days, from the Neighbourhood of a floating Island of Ice, or rather from the Wind which blew upon us from the Side where it was, and which ceased the Moment it was under the Wind. It is moreover certain, that it does not snow here, but with a North East Wind, which comes from the Quarter where the Ice of the North lies; and though we do not feel so great Cold while the Snow falls, there is no Doubt but it contributes greatly to render so piercing the West and North West Winds, which come to us across vast Countries, and a great Chain of Mountains which are covered with Snow.

Lastly, if we take the Opinion of this *Italian* Missionary, the Height of the Land is not the least Cause of the Subtlety of the Air which we breathe in this Country, and consequently of the Severity of the Cold. Father *Bressani* takes great Pains to prove this Elevation by the Depth of the Sea, which increases, says he, in Proportion as we approach *Canada*, and by the Number and Height of the Falls of the Rivers. But it seems to me that the Depth of the Sea proves nothing at all, and that the Falls of the River *St. Laurence*, and of some Rivers in *New France*, prove no more than the Cataracts of the *Nile*. On the other Hand, we do not observe that from *Montreal*, where the Falls begin, down to the Sea, that the River *St. Laurence* is much more rapid than some of our Rivers in *Europe*. I think therefore, we must keep to the Neighbourhood of the Ice of the North, as the Cause

Cause of the Cold, and that even in Spite of this Neighbourhood, if *Canada* was as free from Woods, and as well peopled as *France*, the Winters here would not be so long and so severe. But they would be always more so than in *France*, because of the Serenity and Purity of the Air : For it is certain that in Winter, all other Things being equal, the Frost is keener when the Sky is clear, and the Sun has rarified the Air.

When the Winter is past, Fishing, Shooting, and Hunting, abundantly supply those with Provisions who take the Pains for it : Besides the Fish and Wild Fowl, which I have already mentioned, the River *St. Laurence* and the Forest, furnish the Inhabitants with two Sorts of Manna, as we may call it, which are a great Support to them. From *Quebec* to *Trois Rivieres*, they take in the River a prodigious Quantity of great Eels, which come down, as they say, from *Lake Ontario*, where they are bred in some Marshes, on the Side of the Lake ; but as they meet, as I before remarked, with white Porpoises, which chase them, the greatest Part strive to return again, and this is the Reason they take such a great Number. They fish for them in this Manner : Upon a Part of the Shore which is covered at high Water, and which is left dry when the Tide falls, they place Boxes at certain Distances, and fix them against a Fence of Ozier Hurdles, which leaves no Passage open for the Eels. Large Nets or Baskets of the same Matter, are fixed by the narrowest End into these Boxes, and the other End, which is very wide, lies against the Hurdles, upon which they place at Intervals some Bunches of Greens. When all is covered with the Tide, the Eels which always run to the Side, and which are enticed by the Greens, come in great Numbers along this Fence, and enter into the Baskets, which conduct them to the Prisons prepared for them. And often in one Tide the Boxes are filled.

These Eels are bigger than our's, and yield a great deal of Oil. I have already observed, that with whatsoever Sauce they are eaten, they always retain a rank Taste, to which we cannot reconcile ourselves but with Difficulty : Perhaps this is the Fault of our Cooks. Their Bones all terminate

terminate in a Point a little bent, which I do not remember to have seen in those of *France*. The best Method of dressing this Fish is to hang it up in the Chimney, and there let it roast slowly in its Skin: This Skin comes off of itself, and all the Oil runs out. As they provide great Store of them during the three Months that the Fishery lasts, they salt them, and put them in Barrels like Herrings. The other Manna I spoke of, is a Kind of Wood-Pigeons, which come here in the Months of *May* and *June*. It is said that formerly they darkened the Air by their Multitudes, but it is not the same now. Nevertheless, there still comes into the Neighbourhood of the Towns a pretty large Number to rest upon the Trees. They commonly call them *Tourtes*, and they differ in Fact from Wood-Pigeons, Turtles, and the common Pigeons of *Europe*, enough to make a fourth Species. They are smaller than our largest Pigeons of *Europe*; but have their Eyes, and the like Clouds of their Neck. Their Plumage is of a dark brown, except their Wings, where they have some Feathers of a very fine blue.

One would think that these Birds sought to be killed, for if there is any dry Branch on a Tree, they chuse that to perch upon; and they range themselves in such a Manner, that the worst Marksman may knock down six at least with one Shot. They have also found a Way to take many alive, and they feed them till the first Frost; then they kill them, and lay them up in their Store-Rooms, where they keep all the Winter.

It follows from hence, Madam, that every one here has the Necessaries of Life: They pay little to the King; the Inhabitant knows neither Land-Tax nor Poll-Money; he has Bread cheap; Meat and Fish are not dear; but Wine and Stuffs, and every Thing they have from *France*, is very dear. The most to be pitied are the Gentlemen and Officers here, who have only their Salaries, and are burthened with Families: The Women seldom bring any other Portions to their Husbands than much Wit, Love, Agreeableness, and Fruitfulness. But as God gives to the Marriages of this Country the Blessing, which he gave to the Patriarchs, they ought also in order to subsist such
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numerous Families, to live like the Patriarchs; but those Times are past. In *New France* there are more Gentlemen than in all the rest of our Colonies together. The King maintains here twenty-eight Companies of Marines, and three *Etats Majors*. Many Families have been enobled here, and there have remained here several Officers of the Regiment *Carignan Salieres*, which have peopled the Country with Gentlemen, the greatest Part of which find it hard to live. It would be harder with them still, if they were not allowed to trade, and if every one here had not a common Right to fish, shoot, and hunt.

After all, if they suffer Want, they are a little to blame themselves. The Land is good almost every where, and Agriculture does not degrade a Gentleman. How many Gentlemen in all the Provinces of *France* would envy the common Inhabitants of *Canada* if they knew it; and those who languish here in shameful Indigence, can they be excused for not embracing a Profession, which the sole Corruption of Manners and weak Maxims have degraded from its antient Honour? We do not know in the World a Country more healthful than this: There prevails here no particular Disease; the Fields and Woods are full of Herbs of wonderful Virtue, and the Trees distill most excellent Balsams. These Advantages ought at least to keep those in this Country who are born here; but Fickleness, and an Aversion to diligent and regular Labour, and a Spirit of Independency, have driven out a great Number of young People, and have hindered the Colony from being peopled.

These, Madam, are the Failings of which they accuse, with the most Foundation, the *French* of *Canada*. The Savages have also the same; one would think that the Air which they breathe in this vast Continent contributes to it; but the Example and Company of the natural Inhabitants, who place all their Happiness in Liberty and Independence, are more than sufficient to form this Character. They accuse also our *Creoles* of being very greedy, and of heaping up Riches, and truly for this Purpose, they perform Things one would not believe without seeing: The Journies they undertake, the Fatigues they

they endure, the Dangers they expose themselves to, the Efforts they make, exceed all Imagination. There are, notwithstanding, few Men less covetous, who dissipate more easily what has cost them so much Pain to acquire, and who shew less Concern for having lost. And there is no Room to doubt, but that they generally undertake these painful and dangerous Journeys through Inclination. They love to breathe an open Air, they are accustomed betimes to live a roving Life; it has Charms for them that make them forget the past Dangers and Fatigues; and they pride themselves in braving them anew. They have much Wit, (especially the Women, whose Wit is brilliant and easy). They are fruitful in Expedients, bold, and capable of conducting Affairs of the greatest Moment. You have known, Madam, more than one of this Character, and you have often expressed to me your Surprize at it. I do assure you, that the greatest Part here are such; and they are the same in all Ranks.

I know not whether I should place among the Failings of the *Canadians*, the good Opinion they have of themselves. It is certain at least that it inspires them with a Confidence that makes them undertake and execute what would seem impossible to many others. We must allow, on the other Hand, that they have excellent Qualities. They are of a good Stature, and well shaped in Body. Their Strength of Constitution is not always answerable thereto; and if the *Canadians* live long, they are old and worn out betimes. This is not entirely their own Fault, it is partly that of their Parents, who for the most Part do not watch enough over their Children to hinder them from ruining their Health in an Age, in which, when it is ruined, there is no Resource. Their Agility and Dexterity are without Parallel; the most skilful Savages do not guide their Canoes better in the most dangerous Torrents, and are not better Marksmen.

Many People are persuaded that they are not fit for the Sciences, which require much Application, and a Course of Study. I cannot say whether this Prejudice is well or ill founded, for we have had no *Canadian* yet who has undertaken to confute it. Perhaps they are so only from the loose

loose dissipated Way they are brought up in. But every one must acknowledge, that they have a wonderful Genius for Mechanics: They have scarce any Need of Masters to excel in them, and we see every Day some who succeed in all Trades without having served an Apprenticeship. Some charge them with Ingratitude, yet they have appeared to me to have Hearts good enough, but their natural Levity often hinders them from considering the Duties that Gratitude requires. It is said they make bad Valets; this is because they are too high spirited, and love their Liberty too much to submit to Servitude. On the other Hand, they are very good Masters. This is quite contrary to what is said of those from whom the greatest Part take their Origin. They would be perfect Men, if with their own good Qualities, they had preserved those of their Ancestors. Some have complained that they are inconstant Friends: This is far from being generally true, and in those who have given Room for this Complaint, this proceeds from their not being used to any Restraint, even in their own Affairs. If they are not easy to be disciplined, this comes from the same Principle; or because they have a Discipline of their own, which they think the properest to make War with the Savages, in which they are not altogether in the wrong. On the other Hand, they seem not to be Masters of a certain Impetuosity, which makes them fitter for a *Coup de Main*, or a sudden Expedition, than for the regular and settled Operations of a Campaign. It has also been remarked, that amongst a great Number of brave Men, who have distinguished themselves in the late Wars, there have been few found who had Talents to command. This was perhaps, because they had not sufficiently learnt how to obey. It is true that when they are well headed, there is nothing they cannot accomplish, either by Land or Sea; but for this End, they must have a great Opinion of their Commander. The late *M. d'Iberville*, who had all the good Qualities of his Country, without any of its Defects, would have led them to the End of the World.

There is one Thing upon which it is not easy to excuse them, which is, the little Regard they have for their Parents; who on their Side, have a Tenderness for them that is not justifiable. The Savages fall into the same Error,

Error, and it produces amongst them the same Effects. But what above all Things should make us value our *Creoles* is, that they have a great deal of Piety and Religion, and that nothing is wanting in their Education on this Point. It is also true, that out of their own Country they retain scarce any of their Faults. As with this, they are extremely brave and dexterous, they might be rendered very serviceable for War, for the Sea, and for the Arts; and I believe it would be for the Good of the State to promote their Increase more than has hitherto been done. — Men are the principal Riches of a Sovereign; and *Canada*, though it could be of no other Use to *France*, but for this Purpose, would still be, if it was well peopled, one of the most important of our Colonies.

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L E T T E R X I .

*Of the IROQUOIS Village. Of the FALL of ST. LOUIS;
and of the different People who inhabit CANADA.*

MADAM, FALL of ^ST. LOUIS, May 21.

THIS Village was at first placed by St. *Magdalen's* Meadow, about a League lower than the *Fall of St. Louis*, towards the South. The Lands not being found fit for producing Maiz, it was removed over-against the Fall itself, from whence it took the Name it still bears, though it has been removed again a few Years ago a League still higher. I have already said that its Situation is charming, that the Church and the House of the Missionaries are two of the finest Buildings in the Country; from which we may conclude, that effectual Measures have been taken not to be obliged to make more Removals. I reckoned, when I came here, to go away immediately after the *Easter* Holidays; but nothing is more subject to Disappointments of all Kinds, than these Sorts of Journies. I am yet uncertain of the Day of my Departure; and as we must make Advantage of every Thing, when we make such Excursions as mine, I have endeavoured to make Use of this Delay: I have passed the Time in conversing with some antient Missionaries, who have lived a long Time with the Savages, and have had from them many Particulars concerning various People who inhabit this vast Continent; which, Madam, I shall now communicate to you.

The first Land of *America* that we meet with coming from *France* to *Canada*, is the Island of *Newfoundland*, one of the largest that we know. It could never be known
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for Certainty, whether it had any Native Inhabitants : Its Barrenness, supposing it every where as real as it is thought to be, is not a sufficient Proof that it has had no Native Inhabitants; for Fishing and Hunting are sufficient to maintain Savages. This is certain, that here was never seen any but *Eskimaux*, who are not Natives of this Country. Their real Country is *Labrador*, or *New-Britain* : It is there at least that they pass the greatest Part of the Year; for it would be profaning the Name of *Native Country*, to apply it to wandering Barbarians, who having no Affection for any Country, travel over a vast Extent of Land. In Fact, besides the Coasts of *Newfoundland*, which the *Eskimaux* range over in the Summer, in all the vast Continent which is between the River *St. Laurence* and *Canada*, and the North Sea, there has never been seen any other People than the *Eskimaux* : They have been met with also a good Way up the River *Bourbon*, which runs into *Hudson's Bay*, coming from the West.

The original Name of these People is not certain; however, it is very probable that it comes from the *Abenaki* Word *Esquimantisc*, which signifies an *Eater of raw Flesh*.—The *Eskimaux* are in Fact the only Savages known that eat raw Flesh, though they have also the Custom of dressing it, or drying it in the Sun : It is also certain, that of all the People known in *America*, there are none who come nearer than these to compleat the first Idea which *Europeans* had of Savages. They are almost the only People where the Men have any Beard; and they have it so thick up to their Eyes, that it is difficult to distinguish any Features of the Face : They have besides something hideous in their Look : Little Eyes, looking wild; large Teeth, and very foul : Their Hair is commonly black, but sometimes light, much in Disorder, and their whole outward Appearance very rough. Their Manners and their Character do not disagree with their ill Look : They are fierce, surly, mistrustful, and uneasy, always inclined to do an Injury to Strangers, who ought therefore to be upon their guard against them. As to their Wit and Understanding, we have had so little Commerce with this People, that we can say nothing concerning them;

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them; but they are however cunning enough to do Mischief. They have often been seen to go in the Night to cut the Cables of Ships that were at Anchor, that they might be wrecked upon the Coast; and they make no Scruple of attacking them openly in the Day, when they know they are weakly mann'd. It was never possible to render them more tractable; and we cannot yet treat with them, but at the End of a long Pole. They not only refuse to approach the *Europeans*, but they will eat nothing that comes from them; and in all Things, they take on their Part such Precaution, as shews a great Diffidence, which gives Room to mistrust reciprocally every Thing that comes from them. They are tall, and pretty well shaped: Their Skin is as white as Snow, which proceeds without Doubt from their never going naked in the hottest Weather. Their Hair, their Beards, the Whiteness of their Skin, the little Resemblance and Commerce they have with their nearest Neighbours, leave no Room to doubt that they have a different Origin from other *Americans*: But the Opinion which makes them descended from the *Biscayners*, seems to me to have little Foundation, especially if it is true, as I have been assured, that their Language is entirely different. For the rest, their Alliance would do no great Honour to any Nation; for if there was no Country on the Face of the Earth less fit to be inhabited by Men than *Newfoundland* and *Labrador*, there is perhaps no People which deserve more to be confined here than the *Eskimaux*. For my Part I am persuaded they came originally from *Greenland*.

These Savages are covered in such a Manner, that you can hardly see any Part of their Face, or the Ends of their Fingers. Upon a Kind of Shirt made of Bladders, or the Guts of Fish cut in Slips, and pretty well sowed together, they have a Coat made of Bear or Deer Skins, and sometimes of Birds Skins. A Capuchin of the same Stuff, and which is fastened to it, covers their Head; on the Top of which there comes out a Tuft of Hair, which hangs over their Forehead: The Shirt comes no lower than their Waist; their Coat hangs behind down to their Thighs, and terminates before in a Point something below the Waist; but the Women wear them both before

and behind, to the Middle of the Leg, and bound with a Girdle, from which hang little Bones. The Men have Breeches of Skins, with the Hair inwards, and which are covered on the Outside with the Skins of Ermine, or such-like: They wear also Socks, with the Hair inwards, and over this a Boot, furred in like Manner on the Inside; then a second Sock and second Boots: And they say that these Coverings for the Feet are sometimes three or four-fold; which does not, however, hinder these Savages from being very nimble. Their Arrows, which are the only Arms they use, are armed with Points made of the Teeth of the Sea-Cow, and they sometimes make them of Iron, when they can get it. It appears that in Summer they keep in the open Air Night and Day, but in the Winter they lodge under Ground in a Sort of Cave, where they all lie one upon another.

We are little acquainted with the other People which are in the Environs, and above *Hudson's Bay*. In the Southern Part of this Bay, they trade with the *Misissippins*, the *Monsonis*, the *Cristinaux*, and the *Affiniboils*. These last came here from a great Distance, since they inhabit the Borders of a Lake which is to the North or the North West of the *Sioux*, and their Language is a Dialect of the *Sioux*. The other three use the *Algonquin* Language. The *Cristinaux*, or *Killistinons*, come from the North of the upper Lake. The Savages of the River *Bourbon**, and the River *Sainte Therese*, have a Language entirely different from either: It is probable they are more acquainted with the *Eskimaux* Language. It is observed, that they are extremely superstitious, and offer some Sort of Sacrifices. Those who are the most acquainted with them affirm, that they have, like those of *Canada*, a Notion of good and evil Spirits; that the Sun is their great Deity; and that when they deliberate on an important Affair, they make him as it were smoke; which they perform in this Manner: They assemble at Day-break in a Cabin of one of their Chiefs; who, after having light-

* They say that when they have gone one hundred Leagues up this River, it is no longer navigable for fifty Leagues, and that afterwards it runs in the midst of a very fine Country, and this lasts to the Lake of the *Affiniboils*, where it rises.

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ed his Pipe, presents it three Times to the rising Sun ; then he guides it with both Hands from the East to the West, praying the Sun to favour the Nation. This being done, all the Assembly smoke in the same Pipe. All these Savages, though they are of five or six different Nations, are known in the *French Relations* by the Name of the *Savanois*, because the Country where they inhabit is low, marshy, poorly wooded, and because in *Canada* they call *Savanes* * those wet Lands which are good for nothing.

