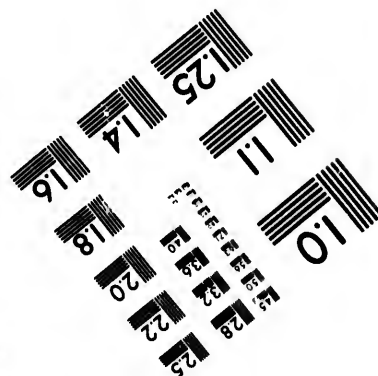
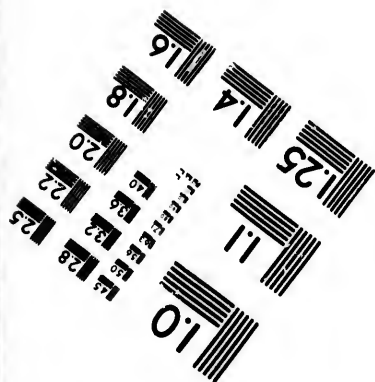
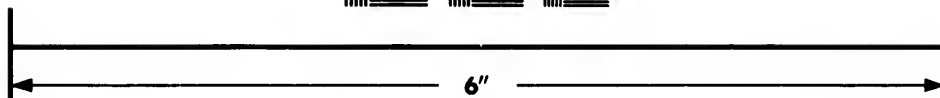
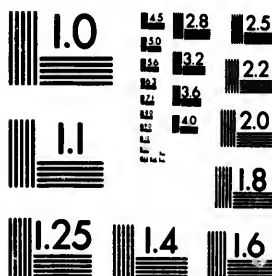
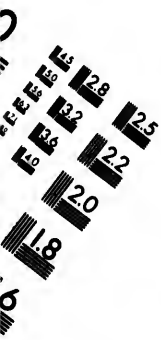


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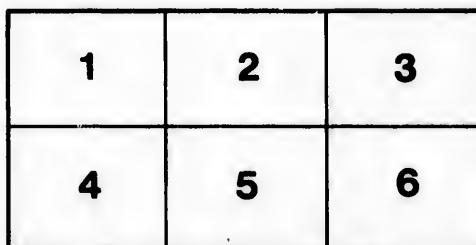
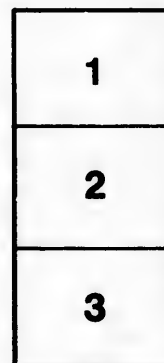
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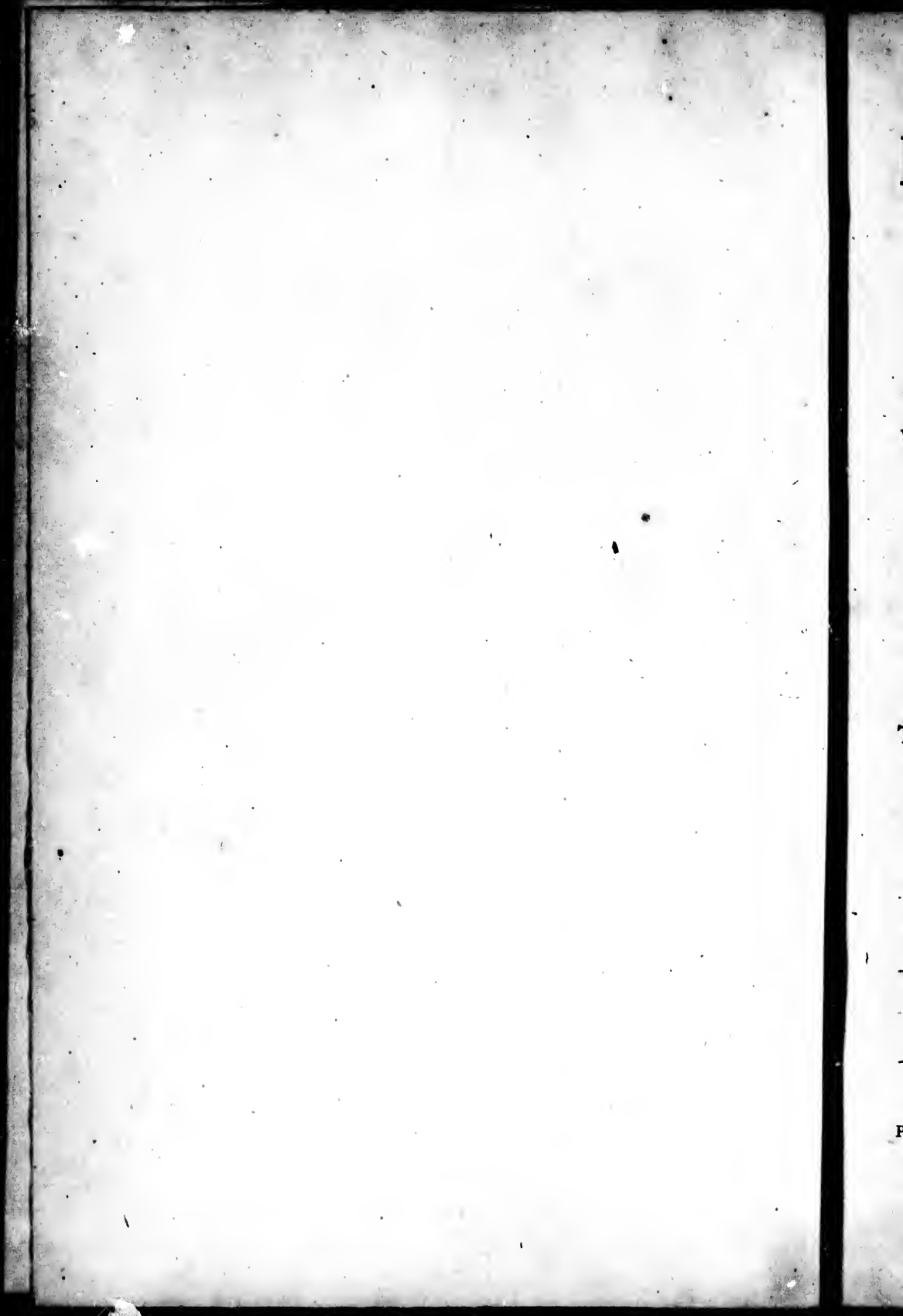
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The NATURAL and CIVIL H I S T O R Y

OF THE
FRENCH DOMINIONS
I N

North and South America.

With an Historical Detail of the ACQUISITIONS, and CONQUESTS, made by the
BRITISH ARMS in those Parts.

Giving a particular Account of the

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TOGETHER WITH

The Religion, Government, Genius, Character, Manners and
Customs of the INDIANS and other Inhabitants.

ILLUSTRATED BY

Maps and Plans of the principal Places,

Collected from the best Authorities, and engraved by

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PART I. Containing
A Description of Canada and Louisiana.

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. JEFFERYS, at Charing-Cross; W. JOHNSTON, in Ludgate-street; J. RICHARDSON
in Pater-noster-Row; and B. LAW and Co. in Ave-Mary-Lane.

MDCCLXI.

1761

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To the HONOURABLE

GEORGE TOWNSHEND,

BRIGADIER-GENERAL

Of His MAJESTY'S Forces in NORTH-AMERICA,

And COLONEL of

The Twenty-eighth Regiment of Foot.

S I R,

A Natural and civil history of the French empire in North-America, published by a subject of this kingdom, could scarce appear with propriety, at this time, if it was not addressed to General TOWNSHEND, who, by the reduction of Quebec, the capital of that empire, has subjected the whole to the dominion of Great-Britain. It is not however necessary on this occasion either to relate the event, or to particularize the virtues that effected it. The event is necessarily known by its importance, and the addition of so great an extent of territory, and so many thousand subjects to the British crown, are memorials which can neither be overlooked nor forgotten, and which render all others, not only unnecessary but impertinent; neither can it be necessary to tell the world, that *he* is eminent for courage, activity, and spirit, who, when he was in a civil capacity, surrounded by the luxuries of peace, with a fortune by which they were best secured, and at an age when they are most enjoyed, went a volunteer in the service of his country, to traverse the wilds of America, and expose his life to dangers not common even to war; to ambushes which vigilance can seldom escape, to savages who attack without being seen, and instead of taking prisoners, the wounded or unarmed, murder them in cold blood, and carry off their scalps as a trophy. That General TOWNSHEND has an undoubted claim to this merit, and that one of the best concerted, yet most daring enterprises that military genius

D E D I C A T I O N .

nius ever formed, was by him carried into execution, cannot fail to be recorded in that period of the British history, which will do us more honour than any other, as it will include a greater number of events, in the highest degree glorious and important, the editor of this work therefore can only hope to do himself honour by taking this opportunity to subscribe himself,

SIR,

Your most

Obedient

and

Devoted

Humble Servant,

THOMAS JEFFERYS.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N .

THE Possessions of the *French* upon the Continent of *North America*, were always an interesting Object to *Great-Britain*, as it is always necessary to know the Situation, Strength and Resources of contiguous Dominions that belong to a powerful State, whose Opposition of Interest makes her a natural Enemy, and whose military and commercial Knowledge makes her formidable as well in Peace as in War. But the Knowledge of this Territory is now become yet more important, as Providence has thought fit by a Series of Successes almost miraculous, to make it *our own*. It is hoped therefore that this Work needs no Recommendation as to its Design, as to the Execution, if it should be found to deserve Recommendation, it will effectually recommend itself: It has been compiled with the utmost Diligence and Attention from the best Accounts that are already extant, either in our own or other Languages, and improved by Materials that have from Time to Time been communicated to the Editor, by Persons whose Names, if he was at Liberty to mention them, would do him Honour; it contains therefore in one View, a more regular, comprehensive and particular Account of the Subject than has hitherto appeared, and as such is submitted to the Candour of the Public.

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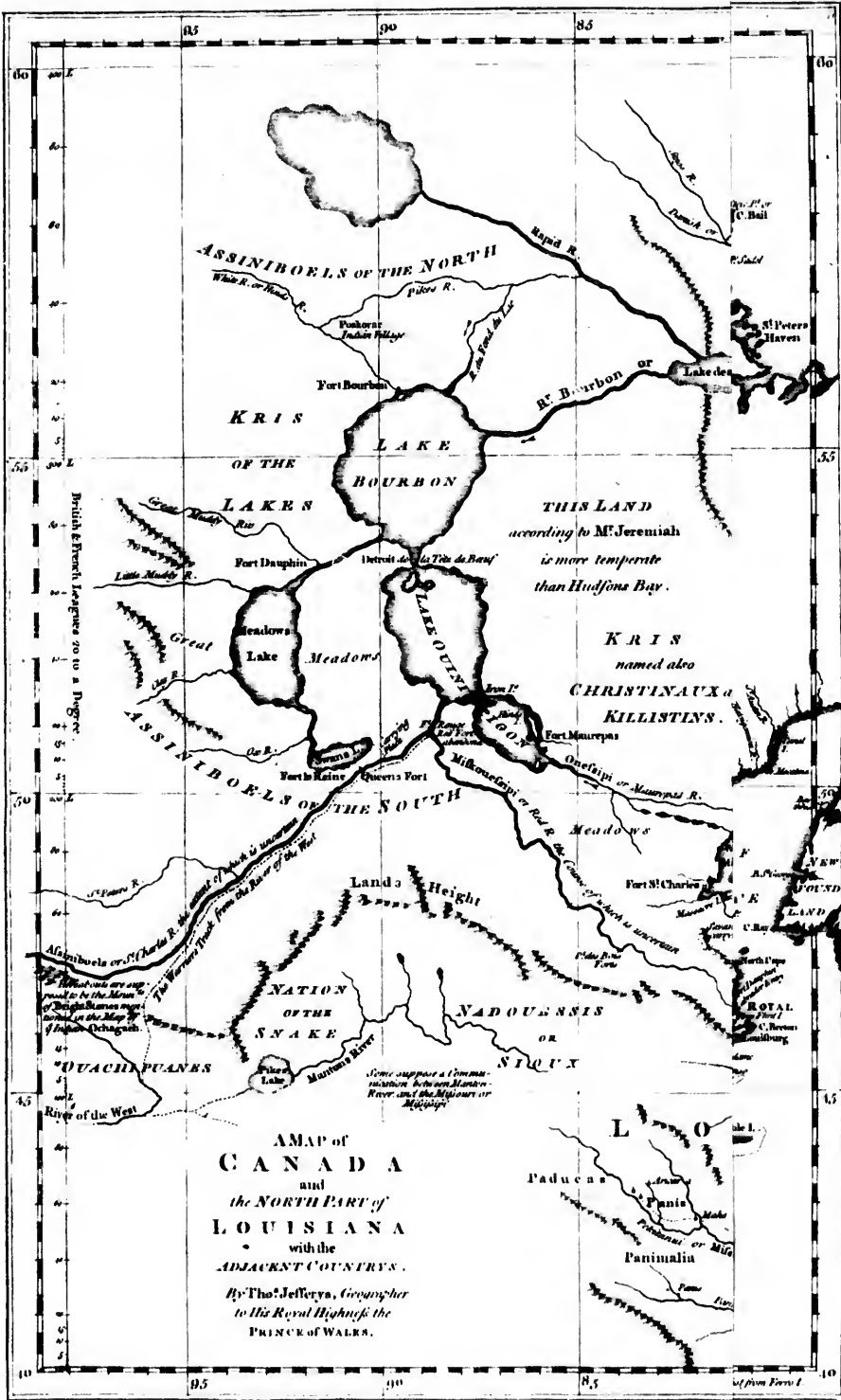
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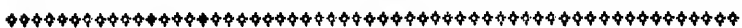
DESCRIPTION

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NEW FRANCE;

O R T H E

FRENCH Dominions in NORTH AMERICA.



THE Country subject to the Crown of *France* on the *Continent* of *North America*, which is larger than the *Roman* empire ever was, in its most flourishing times, is divided into two parts, the Northern named *Canada*, and the Southern *Louisiana*; both of them under the direction of a Governor-General, Intendant, and Supreme Council of *New France*, residing at *Quebec*.

C A N A D A.

CANADA, in the *Indian* language, signifies the *Mouth of the Country*, from *Can*, Mouth, and *Ada*, the Country. Under the name of *Canada*, the *French* would comprehend all that part of *North America* situated between 40 and 55 degrees of North latitude, and 42 and 75 of longitude East from *Ferro*, including great part of *New England*, and *New York*, and almost the whole of the province of *Nova Scotia*.

CANADA, according to the *English* account, is bounded on the North by the *Highlands*, which separates it from the country about *Hudson's Bay*, *Labrador*, or *New Britain*, and the country of the *Esquimaux*, and the *Christians*; on the East, by the river *St Lawrence*; and on the South, by the *Ottawa River*, the country of the *Six Nations*, and *Louisiana*, its limits towards the West extending over countries and nations hitherto undiscovered.

The soil of this country is generally very fruitful, but the winter, for six months of the year, is extremely severe; the snow is always six feet deep, and, what contributes to give the people of *Europe* a worse notion of this country than it actually deserves, this season comes on just before the ships set sail for *France* and other places on this side the *Atlantic*, and that so suddenly that in two or three days the rivers are full of vast shoals of ice, all the beauties of nature are hid, and the eye is pained with an universal whiteness; there is no longer any difference between land and water, the trees are covered with icicles, which are even dangerous to those that stand under them; there is no more stirring out of doors, without being wrapped up in fur, and, in spite of this precaution, not a winter passes without loss of limbs by the benumbing cold, and though the weather is somewhat milder, when the wind gets into the South or East quarter, yet during that time there is always a prodigious fall of snow, so that you cannot see ten paces before you. There blows so piercing a West wind that it almost peels the skin off the face; in short, during this terrible season, which is attended with the purest and fiercest sky imaginable, the cold is so sharp and intense that even the bears dare not stir out of their dens.

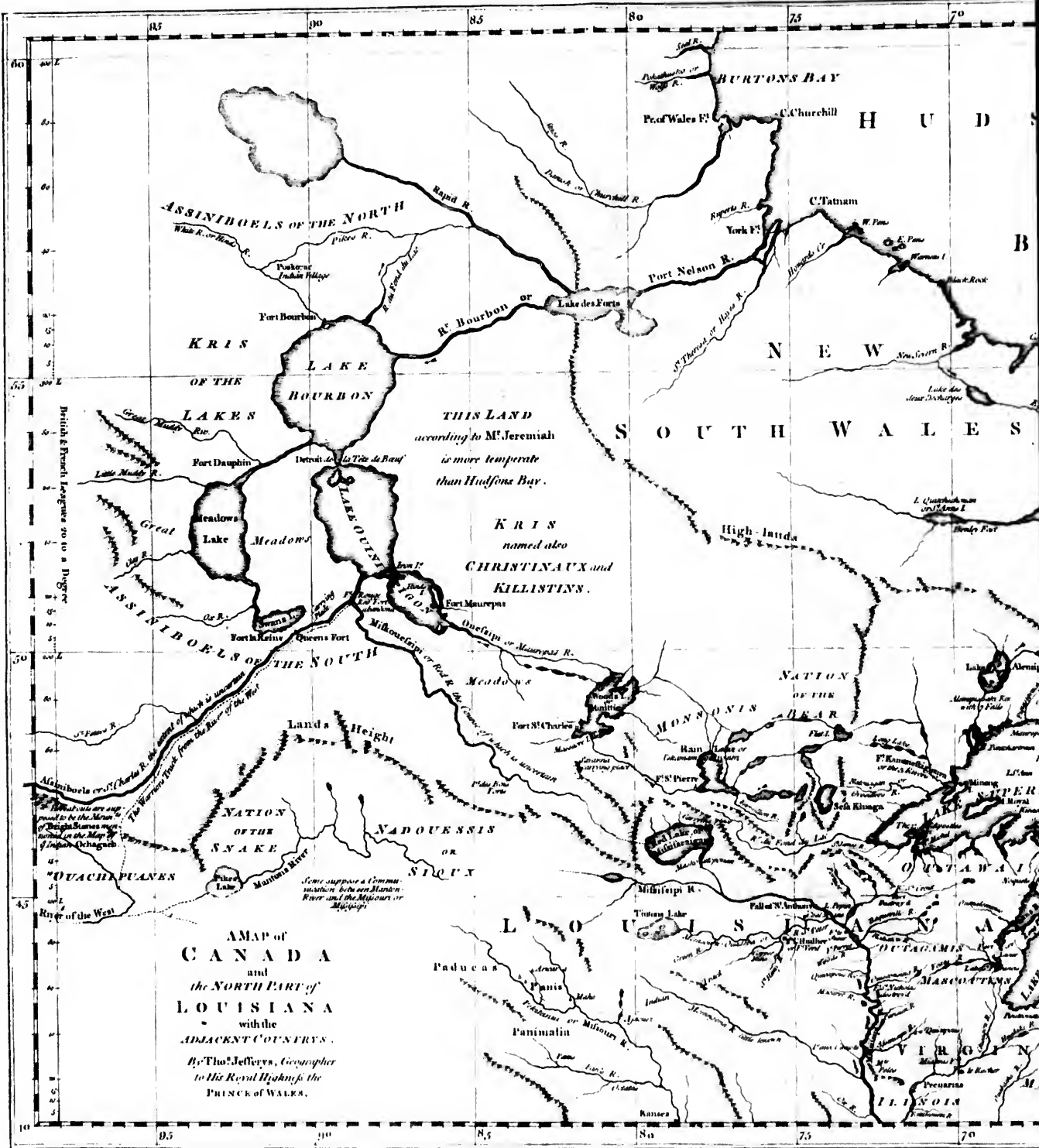
Canada, according to the French.

Canada, according to the English.

Severity of the climate.

B

In



AMAP of
CANADA
 and
 the NORTH PART of
LOUISIANA
 with the
 ADJACENT COUNTRIES.

By Tho: Jefferys, Geographer
 to His Royal Highness the
 PRINCE OF WALES.

THIS LAND
 according to Mr. Jeremiah
 is more temperate
 than Hudfons Bay.

KRIS
 named also
CHRISTINAUX
 and
KILLISTINS.

British & French Languages so to a Degree
 The Assinibouls are supposed to be the Men of
 British Names were used in the Map of
 England & Virginia
 Some suppose a Communication both on Hudson
 River and the Missouri or
 Mississippi
 River of the West



45 Degrees of Longitude West from Paris

Edwards sculp

In return for so many inconveniencies, there is such an amazing abundance of game, mutton, poultry, beef, and fish of all sorts, that one almost regrets the return of the spring, which, after a long delay, begins to appear towards May, and which is so much the more charming as it succeeds to a very severe season. Add to this the heat of their summer in this country, which enables them to reap their crops in four months from the sowing of the seed; and the mildness of the autumn, during which there is a most beautiful and uninterrupted serenity, such as is rarely seen in the finest parts of Europe, so that one cannot wonder the *Canadians* should even prefer this country to that of *Old France*.

The long continuance of the snow upon the ground; the great number of mountains, forests, rivers, and lakes, and the natural humidity of the soil; together with the vast quantity of ice on the Northern Ocean; and the high situation of the lands in this tract, are probably the causes of this excessive severity of the weather, during this season, in *Canada*, though under the same climates with the most temperate provinces of Europe. It has been observed, that, for the four years last past, the winters have gradually abated of their severity, and probably the weather here will continue to grow milder, in proportion as the country is cleared of its vast quantity of woods, and as it begins to be cultivated, drained, and peopled. There is a chain of mountains running East and West more than four hundred leagues, from *Tadoussac* as far as *Lake Superior*, which is probably the cause of such extraordinary quantities of snow as fall in this country.

Corn thrives to admiration in those grounds that have been cleared, but such fruits as require any great degree of heat seldom succeed here, probably because nipped by the frost. There are great numbers of wild vines; greens of all sorts come to great perfection; the lakes are well stored with fish, and their banks are almost covered with water-fowl and other game, besides beavers, martins, fables, &c. not to mention an infinity of other birds and quadrupeds, which abound in this country.

The constant serenity of the air in this province, where it seldom or never rains, renders it extremely wholesome to European constitutions; and an author of credit assures us, that he knew upwards of sixty *French*, and those of very delicate complexions, and but indifferently provided with wholesome food, besides inconceivable other hardships and inconveniencies they had to undergo, during a residence of sixteen years among the *Hurons*, all surviving after so long and wearisome a term; a circumstance, which sufficiently proves the salubrity of the climate.

Besides the great plenty of stags, elks, bears, foxes, martins, goats, wolves, wild fowl, and other game, with which, as I have observed, this country abounds, the meadow grounds which are all plentifully watered, yield excellent grass, and feed great herds of large and small cattle; and lands in tillage produce the most plentiful crops. The mountains abound with mines of coal, and are not destitute of silver, iron, and other minerals, though not worked, or at least with any great advantage; and the marshy grounds, which are a great part of this country, swarm with beavers, otters, and other amphibious animals.

Amongst the great number of rivers which water *Canada*, the most considerable are, the river *St Lawrence*, which crosses it from South-west to North-east, and is twenty-seven leagues in breadth, where it empties itself into the Gulf of *St Lawrence*; the river *Bourbon*, which has its opening in *Hudson's Bay*; the rivers *Saguenay* and *Outaway*, which falls into the river *St Lawrence*; and the *Mississippi*, or river *St Louis*, the source of which is generally placed in about forty-five degrees of latitude, and 74 of longitude West from *Ferro*, which waters the Western parts of *Canada* from North-West to South-east, and afterwards from North to South.

There are also a great number of lakes, and, amongst them, several of very great extent; as for instance, *Lake Superior*, of five hundred leagues circuit. There are three great lakes besides, still higher than *Lake Superior*, all of them crossed by the stream that runs into

The River ST LAWRENCE.

This river has its source, as is commonly thought, in the lake of the *Affinibois*; a point, which, however, is far from being decided, though its course has been surveyed for between seven and eight hundred leagues. It empties itself into the Gulf of *St Lawrence*, and exceeds in beauty and greatness all the rivers of *Canada*. The Gulf of *St Lawrence* is four-score leagues in length, and the currents in it are so strong, that it has been sailed over in twenty-four hours with a favourable wind.

About

About half way over are the *Iles des Oiseaux*, or *Bird Islands*, two rocks, which rise in the shape of a sugar-loaf, about sixty foot from the water's edge, the greatest not above three hundred paces in circumference. The quantity of water-fowl on these rocks, which are covered and coloured all over with their ordure, is astonishing. Several sloop have been loaded with their eggs, and on firing a cannon, which alarms the whole body of this feathered commonwealth, they rise in such numbers, as to form an impenetrable cloud, which hides the sky for two or three leagues round.

The entrance of the river *St Lawrence* is properly reckoned from *Cape Rosiers* in *Novæ Scotia*, where it is about twenty-seven leagues broad. Three leagues to the South of this are the Bay and Point of *Gaspé*, or *Gachapé*. Three leagues below this Bay is the *Ile Percee*, or *Bored Island*, so called from a rock rising in form of an arch, thro' which a fishing bark may pass under sail. This has the appearance of a ruined wall. Navigators know when they are near this part, by a flat mountain, called *Rowland's Table*. A league from this island is that of *Bonaventure*, or *Good Fortune*; and at ten leagues distance from hence is the Island *Miscou*, which is eight leagues round, and has an excellent harbour. Near this island is a fountain of fresh water, which rising from the middle of the sea, springs into the air to a considerable height. All these parts are extremely well situated for the fishery, which are very plentiful in the neighbouring parts of the Gulf and River; on which account, some intelligent *French* writers regret their not having settlements here for that branch of commerce, which they justly prefer to the fur trade, for which, this of the fishery in those parts has been neglected.

In the middle of the mouth of the River *St Lawrence* lies the Island of *Natiskotek*, corruptly called *Anticosti*, about twenty-seven leagues in length, but very narrow, and of no manner of utility, being destitute of wood, barren, and without so much as a single harbour, where ships can remain with any degree of safety. Its coasts, however, abound in fish. It was imagined, that this island was not destitute of mines; but, from trials that have been made, this opinion appears entirely without foundation.

After passing this island, you see the land on both sides. On the left shore, in *Novæ Scotia*, appears a chain of very high mountains, called *Monts Notre Dame*, and *Mount Louis*, between which are some valleys, formerly inhabited by savages. In the neighbourhood of *Mount Louis* the soil is very good, and there are some *French* habitations. This place is esteemed well situated for a settlement, to carry on the whale fishery, and would also be very convenient for supplying ships from *Europe* with necessaries.

On the opposite shore, in latitude $50^{\circ} 8'$, lie the *Sept Isles*, or *Seven Islands*, among which are several good roads, with anchorage fit for ships of large burthen, in which they may ride safe in bad weather. These islands the *French* navigators endeavour to make, as soon as they have passed by *Anticosti*, taking care to avoid the rocks about *Egg Islands*, where Admiral *Walker's* fleet, in the expedition to *Canada*, was lost, through the ignorance of the pilot, *August 23, 1711*.

Seventeen leagues to the South-west of the *Seven Islands* is a promontory, called *la Point des Monts Pelées*, or *Point of Bald Mountains*, and, by some authors, *Armount*, and *Trinity Point*, which navigators leave at large on their right, and for which it is proper to keep a good look out. Another land-mark on the Southern shore is, the double-headed mountain, called *Les Mamelles de Matane*, or *Paps of Matane*, about two leagues within land, in the wildest country that can be imagined, being an entire medley of sand, rocks, and impenetrable woods, but well watered, and abounding in game.

On the other side of the river, about six leagues from the *Bald Mountains*, is *St Nicholas*, or *English Harbour*, a very fit place for merchant ships in bad weather. Nine leagues from this are the dangerous breakers of *Manicouagan*, projecting two leagues from land, and famous for shipwrecks. They take their name from a river, which rises among the mountains of *Labrador*, and afterwards forms a pretty large lake of the same name, but more commonly known by that of *Lake St Barnabé*, and discharges itself into the river across these breakers. In some maps it is called *la Riviere Noir*, or the *Black river*. As far as this, and near sixteen leagues higher, the tides are hardly perceivable.

Thirty-two leagues higher up is the River *Saguenay*, which is capable of receiving ships of the greatest burthen twenty-five leagues above its mouth, in entering of which you leave the port of *Tadoussac* on the right hand, where most geographers have placed a city, though there is only one *French* house, and some huts of the savages, who bring them, at the time of selling their furs and other commodities, and carry them off like stalls at a fair when they go away. Formerly, this port was for a long time the resort

and chief mart of the *Indians* lying towards the North and East. The *French* resorted hither as soon as the navigation of the river was open, both from *France* and from *Canada*; and the missionaries took this opportunity to traffic in their own way. The fair being ended, the merchants returned to their several habitations, and the savages retired with the missionaries, who followed them home in order to take a better opportunity to finish their conversion. *Tadoussac* is an excellent harbour, the anchoring good, the entrance very easy, and they say it is capable of affording shelter to five and twenty men of war against all the winds that can blow. It is almost round, and surrounded on all sides with rocks of a prodigious height, from which issues a small rivulet capable of supplying the shipping with fresh water. The whole country abounds in marble, but its greatest riches, says *Charlevoix*, would certainly be the whale fishery. The *Basque's*, (inhabitants of *Bayonne*, and other Southern parts of *Gascony*) in *France*, formerly carried on this trade with success, and there are still to be seen on a little island which bears their name, the remains of their furnaces, and the ribs of whales. This fishery carried on thus within the banks of a river, must be attended with great advantages above that distant and hazardous way of going to the coast of *Greenland*, at so much expence.

Green Island. But before this I should have mentioned an anchoring place under the *Green Island*, on the opposite shore of *Nova Scotia*, where is plenty of all sorts of provisions, and some *French* habitations; and that on the North shore, at *Moulin Baude*, so called from a rivulet of fresh water, which issues from a rock, and is capable of turning a mill, but the country about this latter is said to have the most frightful appearance, and to be utterly uninhabitable, for men or beasts, nor is any living creature to be seen.

Ile Rouge. From *Tadoussac* you come to the passage of *Ile Rouge*, which is very difficult. In order to do this with success, you must first steer full on this isle, in order to clear the point called *Aux Allouettes*, or *Larks Point*, which is at the entry of the *Saguenay* on the left, and advances a good way into the river, and afterwards you turn quite short; the South passage is much the safest. The *Ile Rouge*, or *Red Island*, is no more than a rock of this colour, lying level with the water's edge, and has been the occasion of several shipwrecks.

Nouveaux Coudres. At the distance of eighteen leagues above *Tadoussac*, and the same distance below *Quebec*, is the *Ile aux Coudres*, the passage of which is on the left, and very dangerous when the wind is in the least unfavourable; it is extremely rapid, narrow, and a good quarter of a league in breadth. Before 1663, it was much easier, but since that an earthquake tore up a mountain by the roots, and threw it upon the *Ile aux Coudres*, which made it more than one half bigger, and in the place where the mountain stood there appeared a lake, which is now called the *Whirlpool*, and not to be approached without danger. It is also practicable to take the South passage of the *Ile aux Coudres*, which bears the name of *M. Iberville*, who first attempted it with success, and is both easy and without any danger, but the general custom is to take the North channel.

St Paul Bay. Higher up appears the Bay of *St Paul*, where begin the habitations on the North side of the river: Here are also forests of pine-trees, which are much esteemed, especially the red-pine, which is very beautiful and never breaks. The members of the seminary of *Quebec* are the proprietors of this Bay, where they have lately discovered an exceeding good lead mine.

Cape Tourment. Six leagues farther is a promontory of a prodigious height, which terminates a chain of mountains running more than four hundred leagues to the Westward; this is called *Cape Tourment*, or *Stormy Cape*. The anchorage is exceeding good here, since the number of islands of all sizes which surround it, make it a place of very good shelter. The most considerable of these, is the *Ile of Orleans*, the fields of which are extremely well cultivated, and as they rise in the shape of an amphitheatre, present the eye with a most pleasing prospect. This island is about fourteen leagues round, and was in 1676, erected into an earldom, under the name and title of *St Laurent*, in favour of *Francois Berthelot*, secretary general to the artillery, who bought it of *Francois de Laval*, first Bishop of *Quebec*. It had in 1720, four villages, and they now reckon in it six very populous parishes. Of the two channels which this island forms, the South is only navigable for ships, for even sloops cannot pass by the North channel except at high water. Thus from *Cape Tourment*, you must traverse the river to go to *Quebec*, and this way has its difficulties. There are moving sands in the way, which often want water for the largest ships, so that they dare not engage with them till the tide begins to flow. This embarrassment might be shunned by taking the pass of *M. Iberville*. *Cape Tourmente*, whence they take their departure to make this traverse, is at a hundred and ten leagues distance

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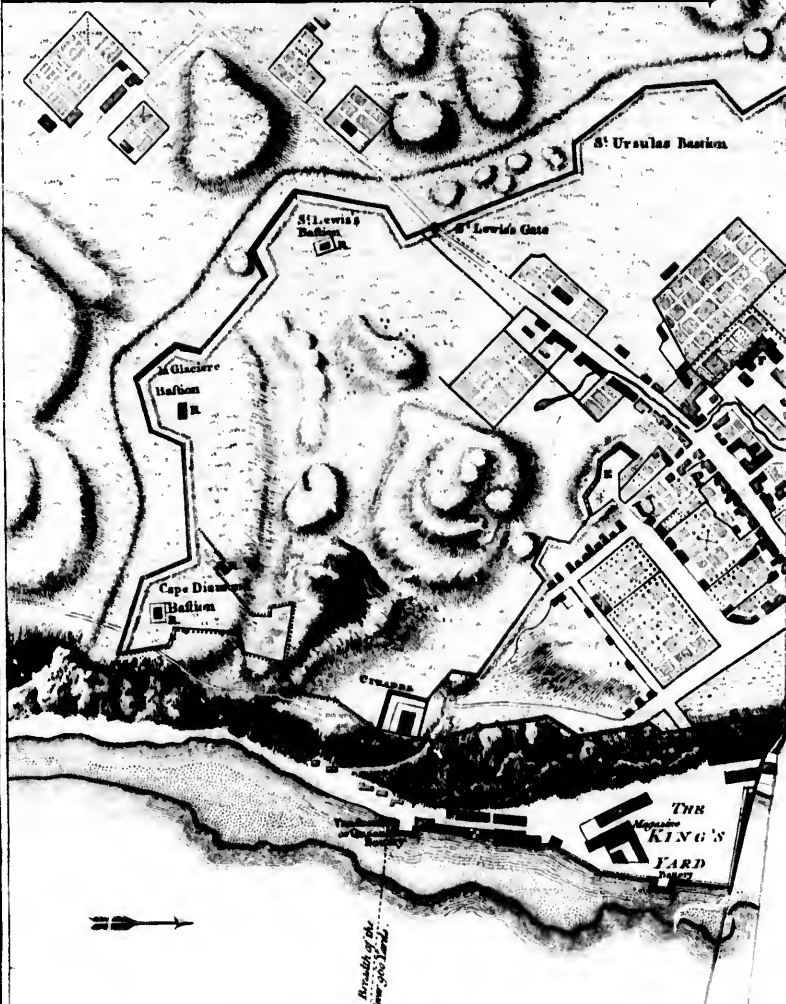
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A PLAN of the
CITY OF QUEBEC
 the
CAPITAL of CANADA.

as it surrendered 18 Septemb: 1759 to the
BRITISH FLEET and ARMY.

Commanded by Vice Adm. SAUNDERS, & Brigad^r Gen. TOWNSHEND.

- | | |
|--|---|
| A. Residence of the Governour General. | L. New Battery of two Guns Pointed thro' Point. |
| B. Battery de Chateau. | K. The House of the Intendant called the Palace where the
Supreme Council Assembled. |
| C. Notre Dame de la Pénitence, built in memory of the raising of
the Siege in 1694, and destroyed in the Siege in 1759. | M. Gate of the Citadelle de Pélois. |
| D. The Nuns of the Conception. | N. The Dauphins Redoubt and Barracks where the Prisoners
of War were kept. |
| E. Cavalier of the Windmill. | O. The Kings Redoubt and Barracks. |
| F. Convent of the Ursuline Nuns. | P. Battery de Cap mounted w th Guns on Barbette. |
| G. Convent of the Roswell Sisters. | Q. The Commandants House. R. Powder Magazine. |
| H. The Jesuits College & Church. | |



ST LAURENCE or the GREAT RIVALLE

distance from the sea, and the water of the river still continues brackish, and does not begin to be fit for drinking till the entrance of the two passages, or channels, of the Isle of Orleans; a phenomenon difficult enough to be solved, on account of the great rapidity of the river, even after making considerable allowances for the width of it.

The tides here flow regularly five hours, and ebb seven. At Tadoussac they ebb and flow six hours alternately; and the reflux increases and the flux diminishes in proportion as you go higher up the river. Twenty leagues above Quebec the flux is of three hours continuance, and the reflux nine; higher up the tides are not perceivable. When it is half tide, or half high water, in the port of Tadoussac, and in the entrance of the river Saguenay, it is only flood, that is to say, the tide only begins to flow at Checutimi, five and twenty leagues higher up the same river; and yet it is high water in three different places at the same time. The cause of this no doubt is, that the rapidity of the Saguenay, which is still greater than that of the river St Lawrence, repelling the tide, causes an equilibrium, or counterpoise, between Checutimi, and the opening of this river into that of St Lawrence. Further this rapidity has been at so great a height only since the great earthquake of 1663. This earthquake overturned a mountain into the river, whose bed it strained, and formed the peninsula of Checutimi, above which is the rapide, a name the French give to a strong current, or violent stream, which even canoes are hardly able to stem. The depth of the Saguenay, from its mouth upwards as high as Checutimi, is equal to the violence of the stream. Thus no ship could come to an anchor here, had they not the advantage of mooring or making fast by means of the trees, which cover the banks of this river.

It has also been observed that in the gulf of St Lawrence, about eight or ten leagues from the shore, the tides vary according to the different position of the lands, and the change of the seasons: That in some parts they follow the winds, whilst in others they go quite opposite to them; and that in the mouth of the river, at certain months of the year, the currents set directly seaward, and in others directly towards the land; within the river, as high as the Seven Islands, sixty leagues above its mouth upwards, it never flows on the South nor ebbs on the North side. It is no very easy matter to account for this seemingly inconsistent appearance; the most probable solution is by supposing certain motions under water, or currents, which go and come alternately from the surface to the bottom, and the contrary, like the working of a pump, and which produce those irregularities.

Another singularity is the variation of the compass, which, in some parts of France, is from two to three degrees North West, diminishing still as you approach the parallel of the Azores islands, where it ceases to be perceptible; but beyond this it increases after such a rate, that it amounts to twenty two degrees and more on the great bank of Newfoundland, and afterwards decreases, tho' slowly, till at Quebec it is reduced to sixteen, and to twelve in the country of the Hurons, where the sun sets thirty three minutes later than at Quebec.

The isle of Orleans, is a very beautiful spot of ground, the soil fertile, and the inhabitants generally in very good circumstances. When Jacques Cartier first discovered this island, he found it covered with wild vines, whence he gave it the name of the Isle of Bacchus. But since this navigator, who was a native of Bretagne, there arrived a colony from Normandy, who grubbed up the vines, and turned the ground into tillage, so that it now produces good wheat, and excellent fruits. Some time since they began to cultivate tobacco, and with tolerably good success. Three miles from this island stands Quebec, the capital city of all Canada.

Description of QUEBEC. *

QUEBEC, so called from a word in the Algonkin tongue, signifying a strait. The river St Lawrence, which is generally from four to five leagues in breadth all the way, from its mouth to the spot on which this city stands, that is, for about a hundred and seventy leagues from the sea, grows narrow all at once, so that at Quebec it

* EXPLANATION of the PLAN.

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| A. Residence of the Governor general. | E. Cavalier of the Wind-mill. |
| B. Battery of the Fort of twenty-five Guns. | F. Ursuline Convent. |
| C. Notre Dame de la Victoire, the Parish Church of the Lower Town, built in Memory of the raising of the Siege in 1697. | G. Recollet Convent. |
| D. The Nuns of the Congregation. | H. The Jesuits College and Church. |
| | K. The House of the Intendant, called the Palace, where the Supreme Council of Canada assembles. |



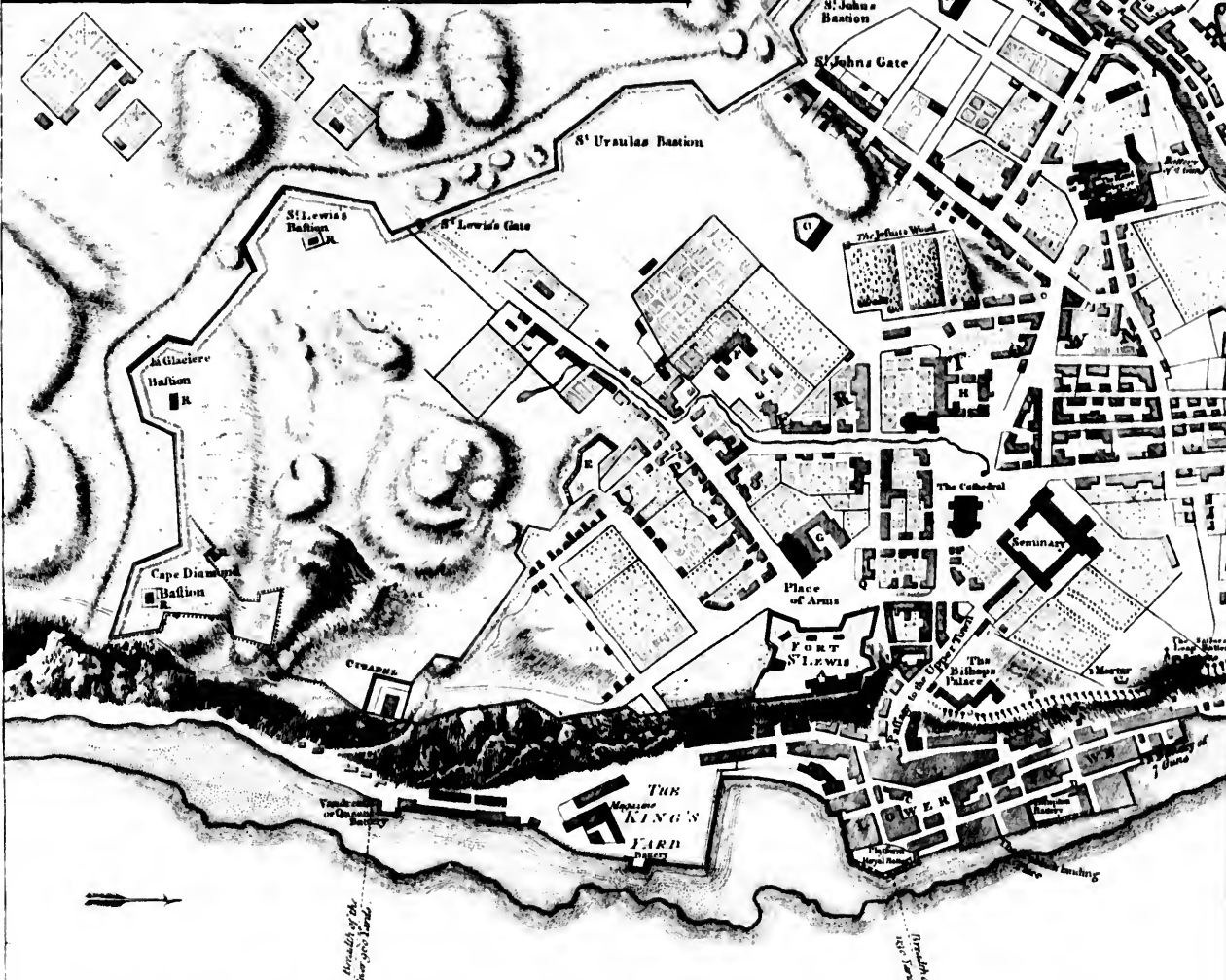
A PLAN of the
CITY OF QUEBEC
 the
CAPITAL of CANADA.

as it surrendred 18 Septemb^r 1759 to the
BRITISH FLEET and ARMY -

Commanded by Vice Adm^l SAUNDERS, & Brigad^l Gen^l TOWNSHEND.

- A. Residence of the Governour General
- B. Battery de Chateau
- C. Notre Dame de la Paix, built in memory of the raising of the Siege in 1695, and destroyed in the Siege in 1759.
- D. The Nuns of the Conception
- E. Convent of the Visitation
- F. Convent of the Holy Name
- G. Convent of the Holy Cross
- H. The Faculty College & Church

- I. New Battery of two Guns Pointed thro' the City.
- K. The House of the Intendant called the Palace where the Supreme Council Assembled
- M. City of the Bishop de Palau
- N. The King's Redoubt and Barracks where the Prisoners of War were kept.
- O. The Kings Redoubt and Barracks
- P. Battery de Clerge mounting 63 Guns on Barbette
- Q. The Commandants House
- R. Powder Magazine



ST LAURENCE or the GREAT RIVER called by the INDIANS HOSHEE



ANS HOSHELAGA or CANADA RIVER

Published according to an Act of Parliament Jan^y 15 1760 by Tho^s Jefferys at Charol^s Chap^l Paris

it is not above a mile over. The *Abenakis*, a savage nation, whose language is a dialect of the *Algonkin*, call it *Quechbec*, that is to say, concealed, or hidden, because as you come from the little river *Claudiere*, the common passage of the savages from *Nova Scotia*, in their way to this city, the point of *Lexi*, which jets out beyond the Isle of *Orleans*, entirely hides the south channel of the river *St Lawrence*, as the Isle of *Orleans* does that of the north, and you can only see the port, which viewed from this point appears like a large baton.

Fine cascade

The first object that presents itself, as you enter the road, is a noble cascade, or sheet of water, thirty foot in breadth, and forty high, falling just by the entry of the lesser channel of the Isle of *Orleans*, and first seen from that long point, on the south side of the river, which, as I have observed, seems joined to the Isle of *Orleans*. This beautiful piece of water is called the Fall of *Montmorenci*, from an admiral of that name, who with his nephew the Duke *de Ventadour*, were successively viceroys of this colony.

Harbour of
Quebec.

This city stands a league higher up, and on the same side of the river, exactly in the narrowest part of it. Between this and the Isle of *Orleans* is a baton a full league over every way, that is to say, a fresh water harbour, upon the noblest and most navigable river in the universe, capable of containing a hundred ships of war. The North West side of the city is washed by the river *St Charles*, between which and *Cape Diamond*, *Quebec* is situated. Close to this Cape is the anchoring place, in twenty five fathom water, good ground, though when the wind blows hard at north east, ships are apt to drive, but without danger.

City described

When *Samuel Champlain* founded this city in 1608, the tide sometimes flowed to the foot of the rock. Since that time, the river has by degrees retreated, and left dry a large space of ground, on which the lower town is built, and at present, sufficiently elevated above the water mark, to secure it from any fears of an inundation. The first thing you meet at landing is an open place, of a moderate compass, and irregular form, with a row of houses in front, tolerably well built, and joined to the rock behind, so that they have 20 feet depth backwards. These form a pretty long street, which takes up all the breadth of the ground, and extends from right to left to two passages, which lead to the high town. This opening is bounded on the left by a small church, and on the right by two rows of houses, running parallel to each other. There is also another range of buildings between the church and the port; and along the shore, as you go to *Cape Diamond*, there is a pretty long row of houses on the edge of the bay, called the Bay of *Mathers*. This quarter may be looked upon as a kind of suburb to the Lower Town.

Bay of Mathers.

Principal
buildings.

Between this suburb and the great street, you go up to the high town, by a passage so steep, that they have been obliged to cut steps in the rock, so that it is only passable to persons on foot. But as you go from the opening or place on the right, there is another way of a much gentler ascent, with houses on each side. In the place where these two passages meet, begins the high town towards the river, for there is also another lower town towards the river *St Charles*. The first building worthy of notice as you ascend from the former on the right, is the episcopal palace; the left is taken up with private houses. About twenty paces beyond this, you find yourself between two large squares; that on the left, is the place of arms, adjoining to which is the fort, the residence of the governor general; opposite to this, is the convent of *Recollets*, and part of the square is taken up with well built houses. In this square, on the right, stands the cathedral church, which is also the only parish church in the place. The Seminary lies on one side, in a corner, formed by the great river, and the river *St Charles*. Opposite the cathedral is the *Jesuits college*, and in the square between, handsome buildings. From the place of arms run two streets, crossed by a third, which form a large square or isle, entirely taken up by the church and convent of the *Recollets*. The second square has two descents to the river *St Charles*; one very steep, adjoining to the seminary, with but few houses; the other near the *Jesuits enclosure*, which winds very much, has the hospital on one side about mid-way, and is bordered with small houses. This goes to the palace, the residence of the intendant of the province. On the other side the *Jesuits college* near their church, is a pretty long street, in which is the convent of *Ursuline nuns*. It may be remarked also, that the high town is built on a foundation of rock, partly marble, and partly slate.

Number of
inhabitants.

This city has a pretty large extent, almost all the houses are built of stone, and it contained in 1720, about seven thousand souls; and in 1753, the number was computed

ted to be 15,000 inhabitants, and 500 soldiers. The church of the lower town was built in consequence of a vow made during the siege of *Quebec* in 1690. It is consecrated under the name of *Our Lady of Victory*, and serves as a chapel of ease to the inhabitants of the lower town. The building is plain, its chief ornament being its neatness and simplicity. Some sisters of the congregation are settled between this church and the port; their number is four or five, and they keep a school.

Church of Our Lady of Victory

The bishop's palace has nothing finished but the chapel, and part of the building designed by the plan, which is a long quadrangle; when finished, it will be a fine structure. The garden extends to the brow of the hill, and commands the road, and has a noble and most delightful prospect. Below appears a noble basin, filled with squadrons of ships of the largest size from *Europe*. Opposite to it, the *Isle of Orleans*, and the banks of the rivers *St Lawrence* and *St Charles*, on both sides, exhibiting a most enchanting medley of forests, rivers, hills, valleys, meadows, and corn lands, so that scarce any where is to be seen a terras more magnificently situated. It is almost inconceivable what a striking sight there must be from this promontory, were the country about it peopled as it possibly might be, and certainly on many accounts deserves.

Bishop's palace

Basin of 100000

The cathedral, so far from worthy of being the metropolitan church of so large a province, whether you look upon the exterior or internal part of the structure, is scarce superior to a country church in *Europe*. It has a very high tower, built in a very solid manner, and which at a distance makes no ill appearance. The seminary which joins the church is a large square, and what part of it is yet finished, is in good taste, and has all the conveniencies proper for the climate. It was twice burnt to the ground, first in 1703, and again in *October* 1705, as it was just rebuilt, since which it has been erected a third time. From the garden you see the road, and the river *St Charles* as far as the sight can extend.

Cathedral

Seminary

The fort is a handsome building with two wings. You enter by a spacious and regular court, but there is no garden, because it is built on the edge of the rock. This defect is supplied in some measure by a fine gallery, with a balcony or balustrade, which surrounds the building. It commands the road, from the middle of which a speaking trumpet may be heard, and you see all the lower town under your feet. Leaving the fort, as you go towards the left, you cross a pretty large esplanade, and by an easy descent you reach the summit of *Cape Diamond*, which forms a most delightful terras. Besides the beauty of the prospect, you breathe the purest air imaginable, and may see numbers of porpoises, white as snow, playing on the surface of the water. On this Cape also are found a kind of diamonds, finer than those of *Alençon*; and, what is singular enough, some of them cut by nature every bit as well as if done by the ablest artist. The great quantity of these stones found here in former times is what gave name to this Cape; At present they are very scarce. The descent towards the country is yet more easy than that on the other side of the esplanade.

Fort

Cape Diamond

The Fathers Recollets have a large and fine church, capable of doing them honour even at *Verfailles*. It is neatly wainscotted, and adorned with a large gallery, somewhat heavy, but the work round it, which is of wood, and is the workmanship of a lay-brother, is very well done. Another brother called *Father Luke* has adorned it with paintings, much esteemed by the connoisseurs who travel this way. The convent is antiverable to the church, large, solid, and commodious, with a spacious garden, kept in good order.

Church and convent of Recollets

The convent of the *Ursuline* Nuns has suffered twice by fire, like the seminary. Their revenue is besides so small, and the portions they receive with the young *Canadian* ladies, so inconsiderable, that the first time their house was burnt, they were upon the point of being sent back to *France*; they have, however, found means to recover themselves each time, and their church is actually finished. They are all lodged in a neat and commodious manner, the just reward of the character they bear in the colony, as well as their frugality, temperance, and industry, in useful works of a good taste proper for the sex, such as gilding, and embroidering, which are their usual employments.

Convent of Ursuline Nuns

The college of the *Jesuits* which has been talked of as a very fine piece of architecture, and possibly was thought to with some grounds, when *Quebec* was no more than an assemblage of huts and huts of savages, since the city wore so different a face, was become rather a toil than an ornament to it, and threatened to tumble down every day. It is now rebuilt with great magnificence, and justly merits the character it is long bore. The garden is large and well kept, and terminated by a final wood, the

College and church of the Jesuits

A DESCRIPTION

remains of that ancient forest, which once covered the whole mountain. The church has nothing beautiful without, but a handsome steeple: It is covered with slate, in which it has the advantage of all the churches in *Canada*, which are only roofed with planks. The inside of it is highly ornamented, the gallery is light and bold, and has a balustrade of iron gilt, of good workmanship. The pulpit is all gilt, and the wood and iron work exquisite. There are three altars well placed, some good pictures, the roof not arched, but its flat ceiling agreeably ornamented. The floor is of wood and not stone, which makes this the only church where one is tolerably warm in all *Quebec*.

Hotel Dieu. The *Hotel-dieu*, or hospital, has two great halls, appropriated to the different sexes. The beds are clean, the sick carefully attended, and every thing neat and commodious. The church adjoins to the womens apartment, and has nothing remarkable but the paintings of the great altar, which are very fine. The house is served by the Nuns hospitalers of *St Augustine*, and of the congregation of the mercy of *Jesus*, the first of whom came here from *Dieppe*. Their apartments are convenient, and as their houses are situated on the declivity of the hill, on an eminence which commands the river *St Charles*, they enjoy a tolerable good prospect.

The Palace. The house of the intendant is called the palace, because the supreme council assembled here. It is a large building to which you ascend by a double flight of steps. The front to the garden, which has a prospect to the river *St Charles*, is much more agreeable than that you enter at. The king's magazines form the right side of the court, and the prison lies behind them. The gate you enter at is hid by the mountain, on which stands the high town, and which, on this side, only presents the eye with a steep and unpleasing rock. It was considerably worse before the fire, which reduced it to ashes in 1726, for then it had no court, and the building adjoined to the street, which is here very narrow.

The general Hospital. Following this street, or, to speak more properly, this road, you enter the country, and about a quarter of a league distant you find the general hospital. This is not only the finest building in all *Canada*, but would even do honour to any city in *Europe*. The *Recollets* were formerly in possession of this spot of ground; *St Valier*, Bishop of *Quebec*, bought it of them, removed them into the city, and laid out an hundred thousand crowns in the building, furniture, and endowment. The only fault of this edifice is its marshy situation, which they had some thoughts of amending by means of drains cut towards the river *St Charles*; a remedy, which those who have been on the spot believe to be exceeding difficult, if not impracticable. This noble structure is for the reception and relief of such artificers, handicraftsmen, or others, whose great age or infirmities may have rendered them incapable of getting their living, and such are always admitted, as far as the foundation will admit. This foundation is a colony from the *Hotel Dieu* at *Quebec*, and the persons admitted here wear a silver cross on their breast, to distinguish them from those of the old foundation. Thirty nuns, who are generally of good families, attend the service of this hospital, but as they are often poor, the bishop their founder has given portions to several of them.

Fortification. *Quebec* is not regularly fortified, but they have been long at work to render it capable of sustaining a siege. Its situation renders it naturally strong, and it would be no easy matter to reduce it in its present condition. The port is flanked by two bastions, which, at the high tides of the equinoxes, are almost even with the water. A little higher, over the bastion towards the right, is a half-bastion, cut out of the rock; and above that nearer the fort, is a battery of twenty-five pieces of cannon. Higher still is a square fort, called the Citadel; the ways that communicate between these forts are extremely rugged. To the left of the port, quite along the road, as far as the river *St Charles*, are strong batteries of cannon and mortars. On the angle of the citadel, facing the city, they have built what the engineers call an *Oreille de Bastion*, from whence they have drawn a sloping curtain, which joins to a very high cavalier, on which there is a windmill fortified. As you come down from this cavalier, you find, within musket-shot, a tower fortified with a bastion, and, at an equal distance, a second. The design was to cover all this part with a countercarp, having the same angles as the bastions, and ending at the extremity of the rock, near the Intendant's palace, where there is already a small redoubt, as there is another on *Cape Diamond*. This design has not, it seems, been carried into execution, though for what reason is hard to say.

The

The number of inhabitants being considerably increased, they pass their time very agreeably. The Governor-general, with his household; several of the noblest, of exceeding good families; the officers of the army, who in *France* are all gentlemen; the Intendant, with a supreme council, and the inferior magistrates; the Commissary of the marine; the Grand Provost; the Grand Hunter; the Grand Master of the waters and forests, who has the most extensive jurisdiction in the world; rich merchants, or such as live as if they were so; the Bishop, and a numerous seminary; two colleges of Recollets; as many of Jesuits; with three Nunneries; amongst all these you are at no loss to find agreeable company, and the most entertaining conversation. Add to this the diversions of the place; such as the assemblies at the Lady Governel's and Lady Intendant's; parties at cards, or of pleasure, such as, in the winter on the ice, in sledges, or in skating; and in the summer in chaifes or canoes; also hunting, which it is impossible not to be fond of, in a country abounding with plenty of game of all kinds.

It is remarked of the *Canadians*, that their conversation is enlivened by an air of freedom, which is natural and peculiar to them; and that they speak the *French* in the greatest purity, and without the least false accent. There are few rich people in that colony, though they all live well, are extremely generous and hospitable, keep very good tables, and love to dress very finely. They are reckoned well made, and to have an exceeding fine complexion, witty in their conversation, polite in their behaviour, and most obliging in their manners. The *Canadians* have carried the love of arms and of glory, so natural to their mother-country, along with them, for which reason, they have little of the narrow selfish spirit of the merchant in them; and, as they never entertain any thought of amassing, they have therefore little to lose; so that war is not only welcome to them, but coveted with extreme ardor. It is easy to imagine the consequence of such neighbours to the *British* colonies, immersed in luxury, and a prey to all the passions which accompany ease and riches, were the *Canadians* headed by such generals as *France* has formerly had, with an ambitious and wise prince on the throne. *Great Britain* therefore cannot be too watchful and expeditious to prevent the danger, whilst her precautions are of any moment or avail to her.

Three leagues from *Quebec* is the *Loretto of North America*, a village of the *Hurons*, in which is a chapel, built after the model of the *Santa Casa*, in the city of that name in *Italy*, decorated with an image of the *Virgin Mary*, taken from the statue in the Holy City. This feat of the devotion of the *Canadians* is situated in the most frightful wilderness imaginable, and famous for the resort of the devotees of those parts, who, whether through fancy or religion, are said to be seized with a certain sacred horror, which is not to be resisted, as also for the piety of the inhabitants. This village was formerly very populous, but diseases, or some other unknown cause, which has almost annihilated all the savage nations of *North America*, have very much reduced the number of its inhabitants.

Seven leagues from the capital is the *Point aux Trembles*. This is one of the better sort of parishes in this country. The church is large, and well built, and the inhabitants live very comfortably. In general, the old settlers here are richer than the lords of the manors; the reason of which is, that these latter being incapable of improving their estates themselves, as being heads of communities, officers, or gentlemen, who wanted the necessary funds for such an undertaking, were obliged to let them out to other settlers at a very small quit-rent, so that the revenue of a lord, who has an estate of two leagues in front, and an unlimited depth, is very inconsiderable.

After travelling seventeen leagues farther, you come to the habitation of a *French* gentleman in *New England*, situated on the river *Beaucourt*, formerly *Riviere Puante*, or the *Stinking River*, so called from the defeat or total extermination of the *Iroquet* nation, anciently called *Onnoucharonnons*, by the *Algonkins*, which happened in this river, the waters of which were infected by the great number of the dead bodies of those who fell on this occasion. *Beaucourt*, which is a village of the *Abenakis*, is far from being so populous as it has been some years. These *Indians* are reckoned the best *French* partisans in the whole country, and were always very forward in making inroads into the inland parts of *New England*, where the terror of their name has sometimes given alarms to *Boston* itself. They were equally serviceable to the *French* against the *Iroquois*, being not inferior in courage to those savages, and far beyond them in point of discipline. They are all Christians, and were remarkably devout when

newly converted; but the enchantment of brandy, which they never drink but with a design to get drunk, has not only, say the missionaries, abated the fervour of their piety, but made them draw nearer to the *English* settlements, amongst whom the deformity of this vice has no such effects. Eight leagues farther is the town called

TROIS RIVIERES, or *THREE RIVERS*,

in the most charming situation that can be imagined. It is built on a sandy declivity, but the whole extent of barren ground is no more than that which will be just sufficient to contain the place when it grows tolerably large, which is not its case at present. Excepting this single disadvantage, it is surrounded with every thing that can render a city delightful and opulent. A river half a league in breadth runs close under it, beyond that you have the prospect of a most beautiful country, the fields of which are extremely fertile, well cultivated, and crowned with the noblest forests in the universe. A little below, and on the same side of the city, the river *St Lawrence* receives into it a very fine river, divided into three branches, from whence it takes the name of *Trois Rivières*.

Description
of the town.

The city or town of *Trois Rivières*, contains but about seven or eight hundred persons, and has some mines in its neighbourhood, which are capable of enriching it whenever they shall think fit to work them. The situation is what renders it of great importance, and it is one of the noblest establishments in the colony. It has constantly been the seat of a governor from the first planting of *Canada*, who has a thousand crowns salary for himself, besides his household. Here is also a convent of *Recollets*, a handsome church, where these fathers officiate, and a very fine hospital adjoining to the convent of the *Ursuline Nuns*, in number of forty, whose office it is to attend it. This is another foundation of *de St Valier*, Bishop of *Quebec*, as early as the year 1650. The fenechal, or lord steward, of *New France*, whose jurisdiction has since been absorbed by the superior council and intendant of *Quebec*, had formerly a lieutenant at the *Three Rivers*. At present this city has a court of judicary in ordinary, the president of which is a lieutenant general of the king's forces. This city was anciently, that is, in the first beginning of the colony, greatly resorted to for the sake of trade by different *Indian* nations, and particularly the most northern, who used to come down by the *Three Rivers*. The conveniency of the place, joined to its great trade, was what determined several *French* to settle here, and the nearness of *Richelieu* River, then called *Iroquois* River, induced the governor general to build a fort, in which he placed a strong garrison. This post was regarded in those days as one of the most important in all *Canada*. But some time after, the *Indians* growing weary of the continual vexation of the *Iroquois*, from whose ravages the *French* themselves were hardly safe, all the passages being shut up by that nation, who constantly lay in ambush about them, so that the *Canadian Indians* could hardly think themselves secure under the cannon of the fort, left off bringing their furs. The *Jesuits*, with their proselytes, retired to *Cape Magdalen*, three leagues below; but, whether by the inconstancy natural to those *Indians*, or through a long series of wars and diseases, which have almost destroyed this infant church, this mission was of no long duration. There is, however, still here a troop of *Algonquins*, baptized in their infancy, but who have nothing more of Christianity about them.

Lake *St Peter*

Two leagues from *Trois Rivières* begins lake *St Peter*, about three leagues broad, and five long, so that the sight has nothing to confine it on that side, where the beams of the setting sun seem to sink into the water. This lake, which is nothing but the widening of the river *St Lawrence*, receives into it several other rivers that by continual encroachments on the low lands near their mouths help to form this lake, which no where is so deep as the river *St Lawrence*, but in the middle, the other parts being navigable only for canoes, and that with some difficulty. To make amends for this defect, it is full of several sorts of the most excellent fish.

Richelieu *Isles*

Cross Lake *St Peter*, on the *New England* shore, lies the canton of *St Francis*. At the Western extremity of the same lake appears a prodigious multitude of islands, called *Richelieu* *Islands*; and on the left, as you come from *Quebec*, six others on the coast of a bay, into which discharges itself a very fine river, that takes its rise in the neighbourhood of *New York*. The islands, the river, and all the country which it waters, bear the name of *St Francis*. Each of these islands is a good quarter of a league long,

long, but their breadth is various; those of *Richelieu* are the largest. All of them formerly abounded in deer of several sorts, goats, and otters; great quantities of game, and a vast profusion of fish, both in the river and in the lake near it.

The soil of this canton, if one may judge of it by the trees it bears, and by the little already cultivated, is exceeding good. The inhabitants, however, are far from being rich, and would be reduced to the last degree of indigence, were they not supported in some measure by the trade they carry on with the neighbouring *Indians*.

These are the *Abenakis*, and amongst them some *Algonkins*, *Sokokies*, and *Makin-gans*, otherwise called *Wolfs*. Their village lies on the banks of the river *St Francis*, about two leagues from its mouth, and in a most delightful situation. The *French* give them the character of being very docile, being all of them Christians, and most affectionate to their nation.

This whole country has been for a long time the theatre of many a bloody scene, as it was the most exposed to the inroads of the enemy, whilst the war with the *Iroquois* lasted. These *Indians* used to come down by the *Iroquois* river that falls into the river *St Lawrence*, a little higher than the lake *St Peter*, on the same side with that of *St Francis*, and for that reason it bore their name; since that the *French* have called it *Sorel*, and now *Richlieu* river. The isles of *Richlieu* served them as fit places to lie in ambush, or for a retreat, but since this way has been shut up by the *French* fort *Sorel*, built at the mouth of the river, they have changed their rout, coming over land above and below it, principally directing their motions to the canton of *St Francis*, where they found the same conveniency of plundering and ravaging the country, and where they have perpetrated the most horrid cruelties.

In this manner they over-ran the whole country, which obliged the inhabitants to build a kind of fort in each parish, to serve for a retreat in case of an alarm. In these forts, which were only so many large enclosures, fenced with palisadoes, with redoubts in proper places, are centinels, who keep watch night and day, and some pieces of small cannon, to give the signal to the inhabitants to be upon their guard, or for assistance in case of an attack. The church and the manor-house were generally in those places of security, the remaining space being to receive the women, children, and cattle. Weak as these fortresses are, they have generally answered the end they were built for, none of them having ever been forced by the *Iroquois*, against whose insults and fury they were intended. These savages have rarely so much as attempted to keep them blockaded, or, if they ever did, as they have no regular method for reducing any place, it has always been without success.

The passage between *Montreal* and *Quebec* is about sixty leagues, and affords, the noblest and most delightful prospect imaginable. In the summer you travel by water in canoes, at which season the weather is fine. It is impossible to express the pleasure that arises from the sight of an infinity of pieces of water and channels, formed by almost innumerable islands, and of the banks of the river on both sides, that are covered with large forests, and, like so many theatrical scenes, are varying every moment. In winter, if the pleasure of the prospect is lessened by that universal whiteness which covers all nature, and hides that beautiful variety of colours that makes the country so enchanting in the fine season, you have some amends made you by the conveniency of travelling in sledges, and in the novelty of seeing this noble river become as firm and passable as the Continent. Towards *Quebec* the soil is very good, but the prospect extremely insipid, and, what is an additional disadvantage, the weather is in these parts very severe; for in proportion as you come down the river, as it runs North, the cold still encreases.

Quebec stands in 46 degrees, 48 minutes, North latitude; the city of *Trois Rivieres*, in 46 degrees and 24 minutes, and *Montreal* in 45 degrees, 45 minutes. The river makes a turn towards the South a little above Lake *St Peter*, so that you no sooner pass the islands of *Richlieu*, than you seem transported into another climate: The air becomes milder, the land not so wild and rugged, the river much finer, and its banks much more charming and delightful. From time to time you meet with islands, some of them inhabited, others in that naked simplicity of charms in which nature has left them, and all forming the noblest prospects imaginable.

Iroquois Cree
Sorel, now
Richlieu
river.
Isles of *Richlieu*.

Temporary
forts.

Delightful in-
land voyage.

Latitudes of
Quebec, &c.

A D E S C R I P T I O N

MONTREAL; or VILLE MARIE,

is situated on the island of *Montreal*, six leagues and a half in length from East to West, and near three leagues over in the broadest part. The mountain from which it has its name, and on which the city is built, stands at an equal distance from both ends, and about half a league from the banks of the river St *Lawrence* on the South side of the island. The city was called *Ville Marie* by the founders, and that name it still retained in all public acts, and by the lords, or proprietors, who are very jealous in this point. The Superiors of the seminary of St *Sulpicius* are not only proprietors of the city, but of the whole island. Wherefore as the soil here is not only excellent, but all in cultivation, and the city full as populous as *Quebec*, this signiory, or lordship, may very justly be reckoned worth six of the best in *Canada*, and in general the people are very happy under these masters.

The city is extremely well built, the streets very well disposed, the situation very commodious, and the prospect exceeding agreeable. The view of the adjacent country is no less pleasing. It had formerly no fortifications, except an enclosure of a single pallisade with bastions of the same nature, kept in very bad order; and a very poor redoubt, which served for an outwork, joined by a gentle declivity to a small square, and was the first object that saluted you as you came from *Quebec*. Before, it was quite defenceless, and equally exposed to the insults of the *English* and *Indians*, till the Chevalier de *Callieres*, brother to one of the plenipotentiaries at the peace of *Ryswick*, enclosed it in this manner whilst he was governor. Since his time, it is said to have been walled in, and made capable of sustaining a regular siege, but I have since learnt, that in 1756 the only appearance of any fortification in this place was a cavalier without a parapet, and about fourteen guns without carriages.

Montreal is an oblong square or quadrangle, and stands on the banks of the river St *Lawrence*. It is divided into the High and Low Towns, tho' the ascent from one to the other is scarce perceivable. The hotel-dieu, or hospital, the king's magazines, and place of arms, are in the Lower Town, and most of the merchants have their houses in this part. In the higher are the seminary, the parochial church, the convents of the Recollets, Jesuits, and the sisters of the congregation, together with the houses of the governor, and most of the officers of the garrison. Beyond a rivulet, which comes from the North West, and bounds the city on that side, is the hospital general, with several private houses. And on the right, beyond the convent of the Recollets, which is situated at the extremity of the city on the same side, begins a kind of suburb, which in time is like to be a very fine quarter.

The Jesuits have but a small convent here; but their church is large and well built. The convent of the Recollets is more spacious, and the community more numerous. The seminary stands in the center of the city; and it appears that those who built it, were more intent on making it solid and commodious, than magnificent. You may, however, perceive something about it, which carries an air of dignity worthy of the lord of the manor: It adjoins to the parochial church, which has more of the grandeur of a cathedral, than that of *Quebec*. The noble air of this temple with the solemnity and modesty of the worship, inspire an awful respect for that deity who is the object of it.

The house of the daughters of the Congregation, tho' one of the largest in the city, is notwithstanding too small for the community. This is the head of the order, and the noviciate of an institute, which had its birth in *New France*, and is a very noble foundation. The Hotel-Dieu is served by these sisters, the first of whom came from *La Fleche* in *Anjou*. You see nothing of their poverty, which is far from being affected, either in their hall, which is large and well furnished, or in their church, which is very fine and richly ornamented; or in their house, which is well built, neat, and commodious; but they are very indifferently provided for in respect to their table, though they are indefatigable both in the education of the youth of their sex, and in attending the sick.

The Hospital General owes its establishment to one *Charvon*, who had associated himself with some persons remarkable for their piety, not only for promoting this work of charity, but also for providing the country parishes with school-masters, who should be to the boys, what the Daughters of the Congregation were, with respect to the youth of their own sex. But this association soon came to nothing, and the Sieur *Charvon*

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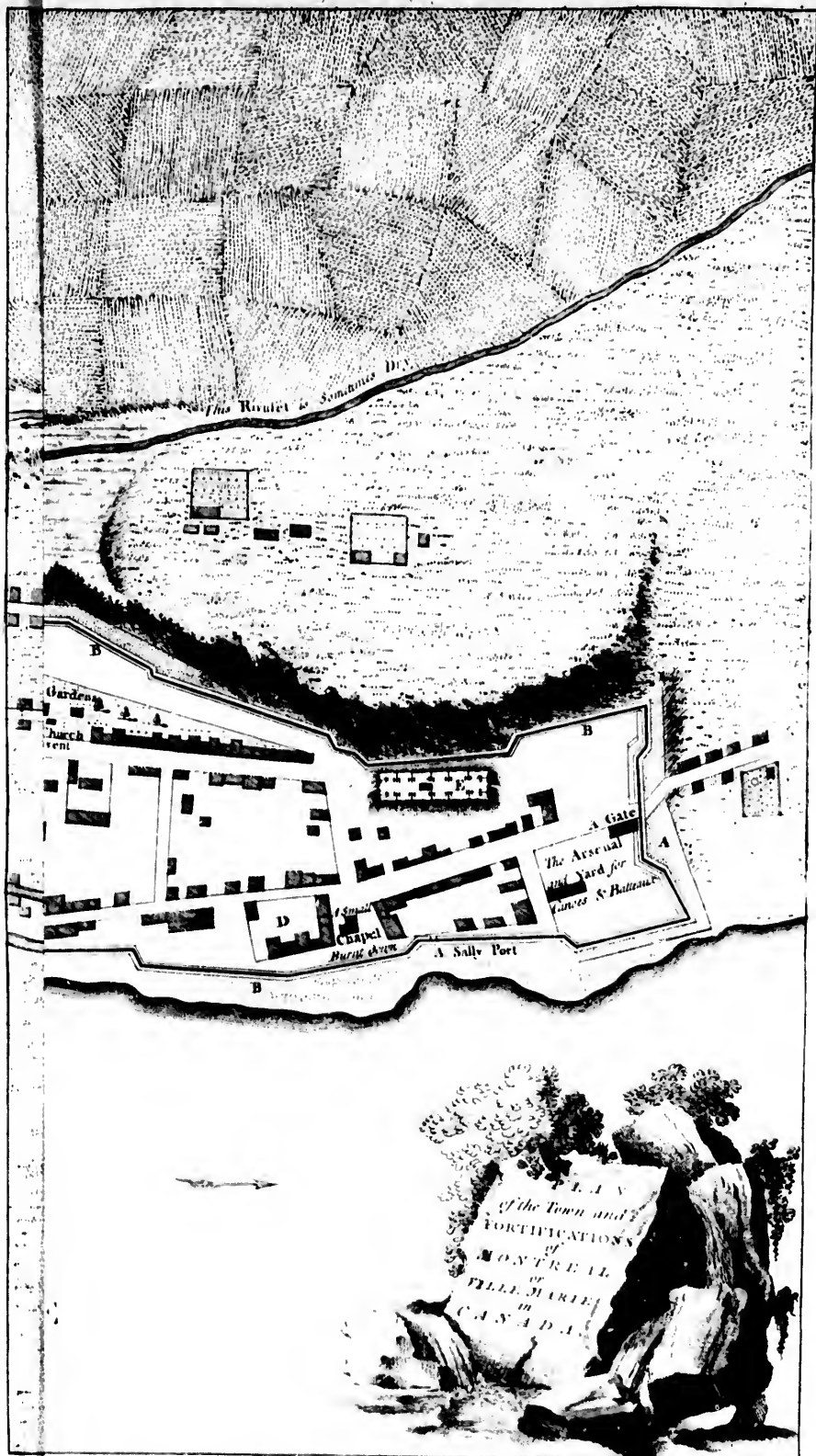
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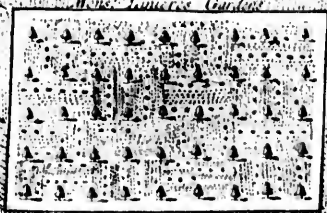
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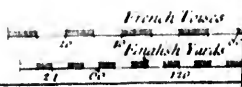


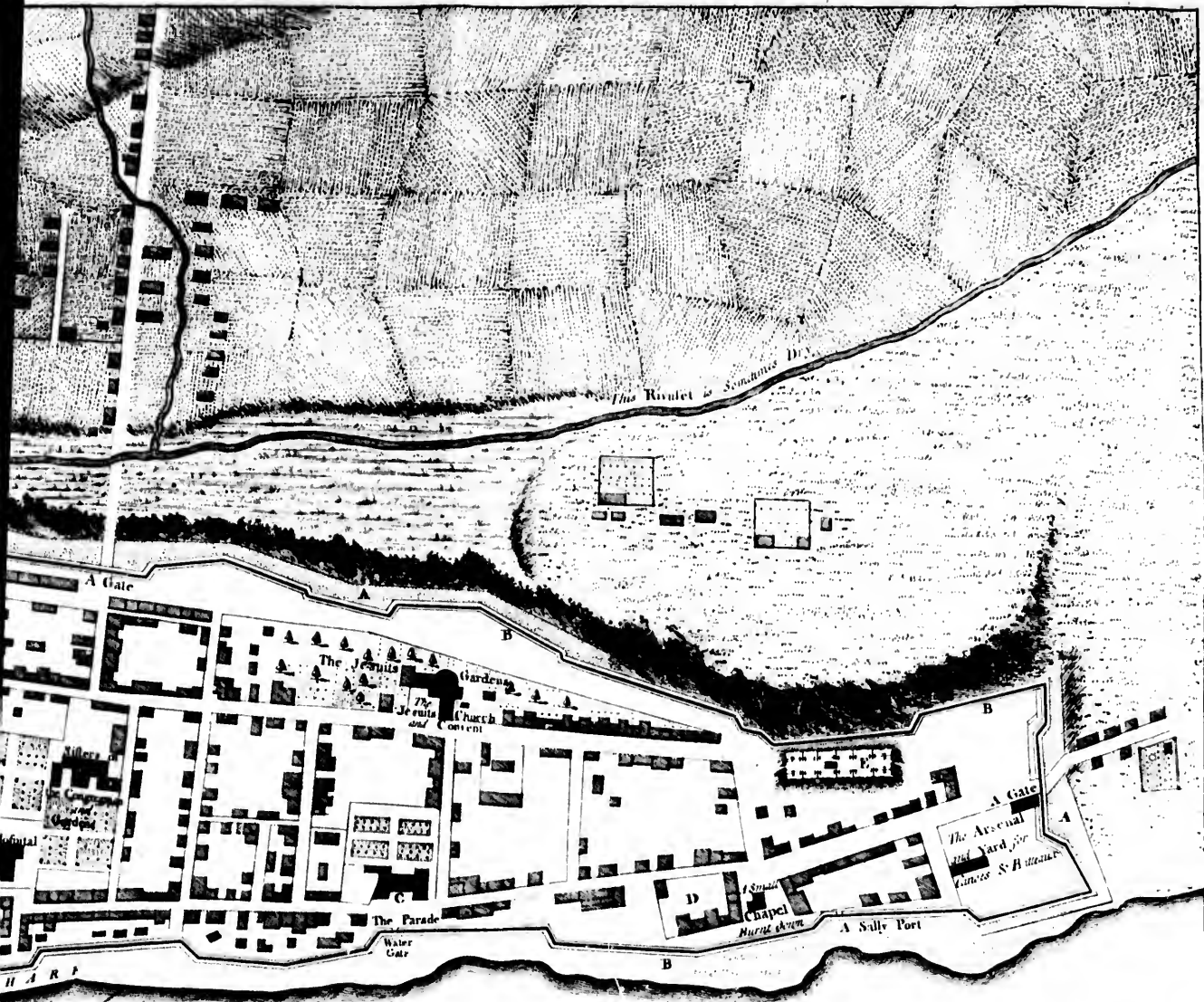
1765 Plan 2.

- A. A Dry Ditch about 8 feet deep
- B. The Town Wall, the Parapet of which is only about a foot thick of Masonry.
- C. *Mons Vintred* the Governor's Generals Palace.
- D. *Mons de L'Esperance* House.
- E. The Fort with a Cavalier built out a Parapet.

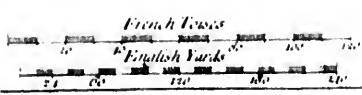


T H E R I V E
S T. L A U R





R I V E R
 S T. L A W R E N C E



Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, at Chateau Croix, Jan 30 1778. Plate 3.

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was left by himself. This did not, however, discourage him; he expended the remainder of his fortune, and procured the assistance of some powerful persons, and had the pleasure, before he died, to see his project pass all danger of miscarriage, at least with respect to the Hospital General, which is a very fine building, as is its church, which is no way inferior to it.

The great traffic for furs, after the city of *Trois Rivières* ceased to be frequented by the *Indians* of the North and West, was, for some time, carried on at *Montreal*, whither those savages resorted, at certain times, from all parts of *Canada*; so that there was kept a sort of fair, which drew multitudes of *French* to this city. The Governor-general and Intendant honoured it with their presence, and made use of this opportunity to compose any differences that might happen to arise between their allies. The place is still frequented by the *Canadian Indians*, who often come hither in companies, but not by far in such numbers as formerly, the war of the *Iroquois* hindering the great concourse of those nations. In order to remedy this evil, magazines, with forts, have been erected in most parts of the country, with a commandant, and a garrison, strong enough to secure the merchandize. The *Indians* are always fond of a gunsmith, and amongst several of them there are missionaries.

In 1688, some chiefs of the Five Nations, sent on an embassy to the *French* governor at *Montreal*, were, through his perfidy, intercepted at one of the falls on *Cadaraqui* River by the *Dinondadies*, their enemies. This outrage and indignity against the rights of ambassadors, animated the confederates to the keenest thirst after revenge; and on the 26th of *July* they landed 1200 of their men on the South side of the island of *Montreal*, while the *French* were in perfect security; burnt their houses, sacked their plantations, and put to the sword all the men, women, and children without the skirts of the town. One thousand *French* were slain in this invasion, and twenty-six carried off, and burnt alive. Many more were made prisoners in another attack in *October* following, when the lower part of the island was wholly destroyed. Only three of the confederates were lost in this scene of misery and desolation. Never did *Canada* sustain such a heavy blow, the news of which no sooner reached *Fort Frontenac*, than the garrison abandoned that fort with such precipitation, that one of the battoes, with the soldiers and crew, were all lost in shooting a fall. In this calamity all the *Indians* in alliance with the *French* deserted them, except the two tribes of the *Nepicirinians* and *Kikabous*; the *Outawaus* and seven other nations instantly made peace with the *English*, and, but for the uncommon abilities and address of the *Sieur Perrot*, the Western *Indians* would have murdered every *Frenchman* among them. Nor did the distresses of the *Canadians* end there: numerous parties from the Five Nations continually infested their borders, and the frequent depredations they committed, prevented them from cultivating their fields. At the same time, a famine raged throughout all *Canada*; so that nothing but the ignorance of the *Indians* in the art of attacking fortified places saved this country from being entirely ruined. It was therefore fortunate for the *French*, that the *Indians* had no assistance from the *English*, and as unfortunate for us, that our colonies were then incapable of affording succours to the confederates, through the malignant influence of those unnatural measures which were pursued under the reign of King *James II.*

Between the island of *Montreal* and the continent, on the North side, is another island, five leagues in length, and full one league over in the broadest part. This was at first called the Island of *Montmagny*, in honour of a Governor-General of *Canada*, but was afterwards given to the *Jesuits*, who named it the *Isle of Jesus*, which last appellation it still keeps, though it has since fallen into the hands of the directors of the Seminary of *Quebec*.