Going to the North of the Bay, we find two Rivers ; the first of which is called the *Danes River*, and the second the *River of Seals*. There are some Savages on the Sides of these Rivers, to whom they have given (I know not why) the Name or rather the Nick-Name, of the *flat Sides of Dogs*. They are often at War with the *Savanois*, but neither one nor the other treat their Prisoners with that Barbarity which is usual amongst the *Canadians* ; they only keep them in Slavery. The *Savanois* are often reduced by Want to strange Extremities : Either through Idleness on their Part, or that their Land produces nothing at all, they find themselves, when the Chase and Fishery fail, without any Provisions ; and then it is said, they make no Difficulty to eat one another : The Weakest, no Doubt, go first. It is also said, that it is a Custom amongst them, that when a Man is arrived to an Age in which he can be of no longer Service to his Family, but on the contrary a Burden to it, he puts a Cord himself about his Neck, and presents the two Ends of it to him of his Sons whom he is most fond of, who strangles him as soon as he can : He even thinks that in this he does a good Action, not only because he puts an End to the Sufferings of his Father, but also because he is persuaded he hastens his Happiness ; for these Savages imagine that a Man who cōes in old Age, is born again in the other World at the Age of a sucking Child ; and that on the contrary, those who die young, are old when they come into the Country of Souls. The Daughters of these People never marry, but with the Consent of their Parents,

* The *English* call them *Swamps*.

rents, and the Son-in-Law is obliged to live with his Father-in-Law, and be subject to him in every Thing, till he has Children. The Sons leave their Father's House early. These Savages, burn their Dead, and wrap up their Ashes in the Bark of a Tree, which they bury in the Earth: Then they raise over the Grave a Kind of Monument with Poles, to which they fasten Tobacco, that the Deceased may have wherewith to smoke in the other World. If he was a Hunter, they hang up also his Bow and Arrows. Tho' the Mothers weep for their Children twenty Days, the Fathers receive Presents, and in Return make a Feast. War is much less honourable among them than the Chase; but to be esteemed a good Hunter, they must fast three Days together without taking the least Nourishment, having their Faces smeared with Black all this Time. When the Fast is over, the Candidate sacrifices to the *Great Spirit* a Piece of each of the Beasts he hath been wont to hunt; this is commonly the Tongue and the Muzzle, which at other Times is the Hunter's Share: His Family or Relations don't touch it; and they would even sooner die with Hunger than eat any of it, it being appropriated to the Hunter to feast his Friends and Strangers with. As to the rest, they say that these Savages are perfectly disinterested, and are of most inviolable Fidelity; that they cannot bear a Lye, and look upon all Deceit with Horror.

This is, Madam, all that I could learn of these Northern People, with whom we never had a settled Intercourse, and whom we never saw but *en passant*.—Let us come to those we are better acquainted with.—One may divide them into three Classes, distinguished by their Language, and their particular Genius.

In that Extent of Country which is commonly called *New France*, which has no Bounds to the North, but on the Side of *Hudson's Bay*, which was dismembered from it by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which has no other on the East but the Sea, the *English* Colonies on the South, *Louisiana* to the South-East, and the *Spanish* Territories to the West: In this Extent of Country there are but three Mother Tongues, from which all the others are derived:

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derived: These are the *Sioux*, the *Algonquin*, and the *Huron*. We know but little of the People who speak the first of these Languages, and no Body knows how far it extends. We have hitherto had no Commerce but with the *Sioux* and the *Affiniboils*, and this has not been greatly followed.

Our Missionaries have endeavoured to make a Settlement among the *Sioux*; and I knew one who greatly regretted that he had not succeeded, or rather, that had not remained longer among these People, who appeared to him docible. There are none perhaps from whom we may gain more Information concerning all that is to the North West of the *Mississippi*, as they have an Intercourse with all the Nations of these vast Countries. They dwell commonly in Meadows, under Tents made of Skins, and well wrought: They live on wild Oats, which grow in Abundance in their Marshes and Rivers, and by hunting, especially of the Buffaloes that are covered with Wool, and which are in Herds of Thousands in their Meadows: They have no fixed Abode, but travel in great Companies like the *Tartars*, and never stay in one Place any longer than the Chase detains them.

Our Geographers distinguish this Nation into *wandering Sioux*, and *Sioux of the Meadows*, into *Sioux of the East*, and *Sioux of the West*. These Divisions don't appear to me to be well grounded: All the *Sioux* live after the same Manner; whence it happens that a Village which was last Year on the East Side of the *Mississippi*, shall next Year be on the West Side; and that those who were at one Time by the River *St. Pierre*, are perhaps now far enough from it in some Meadow. The Name of *Sioux*, which we have given to these Savages, is entirely our own making, or rather is the two last Syllables of *Nadouessoux*, as they are called by many Nations: Others call them *Nadouessis*. They are the most numerous People we know in *Canada*: They were peaceable enough, and little used to War, before the *Hurons* and *Outaouais* took Refuge in their Country, flying from the Fury of the *Iroquois*. They derided their Simplicity, and made them Warriors to their own Cost.

The *Sioux* have several Wives, and they severely punish those that fail of Conjugal Fidelity. They cut off the End of their Noses, and cut a Circle in a Part of the Skin on the Top of their Head, and pull it off. I have seen some People who are persuaded that these Savages had a *Chinese* Accent: It would not be difficult to know the Truth of this, nor to know if their Language has any Affinity with the *Chinese*.

Those who have been amongst the *Affiniboils* say, that they are tall, well made, strong, nimble, inured to the Cold and all Manner of Fatigues; that they prick themselves all over the Body, and mark out Figures of Serpents, or other Animals, and that they undertake very long Journeys. There is nothing in this that distinguishes them much from the other Savages of this Continent, whom we know; but what is particular in their Character is, that they have a great deal of Gravity; at least they appear so, in Comparison of the *Cristinaux*, with whom they have some Intercourse. The *Cristinaux* are in Fact of an extraordinary Vivacity; they are always singing and dancing; and they speak with such a Volubility and Precipitation, that has never been observed of any other Savages.

The Native Country of the *Affiniboils* is about a Lake — which bears their Name, and which is little known. A *Frenchman* whom I have seen at *Montreal*, assured me he had been there, but that he had seen it as they see the Sea in a Port and *en passant*. The common Opinion is, that this Lake is six hundred Leagues in Compass, that we cannot go to it but by Ways which are almost impassable, that all the Borders of it are charming, that the Air here is very temperate, though they place it to the North West of the upper Lake, where the Cold is extreme, and that it contains such a Number of Islands, that they call it in these Parts the *Lake of Islands*. Some Savages call it *Michinipi*, which signifies the *Great Water*; and it seems in Fact to be the Source of the greatest Rivers and all the great Lakes of *North America*: For by several Evidences, they make the River *Bourbon* to rise out of it, which runs into *Hudson's Bay*; the River *St. Laurence*, which

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which carries its Waters to the Ocean; the *Mississippi*, which discharges itself into the Gulph of *Mexico*; the *Messouri*, which mingles with the last; and which, to the Place where they join, is in no Respect inferior to it; and a fifth which runs, as they say, to the West, and which of Course must go into the South Sea. It is a great Loss that this Lake was not known to the Learned, who have sought every where for the terrestrial Paradise. It would have been at least as well placed here as in *Scandinavia*. But I do not warrant, Madam, all these Facts for Truth, which are only founded upon the Reports of Travellers; much less what some Savages have reported, *viz.* that about the Lake of the *Affiniboils* there are Men like the *Europeans*, and who are settled in a Country where Gold and Silver is so Plenty, that it serves for the most common Uses.

Father *Marquette*, who discovered the *Mississippi* in 1673, says in his Relation, that some Savages not only spoke to him of the River, which taking its rise from this Lake, runs to the West, but that they also added, that they had seen great Ships in its Mouth. It appears in the old Maps under the Name of *Poualaks*, and of whom some Relations say that their Country is the Boundary to that of the *Cristinaux*, or *Killistinons*.

The *Algonquin* and *Huron* Languages have between them almost all the Savage Nations of *Canada* that we are acquainted with. Whoever should well understand both, might travel without an Interpreter above one thousand five hundred Leagues of Country, and make himself understood by one hundred different Nations, who have each their peculiar Tongue. The *Algonquin* especially has a vast Extent: It begins at *Acadia* and the Gulph of *St. Laurence*, and takes a Compass of twelve hundred Leagues, twining from the South-East by the North to the South-West. They say also, that the *Wolf* Nation, or the *Mabingans*, and the greatest Part of the *Indians* of *New England* and *Virginia*, speak *Algonquin* Dialects,

The *Algonquins*, or *Canibas*, who are Neighbours to *New England* have for their nearest Neighbours the *Etechemins*, or *Malecites*, about the River *Pentagoet*; and more to the East are the *Micmacks*, or *Souriquois*, whose proper or Native Country is *Acadia*, the Continuance of the Coast of the Gulf of *St. Laurence*, up to *Gaspé*, (from whence one Writer calls them *Gaspesians*) and the neighbouring Islands. In going up the River *St. Laurence*, we meet with at present no Savage Nation till we come to *Saguenay*. Nevertheless, when *Canada* was first discovered, and many Years afterwards, they reckoned in this Space many Nations, which spread themselves in the Island *Anticoste*, towards the Hills of *Notre-dame*, and along the North Side of the River. Those which the antient Relations speak most of, are the *Bershamites*, the *Papinachois*, and the *Montagnez*. They call them also (especially the last) the *lower Algonquins*, because they inhabited the lower Part of the River with Respect to *Quebec*. But the greatest Part of the others are reduced to some Families, which we meet with sometimes in one Place, and sometimes in another.

There were some Savages who came down into the Colony from the North, sometimes by *Saguenay*, and oftener by *Trois Rivieres*, of whom we have heard nothing for a long Time. There were amongst others the *Altikameques*: These Savages came from far, and their Country was surrounded by many other Nations, who extended themselves about the Lake *St. John*, and to the Lakes of the *Mistassins* and *Nemiseau*. They have been almost all destroyed by the Sword of the *Iroquois*, or by Distempers that were the Consequence of the Sufferings to which the Fear of these Barbarians reduced them. This is a great Loss: They had no Vices; they were of a very mild Disposition, easily converted, and very affectionate to the *French*.

Between *Quebec* and *Montreal*, towards *Trois Rivieres*, we meet still with some *Algonquins*, but who do not make a Village, and who trade with the *French*. At our first Arrival here, this Nation occupied all the Northern Side of the River from *Quebec* (where *M. de Champlain* found them

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them settled, and made an Alliance with them) up to the Lake *St. Pierre*.

From the Isle of *Montreal*, going towards the North, we meet with some Villages of *Nipissings*, of *Temiscamings*, of *Tetes de Boules*, (*Round Heads*) of *Amikoues*, and of *Outaouais* *. The first are the true *Algonquins*, and who have alone preserved the *Algonquin* Language, without any Alteration: They have given their Name to a little Lake situated between Lake *Huron* and the River of the *Outaouais*. The *Temiscamings* occupy the Borders of another little Lake, which bears their Name, and which appears to be the real Source of the River *Outaouais*. The *Round Heads* are not far off: Their Name comes from the Shape of their Heads: They think a round Head to be a great Beauty; and it is very probable that the Mothers give this Shape to the Heads of their Children in their Infancy. The *Amikoues*, which they call also the Nation of the *Beavers*, are reduced almost to nothing: The Remains of them are found in the Island *Manitoualin*, which is in the Lake *Huron*, towards the North. The *Outaouais*, formerly very numerous, were settled on the Borders of the great River which bears their Name, and of which they pretended to be Lords. I know but of three Villages of this Nation, and those but thinly peopled, which I shall speak of hereafter.

Between Lake *Huron* and the upper Lake in the Streight itself, by which the second flows into the first, is a Torrent, or Fall, which is called *Saulte Sainte Marie*, (*the Fall of St. Mary*.) Its Environs were formerly inhabited by Savages who came from the South Side of the upper Lake, whom they call *Saulteurs*; THAT IS TO SAY, *the Inhabitants of the Fall*. They have probably given them this Name, to save the Trouble of pronouncing their true Name; which it is not possible to do, without taking Breath two or three Times †. There is no Nation settled (at least that I know of) on the Borders of the upper Lake; but in the Posts which we possess there, we trade with the *Cristinaux*, who come here from

* Many write and pronounce it *Outaouaks*.

† *Pauoirigoueioubak*.

from the North East, and who belong to the *Algonquin* Tongue, and with the *Affiniboils*, who are to the North West.

The Lake *Michigan*, which is almost parallel with Lake *Huron*, into which it discharges itself, and which is separated from it but by a Peninsula one hundred Leagues long, which grows narrower continually towards the North, has few Inhabitants on its Banks. I do not know even that any Nation was ever settled here, and it is without any Foundation called in many Maps the *Lake of the Illinois*. In going up the River *St. Joseph*, which runs into it, we find two Villages of different Nations, which came from other Parts not long since. This Lake has on the West Side a great Bay, which extends twenty eight Leagues to the South, and which is called the *Bay des Puans*, or simply, *the Bay*. Its Entrance is very wide, and full of Islands, some of which are fifteen or twenty Leagues in Compass. They were formerly inhabited by the *Pouteouatamis*, whose Name they bear, excepting some which we leave to the Right, where there are still some Savages called *Noquets*. The *Pouteouatamis* possess at present one of the smallest of these Islands; and they have besides two other Villages, one in the River *St. Joseph*, and another in the Streight. In the Bottom of the Bay there are some *Sakis* and *Otcbagras*. These last are called *Puans* (*sinking*), but for what Reason I know not. Before we come to them, we leave upon the Right another little Nation, called *Malbomines*, or *Folles Avoires*, (*wild-oat Indians*.)

A little River, much cumbered with Torrents or Falls, discharges itself into the Bottom of the Bay: It is known by the Name of the River *des Renards*, (*of the Foxes*.) All this Country is very beautiful; and that is still more so, which extends to the South to the River of the *Illinois*. It is notwithstanding only inhabited by two little Nations, which are the *Kicapous* and the *Mascoutins*. Some of our Geographers have been pleased to call the last the *Nation of Fire*, and their Country the *Land of Fire*. An equivocal Word gave rise to this Name.

Fifty

Fifty Years ago, the *Miamis*, were settled at the South End of the Lake *Michigan*, in a Place called *Chicagou*, which is also the Name of a little River which runs into the Lake, and the Spring of which is not far from that of the *Illinois*. They are at present divided into three Villages, one of which is on the River *St. Joseph*, the second on another River which bears their Name, and runs into Lake *Erie*, and the third upon the River *Ouabache*, which runs into the *Mississippi*. These last are more known by the Name of *Ouyatanons*. There is scarce any Doubt but that this Nation and the *Illinois*, were, not long since, one People, considering the Affinity of their Languages. I shall be able to speak with more Certainty, when I have been among them. For the rest, the greatest Part of the *Algonquin* Nations, excepting those which are more advanced towards the South, employ themselves but little in cultivating the Lands, and live almost wholly upon Hunting and Fishing; so that they are not fixed to any Place. Some of them allow Plurality of Wives; yet, far from multiplying, they decrease every Day. There is not any one of these Nations that consists of six thousand Souls, and some not of two thousand.

The *Huron* Language is not by far so extensive as the *Algonquin*: The Reason of which is, without Doubt, that the People who speak it have been less roving than the *Algonquins*: I say the *Huron* Language, in Conformity to the common Opinion; for some maintain that the *Iroquois* is the Mother Tongue. Let that be as it will, all the Savages which are to the South of the River *St. Lawrence*, from the River *Sorel* to the End of the Lake *Erie*, and even pretty near *Virginia*, belong to this Language: And whoever understands the *Huron*, understands them all. The Dialects are indeed extremely multiplied, and there are almost as many as there are Villages. The five Cantons which compose the *Iroquois* Commonwealth, have each their own Language; and all that was formerly called without any Distinction the *Huron*, was not the same Language. I cannot find out to what Language the *Cherokees* belong, a pretty numerous People, which inhabit the vast Meadows which are between the Lake *Erie* and the *Mississippi*.

But

But it is worth while to observe, that as the greatest Part of the Savages of *Canada* have at all Times been conversant with each other, sometimes as Allies, and sometimes as Enemies, although the three Mother Tongues which I have spoken of, have no Manner of Affinity or Agreement with each other, these People have nevertheless found Means to treat together without the Help of an Interpreter: Either that long Custom makes it easy to understand each other by Signs, or that they have formed a Kind of common Jargon, which they learn by Use.— I have just received Notice that I must embark: I shall finish this Article at my first Leisure.

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L E T T E R XII.

Voyage to CATAROCOUI. A Description of the Country, and of the Falls of the River St. LAURENCE. Description and Situation of the Fort CATAROCOUI. Of the Languages of CANADA, and of the People who speak them. The Occasion of the War between the IROQUOIS and the ALGONQUINS.

MADAM,

CATAROCOUI, May 14.

I Departed from the *Fall of St. Louis* the Day after I had closed my last Letter, and went to lie at the Western Point of the Isle of *Montreal*, where I did not arrive till Midnight. The next Day I employed all the Morning in visiting the Country, which is very fine. In the Afternoon I crossed the Lake *St. Louis* to go to the *Cascades*, where I found those of my People who went hither in a direct Way: I found them busy in mending their Canoe, which they had let fall in carrying it on their Shoulders, and which was split from one End to the other. — This is, Madam, the Convenience and Inconvenience of these little Carriages: The least Thing breaks them, but the Remedy is ready and easy. It suffices to furnish one's self with Bark, Gums, and Roots; and there are very few Places where one does not find Gums and Roots fit to sew the Bark.

What they call *the Cascades*, is a Water-fall situated exactly above the Island *Perrot*, which makes the Separation of the Lake *St. Louis*, and the Lake *des deux Montagnes*, (*of the two Mountains*). To avoid it, we go a little Way to the Right, and make the Canoes pass empty in a Place they call *le Trou*, (*the Hole*): Then they draw them to Land, and make a Portage of half a Quarter of a League; *that is to say*, they carry the Canoe with all the Baggage on their Shoulders. This is to avoid a second Fall called *le Buiffon*, (*the Busb*). This is a fine Sheet of Water, which falls from a flat Rock about half a Foot high.

high. They might ease themselves of this Trouble, by deepening a little the Bed of a small River which runs into another above the *Cascades*: The Expence would not be great.

Above the *Buiffon*, the River is a Mile wide, and the Lands on both Sides are very good, and well wooded. They begin to clear those which are on the North Side, and it would be very easy to make a Road from the Point, which is over against the Island *Montreal*, to a Bay which they call *la Galette*. They will shun by this forty Leagues of Navigation, which the Falls render almost impracticable, and very tedious. A Fort would be much better situated and more necessary at *la Galette* than at *Catarocoui*, because a single Canoe cannot pass here without being seen, whereas at *Catarocoui*, they may slip behind the Islands without being observed: Moreover, the Lands about *Galette* are very good, and they might in Consequence have always Provisions in plenty, which would save many Charges. Besides this, a Bark might go in two Days with a good Wind to *Niagara*. One of the Objects which they had in View in building the Fort *Catarocoui*, was the Trade with the *Iroquois*; but these Savages would come as willingly to *la Galette*, as to *Catarocoui*. They would have indeed something further to go, but they would avoid a Passage of eight or nine Leagues, which they must make over the Lake *Ontario*: In short, a Fort at *la Galette* would cover the whole Country, which is between the great River of the *Outaouais*, and the River *St. Laurence*; for they cannot come into this Country, on the Side of the River *St. Laurence*, because of the Falls; and nothing is more easy than to guard the Banks of the River of the *Outaouais*. I have these Remarks from a Commissary of the Marine *, who was sent by the King to visit all the distant Posts of *Canada*.