The channel which separates the two islands is called *La Rivière des Prairies*, or, the *River of the Meadows*, from the fine meadows which lie on both sides of it. The course of it is a little embarrassed by a rapid or strong current, called the *Fall of the Reeslet* in memory of a Monk of that order drowned in it. The Ecclesiastics of the Seminary of *Montreal* had, for a long time, a mission amongst the *Indians* near this place, which they have since removed.

The third arm of the river is so taken up with a number of islands, that there is almost as much land as water. This channel is called the *Thousand Isles*, or *St. John's* River. At the extremity of the *Isle of Jesus* is the little island *Bizard*, so called from

a former proprietor, who was a *Swiss* officer, and a little higher towards the South, you find the Island *Perrot*, so called from the first governor of *Montreal*, who was of this name. This island is about one league in length, and is very good land. The island *Bizard* terminates the Lake 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 opening of the great river, called the River of the *Outarvais*, into the River *St Lawrence*, which bounds *Canada* on the South. This Lake is two leagues long, and very near one league and a half in breadth. The lake of *St Louis* is somewhat smaller, and is indeed no more than a widening of the River *St Lawrence*. The soil is excellent all this way.

But the chief defence of *Montreal*, and all the country about it, were two villages of *Iroquois* Christians, and the fort of *Chambly*, an incroachment in the province of *New York*. The first of those villages is that of the *Fall of St Louis*, situated on the continent towards the South, and three leagues above *Montreal*. This village is extremely populous, and has always been reckoned one of the strongest barriers of the *French* against the unconverted *Iroquois*, and the *English* of *New York*. The situation has been twice removed. Its second station, established in 1708, (about a league from the former) is near a rapid current, called the *Fall of St Louis*, which name it still preserves, though it stands at a considerable distance from it. It appears to be now fixed for ever, and the church and convent of the *Jesuits* are, in their kind, two of the finest edifices in all *Canada*. Its situation is quite charming. The river is very broad here, and is interspersed with several islands, the prospect whereof has a very fine effect. The Isle of *Montreal* forms the perspective on one side, the view having nothing to confine it on the other, as the Lake *St Louis*, which begins a little higher, extends itself beyond the sight.

The second village is called the village of the Two Mountains, because it stood for a long time on the double-headed mountain, which has given its name to the whole island. It is since removed to the *Fall of the Recollet*; and it stands at present on the *Terr. Firma*, near the Western extremity of the island. The Ecclesiastics of the Seminary of *Montreal* have the government of it. The inhabitants were once famous for their courage and piety, till the avarice of some dealers introduced the trade of spirituous liquors amongst them, which has done as much, if not more, mischief here, than at the missions of *St Francis* and *Bezacourt*.

CADARAQUI, or IROQUOIS RIVER,

belonging to the Six Nations, seized by the *French*, and by them called *St Lawrence* River, begins at what they call the *Cascades*, a rift, close by the upper end of the Isle *Perrot*, which separates Lake *St Louis* from that of the two Mountains. In order to shun this rift, you keep a little to the right hand, and are obliged, in a particular place, called *Le Trou*, or the Hole, to let the canoes pass through it empty: They are afterwards hauled on shore, and carried, with all the baggage, on men's shoulders, for about half a quarter of a league higher. This is done with a view to avoid a second rift, called *le Buiffon*, the Bush, which is a fine sheet of water, falling from a flat rock, about half a foot above the level of the water under it. It is possible to save passengers all this trouble and fatigue, by deepening the channel of a river, which falls into another somewhat higher than the cascade; an affair of a very trifling expence.

Above the *Buiffon* the river is a quarter of a league in breadth, and the land on both sides covered with fine woods, and is, besides, extremely fertile. It is long since the grounds on the Northern bank have been begun to be cleared; and it would be no difficult undertaking, to make a high-way from the point near the island of *Montreal*, as far as the bay called *la Galette*. By this means forty leagues of an extremely difficult and tedious navigation, occasioned by the rifts in the river, might be saved.

Three leagues hence, from *le Trou*, is another rift, called the *Cedar Hill Rift*, from the great quantity of cedars formerly growing near this place. A fourth rift, two leagues and a half hence, is called the rift of *St Francis*, from whence to Lake *St Francis* you have only half a league. This lake is seven leagues in length, and almost three in breadth, where broadest. The land on both sides is low, but appears to be of an excellent

Isle *Bizard*
and *Perrot*.

Lake of the
Two Mountains
and *St Louis*.

Iroquois vil-
lages.
Village of the
Fall of St Louis.

Village of the
Two Mountains.

Cascades

Le Trou Rift.

Buiffon Rift.

A new high-
way proposed

Cedar Hill rift

St Francis rift

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excellent soil. The rout from *Montreal* hither lies a little towards the South-West, and the Lake of *St Francis* runs West-south-west, and East-north-east.

From hence you come to the *Chefnaux du lac*, for thus are called those channels formed by a cluster of islands, which take up almost the whole breadth of the river in this place. The soil seems here extraordinary good, and never was professed more charming than that of the country about it.

The most remarkable falls here are that of the *Moulinet*, which is even frightful to behold, and exceeding difficult to get through; and that called the *Long Fall*, half a league in length, and passable only to canoes half loaded. The next you come to is called the *Flat Rift*, about seven leagues above the *Long Fall*, and five below that called *les Galots*, which is the last of the falls. *La Galette* lies a league farther, and one can never be weary of admiring the extraordinary beauty of the country, and of the noble forests, which overspread all the lands about this bay and *La Galette*, particularly the vast woods of oaks of a prodigious height.

A fort would perhaps be better situated, and much more necessary at *La Galette*, than at *Cadaraqui*, for this reason, that not so much as a single canoe could pass without being seen; whereas at *Cadaraqui*, they may easily sail behind the isles, without being perceived at all. The lands, moreover, about *la Galette* are excellent, whence there would be always plenty of provisions, which would be no small saving. And, besides, a vessel could very well go from *la Galette* to *Niagara* in two days with a fair wind. One motive for building the fort at *Cadaraqui* was, the conveniency of trading with the *Iroquois*. But those *Indians* would as willingly come to *la Galette* as to the other place. Their way, indeed, would be much longer, but then it would save them a traverse of eight or nine leagues on the *Lake Ontario*; not to mention, that a fort at *la Galette* would secure all the country lying between the great river of the *Ontariois* and the River *St Lawrence*; for this country is inaccessible on the side of the river, on account of the rifts, and nothing is more practicable, than to defend the banks of the great river; at least, these are the sentiments of those sent by the court of *France* to visit all the distant posts of *Canada*.

One league and a half from *La Galette*, on the opposite shore, at the mouth of the *Sagatchi* River, the *French* have lately built the fort *La Presentation*, which commands that river, and keeps open a communication by land between *Lake Champlain* and this place.

Four leagues above *La Presentation* is the isle called *Tonibata*, about half a league in length, and of a very good soil. An *Iroquois*, called by the *French* writers, for what reason we are not told, the *Quaker*, a man of natural good sense, and much attached to the *French* nation, had, as they say, got the domain of this island of a Count of *Frontenac*, the patent of which, it seems, he was proud of shewing to any body. He sold his lordship for a gallon of brandy, reserving, however, the profits to himself, and taking care to settle eighteen or twenty families of his own nation upon this island.

It is ten leagues from hence to *Cadaraqui*; and, on your way to this place, you pass through a fort of *Archipel*, called the *Thousand Isles*, and there may possibly be about five hundred. From hence to *Cadaraqui* they reckon four leagues. The river here is freer and opener, and its breadth half a league. On the right are three large and deep bays, in the third of which islands

FORT CADARAQUI, or FRONTENAC,

which is one hundred and fifty miles from *Montreal*, and three hundred miles from *Quebec*, was built by Count *Frontenac*, governor of *Canada* in 1672, at the time the crowns of *England* and *France* were united in a treaty to destroy the *Dutch*. At the same time the *French* were in amity with the *Iroquois*, or *Five Nations*, and the Count prevailed with them to allow him to build a trading house at *Cadaraqui*, and under that pretence he built a fort, to which he gave his own name *Frontenac*. The fort is a square, with four bastions, built of stone, and is about a quarter of a league in circuit.

* *Archipel* is a truncated word for *Archipelago*, the modern appellation of the *Ægean* *Mare*, *Ægean* sea of the ancients, separating *Greece* from *Asia*, and full of islands, which property has occasioned a narrow sea, or strait, where

you meet with a cluster of isles, to be called *Archipel*, which is sometimes also, as it is here, applied to the aggregate of islands, its contents.

Circuit. The situation of it is in latitude 44. 17, and has something very agreeable, being on a peninsula, near which is a good haven. The banks of the river presents every where a beautiful landscape and of a great variety, as does the entry of the lake *Ontario*, which is at no more than a short league distant.

This place cannot command the entrance of the Lake without a superior fleet, because the river here is intersperst with islands of different sizes, all of them covered with wood, and any vessels may sail by undiscovered. Thus some of the garrison of *Osewego* in 1755, went in open whale boats into the river *St Lawrence*, and returned without being annoyed by the *French*. The harbour is frozen up at least four months in the year, and is sometimes extremely endangered by ice in the spring. The situation of this place is unhealthy by reason of the marshes that surround it, and the fort is of no security to *Canada*, but is advantageous for the fur trade with those of the Five Nations who live near the lake, and is a very important place in an active war with the *Iroquois*, as being properly situated for assembling forces designed to act against them, and to intercept their hunters as they return from *'Skanaderade'*, by the East end of Lake *Ontario*. The *French* also have, by means of this fort, obliged the Five Nations to retire from their lands on the North West side of the river *Iroquois*, between *Frontenac* and *Montreal*.

The Five Nations in the war with the *French*, in *July* 1688, when they sacked great part of the isle of *Montreal*, and in *October* following completed the destruction of the island, except the city, occasioned the *French* garrison at *Frontenac* to destroy the two barks they had on Lake *Ontario*, built by the *M. de la Salle*, and abandon the fort by the governor's order. But in their precipitate flight, the match they had left to blow up the magazine, and one of the bastions, missed its effect. Fifty *Iroquois* entered the fort, where they found twenty eight barrels of powder, and other stores, which they took away, and left the fort a little damaged and empty. It remained in this condition, abandoned both by the *French* and *Indians*, till the re-inflating Count *Frontenac* in the government of *Canada*, in 1689. That winter several young gentlemen and *Indian* traders came from *Quebec*, and extended their incroachments to this place, and repaired some little damages the *Indians* had done, and established themselves in this fort. In 1699 the confederates, or Five Nations, concluded a peace with the Count, and the *French* have ever since kept possession of *Frontenac* and the country from thence to *Montreal*.

Frontenac
See by Col.
Bradstreet.

The *French* continued in possession of this place till 1758, when Major General *Abercromby*, commander in chief of the *British* forces in *North America*, detached Lieutenant Colonel *Bradstreet*, with 154 Regulars, 249 Provincials, 27 of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, 61 Rangers, 300 *Batteau* men, and 70 *Indians*, in all 3103 men, including officers, and on *August* 25, he landed his troops within a mile of Fort *Frontenac* without opposition, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war on the 27th.—It was a square fort of 100 yards the exterior side, and had in it 110 men, some women, children, and *Indians*; 60 pieces of cannon (half of which were mounted) 16 mortars, and an immense quantity of provisions and goods, for their Western garrisons, the *Indians*, and to support their armies, valued at 800,000 livres.—Nine vessels from eight to eighteen guns, which was all the *French* had on the Lake *Ontario*, one of which Lieutenant Colonel *Bradstreet* took richly laden, and sent another to *Osewego*; the seven others, with the provisions, fort, artillery, stores, &c. are burnt and destroyed.

This fort was one of the principal marts the *French* had in *North America* for a trade with the *Indians*, who came from the most remote parts, and took off a great quantity of coarse woollen goods, such as strouds and duffils, with guns, hatchets, knives, hoes, kettles, powder and shot; besides shirts, and cloaths ready made, iron and brass work, and trinket of all sorts, with several other articles, in exchange for all sorts of furs.

The soil from *La Galette*, as far as this place, is but indifferent, which quality however belongs only to the lands lying on the banks of the river, for higher up, that is nearer the fort, it is exceeding good.

The soil
Behind the fort

Behind the fort is a morass, full of all manner of game, which affords plenty of provision and amusement to the garrison. There was formerly a great trade carried on here, chiefly with the *Iroquois*; and the reason for building the fort on this spot was, to draw them to the *French*, to keep them in awe, and to hinder them from carrying

carrying their furs to the *English*. But this traffic did not continue long, and the fort has not been able to prevent those *Indians* from doing that nation abundance of mischief. They have still, however, several families settled without its walls; and there are also some of the *Sissigaguez*, an *Algonquin* nation, which have a village on the Western banks of the Lake *Ontario*, another at *Niagara*, and a third in the *Narrows*, or *Detroit*.

In the middle of the river is a very pleasant island, called the Island of *Hogs*, from the multitude of those animals bred on it. Two others, named *Cedar Island*, and *Deer Island*, lie a little below this; about half a league's distance from each other. The Bay of *Cadaraqui* is double, occasioned by a Cape very near its middle, and advancing pretty far into the water, under which is very good anchoring for large barks. *M. de la Salle*, so famous for his discoveries and misfortunes, who was formerly Lord of *Cadaraqui*, and Governor of the fort, built three or four barks here, which have been since sunk, and are still to be seen under water.

The following Account of the Navigation of the River St Lawrence, from Lake Ontario to the Isle of Anticosti, is given by a Gentleman who lately made that Voyage.

FROM *Niagenèse* to *Montreal* 65 leagues, navigable only with battoes and canoes. The river from the lake *Ontario* to *La Galette* is still water. From *La Galette* to the upper end of lake *St Francis*, and from the lower end of lake *St Francis* to the church of the Cedar Hills, are several long rapid rifts, but in moderate weather may be passed through without landing, with good pilots: From the church of the Cedar Hills cross the point *Le Trou*, there is a carrying place of about six or seven miles, in going up they are obliged to half unload their battoes, the rifts being very rapid, and, in time of floods, dangerous. The pilots must be well acquainted with the channels. Below the lake *St Lewis*, about 12 miles above *Montreal*, there is a long, rapid rift, called *St Lewis Fall*, it is several miles long, they keep near the south side, and run in a strait line till they pass the mill, then they must make several short traverses to humour the current and channel. This rift must not be attempted by strangers.

From *Montreal* to *Quebec* 60 leagues, navigable with vessels of forty or fifty tons.

In this passage there are shoals in many places, even the battoes run often a-ground; a pilot is therefore absolutely necessary. The most dangerous are some rocky shoals opposite to the church of *St Anne's* below the *Three Rivers*. The vessels must keep near the south side, after they have passed the church; many of the rocks appear above water in clusters, which at a distance look like flocks of ducks.

From QUEBEC down the river.

At *Quebec* they build seventy gun ships. Common nip tides rise sixteen feet. The first danger is in making the traverse at the lower end of the *Isle of Orleans*, which must not be attempted without a fair gale, enough of day light, and a good pilot. The next danger is at the *Whirlpool*, between the island of *Coudres* and the Continent, where the tide of flood throws the ships ashore on the south side, and the tide of ebb upon the north side, so that the passing of it must not be attempted without a fair leading gale, strong enough to stem the tide. When they get below this place the pilots are dismissed, and when they pass *Green* island, they keep within a few leagues of the south shore, until they make the island of *Anticosti*.

The following Course of a Cartel Ship from QUEBEC through the Traverses is by another Hand.

1756, October 4th, at nine A. M. half ebb weighed and steered about N.E. till a hammock on the south shore appeared in one with the west end of *Isle Madam*, then steering southward of the E. for the highest of a parcel of rocks, till we had made the middle of *Isle aux Rots*, and the west end of *Isle Madam* in one with the low end of the high land to the S.W. at this time haled up N.S. for a barren high hill in the north shore, at *Cape Torment*, steered thus till we brought the N.E. end of *Orleans* in one

with the main high land, to the N. of the back of *Orkans*, then sailed down the river at about the distance of a mile from the N. shore. N. B. 3 fathoms low water in the traverse, and rises at 4 P. M.

The River SAGUENAY

is navigable for twenty-five leagues from *Tadoussac*, where it falls into the River *St Lawrence*. It issues from a lake called by the *Indians*, *Piekouagamis*, and by the *French* *Lake St Jean*, which receives its waters from three considerable rivers, near the springs of which are three great lakes, called the Lake of *Mistassins*, the Lake of *Pere Abanel*, and Lake *Dauphin*. These three great lakes are situated in the country belonging to *Hudson's Bay*, and communicate with each other, and discharge themselves into that Bay by *Rupert River*.

The *French* have several missions on the banks of these lakes, as well as of *Lake St Jean* and *Saguenay*. The mission called *Checoutimi* lies midway between *Tadoussac* and *Lake St Jean*; and at that called *Metabetchouan*, on the banks of *Lake St Jean*, they have also a settlement.

All the country to the North and North-East is full of lakes and rivers, and inhabited by different nations of *Indians*, the chief of which are the *Checoutimiens*, the *Piekouagamiens*, the *Nekoubanistes*, the *Great* and the *Little Mistassins*, the *Papinackois*, and several others, all in the *French* interest.

The River OUTAWAIS.

rises in latitude $48^{\circ} 30'$, and after running South about thirty miles, falls into the Lake *Timiskaming*, from whence it continues its course in the same direction to latitude 46° , where it receives a river that has its source near *Lake Nipissing*, called by *D'Arcville*, *Nipi-Sirimi*, or the *Sorcerer's Lake*. From this place the *Outawais* falls with an Eastern course into the Lake of the *Two Mountains*, formed by the River *St Lawrence*, opposite to the island of *Montreal*.

The River *Outawais*, with the river we just now mentioned as falling into it, and some others running from *Lake Nipissing* into *Lake Huron*, are to be considered as the Southern boundaries of *Canada*, since the *Five Nations* lay claim to all the country Southward. Hence the *French* were formerly obliged to take this way to *Lake Huron*, though the navigation is very troublesome, on account of the many rifts and portages, or carrying-places, till, after their incroachments on the *British* territories, they found means, by erecting forts at the principal passes, to secure the navigation of the River *Iroquois*, and the Lakes *Ontario* and *Eric*.

The Lake SUPERIOR.

is the most considerable of the four large lakes which more immediately communicate with each other and the River *St Lawrence*. It is generally allowed to be at least 80 leagues long, (*Charlevoix* makes it 200) and from 30 to 40, and even 50 broad; a circumstance which renders the navigation of it extremely dangerous in boisterous weather. There are, however, a number of little harbours on its coasts, in which vessels may find shelter.

This lake abounds with a multitude of islands, some of which are seven or eight leagues long, and three or four broad. The most considerable are those called by the *French*, *Ile Royale*; *Ile Pleispeaux*, formerly *Ile Minong*; *Ile Pontchartrain*; *Ile Maurepas*; *Ile Hequart*; and *Ile Sainte Anne*.

A number of rivers, some of which are very considerable, discharge themselves into this lake. One of these which falls into it, near the middle of its northern shore, rises about 25 or 30 leagues North of *Lake Superior*, from a lake called *Alimipigon*, near which are the sources of a river that falls into *Hudson's Bay*. Another river that falls into *Lake Superior* near the last mentioned, is called, in the *French* maps, *Natsouagan*, and communicates, if we may believe the inhabitants, by a chain of rivers and smaller lakes, with a considerable lake called *Lake Bourbon*, which is made to communicate, in like manner, by *Port Nelson River*, called by the *French* *Bourbon River*, with *Hudson's Bay* to the North-East. The *French* likewise suppose that it communicates Westward with the great sea, commonly called the *South Sea* or *Pacific Ocean*.

At

At the mouth of *Les Trois Rivières*, or the Three Rivers, is a little *French* fort, called *Camanistigouia*; and twenty-five leagues to the West of the said fort the land begins to slope, and the river to run towards the West. Fort Camanistigouia.

At ninety-five leagues from this greatest height lies the second establishment of the *French* that way, called Fort *St Pierre*, in the Lake *des Pluies*. The third is Fort *St Charles*, eighty leagues farther on the Lake *des Bois*. The fourth is Fort *Maurepas*, a hundred leagues distant from the last, near the head of the Lake of *Ouinipigon*. Fort *la Reine*, which is the fifth, lies a hundred leagues farther on the river of the *Affiniboels*.* Another fort had been built on the river *Rouge*, but was deserted on account of its vicinity to the two last. The sixth, Fort *Dauphin*, stands on the West side of *Lac des Prairies*, or *of the Meadows*. And the seventh, which is called Fort *Bourbon*, stands on the shore of the great Lake *Bourbon*. The chain ends with Fort *Peskovac*, at the bottom of a river of that name, which falls into Lake *Bourbon*. The river *Peskovac* is made by *Delisle* and *Buache* to rise within twenty-five leagues of their West sea, which, they say, communicates with the *Pacific Ocean*. All these forts are under the governor of *Canada*. Fort St Pierre, F. St Charles, Fort Maurepas, Fort la Reine, Fort Dauphin, Fort Bourbon, Fort Peskovac.

On the Southern coast of Lake *Superior*, which extends almost due East and West, are the *Iles de St Michel*, and the Bay of *Chagouamigon*, at the bottom of which was formerly a small *Indian* town, where a missionary and some other *French* came to settle in 1661, by means of which this place, at first scarce worth notice, soon became very remarkable. The *Outagami*, *Saki*, *Outawai*, *Huron*, and *Illinois Indians*, resorted thither so early as 1668, for the sake of trade, and many of them settled there; and the traffic is still pretty considerable. This settlement was called *La Mission du St Esprit*, or the *Mission of the Holy Ghost*. Iles de Saint Michel, French settlements, Du St Esprit.

Twenty-five leagues to the East is a Peninsula that stretches a considerable way into the Lake, and terminates in a point called the Point of *Kioanan*. This peninsula forms a bay of the same name with the point, at the mouth of which lie a groupe of islands, called by the *French*, *Iles de St François Xavier*. Point and Bay Kioanan, Iles de St François Xavier.

Lake *Superior* is very streight, full of sands, and extremely dangerous, if you should be taken short with the North wind. The North side, therefore, is the best and most convenient course, being lined with rocks from one end to the other, which form harbours, that afford very safe shelter. These harbours are extremely necessary to those who sail in canoes through this lake, in which they have remarked the following singular phenomenon. Navigation of Lake Superior.

When a storm is brooding, they are advertised of it two days before. At first they perceive a gentle murmuring on the surface of the water, which lasts the whole day without any sensible increase. On the morrow after, the lake is entirely covered with pretty broad waves, which remain all day long without breaking; so that you may safely continue your voyage, and, if the wind be favourable, make good way; but on the third day, and before you are the least aware of it, the lake is all on fire. The ocean in its greatest fury does not exceed the agitation of its waters; so that, if you are not near some place of safety, shipwreck is unavoidable. This you are always sure to find on the North side, whereas on the opposite shore you are obliged to make to land as fast as possible on the second day, and take up your quarters at a considerable distance from the water side. Prognostics of its tempestuous state.

In the channel through which this lake discharges itself into that of the *Hurons*, you meet with a rift, caused by very large rocks, or islands, which the missionaries, who have a very flourishing church and congregation near it, have called the *Fall of St Mary*. There is likewise a *French* fort here, and several *French* inhabitants. St Mary Rd.

On some parts of the coast, and in some of its islands, are found great lumps of copper, and the inhabitants say there was formerly a large rock of the same metal, which rose considerably above the surface of the water. This rock now disappears, and has probably been covered with sand or mud by the waves of the lake. It is absolutely certain, that pretty large lumps of it have been found in several places, without digging very deep for it, and often almost without any alloy. A rock of copper.

Micklimakinac is properly the name of a small island, almost round, and very high, situated to the West of the abovementioned channel, at the extremity of Lake *Huron*, which name custom has extended to all the country round it. This island seems about three or four miles in circumference, and is seen at

* These distances of the forts are taken from *Remarques sur la Carte de L'Amérique par M. Belin*, published at Paris, 1755

the distance of twelve leagues. There are two other islands South of it, the farthest of which is five or six leagues in length; the other is very small and quite round. Both of them are extremely well wooded, and the soil excellent; whereas *Michilimakinac* is quite rocky and barren, without the least verdure, except moss, and some straggling blades of grass. It is, however, one of the most celebrated places in all *Canada*, and has been, according to a very antient tradition among the *Indians*, the chief seat of a nation of the same name, of whom they reckoned to the number of thirty colonies, or settlements, on the adjacent continent. They have been destroyed, as it is pretended, by the *Iroquois*; but we have no account when or where this event happened. Some of the missionaries assure us, that they had seen vestiges of this capital, though *Charlevoix* says, that none of them were remaining in his time.

Michilimakinac, a famous island.

In 1671, Father *Marquette* made a settlement on this island with a nation of *Hurons*, whom he induced to follow him. A fort was built here, and it became an important post; but it fell to ruin by degrees, and the mission of *St Ignatius* has been since formed, and a fort built on the adjacent continent.

Settlement of Fort *Ignatius*.

Conveniency of *Michilimakinac*.

The situation of *Michilimakinac* is admirable, with respect to the conveniency of trading. This port lies between three great lakes; Lake *Michigan*, which is three hundred leagues in circumference, without reckoning the great bay that falls into it; Lake *Huron*, which is three hundred and fifty leagues round, and in form of a triangle; and Lake *Superior*, which is no less than five hundred in circuit; all of them navigable for the largest barks, and the two first separated only by a small strait, deep enough for vessels of the largest draught of water, which may also sail over all Lake *Erie* without the least difficulty, as far as the famous cataract of *Niagara*. It is true, the channel which joins Lake *Huron* to Lake *Superior* is much embarrassed with reefs, which, however, do not hinder canoes from arriving at *Michilimakinac*, laden with every thing that the country about Lake *Superior* affords.

Fish in plenty and variety.

The chief nourishment of the *Michilimakinacs* was fish, there being no place in the world where they are in greater abundance and variety, such as herring, carp, gillthead, pike, sturgeon, *afficamegue*, or white fish, and especially trouts, all in the greatest plenty, both in the three lakes and the rivers which fall into them.

The sight of the circumjacent country presents us with no idea of its fruitfulness; but there is no need to go a great way from the shore to find land capable of bearing almost any kind of vegetable. The *Outaouais*, who have retired hither, sow corn here; a custom which they have learnt of the *Hurons*. The *Amakou's* formerly occupied these islands, which nation has been reduced to a small number of families, who have removed to the island *Manitowalan*, in the Northern parts of Lake *Huron*.

NATURAL HISTORY of CANADA.

WITH respect to this article, the reader is not to expect a minute detail of particulars, which are often very little interesting in themselves, and generally capable of affording but a very slender entertainment; all that is here intended being only to give a short sketch of such parts of the produce as are peculiar or of most consequence to this colony.

Of the produce of *Canada*.

The Cod fish.

We will begin with the catching and curing of the Cod-fish, for which the island of *Cape Breton*, and some parts of *Canada* lie so very convenient. Every one knows the excellency of this fish, when fresh; and it is scarce inferior when it has lain two days in salt: its flesh even acquires a firmness, which is far from being disadvantageous to it. But it is the fishermen only who enjoy the pleasure of regaling themselves with what is most delicious belonging to it, that is, the head, tongue, and liver, which, steeped in oil and vinegar, with a little pepper, makes a most excellent dish. But as it would occasion too great a consumption of salt, to preserve all those parts, they are generally thrown into the sea, at least, all that they cannot make use of while the fishing season lasts.

The larger cod.

The largest sort of Cod are about three feet in length, and are met with on the great Bank of *Newfoundland*. There is perhaps no fish that has a larger throat in proportion to the rest of its body, or that is more voracious; all sorts of substances having been found in its belly, such as pieces of broken earthen ware, iron, and

and glass. It has been currently believed, that it could digest such trash; but the world is now cured of that mistake, which had no other foundation, but only that those pieces of iron were sometimes half worn away. The general opinion now is, that the cod has the faculty of turning what the French fishermen call *le Gau*, that is, the *stomach*, inside out, like a pocket, and by this means discharges itself of whatever is disagreeable or burthensome to it. A remarkable property.

What is called in *Holland* the *Cabeliau*, is a sort of cod caught in the Channel, and in some other places, which differs from that of *North America* in size only, being much less than this latter. They are contented with salting that of the Great Bank, which is then called white or more commonly green cod. The lesser cod.

Montieur *Denys*, a French Gentleman, says, that excellent salt has formerly been made in *Canada*, even as good as that of *Brouage*; but that after the experiment had been made, the salt-pits dug for that purpose had been filled up, to the great prejudice and discredit of the colony. Salt produced in Canada.

The dried cod, or what the French call *la Merluche*, can only be cured on the coasts, and that with very great care, and after a long experience. But what may appear singular enough is, that though this fish abounds on all the coasts of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, there is hardly any Frenchman, who has attempted this fishery, that has not been ruined by it. Dried cod expensive.

The reason given for this is, that, in order to draw any advantage from it, the person who undertakes it must absolutely reside in the country. For, as this fishery can only be exercised from the beginning of *May* to the end of *August*, if sailors were brought from *France*, either they must be paid for the whole year, in which case the expence will eat up the profit, or only for the fishing season, on which supposition they are sure to be losers, since the only employment they can afterwards have in the country is sawing or felling of timber, which is not sufficient to maintain them; so that either the workmen must starve, or the undertaker fail. The reason.

On the contrary, when the undertaker resides in the country, he is sure to be better served, and it will then be his own fault entirely if he grows not rich. By this means he will have it in his power to secure the best hands, to seize the right times for fishing, to select the proper places, and to find the fishermen employment about his own habitation for the rest of the year. Some French writers were of opinion, and perhaps very justly, that had the people of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, employed themselves in this manner, for the last hundred and fifty years, this province would have been one of the most powerful colonies in *North America*; and that whilst the people in *France* were discrediting this province with all their might, as entirely useless, and absolutely good for nothing, the inhabitants of *New England*, though destitute of many advantages which the first enjoyed, were raising fortunes out of this fishery. Constant residence necessary.

Besides the cod, there are many other sorts of fish in the parts adjacent to the *Gulf of St Lawrence*, and on the banks of *Newfoundland*, such as whales, blowers, sword-fish, porpoises, slettans, with many others of inferior worth. Nothing can be more diverting than the fight between the whale and the sword-fish. This latter is of the size of an heifer, from seven to eight feet long, tapering all the way toward the tail. It takes its name from the weapon with which nature has armed it, being a sort of sword, about three feet in length, and four fingers broad. This proceeds from its snout, on each side of which is a row of teeth about an inch long, and set at equal distances. This fish is excellent eating, and will do with almost any sauce. The head is more delicious as well as thicker and squarer than a calf's head. Its eyes are of an extraordinary bigness. Sword-fish described.

The whale and sword-fish never meet without a battle, and this latter is believed to be constantly the aggressor. Sometimes two sword-fishes join their forces against one whale, in which case the parties are by no means equal. The whale has no arms either for attack or defence, but his tail, and before he can assail his enemy, he is forced to dive with his head foremost into the sea, when, if he is fortunate enough in his aim, he is sure to dispatch his adversary at one blow. The other is no less dexterous in slunning the stroke, and instantly making at the whale, plunges his weapon in his back. The wound commonly goes no farther than the fat, or blubber, in which case the injury is but slight. The moment the whale sees his foe lance at him, he dives to the bottom; but the other pursues him thither, and obliges him to come up to the surface. Fight between the whale and the sword fish.

surface. The fight begins again, and continues till the sword-fish has lost sight of his adversary, who is much the better swimmer on the surface of the water.

Flettan de-
scribed.

The Flettan resembles a large plaice, and what is called Flet, is probably the diminutive of the other. It is grey on the back, but of a whitish colour under the belly. Its length is commonly from four to five feet, its breadth at least two feet, and its thickness one. The head is very large, and every part of it extremely tender and delicious eating. The juice extracted from its bones exceeds the finest marrow. Its eyes are nearly as large as those of the sword-fish, and the extremities of the two sides, which the *French* call the *relingues*, and which I am not well enough versed in cookery to translate, are deemed exquisite morsels. The whole body is generally thrown into the sea to feed the cod, to which the Flettan is the most dangerous enemy, and commonly makes but one meal of three cods.

Other fishes
yielding profit

The remaining fishes, worthy the notice of the curious in this province, are the sea-wolf, the sea-cow, and the porpoise, which, with those already mentioned, are capable of becoming the object of a very lucrative commerce in the gulph of *St Lawrence*, and even for a considerable way up the river of that name.

The sea-wolf

The Sea-wolf owes its name to its cry, which is a sort of howling; for as to its shape it by no means resembles that of a wolf, nor of any known land animal whatsoever. *Lafcarbot* says, he has heard those creatures cry like the mewling of a cat; but what he speaks of must in all probability be the cry of the young ones, whose voice was not yet come to its full pitch and strength of tone, which these animals have when mature. We need not, however, make any scruple to class this creature with fishes, though it differs from that genus in that it is not dumb, is brought forth at land, on which it lives, at least as much as in the water, is covered with hair, and, in short, that it is in every respect an animal truly amphibious. As it would be a vain piece of singularity and perverseness to oppose the received notions and ways of speaking, the war carried on against this creature, though it be as commonly on land as in water, the weapons in use being clubs or bludgeons, is known in this part of the world by the name of fishing, whilst that carried on against the beavers, tho' in the water, and with nets, is called hunting.

Described.

The head of the sea-wolf somewhat resembles that of a dog; it has four very short legs, especially those behind, and is in all other respects a fish. It rather crawls than walks upon its feet; the fore feet are armed with claws or nails, those behind are made like fins; its skin is hard, and covered with short hair of different colours. There are some of those animals entirely white, and all of them are so when young; some become black and others red as they grow older, whilst others again are of all those colours together.

Several spe-
cies.

The fishermen distinguish several species of sea-wolves; the largest weigh two thousand pounds, and this sort is said to have much sharper noses than the rest; some of them are called by the *French* sailors *brashaws*. A second species is distinguished by the name of *Nau*, the reason and etymology of which are equally unknown. A third has the appellation of *Great-heads*. The young ones are very alert, and extremely dextrous in cutting the nets that are spread for them; they are spotted, full of play, and beautiful, at least, for animals of their shape. The *Indians* accustom them to follow their footsteps like dogs, tho' they eat them without scruple or regard to their fondness.

Two of *Nova*
Scotia, first
species.

There are two sorts of sea-wolves on the coasts of *Nova Scotia*, and the young of one of these species are as big as hogs of the largest size. This fishery is carried on in the month of *February*, before the young, which are the chief object of it, have been much used to take the water. The old ones fly at the first attack, making a great noise, as a signal for the young to follow them, which they do with great speed, unless prevented by the fishermen, who kill them by a slight blow on the snout. The number of those animals must needs be vastly great, since, as some *French* authors relate, eight hundred of their young have been killed in one day.

Second spe-
cies.

The second sort are very small, one of them producing no more oil than its bladder will contain. They never venture far from the shore, and have always a sentinel standing watch. At the first signal he gives, the whole body rushes into the sea, and sometime after they return, raising themselves on their hind legs, to see whether the coast be clear. There are, however, great numbers of them taken, tho' it be only practicable while they are on shore.

The

The flesh of this animal is excellent food, but their oil turns to much better account, and is obtained, by a very easy process, that is boiling the flesh, which dissolves over the fire. And oftentimes no more is required than the use of what they call *charniers*, or large square of boards, on which is spread the fat of a number of sea-wolves: It melts of itself, and the oil discharges itself through an opening made in the frame of boards for the purpose. This oil, when new and fresh, is very good for culinary uses, but that of the young ones grows very soon rank, and the other sort, if kept the least while, becomes too thin, and in that case is used for burning, or for curriers work. It preserves its clearness a long time, has no smell, and leaves no impurities in the bottom of the barrel.

Oil of the sea-wolf.

In the infancy of the colony, the *French* made use of the skins of the sea-wolves, for muffs; since that they are out of fashion; the skins are chiefly employed to cover trunks and cloak bags; when tanned, they have a grain much like *Morocco* or *Turkey* leather. They are not indeed so fine, but are less apt to crack, and they preserve their freshness much longer. Very good shoes are made of them, and a sort of boots impenetrable to the water, not to mention various other uses. They are tanned in *Canada* with the bark of the spruce fir, and to dye them black, they use the powder of certain stones found on the banks of rivers, called thunder stones, being a mineral calcite.

Use of the skin

Thunder stones.

Sea-wolves couple, and the females bring forth their young upon the rocks; they have commonly two at a time, and tho' they sometimes suckle them under water, yet they more generally do it at land. To teach them to swim, they take them upon their shoulders, leave them in the water for a short time, then take them up again, continuing this exercise, till they are capable of swimming alone; a very singular property in an aquatic animal, since terrestrial animals have generally no need of this institution, most of them being naturally swimmers.

Singular phenomenon of sea-wolves.

The sea-wolf has very acute senses, and tho' this is the only thing with which nature has furnished these animals for their defence, they are however very often surprized, in the manner we have already mentioned, tho' the most common way is described as follows: It is usual with those creatures to come with the tide into creeks of the rivers. When the fishers have discovered any of those creeks where considerable numbers used to haunt, they enclose them with nets and piles, leaving only a small opening for the sea-wolves to enter. This opening is shut up at high water, so that at ebb they are left dry, and there is no further trouble but to knock them on the head. They also give chase to them in the water, in canoes, when the moment they lift their heads above water, they fire at them. If they happen only to wound them, they are however easily taken; but if they are killed dead, they sink to the bottom like the beaver. The fishers have large dogs, that fetch them up in seven or eight fathom water. *Charlevoix* tells a circumstance, which however he vouches not for fact, and indeed the story carries not too many marks of probability; that a sailor having one day surprized a prodigious number of those animals, drove them all home before him with a switch, like a herd of cows, and that he and his companions killed nine hundred of them.

Way of taking them.

Strange story.

The Sea-cow is another marine animal taken by the *French* fishermen on the coast of the gulf of *St Lawrence*, but in small numbers, and I am not certain whether they are to be seen elsewhere. The *English* are said formerly to have had a fishery of this sort at the island *Sable*; but this establishment was attended, in all probability, with very little profit to the undertakers.

The sea-cow.

This animal, in shape, differs very little from the sea-wolf, but is somewhat larger. It is provided with a very singular sort of weapon, which is, two teeth, thick and long as a man's arm, a little bent upwards, and at a distance appearing like horns, from whence it is likely they have obtained the name of sea-cows. The *French* sailors know them by the simple appellation of the fish with the long teeth. This tooth is, however, a most beautiful ivory, as well as all those in the jaws of this fish, which are four fingers in length.

Described

There are also Porpoises in the river *St Lawrence*, and those of two colours. Those in the salt water part of the river, which reaches almost as high as the Isle of *Orleans*, differ very little from such as are found in the sea: In the fresh water part, on the contrary, they are entirely white, and of the size of an ordinary cow. The first appear generally in flocks or shoals; whether the same may be said of the white sort is not certain.

Porpoises of two kinds.

tain. There are none of them to be seen above *Quebec*, but great numbers of both kinds on the coasts of *Nova Scotia*; so that the difference of their colour is not owing to the salt or fresh water in which they live, and therefore they must be two different species.

One white porpoise yields a hoghead of oil, of much the same quality as that extracted from the sea-wolf. The flesh of this animal is not eaten, but that of the species called *pourcelles*, or the grey porpoise, is reckoned tolerable food. They make puddings and sausages of the guts; the harlet is said to be excellent fricasseed, and the head, tho' inferior to a calf's, is however, esteemed beyond that of a sheep.

The skins of both sorts are tanned, and dressed like *Morocco* leather. At first it seems tender like hogs lard, and is about an inch thick. They continue having it down till it becomes transparent and very thin, tho' it still retains a vast strength, as when used in waistcoats or breeches, and some affirm it musket-proof. There are many of them eighteen feet in length, and nine broad, and nothing is fitter, they say, for covering the tops of coaches.

The *French* have two porpoise fisheries below *Quebec*; one in the bay of *St Paul*, the other seven or eight leagues lower, near a plantation called *Camourasca*, from certain rocks rising considerably above water. The expence of this fishery is but moderate, and the profits would amount to a considerable sum, were it not for the insinect or caprice of those animals, which often breaks the measures of the fishermen, by taking a road very different from the accustomed, or where the fishers expect them to come.

This fishery is moreover attended with two inconveniences: The first is that it enriches none but the undertakers; and in the second place, it has considerably diminished that of eels, which used to be a very great resource for the poorer sort of inhabitants of this capital. For the porpoises being disturbed below *Quebec*, have retired elsewhere; and the eels finding the passage clear of those large fishes, descend the river without any obstacle; from whence it is, that between *Quebec* and the *Trois Rivieres*, where they formerly took large quantities, there are now scarce any to be found.

The manner of taking porpoises is little different from that of the sea-wolf. When the tide is low, they fix piles or stakes in the mud or sand, at moderate intervals, to which they tie threads in the nature of toils, the opening of which is considerably large, in such manner, as that the fish once entered cannot retreat. They take care to garnish the tops of the stakes with green boughs. When the tide flows, these fishes pursuing the herring shoals, which constantly make to the shore, and attracted by the sight of the verdure or boughs, with which they are highly delighted, find themselves entangled in the net. As the tide goes out, the fishers have the entertainment of viewing their confusion, and useless efforts to make their escape. In the end they are left dry, and often heaped one over another, so that two or three have been killed with the same blow. It has been asserted, that some of the white sort have weighed three thousand pounds.

Every one knows the manner in which the whale is caught, for which reason I shall say nothing of it here. They tell us, that the *Basques*, who formerly carried on this fishery in the river *St Lawrence*, quitted it for the fur trade, which was capable of being managed at a much less expence, with infinitely less fatigue, and with much quicker and abundantly larger profits, at least at that time. And besides it must be acknowledged they wanted many conveniences for this trade, which might now be had, by means of some settlements pretty far down along the coasts of the gulf. With this view some attempts have been since made to restore this branch of commerce, but without success; the undertakers either wanting the necessary funds for carrying it on, or not having perseverance or patience to wait the proper time for the return of their disbursements. It appears, however, that this fishery might become a very considerable article in the trade of this colony, as it may be carried on with much less hazard and expence than on the coasts of *Greenland*; and might even become a settled and, in some measure, a domestic branch of commerce, according to the proposal of *M. Demys*, a *French* gentleman, who has wrote on this subject.

The other fishes taken in the salt water part of the river *St Lawrence*, or from *Cape Town* to the pulp, and which are capable of adding to the wealth, convenience, and commerce of this colony, as well as of the mother country, are the salmon, tunny, haddock, trouts, lampreys, smelts, sea-eel, mackerel, soles, herrings, anchovies, pilchards, turbot,

Grey porpoises eaten.

Use of the skins.

Porpoise fisheries.

Two inconveniences.

Manner of taking porpoises.

Whale fishery unprofitable.

Variety of fish in the river.

turbots, and almost every fish found in any part of the ocean, and among those many altogether unknown in *Europe*; all these are caught with dragging or with nets. In the gulf are sea-eels; thornbacks; and those of three sorts, the common, the curled, of a better taste than those in *France*, and that called the *Post*, not much valued; lencornets, a kind of cuttle fish; the haddock, or *St Peter's* fish; plaice; requiems; sea-dogs, a species of the requiems, leis mischievous in their lifetime, and much preferable when dead; and plenty of oysters during the winter season, especially on the coasts of *Nova Scotia*; the manner of fishing for which is singular enough. A hole is made in the ice, thro' which they put two poles tied together so as to clap like pincers; these are seldom brought up without oysters.

Oysters how taken

The Lencornet is a species of cuttle-fish, tho' very different in shape from the common cuttle. It is quite round, or rather oval; a little above the tail is a sort of border, or ledge, which serves him for a buckler; and its head is surrounded with whippers, which he makes use of to catch other fishes. There are two sorts of them, differing only in magnitude, one as large as a hoghead, the other not above a foot in length; the latter are the only sort taken, and are caught with a torch. They are very fond of a light, which being shewn them from the shore, they make towards it, and run themselves aground. The lencornet, whether boiled, roasted, or fried, is very good eating, but it makes the sauce quite black.

Lencornet how caught

The Haddock resembles a small cod, has much the same taste, and is dried in the same manner. It has two black spots, one on each side the head, and the fishermen say this is the fish in which *St Peter* found the piece of money to pay the emperor's tribute for himself and our Lord, and that these spots are the places by which the Apostle held it. Hence it has been called *St Peter's fish*.

Haddock described.

The sea plaice has much firmer flesh, and a better taste, than those taken in rivers. It is caught, as well as the hounarts, or lobsters, by means of long poles, armed at the point with a sharp iron and barbed to hinder the fish from disengaging itself.

Plaice and lobsters, how caught.

In several places, especially towards *Nova Scotia*, the pools are full of salmon trouts, a foot in length, and of turtles, or tortoises, two feet in diameter, the flesh of which is excellent, and the upper scale striped with white, red, and blue.

Salmon trout, turtles.

Amongst the fishes that abound in *Lake Champlain*, and the rivers that fall into it, *Champlain* mentions one of a very singular sort which he calls *Chausarou*, probably the name given it by the *Indians*. It is a particular kind of armed fish, found in several other parts, pretty much of the form of a spirt, and covered with a scale impenetrable to a dagger. Its colour is a silver grey, and there projects from under the throat a bony substance, flat, indented, hollow, and perforated at the end; whence it is reasonable to think, that it breathes this way. This bone is covered with a tender skin, and its length is in proportion to the fish, of which this makes one third part. The *Indians* assured *Champlain*, that they had seen of those fishes from eight to ten feet long; but the largest he saw did not exceed five, and were about as thick as a man's thigh.

Chausarou a singular fish.

This animal is a true pirate amongst other fishes, but, what is very surprizing, he is also an enemy to the birds, which, like an expert fowler, he catches in this manner: He conceals himself among the reeds, so that nothing can be discovered but his weapon, rising perpendicularly above the surface of the water. The birds that light near him take it for a flick, or withered reed, and perch upon it without the least apprehension of what is concealed beneath. That moment the foe in ambush opens his mouth, and seizes his prey with all the rapidity imaginable. The teeth on both sides of this bone are pretty long, and very sharp, and, as the *Indians* pretend, are a sovereign remedy for the head-ach, and that by pricking the part most affected, the pain is immediately dissipated.

His way of catching birds.

The Sturgeon here is both a fresh and a salt-water fish, being taken both in the lakes and on the coasts of *Canada*. There are of these fishes from eight to ten, and even twelve feet long, and thick in proportion. I omit to describe this fish, which is well known in *Europe*. The *Indians* catch them in this manner: Two men stand, one at each end of a canoe; he at the stern steers, whilst the other at the head stands ready with a dart tied to a cord, the other end of which is made fast to the boat. As soon as he perceives the sturgeon, he darts it at him, endeavouring as much as he can to direct

Sturgeon how caught.

it contrary to the inclination of the scales. The moment he perceives himself wounded, he scuds away with all his speed, dragging the boat after him with an amazing rapidity. After running about two hundred paces in this manner, he generally dies, and is taken.

Fish in vast plenty and variety.

In a word, that I may make an end of this article, the river *St. Lawrence* breeds several fishes entirely unknown in *France*; the most esteemed of these are the Achigan and Gilthead. The other rivers of *Canada*, and especially those of *Nova Scotia*, are no less replenished than this river, which abounds with the greatest plenty and variety of the most excellent sort of fishes of any other part of the globe, there being, in some seasons, fish sufficient to maintain all the inhabitants of the colony.

Beaver, a singular quadruped.

As to quadrupeds, the most singular, and what excites the curiosity of the reader above any other in this country, is the castor, or beaver. The spoils of this animal have hitherto been the chief object of the commerce to this colony. This creature is besides in itself a miracle of nature, and there is not to be found, perhaps in the whole creation, so striking an example of foresight, industry, cunning, and patience in labour.

European beaver.

The castor, or beaver, was probably not unknown in *Europe* before the discovery of *America*; and there are now to be seen, amongst the ancient charters of the hatters of *Paris*, regulations for the manufacture of beaver hats. The beaver, or castor, is undoubtedly the same animal; but whether it is, that the *European* beaver is grown very scarce, or that its fur is not of so good a quality as that of the *American*, this latter is the only sort now in repute, the other being never so much as mentioned, except with relation to the simple called *castoreum*. It is not improbable, that the *European* beaver is a sort of land beaver, which is very different from the other.

American beaver described.

The beaver of *Canada* is an amphibious animal, incapable of remaining any considerable time in water, and very able to subsist without it, provided it has now and then the conveniency of bathing. The largest beavers are somewhat less than four feet in length, by fifteen inches in breadth from haunch to haunch, and weigh sixty pounds. The colour varies according to the different climates where they are found. In the most distant Northern parts they are generally quite black, though white ones are sometimes to be seen in the same region. They are brown in more temperate climates, their colour growing lighter in proportion as you advance Southwards. In the country of the *Illinois* they are almost quite yellow, and some have been found here of a pale or straw-colour. It has been remarked, that the lighter the colour, the thinner commonly the fur, and consequently the black is most esteemed, nature fortifying them in this manner against the severity of the weather. There are two different sorts of fur all over the body, excepting near the feet, where there is but one sort, and that very short. The longest is from eight to ten lines, and even to two inches on the back, diminishing towards the tail and head. This sort of hair is coarse, thick, shining, and is what gives the animal its colour. Seen through a microscope, the middle is found less opaque, whence it is natural to suppose it hollow, and therefore this sort is not in use. The other is an extremely fine down, very close, and an inch at most in length; and this sort is what is commonly used. It was formerly known in *Europe* by the name of *Musbery wool*. This is properly the garment of the beaver, the other serving only for ornament, and perhaps to assist him in swimming.

The female beaver.

It has been asserted, that this animal lives from fifteen to twenty years, that the female goes with young four months, and that she generally brings forth four at a time, and some travellers have increased the number to eight; but this must happen very rarely. She has four teats, two between the second and third pair of long ribs, and two others about four fingers higher.

Anatomy of the beaver.

The muscles of this animal are extremely strong, and thicker than its bulk seems to require. On the contrary, its intestines are exceeding delicate; its bones very hard, and its two jaws, which are nearly equal, have a vast force. Each jaw is set with ten teeth, two of them incisive, or cutters, and eight molar, or grinders. The upper incisives are two inches and a half long, the lower something above three, in respect to the inclination of the jaw, which give them a force astonishing in to maul a creature. It has been remarked, that the two jaws are not exactly correspondent, the upper putting out beyond the lower, like the blades of a pair of scissels; and, lastly, that the length of every tooth is exactly one third of its root.

The

The head of the beaver is much like that of the mountain rat; the muzzle somewhat long; the eyes little; the ears very short, round, hairy without, but smooth within; the legs short, especially the fore legs, being not above four or five inches long, and very much resembling those of the badger. The nails are cut sloping, and hollow like goose-quills. The hind feet are quite different, being flat, and provided with membranes between the toes. Hence the beaver walks but awkwardly, and very slowly, but swims with the same facility as other aquatic animals. In respect of his tail, he is a perfect fish, and has been judicially declared such by the College of Physicians at Paris; and the faculty of divinity have, in consequence of this declaration, pronounced it lawful to be eaten on days of fasting.

This sort of food is, however, at too great a distance from the French to enable them to profit by this toleration, and they very rarely meet with any that is eatable. The Indians keep it by them, after curing it in the chimney, but it is, by all accounts, intolerably bad. And, even when it is fresh, you are obliged to give it a boiling, to make it lose a little of the disagreeable taste it naturally has, after which it becomes very good eating; and no sort of flesh, they say, exceeds it in deliciousness or lightness of digestion; it is even asserted to be as nourishing as veal. When boiled, it wants something to give it a relish; but, when roasted, it is very good, without any thing of that kind.

The most remarkable part belonging to this animal is its tail. It is almost oval, about four inches broad near the root, five in the middle, and three at its extremity; but these measures are to be understood of the largest sort of beavers; it is about an inch in thickness, and a foot long. Its substance is a firm sort of fat, or a tender cartilage, being much like the flesh of a porpoise, but grows harder, when kept for any time. It is covered with a scaly skin, the scales of which are of an hexagonal form, half a line in thickness, by three or four lines in length, and laid over one another, like those of all fishes. A very delicate pellicle serves to support them, and they are inserted in it in such a manner, as to be easily parted from it after the death of the animal.

The true testicles of this animal were entirely unknown to the ancients, probably because they are very small, and much hid under the haunches. They gave their name to the receptacles of the *castoreum*, which are very different, and in number four, being situated in the lower venter of the beaver. The two foremost, called the upper, because higher than the others, are in the shape of a pear, and communicate one with the other, like the pockets of a knapsack; the other two, called the lower, are round towards the bottom. These four receptacles contain a resinous, soft, and adhesive liquor, mixed with small fibres, of a greyish colour on the outside, yellowish within, of a strong, penetrating, and disagreeable smell, and very inflammable; and this is the true *castoreum*. It grows hard after being a month exposed to the air, and becomes brittle, and friable. If there be occasion to harden it sooner, it may be done by hanging it in the chimney.

It is pretended, that the *castoreum* which comes from *Dantzic* is preferable to that of *Canada*. The bags of this last sort are allowed to be much smaller than the others, and, even in *Canada*, the largest are much more esteemed. It is required besides in *castoreum*, that the bags be heavy, of a brown colour, of a penetrating and strong smell, and full of a hard, brittle, and friable matter, of the same, or of a yellowish colour, interwoven with a very fine membrane, and of a sharp or acrid taste.

The medical virtues of this drug are, to attenuate viscid matter, fortify the brain, dispel vapours, provoke the menes, prevent mortification, and evacuate ill humours by perspiration. It is also used with success against the epilepsy, or falling sickness, palsy, apoplexy, and deafness. The inferior bags contain an unctuous and fattish liquor, which resembles honey. Its colour is a pale yellow, its smell disagreeable, little differing from that of the *castoreum*, but weaker than that. It thickens with time, and takes the consistence of tallow.

The notion of those who believe that this animal, when he is closely pursued, bites off those imagined testicles, abandoning them to the hunter, to preserve his life, is an error now universally exploded, the most valuable part of this animal being, beyond comparison, his fur; and even the skin of the beaver, after the fur has been taken off, is not without its uses, as it serves to make gloves and patteredathies. Many other things

may be made of it, but as it is very difficult to take off the hair without cutting it, the skin of the land beaver is only used, and for the purposes aforesaid.

Two sorts of
castor

There are two sorts of castor, the dry and the fat. The first is the skin of this animal, before any use has been made of it. The other, or fat castor, is the same skin, after it has been worn by the *Indians*, who, after they have well rubbed and worked it on the inside, with the marrow or fat of certain animals, to render it more pliable, sew several skins together, with which they cover themselves as with a robe, with the outside inwards; this they constantly wear in the winter, without ever putting it off, night or day. The strongest hair falls off presently, but the down remains, and by being worn in that manner, becomes much fitter for the hatter's business. The dry castor cannot be used without the mixture of a little fat. It is even pretended, that to have the skins in their utmost perfection, they ought to be worn eighteen months at least.

Stuffs made of
fur and wool

There have also been stuffs made of this fur, with a mixture of wool amongst it, such as cloths, flannels, stockings, and such like, but with very little success; and there still subsists a manufacture of this sort in *Holland*; but as they are obliged to mix more than one half of wool with the fur, there is little or nothing to be gained by it. The cloths and druggets which the *Dutch* make of this sort are very dear, and do not wear well. The castor very soon parts from the wool, and forms a sort of pile on the surface of the stuff, which entirely spoils the look of it; and the stockings which the *French* make of it have the same defect.

Admirable
qualities of
the beaver

The industry, foresight, order, and unanimity of these animals are perfectly surprising, exhibiting to mankind a lesson of those virtues no way inferior to that of the ant or bees, so justly admired. It is uncertain how they are governed, whether by a king or a queen, if it be true, that they have any magistrates at all; nor is there any more grounds to believe that there is any one who takes the chief command upon him, when they are at work, to punish the lazy. Thus much, however, is undoubted, that by means of that admirable instinct wherewith providence has endowed them, each of them knows what he is to do, and every thing is carried on in the exactest order imaginable, and without the least embarrassment or confusion.

Choice of ha-
bitation.

When they propose to build a new habitation, they first assemble, to the number of three or four hundred in one place, forming a small republic, or state, apart by themselves. The first bill they pass is, to make choice of a settlement, where they may find plenty of provisions, with all the materials necessary for the intended edifice. The main thing necessary is to secure a supply of water; and if they are not happy enough to find either lake or pool within their territories, this defect is remedied by stopping the course of some rivulet, or small river, by means of a dyke. In order to effect this, they set about felling of timber, and this always above the place where they are resolved to build, for the more commodious transporting it. Three or four beavers set about felling a large tree, which they very soon effect by means of their teeth, which serve them for saws and axes, as well as for several other carpenter's tools. They never forget to make it fall on the side towards the water, in order to shorten the land carriage after they have cut it into proper lengths, which are afterwards rolled to the water side, and thence floated to the place where they are to be employed.

Manner and
materials of
construction

These pieces are more or less in thickness or length, as the nature and situation of the place require; for these architects foresee every thing. Sometimes they make use of trunks of large trees, which they lay lengthwise; at others, the mound is composed of pieces of timber no thicker than a man's thigh, and even sometimes not so thick, which are supported by very good stakes, and interwoven with small branches, and the void places are everywhere stopped up with a fat or clayey sort of earth, and that so well wrought as not to admit the smallest drop of water. This loam, or mortar, the beavers prepare and temper with their fore feet; the trowels they make use of are their tails, which, however, are not confined to this use only, but also serve them as a dray, or wheelbarrow, to convey their mortar from place to place. As soon as they arrive at the water side, they take hold of this clayey matter with their teeth, and, in order to lay it on, they make use first of their feet, and afterwards plaster or smooth it with their tails.

Form of the
dykes

These dykes are generally ten or twelve feet thick at the foundation, diminishing still in proportion as they rise in height, till at last they come to the thickness of two or three. Good proportion is their particular care and concern, and every thing is done with as much exactness, as if the ablest artist had performed it with his rule and compasses.

compasses. One thing remarkable is, that the side of the building towards the water is always built with a talus, or slope, that on the other being exactly perpendicular. In a word, nothing can possibly be more solid or regular than the works of this most sagacious animal.

The construction of their cabbins is no less wonderful. These are commonly built on piles in the middle of those small lakes, which are formed by the dykes abovementioned, and oftentimes on the bank of some river, or at the extremity of some point that advances into the water. Their figure is round, or oval, and they are arched in manner of a basket. The walls are two foot thick, the materials being the same as those of their dams, but less substantial. The whole is so well sluiced with clay, as not to admit the least breath of air. Two thirds of the building are above water, and in them every beaver has his particular place assigned him, which he takes care to strew well with leaves, or small branches of fir. The least filth is never seen; for, besides the common entry of the cabbins, and another outlet by which those animals go out to bathe, there are also several other openings, by which they go to discharge themselves. These cabbins are generally capable of lodging eight or ten beavers, and some have been observed to contain no less than thirty, but this is very rare. All of them, however, are near enough to each other to have a very easy communication.

The winter never surprizes the beaver: All the works I have mentioned are finished by the latter end of *September*, when each individual lays up his winter provision. Whilst they continue to frequent the woods or fields, they live on fruits, and on the bark and leaves of trees. They also catch cray-fish, and some other fish; and nothing comes amiss to them at that season. But when the time comes, in which they are to provide against the barrenness of the cold season, they are satisfied with woods of a tender substance, such as the poplar and the aspen, and the like. These they lay up in piles, disposing them in such manner as to have those pieces which have been steeped in water nearest at hand. It has been observed, that these piles are always greater or less in proportion as the ensuing winter is to be more or less long or severe; and this is to the *Indians* the most infallible prognostication, which has never been known to deceive them, with respect to the duration of the cold weather. The beavers, before they cut this wood, cut it into very small pieces, which they carry into their apartments; for there is but one magazine for the whole inhabitants, or family of each cabbins.

When the melting of the snow is at the highest, at which season there are always very great land floods, the beavers quit their cabbins, which are then utterly uninhabitable, every one going where he thinks fit. As soon as the waters are fallen the females return, and then they bring forth their young. The males keep the fields till towards the month of *July*, when they assemble in order to repair the breaches made by the waters in their cabbins, or dykes; if they happen to be destroyed by the hunters, or if they are not worth repairing, to erect new. But they are often, and for very good reasons, obliged to change the place of their abode: The most common is, the want of provisions; and sometimes they are obliged to take this method by the hunters, or certain carnivorous animals, against which they have no other defence than flight.

There are certain places of which the beavers are particularly fond, and will never abandon, even should their safety ever so much require it. On the road from *Montreal* to Lake *Huron*, near the great river, we never fail to discover a settlement every year in the very same place, which these animals repair or re-build constantly every summer. For the first thing the travellers who arrive earliest set about is, to destroy the cabbins, as well as the dyke which conveys the water to it. Had not this dyke retained the water, they would never have been able to continue their journey, but necessitated to take a trip over land. Hence those beavers seem as if they had seized on this spot only to be of service to those who travel that way. I have been told, that near *Quebec* there is much such an instance, where the beavers, by means of their dam, supply water to a saw-mill.

The *Indians* were formerly of opinion, that the beavers were a sort of reasonable creatures, with a language, laws, and form of government peculiar to themselves; and that this amphibious commonwealth chose governors, whose office it was to assign each private beaver his separate talk, place centinels to give the alarm on sight of the enemy, and to punish or banish the drones.

Those pretended exiles were probably no other than the land beavers, who really live separate from the others, do no manner of work, and lodge under ground, where they

Of their cabbins.

Their provisions.

An infallible prognostic.

When obliged to quit their cabbins.

Applied to the passage.

They are a sort of drones.

They live separate from the others.

have no other care but to make themselves a secret passage to the water. These are known by the thinnets of the fur upon their backs, which is, no doubt, occasioned by their rubbing themselves continually against the earth of their holes; besides, they are always lean, the natural consequence of their laziness, and are much more frequent in hot than in cold countries. I have already remarked, that our beavers here in *Europe* resemble this latter much more than the former sort, as they retire into the holes and caverns they find on the banks of rivers, especially in *Poland*. They are also found in *Germany*, along the *Elb*; and, in *France*, on the *Rhone*, the *Siere*, and the *Oise*. What is certain is, that you do not discover that wonderful sagacity in the *European* beavers, for which those of *Canada* are so justly celebrated.

Beaver: how
into them
by the Fur
of them

It does not appear, that the *Canadian Indians* gave these creatures much disturbance before the arrival of the *Europeans* in their country. The skins of these animals were not then so much worn by them as they have since been, and the flesh of bears, and some other wild beasts, was much more in request with them than that of beavers. They were, however, even then accustomed to hunt them, and this hunting had its fixed season and its established form and ceremony; but as it was only the effect of pure necessity, and not of luxury, the havoc made by it was very insignificant. For this reason, there was an amazing quantity of those animals when the *French* first entered *Canada*.

Hunter: the
beaver

The hunting of the beaver is not at all difficult, as this animal has neither strength to defend himself, and as the cunning he discovers in building his habitation totally mistakes him when he is attacked by any enemy. The winter is the season in which the *Indians* declare war against him, then it is that his fur is thickest, and the skin much thinner than at any other season.

Net and gun
used

This hunting is performed in four different manners, which are that of the net, the gun, the tranche, and the trap. The first is rarely put in execution, and the second seldom or never used, as the eyes of this creature, though extremely small, are so piercing, and his hearing so quick, that it is very difficult to get near enough to shoot him, before he has reached the water, and he never goes far from it at this season, and plunges to the bottom the moment he discovers any danger near. And even if he should happen to be wounded, the hunter would be equally at a loss, as he never fails to run to the water, and never comes up again after he has once dived, should he chance to die of the wound. The tranche and the trap are therefore the methods most in use in this exercise.

Method of
the net

Notwithstanding the beaver lays up his store of provision for the winter, he now and then makes excursions into the neighbouring woods in quest of more tender and delicate food; and this luxury often costs him his life. The *Indians* by snares in his way, much resembling the figure 4, which they bait with small pieces of wood that is tender and newly cut. The beaver no sooner touches it, than his back is broke with a huge log which falls upon him, and the hunter instantly coming up, soon dispatches him.

A tranche

The tranche requires greater precaution, and is managed as follows: when the ice is as yet but about half a foot thick, an opening is made in it with a hatchet, and the beaver makes to this opening for the sake of breathing a little fresh air; the hunter, who waits for him, easily knows when he is coming, as his breathing causes an unusual motion in the water, and it is very easy to knock him on the head the moment he raises it above it. To prevent his discovering the hunters, they strew over the hole with reeds, or with the ears of reed-mace, and when they find the animal within reach, they seize him by one of his feet, and throw him upon the ice, where they dispatch him before he is recovered from his surprize.

Net how used

If the burrow happens to be near some stream, the business is still easier. The way is then to cut the ice quite across from side to side, in order to lay a net in it, and then fall to breaking down the net or cabin. The beavers never fail to run to the water, where they are taken in the net laid for them. There is, however, some danger in letting it remain too long, in which case these creatures soon find means to recover their liberty.

Other
of hunting

Those who inhabit the lakes have, at the distance of about three or four hundred paces from the water side, a sort of country house, where they retire sometimes for the benefit of the air. In this case the hunters divide into two bodies, one of which beats up the quarters of those in the country whilst the others fall upon the habitations of the lake. Now the beavers in the former abode, for the sportsmen generally take the

tune

time when they are all in the country, fly for sanctuary to the other, where they find nothing but ruin and a cloud of dust, raised on purpose to blind them, and to make them an easier prey to their enemies. In some places they content themselves with digging a hole in their dams, by which means the ditch that surrounds them is soon drained, their island is robbed of its chief defence, and they must submit to fate. Or, in case they should strive to remedy the evil, as they often do, the cause of which is entirely unknown to them, they fall generally into the hands of the enemy.

It has been said, that when the beavers find themselves pursued by hunters, or some of those beasts of prey that generally make war against them, they rush into the water, which they lash with their tails in such a manner that the noise is heard at half a league distance. The reason of this is probably to give the alarm to their friends, who may be abroad in the same manner, without knowing their danger. They are said also, to have so quick a scent, as to discover a canoe at an immense distance; but that, like the hare, they see only sideways, which defect often occasions their falling into the hands of those they strive to shun. There is another particularity related of the beaver, which would make us believe, that, in imitation of the turtle, after losing his female, he never cohabits with another; so that second marriages, it seems, are as much in abomination among beavers, as they were formerly among the primitive Christians.

There is also another small animal in *Canada*, of much the same nature with the beaver, and which appears in some respects to be the same sort of quadruped, but of a smaller species; I mean the Musk-Rat. This creature has, in fact, all the qualities of the beaver; the structure of the body and especially of the head is in both very much alike, that one would naturally take the musk-rat for a small beaver, if the tail of the first be excepted, as it is much like that of ours in *Europe*, as also the testicles, which contain a perfume of an exquisite odour. This animal, which weighs about four pounds, is very like the *Mus Alpinus*, of *Mr Ray*.

The musk-rat takes the field in the month of *March*, and its nourishment is then some pieces of wood, which he peels before he eats them. After the melting of the snows he lives on roots of nettles, and afterwards regales himself with the stems and leaves of this plant. In summer he touches nothing but brambles and strawberries, to which succeed the other fruits peculiar to the autumn. During all this time it is very rare to find the male and female apart from each other.

At the coming on of winter they separate, each going his own way to take up his lodging in some hole or hollow of a tree, without any provision, and the *Indians* assure us, that they maintain a perfect abstinence as long as the cold lasts. They also build huts nearly in the same form as the beavers, but far inferior workmanship. As to the situation, it is always near the water, so that they are under no necessity to build dams.

It is said that the fur of the musk-rat is used in the making of hats mixed with that of the beaver, without doing any prejudice to the manufacture; the flesh is tolerably good, except in time of rut, at which season it is impossible to remove from it something of the taste of musk, which is by no means so agreeable to the palate as it is to the smell.

The Bear was formerly the animal most in vogue amongst the *Indians* of *North America*, till the arrival of the *Europeans* turned the scale in favour of the beaver. Hunting the bear was a kind of religious solemnity, and superstition had a great share in this exercise, the manner whereof, among such of the *Indians* as have not been converted to christianity, is as follows:

It is always some warrior chief, that appoints the time of hunting, and who is to invite the hunters. This invitation, which is performed with a great deal of ceremony, is followed by a fast of ten days continuance, during which they are not to take so much as a drop of water. This whole time, notwithstanding the extreme weakness to which they are reduced by it, is employed in singing. The intention of this rigorous ceremony, is to obtain of the *Genii*, the knowledge of the place where the greatest number of bears are to be found. There are several of them who endure still more, in order to obtain this grace; and some of them have been known to cut their flesh in different parts of their bodies, with a view to render those *Genii* propitious. But it is to be remembered, that they require no manner of assistance to overcome those furious animals; it suffices that they know the places of their abode.

It is with the same view, they address their vows to the manes, or souls of the deceased bears, which they have killed in their former huntings, and as this is the only subject of their meditation during these vigils, they naturally from the emptiness of their stomachs,

dream of those animals. This however is not yet enough to determine them, for every man of the canton, or at least much the greater part of them, must also have dreamt of seeing bears, and that in their own district. Now it is next to impossible for many dreams should agree; to bring this to pass therefore is the next embarrassment, which is generally removed, when some huntsman of reputation happens to dream two or three times successively of seeing those beasts in a certain place. Whether thro' complaisance, or hearing the same thing often repeated, they all presently fall to dreaming after him, or at least pretend to do so, and that quarter is immediately fixt upon for the place of hunting.

§ 1. *When the*

As soon as the fact is over, and the place of hunting agreed upon, the chief elect who is to have the command in it, gives a magnificent repast to all those who are to be of the party, and no person dares to present himself at it, before he has first bathed himself, which is generally by throwing himself into the river, provided only it be not frozen, let the weather be never so severe. They are not obliged at this feast to eat up every thing, as in some others, and they all observe great sobriety. He who does the honours touches nothing, his sole employment, whilst the others are at table, is to make the panegyric of his own feats in former huntings. The festival ends with new invocations of the manes of the bears departed. They then take the field all daubed over with black in the same manner as when they go to war, amidst the acclamations of the whole village.

And in your
town.

It is to be
known.

Thus hunting is in no less reputation amongst the *Indians*, than war; and an alliance with a good huntsman is more coveted, than that of a famous warrior, because this exercise furnishes the family with all the necessaries of life, at least, with all that they reckon as such, that is, with food and cloathing. But this character of a great huntsman is not easily acquired, for before you are reckoned so, you must have killed at least twelve large beasts in one day.

Indian admi-
table hunters.

The *Indians* have two considerable advantages beyond us in *Europe*; for, in the first place, no obstacle is capable of stopping them, neither thickets, ditches, marshes, nor rivers. Their way is always the nearest, that is, forwards in a direct line. Then there is no animal, how fleet soever, which they cannot overtake by mere swiftness of foot. And we are told, that it is common enough for them to come home leading a drove of bears into their village like a flock of sheep; and that the swiftest deer, though I will not venture this on my own authority, is not swifter than they.

As to the gene-
rality in de-
cay.

Formerly the hunter had little benefit from his abundance; every one took what share of the spoil he pleased, leaving the proprietor little besides the glory of labouring for the public advantage. He was, however, at liberty to make his own family a present of the first fruits. This was the custom formerly, till the arrival of the *Europeans*, whose ill example has in a great measure destroyed this ancient and most commendable spirit of disinterestedness, leaving them their own selfishness in exchange.

1. *Time of*
year.

The season for hunting the bear is in the winter, when these animals retreat into the hollows of trees, or, when they find them fallen down, make themselves a den with the root, the entry of which they fill with branches of fir, where they are perfectly secure from the severity of the weather. If they should fail of either of those conveniencies, they dig themselves a hole in the earth, taking particular care, after they have retired into it, to stop the mouth; and this they do so well as sometimes to elude the closest search. But, however they happen to be lodged, it is certain, they never once stir out the whole winter. It is equally true, that they carry in with them no manner of provision; so that all this long season the bear neither eats nor drinks. All he does is constantly licking his paws, which are said by some to afford a substance from whence he draws all his nourishment. Every one, however, is at liberty to judge of it as he thinks fit, though it is undeniably true, that the experiment has been made by chaining up one of those animals for a whole winter, without affording him the least nourishment, and at the end of six months he has been found as fat as in the beginning.

It is to be
known
the whole
winter.

It is to be
known
of the
huntsmen.

There is no need of much courting to take the bear; the only thing required is to find out the place of their retreat in any considerable number. When the hunters imagine they have discovered their haunts, they form a large circle of a quarter of a league round, more or less, in proportion to the number of hunters. They afterwards advance drawing nearer one another, every one making strict search as he goes for the retreat of these animals. Hence, if there be any lodged in all this space, it is difficult for them to escape, the *Indians* being excellent ferrets. On the morrow the hunting begins after the same manner, and so continues from day to day while the season lasts.

As soon as a bear is killed, the hunter puts the end of his lighted pipe into his mouth, and blowing at the head of it till the bear's throat and wind-pipe are full of the smoke, conjures his spirit not to be angry for what injury he has done his body, and not to oppose his success in his future huntings. The huntsman, to know whether his request is granted, cuts the string or membrane under the tongue of the bear, which he keeps till he returns to the village, when all of the party, after many invocations, and a deal of ceremony, throw those expiations into the fire. If those membranes crackle and thrink, as how should it be otherwise, it is looked upon as a certain sign that the angry spirits of the bears are appeased; if otherwise, it is concluded they are still wroth, and that the hunting of the ensuing season will be unprosperous, at least till they have found means to render them propitious; for there is no inconvenience which they cannot remove by some religious ceremony.

Ceremonious observances after hunting

The hunters live well while the season lasts, and if they have any success at all, they bring home sufficient to feast their friends, and to maintain their families for a considerable time. The flesh of this animal, smoked in the chimney, is esteemed good eating by the *Indians*, tho' it would hardly go down with an *European*.

Profits bring home sufficient to feast their friends, and to maintain their families for a considerable time.

The reception the sportsmen meet with on their return, is every way worthy of the high notion they entertain of this exercise. Nothing is to be heard but the praises of those heroes, who wear such an air of importance and self-sufficiency, as if they were returning laden with the spoils of a conquered enemy. A grand repast is given on this occasion, and to leave none of the viands served in it, affords another strong subject of vanity and panegyric. The person who had the honour to be the director of the hunting, is the dispenser of this treat, and the first dish is the bear of the largest size, which is served up whole, with his entrails, and without so much as flaying it, for they chuse to dress the flesh in the skin, as we do that of hogs. This feast is dedicated to a certain genius, whose wrath they believe they should incur, were they to leave the least morsel. They are not so much as to leave the broth in which the carcase has been boiled, tho' it be nothing but the fat melted and reduced to a perfect oil. Nothing can be worse food than this, which always proves mortal to one or other of the guests on this occasion, and many of them find themselves very much indisposed after these unwholesome repasts.

The chief hunter's feast

The bear is not a dangerous animal in *Canada*, except when he is hungry, or after he has been wounded. It is proper, however, to be always upon your guard when you approach him. They are seldom known to attack any person, and they generally take to flight on seeing a man, a dog being all that is necessary to drive them to a great distance.

Bears not dangerous in Canada

In the month of *July* the bear is in rut, at which time his flesh is so lean, and of so disagreeable a taste and smell, that even the *Indians*, who have not the most delicate palates, will scarce touch it. He is also at this time so fierce, that it is dangerous to come near him. After this he recovers his complexion, by means of the fruits he then finds every where in the woods, and of which he is extremely greedy. The grape in particular is his favourite dish, for which he will climb to the top of the tallest trees; but should a hunter perceive him, he is sure to pay for it with his life. After he has fed a considerable time on those fruits, his flesh acquires an excellent relish, which it preserves till the spring, though it has always a remarkable defect, from its extreme oiliness, which, if not used with great moderation, never fails to occasion the dysentery. It is, however, very nourishing, and a bear's cub is reckoned, by those who have eat of this sort of food, not at all inferior to lamb.

Their flesh considered as food

The *Indians* always carry a great number of dogs with them when they go a hunting, which are the only domestic animals they keep, and are destined for this use only. These, in appearance, are all of the same species, with erect ears, their muzzle somewhat long, like that of the wolf, and remarkable for their fidelity and affection to their masters, who never care, and, in other respects, take but very ill care of them. They are trained early to the exercise for which they are intended, and are indeed excellent hunters.

Indian dogs of the same kind

The Elk is an animal formerly common in *North America*, and of as much utility with respect to trade, as the beaver itself, had they not been extirpated, or at least driven very far from the *European* colonies by those who went to settle in those parts. What is called in *Canada* the elk, goes by the name of the *Elau*, or *Great Bear*, in *Germany*, *Poland*, and *Russia*. This animal is of the size of a horse, or of a mule of *Juergene* in *Liance*; is very broad over the hind parts; his tail no longer than one's

Elk described

finger; the haunches very high, with the legs and feet of a stag; the withers, neck, and upper part of the thighs are covered with long hair; the head is more than two foot long, which he stretches out lengthwise before him, giving himself by that means a very ungraceful appearance; the muzzle is thick, and bends downwards almost like that of the camel; and the nostrils are so prodigiously wide, that you may thrust your fist and half your arm into them. His antlers are as long as those of the stag, and much more spreading; they are flat and forked, like those of a doe, and shoot anew every year.

Virtues of his hoof.

It has been said, that the elk is subject to the epilepsy, or falling sickness, and that, when the fit seizes him, he recovers himself by scratching his ear with his left hind foot till the blood comes. This tradition probably gave occasion to believe the hoof of this animal a specific against that disorder. It is applied to the head of the patient, which is also practised to cure an extraordinary palpitation. It is also given into the patient's left hand, to rub his ear with it in like manner; though I should think it requisite, in order to expect the same effect as in the case of the animal, to rub it, as he does, till the blood comes. This hoof, when taken in powder, or infused in water, is reckoned very good for the pleurisy, colic pains, the flux, vertigo, and purples. It is said, that the *Algonquins*, who formerly fed on the flesh of this animal, were very subject to the falling sickness, but that they did not make use of this remedy, probably because they were acquainted with a better.

Uses of his hair, skin, and flesh.

The skin of the elk is a mixture of a light grey and a dark red. The hair of it becomes hollow, as the beast grows old, and never sheds, nor loses its elastic or springy virtue; for let it be depressed with ever so much care, it always rises up again; it is commonly used for mattresses, and stuffing of saddles. The flesh of the elk is of an exquisite relish, light, and very nourishing, and it would really be a matter much to be regretted, did it communicate the king's evil, as some have imagined. The *French* hunters, who have lived whole winters on it, declare they never felt the smallest inclination to this disorder. His skin is very strong, and of an oily softness; it is dressed like shammy leather, and makes excellent buff-coats, which are very light.

Indian notion of the elk.

The *Indians* look upon the elk as an animal of good omen, and believe that those who dream often of it will be very long lived. They have a very different notion of the bear, except when they are going to hunt those animals. They have also a tradition amongst them, which is singular enough, that there is one of those elks so much in size above all others, that, in comparison of him, the rest appear like so many pigmires. His legs, say they, are so tall, that eight feet of snow is no manner of inconvenience to him. His skin is proof against all sorts of weapons, and he has an arm proceeding from one of his shoulders, which he uses in the same manner as a man. He is never without a great number of other elks in his retinue, who form his court, and do him all manner of services. Thus the ancients had their *Phoenix* and *Pegasus*, and the *Chinese* and *Japanese* their *Kirin*, their *Fee*, their *Water Dragon*, and *Bird of Paradise*.

Hunting the elk.

The elk loves cold countries; he grazes the field in summer, and in winter he gnaws the bark of trees. When the snows are deep, those animals assemble in herds in some pine-wood, in order to shelter themselves from the severity of the weather, where they remain while there is any food for them. They are easily hunted down at this time, and still more so when the sun gets heat enough to melt the snows: for, as the frost in the night forms a hard crust on the surface of those snows which have been melting in the day time, the elk, who is very heavy, breaks it with his hoof, and wounds his limbs in it, which he is scarce able to extricate from the holes he has made. Except at these times, and especially when the snows are not deep, it is very difficult and even dangerous to come near him; for when he is wounded, he is very furious, and will turn boldly on the hunters, and knock them down with his hoofs. The way to escape from him is to throw him your coat, on which he will discharge all his vengeance, whilst the hunter concealing himself behind some tree, takes an opportunity to dispatch him. The common pace of the elk is a hard trot, which is almost as swift as a buffalo can run. He holds out a long time, but the *Indians* are still better runners than he. It is said, that he falls down on his knees when he drinks, eats, and when he goes to sleep; and they add, that he has a small bone in his heart, which being reduced to powder, and taken in broth, brings forward the birth, and mitigates child-bed pains.

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The most northerly *Indians* of *Canada* have a way of hunting the elk, which is very ^{Simple way} simple, and not at all dangerous. The hunters divide into two bodies; one embarks on board canoes, keeping at some distance from the other, and forming together a pretty large semicircle, the extremities of which touch the banks; the other body which remains ashore, range themselves pretty much in the same form, and at first surround a considerable space of ground. The hunters then let loose their dogs, which raise all the elks within those bounds, drive them towards the canoes, and at last force them into the river, or lake, where they instantly receive the fire of all the canoes, so that very rarely so much as one of them escapes.