The same Day, *May* the third, I went three Leagues, and arrived at the *Cedars*; this is the third Fall; which has taken its Name from the Quantity of Cedars that grew in this Place; but they are now almost all cut down. On the fourth, I could go no farther than the fourth Fall, which

* *M. de Clerambaut, d'Aigremont.*

which is called the *Coteau du Lake*, (*the Hill of the Lake*) tho' it is but two Leagues and an half from the other; because one of the Canoes burst. You will not be surpris'd, Madam, at these frequent Wrecks, when you know how these Gondolas are made. I believe that I have already told you that there are two Sorts of them, the one of Elm Bark, which are wider and more clumsily built, but commonly bigger. I know none but the *Iroquois*, who have any of this Sort. The others are of the Bark of Birch Trees, of a Width less in Proportion than their Length, and much better made: It is these that I am going to describe, because all the *French*, and almost all the Savages, use them.

They lay the Bark, which is very thick, on flat and very thin Ribs made of Cedar: These Ribs are confined their whole Length by small Cross-Bars, which separate the Seats of the Canoe; two main Pieces of the same Wood, to which these little Bars are sew'd, strengthen the whole Machine. Between the Ribs and the Bark they thrust little Pieces of Cedar, which are thinner still than the Ribs, and which help to strengthen the Canoe, the two Ends of which rise by Degrees, and insensibly end in sharp Points that turn inwards. These two Ends are exactly alike; so that to change their Course, and turn back, the Canoe-Men need only change Hands. He who is behind steers with his Oar, working continually; and the greatest Occupation of him who is forward, is to take Care that the Canoe touches nothing to burst it. They sit or kneel on the Bottom, and their Oars are Paddles of five or six Feet long, commonly of Maple; but when they go against a Current that is pretty strong, they must use a Pole, and stand upright. One must have a good deal of Practice to preserve a Ballance in this Exercise, for nothing is lighter, and of Consequence easier to overset, than these Canoes; the greatest of which, with their Loading, does not draw more than half a Foot Water.

The Bark of which these Canoes are made, as well as the Ribs and the Bars, are sewed with the Roots of Fir, which are more pliable, and dry much less than the Ozier.

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All the Seams are gum'd within and without, but they must be viewed every Day, to see that the Gum is not peeled off. The largest Canoes carry twelve Men, two upon a Seat; and 4000 l. Weight. Of all the Savages, the most skilful Builders of Canoes are the *Outaouais*; and in general the *Algonquin Nations* succeed herein better than the *Hurons*. Few *French* as yet can make them even tolerably; but to guide them, they are at least as safe as the Savages of the Country; and they practise this Exercise from their Childhood. All their Canoes even the smallest carry a Sail, and with a good Wind can make twenty Leagues in a Day. Without Sails they must be good Canoe-Men to make twelve Leagues in a dead Water.

From the *Hill of the Lake* to *Lake St. François*, is but a good half League. This Lake which I passed the fifth is seven Leagues long, and three Leagues wide at the most in its greatest Breadth. The Lands on both Sides are low, but they seem to be pretty good. The Course from *Montreal* to this Place is a little to the South West; and the Lake of *St. François* runs West South West, and East North East. I encamped just above it, and in the Night I was wakened by some piercing Cries, as of People complaining. I was frightened at first, but soon recovered myself, when they told me they were *Huars*, a Kind of Cormorants; they added that these Cries were a certain Sign of Wind the next Day, which proved true.

The sixth I passed the *Cbesnaux du Lac*, they call thus some *Canals*, which form a great Number of Islands, that almost cover the River in this Place. I never saw a Country more charming, and the Lands appear good. The rest of the Day we employed in passing the Falls, the most considerable of which they call the *Moulnet*; it is frightful to look at, and we had a great deal of Trouble to get thro' it. I went however that Day near seven Leagues, and I encamped at the Bottom of the *Long Fall*; this is a Fall half a League long, which the Canoes cannot go up but with half their Loading. We passed it at seven in the Morning, then we sailed till three o'Clock in the Afternoon; but then the Rain obliged us to encamp,
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and detained us all the next Day: There fell the eighth a little Snow, and at Night it froze as it does in *France* in the Month of *January*. We were nevertheless under the same Parallels as *Languedoc*. The ninth we passed the *Flat Fall*, about seven Leagues distant from the *Long Fall*, and five from the *Galots*, which is the last of the Falls. *La Galette* is a League and a half further, and we arrived there the tenth. I could not sufficiently admire the Country which is between this Bay and *les Galots*. It is impossible to see finer Forests; and I observed especially some Oaks of an extraordinary Height.

Five or six Leagues from *la Galette*, there is an Island called *Tonibata*, the Soil of which appears pretty fertile, and which is about half a League long. An *Iroquois*, whom they call the *Quaker*, I know not why, a very sensible Man, and well affected to the *French*, obtained the Domain of it from the late Count *de Frontenac*, and he shews the Writing of this Grant to any one that will see it. He has nevertheless sold the Lordship, for four Pots of Brandy; but has reserved to himself all other Profits of the Land, and has assembled here eighteen or twenty Families of his Nation. I arrived the twelfth in his Island, and I paid him a Visit; I found him working in his Garden, which is not the Custom of the Savages; but he affects all the Manners of the *French*: He received me very well, and would have regaled me, but the Fineness of the Weather obliged me to go forward; I took my Leave of him, and went to pass the Night two Leagues further, in a very fine Place. I had still thirteen Leagues to *Catarocoui*; the Weather was fine, the Night very clear, and this engaged us to embark at three in the Morning. We passed thro' the midst of a Kind of *Archipelago*, which they call *Mille Isles*, (*the thousand Isles*,) and I believe there are above five hundred: When we are passed these we have a League and half to arrive at *Catarocoui*, the River is more open, and is at least half a League wide; then we leave upon the Right three great Bays pretty deep, and the Fort is built in the third.

This Fort is a Square with four Bastions built with Stone, and the Ground it occupies is a Quarter of a

League in Compass, its Situation has really something very pleasant; the Sides of the River present every Way a Landscape well varied, and it is the same at the Entrance of Lake *Ontario*, which is but a small League distant; it is full of Islands of different Sizes, all well wooded, and nothing bounds the Horizon on that Side: This Lake was some Time called *St. Louis*, afterwards *Frontenac*, as well as the Fort of *Catarocoui*, of which the Count *de Frontenac* was the Founder; but insensibly the Lake has gained its antient Name, which is *Huron* or *Iroquois*, and the Fort that of the Place where it is built. The Soil from this Place to *la Galette* appears something barren, but this is only on the Edges, it being very good farther on. There is over-against the Fort a very pretty Island in the midst of the River; they put some Swine into it, which have multiplied, and given it the Name of *Isle des Porcs*: There are two other Islands somewhat smaller, which are lower, and half a League distant from each other; one is called the *Isle of Cedars*, the other *Isle aux Cerfs*, (*Harts Island*). The Bay of *Catarocoui* is double, *that is to say*, that almost in the midst of it there is a Point that runs out a great Way, under which there is good Anchorage for large Barks. *M. de la Sale*, so famous for his Discoveries and his Misfortunes, who was Lord of *Catarocoui*, and Governor of the Fort, had two or three here, which were sunk in this Place, and remain there still: Behind the Fort is a Marsh where there is a great Plenty of Wild Fowl: This is a Benefit to, and Employment for, the Garrison. There was formerly a great Trade here, especially with the *Iroquois*; and it was to entice them to us, as well as to hinder their carrying their Skins to the *English* and to keep these Savages in Awe, that the Fort was built: But this Trade did not last long, and the Fort has not hindered the Barbarians from doing us a great deal of Mischief. They have still some Families here on the Outsides of the Place, and there are also some *Missisaguéz*, an *Algonquin* Nation, which still have a Village on the West Side of Lake *Ontario*, another at *Niagara*, and a third in the Streight.

I find here, Madam, an Opportunity of sending my Letters to *Quebec*: I shall take Advantage of some leisure

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sure Hours to fill up this with what I have further to say to you on the Difference of the Languages of *Canada*. Those who have studied them perfectly say, that those three of which I have spoken have all the Characters of primitive Languages; and it is certain that they have not the same Origin; which the Pronunciation alone is sufficient to prove. The *Siou* whistles in speaking; the *Huron* has no labial Letter, which he cannot pronounce, he speaks in the Throat, and aspirates almost every Syllable; the *Algonquin* pronounces with more Sweetness, and speaks more naturally. I can learn nothing particular of the first of these three Languages, but our ancient Missionaries have much studied the two last, and their principal Dialects: This is what I have heard from the most skilful.

The *Huron* Language has a Copiousness, an Energy, and a Sublimity perhaps not to be found united in any of the finest that we know; and those whose native Tongue it is, tho' they are now but a Handful of Men, have such an Elevation of Soul that agrees much better with the Majesty of their Language, than with the sad State to which they are reduced. Some have fancied they found in it some Similitude with the *Hebrew*; others, and the greatest Number, have maintained it had the same Origin as the *Greek*; but nothing is more trifling than the Proofs they bring for it. We must not depend especially upon the Vocabulary of Brother *Gabriel Sagbard*, a *Recollet*, who hath been cited to support this Opinion; much less on those of *James Cartier* and the *Baron de la Hontan*. These three Authors took at Random some Terms, some of which were *Huron*, others *Algonquin*, which they ill retained, and which often signified quite different from what they thought. And how many Errors have been occasioned by such Mistakes of many Travellers.

The *Algonquin* Language has not so much Force as the *Huron*, but has more Sweetness and Elegance: Both have a Richness of Expressions, a Variety of Turns, a Propriety of Terms, a Regularity which astonish; But what is more surprising is, that among these Barbarians who never study to speak well, and who never had the

Use of Writing, there is not introduced a bad Word, an improper Term, or a vicious Construction; and even Children preserve all the Purity of the Language in their common Discourse. On the other Hand, the Manner in which they animate all they say, leaves no Room to doubt of their comprehending all the Worth of their Expressions, and all the Beauty of their Language. The Dialects which are derived from both, have not preserved all their Beauties, nor the same Force. The *Tsonnontbouans*, for Instance (this is one of the five *Iroquois* Cantons) pass among the Savages to have a vulgar or rude Language.

In the *Huron* all is conjugated; a certain Device which I cannot well explain to you, distinguishes the Verbs, the Nouns, the Pronouns, the Adverbs, &c. The simple Verbs have a double Conjugation, one absolute, and the other reciprocal; the third Persons have the two Genders, for there are but two in these Languages; *that is to say*, the noble and the ignoble Gender. As to the Numbers and Tenses, they have the same Differences as in the *Greek*: For Instance, to relate Travels, they express themselves differently according as it was by Land, or by Water. The Verbs active multiply as often as there are Things which fall under Action; as the Verb which signifies *to eat* varies as many Times as there are Things to eat. The Action is expressed differently in Respect to any Thing that has Life, and an inanimate Thing; thus to see a Man, and to see a Stone, are two Verbs; to make Use of a Thing that belongs to him that uses it, or to him to whom we speak, are two different Verbs.

There is something of all this in the *Algonquin* Language, tho' not the same, of which I am not able to give any Account. Notwithstanding, Madam, if from the little I have said it follows, that the Richness and Variety of these Languages renders them extremely difficult to learn; their Poverty and Barrenness produces no less Difficulty: For as these People, when we first conversed with them, were ignorant of almost every Thing, they did not use, or which did not fall under their Senses, they wanted Terms to express them, or they had let them fall

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into Oblivion: Thus, having no regular Worship, and forming of the Deity, and of every Thing which relates to Religion, but confused Ideas, not making scarce any Reflexions but on the Objects of their Senses, and on nothing which did not concern their own Affairs, which were confined within a small Compass, and not being accustomed to discourse on the Virtues, the Passions, and many other Subjects of our common Conversation; not cultivating any Arts, but those which were necessary for them, and which were reduced to a very small Number; nor any Science, only observing what was within their Ability; and for Life, having nothing superfluous, nor any Refinement: When we wanted to speak to them of these Things, we found a great Vacuity in their Languages, and we were obliged, in order to make ourselves understood, to fill them up with Circumlocutions that were troublesome to them as well as to us: So that after having learnt of them their Language, we were obliged to teach them another, composed partly of their own Terms, and partly of our's translated into *Huron* and *Algonquin*, to make the Pronunciation easy to them. As to Characters they had none, and they supplied the Defect by a Sort of Hieroglyphicks. Nothing surpris'd them more than to see us express ourselves as easily by writing as by speaking.

If it is asked how we know that the *Siou*, the *Huron*, and the *Algonquin*, are rather Mother Tongues than some of those which we look upon as their Dialects, I answer, that it is not easy to mistake in this, and I think there needs no other Proof than the Words of the Abbe *Dubos*, which I have already cited; but in short, as we can judge here only by Comparison, if from these Reflexions we may conclude that the Languages of all the Savages of *Canada* are derived from those three which I have noted, I allow it does not prove absolutely that these are primitive, and of the first Institution of Languages. I add, that these People have in their Discourse something of the *Asiatic* Genius, which gives Things a Turn, and figurative Expressions; and this is, perhaps, what has persuaded some Persons that they derive their Origin from *Asia*, which seems probable enough.

The People of the *Huron* Language have always applied themselves more than the others to cultivating the Land; they have also extended themselves much less, which has produced two Effects: For in the first Place, they are better settled, better lodged, and better fortified; and there has always been amongst them more Policy, and a more distinguished Form of Government. The Quality of Chief, at least among the true *Hurons*, which are the *Tionnontates*, is hereditary. In the second Place, till the *Iroquois* Wars, of which we have been Witnesses, their Country was more peopled, though they never allowed Polygamy. They are also reputed more industrious, more dexterous in their Affairs, and more prudent in their Resolutions; which cannot be attributed but to a Spirit of Society, which they have preserved better than the others. This is remarked particularly of the *Hurons*, that tho' scarcely any longer a Nation, and reduced to two Villages not very large, and at a great Distance one from the other; yet they are the Soul of all the Councils, when they consult on any general Affairs. It is true that in Spite of that Difference which is not seen at the first Glance, there is much Resemblance in the Sense, the Manners, and all the Customs of the Savages of *Canada*; but this is the Consequence of the Intercourse which has been always between them for many Ages.

This would be the Place to speak to you concerning the Government of these People, of their Customs, and of their Religion; but I see nothing in this yet but a Chaos, which it is impossible for me to clear up.

There are some Travellers who make no Scruple to fill their Journals with whatever they hear said, without troubling themselves about the Truth of any Thing. You would not, doubtless, have me follow their Example, and impose upon you for Truth all the extravagant Things that have been placed to the Account of our Savages, or that have been taken as they could from their Traditions. These Traditions, on the other Hand, are so little to be relied on, and almost always contradict each other so grossly, that it is almost impossible to discover any Thing from them that may be depended on. In Fact,
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how could such People, as we found these, transmit faithfully down to Posterity what has passed between them for so many Ages, having nothing to help their Memory? And can we conceive that Men, who think so little of Futurity, should ever busy themselves about what is past, to make any faithful Records of it? So that after all the Enquiries that could be made, we are still at a Loss to know what was the Situation of *Canada* when we made the first Discovery thereof, about the Middle of the sixteenth Century.

The only Point of their History, which is derived to us with any Sort of Probability, is the Origin of the War, which *M. de Champlain* found very much kindled between the *Iroquois* on the one Side, and the *Hurons* and *Algonquins* on the other; and in which he engaged himself much more than was agreeable to our true Interest. I cannot discover the first Beginning of this War, but I do not think it was very antient. What I shall say about it, I give you Notice before Hand, I do not warrant the Truth of, though I have it from pretty good Authority.

The *Algonquins*, as I have already observed, possessed all that Extent of Country which is from *Quebec*, and perhaps also from *Tadoussac* quite to the Lake of *Nipissing*, following the North Shore of the River *St. Laurence*, and going up the great River which runs into it above the Isle of *Montreal*. By this we may judge that that this Nation was then very numerous; and it is certain, that for a long Time it made a very great Figure in this part of *America*, where the *Hurons* were alone in a Condition to dispute with them the Pre-eminence over all the rest. For the Chase they had no Equals, and for War they acknowledged no Superiors. The few who remain to this Day, have not degenerated from the antient Merit of this Nation, and their Misfortunes have not yet lessened their Reputation. The *Iroquois* had made with them a Kind of Confederacy, very useful to both Sides; but which in the Opinion of the Savages, amongst whom a great Hunter and a great Warrior are equally esteemed, gave the *Algonquins* a real Superiority over the *Iroquois*. The

latter, almost wholly employed in the Culture of the Lands, had engaged to give Part of their Harvest to the *Algonquins*; who on their Side, were to divide with them the Fruit of the Chase, and to defend them against whoever should undertake to disturb them. The two Nations lived thus a long Time in a good Understanding; but an ill timed Haughtiness on one Side, and a Resentment, which was not expected on the other Side, broke this Union, and made a Quarrel between these two People that hath been never reconciled.

As Winter is the great Season for the Chase, and that the Earth, then covered with Snow, gives no Employment to them who cultivate it, the two Confederate Nations joined together to winter in the Woods; but the *Iroquois* commonly left the Chase to the *Algonquins*, and contented themselves with slaying the Beasts, drying the Flesh, and taking Care of the Skins. This is at present every where the Work of the Women, perhaps then it was not the Custom: However, the *Iroquois* made no Difficulty of it. From Time to Time, however, some of them took a Fancy to try themselves in the Chase, and the *Algonquins* did not oppose it, in which they were bad Politicians.

It happened one Winter, that a Troop of both Nations stopped in a Place where they expected Plenty of Game, and six young *Algonquins*, accompanied with as many *Iroquois* of the same Age, were detached to begin the Chase. They presently discovered some Elks, and they all prepared themselves directly to pursue them; but the *Algonquins* would not suffer the *Iroquois* to follow them, and gave them to understand that they would have enough to do to slay the Beasts they should kill. Unfortunately for these Boasters, three Days passed without their being able to bring down a single Original, though a great Number came in Sight. This bad Success mortified them, and probably was no Displeasure to the *Iroquois*, who earnestly desired to obtain Leave to go another Way, where they hoped to be more successful. Their Proposal was received by the *Algonquins*, as was formerly that by the Brothers of *David*, which the young Shepherd made

made to go and fight with the Giant *Goliab*: They told them that they were very vain to pretend to have more Skill than the *Algonquins*; it was their Business to dig the Earth, and that they should leave the Chase to those that were fit for it. The *Iroquois*, enraged at this Answer, made no Reply; but the next Night they departed privately for the Chase. The *Algonquins* were surpris'd in the Morning at not seeing them, but their Surprise was soon changed into extreme Vexation; for in the Evening of the same Day, they saw the *Iroquois* returning loaded with the Flesh of Orignals. There are no Men in the World who are more susceptible of Spite, and who carry the Effects of it further: The Result of that of the *Algonquins* was sudden: The *Iroquois* were no sooner asleep than they were all knocked on the Head. Such an Assassination could not be long a Secret; and tho' the Bodies were buried privately, the Nation was soon informed of it. At first they complain'd with Moderation, but insisted on having the Murderers punished. They were too much despis'd to obtain this Justice: The *Algonquins* would not submit to make even the least Satisfaction.