Clamplain speaks of another way of hunting not only the elk, but even stags and caribous, that has some relation to this. They inclose, says he, a certain portion of the forest with stakes, or piles, interwoven with branches of trees, leaving only one narrow entrance, in which they stretch thongs of raw hides. This inclosure is of a triangular form, and from the angle where the entrance is, another triangle is constructed, much larger than the former; thus these two enclosures communicate one with the other, by the two angles. The two sides of this second triangle are surrounded with piles in the same manner, and the hunters, drawn up in one line, form the base of it. They afterwards advance, but take care not to break the line, drawing nearer and nearer to each other, with loud shouts, and beating some instrument which makes a prodigious noise. The beasts, thus drove from one side, and finding no way of escaping to the right or left, and besides being stunned and startled by the noise, have no other way left them to escape, but into the other inclosure, and many of them are caught by the neck or horns in this passage. They make prodigious efforts to extricate themselves; sometimes they break or carry away the thongs, and sometimes they strangle themselves, or at least, the hunters, by this delay, have time to shoot them. Those who escape this snare are still in as much danger as ever, and have too little room, in this smaller inclosure, to shun the arrows that are shot at them from all sides.

The elk has other enemies that make as cruel a war upon him as the *Indians*. The most dreadful of these is the Carcajou, or Quineajou, a species of the cat kind, the tail of which is so long as to wrap several times round his body; his hair is of a brownish red. As soon as this hunter comes up with the elk, he leaps upon him, fixes on his neck, round which he twines his long tail, and then cuts his jugular. The elk has but one way left to shun this disaster, which is by throwing himself into the water the moment he finds himself in the hands of this terrible enemy. As the Carcajou cannot endure the water, he immediately quits his hold; but if the water be too far off, he has time to destroy his prisoner before he reaches it. As this animal is not endowed with the most acute smell, he generally carries three foxes along with him, which he sends out on discoveries. As soon as they get scent of an elk, two of them place themselves one on each side, and the other directly behind him; and in this manner they manage matters so well by harralling the prey, till at last they force him to betake himself to the place where they left the Carcajou, with whom they afterwards settle their different proportions of the spoil. The Carcajou has still another stratagem to catch his prey, which is to climb a tree, where laying himself flat along some propending branch, he waits till some elk passes, and throws himself upon him the moment he perceives him within reach.

The stag of *Canada* is in all respects the same with ours in *Europe*, only somewhat larger. The *Indians* however seem not to trouble themselves much about them, at least I do not find that they make war upon the stag in form, and with the same ceremony as when they hunt the bear and elk.

The Caribou is an animal not quite so tall as the elk, has more the appearance of an ass than a mule, and is as swift as the stag. There was formerly one of them seen on Cape *Diamond*, near *Quebec*, which had probably been pursued by the hunters; but he was not long in perceiving that he was in no place of safety, so he made but one leap thence into the river, which he swam over with the same facility, but all to no purpose, being killed by some *Canadians*, who were going to war, and then encamped at *Poinc Lévi*, on the opposite side. The tongue of this animal is much esteemed. Its true country is probably in the neighbourhood of *Hudson's Bay*; for the *Sieur Jerome*, who passed several winters in these Northern parts, says, that between *Danville* River and *Port Nelson*, there are prodigious numbers, all the summer,

which being driven from the woods by the swarms of gnats and gad-flies, come to refresh themselves by the sea side, and that for the space of forty or fifty leagues together you continually meet with herds of them of a thousand in a herd at least.

It does not appear that the caribous have multiplied greatly in the most frequented places of *Canada*; elks, on the contrary, were to be met with every where in prodigious numbers, and might have made a very considerable branch of trade, as well as a great conveniency to the inhabitants, had they been better managed. But this has been sadly neglected, and whether it is by the multitudes killed, or that by hunting they have obliged them to remove to other parts, nothing is rarer to be met with than an elk.

Hunting the
buffalo

In the western and southern parts of *Canada*, on both sides the *Mississippi*, the hunting most in vogue, is that of the Buffalo, which is done in the manner following. The hunters draw up in four lines, forming a very large square: they begin by setting fire to the grass, which is dry at that season, and very rank: afterwards, as the fire gets ground, they advance, constantly drawing nearer and nearer to each other. The buffaloes, which are extremely afraid of the fire, fly before it, till at last they are pent up in so narrow a space, that few or none of them escape; seldom a party returns from hunting the Buffalo, without, as we are told, killing fifteen hundred, or two thousand of those animals. But lest the different companies of hunters should incommode one another, they agree upon the place of hunting before they set out. There are even stated penalties for such as transgress these regulations, as well as for those who by deserting their post suffer the prey to escape. These penalties are in general, that every person shall have a right to deprive the delinquent of his share of the spoil, and even to take his arms from him, which is reckoned the greatest affront that can possibly be given to an *Indian*, and to destroy his hut. The *Indian* chiefs are equally subjected to those punishments with the rest of the company, and those who should attempt an exemption, would probably kindle a war that would not easily be extinguished.

Buffalo of *Ca-*
nada described

The Buffalo of *Canada* is larger than ours in *Europe*; its horns are low, short, and black; a long hairy beard descends from its muzzle, and another from the crown of its head, which falls over its eyes, and gives the creature a most hideous look. It has on its back a bunch, beginning from the haunches, and increasing towards the shoulders. The front of this bunch is higher by a cubit, than the hinder part, and three fingers broad, and the whole bunch is covered with long reddish hair. The rest of the body is clothed with a black wool, which is highly valued. It is said that the wool of a Buffalo weighs eight pounds. This animal is very broad at the chest, pretty slender at the loins, has a very short tail, and almost no neck; but its head is much bigger than the *European* Buffalo's. He commonly flies the moment he discovers a man, and a dog will drive a whole herd before him. He has a very quick scent, and you must always be to leeward of him, before you can get near enough to shoot him, without being discovered. But after he is wounded, he grows furious, and turns upon the hunter; and he is no less dangerous when the females have newly brought forth their young. The flesh of this animal is very good, but that of the cow Buffalo is only eaten, the bull's being too hard. As for the hide, nothing can exceed it; it is easily dressed, and tho' it is exceeding strong, becomes soft and supple as the best sort of shammy. The *Indians* make targets of it which are extremely light, and almost musket proof.

Musk buffalo

There is another species of the buffalo in the neighbourhood of *Hudson's Bay*, the skin and wool of which is no less valuable than those of the buffaloes I have just now mentioned. The account which *M. Jeremie* gives of them is, that at fifteen leagues from the *Danish* River is the *River of Sea Wolves*, so called from the great number of those animals that frequent it. Between these two rivers is a species of buffaloes, called Musk Buffaloes, from their smelling so strong of that perfume at a certain time of the year, that their flesh is not eatable. They are covered with a very fine wool, and longer than that of the sheep in *Barbary*. I carried, says he, some into *France*, in the year 1708, of which I caused some pairs of stockings to be made, which were even finer and more beautiful than those of silk. These buffaloes, though smaller than ours in *Europe*, have much thicker and longer horns, the roots of which meet on the crown of their head, and coming down close by the eyes, almost as low as the throat, the ends of them afterwards turn upwards, and form a kind of crescent. I have, says *M. Jeremie*, seen a pair of horns which weighed sixty pounds when separated from the scall. They have very short legs, so that, when they walk, their wool trails upon the ground, which

which renders them so unshapely, that at a distance you are at a loss where to look for the head. As there is no great number of those animals, the species would soon become extinct, were the *Indians* to be employed in hunting them. Besides, the shortness of their legs makes it easy to kill them with lances, when the snow is deep, in which case they cannot possibly escape.

The most common quadruped in *Canada* is the Roe-buck, which differs in nothing from ours. This creature is said to shed tears when he sees himself reduced to extremities by the hunters. When he is young, his skin is marked with stripes of different colours lengthwise; afterwards, this hair falls off, and in place of it grows another sort, which is of the common colour of this animal. He is not at all fierce, is easily tamed, and is naturally fond of man. The tame females, when proud, will go into the woods, and, after she has had the male, will return to her master's house. When she is ready to bring forth her young, she retires to the woods again, whence, after some time spent in suckling, she comes back in the same manner. She is constant in her visits to her offspring; the master follows her when he sees fit, and takes the young, which she afterwards nurses in the house. It is something strange, that every house in *Canada* is not supplied with a large flock of these creatures; the *Indians* hunt them only occasionally.

There are also in the forests of *Canada* a great multitude of Wolves, or rather Wild-Cats, for they have nothing of the wolf, except the howling of that animal; in every other respect they are of the feline kind. They are naturally hunters, living solely on the flesh of what other animal they are able to catch, and which they pursue to the tops of the tallest trees. Their flesh is white, and good eating; their hair and skin are well known in *France*, and make one of the finest furs of all this country, as well as the most considerable article in its commerce. But a greater value still is put on a sort of black fox, that lives in the mountains, in the north part of this province. I have however heard, says my author, that the fur of the *Russian* black fox, and of those in the North of *Europe*, are in still greater request. They are, however, extremely rare, even in *Canada*, probably because of the difficulty of catching them.

The most common sorts here, are those who have black or grey hairs mixed with white; others of them are entirely grey, and others of a carrotty red. There is a sort of them found about the *Upper Mississippi*, the skin of which is of a silver white, and extremely beautiful. There are also tigers found in these parts, and wolves inferior in size to ours. The foxes hunt the water-fowl in a very sagacious manner. They advance a little into the water, then they retire, making a thousand antic motions on the banks. Ducks, bustards, and such like fowl, are taken with this amusement, and draw near the fox, who, to lull them into a still greater security, remains very quiet at first, only making a few motions with his tail to draw them still nearer. The moment he thinks himself sure of them, he flies at them, and rarely fails of success. The *Indians* have bred up dogs, to the same exercise, which they perform with admirable dexterity; those dogs, too, make a very cruel war on the foxes.

There is a kind of Pole-Cat, called, *Enfant du diable*, or *Bête pante*, that is, the devil's imp, or stinking beast, because its urine, which it discharges when purified, taints the air for half a quarter of a league round, for in other respects it is a very beautiful creature, of the size of a small cat, but thicker, its hair shining or glossy, of a greyish cast, with two strokes of white forming an oval from the neck to the tail, which is bushy like that of a fox, and carried erect over the back, just like that of the squirrel. The fur of this animal, as also that of the *Pekam*, another creature of the wild-cat kind, almost of the same size with those of *Europe*, that of the otter, the common pole-cat, the sote, the wood-rat, the ermine, and martin, are what is called the *Menne Peleterie*, or lesser furs. The Ermine is of the size of our squirrel, but not so long; the fur of it is of a beautiful white, and it has a long tail, the tip of which is jet black. The Martin is not so red as those of *France*, but the hair of it is much finer. They generally keep in the middle of the woods, out of which they never stir, but once in two or three years, and then always in large bodies. The *Indians* are persuaded that the year in which these animals are seen to come abroad, will be a good hunting year, that is, there will be a large fall of snow. The skin of the martin is sold in *Canada* for a *French* crown, even the most ordinary sort, for such as are brown fetch twenty-four livres and upwards.

- State.** The State differs from the pole-cat in this only, that the hair of the former is blacker, longer, and thicker. These two animals prey upon the birds, and even upon those of the largest size, and make vast destruction in hen-roosts and pigeon-houses.
- Wood-rat.** The wood-rat is twice as large as the rat of *Europe*. The tail of this creature is bushy, and the hairs of it of a beautiful silver grey. There are even some of them entirely white, and that of an extremely beautiful colour. The female has a bag under her belly, which she opens and shuts at pleasure: In this bag she encloses her young when she is pursued, and flies with the burden for safety.
- Squirrel-like birds.** As for the Squirrel, there are vast numbers of them in this country, as they are never molested. They are distinguished into three sorts; the red, which differs nothing from ours; those called *Sauvages*, which are somewhat smaller, and are so called because their skin is marked with red, black, and white stripes lengthwise, not unlike the Pope's *Swiss* guards; and the flying squirrel, of much the same size with the *Sauvages*, the skin of which sort, is a dark grey. They are called flying squirrels, not that they actually fly, but from their springing from tree to another, at the distance at least of forty paces, and when they leap from a superior height, they will shoot double that distance. What gives them this extraordinary agility is two membranes reaching between the fore and hind legs of the same side, about two inches broad, very thin, and covered with a very thin down, instead of hair. This animal is very easily tamed, and very lively, when he is not asleep. But this is very seldom, as he makes his lair wherever he can, in your pockets, sleeves, and cuffs of your coat. He generally gives his master the preference, and will single him out from a score of people.
- Porcupine described.** The Porcupine of *Canada* is of the size of a middling dog, but shorter, and not quite so tall. Its hair is about four inches long, of the thickness of a slender straw, white, hollow, and very strong, particularly that on the back. This hair is all the weapons he has, whether of the offensive or defensive kind; he darts it at once at whatever attempts his life, and if it pierce ever so little the flesh, it must be drawn out immediately, otherwise it penetrates to its whole length, for which reason hunters are very cautious of letting their dogs come near this animal. Its flesh is very good eating; a roasted porcupine being accounted not at all inferior to a pig.
- Hare and Rabbit.** The Hare and Rabbit of this country are exactly the same with ours in *Europe*, excepting that their hind legs are yet longer. Their skins are of little or no consequence, as the hair is always coming off, which is a real loss, as their fur is very fine, and might be usefully employed in the making of hats. In the winter season, these animals turn grey, and rarely are seen to come out of their holes, where they live on the tenderest branches of the birch-tree; in the summer their hair is red. The fox makes a continual war on those animals; and the *Indians* catch them in winter on the snow with gins, when they go forth in quest of food.
- Rattle-Snake.** The Rattle-Snake is the only reptile worthy of notice in this country, but so well known that we shall pass it over, and proceed to the birds that are inhabitants of *Canada*.
- Birds of the woods.** The forests of *Canada* are by no means so well provided in birds, either with respect to numbers or variety, as the seas, lakes, and rivers, are with fishes. There are some however which have their merit, and are peculiar to *North America*. Here are eagles of two sorts; the largest have their necks and heads almost white; they give chase to the hares and rabbits, which they carry off in their pounces to their nests. The other sort are grey, and prey upon birds only. Both kinds are excellent fishers. The falcon, goshawk, and tassel-hawk, are exactly the same with those in *Europe*; there are besides a second sort of falcons, that live entirely on fish. The partridges of *Canada*, are of three sorts; the grey, red, and black; these last are the best valued of the three, having too much the flavour of the grape, juniper, and fir-tree. These have also the head and eyes of a pheasant, and their flesh is of a brownish colour, with long tails, spreading like a fan or the tail of a turkey-cock, and of an extraordinary beauty, some of them being mixt with red, brown, and grey, and others a mixture of light grey and brown. All these sorts of partridges are however larger than ours in *Europe*, but so remarkably tame, that they suffer you not only to shoot at them, but to come very near them.
- Superior water-fool.** Besides snipes, which are excellent in this country, and the smaller sort of water-fool, which is found every where in the greatest abundance, you sometimes meet with wood-cocks near springs, but in no great numbers. In the country of the *Illinois*, and all over the south parts of *Canada*, they are in greater plenty.

M. Denis,

M. *Duys*, a *French* writer, who resided some time on this continent, assures us, that the Raven of *Canada* is quite as good eating as a hen; which may be true of *Aladia*, ^{Raven} tho' doubtful with respect to other parts of *Canada*. The ravens are something larger than ours in *Europe*, blacker, and have a different cry. The Osprays, on the contrary, are smaller, and their note by no means so disagreeable to the ear. The Owl of *Canada* differs from the *European* only in that it has a small white ring round its neck, with a peculiar sort of cry. The flesh of this bird is good eating, and many prefer it to a barn-door fowl. The winter provision of these owls consists of field-mice, in which they observe a singular piece of economy in breaking their legs, and afterwards fattening them for use on occasion. The Bat of this country is larger than those of *Europe*, the martins and swallows here are birds of passage as in our hemisphere, ^{Swallow.} The first are not black like ours, but of a brownish red. There are three sorts of Larks, the smallest of which is of the size of a sparrow; and this last differs also from our sparrows, and tho' it retains the same qualities, has however a very disagreeable ^{Lark.} aspect. ^{Sparrow.}

Ducks are found in prodigious numbers in this country; of those birds they reckon two and twenty different kinds. The most beautiful, and best to eat, are what the *French* call *branches canards*, from their perching on the branches of trees. Their plumage is most beautifully diversified, and the colour extremely bright and vivid. Swans, turkies, moor-hens, cranes, teal, geese, buffalards, and other large water-fowl, are found every where in the greatest abundance, except in the neighbourhood of plantations, where they never come. ^{Ducks, swans, &c. by two sorts.} ^{Water fowl.}

There are Magpies of two colours; some are all white, and others of a light grey; and both make excellent soups. The Wood-peckers are beautiful to admiration. There are of them of all colours, others entirely black, or quite of a dark brown, except the head and neck, which are of a most beautiful red. ^{Mag.} ^{Woodpeckers}

The Thrush of *Canada* is very like ours in *Europe*, as to shape, but has only half the charms of the other's music. The Goldfinch has not near so beautiful a head as the *European*, and all its feathers are overspread with a mixture of yellow and black; I can say little of its note, as having never seen one in a cage. ^{Thrush.} ^{Goldfinch.}

The forests of *Canada* are full of a bird of the size of a linnet, which is quite yellow, has a very slender neck, and a very short song, with little variety in it; This bird has no other name than that of its colour. But the best musician of all the *Canadian* groves, is a sort of ortolan, the plumage of which is of an ash-colour on the back, and a white on the belly, whence it is called the white-bird, yielding nothing to the pipe of the thrush in *Europe*; but the male is the only song-bird, the female remaining mute even in a cage. This little creature has a very charming outside, and for its relish well deserves the name of Ortolan. It is not certain to what quarter he retires in the winter-season, but he is always the first harbinger of the spring. The snow is scarce melted when these birds are found in great multitudes in some parts, at which time you may take what quantity you please. ^{Yellow bird.} ^{Singing oriole.}

About a hundred leagues south of *Chambly* you begin to meet with the bird called Cardinal, some of which sort have been brought over to *Paris*. The sweetness of his song, and the beauty of his plumage, which is of a fine carnation, and a little tuft which he has on his head, not unlike the crowns with which painters adorn *Indian* kings, seem sufficient to entitle him to hold the sceptre amongst the feathered kind. He has, however, a rival in this country, capable of engaging every vote, were the charms of his music equal to those of his outward appearance, I mean what they call in our country *l'Oiseau Mouche*, or *Humming Bird*. This name is given him for two reasons, the first is, his diminutive size; for with all his feathers, he is no bigger than a common May-bug. The second is the great buzzing noise he makes with his wings, not unlike that of a large fly. His legs, which are an inch in length, are like two needles. His bill is no thicker than his limbs, and from this he thrusts a tongue, or rather a sting, with which he pierces the flowers, extracting the juice, which is his common nourishment. The female has nothing gaudy in her outside, is of a beautiful white below the belly, and a light ash-colour every where else; but the male is a perfect jewel. From the top of his head rises a small tuft of black, the breast is red, the belly white, and the back, wings, and tail of a vivid green, with specks of gold dispersed over all his plumage, which gives

gives it an astonishing beauty in conjunction with an imperceptible down that forms the softest and sweetest dyes imaginable.

Colivry, L. d.
Mount. of.

Some travellers have confounded this bird with the Colivry, and indeed this appears to be a species of those birds; but the Colivry of the isles is somewhat larger, has a much brighter plumage, and the bill recurved or bending downwards. This bird is said to have a very melodious pipe; which, if true, is a great advantage over the *Oiseau Mouche*, or humming bird, which has no song at all. He has also a very strong and nimble flight; now you see him on a flower, and a moment after he springs almost perpendicularly up into the air. He is also a declared, and indeed a very dangerous enemy to the raven: On seeing one of them he quits his food, darts himself into the air like lightning, gets under his wing, and pierces him with his sting, so that, whether by the fall, or by the wounds, he tumbles dead to the ground. These birds are very tender, and are therefore very careful to prevent the first coming of the frosts. They probably retire towards *Carolina*, where they are said to be seen only in winter. They build however in *Canada*, hanging their nests on the boughs of trees, in such manner, that they are sheltered by their position from all the inclemency of the air. Nothing can be neater than those nests; the bottom is composed of little bits of wood, interwoven together like basket-work, and the inside is lined with a silky sort of down. Their eggs are of the size of pease, with yellow spots on a white ground; they are generally said to lay three at a time, and sometimes they go as far as five.

Forests, of *Canada*.

As for the forests of *Canada*, which cover almost the whole continent, they seem to be as ancient as the world itself. Nothing can be nobler than the prospect they afford, the trees piercing the very clouds, and in such variety, that there is perhaps no man living acquainted with half the different species to be found in those parts. As to the uses they are capable of serving, they are so many that it is impossible to enumerate them.

Pine trees,
two sorts.

Those kinds which strike the eye of a stranger most, on his first coming into this country, are the pine, the fir, and the cedar, all which are of an height and thickness perfectly astonishing. There are two sorts of pines in this country, both very proper for making of pitch and tar. The white pine, at least, some of this sort, produce at their apex, a sort of mushroom, like tinder, which the natives call *Guarigue*, used by the *Indians* against disorders of the breast, and the dysentery. The red pine is more gummy or resinous, and of a stronger substance, but not so large as the white. The lands which produce both sorts are not the most favourable for corn, being chiefly composed of gravel, sand, and clay.

Fir, 4 sorts.

There are four sorts of firs in *Canada*; the first resembles ours in *Europe*; the three others are the white-prickly, the red-prickly, and the spruce fir. The second and fourth sorts grow to a prodigious height, and are excellent for masts, especially the white-prickly fir, which is also very proper for carpenters work. This tree grows generally in moist and black soils, and such as after being drained are capable of bearing all sorts of grain. Its bark is smooth and shining, and is overspread with exudations or small blisters, of the size of a kidney bean, which contain a sort of turpentine or balsam, a sovereign and speedy remedy for wounds, and also extremely beneficial in case of fractures. It has been asserted that it expels fevers, and cures pains in the breast and belly. The way to use it is by mixing two drops of it with broth or soup. It has also a purgative quality; this is what is called in *Europe* white balsam.

Red prickly,
and prickly.

The red-prickly fir is nothing like the white; the wood of the red is heavy, and may be usefully employed in ship-building, and in carpenters work. These trees grow commonly in clayey and gravelly soils. The spruce fir produces gum, but not in any quantity worth extracting; the wood of this tree lasts a long time under ground without rotting, so that it is extremely proper for making fences for enclosures: The bark of it is very good for tanning, and the *Indians* dye a colour with it something like a deep blue. The lands where this tree grows are for the most part clayey, tho' there are sometimes good numbers of them to be seen in sandy places; but possibly under that sand may be layers of a clayey, or perhaps a richer mould.

Cedar, white
and red.

The cedar of *Canada* is of two sorts, the white and the red. These last are of the largest growth, and generally used for paling and pipe-staves, on account of its lightness. There is a sort of incense that distils from it, but it yields no fruit like the cedars of *Mount Libanus*. The red cedar is not only not so tall, but also slenderer than the white, in proportion to its height. The most remarkable difference, however, is that the

odour

colour of the white is entirely in the leaves, and that of the other which is much preferred, in the wood only; neither of these trees, and especially the white will grow in any but the best of soils.

There are two sorts of oaks found over all *Canada*, distinguished in like manner into the white and red oak. The first are often met with in low, humid, and fertile lands, and such as are proper for producing of corn and pulse. The red sort, the wood of which is also less valued, grows, on the contrary, on dry sandy places; both sorts bear acorns. Oak, white and red

The Maple is also very common in *Canada*, some of which grow to a prodigious thickness, and very good pieces of furniture are made of the wood. They generally grow in high lands, and such as are very proper for fruit trees. What they call the *Rbene* in this country, is the female maple, the wood of which is much clouded, but paler than the male sort; in other respects it has the shape and all the properties of that tree; but it thrives only in moist and fat lands. This tree affords great quantities of a cooling and wholesome liquor, from which they make a sort of sugar by a much shorter process and a less expence than that of the *West Indies*; this is also reckoned a good pectoral, and very balsamic. Maple.

The cherry tree (bearing a small bitter cherry) found amongst maples and white wood, is very proper for furniture; this tree produces much more liquor than the maple, but it is bitter, and the sugar made of it, never loses its disagreeable taste. The *Indians* use the bark of it as a remedy for certain disorders, incident to the fair sex.

There are three sorts of ash trees in *Canada*, that called *Francy*, the meltizzo or mongrel, and the bastard ash. The first sort, which grows amongst maples, is proper for the carpenters trade, and for staves for dry casks. The second has the same uses and qualities, and like the bastard, grows only in low fat lands. Ash, 3 sorts.

They reckon also three sorts of walnut trees in this province; the hard, the soft, or tender, and the third species, which has a very thin bark. The hard walnut tree produces very small nuts, pleasant to the taste, but which lye long and heavy on the stomach; the wood of this is only fit for burning. The soft walnut tree has an oblong fruit, of the size of a *French* walnut, with a very hard shell; the kernels of these are excellent to eat. The wood is not quite so fine as ours in *Europe*, but in return it is almost incorruptible either in the earth or under water, and extremely difficult to be burnt. The third sort produces a nut of much the same size with the first, but in greater quantities, bitter, and enclosed in very thin shells. These nuts yield an excellent oil; there distils from the tree, a water much richer in sugar than that of the maple, but in small quantities. This, as well as the soft sort of walnut trees, grows only in the richest soil. Walnut tree, three sorts.

Beech trees abound in those parts on particular spots. Sometimes they are found on sandy hillocks and at others on the richest low-lands. These bear great quantities of mast, from which it would be no difficult matter to extract the oil; the bears and partridges subsist chiefly on this fruit. The wood of these trees is extremely soft, and very fit to make oars for boats or galleys, tho' oars of canoes are made of maple. White-wood, a species of the poplar which grows among maples, and the bitter cherry tree, are very plentiful. These trees grow very thick and straight, the wood is very even, easily worked, and sawed, makes excellent boards, and thick planks, and also staves for casks. The *Indians* make use of the bark to thatch their cabbins. Beech, white-wood and the bitter cherry tree.

The elm is very common in every part of this province. The kinds are the white, and the red; the wood of the red is harder, and much more difficult to work, but it is also much more lasting. It is the bark of the red elm of which the *Indians* make their canoes; some of which made of one single piece, are capable of containing twenty persons. Some of these trees are also hollow, and it is in those cavities that the wild cats and bears take up their lodgings from the month of *November* to *April*. The poplar is commonly found along the banks of rivers, and in marshy places. Elm, white and red.

The woods afford great numbers of plumb trees, laden with fruit of a very sharp acrid taste. *Le Vinaigrier* or vinegar tree, is a shrub with a very large pith, which produces a sharp kind of fruit growing in clusters, of the colour of bullock's blood. These are infused in water, and make a sort of vinegar. The *Pemius*, another plant peculiar to this country, is a different shrub, growing along the sides of rivulets, and in meadows, which also bears a clustering fruit of a very sharp and astringent taste. There are three sorts of gooseberry trees, natives of this country, and exactly such as those of *France*. Plumb-trees. Vinegar, pe-mine, and gooseberry shrubs.

The fort called bleuet grow, here, as in *Europe*, in woods or groves. The fruit is a sovereign and most efficacious remedy for the dysentery, which it removes in very little time. The *Indians* dry or preserve them in the same manner as we do cherries in *Europe*.

Atens, white thorn, and cotton tree.

The atoca is a fruit growing in pods, of the size of a cherry. This plant which creeps along the ground in marshy places, produces its fruit in the water. It has a sharp taste and is used in confections. The white thorn is found on the banks of rivers, and produces plenty of fruit with three stones, which is the food of several wild beasts. What they call here the cotton tree, is a plant which sprouts, like asparagus, to the height of about three feet, and is crowned with several tufts of flowers; these are shaken early in the morning before the dew is off them, when there falls from them with the dew, a kind of honey, which is reduced into sugar by boiling; the seed is contained in a pod, which encloses also a very fine sort of cotton.

San flower

The Heliotrope, or sun flower, is a plant very common in the fields belonging to the *Indians*, and grows to the height of seven or eight feet; its flower, which is very large, resembles very much that of the marigold, and its seed is disposed exactly in the same manner.

Maiz, kidney-beans, melons, &c.

The *Indians* by boiling it, extract an oil, with which they anoint their hair. The legumes, or greens, which the *Abrigines*, or ancient inhabitants of *Canada* most commonly cultivate are, maiz, or *Turkey-corn*, kidney-beans, pumpions, and melons. They have a kind of pumpion much finer than ours in *Europe*, but very sweet to the taste. These they boil whole in water, or roast in the ashes, and so eat them without any additional seasoning. The *Indians* knew the use of both common and water-melon, before the arrival of the *Europeans* in this country. The first was full as good as those of *France*, especially at *Chambly*, where they are in great abundance. The hops, and capilaire, or maiden hair, are also the production of *Canada*, and this latter grows to a greater height, and is much preferable to that of *France*.

Vines of Canada.

In the Southern parts of *Canada*, are multitudes of vines; it is about the entry of the Lake *Ontario*, where you first meet with them, and that in such numbers, that there is scarce any tree without a vine, which climbs to the top of the highest of them. Vines abound as much, we are assured, all over the country as far as *Mexico*. The branches spring from a very thick stem, and bear multitudes of grapes; but no bigger than a pea, which is owing to their want of pruning and cultivation. When ripe they afford a plentiful repast for the bears, who mount in quest of them, to the tops of the loftiest trees. Yet they have only the fragments left by the birds, who very soon reap the vintage of whole forests. As to simples, there is a great variety, and amongst those many which are peculiar to *Canada*; but to give the detail of them all would swell this account to too great a bulk, and would require a volume to themselves.

Of the Origin, Languages, Religion, Government, Genius, Character, Manners, and Customs, of the different Indian Nations inhabiting CANADA.

THE first *Indian* nation we meet with in our voyage from *Europe* to *Canada* is that of the *Eskimaux*, a people inhabiting the immense and frightful solitudes of *Labrador*, situated on the North side of the Gulph of *St Laurence*, and of the island of *Newfoundland*, whither they make annual excursions, it being doubted, whether there are any other inhabitants, besides those lying colonies of the *Eskimaux*, to be found on that island. Here they pass the greatest part of the year, and especially the summer, being employed in the common exercises of savages, hunting and fishing, which constitute all the arts known or practised among them. The *Eskimaux*, though scarce numerous enough to people two or three forty villages, possess, or rather range through, an immense extent of country, lying between the river *St Laurence*, *Canada*, and the Northern Ocean; and some of them have been met with as far as the river *Barbeton*, which, flowing from the West, discharges itself into *Hudson's Bay*.

The

The origin of this name of *Eskimaux* is doubtful, though the most probable etymology of it is from the *Aigouquin* word *Esquimautic*, that is, *Eaters of raw flesh*. In fact, the *Eskimaux* are the only *Indians* we know, who feed on raw flesh, though they are not, however, ignorant of the manner of roasting it, or, at least, drying it in the sun. It is also certain, that of all the known nations of *America*, there is none that answer the notion we in *Europe* at first entertain of the manners and qualities of savages, more than this. They are also almost the sole people in *America* who have any beards, which they have naturally so thick, that their face is covered with hair up to the very eyes, and it is with difficulty one is able to distinguish the smallest feature or lineament of a human countenance in them. Their air is, moreover, to the last degree bileous; little and haggard eyes; black, and sometimes flaxen hair, kept in the most frightful disorder imaginable; and their whole outside very much like that of brute animals.

Of their name

Outward description.

Their genius and manners.

Their manners and characters are such as, in every respect, justify the impression one receives of them from this horrible physiognomy; they are fierce, savage, restless, suspicious, and extremely desirous of doing mischief to strangers, who can never be sufficiently upon their guard against them. As for their genius, and the qualities of the mind, we have so little communication with this nation, that we are not sufficiently qualified to make a just estimate of them. They have, however, abundance of address in doing mischief: They have been often known to cut the cables of ships at anchor in the night, in order to make them suffer shipwreck on their coast, that they might reap advantage from their distress. They are even bold enough to attack them in the face of day, if they happen to discover the crew to be weak. It has always been impossible to civilize them, so that there is no dealing with them but at the end of a long pole. They not only keep at a distance from *Europeans*, but even refuse to eat of any thing presented by them, and in every thing take so many precautions with respect to them, as not only to betray an infinite distrust and suspicion on their side, but also to give grounds for the same fears from themselves. The *Eskimaux* are tall of stature, and indifferently well made, and their skin is quite as fair as that of the *Europeans*, owing to their never going naked, summer or winter, let the heat be never so excessive.

Some derive their pedigree from *Greenland*. Their flaxen hair, their beards, the whiteness of their skin, their small commerce and resemblance with their neighbours, leave no room to doubt their having a different original from the other *Americans*. This conjecture therefore is not improbable; as we may suppose no nation will much value themselves on the honour of an alliance with a people, who are as inhospitable and uncultivated as the country they inhabit.

Their origin.

Their clothes consist of a shirt, made of the bladders or entrails of fishes cut into breadths, and tolerably well sewed together, over which they wear a sort of cloak, made of the skins of bears, or other wild beasts, and even sometimes of the skins of fowls. A sort of cowl, or cap, of the same stuff with their shirt, and sowed to it, covers the head, and from the top of it rises a tuft of hair, which falling down hides their foreheads. The shirt reaches to the loins only, and the cloak hangs down before as far as the thighs, and behind terminates in a point somewhat below the waist. The women however wear it hanging down on both sides as far as the mid-leg, and fasten it with a belt, from which hang small bones. The men wear breeches made of skins, with the hair inwards, and covered on the outside with ermine, or some such fur. They wear also stockings made of skins, with the hairy side inwards, in the same manner, and over these, fur-boots, with the hair as the first, then a second pair of stockings, and another pair of boots above that; and those stockings and boots, it is said, sometimes trebled and quadrupled, which, with all their encumbrance, hinder not those *Indians* from being very nimble. Their arrows, which are their only arms offensive or defensive, are pointed with the teeth of the fish called the sea-cow, to which they also add iron when they can get it. In summer they are known to live night and day in the open air: In winter they live in caverns under ground, where they are crowded one over another, probably for the better keeping out the cold.

Clothing.

We are very little acquainted with the *Indians*, living round and above *Hudson's Bay*. On the Southern parts of that bay indeed they carry on a trade with the *Majjins*, *Musjins*, *Crylwaux*, and *Ajimbels*, these last lie very remote, and

Four Nations.

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inhabit the banks of a lake lying to the North, and North-West of the *Sious*, a dialect of whose language they speak; the three others talk the *Algonkin* language. The *Cristinaux*, or *Kishikinnous*, come from the countries lying on the North shore of Lake Superior.

Savanna nation. The *Indians* in the neighbourhood of the rivers *Bourbon* and *St Theresa*, have no affinity in point of language with either; they may possibly understand the *Esquimaux*, who have been seen very high above the mouth of the river. These *Indians* are observed to be extremely superstitious, and never to perform their worship without some sort of sacrifice. Those who have most frequented their country, ascribe them to have, like their brethren in *Canada*, notions of good and evil geni; that the sun is their principal deity and that, when they are about to deliberate upon any affair of importance, they cause him to be smoked; a ceremony which is performed in the manner following. They assemble at day break in the cabin of one of their chiefs, who, after lighting his pipe, offers or presents it to the rising sun, then guiding it with both hands from East to West, implores that planet to be propitious to the nation. This done, all those who compose the assembly, smoke by turns in the same pipe. All these *Indians*, tho' there be actually five or six different nations of them, are comprehended by *French* authors, under the general appellation of *Savannois*, from the nature of the country they inhabit, which is low, swampy, and ill-wooded, those drowned barren lands, being called *Savannes* in *Canada*.

Indians of the Two Rivers. Higher up the bay Northwards, you meet with two rivers, one called *la riviere Danouffe*, or *Danes river*, the other *la riviere de Loup Marin* or *Sea-Wolves river*. On the banks of these live certain *Indians*, called, for what reason it is hard to say, by the name or rather by the nick-name of *Plats cotee de Chien*, that is, *Lowland Dogs*. They are often at war with the *Savannois*, tho' neither of these nations treat their prisoners with that cruelty, common to the *Canadian Indians*, being satisfied with making slaves of them.

The *Savannois* are sometimes reduced by famine to inconceivable hardships, whether owing to their natural laziness, or to the barrenness of their lands in some seasons, in which their harvest fails them. When these inconveniences are attended with a scarcity of game, and a bad fishing season, as they are then in perfect want of sustenance, some have made no scruple to affirm, that in this conjuncture they eat one another. The coward is generally the first victim to necessity, and, it is said, it is customary among them, when they come to such an age as to be no longer in a condition to be serviceable to their families, for the person in these circumstances to tie a rope about his neck, presenting the ends of it at the same time to the child that is dearest to him, who strangles him with all the quickness he can exert, and believes he has performed a meritorious action, not only in putting an end to the sufferings of his father, but also by promoting his happiness; it being an article of faith among those *Indians*, that those who die old are born again, and take upon them a second life on earth, beginning at the state of infancy as before, and that he, on the contrary, who finishes his life betimes, and before he is old, becomes so on his arrival in the other world, or, as they call it, in the country of souls.

Marrages. The young women amongst the *Savannois* marry not till their parents think fit, who also make choice of him they are to espouse; and the son in law is obliged to live with his father in law, in entire subjection to his will and pleasure till he has children of his own. The young men quit their father's house betimes, in order to thurst for their livelihood. The *Savannois* burn the bodies of their dead, and enclose their ashes in the bark of a tree, which they afterwards bury in the earth: They then erect a sort of monument made with poles, to which they tie tobacco for the use of the deceased in the other world. If the departed were a hunter, his bow and arrow are suspended on it, in honour of him.

Funerals. The time of mourning of a mother for her children lasts the space of twenty four days, during which, presents are made to the father, who returns this compliment by giving a repast. War is much less in honour among them than hunting; but, in order to acquire the reputation of an able hunter, the candidate for this distinction is to fast three days successively, without tasting any thing, and to have his face daubed with black all the while. The fast ended, he offers as a sacrifice to the grand spirit, a morsel of each wild beast he has been accustomed to hunt, and it is commonly the tongue and the nose or muzzle, which, except on these occasions only, are the portion of the hunter in himself. His relations touch

Strange custom and one of the *Savannois*.

Having in January

touch nothing, and would sooner die of hunger, than eat of it; he is to treat no person whatever with it, but his friends or strangers.

In other respects, it is affirmed, those *Indians* are perfectly disinterested, and of an incorruptible fidelity; that they abominate a lie, and hold all manner of deceit in the utmost horror and detestation. Such are the manners of the Northern *Indians*, with whom the *French* nation have never had any established trade, and consequently are greater strangers to their manners than those of the nations following.

These may be distinguished into three different classes, or languages, each of which has its peculiar genius and character. In all that vast extent of country, which is more particularly known by the name of *New France*, and whose limits on the North extend to the *Higblands* near *Hudson's Bay*, which was settled and confirmed by the treaty of *Utrecht*; and is bounded on the East by the *British* colonies; by *Louisiana* towards the South-east; and by the *Spanish* dominions on the West, there are but three mother languages, from whence all the rest are derived; namely, that of the *Sioux*, the *Algonkin*, and the *Huron* languages.

The first of these nations is little known, no more than how far their name or language may possibly reach. The *French* have as yet had no manner of commerce, except with the *Sioux* and the *Ajinniboels*, and that not without frequent interruptions. The missionaries attempted to make a settlement amongst the first of these nations; but tho' this endeavour was not accomplished, the people appeared extremely docile. The ill success of this enterprise is the more to be regretted, as no nation could possibly afford better lights, with respect to the unknown countries lying to the North-west of the *Mississippi*, because they traffic with all the nations inhabiting those vast regions. These people dwell, for the most part, in *Savannas*, or meadows, in very capacious tents, made of skins, and very ingeniously contrived. Their common food is wild oats, which grow in great plenty in their marishes, and on the banks of their rivers; and the flesh of buffaloes, which are covered with wool, and graze in prodigious multitudes in those meadows. They have no fixed abode, but travel from place to place in large companies, like the *Tartars*, stopping no longer in one place, than the plenty of game to be found in it will allow.

The *French* geographers distinguish this nation into the *Wandering Sioux*, the *Sioux of the Savannas*, the *Eastern*, and the *Western Sioux*; a distinction, in the opinion of some writers versed in those matters, not too well founded. All those *Sioux* live exactly in the same manner, so that a tribe, or clan, which has resided last year on the Eastern shore of the *Mississippi*, will be found next on its Western bank; and those perhaps who have been seen for some time past on the River *St Peter*, shall now inhabit some *Savanna* at a considerable distance from it.

The name of *Sioux*, which has been given by the *French* to those *Indians*, is entirely of *French* extraction, or rather it is no more than the two last syllables of the word *Nadouessoux*, the name given them by several nations; others call them *Nadouessis*.

This nation is by far the most numerous of any we know in all *Canada*, and formerly very peaceable and unwarlike, till the *Hurons* and *Outaouais* took sanctuary amongst them, when they fled from the fury of the *Iroquois*, or *Five nations*; these people laughed at the simplicity of the *Sioux*, and soon instructed them in the art military at their own cost.

The *Sioux* have a plurality of wives, and punish adultery with extraordinary severity. This is done by cutting off the extremity of the nose of the delinquent, and by cutting the skin in form of a circle on the crown of the head, and afterwards tearing it off.

Charlevoix says, he has spoken with some persons who are persuaded, that the *Sioux* have the same accent in pronouncing the words of their language with the *Chinésé*, and it would be no difficult matter for any *French* gentleman, who knew both languages, to determine whether this nation derives its original from that ancient oriental people.

Those who have had any intercourse with the *Ajinniboels* affirm, that they are tall of stature, well made, vigorous, active, inured to cold and all manner of fatigues; that they pierce their bodies in every part, which they adorn with figures of serpents or other animals; and that they undertake journeys of a prodigious length. There is nothing, however, in this description much differing from other *Indians* of this continent

nent known to us: But the great characteristic of this nation is, their phlegmatic temper, which appears to an extraordinary degree, when compared with the *Cristinaux*, with whom they traffic; who are, on the contrary, endowed with an extraordinary vivacity and spirit, always dancing and singing, and speaking with such a volubility of tongue, and such a torrent of expression, as is rarely to be found in any other *Indian* nation.

Remarkable
lake of *Aff-*
nibools.

The true country of the *Affnibools* is in the neighbourhood of a lake of that name which is very little known. The common, tho' uncertain opinion is, that this lake is six hundred leagues in circumference; that all the roads leading to it are almost impassable; that its shores on all sides are most delightfully pleasant; that the air is very mild and temperate, tho' it is commonly placed on the north side of Lake Superior, where the cold is extreme; and that it contains such a number of islands, that its common name in these parts is the lake of *Islands*. Some *Indians* call it *Michinipi*, that is, the *Great Water*; and in fact it appears to be the basin, or reservoir, of a multitude of very large rivers, as well as of all the lakes in *North America*. From this lake, say they, flows *Bourbon* river, which falls into *Hudson's Bay*; the river *St Lawrence*, which carries its waters to the ocean; the *Mississipi*, which empties itself into the Gulf of *Mexico*; the *Missouri*, which mixes its waters with this last, and is not at all inferior to it before their junction; and a fifth, which, they tell us, flows Westward, and therefore undoubtedly disembogues itself into the Southern or *Pacific* ocean. It is pity this lake is not known to those literati who have searched every where for the Terrestrial Paradise, which would have been at least as properly fixed here as in *Scandinavia*. I will not take upon me to justify all the accounts which travellers have given us, and still less what certain *Indians* relate, who pretend, that in the neighbourhood of this lake of the *Affnibools* are men resembling us *Europeans*, and living in a country where gold and silver are so common, as to be employed in the most trifling utensils. Father *Marquette*, who discovered the *Mississipi* in 1673, tells us, in the account he has left us, that certain *Indians* had not only told him of that river, which takes its rise from this lake, and flows Westward, but added, that they had seen large ships at its mouth. It further appears, that the *Affnibools* are the same people marked in certain old maps under the name of *Poualaks*, whose country, according to some relations, adjoins to that of the *Cristinaux*, or *Killishineus*.

Algonkin and
Huron tongues

The *Algonkin* and *Huron* languages divide almost all the nations of *Canada* between them, with whom the *French* have any sort of commerce; and he who should be master of both, might travel over a tract of country more than fifteen hundred leagues in extent, without any interpreter, and might also make himself understood by upwards of a hundred different nations, who yet have each their peculiar and distinct language. The *Algonkin* in particular comprehends an immense space of country: It begins at *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of *St Lawrence*, and makes a circuit of twelve hundred leagues, fetching a compass from the South-east by the North to the opposite point in the North-west. It is pretended also, that the *Wolf* nation, or *Makingans*, and most of the *Indians* of *New-England* and *Virginia*, speak a dialect of the *Algonkin* language.

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in the Gulf
and River of

The *Abonaquis*, or *Canibas*, on the confines of *New-England*, have for their next neighbours the *Etechemin*, or *Malecetes*, on the lands adjacent to the river *Pentagoct*; and further eastwards are the *Miomacs*, or *Sauripuis*, whose country is properly *Acadia* or *Nova Scotia*, being the extended coast along the gulf of *St Lawrence* reaching as far as *Gaspé*, from whence a certain author has given them the name of *Gaspesians*, and the islands in its neighbourhood. From hence, as far up the river *St Lawrence* as *Saguinay*, there is no *Indian* nation to be found, tho' when *Canada* was first discovered, and a great many years afterwards, they reckoned several nations within this space, who spread themselves over the Isle of *Anticosti*, towards the *Mts Notre Dame*, and along the Northern shore of the river. Those most commonly mentioned in the ancient relations are the *Bershamites*, the *Papinabois*, and the *Montagneux*. They were also called, and especially these last, the *Lower Algonkins*, from their inhabiting along the lower part of the river, with respect to *Quebec*. The others are, for the most part, reduced to a few straggling families, which wander from place to place, without any fixed residence.

There were also some *Indian* nations who used to frequent *Canada*, coming from the

the Northern parts, sometimes by way of the river *Saguenay*, but more commonly by the *three Rivers*; but it is long since we have heard of them. Amongst others, the *Attikamegues*, an Indian nation very remote and surrounded by other nations, reaching to the neighbourhood of *Lac Saint Jean*, or *St John's Lake*, and even as far as the lakes of the *Mistassins*, and *Nemisican*. Almost all of them have been exterminated by the *Iroquois*, or *Five Nations*, or by diseases, the consequence of famine; a distress to which they have been reduced thro' fear of those barbarians. They are the more to be commiserated, if the character they bear in the *French* writers be true, that they were without vice, remarkably good natured, and exceedingly disposed to embrace Christianity. Their hearty and inviolable attachment to the *French*, in whose interests they were, and their regard to treaties, are also qualities extremely worthy of our esteem and commendation.

Between *Quebec* and *Montreal*, there are also towards the *Three Rivers*, some of the *Algonkin* nation, who are not, however, incorporated in one village; they traffic with the *French*. If what the *French* writers tell us is to be credited, this nation, in the infancy of the colony, occupied all the Northern shore of the river, from *Quebec*, where *Champlain* found one of their settlements, and made an alliance with them as far as *Lake St Peter*.

From the island of *Montreal*, following always the North coast, you meet with some villages of the *Istipijings*, *Temiscomings*, *Tetes de boue*, or round-heads, *Amicouis*, and, lastly, *Outawais*, or, as some pronounce and write, *Outaouaks*. The first who are the true *Algonkins*, and who alone have preserved the *Algonkin* tongue in its original purity, have given their name to a small lake situated between *Lake Huron*, and the river of the *Outawais*. The *Temiscomings* occupy the banks of another small lake, which also bears their name; and appears to be the true source of the river of the *Outawais*. The *Round-Heads* live not far from these, and take their names from the figure of their heads, which they do esteem a very great beauty, and, for this reason, it is believed that the mothers take great care to form the heads of their children into this shape when they are in the cradle.

The *Amikouis*, called also the nation of the *Beaver*, are almost reduced to nothing; the remains of them now are seen in the Island *Manitoualan*, situated towards the North part of *Lake Huron*. The *Outawais*, formerly a very numerous nation, inhabit the banks of the great river which bears their name, and of which they pretend to be rightful lords. There are now no more than three villages of them, and those very thin of inhabitants, of whom some account will be given hereafter.

In the *Narrows*, or strait between the lakes *Huron* and *Superior*, and in the place where one of these lakes, that is, the *Superior*, empties itself into the other, we meet with a rapid fall, formerly mentioned under the appellation of *le Sault St Marie*, or *the fall of St Mary*. The neighbourhood of this place was formerly possessed by an Indian nation, who came, as is said, from the Southern shore of *Lake Superior*, and were called *Sauvages*, that is the nation living near the fall; a name which was very probably given them to avoid the trouble of pronouncing their real name, which they say is impossible to be expressed under two or three breathings, somewhat resembling PAUOIRIGOUETOUHAK. No Indian nation, as I am informed, from the *French* authors, inhabits the banks of *Lake Superior*, tho' the *French*, in the posts or forts they have built near this lake, traffic with the *Christinaux*, a nation coming from the North-East, and speaking the *Algonkin* tongue, and, with the *Ashiniboels*, situated towards the North-West.

On the West of *Lake Michigan* there is a great bay, which extends twenty eight leagues towards the South, called *la Baye des puants*, or simply, the *Bay*. The entry of this bay is very wide, and is a sort of archipel, some of the islands of which are from fifteen to twenty leagues in circuit. These were formerly inhabited by the *Poutecatamis*, whose name they still retain, excepting a few which you leave on your right hand, at present inhabited by certain *Indians* called *Noquets*. The *Poutecatamis* now possess the least of these isles, which formerly belonged to them, and have besides two other villages, one situated on *St Joseph's* river, and another at the *Narrows*. Towards the bottom of the bay are the *Sakis* and *Otelagrats*; the latter are called by the disagreeable epithet of *Puans*, *Stinkards*, the reason of which

Puans and
Malbommies
nations.

is not as yet discovered; but before you arrive in their country, you leave on the right, a small nation called *Malbommies*, *Moon-cakes*, or *Felles Avoines*, that is, *Adle-Heads*.

Renards na-
tion.

A small river, very much interrupted with falls, or cataracts, discharges itself into the bottom of the bay, and is known by the name of *la Riviere des Renards*, or the *River of Foxes*, on account of the neighbourhood of the *Outagamis*, commonly called *Renards*, or *Foxes*. All this country is extremely pleasant, and that which stretches Southward, as far as the river of the *Illinois*, is still more charming. It is, however, but ill peopled, being only inhabited by two weak nations, the *Kikapous* and *Mascoutins*. Some geographers have thought fit to distinguish these last by the name of the

Nation of fire

Nation of Fire, and their country by that of the *Land of Fire*; an appellation which owes its rise to an equivocal term in the language of that people.

Miamis na-
tion, three
cantons.

It is eighty years since the *Miamis* have been settled on the Southern extremity of Lake *Michigan*, in a place called *Chicagou*, from a small river of this name, which throws itself into the lake, and has its source not far distant from that of the *Illinois*. These people are now divided into three cantons, one of which is on the river *St Joseph*; a second on a river which bears their name, and discharges itself into Lake *Erie*; and the third on the river *Ouabache*, which carries its waters into the *Mississippi*: These last are better known under the name of *Ouyatanous*, from the great affinity in language; and there is scarce room to question that the *Ouyatanous* were, not long ago, one people with the *Illinois*. In short, the greatest part of the *Algonkin* nations, if you except those more advanced towards the South, are very little employed in the cultivation of the ground, but live almost entirely by hunting and fishing; hence their disposition and manner of life are far from being sedentary, and yet they are by no means on the increase; but, on the contrary, diminish daily. Not one nation among all those of this tongue is capable of reckoning six thousand souls; some amount not to two thousand.

Huron lan-
guage, its
extent.

The *Huron* language is very far from being as extensive as the *Algonkin*, and the reason doubtless is, because the nations who speak the former are not of so wandering a disposition as the others. The *French* writer, whom I follow in this place, tells us, that some pretend the language spoken by the *Iroquois*, or the *Five Nations*, to be the mother tongue. Be that as it will, all the *Indians*, living South of the river *St Laurence*, from the river *Serel* as far as the extremity of Lake *Erie*, and even the confines of *Virginia*, talk in this language; and he who knows the *Huron* tongue is capable of understanding that of all the nations within this extent. There is, however, a great variety of different dialects, even almost as many as there are different cantons. The *Five Nations*, or cantons, who compose the *Iroquois* republic, have each of them their own peculiar dialect; nor have all those nations that bear the name of *Hurons*, always spoken the same language in former times. The same author says nothing of the language of the *Cherakees*, a pretty numerous nation living amongst those vast savannas that lye between Lake *Erie* and the *Mississippi*.

Remarks on
the *Indians*
of *Canada*.

It will, however, be proper to observe, that as the greatest part of the *Indians* of *Canada* have been always from time to time in trade with one another, being sometimes allies and sometimes enemies, tho' the three mother or original languages I have been mentioning have no sort of affinity or analogy, these nations find means, in spite of this obstacle, to traffic together, without any necessity of an interpreter: whether it be that long and antient custom has taught them to communicate their thoughts by signs; or that they have formed a sort of common jargon, which they acquire by repeated use.

Three origi-
nal tongues.

I shall now lay before the reader the nature and character of the languages of the *Indians*, as they occur in authors most worthy of credit, and on whose judgment we have reason to rely. Those who pretend to have studied those languages, affirm that each of the three abovementioned has all the characteristics of primitive or original tongues. What is certain is, that they are of a very different original: This may be proved from the bare pronunciation. The *Siou Indian* rather hisses than speaks. The *Huron* cannot pronounce any of those letters called *labial*, or which are spoken only by means of the lips, but speaks through the throat, and every syllable is uttered with what the grammarians call an *Aspirate* before it. The *Algonkin* pronounces

pronounces his words with more softness, and speaks much more naturally, as well as smoothly. As to the first of these languages I have been able to procure but very slight information; but, with respect to the two others, as the *French* missionaries have studied them with great application, I shall give what *Charlevoix* says he had from the mouths of those who had applied themselves to this study with most success.

The *Huron* language, says that learned missionary, for copiousness, energy, and nobleness of expression, exceeds all the languages in the world; and those that speak it, tho' but a handful of people, still preserve a dignity of soul, and an elevation of sentiment, which agrees much better with the majesty of their language, and, he might have added, with what they have in times past been, than with what they now are in their present fallen and distressful condition.

Character of the *Huron* language

Some pretend to derive their language from the *Hebrew*, which is also, as they say, the source from whence the *Greek* likewise flows. Every body knows what to think of this etymology, since whatever is most ancient and best, must all spring from the same fountain, without which there is no peace in *Israel*. The reader will gain but very little light on this subject by consulting the vocabulary of *Gabriel Sagbard*, a Recollet of much esteem, cited by some in support of this most orthodox system; and still less from those of *Jacques Cartier*, and the baron *La Hontan*. These authors took at a venture a few expressions, some from the *Huron*, and others from the *Algonkin* tongues, which they very ill remembered, and which had often a quite contrary signification to what they imagined to be the sense and meaning of them; an error common enough among the superficial writers of travels. We will therefore pass over the frivolous arguments they adduce on this topic, and proceed to what is founded, in my opinion, on much better authority.

Its derivation from the *Hebrew* exploded.

The *Algonkin* has not the strength of the *Huron* tongue, but it is infinitely more smooth and elegant. Both are however very rich in a great variety and different turns of expression, together with a propriety and regularity, which are perfectly astonishing.

Tongues compared.

But what is still more surprising is, that nobody studies his language amongst those barbarians, or ever knew the use of letters or writing, and yet an ill chosen expression, or an improper term, or a fault against the rules of Syntax, is what is never known amongst them; and that children, in their most familiar discourse, speak with the greatest purity and propriety. It is something wonderful that this should be the case with nations very little cultivated; and the same, as I have been told by those who are allowed to be good critics, may be said of the *Spaniards*, and of those *Scotch* who have retained their antient language, which is a dialect of the old *Celtic*; and that you can never distinguish the condition of the lowest peasant or shepherd, from that of persons of the highest quality, by his speech or discourse.

Illiterate nations speak correctly.

But to return from this short digression, the manner in which those *Indians* animate every thing they say, leaves no room to doubt but that they understand the force and value of all the expressions they use, and all the beauty and delicacy of their language.

Indians understand their language.

The different dialects derived from either of the mother tongues, have preserved neither the beauty nor force of their originals. The *Tsinnontbouans*, for instance, one of the cantons of the *Iroquois* or Five Nations, are thought, by the other *Indians*, to speak after a very rude and unpolished manner.

Dialects derived from originals.

In the *Huron* language every word is declined, and they have a singular method, but what is at the same time very difficult to express, to mark the difference of verbs, nouns, pronouns, and the other parts of speech. Simple verbs have a double conjugation, the one absolute and the other reciprocal: The third persons have two genders, this language having no neuter gender. As to numbers and tenies, there are the same differences as in the *Greek*; as, for instance, in speaking of going a journey, you express yourself differently if that journey be by land, from what you do if it be by water. There are as many different kinds of active verbs as there are things expressed by them; for example, the word *to eat*, has as many variations as there are different sorts of eatables. In speaking of any living creature, you express the verb quite different from what you do in speaking of an inanimate thing. Thus, when you speak of seeing a man, and again of seeing a stone, you make use of two

Construction of the *Huron* Grammar

different verbs. To speak of using a thing which is your own, and of what belongs to another, the verb is quite different.

Defects of
the Indian
languages.

Causes

There is somewhat pretty much like this in the *Algonkin* tongue, tho' differing in the manner, the detail of which is of very little consequence after what has been said of the *Huron*. If the great richness and variety of expression in those two languages render them extremely difficult to be learned, there is no less inconvenience arising from their exceeding poverty and barrenness in supplying terms for our ideas and conceptions. For as those nations, when the *Europeans* first began to have any dealings with them, were almost entirely ignorant of every thing but what was in use among themselves, and what fell immediately under the cognizance of their senses, they wanted terms to express other notions, or, if they once had such terms, they had by degrees forgot the use of them. Thus having no regular form of worship, and forming but very indistinct notions of the deity, and of every thing relating to religion, and never making any reflexions, except on such things as were perceptible to the senses, or what related to their affairs, and those very much limited; and unaccustomed to speak of the virtues, passions, and many other topicks of common conversation with us; being entirely ignorant of all arts, except those that were necessary to their state and condition, and which are reducible to a very small number; having no knowledge of the sciences, and observing only what was within their reach, and being entirely ignorant of the superfluities or refinements of polished life; when there was occasion to discourse of all these points, then it was that the vast defects of their language were discovered; so that you were obliged to make use of numberless circumlocutions, which were extremely tedious and perplexing to You, and not a little puzzling, not to say almost unintelligible to Them. Hence you were first of all obliged to learn Their language, and afterwards to teach Them another, partly composed of their own terms, and partly of those of the *European* languages, and those again transformed and modelled after the *Huron* or *Algonkin* manner, in order to facilitate the understanding of it, as well as its pronunciation to them. As for letters they had none, the want of which they supplied by a kind of hieroglyphics; and they were quite confounded to see the *Europeans* read their thoughts as quick, and explain themselves with the same facility in writing, as they could in speaking.

Original
tongues how
known.

If it is asked, how we come to know the *Sioux*, the *Huron*, and the *Algonkin* to be mother languages, and not those which we look upon as dialects, the answer is, that nothing can possibly be more easy: All these nations have somewhat of the manner and genius of the *Afatics* in their way of speaking, which consists in giving a figurative turn to their thoughts and expressions; from whence some have probably been led to believe they draw their origin from *Asia*, a conjecture rational enough, and deducible from a variety of circumstances.

Advantage-
ous character
of the *Huron*
nations.

The nations of the *Huron* language are always more employed than the other *Indians* about the cultivating of their lands and in country affairs; they are also less dispersed abroad. This state and management have produced two effects; for, in the first place, they are better settled, better lodged, better fortified, have always a much better police, and a more distinct form of government, the dignity of the chief, at least among the *Tionontates*, who are the true *Hurons*, being hereditary. And, secondly, their country, at least before their wars with the *Iroquois*, of which *Charlevoix* says he was an eye witness, was much more populous, tho' polygamy was never allowed or known among them. They have also the character of being much more industrious, more expert in their business, and more prudent and provident in their conduct. All these good qualities can only proceed from the spirit of society, which they have better maintained than the other *Indian* nations. This is chiefly observable amongst the *Hurons*, who, tho' they scarce deserve the name of a nation at present, and are reduced to two indifferently villages, and those considerably distant from one another, are, however, the life and soul of all their assemblies and councils, in which the public business is debated.

Resemblance
between *Indi-
ans*, where

It is also true that with all this difference, which is not perceivable at the first glance, there is still a great resemblance in the qualities of the mind, in the manners, and in the customs of all the *Indians* of *Canada*, which is undoubtedly owing to their intercourse, and to the traffic they have constantly carried on with one another, from the remotest antiquity.

Thus much may suffice with respect to the languages spoken by the different *Indian* nations in *Canada*: We will next give, in as few words as possible, what relates

to their manner of declaring and making war. The declaration of war, according to *Charlevoix* is in this manner: About ten or eleven at night, says that writer, as I was going to bed, I heard a shouting, which I was told was the war-cry, and soon after I saw a company of *Mississagues* make their entry into the fort near the bay called *P. Aise de la Pamine*. Some years ago those *Indians* having engaged in the war which the Five Nations made on the *Cherokees*, a numerous people, occupying a very fine country to the South of Lake *Erie*, three or four of those bravos equipped as for masquerades, with their faces daubed over, so as to inspire the spectators with horror, and followed almost by all the *Indians* living in the neighbourhood, after having rambled over every hut or cabbin, singing their war songs to the sound of an instrument they call *Chiebikoué*, being a great gourd filled with pebbles, came to perform the same ceremony through the different parts of the fort, by way of compliment to the commandant and other officers. I must confess, says *Charlevoix*, that this ceremony has something extremely horrible in it, the first time one sees it especially, and before I recollected I was amongst barbarians. Their songs have a dismal and melancholy air, with a mixture of horror and affright, occasioned perhaps by the darkness of the night, and by the pageantry of the festival, for this is really such amongst the *Indians*. All this was intended as an invitation to the *Iroquois*, who being weary of the charge of the war, or perhaps because they were not in a humour for it, asked some time to consider of it, and so departed each to his home.

It appears that they invoke in these songs the god of war, called by the *Hurons*, *Areskoni*, the *Areskoni*, and by the *Iroquois*, *Areskoni*; but we are not informed what name he has amongst the *Algonkin* nations. The relation of this name to that of *Ares*, the Greek name for that god, is very singular: For *Areskoni* in the *Huron* and *Iroquois* language signifies to make war, and is conjugated thus: *Garego*, I make war; *Sarego*, thou makest war; *Arego*, he maketh war. Besides, *Areskoni* is not only the *Mars* of those nations, but also the sovereign of the gods, or, as they express themselves, the Great Spirit, the creator and master of the universe, the genius who governs all things, but he is chiefly invoked in military expeditions, as if the most honourable attribute of the deity were that of being intitled the God of Armies.

The shouting of this name is what makes the war-cry before the fight begins, as well as in the heat and fury of the battle; and it is often repeated too on a march, as well to encourage themselves to undergo the fatigues with cheerfulness, as to implore this god's support and assistance.

To lift up the hatchet is another form of declaring war; and every individual has an incontestable right to this privilege, except amongst the *Hurons* and *Iroquois*, where the matrons make peace and war at their pleasure. We shall see in its proper place, how far their authority extends among these nations.

If a matron has a mind to engage any one, however independent of her, to serve in the war, whether to appease the manes of her husband, son, or near relation, or whether it is only that she may have some prisoners to replace those the might have lost by death or captivity, she is first to present him with a collar of porcelain, or sea-shells; and it is very rarely known that this gratification is without effect.

When the business concerns making war in form between two or more nations, the expression, or symbol, on this occasion, is, to hang the chaldron, or kettle, over the fire; and this no doubt derives its original from the barbarous custom of eating their prisoners, as well as the slain, after boiling them. They plainly say, in their simple manner, that they are preparing to eat such a nation, to signify that they intend to make a cruel war against them, and they generally fulfil their promise. When they intend to engage their ally in the quarrel, they send him a porcelain, that is, a large shell, to invite him to drink the blood, or, as the terms literally import, the soup or broth made of the flesh of their enemies. After all, this practice may be very ancient, tho' it by no means follows from hence, that those nations have always been anthropophages, or cannibals; and perhaps it is only an allegorical way of speaking, of which the scriptures afford us several examples. *David's* enemies, it is likely, were not used to eat human flesh, tho' he says, *Dum appropriant super me nocentes, ut edant carnes meas*. When the wicked, even mine enemies came upon me to eat up my flesh. Thus at last, it seems, certain nations, grown quite savage and brutal, substituted the reality for the figure.

Porcelains,
their defect
and use.

These porcelains, or what they call *Wampum*, as before mentioned, are certain shells found on the coasts of *New England* and *Virginia*; they are long, fluted or channelled, of an oblong acute figure, without ears, and moderately thick. The flesh of the animal contained in them is bad eating, but their inside is of so beautiful a lustre, and the colours are so vivid, that art is capable of producing nothing comparable to it. In those times when the *Indians* went quite naked, these shells served them for the same uses as *Adam's* fig-leaf, when he became sensible of his guilt and shame together. They also wore them at their ears like pendants, and still esteem them as their greatest wealth, and finest ornament; and, in short, they have exactly the same idea of them that we have of gold, silver, and precious stones. *Jacques Cartier*, in his memoirs, speaks of a sort of shell-work made in form of cornices, which he says he found in the island of *Montreal*. He calls it *Efurgoi*, and affirms it had a virtue in it of stopping bleedings at the nose. It is not unlikely this work consists of the same shells with those here mentioned; but there are none such to be found on the banks of the island of *Montreal*, and it is not pretended that those shells have the virtue attributed to the shell-work of *Cartier*. There are two sorts of these shells; the one white, and the other of a violet colour. The first are the most common, and possibly, on that account, less valued: The second seems to take a fine polish; and the deeper, the more valuable they are esteemed. Both of them, however, are made into small oblong or cylindrical beads, which are bored and strung together, and these are called necklaces or belts of *Wampum*. These necklaces are no other than four or five threads or thongs of skins, about a foot in length, strung with those beads of porcelain. The collars are made in form of fillets, or diadems, composed of those necklaces, bound together with threads so as to make a texture of four, five, six, or seven rows of beads of a due proportion in length. All these circumstances are regulated according to the importance of the business to be negotiated, and the rank and quality of the persons to whom the collar is to be presented.

Porcelains,
their defect
and use.

By the different mixture of those beads of various colours, they form any character at pleasure, and this often serves to distinguish the business in agitation. They are also sometimes painted; at least, it is certain the red collars are often sent when war is upon the tapis. These collars are preserved with care, and not only compose part of the public treasury, but are also in the nature of annals and registers, which those to whom the care of the archives, which are deposited in the chief's cabin, is entrusted, are to make the subject of their studies. When there happen to be two chiefs of equal authority in one village, the care of the archives and treasury devolves upon them by turns, and each has his own night, which night, as it is taken at present, is supposed to last a whole year.

Bloods, &c.
substituted for
a collar.

None but affairs of great consequence are transacted by means of those collars; for those of less importance, they make use of brooches, or necklaces of porcelain, skins, coverings, maize, or *Indian* corn, either in grain, or flower, and such like matters, for all these constitute part of the public treasury. When the business is to invite some village or nation to enter into a league, or alliance with them, a flag dipped in blood is sometimes sent instead of a collar. But this custom is modern, and there is reason to think that the *Indians* have taken the first hint of it from the red flags of the *English*. Some assert that the *French* first used these red ensigns in transacting with the *Indians*, who from thence have taken the hint to stain their flags with blood when they intend to declare war.

Five eds.

The calumet, or pipe, is no less sacred among those nations than the collar of porcelain, and is, according to their notion, even of divine original, for they are persuaded that it was a present made them by the Sun. This instrument is more in use among the Southern and Western nation, than those of the North and East, and is more commonly used in treaties of peace than in war. As to the name of *calumet*, which the *French* give it, it is a *Norman* word, signifying a *reed*, or *pipe*; and the calumet of the *Indians* is properly the tube, shaft, or funnel, of a tobacco-pipe, though both the shaft and the pipe together are commonly meant by this word. In the calumets, or pipes, of state or ceremony, the tube is very long, and the pipe in form of one of our battle-axes: It is commonly made of a reddish marble, very easy to work, and is found in the country of the *Arucos*, beyond the *Mississipi*. The funnel is of light wood, painted with different colours, and adorned with the heads, tails, and feathers of the most beautiful birds; but this is probably for ornament sake only.

The

The custom is to smoke in this pipe when the proposal is accepted, and it is very rare, or perhaps without example, that the obligation imposed by this acceptance has ever been violated. The *Indians* are persuaded, that the sovereign spirit would never suffer such an infraction to pass unpunished. If an enemy in the midst of an engagement presents the pipe, it is lawful to reject the offer; but if it is once accepted, the party consenting must that moment refrain from all hostilities. There are pipes for all the variety of treaties that may be brought upon the tapis; even in commerce with one another, after the agreement is made, the pipe is presented to ratify the transaction, and this ceremony gives it the stamp and sanction of religion. When the business is concerning war, not only the pipe then used, but also the feathers with which it is adorned, are red: Sometimes those on one side only are of this colour; and it is pretended, that by the manner in which the ornaments are disposed, you may discover what nation is designed to be attacked by those who present this instrument.

Its sacred and manifold uses

There is no manner of question, but that the *Indians*, by inducing those, whose alliance or commerce they solicit, to smoke in the pipe, intend to make the Sun the witness and guarantee of the treaty; for they never fail to puff the smoke towards that luminary: but to say that, from this practice, as well as from the common use of those pipes, we are to infer, as some have done, that this pipe is the *Cahuacou*, or wand of *Mercury*, is the less probable, as this wand had no relation to the Sun. And since there has nothing been found in the traditions of the *Indians* that can justify this conjecture, and much less to prove they could have any knowledge of the *Greek* mythology, it would be much more natural to suppose, that those nations, instructed by experience that the smoke of their tobacco dissipates the vapours of the brain, and disposes the person that uses it for debating on public affairs, and has therefore been introduced into the public councils, where they have always their pipes in their mouths; they could not imagine a more proper symbol to confirm what has been resolved, than this instrument, which has had so great a share in the public deliberations. It will perhaps appear more obvious still to imagine that those people believed the most natural type of an indissoluble union was to smoke in the same pipe, and especially if that smoke were offered to some divinity, to confer on it the sanction of religion. Thus smoking in the same pipe is equivalent to drinking in one cup, which has been an immemorial custom among many nations; and these are customs too natural to the mind of man, to search for any hidden mystery in them.

Reason and intent of this practice.

The largeness and ornaments of those pipes which are presented to persons of distinction, and on occasions of importance, have nothing very mysterious in them. It is to the *Panis*, a nation settled on the banks of the *Missouri*, and extending very far towards the confines of *New Mexico*, to whom they pretend they pipe was given as a present by the Sun. Thus this custom, which they were the first to introduce, has been raised to the rank of a miracle, and all that can be conjectured from this tradition is, that possibly the *Panis* have been more anciently accustomed to pay divine honours to the Sun, than the other *Indian* nations on this part of the continent of *America*, and that they were the first who made use of the pipe as a symbol of the inviolable obligation of treaties.

Use of the calumet introduced.

It is very rarely that these *Indians* refuse to engage in a war, to which they have been invited by their allies; on the contrary, they seldom wait till they are called to take up arms, the least motive being sufficient to determine them to it. But the thirst of vengeance is the predominant motive with them, and they have always some recent or ancient injury to revenge, no length of time being capable of healing those wounds, though of the slightest kind. Thus you can never be sure of a lasting peace between two nations that have been at variance for any considerable time; and, on the other hand, the desire of replacing their dead slaves by taking of prisoners, or of appeasing the manes of the deceased, the caprice of some individual, a dream, which every one interprets after his own fancy, with other reasons or pretexts equally frivolous, occasion your frequently seeing a company set out on an expedition to-day, who but yesterday had no thought of hostilities.

Indians mindful of injuries

It is true, that those smaller expeditions, which are carried into execution without the advice of the council, have generally no great consequences; and as they require not any great preparations, they are not the object of public concern. But, in general, the graver senators are far from being dissatisfied to see the youth keep themselves in

Ways of mending the militia are the joy of their youth.

breath, and exercise their warlike genius, and here must be very extraordinary reasons to curb their natural ardour, before they are restrained; and the public authority is besides very seldom employed to this end, every one being master of his own resolutions and actions amongst the *Indians*. When they disapprove of their project, they try to intimidate them, partly by spreading false reports; others they win over underhand; and it is no very difficult matter to induce the leader to give over the enterprize by presents: Sometimes a dream, true or false, no matter which, is all that is wanted for the purpose. In some nations the last resource is to apply to the matrons, and this is seldom without effect, though never made use of except in matters of great importance.

Preliminaries
of war.

A war in which the whole nation is interested is not so easily resolved, but weighed with great deliberation, putting the inconveniences into the scale as well as the advantages; and all the while the affair is under deliberation, the utmost care is taken to keep their designs from the ears of the enemy. The war once resolved, the first thing to be done is, to provide provisions for the campaign, and to equip the warriors, which takes up no great length of time. The dances, songs, feasts, together with certain superstitious ceremonies, which vary considerably according to the use of different nations, require a much longer time.

Ceremonious
preparations
and speech of
the general.

The person appointed to command never thinks of levying soldiers till after a fast of several days, during which he is bedaubed with black, has no converse with any person, and calls night and day on his tutelar genius; but, above all, is very careful to observe his dreams, which the persuasion that he is marching to a certain victory never fails to render favourable. The fast once ended, he convenes his friends, and, with a belt of wampum in his hands, addresses them in these words. "My brethren, the sovereign spirit authorises my designs, and inspires me with my present resolutions. The blood of such a one has not been wiped off; his corpse has not been covered, and I am going to discharge this office towards him." After expatiating on the other motives which have determined him to take up arms, he then proceeds; "I am therefore resolved to march to such a place, to take scalps, or to make prisoners"; or, "I am going to eat such a nation. If I fall in this glorious enterprize, or if any of those who shall accompany me shall lose his life in it, this belt will serve to receive us, that we may not remain hid in the dust or mud." By this seems to be meant, that this belt is to be the property of him who shall bury or avenge the slain.

Equip-
ment of
deerskins and
war.

Having pronounced these words, he throws the belt upon the ground, and he that takes it up declares himself his lieutenant, for which he receives the thanks of the general for the zeal he thus testifies to avenge his brethren, or to support the honour of the nation. The company then set about heating water, to wash the chief from the daubing with which he has been smeared, after which they comb and anoint, or paint his locks. His face is then painted with different colours, and he is attired in his most splendid apparel. Thus equipped, he chaunts, with a hollow and dismal tone of voice, the song of death; his soldiers, I mean all those who have offered themselves as volunteers in the expedition, (for no person is compelled to go) bawl out one after another the war-song; for each individual has one peculiar to himself, which no person besides is permitted to sing; and there are also songs appropriated to certain families.

Feast
and
sacrifice.

After this preliminary, which is transacted in some remote place, and oftentimes in a hut, the chief goes to communicate his project to the council, which sits to deliberate upon its expediency, without admitting the author of the scheme to be present at their debates. As soon as the project is accepted, the general gives a repast, in which the chief, and sometimes the sole viands is a dog. Some pretend, that this animal is offered to the god of war before he is put into the chaldron, or kettle; and this may possibly be customary with some nations: What is certain is, that on this occasion they make repeated invocations to all the genii, whether good or evil, and, above all, to the god of war.

Sacrifice
and
wampum.

All this ceremony lasts some days, or rather is repeated for several days successively; but amidst this universal attention to what passes on this occasion, every family keeps sight of its particular interests, and is very solicitous and intent on taking measures for securing its share of the prisoners of war, either to replace the slave, they may have lost by mortality, or to avenge the dead. In this view they give presents to the chief, who on his part gives his word as a pledge for the performance of his promise. In the default of prisoners,

prisoners, their next demand is to have scalps, which is more easily granted. In some particular places, as among the *Iroquois*, as soon as any military expedition has been finished, the war kettle is set over the fire, and the allies are required to send something to it, to shew their approbation of the enterprise, and to signify their resolution to bear a part in it.

All those who enroll themselves give also to the chief, as a symbol of their engagement, a bit of wood with their mark upon it; and whoever after this should draw back, would be in danger of his life, or at least would certainly be disgraced for ever. The party or company, once formed, the war-chief prepares a new feast, to which all the village is invited, and where, before any thing is tasted, he, or an orator for him, and in his name pronounces these words: "My brethren, I know that as yet I am altogether unworthy of the honour of being esteemed a man; but you yourselves can bear me witness, that I have however seen the face of an enemy. We have been slain, the bones of such and such persons remain yet unburied, they cry out against us, and they must have satisfaction. They were men; how then were we able to soon forget them, and to remain so long quiet on our mats? In short, the genius, who is watchful for my glory, has inspired me with the resolution to avenge them. Youth! take courage, trim your locks, paint your visage, fill your quivers, and cause your forests to resound with your war-songs; let us relieve the departed, and shew them that their avengers are ready at hand."

After this harangue, and the applause with which it never fails to be attended, the chief advances into the middle of the assembly, with his battle-ax in his hand, and then sings his song, all his soldiers make responses singing, and swear to second him to the utmost of their power, or to die in the cause. All this is accompanied with gestures highly expressive of their firm resolution never to give ground before an enemy.

But it is to be observed, that not a word escapes from any soldier that discovers the least dependence. The whole of their engagement consists in promising to act with the most perfect union. And, besides, this very engagement requires great returns on the part of the chief. For example, whenever any *Indian*, in the public dances, striking with his battle-ax upon a pillar erected for that purpose, recalls to the remembrance of the audience his noblest feats of arms, the chief under whose conduct he has performed them is obliged to make him a present; at least this is the custom amongst some nations.

The songs are followed by dances; sometimes they are only a fierce sort of march, but always in cadence; and at other times very animated motions, figurative of the operations of a campaign, and always too in cadence: In fine, the feast ends the ceremony. The war-chief is no more than a spectator in it, with his pipe in his mouth; and it is even common enough for him who gives the repast, and does the honours of it, not to touch any thing.

The following days, and till the march or departure of the warriors, are spent in transactions no way interesting, and not at all uniform or constant. But I ought not to forget a custom which is singular enough, and with which the *Iroquois* especially never dispense. It appears to have been contrived to discover those who are endowed with solid good sense, and who are capable of governing themselves; for those people whom we treat as barbarians, cannot conceive that a man can be animated with true courage, who is not master of his passions, and who knows not how to bear every thing, even the sharpest trial that can happen to him.

The oldest warriors of the company destined for the campaign play all the tricks imaginable to the youths, and especially to such as have never as yet seen an enemy. They throw hot embers on their heads, make them the most cruel and provoking reproaches, load them with all manner of injuries; and even push this farce to dreadful extremities. The young volunteers are however obliged to bear all this pain and provocation with the most perfect indifference, and even insensibility; for to discover the smallest sign of impatience, would be sufficient to expose them to the censure of being declared incapable of carrying arms for the future. But, when this ceremony is practised amongst persons of the same age, which very often happens, the aggressor must take care to do nothing that denotes the least tendency to an insult, otherwise it is sure to be revenged as soon as the game is ended. For all the time it continues, they are to bear every thing without the least murmur, though this patience

War symbol.

General's oration.

War cry.

Military obligation among Indians.

Military dance & feast.

Iroquois notion of good sense and true courage.

Indian way of testing youth with patience and fortitude.

goes such lengths as throwing fire-brands at one another's heads, and giving one another great blows with cudgels.

Artifices of
Indians quacks

As the hope of being cured of their wounds contributes much to engage the bravest of these youths to expose themselves to the greatest dangers, after what has been related they set about preparing the medicines with which their physicians or jongleurs are loaded. The whole canton being assembled, one of these quacks declares that he is going to communicate to the roots and plants, of which he has amassed a sufficient quantity, the virtue of healing all sorts of wounds, and even of restoring the dead to life. That instant he begins to sing, the other quacks of the order make responses, and it is believed that, during the concert, which is none of the most melodious, but accompanied with many grimaces on the part of the actors in the farce, the medicinal or healing quality is diffused over those simples. The principal jongleur, which is the name for these quacks in my authors, then takes upon him to prove their efficacy; and begins by causing his lips to bleed; on this he applies the remedy he has prepared for it; immediately the blood, which this hedge-doctor sucks with abundance of art, ceases to flow, on which all the assistants cry out a *miracle*! This done, he takes a dead animal, sets it before the assembly, allowing them time sufficient to examine whether it is entirely such as it appears. He then causes it to move by means of a canule, or pipe, which he had taken care to insert in its tail, blowing up, at the same time, his dose of the herbs, by virtue of which this miraculous resurrection is to be performed, on which the cries of wonder and astonishment are redoubled. To close all, the company of jongleurs make the tour of the huts, singing as they march the praises of the virtues of those wonderful remedies. These artifices are however far from imposing upon the natural good sense of the *Indians*, they serve however to amuse the multitude, and every body knows the force of custom.

Indians solemnities.

The following solemnity, which is extracted from the memoirs of a *French* gentleman, who was himself an eye witness to it, is practised amongst the *Miamis*, to whom it is probably common with some other *Indian* nations living in the neighbourhood of *Louisiana*. After a solemn feast, the figure of pagods made of bear-skins, and their heads painted green, are placed on a kind of altar before which all the *Indians* pass, making genuflexions, their jongleurs leading the band, and holding in their hands a bag, filled with all the utensils commonly used in their invocations. He that makes the greatest contortions of body, and every one in proportion as he distinguishes himself in this exercise, is applauded with prodigious acclamations. The first homage thus rendered to the idols, all the company dance in great confusion, to the sound of a drum and a *Chichicoué*, during which, some jongleurs seem as if employed about enchanting a number of *Indians*, who appear to expire under their incantations, but are afterwards happily brought to life again by the application of a certain powder to the lips. After the farce has lasted some time, the president of the feast, attended by two men and two women walking on each side, passes through all the huts, and advertises the *Indians* that the sacrifices are ready to begin. If he meets any one in his way, he places both hands on his head, whilst the other embraces his knees. The victims offered are always dogs, and nothing is heard but the cries of those animals which they are strangling, and the howlings of the *Indians*, who seem to mock or make responses to them. When the viands are ready, they are first offered to their pagods, after which they are eaten, and the bones afterwards burnt. In the mean time the jongleurs are busied in raising the dead, and the whole is terminated by making presents to those quacks of whatever they most desire of all that the village or canton affords.