The *Iroquois* in Despair made a firm Resolution to be revenged for this scornful Treatment, which irritated them more than the Assassination of which they complain'd. They swore they would all die to the last Man, or have Satisfaction; but as they perceived themselves not in a Condition to cope with the *Algonquins*, whose Name alone kept almost all the other Nations in Awe, they departed from them a great Distance, to make a Proof of their Arms against less formidable Enemies, which they did by Way of Diversion; and when they thought themselves sufficiently inured to War, they fell suddenly on the *Algonquins*, and began a War of which we only saw the End, and which set all *Canada* in a Flame. It was continued on the Side of the *Iroquois* with a Fierceness so much the more terrible, as it was the more deliberate, and had nothing of that precipitate Fury which hinders Measures from being well taken. Moreover, the Savages do not think themselves thoroughly revenged, but by
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the utter Destruction of their Enemies, and this is still truer of the *Iroquois* than of the rest. They say commonly of them, that they come like Foxes, they attack like Lions, and fly away like Birds. Thus they seldom fail in their Attempts; and this Conduct has made them so successful, that had it not been for the *French*, there would perhaps be no Mention made at this Day of any of the Nations who have dared to oppose this Torrent. Those who suffered the most were the *Hurons*, who were engaged as Allies or Neighbours of the *Algonquins*, or because their Country lay in the Way between both. We have seen with Astonishment, one of the most numerous Nations, and the most warlike of this Continent, and the most esteemed of all for their Wisdom and Understanding, disappear almost entirely in a few Years. We may also say, that there is not a Nation in this Part of *America*, which has not suffered greatly by the *Iroquois* being obliged to take up Arms; and I know of none but the *Abenakis* in all *Canada*, whom they have not dared to disturb in their own Country: For since they have taken a Taste for War, they cannot remain long Quiet, like Lions, who by the Sight and Taste of Blood, increase their insatiable Thirst for it. One would hardly believe how far they have travelled to seek Men to fight with. Nevertheless, by being thus continually at War, as they have from Time to Time met with very great Checks, they find themselves greatly diminished; and were it not for the Prisoners which they have brought from all Parts, and the greatest Number of which they have adopted, their Situation would not be much more happy than that of the Nations they have subdued.

What has happened in this Respect to the *Iroquois*, may be said with more Reason of all the other Savages of this Country, and it is not strange if, as I have already observed, these Nations decrease every Day in a very sensible Manner. For though their Wars do not appear at first so destructive as our's, they are much more so in Proportion. The most numerous of these Nations has never had perhaps more than sixty thousand Souls, and from Time to Time there is much Blood spilt. A Sur-
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NORTH-AMERICA. 171

prize, or a *Coup de Main*, sometimes destroys a whole Town; and often the Fear of an Irruption drives a whole Canton to forsake their Country, and then these Fugitives, to avoid dying by the Sword of their Enemies, or by Torture, expose themselves to perish by Hunger and Cold in the Woods or on the Mountains, because they seldom have Leisure or Precaution to carry Provisions with them. This has happened in the last Age to a great Number of *Algonquins* and *Hurons*, of whom we could never hear any Account.

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LETTER

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L E T T E R X I I I .

*A Description of the Country up to the River of the ON-
NONTAGUES: Of the Flux and Reflux in the great
Lakes of CANADA. The Manner how the Savages
sing their War-Song. Of the God of War amongst
these People. Of the Declaration of War. Of the
Necklaces of Shells: Of the Calumet, and of their
Customs of Peace and War.*

MADAM,

FAMINE BAY, May 16.

I Have the Misfortune to be detained here by a contra-
ry Wind, which in all Appearance will last a long
Time, and keep me in one of the worst Places in the
World.

I shall amuse myself with writing to you. Whole Ar-
mies of those Pigeons they call *Tourtes* pass by here con-
tinually; if one of them would carry my Letter, you
would perhaps have News of me before I leave this Place:
But the Savages never thought of bringing up Pigeons
for this Purpose, as they say the *Arabs* and many other
Nations formerly did.

I embarked the 14th, exactly at the same Hour I ar-
rived at *Catarocoui* the Evening before. I had but six
Leagues to go to the Isle of *Cbevreuils*, (*Roe-Bucks*)
where there is a pretty Port that can receive large Barks;
but my *Canadians* had not examined their Canoe, and
the Sun had melted the Gum of it in many Places; it
took Water every where, and I was forced to lose two
whole

whole Hours to repair it in one of the Islands at the Entrance of the Lake *Ontario*. After that we sailed till ten o'Clock at Night, without being able to reach the Isle of *Chevreuil*, and we were obliged to pass the rest of the Night in the Corner of a Forest.

This was the first Time I perceived some Vines in the Wood. There were almost as many as Trees; to the Top of which they rise. I had not yet made this Remark, because I had always till then stopped in open Places; but they assure me it is the same every where quite to *Mexico*. The Stocks of these Vines are very large, and they bear many Bunches of Grapes; but the Grapes are scarcely so big as a Pea; and this must be so, as the Vines are not cut nor cultivated. When they are ripe, it is a good Manna for the Bears, who seek for them at the Tops of the highest Trees. They have, nevertheless, but the Leavings of the Birds, who have soon gathered the Vintage of whole Forests.

I set out early the next Morning, and at Eleven o'Clock I stopped at the Isle *aux Gallots*, three Leagues beyond the Isle *aux Chevres*, (of Goats,) in $43^{\circ} 33'$. I re-embarked about Noon, and made a Traverse of a League and a half, to gain the Point of the Traverse. If to come hither from the Place where I passed the Night, I had been obliged to coast the Continent, I should have had above forty Leagues to make; and we must do this when the Lake is not very calm; for if it is the least agitated, the Waves are as high as in the open Sea: It is not even possible to sail under the Coast, when the Wind blows hard from the Lake. From the Point of the Isle *aux Gallots*, we see to the West the River *Chouguen*, otherwise called the River *d'Onnontagué*, which is fourteen Leagues off. As the Lake was calm, and there was no Appearance of bad Weather, and we had a little Wind at East, which was but just enough to carry a Sail, I resolved to make directly for this River, that I might save fifteen or twenty Leagues in going round. My Conductors, who had more Experience than myself, judged it a dangerous Attempt; but, out of Complaisance,

fance, they yielded to my Opinion.—The Beauty of the Country which I quitted on the Left Hand, did not tempt me any more than the Salmon, and Numbers of other excellent Fish, which they take in six fine Rivers which are at two or three Leagues Distance one from the other*: We took then to the open Lake, and till Four o'Clock we had no Cause to repent of it; but then the Wind rose suddenly, and we would willingly have been nearer the Shore. We made towards the nearest, from which we were then three Leagues off, and we had much Trouble to make it. At length, at Seven at Night we landed at *Famine Bay*; thus named, since *M. de la Barre*, Governor General of *New France*, had like to have lost all his Army here by Hunger and Distempers, going to make War with the *Iroquois*.

It was Time for us to get to Land; for the Wind blew strong, and the Waves ran so high, that one would not have ventured to pass the *Seine* at *Paris*, over-against the *Louvre*, in such Weather. As to the rest, this Place is very fit to destroy an Army, which depends on the Chase or the Fishery for their Subsistence, besides that the Air appears to be very unhealthy here. But nothing is finer than the Woods that cover the Borders of the Lake; The white and red Oaks rise up here even to the Clouds. There is also here a Tree of the largest Kind; the Wood of which is hard, but brittle, and much resembles that of the Plane-Tree: The Leaf has five Points, is of a middle Size, a very fine Green on the Inside, and whitish without. It is called here the *Cotton-Tree*, because in a Shell nearly of the Bigness of a Horse Chesnut, it bears a Kind of Cotton; which appears, nevertheless, of no Use.—As I walked upon the Side of the Lake, I observed that it loses Ground on this Side sensibly: This is evident, because for the Space of half a League in
Depth

* The River of the *Assumption*, a League from the Point of the *Traverse*; that of *Sables*, three Leagues further; that of *la Planche*, (the Plank) two Leagues further; that of *la grande Famine* (the great Famine) two Leagues more; that of *la petite Famine* (the little Famine) one League; that of *la grosse Ecorce*, (the thick Bark) one League.

Depth the Land is much lower and more sandy than it is beyond. I have observed also in this Lake (and they assure me the same happens in all the others) a Kind of Flux and Reflux almost momentaneous; some Rocks which are pretty near the Shore being covered and uncovered several Times within the Space of a Quarter of an Hour, although the Surface of the Lake was very calm, and there was scarce any Wind. After having considered this some Time, I imagined it might proceed from Springs which are at the Bottom of the Lake, and from the Shocks of those Currents with those of the Rivers, which flow in from all Parts, and which produce these intermitting Motions.

But would you believe, Madam, that in this Season, and in 43 Degrees Latitude, there is not yet a Leaf upon the Trees, though we have sometimes as great Heat as you have in the Month of *July*. The Reason of this is, without Doubt, because the Earth, which has been covered with Snow several Months, is not yet heated enough to open the Pores of the Roots, and to make the Sap rise. For the rest, the *great* and the *little Famine* do not deserve the Name of Rivers; they are but Brooks, especially the last, but are pretty well stocked with Fish. There are here some Eagles of a prodigious Bigness. My People have just now taken down a Nest, which consisted of a Cart Load of Wood, and two Eagles which were not yet fledged, and which were bigger than the largest Hen Turkeys: They eat them, and found them very good.

I returned to *Catarocoui*; where, the Night that I staid there, I was Witness to a Scene that was something curious. About Ten or Eleven o'Clock at Night, just as I was going to Bed, I heard a Cry, which they told me was the War-Cry; and a little after, I saw a Company of *Missisaguez* enter the Fort singing. Some Years since, these Savages engaged themselves in the War which the *Iroquois* make with the *Cherokees*, a pretty numerous People, who inhabit a fine Country to the South of *Lake Erié*, and since that Time the young People are
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eager for War. Three or four of these Heroes, equipped as for a Masquerade, their Faces painted in a horrible Manner, and followed by almost all the Savages who live about the Fort, after having run thro' all their Cabins singing their War-Song to the Sound of the *Cbichikoué**, came to do the same in all the Apartments of the Fort, in Honour to the Commandant and the Officers. I confess to you, Madam, that there is something in this Ceremony which fills one with Horror the first Time one sees it; and I found by it what I had not so sensibly perceived before, as I did then, viz. that I was amongst Barbarians: Their singing has always something mournful and dismal; but here I found in it something terrifying, caused perhaps solely by the Darkness of the Night, and the Preparation of the Feast, for it is one for the Savages. This Invitation was addressed to the *Iroquois*; but they, who begin to be Losers by the War with the *Cherokees*, or who were not in a Humour for it, demanded Time to deliberate, and every one returned to his own Home.

It appears, Madam, that in these Songs they invoke the God of War, whom the *Hurons* call *Areškoui*; and the *Iroquois* call him *Agreskoué*. I know not what Name they give him in the *Algonquin* Language. But is it not something strange that in the *Greek* Word *ARES*, who is the *Mars*, or the God of War, in all the Countries where they followed the Theology of *Homer*, we find the Root from which several Terms of the *Huron* and *Iroquois* Language seem to have been derived, which relate to War? *Are-gouen* signifies to make War, and is thus declined? *Gare-go*, I make War; *Sarego*, thou makest War; *Are-go*, he makes War. For the rest, *Areškoui* is not only the *Mars* of these People; he is also their chief God; or, as they express it, the *Great Spirit*, the Creator and Master of the World, the Genius who governs every Thing: But it is chiefly for military Expeditions that they invoke him; as if the Attribute which does him the most Honour, was that of the *God of Hosts*: His Name is the War-Cry before the Battle, and in the Height of the Engagement:

VOL. I.

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Upon

* The *Cbichikoué* is a Kind of Calibash, full of Pebbles.

Upon the March also they often repeat it, by Way of Encouragement to each other, and to implore his Assistance.

To take up the Hatchet, is to declare War: Every private Person has a Right to do it, without any one having a Power to hinder him; unless it be among the *Hurons* and the *Iroquois*, with whom the Mothers of Families can declare or forbid War when they please. We shall see, in its proper Place, how far their Authority extends in these Nations. But if a Matron would engage one who has no Dependence on her, to make a Party of War, either to appease the Manes of her Husband, of her Son, or of a near Relation, or to get Prisoners to supply the Places of those in her Cabin whom Death or Captivity have deprived her of, she is obliged to make him a Present of a Collar or Necklace of Shells, and it is very seldom that such an Invitation is without Effect.

When the Business is to make a War in all the Forms between two or more Nations, the Manner of expressing it is, *to hang the Kettle upon the Fire*; and has its Origin, without Doubt, from the barbarous Custom of eating the Prisoners, and those that were killed, after they had boiled them. They say also in direct Words, that they are going to *eat a Nation*; to signify, that they will make a cruel War against it; and it seldom happens otherwise. When they would engage an Ally in a Quarrel, they send him a Porcelain; *that is to say*, a great Shell, to invite him to drink the Blood, or (according to the Meaning of the Terms they use) the Broth of the Flesh of their Enemies. After all, this Custom may be very antient; but it does not follow from hence, that these People were always Man-Eaters: It was perhaps, in the primitive Times only an allegorical Way of speaking, such as we often find even in the Scripture. The Enemies of *David* did not, as appears, make it a Custom to eat the Flesh of their Enemies, when he said, *Pf. xxvii. v. 2. When the Wicked, even mine Enemies, came upon me to eat up my Flesh.* In after Times, certain Nations that
were

were become savage and barbarous, substituted the Fact in the Room of the Figure.

I have said that the Porcelain of these Countries are Shells: They are found on the Coasts of *New England* and *Virginia*: They are channel'd pretty long, a little pointed, without Auricles, and pretty thick. The Fish that is inclosed in these Shells, is not good to eat; but the Inside of the Shell is of such a fine Varnish, and such lively Colours, that Art cannot come near it. When the Savages went quite naked, they applied them to the same Use as our first Parents did the Fig Leaves, when they saw their Nakedness, and were ashamed of it. They hung them also about their Necks, as the most precious Thing they had; and it is at this Day one of their greatest Treasures, and finest Ornaments. In a Word, they have the same Idea of them, as we have of Gold, Silver, and precious Stone; being so much the more reasonable in this, as they need only in a Manner stoop to obtain Treasures as real as our's, since all depends upon Opinion.

James Cartier speaks in his Memoirs of a Kind of Shell something like these, which he found in the Isle of *Montreal*: He calls it *Esfurni*; and asserts, that it had the Virtue to stop bleeding at the Nose. Perhaps it is the same with that we are speaking of; but they find none about the Isle of *Montreal*, and I never heard that these Shells had the Properties which *Cartier* mentions.

They are of two Sorts, or of two Colours; one white, the other Violet: The first is the most common, and perhaps for this Reason is less esteemed: The second appears to be something of a finer Grain when it is wrought. The deeper the Colour is, the more valuable it is. They make of both Sorts little cylindrical Beads: They pierce them, and string them; and it is of this that they make *Strings and Necklaces of Porcelain*. The Strings are nothing else but four or five Threads, or little Slips of Skin about a Foot long, on which the Beads are strung. The Necklaces are a Sort of Fillet, or Diadems formed

of these Strings; which are confined by Threads, which make a Texture of four, five, six, or seven Rows of Beads, and of a proportionable Length: This depends on the Importance of the Affair they treat of, and on the Dignity of the Persons to whom the Necklace is presented.

By the Mixture of Beads of different Colours they form what Figures and Characters they please, which often serve to express the Affairs in Question. Sometimes also they paint the Beads; at least it is certain they often send red Necklaces, when it concerns War. These Necklaces are preserved with Care, and they not only make a Part of the public Treasure, but they are also as it were Records and Annals which are laid up in the Cabin of the Chief: When there are in one Village two Chiefs of equal Authority, they keep the Treasure and Records by Turns for a Night; but this Night at present is a whole Year.

It is only Affairs of Consequence that are treated of by Necklaces; for those of less Importance they use Strings of Porcelain, Skins, Coverlets, Maiz, either in whole Grains or in Flour, and other such-like Things; for the public Treasure is a Receptacle for all these. When they invite a Village or a Nation to enter into a League, sometimes instead of a Necklace they send a Flag dyed in Blood; but this Custom is modern, and it is very probable that the Savages took the Notion from the Sight of the white Flags of the *French*, and the red Flags of the *English*. It is said also that we made Use of these first with them, and that they took a Fancy to dye their Flags in Blood when they intended to declare War.

The Calumet is not less sacred among these People than the Necklaces of Porcelain; if you believe them, it is derived from Heaven, for they say it is a Present which was made them by the Sun. It is more in Use with the Nations of the South and West, than those of the North and East, and it is oftener used for Peace than for War. *Calumet* is a *Norman* Word, which signifies *Reed*, and the

the Calumet of the Savages is properly the Tube of a Pipe ; but they comprehend under this Name the Pipe also, as well as its Tube. In the Calumet made for Ceremony, the Tube is very long, the Bowl of the Pipe is commonly made of a Kind of reddish Marble, very easy to work, and which is found in the Country of the *Ajouez* beyond the *Mississippi*: The Tube is of a light Wood painted of different Colours, and adorned with the Heads, Tails, and Feathers of the finest Birds, which is in all Appearance merely for Ornament. The Custom is to smoke in the Calumet when you accept it, and perhaps there is no Instance where the Agreement has been violated which was made by this Acceptation. The Savages are at least persuaded, that the Great Spirit would not leave such a Breach of Faith unpunished: If in the midst of a Battle the Enemy presents a Calumet it is allowable to refuse it, but if they receive it they must instantly lay down their Arms: There are Calumets for every Kind of Treaty. In Trade, when they have agreed upon the Exchange, they present a Calumet to confirm it, which renders it in some Manner sacred. When it concerns War, not only the Tube, but the Feathers also that adorn it, are red: Sometimes they are only set on one Side; and they say that according to the Manner in which the Feathers are disposed, they immediately know what Nation it is that presents it, and whom they intend to attack.

There is scarce any Room to doubt but that the Savages, in making those smoke in the Calumet, with whom they would trade or treat, intend to take the Sun for Witness, and in some Measure for a Guarantee of their Treaties; for they never fail to blow the Smoke towards this Planet: But that from this Practice, and the common Use of the Calumets, one should infer as some have done, that this Pipe might well be in its Origin, the *Caduceus* of *Mercury*, does not appear to me to be probable, because this *Caduceus* had no Relation to the Sun; and because in the Traditions of the Savages, we have found nothing that gives any Room to judge, that they ever had any Knowledge of the *Greek* Mythology. It

would be in my Opinion, much more natural to think that these People, having found by Experience that the Smoke of their Tobacco draws Vapours from the Brain, makes the Head clearer, rouses the Spirits, and makes us fitter to treat of Affairs, have for these Reasons introduced the Use of it in their Councils, where in Fact they have always the Pipe in their Mouths; and that after having gravely deliberated, and taken their Resolution, they thought they could never find a Symbol fitter to put a Seal to their Determinations, nor any Pledge more capable of confirming the Execution of them, than the Instrument which had so much Share in their Deliberations. Perhaps it will appear to you more simple, Madam, to say that these People could not find any Signs more natural to mark a strict Union, than to smook in the same Pipe; especially if the Smoke they draw from it is offered to a Deity who puts the Seal of Religion to it. To smoke in the same Pipe therefore in Token of Alliance, is the same Thing as to drink in the same Cup, as has been practised at all Times by many Nations. These are Customs which are too natural, to seek any Mystery in them.

The Largeness, and the Ornaments of the Calumets, which are presented to Persons of Distinction, and on important Occasions, have nothing neither that should make us search far for the Motive of it. When Men become ever so little acquainted, and have a mutual Respect, they accustom themselves to a certain Regard for one another, chiefly on Occasions of a publick Concern; or when they strive to gain the Good-will of those with whom they treat; and from thence comes the Care they take to give more Ornament to the Presents they make. For the rest, they say that the Calumet was given by the Sun to the *Panis*, a Nation settled upon the Borders of the *Missouri*, and which extends much towards *New-Mexico*. But these Savages have probably done like many other People, they have pretended something marvellous, to make a Custom esteemed, of which they were the Authors; and all that we can conclude from this Tradition is that the *Panis* were the most antient Worshipers of the Sun, or were more distinguished in their
Way

Way of Worship of it, than the other Nations of this Part of the Continent of *America*, and that they were the first who thought of making the Calumet a Symbol of Alliance. In short if the Calumet was in its Institution, the *Caduceus* of *Mercury*, it would be employed only for Peace, or for Trade; but it is certain that it is used in Treaties which concern War. These Reflexions, Madam, appeared necessary to me, to give you a perfect Knowledge of what concerns the War of the Savages, which I shall entertain you with in my Letters, till I have entirely exhausted this Subject; if they are Digressions they are not quite foreign to my Subject. Besides, a Traveller endeavours to place in the best Order he can, whatever he learns on his Route.

I am, &c.

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L E T T E R X I V .

A Description of the Country from FAMINE BAY, to the River of SABLES. Motives of the Wars of the Savages. Departure of the Warriors, and what precedes their Departure. Their Farewell. Their Arms Offensive and Defensive. The Care they take to carry with them their TUTELAR DEITIES. Particulars of the Country up to NIAGARA.

MADAM,

River of SABLES, May 19.

I AM again detained here by a contrary Wind, which arose the Moment that we were in the fairest Way to proceed. It also surpris'd us so suddenly, that we should have been in a bad Condition if we had not very luckily met with this little River to shelter us. You must allow, Madam, that there are many Difficulties and Inconveniences to get over in a Journey like this. It is very melancholy to travel sometimes two hundred Leagues without finding a House, or meeting a Man; not to be able to venture a Traverse of about two or three Leagues to save going twenty, without endangering one's Life by the Caprice of the Winds; to be detained, as it sometimes happens, whole Weeks on a Point or on a barren Shore, where if it rains you must remain under a Canoe or under a Tent: If the Wind is high, you must seek Shelter in a Wood, where you are not without Danger of being killed by the Fall of a Tree. One might shun some of these Inconveniences by building Barks, to sail up the Lakes, but to do this the Trade ought to be of more Worth.

We are here upon the Edge of the *Iroquois* Cantons: We embark'd Yesterday early in the Morning, in the
finest

finest Weather in the World ; there was not a Breath of Air, and the Lake was as smooth as Glas. About nine or ten o'Clock we passed the Mouth of the River *Onnontague*, which appears to me about an hundred Paces wide. The Lands are somewhat low, but very well wooded. Almost all the Rivers which water the *Iroquois* Cantons flow into this, the Source of which is a Lake called *Gannentaba*, on the Border of which there are some Salt Springs. About half an Hour after eleven o'Clock, a little Wind from the North East made us set up our Sail, and in a few Hours carried us to the Bay of *Goyogouins*, which is ten Leagues from *Onnontague*. All the Coast in this Space is varied with Marshes and high Lands, something sandy, and covered with very fine Trees, especially Oak, which seem as if they had been planted by the Hand.

A violent Wind from the Land, which came upon us near the Bay of *Goyogouins*, obliged us to take Shelter in it. It is one of the finest Places I ever saw. A Peninsula well wooded advances in the Middle, and forms a Kind of Theatre. On the left of the Entrance, we perceived a little Island, which hides the Entrance of a River by which the *Goyogouins* descend into the Lake. The Wind did not last, we pursued our Course, and we made three or four Leagues more. This Morning we embarked before the Rising of the Sun, and we made five or six Leagues. I know not how long the North West Wind will keep us here ; in the mean Time I shall resume my Account of the Wars of the Savages where I broke off.

It seldom happens, Madam, that these Barbarians refuse to engage in a War when they are invited to it by their Allies. They have no Need in general of Invitation to take up Arms ; the least Motive or Trifle, even nothing often induces them to it. Revenge especially : They have always some old or new Injury to revenge, for Time never in them heals these Sorts of Wounds, how light soever they may be. So that there is no depending upon Peace being solidly established between two Nations which have been Enemies a long Time. On the other Hand, the Desire of supplying the Place of the
Dead

Dead by Prisoners, or of appeasing their Spirits, the Whim of a private Person, a Dream that he explains his own Way, and other Reasons or Pretences as frivolous, are the Causes that we often see a Troop of Adventurers set out for War, who thought of nothing less the Day before.

It is true that these little Expeditions, without the Consent of the Council, are commonly of no great Consequence, and as they require no great Preparations, little Notice is taken of them ; and generally speaking, they are not much displeas'd to see the young People thus exercise themselves, and they must have very good Reasons who would oppose it. Authority is seldom employed for this Purpose, because every one is Master of his own Conduct. But they endeavour to intimidate some by false Reports, which they give out ; they solicit others under-hand, they engage the Chiefs by Presents to break the Party, which is very easy ; for to this Purpose there needs only a true Dream or a feigned one. In some Nations the last Resource is to apply to the Matrons, and this is almost always effectual ; but they never have Recourse to this but when the Affair is of great Consequence.

A War which concerns all the Nation is not concluded on so easily : They weigh with a great deal of Thought the Inconveniences and the Advantages of it ; and whilst they deliberate, they are extremely careful to avoid every Thing that would give the Enemy the least Cause to suspect that they intend to break with them. War being resolv'd on, they directly consider of the Provisions and the Equipage of the Warriors, and this does not require much Time. The Dances, Songs, Feasts, and some superstitious Ceremonies, which vary much, according to the different Nations, require much more.

He who is to command does not think of raising Soldiers till he has fasted several Days, during which he is smeared with black, has scarce any Conversation with any one, invokes Day and Night his tutelar Spirit, and above all, is very careful to observe his Dreams. Being fully persuaded, according to the presumptuous Nature of these
Savages

For I must inform you here, Madam, that what I shall say to you on this Article, I do not warrant to be the general Custom among all the Nations. But it appears certain, that on the Occasion now mentioned, they make a great many Invocations to all the Spirits good and evil; and above all to the God of War.]

All this lasts many Days, or rather is repeated many Days together: And though all the People seem entirely employed in these Feasts, each Family takes their Measures to have its Share of the Prisoners that shall be made, in order to repair their Losses, or to revenge their Slain. With this View they make Presents to the Chief, who, on his Side, gives his Word and Pledges. In Case of Want of Prisoners they ask Scalps, and this is easier to obtain. In some Places, as among the *Iroquois*, as soon as a military Expedition is resolved upon, they set on the Fire the Kettle of War, and they give Notice to their Allies to bring something for it; in doing which they declare that they approve the Undertaking, and will go Part in it.

All those who engage themselves, give to the Chief, as a Sign of their Engagement, a Bit of Wood, with their Mark. Whoever, after this, should go back from his Word, would run a Risque of his Life, at least he would be disgraced for ever. The Party being formed, the War Chief prepares a new Feast, to which all the Village must be invited; and before any Thing is touched, he says, or an Orator for him, and in his Name, “Brethren, I know that I am not yet a Man, but you know, nevertheless, that I have seen the Enemy near enough. We have been slain, the Bones of such and such an one remain yet uncovered, they cry out against us, we must satisfy them: They were Men; how could we forget them so soon, and remain so long quiet upon our Mats? In short, the Spirit that is interested in my Glory has inspired me to revenge them. Young Men take Courage, dress your Hair, paint your Faces, fill your Quivers, and make our Forests echo with your Songs of War; let us relieve
“ the

“ the Cares of our Dead, and inform them that they are
 “ going to be revenged.”

After this Discourse, and the Applauses that never fail to follow it, the Chief advances into the midst of the Assembly with his Fighting-Club or Head-breaker in his Hand, and sings; all his Soldiers answer him singing, and swear to support him well, or to die in the Attempt. All this is accompanied with very expressive Gestures, to make one understand that they will not fly from the Enemy. But it is to be remarked, that no Soldier drops any Expression that denotes the least Dependence. They only promise to act with a great deal of Union and Harmony. On the other Hand, the Engagement they take, requires great Returns from the Chiefs. For Instance, every Time that in the public Dances, a Savage, striking his Hatchet upon a Post set up on Purpose, puts the Assembly in Mind of his brave Actions, as it always happens, the Chief under whose Conduct he performed them, is obliged to make him a Present; at least this is the Custom among some Nations.

The Songs are followed by Dances: Sometimes it is only walking with a proud Step, but keeping Time; at other Times they have pretty lively Motions, representing the Operations of a Campaign, and always keeping Time. At length the Feast puts an End to the Ceremony. The War-Chief is only a Spectator of it, with a Pipe in his Mouth: It is the same Thing commonly in all their Feasts of Preparation, that he who gives them, touches nothing. The following Days, and till the Departure of the Warriors, there pass many Things which are not worth Notice, and which are not constantly practised. But I must not forget a Custom which is singular enough, and which the *Iroquois* never dispense with: It appears to have been invented to discover those who have Sense, and know how to be Masters of themselves; for these People whom we treat as Barbarians, cannot conceive that any Man can have true Courage if he is not Master of his Passions, and if he cannot bear the highest Provocations: This is their Way of Proceeding.

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The oldest of the Military Troop affront the young People in the most injurious Manner they can think of, especially those who have never yet seen their Enemy: They throw hot Coals upon their Heads, they make them the sharpest Reproaches, they load them with the most injurious Expressions, and carry this Game to the greatest Extremities. This must be endured with a perfect Insensibility: To shew on these Occasions the least Sign of Impatience, would be enough to be judged unworthy of bearing Arms for ever. But when it is practised by People of the same Age, as it often happens, the Aggressor must be well assured that he has nothing to account for himself, otherwise when the Game is done, he would be obliged to make Amends for the Insult by a Present: I say, when the Game is done; for all the Time it lasts, they must suffer every Thing without being angry; though the Joke is often carried so far as to throw Firebrands at their Heads, and to give them great Blows with a Cudgel.

As the Hope of being cured of their Wounds, if they have the Misfortune to receive any, does not contribute a little to engage the bravest to expose themselves to the greatest Dangers, after what I have related, they prepare Drugs, about which their Jugglers are employed. I shall tell you another Time what Sort of People these Jugglers are. All the Village being assembled, one of these Quacks declares that he is going to communicate to the Roots and Plants, of which he has made a good Provision, the Virtue of healing all Sorts of Wounds, and even of restoring Life to the Dead. Immediately he begins to sing, other Jugglers answer him; and they suppose that during the Concert, which you may imagine is not very harmonious, and which is accompanied with many Grimaces of the Actors, the healing Virtue is communicated to the Drugs. The principal Juggler proves them afterwards: He begins by making his Lips bleed, he applies his Remedy; the Blood, which the Impostor takes Care to suck in dexterously, ceases to run, and they cry out a *Miracle!* After this he takes a dead Animal, he gives the Company Time enough to be well assured that he is dead, then by the Means of a Pipe which he has thrust under the Tail, he causes it to move, in blowing

ing some Herbs into its Mouth, and their Cries of Admiration are redoubled. Lastly, all the Troop of Jugglers go round the Cabins singing the Virtue of their Medicines. These Artifices at the Bottom do not impose on any one; but they amuse the Multitude, and Custom must be followed.

There is another Custom peculiar to the *Miamis*, and perhaps to some Nations in the Neighbourhood of *Louisiana*. I had these Particulars from a *Frenchman*, who was a Witness of them. After a solemn Feast, they placed, said he, on a Kind of Altar, some Pagods made with Bear Skins, the Heads of which were painted green. All the Savages passed this Altar bowing their Knees, and the Jugglers lead the Van, holding in their Hands a Sack which contained all the Things which they use in their Conjurations. They all strove to exceed each other in their Contorsions, and as any one distinguished himself in this Way, they applauded him with great Shouts. When they had thus paid their first Homage to the Idol, all the People danced in much Confusion, to the Sound of a Drum and a *Cbicbicoué*; and during this Time the Jugglers made a Show of bewitching some of the Savages, who seemed ready to expire: Then putting a certain Powder upon their Lips, they made them recover. When this Farce had lasted some Time, he who presided at the Feast, having at his Sides two Men and two Women, ran through all the Cabins to give the Savages Notice that the Sacrifices were going to begin. When he met any one in his Way, he put both his Hands on his Head, and the Person met embraced his Knees. The Victims were to be Dogs, and one heard on every Side the Cries of these Animals, whose Throats they cut; and the Savages, who howled with all their Strength, seemed to imitate their Cries. As soon as the Flesh was dressed, they offered it to the Idols; then they eat it, and burnt the Bones. All this while the Jugglers never ceased raising the pretended dead, and the whole ended by the Distribution that was made to these Quacks, of whatever was found most to their Liking in all the Village.

From the Time that the Resolution is taken to make War, till the Departure of the Warriors, they sing their
War-

War-Songs every Night: The Days are passed in making Preparations. They depute some Warriors to go to sing the War-Song amongst their Neighbours and Allies, whom they engage beforehand by secret Negotiations. If they are to go by Water, they build, or repair their Canoes: If it is Winter they furnish themselves with Snow Shoes and Sledges. The Raquets which they must have to walk on the Snow are about three Feet long, and about fifteen or sixteen Inches in their greatest Breadth. Their Shape is oval, excepting the End behind, which terminates in a Point; little Sticks placed across at five or six Inches from each End, serve to strengthen them, and the Piece which is before is in the Shape of a Bow, where the Foot is fixed, and tied with Leather Thongs. The Binding of the Raquet is made of Slips of Leather about the sixth Part of an Inch wide, and the Circumference is of a light Wood hardened by Fire. To walk well with these Raquets, they must turn their Knees a little inwards, and keep their Legs wide asunder. It is some Trouble to accustom one's self to it, but when a Person is used to it, he walks with as much Ease and as little Fatigue as if he had nothing on his Feet. It is not possible to use the Raquets with our common Shoes, we must take those of the Savages, which are a Kind of Socks, made of Skins dried in the Smoke, folded over at the End of the Foot, and tied with Strings. The Sledges which serve to carry the Baggage, and in Case of Need the sick and wounded, are two little Boards, very thin, about half a Foot broad each Board, and six or seven Feet long. The fore Part is a little bent upwards, and the Sides are bordered by little Bands, to which they fasten Straps to bind what is upon the Sledge. However loaded these Carriages may be, a Savage can draw them with Ease by the Help of a long Band of Leather, which he puts over his Breast, and which they call Collars. They draw Burdens this Way, and the Mothers use them to carry Children with their Cradles, but then it is over their Foreheads that the Band is fixed.

All Things being ready, and the Day of departure being come, they take their Leave with great Demonstration of real Tendernefs. Every Body desires something that has been used by the Warriors, and in Return give

them some Pledges of their Friendship, and Assurances of a perpetual Remembrance. They scarce enter any Cabin, but they take away their Robe to give them a better, at least one as good. Lastly, they all meet at the Cabin of the Chief: They find him armed as he was the first Day he spoke to them; and as he always appeared in publick from that Day. They then paint their Faces, every one according to his own Fancy, and all of them in a very frightful Manner. The Chief makes them a short Speech; then he comes out of his Cabin, singing his Song of Death: They all follow him in a Line, keeping a profound Silence, and they do the same every Morning when they renew their March. Here the Women go before with the Provisions; and when the Warriors come up with them, they give them their Clothes, and remain almost naked, at least as much as the Season will permit.

Formerly the Arms of these People were Bows and Arrows, and a Kind of Javelin; which, as well as their Arrows, was armed with a Point of Bone wrought in different Shapes. Besides this, they had what they call the Head-breaker: This is a little Club of very hard Wood, the Head of which is round, and has one Side with an Edge to cut. The greatest Part have no defensive Arms; but when they attack an Intrenchment, they cover their whole Body with little light Boards: Some have a sort of Cuirafs made of Rushes, or small pliable Sticks, pretty well wrought: They had also Defences for their Arms and Thighs of the same Matter. But as this Armour was not found to be Proof against Fire Arms, they have left it off, and use nothing in its Stead. The Western Savages always make Use of Bucklers of Bulls Hides, which are very light, and which a Musket-Ball will not pierce. It is something surprizing that the other Nations do not use them.

When they make Use of our Swords, which is very seldom, they use them like Spontoons; but when they can get Guns, and Powder, and Ball, they lay aside their Bows and Arrows, and shoot very well. We have often had Reason to repent of letting them have any Fire Arms; but it was not we who first did it: The *Iroquois* having got some of the *Dutch*, then in Possession of *New York*,

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we were under a Necessity of giving the same to our Allies. These Savages have a Kind of Ensigns to know one another, and to rally by : These are little Pieces of Bark cut round, which they put on the Top of a Pole, and on which they have traced the Mark of their Nation, and of their Village. If the Party is numerous, each Family or Tribe has its Ensign with its distinguishing Mark : Their Arms are also distinguished with different Figures, and sometimes with a particular Mark of the Chief.