Preparations
of war.

From the time of the resolution of making war to the departure of the warriors for the campaign, the nights are passed in singing, and the days in making the necessary preparations. Warriors and others are deputed to sing the war-song amongst their neighbours and allies, whom they often take care to prepare before hand, by means of secret negotiations. If the expedition is to be undertaken by water, they build new, or repair the old canoes: If it be in the winter season, they provide raquets or snow-shoes, and sleds.

snow shoes
described

The first of these, which are absolutely necessary to walk upon the snow, are about three foot long, and fifteen or sixteen inches wide where broadest; they are of an oval figure, excepting only that the hinder extremity always ends in a point. Small sticks fastened across, about five or six inches from either end, serve to strengthen them

them, the foremost being like the string of an opening in the shape of a bow, which receives the foot, and is tied down with thongs. The texture of the raquette or snow-shoe, consists of straps of leather about two lines in breadth, bordered with some light wood hardened in the fire. To walk well on these snow-shoes you must turn your knees somewhat inwards, keeping your legs asunder at the same time. It is difficult enough to learn the use of them, but afterwards you walk as easily and with as little fatigue as if you had nothing on your feet. It is impossible to make use of these with common shoes, and you are obliged to take those of the *Indians*, which are a sort of socks made of dried hides, folded over the extremity of the foot, and tied with cords.

The sleds which serve for transporting the baggage, and in case of need the sick and wounded, are two small and very thin boards, each about six inches broad, and from six to seven feet in length. The foreparts are somewhat raised, and the sides bordered with small tenter-hooks, to which are fixed thongs for fastening down whatever is laid on the carriage. One *Indian* will draw a sled, however loaded, with ease, by means of a long leathern strap, which is fastened to him, coming over his breast, and which they call a collar. The sleds are also used for carrying burdens, and mothers make use of them likewise for transporting their children with their cradles; but in this last case, they pass them over their foreheads and not over their breasts as in the former.

Dejection of a sled.

Every thing being ready, and the day appointed for their departure come, they take their farewell with many and strong marks of the most unfeigned affection. Every one is willing to have something which has been used or worn by the warriors, giving them at the same time pledges of their own friendship, and assurances of an eternal remembrance. As for the warriors they go into no hut, where they are not obliged to leave their robe, which they always exchange for a better, and never without one at least as good. At last they all meet at the apartment of the chief, whom they find armed as on the day when he first proposed the expedition to them, and as he appears in public from that day forwards. The warriors have their faces painted, every one according to his fancy, and all of them generally so as to strike terror. The chief, after a short harangue, leaves his cabin, singing the song of death as he goes; all of them follow him in file, or one by one, observing a profound silence, and the same is done every morning when they begin or continue their march. Here the women go before with the provisions, and when joined by the warriors, they deliver all the baggage into their hands, themselves remaining almost naked, at least as much as the season will permit.

Ceremonies preparatory to the march.

The weapons of the *Indians* were formerly the bow and arrow, and a kind of javelin, headed or pointed, as well as the arrow, with bone worked into various shapes, and the battle-ax, or, as they call it, the break-head. This weapon was a small club of a very hard wood, which had a round head and an edge on one side. The greatest part of them had no defensive arms, save only that they covered their bodies all over with small boards of a light substance. Some wore a sort of cuirass made of rushes interwoven, or of small pliable rods very neatly worked. In antient times they were not without pieces for the arms and thighs made of the same materials; but as this armour was found not to be proof against fire arms, they have laid it entirely aside, and have since substituted nothing in its place. The Western *Indians*, however, still use a sort of bucklers made of bulls hides, which are very light, and, says my author, musket proof. It is somewhat odd that the other *Indians* never bethought themselves of this piece of armour.

Arms of the Indians offensive and defensive.

What is very singular, when they make use of our swords, they handle them like a pike: But when they can procure muskets, powder, and ball, they lay aside their bows and arrows, and are excellent marksmen. The *Dutch of New York*, when that colony was in their possession, are said to have been the first who supplied the *Indians* with fire arms, and to have taught them the use of them. The *French* followed their example, by arming their *Indian* allies after the *European* manner. The *Indians*, have also a kind of ensigns or colours to distinguish their own people, and to help them to rally: These are small pieces of bark, cut into a round form, which they fasten to the end of a pole, and on which is drawn the mark of their village or nation. If the party be numerous, every tribe or family has its own ensign with its distinguishing

Their ensigns.

guishing mark. Their arms are also ornamented with different figures, and sometimes with the peculiar mark of the chief in the expedition.

Their Manitous, symbol

But there is somewhat of which they are still less forgetful than even of their arms, and which they are infinitely more careful to preserve, and that is their manitous, which are so many symbols representing the tutelar genius, or familiar spirit of each individual. These they put altogether into a bag made of rushes, and painted with different colours; and oftentimes, to do honour to the chief, this bag is placed on the prow of his galley, that is, his canoe. If there are too many manitous to be contained in one bag, they are distributed into several, which are committed to the care of the lieutenant, and a guard composed of the elders of each family. To these are joined the presents which have been given in order to receive prisoners in exchange, and the tongues of all the animals killed in the campaign, which are to be offered up as a sacrifice to the spirits on their return.

Mark of distinction.

On a march by land, the chief carries his own bag, which he calls his mat; but he may lay his burden on whom he thinks proper, and this is never scrupled, being looked upon as a mark of distinction, and communicating, in some sort, a right of survivorship to the supreme command, should the chief and his lieutenant happen to fall before the campaign is ended.

March of the warriors to the field.

When they are to proceed by water, as soon as the warriors are embarked, the canoes move gently onwards, keeping always in a line in close order; then the chief rises up, and holding in his hand his chichicoué, he sings aloud the war-song peculiar to himself, his soldiers answering with three *He's*, for that is their manner of shouting, fetched with all their might from the bottom of their breasts. The elders and chiefs of the council, who remain on the shore, next exhort the warriors to discharge their duty like men, and above all things to take care of being surprized. This of all injunctions is what an *Indian* stands most in need of, and of which these people are the least mindful. This exhortation does not however interrupt the chief, who still continues his song. Lastly, the warriors, on their part, conjure their relations and friends never to forget them; then, after sending forth in a body the most horrible shouts, they set out at once, and with so much speed, that they disappear in an instant.

Their proceedings.

The *Hurons* and *Iroquois* use not the chichicoué, but give it to their prisoners, so that this instrument, which is a warlike symbol to the other *Indians*, seems to be a mark of slavery with them. The warriors never make short marches, especially when in any considerable body. Every thing is an omen of good or bad success with them; and the jongleurs, whose office it is to explain these omens, hasten or retard the marches at their pleasure. While they are not in a suspected country, they take no manner of precaution, and sometimes they are so dispersed in hunting, that you will scarce find two or three warriors together; but however scattered they may be on their march, they are always sure to re-assemble punctually at the time and place appointed for the rendezvous.

Invocation of their manitous

They encamp a considerable while before sun-set, and their way is commonly to leave a considerable space before the camp, which is surrounded with a palisade, or rather a sort of lattice work, on which they place their manitous, turned towards the way their march or rout lies. These symbols are then invoked during the space of an hour, and the same act of devotion is performed every morning before they decamp. This done, they imagine they have nothing to fear, being persuaded that the genii or spirits take upon them the office of centinels, and the whole army reposes in security under their site-guard. No experience is able to undeceive or deter them from this idle and dangerous confidence, which takes it rise from a lazy and indolent disposition, which nothing can overcome.

Endearment of allies.

The warriors hold as enemies all they meet on their march. If they should happen, however, to meet with allies, or with parties nearly of equal force with themselves, and of nations with whom they have no particular quarrel, they make a coalition. If those allies happen to have been making war on the same nation, the chief of the stronger body, or that which has first taken up arms, gives the other some scalp, of which they never fail to make provision for those occasions, with these words: "You are our associates in this cause; you have fulfilled your engagements; your honour is secured; and you are free to return home." But this is to be understood only in case of an accidental rencounter, and provided they have not promised to go out with them, and that the others have no need of any re-inforcement.

When

When they are on the point of entering the enemies country, they make a halt, in order to perform a ceremony which is singular enough. In the evening a great feast is given, after which they go to sleep. When all of them are awaked, those who have had any dreams go from fire to fire, singing their death song, in which they take care to infer their dream after a dark and enigmatical manner. Every one does his utmost to explain it; and, if nobody succeeds, the dreamer may return home if he pleases. After this, new invocations are made to the genii, and they animate themselves to attempt the most dangerous enterprizes, swearing to each other mutual assistance. At last they begin their march again; and, if they have brought their canoes thus far, they now quit them, taking all the care imaginable to conceal them. Were all the injunctions prescribed on these occasions observed, it would scarce be possible to surprize a party of *Indians* whilst in the enemies country. After this they must make no more fires, and refrain from shouting or hunting, and even from speaking, except by signs. These laws are however very ill observed, it being next to impossible for an *Indian* to bear the least curb or restraint. They neglect not, however, sending out scouts every night, who spend two or three hours in traversing the country. If nothing is discovered, they sleep in the greatest security, leaving the guard of their camp to the manitous.

Military ceremony and conduct

Upon discovery of the enemy, they send some to reconnoitre them, on whose report they hold a council of war. The attack is generally made at day-break, the enemy being then supposed to be in the most profound sleep; and all the night they continue with their faces flat upon the ground without the least motion. They approach the enemy in the same posture, creeping upon their feet and hands, till within arrow-shot. Then starting up at once, the chief gives the signal by a faint hollow shout, to which the whole body answer by the most hideous howlings, making, at the same time, their first discharge: Afterwards, without leaving the enemies time to recover from their surprisè, they fall upon them with their battle-axes. These rencounters, since they have exchanged their wooden hatchets for those of iron, have become much more bloody. The action once over, they scalp the dead and dying, and never think of taking any prisoners till the enemy has given over making resistance.

Method of fighting.

If they find the enemy on his guard, or too strongly entrenched to be attacked with any probability of success, they retire, if they can, without being discovered. If otherwise they take a resolution to conquer or die, and in this case there is often much blood spilt on both sides. A camp that has been forced is the very image of fury; the savage cruelty of the conquerors, and the wild despair of the conquered, who know what they have to expect, should they fall alive into the hands of their enemies, causes both parties to make incredible efforts. The figure of the combatants, belinedered over with black and red, augments the horror of the fray, which, says my author, would be a very lively copy, from which one might form a picture of the horrible condition of the damned in hell. The victory being once sure, the victorious first dispatch all those that would, in their opinion, be cumbersome to them in their march, making slaves only of such as they imagine capable of undergoing fatigue.

Difference of combatants.

The *Indians* are naturally intrepid, and preserve, in spite of their brutal fierceness, a great deal of cool blood, even in the heat of the combat. They are never willing, on any account whatever, if they can avoid it, to engage on open plains. Their reason is, that they hold a victory purchased with much blood of the conquerors unworthy of being called a victory, and that the glory of a chief consists principally in bringing back unhurt all who follow him to the campaign. It has been said, that when two enemies, who are at the same time acquaintances, meet in the heat of an action, they hold conferences with one another like the heroes in *Homer*; and that, on these occasions, they challenge or perhaps admonish their antagonist.

Military maxim.

Their art of war consists almost wholly in surprisès, or stratagem, in which they are generally successful enough; for if the *Indians* are negligent in taking the necessary precautions against a surprisè, they are no less vigilant and dexterous at surprisès in their turn. They have also a wonderful faculty of knowing whether an enemy has passed any particular way, discovering by the marks or prints of their foot steps, and the manner of their direction, whether on the grass, mould, or sand, and even upon rocks themselves, which way the persons who have travelled that way are gone; nay more they will tell you, from the size and figure of the foot

Means of war.

Signs.

steps, by their distance from each other, by their manner of treading, whether they are men or women, or of what nations they are who have left those traces. This is unanimously asserted by all who have lived amongst the *Indians*, to that there seems little reason to doubt its being fact. If any of their prisoners, by reason of their wounds, is not in a condition to be transported, they burn them upon the spot; and as this is generally done in the first transports of their fury, and whilst they are under the necessity of retiring with expedition, such prisoners meet with milder tortures, than those who are reserved to be tormented at their leisure.

Amongst some nations the custom is, for the chief of the victorious party to leave his hatchet on the field of battle, on which he takes care to delineate the mark of the nation, that of his family, and his own portrait, that is, an oval, within which are drawn all the figures with which his face is painted. Others again paint all those marks on the trunk of some tree, or on a piece of bark, with charcoal pounded and ground with other colours. To these are added certain hieroglyphical characters, by means of which, passengers may learn the smallest circumstance, not only of the action, but of every particular event of the campaign. The chief is distinguished in this table by the above-mentioned marks; the number of his exploits, by so many mats; his soldiers, by so many lines; the prisoners, by an equal number of small marmourets which bear a staff, or chichicoué; of the dead, by an equal quantity of human figures without heads, besides those particularities which distinguish men, women, and children. These inscriptions are not, however, always near the spot where the action has been; for when a party are afraid of being pursued, they place these trophies out of their rout, on purpose to lead the pursuers out of the right way.

Treatment of
captives.

The conquerors are very expeditious in their retreat out of the enemy's country; and, lest they should be retarded by the wounded, they either carry them by turns on a sort of litter, or, if it is winter, they transport them on sleds. When they re-embark on board their canoes, they cause their prisoners to sing, and this is practised every time they happen to meet any of their allies. This honour is purchased at the expence of a feast to be given by those who receive it, and of something worse than the trouble of singing to the unhappy captives. On those occasions they invite their ally to carefs them as they call it, that is, to do them all the mischief that comes into their head, or to beat them after such a cruel rate, as sometimes to maim them for ever. Some chiefs are, however, more humane to their prisoners, not suffering them to be quite so cruelly treated, but they are at the same time highly attentive to guard them. In the day-time, they are tied by the neck and arms to one of the benches of the canoe, and, if the march is by land, there is always one to keep hold of them. In the night they are stretched along the ground quite naked, their neck and arms tied down, by means of tenter hooks fixed in the earth, so that they cannot move; their hands and feet are moreover fastened by means of long cords, in such manner as to prevent their making the smallest movement, without awaking the *Indians* who sleep on these cords.

Tidings of
the campaign.

When the warriors arrive within a certain distance of the village from whence they set out, they make a halt, and the chief sends to give notice of his approach. Amongst some nations the messenger, as soon as he is come within cry, makes different shouts, so as to give some notion of the success and principal adventures of the campaign. First, he signifies the number of their killed, by so many death-shouts. Upon this, the youth approach him to gain more certain information, and sometimes the whole village pours out; but only one person accosts the messenger, to learn from him the particulars he brings. As the former relates each single adventure, the other turns himself and repeats it aloud to the company, who answer him by so many exclamations, or cries of lamentations, as the news he relates happens to be joyful, or otherwise.

Lamentations
for the dead.

The envoy is then conducted into a hut, where the elders put the same questions as had been already asked. After this a public crier invites the whole body of the youth to go forth to meet the warriors, and the women to carry them refreshment. At first they are entirely taken up with lamenting the slain, the envoy continually repeating the death cry. No persons is suffered to approach him; but when he enters the village, he finds the people assembled, he relates to them in brief, all that has happened, and then retires to his hut, where they bring him something to eat, and for some time all are employed in bewailing the deceased.

The

The time allotted for wailing being expired, they make another cry to denote the victory. Then every body dries his tears and nothing is to be seen but universal joy. Something like this is practised at the return of the hunters: The women, as soon as they have been advertised of their approach, go out to meet them; and, before they inform themselves of the success of the hunting, signify, by their tears, what persons have died in the village since their departure. To return to the warriors, from the moment the women have joined them, the punishment and sufferings of the prisoners commence. When any of the captives are to be adopted, which, however, is not customary among all the *Indian* nations, those who are to become their parents go, after notice given them, to a farther distance to receive them, but take care to conduct them to their cabins by some round-about way. The captives are generally long ignorant of their future fate, and few escape the first transports of the fury of the women, to which all those who are doomed to die are entirely given up. The courage with which they receive this storm of barbarous rage and cruelty is quite astonishing. Above all should any one of these furies happen to have lost a son, a husband, or any other person who was dear to her, were it even thirty years ago, she discharges her vengeance on the first she meets; and it is quite inconceivable to what height she will carry her rage. No regard, either to modesty or humanity, has the least restraint on her, and, at every blow she fetches, you would certainly conclude the victim must fall dead at her feet; and it is to the last degree wonderful, with what ingenuity they prolong the most shocking torments. The whole night is past in the camp of warriors in this manner.

Cruelty of the women to the prisoners.

The next day is appointed for the triumph of the conquerors; the *Iroquois* and some other *Indian* nations affect great modesty, and still greater disinterestedness on those occasions. The chiefs first make their entry into the village alone, without any other marks of victory, observing a profound silence, and retire to their cabins, without signifying that they have the least right or pretension to any of the prisoners. Amongst other nations the custom is entirely different; the chief marches at the head of his corps, with the air and port of a conqueror; next follows his lieutenant, preceded by a crier, whose office is to renew the death-cries. The warriors follow two and two, the prisoners in the middle crowned with flowers, their hair and visage painted, holding a staff in one hand, and a *chichicoué* in the other, their body almost naked, their arms tied with a rope above the elbow, of which the warriors hold the ends; singing incessantly their death-song to the sound of the *chichicoué*.

Triumph of the conqueror

This music has something mournful and disdainful at the same time, the captives discovering nothing that has the least air of a prisoner, or of a person under affliction. The following is nearly the purport of their songs. "I who am brave and undaunted, fear neither death nor the cruellest torments. Let cowards who are less than women dread them; the brave hold life in no sort of esteem, in comparison of honour. May fury and despair choke my enemies! Why cannot I devour them, and quaff the last drop of their blood."

Song of triumph.

The prisoners are made to halt from time to time, when the *Indians* crowd round them, dancing, and causing the captives to dance with them: These seem to do it with great cheerfulness, relating, at the same time, their most remarkable exploits, and mentioning, by their names, all those who have been killed or burnt by their hands. But, especially, they take care to remark those who have been most dear to the assistants, and one would conclude they were solely intent on provoking the fury of the tormentors. These bravados have constantly the effect that ought naturally to be expected from them, exciting the utmost transports of rage in all who hear them, so that their vanity costs them extremely dear, though, by the manner in which they receive these tortures, you would imagine, that, to put them to the most exquisite pain, were doing them the most sensible pleasure.

Bravery of the prisoners.

Sometimes they oblige them to run between two rows of *Indians*, who are armed with stones and cudgels, and lay upon them as if they would dispatch them at the first blow. They, however, are never known to fall under this operation, those savages, even in their greatest rage, taking care never to strike on any part where the blow might prove mortal. In this course, or march, any one has a right to stop the prisoner, who is also permitted to act in his own defence, though generally to no purpose. On the arrival of the captives in the village, they are conducted from cabin to cabin, and every where made to pay for their reception in the same

Their conduct.

humane manner. In one they pluck off a nail; in a second they take off a finger, either with their teeth, or with a knife that resembles a saw, rather than an edge tool. An old man then tears off their flesh till the very bones are seen; a child pierces them with an awl where he can; a woman scourges them with the most infernal brutality, till her arms are weary with whipping. But all this while there is no warrior, not even their masters, who lays a hand upon them. They are not, however, permitted to maim them, without the permission of those whose property they are, which is rarely granted. Excepting this, they have a right to inflict what punishments and cruelties they think fit, and, if they are led through several villages, whether of their allies, friends, or of their own nation, and at their desire, their reception is every where the same.

Their distribution.

They next set about dividing the captives, whose fate depends on the will and pleasure of those to whom they are distributed. As soon as the council, in which their fate is decided, breaks up, an herald, or crier, invites all the people to assemble in the square, where the distribution is always made without the least clamour or dispute whatsoever. Those women who have lost their children, or husbands, in the war, are commonly the first provided. Afterwards they take care to discharge their promises to those who have given them collars; if there are not a sufficient number of captives for this purpose, the deficiency is made good by scalps, which are worn for ornament on festivals and rejoicing days, and afterwards hung up at the doors of their cabins. If, on the contrary, the number of prisoners exceed that of those who have any pretensions, the surplus is sent to their allies. A chief is made good only by a chief, or by two or three slaves, who are always burnt, even tho' the chief had died of sickness. The *Iroquis* never fail to set apart a number of their prisoners for the public use, in which case the council disposes of them as they see fit; tho' the mothers may yet annul their sentence, as being absolute sovereigns of the life and death of those who have been condemned or absolved by the council.

Their fate by death of slaves or adoption.

Amongst some nations the warriors never part with the right of disposing of their prisoners, and those in whose favour the council has distributed them are obliged to deliver them back into their hands, if to required. But this is seldom done, and, when it happens, the warriors are obliged to give up the pledges of those to whom the prisoners had been given. If a warrior, on his arrival, declares his intention in this point, it is generally not opposed. The greatest part of the prisoners of war are usually condemned to die, or to a state of slavery, which is extremely rigorous, their lives depending on the pleasure of their masters. Sometimes they are adopted, in which case their situation differs nothing from that of children of the nation, of which they are become members, they enter into the full enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of those whose places they supply, and oftentimes they become so very zealous on the behalf of the nation that has adopted them, as to go to war against their own country. The *Iroquis* have hitherto been supported solely by this piece of policy; for as they have been in war, for time immemorial, against all the circumjacent *Indian* nations, they must have been long since reduced to nothing, had they not taken care to naturalize a considerable number of their prisoners of war.

It sometimes happens that instead of sending the surplus of their prisoners to their allies, they bestow them upon private persons who made no demands of that sort, in which case, they are either obliged to ask the opinion of the chiefs of the council what they are to do with them, or otherwise they are under the necessity of adopting them. In the first case, he to whom a slave has been presented sends some person of his own family to bring him home; he then ties him to the door of his cabin; this done, he assembles the chiefs of the council, informs them of his own intentions, and asks their opinion, which is commonly agreeable to his wishes. In the second circumstance, the council, after placing the prisoner in the hands of him for whom they intend him, address him in the following manner. "It is now a long time since we have been deprived of such a one, your relation, or friend, who was the support of our village." Or, "We regret the spirit of such an one whom you have lost, and who, by his great wisdom, maintained the public repose and tranquility; he must this day be made to appear again; he was too dear to us, and too valuable, to defer any longer the bringing him again to life; we therefore replace him upon his mat in the person of this captive."

Friendship.

Some private persons, on account of their superior credit and estimation, have a prisoner given them, without any restriction or reserve, and with full power to dispose of him at their pleasure. In this case the council in delivering him into their hands, exhorts them in these words: "Behold wherewithal to repair the loss of such an one, and to glad the heart of thy father, of thy mother, of thy wife, and of thy children, whether thou shalt choose to cause them to drink of the broth of this flesh, or that thou lovest rather to replace the departed upon his mat in the person of this captive. Thou mayest dispose of him as seemeth right in thine own eyes."

Form of words in bestowing prisoner.

When a prisoner has been adopted, they conduct him to the cabin where he is to remain, and begin by loosing his bands. Next they set on water to warm, in order to wash him; then they probe his wounds, if he has any, and he is soon cured were they even full of worms. Nothing is forgotten to make him lose the memory of what he has undergone; they then set meat before him, and, lastly, they cloath him in good and decent apparel. In short, they do all that could be done for a child of the nation, or even for the very person he brings to life again, as they express themselves. Some days after a feast is made, in which the name of the person he represents is given him with abundance of solemnity; and he then not only enters into full possession of all his rights and privileges, but also enters into all his contracts or obligations.

Benefits of a doption

Amongst the *Iroquois* and *Hurons*, those who have been destined to the flames are sometimes treated at first, and even till the moment of their execution, with as much lenity and indulgence as those who have been adopted. These are probably victims which they fatten for sacrifice, being actually offered to the god of war. The sole difference between these and the other captives is, that they smear their faces with black. Except this, they give them the best food, speak to them with an air of humanity, and even friendship, giving them the title of son, brother, or nephew, according to their relation to the person whose manes is to be appeased by the sacrifice; and sometimes they give them their pleasure of the women, who are in the nature of wives to them during the time they have yet to live. To prevent their endeavouring to escape, they conceal as much as possible the fate they are to undergo.

Captives destined for sacrifices.

The moment every thing is ready for the execution, they are delivered up to a woman, who, from a mother degenerates into a very fury, passing, from the tenderest and most endearing caresses, to the last transports of rage and madness. She begins by calling upon the shade of him whom she is about to avenge, in terms such as these: "Approach, whilst I am about to appease thee, and whilst I prepare thee a repast: Drink large draughts of this broth which is ready to be poured out before thee: Receive the victim which I prepare for thee in the person of this warrior: Him will I burn, and put into the chaldron: Burning hatchets will soon be applied to his flesh: They are ready to flea off his hair: They will drink out of his skull: Leave, therefore, thy complaining: Thou shalt have thy vengeance fully satisfied." This formula, which is properly the sentence of death, varies considerably in the expression, but is always the same in substance. A crier then causes the captive to come from the cabin, proclaiming aloud the intentions of him or her to whom he belongs, and closes the proclamation by exhorting the youth to do their parts well. Next advances a second herald, who addresses himself to the sufferer in these terms. "Take courage, brother, thou art going to be burnt." He again answers coolly; "It is well, I thank thee." Then the whole village set up a shout, and the prisoner is conducted to the place of execution.

Sentence by a woman, and preliminaries to execution.

The captive is commonly tied to a post by the hands and feet, but so as to suffer him to turn quite round it. Sometimes, however, when the execution is to be in some cabin, whence there is no danger of his escaping, they omit tying him, and leave him to run from one end of the hut to the other. Before they begin to burn him, he sings his death-song for the last time; next he makes the recital of his valiant feat, and almost always in the manner that is most insulting to the by-standers. He then beteches them not to spare him in the least, but to remember he is a man, and a warrior. Thus he goes on singing cheerfully in the midst of torments, insulting and defying his executioners to the last groan.

Recital of the sufferer

The tormentors are generally as many as there are spectators or inhabitants in the village, men, women, and children, who seem to vie with each other who shall exceed in all manner of cruelty. The inhabitants of the hut, in which the prisoner

Burnt in the
most tortu-
ring manner.

has been kept, are the only persons who have no hand in these acts of brutality ; at least this is the practice amongst some nations. They generally begin with burning the feet, then the limbs, ascending by degrees to the head ; and sometimes they protract those sufferings for a whole week, as it happened to a *Canadian* gentleman who had fallen into the hands of the *Iroquois*. Those who are the least spared, are such who, after having been adopted, or set at liberty, have made their escape, and have been taken a second time : These are looked upon as unnatural children, and as ungrateful persons, who have made war upon their relations and benefactors, and to such no sort of favour is shown. Sometimes the sufferer is left loose, even when the execution is not in a cabin, and he is also allowed to stand upon his own defence, which he does not so much from any hope or prospect of saving his life, as to avenge his death before hand, and to have the glory of dying like a man of courage. There have been many instances to prove what a prodigious degree of strength and fortitude such a resolution is capable of inspiring, of which the following, attested by persons worthy of credit, who were eye witnesses, is one very remarkable :

An *Iroquois* captain of the canton called *Oranoyach*, chose rather to expose himself to the worst that could happen, than to dishonour himself by flight, which he looked upon as still the more unworthy of a hero from the ill example he must thereby give the youth under his command. He fought a long time like one resolved to die with his arms in his hands, but the *Murons* his enemies, were resolved on taking him, if possible, alive. He was conducted together with those who were taken prisoners, at the same time, into a canton where they were converted and baptized by some *French* missionaries, and all burnt a few days after, giving marks of an astonishing constancy. The *Iroquois* commander believed he might lawfully do his enemies all the mischief in his power, and retard the hour of his death as much as possible. They had caused him to ascend a stage or theatre, where they began by burning his body in every member without the least mercy, himself appearing as much insensible as if he were not in the least suffering. But on perceiving one of his companions, who was tortured just by him, discover some sign of weakness, he testified much uneasiness at it, omitted nothing that might encourage him to bear up under his calamities, from the hopes of a happy immortality in heaven, and shewed vast satisfaction to see him die at last not only like a brave man but a Christian.

His patience,
astonishing
as if they would
tear him to
pieces. He
appeared not at
all moved at it,
and they were
now at a loss to
find any part of
his body that was
sensible to pain,
when one of his
executioners, after
making an incision
in the skin quite
round the head,
tore it entirely off,
by mere force and
violence. The pain
made him fall into
a swoon, when the
tormentors, believing
him dead, left him.
A moment after
he recovered from
his swoon, and seeing
nothing near him,
but the corps of his
friend, he took up
a fire-brand with
both hands, scorch-
ed and bleed as they
were, defying his
executioners to come
nigh him. This
uncommon resolu-
tion struck terror
into them, they
made hideous
shouts, ran to arms,
some taking hold
of burning coals,
and others seizing
red-hot irons, and
all at once poured
upon him. He stood
the brunt of their
fury with the
courage of despair,
and even made
them retire. The
fire that surrounded
him served him for
an intrenchment,
where he completed
with ladders they
had used to ascend
the scaffold, and
thus *Lucyus Junceus*,
making a sort of
cavalade of his
funeral pile, which
was now become
the theatre of his
bravery, and armed
with the instruments
of his torture, he
was for a considerable
time the terror of
a whole canton,
and not one had
the heart to approach
him tho' he
was more than
half-burnt to death,
and the blood
trickled from all
parts of his body.
A slip of the foot
in throwing a
fire-brand that
fell at him, deliv-
ered him once
more into the
hands of his
enemies, who,
as you may
easily imagine,
made him
pay extremely
dear for the
trials he had
occasioned them.
After weaving
themselves
with tormenting
him, they threw
him into the
middle of a
great coal-fire,
in full confidence
that he would
never rise from
it. But they
were deceived ;
for, when they
least thought
of it, they
beheld him
again, armed
with a brand
running
towards the
village, as if
he were going
to set it on
fire. All hearts
were frozen
with fear,
and no person
dared to face
him ; when,
just as he
had almost
reached the
first cabin,
a stick thrown
at him, and
talking between
his legs, brow-
beat him to
the ground,
and they laid
hold of him
before he could
recover himself.
Here, first
they

Those who had thus put his companion to death fell upon him with such rage, as if they would tear him to pieces. He appeared not at all moved at it, and they were now at a loss to find any part of his body that was sensible to pain, when one of his executioners, after making an incision in the skin quite round the head, tore it entirely off, by mere force and violence. The pain made him fall into a swoon, when the tormentors, believing him dead, left him. A moment after he recovered from his swoon, and seeing nothing near him, but the corps of his friend, he took up a fire-brand with both hands, scorch'd and bleed as they were, defying his executioners to come nigh him. This uncommon resolution struck terror into them, they made hideous shouts, ran to arms, some taking hold of burning coals, and others seizing red-hot irons, and all at once poured upon him. He stood the brunt of their fury with the courage of despair, and even made them retire. The fire that surrounded him served him for an intrenchment, where he completed with ladders they had used to ascend the scaffold, and thus *Lucyus Junceus*, making a sort of cavalade of his funeral pile, which was now become the theatre of his bravery, and armed with the instruments of his torture, he was for a considerable time the terror of a whole canton, and not one had the heart to approach him tho' he was more than half-burnt to death, and the blood trickled from all parts of his body. A slip of the foot in throwing a fire-brand that fell at him, delivered him once more into the hands of his enemies, who, as you may easily imagine, made him pay extremely dear for the trials he had occasioned them. After weaving themselves with tormenting him, they threw him into the middle of a great coal-fire, in full confidence that he would never rise from it. But they were deceived ; for, when they least thought of it, they beheld him again, armed with a brand running towards the village, as if he were going to set it on fire. All hearts were frozen with fear, and no person dared to face him ; when, just as he had almost reached the first cabin, a stick thrown at him, and talking between his legs, brow beat him to the ground, and they laid hold of him before he could recover himself. Here, first they

they cut off his hands and feet and rolled him upon burning embers, and then threw him below the burning trunk of a tree, the whole village gathering round him to enjoy the spectacle. He lost such a quantity of blood as almost to extinguish the fire; so that they had now no manner of apprehension remaining of any future attempt. He made, however, another, which struck terror into the most undaunted. He crept on his knees and elbows with so much vigour, and with such a threatening countenance, as astonished, if not affrighted them. In this state, the missionaries approaching him, in order to dispose him to bethink himself of the state of his soul, at that dreadful moment which was at hand, he seemed to listen with attention, and to have his thoughts occupied solely with such meditations, when one of his executioners, taking his opportunity, struck off his head.

If those nations make war like barbarians, we must, however, allow that in treaties of peace, and generally in all their negotiations, they discover such a dexterity, address, and elevation of soul, as might do honour to the best policed nations. They never think of making conquests, or of extending their power and dominion. Some of those nations know no manner of dominion or sovereignty; and those who have never left their native country, and who look upon themselves as the lords and sovereigns of the soil, are not so jealous of their property as to hinder new comers from settling on it, provided they attempt not to molest them. The points which are the only subjects of their treaties, are, to make alliances against powerful enemies; to put an end to a war which may have become burthensome to both parties; or, rather, to treat of a suspension of hostilities, for every war or dissention is everlasting amongst the *Indians*, when they fall out between different nations. Thus there is little stress laid on a treaty of peace, whilst any of the parties are capable of molesting or giving uneasiness to the other.

During the whole time of the negociation, and even before it commences, their chief care is, that they may not seem to make the first advances, or, if they do, they use all their address to make their enemy believe that the overtures proceed not from fear or necessity; and this last is managed very artfully. A plenipotentiary keeps up an air of haughtiness, even when the affairs of his nation are in the worst situation; and he is generally fortunate enough to persuade those with whom he is treating, that it is their interest to put an end to hostilities, however successful they may have been. On this account, he avails himself of every thing that may contribute to his success, employing all the eloquence and address imaginable. For should his proposals happen not to be relished, he is obliged to keep well on his guard, a blow of the hatchet being often the sole reply made on such occasions; and it is not even enough to have escaped the first surprise, he has also grounds to fear being pursued, and burnt if taken, if any pretext can be found, as, for instance, that of reprisals, for such proceeding. Thus it happened to some *French* amongst the *Iroquois*, to whom they had been sent on the part of the governor general; and the *Jesuits* who resided amongst those *Indians*, and were a sort of agents for the colony, were always expecting to be sacrificed to some ancient grudge, or misunderstanding, or to the remonstrances of the governor of *New York*.

It is surprising, in short, that nations who never make war from motives of interest, and who even carry their disinterestedness to such a height, that their warriors never load themselves with the plunder and spoil of the conquered, and, if they bring home any booty, abandon it to the first that pleases to take it, and, lastly, who take up arms for glory, or to revenge themselves on their enemies; it is, I say, quite astonishing to see them so well versed and practised in the greatest refinements and intricacies of state policy, and even so as to keep ministers, residing amongst their enemies, at the public expence. They have one custom with respect to these agents, which appears sufficiently extravagant, though it may be reckoned prudent enough, at the same time, which is, that they never lay any stress on any intelligence they receive from those pensioners, if the advice be not accompanied with some present. Their policy here arises, no doubt, from this consideration, that, in order to give an entire credit to any piece of intelligence, it is not only necessary that he who communicates it have nothing to hope from it, but even that it should be attended with some expence to him, both because the public, and not any private interest, ought to be his only motive for sending it, and also that he may

Talents of the Indians for negotiations.

Artful management and danger of negotiations.

Residents maintained among enemies.

Old custom with regard to them.

not rashly, or before he has well weighed the importance, trouble them with trifling and superficial matters.

Government
of the Indians
of Canada.

The nations on the continent of *North America* have, for the most part, a kind of aristocratical form of government, the modes of which are almost infinite. For tho' each canton has its own chief, independant of all the other cantons of the nation, on whom the subjects have full as little dependance, there is, however, no matter of importance transacted without the advice of their elders. Amongst those nations that live towards *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, their sagamos were more absolute, and it does not appear that they were obliged to make largesses to their people as the chiefs are accustomed to do almost every where else. On the contrary, they levied a kind of tribute on their subjects, and their grandeur did by no means consist in their disinterestedness, and in keeping nothing for themselves; but it is probable that the dispersion of the *Acadian Indians*, and it may be their commerce with the *French*, may have contributed much to the change of their ancient form of government in this particular, the detail of which may be found in *Champlain* and *Lejcarbot*.

Clans, titles,
and distinguishing
marks.

Amongst several nations there are three tribes, or clans, which are reckoned chief or superior to the rest, and which are probably as old as the nation itself. They have, however, one common stock; but there is one of these three branches which is held the first in rank, and has a pre-eminence over the other two, and those of this tribe, or family, have the quality or honorary title of brethren given them, whereas they give others only that of cousins. These tribes are mixed without however being confounded, each having its particular chief in the village, and, in affairs which concern the whole nation, these chiefs assemble, and are the council which deliberates upon them.

Nations and
tribes take the
names of a
animals.

Each tribe bears the name of some animal, and the nation in general has one of its own which distinguishes it from others, the figure of which is its mark, or, what is the same thing, its ensigns armorial. When they sign any treaty, the figure of this animal is always drawn on it, except, in some particular cases, when they make use of different signatures. Thus the *Huron* nation is the nation of the Porcupine: Its first tribe bears the name of the Bear, or the Roebuck, for authors are not agreed on this point; the two next in rank have taken for their animals, the Wolf and the Tortoise; in short, every canton has its peculiar animal, and it is this variety which has probably misled the writers of several erroneous relations. It is also proper to take notice that, besides these distinctions of nations, tribes, and cantons, by different animals, there are also other differences which arise from certain events, or from some particular customs. The *Hurons* called *Tionnotates*, for instance, who are of the first tribe, are commonly distinguished by the title of the nation of Peton; and there is yet in being a treaty of those *Indians* with the *French*, to which they have affixed as their mark the figure of a Beaver. The *Iroquois*, or Five Nations, have the same animals with the *Huron Indians*, a colony of whom they have been reckoned by some *French* writers, with this difference, however, that amongst the former the family of the Tortoise is divided into the Great and the Little Tortoise.

Titles of
chiefs of families
and villages.

The chief of each family or clan bears its name, and is known by no other title in all public transactions; the case is precisely the same with the chiefs of villages. But besides this title, which is only, as we may say, a sort of representative one, they have another which distinguishes them more particularly, and is in the nature of a mark of honour. Thus one is called *Most Noble*, another *Most Ancient*, and so of the rest. Lastly, they they have a third title, which is personal; but this is probably in use amongst those nations only where the quality of chief is hereditary.

Titles conferred
and revoked.

These titles are conferred with a great deal of ceremony: The new chief, or, if he should not be of age, his representative, is to give a repast, to bestow largesses, to make the eulogium, or panegyric, of his predecessor, and to sing his song. There are, however, instances where a certain name is had in such veneration, that no person afterwards dares to take it, or at least, not before it is in a manner antiquated, in which case they call it, restoring the person who formerly bore it to life.

Dignity of
the elective.

In the Northern parts, and in general wherever the *Algenkin* language prevails, the dignity of the chief is elective: But then the whole ceremony of election and installation consists in feasting, accompanied with dances and songs. The chief elect never omits to make the panegyric of his predecessor, and to invoke his genius.

Amongst

Amongst the *Hurons*, where this dignity is hereditary, the succession is thro' the females; hence, on the death of a chief, it is not his own son, but the son of his sister who succeeds to the chief-ship; or, in default of such issue, the nearest of the female line. If the whole branch, or line, should happen to be extinct, the noblest matron of the tribe or nation makes choice of the subject who is most to her liking, and declares him chief.

Dignity hereditary descends by females.

In case of a minority, the hereditary chief has a regent appointed for him, who exercises all his authority, but always in the name of the minor. These chiefs are distinguished by very little external marks of respect, and if they are generally obeyed, it is because they know how to confine their commands within the limits of their power. Thus they rather signify their desire, or simply propose what they would have done, and as their authority is very limited, and their power is but of small influence, they are very careful not to stretch them beyond the bounds of moderation. Thus the reasonableness of the service, and not the will or influence of the chief enforces obedience; and this is always more cheerfully performed by the subjects, as their actions are free and properly speaking their own, and as they can have no apprehensions of the degeneracy of their constitution into tyranny and arbitrary government.

State of a regent in a minority.

Each family, tribe, or clan, (which are names for the same thing) has moreover a right to choose a councillor, and an assistant to the chief, who is to watch over their particular interests, and without whose advice the chief can undertake or execute nothing. These councillors are especially to have an eye over the public treasury, and it is theirs particularly to assign the uses to which it is to be applied. The formality of their reception is prescribed in the general council, but the *Indians* never acquaint their allies with their admissions, as it is usual with them in notifying the election and installment of their chiefs. Amongst the *Hurons* the women name those councillors, and they often choose persons of their own sex for these employments.

Councillor assistant to chief.

This body, or college of chiefs, is the first in power above all the others: The second is of the elders or senators, consisting of such as have attained the age of manhood, the precise year of which is uncertain: The third and last is that of the warriors, which comprehends all capable of bearing arms. This body have often the chief of the nation, or canton for their head; but before he is capable of enjoying this honour, he must have distinguished himself by some remarkable feat of arms; otherwise he is obliged to serve in quality of a subaltern, that is, as a simple centinel; for there is no distinction of rank or quality in the *Indian* militia.

College of chiefs, elders, and warriors.

In effect a large body may have several chiefs, this title being common to all who have once commanded; but these chiefs are entirely subject to the orders of the commander in chief of the party, who is a sort of general without rank, or authority, being neither capable of rewarding or punishing, for even his soldiers may quit the service at their pleasure with impunity; and yet this shadow of a general is almost never disobeyed: So true is it, that amongst men who are governed by reason, and conducted by a principle of honour, and the love of their country, independency and subordination are perfectly consistent, and that a free and voluntary obedience is the best support and security to a general. The other qualities requisite to accomplish a war-chief, are, that he be brave, disinterested, and fortunate; and it is no wonder that a general endowed with all these qualities should be well obeyed.

Best source of obedience to a general.

Amongst all the nations of the *Huron* tongue, if you except the *Iroquois* canton of *Onneyutb*, amongst whom the power resides alternately in either sex, the women have the chief authority. But tho' this may possibly be their original constitution, it is found, however, to be very seldom true in practice: For the males, contrary to the original contract, and to the *Magna Charta* of free-born *Indians*, never acquaint the other sex, who are the barons of the *Hurons*, with any but trifling affairs, tho' all is carried on and executed in their name, and by the chiefs, who are no more than their lieutenants. Thus the actual authority of the *Huron* pair is little more than a shadow. It is, however, affirmed by some, that the women are the first who sit upon whatever is proposed in council, and that they send down their resolves to the chiefs, who make the report to the council general, that is, the council of elders or senators; tho' all this probably serves only for form sake, and with the restrictions just mentioned. The warriors also hold consultations among themselves on affairs of their own province; but nothing of importance, or which concerns the nation or canton, can

Chief authority resides in women.

be resolved in this council. All is subject to be revised and confirmed in the court of seniors, whose determinations are decisive.

Wisdom, privacy, and policy conspicuous in public assemblies.

Some writers make no scruple to assure us, that in those assemblies every thing is managed with so much wisdom, mature deliberation, dexterity, and, in general, with so much probity, as would have done honour to the *Roman* senate, or to the *Arcopagus of Athens*, in the happiest and best times of those republics. Here nothing is done precipitately, and those violent and tyrannical passions of private ambition and interest, which have so much changed, or rather disfigured the face of government, and public business amongst those who call themselves polite nations, have not, as yet, prevailed, amongst those whom we very unjustly call savages, over the good of the common wealth. Those who are concerned in the event of those deliberations never fail to set abundance of springs in motion, and employ so much address and such a fine and subtle kind of politics to accomplish their designs, as are perfectly astonishing in men of so simple and an almost barbarous appearance. They are particularly great masters in the art of dissimulation, and no people exceed them in an artfulness, which is peculiar to them, of covering their designs; and, what flows from the same fountain of natural sagacity, when they take the field, in concealing their march from the enemy none are to compare with them. The point of honour, and the glory of the nation, are the chief motives of going to war, joined to, what is much less excusable, an insatiable and most ungovernable thirst of revenge, for in this they believe their honour is concerned in a peculiar manner. They may think perhaps too, that good policy and self preservation require that they should not teach their enemies to insult or injure them, by suffering them to do it with impunity.

Motives to war.

Public orators

Each tribe has its orator in the village or canton, who only has a right to speak in the public councils, and in their general assemblies. These orators are observed to speak always well, and to the point in debate: And, besides this natural eloquence, which no persons, who have frequented their meetings, has ever denied them, they have a thorough knowledge of the interests of their constituents, with an inexpressible and singular talent at setting them in their best light. The women have also an orator on some occasions, who speaks in their name, and as if he was only the interpreter of their sentiments.

Buffy temper of the Indians

One would naturally imagine that nations who may be considered as in some sort without property, whether public or private, and who have no ambition to extend their territory, would have few differences to unravel with one another. But the restless nature of the human mind, which is incapable of subsisting without action, is ingenious in finding out matter of employment. Thus those savages are eternally busied in treating, and are never without a multitude of affairs on the carpet, such as concluding new or renewing old treaties, tenders of service, mutual congratulations, new alliances, invitations to become parties in a war, compliments on the death of some chief, or great personage, and other matters of the same nature; all this business is transacted with an attention and capacity, not only in every respect capable of managing the most important affairs, but also ostentimes much greater than it appears to be; those who are deputed for this purpose being frequently charged with secret instructions, the apparent motive of their commissions being only a veil to cover their real and more serious designs.

Valour and policy of the Iroquois

The *Iroquois* nation, commonly called the *Five Nations*, has made the greatest figure for two centuries in this part of *North America*. Their success in war has given them an uncontested superiority over all the others, so that from quiet and pacific, as they formerly were, they are now become to the last degree turbulent and intriguing. But nothing has more contributed to render them formidable than their advantageous situation, of which they were not long insensible, and which they have turned to their best advantage. As they are situated within the colonies of *Great Britain*, near those of *France*, they were soon conscious of their being necessary to both nations, and both, in effect, have used their utmost efforts to engage them either to come over to their own side, or at least to remain neutral. Persuaded as they were, that should either of these nations happen to suppress the other, themselves must become the slaves of the conquerors, they turned all their thoughts to preserve the balance between both, in which we must confess they have succeeded to a miracle, if

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we consider that all their forces conjoined have never exceeded five or six thousand combatants, and that they have long since been diminished above one half.

As to what concerns private persons and the interior government of villages, their affairs are reduced to very few, and those transacted in very little time. The authority of the chiefs seldom or never intermeddles with them, so that, generally speaking, persons, who have any degree of credit, are entirely taken up with the management of public affairs. One single point, tho' of small importance, is long under deliberation: All is concluded with wonderful coolness, and nothing is decided till it is fully understood by all who are pleased to assist in it. On making an elder a private gratification, you are always sure of his vote, if he accepts the present, tho' they are not easily brought to receive such favours, and there is scarce any instance of an *Indian* who has failed to perform his obligations in this respect; nor are they ever known to receive with both hands.

Government of village.

The youth become early acquainted with public affairs, whence they become grave and ripe, at an age in which *European* nations are still children, as having seldom an opportunity of being so much as spectators of any thing that relates to public business. This admission gives them a strong love for the public good, even from their earliest youth, and inspires an emulation which they are very careful to foment, and from which every thing may be hoped.

Youth early politeness.

The greatest defect of this government is an almost total want of criminal justice in this country; this defect, however, is far from being attended with the same consequences it must certainly be amongst *Europeans*, as private interest, the great spring of our passions, and the chief source of all those disorders which are so pernicious to society, has no power over men who never think of growing rich, nor take any care far to morrow.

Want of criminal justice.

We might also find fault with their manner of educating their children, for their extreme indulgence will not suffer them to be chastised on any account. Whilst they are children, their excuse is, that they have not the use of reason, and the *Indians* are of opinion that the understanding is never improved by punishment. When they are grown up, their answer is, that they are masters of their own actions, and therefore responsible to none. They even carry these two maxims to such an extravagant length, as to suffer themselves to be abused by persons who are intoxicated with liquor, and without so much as defending themselves for fear of hurting them. "For why, say they, should one hurt persons who know not what they do."

Indulgent education.

In short, those *Americans* are perfectly of opinion, that man is born free, that no power on earth has any right to infringe his liberty, and that nothing is capable of compensating the loss of it. Their desires are more bounded than ours, because their springs are too, and as they covet only the necessaries of life, with which nature has abundantly provided them, they scarce so much as think of its superfluities. This toleration and impunity is, however, the occasion of great disorders, and is itself no small one. They have almost no subordination in public, still less in private life, every one living as he lists, father, mother, and children, cohabiting like so many persons who had come together by accident, and as if they were linked by no ties of nature, the children ordering the affairs of the family, without so much as consulting their parents any more than if they were utter strangers, brought up in a total independance from their infancy, and unaccustomed both to the voice of nature, and to the most indispensable obligation of human life, and of civil society.

Liberty of Americans source of disorders.

The most horrid crimes, even parricide itself, are suffered to go unpunished, so that when they happen, they are less, in some measure, to be ascribed to the person who commits them, than to the public which suffers them. There are, however, some exceptions from this custom, which is perhaps the greatest piece of barbarity that can be objected to the natives of this part of *America*. I am myself inclined to think that crimes perpetrated by persons intoxicated only meet with this indulgence, and the reason they give for it, is, that such persons know not what they do, and therefore are to be treated as lunatics.

Horrid crimes excused by drunkenness.

They seem to rank women and children in the same class with persons in liquor, as they hold it unworthy of men to defend themselves against them, provided always, that no attempt be made against their lives, or that there be no danger of being maimed, in which case they endeavour if possible to avoid the danger by flight. But should an *Indian* kill any person belonging to the same cabin, if he be found

Murder excused, or extenuated.

have been in liquor, which the criminals often feign, when they meditate an assassination, they content themselves with lamenting the fate of the defunct as an unhappy accident; for as to the person who committed the murder, he knew not, say they, what he did. In case it should happen that the murderer were found to have done it in cold blood, they make no hesitation to extenuate or rather defend the crime, by saying, he must certainly have good grounds for so doing. If it be proved that the aggressor had no cause of complaint against the deceased, the punishment of the murder is left entirely to those of his own cabin, who have power to judge him to death, which indeed seldom happens, without any form of justice, whence this punishment has more the air of private revenge, than of the execution of public justice. And sometimes the chief is glad of any opportunity to get rid of a troublesome subject. In short, crimes are punished in such a way, as neither to satisfy common and natural justice, nor to establish the public peace and security.

Punishment left to relations.

The murder of a person who has a numerous kindred, committed by one who has the same connections, is always attended with unhappy consequences, and is sometimes capable of raising a combustion in the whole canton, or even in the entire nation. For this reason, the council of seniors is very attentive, on such occasions, to accommodate matters betimes, and the public generally makes the presents, and perform every other necessary formality towards the offended family. The immediate punishment of the offender would be sufficient to appease the whole storm, and the relations of the deceased have a right to insist what punishment they think proper, provided they get him into their power. But his own cabin think it a disgrace to themselves to suffer him to be punished, and the village or canton frequently refuse to compel them to give him up to justice.

Murder how punished by the Hurons.

The *Hurons* are said by some missionaries, who had long resided in their country, to punish murder in the following manner: They stretch the dead body upon poles in the upper part of some cabin, and oblige the assassin to remain under it for several days together, and to receive not only on himself, but also on what is allowed him for his sustenance, all that falls from the putrid carcases; unless he can prevail with the relations of the defunct, by means of a certain gratification, to have his food preserved from the putrefaction. But Father *Brebeuf*, from whom this account is extracted, does not say whether this punishment was in consequence of the sentence of the laws, and an exertion of the public justice of the nation, or inflicted by way of reprisal only by the relations of the dead, in the case of the murderer's falling into their hands.

Persons slain replaced by a prisoner.

Be this as it will, the most common method of indemnifying the relations of the slain, amongst those *Indians*, is to replace him by a prisoner of war. In this case the captive is generally adopted into the place of the party that has been killed, when he enters into the full enjoyment of all his advantages, so that both the dead and the quarrel are soon forgotten.

Witch capital.

There are, however, certain odious crimes which are punished with immediate death, at least amongst some nations; such as, for instance, wizzards or magicians, for ill offices, which they are supposed to exercise towards certain persons by means of certain arts. Whoever is suspected of witchcraft or magic, can never be safe any where, they even compel them to undergo a kind of rack or torture to make them discover their accomplices, after which the criminal is condemned to the same sort of death as the prisoners of war, but the consent of his family must first be had, which is only for form sake, or in compliance with ancient custom, for they dare by no means run the risk of a refusal. Those who are least obnoxious are commonly stoned before they are burnt.

Those who dishonour their families.

Those who dishonour their families, that is, who are guilty of theft, are also to undergo the same punishment; and it is commonly the family who executes the sentence, and rights themselves in that manner.

Amongst the *Hurons*, who were formerly much addicted to thieving, and who performed it with a dexterity and address which would have done honour to our most accomplished pick-pocket, it was lawful on discovering the thief, not only to take back what he had robbed, but also to carry off all the goods and chattles of his cabin, and to strip his wife, children, and himself stark naked, without their daring to make the least resistance.

In other cases, in order to shun all disputes on such occasions, they agreed on certain maxims, from which they never departed. For example, every thing lost, if ^{Law of loser and finder} but an instant before, became the property of the finder, if the loser had not already reclaimed it. But the least fraud on the part of the former, was sufficient to found a claim of restitution, which occasioned sometimes vehement and most vexatious contentions.

I must not omit one particular, with respect to the crime of murder. It has been ^{Indian how restrained from murder} related above, that, in order to prevent the fatal effects of such crimes, the public took upon itself the charge of making the necessary submissions, and paying the presents for the slayer. But what is surprising enough to us, this very circumstance is more efficacious to prevent murder, and all its fatal consequences, in this country, than the severest laws, and the most exemplary punishments. For as those sorts of satisfactions, or compensations, are extremely chargeable to those *Indians*, whose extreme haughtiness surpasses all imagination, the criminal is more affected by this burden, and by the stain to which he subjects the public, than he could possibly be on his own account; and their zeal for the honour of their country, lays a greater restraint upon them than death, or the cruellest torments.

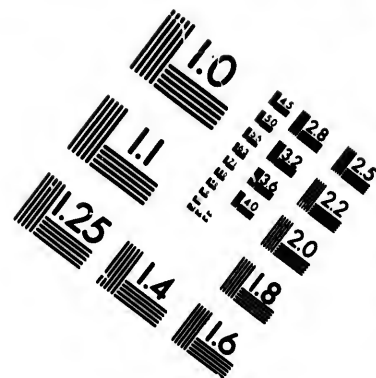
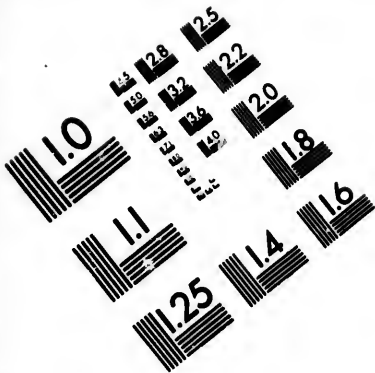
This impunity, however, seems to be but of a later original ^{Crimes more severely punished in former times} since the first missionaries who went amongst them found many of the antient severity, and of the rigour with which crimes were punished. In particular, has always been deemed an indelible stain on the honour of a man, and any one had a right to wash it out in the blood of the offender. ^{Huron kills his sister for their} Some missionaries, Father Brecheu, perceiving one day, a young *Huron* was dispatching a young woman, ran towards him to prevent an action which appeared to atrocious, asking him what could provoke him to so horrid a violence. "She is my sister, said the other, and a thief, and I am now going to expiate the injury done me and all our family, by the death of the wretch who is the occasion of it."

The *Indians*, at least amongst several of the *Algonkin* nations, allow of a plurality ^{Plurality of wives and husbands} of wives, and the general custom is to marry all the sisters together, from a persuasion that sisters are more likely to agree together, than mere strangers. In this case, all the wives are of equal rank, and on the same footing; but among the true *Algonkins* they are of two different ranks, the second being mere slaves to the others. In some nations the fashion is to have a wife in every quarter where they commonly resort in the hunting season; and, this custom, we are told, has been lately introduced amongst the *Hurons*, who, in former times, were known to have been contented with one wife. But there is a much greater disorder still which prevails in the *Iroquois* canton of *Tsnontouan*, who allow of a plurality of husbands.

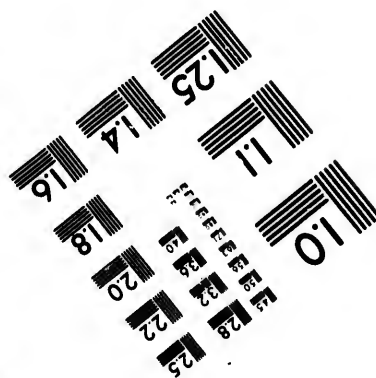
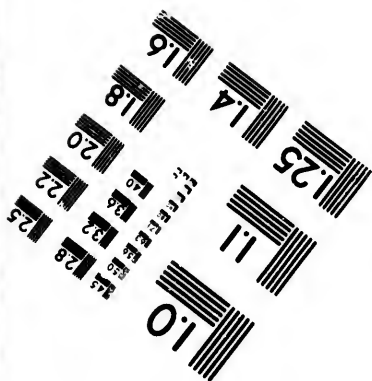
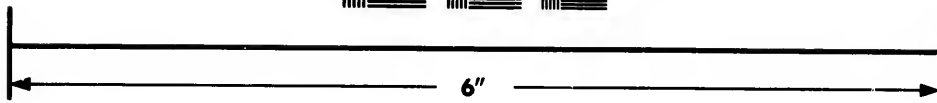
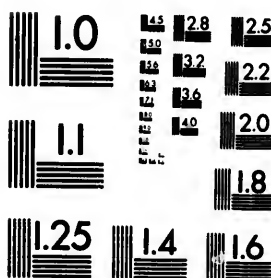
Both *Hurons* and *Iroquois* are, however, remarkably scrupulous as to the degrees of kindred or affinity in their marriages. They tolerate not the remotest degree of consanguinity between the parties, in which respect adoption has the same force as affinity. The husband, however, in case of the death of his wife, is obliged to marry her sister; and the wife is obliged to observe the same rule with respect to her husband's brother, in case of his decease without issue by her, and provided she is still capable of having children. The reasons they alledge are precisely the same with those of the *Levitical* law in *Deut. xxv. 5. Suscipitab semen fratris sui*. The husband who refuses to comply with this law of marrying the sister, or near relation of his deceased wife, subjects himself to all the outrages of the party rejected, and he is obliged to endure all without murmuring. When, through any deficiency of relations, the widow is permitted to marry out of her husband's family, they are obliged to make her presents, as a public acknowledgement and testimony of her prudent deportment; and this is what the may lawfully claim, provided she has behaved herself discreetly and virtuously all the time of her married state.

Amongst all these nations, and particularly amongst the *Algonkins*, are certain families of eminent rank and quality, which are not at liberty to intermarry with any others. ^{Marriage prohibited in blood, and consanguinity of degree} The state of marriage is generally held sacred and inviolable in this country, and concubinage, or marriages contracted for a certain space of time only, are commonly held as transgressions against good order and sound policy. A husband who should abandon his wife must expect many ill offices from her relations; and a wife who should absent herself from her husband, must be content to endure much more of the same sort of treatment.





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Elopement,
and separa-
tion by mu-
tual consent.

Amongst the *Miamis* it is customary for the husband to cut off the nose of a wife that elopes from him; but with the *Hurons* and *Iroquois* the married couple may quit the society of each other by mutual consent. This is done without any noise, and the separated parties are at liberty to contract new engagements. Their reason for this conduct generally is, what one of them said one day to a missionary, "My wife and I cannot agree together; my neighbour is exactly in the same situation; we have changed wives, and now we are all four content. What can be more reasonable than to make one another mutually happy, especially when it can be done at so little expence, and without the least detriment to any one?" This custom is, however, regarded both as an abuse and a novelty, which last it certainly is, at least among the *Iroquois*.

Jealousy fre-
quent, and of
ill conse-
quence.

But the great disturber of domestic peace amongst the *Indians of Canada* is jealousy, which commonly rages amongst both parties alike. The *Iroquois*, however, used to boast, that they are free from this evil; but, besides that somewhat of this sort is inseparable from human nature, if both parties happen to love each other, those who have frequented their company assure us, that they are no less subject to this passion than the rest of their countrymen on the same continent. When a woman discovers that her husband entertains any liking to another, the rival must be very much upon her guard, and the rather as the husband, who is guilty of this act of infidelity, dares not stir in her defence or protection. A husband who should use his wife ill on that account would incur eternal infamy.

Customs relat-
ing to mar-
riage.

The parents settle all marriages between themselves, the parties never appearing in them, but abandoning themselves blindly to the will of those on whom they depend. Nothing is, however, concluded without their consent, though this be a mere piece of formality. The first advances are made by the matrons; but it is never known that the friends of the future bride make any overtures. If a young woman has stood long in the market, it is not unusual for the relations to try what they can do to get her a man. But this must be done under-hand, and with a great deal of cunning and address to cover their design. In some parts the girls are never forced to marry, and are permitted to make as many essays of marriage as they think proper, previous to a state which the ceremony, they think, serves only to render the more insupportable.

Remarkable
continuance of
new-married
couples.

The behaviour of the young folks during the courtship, or rather the bargain, is for the most part extremely modest, though the same, it seems, cannot be said in praise of ancient times. There is one circumstance related by good authors, which *Charlevoix*, who should be a judge of what men are capable in point of continency, thinks absolutely impossible, which is, that in several places the new married couple cohabit a whole year without knowing each other, so that a woman with child, in the first year of her marriage, would be looked upon as a person who had lost her character; and justly, because, say they, persons should marry out of friendship, and not to satisfy their passions. Hence Platonic love seems not confined to our continent, and those pure flames of that refined and celestial passion, which is, however, much more talked of every where than felt, make themselves perceived, even among the savage philosophers of *America*. We will not enter into the detail, which, as that good father, to whom I owe this particular, thinks, rather weakens than augments the probability of what is here affirmed. After what has been said, we ought to be less scrupulous in believing what is related of the behaviour of the young couple during their abode in those places, where they are permitted to converse together in private. For tho' custom allows them much secret familiarity, yet in those habitations where modesty is exposed to the greatest dangers, and ever under the covert of the night, it is pretended that nothing ever passes that is capable of wounding the chastest imagination.

Presents pre-
liminary to
marriage.

The future bridegroom is to make all the presents, in which, as indeed in every other particular of his behaviour, he takes care to shew his intended spouse all the respect imaginable. In some places, the young man is contented with sitting down by the side of his beloved in her cabin; which, if she suffers, and remains in her place, it is taken as her consent, and the marriage is concluded. However, amidst all this outward deference, he gives her intimations that he is very soon to become her lord and master. Amongst the presents he bestows, some are rather to be regarded as so many marks and symbols of her future slavery, than as testimonies of the respect of a lover: Such as the collar, the chaldron or kettle, and the faggot, which are brought into her cabin, to shew that it is her part to carry burdens, to provide fuel for

her

her house, and to dress her husband's victuals. And it is even customary, in some parts, for the bride to bring into the cabin beforehand all the wood to be consumed in it the following winter.

It is remarkable besides, that in every one of the above particulars there is no manner of variation between such nations where the women have all the authority in their hands, and those where they are of no weight in public business; for even the women who are, at least in appearance, the mistresses and sovereigns of the state, and make the chief body of the nation, when they have reached a certain age, and have children capable of causing them to be respected, yet have no manner of deference paid them before, and are, at the same time, the very slaves of their husbands, in what relates to the management of their domestic affairs.

Remark on female authority.

There is perhaps no nation under the sun that, in general, despise the sex more than the *Indians*; and to call one of them a woman, is the greatest insult. The children, however, which is at the same time odd enough, belong only to the mother, and acknowledge her authority alone. The father is regarded as no more than an alien, in relation to them, with such restriction however, that if he is not treated as a father, he is always respected as master of the cabin. It is not certain whether this be universally the case in *Canada*, no more than what is found in good memoirs, that the young women, besides what services their husbands have a right to demand of them, with regard to their domestic affairs, are also obliged to provide for their own relations, which is probably the case, when such relations have no other person left to do these services, and when their great age or infirmities have rendered them incapable of helping themselves.

Customs and services relating to wives and mothers.

However this be, the new husband has also his peculiar functions. Besides hunting and fishing, obligations which last as long as his life, he is first of all to make a mats for his wife, build her a cabin, or else to repair one for her reception; and whilst he remains with his father and mother in law, he is to bring thither all the produce of his hunting. Amongst the *Troquois*, the woman never goes out of the cabin, because she is deemed the mistress, or at least the heiress of it. Amongst other nations she goes, two or three years after their marriage, to live with her mother in law.

Office and employment of husbands.

The *Canadian* women are commonly delivered without hard labour or assistance: Some are, however, much longer in travail than others, and suffer extremely. When this happens, the youth are first acquainted with it, who, all of a sudden, and when the sick woman least of all suspects it, set up a loud shout at the door of her cabin, the surprise of which causes a speedy delivery. The women never lye-in in their own cabins; they are frequently surprised with their pains, and delivered when at work, or on a journey. As for others, who take more care of themselves, they generally build them a hut without the village, where they remain forty days after being brought to bed. This is, however, said to be practised only when they lye in of their first child. This term being expired, all the fires of the cabin to which they are to return are extinguished, all the baggage shaken, and a new fire kindled on their entrance. Much the same formalities are observed, with respect to all the sex, at certain times, which are peculiar to them, and not only so, but also whilst they are pregnant, and in time of suckling. They commonly suckle three whole years, during which, and their pregnancy, their husbands never approach them. This custom occasions frequent infidelities on both sides; and it is affirmed, that the women in those countries make common use of certain simples, with which they are acquainted, to prevent the consequences of those irregularities.

Custom of women in labour, lying in and suckling.

Nothing can exceed the fondness of mothers towards their children, whilst in the cradle; but, from the moment they are weaned, they abandon them entirely to their own conduct, not from any indifference, or hardness of heart, for they never lose their maternal tenderness while they live, but, from a persuasion that it is better to let nature work her will in them, and that she ought to be restrained in nothing.

Mother's love to their children.

The act by which they conclude their age of infancy is the giving them their name, which, amongst these nations, is a thing of no small importance. This ceremony is performed in a feast, at which are present none but persons of the same sex with the child to be named. During the repast, the child is held on the knees of his father or mother, who never ceases invoking and recommending him to the genius, and, above all, to the genius who is to be his guardian; for they believe that every

Custom of naming the child.

one has his own tutelar spirit, though not when he is born. They never invent new names, but each family has a certain number which are properly its own, and which they use by turns, and in rotation. Sometimes too they change them as they grow older, and some may not be born after a certain age, though this custom is believed to prevail only amongst certain nations. And as it is usual amongst some nations, on taking any name, for the person who takes it to succeed in place of him who last bore it, it often happens, that a child is treated as a grandfather by a person who for age might very well be his own.

Salutations.

They never salute or accost any person by his own name in familiar discourse; this would be a great piece of uncivility. They always give him the quality he bears with respect to the person who addresses him; and if there be neither affinity nor relation between the two, they salute one another by the name of brother, uncle, nephew, or cousin, according to their age, or the degree of respect they would shew the person to whom they speak.

Motives for revival of names.

It may be further remarked, that it is not so much with a design to perpetuate their names, that they chuse to revive them, as from a desire, that those on whom they are bestowed should imitate the virtues and exploits of those who bore them, or revenge their deaths, if they have been killed or burnt, or, lastly, to comfort their families for their loss. Thus a woman who has lost her husband, or son, and so becomes destitute of all support, delays not to bestow the name of the deceased on some person to fill his place. In short, there are several other reasons why they change their names, which it would be too tedious to mention; a dream, the prescription of some quack, or some other reason equally frivolous, being sufficient for that purpose.

Dance of the Calumet, or Pipe.

As dancing is an act of great consequence amongst the natives of *Canada*, being an essential in treaties, and several other matters of high moment, a description of some of those most noted may help to convey a more distinct, as well as curious and entertaining idea, of the nature of those people. Of these the chief seems to be the dance of the Calumet, which is performed with abundance of variation, according to the occasion and people who exhibit the solemnity. It is properly a military festival, in which the sole actors are soldiers, and one would imagine it were only a contrivance to give them an opportunity of displaying and descanting on their exploits. Some have believed that this ceremony had its rise from the wand of *Mercury*, and that in its first institution it was esteemed the symbol of peace. All who danced this dance, says *Charlevoix*, an eye-witness; all who sung, and who beat the drum, and played on the *chichicoué*, were young persons, equipped as when they go to war. Their faces were painted with all manner of colours, their heads adorned with feathers, which they also held in their hands, like fans. The calumet, or pipe, was also ornamented with them, and set up in the most conspicuous place, which was surrounded by the band of music and dancers. The spectators were divided into several groups, or separate bodies, the women apart from the men, and attired in their best apparel, which at a distance made a very pleasant sight. Between the orchestra and the *French* commandant of the post where this ceremony was performed, who was seated in the porch of his own apartment, they had fixed a post, which, after every dance, one of the warriors approached, and struck with his battle-axe. After this signal given, there ensued a profound silence, when this hero related aloud some of his principal feats, and those for which he most valued himself, and, after receiving the customary applause, went to take his place, and then the play began again in the same manner. This ceremony, which was performed by the *Sakis* and *Ostebagras*, two *Indian* nations, lasted two full hours for each nation, in which, says *Charlevoix*, I took very little delight, not only because of the monotony and disagreeableness of the music, but also because this dancing consisted only in some contortions of body, expressive of nothing, and void of all meaning, and very far from being any way diverting.

Remarks.

This feast, that writer proceeds; was made in honour of the new *French* commandant, in which, he says, he saw none of those ceremonies mentioned in some authors, such as placing the commandant on a matras, making him presents, placing a crown of feathers on his head, and presenting him the calumet; nor were there any naked men, painted all over, adorned with feathers and collars of porcelain, and holding in their hands the calumet. Perhaps this is not the custom of those particular

savages,

savages, and perhaps also *M. de Montigny* had dispensed with this part of the ceremonial. I observed only, that here and there all the assistants made great shouts of applause in honour of the dancers, and especially during the dance of the *Oschagras*, who, of the two nations, diversified their play more, shewed an extraordinary agility, are lighter and better made, and, in short, bore away all the honours of the day.

The dance of the Discovery is probably more entertaining. It has not only more action in it, but is also more expressive of the subject, which it represents, than the former. It is properly a lively representation of all the particulars of a campaign; and as these *Indians* turn all their thoughts to surprise their enemy, as before observed, their whole art military consists only in stratagem; hence, probably, this dance has obtained the name of the Discovery. Be this as it will, one man alone dances; at first he advances slowly into the middle of the place, where, after remaining some time without motion, he represents, one after another, the departure of the warriors for the campaign, the march, their encampments, the setting out on the discovery, the approach towards the enemy, and the halt as if to recover breath. Then, all of a sudden, transporting himself into a fury, you would imagine he were going to kill all the world; after this, recovering from the fit, he seizes on one of the assistants as if he were taking him prisoner of war; shews the manner of using the battle-ax with regard to another; takes aim at a third; and, last of all, falls a running with his utmost speed. He then pauses and recovers his former coolness, which signifies the retreat; then, by different cries, he expresses the various situations of his own mind during his last campaign; and, lastly, closes the scene with the recital of all the fine actions he had performed during the war.

Dance of the Discovery.

When the dance of the calumet, or pipe, has, as usual, the conclusion of some treaty, or the making some alliance against the common enemy for its object, they engrave in that case a serpent on its funnel, or stem, and beside it they place a board, on which are represented two men of the two confederate nations, with an enemy under their feet, who is known by the mark of his nation. Sometimes, in place of the pipe, they make use of a battle-ax. But if the business be only a simple alliance, they represent two men holding each other by one hand, and carrying the pipe of peace in the other, and each having the mark of their own nation beside them.

Dance of the Calumet, or Pipe, with various figures.

In all treaties they give pledges on both sides, such as collars of porcelain, calumets, or pipes of ceremony, slaves, sometimes deer-skins or elk-skins, well dressed, and adorned with figures made of hair of porcupines; and 'tis on those skins that the above-mentioned representations are made with this hair, or else with simple colours.

Treaties attended with pledges.

There are other dances of a simpler kind, in which their sole view is to give the warriors occasion to relate their exploits. The *Indians* are particularly fond of this custom, and never tired of it. He who gives the repast invites all those of the same village by tuck of drum, and they assemble in his cabin, if it be capable of containing all the guests. The warriors dance one after another, then striking on a post a silence ensues, when every one says what he can for himself, and now and then stops to receive the congratulations of the audience, who are far from being sparing of their praises. But should any of them be found bragging of a feat which is not true, any one present is at liberty to smear his head with earth or ashes, or to play him any other roguish trick he thinks proper. The general way is to black his face, saying to him, "What I now do is that I may hide thy shame, for the first time thou seest an enemy thou wilt certainly turn as pale as ashes." Thus all nations agree in the opinion that no boaster can possibly be a brave man. He who has punished the vain-glorious in this manner takes his place, and if he falls into the same fault, the other is sure to have his revenge in kind. The greatest chief amongst them would not be free from this censure, and must endure it with patience; this dance is always in the night time.

Ordinary dance of the warriors.

In the Western parts there is a different sort of dance which they call the Buffalo dance. The dancers form themselves into several circles, and the symphony, which is always composed of the drum and the chichicoué, is placed in the middle of the space. They take care not to separate those of the same family, and never join hands, but every man bears his buckler and arms. Those circles turn not all the same way, and tho' they caper very much, and spring to a great height, they never lose the measure nor cadence of the music. The chief presents his buckler from time to time,

Buffalo dance

each of the assistants strike on it, and at every blow they repeat some of their warlike exploits. He then cuts some tobacco from a pipe, where it is always carefully hung on these occasions, and presents it to his friends. If any one of the rest can make it appear that he has performed finer things than the present pretender, or that any part of the praise of the deeds he has boasted belongs properly to himself, the chief has a right to retake the tobacco he has cut and presented, and to bestow it on some other. The dance is accompanied or followed with a feast. The original of the name of this festival is quite unknown, unless perhaps it comes, as *Charlevoix* conjectures, from the bucklers they carry in it, which are made of hides of buffaloes. I should be apt to imagine too, that the circles were originally intended to represent the manner of hunting those animals, which are inclosed and taken by hemming them round.

Dances for
diseases and
diversions.

There are also dances prescribed by their physicians or quacks, as a cure for certain diseases; but these exercises are commonly performed after a very wanton and lascivious manner. Some dances are intended merely for diversion, and relate to nothing else. These are always in a round form to the sound of the drum and *chichicoué*, and the women by themselves. The men dance with their arms in their hands, and, tho' they join not hands, take care not to spoil the figure, which is a circle. The music of the *Indians* consists only of two or three notes, on which they are perpetually chiming, so that one of us soon grows weary of such entertainments, and especially the first time, both on account of their extreme tediousness, for they last very long, and also because one hears nothing but the same sounds repeated without end.

Game of the
Platter.

Amongst the games of the *Indians* one of the most frequent, and to which they are most addicted, is called the Game of the Dish or Platter. This is most in vogue amongst the *Hurons*, who are so besotted on it, as to sacrifice all the peace of their lives, and reason itself, to its allurements. They often risk their all at it, and cannot be persuaded to leave it off, even after losing all their goods and furniture of their cabins, and stripping themselves naked. Some have staked their liberty for a certain time, a circumstance, which sets the ardency of their passion for it beyond all doubt, since no people under heaven sets a greater value on their liberty than those nations. This game, which we shall call the game of the Platter, can only be played between two persons, each of whom has six or eight little bones, somewhat resembling, both in size and figure, the stones of apricots. These have six faces of unequal dimensions, the two chief of which are painted, the one black and the other of a pale yellow, or straw colour. These bones are made to hop or leap into the air, by striking the ground or table with a round hollow dish, in which these bones are first placed, and then shaken or rattled. When they cannot get a platter, they are forced to be content with tossing their bones with their hands. If on falling they all present the same colour, he to whom it falls, gets six points. The party is forty, and in proportion as the other gets, the winner discounts so many points from those he gained before. Five bones of a colour give only one point for the first time, but after throwing them a second time they sweep the board, any less number is reckoned nothing. He that wins the party continues the game, but the loser yields his place to some other, who is named by the person who marks his party. For they all take their different parties from the beginning, so that the whole village is often concerned in the game, and even sometimes one village plays against another. Each party chooses its own marker, who gives up at pleasure, which happens only when his own side has the worst. Every stroke that is plaid, and especially if it be decisive, is attended with a prodigious shout. The players seem as if transported, and the spectators are seized with the same frenzy. All of them make a thousand different contortions, bespeak the bones, and load the genius of the opposite party with imprecations, and the whole village resounds with hallooing and bellowing. If all this be not enough to recall their luck, the losers have it in their power to put off the party till the morrow, on paying the expence of a very sorry treat to the company.

They then prepare to return to the fight, each invokes his own guardian genius, throwing at the same time tobacco into the fire to his honour; above all they beg of him to grant them happy dreams, and, as soon as day appears, they recommence the game. Great parties last generally five or six days, and often-times the intervening night gives them no interruption. In the mean time, as all the assistants, at

least

least those interested in the game, are transported with eagerness, and as quarrels frequently arise, which are never known to happen amongst the *Indians*, but either when they are drunk or at play, it is easy to guess how much both parties stand in need of rest at the end of a game.

These parties at play, are sometimes ordered by the prescription of some physician, or at the prayer of some sick person; and a dream of either is sufficient for that purpose. This dream is always taken for the command of some genius, in which case they prepare for the game with uncommon care. They assemble several nights successively to make a preliminary trial, and to see who is like to have the happiest fortune, or luckiest hand at a throw. They consult their genius, they fast, and, if they are married persons, abstain from their wives, and all this to obtain a favourable dream. Every morning they relate those they have had, and amongst all those things they could possibly have dreamt, and which they imagine to have some lucky interpretation, they make a collection which they inclose in satchels and carry about them. If any one has the reputation of being more fortunate than another, which is equivalent, in the opinions of these people, with having a more powerful genius, and more disposed to grant them his protection, they never fail to make him stand near the person who holds the platter. They will even sometimes go a great way to seek such a person, and if old age or some other infirmity should happen to disable him from coming on his own legs, they will carry him on their shoulders.

Ceremonies preparatory to the game

They have often invited the missionaries to be present at those parties, out of a belief, that their genius were more powerful than their own. It happened that a sick woman, in one of the *Huron* villages, having called one of their pretended physicians, this quack ordered the game of the platter, directing, at the same time, another village for the scene of this transaction. The patient sent without delay to ask the permission of the chief of it, which was granted, and the game being finished, the woman made them a thousand acknowledgments for her cure. She was so far, however, from being recovered, that she was much worse than ever; but they are obliged to counterfeit an ease and satisfaction, even when they have least grounds. The ill nature of this wench, and of her relations, discharged itself on the missionaries, for refusing to be present at the game, reproaching them, for that since their coming into the country the genius of the *Indians* had no longer the same power as in former times. On these religious remonstrating to them the weakness of their pretended divinities on this occasion, they answered them coolly, "You have your Gods, and we have ours; only we are the worst off of the two, because ours are not so powerful as yours."

Story of a sick woman.

The game of Straws is another *Indian* diversion, practised amongst the *Miamis* and *Pontecuatamis*. This is played, sometimes at least, in the chief's cabin, and in the square before it. These straws are small rushes of the thickness of a stalk of corn, and of the length of two fingers. They take a parcel of these, containing commonly two hundred and one, and always an odd number. After they have shuffled them very well, making, at the same time, a thousand contortions, and invoking their genius, they divide them by a sort of awl, or pointed bone, into packets of ten; every one takes one at a venture, and he to whose share the packet with the eleven falls, gains such a number of points, according to an agreement made before-hand. The party is sixty, or four-score.

Game of Straws.

They have also different ways of playing the same game, in which it is observed, that dexterity has full as large a share as chance; that the *Indians* are, in general, great cheats in all sorts of games; that they are so entirely addicted to gaming, as to spend whole days and nights at it, and oftentimes continue playing till they have stripped themselves quite naked, and have nothing left to lose. They have another diversion still, which, if it be less detrimental to the fortunes, is quite as destructive to the morals of these nations. Of this we have the following account:

Indians addicted to gaming.

Towards night they set up, in the middle of some great cabin, a number of posts, placed in a circular form, in the midst of which are the players on instruments. On each post is placed a packet of down, amongst which are some of all sorts of colours. The youth of both sexes dance round those posts, the girls with packets of down of the colour they fancy most. One of the young men advances, from time to time, to lay hold of a packet of that colour which he knows is agreeable to his mistress, and placing it on her head, dances round her, intimating, by signs, some place of meeting

Dance prompting an alligation

meeting, where he would be glad to see her. The dance ended, the feast begins, and lasts the whole day. In the evening every one retires, when the girls, in spite of the vigilance of their mothers, find a way to the place of assignation.

Game of the
Crosi.

The *Miamis* have two games besides, one of which is called the *Game of the Crosi*. This is played with a ball and sticks bent, and smoothed like racquets. Two poles are set up, which serve as boundaries, at a certain distance, in proportion to the number of players. If there are fourscore players, half a league is allotted for the space between the poles. The players are divided into two bands, who have each their pole, and the strife is, who shall drive the ball to the pole of the other party, without suffering it to touch the ground, and without touching it with their hands. In either of these cases the game is lost: at least, he who suffers the ball to drop, or who touches it, can only repair the fault by driving the ball to the end at one blow, which is seldom possible.

Game of
Tots-ball.