But what the Savages would still less forget than their Arms, and which they have the greatest Care about they are capable of, are their *Manitous*. I shall speak of them more largely in another Place : It suffices to say here, that they are the Symbols under which every one represents his familiar Spirit. They put them into a Sack, painted of various Colours ; and often, to do Honour to the Chief, they place this Sack in the fore Part of his Canoe. If there are too many *Manitous* to be contained in one Sack, they distribute them into several, which are entrusted to the Keeping of the Lieutenant and the Elders of each Family : To these they join the Presents which have been made them in order to obtain Prisoners, together with the Tongues of all the Animals killed during the Campaign, and which are to be sacrificed to the Genii at their Return.

In their Marches by Land, the Chief carries his Sack himself, which he calls his *Mat* ; but he may ease himself of this Burthen, by giving it to any one he chuses ; and he need not fear that any Person should refuse to relieve him, because this carries with it a Mark of Distinction. This is, as it were, a Right of Reversion to the Command, in Case the Chief and his Lieutenant should die during the Campaign.

But whilst I am writing to you, Madam, I am arrived in the River of *Niagara*, where I am going to find good Company, and where I shall stay some Days. I departed from the River of *Sables* the 21st, before Sun-rise ; but the Wind continuing against us, we were obliged at Ten o'Clock to enter the Bay of the *Tsonnontbouans*. Half Way from the River of *Sables* to this Bay, there is a lit-

tle River, which I would not have failed to have visited, if I had been sooner informed of its Singularity, and of what I have just now learnt on my arriving here.

They call this River *Casconbiagon*: It is very narrow, and of little Depth at its Entrance into the Lake. A little higher, it is one hundred and forty Yards wide, and they say it is deep enough for the largest Vessels. Two Leagues from its Mouth, we are stopped by a Fall which appears to be sixty Feet high, and one hundred and forty Yards wide. A Musket Shot higher, we find a second of the same Width, but not so high by two thirds. Half a League further, a third, one hundred Feet high, good Measure, and two hundred Yards wide. After this, we meet with several Torrents; and after having sailed fifty Leagues further, we perceive a fourth Fall, every Way equal to the third. The Course of this River is one hundred Leagues; and when we have gone up it about sixty Leagues, we have but ten to go by Land, taking to the Right, to arrive at the *Obio*, called *La belle Riviere*: The Place where we meet with it, is called *Ganos*; where an Officer worthy of Credit *, and the same from whom I learnt what I have just now mentioned, assured me that he had seen a Fountain, the Water of which is like Oil, and has the Taste of Iron. He said also, that a little further there is another Fountain exactly like it, and that the Savages make Use of its Water to appease all Manner of Pains.

The Bay of the *Tsonnonthouans* is a charming Place: A pretty River winds here between two fine Meadows, bordered with little Hills, between which we discover Vallies which extend a great Way, and the whole forms the finest Prospect in the World, bounded by a great Forest of high Trees; but the Soil appears to me to be something light and sandy.

We continued our Course at half an Hour past One, and we sailed till Ten o'Clock at Night. We intended to go into a little River which they called *La Riviere aux Bœufs*, (*Ox River*); but we found the Entrance shut up by Sands, which often happens to the little Rivers which
run

* *M. de Joncaire*, at present a Captain in the Troops of *New France*.

run into the Lakes, because they bring down with them much Sand; and when the Wind comes from the Lakes, these Sands are stopped by the Waves, and form by Degrees a Bank so high and so strong, that these Rivers cannot break through it, unless it be when their Waters are swelled by the melting of the Snow.

I was therefore obliged to pass the rest of the Night in my Canoe, where I was forced to endure a pretty sharp Frost. Indeed one could scarcely here perceive the Shrubs begin to bud: All the Trees were as bare as in the Midst of Winter. We departed from thence at half an Hour past Three in the Morning, the 22d, being *Ascension-Day*, and I went to say Mass at Nine o'Clock in what they call *le Grand Marais* (*the great Marsh*). This is a Bay much like that of the *Tsonnontbouans*, but the Land here appeared to me not to be so good. About two in the Afternoon we entered into the River *Niagara*, formed by the great Fall which I shall mention presently; or rather, it is the River *St. Laurence*, which comes out of the Lake *Erie*, and passes through the Lake *Ontario*, after a Stright of fourteen Leagues. They call it the River of *Niagara* from the Fall, and this Space is about six Leagues. We go South at the Entrance. When we have made three Leagues, we find upon the Left Hand some Cabins of *Iroquois Tsonnontbouans*, and some *Mississaguez*, as at *Catarocoui*. The *Sieur Joncaire*, a Lieutenant in our Troops, has also a Cabin here, to which they give beforehand the Name of *Fort **; for they say that in Time it will be changed into a real Fortrefs.

I found here several Officers who must return in a few Days to *Quebec*, which obliges me to close this Letter, that I may send it by this Opportunity. As for myself, I foresee I shall have Time enough after their Departure to write you another; and the Place itself will furnish me with enough to fill it, with that which I shall learn farther from the Officers I have mentioned.

I am, &c.

R 3

LETTER

* The Fort has been built since at the Entrance of the River *Niagara*, on the same Side, and exactly in the Place where *M. de Denonville* had built one, which did not subsist a long Time. There are also here the Beginnings of a *French Village*.

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L E T T E R X V .

What passed between the Tsonnonthouans and the English, on the Occasion of our Settlement at Niagara. The Fire-Dance: A Story on this Occasion. A Description of the Fall of Niagara.

MADAM, FALL OF NIAGARA, May 26.

I Have already had the Honour to inform you that we have here a Project of a settlement. To understand well the Occasion of it, you must know, that by Virtue of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, the *English* pretend to have a Right to the Sovereignty of all the Country of the *Iroquois*, and of Consequence to have no Bounds on that Side but the Lake *Ontario*. Nevertheless, it was conceived that if their Pretensions took Place, it would soon be in their Power to settle themselves strongly in the Centre of the *French* Colony, or at least to ruin their Trade entirely. It was therefore thought proper to guard against this Inconvenience; nevertheless, without any Infringement of the Treaty: And there was no Method found better than to seat ourselves in a Place which should secure to us the free Communication of the Lakes, and where the *English* had no Power to oppose our Settlement. The Commission for this Purpose was given to *M. de Joncaire*; who having been a Prisoner in his Youth amongst the *Tsonnonthouans*, gained so much the Favour of these Savages, that they adopted him: And even in the greatest Heat of the Wars which we have had against them, in which he served very honourably, he has always enjoyed the Privileges of his Adoption.

As soon as *M. de Joncaire* received his Orders for the Execution of the Project I have mentioned, he went to

the *Tsonnontbouans* and assenbled the Chiefs; and after having assured them that he had no greater Pleasure in the World than to live among his Brethren, he added also, that he would visit them much oftener, if he had a Cabin among them, where he might retire when he wanted to enjoy his Liberty. They replied, that they had never ceased to look upon him as one of their Children; that he might live in any Place, and that he might chuse the Place that he judged most convenient. He required no more: He came directly here, fixed upon a Spot by the Side of the River that terminates the Canton of the *Tsonnontbouans*, and built a Cabin upon it. The News was soon carried to *New York*, and caused there so much the more Jealousy, as the *English* had never been able to obtain in any of the *Iroquois* Cantons what was now granted to the *Sieur Joncaire*.

They complained in a haughty Manner and their Complaints were supported by Presents, which brought the other four Cantons into their Interest: But this signified nothing, because the *Iroquois* Cantons are independent of each other, and very jealous of this Independence: It was therefore necessary to gain the *Tsonnontbouans*, and the *English* left no Means untried for this Purpose; but they soon perceived that they should never succeed in dislodging *M. de Joncaire* from *Niagara*. Then they reduced their Terms to this Request, that at least they might be permitted to have a Cabin in the same Place. "Our Land is in Peace, (said the *Tsonnontbouans* to them) the *French* and you cannot live together without disturbing it: Furthermore, (added they) it is of no Consequence that *M. de Joncaire* dwells here; he is a Child of the Nation; he enjoys his Right, and we have no Right to deprive him of it."

We must allow, Madam, that there is scarce any Thing but a Zeal for the public Good that can engage an Officer to live in a Country like this. It is impossible to see one more savage and frightful. On one Side we see under our Feet, and as it were in the Bottom of an Abyss, a great River indeed; but which, in this Place resembles more a Torrent by its Rapidity, and by the Whirlpools

pools which a thousand Rocks make in it, through which it has much Difficulty to find a Passage, and by the Foam with which it is always covered. On the the other Side, the View is covered by three Mountains set one upon another, the last of which loses itself in the Clouds; and the Poets might well have said, that it was in this Place the *Titans* would have scaled Heaven. In short, which Way soever you turn your Eyes, you do not discover any Thing but what inspires a secret Horror.

It is true that we need not go far to see a great Change. Behind these wild and uninhabitable Mountains we see a rich Soil, magnificent Forests, pleasant and fruitful Hills: We breathe, a pure Air, and enjoy a temperate Climate, between two Lakes, the least * of which is two hundred and fifty Leagues in Compass.

It appears to me, that if we had had the Precaution to have secured ourselves early by a good Fortrefs, and by a moderate peopling of a Post of this Importance, all the Forces of the *Iroquois* and the *English* joined together, would not be capable at this Time of driving us out of it, and that we should be ourselves in a Condition to give Laws to the first, and to hinder the greatest Part of the Savages from carrying their Peltry to the second, as they do with Impunity every Day.

The Company which I found here with *M. de Joncaire*, was composed of the Baron *de Longueil*, the King's Lieutenant at *Montreal*, and the Marquis *de Cavagnal*, Son of the Marquis *de Vaudreuil*, the present Governor General of *New France*, and of *M. de Senneville*, Captain, and the Sjeur *de la Chauvignerie*, Ensign, and the King's Interpreter for the *Iroquois* Language. These Gentlemen are going to negotiate an Accommodation with the Canton of *Onnontagué*, and had Orders to visit the Settlement of *M. de Joncaire*, with which they were very well satisfied. The *Tsonnontbouans* renewed to them the Promise they had made to support him. This was done in a Council; where *M. de Joncaire*, as I have been told,
spoke

* The Lake *Ontario*. The Lake *Erié* is three hundred Leagues in Compass.

spoke with all the Sense of the most sensible *Frenchman*, and with the most sublime *Iroquois* Eloquence.

The Night before their Departure, *that is to say*, the 24th, a *Missisagué* gave us an Entertainment which is something singular. He was quite naked when it began; and when we entered the Cabin of this Savage, we found a fire lighted, near which a Man beat (singing at the same Time) upon a Kind of Drum: another shook, without ceasing his *Cbichikoué*, and sung also. This lasted two Hours, till we were quite tired of it; for they said always the same Thing, or rather they formed Sounds that were but half articulate, without any Variation. We begged of the Master of the Cabin to put an End to this Prelude, and it was with much Reluctance he gave us this Mark of his Complaisance. Then we saw appear five or six Women; who placed themselves Side by Side on the same Line, as close as they could to each other, with their Arms hanging down, sung and danced, *that is to say*, without breaking the Line, they made some Steps in Cadence, sometimes forward and sometimes backward. When they had continued this about a Quarter of an Hour, they put out the Fire, which alone gave Light to the Cabin; and then we saw nothing but a Savage, who had in his Mouth a lighted Coal, and who danced. The Symphony of the Drum and the *Cbichikoué* still continued. The Women renewed from Time to Time their Dances and their Song. The Savage danced all the Time; but as he was only to be distinguished by the faint Gloom of the lighted Coal which he had in his Mouth, he appeared like a Spectre, and made a horrible Sight. This Mixture of Dances, Songs, Instruments, and the Fire of the Coal which still kept lighted, had something odd and savage, which amused us for half an Hour; after which we went out of the Cabin, but the Sport continued till Day-light. And this is all, Madam, that I have seen of the *Fire-Dance*. I could never learn what passed the rest of the Night. The Musick, which I heard still some Time, was more tolerable at a Distance than near. The Contrast of the Voices of the Men and Women, at a certain Distance, had an Effect that was pretty enough; and
one

one may say, that if the Women Savages had a good Manner of singing, it would be a Pleasure to hear them sing.

I had a great Desire to know how a Man could hold a lighted Coal so long in his Mouth, without burning it, and without its being extinguished; but all that I could learn of it was, that the Savages know a Plant which secures the Part that is rubbed with it from being burnt, and that they would never communicate the Knowledge of it to the *Europeans*. We know that Garlick and Onions will produce the same Effect, but then it is only for a short Time *. On the other Hand, how could this Coal continue so long on Fire? However this may be, I remember to have read in the Letters of one of our antient Missionaries of *Canada* something like this, and which he had from another Missionary who was a Witness thereof. This last shewed him one Day a Stone, which a Juggler had thrown into the Fire in his Presence, and left it there till it was thoroughly heated; after which, growing, as it were furious, he took it between his Teeth, and carrying it all the Way thus, he went to see a sick Person, whither the Missionary followed him. Upon entering the Cabin, he threw the Stone upon the Ground; and the Missionary having taken it up, he found printed in it the Marks of the Teeth of the Savage, in whose Mouth he perceived no Marks of Burning. The Missionary does not say what the Juggler did afterwards for the Relief of the sick Person. — The following is a Fact of the same Kind, which comes from the same Source, and of which you may make what Judgment you please.

A *Huron* Woman, after a Dream, real or imaginary, was taken with a swimming of the Head, and almost a general Contraction of the Sinews. As from the Beginning of this Distemper she never slept without a great Number of Dreams, which troubled her much, she guessed there was some Mystery in it, and took it into her Head that she should be cured by Means of a Feast; of which she regulated herself the Ceremonies, according to what she remembered, as she said, of what she had seen practised

* They say that the Leaf of the Plant of the Anemony of *Canada*, though of a caustick Nature in itself, has this Virtue.

practised before. She desired that they would carry her directly to the Village where she was born; and the Elders whom she acquainted with her Design, exhorted all the People to accompany her. In a Moment her Cabin was filled with People, who came to offer their Services: She accepted them, and instructed them what they were to do; and immediately the strongest put her into a Basket, and carried her by Turns, singing with all their Strength.

When it was known she was near the Village, they assembled a great Council, and out of Respect they invited the Missionaries to it, who in vain did every Thing in their Power to dissuade them from a Thing in which they had Reason to suspect there was as much Superstition as Folly. They listened quietly to all they could say on this Subject; but when they had done speaking, one of the Chiefs of the Council undertook to refute their Discourse: He could not effect this; but setting aside the Missionaries, he exhorted all the People to acquit themselves exactly of all that should be ordered, and to maintain the antient Customs. Whilst he was speaking, two Messengers from the sick Person entered the Assembly, and brought News that she would soon arrive; and desired, at her Request, that they would send to meet her two Boys and two Girls, dressed in Robes and Necklaces, with such Presents as she named; adding, that she would declare her Intentions to these four Persons. All this was performed immediately; and a little Time after, the four young Persons returned with their Hands empty, and almost naked, the sick Woman having obliged them to give her every Thing, even to their Robes. In this Condition they entered into the Council, which was still assembled, and there explained the Demands of this Woman: They contained twenty-two Articles; amongst which was a blue Coverlet, which was to be supplied by the Missionaries; and all these Things were to be delivered immediately: They tried all Means to obtain the Coverlet, but were constantly refused, and they were obliged to go without it. As soon as the sick Woman had received the other Presents, she entered the Village, carried in the Manner as before. In the Evening a public
Cryer

Cryer gave Notice, by her Order, to keep Fires lighted in all the Cabins, because she was to visit them all; which she did as soon as the Sun was set, supported by two Men, and followed by all the Village. She passed through the Midst of all the Fires, her Feet and her Legs being naked, and felt no Pain; whilst her two Supporters, though they kept as far from the Fires as they possibly could, suffered much by them; for they were to lead her thus through more than three hundred Fires. As for the sick Woman, they never heard her complain but of Cold; and at the End of this Course, she declared that she found herself eased.

The next Day, at Sun-rise, they began, by her Order still, a Sort of Bacchanal, which lasted three Days: The first Day the People ran through all the Cabins, breaking and oversetting every Thing; and by Degrees, as the Noise and Hurly-burly encreased, the sick Woman assured them that her Pains diminished. The two next Days were employed in going over all the Hearths she had passed before, and she proposing her Desires in enigmatical Terms; they were to find them out by Guess, and accomplish them directly. There were some of them horribly obscene. The fourth Day the sick Woman made a second Visit to all the Cabins, but in a different Manner from the first: She was in the Midst of two Bands of Savages, who marched in a Row with a sad and languishing Air, and kept a profound Silence: They suffered no Person to come in her Way; and those who were at the Head of her Escort, took Care to drive all those away that they met. As soon as the sick Woman was entered into a Cabin, they made her sit down, and they placed themselves round her: She sighed, and gave an Account of her Sufferings in a very affecting Tone, and made them to understand that her perfect Cure depended on the Accomplishment of her Desire, which she did not explain, but they must guess: Every one did the best they could; but this Desire was very complicated: It contained many Things: As they named any one, they were obliged to give it her, and in general she never went out of a Cabin till she had got every Thing in it. When she saw that they could not guess right, she expressed

pressed herself more plainly; and when they had guessed all, she caused every Thing to be restored which she had received. Then they no longer doubted but that she was cured. They made a Feast, which consisted in Cries, or rather frightful Howlings, and in all Sorts of extravagant Actions. Lastly, she returned Thanks; and the better to shew her Acknowledgment, she visited a third Time all the Cabins, but without any Ceremony.

The Missionary who was present at this ridiculous Scene says, that she was not entirely cured, but was much better than before: Nevertheless, a strong and healthy Person would have been killed by this Ceremony. This Father took Care to observe to them, that her pretended Genius had promised her a perfect Cure, and had not kept his Word. They replied, that in such a great Number of Things commanded, it was very difficult not to have omitted one. He expected that they would have insisted principally on the Refusal of the Coverlet; and in Fact they did just mention it; but they added, that after this Refusal the Genius appeared to the sick Woman, and assured her that this Incident should not do her any Prejudice, because as the *French* were not the natural Inhabitants of the Country, the Genii had no Power over them. — But to return to my Journey.