The other game is much like this last, and not in the least dangerous. Two boundaries are marked off, as in the former, the players filling the space between them. He who is to begin, tosses a ball into the air perpendicularly as he can, that he may the more easily catch it, and throw it towards the boundary. All the rest have their arms lifted up, and he who catches it, gives it a toss, as before, or, at least, throws the ball to one of the same side, whom he believes more expert than himself; for, to gain the party, the ball must never fall into the hands of the adversary, till it has reached the boundary. The women too play at this game, though but seldom, and their parties are of five or six of a side, and the side that first suffers the ball to fall to the ground, loses the game.

Religion of
the *Indians*.

I shall next lay before the reader what I have been able to collect concerning the opinions, traditions, and religion of the *Indians* inhabiting this part of the continent of *North America*. Nothing is more certain, than that they have an idea of the supreme being, though their notions of his nature are, at the same time, very confused. All of them, however, agree in respecting him as the sovereign spirit, the master and creator of the universe. They have also several other opinions concerning his nature, but they are such incoherent systems, and blended with so many wild imaginations, and ridiculous fables, and all with so little uniformity, that nothing very satisfactory can be said of them. It is pretended, that the *Sious* approach nearer to our notions of the divine nature in this hemisphere; but the little commerce the *French* have hitherto had with this people, has rendered it impossible for them to give us any tolerable account of their traditions, or that may be, with any shew of grounds, depended on.

Three gods.

All the *Algonkin* nations seem to agree in giving the supreme being the title of the *Great Hare*; some of them call him *Micabou*, and others give him the name of *Atabocan*. Most part of them too assert, that he was formerly born upon the waters, with all his retinue, consisting of quadrupeds, like himself; that he created the earth out of a grain of sand, drawn from the bottom of the ocean; and, lastly, that man was formed by him out of the dead bodies of the other animals. Some of them also speak of a God of the waters, who opposed, or, at least, refused to lend his assistance to carry the designs of the *Great Hare* into execution. This God is, according to some, the *Great Tiger*. But we are to observe, that there are no real tigers in *Canada*, so that this tradition, in all appearance, comes from some foreign country. Lastly, they acknowledge a third God, called *Matcomek*, whom they invoke in the winter season, of whom I have been able to learn nothing worth mentioning.

Origin of
man-kind.

The *Areskoui* of the *Hurons*, and the *Agreskoui* of the *Iroquois*, is, according to the notions of those people, the supreme Being, and, at the same time, the God of war. These last give a different origin to mankind from the *Algonkins*, and carry it much beneath the creator of the universe. They will have it, that six men first of all made their appearance on the theatre of the world. If you ask them; who placed them there? Their answer is, they cannot tell. They add, that one of these men ascended into heaven to search for a woman, named *Atabensic*, whom he had knowledge of, and afterwards proved with child by him; that the Lord of Heaven, on discovery, thrust her down from the height of the empire of heaven, and that the was received on the back of a tortoise; and that she was afterwards delivered of two children, one of whom killed the other.

There

There is no more mention made of the other five men, nor of the husband of *Atabensic*, who, as some say, had only one daughter, the mother of *Thaouisfaron* and *Jouskeka*. This last, who was the elder brother, killed the other, and, in a short time after, his grandmother discharged on him the care of her government of the world. They say too that *Atabensic* is the moon, and *Jouskeka* the sun. There is, however, little coherence in this, as in too many other systems of religion, the sun being often held the same with *Areskoui*, so far as he is esteemed the Great Genius.

Three fabulous deities.

The idea they have of spirit is that of a being of a more excellent nature than others, and they have no terms to express any thing that exceeds the compass of their own understandings, which, if we may rely on good authorities, are extremely limited with respect to incorporeal things, or such as are not within the cognizance of their senses. They attribute, however, a kind of immensity to their spirits, believing them every where present, and invoking and addressing them in all places wherever they happen to be, taking it for granted that they hear them, and act according to their desires. If you press them to give you a farther account of those matters, they tell you that this is all they have been taught; there are even none but certain old men initiated in their mysteries, that knew so much.

Indian notion of spirit.

According to the *Iroquois*, the posterity of *Jouskeka* became extinct after the third generation; after that happened a deluge which not one survived, so that, in order to re-people the earth, it was necessary to transform the brute animals into men. Thus all nations seem to have this tradition of a deluge; but this is no miracle, if we consider the number of them which have happened in different periods, and in various parts of the globe; and there is scarce room to doubt of one peculiar to *America*, and much more recent than some of the rest.

Tradition of a deluge.

Besides the great, or sovereign spirit, of whom, as well as their other principal divinities, with respect to the origin of the world, they have a thousand absurd traditions, which it would be too tedious to relate in this place, they have also an infinity of good and evil genii, or inferior spirits, who are the sole objects of their private worship. The *Iroquois* place *Atabensic* at the head of all the good, as they make *Jouskeka* the chief of the others, and sometimes confound him with that god who drove his grandmother from heaven, for suffering herself to be seduced by a mortal. They address themselves to their evil genii only to prevent their doing them ill turns, and they believe the others designed to be the guardians of mankind, each of whom has his own tutelary genius. These are called in the *Huron* language *Okkis*, and in the *Algonkin* *Mamitous*. To them they have recourse in all dangers and undertakings, or when they want any extraordinary favour. There is even nothing however unreasonable or contrary to good manners, which they think they may not lawfully ask of them. They are however far from believing they have any right to their protection at their birth; in order to merit it, they must first of all be expert in the use of their bow and arrows: This favour is even received with much preparation, and is properly the most important article in their whole lives: The chief circumstances in this ceremony are as follows.

Good and evil genius.

They begin with blacking the visage of the child; then they cause him to observe a fast of eight days, without eating so much as a morsel of any thing, in which time of purification his genius is to appear to him in his dreams. The empty brain of a child cannot fail of producing such dreams, which they are very careful to make him repeat every morning. They are however obliged to put an end to the farce before the lawful time, few children having strength enough to support it so long, tho' this causes little inconvenience, as these folk are not like some others altogether unacquainted with the commodious methods of dispensations. The tutelary genius is always, or at least for the most part, the subject of the infant's dreams, in which every phantom or image is regarded as the symbol, or figure, under which the spirit appears. Tho' it happens to those *Indians* as it does to the greatest part of mankind, to attach themselves to the figure, whilst they entirely lose sight of the substance.

Ceremony of engaging the good genius.

These symbols, however, have no signification by themselves; and sometimes the symbol is a bird, sometimes the foot of some animal, or a piece of wood; in short, the most common and worthless thing in the world. They are, however, preserved with the same care that the ancients had of their *dii penates*, or household gods. There is even nothing in all nature, if we credit those *Indians*, which has not its

Symbol of the genius.

spirit,

Nothing
without its
spirit.

spirit, tho' these spirits are of all ranks and classes, and all of them have not an equal power or virtue. When they find themselves at a loss to comprehend any thing, they attribute it to some superior genius; and then their way of expressing themselves is, by saying, *This is a spirit*. The same is said, and with more grounds, of men of extraordinary or of superior talents, or who perform any thing beyond common, *they are spirits*; which is equivalent to saying, *they have a tutelar genius of an order superior to the common run of mankind*.

Religious im-
postors.

Some of them, but especially their quacks, endeavour to persuade the multitude that they suffer transports, and are in extasies, or, in other words, that they are filled with a divine enthusiasm, the parent, says *Charlevoix*, of all false religions. And the natural vanity of man, or, what might be said with more justice, their selfishness, has not been able to discover any machine more capable of governing the ignorant, and the multitude at last draws those who value themselves most on their superior understanding along with them down the stream of popular error; an observation justified by the experience of all ages. The *American* impostors are not beholden to any other nation in regard to this point, and none are better acquainted with the secret of drawing every possible advantage from the holy craft. The quacks above all take care to make the people believe that, in those extasies, their genii reveal the secrets of the most distant events that lie hid in the womb of futurity. And as they sometimes have the good luck to guess tolerably well, they by this means acquire infinite credit, and are believed to be inspired with some genius of the first order.

Worship of
the tutelar
genius.

As soon as they have declared to a child what he is to look upon as his tutelar genius, from that time forth they instruct him carefully with respect to the obligation laid on him, to honour him, to follow all the advice he may receive from him in dreams, to merit his favour, to put his whole trust and confidence in him, and to dread the effects of his wrath, should he neglect to acquit himself of his duty. This ceremony terminates in a feast, and it is also customary to prick on the body of the child, the figure of the *Okki* or *Mannitou*, to whose protection he has been recommended. So solemn an engagement, the mark of which can never be erased, must needs, one would imagine, be most inviolable; tho' a very trifle, they say, is sufficient to destroy it.

Genius
changes.

The *Indians* are not easily induced to allow themselves to be in the wrong, even in affairs in which the honour of their gods is concerned, and make no manner of difficulty of justifying themselves at the expence of their divinities. Thus, on any fault committed, the blame is always thrown upon their tutelar genius, for which too they look out for some other without ceremony, which is done with the same precautions as at first. The women have also their *Manitous*, or *Okkis*, but are far from paying them the regard which the men shew them, because perhaps they have not so much business for them. They offer up different sorts of gifts, or, if you will, sacrifices to these spirits. They throw into the lakes and rivers tobacco, or birds, first strangled, in order to propitiate the gods of the waters. In honour of the sun, and sometimes of inferior divinities, they throw into the fire all manner of things useful in common life, and what they believe they derive from those inferior beings. This is sometimes done out of gratitude, and by way of acknowledgement, but oftner like some others, from views of interest. And even those acknowledgements are made with an eye to some advantage, those nations being entirely unacquainted with sentiments of love towards their gods. We may observe also a sort of libations amongst the *Indians*, and all this accompanied with invocations, couched in very mysterious terms, which they have never been able to explain to the *Europeans*, whether it be that they have really and at bottom no meaning at all, or that the sense has not been transmitted in the same tradition which conveyed the words; and perhaps they are willing we should never comprehend the meaning of them at all.

I. &c.

Some pretend that their fasts have no other end besides accustoming them to endure hunger; and probably this motive may have some influence on them. But every circumstance with which they are accompanied leaves no room to doubt that religion is the chief thing regarded in them. We need nothing else to persuade us of this, besides their attention to observe their dreams at those times, such dreams being considered as so many oracles and revelations of the divine will.

Vows

Vows are also acts purely religious amongst those nations, in which their custom corresponds exactly with those of the other parts of the world. As, for instance, in a scarcity of provisions, a circumstance which often happens in their voyages and huntings, they vow to their genii to give to one of their chiefs in honour of them, a proportion of the first beast they shall kill, and oblige themselves not to eat meat till they have performed their promise. If the thing becomes impossible, on account of the too great distance of the chief, they burn the part allotted for him, and thus it becomes a sort of sacrifice.

The *Indians*, in the neighbourhood of *Acadia*, had formerly, in a particular part of their country, which bordered on the sea, a very old tree, of which they relate very wonderful things, and which was always loaden with offerings. The sea having laid open all its roots, it supported itself a long time almost in the air, against the united violence of winds and waves, which confirmed the *Indians* in the notion of its being the residence of some great spirit; and even its fall was not capable of undeceiving them, for so long as the end of any branch of it was to be seen above water they still continued the usual offerings to it.

Most part of their feasts, songs, and dances, have also probably their origin in religion, of which they preserve several traces, which has induced some, tho' upon very slight grounds, to believe the *Indians* descended from the ancient *Hebrews*. There are in fact some of them who never use any knife in certain repasts, and are very careful not to break the bones of the beasts that are eaten on those occasions. Some think too their living apart from their women, in the time of certain disorders peculiar to their sex, and the sound of a word often used in some of their songs which is the same, or very near it, with that of the *alleluja*, are so many arguments in favour of this pedigree. But it might, with equal reason, be alledged that, the custom of piercing their ears and nostrils is observed in compliance with the law of circumcision, the use of which is known to be much more ancient than the promulgation of the law of *Mount Sinai*. The feast, on the return from the chase, in which nothing is to be left, has also been taken for a kind of holocauste, or for one of the rites of the *Jewish* passover, and the rather, as it is usual with the *Indians*, when they find themselves unable to manage their share, or portion, to make use of the stomachs of their neighbours, as the Jews did, in the case when a family was not sufficient to consume the whole paschal lamb by themselves.

An ancient missionary, who resided for a long time among the *Outaouais*, writes, that an old man officiates as priest in the festivals of the *Indians* just now mentioned. He begins with offering them their thanks for the success they have had in hunting, after which some other *Indian* takes a loaf of tobacco, breaks it in two, and then throws it into the fire. From hence, my author concludes, that those who have cited this nation as a proof of the possibility of atheism, properly so called, are really ignorant of their manners and notions. They never indeed dispute about religious matters, and their extreme indolence in this respect, by which I suppose he means their unwillingness to enter into such discussions, is the greatest obstacle that has obstructed their conversion to Christianity. But it cannot, with any justice, be concluded from this circumstance that they are void of all notions of a God. Indolence is said to be their predominant inclination, which is even invincible in their most interesting affairs, tho', in spite of this vice, and even of that spirit of independance, in which they have been educated, there is no nation that live in a state of greater dread, confused as their notions are of the divinity, never ascribing any thing to chance, and determining every thing by certain omens, which they look upon as so many warnings from heaven, and revelations of the divine will.

It has been affirmed by several writers, who have left memoirs of the natives of the continent of *North America*, that there were formerly amongst them certain young women, living apart from all commerce and knowledge of man, and who never married. These vestals, say they, were held in great veneration, tho' the most ancient missionaries take no notice of them. There have actually been amongst the *Iroquois* and *Hurons*, and that not long since, certain recluses, who preserved their virginity. And those *Indians*, to this day, shew you certain plants, which, according to them, have no manner of virtue or efficacy, unless employed by virgin hands.

The belief of the immortality of the soul is most firmly rooted amongst the *Americans* of this part of the continent. They conceive of it however not as a substance, but as a purely

Vows.

Venerable tree.

Indians deemed the offering of the *Hebrews*.

Unjustly charged with atheism.

Indian vestals.

Indians believe the soul immortal.

purely spiritual, no more than their genii, being incapable of giving any clear and distinct notion of either. When they are asked what they think of souls, they answer, that they are a kind of living shadows, and images of the body, and by consequence derived from the same principle. They believe that every thing in the universe is animated and informed with a soul. It is therefore, from tradition only, they hold that the soul never dies. In the different ways of expressing themselves on this head, they often confound the soul with its faculties, and the faculties with their operations, tho' they are not ignorant of the difference between them, when they please to express themselves with greater exactness.

Notions of
separate souls.

They are also of opinion that the soul preserves the same inclinations after it has been separated from the body, which it had before the separation, for which reason, they bury with their dead every thing made use of by them when alive. They are also persuaded that the souls hover about the carcase till the feast of the dead, after which, it goes into the country of souls, or transmigrates, according to some, into a turtle dove.

Two souls in
one body.

Others of them acknowledge two different souls in man, to one they ascribe all that has been just now mentioned, and pretend that the other never quits the body, except to inform or animate some other, tho' this, according to their system, happens only to infants, who having enjoyed but a small portion of human life, have leave granted them to begin a second course of life. For this cause they bury children along their high ways, that the women may collect their souls as they pass. These souls, which are so very faithful companions to their bodies, are at the same time to be supported and fed, and it is to discharge this pious duty, that they carry victuals to their tomb; this practice, however, is of short continuance, whence the souls are to accustom themselves by degrees to longer fasts, since they often find it difficult enough to provide for the living, without supplying those who have left their society for that of the dead.

Presents made
to the dead.

There is one circumstance which they never forget, even in the greatest extremities. As it is usual with us for the living to strip the deceased of every thing, the *Indians*, on the contrary, not only carry every thing that belonged to them to their tombs, but presents are also made them by their relations and friends. And this is the reason they were so much scandalized at the *French*, who opened their sepulchers in order to rob the dead of their beaver robes. Tombs are held so sacred in this country, that to profane them is reckoned one of the greatest acts of hostility that can be committed against any nation, and the most undoubted proof, that they are resolved to observe no measures with them for the future.

Region of
souls.

The region which, according to them, is to become the everlasting abode of their souls, after separation from their bodies, is situated at a great distance Westwards, so that their souls are several months on their journey thither. They have even surprising difficulties to surmount, and are exposed to prodigious hazards, before they are able to reach it. They take notice above all of a certain great river they are to pass, on which several have been shipwrecked; of a dog, from whom they have much ado to defend themselves; of a place of suffering, that is their purgatory, where they expiate their faults; of a cave, in which the souls of those prisoners of war who have been burnt are tormented, and where they arrive after making all possible delays.

Vain opi-
ons and fables
of the other
world.

This notion is the cause why, after the death of those unhappy persons, they are very careful to search every place, striking incessantly with rods, and making at the same time hideous cries, to drive away their souls, which they are afraid would otherwise continue to hover about their cabins. The *Iroquois* say, that *Atabesic* makes his ordinary abode in this *Tartarus*, where his constant employment is to seduce souls to their utter ruin: But that *Jousheka* leaves no stone unturned to fortify them against the wicked designs of his grandfather. Amongst the fabulous stories of what passes in the other world, which are so like those of *Homer* and *Virgil*, there is one seems copied from that of *Orpheus* and *Eurydice*, so much to the life that there needs nothing but changing the names to make it exactly the same.

Indian Para-
dise.

Moreover, the happiness with which the *Indians* flatter themselves in their clysum, is not considered merely as the reward of a virtuous life; for to have been a good hunter, brave in war, happy in all undertakings, and to have killed and burned a great number of enemies, are the sole titles they plead to be admitted into their paradise, the felicity of which consists in an unexhaustible plenty of game and fishing,

an eternal spring, vast abundance of all things, without being obliged to work, and the full and most exquisite gratification of all the senses. Thus the foundations of every nation's belief, in regard to a future state, are, we see, exactly the same, even of those systems which are held most metaphysical, proposing all sorts of happiness of which we have any idea, or perhaps are capable, and that, without end, for the good; and, for the vicious, every thing that is the reverse of this felicity. Nor is the observation of *Charlevoix* perfectly just in this place, where he says, that a virtuous life is not what gives a title to the *Indian* elysium; by which, I suppose, he means the virtues of private life; for fishing and hunting are œconomical virtues in this country; and as for the merit drawn from the number of enemies killed, every body sees the connection this has with the public good, and the defence and security of the community.

These temporal blessings are also the sole object of their prayers. All their songs, which are originally their forms of prayer, turn only upon the good things of this world, there being no mention in them, no more than in their vows, of any thing relating to another.

The souls of beasts have also a place in the lower, or rather in the Western regions of the *Americans*, and are full as immortal as ours. They also allow them a kind of reason, and not only every species, but even every individual animal, has, according to them, its peculiar guardian spirit. In short, they make no difference between the brutes and men, except in degree only, man being, according to them, no more than the king of animals, who have all the same faculties, though he possesses them in a superior degree. They hold also, that there are in hell models of souls of all sorts, though they trouble themselves very little with diving farther into those matters, as well as with every other topic of pure speculation.

As to dreams, they vary very much in their manner of explaining themselves on this topic. Sometimes it is the reasonable soul, which walks abroad, whilst the sensitive soul continues to animate the body. Sometimes it is the familiar genius, who gives wholesome advice with respect to what is to happen; now it is a visit paid by the soul of the person of whom they are dreaming. But in whatever way the dream be conceived, it is always regarded as a thing sacred, and as the means the gods most commonly use to make known their will to mankind. They cannot conceive it possible for the *Europeans* to make so light of them, and, for the most part, look upon dreams as the desires of a soul inspired by some spirit, or as an order from him. Hence they make it a religious duty to comply with it. Thus an *Indian* having dreamt of cutting off a finger, caused the same to be actually chopped off, after having prepared himself for this important action by a fast. Another seeing himself, in a dream, prisoner amongst his enemies, was much perplexed; but, after consulting the quacks; he was, by their advice, tied to a post, and burnt in several parts of the body.

The *Indians* have happy and unhappy dreams. To dream, for instance, of seeing a great number of elks, is a sign of long life; but to dream of bears, is a sign of dying soon, except when this happens, as has been said, at the time when they are setting out to hunt those animals.

To shew to what an extravagant degree they carry these suppositions, I shall lay before the reader a fact attested by irreproachable witnesses, who were themselves spectators of it.

Two missionaries were on a journey with some *Indians*, and one night as all were asleep, one of their guides started up, quite out of breath, and trembling with fear, making efforts to cry, and beating himself, as if possessed with a devil. Every body was soon awake with the noise; at first they believed the person seized with some frenzy; they laid hold of him, and tried every method that could be thought of to reduce him to a settled temper, but all to no purpose; the madness getting the better of him more and more, so that being unable to confine him, they were obliged to hide all arms from him for fear of some accident. Some time after this it was proposed to give him a potion made with certain herbs of great virtue; but when they were least aware of him, the patient leapt into the river. He was immediately drawn out, and tho' he could not conceal what he suffered from the cold, he could not be persuaded to come near the fire, which was kindled on purpose, but sat himself down at the foot of a tree, where, appearing somewhat calmer, they brought him some broth which they had prepared for him; he told them they must give it to

this child, by which they meant a bear's skin which they had stuffed with straw ; they complied with his request, pouring the broth down the throat of that animal. Then they asked him the occasion of his distemper. " I dreamt, said he, I had a screech-owl in my belly." They all fell a laughing, but however the business was how to cure his disordered imagination which was done in the following manner :

Method of
cure.

They pretended all of them to be afflicted with the same disorder, and crying out as loud as they could, that they had each some animal in their belly, adding that they did not like throwing themselves into the river to unhouse the creature because of the excessive cold ; and that they thought sweating much the better way of the two. The *Hypochondriac* relishing this proposal, they immediately set about erecting a stove, which they all went into with loud cries, and afterwards fell every one to imitate the animal he pretended he had in his belly, one counterfeiting a goose, another a duck, this a bustard, that a frog, and the dreamer his owl. But what was peculiarly diverting in this farce was, that they all beat time on the back and shoulders of the patient, in order to weary him into a sleep, tho' the same prescription would keep any but an *Indian* from closing his eyes for several days to come. They succeeded however in their intention, the patient fell into a sleep, which held him a considerable time, and when he awaked found himself perfectly cured, not perceiving the sweat, which must certainly have exhausted him, nor sensible of the blows and bruises he had received, having lost all remembrance of the very dream which had cost him so much terror and pain together.

Obligations
of dreams.

But not the dreamer alone is to discharge the obligations to which they imagine themselves subjected by their means, and it would be highly criminal for any person consulted by the patient in this case, to refuse performing any thing he may require ; a circumstance, which, amongst any other people than *Indians*, might have very troublesome consequences. But as they are perfectly free from views of interest, and are all equally subject to the same inconveniences, they abuse this custom less than any other sort of men would probably do, where the same frets prevailed. If the thing required be of such a nature as that it cannot be afforded by the person of whom it is demanded, the public takes the burden on itself ; and if it should be necessary to go five hundred leagues to find it, and let it cost what it will, it must at all events be had. This boon is preserved with the utmost care, and if it be an inanimate thing, their anxiety about it is but moderate, but if it be some animal, the death of it fills them with the most dreadful apprehensions.

Difficult case.

Should an *Indian* dream of killing another, the affair becomes still more serious, for he will certainly in that case be the death of him, if he can accomplish it by any means whatever. But woe to the dreamer, should any other take it into his head to dream that he revenges the deceased. With a little precaution, however, one is easily extricated from this embarrassment, and a dream which seems to oppose and contradict the first is all that is requisite for the purpose. In this case he whose dream is prior, says, " I see and am satisfied, that your spirit (or familiar) is much superior in strength to mine, for which cause we will insist on it no longer." Some indeed are more difficult to be satisfied on this head, but there are very few who may not be contented, and their genii appeased by some present.

Mad feast of
dreams.

Whether religion was ever concerned in the festival called *the feast of dreams*, or, which the *Iroquois*, and some other nations, have much better termed *the feast of the turning of the brain*, cannot easily be ascertained. This is a kind of Bacchanalian festival, which lasts generally fifteen days, and is celebrated towards the end of winter. There is no sort of folly which is not committed on those occasions, every one running from cabin to cabin, disguised in a thousand ridiculous manners: They break and throw down every thing, and no body dares to hinder them. If any person be desirous of shunning this confusion, and to get out of the reach of a thousand affronts, which must otherwise be endured, there is no way left for him but to desert the village for a time. On meeting any person, the first greeting is to give him some dream to interpret, and if he can unravel it, it is to his cost, for he is to give the dreamer the subject of his dream. On the conclusion of the masquerade, every thing is restored, a great feast is made, and every one thinks how the sad effects of their madness may be repaired ; and this is often attended with no small inconveniences, or rather mischiefs, as time and occasion, which was longed for in silence, in order

to have amends of those who might have given them an abuse, now offer themselves ; but all is to be forgotten as soon as the feast is over.

The description of one of these feasts, from the memoirs of a missionary who was present at it fore against his will, is as follows : It was held at *Oumontagué*, and proclaimed by the senators, or elders, with the same solemnity as if it had been an affair relating to the state. Scarce had they returned to their different places of abode, when, all of a sudden, men, women, and children turned out naked, notwithstanding the extreme cold. At first they visited every cabin, after which they strolled about from place to place, without knowing whither they went, or what they wanted, and a spectator would have concluded them persons transported besides themselves with drunkenness or madness. Some confined their extravagance within more moderate bounds ; but others were for making use of all the indulgencies of this carnival, during which they are reputed *non compos*, and, by a fundamental maxim in the *Indian* laws, deemed not responsible for their actions, and at full freedom to revenge their private grudges. On some they threw buckets of water, which freezing instantaneously with the intense cold, struck to the very heart of those on whom it was thrown ; others they saluted with volleys of hot embers, and filth of all kinds ; some discharged fire-brands at the head of the first person they met ; and others again broke and demolished all the furniture of the cabins, and falling upon those to whom they bore any ill will, loaded them with blows. In short, there was no deliverance from this sort of perfection, but by interpreting their dreams, which were absurd and inconceivable to the last degree.

The missionary and his companion were upon the point of being something more than mere spectators of what passed. One of these furies entering a cabin, in which they had seen them take sanctuary, at the beginning of the hubbub, and had just left, and not finding them there, cried out to explain his dream, and, upon hesitation, said he would kill a *Frenchman*, when immediately the master of the hut threw a suit of *French* clothes upon the floor, which the dreamer again and again ran through with a sword. Upon this, he who had thrown down the clothes, falling into a fit of transport in his turn, said he was for revenging the *Frenchman*, and that he was going to reduce the whole village to ashes. He began by actually setting fire to his own cabin, in which this scene happened, and where, after every body had left it, he shut himself up. The fire was already kindled in several places within, but did not as yet discover itself without, when one of the missionaries returning, and being told what had been done by his landlord, made what haste he could to break open the door, seized the *Indian*, whom he thrust out, extinguished the fire, and shut himself up in the cabin. His host, in the mean time, ran over the whole village, crying out that he would set fire to every thing ; upon which they threw out a dog to him, in hopes he would glut his vengeance on that animal ; but he insisted, that the offering was not sufficient to expiate the death of his guest, who had been murdered in his house. Then they threw him a second dog, which he tore to pieces, and then all his rage subsided, and he recovered his former tranquility.

This *Indian* had a brother, who was also willing to bear his part in the play. He dressed himself in much the same manner as we represent the Satyrs, covering himself from head to foot with the leaves of maize. He caused two women to be attired like *Mezeras*, or *Furies*, their faces blacked, their hair dishevelled, with a wolf's skin over their bodies, and bills in their hands. Thus escorted, he visited all the cabins, howling and shouting with all his might, climbing on the roofs, and playing a thousand antics, with an agility equal to that of the most famous rope-dancer ; then making hideous cries, as if some vast misfortune had befallen him, he at last descended, and walking with a solemn pace, preceded by his two *Bacchanalians*, who becoming transported in their turns, overturned with their bills every thing that came in their way. They were scarce recovered from their trance, when another woman took their place, and entering the hut where sat the two Jesuits, armed with a musquet she had got by causing some person to expound her dream, sung the war-song, making a thousand imprecations upon herself, if she did not bring home prisoners.

A warrior followed close after this Amazon, with a bow and arrow in one hand, and a bayonet in the other. After he had made himself hoarse with hallooing, he fell, all of a sudden, on a woman, who little thought of any such attack, and holding

Described.

Mad pranks of dreamers

Bacchanalian women.

Other scenes of distraction and folly

holding his bayonet to her throat, and twisting his hands in her hair, cut off one of her hands, and went his way. One of the jongleurs then made his appearance, bearing in his hand a staff adorned with feathers, by means of which, he boasted, he could divine the most hidden secrets. An *Indian* woman attended this personage, holding a vase full of a certain liquor, of which she now and then gave the quack to drink. He no sooner tasted of it, than he spit it out, blowing on his hands and staff, and at each time he explained such riddles as were proposed to him. Two women followed, indicating, that they wanted something. One spread a matras, or covering, by which it was conjectured, that she asked for fish, which were accordingly given her. The other having a hoe in her hand, they concluded she wanted a field to cultivate; she was therefore immediately led out of the village, and set to work with her hoe. A chief had dreamt, it seems, of seeing two human hearts; his dream was difficult to interpret, and this caused a general uneasiness. He made a great deal of noise; the feast was therefore prolonged for another day, but all to no purpose, and it was absolutely necessary that he should be appeased. Sometimes were seen bands of armed men, who threatened to come to blows; at others, troops of buffoons, playing all manner of farces. This madness lasted for four days, the games being reduced to this length from the accustomed time of fifteen, probably out of respect to the Jesuits, towards whom they carried their complaisance so far as not to molest them, nor the *Christian Indians*, in the exercise of their functions and religious duties.

The *Indians* have recourse to none but the good genii; the wizards only, and those who are addicted to witchcraft, are thought to be in compact with the evil genii; and the women are chiefly suspected of following this abominable practice. Their jongleurs, or priests, who are also their physicians, not only refrain from it, at least openly, but make it a particular part of their profession to qualify themselves for discovering witchcraft, and preventing its pernicious effects. All that is related to this purpose is mere quackery; for sometimes they make use of the venom which they extract from serpents; sometimes of herbs gathered in certain seasons, and whilst they are muttering some particular words; or, lastly, of certain animals, which they strangle, and of which they throw some parts into the fire.

Amongst the *Illinois*, and some other nations, they make an odd kind of human figure, to represent such persons as they intend to destroy, and which they pierce to the heart. Sometimes they take a stone, and, by virtue of certain incantations, pretend to form such another in the hearts of their enemies. The *Indians* have such dreadful apprehensions of magic, that the slightest suspicion of practising it exposes one to be torn to pieces; and yet we find every where persons who follow this dangerous employment.

The quacks of *Canada* make profession of corresponding with the genii which they call *beneficent*, and pretend to know, by their means, what passes in the most remote regions, as well as what is to happen in the most distant futurity; that they can discover the cause and nature of the most hidden or complicated distempers, with their method of cure; determine what is to be done in the most difficult and perplexing affairs; explain the most obscure dreams; procure success in the most difficult undertakings and negotiations; and, lastly, render the gods propitious to their hunters and warriors. They are even said to perform things capable of imposing on more than the multitude; and when they shut themselves up in their stoves, in order to raise a sweat, one of their most ordinary preparatives, they resemble exactly what we read in the poets of the ancient *Pitias*, (*Priestesses of Apollo*) on the tripod, entering into all their convulsions and enthusiasm, with the same tone of voice, and performing actions seemingly beyond human power, and inspiring the spectators with an awe and terror which they cannot resist. These jongleurs are also the only persons to whom it is lawful to conjure or raise up spirits on occasion of public transactions.

These quacks are not permitted to exercise their profession, till they have first entered into a sort of treaty, or compact, with the genii, for which they qualify themselves by long and rigorous fasting, during which they are continually weeping, smoking, howling, singing, and beating the drum. This initiation is afterwards performed in a sort of Bacchanal, with extravagant ceremonies, and a strange enthusiasm. Their office is restrained to prophesying, or interpreting the wills of the gods, the chiefs being their sole priests, who offer sacrifices to the gods in all public ceremonies, and the masters of families in domestic worship. The chief, or at least most profitable

employment

Witchcraft in
abhorrence.

Practices of
the jongleurs.

Indians in
dread of ma-
gic.

Pretensions of
the jongleurs.

Enthusiasts.

Preparation,
initiation, and
employment.

employment of their quacks is that of physic, the principles of which are founded on the knowledge of simples, on experience, and on the different situations of the patient, but always with a considerable mixture of quackery and superstition, at the expence of the vulgar.

The chief use they make of simples is in wounds, fractures, dislocations, luxations, and ruptures. They blame large incisions, and do not only the pus, but even splinters, stones, iron, and all other noxious matters on wounds, by a mixture of the juice of different plants, which is also the diet of the patient, till the wound is cured; and he who probes it, swallows some of it before he proceeds to suck the wound, when there is a necessity for this method; but this is seldom done, the most common way being to inject the juice into the wound with a syringe. They are allowed, however, to have excellent remedies, and very valuable secrets, for the cure of certain distempers, and particularly for the palsy, dropsy, and venereal disease.

In some countries, as soon as the sick person is given over, the way is to dispatch him, that he may not languish. In the canton of *Onnontagué* they bury children unweaned with their mothers, from a persuasion, that no other women could bring them up. And some nations, when their sick are in a desperate state, are said to leave them to die of hunger and thirst. Others, we are told, shut the eyes and mouth of the dying person, that they may not see the distortions of their features in their last agonies.

When the sick person finds himself going the way of all flesh, he assumes a stoical heroism, and beholds himself on the point of separation from those who are dearest to him without the least emotion. As soon as the sentence of death is pronounced by the mouth of the quack, he makes an effort to harangue the by-standers; and, if he happens to be the head of a family, he makes a sort of funeral sermon on himself before-hand, which he closes with his best counsel to his children; then, after taking leave of all the people, he orders a feast to be given, in which all the provisions in the house are to be served up, when he receives the presents of his family. In the mean time, they cut the throats of all the dogs they can find, that their souls may carry the news to the nether world, that such an one is just upon setting out for those regions, all the carcases being thrown into the chaldron, to increase the repast. The feast being ended, the tears begin to flow, which are afterwards interrupted to bid the last farewell to the sick man, to wish him a happy voyage, to comfort him for the loss of his friends and relations, and, lastly, to assure him that his children will support the glory of his great actions.

The cool blood with which they face the king of terrors is perfectly admirable, no *Indian* having ever been alarmed to hear that he had only a few hours to live. Nothing is to be seen but dancing, singing, invocations of the genii, feasts which are prescribed by the physicians, and remedies, according to our way of thinking in *Europe*, more likely to finish than cure a sick person, who, if he happens to recover, ascribes all the honour to the spirits.

Their generosity and affection towards the dead are no less wonderful. Here you will see mothers preserve the bodies of their children for whole years, without being able to stir from them, and others drawing the milk from their breasts, and shedding it upon the tombs of their infants. In case of a fire in any village, where there are dead bodies, they are always the first object of their care. They even strip themselves of their richest garments to cloathe the dead, uncovering their tombs, from time to time, to renew their cloathes, and depriving themselves of their necessary food, to lay it on their sepulchres, and in places where they imagine their souls are to haunt. In short, the expence they are at for their dead far exceeds what is bestowed on the living.

The sick man has no sooner yielded up the ghost, than nothing is to be heard but wailings, which last as long as their family are in a condition to uphold the expence of it, for they are obliged to keep open table all the time. The corps of the deceased is exposed at the door of the cabin, attired in his richest robe, his visage painted, his arms and all his equipage by his side, and in the posture he is to be in when laid in the tomb, which is, according to some, the same with that of a child in the womb. There are women hired, whose business it is to lament the deceased, who are said to be very expert in their profession, singing, weeping, and dancing continually, but so as not to lessen the sorrow of the relations, which is real and unfeigned. After the interment, which is in a sort of cell, hung with furs instead of tapestry, and

much neater than any cabin, they erect a pillar, or pile, on the tomb, on which is hung every thing they conceive capable of doing honour to the deceased. Sometimes too they affix his portrait, with a sort of basso relievo, informing the passer who lies interred there, with the particulars of his life most to his advantage. Thither they bring fresh fresh provision every morning, and if any animal eat of it, they believe it to be the soul of the dead, who appears in that shape. The interment is followed by making presents to the family, in the name of the village, and sometimes of the whole nation; even the allies send their quota when the deceased happens to be of distinguished rank. But before this the family give a repast in the name of the deceased, accompanied with games, and prizes for such as distinguish themselves in them. These games are a kind of juffs, or tournaments, races, and shooting at a mark, the whole ending with songs and cries of victory.

Mourning of the family.

The family of the deceased bear no part in the diversions, and are obliged henceforth to observe a sort of mourning, which is very severe. It consists in cutting off their hair, blacking their faces, and keeping themselves standing, with their heads wrapt in a covering. At the same time, they are to look at no person, make no visits, eat nothing hot, abstain from all manner of pleasures, wear no cloaths, and never to warm themselves by the fire, even in the midst of winter. After this mourning, which lasts for two years, there is a second, less irksome, which lasts two or three years more, and is also capable of a little relaxation. But no abatement is to be made without the consent of the cabin to which the widow or widower belongs, and such indulgences are never obtained without the charge of a feast.

Singular notion of the Indians.

The *Indians* have a very singular notion, that such persons as die a violent death, though in the service of their country, have no communication with the rest in the other world, for which cause, they burn or bury them the moment they expire, and sometimes even before, never laying their bodies with those of their other dead, nor allowing them any share in their great ceremony, which is renewed every eighth year amongst some nations, and every tenth amongst the *Hurons* and *Iroquois*.

Feast of the dead.

This is called the feast of the dead, or of souls, and is by far the most celebrated and solemn act of religion known amongst those nations. The first thing is to fix the place of assembly, and then to choose the king of the feast, who is to preside in it, and to invite the neighbouring villages. The day appointed being come, they meet together, and march in procession, two and two, to the burying-place, where, after digging up the dead bodies, they remain some time in dumb contemplation. The women are at first to break in upon this religious silence, raising most lamentable cries, which augments the horror of the spectacle. This first act over, they take the carcasses and gathering together the scattered and loose bones, lay them on the shoulders of those appointed to carry them, taking care to wash and cut off the rotten parts and other impurities, from such bodies as are not intirely putrified, wrapping the other remains in new robes of beaver. They return to the village in the same order they came out, where every one deposits his load in his own cabin. During the march, the women continue their wailings, the men discovering the same marks of sadness, as on the day of the death of the person, whose remains they are carrying. This is followed by a feast in every cabin, in honour of their dead. The next day is allotted for public feasting, accompanied as on the day of interment, with dancing, games, and combats, for which there are also prizes proposed. From time to time, they utter certain cries, called the Cries of Souls, giving and receiving presents of the strangers present, some of whom come from a great distance. On these occasions they treat also of other affairs, and sometimes elect their chiefs at these meetings. All this is performed with remarkable decency, order, and modesty, every one appearing filled with sentiments proper for the occasion, the very songs and dances inspiring a certain sadness, and the whole spectacle being capable of filling the most insensible hearts with sorrow.

The last funeral procession and interment.

Some days after they repair in procession to the great council-room prepared on purpose, where they hang up the bones and carcasses against the walls, in the same order as when taken from the burying place, and where they expose to public view the presents destined for the dead. And if, amongst all those sad remains, there happen to be those of a chief, his successor gives a great repast in his name, and sings his song. In several places the carcasses are carried from canton to canton, and every where received with great demonstrations of the most lively sorrow, always accompanied with presents.

resents. At last they carry the relics of mortality to the place where they are to remain for ever. All these processions move along to the sound of instruments, accompanied with the finest voices, the attendants all observing just time and measure in every step. This last and general burying-place is a large vault, lined with the finest furs, and every other valuable thing. The presents for the dead are placed apart, and the families in the same order as the procession arrives take their places on a sort of scaffolding erected round the vault; the moment the corps are deposited the women set up a fresh wailing and weeping; then all the attendants descend into the vault, and every one takes a small quantity of its earth, which is preserved with great care, as supposed to have a virtue of procuring good luck at play. The bodies and bones being laid in order, covered with new furs, overspread with the bark of trees, on which are laid, stones, wood, and lastly earth, every one returns to his own home, only the women continue for some time to visit this mausoleum of the nation, watering it with their tears.

There is no difference in the dress of the *Indian* nations, in the hot season, their sole garment, at such times, being generally a sort of frock, or banyan. In the winter they wear more or fewer clothes in proportion to the climate. They wear on the feet a kind of socks, made of doe-skin dried in the smoke; for stockings they wear also skins, or pieces of stuff, wrapt round their legs. A waistcoat of skin covers their bodies down to their middle, and above that they wear a sort of cloak when they can afford it, if not, they make themselves a robe of bear-skins, or of several skins of beavers or otters, or such like furs, with the hairy side inwards. The tunics, or vests, of the women reach below the knees, and in cold weather, or when they are on a voyage or journey, they wrap their heads in their mantle or robe. Some wear small bonnets, and others a capuchin joined to their vests. They have also a piece of stuff or skin, which serves them instead of boddice, and covers them from the waist down to the mid-leg. They are vastly fond of white shirts, which they wear over their vests till they are foul, and then only next their skin, where it remains till it falls off with rottenness. Their tunics of skin are generally prepared in the smoke like their socks, which is done by first suffering them to be thoroughly seasoned with the smoke, and afterwards rubbing them, when they wash like linen. They are also dressed by steeping them in water, and then rubbing them till they grow dry and supple; they are, however, much sonder of our shirts.

Many of them, as the *Pills* did formerly, paint, or prick their bodies all over, others in some parts only. This practice is not only for ornaments sake, but is also a very good defence against the cold, and the biting of the gnats. In *Canada*, however, those who live near the *British* settlement, instead of painting their bodies all over, are content with making the figures of certain birds, or serpents, or other animals, and sometimes of leaves, and such like, without any order or proportion, sometimes on the face, and sometimes on the eye-lids only, each according to his particular fancy; and many women paint their cheeks over the jaws, as a preservative from the tooth-ach.

This operation, which is not very painful, is performed in this manner. They begin by tracing the contour of the figure they intend on the skin, stretching it well at the same time; then with the bones of the fins of fishes, or with needles, they prick it in lines till the blood comes; and, lastly, they rub it with charcoal and other colours pounded very fine. These powders insinuate themselves into the skin, and can never be extracted. The skin afterwards swells, becomes inflamed with an itching, and if a fever happens, which is common enough in hot weather, when the operation is carried too far, they are sometimes in great danger of their lives.

The colours with which they paint their faces are said to produce the same advantages in respect to the cold, and are no less ornamental than the juncture. This operation is performed by the warriors on setting out for the campaign, to strike terror into the enemy; and by the youth, to give themselves the same air with the veterans, as well as to heighten the charms of their faces; in which last case the colours are more vivid, and in greater variety. The prisoners who are to die are also punished in this manner, probably, like the antients, to adorn those victims of the god of war. Lastly, they paint the dead, in order to do honour to them, when they expose them clothed in their best robes.

Colours and
ornamental
drefs.

The colours used on those occasions, are the same they employ in dressing their skins, being either extracted from the bark of certain trees, or from earths of various sorts, which if not lively are at least extremely durable. The men add to these ornaments down of swans or other birds, with which they powder their hair after it has been anointed with fat. To these they add feathers of various colours, and tufts of the hair of different animals, all arranged in a very fantastical manner. The disposition of the hair, sometimes bristling on one side, and smooth and flattened on the other, and frizzled in twenty different manners equally extravagant; pendants in their ears, and sometimes in their nostrils; a great shell of porcelain, or, as they call it, wampum, at their neck or breast; crowns of rare and curious feathers, with the claws, talons, feet, beaks, and heads, of birds of prey; with the antlers of stags, are so many parts of the *Indian* dress, and the furniture of their wardrobes, the most precious and magnificent part of which is employed in adorning the unhappy captives when led to execution, or on their first entering the village of the conquerors. It is observable that the dress of the men is for the most part confined to their heads.

Ornamental
drefs of wo-
men.

It is quite the reverse with that of the women, who bestow on their heads hardly any ornament at all, being extremely jealous of the beauty of their hair, and deeming it an intolerable disgrace to have it clipped. Thus on the death of a relation, the greatest mark of sorrow they can shew, is to cut off part of their hair in token of honour to the deceased. To preserve its charms, they frequently anoint it with fat, and powder it with the bark of the spruce-fir pulverised, and sometimes with vermilion, wrapping it afterwards in an elk's or serpent's skin, and forming it into tresses, which hang down to their middle. The ornaments of the face consist in drawing some lines on them with vermilion or some other colour. They never pierce their nostrils, and it is only customary with certain nations to pierce their ears. When this is the case, they insert into them or hang beads of wampum at them, like the men. When they have a mind to be very fine, they dress themselves in robes with all sorts of figures painted on them, with small collars or belts of wampum fastened to them, at random, without order or symmetry, and a kind of border worked tolerably neat with hair of porcupines, which they also paint with different colours. They adorn in the same manner their childrens cradles, which they load with all manner of gew-gaws.

Indian hus-
bandry the
employment
of the wo-
men.

Besides the care of the household affairs, and the providing wood for fuel, the husbandry falls almost entirely to the share of the women. As soon as the snows are melted, and the waters sufficiently drained off the lands, they begin to prepare the ground, by burning since the stubble of the maiz, or *Turky* corn, and other herbage, which has remained since the last crop, and then till it with a crooked piece of wood which has a very long handle. Besides the nature of the corn that the *Indians* cultivate, which is all summer corn, the particular nature of the soil will not permit their sowing any thing before winter; though the true reason seems to be that their corn will never sprout if sown in autumn, because the winter would kill it, or it would rot on the melting of the snows. And it is also conjectured that the wheat of *Canada*, though brought originally from *Old France*, may have acquired the same quality of summer corn, which has not strength like that of *Europe*, to sprout several times when sown in the months of *September* and *October*.

Beans, pease,
pumpions,
&c.

Beans, or what the *French* call *favetoles*, [a small round bean] is a favourite article in the *Indian* husbandry, the stem of which serves to support them, and is exactly the same with those of *France*. They make no use of pease, though they thrive much better in *Canada* than in *Europe*. *Tourn-sols*, or sun-flowers, water-melons, and pumpions, are planted apart, and, before transplanting, are nursed for some time in a kind of hotbed, made of a light and black mould.

Culture of
maiz.

In the Northern quarter, they sow but little, and in some parts none at all, and what maiz they use, they get by bartering for it with other commodities. This kind of pulse is very wholesome, light, and nourishing, though some are of opinion, that the liquor in which it is boiled, at least what the *French* use, gives it a corrosive quality, the effects of which are found in time. When the maiz is in the ear and green, some roast it on the grid-iron, when it is very pleasant to the palate; the *Canadians* call it *Bled Grault* [husky corn]. There is a particular kind of it which opens as soon, laid on the fire, called *Bled fleur* [blown corn] and is very delicious. This is presented to persons of distinction on their arrival in any village, with much

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the same intention and formalities as when they present them with the freedom of a town in *Europe*.

Of this vegetable is made what they call *sagamité*, the favourite food of the *Indians of Canada*. This is prepared by first roasting the maiz, then beating it and peeling off the hulks, after which it is boiled, and makes a tasteless kind of broth, when there is no meat boiled with it, or some plums to give it a relish. It is sometimes made into flower, called *farine froide* [tasteless meal] in these parts, and is the best and most commodious provision for those who undertake long journeys or voyages; those who travel on foot carry no other. Maiz is also boiled in the hulk when it is yet green and tender, then, after roasting it a little, they peel off the hulks and dry it in the sun; thus prepared it will keep a long time, and the *sagamité* made of it has an excellent relish.

The *Indian* women make a kind of bread of maiz, which though it be nothing but a lump of ill-kneaded and unleavened dough, and roasted under the embers, yet is reckoned a delicacy amongst these people, and as such is presented to their friends; but it is to be eaten hot, and will not keep cold. Sometimes they mix with it beans, different sorts of fruit, oil, and, what they love most of any thing, fat.

The *tourn-fols*, or sun-flowers, serve only to produce an oil with which the *Indians* rub themselves. This oil is oftner extracted from the seed, than from the roots of this plant, which are somewhat different from our *Jerusalem artichokes*.

The constant use which all the *Indians of Canada* make of a sort of tobacco, that grows naturally all over the country, has given rise to a belief that these people swallowed the smoke of it, and lived upon it; a mistake owing to their long fastings. They prefer, however, the tobacco which the *French* and *English* cultivate to their own, and *Canada*, by a proper choice of soil, is capable, as I am informed, of producing it in great perfection.

From what has been said of the food of the *Indians*, it is easy to guess they are far from being delicate in this particular. Fat, or grease, is their chief delicacy, and the principal ragout in all their feasts, when they can get it. And some pounds of candles, in a chaldron of *sagamité* are, in their opinion, a vast improvement of the charms of this dish.

The utensils of the kitchen among the Southern nations were only of earthen ware; in the Northern parts they make use of wooden kettles, which they caused to boil by putting red-hot stones in the water. Both however now use iron pots, which is one of the best articles you can bring to trade with them.

Amongst the Western nations wild oats supply the place of maiz, and are equally wholesome, and, if less nourishing, the buffalo hunting, which is plentiful in these parts, more than compensates that defect.

Amongst the wandering *Indians*, who cultivate no land, under a scarcity of fish and game, their whole resource is a sort of moss which grows on certain rocks, extremely insipid, and far from being nourishing, but just sufficient to keep them alive.

What is more strange, we are assured by persons worthy of credit, that the *Indians* are peculiarly fond of maiz laid to rot like hemp in standing water, where it becomes black and stinking; and that they will not so much as lose one drop of the water, or slime, which drops from it, though the very smell of it be sufficient to turn an ordinary stomach.

The lesser employments of the *Indian* women, which commonly take up their attention within doors, are making a sort of thread of the inner membranes of the bark of a tree called white wood, which is dressed much like hemp with us. The women also dye their stuffs and other things, and make several other works of the bark of trees, as well as several pieces of embroidery with the hair of the porcupine, besides cups and other utensils in wood; they also paint and embroider their deer-skins, and work belts and garters of the wool of buffaloes.

The men, on the contrary, seem to glory in their idleness, passing more than half their time without any employment whatsoever, from a persuasion that constant labour degrades a man, and is properly the province of the women. It is His business, say they, to fish, hunt, and go to war. It belongs to them also to prepare all the necessary utensils for those exercises; such as arms, nets, all the hunting-quipage, together with their fishing-tackle, their canoes with their furniture, snow-shoes,

shoes, and the building and repairing of the cabins. They are often indeed assisted by the women, who in like manner, tho' in their country affairs they commonly help one another, yet in reaping time, have sometimes recourse to the men, who never scruple lending a hand.

*Indian harvest
and barns.*

The harvest ends with a festival and a repast, which lasts a whole night, the corn and other fruits being laid up in their proper repositories, which are holes dug in the earth, and lined with large pieces of the bark of trees. Many of them make the same place a barn for the maize in the ear, which they make into bunches like onions with us, and sometimes spread them on long poles over the entry of cabins; others chuse to thresh out the grain, and lay it up in large baskets made of bark, bored on every side, to preserve it from heating. But when they are afraid of an irruption of the enemy, or determined to be long absent from home, they secrete it under ground, in large quantities, where it keeps perfectly well. The Christian *Indians* are indeed a little more industrious, but one may easily discover by the air of penitence, which appears in their faces, that they work against the grain, and from a force put upon nature.

Indian carpentry.

The *Indians* were formerly at a loss in the felling of their timber, which they did generally by setting fire to the roots of trees; and to cleave or cut it, they made use of hatchets made of flints, which were not easily broke, though it cost them a great deal of time to grind them down to an edge. To make a handle to them, they cleft the head of some sapling, as if to graft upon it, and inserted into the fissure the head of the hatchet: Hence when the tree came to grow about the head, it was so firmly fixed, as to be perfectly immoveable. Then they had no more to do but to cut the tree to the length required, and the instrument was quite finished, and ready to be used out of hand.

Indian architecture.

The *Indian* villages were formerly of a round figure; at present they are no more than a confused number of huts of bark, supported by posts, and varying much in their form, and, in short, built with much less art, neatness, and solidity, than the cabins of the beavers. The *Indian* cabins or houses are from fifteen to twenty feet broad, and sometimes an hundred long, in which case they have several fires, thirty feet being the space allotted for each fire. When the floor is incapable of containing all the inhabitants, the young folks lie upon a sort of bulk or stall, carried quite round the cabin, about five foot from the ground; and over this bulk are the moveables and provisions, laid upon boards placed across next the roof. Before the cabin is commonly a kind of porch, or lobby, where the young people sleep in the summer, and which serves also for a woodhouse in the winter. The doors are pieces of bark, hung like window curtains, and never shut close. These palaces have neither chimney, nor windows, but only an opening in the middle of the roof, by which part of the smoke gets vent. This hole however they are obliged to shut, when it either rains or snows, and then, too, they are forced to put out the fire, or be choaked with the smoke.

Fortification.

The *Indians* understand military better than civil architecture, their villages being enclosed with a good palisade and redoubts, where they always take care to lay up good store of water and stones. This palisade is sometimes double, and even triple, the last row of piles being commonly adorned with battlements. These piles are interwoven with branches of trees, which leave no void spaces. Before the use of fire-arms, these forts were capable of holding out a long time. In every village there is a place of arms, though generally in bad order. The *Iroquois* formerly excelled the other *Indians* in the architecture of their cabins, as well as in what they build themselves at present. There were figures of relievio, though of a rude manner, to be seen in some of their cabins. But as all their cantons have been for the most part reduced to ashes in several campaigns, they have never since thought of restoring them.

Hardships of the Indians in a hunting voyage.

If the *Indians* are little solicitous about the conveniences of life in the ordinary places of their abode, they are still more unconcerned with respect to their winter quarters. Their own country is rough and wild enough, but that where they go to hunt is much more uneven and dismal. The journey thither costs them a long time, during which they are obliged to carry all necessaries for five or six months, through ways so rugged, that one would wonder how the wild beasts could make their passage over them. The bark of trees, with which they are under an indispensable

Indispensable necessity to provide themselves, is all their shelter from the rain and snow. They shift better when they have reached their journey's end, that is, they are not for ever exposed to all the severity of the weather.

Every one is obliged to lend a hand to build the cabins, the missionaries themselves not being allowed a separate one, but forced to take up their quarters in the first where they are made welcome. These cabins, or huts, are mostly of a round form, and terminate in a cone; and poles fixed in the snow is all their support. These are tied together at the extremities, and thatched with bark of trees very ill joined, and as badly fastened, so that the keen wind penetrates on all sides. In little more than half an hour the edifice is finished, branches of pine-trees supplying the place of carpets and beds. They have this advantage, however, that you may change them every day. The whole is surrounded by a wall of snow, which helps to keep out the wind, and affords a shelter, under which they sleep as sound as on the softest of down.

Construction of an Indian cabin.

The smoke is a sad mortification to such as are not accustomed to this sort of life, where you cannot stand upright without having your head wrapt in a cloud of it, though the *Indians* are not in the least affected with it. Thus one side freezes, whilst the other is broiling, and there is no breathing, nor often seeing any thing above three feet from the ground; and if you have a mind to breathe a little fresh air, you must stand without, exposed to a continual snow, and to a dry and piercing wind, which peels the skin off the face, and causes the trees in the forests to crack. To all these persecutions, that of the dogs is no small addition. These are always in great numbers to supply such as are killed by the wild beasts, but lean and ill-fed, and thin of hair, which renders them very chilly, so that they are always about the fire, which is little enough for themselves. And when they cannot get near that, they will lye upon the first person that comes in their way, and it is not an unusual thing to awake almost choaked with three or four great dogs lying upon you, and in the day time it is still worse, for they are ready to snatch the morsel from your mouth, and ten or a dozen great curs are leaping over and trampling upon you continually.

A annoyances of smoke and dogs.

This is but a small part of the miseries which attend this way of life, for there is a worse too, and more insupportable than all the rest, which is hunger; it is no uncommon thing to be in want of provisions, at a time when no game is to be found. The *Indians* are accustomed to long fasting, and proportionably negligent in making proper provisions for these rude campaigns. The missionary who gives the account of it was reduced to the necessity of eating the skin of eels and elks, with which his vest was lined, and when they were spent, to feed on the shoots and the softest parts of the bark of trees, and what is surprising enough not only survived those hardships, but kept his health well all the time.

Hunger the worst of evils;

The *Indians* are very nasty in their cabins, and never change nor clean the furniture of their beds till worn to tatters. In the summer they bathe every day, but at the same time take care always to anoint themselves with oil or fat of a very bad flavour. In the winter they remain wrapped in their coat of grease, so that nothing can be more nauseous and abominable than the smell of their huts.

Indians fond in attire

They are so slovenly in eating, and the sight of their meals is so shocking, that one would wonder at the difference between their palates and ours. They have, however, improved in this article since the arrival of the *French*, especially those who live in the colony. The gnats are so troublesome and vexatious in the summer, that the inconveniencies of the smoke are the lesser evil, and they are often obliged to raise it to get free from the stings of the gnats.

Course palates.

The care which mothers take of their children whilst yet in the cradle is beyond expression. They never leave them, but carry them every where with them, and when they are ready to sink under the weight of their burdens, the additional load of the child not only goes for nothing, but is considered as a kind of relief and comfort in their fatigues.

Tenderness of Mothers.

Nothing can be more neat than those cradles, which are both soft and commodious. The child is swathed only from the middle downwards, whence the head and body bend forwards; which, contrary to what one might naturally imagine, renders their bodies both active and well shaped.

Children after quitting their parents are under no sort of confinement, but left to crawl on hands and feet, through woods, waters, mire, and snow, thus rendering their bodies proof against all injuries of air and weather. The disorders incident to the breast and stomach are thought however to proceed from this over-harsh way of education. In the summer they are constantly swimming or paddling in the water. They are early taught the use of the bow and arrow, whence they become excellent marksmen. Wrestling is also a favourite exercise amongst them.

Indian education.

The first and almost sole object of an *Indian's* education is to infuse into the mind a principle of honour, which lasts as long as life, and is cultivated by the parents with the greatest care. This is effected always in an indirect manner, such as relating the noble exploits of their countrymen or ancestors. The youths take fire at the recital, and sigh for some occasion to imitate them. To correct their faults they employ tears and entreaties, and never menaces, which have no effect on the minds of *Indians*, it being a maxim with them, that none has a right to use the least coercive means towards them, and chastisements are never practised, but by such as have become converts to Christianity. The tears and reproaches of a mother, by saying, for instance, to her daughter, *Thou art a disgrace to me*, are more prevalent than any punishment, the highest degree of which is throwing water in the face of the child, which is looked upon as an heinous offence. Slight as these chastisements seem to us, yet so great is their power over such minds, that a daughter has been known to strangle herself out of stomach and resentment for a few drops of water cast in her face by her mother, taking her final leave with these threatening words, *You shall soon be rid of your daughter*. From such an education we should be apt to promise but little good; but experience, the best mistress, shews us its salutary effects. The *Indians* by this means become early composed and masters of themselves, reason being generally their guide, and they are by no means propense to any kind of lewdness or debauchery.

Indians of a robust habit of body.

The *Indians of Canada* are generally well made, and tall of stature, and a deformed person is rarely to be seen amongst them. They are also of a robust, vigorous, and healthy habit of body, and naturally very long lived, though their forced marches, and long fastings, ruin many naturally excellent constitutions; and the use of brandy, which they drink always with a view to intoxicate themselves, has contributed not a little to unpeople this country, the inhabitants of which are now reduced to less than one twentieth part of what they were one hundred and fifty years ago.

Early inured to hardships.

Their bodies are not swathed and straitened in the cradle like ours; and nothing is more proper to give them that wonderful agility in all their members than this liberty, and the exercises to which they are accustomed from their earliest infancy. Their mothers suckle them sometimes seven years, though they neglect not giving them other food from the first year. They are almost continually exposed to the open air, and made to undergo the greatest fatigues, but gradually, and in proportion to their strength. Their food is simple and natural, which, with the rest, contributes to render their body robust, and capable of enduring incredible hardships, though many of them die under this management before they arrive at their full growth.

Excel Europeans in acuteness of senses and faculties.

Amongst the advantages they have over us, the first and chief is the acuteness and perfection of all their senses and faculties of mind and body. Their sight, amidst the snow which dazzles them, and in spite of the smoke which blinds them for six months of the year, is sharp and strong. Their hearing is extremely quick, and their smell so delicate, that they perceive fire long before they are capable of seeing it. Hence they cannot endure the smell of musk, nor of any other perfume, and some among them pretend that every smell disgusts them except that of eatables.

Their innate quality of remembering places.

Their imagination is amazing, and if they have once seen a place, they retain the idea of it in perpetual remembrance. They traverse the vastest and most unfrequented forests without ever missing their way. And the inhabitants of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, have made voyages of above forty leagues in the open sea, without chart or compass, in canoes of bark, to find out the *Iskimanx* with whom they were at war. The most exact quadrant is not capable of shewing the sun's height with greater exactness than they will with their naked eye; and no stratagem could ever make them lose their way in any part of the continent. They are born with this quality, which is common even to the very children, who

travel

travel with the same fire as the most adult, so that this property may be justly said to be innate in them.

The beauty of their imagination is equal to its liveliness, which appears in all their discourses. They are quick at repartees, and all their harangues are full of shining passages, which would have been applauded at *Rome* or *Athens*. Their eloquence has a strength and neatness, and a virtue of moving the passions, which flows from nature, and not from rules of art, and which the *Greeks* so much admired in the *Barbarians*. Their lively imagination and eloquence

Their memory is no less wonderful; their way of relating things is neat, concise, and, amidst the number of allegories, and other figures which they use, extremely animated, and embellished with all the beauties of which their languages are susceptible.

Their judgment is just and solid, tending always towards the chief point under deliberation, without deviating from the proper object, and free from hesitation or fickleness in determining. As they hold all manner of labour in contempt, except what is absolutely necessary to their subsistence, and simple way of life, it is no wonder they are backward in learning the arts. And even as to spiritual knowledge, which has little or no connection in their opinion with their present state, they give themselves not the least trouble. As to what absolutely concerns them, there is no nation more sharply sighted; at such a juncture they neither neglect nor precipitate any measure, and if they are slow in resolving, they discover no less quickness in the execution; a quality, which is remarkable amongst the *Hurons* and *Iroquis* beyond others. Their judgment and dispatch in matters of interest

They have generally a greatness of soul, and an elevation of sentiment, together with a constancy of mind, which we, with all our religion and philosophy, hardly ever attain, and, in the most sudden strokes, they are always so much masters of themselves, that you cannot discover the least change in their countenance. Magnanimity

Their constancy in torments is beyond all expression. A young woman shall be a whole day in the pains of child-birth without so much as a single shriek; and the least weakness would cause her to be thought unworthy of the name of mother, and capable only of bringing cowards and poltroons into the world. Nothing is more common than to see persons of all ages and sexes endure, not only for hours, but also for several days together, all the tortures which fire or their tormentors are capable of inflicting without a groan; and their only thought during their sufferings is, how they may exasperate their executioners, by the most galling reproaches. Constancy under sufferings

With so much firmness of soul, and sentiments so noble, it is no wonder to find them calm and unmoved in the greatest dangers, and endowed with a courage proof against every trial. In the wars, however, they expose themselves as little as possible, as they place their chief glory in never buying a victory too dear; and it is a maxim with them to weaken themselves as little as possible, since their nations are far from being numerous. But when there is any necessity to give battle, they fight like lions, and the sight of their blood serves only to increase their ardor in the combat. And, in short, all who have seen them engage make high encomiums of their behaviour. Fortitude

But, what is abundantly surprising, under an outside which promises none but the most barbarous manners, they treat one another with a civility and a respect unknown to the most civilized nations. Such a carriage proceeds from their want of property, where the words *meum* and *tuum* have not extinguished sentiments of charity, and benevolence, and humanity in their breasts. The easy and unaffected gravity which appears in every action, and in their whole behaviour, even in their diversions, the respect they show to their equals, and reverence towards old age, are equally admirable. The maxim, that every man is independant of any other, makes them cautious not to injure any person. Friendship, compassion, gratitude, their care of orphans, widows, and sick persons, and that most admirable hospitality they exercise towards one another, are not so much, in them, the effects of instinct or sentiment, as of a persuasion that amongst men all things ought to be in common. Gravity, civility, respect, humanity

In a people destitute of all manner of cultivation, it is no wonder if we find some blemishes, where we must acknowledge so many things truly worthy of commendation. Amongst their vices, drunkenness may be said to hold the first rank. They never drink but with design to get drunk, and then they are transported with fury, and carried to such excesses as are frightful to behold. The *Baropians*, however, are the cause of this evil, which has almost depopulated this continent. Such vices

Lascivious-
ness.

In the Southern countries of *Canada*, men and women promiscuously are given to the most shameful lewdness, and the contagion has even spread itself amongst the *Indians* of the Northern parts. The *Iroquois*, in particular, once a sober people, and far from incontinence of that kind, have since caught the infection by their commerce with the *Illinois* and other nations bordering on *Louisiana*, amongst whom, it is said, their lasciviousness flows from a principle of religion. It is indeed no wonder that their country should be thinly peopled; for, besides this reason, though the women are healthy and robust, they are, however, far from being fruitful. If we consider also their custom of long suckling, of abstaining from the company of their husbands during that time, the hard labour to which they are subjected, let their condition be what it will, the custom of prostituting the young women before marriage, which prevails in several parts, and the extreme distress to which they are often reduced, which makes them far from desiring children; all these causes, in conjunction with the ravages made by the small pox, and other diseases imported amongst them by the *Europeans*, contribute to depopulate the country.

Pride, diffi-
mulation, re-
venge, disre-
spect to pa-
rents.

Pride and haughtiness is another vice natural to those people, and almost inseparable from them. Those nations which we look upon as so very contemptible, have yet a sovereign contempt of all others. The *Hurons*, before they were humbled by the *Iroquois*, who succeeded to their pride, as it were by right of conquest, were the haughtiest of mortals. And they still retain their pride, which was always their predominant vice, with a certain mixture of brutishness. They are also extremely suspicious and mistrustful of the *Europeans*; a fault which may admit of some alleviation, considering the treatment they often undergo from them. They are great masters of the art of dissimulation, and cherish a thirst of revenge, which, like an inheritance, they receive of their fathers, and transmit from generation to generation to their latest posterity, or at least till an occasion offer to satiate it. The disrespect too of children to their parents is what justly shocks all mankind.

Colour and
want of hair
of *Americans*,
how caused.

The colour of the Savages is a tawny red, or copper colour, especially that of the nations inhabiting the Southern parts of *North America*. But this complexion is not natural to them, but acquired by frequent rubbing with unsightly colours, and their continual abode in the smoke, or exposing themselves to the hottest rays of the sun. It is not so easy to assign the cause why they have no hair, except on their heads and eye-brows, which is always jet-black, a distinguishing mark of all the *Americans*. Some of them pluck out the hair of their eye-brows. What makes this singularity the more remarkable, is, that their children are born with long thin hair all over their bodies, which falls off at the end of eight days. There is also a down on the chins of the old men, such as that of some women with us after arriving at a certain age. Some ascribe this property to the purity of their blood, others will have it produced by their constant custom of smoking tobacco. Whatever be the cause, the want of hair is esteemed by all these nations a principal beauty, so that as soon as any appears they pluck it out by the roots, and they could not help looking on the first *Europeans* they saw as monsters, and with a kind of horror, because of their beards, which it was then the fashion to wear long. The white complexion of the *Europeans* is equally disagreeable in their eyes, and it is reported that the flesh of the *French* and *English* had a disagreeable relish, because, it seems, it had a saltish taste.

Indians why
happiest of
mortals.

If the lives which the *Indians* lead appear at first sight to be somewhat dissonant to our manners and conceptions, we should consider that all happiness is relative, and depends more on opinion than on any thing without us. Besides custom, which is a second nature, the liberty which they enjoy is more than sufficient to compensate for all the inconveniences they seem to us to suffer. The condition of strolling beggars, as well as that of most indolent people, who prefer this darling of mankind to all the conveniences of life in exchange, proves, beyond all question, that men may be happy in the very arms of indigence. The *Indians* are the happiest of all mortals, and that for these two reasons: First, because they believe themselves to be so; and, secondly, because they are in full and peaceable possession of the most valuable thing in nature, which is liberty. To these we may add a third, which is, that they neither know, nor desire to know, those false enjoyments which we purchase with so much pains, and with the loss of that which is solid and real. And their most admirable quality is that truly philosophical way of thinking, which makes them condemn all

the

the parade of our wealth and magnificence, so that some of the *Iroquois*, after they had been shewn all the splendor of the royal palaces in *France*, preferred their forests and cottages to all they had seen; admiring nothing in *Paris* so much as the plenty of all sorts of victuals they saw in the shops of the cooks in the street *de la buchette*. Hence not ignorance, or want of experience, as trial and observation induced them to treat our manners and way of living with the utmost contempt.

There is, perhaps, no subject more curious, or what has more employed the researches of the learned, than the origin of the nations inhabiting the different parts of the New World. And here, as in all subjects of this nature, the great difficulty is to reconcile the various conjectures on this point with the account of things in the sacred writings. Without entering into that controversy, concerning which many books have been written, some deriving the *Indians of America* from the ancient *Celts*, others from the *Chinese*, and some from the *Israelites*, and, lastly, some from *Scandinavia*, an abridgement of which would fill a moderate volume, I will content myself with giving what, in my humble opinion, is the most probable conjecture concerning the origin of the *Indians* in that part of *America* I have been just now describing, which is, that of our countryman *Brewerwood*, who derives their pedigree from *Tartary*, and especially, if it be true, that the continent of *America* is separated from that of the *Asiatic Tartary* only by narrow inlets of the sea. The proofs with which this learned gentleman supports his hypothesis, are such as flow from a fund of sagacity, and solid good sense. The first is, that this continent has always been better peopled on the side towards *Asia*, than on that towards *Europe*. In the second place, the genius and manners of the *Americans*, in these parts, have a great and striking resemblance with those of the *Tartars*, and all of them have the same contempt for mechanic arts. Thirdly, their colour and complexion are almost the same, and what little difference there may be, proceeds from that of the climates, and from the custom of the *Americans* in rubbing themselves with different ointments. In the fourth and last place, the wild beasts found in *America* could only have come from *Tartary*, as it is impossible that these animals should traverse the ocean in their way to the new world, and *Tartary* is the only country from whence they could come without this traverse. The difference in that the *Tartars* circumscribe themselves is no material objection, those people having never known the use of this rite, till they had embraced the doctrine of *Mahomet*. Every one is free to think as he pleases, but, for my part, if we must derive them from somewhere, instead of what is perhaps the best conjecture of all, which is, that they are *Aborigines*, I cannot see what can reasonably be opposed to circumstances so full of conviction.

Origin of A
mericans

America peo-
pled from
Tartary.

History of the Discovery and Settlement of CANADA.

THOUGH the *English* claim a right to all *North America*, from the Discovery of it by *Cabot* in 1497, to which he gave no name but that of the *Newfoundland*, yet the *French* pretended claim of this part of the world is founded as early as the year 1504, when, as they say, the fishermen of *Bayonne*, *Normandy*, and *Bretagne*, used to fish for cod on the great bank of *Newfoundland*; and, to confirm it, that in 1506, *Jean Denys of Houffleur* made a map of the gulph known at this day under the name of *St Laurence*.

French first
discoveries.

In 1508, *Thomas Aubert*, a pilot of *Dieppe*, brought some of the *Indians of North America* to *France*. The kings of *France*, however, seem not to have turned their attention towards *America* till the year 1523, when *Francis I.* desirous to promote the trade and navigation of his kingdom, ordered *John Verazani*, who was then in his service, to sail on discovery of those countries, of which much talk began to be made at this time. *Verazani* set out, in 1522, for *North America*, with four ships, but with what success we are not told, except only that he brought back his four ships safe into port. Towards the end of the year following, he armed a ship in order to continue his discoveries. In the month of *March* he discovered the land of *Florida*, and, after coasting along shore 50 leagues to the southwards, found himself in 34 deg. North latitude; then, turning Northwards, he coasted the continent

Discoveries of
Verazani.

of *North America* as high as an island, which the *French* writers tell us had been discovered by the inhabitants of *Bretagne*, and is probably the same with *Newfoundland*. The success of his third voyage is not so well known, though the *Spanish* writers will have it that *Verazani* was taken near the *Canaries* by their countrymen, and hanged as a pirate.

Cartier's discoveries.

Ten years afterwards, *Philip Chabot*, admiral of *France*, engaged the king to resume the design of settling a colony of *French* in *America*, and presented Captain *Jacques Cartier* of *St Malo*, as a fit person to conduct that affair. The king yielded to this request, and, in *April 1534*, *Cartier* set out on his expedition. On the 10th of *May* he had sight of *Newfoundland*, where he could not land for the ice; wherefore, steering Southward ten degrees, he came to an anchor in a port which he called *St Catherine's*. Thence, ascending Northward, he made the *Isles des Oiseaux*, or *Bird Islands*. After coasting most part of *Newfoundland*, he steered his course Southwards, and after visiting great part of the coasts of the gulph, and taking possession in the name of his master, he returned into *France*, full of the advantages his country would probably reap from his discoveries. The most zealous person for the settlement of a colony in those parts, at the *French* court, was the *Sieur de la Mailleaye*. This gentleman obtained a commission for *Cartier*, who set out with three ships, accompanied by several young gentlemen as volunteers, and, on the tenth of *August*, entered the gulph, to which he gave the name of *St Lawrence*, from the Saint whose festival is celebrated on that day. This name has since been given to the river that discharges itself into it, which before that time had always been called *Canada* by the natives. He discovered the island of *Anticosti*, or *Natiscotek*, which he called the island of *Assumption*; and ascending the river 80 leagues as high as the *Saguenay*, and continuing his voyage 90 leagues higher, as far as *Hechelaga*, a large village of the *Indians*, gave it the name of *Montreal*, now called *Montreal*, as well as the whole island in which it stands. But the names which *Cartier* gave to the islands, rivers, capes, and places, in the maps he has left us, are hardly intelligible, and even the terms he mentions are no longer to be found in the languages of *Canada*.

Roberval's constituted viceroy of Canada, &c.

For some time after this *France* seemed to have no thoughts of *Canada*, till 1540, when *François de la Roque*, *Seigneur de Roberval*, at his own request, obtained a commission, and was afterwards, by letters patent, created lord of *Norimbegue*, and viceroy and king's lieutenant general in *Canada*, *Hechelaga*, *Saguenay*, *Newfoundland*, *Belle Isle*, *Carpon*, *Labrador*, the *Great Bay*, and *Bacalas*. Next year *Roberval* set sail with five ships, on board of which was *Cartier*, in quality of first pilot, and built a fort, according to some, on the river of *St Lawrence*, or, as others say, on the island of *Cape Breton*, leaving *Cartier* as his lieutenant with a numerous garrison. *Roberval* made several other voyages, in the last of which he perished with all on board, and with them all the hopes of *France* of settling this part of the new world.

De la Roche fails to settle a colony.

After fifty years of civil wars, *France* seemed to resume her former intention of settling colonies in *America*, and, in 1598, the *Marquis de la Roche*, a gentleman of *Bretagne*, obtained of *Henry IV.* the same powers and commission which *M. de Roberval* had under *Francis I.* and *Henry III.* The first land he arrived at, was *Isle de Sable*, or *Sandy Isle*, a barren and inhospitable island, where, if we may believe the *French* accounts, the *Baron de Lery* had endeavoured to settle a colony as early as the year 1508. Afterwards *M. de la Roche* visited the coast of *Acadia* on the neighbouring continent; and, after making what observations he judged necessary for his design, he set sail for *France*. The great expence he was at to make it succeed proving fruitless, he is said to have died of grief.

Company formed, and discovered by Peter du Gas, &c.

The ill success of the marquis hindered not an eager solicitation for his commission. *M. de Chauvin*, and *M. de Chatte*, succeeding each other in this service about 1600, 1602, and 1603. About this time a gentleman of *Saintonge*, a grave and experienced captain, at the solicitation of *Governor de Chatte*, made a voyage to *Canada*. He sailed up the river *St Lawrence* as far as *Sault St. Louis*, where *Cartier* had been before; but the village of *Hechelaga* was now no more. On his return to *France* he found that *de Chatte* was dead, and a new governor appointed in his room. This was *Peter du Gualt*, *Sieur de Ments* of *Saintonge*; gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and governor of *Pens*, who had obtained the exclusive privilege

of trading for furs from 44 to 54 degrees of North latitude, with power to grant lands as high as 45 degrees, and with letters patent creating him vice-admiral and lieutenant general over all this tract. *De Monts* was of the reformed religion, and the king had granted him the full exercise of it in *America*, on condition he should people the country, and settle the *Roman catholic* religion amongst the *Indians*. This gentleman, who was a man of honour, and zealous for the success of the settlement, had maintained the company formed by his predecessor, and also strengthened it by the accession of several merchants of the principal ports of *France*, especially those of *Rochele*. The armament fitted out on this occasion surpassed all that had been before, but his exclusive privilege raised him abundance of enemies, who traversed all his designs, and ruined him at last. However he, together with *Samuel Champlain*, and *Jean de Biencour*, afterwards his lieutenant, finished their incroachments in *Acadia*, begun by the Marquis de la Roche, and next in that part of the continent of *America*, lying to the North-West of the *Baye Française*, which the *French* pretend to be a part of *Canada*. The same year, 1604, they made a settlement at the island of *St Croix*, and the winter following *Champlain* extended his incroachments as far as the River of *Pensheot*, where *Pentagoet* was built.

In 1605, the same gentlemen intruded as far as *Quinibequi*, now known by the name of *Kennebeck* River; thence to *Cape Malebar*, near the Cape called by the *French*, *Cape Blanc*, and by our writers *Cape Cod*, in the neighbourhood of *Boston*. The *French* writers also tell us, that *Champlain* planted a cross on *Cape Malebar*, and took possession of it in the name of his master. Three years afterwards, that is, in 1608, the same *Champlain* founded the city of *Quebec*, the capital of *New France*, on the third of *July*, on the Northern bank of the river *St Laurence*. In 1611 *Champlain* penetrated into the province of *New York* to the country of the *Iroquois*, and, in his way, seized on *Cochlear* Lake, and changed its name to that of *Champlain*. In the winter of 1613, he ran over the country of the *Hurons*.

The first hostilities between the *English* and *French* nations, in these parts, commenced about the year 1613, when Captain *Samuel Argal* setting sail from *Virginia* for the *Newfoundland* fishery, about the *Ile of the desert mountains*, hearing that some strangers had settled near *Pentagoet*, attacked and carried that settlement; and some time after the governor of *Virginia* sent out *Argal*, with a commission to drive the *French* out of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, in consequence of the grant of *James I*. He proceeded to *Pentagoet*, which he found abandoned; from thence he went to the *Ile of St Croix*, where he demolished the plantation of *de Monts*, and thence steering for *Port Royal* in *Nova Scotia*, set fire to it, and in two hours destroyed what had cost the *French* more than a hundred thousand crowns, besides the loss of three years labour.

It was about this time, in 1613, on *Champlain's* return to *France*, that *Canada* obtained the name of *New France*. *Charles de Bourbon*, Count of *Saiffons*, taking upon himself the protection of the colony, made *Champlain* his lieutenant, who, after the Count's death, was continued in his employ by his successor in the chief direction: This was the Prince of *Conde*, under whose auspices he returned to *Quebec*, where he found every thing in a very flourishing condition. Some time after, the court's neglecting the colony, and abandoning the proprietors and persons interested in the company to their own narrow views, and the troubles, which arose in *France*, created many obstructions to its growth, so that *Champlain* lost most of his time in voyages to *Europe* to solicit succours, which were seldom or never granted him in season, when opportunity or need required. The jealousy of the merchants was no small addition to those evils. The Prince of *Conde*, in 1620, yielded his viceroyalty of *New France* to the Marquis de *Montmorency*, and *Champlain* still continued in the government of the colony as his lieutenant.

The year following the *Iroquois* attacked the *French* settlements in three bodies, one of which carried fire and sword to the gates of *Quebec*; this consideration, with a rumour that the *Hurons* were on the point of breaking their alliance with the *French*, and joining the *Iroquois*, made *Champlain* solicitous for securing the capital, the inhabitants of which, at this time, though so much had been done to people the colony, I am assured, did not exceed fifty persons, including women and children.

Quebec founded by *Champlain*.

Commencement of hostilities between the *French* and *English*.

Canada how called by the *French*.

Colony attacked by the *Iroquois*.

children. And commerce was far from being open, though there was a very flourishing trade at *Tadoussac*, and a good mart at the *Three Rivers*, 25 leagues above *Quebec*. For these reasons *Champlain*, in 1623, caused the fortifications of that capital to be built with stone; this done, he returned into *France* with his family, where he found the Marthal de *Montmorency* engaged in a treaty with his nephew the Duke de *Vendour* for surrendering to him the vicerealty of *New France*, which was soon after concluded. This year, or the year before, on remonstrances made to the king that the company neglected the colony, their privileges were taken from them, and given to two private persons, *William* and *Emeric de Caen*.

Cardinal
Richelieu forms
a new compa-
ny.

Four years after this, Cardinal *Richelieu*, desirous of advancing the *French* commerce in *Canada*, since the *Sieurs de Caen* thought of nothing but enriching themselves, like their predecessors, formed a new company, on terms which the *French* writers extol as highly advantageous to that colony, and which would have rendered it the most powerful settlement in *America*, had they been carried into execution. The first year of their privileges, which was 1628, they were to carry over two or three hundred workmen of different trades, and, before fifteen years should expire, they obliged themselves to augment the number of inhabitants to sixteen thousand, to provide them lodging, and a sufficiency of all necessaries for three years, and, after that, to assign them as much land to clear as would be sufficient to subsist them, and to furnish them with seed to sow it. All the labourers were to be natives of *France*, and no foreigner, or heretic, was to be suffered to set foot in the colony. In each settlement were to be at least three priests, whose expences, as well as those of their function, were to be born by the company during fifteen years, after which they were to subsist on cleared lands to be assigned them.

Privileges
granted to it.

To indemnify or satisfy the company for this expence, the king granted to them and to their assigns for ever the fort and settlement of *Quebec*, all the country of *New France*, *Florida* included, the whole course of the great river, with the other rivers which flow into it, or which discharge themselves into the sea within this tract, together with all its islands, ports, rivers, fisheries, &c. conformable to the ordinance: The king only preserving to himself the duties of salt and homage, with a crown of gold of the weight of eight marks, at every succession to the throne, and the salaries of the officers of justice, who should be named and presented by the company when they should think fit to appoint any such court. They had also power to cast cannon, build and fortify places, make all sorts of arms and weapons offensive and defensive, and in general to do every thing necessary for the defence and security of the colony and its commerce; also power to make grants of lands in such quantities as they should judge proper, and to qualify them with such titles, honours, rights, and privileges, as they should see fit, and according to the rank, condition, and merits of the persons to whom they should be granted, and with such incumbrances, reserves, and conditions, as to them should seem meet; except only that in case of erections of lands into dutchies, marquises, earldoms, or baronies, they should take out letters of confirmation on the presentation of Cardinal *Richelieu*, grand master, chief, and superintendant of the navigation and commerce of *France*. His majesty also revokes all former concession, granting the entire trade for furs, hides, and other peltry, to the associates for fifteen years only, to commence from the 1st of *January* 1628, till the last day of *December* 1643, with all other commerce, whether by land or sea, within the said countries, in the most extensive manner that may be, reserving only the cod and whale fisheries, which the king leaves free to all his subjects; and provided, also, that all *French* settled in those parts, and not subsisted at the company's expence, shall be entitled to trade for furs with the *Indians*, on condition that they shall only sell such furs to the company's factors at the general rate of forty fous tournois each. The king further presents the company with two ships of war from two to three hundred tons burthen, which the company shall be obliged to maintain, and in case of loss to replace, except they shall happen to be taken by his majesty's enemies in open war. The company, in case of failure, by not carrying over fifteen hundred persons of both sexes in the first ten years, were obliged to refund the cost of the two ships of war; and, in case of failure, by not transporting the like number in the five remaining years, to forfeit their charter. The company had leave to transport on the said ships what

officers

officers and troops they should see fit, provided only that all captains so transported, as well as commanders of places and forts, which now are, or shall hereafter be built, shall take his majesty's commissions or provisions.

In order to induce persons to settle in *New France*, and to erect all sorts of manufactures there, it is ordered; that all artificers who shall engage with the company, and who shall follow their professions there for six years, on returning into *France*, shall be free to follow their several trades and crafts in *Paris*, and other cities throughout the kingdom; that all merchandize, and especially such as shall be manufactured by the *French* in that province, shall be exempt from all imposts and duties within the kingdom for fifteen years to come, as well as all stores, provisions, and warlike ammunition, which shall be destined for the said province; that all persons, of whatever rank or condition, may enter into the said company, without derogation to the honours or privileges annexed to their orders, his majesty engaging to grant letters of nobles to twelve of the company, in case so many shall be found who shall not be of that rank, the which nobility or honour shall descend to all their lawful issue; that all the descendants of *French* residing in *New France*, as well as all *Indians* who shall be converted to the faith, shall be held and reputed legitimate *French*, with power to inhabit, acquire, devise, succeed, and accept donations and legacies, in the same manner as natural *French*, without necessity of taking out letters declaratory of naturalization.

These articles were signed the 19th of *April* 1627, by Cardinal *Richelieu*, and by those who had presented the project, and approved, of by the king, by an edict in the month of *May*, of the same year, dated in the camp before *Rochele*: This done, the Duke de *Fentalour* resigned his place of viceroy. The company took the title of the *Company of New France*, amounting to the number of 107 persons, whereof Card. *Richelieu* and Marshal *Desfai* were the chief, being joined by several other persons of quality, and the rest consisting of many of the richest merchants and citizens of *Paris* and other trading cities. Thus this colony was likely to become worthy of the public attention, being supported by so powerful a company.

The beginnings of this establishment were far from being fortunate. The first vessels sent by the company were taken by an *English* fleet under the command of Capt. *Kirk*, who after a first attempt without success, and making himself master of a *French* squadron, which carried several *French* families, and provisions for the garrison, paid it another visit in 1629, when he took *Quebec*, by which he made a conquest of all *Canada*; and it remained in the hands of the *English*, the *French* inhabitants continuing in their habitations, till 1632, when it was restored to *France*, together with *Acadia* and the island of *Cape Breton*, at the peace of *St Germain's en Laye*. From the death of *Champlain*, which happened about this time, I find nothing very interesting, excepting that the company of the hundred associates, following the footsteps of their predecessors, suffered the colony to languish; and that the missionaries were busied on all hands in converting the *Indians*; and that the irruptions of the *Iroquois* made it necessary for the new governor to think of securing the colony against any future attempts. This was the occasion of their intrusion in building *Richelieu* fort at the mouth of the *Iroquois* river, since called *Richelieu* river. That *Indian* nation still continued their ravages till 1645, when a peace was concluded with them, and ratified by all the cantons. In 1647, the Chevalier de *Montmagny*, *Champlain's* successor in the government of *New France*, was recalled, on account of a new regulation made by the court, that no governor of any *French* colony should continue above three years in office, the occasion of which was the refusal of a governor general of the *Isles* to admit a successor, and his maintaining himself in his government.

Montmagny was succeeded by M. d'*Ailleboust*, who had commanded at the *Three Rivers*. He resembled his predecessor in his prudent administration, in taking proper measures to gain and preserve the affections and esteem of both *French* and *Indians*, and in a perfect knowledge of the province and its necessities.

Quebec, as well as the other *French* settlements in *Canada*, now enjoyed a calm, and all the *Indians*, who were accustomed to live among them, partook of the same tranquillity. The trade consisted chiefly in furs, and was carried on principally at the *Three Rivers* and *Talouffie*, whither the *Indians* resorted for that purpose. The *Iroquois* continued their incursions upon the *Hurons*, allies of the *French*, with their wonted success. But one of the most extraordinary events was an embassy from *New England*, proposing a perpetual alliance between the two colonies, independent of any ruptures that might

happen betwixt the two crowns. The French governor was highly pleased with this proposal, and for that purpose, with advice of the council, sent Father *Dreuillettes* to *Boston*, in quality of plenipotentiary, to conclude and sign the treaty; but on condition the *English* should join their forces with them against the *Iroquois*. The success of this first negociation is uncertain; all that we know of it is, that, after languishing for some time, it was resumed with more warmth in 1651; and that it came to nothing, because the people of *New England* were unwilling to agree to commence hostilities against the *Iroquois*; whether it was, that they had nothing to fear from them, or that those *Indians* were then in alliance with them, I know not.

Whyfruidels.

Hurons broken by the Iroquois.

This year too the *Huron* nation was almost entirely destroyed by the *Iroquois*, particularly the cantons of *St Ignatius*, and of *St Lewis*, with most part of the warriors of *St Mary*. And, in about eight days time, most of the cantons in the neighbourhood of this last were abandoned, the inhabitants removing to the little island of *St Joseph*, where, neglecting to sow the land, and their hunting and fishing falling short, they suffered inconceivable hardships, being reduced to the necessity of eating dead bodies, which they dug up after they had been half consumed with rotteness.

Ravages, defolations, and cruelty of the same barbarians.

The history of the remaining part of *Ailleboust's* government contains nothing remarkable, except the destruction of the *Hurons* of *St John*, a populous canton, containing not less than six hundred families, with the death of their two missionaries also by the *Iroquois*; a conspiracy of the *Hurons* of the canton of *St Matthew*, especially those who were still idolaters, against the *French*, from a belief that they owed all their misfortunes to them, and to the new religion introduced by them, and disconcerted by the vigilance of their missionaries; and the desertion of the Ile of *St Joseph*, occasioned by the famine above mentioned, part of the inhabitants transporting themselves to *Quebec*, and the others retiring, some into the countries of other *Indian* nations, on whom they brought the arms of the *Iroquois*; some taking sanctuary amongst the *English* of *Pennsylvania*; and others, again, particularly the cantons of *St John Baptist* and *St Michael*, taking shelter amongst the *Iroquois* themselves, who, contrary to expectation, gave them a good reception; those, in the last place, who continued to wander through woods and deserts, being all taken and butchered. From these events it was, that not only the *Hurons* trembled at the name of the *Iroquois*, but also, from a like terror, all the banks of the river of the *Outawais*, which but the year before were so full of inhabitants, were almost totally abandoned, none knowing what became of those *Indians*; and the *French* themselves were filled with no less dread of those merciless savages. We find, also, an expedition of the *Hurons*, who had taken sanctuary under the cannon of *Quebec*, against the *Iroquois*, which miscarried, most of the party in it being either killed, or taken and burnt. And, lastly, we find, recorded the progress of the missionaries in converting the natives in spite of all obstacles, death and the cruellest torments not excepted, the chief intention of *France* being evidently directed towards that end, from a notion that, in order to secure the affections of the *Indians*, they must begin by inspiring them with an ardent zeal for their religion.

Lawson governor.

Iroquois victorious.

About the end of 1650, famous in the annals of *Canada* for the destruction of almost all the *Huron* nation, *M. de Lauson*, one of the principal members of the company of *Canada*, was named to the government of *New France* in the room of *M. d'Alleboust*, whose three years were now expired; but did not arrive till the year after. This gentleman had always been uncommonly active in the affairs of the colony, and it was owing to him principally that *Quebec* was restored by the *English* to the *French*. He had heard of the decline of the colony, but, on his arrival, found its affairs in a worse posture still than had been represented to him. The *Iroquois* continued their ravages, and being grown fierce by their victories, no longer respected the *French* forts as checks to their incursions, but spread themselves over all the country, so that no person could think himself safe in his own house, and the *French* governor of the *Three Rivers* was killed by them at the head of his troops, and in his own post. The Northern country felt the same fury, and *Sillery*, no longer accounted safe within its retrenchment of palisades, was inclosed with a wall mounted with cannon.

The country in *New England* and *Nova Scotia*, occupied by the *Abenakis* nations, where Father *Dreuillettes* had sown the seeds of the *Roman* catholic religion,

gion, and gained them over to the *French* interest, were the only countries which the *Iroquois* never dared to invade. The people of *New England* felt in the sequel the ill effects of suffering the *French* to gain and secure the friendship of those *Indians* by the ties of religion. About this time I find a mission established amongst the *Attikamegues*, the missionary appointed to this work being killed by the *Iroquois*, who were bloody enemies to them and their cause, so that scarce a year passed but one or other died a martyr to his profession.

Montreal suffered no less from the incursions of the *Iroquois*, than the other quarters of *New France*. And *M. de Maisonneuve*, after going to *Paris* for succours, which he could not otherwise obtain, returned in 1653, with a reinforcement of a hundred men, and what was reckoned a greater acquisition, with *Margaret Burgefs*, a native of *Langures*, foundress of the institution of the Daughters of the Congregation, and famous throughout all the colony for her eminent virtues. This year also a peace was concluded with the *Iroquois*, though not long kept, being broken and cemented again afresh the year following, and missionaries settled amongst several of the *Iroquois* cantons.

Much about this time the *Iroquois* completed the destruction of the *Eries*, or *Fate of the Cat Indians*. After driving the *Hurons* from their country, the *Iroquois* next marched against their allies, and particularly the *Outawais*, who finding themselves not in a condition to resist those who had conquered the bravest and most powerful nations of all this continent, thought proper not to wait at home till their throats should be cut, and their villages reduced to ashes. Some of them had therefore already retired into the bay of *Sagunian*, others into the *Baye de Tonnerre*, both of them in lake *Huron*, and numbers into the islands of *Monitoulin* and *Micbillimakinac*. But the bulk of the nation had remained on the banks of the great river, which bears their name, till the total destruction of the *Huron* cantons. On this they joined themselves to the *Hurons* called *Tionnotatez*, with whom they penetrated far into the Southern countries. At first they made an alliance with the *Sioux*, with whom they afterwards quarrelled, and, thus, trained up to war, at their own cost, that nation, hitherto regarded as very unwarlike, and scarce ever heard of on this side the *Mississipi*. Then, separating themselves into several bands, by the misery to which they were reduced, they carried every where the terror of the name of the *Iroquois*; and at length after many wanderings, and separations into small bodies, several of which have never since been heard of, they have diminished to such a degree, that there scarce at present subsists the twentieth part of what they formerly were.

The good understanding between the *French* and the *Upper Iroquois* was of no long continuance. For, in 1657, they had come to a resolution to extirpate the *French*, by a general massacre of all that were in their country; but being discovered, the whole nation took off the mask, and the war began with greater animosity than ever.

In *July*, of the year following, the *Viscount d'Argenson*, the new governor general, landed at *Quebec*; who, by his vigorous measures in repressing the insults of the *Iroquois*, settled the repose of the colony for some time. In 1659, we are to place the arrival of *François de Laval*, titular bishop of *Petrea*, with the Pope's brief as apostolical vicar, and with him several other ecclesiastics, who were settled in the several curacies, which had been till now served by the *Jesuits*, in order as they arrived. These curacies were at first served by commission, and were removable at the will of the bishop, or superiors of the seminary of *Quebec*, but now named by the directors of the foreign missions. Since that there has been an order of the court to have all the curacies fixed like those in *France*, though this has not been entirely complied with, and especially in the island of *Montreal*, where the curacies are under the direction of the seminary of *Quebec*. The seminary of *St Sulpicus* had, two years before this, acquired all the rights of the first proprietors of this island; and, in 1662, *M. de Perru* obtained letters patent of the king for the erection of a seminary at *Quebec*, which was to furnish pastors to the whole colony, and to the directors of which the tithes were to be paid, and the whole to be taxed at a thirtieth for the revenue of the church. But the settlers complaining of this burden, the supreme council of *New France* issued an arret in 1667, ordaining the tithes to be taxed at the twenty sixth part, to be paid in grain, and that new-cleared lands should pay nothing; which arret was accordingly put in execution. The colony afterwards

Bad policy of
New EnglandMissionaries
settled among
the Iroquois.Fate of the
Outawais.War renewed
with the Iro-
quois.Ecclesiastic
regulations.

terwards increasing, new curacies were established, and the tithes claimed as their right, which was settled by a royal edict in May 1679. Five years after, *Quebec* was erected into a bishop's see, confirming the provisional arret of the supreme council with respect to either, and provided that, if the tenths should be found insufficient for the maintenance of the curacies, the deficiency should be made good by the lords and inhabitants, which has, however, never been allowed, the king granting out of his own domain the sum of 7600 livres yearly towards the subsistence of curates. The sum for the maintenance of a curate was afterwards regulated by the king at 400 livres yearly; and, in 1707, his majesty, besides the above sum of 7600 livres, grants the additional sum of 2000 livres yearly, for the support of such as, by the reason of their great age, or other infirmities, were unable to serve their cures; which sum was to be divided into six portions, of 300 livres each, and one of 200. There are moreover two sums of 1350 livres each, one for the benefit of the said curates, and for building parochial churches, the patronage of which was to reside in the bishop, and not, as hitherto, in the lords, which churches were also to be built of stone, and all those sums to be in the disposal of the bishop. The chapter of the cathedral is composed of a dean, a head chanter, or precentor, a chief archdeacon, a divine, and twelve canons. The king nominates those of the first rank, and the bishop the rest.

Hospital,
foundation
for girls.

To return to *Montreal*, the directors of the seminary of *St Sulpicius* first of all set about building a hospital, to which several pious persons largely contributed, to be served by the daughters of the *Hotel dieu* of the same city, an institution since erected into an order. At the same time was founded the instruction of the daughters of the congregation for the education of young persons of the tender sex of all conditions, which equals any thing of the kind in *Europe* in every respect. The first design was to make runs of the pupils, but this was laid aside on the edict in 1709, which forbids their entering a cloister, or taking any vow. They remonstrated, desiring to be permitted to take upon them simple and not solemn vows; but this was also rejected by the council as a thing of pernicious consequence to the colony. The Ursulines of *Quebec* had the same object in their institution, though with little effect without the walls, all their precepts vanishing out of mind and memory, as soon as the pupils get amongst their *Indian* relations, where they take to their old way of living.

Discoveries,
wars, &c.

We are to place here also the discovery of some *Indian* nations about the North and West of *Lake Huron*, as well as some new missions amongst the *Abenaquis*, and *Eskimaux*, and the first visits of the *French* to the *Sioux*, a wandering, but very populous nation on the banks of the *Mississipi* to the west of *Canada*, from whose mild disposition, and natural good sense, they promised themselves many advantages. About this time I find the *French* colony reduced to great extremities from the hostilities of the *Iroquois*, and the want of succours from *France*, so that none durst stir from the forts without an escort. These evils were still augmented by the accession of an epidemical distemper, which particularly carried off a great number of young children. I pass over many particulars relating to the hostilities of the *Iroquois*, and the negotiations for a peace, with the various turns and hopes occasioned by those transactions, the success and fate of the missionaries, busied on all hands in converting the *Indians*, at the hazard and often with the loss of their lives.

Account of
a dreadful
earthquake.

I cannot, however, help taking notice of one of the most extraordinary earthquakes that has happened almost in any country in the memory of man, whether you consider the vast extent of land which felt its shocks, or the singularity of its astonishing effects. *F. Charlevoix's* account of it, is what I am about to give, and that chiefly for the sake of those who are fond of the marvellous. He introduces his relation with remarks on the pernicious influence of the trade of selling spirituous liquors to the *Indians*, the effects of which were a total dissolution of manners, and a disregard to the remonstrances of the bishop, preachers, and confessors, as well as to the thunders of the church, and the menacings of the divine wrath. The bishop of *Quebec*, by an application to court, put a stop to this infamous traffic, which produced such horrible disorders; but, says that learned missionary, heaven had already prevented his cares, and, by one of those events which strike terror into the most obdurate and licentious, the greatest part of the colony were brought back to the right way from which they had wandered. The matter of fact, says he, has been attested by the constant and unanimous testimony of a whole colony; and the effects, which still sub-

sist, put it beyond the cavils of the most sceptical. He does not, however, pretend to vouch it in all its circumstances. After this he proceeds as follows :

During the autumn in 1663, a number of bodies of fire, of different figures, but all of them extraordinary, were seen in the air. Over *Quebec* and *Montreal* appeared in the night a globe of fire, extremely shining, only at *Montreal* it seemed as if it proceeded from the moon, and was accompanied with a noise, like the discharge of a cannon, and after gliding through the air for about three leagues, it vanished behind the mountain whence the island takes its name.

On *January 7*, the following year, there arose an almost imperceptible vapour from the great river, which, after it was struck with the sun's rays, became transparent, but with body sufficient to support two parabelions, which appeared by the side of this meteor. Thus appeared at the same time, three suns, in a line parallel to the horizon, some fathoms distant from each other, each of them with a rainbow, the colours of which varied every instant, now appearing like an ordinary rainbow, then of a bright whiteness, as if there had been a great fire behind it. This sight lasted two full hours, and was repeated on the 14th, though less perceptible.

In the beginning of *February*, a rumour went, that an earthquake would very soon happen, such as had never happened in the memory of man, taking its rise from the admonitions of certain persons eminent for piety, warning every soul to make their peace with God, and try to appease the divine wrath, justly kindled against *New France*.

On the night of the 13th of the same month, an *Algonkin* woman, a very fervent christian, being awake, and sitting on her bed, heard a voice, saying, that within two days wonderful things should happen. Next day, as she was in the forest with her sister, making her provision of wood, she heard the same voice, predicting that on the morrow, between four and five in the evening, the earth would quake in a terrible manner.

A young maiden of the same nation, whose piety had obtained the miraculous cure of a disease, dreamt on the night between the 4th and 5th instant, that the *Virgin Mary* appeared to her, and told her the hour, and all the circumstances of this earthquake. On the evening of the 5th, immediately before the earthquake began, she appeared as if she were besides herself, crying out, with all her force, *Now it is just coming*, to the great astonishment of all who heard her.

Lastly, on the same day, mother *Mary* of the Incarnation, the illustrious foundress of the Ursuline nuns of *New France*, who was far from being a weak person, after several warnings from heaven of the impending event, which she communicated to *F. Lalle-mant* her director, about half an hour after five in the evening, as she was in prayer thought she saw our Lord wroth with *Canada*, and that she was moved by some supernatural power to demand justice of him for all the crimes committed in this province; and that all she could do to obtain some mitigation of this punishment, was, to put up fervent prayers that the souls might not perish with the bodies. Immediately afterwards, she felt an inward assurance that the divine wrath was on the point of breaking out, and that the contempt of the ordinances of the church, was the chief cause why it was kindled. She perceived almost, in the same instant, four devils at the four corners of the city of *Quebec*, agitating the earth with great violence, and a person of a majestic presence, who from time to time let loose the reins to their fury, and then withheld them.

At the same moment, the heavens being perfectly serene, a noise was heard all over the city, like that of a great fire, which frightened all the people out of their dwellings. Then all the houses were shaken and rocked to such a degree, that they almost touched the ground, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, the doors opening and shutting of themselves with a mighty noise, all the bells ringing without hands, and the timber of the palisades bounding to and fro; the walls were split, the beams fell out and were bent, and the domestic animals made the most frightful howlings; the surface of the earth had a motion like that of the sea, the trees were twisted together, and many of them torn up by the roots, and tossed to a great distance. With these sights were heard all sorts of noises; sometimes of a raging sea breaking its dykes, sometimes of a great number of chariots and carriages rolling over the pavement, and sometimes of mountains of

rock or marble opening and splitting. A thick dust arose like smoke, so that an universal conflagration was apprehended; some imagined they heard the cries of *Indians*, and apprehended the *Iroquois* were falling upon all parts of the colony.

Various phenomena.

The fright was so great and general, that both men and animals appeared as if struck with thunder; nothing was to be heard but shrieking lamentations; people fled every where without knowing whither they went; and on which side ever they passed, met what they strove to shun. The fields presented every where precipices and gulphs, and people expected the earth to open under them every moment, whole mountains were plucked up by the roots, and thrown to a distance and placed in new situations; some were carried into the midst of rivers, and stopped their course, and others were sunk so deep that the tops of the trees on their summits were not to be seen. Trees were tossed upright into the air, as if a mine had sprung under them, and some re-planted with their branches in the ground and their roots aloft. There was no more safety on water than on land. Several springs and rivulets were dried up, the waters of others were impregnated with sulphur, and the beds where some had flowed could no longer be seen. Here the waters were turned red, there yellow, and those of the great river from *Quebec* to *Tadoussac*, that is, for the space of thirty leagues, were grown perfectly white. Nothing was to be heard but a continual din, and people imagined they saw goblins and phantoms of fire with lighted torches in their hands. Flames arose which took all sorts of shapes, as of pikes, lances, and burning brands, and fell upon the tops of houses without setting them on fire. Cries of wailing and lamentation augmented the horror from time to time. Porpoises and sea cows were heard to howl near the *Three Rivers*, where never any such fishes had been seen; and these howlings had no resemblance to the cries of any known animal. To conclude, for a tract of three hundred leagues from East to West, the earth, the rivers, and the sea-coasts were long, but at different intervals, in the vast motion mentioned by the prophet, speaking of the wonders which accompanied the coming up out of *Egypt*.

Effects, numbers, and duration of shocks.

The effects of the earthquake were various to an infinite degree, and never was there more reason to fear that nature was destroying her works, and that the end of the world was at hand. The first shock lasted half an hour almost without interruption, but began to abate after a quarter of an hour. Towards eight in the evening of the same day, there was another shock, equally violent with the first, and in half an hour two more. Some reckoned to the number of thirty two the night following, some of which were very violent. It is possible that the horror of the night and the general confusion might increase their number, and cause them to appear more considerable than they really were. Even in the intervals of the shocks people were in the same condition as in a vessel at anchor; which might also be the effect of a disordered imagination. What is certain, is, that many persons felt the same squeamishness and giddiness which are usual at sea with such as are not accustomed to this element. On the morning of the sixth, about three of the clock, was a very rude and long shock. At *Tadoussac* it rained ashes for three hours together; in another place the *Indians*, who had left their cabins at the beginning of these agitations; on their return, found a large pool of water in their places. Half way between *Quebec* and *Tadoussac*; two mountains were laid level with the ground, and the earth that fell from them formed a cape projecting half a quarter of a league into the great river. Two *Frenchmen* coming from *Gaspé* felt nothing of it till they came over against the *Saguenay*, when, though there was not a breath of wind, their shallop was tossed as if on a stormy sea. Not being able to conjecture whence this could proceed, they cast their eyes towards the shore, when they perceived a mountain skipping, in the language of the prophet like a ram, and which, after some time, whirling round like a whirlwind, sunk down, and at last entirely disappeared. A ship, which followed the shallop, was no less agitated, and the oldest sailors could not stand but by a hold, as it happens when a ship rolls greatly; and the captain ordering to cast anchor, the cable broke.

Surprising circumstances and effects.

Within a small distance of *Quebec*, a fire, a full league in length, appeared in broad day-light, which coming from the North, afterwards crossed the river, and disappeared over the *Isle of Orleans*. Opposite *Cape Tourmente* floods of subterraneous

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waters rushed from the tops of the mountains, and carried all before them. Above *Quebec* a river left its channel, part of which became dry, its highest banks in some parts sinking to a level with the water, which continued mixed with mud and of the colour of sulphur above three months. *New England* and *New Holland* (now *New York*) suffered in the general confusion, and, as did all this vast extent of country, with this particularity, that in the time of the greatest shocks they perceived a kind of pulsation like that of an intermitting pulse, with unequal beatings, but beginning every where precisely at the same instant. Sometimes the shocks were a sort of elevating, at other times a sort of balancing motion, more or less violent; sometimes very brisk, and at others increasing by degrees, and none of them ending without some sensible effect. In places where the great river had rapid falls it became perfectly still water, and in others the reverse. Rocks arose in the midst of rivers, and a man walking in the fields, perceived all of a sudden the earth opening behind him, and as he fled, the yawnings seemed to run after him. The agitation was generally less on the tops of mountains, but an incessant rumbling was heard in those places.

What is perfectly astonishing, is, that amidst so dreadful a wreck, not a soul perished, God being willing, says my author, not to destroy, but to convert sinners. Thus nothing was to be seen but an universal repentance, every one making the examen of their conscience with tears and compunction of heart, the most scandalous sinners declared openly the abominations of their past lives, enemies were reconciled, all criminal familiarities were at an end, and the traffic of spirituous liquors, the first spring of all the evil, abandoned, fasting, alms, pilgrimages, with the frequentation of the sacraments, were all the study, and, in short, nothing was omitted to disarm the wrath of heaven, which at last relented.

The fears of a general sterility and epidemical disorders, which many apprehended, were soon found to be groundless, and the earth by degrees recovered its former state, where the appearance of it had not been totally changed by so many violent convulsions. The *Iroquois* stirred not all this while, and when the confusion ceased, they made new proposals of peace, which were interrupted by some evil reports, that had got footing among the cantons.

The bishop of *Petrea*, and *M. de Messy*, appointed to relieve the Baron *d'Avauour* in the government of *New France*, had newly arrived at *Quebec* with troops. They were accompanied by the *Sieur Gaudais*, appointed commissary on the part of the king to take possession in his name of all *New France*, which the company of *Canada* had yielded up to him *February* 4, 1663; by a hundred families to people the country; and by several officers civil and military.

The commissary begun with taking the oaths of fidelity of all the inhabitants, and afterwards regulated the police, and made several ordinances with regard to the administration of justice. Before this time there had properly been no court of justice in *Canada*, the governours general judging causes in an absolute or sovereign manner. No body ever thought of appealing from their sentences, but these were seldom pronounced without a previous recourse to the method of arbitration, and their decisions were always dictated by that best and most supreme of all laws, good sense and the law of nature. Besides, the natives of *Canada* were far from being litigious, and chose rather to lose somewhat of their right than their time and money at law. At first indeed they seemed to have every thing in common, at least it was very long before any thing was known to be kept under lock for security. Thus the precautions which the prince took for the establishing of justice were the epoch of its ruin, by introducing the spirit of chicanery, and the love of law-suits.

It is true that as early as the year 1640 there had been a Grand Seneschal of *New France*, and at the *Three Rivers* was a tribunal subordinate to that of the military magistrate, who, however, appears to have been wholly dependant on the governours general, who were always invested with the right of administering justice in their own persons, in cases of appeal, which were common enough. In matters of moment they assembled a kind of council, composed of the grand seneschal, the superior of the *Jesuits*, who, before the arrival of the bishop, was the only superior ecclesiastic in the country, and some of the principal inhabitants, to whom they gave the quality of counsellors.

Thus

Establishment
of the council
of Canada.

Thus, in 1651, when the Sieur Godefroy was sent, with F. Dreuilhettes to New England, to treat about a perpetual peace between the two colonies. He had the title of councillor in the council of New France given him in his letters of credence, though this council was not permanent, but established by the governor general, by virtue of the power given him by the king, and by him changed as often as he judged proper. It was then in the year 1663, and not before, that the king caused the council of Canada to be fixed by an edict in March of the same year, ordering that the council should consist of M. de Missy, governor general, M. de Laval, bishop of Petrea, apostolical vicar of New France, M. Robert, the intendant, and of four counsellors to be appointed, continued, or removed, at the pleasure of these three ministers. M. Robert, counsellor of state, had been named this very year intendant of justice, police, finances, and marine for New France. But, as he never went to Canada, M. Talor, who arrived here in 1665, is the first who exercised this office. M. Duchesneau, who succeeded him in 1675, brought an order of the king, by virtue of which the intendant was to officiate as first president in the council, leaving, however, the first seat to the governor general, and the second to the bishop. Two more counsellors were added at the same time, and all the members of the council had commissions from the court.

Intendants
office and
dignity.

New coun-
sellor's sala-
ries.

This empowering the intendant to act as first president, was much resented by the governor general, whose remonstrances on this subject were not regarded. And, by an arret of the council of state in 1680, it was ordered that in all deeds and writings of the council, the governor and intendant should assume no other quality besides that of their office. In 1704, four new counsellors were created, one clerk, and three laymen: So that at present they are twelve in number, including the bishop. The person intitled the first counsellor, has double the salary of the others, he is named by the court, and his place is only considered as honorary, having no particular function. His annual salary is eight hundred livres, the five oldest counsellors have four hundred, and the rest nothing, and they take no fees. The procurator general, and head register, have also salaries, but very moderate.

Council regu-
lated, cases of
recusation.

The council is held regularly every Monday in the palace, which is the residence of the intendant, whose office it is also to fix the day and hour of their meeting, on extraordinary occasions, and to notify the same to the governor general by the chief usher. Justice is administered here according to the statutes of the kingdom, and customs of Paris. In June 1679, the king made some regulations in the council by an edict, which has since bore the name of *The Reduction of the Code*, in that country. Some new difficulties were afterwards started with respect to judging in cases of challenges, or exceptions at law, which were explained by another edict of March 1685, in which it was further declared, that the actions in which any officer of the council was interested, should be removed at the request of one of the parties, before the intendant, who should determine, in such cases, with judges summoned by him for that purpose: Lastly, by the same edict, the council was authorized to judge criminal cases, and five of the counsellors were to make a quorum.

Inferior
courts of jus-
tice.

There are moreover three inferior courts of justice in Canada, which sit at Quebec, the Three Rivers, and Montreal. These are composed of a lieutenant general, a sub-lieutenant, and the king's procurator. Their appointments were made by a declaration of May 12, 1578. The notaries, ushers, and serjeants, have also salaries, without which they could not subsist, their fees being next to nothing in so poor and thinly peopled a colony.

Succeeded to
the king.

Till the year 1692, the criminal jurisdiction of Montreal belonged to the superiors of St Sulpicius, in quality of the lords of the soil. But then they yielded it up to the king, on condition, that they should continue the same power within the precincts of their seminary, and their farm of St Gabriel, with the perpetual and unalienable property of the registership of the royal criminal tribunal, which should afterwards be established in the island, together with the nomination of the first judge. This had the royal assent signified by the edict, which established the new court, dated in March the year following, except the last article, which was *pro hoc tempore* for this time only. The supreme council of Quebec, served for a model to those of the islands of Martinico and St Domingo, and of the country of Louisiana.

Canada.

We have seen in what a weak and languishing condition the colony was left by the company of the hundred associates incorporated, in 1628, for the settlement of *Canada*, though one of the most powerful that ever was formed, whether with regard to the number and rank of its members, or to the privileges granted them. They soon grew weary of the expence; and, from the year 1644, they abandoned the fur trade, which was almost the only advantage they reaped from it, to the inhabitants, reserving to themselves, for their right of lordship, an annual homage of a thousand beavers.

Company of
Canada built.

At last, finding themselves reduced to the number of forty five associates, they made a total resignation of all their rights in 1662 to the king, who some time after included *New France* in the grant which he made of the *French* colonies in *America*, in favour of the *West India* company, with the right of naming governors and other officers. It is true that, as this new company were not acquainted with persons proper for filling the chief posts, they requested the king to provide them, till they should be in a condition to make use of the privilege he had granted them; in consequence of which request M. de *Mesy* was named governor general, and M. *Robert* intendant of *New France*. *De Mesy* was succeeded by M. de *Courcelles*, who had orders to transport inhabitants, and the regiment of *Carignan Salieres*, in order to reduce the *Iroquois* to reason. A great number of families, with a great multitude of mechanics, and hired servants, the first horses ever seen in *Canada*, with cattle, sheep, and, in short, a more considerable colony than that which they were going to supply was transported on this occasion.

Reign their
rights to the
king.

Colony re-
ceives sup-
plies.

The viceroy lost no time, but placing himself at the head of the troops, led them to the entry of *Richelieu*, in the province of *New York*, where he employed them in building three several forts at the same time. The first was placed on the spot where that of *Richelieu* had formerly stood, since called, as also the river, by the name of *Sorel*, from a captain of the regiment of *Carignan*, who had the charge of building it. The second was erected at the foot of the rift, or water-fall, formerly mentioned, as you sail up the river. This was called *Fort St Lewis*; but M. de *Chambly*, captain of the same regiment, having since bought the land on which it was situated, the whole canton, together with the stone fort since built on the ruins of the old fort, bear the name of *Chambly*. M. de *Salieres* took upon himself the conduct of the third, called *St Theresa*, from the festival upon which it was finished. It stands three leagues higher than the second, and this the colonel chose for his own post. These works were completed with great expedition, and the *Iroquois* were at first greatly terrified at their erection, but soon recovered from their consternation; and though their passage into the colony this way was intercluded, they presently opened themselves several others. That of *Chambly*, however, covers the colony of *Canada* sufficiently on the side of *New York*, and the lower *Iroquois*.

Three new
forts built.

I find about this time a remonstrance of M. *Talon*, the intendant, to the king, complaining of the mischiefs that the colony underwent by leaving it to the management of a company, and declaring the advantages that would result from the re-summption of it into his own disposal; as also an order from court, by M. *Colbert*, for keeping the habitations as close together as possible, in order to strengthen the colony, which was weakened, as they imagined, by separating them at too great a distance, and reducing the dwellings as much as possible into the form of the parishes of *Old France*; and, lastly, the discovery of two iron mines in the neighbourhood of *Clampain* and *Cape Magdalen*, two parishes situated beyond the *Three Rivers*. They had great expectations also, from a tannery, the first trial of which was abundantly successful. But what most flattered their hopes, was, the freedom of commerce published in the year 1668. This year is also famous for a number of missions settled amongst the different *Indian* nations, particularly the *Iroquois*.

Remonstran-
ce, orders,
discoveries,
mission.

New France now enjoyed perfect repose for the first time since its settlement, its governors neglecting nothing that might contribute to its advancement. The best part of the regiment of *Carignan Salieres* had remained here, and almost all the soldiers were become planters, having had their discharge on that condition. Six companies of the same regiment, which had returned to *France* after the *Iroquois* war, were ordered back, not only to strengthen the most important posts, but to increase the number of inhabitants. Several of the officers had grants of lands, with the right of lordship. Almost all of them settled and married in the country, where their pot-
terity

Colony at
peace and
prosperous.

terity still subsists. Most part of them were gentlemen, whence *New France* has a more numerous nobles than any other *French* colony, and perhaps more than all the rest taken together. Lastly, the lands, in every part where cleared, were found to be very rich. Thus the new inhabitants, vying with each other in virtue, industry, and the love of labour, were soon in a condition to subsist, and the colony received great accessions of strength, and numbers of inhabitants.

Quebec made a bishopric.

In 1670, the church of *Quebec* was erected into a bishopric. The great disputes which arose about its immediate dependance on the holy see, on which the Pope was inflexible, occasioned that affair to remain so long undetermined. This, however, hinders not the bishopric of *Quebec* from being like that of *Puy*, which holds immediately of the Pope, in some sort united to the ecclesiastical establishment of *France*. The king, for the endowment of the new bishopric and chapter of the cathedral, united to them two months, or one sixth of the revenue of the abbey of *Mauvais*; and M. de *St Valier*, successor to M. de *Laval*, has since further obtained the re-union of the abbey of *Beneventum*, partly to the bishopric, and partly to the chapter.

Great mortality from the small pox.

The same year an epidemical distemper made sad devastation in *Canada*, and almost totally depopulated those vast countries. The *Attikamegues* particularly have never appeared since, and if any of them remain, they must have mixed with other nations with whom the *French* are altogether unacquainted. At the same time *Tadoussac*, where had never appeared fewer than twelve hundred *Indians* in trading time, began to be totally deserted, as well as the *Three Rivers*, whence the *Algonquins* removed to *Cape Magdalen*, where the *French* have still a post, but *Tadoussac* remains desolate, and entirely abandoned. The small pox was the chief cause of this mortality, and several years afterwards the town of *Sillery* was quite depopulated. Of fifteen hundred persons seized with that distemper, not one escaped. In this year also we are to date the foundation of the *Huron* village of *Loretto*.

Iroquois mission.

In the following year was settled the *Iroquois* mission of the *Fall of St Lewis*, a colony of that nation converted by the *French* missionaries, and desirous of settling amongst them for the sake of religion. On the other hand, many nations of the *Algonquin* language, who had formerly been protected by the *French* colony from the ravages of their enemies, expressing their gratitude and attachment to them in a more extraordinary manner at this time, that politic people, always awake to their own interest, laid hold of this opportunity to establish the rights of that crown over the most distant parts of *Canada*.

Perrot French agent with the Indians.

With this view one *Perrot*, a man of good family and sense, and some tincture of learning, and besides accustomed to travel, was selected to execute this important commission. His necessities had thrown him into the service of the *Jesuits*, which gave him frequent opportunities of dealing with the *Indians*, and learning their language. He had acquired their esteem, and by degrees so effectually insinuated himself into their affections, that at last he could persuade them into any thing as he pleased. After he had got the necessary instructions, he took his progress and visited all the Northern nations with whom the *French* had any commerce, whom he invited to come in the spring following to the *Fall of St Mary*, where the great *Onontio* of the *French* was to send them one of his captains, who should declare his pleasure. They all gave consent to send deputies, according to his desire. He then proceeded further Westward, and turning towards the South pursued his journey into the *British* territories as far as *Chicagou* at the bottom of lake *Michigan*, where the *Miamis Indians* then held their residence.

French take formal possession of countries.

The chief of this people, who was able to bring into the field an army of between four and five thousand men, gave him a good reception, and presented him with the pipe, employing the *Poutewatomis*, another *Indian* nation, to act as his deputies in the general assembly, at which most of the *Indians*, at least those in the *French* interest, appeared by their deputies. On this occasion the *Sieur de St Luffon*, as subdelegate of the intendant of *New France*, by virtue of a special commission, pretended to take possession of all these countries for the *French* king. Next year was built the fort at *Cataragui*, otherwise *Fort Frontenac*.

Fort Frontenac built.

Two different bodies of men, the last of them considerable, had been transported from *Old France*, though not enough to secure the *Canadians* from the fears of the *Five Nations*. The *Fort des Sables*, and that at *Niagara*, were built on this occasion. The *Iroquois* however began their usual incursions next year into *Canada*,

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spreading every where such terror and desolation, that the French governor, in a letter to the Marquis de Seignelay, says that nothing but the extraordinary providence of the Almighty could possibly have saved Canada from destruction. I find that the whole force which Canada was capable of raising this year, was only eight hundred men, besides the regulars, of whom they made but small account, as they were utterly unacquainted with the Indian manner of fighting, which consisted in annoying the enemy, whilst they secured themselves from their shot, by skulking behind trees and thickets. Their missionaries, however, did what all the French in North America could never have effected, by disarming the fury of the Five Nations.

*Jeeps is paid
by mili-
onaries.*

The revolution happening in the mean time, war was declared against France, where a design was formed to begin hostilities in America with the conquest of New York. For this effect Count Frontenac was made governor general of Canada, the projects then in agitation, and the state of affairs in that country, requiring at their head a person of experience and resolution, acquainted with the places, and fit to transact matters with the Indians. His instructions related to the driving the English from Hudson's Bay and Acadia, but chiefly to the enterprise against New York. This plan, otherwise in all appearance too well digested to have failed, was however disconcerted by two things, which it is impossible to guard against, the inconstancy of the winds, and the unexpected obstacles occurring to those who were to execute the different parts of it, which prevented them from bringing things to bear in good time, so as to act with union.

*French design
against New
York will ar-
ries.*

Hostilities still continued between the French and Iroquois, though with most advantage on the side of the former, till 1690, when Count Frontenac was informed that an Iroquois and English army was employed at Lake St Sacrament, in making preparations to attack Montreal; on which advice nothing was omitted to put the place in a good posture of defence. Almost at the same time news was brought, that a fleet of thirty ships had set sail from Boston, in order to attack Quebec by the river of St Lawrence, and had been out upwards of six weeks, which caused the more surprize, as the French had never so much as heard of the equipment of an armament at that place. The governor had scarce embarked, when he was acquainted that the English fleet, to the number of thirty four sail, were already at the Ile au Contres, sixteen leagues from Quebec. And some French authors are of opinion that had the governor delayed but three days longer his arrival at that capital, he would have found it in the hands of the English; or, that, if their fleet had not been detained by contrary winds, or had been better provided with good pilots, that city had certainly been taken before they could have any information at Montreal that it was besieged. If this be true, as there is all the reason in the world to believe, we are not to wonder at the encomiums which the French writers bestow on Count Frontenac; and it is said, with great justice, that never did surprize do greater honour to a general, or cover with more shame those who ought to have made their advantage of it.

*English expe-
d. on against
Quebec.*

The first thing the governor did, after the confirmation of this news, was to order the Chevalier de Caillieres to hasten to Quebec with all possible diligence, with all his troops, except some companies left for the defence of Montreal, and to cause all the inhabitants he could possibly get together on his way to follow him. The count then marched without halting to Quebec, where he arrived in the night of October 14, and learnt that the English fleet was at the lower end of the passage of the Ile of Orleans. He was entirely satisfied with the dispositions the fort major had made, and the condition in which he had put the place. This officer had got into it a considerable number of inhabitants in the neighbourhood, who testified much courage and resolution, and, though he had no more than five days to repair the fortifications, he had, however, left not one weak place in all the city, which he had not secured against any surprize. The general caused some additional intrenchments to be made where necessary, and repeated the orders which the major had so judiciously given, for a body of militia, which covered Quebec towards the road, not to quit their posts, till such time as they should see the enemy make a descent, and attack the body of the place, in which case they should hold themselves in readiness to march upon the first notice. M. de Longueuil had been sent, with a body of Hurons and Abenakis Indians, to observe the motions of the fleet. All the upper banks of the river of St Lawrence were well lined with troops, the inhabitants shewing

*Preparation
for the de-
fence*

very

every where a firm resolution to exert themselves with vigour. Thus the *English* could not send so much as a single boat to shore, without being exposed to the fire of their musquetry. And, lastly, bodies of militia were constantly arriving from *Montreal* and the *Three Rivers*, and all equally resolute with those in the neighbourhood of the capital.

On the fifteenth, the *Chevalier de Vaudreuil*, commander of the troops, set out early in the morning to go on the discovery, and to charge the enemy if they should make an attempt to land, with express injunctions from count *Frontenac* not to lose sight of them, and to send him advice continually of all their motions; all which he executed perfectly well. As they expected some ships from *France*, and as it was very reasonably apprehended that they might inadvertently fall into the hands of the enemy, the governor general dispatched, the same day, two canoes well manned through the lesser channel of the *Isle of Orleans*, with orders to sail as far down the river as possible, to meet those ships, and to warn them of their danger in the present conjuncture.

French reconnoitred the English fleet.

He caused men to work, at the same time, with all expedition on a battery of eight pieces of cannon on the eminence near the citadel, which was finished on the morrow. Hence the fortifications, begun at the palace, on the banks of the river *St Charles*, ascended towards the high town, which they inclosed, and ended at the mountain on the side of *Cape Diamond*. There was also raised a palisade, which reached from the beach to the cloyster of the seminary, where it was terminated by inaccessible rocks, called *the Sailor's leap*, near which was a battery of three guns. A second palisade was also erected above the former, and ended at the same place, in order to cover the musqueteers. In the lower town were two batteries, each of three eighteen pounders, disposed in the intervals of the batteries of the high town. The avenues of the place, not defended by gates, were barricaded with masonry beams, and gabions, mounted with patereros. The road which winds from the low to the high town, was cut by three different intrenchments with gabions, and a kind of chevaux de frize. In the course of the siege a second battery was erected at the *Sailor's leap*, and a third at the gate which leads to the river *St Charles*. Lastly, several pieces of cannon were disposed at proper distances round the high town, and particularly on the mount of a windmill, which served for a cavalier.

English fleet in sight of Quebec.

On the morning of the sixteenth *Vaudreuil* returned to *Quebec*, and reported that he had left the *English* fleet three leagues from the city, at anchor, in a place called *the withered tree*, and indeed it was plainly seen from the heights after day light. It consisted of thirty four sail, of different force and dimensions, and, according to report, had on board three thousand land forces. In advancing up the stream, the smaller vessels stretched along the *Beaupré* shore, between the *isle of Orleans* and the *Lesser River*, the others keeping the middle of the channel; and about ten the whole fleet came to an anchor.

Admiral summons the place.

Immediately a boat was dispatched from the fleet, carrying a white flag, and a trumpet, who was met half way, blind-folded, and in that manner conducted into the fort. He was then, after being uncovered, led into a magnificent apartment, in which were assembled the governor general, the bishop, and the intendant, surrounded by a crowd of officers, which threw the messenger into some confusion, occasioned, according to the *French* writers, not only by the sight of so brilliant a company, but also on seeing a place in so warlike a posture, which, from the report of some prisoners, had been represented, but a few days before, as without either general, troops, or fortifications; so that *Brigadeer Phipps* made no doubt of sleeping in *Quebec* the night after casting anchor before it, as he expressed himself to his men with abundance of presumption. But it ought to be observed that the trumpet, before he arrived at the place where the governor was, had been carried quite round the place, where every one was thoroughly busy, and hard at work, to make him conceive the higher opinion of its strength. The summons, requiring the surrender of the place, was delivered in the name of their majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

Answer of the officers and governor.

The answer was in terms testifying the highest indignation; and some of the company were for treating the bearer of the summons as the messenger of a pirate, not only, said they, on account of *Phipps's* being in arms against his lawful sovereign, meaning *James II.* but also as that general had violated the capitulation of *Port Royal*,

Royal,

Royal, which he had lately taken, by retaining prisoners some of the garrison, contrary to his faith given, and to the law of nations. The answer of Count *Frontenac*, though more moderate, was no less smart. And turning to the trumpet, who had given him an hour to make his answer, " I will not, said he, cause you to wait long for my answer, which is this : " I know not any king of the name of *William* ; but I know the *Prince of Orange* to be an usurper, who has violated the most sacred rights, both of blood and of religion, by dethroning the king his father-in-law. I know no other lawful sovereign in *England*, but *James II.* Sir *William Phipps* ought not to be surpris'd at the hostilities committed by the *French* and their allies ; as he ought to have known that the king my master, having received the king of *England* under his protection, would order me in consequence to make war on a nation who have rebelled against their lawful sovereign. Could he think, had he even offered me more tolerable terms (those were to surrender at discretion) that I could have been capable of accepting them ? Could he believe that so many brave men would have consented to them, and advise me to trust the word of a man who has violated the capitulation made with the governor of *Acadia* ; who is wanting in point of fidelity to his lawful prince ; who has forgotten all his almost numberless favours, to follow the cause of a foreigner, who, whilst he would persuade the world that he has no other view than to become the deliverer of *England*, and the Defender of the Faith, has destroyed the laws and privileges of the kingdom, and overturned the Church of *England* ; and which I make no doubt but the divine justice, which *Phipps* calls to witness, will one day punish with signal severity ? " The trumpet desiring to have this answer in writing, *Frontenac* said, " I am going to send your master my answer from the mouths of my cannon ; he shall know what it is to send a man of honour such a summons."

When he had done speaking, he made a signal for blind folding the trumpet, who was instantly dismissed, and the moment he had got on board began the firing from one of the batteries of the lower town ; so that the *English* general saw himself obliged to besiege a place in form, which, he concluded, would not have had the boldness to make any defence. What might be looked upon as an ill omen, the first shot struck down the admiral's flag, which being born along by the tide, some *Canadians* threw themselves into the river, and seized it, in spite of a continual fire made upon them from the fleet, and carried it in triumph to the cathedral, where, if I am rightly informed, it still remains.

The chief object of the governor was to draw the *English* to cross the river *St Charles*, in hopes of attacking the place on the only side which offered any probability of success. The reason of his policy was, that as this river was only fordable at low water, when once the *English* troops had passed it, they might be engaged in order of battle without any great hazard ; and, should they be obliged to give ground, they could never be able to rally, being under a necessity of marching half a league up to the knees in mud, before they could get to their boats. Should the *French*, on the other hand, cross the river to attack the enemy, they must, as the governor well saw, be exposed to the same disadvantage and hazard. The former reasoning might also be retorted, by supposing that, had the *French* been beaten under their walls, and on the side next the city, the conquerors might have entered it pell mell with the runaways. The general, however, was so confident of the bravery of his troops, that he never apprehended this inconvenience ; besides, as he did not intend to leave the place intirely without troops, he would always be able to support his own people, and make good his retreat under any disadvantages. What happened soon after, justified his opinion.

On the eighteenth, at noon, the boats with about fifteen hundred men rowed to the shore, and landed them without opposition ; on which Count *Frontenac* sent a detachment of the militia, to the number of about three hundred, to harass them. As the ground that way is swampy and boggy, and intangled with shrubs and underwood, and rough with rocks, as the tide was out, and they must march through the mud to get at the enemy, they could only attack them by platoons, and by way of skirmishing : The same inconveniences lay in the way of the *English*. Both sides therefore were obliged to fight in the *Indian* manner, which, as I am told, not a little embarrassed the troops which had landed, the *French* shifting and skulking from rock to rock in places which were perfectly familiar to them, and mightily galling the *English*,

The trumpet dismissed.

An ill omen.

Stratagem of the French general.

Ex-36 land and skirmish.

who, as they were drawn up in battalions, could not stir from their place, whilst the others, who took aim, and scarce ever missed, could not be seen. As this kind of fighting had put the troops of the invaders in some disorder, it was judged proper to beat the retreat for that day. The *French*, however, were not without some loss of men, amongst whom were some persons of considerable note.

Fleet anno-
nades *Quebec*.

The same evening the four largest ships in the navy came to an anchor before the city. The rear-admiral, with the blue flag, was stationed on the left, opposite to the *Sailor's leap*, the admiral to the right of him, and the vice-admiral somewhat lower, while the fourth, with the flag of admiral in chief, advanced towards *Cape Diamond*. On this a great fire ensued on both sides, the fleet directing their cannon chiefly against the high town, but with little damage. About eight o'clock at night the fire ceased, and began again the next morning, though with less briskness on the part of the fleet. Some time after the ship of the rear-admiral had been so damaged by the batteries at the *Sailor's leap*, and the battery under it in the lower town towards the left, that she was obliged to withdraw. The admiral was not long behind her, having received several shot under water, and above twenty in her hull, her rigging cut to pieces, her main-mast almost carried away, and many of her people killed or wounded. The two other ships held out some time after, but at noon they gave over firing, and at five in the evening drew off to take shelter out of the reach of the guns of the fort in the bay of *Noters*, behind *Cape Diamond*. They did not, however, remain long in that station, where they were exposed to the fire of the muniquetry, which killed them a great many men, and obliged them to withdraw to a greater distance.

Actions of
the land
forces.

The *English* troops remained quiet in their camp till the twentieth, the *French* ceasing to molest them, when, after beating to arms, and remaining in order of battle till two in the afternoon, they made some motions as if they would march towards the city, with platoons on their wings, and *Indians* in their van. They coasted for some time the River *St Charles* in good order, when they were opposed by a body of volunteers, who cut them short, and skirmished as they had done on the first attack. The fire of these troops made them retire to a wood, whence they fired very briskly, and the *French* retired in good order, but with the loss of some of their best officers. During this action Count *Frontenac* advanced at the head of three battalions of his troops, and drew them up on the banks of the lesser river, determining to cross it, if the volunteers had been too much pressed. The *English* received five field pieces from on board the ships in the night following, and the next day they moved forwards with a design to batter the city in breach, but were met by several bodies of militia and volunteers, who, after feigned retreats in order to draw them into ambuscades, which they had laid for them, at last took post in a house which had been fortified with palisades, and was advantageously seated on an eminence, where they made so brisk a fire, that the army was obliged to halt. The *English* then set about battering the house with their artillery; but their cannon, it seems, were so ill served, that it did little or no damage. They continued, however, firing till night, both with artillery and small arms, during which time they were answered by the battery which commanded the lesser river. After this they retired, and, as we are told, with considerable loss, and at first in tolerable good order, till the great bell of the cathedral ringing as if it had been the signal for all the troops in the place to fall out upon them, they were seized with a panic, and made what haste they could to regain their camp. Whilst these things passed on the side of the little river, two men of war that were above *Quebec* fell down with the tide to their old station, and as they passed the city exchanged some shot with it.

English attack
a fortification
in vain.

Discom-
p.

On the night of the twenty first the *English* made use of the extreme darkness, and the rain which then fell to break up their camp, and get on board, leaving their cannon behind them.

Crises of a
disappoint-
ment deter-
ring the enter-
prise.

What probably disconcerted the *English* general, was his seeing all the troops of the colony assembled at *Quebec*, whereas he had greatly depended on a strong diversion in his favour on the side of *Montreal*. He had some grounds for this expectation, since there was a body of three thousand men, consisting of *English*, *Iroquois*, and *Mabingans*, appointed to fall upon the territory of *Montreal*, whilst *Quebec* was besieged by the *English* fleet. There was reason enough to conclude that *Canada*, weakened by its great losses the preceding years, would be forced to yield to two such

powerful

powerful efforts, and we may safely say that nothing but providence prevented its falling into the hands of the *English*.

The cause of this disappointment was ascribed to the small pox, which got among the *Mahingan* *Indians* whilst they were marching to the place of rendezvous; whence the *Iroquois*, disgusted with the delay occasioned by it, and dreading the effects of that fatal distemper, which was almost new to them, left the camp. And their apprehensions were but too well founded, since they lost above three hundred of their people who had contracted the infection, and hence it came to pass that the whole army was dispersed. Another cause is said to be occasioned by the refusal of the *English* to embark on board the canoes of the *Iroquois*, which are made of slight materials, as of the bark of trees, for fear of drowning. The *Iroquois* reproached them with cowardice, and refused to have any further dealings with such dastards. The true cause, however, seems rather to be the policy of those *Indians*, who would willingly hold the balance between the two great *European* powers, Policy of the whom they equally dread, and prevent as much as possible the one from entirely exterminating the other, justly concluding that they themselves must become the next victims to the ambition of the conquerors.

Their disappointments, with the failing of a diversion on the side of *Montreal*, Siege of Quebec and the impracticableness of forcing a way to *Quebec* cross the river *St Charles*, made the General *Phipps* think of raising the siege, which he did, and set sail, on the evening of the twenty third, having lost in the three actions, according to some accounts, near six hundred of his men, and exhausted all his ammunition of every sort, together with most part of his own fortune.

The year following the *English* of *New York* made preparations for attacking *Montreal*, Montreal which was now in a condition to defend itself, by the raising of the siege of *Quebec*. Montreal This fort stood thirty paces from the river, on a steep rock, situated betwixt the two meadows, one of which is cut by a small river within gun shot of the fort, and a little further by a hollow; and between them there is a stream, with a mill on it. On this side, to the left of the fort, the militia were encamped, with some *Indians*, who then happened to be at *Montreal*. The regular troops encamped on the right, and the officers had pitched their tents on a rising ground opposite to them.

About an hour before day break the enemy were discovered, by a centinel, falling in between the first river and the hollow; but after this they had gained the banks of the river, and finding the quarters of the militia unprovided, had driven away the few that remained in it, and taken possession of it. On the alarm made by the centinel, the commander marched at the head of the troops, one part of whom took the way of the beach, and the other that of the meadow, marching round the fort. The battalion commanded by the oldest officer arrived first in sight of the quarter of the militia, and as he suspected all was not well, he halted in order to make what discoveries he could, when he received a discharge of musquetry, in which he was mortally wounded. The same instant the other battalion came up, and fell upon the enemy, who, after a vigorous resistance against superior numbers, made their retreat in good order, with very inconsiderable loss on the part of the *English*, but more on that of the *French* who had the advantage. The former perceiving a small *French* detachment, which followed them pretty close, laid an ambuscade for them, in which every man perished. Grown more confident with this success, they took the same way by which they came, when their scouts discovered the advanced guard of a body of troops coming to the relief of the place; and, concluding they had no more than the handful they saw to deal with, they fell upon them without hesitation. There happened to be the trunks of two large trees lying on the ground, behind which the *French* officer, with much sagacity, drew up his men, ordering them to lie flat on their faces till the first fire of the enemy was spent. Then rising up, he formed them into three bodies, and charged the enemy so fiercely, that they were every where obliged to give way. After, however, rallying twice, and returning to the fight, which lasted an hour and half, they were forced to betake themselves to flight in great confusion, leaving six-score dead on the spot, and twice that number wounded, with the loss of colours and baggage. The *French* allow themselves to have had sixty killed, and as many wounded, in this short but sharp action.

This was *Canada* rendered powerful and flourishing, in comparison of what it had been but two years ago, through the vigilance, activity and firmness of Count *Frontenac*.

Address of a
deputy from
the *Sicux*.

tenac. There seemed but little cause of apprehending any attempt from *England*, and the incursions of the *Iroquois* rather made the inhabitants uneasy, than did them any real detriment. In the year 1695 arrived a deputy from the *Sicux*, demanding the protection of the governor general, the ceremonial of which is worth relating. Approaching the Count with a very dismal air, and placing both his hands on his knees, he conjured him with tears in his eyes to have compassion on him; adding that whereas all the other nations had their father, yet he for his part had none, being in the condition of a child that had been abandoned and deserted by its parents. Then extending a robe of beaver-skin on the ground, he placed on it two and twenty arrows, and, taking them up one after another, named at each arrow the name of some village, for which he, at the same time, demanded the general's protection. The Count consented; though no care has since been taken to preserve that nation in the *French* interest, and though a great profit might be got from the hides and wool of the buffaloes, with which their vast plains have been already said to abound.

French
scheme of in-
vasion frustra-
ted.

In 1696 the *French* formed a project of invading the provinces of *New England* and *New York*. By the plan of operations, their army was to march from *Montreal*, and take *Albany*, and from thence proceed to *New York*, and, with the assistance of a *French* fleet, to reduce *Boston*, the chief difficulty of which they seemed to place rather in the extreme uncertainty of the junction of all the troops necessary for such an undertaking, the vast expence of time requisite for such a design, and, lastly, the difficulty of carrying provisions for an army on board of canoes, which was looked upon as almost unsurmountable. The fleet designed against *Boston* was to consist of ten ships of the line of battle, one frigate, and two fire ships, commanded by the Marquis de *Normand*, who, after joining with a squadron fitting out at *Rockfort*, under the command of M. de *Magnon*, was to proceed with all diligence to the Bay of *Placentia*, in hopes to be early enough to prevent the *English* from reconquering what they had lost the year before in *Newfoundland*. And if he found them besieging *Placentia*, his orders were to attack them, and, in case of success, to set sail for *Pentagoet* in *Acadia*, and thence to dispatch a vessel to *Quebec*, to hasten the departure of Count *Frontenac*, who was to repair to him with 1500 men. This junction made, and the troops embarked, they were to sail instantly for *Boston*, and, after taking it, to scour all the coast as far as *Pescadore*, ruining all the plantations as high up the country as possible. If this succeeded, they were to attempt *Marbatts*, if the season permitted, and, after reducing that city, to leave behind the troops of *Canada*, who, in their return home, were to ravage the colony of *New York*. The failure of carrying this vast project into execution Father *Charlevoix* ascribes solely to want of diligence. But an *Englishman* will take occasion, from this bold and mischievous, and, as it is imagined, well laid scheme, to reflect with joy and trembling on the late danger of his colonies from the much more flourishing and formidable state of *Canada* in these later times. But what has he still to expect, if the *French* be suffered to possess and people *Louisiana*, a country larger than *Europe*, situated under the finest climates, and at the back of his plantations? He will see no way to remove his just apprehensions, from the thriving progress of the enemy in those parts, but by the conquest of *Canada*. To this we have now an open door, which the *French* will never be able to shut while we have *Louisbourg* in our hands, the restoration of which has since appeared only justifiable by the necessity of extricating our faithful allies from their difficulties, and procuring them good and honourable terms of peace.

Settlement
of limits.

A peace having been concluded in *Europe*, commissioners were appointed to settle the limits of the territories belonging to the two crowns in *America*, which had been the occasion of much wrangling and bloodshed. According to this settlement, the limits of *Canada*, in which *Acadia* seems to have been comprehended, were assigned at the river of *St George*, situated almost at an equal distance from *Keabequi* and *Pentagoet*; whereas they had formerly been extended as far as the first of those two places. Nothing was determined with respect to the country of the *Iroquois*, those *Indians* pretending to an absolute independance on either nation. All *Thapan's Bay* was also left in the hands of the *French*, who were in the actual possession of it, as well as of the island of *Cape Breton*, being then of small consequence, and the settlement there being too inconsiderable to give any cause of uneasiness to the *English*; but the war, which broke out soon after between the two crowns, remitted the decision of boundaries to the state of arms.

M. de

M de Caillieres succeeding Count Frontenac in the government of Canada, was willing to take advantage of the favourable disposition of the *Iroquois* towards a peace; and, in spite of the opposition of the governor of *New York*, he succeeded so well, that, in 1701, the deputies of the *Guigaguins*, *Tsonnontbonins*, *Onnontagues*, *Onneyoutbs*, and *Agouers*, the five nations included under the general name of *Iroquois*, in the *British* colonies, and better known by the names of *Senecas*, *Cayuga's*, *Onsdagoes*, *Ottawa's*, and *Mohawks*, arrived at *Montreal*. They were soon followed by those of the *Indian* nations in the *French* interest, when the *Rat*, who was the orator and chief of the deputation of the *Hurons* of *Michilimakinac*, made the governor a very fine compliment in the name of all the rest.

General assembly of Indians in order for peace.

This treaty had been effected by the negotiations of the *Sieur de Courtemanche*, and of *Father Angebran*, who had been sent with a commission for that purpose. In their progress, on their arrival at *Michilimakinac*, they found almost all the *Indians* absent at hunting; wherefore, after dispatching messengers to inform them of the cause of their arrival, the Count left his colleague to transact matters with the *Hurons* and *Outawais*, and repaired to the river of *St Joseph*, where he met the *Miamis*, and parties of the *Poutewatamis*, *Sokokis*, *Outagamis*, *Hurons*, and *Mabingan Indians*. Hence he proceeded to the *Illinois*, and, in his return to *Chicagou*, visited the *Oyyatanous*, a nation of the *Miamis*. In *May* following he took a progress to the country of the *Mascoutins*, and, continuing his journey towards *Hu'sen's Bay*, met several bodies of the *Sakis*, *Otebagras*, *Mullonnes*, *Outagamis*, *Poutewatamis*, and *Kikapous*. Thence returning to *Michilimakinac*, he found the negotiation happily concluded by the zeal and address of *Father Angebran*. On the Count's arrival the father set out for *Montreal*, leaving the Count at *Michilimakinac*, where his presence was necessary for removing some scruples that arose with respect to the restitution of prisoners, which those nations had taken from the *Iroquois*, some being desirous of retaining them, in order to treat separately with the cantons of that people, whilst others wanted only to embroil matters. *Courtemanche* had many difficulties to encounter, most of those nations being in arms against the *Iroquois*, and many of them one against another; but he had the good fortune to surmount them all, and at last embarked for *Montreal*, with a fleet of 180 canoes.

Procured by French mediation.

Before the meeting of the general assembly of the *Indians* abovementioned, the governor held private conferences with the deputies apart, though there had been already a preliminary debate, in which the deputies chiefly insisted on lowering the price of commodities, and purchasing all their lesser peltry, beaver skins beginning to grow scarce. At last every thing being settled with the deputies in particular, it remained only to sign the articles, and proclaim the peace.

Difficulties removed.

For the performance of this solemnity a large plain was chosen without the city, surrounded with a double inclosure, at one end of which was erected a canopy for the ladies and principal persons of the place. The troops were drawn up round the lists, and the *Indians*, in number 1300, were drawn up within them in beautiful order. The governor, attended by *M. de Champigny*, the *Chevalier de Vaudreuil*, and the principal officers, placed himself so as to be seen and heard by all the people, and addressing himself to the *Indians* told them, in few words, that he had the year before established a peace between all the nations. But as none of the Northern and Western people, except the *Hurons* and *Outawais*, had been present at the treaty, he had acquainted the others with his desire, that they should send deputies, at whose general assembly he might solemnly take the hatchet out of their hands, and declare to all those who should acknowledge him for their father, that he took upon him to be, for the time to come, the arbiter of all their differences. He therefore advised them to forget all that was past, and intrust all their concerns to his management, in which he would take care to see strict justice done. He added, that they had reason to be weary of the war, which had been equally unprofitable to all of them; and that therefore he doubted not to receive their thanks, as soon as they should have tasted the sweets of peace.

French governor's speech to Indian deputies.

This speech of the governor, being repeated to the several nations by their interpreters, was answered with general acclamations, and belts, and robes, were at the same time distributed among the chiefs, who rising up one after another, and marching with a grave and solemn pace, clothed in their robes of beaver skins, presented their prisoners to the governor, together with belts, the meaning of which was explained to him. All of them spoke with great politeness, and in a very sensible manner;

Solemn de- partment of Indians.

but their principal aim was to enforce a belief that they were sacrificing their own interest to the love of peace, and to their great deference to the will of their father, at the same time insinuating how little they had to fear on the part of the *Iroquois*, tho' they had small reason to depend on their sincerity.

This ceremony, serious as it was, afforded matter of much merriment to the *French* spectators, many of the *Indian* nations appearing in a very ridiculous dress, which, contrasted with the solemnness of their deportment, excited laughter beyond all supposition. The chief of the *Algonkins*, a tall handsome youth, was dressed like a *Canadian* traveller, with his hair done up with red feathers, which formed a sort of crown resembling a cock's comb. This hero, who had performed some admirable feats against the *Iroquois*, advancing towards the governor, with a noble and unaffected air, said " My father, if my reputation as a counsellor is but small, let it be remembered that I have ever made it my maxim to obey thee in all things; and since thou hast settled peace, I bury all my resentment in oblivion". The chief of the *Poutouatamis* wore a sort of bonnet or casket, made of the skin of a bull's head, the horns hanging over his ears. This personage passed for a man of solid judgment, joined to great sweetness of temper, and a strong affection to the *French*; his speech is said to have been well spoken, and in a very obliging manner. The *Outagamian* orator had his face painted red, and on his head an old scare crow wig, of which he seemed particularly vain, all covered with powder, but shockingly dressed, which gave him an air at once ridiculous and hideous. As he had neither hat nor cap, and was desirous to salute the governor after the *French* manner, he pulled off his peruke, on which the assembly broke out into a peal of laughter, at which he was not in the least disconcerted, but probably took it for applause. He told the general that the reason why he had brought no prisoners was because they had all made their escape, and that his principal hostilities had been committed against the *Sicux*, and not against the *Iroquois*. The *Saulteur* chief had on his head an ornament of feathers, formed into a kind of rays resembling the flowers of the auricula. He said that he had already given his prisoners their liberty, and that he conjured his father to grant him his friendship. The *Iroquois* inhabitants of the colony, and the *Algonkins* spoke last, expressing much zeal for the growth and prosperity of the *French* settlements. Then all the spectators, casting their eyes on the orator of the *Iroquois* cantons, or Five Nations, who had not as yet spoken, he said, in brief, that those he had the honour to represent, would soon convince all the other nations of the wrong they did them by their distrust, and that they would satisfy the most incredulous among them of their fidelity, sincerity, and respect for their common father.

Dresses and
feeces.

Treaty signed

Subsequent
transactions.

The treaty was then produced, and signed by 38 *Indian* deputies, after which the great pipe was brought forth. The governor first smoked in it, then the *French* officers of greatest distinction, with all the *Indian* chiefs and deputies in their turn, after which *Te Deum* was sung. Three whole oxen were boiled in their caldrons, and every one was served with his portion, all passing with much order and decency.

These transactions were followed by giving audience to the *Upper Indians* and *Iroquois*; the accession of the *Agniers* otherwise *Mohawks* to the treaty; the sending missionaries to the Five Nations at their own request, not to convert but to watch over their proceedings, and to frustrate the negotiations of the *English*; the hostilities of the *English* in the breaking out of the war; their threats against *New France*; the project for settling a mission in *Acadia*; some proceedings of the *Indians* in the *French* colony prejudicial to their interest; the death of *Cailhieres* succeeded by *Vaudreuil*; a deputation from the *Tsonnonthonans* or *Cayugas*; and, lastly, an expedition into *New England* by the *Sieur de Beaubassin* at the head of a body of *Abenakis*, with the slaughter of about 300 of that province, which was revenged by an inroad into *Acadia*, the country of those *Indians*; and lastly another surprize of *New Englanders* by the same *Indians*, in which many were killed, and 150 taken prisoners.

Manufactures
established in
Canada.

In 1706, the governor of *Canada* proposed to the king's council a permission for the inhabitants to cultivate hemp and flax, and to manufacture them in that country, where not only linens, but even woollen stuffs, were men to such an advanced price, that the poorer sort were obliged to go half naked. The answer of the minister was, that the king, his master, was extremely pleased to find that his subjects of *Canada* had at last acknowledged their fault in neglecting the cultivation of their lands for the fur trade. And particularly he approved of their design of growing hemp

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A NEW MAP
of
 NOVA SCOTIA,
 and
 CAPE BRITAIN

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hemp and flax, hoping that in time they might also come to build ships in *Canada*, and those much cheaper than in *Old France*, as well as settling fisheries so advantageous to the nation. Wherefore nothing should be omitted to encourage and assist them, but that it was not for the interest of *Old France* that manufactures should be set up in *America*, though he was not absolutely against suffering such as were of small consequence, for the relief of the poorer inhabitants of the colony. This permission has been since employed to establish manufactures of linen and druggets, which are very advantageous to the country.

Soon after, the *English*, with a body of two thousand men, set about erecting a new fort at the extremity of *Lake Sacrament*, (now *Lake George*) and fortifying a post on *Lake Champlain*, within two days march of the *French* fort at *Chambly*. But they were obliged to desert and decamp, after destroying their works, and losing a great part of their troops by the treachery of the *Iroquois*, who poisoned their water. Vain attempt of the English to fortify and extend their frontier.

The next thing we find in the histories of *Canada* worthy of notice is the expedition against *Quebec*, in 1712, by an *English* fleet under Sir *Rowenden Walker*, whilst General *Nickelson*, with a considerable body of troops, was to make a diversion on the side of *Montreal*. The miscarriage of this enterprize seems to have been entirely owing to the ill conduct of the *English* admiral, who kept sailing on towards the *Seven Islands*, on the North shore of the River of *St Laurence*, and, through the ignorance of the pilots, was cast away on *Egg Island*, with seven others of his largest vessels, in a sudden squall of wind, in which, besides the loss of his ships, cannon, and other effects, three thousand of his men perished. The land army, after the hearing of this disaster, had nothing more to do but to make their retreat. Expedition against Quebec miscarries.

In the year following, the *English* again menacing *Quebec*, the merchants of that capital made a voluntary present of fifty thousand crowns, to be laid out on additional fortifications. Quebec stronger.

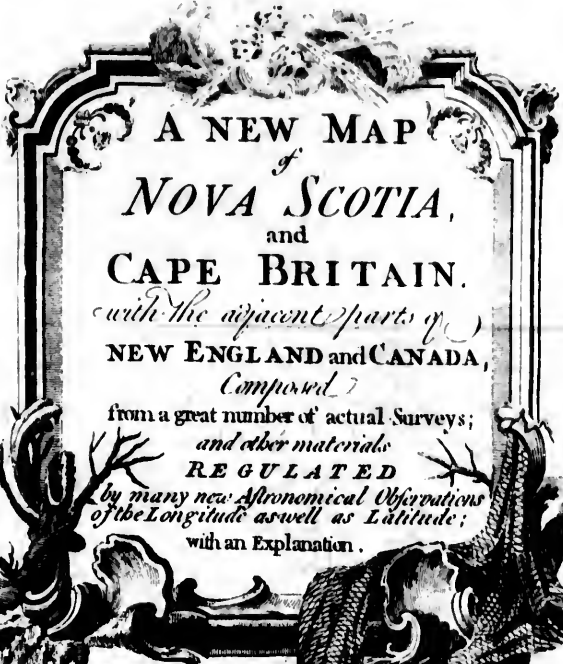
The negotiations for settling the peace of *Utrecht* were not yet concluded, when the governors of *New England* and *New France* received orders from their respective courts to cease hostilities; and *Lewis XIV.* yielded up *Acadia*, *Newfoundland*, and *Hudson's Bay*, together with all his pretensions to the country of the *Iroquois*, or Five Nations, to the crown of *Great Britain*. And as there now remained nothing to *France* in those seas but the island of *Cape Breton*, which they reserved as proper for establishing a fishery, a principal object with the *French* about this time, a description of this important spot of land, on account of its close relation to *Canada*, will not, it is presumed, be altogether unacceptable to the reader, and may very properly be introduced here before we conclude our description and history of the Northern part of *New France*. Cessions of France to Great Britain.

· C A P E B R E T O N, called by the *French* L'ISLE ROYALE.

Is situated between 45 and 47 degrees of North latitude, and forms the Western coast of the entry of the gulph of *St Laurence*, as the island of *Newfoundland* does that on the Eastern, the distance between them being sixteen leagues. The strait which separates it from *Acadia*, or *New Scotland*, is about five leagues long, and one broad, and is called the gut of *Canso*, or Pass of *Fronsac*. Its length from N. E. to S. W. is not quite fifty leagues, and its greatest breadth from E. to W. not more than thirty three. Its figure is very irregular, being so intersected with lakes and rivers that the two principal parts of it are only joined by an isthmus eight hundred paces broad, which separates the bottom of *Port Tboulouse* from several lakes, called by the general name of *Labrador*. These lakes fall into the sea by two channels of unequal breadth, formed by the island of *Verderonne*, or *de la Bourlarlerie*, seven leagues in length. Geography of Cape Breton.

The climate of *Cape Breton* is much like that of *Quebec*, and though fogs are much more frequent in the former, there are, however, few complaints of its unwholesomeness. The land is generally unfruitful, yet produces trees of all kinds; such as oaks of a prodigious size, pines for masts, with all sorts of timber fit for building. The most common are the oak, cedar, ash, maple, plane tree, and poplar. Fruits, especially apples, legumes, or pulse, wheat, with all other sorts of useful grain, hemp, flax, though in less quantity, are, however, equal in goodness to those produced in *Canada*. It has been remarked that the mountains are capable of culture, even to their tops; that the good lands lie open to the South, and are covered from the North, and North West winds by the mountains which lie towards the gulph of *St Laurence*. Vegetables.

All



A NEW MAP
of
NOVA SCOTIA,
 and
CAPE BRITAIN.
with the adjacent parts of
NEW ENGLAND and CANADA,
Composed

from a great number of actual Surveys;
 and other materials
REGULATED
 by many new Astronomical Observations
 of the Longitude as well as Latitude;
 with an Explanation.

Observations on which this Map is Grounded

Place	Latitude	Longitude	Observer
Quebeck	46 55	75 15	Brighton's Bay
Boston	42 25	71 20	Brighton's Bay
Cape Sable	43 25	65 57	Chabert 1751
Cape Canso	45 25	65 15	Chabert
Grande Anse	45 57	65 40	Chabert
Louisbourg or English Harbour	45 55	64 45	Chabert

PART OF
NEW FRANCE
OR
KIRKS LAND





No difficulty in finding the N. P. L. Lawrence did not come to the River to the Bay from Orleans I. I have the Channel being very narrow & not possible to pass without a pilot Boat.



GULF OF
NOVA SCOTIA

called by the FRENCH

THE GULF OF
ST. LAWRENCE

NEW
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LAND

Sable Island

from a great number of actual Surveys;
and other materials
REGULATED
by many new Astronomical Observations
of the Longitude as well as Latitude;
with an Explanation.

Observations on which this Map is Grounded	Place	Lat.	Longitude	Observations
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Boston	42. 25	71. 04	Chart 1791	
Cape Sable	43. 25	67. 04	Chart 1791	
Cape Canso	45. 00	65. 15	Chart	
Grande Anse	45. 37	65. 40	Chart	
Louiburg or	45. 55	64. 15	Chart	
English Harbour				



From Quebec to Kennebec R. Mouth, the mouth
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by the R. de Chaudiere, Riv. de Canada as short.

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NOVA SCOTIA

called by the FRENCH

THE GULF OF

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NOVA SCOTIA fishing Banks from Cap^t Durel's Chart

Explanation
 A Single Stroke under the Name of a place denotes
 the Latitude being Observed in Lines both Latitude &
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English Marine Leagues to 60 a Degree

English Miles 69 to a Degree



Part of St. George's Bank

Animals.

All sorts of domestic animals, horses, horned cattle, hogs, sheep, deer, and poultry find abundance of provender. Hunting and fishing are alone able to maintain the inhabitants for a considerable part of the year. There are also several rich mines of excellent coal, and those lying high on mountains, and therefore may be wrought at a small expence; there is also found plaster like that dug up near *Paris*. It is affirmed that no part in the world affords greater plenty of cod fish, and, with more conveniences of all sorts for curing them. This island was formerly well stocked with wild game, but it has lately become very scarce, especially the elk. The partridge is of the size of a pheasant, resembling it also very much in the colour of its feathers. Lastly, no place can be better situated for the fishery of the sea wolf, porpoise, and whale, which are found in great plenty in those seas.

Ports.

All its ports are open towards the east, somewhat inclining to the South, within the space of fifty five leagues, beginning with *Porte Dauphine* as far as *Porte Thoulouse*, situated almost at the entrance of the straits, or gut, of *Fronfac*. Every where else you hardly find any anchoring ground, except only for small vessels in the creeks and between the islets. The whole Northern coast is very high, and almost inaccessible; and it is equally difficult to find any landing place on the West, till you come to the straits of *Fronfac*, in your course from which you immediately meet with *Port Thoulouse*, formerly known by the name of *Porte St Peter*, and situated between a sort of gulph, called *Little St Peter*, and the islands of *St Peter*, opposite to the isles *Madame*, otherwise *Maurepas*. From thence returning towards the South East, you discover the Bay of *Gaborous*, the entry whereof, which is about twenty leagues distant from the islands of *St Peter*, is a league in breadth, lying between islands and rocks. All these islands may be approached, and some of them run out with capes a league and half into the sea. The bay is two leagues deep, and the anchorage very good.

Port of Louisbourg, and others of Cape Breton described.

The harbour of *Louisbourg*, formerly *English Harbour*, is no more than a league distant, and one of the principal ports in all *America*. It is near four leagues in circuit, and has every where from six to seven fathoms water. The anchorage is excellent, and ships may be run ashore on the mud without danger. The entry is no more than two hundred fathoms wide, between two small islands, and is easily known at sea by *Cape Lorembec*, situated near it, towards the North East. Two leagues higher is *Porte de la Baleine*, or *Whales Port*, the entry of which is very difficult on account of some rocks, which lie hid under water when the sea runs high. This harbour is capable of no larger vessels than that of three hundred ton, for want of deeper water, though it be very secure when once entered. Two leagues hence is the Bay of *Panadou* or *Menadou*, the entry of which is about a league in breadth and the bay itself two leagues in depth. Almost opposite is the island of *Scatari*, formerly *Little Cape Breton*, above two leagues in length. The Bay of *Miré* is separated from it only by a very narrow isthmus. Its entry is near two leagues broad, and the bay itself eight in depth. It contracts as you advance within it, and several streams or rivulets discharge themselves into it. Large vessels may sail safely till they are got six leagues within it, where is good anchorage, and shelter from winds. Besides the islands of *Scatari*, there are several lesser, as also rocks, which are never covered, but discernible at a great distance; the largest is called the *Forillon*. The bay of *Morienne* is higher, and separated from *Miré* by *Cap Brulé*, and higher still, is *Isle Plate*, or *Flat Island*, otherwise *Isle à Pierre*, that is *à fu sal*, or *Flint-stone Island*, exactly in forty six degrees eight minutes North latitude. There is good shelter amongst all these islands and rocks, and they may also be approached without danger. Thence ascending three leagues further towards the North West, you come to an excellent harbour for small vessels, called *l'Indiane*.

From *l'Indiane* to the Bay of *des Espagnols*, or *Spanish Bay*, are two leagues; this bay has also a very fine harbour. The entry of it does not exceed one thousand paces in breadth, growing broader by degrees. A league from its entrance it divides forming two arms of a competent depth three leagues higher. Both arms make excellent harbours, and might be much improved at a trifling expence. From this bay to the lesser entry of *Labrador* you have two leagues, and to the island which divides the lesser from the larger entry two leagues more. *Labrador* is a gulph of above twenty leagues in length, and from three to four leagues in breadth where broadest. They reckon but a league and half from the great entry of *Labrador* to *Port Dauphin*, or *St Anne*. The anchorage is an open road between

mouth of the harbour, leaving only room for one ship to pass at a time. The port is two leagues in circumference, in which vessels hardly feel the wind, because of the height of the lands and mountains with which it is surrounded, tho' they may ride as close as they please to the shore. All these harbours and ports lie so contiguous to one another, that it would be very easy to cut roads between them, which would be of infinite service to the inhabitants, in facilitating their mutual correspondence, and save them the trouble of fetching a compass by sea in the winter season.