When our Officers went away, I ascended those frightful Mountains I spoke of, to go to the famous Fall of *Niagara*, above which I was to embark. This Journey is three Leagues: It was formerly five, because they passed to the other Side of the River; *that is to say*, to the West, and they did not re-imbark but at two Leagues above the Fall: But they have found on the Left, about half a Mile from this Cataract, a Bay where the Current is not perceivable, and of Consequence where any one may embark without Danger. My first Care, at my Arrival, was to visit the finest Cascade perhaps in the World; but I directly found the Baron *de la Hontan* was mistaken, both as to its Height and its Form, in such a Manner as to make me think he had never seen it. It is certain that if we measure its Height by the three Mountains which we must first pass over, it is not much less than

than the six hundred Feet which the Map of *M. Delisle* gives it; who, without Doubt, did not advance this Paradox, but on the Credit of *Baron de la Hontan* and Father *Henepin*. But after I arrived at the Top of the third Mountain, I observed that in the Space of three Leagues, which I travelled afterwards to this Fall of Water, tho' we must sometimes ascend, we descended still more; and this is what these Travellers do not seem to have well considered. As we cannot approach the Cascade but by the Side, nor see it but in Profile, it is not easy to measure it with Instruments: We tried to do it with a long Cord fastened to a Pole; and after we had often tried this Way, we found the Depth but one hundred and fifteen, or one hundred and twenty Feet: But we could not be sure that the Pole was not stopped by some Rock which juts out; for although it was always drawn up wet, as also the End of the Cord to which it was fastened this proves nothing, because the Water which falls from the Mountain rebounds very high in a Foam. As for myself, after I had viewed it from all the Places where one may examine it most easily, I judged one could not give it less than one hundred and forty, or one hundred and fifty Feet. As to its Shape, it is in the Form of a Horse-shoe, and about four hundred Paces in Circumference; but exactly in the Middle it is divided into two by a very narrow Island about half a Mile long, which comes to a Point here. But these two Parts do soon unite again: That which was on my Side, and which is only seen in Profile, has several Points which jut out; but that which I saw in Front, appeared to me very smooth. The *Baron de la Hontan* adds to this a Torrent which comes from the West; but if this was not invented by the Author, we must say that in the Time of the Snow's melting, the Waters come to discharge themselves here by some Gutter.

You may very well suppose, Madam, that below this Fall the River is for a long Way affected by this rude Shock, and indeed it is not navigable but at three Leagues Distance, and exactly at the Place where *M. de Joncaire* is situated. One would imagine it should not be less navigable higher up, since the River falls here perpendicularly

cularly its whole Breadth. But besides this Isle, which divides it in two, several Shelves scattered here and there at the Sides of, and above this Island; much abate the Rapidity of the Current. It is nevertheless so strong, notwithstanding all this, that ten or twelve *Outaouais* endeavouring one Day to cross the Island; to shun some *Iroquois* who pursued them, were carried away with the Current down the Precipice, in Spite of whatever Struggles they could make to avoid it.

I have been told that the Fish that are brought into this Current, are killed thereby, and that the Savages settled in these Parts make an Advantage of it; but I saw no such Thing. I have also been assured, that the Birds that attempted to fly over it, were sometimes drawn into the Vortex which was formed in the Air by the Violence of this Torrent, but I observed quite the contrary. I saw some little Birds flying about, directly over the Fall, which came away without any Difficulty. This Sheet of Water is received upon a Rock; and two Reasons persuade me that it has found here, or perhaps has made here by Length of Time, a Cavern which has some Depth. The first is, that the Noise it makes is very dead, and like Thunder at a Distance. It is scarcely to be heard at *M. de Joncaire's* Cabin, and perhaps also what one hears there, is only the dashing of the Water against the Rocks, which fill the Bed of the River up to this Place: and the rather, because above the Cataract the Noise is not heard near so far. The second Reason is, that nothing has ever re-appeared (as they say) of all that has fallen into it, not even the Wreck of the Canoe of the *Outaouais* I mentioned just now. However this may be, *Ovid* gives us a Description of such a Cataract, which he says is in the delightful Valley of *Tempe*. The Country about *Niagara* is far from being so fine, but I think its Cataract is much finer *.

For

* Est nemus Hæmoniaë prærupta quod undiq; claudit
Sylva, vocant Tempe, per quæ Peneus ab imo
Effusus Pindo spumosis volvitur undis.
Dejectisque gravi tenues agitantia Fumos
Nubila conduit, summisque aspergine sylvas
Impluit, & sonitu plusquam vicina fatigat.

For the rest, I perceived no Mist over it, but from behind. At a Distance one would take it for Smoke; and it would deceive any Person that should come in Sight of the Island, without knowing before-hand that there is such a surprizing Cataract in this Place. The Soil of the three Leagues which I travell'd on Foot to come here, and which they call the Portage of *Niagara*, does not appear good: It is also badly wooded; and one cannot go ten Steps without walking upon an Ant-Hill, or without meeting with Rattle-Snakes.—I believe, Madam, that I told you that the Savages eat as a Dainty the Flesh of these Reptiles; and, in general, Serpents do not cause any Horror to these People: There is no Animal, the form of which is oftener marked upon their Faces, and on other Parts of their Bodies, and they never hunt them but to eat. The Bones and the Skins of Serpents are also much used by the Jugglers and Sorcerers, to perform their Delusions, and they make themselves Fillets and Girdles of their Skins. It is also true, that they have the Secret of enchanting them, or, to speak more properly, of benumbing them; so that they take them alive, handle them, and put them in their Bosoms, without receiving any Hurt; and this helps to confirm the high Opinion these People have of them.

I was going to close this Letter, when I was informed that we should not depart To-morrow, as I expected. I must bear it with Patience, and make good Use of the Time. I shall therefore proceed on the Article of the Wars of the Savages, which will not be soon finished.—As soon as all the Warriors are embarked, the Canoes at first go a little Way, and range themselves close together upon a Line: Then the Chief rises up, and holding a *Chibicoue* in his Hand, he thunders out his Song of War, and his Soldiers answer him by a treble *Hi*, drawn with all their Strength from the Bottom of their Breasts. The Elders and the Chiefs of the Council who remain upon the Shore, exhort the Warriors to behave well, and especially not to suffer themselves to be surpris'd. Or all the Advice that can be given to a Savage, this is the most necessary, and that of which in general he makes the least Benefit. This Exhortation does not interrupt the Chief,

who continues singing. Lastly, the Warriors conjure their Relations and Friends not to forget them. Then sending forth all together hideous Howlings, they set off directly and row with such Speed that they are soon out of Sight.

The *Hurons* and the *Iroquois* do not use the *Cbichicoué*, but they give them to their Prisoners: So that these Instruments, which amongst others is an Instrument of War, seem amongst them to be a Mark of Slavery. The Warriors seldom make any short Marches, especially when the Troop is numerous. But on the other Hand, they take Prefages from every Thing; and the Jugglers, whose Business it is to explain them, hasten or retard the Marches at their Pleasure. Whilst they are not in a suspected Country they take no Precaution, and frequently one shall scarce find two or three Warriors together, each taking his own Way to hunt; but how far soever they stray from the Route, they all return punctually to the Place, and at the Hour appointed for their Rendezvous.

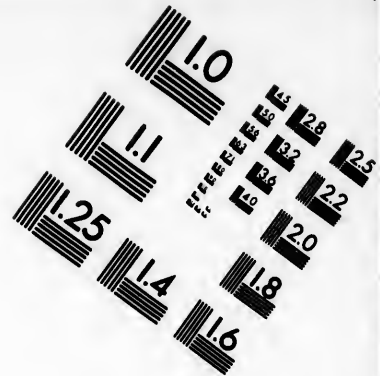
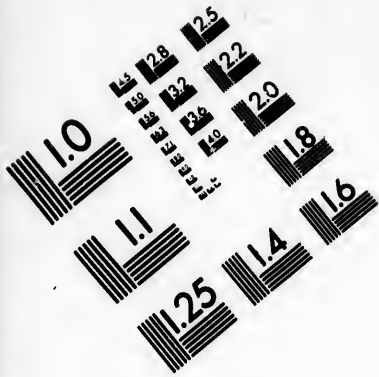
They encamp a long Time before Sun-set, and commonly they leave before the Camp a large Space surrounded with Palisades, or rather a Sort of Lattice, on which they place their *Manitous*, turned towards the Place they are going to. They invoke them for an Hour, and they do the same every Morning before they decamp. After this they think they have nothing to fear, they suppose that the Spirits take upon them to be Centinels, and all the Army sleeps quietly under their supposed Safeguard. Experience does not undeceive these Barbarians, nor bring them out of their presumptuous Confidence. It has its Source in an Indolence and Laziness which nothing can conquer.

Every one is an Enemy in the Way of the Warriors; but nevertheless, if they meet any of their Allies, or any Parties nearly equal in Force of People with whom they have no Quarrel, they make Friendship with each other. If the Allies they meet are at War with the same Enemy, the Chief of the strongest Party, or of that which took up Arms first, gives some Scalps to the other, which they
are

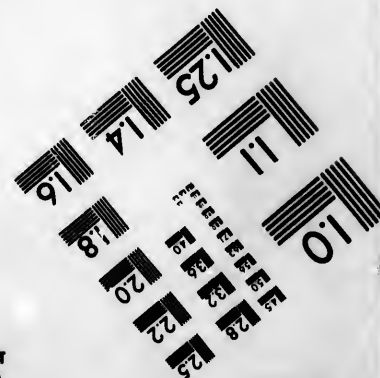
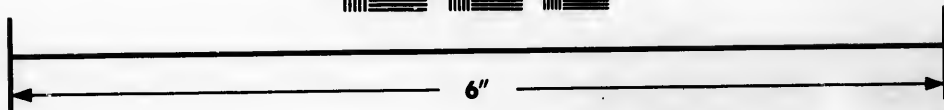
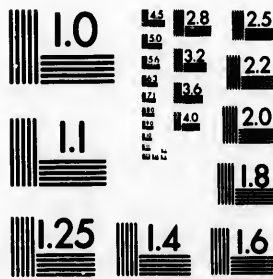
are always provided with for these Occasions, and says to him, “*You have done your Business*; that is to say, you have fulfilled your Engagement, your Honour is safe, you may return Home.” But this is to be understood when the Meeting is accidental, when they have not appointed them, and when they have no Occasion for a Reinforcement. When they are just entering upon an Enemy’s Country, they stop for a Ceremony which is something singular. At Night they make a great Feast, after which they lie down to sleep: As soon as they are awake, those who have had any Dreams go from Fire to Fire, singing their Song of Death, with which they intermix their Dreams in an enigmatical Manner. Every one racks his Brain to guess them, and if nobody can do it, those who have dreamt are at Liberty to return Home. This gives a fine Opportunity to Cowards. Then they make new Invocations to the Spirits; they animate each other more than ever to do Wonders; they swear to assist each other, and then they renew their March: And if they came thither by Water, they quit their Canoes, which they hide very carefully. If every Thing was to be observed that is prescribed on these Occasions, it would be difficult to surprize a Party of War that is entered into an Enemy’s Country. They ought to make no more Fires, no more Cries, nor hunt no more, nor even speak to each other but by Signs: But these Laws are ill observed. Every Savage is born presumptuous, and incapable of the least Restraint. They seldom neglect, however, to send out every Evening some Rangers, who employ two or three Hours in looking round the Country: If they have seen nothing, they go to sleep quietly, and they leave the Guard of the Camp again to the *Manitous*.

As soon as they have discovered the Enemy, they send out a Party to reconnoitre them, and on their Report they hold a Council. The Attack is generally made at Day-break. They suppose the Enemy is at this Time in their deepest Sleep, and all night they lie on their bellies, without stirring. The Approaches are made in the same Posture, crawling on their Feet and Hands till they come to the Place: Then all rise up, the Chief gives the Signal by a little Cry, to which all the Troop answers by





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real Howlings, and they make at the same Time their first Discharge: Then without giving the Enemy any Time to look about, they fall upon them with their Clubs. In latter Times these People have substituted little Hatchets, in the stead of these wooden *Head-Breakers*, which they call by the same Name; since which their Engagements are more bloody. When the Battle is over they take the Scalps of the Dead and the Dying; and they never think of making Prisoners till the Enemy makes no more Resistance.

If they find the Enemy on their Guard, or too well entrenched, they retire if they have Time for it; if not, they take the Resolution to fight stoutly, and there is sometimes much Blood shed on both Sides. The Attack of a Camp is the Image of Fury itself; the barbarous Fierceness of the Conquerors, and the Despair of the Vanquished, who know what they must expect if they fall into the Hands of their Enemies, produce on either Side such Efforts as pass all Description. The Appearance of the Combatants all besmeared with black and red, still encreases the Horror of the Fight; and from this Pattern one might make a true Picture of Hell. When the Victory is no longer doubtful, they directly dispatch all those whom it would be too troublesome to carry away, and seek only to tire out the rest they intend to make Prisoners.

The Savages are naturally intrepid, and notwithstanding their brutal Fierceness, they yet preserve in the midst of Action much Coolness. Nevertheless they never fight in the Field but when they cannot avoid it. Their Reason is, that a Victory marked with the Blood of the Conquerors, is not properly a Victory, and that the Glory of a Chief consists principally in bringing back all his People safe and sound. I have been told, that when two Enemies that are acquainted meet in the Fight, there sometimes passes between them Dialogues much like that of *Homer's* Heroes. I do not think this happens in the Height of the Engagement; but it may happen that in little Rencounters, or perhaps before passing a Brook, or forcing

forcing an Intrenchment, they say something by Way of Defiance, or to call to Mind some such former Rencounter.

War is commonly made by a Surprize, and it generally succeeds; for as the Savages very frequently neglect the Precautions necessary to shun a Surprize, so are they active and skilful in surprising. On the other Hand, these People have a wonderful Talent, I might say an Instinct, to know if any Person has passed through any Place. On the shortest Grass, on the hardest Ground, even upon Stones, they discover some Traces, and by the Way they are turned, by the Shape of their Feet, by the Manner they are separated from each other, they distinguish, as they say, the Footsteps of different Nations, and those of Men from those of Women. I thought a long Time that there was some Exaggeration in this Matter, but the Reports of those who have lived among the Savages are so unanimous herein, that I see no Room to doubt of their Sincerity.

Till the Conquerors are in a Country of Safety, they march forward expeditiously; and lest the Wounded should retard their Retreat, they carry them by Turns on Litters, or draw them in Sledges in Winter. When they re-enter their Canoes, they make their Prisoners sing, and they practise the same Thing every Time they meet any Allies; an Honour which costs them a Feast who receive it, and the unfortunate Captives something more than the Trouble of singing: For they invite the Allies to caress them, and to *caress* a Prisoner is to do him all the Mischief they can devise, or to maim him in such a Manner that he is lamed for ever. But there are some Chiefs who take some Care of these Wretches, and do not suffer them to be too much abused. But nothing is equal to the Care they take to keep them, by Day they are tied by the Neck, and by the Arms to one of the Bars of the Canoe. When they go by Land there is always one that holds them; and at Night they are stretched upon the Earth quite naked; some Cords fastened to Piquets, fixed in the Ground, keep their Legs, Arms, and Necks so confined that they cannot stir, and some long Cords also confine their Hands and Feet, in such a Manner

that they cannot make the least Motion without waking the Savages, who lye upon these Cords.

If among the Prisoners there are found any, who by their Wounds are not in a Condition of being carried away, they burn them directly; and as this is done in the first Heat, and when they are often in Haste to retreat, they are for the most Part quit at an easier Rate than the others, who are reserved for a slower Punishment.

The Custom among some Nations is, that the Chief of the victorious Party leaves on the Field of Battle his Fighting-Club, on which he had taken Care to trace the Mark of his Nation, that of his Family, and his Portrait; *that is to say*, an Oval, with all the Figures he had in his Face. Others paint all these Marks on the Trunk of a Tree, or on a Piece of Bark with Charcoal pounded and rubbed, mixed with some Colours. They add some Hieroglyphic Characters, by Means of which those who pass by may know even the minutest Circumstances, not only of the Action, but also of the whole Transactions of the Campaign. They know the Chief of the Party by all the Marks I have mentioned: The Number of his Exploits by so many Mats, that of his Soldiers by Lines; that of the Prisoners carried away by little *Marmosets* placed on a Stick, or on a *Chicbicoué*; that of the Dead by human Figures without Heads, with Differences to distinguish the Men, the Women, and the Children. But these Marks are not always set up near the Place where the Action happened, for when a Party is pursued, they place them out of their Route, on Purpose to deceive their Pursuers.

When the Warriors are arrived at a certain Distance from the Village from whence they came, they halt, and the Chief sends one to give Notice of his Approach. Among some Nations, as soon as the Messenger is within hearing, he makes various Cries, which give a general Idea of the principal Adventures and Success of the Campaign: He marks the Number of Men they have lost by so many Cries of Death. Immediately the young People come out to hear the Particulars: Sometimes the whole

whole Village comes out, but one alone addressess the Messenger, and learns from him the Detail of the News which he brings: As the Messenger relates a Fact the other repeats it aloud, turning towards those who accompanied him, and they answer him by Acclamations or dismal Cries, according as the News is mournful or pleasing. The Messenger is then conducted to a Cabin, where the Elders put to him the same Questions as before: after which a public Crier invites all the young People to go to meet the Warriors, and the Women to carry them Refreshments.—In some Places they only think at first of mourning for those they have lost. The Messenger makes only Cries of Death. They do not go to meet him, but at his entering the Village he finds all the People assembled, he relates in a few Words all that has passed, then retires to his Cabin, where they carry him Food; and for some Time they do nothing but mourn for the Dead.

When this Time is expired, they make another Cry to proclaim the Victory. Then every one dries up his Tears, and they think of nothing but rejoicing. Something like this is practised at the Return of the Hunters: The Women who stayed in the Village go to meet them as soon as they are informed of their Approach, and before they enquire of the Success of their Hunting, they inform them by their Tears of the Deaths that have happened since their Departure.—To return to the Warriors, the Moment when the Women join them, is properly speaking the Beginning of the Punishment of the Prisoners: And when some of them are intended to be adopted, which is not allowed to be done by all Nations; their future Parents whom they take Care to inform of it, go and receive them at a little Distance, and conduct them to their Cabins by some round-about Ways. In general the Captives are a long Time ignorant of their Fate, and there are few who escape the first Fury of the Women.

I am, &c.

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L E T T E R X V I.

The first Reception of the Prisoners. The Triumph of the Warriors. The Distribution of the Captives : How they decide their Fate, and what follows after. With what Inhumanity they treat those who are condemned to die : The Courage they shew. The Negotiations of the Savages.

MADAM, *At the Entrance of Lake ERIE, May 27.*

I Departed this Morning from the Fall of *Niagara*, I had about seven Leagues to go to the Lake *Erié*, and I did it without any Trouble. We reckoned that we should not lie here this Night ; but whilst my People rowed with all their Strength I have pretty well forward-ed another Letter, and while they take a little Rest I will finish it to give it to some *Canadians* whom we met here, and who are going to *Montreal*. I take up my Recital where I left off last.

All the Prisoners that are destined to Death, and those whose Fate is not yet decided, are as I have already told you, Madam, abandoned to the Fury of the Women, who go to meet the Warriors ; and it is surprising that they resist all the Evils they make them suffer. If any one especially has lost either her Son or her Husband, or any other Person that was dear to her, tho' this Loss had happened thirty Years before, she is a Fury. She attacks the first who falls under her Hand ; and one can scarcely imagine how far she is transported with Rage : She has no Regard either to Humanity or Decency, and every Wound she gives him, one would expect him to fall dead at her Feet, if we did not know how ingenious these Barbarians are in prolonging the most unheard of Punishment : All
the

the Night passes in this Manner in the Camp of the Warriors.

The next Day is the Day of the Triumph of the Warriors. The *Iroquois*, and some others, affect a great Modesty and a still greater Disinterestedness on these Occasions. The Chiefs enter alone into the Village, without any Mark of Victory, keeping a profound Silence, and retire to their Cabins, without shewing that they have the least Pretension to the Prisoners. Among other Nations the same Custom is not observed: The Chief marches at the Head of his Troop with the Air of a Conqueror: His Lieutenant comes after him, and a Crier goes before, who is ordered to renew the Death Cries. The Warriors follow by two and two, the Prisoners in the Midst, crowned with Flowers, their Faces and Hair painted, holding a Stick in one Hand, and a *Cbichikoue* in the other, their Bodies almost naked, their Arms tied above the Elbow with a Cord, the End of which is held by the Warriors, and they sing without ceasing the Death Song to the Sound of the *Cbichikoue*.

This Song has something mournful and haughty at the same Time; and the Captive has nothing of the Air of a Man who suffers, and that is vanquished. This is pretty near the Sense of these Songs: "*I am brave and intrepid; I do not fear Death, nor any Kind of Tortures: Those who fear them, are Cowards; they are less than Women: Life is nothing to those that have Courage: May my Enemies be confounded with Despair and Rage: Ob! that I could devour them, and drink their Blood to the last Drop.*" From Time to Time they stop them: The People gather round them, and dance, and make the Prisoners dance: They seem to do it with a good Will; they relate the finest Actions of their Lives; they name all those they have killed or burnt; and they make particular mention of those for whom the People present are most concerned. One would say that they only seek to animate more and more against them the Masters of their Fate. In Fact, these Boastings make those who hear them, quite furious, and they pay dear for their Vanity: But by the Manner in which they receive

ceive the most cruel Treatment, one would say that they take a Pleasure in being tormented.

Sometimes they oblige the Prisoners to run through two Ranks of Savages armed with Stones and Sticks, who fall upon them as if they would knock them on the Head at the first Blow; yet it never happens that they kill them; so much Care do they take, even when they seem to strike at Random, and that their Hand is guided by Fury alone, not to touch any Part that would endanger Life. In this March every one has a Right to torment them; they are indeed allow'd to defend themselves; but they would, if they were to attempt it, soon be overpowered. As soon as they are arrived at the Village, they lead them from Cabin to Cabin, and every where they make them pay their Welcome: In one Place they pull off one of their Nails, in another they bite off one of their Fingers, or cut it off with a bad Knife, which cuts like a Saw: An old Man tears their Flesh quite to the Bone: A Child with an Awl wounds them where he can: A Woman whips them without Mercy, till she is so tired that she cannot lift up her Hands: But none of the Warriors lay their Hands upon them, although they are still their Masters; and no one can mutilate the Prisoners without their Leave which they seldom grant: But this excepted, they have an entire Liberty to make them suffer; and if they lead them through several Villages, either of the same Nation, or their Neighbours or Allies who have desired it, they are received every where in the same Manner.

After these Preludes, they set about the Distribution of the Captives, and their Fate depends on those to whom they are delivered. At the Rising of the Council, where they have consulted of their Fate, a Crier invites all the People to come to an open Place, where the Distribution is made without any Noise or Dispute. The Women who have lost their Children or Husbands in the War, generally receive the first Lot. In the next Place they fulfil the Promises made to those who have given Collars. If there are not Captives enough for this Purpose; they supply the Want of them by Scalps; with which those who receive them, adorn themselves on rejoicing Days; and

and at other Times they hang them up at the Doors of their Cabins. On the contrary, if the Number of Prisoners exceeds that of the Claimants, they send the Overplus to the Villages of their Allies. A Chief is not replaced but by a Chief, or by two or three ordinary Persons, who are always burnt, although those whom they replace had died of Diseases. The *Iroquois* never fail to set apart some of their Prisoners for the Publick, and these the Council dispose of as they think proper: But the Mothers of Families may still set aside their Sentence, and are the Mistresses of the Life and Death even of those who have been condemned or absolved by the Council.

In some Nations the Warriors do not entirely deprive themselves of the Right of disposing of their Captives; and they to whom the Council give them, are obliged to put them again into their Hands, if they require it: But they do it very seldom; and when they do it, they are obliged to return the Pledges or Presents received from those Persons. If, on their Arrival, they have declared their Intentions on this Subject, it is seldom opposed. In general, the greatest Number of the Prisoners of War are condemned to Death, or to very hard Slavery, in which their Lives are never secure. Some are adopted; and from that Time their Condition differs in nothing from that of the Children of the Nation: They enter into all the Rights of those whose Places they supply; and they often acquire so far the Spirit of the Nation of which they are become Members, that they make no Difficulty of going to War against their own Countrymen. The *Iroquois* would have scarcely supported themselves hitherto, but by this Policy. Having been at War many Years against all the other Nations, they would at present have been reduced almost to nothing, if they had not taken great Care to naturalize a good Part of their Prisoners of War.

It sometimes happens, that instead of sending into the other Villages the Surplus of their Captives, they give them to private Persons, who had not asked for any; and, in this Case, either they are not so far Masters of them, as not to be obliged to consult the Chiefs of the Council
how

how they shall dispose of them ; or else they are obliged to adopt them. In the first Case, he to whom they make a Present of a Slave, sends for him by one of his Family ; then he fastens him to the Door of his Cabin, and assembles the Chiefs of the Council ; to whom he declares his Intentions, and asks their Advice. This Advice is generally agreeable to his Desire. In the second Case, the Council, in giving the Prisoner to the Person they have determined on, say to him, " It is a long Time we have been " deprived of such a one, your Relation, or your Friend, " who was a Support of our Village." Or else, " We " regret the Spirit of such a one whom you have lost ; " and who, by his Wisdom, maintained the publick " Tranquillity : He must appear again this Day ; he was " too dear to us, and too precious to defer his Revival " any longer : We place him again on his Mat, in the " Person of this Prisoner."

There are, nevertheless, some private Persons that are in all Appearance more considered than others ; to whom they make a Present of a Captive, without any Conditions, and with full Liberty to do what they please with him : And then the Council express themselves in these Terms, when they put him in their Hands, " This is to repair " the Loss of such a one, and to cleanse the Heart of his " Father, of his Mother, of his Wife, and of his Child- " ren. If you are either willing to make them drink the " Broth of this Flesh, or that you had rather replace the " deceased on his Mat, in the Person of this Captive, " you may dispose of him as you please."

When a Prisoner is adopted, they lead him to the Cabin where he must live ; and the first Thing they do, is to untie him. Then they warm some Water to wash him : They dress his Wounds, if he has any ; and if they were even putrified, and full of Worms, he is soon cured : They omit nothing to make him forget his Sufferings, they make him eat, and clothe him decently. In a Word, they would not do more for one of their own Children, nor for him whom *he raises from the Dead*, this is their Expression.—Some Days after, they make a Feast ; during which they solemnly give him the Name of the
Person

Person whom he replaces, and whose Rights he not only acquires from that Time, but he lays himself also under the same Obligations.

Amongst the *Hurons*, and the *Iroquois*, those Prisoners they intend to burn, are sometimes as well treated at first, and even till the Moment of their Execution, as those that have been adopted. It appears as if they were Victims which they fattened for the Sacrifice, and they are really a Sacrifice to the God of War. The only difference they make between these and the other, is, that they blacken their Faces all over: After this they entertain them in the best Manner they are able: They always speak kindly to them; they give them the Names of *Sons*, *Brothers*, or *Nephews*, according to the Person whose Manes they are to appease by their Death: They also sometimes give them young Women, to serve them for Wives all the Time they have to live. But when they are informed of their Fate, they must be well kept, to prevent their escaping. Therefore ostentime this is concealed from them.

When they have been delivered to a Woman, the Moment they inform her every Thing is ready for Execution, she is no longer a Mother, she is a Fury, who passes from the tenderest Careffes to the greatest Excess of Rage: She begins by invoking the Spirit of him she desires to revenge: "Approach, (says she) you are going to be appeased: I prepare a Feast for thee; drink great Draughts of this Broth which is going to be poured out for thee; receive the Sacrifice I make to thee in sacrificing this Warrior; he shall be burnt, and put in the Kettle; they shall apply red-hot Hatchets to his Flesh; they shall pull off his Scalp; they shall drink in his Skull: Make therefore no more Complaints; thou shalt be fully satisfied."—This Form of Speech, which is properly the Sentence of Death, varies much as to the Terms; but for the Meaning, it is always much the same. Then a Cryer makes the Captive come out of the Cabin, and declares in a loud Voice the Intention of him or her to whom he belongs, and finishes by exhorting the young People to behave well:

Another

Another succeeds, who addresses him that is to suffer, and says, "*Brother, take Courage; thou art going to be burnt:*" And he answers coolly, "*That is well, I give thee Thanks.*" Immediately there is a Cry made thro' the whole Village, and the Prisoner is led to the Place of his Punishment. For the most Part they tie him to a Post by the Hands and Feet; but in such a Manner, that he can turn round it: But sometimes, when the Execution is made in a Cabin from whence there is no Danger of his escaping, they let him run from one End to the other. Before they begin to burn him, he sings for the last Time his Death-Song: Then he recites his Atchievements, and almost always in a Manner the most insulting to those he perceives around him. Then he exhorts them not to spare him, but to remember that he is a Man, and a Warrior. Either I am much mistaken, or, what ought most to surprize us in these tragical and barbarous Scenes, is not that the Sufferer should sing aloud, that he should insult and defy his Executioners, as they all generally do to the last Moment of their Breath; for there is in this an Haughtiness which elevates the Spirit, which transports it, which takes it off something from the Thoughts of its Sufferings, and which hinders it also from shewing too much Sensibility.—Moreover, the Motions they make, divert their Thoughts, take off the Edge of the Pain, and produce the same Effect, and something more, than Cries and Tears. In short, they know that there are no Hopes of Mercy, and Despair gives Resolution, and inspires Boldness.

But this Kind of Insensibility is not so general as many have thought: It is not unusual to hear these poor Wretches send forth Cries that are capable of piercing the hardest Heart; but which have no other Effect, but to make Sport for the Actors, and the rest that are present.—As to the Causes that should produce in the Savages an Inhumanity, which we could never have believed Men to have been guilty of, I believe they acquired it by Degrees, and have been used to it insensibly by Custom; that a Desire of seeing their Enemy behave meanly, the sulcs which the Sufferers do not cease to make to their Tormentors, the Desire of Revenge, which is the reigning

ing Passion of this People, and which they do not think sufficiently glutted whilst the Courage of those who are the Object of it is not subdued, and lastly Superstition, have a great Share in it : For what Excesses are not produced by a false Zeal, guided by so many Passions.

I shall not, Madam, relate the Particulars of all that passes in these horrible Executions : It would carry me too far ; because in this there is no Uniformity, nor any Rules but Caprice and Fury. Often there are as many Actors as Spectators ; *that is to say*, all the Inhabitants of the Village, Men, Women, and Children, and every one does the worst they can. There are only those of the Cabin to which the Prisoner was delivered, that forbear to torment him ; at least, this is the Practice of many Nations. Commonly they begin by burning the Feet, then the Legs ; and thus go upwards to the Head : And sometimes they make the Punishment last a whole Week ; as it happened to a Gentleman of *Canada* amongst the *Iroquois*. They are the least spared, who having already been taken and adopted, or set at Liberty, are taken a second Time. They look upon them as unnatural Children, or ungrateful Wretches, who have made War with their Parents and Benefactors, and they shew them no Mercy. It happens sometimes that the Sufferer, even when he is not executed in a Cabin, is not tied, and is allowed to defend himself ; which he does, much less in Hopes of saving his Life, than to revenge his Death before-hand, and to have the Glory of dying bravely. We have seen, on these Occasions, how much Strength and Courage these Passions can inspire. Here follows an Instance, which is warranted by Eye-Witnesses, who are worthy of Credit.

An *Iroquois* Capt in of the Canton of *Onneyouth*, chose rather to expose himself to every Thing, than to disgrace himself by a Flight, which he judged of dangerous Consequence to the young People that were under his Command. He fought a long Time like a Man who was resolved to die with his Arms in his Hands ; but the *Hurons*, who opposed him, were resolved to have him alive, and he was taken. Happily for him, and for those who were
taken

taken with him, they were carried to a Village, where some Missionaries resided, who were allowed full Liberty of discoursing with them. These Fathers found them of a Docility which they looked upon as the Beginning of the Grace of their Conversion; they instructed them, and baptized them: They were all burnt a few Days after, and shewed even till Death a Resolution, which the Savages are not yet acquainted with, and which even the Infidels attributed to the Virtue of the Sacraments.

The *Onneyouth* Captain nevertheless believed that he was still allowed to do his Enemies all the Mischief he could, and to put off his Death as much as possible. They made him get upon a Sort of Stage, where they began to burn him all over the Body without any Mercy, and he appeared at first as unconcerned as if he had felt nothing; but as he thought one of his Companions that was tormented near him, shewed some Marks of Weakness, he shewed on this Account a great Uneasiness, and omitted nothing that might encourage him to suffer with Patience, by the Hope of the Happiness they were going to enjoy in Heaven; and he had the Comfort to see him die like a brave Man, and a Christian.

Then all those who had put the other to Death, fell again upon him with so much Fury, that one would have thought they were going to tear him in Pieces. He did not appear to be at all moved at it, and they knew not any longer in what Part they could make him feel Pain; when one of his Tormentors cut the Skin of his Head all round, and pull'd it off with great Violence. The Pain made him drop down senseless: they thought him dead, and all the People went away: A little Time after, he recovered from his Swoon; and seeing no Person near him, but the dead Body of his Companion, he takes a Fire-brand in both his Hands, though they were all over slay'd and burnt, re-calls his Tormentors, and defies them to approach him. They were affrighted at his Resolution, they sent forth horrid Cries, and armed themselves, some with burning Fire-brands, others with red-hot Irons, and fell upon him all together. He received them bravely, and made them retreat. The Fire with which he

was surrounded served him for an Intrenchment, and he made another with the Ladders that had been used to get upon the Scaffold; and being thus fortified in his own funeral Pile, now become the Theatre of his Valour, and armed with the Instruments of his Punishment, he was for some Time the Terror of a whole Village, no Body daring to approach a Man that was more than half burnt, and whose Blood flowed from all Parts of his Body.

A false Step which he made in striving to shun a Fire-brand that was thrown at him, left him once more to the Mercy of his Tormentors: And I need not tell you that they made him pay dear for the Fright he had just before put them in. After they were tired with tormenting him, they threw him into the Midst of a great Fire, and left him there, thinking it impossible for him ever to rise up again. They were deceived: When they least thought of it, they saw him, armed with Fire-brands, run towards the Village, as if he would set it on Fire. All the People were struck with Terror, and no Person had the Courage to stop him: But as he came near the first Cabin, a Stick that was thrown between his Legs, threw him down, and they fell upon him before he could rise: They directly cut off his Hands and Feet, and then rolled him upon some burning Coals; and lastly they threw him under the Trunk of a Tree that was burning. Then all the Village came round him, to enjoy the Pleasure of seeing him burn. The Blood which flowed from him almost extinguished the Fire; and they were no longer afraid of his Efforts: But yet he made one more, which astonished the boldest: He crawled out upon his Elbows and Knees with a threatening Look and a Stoutness which drove away the nearest; more indeed from Astonishment than Fear; for what Harm could he do them in this maimed Condition? Some Time after, a *Huron* took him at an Advantage, and cut off his Head.

Nevertheless, Madam, if these People make War like Barbarians, we must allow that in their Treaties of Peace, and generally in all their Negotiations they discover a Dexterity, and a Nobleness of Sentiments, which would do Honour to the most polished Nations. They have no
Notion

Notion of making Conquests and extending their Dominions. Many Nations have no Domain properly so called, and those who have not wandered from their Country, and look upon themselves as Masters of their Lands, are not so far jealous of them, as to be offended with any one who settles upon them, provided they give the Nation no Disturbance. Therefore in their Treaties, they consider nothing but to make themselves Allies against powerful Enemies, to put an End to a War that is troublesome to both Parties; or rather to suspend Hostilities: For I have already observed, that the Wars are perpetual that are between Nation and Nation; so that there is no depending upon a Treaty of Peace, so long as one of the two Parties can give any Jealousy to the other. All the Time they negotiate, and before they enter into a Negotiation, their principal Care is not to appear to make the first Steps, or at least to persuade their Enemy that it is neither through Fear or Necessity that they do it: And this is managed with the greatest Dexterity. A Plenipotentiary does not abate any Thing of his Stiffness, when the Affairs of his Nation are in the worst Condition; and he often succeeds in persuading those he treats with, that it is their Interest to put an End to Hostilities, though they are Conquerors: He is under the greatest Obligations to employ all his Wit and Eloquence; for if his Proposals are not approved of, he must take great Care to keep upon his Guard. It is not uncommon that the Stroke of a Hatchet is the only Answer they make him: He is not out of Danger, even when he has escaped the first Surprise: He must expect to be pursued, and burnt, if he is taken. And that such a Violence will be coloured with some Pretence as Reprisals. This has happened to some *French* among the *Iroquois*, to whom they were sent by the Governor-General: And during many Years, the *Jesuits*, who lived among these Barbarians, though they were under the public Protection, and were in some Manner the common Agents of the Colony, found themselves every Day in Danger of being sacrificed to a Revenge, or to be the Victims of an Intrigue of the Governors of *New-York*. Lastly, it is surprising that these People, who never make War through Interest, and who carry their Disinterestedness to such a Degree, that the Warriors do never bur-

den themselves with the Spoils of the Conquered, and never touch the Garments of the Dead; and if they bring back any Booty, give it up to the first that will take it; in a Word, who never take up Arms but for Glory, or to be revenged of their Enemies: It is, I say, surprising to see them so well versed as they are in the Arts of the most refined Policy, and to maintain Pensioners among their Enemies. They have also, in Respect to this Sort of Ministers, a Custom which appears at first View odd enough, which may nevertheless be looked upon as the Effect of a great Prudence: which is, that they never rely upon the Advices they have from their Pensioners, if they do not accompany them with some Presents: They conceive, without Doubt, that to make it prudent to rely on such Advices, it is necessary that not only he who gives them should have nothing to hope for, but also that it should cost him something to give them, that the sole Interest of the Public Good might engage him to it, and that he should not do it too lightly.

I am, &c.

End of the FIRST VOLUME.

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