Whilst the French remained in possession of Acadia, or New Scotland, and the Southern coast of Newfoundland, they made little account of the island of Cape Breton. The Sieurs *Renaudot* were the first who took upon them to recommend it to the attention of the French ministry in 1706, on account of its utility to New France. For this purpose they transmitted a memorial to court, in which they intimate that since the chief and almost sole view in establishing the colony of Canada, at least of those concerned in it as members and proprietors of a company, had been the traffic of furs, principally beaverskins, those interested ought to have reflected and foreseen, that one day this commodity must be in a great measure exhausted, or else too common, and, consequently, far from sufficient for the support of a colony of so much consequence; that the last of these evils, the low price of beaverskins, had actually come to pass, and that those who had got enough to live at ease in Old France were, for that very reason, less concerned what became of New France. Then they observe that this trade can never employ any considerable number of people, and never can suffice alone to maintain or enrich a whole colony; and that, even supposing the consumption of those commodities certain, the evil last mentioned could only be avoided by running into the first; for want of making these reflexions, the inhabitants of New France had almost addicted themselves to this commerce, never considering the impossibility of finding a general sale for beaver, as they might undoubtedly for cod and other fish; that they had been so accustomed to long and fatiguing journeys, and to a life of wandering and strolling through forests and woods, and crossing of lakes, that tho' the value of beaver was sunk so low as not to be worth their pains, they could not yet, without great difficulty, be brought to subject themselves to any more profitable but more confined way of life.

The English, on the contrary, say they, have observed quite another method, and, instead of amusing themselves with long and uncertain peregrinations, have made it their business to cultivate their lands, have established manufactures, erected glass-works, discovered iron mines, followed ship-building, and have never regarded the furrery but as an accessory and not a principal article of commerce.

Indeed necessity has at last opened the eyes of the Canadians, and they have been obliged to turn their hands to cultivate hemp and flax, to making of sails, and of some ordinary druggets of the wool of their old cloaths mixed with thread; but the long habit of doing of nothing had not as yet suffered them to overcome their lazy indolence. That if all of them had corn and cattle sufficient for their subsistence, yet still multitudes want cloaths, and are under a necessity of passing very long and sharp winters with no other than such as are made of doe skins.

The king is at a yearly expence of a hundred thousand crowns towards the support of this colony; the skins, or furs, amount to about two hundred and four thousand livres; oils and other inferior articles return about twenty thousand livres; the pensions which lie upon the royal treasury, what the king allows private persons, and the revenues of the bishop and seminaries, paid by Old France, amount to fifty thousand livres more; making in all six hundred and fifty thousand livres, [reckoning three livres to the crown] which is the whole of the value or stock in trade, of the whole country. A very inconsiderable matter indeed, with respect to the subsistence of five and twenty thousand souls, and providing them also with all necessaries from the mother country.

Formerly the king bestowed a much greater sum on the colony, the returns then amounted to near a million in beaverskins, and at a time when that province was not near so populous; but as she was never able to make returns equal to her receipts from Europe, her credit diminished, and at last sunk entirely, so that no goods were to be had in France, till the merchants had paid for them with ready money, or by a considerable consignment. Thus, as well as by the fall of the price of beaverskins, all the money of Canada was drained into France; whence it has been affirmed that at

Memorial of the Sieurs *Renaudot*.

In sufficiency of the fur trade.

Industry of the Eng^{ls}.

Canadians forced upon agriculture and manufactures.

Stock in trade of Canada

Colony drained of money.

History of the Settlement of the Island

certain times there were not a thousand crowns in specie to be found in the whole colony.

Thus far they proceed in representing the state of affairs in *Canada*. They next take the liberty to offer proposals to render the colony more flourishing, and to prevent or remedy all future complaints.

Canada improved by Cape Breton.

Canada has, say they, sufficient commodities to drive on a very lucrative commerce, such as salt flesh, matts, deal boards, side-planks, small and great timber for shipping, pitch, tar, whale oil, and oil of porpoises and sea-wolves, codfish, hemp, flax, copper and iron. All that is necessary to be done, is to find a market for the consumption of these commodities, and to lower the price of labour, and of the commodities of *Old France*. *Cape Breton* was therefore judged the properest place for a mart, or staple, between *France* and *Canada*, for carrying on the mutual commerce of both countries, as well as for a nursery of seamen, it being the most advantageously situated, and even absolutely necessary for the cod and whale fishery, as well in the gulf of *St Lawrence*, as else where in the neighbouring seas.

Island convenient for smuggling.

Such was the substance of the memorial and of the proposals it offers. But there was another advantage which the *French* promised themselves from settling *Cape Breton*, resulting from its most commodious situation for smuggling brandies, wines, linen, silks, and other *French* commodities into the *English* colonies, not only of *North America*, but also of their islands, which must be a considerable diminution of the cash, and detriment to the manufactures, of *Great Britain*. The island is also considerable with respect to the value of its native produce, as coals, plaster, codfish, oils, timber and lumber, as well for serving *France* as their islands in the *West Indies*; and as a convenient shelter for ships in distress, and a refuge under pursuit of an enemy.

Choice of Louisbourg harbour, and site of the city.

On settling this island, which the *French* had reserved to themselves by the peace of *Utrecht*, after they had renounced all claims to *Acadia* and *Newfoundland*, the first thing under deliberation was to make choice of a harbour on which to build a city. The opinions were a long time divided betwixt *English Harbour* and *Port St Anne*. For the former were urged the vast quantities of cod which frequented it, and might be conveniently caught from *April* to the end of *December*. But this argument in its favour seemed counterbalanced by the want of a beach, or convenient shore, for any great number of fishing-vessels, the barrenness of the country round it, and the immense sums it must cost to fortify it. They who were for the harbour of *St Anne*, besides the shelter it affords to ships from the height of its banks and the neighbouring mountains, and the easy access of all sorts of vessels near the beach, added, that it might be fortified at a trifling expence, since as much work might be done here for two thousand livres, as at *English Harbour* for two hundred thousand, because it afforded all sorts of materials proper for building and fortifying a great city. Besides the beach was as large as that of *Placentia*, and no less the quantity of fish. To those advantages might be added the vast variety of timber, such as maple, beech, cherry-trees, and, above all, oaks for ship-building, and masts, marble in great quantity, the lands excellent, especially those of the greater and lesser *Labrador*, which are also capable of maintaining a great number of inhabitants; and that it is no more than four leagues from *Spanish Bay*, an excellent harbour, the adjacent lands of a rich soil, and producing much timber fit for ship-building. There was, however, one main and overbalancing inconvenience attending *St Anne's Harbour*, and that is, the difficulty of getting into it, which, after much wavering between the two, gave at last the preference to *English Harbour*, since named *Louisbourg*, on account of its easy access.

We think ourselves obliged, before we conclude our account of this important spot of earth, to give an historical relation of the several revolutions it has of late years undergone, which the reader will find in the following order.

Cape Breton ceded to France.

Cape Breton, and the other islands in the bay of *St Lawrence*, which, together with *Novia Scotia*, had been reduced by the *English* in 1710, were, by the peace of *Utrecht*, given to the *French* in exchange for *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*, and all other right and title to that island, with a reserve, however, of liberty, for the *French* and *Spaniards* to catch and cure fish in its Northern harbours. By the same treaty, *Novia Scotia*, called by the *French* *Acadia*, whose undetermined bounds, together with other claims, unsettled by that and other succeeding negociations, have given occasion

to

to the present war, were left in possession of the *English*. While this peace was under debate at the *English* board of trade and plantations, and the importance of *Cape Breton* was strongly urged, *A. M—r*, one of the commissioners, took up the matter short with a decisive question in favour of his good friends, saying, "And what shall the *French* then have nothing?"

In 1717 the *French* of *Canada*, alarmed at the advancement of the *English* settlements towards the North of *New England*, solicited the *Abenakis Indians*, by Father *Rolle*, their Jesuit missionary at *Kenebec*, to claim some lands occupied by the new settlers. Influenced by his persuasions, and assuring them that these lands were given by God, unalienably, to the *Indians* and their seed for ever, they began to murmur, and, after some time, gave the *English* formal warning to leave the lands within a set time. When that term was expired, they began their depredations by destroying cattle and other stock. However the small pox, which the *Indians*, with good reason, dread, prevailing in *New England*, and the governor of *Canada*'s expectations of particular instructions concerning the affair from *France*, prevented a declared rupture. In 1721 *M. Coixes* from *Canada*, *M. St Castlen* from *Penobscot*, *Rolle* and *de la Chasse*, *French* missionaries, with about three hundred *Indians*, made a general appearance at *Arrowsick*, an island of *Sagadahock*, threatening, that if the *English* did not remove from the claimed *Indian* lands in three weeks, they would kill the people, burn their houses, and destroy their cattle. Accordingly, at *Merrymeeting* bay on *Kenebec* river, *June* 13, 1722, the *Indians* made a beginning, and took several captives. *July* 5, 1722, the governor of *Massachusetts Bay* proclaimed the *Indians* enemies and rebels, and ordered 100*l.* per scalp to volunteers fitted out at their own charge, and afterwards 4*s.* per day besides. The most considerable action against them was at *Noridgewaug* by *Kenebec* river, *August* 12, 1724. Their fighting men being just returned from scouting, *Capt. Harman*, with 200 men in 17 whale boats went up the river and surprised them, bringing off 26 *Indian* scalps, and that of *Father Rolle*; the killed and wounded amounted to eighty. On the other hand, *Captain Lovel*, a volunteer, who had done great service, was intercepted in his way from *Ossipi* pond to *Pigecket*, by a party of about 70 *Indians*, and killed with 14 of his men volunteers out of 44, besides many wounded. *November* 17, 1723, arrived in *Boston* a captain and lieutenant of marines, with a message from the governor of *Canada*. And in *January*, 1725, two colonels and a gentleman were sent from *New England* with a message to expostulate with the government of *Canada*, concerning their inviting and assisting the rebellious *Indians*. After much skirmishing and blood shed, the *Indians* begged and obtained a cessation of arms, *December* 15, 1725, and in *May* following, a peace was concluded, by which the *Indians* of *Noridgewaug*, *Penobscot*, *St John's*, and *Cape Sables*, who signed the treaty, were secured in the possession of all their lands not hitherto conveyed, with the privilege of hunting, fowling, and fishing, as formerly.

In 1744, the war declared several years before between *England* and *Spain*, after long misunderstanding, and some previous acts of hostility, drew on another of *England* with *France*, which appeared to have taken *Spain* under her protection. *France* proclaimed war *March* 26, *N. S.* and *England* *April* 2; but at *Boston*, in *New England*, war was not proclaimed till *June* 13. On *May* 24, *Du Favier*, a *French* officer, who had early intelligence, with a few armed small vessels, and about 900 regular troops and militia from *Louisbourg* takes *Canso* in *Nova Scotia* without resistance, and carries the garrison and inhabitants to that fortress. After this he blockaded *Annapolis* for several weeks, but on the arrival of succours from *New England* retired to *Minas*, a town in the heart of that country, peopled by the *French* in subjection to the *English*, but disposed, on all occasions, to favour the attempts of their countrymen.

On *February* 5, 1745, *N. S.* at an assembly of the representatives of *Massachusetts Bay*, the most powerful and leading of the four provinces of *New England*,* it was concluded, by the majority of one vote, that, considering the imminent danger and annoyance to his majesty's Northern colonies, in time of war, from the neighbouring strong and most commodiously situated *French* harbour and garrison of *Louisbourg*, an attempt should be made to reduce that fortress. The governor of *New England* at that time was *Mr Shirley*, a man of the law, of great abilities and merit, and intimately acquainted with *Colonel Pepperell*, chief officer of the militia, one of the lar-

* The other provinces are *Connecticut*, *New Hampshire*, and *Rhode Island*.

Wars between the *English* and *Indians*.

War declared between *France* and *England*.

Siege and conquest of *Louisbourg* in 1745.

gest traders in *Boston*, and universally beloved for his integrity and affability. In confidence of his friendship and extensive interest, the governor proposes to him the command of the expedition. The colonel, after much hesitation, and long declining the offer, requiring a person of great military knowledge, at last yields to the instances of the governor, and intreaties of his friends, and accepted the charge. Wherefore, on *February 13*, enlistments began for volunteers, and such was the influence of the popular affection and respect to the general, that the levies soon amounted to 3600 effective men. At the end of *March* the fleet sailed with these forces to *Cansé*, where it remained three weeks, because the shore of *Cape Breton* was all that time inaccessible through ice. *May 10*, the fleet proceeded from *Cansé*, and next day anchored at *Chapeau Rouge* or *Gaboroué* Bay, a little S. of *Louisbourg*, where the troops repulsed the *French*, who opposed their landing, with the loss of eight killed and 20 prisoners, without losing a man. A detachment burnt *St Peter's*, a small *French* settlement. A day or two after a battery of some few small cannon, and three mortars of 13, 11, and 9 inches, was erected on the green hill, at 1550 yards distance from the king's bastion, called the citadel. *May 13*, 4000 men marched, under cover of the hills, to North East harbour, and burnt the store-houses and fish-stages, on which the troops on the grand battery retired into the town to strengthen the garrison, after nailing their cannon, in number about 30, of 36 and 42 pound balls, which were soon drilled, and served against the place. The besiegers dragged their heavy cannon upon sledges over morasses, impracticable by horses or oxen. No regular approaches were made by trenches carried on by parallels and zigzags, but the town was bombarded and battered at random, by which the houses were much damaged, and the West side of the citadel, with its adjoining flank and curtain, was greatly decayed, but no practicable breach made. *May 18*, a battery was erected at 900 yards distance, and the town was summoned. Next day the besieged made an insignificant sally. A body of *French Indians* did execution on a party of stragglers. On the 27th, 100 men in boats landed in the night, near the Light House point, to surprise those erecting a battery to play upon that in the island, but were timely discovered, and pursued to the woods, where they were joined by some *Indians*, and had several skirmishes with the outguards of the besiegers. On the 28th, a battery was advanced to 250 yards distance from the West gate. On the 30th the *Vigilante*, a *French* ship of 64 guns for *Louisbourg*, with men and stores, was taken by *Commodore Warren*, who, with the *Superbe* of 60 guns, and the *Lanceston* and *Mermaid* of 40, covered the siege by sea, and was afterwards reinforced by two ships of 60 guns, one of fifty, and three of forty. On the 31st, was erected, on the further side of a creek, a battery of five 42 pounders, called *Tidcomb's* battery, to play upon the circular battery and magazine. *June 5*, about 500 men in whale boats made an attempt on the island battery where was had landing, 30 cannon 28 pounders, and 180 men in garrison, and were repulsed with the loss of 60 men killed and wounded, and 116 taken prisoners. *June 23*, the *Canterbury* and *Sunderland* of 60 guns each arriving, it was resolved with these and the rest there before, consisting of one 64, two 60, one 50, and three 40 gun ships, to storm the town the 29th by sea, while the forces from the camp made an attack by way of diversion on the land, though the ditch was 80 feet wide, the rampart eighty feet high, and the scaling ladders 10 feet too short. But the garrison, composed of 600 regulars, with about, 300 militia, perceiving the preparations, thought it best to capitulate on the 28th, and were allowed the honours of war, not to serve for twelve months, and to be transported to *France* at the charge of *England*. The *French* had expended two millions of livres in fortifying the place, and it had when taken, cannon mounted on the town walls 64, and on the grand and island batteries as before mentioned, and no want of ammunition and stores. The loss of the besiegers did not exceed 150 men.

This expedition resulted greatly, and almost solely, to the honour of the people of *New England*. "When I reflect, says a writer of that time, on the sagacity and bravery of Mr *Pepperell* and of the *New English* engineer who left his shop-board, and the intrepidity of the rest of the *New Englishmen* in this undertaking; when I consider the coolness and bravery with which they marched to action, and their return from victory to their several occupations, I form in my mind the image of the ancient *Romans* leaving the plough for the field of battle, and retiring after their conquests to the plow again." And a *French* officer observed that in all history he had never met with such a bold instance as of 4300 raw undisciplined men laying siege

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1757 it was resolved to give a decisive blow, and the reduction of *Cape Breton* proposed as the first step, and most likely to produce either an honourable peace, or the total reduction of *Canada*. The Earl of *Loudoun* was appointed Captain General



References to the Siege in 1758.
 A. The Place where the English Landed.
 B. Lines made and
 C. A Battery erected by the French
 to oppose the English Landings.

*A PLAN of the
 CITY and HARBOUR of LOUISBURG,
 with the French Batteries that defended it,
 and those of the English, shewing that part
 of GABARUS BAY, in which they Landed,
 and the Ground on which they Encamped
 during the Siege in 1758.*



Settlements which were destroyed May 2 on which the Garrison with Royal Battery immediately Deserted it.

*A Map of
 GABARUS BAY
 adjoining to
 Louisburg.*

*It. This Bay is so extensive
 that the whole British Navy
 may ride in it with safety.*



*Flat Point
 for the British Fleet and
 Transports. In April 1758
 the French were prevented from
 landing by a detachment from Louisburg.*

*Detachments of the Left
 Brigadier General Lawrence
 Major General
 Major General*

*White Point
 Detachment of the Right Wing
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to so strong and well fortified a city, with such a garrison, batteries, &c. as he thought might have held out against an army of 30,000 men; that he never heard of such intrepidity in men, who regarded neither fire nor bombs: was quite surpris'd to see batteries rais'd in a night's time, particularly the sabbine battery, within twenty five roods of the city wall, to which guns of forty two pounders were dragged by the be-siegers two miles through a very rough road.

The news of this success was received with great rejoicings in England, and the conquest was thought so important, that at a court of aldermen of London it was mov'd by aldermen R—n that it should be an instruction to the committee for drawing up an address of congratulation to desire his majesty that he would most graciously be pleas'd not to suffer it to be given up by a general peace. But to this it was objected by Sir J—n B—nd that it was quite improper to the ministry, and more unjust still to tie them down in making a peace. At last it was agreed in their address, after grateful returns to heaven for the conquest of Cape Breton, as securing to his majesty's subjects a free and uninterrupted trade to America, and protecting them from the insults of a dangerous and ravenous enemy, to express their minds in the following most respectful and unexceptionable clause, *And we entirely rely on your royal patronage and protection to secure to your kingdoms the perpetual enjoyment of this valuable acquisition.*

Debate and clause in a congratulatory address.

The peace however was, with infinite regret, especially of the English Northern colonies, restored to the French by the Vth article of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, by which it was provided that all conquests made during the war, should be reciprocally restored; and by the IXth, two English noblemen of the first distinction was sent to France as hostages with certain advice of their evacuations. In vain had the troops of the colonies which had been levied by order of the secretary of state, kept the field all the next summer of 1746, in expectation of a fleet and army for the reduction of Canada, which they were made to hope. Very probably the English ministry might, upon deliberation, consider such an expedition, besides the hazard, of no benefit to the common cause, since, if it succeeded, they would be under a necessity of restoring such conquests for the same reason as they did *Louisbourg*, in exchange for the *Austrian Netherlands* and *Madras*. Wherefore orders were received in October 1747 for disbanding the troops of the colonies, and the English navy and land forces made an unsuccessful attempt upon Port L'orient. We pass over slightly some intermediate events of less consequence, as some fruitless attempts of the French upon *Annapolis*; the surpris of a party of New English by a body of French and Indians in *Minas*, through the treachery, as it was said, of the French inhabitants, with the loss of Colonel Noble and many other private men; the expedition of the French admiral d'Arville, with a strong squadron against *Nova Scotia*, which, through sickness and other disappointments, proved abortive; and the miscarriage of another French squadron destined for *Nova Scotia* and *Canada*, which was intercepted by the admirals Anson and Warren, May 3, 1747; just to mention the six other men of war taken by Admiral Hawke out of a squadron of eight, on October 14, of the same year.

In 1755, the hostilities committed the year before by the French near the *Olio*, made the preparation of war on each side quite necessary, though as yet without a declaration, wherefore in consequence of advice that a French fleet was sail'd with men and stores for *Canada*, Admiral Boscawen was sent with a squadron to intercept them. He came up with them the 10th of June, and after some resistance took the *Alcide* of sixty four guns and four hundred and eighty men, and the *Lys* pierc'd for sixty five guns, but mounted only twenty two, and carrying eight companies of land forces, both separated from the fleet by a fog, under favour of which the rest escap'd.

On September 6, orders were issued by the British court to all the fleets, squadrons, and single ships then out, to make reprisals of French ships. On May 17, 1756, England declared war against France, alleging for motives the encroachment of the French, particularly in *Nova Scotia*, the depositing the English of a fort on the *Olio*, in April 1754, the reparation of *Dunkirk*, and the invasion of *Minorca*. This was soon followed by the French king's declaration, in which he labours hard to prove England the aggressor.

In 1757 it was resolv'd to give a decisive blow, and the reduction of *Cape Breton* was propos'd as the first step, and most likely to produce either an honourable peace, or the total reduction of *Canada*. The Earl of Loudoun was appointed Captain General

of the American forces, who, after having made proper conveniences at *Halifax*, for the recovery of the sick and wounded men, in case the attack of *Louisbourg* should take place, on *July 9*, Admiral *Holbourn* arrived with the forces from *England*, and now there was a glorious appearance at *Halifax*; for the whole armament was computed at eleven thousand, effective land forces, seventeen ships of the line, fourteen frigates and sloops, two bomb vessels, and one fire ship, besides about one hundred and eighty transports, with three general officers and two admirals.

The land forces were divided into three brigades under Majors General *Abercrombie*, *Hopson*, and Lord *Charles Hay*, and since it would be unjustifiable to carry the forces against *Louisbourg* without proper intelligence of the enemy's strength, and whether a descent was practicable or not, the Captain General, in order to cure the men, exercised them in sham fights and mock sieges. But it seems these measures were condemned by some "as keeping the courage of the soldiers at bay, and expending the nation's wealth in making sham fights, and planting cabbages when they ought to have been attacking or fighting the enemy of their king and country in reality." A council being called *July 31*, and the tendency of such public reflections on the conduct of affairs well considered, it was thought fit to order Lord *Charles Hay* to whom they were ascribed under arrest. However on *August* the first and second the troops embarked, and orders were given to rendezvous at *Gabarous* bay, two leagues West of *Louisbourg*. But on the fourth was brought in a *French* prize schooner, on board of which were letters directed to *Old France*, with an account of the arrival of a large fleet, and that there were then in the harbour seventeen ships of the line and twelve frigates, with four thousand regulars, besides three thousand men belonging to the garrison. A council of war being called, the former orders were immediately countermanded, all the fastness ships were sent to *St George's* island to unload; *Blakeney's*, *Murray's*, and *Kennedy's* regiments were ordered to the bay of *Fundy* under the command of governor *Lacourance*; all the rest had orders to return to *New York*, except the first and second battalion of *Royal Scots*, which, with *Bragg's* regiment, were left at *Halifax*. The Earl of *Loudoun* sailed with the rest of the troops from *Halifax* on *August 16*, and receiving on his passage the unwelcome news of the loss of fort *William Henry*, arrived on the thirtieth at *New York*, where the men were immediately put on board small vessels, and sent up to *Albany*. Admiral *Holbourn* failed to block up the harbour of *Louisbourg*, in hopes that as the season was approaching when the *French* fleet would be obliged to return home, he should be able to give a good account of them. He remained off *Louisbourg* till *September 24*, when his fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, with the loss of the *Tilbury* of sixty guns, and most of her men.

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Thus ended this unfortunate campaign to the *English* in *North America*, not without the resentment of some great persons against the commanders for not attempting a descent on *Cape Breton*. But it ought to be considered, that, besides the strong garrison at *Louisbourg*, the naval force was not only at best but little superior to the *French*, as indisputably appeared afterwards by the arrival of seventeen ships of the line, though indeed with very sickly crews, on *November 25*, from *Louisbourg* at *Brest*, but was also dispatched too late in the year; whereas all hopes of success in an attempt upon *Louisbourg* must depend on attacking it early in the spring before it can receive supplies from *Europe* or *Quebec*. This assertion seems sufficiently justified by the successful sieges of that fortress in 1745 before described, and of 1758 about to be related, both undertaken as early as the season would admit, and with the advantages of numbers by sea and land. To this we might add that the first was unexpected, and the place, in a manner unprovided for defence; in this last the naval force in the harbour, though not one third of what is now considered, was yet sufficient greatly to annoy the men in the trenches, and obstruct the progress. What then could be expected from so formidable an armament but repulse with shame and detriment, and consequences not to be imagined without horror?

Siege and
capture of
Louisbourg in
1758.

In 1758, after extraordinary preparations, which from past experience appeared to be necessary, during the winter, Admiral *Boscawen*, appointed to command in a new expedition against *Cape Breton*, failed so early as *February 19*, with five large ships of war, three frigates, and two fire ships for *North America*. *March 12*, a general embargo was laid on all shipping at *New York*; the Earl of *Loudoun* was superseded in his command by Major General *Abercrombie*, and, on *June* the first arrived at *Portsmouth*. About the latter end of *April* a *French* man of war, two frigates, and

two

two pinks, with a battalion of foreign volunteers, ammunition, provisions, and stores, arrived at *Louisbourg*. On May 28, Admiral *Boscawen* sailed from *Halifax* with the fleet and troops, and was met by Major General *Amberst*, appointed to the command of the land forces. The whole fleet consisted of one hundred and forty seven sail, and on June 2, came in sight of *Louisbourg*, and anchored in *Gabaron* bay. The *French* had a chain of posts from point *Noire* to the *Flat Point*, and posted irregulars from thence to the bottom of the bay, and thrown up works at all places where it appeared practicable to land, and some batteries. From the second to the sixth the high wind and surf, or a great swell and fog would not suffer the troops to attempt landing, during which time the *French* reinforced their posts, added to their works, and cannonaded and threw shells at the ships. On the eighth the troops assembled in the road before day-break in three divisions, and Commodore *Durell* giving his opinion that the troops might land without danger from the surf, the left division began to fire, and was followed by the centre and right. When the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats on the left rowed to the shore under the command of Brigadier General *Wolfe*, whose detachment consisted of the four oldest companies of grenadiers, followed by the light infantry (a company of five hundred and fifty men, chosen as marksmen from the different regiments) commanded by major *Scott*, and the companies of rangers supported by the Highland regiment, and that by the eight remaining companies of grenadiers. The division on the right commanded by Brigadier General *Whitmore*, and composed of the royal regiment and those of *Lafalles*, *Moonckton*, *Forbes*, *Anstruther*, and *Webb*, rowed to the right by the *White Point*, as if intending to land there. The center division, commanded by Brigadier General *Lawrence*, and formed of *Amberst's*, *Hopson's*, *Otway's*, *Lawrence's*, and *Warburton's* regiments, made a show at the same time of landing at the *White Cove*. This drew the enemies attention in every part, and prevented their troops, posted along the coast, from joining them on their right. They very wisely saved their ammunition till the boats were near in shore, and then directed the whole fire of their cannon and musquetry upon them. But in spite of this, and the violence of the surf, Brigadier *Wolfe* pursued his point, and landed just at the left of the cove, took post, attacked the enemy, and forced them to retreat. Many boats overfet, several broke to pieces, and all the men jumped into the water to get on shore; about one hundred and ten boats were lost in landing the troops and provisions. As soon as the left division was landed, the center and right division rowed also to the left as fast as the boats could fetch them from the ships, and got on shore, which took up a great deal of time. The loss of the *English* was a captain, four lieutenants, an ensign, four serjeants, a corporal, and forty six men killed, among them twenty four grenadiers of *Amberst's* regiment, eight of whom were shot, and the rest drowned in trying to get ashore. The wounded were five lieutenants, four serjeants, a corporal, and fifty two private men. The *French* had an officer with an *Indian* chief, and several others killed; and two captains of grenadiers, two lieutenants, and about seventy men taken, with three twenty four pounders, seven nine pounders, seven six pounders, two mortars, and fourteen swivels, with ammunition, tools, and stores of all kinds. The prisoners gave information that the garrison consisted of five regiments, besides seven hundred *Canadians*. The ninth and tenth the weather proving bad, and the surf great, only some tents could be got on shore. On the 11th the light six pounders with some artillery stores were landed. On the 12th, on intelligence that the *French* had destroyed the grand battery, and called in their outposts, Brigadier *Wolfe* was detached with twelve hundred men, four companies of grenadiers, three companies of rangers, and some light infantry round the North East harbour, to the lighthouse point, with an intention to silence the island battery, and attempt to destroy the ships in the harbour; but the enemy had abandoned the lighthouse point, and all the posts on that side the harbour, leaving several cannon rendered useless, with implements, and a great quantity of fish at *Lescombes*. On the 13th the besiegers began a communication from the right to the left, and to erect three redoubts on the most advantageous ground in the front of their camp. The besieged made a sally but were soon repulsed with the loss of five men killed and forty wounded. The 14th, the fleet under Sir *Charles Hardy*, which had appeared the day before, was in the night blown off to sea. The 15th, four more mortars were sent to the lighthouse; and the 16th, being the first fine weather, twelve days provision, and many other things, but no artillery were nor could be yet landed. The 17th the general

Account of the Siege and Reduction

neral, with Colonel *Williamson*, Major *Mackellar*, and Col. *Bahide*, chief engineer, reconnoitred the ground, and *Bahide* was determined in his opinion of making approaches by the *Greenbill*, and confining the demolition of the ships in the harbour to the light house batteries; on which eight one inch mortars, and three royals were added to them. The 18th fine weather, the *Indians* took three of the transports men, who had landed at the bottom of *Gabaron* bay contrary to orders; the road for the artillery was pushed on, and three twenty four pounders were got on shore. On the 19th, the *Ecbo*, a French frigate of thirty two guns bound to *Quebec*, was brought in; she had got out on the 13th at night, and informed us that the *Bizarre* frigate had got out the day the troops landed, and the *Comette* frigate since our arrival off the harbour. On the 20th, the island battery, and ships, began to fire at the batteries on the shore, which had begun their fire the night before; the besieged burnt an old ship at the bottom of the harbour. On the 21st, the French canonaded the besiegers, making the road for the artillery, and threw some shot into the left of the camp; an advanced redoubt towards *Greenbill* was thrown up at night. The 22d was employed on the roads, and getting up a block house on the left, by the *Miray* road, to secure the communication with the North East harbour, and lighthouse point, and to hinder any parties from getting into the town. On the 23d the besiegers had on shore twelve twenty four pounders, and six twelve pounders. Colonel *Meservey* and most of his carpenters were taken ill of the small pox, to the very great detriment of the army. Gabions and fascines were landed to make an epaulment on *Greenbill*. On the 24th the besieged played on the lighthouse batteries from the town and shipping; and, from the town, on the advanced redoubt which was finished. On the 25th, the cannonading continued night and day. In the evening the lighthouse batteries silenced the island battery, its own fire helping to break down part of the works; fascines and gabions were forwarded to *Greenbill*; the besieged fired much at the advanced redoubt. On the 26th the garrison sallied, and got up to the block-house not quite finished, with a barrel of pitch to set it on fire, and two of the men got into it; but a detachment was sent out so quick to support the guards that they were forced to a precipitate retreat into the town; three hundred pioneers were ordered to *Greenbill*; Admiral *Boscawen* landed two hundred marines, who took post at *Konnington* cove, which was a great ease to the army; four thirty two pounders, and two twenty four pounders were desired of the admiral (and landed the night of the 27th) for the lighthouse, to keep the island battery in ruins, that Brigadier *Wolfe*, having a proper number of men there entrenched, might with his detachment be able to come round the harbour, bringing his artillery with him, and try to destroy the shipping and advance towards the West gate. On the 27th a brass twenty four pounder was lost in twelve fathom water, by slipping off the catamaran (a kind of raft much used at sea). On the 28th the post at *Greenbill* being covered, a road was begun over the bog by throwing up an epaulment. Colonel *Meservey* and his son both died, and of his company of one hundred and eight carpenters, all lay ill of the small pox except sixteen, who attended the sick.

On the 29th the frigate fired constantly at the epaulment; the working on the road, which cost much labour was pursued. At night the besieged sunk four ships in the harbour; the *Apollo* a two decked one, *la Fidelle* thirty six guns, and *la Chevre* and *la Bicbe* of sixteen guns each, and cut off most of their masts. On the 30th the frigate fired all night at the epaulment, as the men worked in the night-time. On July 1, the besieged falling out in the morning to get some old pallisades and wood, were pushed in by Brigadier *Wolfe* and Major *Scott's* light infantry with a very brisk fire. The brigadier took post on the hills, from whence it was intended to try to demolish the shipping. The trenches were advanced to the right, and the besieged forced back to *Cape Noire* with a smart fire. On the 2d the epaulment and road went on heavily from the extreme badness of the ground. The besieged continued their cannonading, and threw some shells, skirmishing all day with parties out of the town. On the 3d a great cannonading from the town and shipping on the batteries. Brigadier *Wolfe* was making an advanced work to the right, at six hundred and fifty yards from the covered way, for erecting a battery to destroy the defences of the place. On the 4th a great fog; when there was any gloom of light the cannonading was renewed; five hundred men kept continually making fascines. The 5th very bad weather; the epaulment swallowed up an immense number of fascines, and cost some men, as the frigate cannonaded it incessantly. On the 6th a sloop sailed out of the harbour with

a flag

flag of truce to sir *Charles Hardy*, to carry some things to their wounded officers and prisoners. 7. Very foggy weather, cannonading all day. 8. An attack, intended on some advanced post at *Cape Noir*, did not take place. Col. *Basside* got a contusion by a musket ball on his boot, which laid him up in the gout. 9. At night the besieged made a sally from *Cape Noir* with 5 picquets, supported by 600 men, upon brig. *Lawrence's* quarters, and surpris'd a company of *Forbes's* grenadiers, commanded by Col. *Dundonald*, who was killed, with one corporal and 3 men. Lieutenant *Tew* was wounded and taken prisoner. Capt. *Bontain* of the engineers was also taken prisoner, 17 others were wounded, and a serjeant and 11 others maim'd. Major *Murray*, who commanded 3 companies of grenadiers, immediately detached one, which easily repuls'd the enemy, who had one captain, chevalier *de Charuelin*, and 17 men kill'd, a lieutenant and 4 other, wounded and taken prisoners, besides what they carried away, of whom a captain died immediately. The besieged sent out a flag of truce to bury their dead, which done, the cannonading was renewed. The frigate was to hurt that she hauled close to the shore; the ships fired very much against brigadier *Wolfe's* batteries. 10. The attack at the epulment went on a little better. 11. A waggoner was carried off by some *Indians* between the blockhouse, and the left of the N. E. harbour. 12. It rained very hard all night, an advanced work to *Greenhill* was made; the waggoner made his escape; the citadel bastion fired very smartly. 13. The besieged threw a number of shells, and worked at *Cape Noir* to keep possession of that post, which was of no consequence; the besiegers perfected their works with all possible speed, had rainy weather. Deserters inform'd us that a party from *Miray* had got in 3 days ago. 14. Batteries had been traced out the night before for placing twenty 24 pounders, in four divisions, to destroy the defences, and a battery of 7 mortars with some 12 pounders, to ricochet * the works and the town. 15. The besieged tried to throw some shells into the camp, intended against the powder magazine. At 10 at night the lighthouse battery fired some rockets as a signal of ships sailing out of the harbour. Sir *Charles* answer'd it; but a frigate got out, and *Hardy's* fleet got under sail and went to sea. Before daybreak Capt. *Sutherland*, posted at the end of N. E. harbour, was attacked by 100 men from *Miray*, where they left *M. de Beisbert*, who had on the other side of the water 300 men with boats ready to pass. The grenadiers of *Wolfe's* corps, and all the light infantry were sent to sustain him, but the action was over before they could come up, the general encamped a corps forward. 16. Towards night brigadier *Wolfe* took possession of the hill, in the front of the *Barafsey*, and made a lodgment there; the enemy fired very briskly from the town and shipping. 17. It was resolv'd to extend the parallel from right to left. 18. All last night the enemy fired musketry from the covered way, and tried to throw shells into the camp. 19. The trenches were relieved by 14 battalions forming 3 brigades; a smart fire from the covert way; the batteries on the left play'd upon the bastion *Dauphine* with great success. 21. One of the ships in the harbour had some powder blown up in her, which made a great explosion, and set her on fire. The flames soon caught the sails of two ships more, and they burnt very fast, while the besiegers kept firing at them to hinder assistance from the town. The 3 burnt ships were the *Entrepreneur* of 74 guns, and the *Capricieux* and *Celebre* of 64 guns each. 22. The batteries on the right opened with thirteen 24 pounders, and another of 7 mortars, and fired with great success; the enemy fired very well from the town for some time, and threw shells into the works of the camp; the shells of the besiegers put the citadel in flames. The general order'd col. *Williamson* to confine his fire as much as possible to the defences, sparing the houses. A lieutenant of the *Royal Americans* going his rounds, on an advanced post, lost his way, and was taken prisoner near *Cape Noir*; a battery was begun on the left for four 24 pounders. 23. The cohors and *French* mortars sent to throw stones into the trenches were used at night. The besiegers fired all sorts of old iron, and stuff they could pick up. Col. *Basside* was out for the first time since he received the contusion; at night the shells set fire to the barracks of the garrison, and they burned with great violence. 24. The fire of the besiegers was very brisk, and that of the garrison decreas'd. The admiral sent 400 men to help work at the batteries, and 100 miners to be added to a corps of 100 already established, in order to

* From the *French* word *Ricochet*, "a skipping or bounding," is to throw a ball where intended, after first going and bounding, as a flat stone hurled along upon the surface of water, occasioned by a deficient charge of powder, designed for sinking an object in that manner.

make quick work. The four gun batteries opened, and another of five was on erection. The *Bienfaisant* fired on the trenches at high water, and the citadel and the battalion Dauphine fired against the five gun battery; but the men firing small arms into the embrasures, beat the besieged off their guns. 25. The miners and workmen went on very well with their approaches to the covered way, tho' they had a continued and very smart fire from it, with grape shot, and all sorts of old iron from the guns of the ramparts. The besiegers kept an incessant fire and ricochet. In the night between the 20th and 21st, the admiral detached the boats of his squadron in two divisions, under Captains *Leфорcy* and *Balsour* against the *Prudence* of 74 guns, and the *Bienfaisant* of 64 guns, the only remaining French ships in the harbour. They succeeded so well as to burn the *Prudence*, it being aground, and to tow off the *Bienfaisant* into the N. E. harbour, with the loss only of 7 men killed, and 9 wounded, though exposed to the fire of the cannon and musketry of the island battery, being favoured by a dark night, and an incessant fire from all the batteries into the works, to keep the enemy's attention to the land. 26. The admiral came on shore, and intimated his intention to send six ships into the harbour the next day. At this instant the general received a letter from the Chevalier *Druccour*, governor of the town, offering to capitulate. And they agreed to surrender to Admiral *Boscawen* and Maj. Gen. *Zimberst*, the town of *Louisbourg*, and the islands of *Cape Breton* and *St. John's*, and their appurtenances, with all the artillery, ammunition, arms, and provisions; the garrison of *Louisbourg* to be prisoners of war, and transported to *England* in *British* ships; the governor to give his word that the troops in the island of *St. John's*, and its appurtenances, shall go aboard such ships as the admiral shall send to receive them; the gate called *Porte Dauphine* to be given up at 8 o'clock the next morning, and the garrison, including all that carried arms, to be drawn up there on the esplanade, or great square, where they shall lay down their arms, colours, implements, and ornaments of war, and go on board in order to be carried to *England*, at a convenient time; the same care to be taken of the sick and wounded in the hospitals, as of those belonging to his *Britannic* majesty; the merchants and their clerks, who have not carried arms, to be sent to *France* in such manner as the admiral shall think proper.

Loss of the
garrison and
besiegers.

The number of the garrison, including 214 officers, and 443 sick and wounded, amounted to 3031; and of seamen and marines, inclusive of 135 officers, and 1347 sick and wounded, was 2606; total 5637. Of the besiegers were killed, 21 commission and non-commissioned officers, 146 private men, 1 gunner, and 3 matrosses; wounded, 30 commission and non-commissioned officers, 2 drummers, and 315 private men; of the artillery, 1 corporal, 1 gunner, and 3 matrosses.

Inventory of
warlike stores
found in Louis-

In the fortresses were found iron ordnance, completely mounted, from 36 to 4 pounders, 218; brass mortars, in beds, 12 and half inches, 3; 3 inches 1; 6 and a half 3; iron mortars, on beds, 12 and a half inches 6, 11 — 4; 9 and a half — 1; muskets with accoutrements, 7500; powder, whole barrels, 600; cartridges, 80,000; balls, 13 ton; shells, 1053; of which 850, 13 inches; round shot, from 6 to 6 pounders, 9602; grape shot, ditto 733; case shot, 24 pounders, 53; double headed 24 pounders, 25; 12 pounders, 153; lead in pig and sheet, 22 ton; iron of all sorts, 6 ton; wheelbarrows, 600; shovels wooden, 600, and iron 400; pickaxes, 822; with plenty of other warlike implements, besides 11 colours, whole and torn.

This siege, considering its obstacles, appears to have been conducted with the greatest skill, and vigour; and the news of the capture of this important place, the *Lieutnant* of *America*, diffused an universal joy throughout the *British* dominions. The colours, after some time of exposal to publick view, were carried in triumphal procession, to the cathedral of *St. Paul's*, and there suspended, adding to its splendor, the honour and ornament of a trophy. And addresses of congratulation came pouring in upon the throne, from every quarter; in some of which, particularly from *London* and

* *St. John's* island, after great reluctance, and some weak resistance of the governor of a fort that defended it, who pretended he was not bound by the capitulation of *Louisbourg*, submitted to Lieut. Col. *Ralls*, sent to receive it, and the inhabitants, in number, at *Pointe Prince* 700, *N. E. river* 200, *St. Peter's* 700, *North Point* 200, *W. and N. river* 200, brought in their arms, and were after some time transported to *France*, as many as escaped shipwreck in their passage. This island had supplied *Quaker* with corn and beet ever since the war, having on it above 10,000 horned cattle, and many of the inhabitants growing each 1200 bushels of corn annually. It has also been an asylum for the French inhabitants of *Nova Scotia*; and from this island the *Indians* had carried on the inhuman practice of killing the *English* inhabitants of *Nova Scotia*, for the sake of bringing their scalps to the French, who paid them for the same; and several scalps were found in the governor's quarters when Lieut. Col. *Ralls* took possession.

Exeter, the loyal votaries could not forbear, in the fulness of their hearts, to express in a dutiful manner, their honest wishes, to see this invaluable acquisition made an inseparable part of the *British* empire.

The grand object of the *American* war being now attained by the conquest of the island of *Cape Breton*, and the capture of the enemy's principal forts on the continent, we shall conclude this history of *Canada* with an account of the siege of *Quebec*, the capital of all their settlements in that part of the world, and the magazine from whence the rest of their fortresses derived their stores; so memorable an event cannot be pass'd over without the most particular notice, as every step was taken to effect it, and every difficulty that threatened to retard its accomplishment cannot but be interesting, as well as to those who concerted the enterprize, and directed the execution, as to every subject of *Great Britain*.

The fifth of *May* 1759, Admiral *Durell*'s Squadron, consisting of seven sail of the line, sail'd from *Louisbourg* for the river *St. Laurence*; the passage of which was found not nigh so hazardous as was generally imagined, they arriv'd at the *Ile aux Coudres* the 27th, and there came to anchor.

The Admiral sent Capt. *Gordon* in the *Dr. onshire*, with two more sail of the line and a frigate, to go through the traverses and anchor between the *Ile of Orleans* and the *Main*, and stationed the *Princets of Orange* at the *Ile aux Coudres*.

On the 23d. of *June*, General *Wolfe* arriv'd with great part of the *Grand Fleet*, and went up immediately to *Orleans*.

For the remainder of the proceedings of the *British* fleet and army, we shall refer to the several letters written by the commanders in chief on that expedition, beginning with the celebrated letter from M. J. Gen. *Wolfe*, brought by Lieutenant *Percival* of the *Redney* cutter to Mr. Secretary *Pitt*, perhaps the best written performance of the kind that has appear'd this war. The clearness with which it is written, the difficulties that are foreseen and represent'd, the manly fortitude that is notwithstanding express'd, in order to surmount these difficulties, and the resignation with which the general persists in risking the greatest dangers for the honour of his country, will leave a monument to his memory, more durable than marble, and more splendid than titles. His death, in leading on his valiant troops, in the last action that determin'd the fate of war in that country, is a circumstance greatly to be deplored.

Head Quarters at Montmorenci, in the River St. Laurence, September 2, 1759.

S I R,

I With I could, upon this occasion, have the honour of transmitting to you a more favourable account of the progress of his majesty's arms; but the obstacles we have met with, in the operations of the campaign, are much greater than we had reason to expect, or could foresee; not so much from the number of the enemy, (though superior to us) as from the natural strength of the country, which the Marquis de *Montcalm* seems wisely to depend upon.

When I learned that succours of all kinds had been thrown into *Quebec*; that five battalions of regular troops, compleated from the best inhabitants of the country, some of the troops of the colony and every *Canadian* that was able to bear arms, besides several nations of savages, had taken the field in a very advantageous situation; I could not flatter myself that I should be able to reduce the place. I fought however an occasion to attack their army, knowing well, that with these troops I was able to fight, and hoping that a victory might disperse them.

We found them incamped along the shore of *Beaufort*, from the river *St. Charles* to the falls of *Montmorenci*, and intrenched in every accessible part. The 27th of *June* we land'd upon the *Ile of Orleans*; but receiving a message from the admiral, that there was reason to think that the enemy had artillery, and a force upon the point of *Levi*, detach'd brig. *Monckton* with four battalions to drive them from thence. He pass'd the river the 29th at night, and march'd the next day to the point; he oblig'd the enemy's irregulars to retire, and possess'd himself of that point: the advanced parties upon this occasion had two or three skirmishes with the *Canadians* and *Indians*, with little loss on either side.

Col. *Carleton* march'd with a detachment to the westernmost point of the *Ile of Orleans*, from whence our operations were likely to begin.

It

Exeter

Account of the Siege and

It was absolutely necessary to possess these two points, and fortify them, because, from either the one or the other, the enemy might make it impossible for any ship to lie in the basin of *Quebec*, or even within two miles of it.

Batteries of cannon and mortars were erected with great dispatch near the point of *Levi*, to bombard the town and magazines, and to injure the works and batteries: the enemy perceiving these works in some forwardness, passed the river with 1600 men to attack and destroy them. Unluckily they fell into confusion, fired upon one another, and went back again; by which we lost an opportunity of defeating this large detachment. The effect of this artillery had been to great, (though across the river) that the upper town is considerably damaged, and the lower town entirely destroyed.

The works, for the security of our hospitals and stores on the isle of *Orleans*, being finished, on the 9th of *July*, at night, we passed the N. channel, and incamped near the enemy's left, the river *Montmorenci* between us. The next morning, Capt. *Dank's* company of rangers, posted in a wood to cover some workmen, were attacked and defeated by a body of *Indians*, and had so many killed and wounded, as to be almost disabled for the rest of the campaign: the enemy also suffered in this affair, and were in their turn driven off by the nearest troops.

The ground, to the eastward of the falls, seemed to be (as it really is) higher than that on the enemy's side, and to command it in a manner which might be made useful to us. There is besides a ford below the falls, which may be passed for some hours in the latter part of the ebb and beginning of the flood tide; and I had hopes, that possibly means might be found of passing the river above, so as to fight M. *Amulcahn*, upon terms of less disadvantage than directly attacking his intrenchments. In reconnoitring the river *Montmorenci*, we found it fordable at a place about three miles up; but the opposite bank was intrenched, and so steep and woody, that it was to no purpose to attempt a passage there. The effort was twice attacked by the *Indians*, who were as often repulsed; but in these rencounters we had 40 (officers and men) killed and wounded.

The 18th of *July*, two men of war, two armed sloops, and two transports with some troops on board, passed by the town without any loss, and got into the upper river. This enabled me to reconnoitre the country above, where I found the same attention on the enemy's side, and great difficulties on our's, arising from the nature of the ground, and the obstacles to our communication with the fleet. But what I feared most, was, that if we should land between the town and the river *Cape Rouge*, the body first landed could not be reinforced before they were attacked by the enemy's whole army.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, I thought once of attempting it at *St. Michaels's*, about 3 miles above the town; but perceiving that the enemy were jealous of the design, were preparing against it, and had actually brought artillery and a mortar (which, being so near to *Quebec*, they could increase as they pleased) to play upon the shipping: and as it must have been many hours before we could attack them, (even supposing a favourable night for the boats to pass by the town unhurt) it seemed so hazardous that I thought it best to desist.

However, to divide the enemy's force, and to draw their attention as high up the river as possible, and to procure some intelligence, I sent a detachment under the command of Col. *Carleton* to land at the *Point de Trempe*, to attack whatever he might find there, bring off some prisoners, and all the useful papers he could get. I had been informed that a number of the inhabitants of *Quebec*, had retired to that place, and that probably we should find a magazine of provisions there.

The colonel was fired upon by a body of *Indians* the moment he landed, but they were soon dispersed and driven into the woods, he searched for magazines, but to no purpose, brought off some prisoners, and returned with little loss.

After this business, I came back to *Montmorenci*, where I found that brig. *Townsend* had, by a superior fire, prevented the *French* from erecting a battery on the banks of the river, from whence they intended to cannonade our camp. I now resolved to take the first opportunity which presented itself, of attacking the enemy, though exposed to great disadvantage, and every where prepared to receive us.

As the men of war cannot (for want of a sufficient depth of water) come near enough to the enemy's intrenchments, to annoy them in the least, the admiral had prepared two transports (drawing but little water) which upon occasion, could be run

a-ground, to favour a descent. With the help of these vessels, which I understood would be carried by the tide close in shore, I proposed to make myself master of a detached redoubt near to the water's edge, and whose situation appeared to be out of musket shot of the intrenchment upon the hill: If the enemy supported this detached piece, it would necessarily bring on an engagement, what we most wished for; and if not, I should have it in my power to examine their situation, so as to be able to determine where we could best attack them.

Preparations were accordingly made for an engagement. The 31st July in the forenoon, the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and a part of Brig. *Monckton's* brigade from the point of *Levi*: The two brigades under the brigadiers *Townsend* and *Murray*, were ordered to be in readiness to pass the ford, when it should be thought necessary. To facilitate the passage of this corps, the admiral had placed the *Centurion* in the channel, so that she might check the fire of the lower battery which commanded the ford: This ship was of great use, as her fire was very judiciously directed. A great quantity of artillery was placed upon the eminence, so as to batter and infiltrate the left of their intrenchments.

From the vessel which run a-ground nearest in, I observed that the redoubt was too much commanded to be kept without very great loss; and the more, as the two arm'd ships could not be brought near enough to cover both with their artillery and musquetry, which I at first conceived they might. But as the enemy seem'd in some confusion, and we were prepared for an action, I thought it a proper time to make an attempt upon their intrenchment. Orders were sent to the brigadiers general to be ready with the corps under their command. Brig. *Monckton* to land, and the Brigs. *Townsend* and *Murray* to pass the Ford.

At a proper time of the tide, the signal was made, but in rowing towards the shore many of the boats grounded upon a ledge, that runs off a considerable distance. This accident put us into some disorder, lost a great deal of time, and oblig'd me to send an officer to stop Brig. *Townsend's* march, whom I then observ'd to be in motion. While the seamen were getting the boats off, the enemy fired a number of shells and shot, but did no considerable damage. As soon as this disorder could be set a little to rights, and the boats were ranged in a proper manner, some of the officers of the navy went in with me to find a better place to land: We took one flat-bottomed boat with us to make the experiment, and as soon as we had found a fit part of the shore, the troops were order'd to disembark, thinking it not yet too late for the attempt.

The 13 companies of grenadiers, and 200 of the second royal *American* battalion, got first on shore. The grenadiers were order'd to form themselves into four distinct bodies, and to begin the attack, supported by Brig. *Monckton's* corps, as soon as the troops had pass'd the ford, and were at hand to assist. But whether from the noise and hurry at landing, or from some other cause, the grenadiers, instad of forming themselves as they were directed, ran on impetuously towards the enemy's intrenchments in the utmost disorder and confusion, without waiting for the corps which were to sustain them, and join in the attack. Brig. *Monckton* was not landed, and Brig. *Townsend* was still at a considerable distance, tho' upon his march to join us, in very great order. The grenadiers were check'd by the enemy's first fire, and oblig'd to shelter themselves in our about the redoubt, which the *French* abandon'd upon their approach. In this situation they continued for some time, unable to form under so hot a fire, and having many gallant officers wounded, who (careless of their persons) had been solely intent upon their duty. I saw the absolute necessity of calling them off, that they might form themselves behind Brig. *Monckton's* corps, which was now landed, and drawn up on the beach, in extream good order.

By this new accident, and this second delay, it was near night, a sudden storm came on, and the tide begin to make; so that I thought it most adviseable, not to persevere in so difficult an attack, least (in case of a repulse) the retreat of Brig. *Townsend's* corps might be hazardous and uncertain.

Our artillery had a great effect upon the enemy's left, where Brigs. *Townsend* and *Murray* were to have attack'd; and it is probable, that if those accidents I have spoken of, had not happen'd, we should have penetrated there, whilst our left and center (more remote from our artillery) must have bore all the violence of their musquetry.

Account of the Siege and Reduction

The *French* did not attempt to interrupt our march. Some of their Savages came down to murder such wounded as could not be brought off, and to scalp the dead as their custom is.

The place, where the attack was intended, has these advantages over all others herabout. Our artillery could be brought into use. The greatest part, or even the whole of the troops, might act at once; and the retreat (in case of a repulse) was secure, at least for a certain time of the tide. Neither one or other of these advantages can any where else be found. The enemy were indeed posted upon a commanding eminence. The beach upon which the troops were drawn up, was of deep mud, with holes, and cut by several gullies. The hill to be ascended, very steep, and not every where practicable. The enemy numerous in their intrenchments, and their fire hot. If the attack had succeeded, our loss must certainly have been great, and theirs inconsiderable, from the shelter which the neighbouring woods afforded them. The river of *St Charles* still remained to be passed, before the town was invested. All these circumstances I considered; but the desire to act in conformity to the king's intentions, induced me to make this trial, persuaded that a victorious army finds no difficulties.

Immediately after this check, I sent Brig. *Murray* above the town with 1200 men, directing him to assist rear admiral *Holmes* in the destruction of the *French* ships, (if they could be got at) in order to open a communication with General *Amherst*. The Brig. was to seek every favourable opportunity of fighting some of the enemy's detachments, provided he could do it upon tolerable terms, and to use all the means in his power to provoke them to attack him. He made two different attempts to land upon the north shore without success; but in a third was more fortunate. He landed unexpectedly at *de Combaud*, and burnt a magazine there, in which were some provisions, some ammunition, and all the spare stores, clothing, arms, and baggage, of their army.

The prisoners he took informed him of the surrender of the fort of *Niagara*; and we discovered, by intercepted letters that the enemy had abandoned *Carillon* and *Crown Point*, were retired to the isle *Aux Neix*; and that General *Amherst* was making preparations to pass the lake *Clamplain*, to fall upon M. *Beaulieu*'s corps, which consists of 3 battalions of foot, and as many *Canadians* as make the whole amount to 3000.

The admiral's dispatches and mine would have gone eight or ten days sooner, if I had not been prevented from writing by a fever. I found myself so ill, and am still so weak, that I begged the general officers to consult together for the public utility. They are all of opinion that, (as more ships and provisions have now got above the town) they should try, by conveying up a corps of 4 or 5000 men, (which is nearly the whole strength of the army, after the points of *Lac* and *Orleans* are left in a proper state of defence) to draw the enemy from their present situation, and bring them to an action. I have acquiesced in their proposal, and we are preparing to put it in execution.

The admiral and I have examined the town, with a view to a general assault; but, after consulting with the chief engineer, who is well acquainted with the interior parts of it, and, after viewing it with the utmost attention, we found, that though the batteries of the lower town might be easily silenced by the men of war, yet the business of an assault would be little advanced by that, since the few passages that lead from the lower to the upper town, are carefully intrenched; and the upper batteries cannot be affected by the ships, which must receive considerable damage from them and from the mortars. The admiral would readily join in this, or in any other measure for the public service; but I could not propose to him an undertaking of so dangerous a nature, and promising so little success.

To the uncommon strength of the country, the enemy have added (for the defence of the river) a great number of floating batteries and boats. By the vigilance of these and the *Indians* round our different posts, it has been impossible to execute any thing by surprise. We have had almost daily skirmishes with these savages, in which they are generally defeated, but not without loss on our side.

By the hit or disabled officers (many of whom are of rank) you may perceive, Sir, that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river, the most formidable part of the armament is deprived of the power of acting, yet we have also of the

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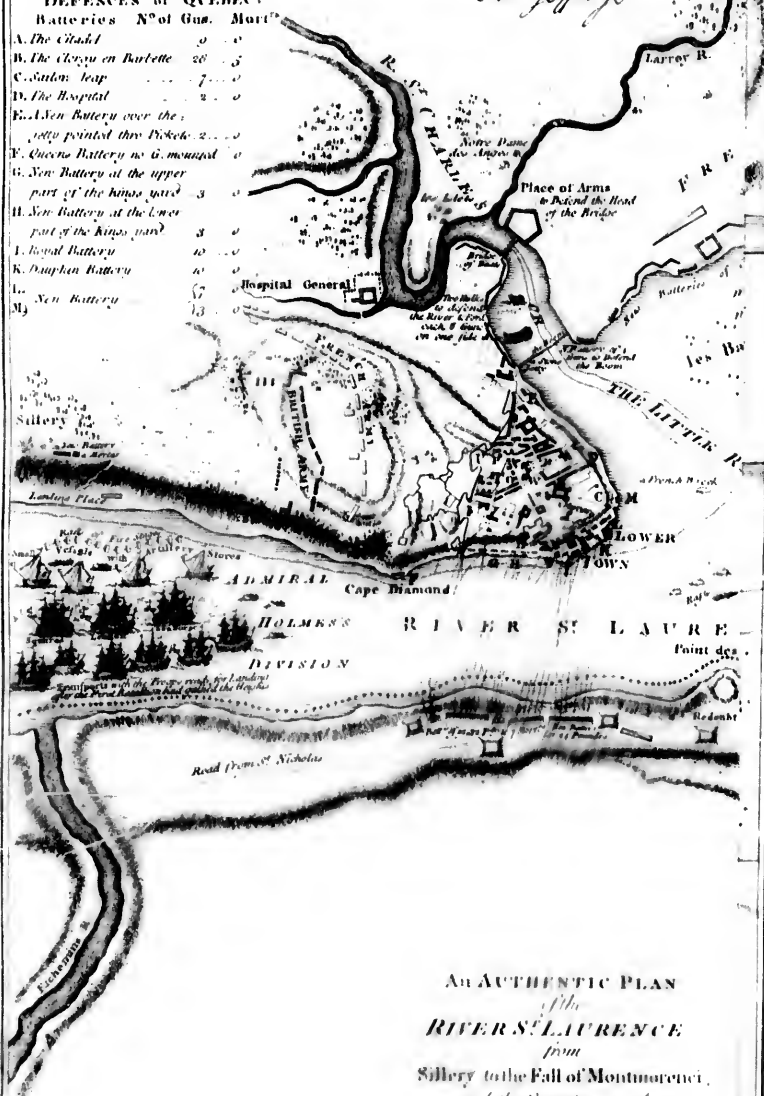
To the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT &c.
 One of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council
 AND PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE &c

This Plan is most Humbly Inveighed
 By his most Obliged and
 most Obedient, Humble Servant

Thos. Jefferys.

DEFENCES OF QUEBEC.

Batteries	N ^o of Guns.	Mortars
A. The Citadel	9	0
B. The Cannon on Barbette	20	5
C. Salvois Leap	7	0
D. The Hospital	3	0
E. A New Battery over the point of the Bishop	2	0
F. Queens Battery no 6 mounted	0	0
G. New Battery at the upper part of the Kings gate	3	0
H. New Battery at the lower part of the Kings gate	3	0
I. Royal Battery	10	0
K. Dauphin Battery	10	0
L. New Battery	17	0
M. New Battery	13	0



An AUTHENTIC PLAN
 of the
RIVER ST. LAURENCE
 from
 Sillery to the Fall of Montmorenci,
 with the Operations of the
SIEGE of QUEBEC
 under the Command of
 Vice Adm^l Saunders & Major Gen^l Wolfe
 down to the 5th Sep^r 1759.
 Drawn by a CAPTAIN in his Majesty's Navy

whole force of *Canada* to oppose. In this situation, there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of *Great Britain*, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only, where there is some hope of a favourable event. However, you may be assured, Sir, that the small part of the campaign which remains, shall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honour of his majesty and the interest of the nation, in which I am sure of being well seconded by the Admiral and by the Generals. Happy if our efforts here can contribute to the success of his majesty's arms in any other parts of *America*. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

JAMES WOLFE.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
Officers — — — — —	11	46	0
Serjeants — — — — —	9	26	0
Drummers — — — — —	0	7	0
Rank and file — — — — —	162	572	17
<i>Total</i>	182	651	17

Stirling Castle, off Point Levi, Sept. 5.

SIR,

IN my letter of the 6th of *June*, I acquainted you I was then off *Scataris*, standing for the river *St. Lawrence*. On the 26th, I had got up, with the first division of the fleet and transports, as far as the middle of the isle of *Orleans*, where I immediately prepared to land the troops, which I did next morning. The same day the second and third division came up, and the troops from them were landed likewise.

I got thus far with out any loss or accident whatever; but, directly after landing the troops, a very hard gale of wind came on, by which many anchors and small boats were lost, and much damage received among the transports, by driving on board each other. The ships that lost most anchors I supplied from the men of war, as far as I was able, and, in all other respects, gave them the best assistance in my power.

On the 2^d at midnight, the enemy sent down from *Quebec* 7 fire-ships, and thour ships and transports were so numerous, and necessarily spread so great a part of the channel, we tow'd them all clear and aground, without receiving the least damage from them. The next night Gen. *Montcalm* crossed the river, and landed with his brigade on the S. shore, and took post at *Point Levi*; and Gen. *Wolfe* took his on the westernmost point of the isle of *Orleans*.

On the last of *July* I moved up between the points of *Orleans* and *Levi*; and, it being resolved to land on the N. shore, below the falls of *Montmorency*, I placed, on the S. side, the *Porpoise* sloop, and the *Belsham* armed vessel, in the channel between *Orleans* and the North shore, to cover the landing, which took place that night.

On the 17th, I ordered Capt. *Russ* of the *Sabreboard*, to proceed, with the first fair wind and night-tide, above *Quebec*, and to take the *Diana* and *Spartan*, with two armed sloops, and two cutters armed and loaded with provisions. On the 18th at night they all got up; except the *Diana*, which Gen. *Wolfe* an opportunity of reconnoitering above the town; those ships I have ordered some troops with them for that purpose. The *Diana* ran ashore up, in the rocks of *Point Levi*, and received so much damage that I have sent her to *Boston*, with 27 sail of *American* transports, (those which received most damage) in the night of the 27th of *June*, where they are to be discharged; and the *Diana*, having repaired her damage, is to proceed to *England*, taking with her the materials, and what else she may be ready to accompany her.

On the 20th, at midnight, the enemy sent down a fleet of five flagges, of near a hundred redrons, which I sent a better than the fire-ships.

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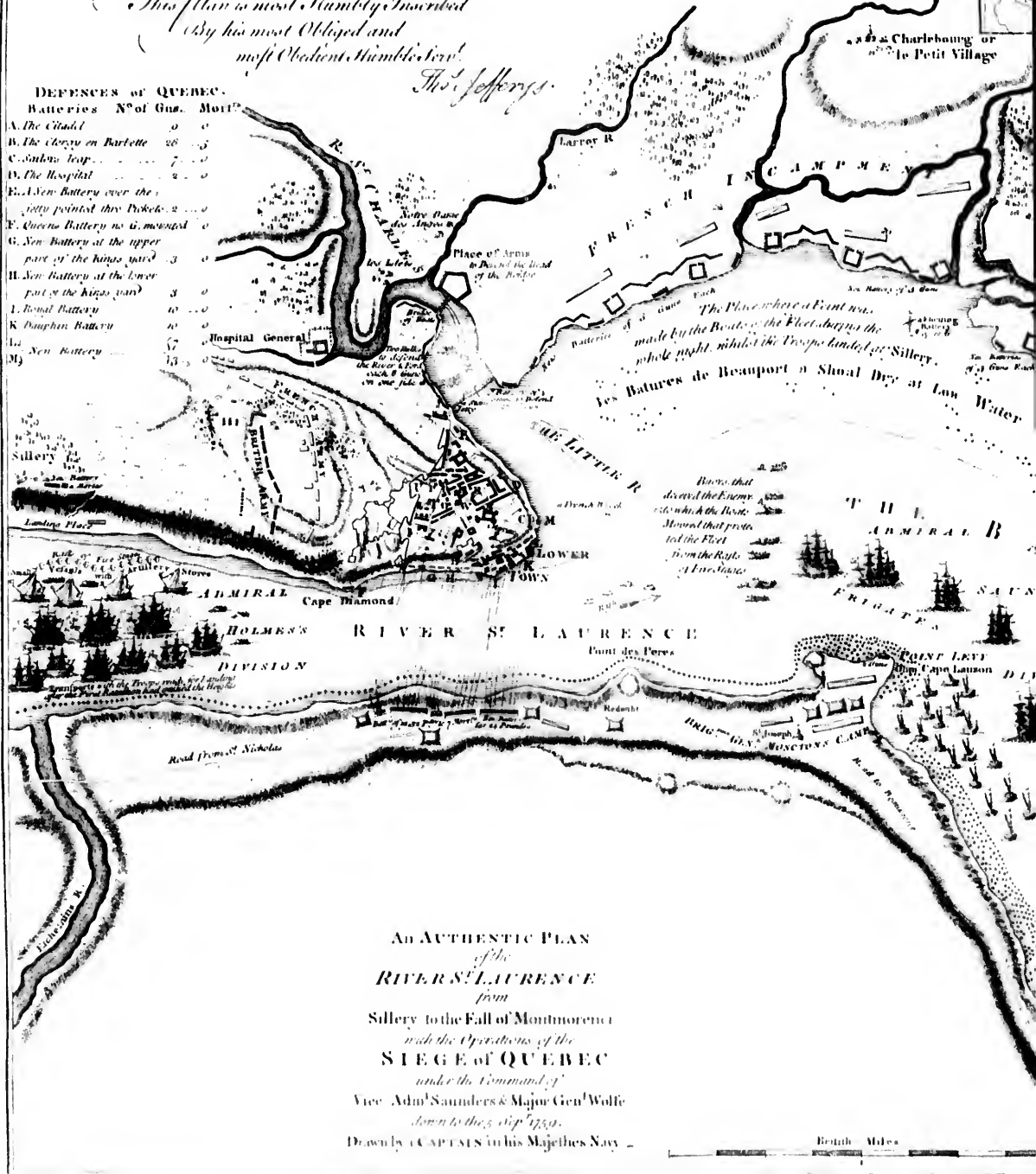
To the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT Esq.
 One of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council
 AND PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE &c

This Plan is most Humbly Inscribed
 By his most Obliged and
 most Obedient, Humble Servant!

This is Jefferys.

DEFENCES OF QUEBEC.
 BATTERIES N^o of Guns. Mort^r

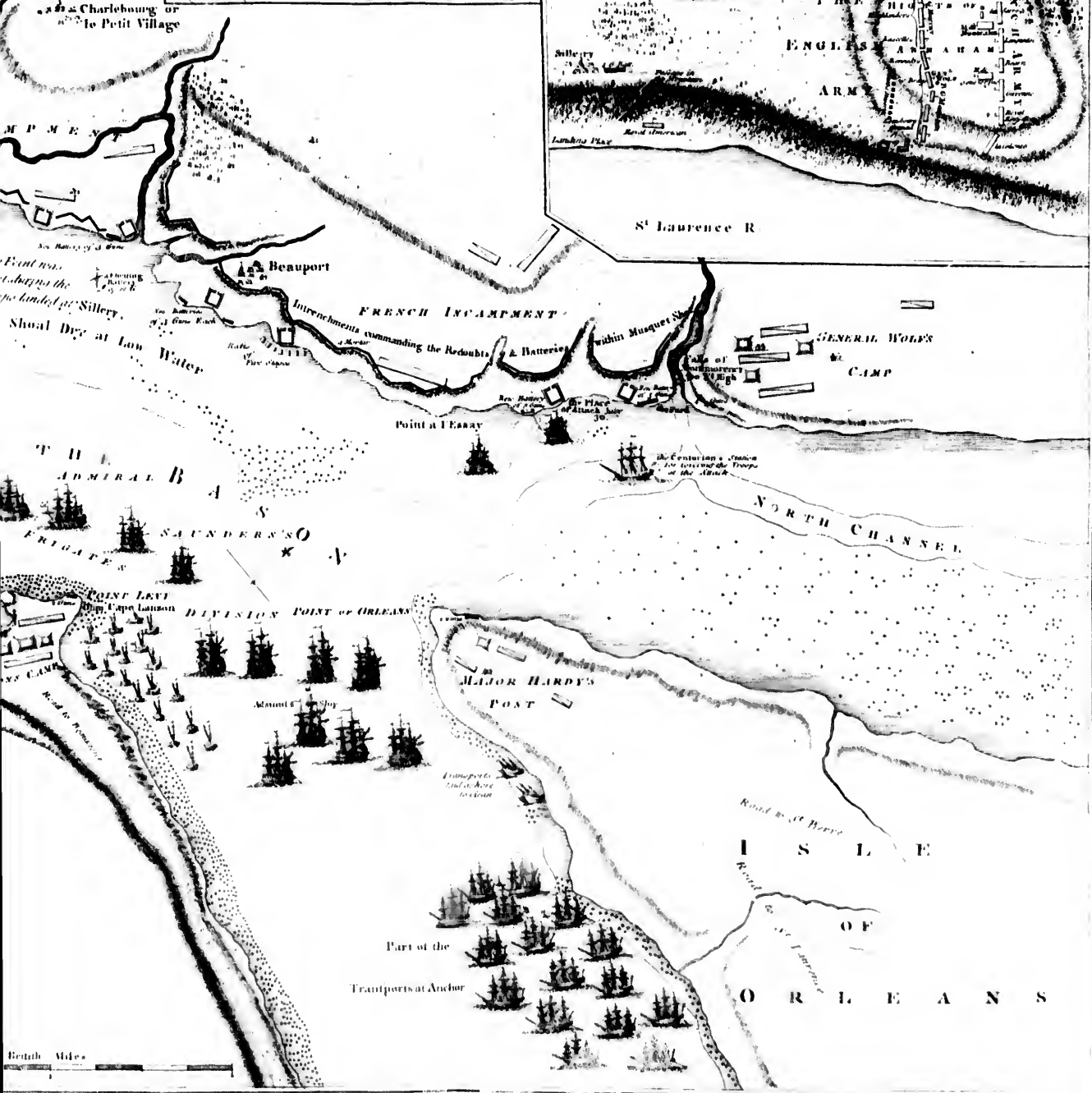
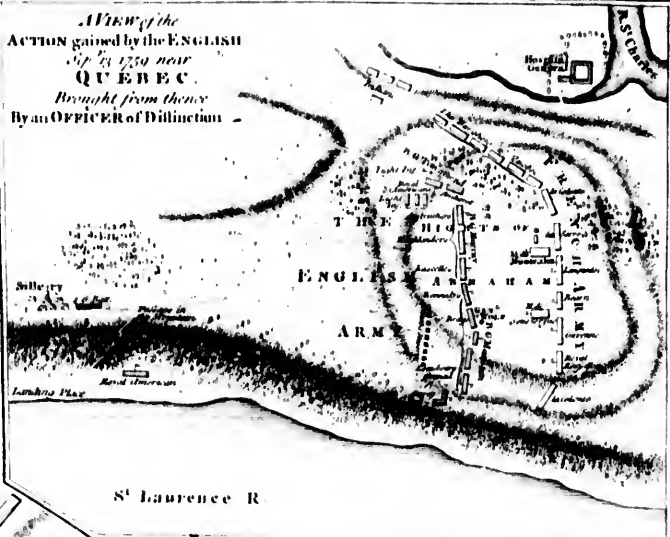
A. The Citadel	0	0
B. The Cloisy on Bartette	26	3
C. Andrew's Leap	7	0
D. The Hospital	4	0
E. A New Battery over the city pointed thro' Pique	2	0
F. Queen's Battery no 6. mounted	0	0
G. New Battery at the upper part of the King's yard	3	0
H. New Battery at the lower part of the King's yard	3	0
I. Royal Battery	10	0
K. Dauphin Battery	4	0
L. New Battery	17	0
M. New Battery	13	0



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British Miles



On the 31st, Gen. Wolfe determined to land a number of troops above the falls of *Montmorency*, in order to attack the enemy's lines; to cover which, I placed the *Centurion* in the channel, between the isle of *Orleans* and the Falls, and ran on shore, at high water, two catts which I had armed for that purpose, against two small batteries and two redoubts, where our troops were to land. About six in the evening they landed, but the general not thinking it proper to persevere in the attack, part of them soon after, re-embarked, and the rest crossed the Falls with Gen. Wolfe; upon which, to prevent the two catts from falling into the enemy's hands (they being then dry on shore) I gave orders to take the men out and set them on fire, which was accordingly done.

On the 5th of *August*, in the night, I sent 20 flat-bottomed boats up the river, to the *Sutherland*, to embark 1200 of the troops with Brig. Gen. *Murray*, from a post we had taken on the South there. I sent Admiral *Holmes* up to the *Sutherland*, to act in concert with him, and give him all the assistance the ships and boats could afford. At the same time I directed Adm. *Holmes* to use his best endeavours to get at, and destroy the enemy's ships above the town; and to that purpose I ordered the *Loosestiffe*, and *Hunter* sloop, with two armed sloops and two catts, with provisions, to pass *Quebec* and join the *Sutherland*; but the wind holding westerly, it was the 27th of *August* before they got up, which was the fourth attempt they had made to gain their passage.

On the 25th, at night, Adm. *Holmes* and Gen. *Murray*, with part of the troops, returned; they had met with, and destroyed a magazine of the enemy's clothing, some gunpowder, and other things; and Adm. *Holmes* had been ten or twelve leagues above the town, but found it impracticable at that time to get further up.

Gen. Wolfe being resolved to quit the camp at *Montmorency*, and go above the town, in hopes of getting between the enemy and their provisions, (supposed to be in the ships there) and by that means force them to an action, I sent up, on the 29th at night, the *Scalper* and two armed sloops, with two catts laden with provisions, to join the rest above *Quebec*; and having taken off all the artillery from the camp of *Montmorency*, on the 3d instant in the forenoon the troops embarked from thence and landed at *Point Levy*. The 4th at night I sent all the flat-bottomed boats up, and this night a part of the troops will march up the South shore, above the town, to be embarked in the ships and vessels there, and to-morrow night the rest will follow. Adm. *Holmes* is also gone up again to assist in their future operations, and to try, if, with the assistance of the troops, it is practicable to get at the enemy's ships.

As Gen. Wolfe writes by this opportunity, he will give you an account of his part of the operations, and his thoughts what further may be done for his majesty's service. The enemy appear numerous, and seem to be strongly posted; but let the event be what it will, we shall remain here as long as the season of the year will permit, in order to prevent their detaching troops from hence against Gen. *Ambert*; and I shall leave cruizers at the mouth of the river to cut off any supplies that may be sent them, with strict orders to keep that station as long as possible. The town of *Quebec* is not habitable, being almost entirely burnt and destroyed.

Twenty of the victuallers that sail'd from *England*, with the *Eske*, are arrived here, one unloaded at *Levasburgh*, having receiv'd damage in her passage cut, and another I have heard nothing of. No ships of the enemy have come this way, that I have had any intelligence of, since my arrival in the river, except one, laden with flour and brandy, which Capt. *Drake* of the *Leopard* took.

Before Adm. *Darrell* got into the river, 3 frigates, and 17 sail, with provisions, stores, and a few recruits, got up, and are those we are so anxious, if possible, to destroy.

Yesterday I received a letter from Gen. *Ambert* (to whom I have had no opportunity of writing since I have been in the river) dated, camp at *Coussin Point*, Aug. 7. wherein he only desires I would send transports and a convoy to *New York* to carry to *England* 607 prisoners taken at *Niagara*.

I shall very soon send home the great ships, and have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

S I R,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

CHARLES SAUNDERS.

Two

Two days after this excellent letter was received at court, and which put an end to all our hopes of completing for this year the conquest of *Canada*; to the astonishment of the world and the inexpressible joy of the nation, another express arrived with an account of a signal victory gained by us over the French in that quarter of the world, which was attended with the reduction of *Quebec*, and consequently with the absolute ruin of the French upon the American continent; the satisfaction with which the news inspired us was damped by our being told General *Wolfe* fell in the action, having received 3 shots in different places, and left behind him a character both as a man, and an officer, that raises him to a level with the most renowned commanders. General *Monckton* was also shot through the lungs, but his wound was not mortal. We were happy in having the command devolve upon General *George Townshend*, whose letter will here speak better, than any language we should attempt to use.

Letter from the Honourable General Monckton to the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Pitt, dated Camp at Point Levi, Sept. 15, 1759.

S I R,

I Have the pleasure to acquaint you, that, on the 13th instant, his majesty's troops gained a very signal victory over the *French*, a little above the town of *Quebec*. Gen. *Wolfe*, exerting himself on the right of our line, received a wound pretty early, of which he died soon after, and I had myself the great misfortune of receiving one in my right breast by a ball, that went through part of my lungs (and which has been cut out under the blade bone of my shoulder) just as the *French* were giving way, which obliged me to quit the field. I have therefore, Sir, desired Gen. *Townshend*, who now commands the troops before the town (and of which I am in hopes he will be in possession) to acquaint you with the particulars of that day, and of the operations carrying on,

I have the honour to be, &c.

ROB. MONCKTON.

P. S. His majesty's troops behaved with the greatest steadiness and bravery.

As the surgeons tell me there is no danger in my wound, I am in hopes that I shall be soon able to join the army before the town.

Letter from the Honourable Brigadier General Townshend to the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Pitt, dated, Camp before Quebec, Sept. 20, 1759.

S I R,

I Have the honour to acquaint you with the success of his majesty's arms, on the 13th instant, in an action with the *French*, on the Heights to the westward of this town.

It being determined to carry the operations above the town, the posts at *Point Levi*, and *l'Isle d'Orleans* being secured, the general marched, with the remainder of the force, from *Point Levi* the 5th and 6th, and embarked them in transports, which had passed the town for that purpose. On the 7th, 8th, and 9th, a movement of the ships was made up, by Adm. *Holmes*, in order to amuse the enemy now posted along the north shore; but the transports being extremely crowded, and the weather very bad, the general thought proper to cantoon half his troops on the South shore; where they were refreshed, and re-embarked upon the 12th at one in the morning. The light infantry, commanded by Col. *Howe*, the regiments of *Bragg*, *Kennedy*, *Laluelles*, and *Anstruther*, with a detachment of Highlanders, and *American* grenadiers, the whole being under the command of Brigadiers *Monckton* and *Murray*, were put into the flat-bottomed boats, and after some movement of the ships made by Adm. *Holmes*, to draw the attention of the enemy above, the boats fell down with the tide, and landed on the North shore, within a league of *Cape Diamond*, an hour before day-break: The rapidity of the tide of ebb carried them a little below the intended place of attack, which obliged the light infantry to scramble up a woody precipice, in order

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to secure the landing the troops, by dislodging a captain's post, which defended the small entrenched path the troops were to ascend. After a little firing, the light infantry gained the top of the precipice, and dispersed the captain's post; by which means, the troops, with a very little loss from a few *Canadians* and *Indians* in the wood, got up, and were immediately formed. The boats, as they emptied, were sent back for the second embarkation, which I immediately made. Brig. *Murray*, who had been detached with *Anstruther's* battalion to attack the four gun battery upon the left, was recalled by the general, who now saw the *French* army crossing the river *St Charles*. Gen. *Wolf* thereupon began to form his line, having his right covered by the *Louisbourg* grenadiers; on the right of these again he afterwards brought *Osway's*, to the left of the grenadiers were *Bragg's*, *Kennedy's*, *Lafcelles's*, *Highlanders*, and *Anstruther's*; the right of this body was commanded by Brig. *Monckton*, and the left by Brig. *Murray*; his rear and left were protected by Col. *Howe's* light infantry, who was returned from the four gun battery before mentioned, which was soon abandoned to him. Gen. *Montcalm* having collected the whole of his force from the *Beaufort* side, and advancing, shewed his intention to flank our left, where I was immediately ordered with Gen. *Amberst's* battalion, which I formed on *Potence*. My numbers were soon after increased by the arrival of the two battalions of *Royal Americans*; and *Webb's* was drawn up by the General, as a reserve, in eight subdivisions with large intervals. The enemy lined the bushes in their front, with 1500 *Indians* and *Canadians*, and I dare say had placed most of their best marksmen there, who kept up a very galling, though irregular, fire upon our whole line, who bore it with the greatest patience, and good order; reserving their fire for the main body, now advancing. This fire of the enemy was however checked by our posts in our front, which protected the forming our own line. The right of the enemy was composed of half the troops of the colony, the battalions of *La Saure*, *Languedoc*, and the remainder of their *Canadians* and *Indians*. Their centre was a column, and formed by the battalions of *Bearn* and *Guienne*. Their left was composed of the remaining troops of the colony, and the battalion of *Royal Roussillon*. This was, as near as I can guess, their line of battle. They brought up two pieces of small artillery against us, and we had been able to bring up but one gun; which being admirably well served, galled their column exceedingly. My attention to the left will not permit me to be very exact with regard to every circumstance which passed in the center, much less to the right; but it is most certain that the enemy formed in good order, and that their attack was very brisk and animated on that side. Our troops reserved their fire, till within forty yards, which was so well continued, that the enemy every where gave way. It was then our General fell at the head of *Bragg's*, and the *Louisbourg* grenadiers, advancing with their bayonets: About the same time, Brig. Gen. *Monckton* received his wound at the head of *Lafcelles's*. In the front of the opposite battalions fell also M. *Montcalm*; and his second in command is since dead of his wounds on board our fleet. Part of the enemy made a second faint attack. Part took to some thick copse wood, and seemed to make a stand. It was at this moment that each corps seemed in a manner to exert itself, with a view to its own peculiar character. The grenadiers, *Bragg's*, and *Lafcelles's*, pressed on with their bayonets. Brig. *Murray* advancing with the troops under his command briskly, completed the route on this side; when the *Highlanders*, supported by *Anstruther's*, took to their broad swords, and drove part into the town, and part to the works at their bridge on the river *St Charles*.

The action, on our left and rear, was not so severe. The houses, into which the light infantry were thrown, were well defended, being supported by Col. *Howe*, who taking post with two companies behind a small copse, and frequently falling upon the flanks of the enemy during their attack, drove them often into heaps, against the front of which body I advanced platoons of *Amberst's* regiment, which totally prevented the right wing from executing their first intention. Before this, one of the *Royal American* battalions had been detached to preserve our communication with our boats, and the other being sent to occupy the ground which Brig. *Murray's* movement had left open, I remained with *Amberst's* to support this disposition, and to keep the enemy's right, and a body of their Savages, which waited still more towards our rear, opposite the posts of our light infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon our rear.

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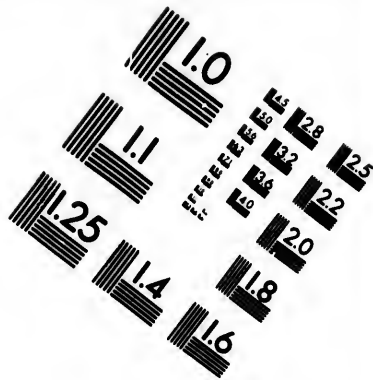
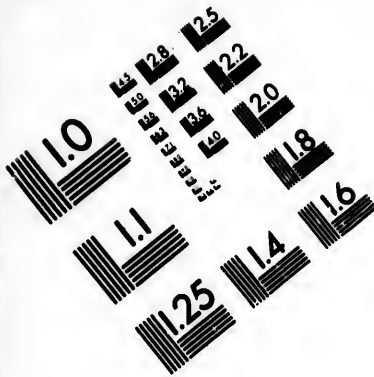
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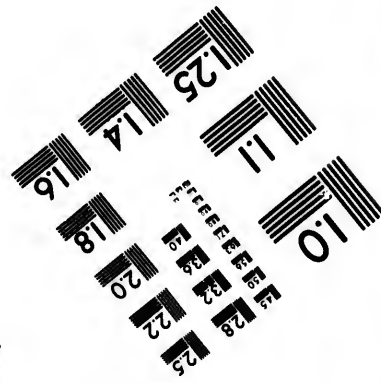
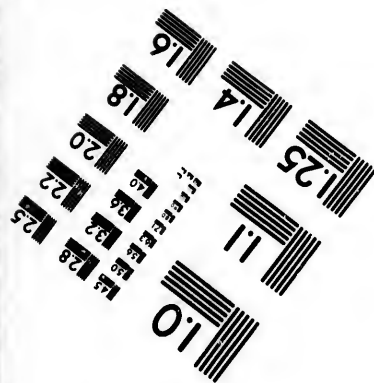
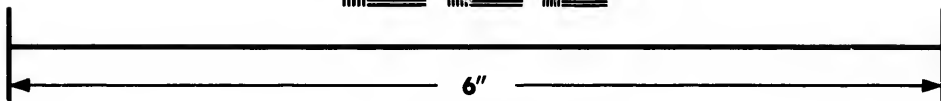
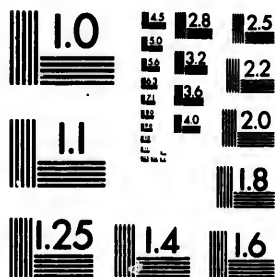
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Articles





**IMAGE EVALUATION
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FRENCH ENCROACHMENTS.

The French in 1727 found a house in New York which was measured, and the house was found to be 100 paces long and 50 paces wide.

The Ohio river was known early to the English and thoroughly explored beyond the Mississippi by 1700. It was first discovered by the English in 1673 in 1680 by the same name by De La Roche of New Jersey.

Discovery of the Mouth of that River and sailing up the Ohio 1768 possession and control of Carolina under the French first found and settled on the same River to Illinois in 1763. They call Louisiana the Trade Territory and founded it at Detroit in 1724.

Since the River is French they have daily encroached on 1729 they began to digge out the Ohio to Nova Scotia 1768 they possessed P'Nemon ville near the Falls or Niagara, founding them on the Six Nations 1731 to 1740 and F. Hadenack at Crown Point 1740 Miles South of St. Lawrence River in 1750 they passed the river in those of Nova Scotia by reaching the St. Lawrence Bay Vermeil in the Mouth of St. Johns R. in 1753 and 4. They were on Lake Erie in 1753 and 53.

In 1754 they first gave their first base on the Ohio and on the river. Nations there was Populace of 100000. had 100000 men, and as it was near Virginia. Several all this they have done in time of Peace about 1720 they built a Fort on the Alabama R. in the vicinity of the Creek. In 1730 they went to it 1731. South Carolina. Thus they have become in our colonies with 1740 and 1741. They are still in the hands of the Indians.

To the French colonies there are only two. In the River St. Lawrence and Mississippi where they are above and beyond the mountains and both their entrance of nations across the first being full of Rocks the 1740.

Canada in 1755 had not more than 45000 inhabitants of which 15000 were fighting. Men Quebec had 15000 inhabitants 15000 soldiers or more than at both Trenton and Montreal. The other two settlements Louisiana has not one tenth the number of Men as in Canada whereas our colonies between 1700 and 1750 Millions of English out of whom 90 or 100000 Men for defence may be raised but a few united are an even match for several numbers.

The French are intruders into Canada, part of Cabots discovery and have no Right but by Treaties as appears from their claiming under Terronius Discovery in 1498, though twenty years have since elapsed.



...and the other being left to occupy the ground when Eng. Murray's movement had left open, I remained with Amber's to support this disposition, and to keep the enemy's right, and a body of their savages, which waited still more towards our rear, opposite the posts of our light infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon our rear.

This,

This comma part of effected appears him; u quitting ing a fr woods a battle, a which f tion, to road up ries, and before w truce ca allowing this tim officer r consider terms w the ener and col accident add to t and the There, I have t fast; bri determin I hav the pris stores in of the v they can side to c blow ha Bougain the tow pleated detachm I shou occasion affluence, dence, ties, wh of a gr artillery drawing short as navy ha

This, Sir, was the situation of things, when I was told, in the action, that I commanded: I immediately repaired to the centre, and finding the pursuit had put part of the troops in disorder, I formed them as soon as possible. Scarce was this effected, when M. de Bougainville, with his corps from *Cape Rouge*, of 2000 men, appeared in our rear. I advanced two pieces of artillery, and two battalions towards him; upon which he retired. You will not, I flatter myself, blame me for not quitting such advantageous ground, and risking the fate of so decisive a day, by seeking a fresh enemy, posted perhaps in the very kind of ground he could wish for, *viz.* woods and swamps. We took a great number of *French* officers upon the field of battle, and one piece of cannon. Their loss is computed to be about 1500 men, which fell chiefly upon their regulars. I have been employed, from the day of action, to that of the capitulation, in redoubling our camp beyond insult, in making a road up the precipice for our cannon, in getting up the artillery, preparing the batteries, and cutting off their communication with their country. The 17th, at noon, before we had any battery erected, or could have any for two or three days, a truce came out with proposals of capitulation, which I sent back again to the town, allowing them four hours to capitulate, or no farther treaty. The admiral had, at this time, brought up his large ships as intending to attack the town. The *French* officer returned at night with terms of capitulation; which, with the Admiral, were considered, agreed to, and signed at eight in the morning, the 18th instant. The terms we granted, will, I flatter myself, be approved of by his majesty, considering the enemy assembling in our rear, and, what is far more formidable, the very wet and cold season, which threatened our troops with sickness, and the fleet with some accident; it had made our road so bad, we could not bring up a gun for some time; add to this, the advantage of entering the town, with the walls in a defensible state, and the being able to put a garrison there strong enough to prevent all surprize. These, I hope, will be deemed sufficient considerations for granting them the terms I have the honour to transmit to you. The inhabitants of the country come into us fast, bringing in their arms, and taking the oaths of fidelity, until a general peace determines their situation.

I have the honour to inclose herewith, a list of the killed and wounded; a list of the prisoners, as perfect as I have yet been able to get it; and a list of the artillery and stores in the town, as well as of those fallen into our hands at *Beaufort* in consequence of the victory. By deserters we learn, that the enemy are re-assembling what troops they can, behind the *Cape Rouge*; that M. de Lévy is come down from the *Montreal* side to command them; some say he has brought two battalions with him; if so, this blow has already assisted Gen. Amherst. By other deserters, we learn, that M. de Bougainville, with 800 men, and provisions, was on his march to sling himself into the town the 18th, the very morning it capitulated, on which day we had not completed the investiture of the place, as they had broke their bridge of boats, and had detachments in very strong works on the other side the river *St Charles*.

I should not do justice to the Admirals, and the naval service, if I neglected this occasion of acknowledging how much we are indebted for our success to the constant assistance and support received from them, and the perfect harmony and correspondence, which has prevailed throughout all our operations, in the uncommon difficulties, which the nature of this country, in particular, presents to military operations of a great extent, and which no army can itself solely supply; the immense labour in artillery, stores, and provisions; the long watchings and attendance in boats; the drawing up our artillery by the seamen, even in the heat of the action; it is my duty, short as my command has been, to acknowledge, for that, how great a share the navy has had in this successful campaign.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GEO. TOWNSHEND.

Article:

This,

FRENCH ENCROACHMENTS.

The French in 1674 found schemes to destroy New York, which was unoccupied, as did their design on Boston in 1675.

The Ohio territory was known early to the English and thoroughly explored beyond the Mississippi by 1717. West from 1724, to 1734, when by 1737. It is in 1739 in 1740 the ships sent by Dr. O. of New Jersey discovered the Mouth of that River, and sailing up 100 Miles, took possession and called it Carolina. next Year the French first found and settled on it from France to Illinois R. in 40° Lat. they call Louisiana. (The Trade of which was united to M. Orest in 1718.)

Since the Peace of Utrecht they have daily encroached in 1719 they began to dispute our title to Nova Scotia. 1728 they repossessed Plénonville near the Falls of Niagara, bordering West on the Six Nations. 1731 they built F. Frederick at Crown Point 20 Miles South of St. Lawrence River. In 1735 they seized two posts in three of Nova Scotia by erecting Posts at Sheguikoa Bay Verte, and at the Mouth of St. John's R. in 1739 and 4. two more on Lake Erie in 1740 and 43.

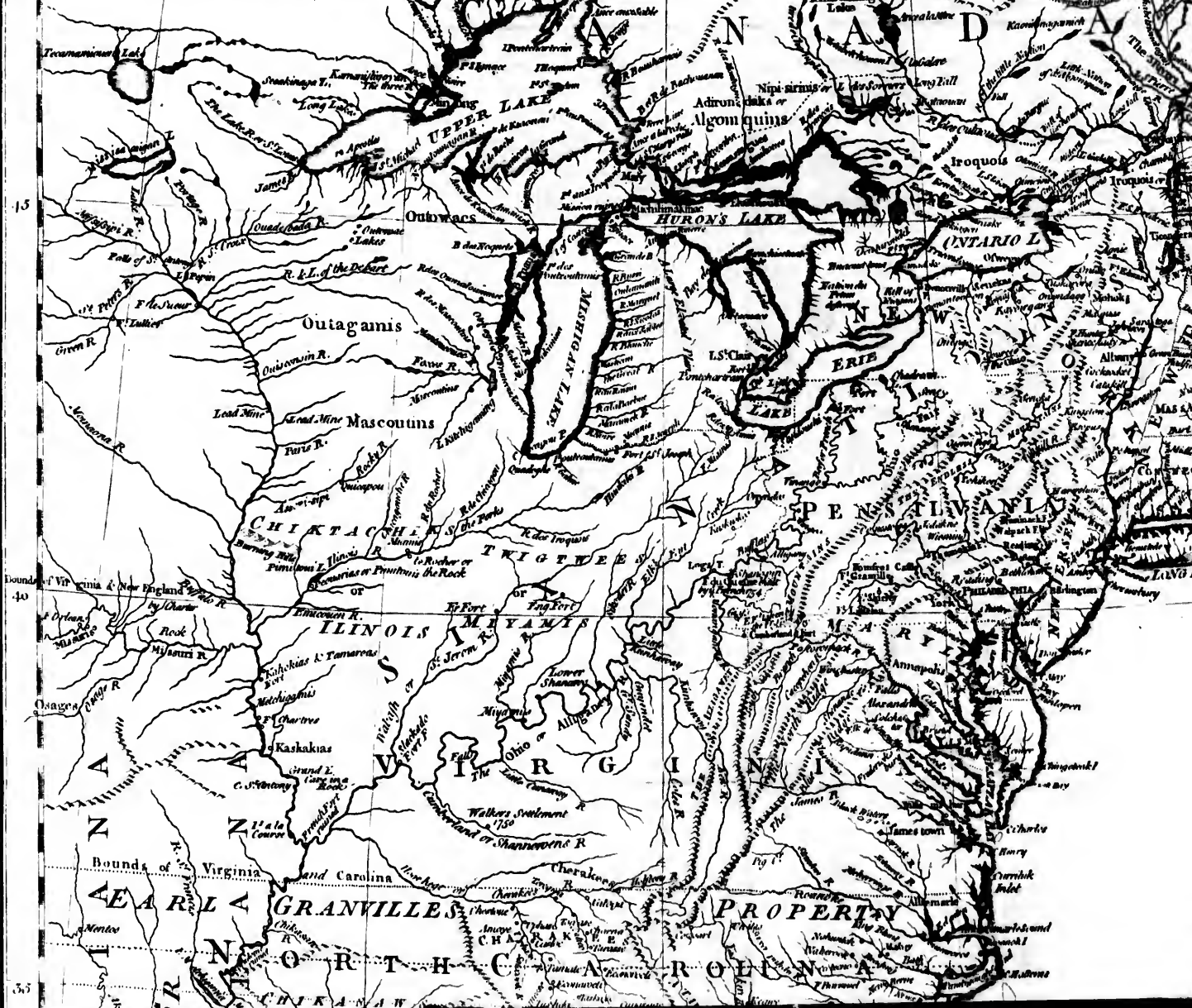
In 1754 they first took our two Posts on the Ohio and in the next Month drove our People out of their back Settlements, and as it were kept Virginia beyond all this they have done in time of Peace, about 1766 they built a Fort on the Alabama R. in the Country of the Creek Indians, to curb and restrain South Carolina. thus they have hemmed in our Colonies with Forts and cut off our Trade & Alliance with the Indians.

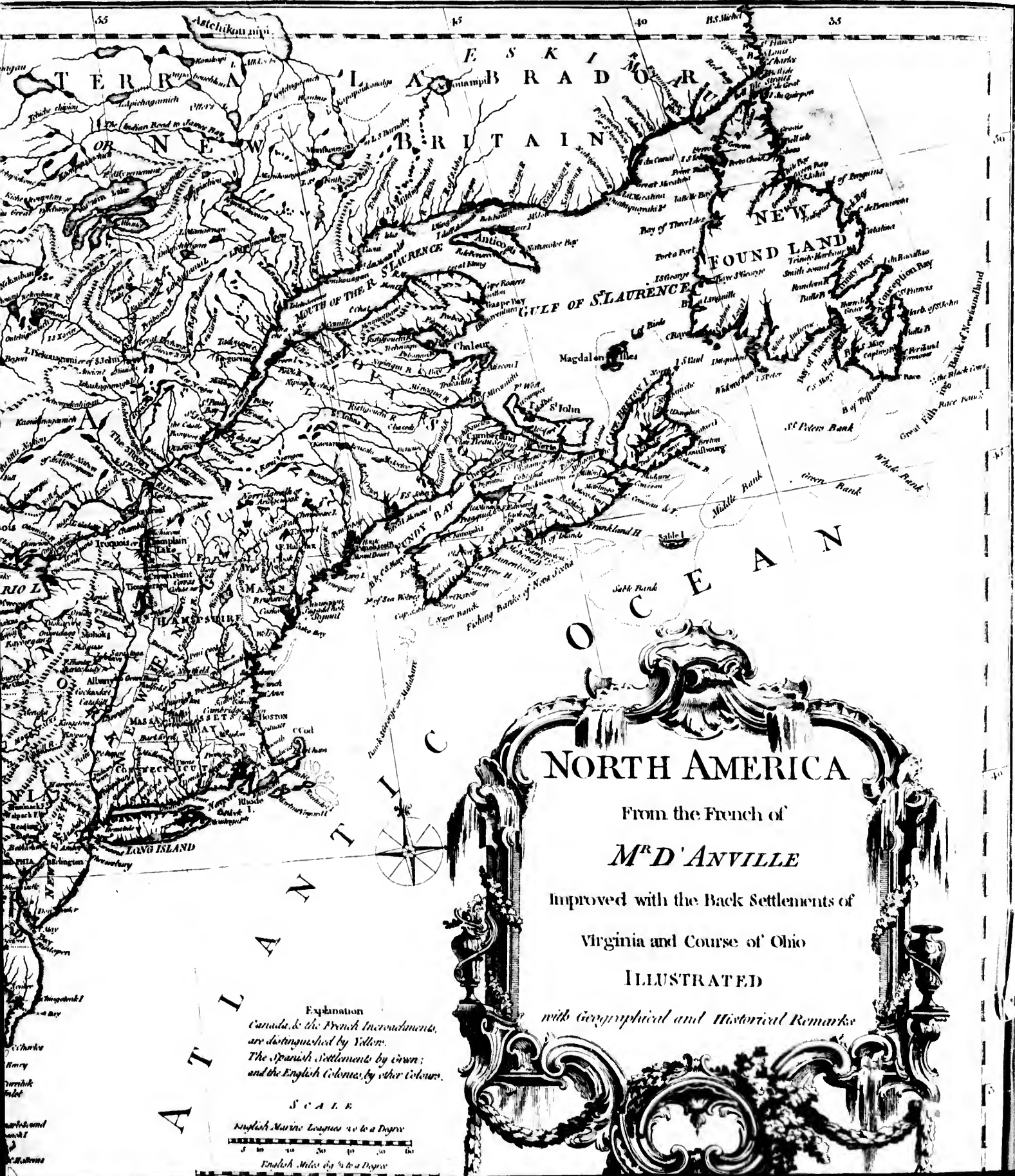
To's French Colonies there are only two Islets, the Rivers St. Lawrence and Mississippi, where the above 1000 League wonder, and both their abundance of difficult access, the first being full of Rocks the 2. Shales.

Canada in 1733 had not more than 25000 Inhabitants of which 15000 were English. Men Quebec had 15000 Inhabitants; 1500 Soldiers, or more than at both Trois Rivières and Montreal. their other two Settlements Louisiana has not one tenth the number of Men as in Canada whereas our Colonies contain between 200,000 & 3,000,000 of English out of whom 90 or 100,000 Men fit for defence may be raised but a few would be an ever match for divided numbers.

The French are intruders into Canada, part of Cabots discovery and have no Right but by Treaty, as appears from their claiming under Terrasanis Discovery in 1492, though twenty years there after Cabots.

North Limits of New England by Charter 1620
SINIBUELS





NORTH AMERICA

From the French of
M^R D'ANVILLE

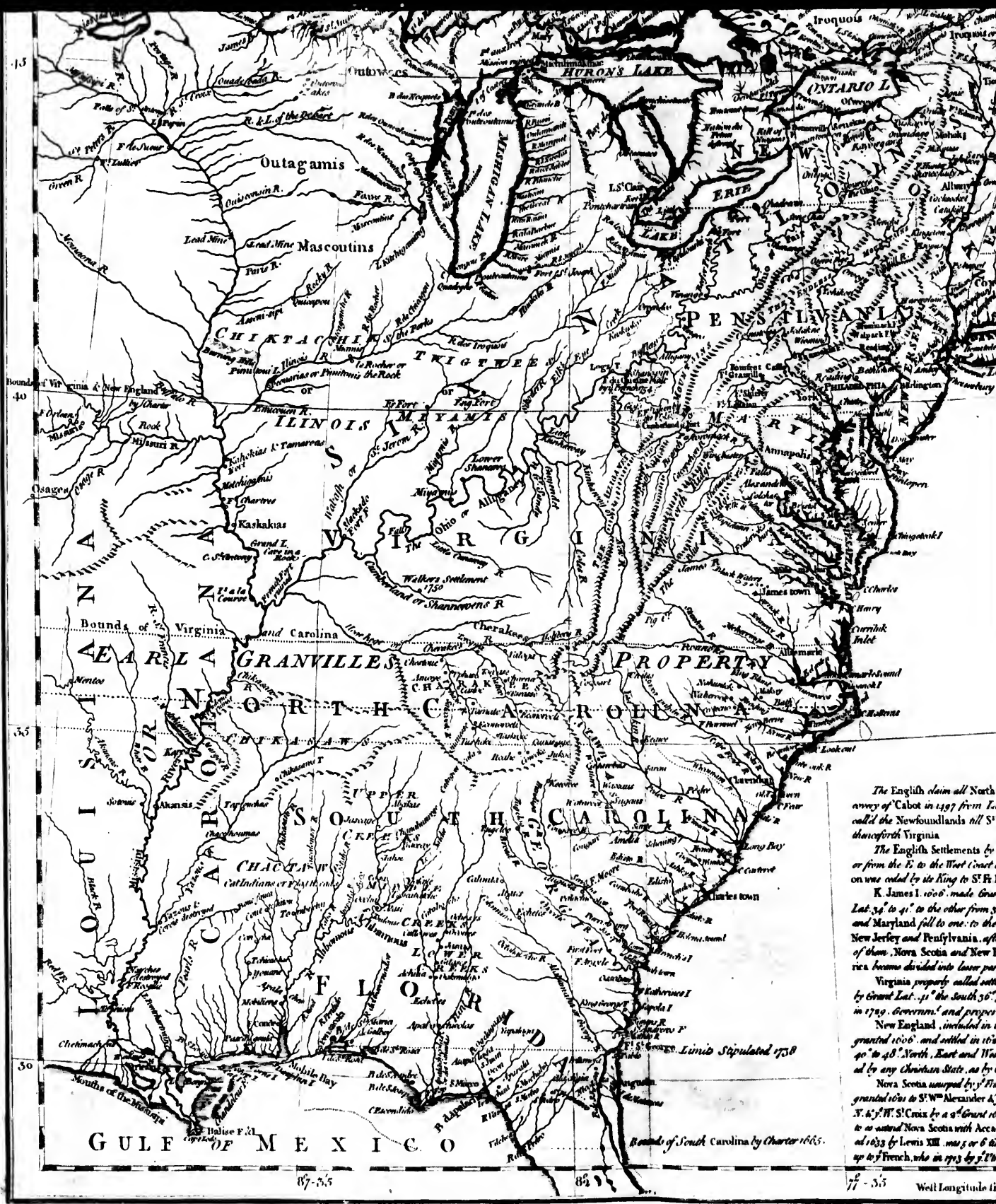
Improved with the Back Settlements of
 Virginia and Course of Ohio

ILLUSTRATED

with Geographical and Historical Remarks

Explanation
Canada, & the French Incroachments,
are distinguished by Yellow.
The Spanish Settlements by Green;
and the English Colonies by other Colours.

SCALE
 English Marine Leagues 40 to a Degree
 English Miles 60 to a Degree

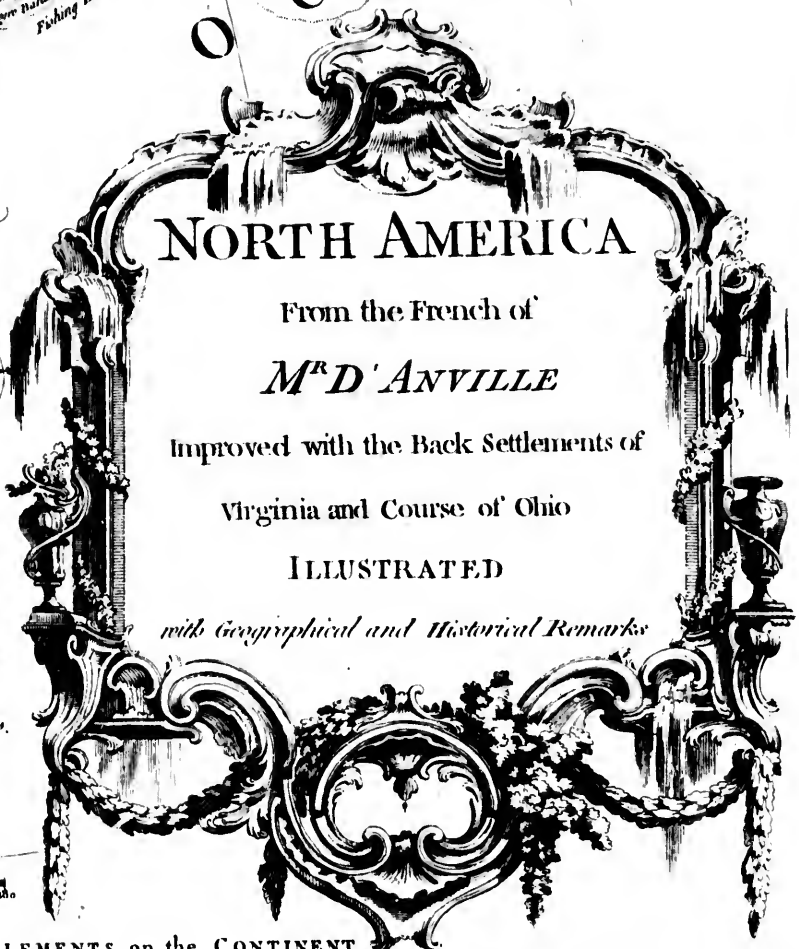


The English claim all North
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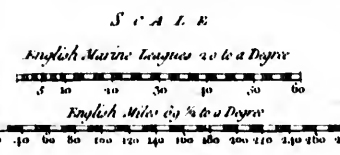
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GULF OF MEXICO



Explanation
Canada, & the French Incroachments,
are distinguished by Yellow.
The Spanish Settlements by Green;
and the English Colonies by other Colours.



ENGLISH Title to their SETTLEMENTS on the CONTINENT.

The English claim all North America to settle in, by 3^d Discovery of Cabot in 1497 from Lat. 67° to Cape of Florida in 43, called the Newfoundland Islands all S^t Walter Raleighs Voyage in 1585; thenceforth Virginia

The English Settlements by Grants extend from Sea to Sea or from the E. to the West Coast of the Continent where Nova Albion was ceded by its King to S^t F^r Drake in 1577.

K. James I. 1606. made Grants to two Companies to one from Lat. 34° to 41° to the other from 38° to 45°. Carolina Virginia Penna. and Maryland fell to one; to the other New England New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, afterwards distinct Grants being made of those, Nova Scotia and New Britain Virginia or all North America became divided into lesser parts under different names.

Virginia properly called settled in James R. 1607. N^o bounds by Grant Lat. 31° the South 36° 30' by agreement and was run in 1729. Govern^t and property in the Crown.

New England, included in the General Virginia Patent, was granted 1606. and settled in 1620. the bounds extend from Lat. 40° to 43° North, East and West from Sea to Sea, if not possessed by any Christian State, as by Grant of James I. 3^d Nov. 1606.

Nova Scotia usurped by 3^d French 1673, forced out by Argal 1673, granted 1681 to S^t W^m Alexander & 3^d bounds was S^t Lawrence R. on 3^d N. 43° W. S^t Croix by a 4th Grant 1634 it was enlarged to Kennelbet R. to extend Nova Scotia with Acadia (so called by French) so granted 1633 by Lewis XIII. was 5 or 6 times usurped by English & given up to 3^d French, who in 1713 by 3^d Utrecht Treaty ceded it intirely to Q. Ann

accepting Cape Britain Property & Govern^t in 3^d Crown.

Maryland before part of Virginia granted to Lord Baltimore 1632. 1634 by K. Charles I. who named it after his Queen, settled in 1633. extends N. to Lat. 40° S. a few Miles below 38° East by the Crown's extend^s W. to 3^d Head of 3^d Potomack R. Property & Govern^t in 3^d Proprietor.

Carolina N^o 4th S^t was one Country till 1729. French Hugonets entering in 1565 built Charles F. at Port Royal, cut off 1564 by the Spaniards, who were destroyed by the French 1567, from thence entered 1607 on 1629 1633 for a few English all granted to 3^d Proprietors 1616 from Lat. 36° 30' N. 3^d 27° Degree, and West to the South Sea, the Charter was 1704 and 1728 1673 of the State bought in by 3^d Crown, in whose hands 3^d Govern^t Property and People

New Jersey lies between Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York, part of 3^d Dutch New Netherlands taken from them in 1664, S^t owned by Duke of York and by him to Lord Berkeley and S^t Geo Carteret received by the Dutch in 1674 but returned 1673, and regained to and by the Duke 1674 to the same Proprietors, who divided it by a line from South to North Lord Berkeley had the W Jersey, and S^t Geo Carteret the East Jersey now united Property in the Proprietors, Govern^t and Jurisdiction given up to the Crown 1702.

New York first ruled by Hudson 1608, who gave his name to the R. bought the Country of the Indians and sold it to the Dutch, Cha I claiming it the States shew a title, and the Dutch Company offer it for 250,000, but they refused, build forts and call it with New Jersey, New Netherlands, it was comprised with N Jersey and granted to the D of York and called Yorkshire its bounds at first were, North the

R. S^t Lawrence, and the S Sea West now more limited and very narrow termed 3^d Sea Coast, exclusive of Long Island, but grows broader towards the Country of the Six Nations which is supposed to be comprised in it Property & Govern^t in the Crown.

Pennsylvania named from its Proprietor W^m Penn Esq^r granted by K. Cha I. 1681 from the beginning of the 40° to the 43° of Latitude, 6th in Longitude, 5 Day W. of Delaware R. excepting 13 Miles round Newcastle. in 1688 the Duke of York granted to him a strip of New Netherlands from 12 Miles N. of Newcastle, S. to Cape Hinlopen in 38° 45' 10" part is called the Delaware or Lower Counties Property & Govern^t in the Proprietors.

Georgia till 1733 was part of 3^d Carolina it was settled separately & granted to a Corporation with right for 21 Years, Property and Govern^t which had more than to revert to the Crown.

Five Nations called Iroquois by the French are the Mohawks Onecut or Onondos Onondawagaws Cayogawas and Senecas, the Tuscarorah make a Sixth their Country extends from Skenebetads 16 m. S.W. of Albany to the Niagara Straits of Lake Erie 320 Miles.

They are acknowledged by the Utrecht Treaty to be Subjects of Great Britain, which claims to settle all the Country West to the Mississippi, and South to the Chataque R. with the Country of the Mesasagaws, and Northern Iroquois, from beyond the Lakes Hurons and Ontario and S^t Lawrence R. as far East as Montreal in right of their Company, and all the Country North to the same River, and East beyond Iroquois Lake and River as their Ancient Territories, besides the Lands of their Friends, whom the French agreed not to molest, they can raise 1500 fighting Men and are Allies of the English who sell them Beavers, and under the Protection of New York.

Articles of Capitulation agreed on, between General Townshend and M. de Ramzey, Commander of Quebec.

Art. I. M. de Ramzey demands the honours of war for his garrison, and that it shall be conducted back to the army in safety by the shortest road, with their arms, baggage, six pieces of brass cannon, two mortars or howitzers, and 12 rounds.

The garrison of the town, composed of land forces, marines, and sailors, shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, lighted matches, with two pieces of cannon, and twelve rounds, and shall be embarked as conveniently as possible, in order to be landed at the first port in France.

II. That the inhabitants shall be maintained in the possession of their houses, goods, effects, and privileges.

Granted, provided they lay down their arms.

III. That the said inhabitants shall not be molested on account of their having borne arms for the defence of the town, as they were forced to it, and as it is customary for the inhabitants of the colonies of both crowns to serve as militia. *Granted.*

IV. That the effects belonging to the absent officers, or inhabitants, shall not be touched. *Granted.*

V. That the said inhabitants shall not be removed nor obliged to quit their houses until their condition shall be settled by a definitive treaty between their most Christian and Britannick majesties. *Granted.*

VI. That the exercise of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion shall be preserved, and that safe-guards shall be granted to the houses of the clergy, and to the monasteries, particularly to the Bishop of *Quebec*, who animated with zeal for religion, and charity for the people of his diocess, desires to reside constantly in it, to exercise freely and with that decency which his character and the sacred mysteries of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion require, his episcopal authority in the town of *Quebec*, wherever he shall think it proper, until the possession of *Canada* shall have been decided by a treaty between their most Christian and Britannic majesties.

The free exercise of the Roman religion, Safe-guards granted to all religious persons, as well as to the bishop, who shall be at liberty to come and exercise freely and with decency the functions of his office whenever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided between their Britannic and most Christian majesties.

VII. That the artillery and warlike stores shall be delivered up *bona fide*, and an inventory taken thereof. *Granted.*

VIII. That the sick, wounded, commissaries, chaplains, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and other persons employed in the hospitals, shall be treated agreeable to the cartel settled between their most Christian and Britannic majesties on Feb. 6, 1759. *Granted.*

IX. That before delivering up the gate, and the entrance of the town, to the *English* forces, their general will be pleased to send some soldiers to be placed as safe-guards at the churches, convents, and chief habitations. *Granted.*

X. That the commander of the city of *Quebec* shall be permitted to send advice to the Marquis de *Vaudreuil*, governor general, of the reduction of the town; as also that this general shall be allowed to write to the *French* ministry to inform them thereof. *Granted.*

XI. That the present capitulation shall be executed according to its form and tenor, without being liable to non-execution under pretence of reprisals, or the non-execution of any preceding capitulation. *Granted.*

The present treaty has been made and settled between us, and duplicates sign'd at the Camp before Quebec, Sepr. 18, 1759.

C. Saunders, G. Townshend, De Ramzey.

Killed,

M. de Ramzey,

Killed, Wounded, and Missing, in the Battle of the 13th.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
Officers	9	53	0
Serjeants	3	25	0
Drummers	0	4	0
Rank and file	45	506	3
Total	57	588	3

Artillery.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
Engineers	0	1	0
Gunners	1	1	0
Bombardiers	0	1	0
Matrosses	0	5	0
Total	1	8	0

An Account of the Guns, &c. found in Quebec on its Surrender to his Majesty's Troops.

Brafs guns 6 pound.	1	Brafs mortars 13 In.	1
4	3	Do howitzers 8	3
2	2	Iron mortars 13	9
Iron guns 36	10	10	1
24	45	8	3
18	18	7	2
12	13	Shells 13 Inches	770
8	43	10	150
6	66	8 and 7	90
4	30	6	
3	7	Brafs petards	2
2	3		

with a considerable quantity of powder, ball, small arms and intrenching tools, &c. the number of which cannot be ascertained.

There have been also 37 guns and one mortar found on several batteries between St Charles river and Beauport.

Letter from Vice-Admiral Saunders, to the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Pitt, Sept. 20, 1759.

S I R,

I Have the greatest pleasure in acquainting you, that the town and citadel of *Quebec* surrendered on the 18th instant, and I inclose you a copy of the articles of capitulation. The army took possession of the gates on the land side, the same evening, and sent safe guards into the town to preserve order, and to prevent any thing being destroyed; and Capt. *Palliser*, with a body of seamen, landed in the lower town, and did the same. The next day, our army marched in, and near a thousand *French* officers, soldiers, and seamen, were embarked on board some *English* catts, who shall soon proceed for *France*, agreeable to the capitulation.

I had the honour to write to you the 5th instant, by the *Redney* cutter: The troops mentioned in that letter, embarked on board the ships and vessels above the town, in the night of the 6th instant, and at four in the morning of the 13th began to land on the north shore, about a mile and a half above the town. Gen. *Montcalm*, with his whole army, left their camps at *Beauport*, and marched to meet him. A little before ten both armies were formed, and the enemy began the attack. Our troops received their fire, and returned their own, advancing till they were so near as to run

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Killed,

in upon them, and push them with their bayonets; by which, in a very little time, the *French* gave way, and fled to the town in the utmost disorder, and with great loss; for our troops pursued them quite to the walls, and killed many of them upon the glacis, and in the ditch; and if the town had been further off, the whole *French* army must have been destroyed. About 250 *French* prisoners were taken that day, among whom are ten captains, and six subaltern officers, all of whom will go in the great ships to *England*.

I am sorry to acquaint you, that General *Wolfe* was killed in the action; and Gen. *Monckton* shot through the body; but he is now supposed to be out of danger. Gen. *Montcalm*, and the three next *French* officers in command, were killed; but I must refer you to Gen. *Townshend* (who writes by this opportunity) for the particulars of this action, the state of the garrison, and the measures he is taking for keeping possession of it. I am now beginning to send on shore the stores they will want, and provisions for 5000 men; of which I can furnish them with a sufficient quantity.

The night of their landing, Admiral *Holmes*, with the ships and troops, was about three leagues above the intended landing-place: General *Wolfe*, with about half his troops, set off in boats, and dropped down with the tide, and were, by that means, less liable to be discovered by the *French* centinels, posted all along the coast. The ships followed them about three quarters of an hour afterwards, and got to the landing-place just in the time that had been concerted, to cover their landing; and considering the darkness of the night, and the rapidity of the current, this was a very critical operation, and very properly and successfully conducted. When Gen. *Wolfe*, and the troops with him, had landed, the difficulty of gaining the top of the hill is scarce credible: It was very steep in its ascent, and high, and had no path where two could go a-breast: but they were obliged to pull themselves up by the stumps and boughs of trees, that covered the declivity.

Immediately after our victory over their troops, I sent up all the boats in the fleet with artillery, and ammunition; and on the 17th went up with the men of war, in a disposition to attack the lower town, as soon as Gen. *Townshend* should be ready to attack the upper; but in the evening they sent out to the camp, and offered terms of capitulation.

I have the farther pleasure of acquainting you, that, during this tedious campaign, there has continued a perfect good understanding between the army and navy. I have received great assistance from Admirals *Durell* and *Holmes*, and from all the captains; indeed every body has exerted themselves in the execution of their duty; even the transports have willingly assisted me with boats and people on the landing the troops, and many other services.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES SAUNDERS

It appears all through this expedition, that great part of its success was owing to the patriot unanimity that subsisted between the land and sea officers. None of those bickerings and disputes reigned among them that had been the ruin of many well concerted schemes in a former WAR, and if there was any contention it was in who should be foremost to shew his love for his country's glory, by being foremost in his duty. Admiral *Saunders* who commanded at sea, was always ready to assist the operations by land, and he was nobly seconded, by the Admirals *Holmes* and *Durell*. The death of the brave General *Wolfe*, abated nothing of this confidence, and indeed such was the tenor of all the officers conduct through the whole, that the wisdom and valour of the british councils and arms, by their intrepidity and courage have been established in the capital of *New France*.

A DESCRIPTION

A DESCRIPTION of the further progress of the *British* arms shall now be entered upon. After *Quebec*, the capital of *Canada*, had thus fallen under the *English* monarchy, in the glorious era, 1759. An event sufficiently surprizing, in whatever circumstance we regard it; the great superiority of the *French* over our troops, as to numbers, the many difficulties the latter had to encounter even to come to blows with the enemy, occasioned by the inequality and commanding strength of the country about the town, which was occupied by forces much more numerous, highly enhance the merit of this achievement: but what still more claims our wonder and applause is, that so small a body should persist, without relaxation or confusion, after the fall of its gallant leader *Wolfe*; who had braved every danger at their head, and when general *Monkton*, that succeeded to the command, had in appearance shared the same fate, not only to oppose this formidable foe, but to repel, rout, and pursue the scattered remains, even up to their city; which, struck with despair at the sight, surrendered to them in four days after. History can boast but of few actions parallel to this; and indeed, providence seems to have more especially employed its agency to inspirit the *English*, and confound the *French*, in the above mentioned exploit.

Being thus master of the town, the next thing the conquerors had to consider was, how they should best secure this important acquisition against any sudden attack, or surprize; this loudly demanded the most serious exertion of their care and management, as the enemy had still a much larger force in the field, than theirs amounted to within the walls, far less fatigued, and in better health: added to these advantages over them, they had also a thorough knowledge of the country, and a constant supply of fresh provisions in abundance, from the lands to the southward, which were hitherto under their dominion. *Quebec*, that was to be the winter quarters of our people, lay mostly in ruins, and those houses which remained standing, were so shattered by the batteries as to be scarcely habitable; the fortifications in a ruinous condition, and in short nothing before them but a prospect of the extremity of hardships and toil. These difficulties were however in some measure surmounted by the unwearied resolution and perseverance of the soldiery, and the place put into a posture of defence, the most promising affairs would admit of. By seizing two posts one at *St. Foix*, and the other at *Lorette*, the garrison made shift to furnish itself with wood for fuel, of which there was great want; and afterwards a detachment marched to *St. Augustin*, made the enemies advanced guards prisoners, and disarmed the inhabitants. These successes were strokes of great moment to the *English* army, as they afforded them opportunity of watching the motions of the *French*, covering at the same time their own, and likewise obliged the peasants to furnish them with fresh subsistence during the winter. Things now shewing a more agreeable aspect, and terror being banished a little farther from home, a party was sent out to the southward of the river *St. Laurence*, that stript the inhabitants of their weapons, and obliged them to take oaths of allegiance; which step was likewise the means of procuring them great quantities of fresh provisions. The *French* generals who had canted their army in winter quarters about the neighbourhood of *Montreal*, having received intelligence, that our army daily diminished through sickness and inevitable distresses, came to a resolution of attacking the town in the depth of winter, hoping to carry it by a sudden effort of their whole force. For this end they made a great preparation of snowshoes, and scaling ladders for storming the place, which they had agreed, should be put in execution about the middle of *February* following; till that time all possible precaution was to be used in order to conceal their design, which nevertheless did not prevent our army's being apprized of it.

The more readily to compass their intentions, the enemy dispatched a body of forces to post themselves at point *Livy*, to augment their army by collecting together the southern inhabitants; and to form there a magazine of provisions for the troops who were to follow. This point they had now been in possession of for several days, which time they employed in amassing a large quantity of flour, and in killing cattle for the sustenance of their forces during the projected expedition: they were however disturbed in this work by our people, as soon as the river was sufficiently frozen to let them cross it, and driven off in so precipitate a manner, that hardly any thing, except their own persons escaped the hands of the *English*. The enemy afterwards attempted to regain the same situation with a greater body, but were still baffled, and obliged only to the nimbleness of their flight for safety. Despairing therefore of being

being able to carry their design into execution, of taking the place by a sudden onset, they resolved to make all the necessary dispositions for a regular siege, to be commenced as soon as ever the breaking of the frost had rendered the river *St. Laurence* navigable. The Chevalier *de Lévis*, who commanded the whole, near 15000 men, of whom about 7000 were *Canadians* of *Montreal*, 1200 *Savages*, and the remainder regulars, had formed them into twelve battalions; the *English* garrison, which at first consisted of about 7000 men, was now greatly reduced by death and sickness, inso-much that the whole number fit for action amounted to little more than 3000. Now as *Quebec* was very far from being in a condition to sustain a long siege, General *Murray*, to whom, upon the departure of General *Townsend*, the command devolved, resolved, with his little army, to seize the heights of *Abram*, which overlook the town at the distance of 800 yards, and intrench himself strongly there: but before he could compass this scheme, the frost broke, the enemy's ships fell down the river, and landed their army at *Point au Tremble*, whence they marched directly to *Lorette*. An order to surprize and cut off the advanced posts planted in those parts. But to their utter disappointment, these were all properly succoured and withdrawn with very little loss. Affairs being thus circumstanced, and the enemy at hand, there was no other choice left, but either for the *English* to shut themselves up within the walls, and resist the foe from thence, or with very inferior numbers to meet them in the field, and try the fate of valour opposed to multitude; General *Murray* resolved upon the latter, as considering his troops habituated to conquer; and that if he should not succeed in this, he could still have recourse to the former. He marched therefore with all that could be mustered, and drew up upon the heights in order of battle. During this interval, he took a view of the enemy who were upon the march, in a column, and thinking it now the proper juncture to attack with the greatest advantage, before they had formed; he pressed briskly upon them, and after some dispute, pushed them from the rising grounds they were in possession of. The van of the *French* being thus put to flight, their main body advanced a pace, and their wings began to form with that a semicircle upon the flanks of the *English*, which was now in danger of being surrounded by their whole force, and having their communication with the town cut off. To prevent therefore a calamity, that might have ruined not only the army, but all the advantages acquired in *Canada*, they were compelled to retreat, and retired back to the town in such good order, that the enemy ventured to pursue but slowly. The roughness of the ground, and wreaths of snow, rendered it impracticable to bring off their cannon, which fell mostly into the enemies hand. The loss of the *English* in this action amounted to about 1000, that of the *French* to 2500 men. The night following the battle, the besiegers opened their trenches against the town, and the garrison set as heartily about fortifying it within, to enable them to hold out as long as possible; they had with vast labour mounted 12 pieces of cannon on the ramparts, and made so vigorous a defence from them, that the fire of the enemy daily lessened. Notwithstanding these efforts, it is imagined the place must have yielded, had the *French* been powerfully seconded by a fleet; but instead of such an appearance, Lord *Colville* (who had received advice of what was doing) arrived in the river; and on the 15th of *May* 1760, having anchored before the town, dispatched immediately two frigates to attack the *French* squadron, all of which presently run ashore and were destroyed; this transaction threw the besiegers into the greatest panic; so that they instantly raised the siege with such precipitation, as to abandon all their cannon, mortars, baggage, stores, ammunition, and provision, and retreated to *Jaques Cartier*. Thus ended also, gloriously to the *English*, the second siege of *Quebec*.

The *French* having been now every where routed in *North America*, their strongest forts, and the capital of *Canada* taken, there remained to them no place of consequence in these regions as yet unconquered, excepting *Montreal*; the reduction of which would render the subjection of this country to the *British* crown complete. To hasten its fall, General *Amherst* was making large strides. During the interval between the surrender of *Louisbourg* and the time we are now treating of, he had been employed in attacking their several strong holds upon the *Lakes*, which had all yielded to his arms successively, notwithstanding the opposition of the *French* to preserve them. It had been concerted between him and General *Murray*, that as soon as practicable for the former to act along the lakes, the latter should meet and join him on the river *St. Laurence* before *Montreal*. Our other forces under Col. *Haviland*, at *Crown Point*, Sir *William Johnson* at *Albany*,

bany, Lord Rollo at *Louisbourg*, were likewise to draw together towards him, from their several stations. On the 9th of *July 1760*, General *Amberst* arrived at *Oswego* from *Schmiedelany*, off the harbour of which place, two *French* ships presently after made their appearance: the General thought to have decoy'd them into the hands of Capt. *Loring* at *Niagara*, by engaging them in a chase after some boats sent out for that purpose, but without success. Soon after two *English* vessels appeared upon the lake, and went in quest of the said ships, but they had, notwithstanding, the good fortune to escape. Troops were now daily arriving from *Albany* and other places, particularly Sir *William Johnson* with his *Indians*; and the General began to make the requisite dispositions for embarking them in order to proceed to *Montreal*; and to facilitate that design, he detached a body of light infantry, grenadiers, and highlanders, to post themselves at the bottom of the Lake, and assist in finding a passage for the vessels down the river to *la Gallette*. *Schuyler's* and *Murray's* regiments being now arrived, and the rest of the forces that were to join the General at *Oswego*, he gave orders for the whole to embark. This being accomplished, they all proceeded down the river; and not long after passed the two snows which had been dispatched in quest of the *French* vessels abovementioned; they had some how missed the right channel, and could get no lower. Here they received intelligence by an *Indian*, that one of the said *French* vessels was ashore, and so much damaged, that she could not get off, and that the other lay off *Gallette*. Upon this, the General resolved to lose no time, but hasten down the river to attack a post of the enemy at *Ile Royale*: in his way he discovered one of the *French* vessels, which the row galleys pushed after and took. She mounted ten twelve pounders and four swivels. The same day the *English* army took possession of *Swetgatechie*, and General *Amberst* sent engineers with proper parties down towards *Ile Royale* to view the coast and situation of the islands near it. The report of the engineers causing no alteration of the dispositions already formed, the General leaving some provincials and the heavy artillery at *Swetgatechie*, taking with him three row galleys, a body of regulars, the greatest part of the *Indians*, and some light field pieces, rowed down by the north shore, passed the forts, and took possession of the islands and coast below it, while Colonel *Halkimand* did the same on the south shore, and took post opposite to the fort, but out of the reach of its guns. The *French* vessel which had been taken, sailed down the river between the galleys that carried the troops, to anchor at random shot from the fort, which was effected with the loss of one galley and a few men, by a smart cannonading as they passed. Thus the place was completely invested. Two of these small islands were found abandoned, and our *Indians* meeting with some scalps, which the enemy in their hurry had left, were so enraged, that they burnt all the houses, and a chapel, to the ground.

On the 19th day of *August*, a battery was fixed upon each of the islands that were nearest to the fort, and a third on a point of land upon the southern shore; ground was broken, fascines prepared, the heavy artillery and provincials left at *Swetgatechie* were sent for, and the siege begun. As soon as the firing from the besiegers commenced, the two snows beforementioned being now arrived, were ordered, with the prize, to fall down, close to the fort; and with a proper number of marksmen aboard, to keep the enemy from their batteries. Dispositions were also made for storming, but the vessels not proceeding as the General could have wished, that design was deferred for the present. The fort in the mean while fired a great deal, but did very little execution, and our batteries by degrees dismounted their guns. We continued to play upon them till the 25th of *August*, when the garrison beat a parley, and capitulated. Whilst General *Amberst* was thus opening his way down the river to *Montreal*, General *Murray* was advancing on the other hand up the river to the same place. The manifestoes he published as he went on, drew the chief part of the inhabitants on the southern shore to submit themselves and take the oath of neutrality. He heard nothing of General *Amberst*, and was followed by *M. de Lewis* with the bulk of his army in the rear; therefore Lord *Rollo* received orders from him to disarm, and make the inhabitants of the northern shore swear, whenever it could be done without retarding his progress, which brought on likewise a submission of that side of the river. He much regretted the necessity he was under of burning the dwellings of a number of those unhappy people, who had deserted their parish called *Sorrel*, and were in arms; but the execution of his duty demanded this piece of severity. On the 24th of *August* he arrived within nine miles of *Montreal*, the very day before fort *Louis* surrendered,

rendered, of which as yet he had no intelligence. General *Amberst* since that time, had been employed in repairing the said fort, and refitting his boats and vessels, and in whatever else was requisite for conveying the army down the river. He passed through the rapids, and the long fall, to the isle *au Chat*; thence rowed down lake *St. Francis* and encamped at *Baudet*. The next day some loss was sustained both of men, artillery, and boats, owing to the violence of the rapids in passing to isle *Perrot* where he encamped that night with the regulars, while, as it was too late for them to proceed so far, the train and provincials did the same on the river side. The inhabitants of the island had all flown to the woods; but many were taken again, or came in. After giving them the oath of allegiance they were reinstated in the peaceable possession of their houses; which unexpected lenity of treatment gave them no less surprize than joy. On the 6th of *September* by break of day, all the troops were embarked on board the boats, and proceeded in four columns by the right, the General intending to land at *la Chine* on the island of *Montreal*. He met with no opposition at his landing, except a few shot from some flying parties, which immediately ran towards the town, having broken down a bridge in their way; but that was soon repaired; and after a march of two leagues, the army was formed on a plain before *Montreal*, where they lay that night on their arms. They brought with them twelve pieces of cannon, mostly of light artillery, and left the *New York* troops, and two *Connélicut* regiments, to guard the boats at *la Chine*.

The next day a letter was brought to the General by two officers from the governor, the marquis *de Vaudreuil*, which referred him to what one of them, the Colonel *Bougainville*, had to propose. The conversation ended in a cessation of arms till 12 o'clock; when articles of capitulation arrived from the Marquis; to these the General returned conditions of his own, and wrote to the Marquis. This was answered and replied to again. Letters also passed between *M. de Lévis* and the General, relating to the same affair; which was concluded, and the terms of capitulation agreed to on the 8th of *September*, the day after General *Murray* with his troops from *Quebec* had landed below the town. The substance of the articles were, that the troops should lay down their arms, and be sent to old *France* at the expence of the *British* crown, within 15 days, not to serve again during the present war; and that the inhabitants, now the subjects of *Great Britain*, should continue to dwell in the peaceable possession of their houses and property, with the free exercise of their religion. The surrendry of this place fully completed the conquest of *Canada* from the *French*, which vast country was thus wholly subdued in less than three years after the reduction of *Louisbourg*.

A DESCRIPTION

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LOUISIANA.

THE province of *Louisiana*, or the Southern part of *New France*, extends, according to the *French* geographers, from the gulph of *Mexico*, in about 29 degrees, to near 45 degrees of North latitude, on the Western side, and to near 39 degrees on the Eastern; and from 86 to near 100 degrees W. longitude from *London*. It is bounded on the N. by *Canada*; on the E. by the *British* colonies of *New York*, *Pensylvania*, *Maryland*, *Virginia*, *North* and *South Carolina*, *Georgia*, and by the peninsula of *Florida*; on the South, by the gulph of *Mexico*; and, lastly, on the West by *New Mexico*. It contains, properly, the *French* settlements on both sides the *Mississippi*, and is, by some, said to be the noblest and richest province of all *North America*.

Bounds of Louisiana.

In that part which lies between the sea coast and *Point Coupé*, a tract of about eighty two leagues, the air is not very wholesome, because of the inundations of the *Mississippi*, which overflows regularly every year from the end of *March* to the beginning of *July*, during which all the country near the river is entirely under water. It has been remarked that the winters have been more severe, for some years past, than they were commonly known to be at the time when the *French* first settled here, occasioned, as is thought, by clearing the lands of the woods, or perhaps by some other unknown cause. The winter begins in this country about the end of *November*, and lasts till the end of *February*. During this season there blows a strong and piercing North Wind, and, whenever it changes from this point, the cold is interrupted by some intervals of moderate weather, and the sharpness of the winter begins to diminish. They remark three sorts of climates in this country: Towards the capital, and as high as *Point Coupé*, it sometimes freezes very hard, but seldom or never snows: From *Point Coupé*, as far as the country of the *Akanfas*, the air is milder and more temperate; but towards the country of the *Illinois*, at about five hundred leagues above *New Orleans*, the cold is extremely piercing; the river *Mississippi*, and others in its neighbourhood, are generally frozen to such a degree as to be passable by carriages. But, though the winter be severe, it is by far the most preferable season in this province, because of the great plenty of wild cattle, goats, and game of all sorts; whereas, in the summer, the inhabitants are forced to be contented with fish, which is however exceeding plentiful, as are also fruits and greens. This season lasts in *Louisiana* from *March* to *September*, with excessive heats, and those often followed by prodigious hurricanes. These storms are commonly accompanied with hail and thunder, and, in a country composed of woods, lakes, hills, and valleys, the continual echoes are very terrible. In the year 1737, at *New Orleans*, on a *Sunday*, fell a shower of hailstones, some of which were as large as hen's eggs. Another inconvenience attending the summer in this country is, that in this season the nights are as hot as the days, and the people are subject to such terrible sunburns as have been known to prove mortal, or else cause a peeling of the skin from the whole part affected. *Louisiana* has scarce any autumn, and the burning heats of summer are immediately succeeded by white frosts, which appear towards the middle of *September*, and yet, what is more singular, obstruct not in the least the growth of fallads and other garden stuff common in that season.

Temperature of air and seasons.

Climate different from those of Africa and Europe

The climate of *Louisiana* varies in proportion as it extends towards the North. In general, its southern parts are not scorched like those under the same latitudes in *Africa*, though its northern regions are colder than those of *Europe* under the same parallels. *New Orleans*, situated in thirty degrees, which is the latitude of the northern coasts of *Barbary* and *Egypt*, enjoys the same temperature of climate with *Languedoc*. Two degrees higher, in the country of the *Natchez*, the climate is much more temperate than at *New Orleans*: And in the country of the *Illinois*, which lies in thirty five and thirty six degrees, the summer is no hotter than at *Rochele* in *France*, though the ice is stronger, and the falls of snow much greater, in the winter.

Difference of climate from cause.

This difference of climate from what is found in *Africa* and *Europe* is attributed to two causes: The first is, the great quantity of wood, and the number of rivers in this country; the former of which prevents the sun's heat from reaching the surface of the earth, and the other occasions the great humidity of the atmosphere. To these we may add the vast extent of country stretching towards the North, those winds which traverse large tracts of land being found by experience to be much colder than such as come from the sea, or meet with large portions of that element in their passage. Hence it is no wonder that a North wind should cause the inhabitants to put on more cloaths, even in the summer, or that a South wind in the winter should have a contrary effect. Several days often pass in *Louisiana* without seeing the sun. There is no rain, however, but violent showers, such as accompany thunder; but this bad weather never continues long, and in half an hour the heavens resume their natural serenity. The dews are in such abundance, as to supply the want of rain in this country.

Hence its salubrity.

Hence we may easily account for the extraordinary wholesomeness of the air, and consequently for the just temperature of the blood, and that the inhabitants enjoy perfect health, free from acute diseases in their younger years, and retaining extraordinary vigour in old age; so that the span of life is no where extended to a greater length, nor with a happier state of health, than in *Louisiana*.

The same order will be observed in giving an account of the nature and situation of *Louisiana*, as in that of *Canada*. The description of this province will therefore properly begin with the country of the *Sioux* on the banks of the *Mississippi*, and by giving the most satisfactory account of the country on both sides that noble river to its mouth that can be found, not from hearsay, but from such as have travelled over it, and who, as they lived upon the spot, had all the necessary opportunities and advantages for that purpose, and who have made it their business to examine and illustrate the subject now before us.

Of the great river Mississippi.

The *Mississippi*, the chief of all the rivers of *Louisiana*, which it divides almost into two equal parts, was first discovered by Col. *Wood*, who spent almost ten years, or from 1654 to 1664, in searching its course; as also by Capt. *Bolt* in 1670, and in 1698 Dr *Cox* of *New Jersey* sent two ships, that discovered the mouth of this river, and sailing up 100 miles, took possession of the country, and called it *Carolina*. In 1699 the *French* first found this river, and called it *Osbert River*, in honour of their great minister, naming the country *Louisiana*. Some of the *Indian* nations in the Northern parts term it *Mekissipi*, or *The ancient Father of Rivers*, whence comes the name of *Mississippi*. They who inhabit the lower parts of the country call it, for what reason I know not, the *Balbaucka* or *Barbaucka*, but the name which the *French* sometimes give it, is the *St Louis*, and, by way of pre-eminence, *Le Fleuve*, or *The River*.

Vain attempts to discover its source.

Several attempts have been made by travellers, to discover the source of this river. Some voyagers, sent by M. *de la Salle* for this purpose, say that it takes its rise beyond the 50th degree of North latitude, in the country of the *Istatis* an *Indian* nation, whose country lies to the West of *Canada*. According to them, it springs from a large fountain, situated at the top of a rising ground, and by junction of the waters of five or six other rivers is increased so as to carry boats at no more than four or five leagues from its head.

Fall of St. Anthony.

But the most satisfactory account of it is that of M. *de Charleville*, a native of *Canada*, and nephew of M. *de Bienville*, general commandant in the colony when the *French* first settled it. This gentleman, moved by curiosity alone, undertook to trace this river to its source. For this purpose he fitted out a canoe, and set out with two of the natives for guides, some wares for traffic, provisions for the voyage, and ammunition. Thus equipped, he sailed up the *Mississippi*, three hundred leagues above the *Illinois* river, as far as the famous cataract, called the *Fall of St. Anthony*. This cat-

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cade is formed by a flat rock, which crosses the river from side to side, and is from eight to ten feet in height. Here *Charleville* was obliged to carry his canoe and effects on shore. When he had passed the Fall, he embarked, and continued his voyage up the river a hundred leagues higher, and arrived amongst some hunting parties of the *Siouz Indians*, inhabiting both sides of the *Mississippi*, who told him, in their manner, that from the Fall of *St Anthony*, to the source of the *Great River*, the distance was as great as from thence to the *Great Water*, meaning the *Sea*; adding further, that the countries which lay in his way thither, were quite barren, and wholly destitute of game or any one thing necessary for the support or conveniency of human life. This conjecture with respect to the remoteness of the source of the *Mississippi*, is the more probable, as several very considerable rivers discharge their waters into it far above this Fall, and because, even higher than this place, the river is found to have from thirty to thirty five fathom water, and breadth in proportion; a convincing proof of its coming from a very considerable distance. To this might be added the opinions of the natives, who all agree in this opinion, and, no doubt, have it from other *Indians* living nearest to its head.

Though this gentleman could not visit the springs of the *Mississippi*, he learnt, however, that many rivers fell into it, even above the fall of *St Anthony*, and saw several of them himself, which, after a course of a hundred leagues, and more, discharge themselves into it on both sides.

As little is known, besides this general account, of the rivers which run into the *Mississippi* above the Fall; we shall therefore content ourselves with giving a description of the chief of those which discharge themselves into it, from this famous cataract, downwards to the sea. The first of these, on the West, is *St Peter's River*, the banks of which are inhabited by the *Siouz*; and it enters the *Great River*, near the fall of *St Anthony*. Some leagues further, on the East, is *La Riviere de Sainte Croix*, *Holy St Croix river*, coming from the neighbourhood of *Lake Superior*; near its mouth copper is said to have been found. Three leagues farther is *Ile Pelée*, or the *Bald Island*, so called from its barrenness of all sorts of trees. Lower down the river widens, forming a lake called *Lac de Bon Secours*, or *Lake of Good Help*, one league broad, and seven in circuit, surrounded with meadows. On the West side of this lake *Nicholas Perrot* built a fort, in a very pleasant meadow, which the *French* have often made the center of their commerce with the *Western* quarters, and where they have even wintered, the country all round it affording plenty of all sorts of game.

On the West, 20 leagues lower, is the *Ouisconsin*, and on the same side with that river begins a meadow, sixty leagues in length, and surrounded with mountains, which afford a most delightful prospect. There is such another on the left side, but not quite so extensive. By this river *Father Marquette* and the *Sieur Joliet* entered the *Mississippi*, when they made their first discovery of that river. Here dwell the *Aioux Indians*, whose country lies in 43 deg. 30 min. North latitude. They are reputed to be great travellers, and will march, as it is affirmed, from 20 to 30 leagues in one day, when free from the incumbrance of their families. These *Indians* say that at three days journey farther are the habitations of the *Oman*, a nation of a fair complexion, especially the women, and with light hair. They likewise tell us that these *Indians* are always at war with the *Panis*, and other *Western Indians*, by whom they have been informed of a great lake at a vast distance, in the neighbourhood of which live a people dressed like *Europeans*, with buttons on their cloaths, inhabiting cities, exercised in the chase of the buffalo, mounted on horses covered with the skins of those beasts, but without the use of any other arms than bows and arrows.

Ten leagues below the *Ouisconsin* are the lead mines, formerly discovered by the *Sieur Perrot*, and still bearing his name. On the East side is the *Ajissipi*, by the *French* called *la Riviere a la Roche*, *Rock River*, so named from a mountainous rock opposite to it, which stands in the channel of the *Mississippi*, and is said to contain a quarry of rock crystal. Seven leagues lower you meet with two falls in the *Mississippi*, making so many carrying places; and eight leagues lower, on the W. side, enters the *Mingana* river, issuing from a vast and noble meadow, abounding with buffaloes and other wild game. This river is but shallow at its entry into the *Mississippi*, and besides very narrow, notwithstanding its long course of a hundred and fifty leagues from the North West. It is said to take its rise from a lake, and to form another after it has run about fifty leagues from the first. From this second lake it runs towards, *la Riviere Verte*, a branch of *St Peter's River*, and so named from the green colour of its bottom.

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The banks of the *Moingona* are well stored with coal. At fifty leagues from its mouth is a large cape, or promontory, near which the waters are red, and of an offensive smell, owing, as it is said, to the large quantities of mineral ore, and, in particular, of antimony, found near this cape. At some distance from the *Moingona*, on the West, is the *Buffalo river*. *Rivière au Bucasi*, or *Buffalo River*; between this river and that of the *Illinois*, on the East side of the *Mississippi*, have been discovered some very good salt mines or springs.

The next considerable river running into the *Mississippi* is the *Illinois*; but, before this is described, it may not be improper to say somewhat of those other rivers which fall into it in its course.

In travelling from *Canada* to the country of the *Illinois*, by way of lake *Michigan*, there are two different routs: The first is by coasting the South shore of that lake, and then going up the *Chicagon* river five or six leagues, whence passengers get into the river *Chicagon*, a branch of the *Illinois*, after passing two carrying places, over land. The longest of these is not above a league and a quarter, but as the river sometimes in the summer has not water sufficient to carry a canoe, the other way is generally preferred. In this, leaving the fort of *St Joseph's* river, six leagues up the stream, and then landing on the southern bank, is a carrying place a league and a quarter by the water side, and afterwards a vast meadow is to be crossed, beautified with groves of wood, which render the prospect extremely pleasing. This is called *Buffalo's Head* meadow, from the head of one of those animals, of an enormous size, found in it. A league farther over the meadows is a kind of mere, or lake, which communicates with several others, the largest not above a hundred paces in circuit, which are the sources of the river *Theakiki*, from *Theak*, signifying, in some of the *Indian* tongues, a *Wolf*, because the *Macbingans*, or *Wolf Indians*, had formerly taken shelter here. The *Theakiki* is so narrow and full of turnings and windings that canoes are often in danger of breaking, which makes the navigation of the *Theakiki* very tedious, so that after sailing ten or twelve leagues very little progress has been made. The banks are covered with game, and every where produce vines, which bear great quantities of very large grapes. The course becomes gradually straiter, and at fifty leagues from its source, though still very narrow, the shores on both sides show wonderfully pleasant, being covered with lofty trees, which, when they happen to fall into the water, obstruct the navigation. A little beyond this it widens into a small lake, the country is one continued meadow, to which the eye can find no bounds, where wander infinite herds of buffaloes, and nothing, in general, can surpass the richness of the prospect. The *Theakiki* loses in depth what it gains in breadth, so that travellers are often obliged to carry their canoes over land, where, without a guard, they run great risks from the *Sicoux* and *Outagami Indians*, drawn hither by the mortal hatred they bear the *Illinois*. What makes this small depth of water in the *Theakiki* the more surprising, is, that it receives considerable rivers in its course, and particularly that called the river of the *Iroquois*. At the *Forks*, or the junction of the *Theakiki* with the *Illinois*, the former loses its name.

Course of the
Theakiki.

The Forks.

The reason of which is, no doubt, that the *Illinois* river takes its name from an *Indian* nation settled on its banks.

Few rivers in *Europe*, the *Rhine* and the *Danube* excepted, excel the *Illinois* after this junction, and no where can there be seen a finer or richer country than that which it waters, at least as far down as *Pimitoui*. Fifteen leagues below the *Forks*, it acquires a depth proportional to its great breadth, and in this space receives the waters of several other rivers, the chief of which is called *Pistitcoui*, flowing from the fine country of the *Mascoutins* towards the North. This river has at its mouth a cataract, called the *Coal-pit*, from the vast quantities of that mineral found in its neighbourhood. All this way are vast meadows, interspersed with groves and thickets, and covered with grass, so very rank, that the passenger is in danger of losing himself in it, were it not for a multitude of beaten paths made over it, by the numberless droves of buffaloes, and herds of deer which traverse it.

Illinois river.

Pistitcoui river
Coal-Pit
cataract.

The Rock.

Fort of *Mi*
ami's.

A league below the *Coal-pit*, on the right, is a round rock of a vast height, and its summit in form of a terrace, called, from a village of those *Indians* near it, the Fort of the *Miamis*; and about a league further, another on the left, called simply the *Rock*. This is the extremity of a rising ground, which runs winding about two hundred paces along the side of the river, grown considerably wider in this place. It is steep on all sides, and at a distance has the appearance of a fortress. Here are still to be seen the remains of the palisade of an intrenchment made formerly by the *Illinois*, and easy to be repaired in case of an irruption of enemies.

Their

The Indian village is seated at the foot of the *Rock*, in an island, which, with several others, all wonderfully fruitful, divide the river into broad channels. The top of the mountain is a level terrace, where ten men with arms might hold out against all the *Indians of Canada*, were it but provided with water, there being none nearer than the river, which it is impossible to come near, without being exposed to an enemy.

The country here abounds with parrots, being the most northerly place where these birds are to be seen, and if they are sometimes found on the banks of the *Theakiki*, it is in the summer only. Hence to *Lake Pimitou* is 12 leagues, which is only a widening of the river, is about three leagues long and one broad. At the western extremity is another village of the *Illinois*, about fifteen leagues from that of the *Rock*.

From hence they reckon twenty leagues to the *Mississippi*. The first of these villages is in forty one degrees of latitude, and the entry of the *Illinois* in forty. From the *Rock* the river runs westward, and somewhat southerly; there are also several islands, some of them considerably large. The banks are in several places very low, so that both sides are under water in the spring, and afterwards covered with very long grass. The whole course of it is said to abound in fish, and in the adjacent meadows are vast numbers of deer and buffaloes, which latter make no difficulty of swimming the river, when pursued by the hunters. The next river which falls into the *Illinois* downwards is the *Sagimont*, a large river flowing from the South; and five or six leagues lower that of the *Macopines*, coming from the same quarter, but not quite so large, and taking its name from certain roots so called, which, if eaten raw, are a rank poison, but boiled over a gentle fire, for five or six days or longer, have no noxious quality. Between these two rivers you find the marsh called *Mackentin*, exactly in the middle, between the village of *Pimitou* and the *Mississippi*. Here may be discerned, after passing *Macopine* river, the banks of the Great River, which are very high, and situated at about twenty four hours sail from this river, this delay being occasioned by the winding of the *Illinois* river in this place, where it alters its course from West to South by East, and thence to East South East, in which direction at last, after abundance of meanders, and with a seeming reluctance, it mixes its waters with those of the *Mississippi*.

In this country, which belongs to the confederate *Indians*, and is esteemed by the *French* geographers part of *Louisiana*, is a *French* post, or settlement, at the village called *Tamaracas*. The country of the *Illinois* is an excellent soil, abounding in buffaloes and other game. And here you meet with the first elks to be seen in this part of the world. Swans, and all other sort of water fowl, are also in great plenty in these parts. This is esteemed the best of all the *French* settlements in *Louisiana* for producing corn, barley, and such sort of grain. All the husbandry required, is to stir the ground slightly before it be sown, which will alone suffice to produce an excellent crop; and it has been affirmed, that in a scarcity of corn at *New Orleans*, which happened during the last war, the *Illinois* imported upwards of eight hundred thousand weight to that capital. They also cultivate tobacco; but this thrives but indifferently, and ripens with great difficulty. All the plants which have been carried over from *France*, as also all manner of *European* fruits, succeed to a miracle.

The first *French* discoverers of *Louisiana* came down by the river of the *Illinois*, in their way from *Canada* to the *Mississippi*, as all those who have any business in the country of the *Illinois* only still do; but such as intend for the *Lower Louisiana*, or the *Iles*, descend, by the river of the *Miamis*, into the *Wabache*, and from that through the *Oltis*, into the *Mississippi*.

There are several silver mines in this country, particularly one called *la Mine de la Motte*, which has been delayed, as have also two others of lead, so plentiful in ore, that they vegetate within a foot and half of the surface. The country North of the *Illinois* is said to have a great many mines.

Near the mouth of the *Illinois*, on the right, is a vast savannah, or meadow, which is said to contain copper in great quantities. This coast is perfectly charming, and very different from that of opposite to it, which is a high ridge of rocky mountains, adorned with cedars, that hide the view of the beautiful meadows behind them.

It is to be remarked further, with respect to the *Illinois*, so often mentioned, that some have asserted, what seems confirmed by the information of a *Miscarite* woman, that those *Indians*, as well as the *Miamis*, come originally from the borders of a sea very far distant towards the West, where it has been presumed they had their first habitation, and before they came down into the country they now inhabit, on the banks of the

the *Moingona*; at least it is certain that one of their tribes bears a name of this importance. A *Miamis* woman, taken by the *Sioux*, told Father *Pé*, superior of the missions of *New France*, that she had been conducted by the *Sioux* to a village of her own nation, situated very near the sea. The other tribes of the *Sioux* are known under the name of the *Peouarius*, *Tamarouas*, *Cabokias*, and *Kaskajskas*; and the two illages which bear their names consist almost entirely of *Tamarouas* and *Metcbigamias*, and foreign nations, coming from the banks of a small river falling lower down into the *Mississippi*, and adopted by the *Kaskajskas*.

Advantages of the French settlement in this country.

The colony of the *Illinois*, and the *French* post or settlement, among them has two advantages, one of which no other post of this country can dispute with it, and the other renders it necessary to all the rest of the province. The first is its commodious situation, by means of which a communication is maintained between the colonies of *Canada* and *Louisiana*, equally beneficial to both. The second is its fertility, which renders it the granary of *Louisiana*, and capable of supplying it with corn in abundance, were it even peopled to the sea.

The soil here is not only excellent for bearing wheat, but other necessaries for the support of human life. The climate is mild and temperate, being in 38 deg. 39 min. North latitude. Cattle might here be reared with the greatest ease; and even the vast herds of buffaloes tamed, and the flesh, hides, and wool of those beasts made a very valuable article in the commerce of the colony. The air is healthful, and the diseases, which are sometimes known to prevail here, may, at least in part, be owing to the indigence and libertinism of the inhabitants, and perhaps to the new breaking up and clearing of the lands; an inconvenience, which can have no long continuance. And in a colony once established, the climate can have no sort of effect upon such as are born in it, though of *European* parents. For these reasons the *French* have found means to attach the *Illinois* to their interests more than any other *Indian* nation, the *Abenaquis* of *Acadia* only excepted. They are now almost all christians, that is, zealous *Roman* catholics, and are said to be of a very mild disposition.

Temperature of the climate

The voyage down the *Mississippi* is very tedious, and the inconveniencies of it not a little heightened by the extreme cold in the winter season, even in the Southern parts. The windings of the river make this voyage a course of four hundred leagues, and tho' there are no falls or rapid currents, as in the rivers of *Canada*, it necessarily takes up much time, and passengers make even less way than on the lakes where they are not favoured by any current. The causes of the cold are much the same with those in the *English* Southern colonies.

Confluence of the *Missouri* with the *Mississippi*.

Five leagues below the conflux of the *Illinois* river is the mouth of the *Missouri*, by which it discharges itself on the North North West into the *Mississippi*, making, perhaps, the noblest junction of two rivers on the face of the earth. Both are nearly half a league in breadth, but the *Missouri* is much the more rapid of the two, and seems to enter the *Mississippi* with the air of a conqueror, carrying its white waters unmixed to the opposite shore, and communicating its colour to the other, which retains it all the remainder of its precipitate course to the sea.

Near this conflux is an *Illinois* village, inhabited by the tribes of that nation called *Cabokias* and *Tamarouas*, which form one very numerous canton. It stands on a small river coming from the Eastern parts, and is without water, except in the spring at the distance of half a league. The reason they give why they built their town in so incommodious a situation, is, that when they first settled here, the *Mississippi* washed the walls of their cabins, but that in three years time it had lost half a league of ground, and that they were then thinking of removing it to some other place, which, with the *Indians*, is a matter of no great difficulty.

Cansas river

It will not be improper to mention the other rivers which fall into the *Missouri*, together with the *Indian* nations inhabiting the adjacent country, and the qualities of the soil. The *Missouri* receives several other rivers in its course, particularly that of the *Cansas*, which has a course of above one hundred and fifty leagues. The opening of the *Missouri* into the *Mississippi* is said to lie five hundred leagues from the sea, three hundred from the Fall of *St Anthony*, and from the mouth or opening of the *Ohio* into the same river one hundred leagues.

Maramag river.

Five leagues below the *Missouri* is the river *Maramag*, where, after many trials, the mine company of this place discovered, in 1719, a vein of lead two foot below the

surface,

surface, and running quite along a chain of mountains, with some hopes of finding silver; the event of which is yet unknown.

Among the nations inhabiting those countries are the *Osages*, a numerous people, dwelling by the banks of a river of the same name, which falls into the *Missouri* at forty leagues from its junction with the *Mississippi*, and who send regularly once or twice a year to perform the ceremony of the pipe amongst the *Kaskaskias*. And fourscore leagues from this opening is the nation of the *Missourites*, from whom the *French* have given name to this river, for want of knowing the true one. Higher up, is the nation of the *Canses*, then the *Oktatas*, by some called the *Maclotatas*, afterwards the *Aioux*, next to them the *Panis*, a very numerous people, divided into several cantons, bearing very different names. The *Missouri* is said to take its rise among very lofty and bare mountains, behind which is another river, probably flowing from the same, and running Westward. This account ought to be of the greater weight, as no *Indian* nation is so much addicted to travel as the *Missourites*. All the nations now mentioned inhabit the Western banks of the *Missouri*, except the *Aioux*, who reside on the Eastern, and are neighbours and allies to the *Sioux*.

The soil through which the *Missouri* flows is said to be meadow, for the most part level, fat, and without a stone, which is the cause why its waters are always thick and muddy, whereas those of the *Mississippi*, flowing through a sandy firm soil, are perfectly transparent. The *Missouri* is said to be altogether unknown to the *French* any higher than two hundred leagues from its mouth, and most of the countries about it, and rivers which fall into it have been but imperfectly surveyed, and the country North of it is said to be wholly undiscovered.

The *French* had formerly a settlement on the Eastern point of an island some leagues long, opposite to the chief village of the *Missouri*, called *Fort Orleans*; and the Chevalier *Bourmont*, who commanded in it, acquired the esteem and confidence of the *Indians* in the neighbourhood of that river, so as to reconcile those who had before been all of them at enmity and embroiled in wars one with another. Amongst these people, those who inhabited the Northern parts had the greatest reputation for military prowess. After the departure of this commissary the natives cut the throats of the garrison, so that not a *Frenchman* escaped.

Some authors mention, in their account of this country, several other *Indian* nations on the banks of the *Missouri*, which are, according to them, the *Missourians*, from whom the river takes its name, the *Canses*, the *Otbouez*, the two nations of the *Panis*, white and black, the *Paninakas*, the *Aioux*, and the *Osages*, and, lastly, the *Padoucas*, by far the most considerable of them all, as the *Otbouez*, *Osages*, and *Aioux* are the least numerous, and the others but indifferently powerful.

The *Spaniards*, jealous of the neighbourhood of the *French*, formed a design to establish themselves on the *Missouri*, at about forty leagues from the post of the *Illinois*, on purpose to straiten the *French* boundaries on that side. In pursuit of their plan, they had determined, with the assistance of the *Osages*, to exterminate the *Missourians*, to whom the others are mortal enemies. With this intent they assembled at *Santa Fé* a body of men, with families proper for a settlement, and provided them with a Jacobin for chaplain, besides hories, cattle, and other necessaries for an infant colony, the whole under command of an engineer. The multitude set forward, but missing their way, instead of their allies the *Osages*, fell in with the *Missourians*, to whose chief the *Spanish* leader, taking him to be the head of his own friends, without farther scrutiny, addresses the harangue he intended, and probably got by heart, for the chief of the *Osages*, acquainting him with the cause of his coming, which was to establish a lasting peace with the people, and with their assistance to destroy the *Missourians*. The *Missourian* chief, dissembling his real designs, seemed to accept of the offer with great alacrity, proposing even means for the accomplishment of the design, and at the same time inviting the *Spaniards* to indulge themselves with two or three days rest, after the fatigue of their journey, before they attempted to put it into execution, adding that it would be necessary for him to consult with his warriors and seniors on the matter proposed. During this interval the *Missourians* gave their guests the most magnificent entertainment in their power, and in the night, which was to have been the eve of their departure, fell upon the camp of the *Spaniards*, and cut them all off, man, woman, and child, only sparing the Jacobin, whom, whether out of respect to his condition, or from the singularity of his habit, they saved from the general carnage,

amusing themselves afterwards, in good weather, with causing him to shew his dexterity in horsemanship. But the Friar one day, taking his advantage of their security, galloped off towards the *Spanish* settlements. This story comes from the *Missourians* themselves, who afterwards sold the holy instruments and habits, and other spoil amongst the *Illinois*.

*Ofages and
Cunfis rivers.*

Amongst the rivers which run into the *Missouri* the most known is that of the *Ofages*, so called from the *Indians* of this name, inhabiting its banks, and near neighbours to the confluence of this river with the *Missouri*. But the most considerable of all is the river of the *Cunfis*, which runs a course of two hundred leagues through a most pleasant country.

Hunting and
curing of the
buffalo.

Before we leave the *Missouri*, it may be proper to add somewhat relating to the manners of the *Padoucas*, the most powerful *Indian* nation dwelling on this river. Those of them who live at a distance from the *Spaniards* cultivate no sort of corn, but live by hunting, which they follow winter and summer. They have large villages composed of great cabins, capable of very numerous and almost patriarchal families. Here they make their ordinary abode, and hence you may see issuing forth at one time, a hundred hunters on horseback, with bows and arrows. About four days journey from their dwellings, they meet with large herds of buffaloes. They carry their baggage, children, and tents, on the same horses with them; a man on horseback leading the convoy, by which means men, women, and children, travel light, and without embarrassment or fatigue. After their arrival in the hunting country, they encamp near a rivulet, and always in a woody place, where they tie their horses to a long rope whilst they graze. Next day they mount each on his horse, and make to the first herd of buffaloes, and always from the windward, that the beasts may smell them, which they never fail to do, having a most exquisite scent. The hunters pursue them on the gallop till the buffaloes are so fatigued as to loll out their tongues, and fall from running to walking, when the hunters leap from their horses, and let fly their arrows, each killing his heifer, and sometimes more, for they never destroy the males. Then tying their horses to some tree, they flea the prey, take out the entrails, and cut the body in two, leaving all the rest, as the head, feet, and inwards, to the wolves and other beasts of prey. The skin is laid next the horse, and the carcass upon it, and the rest, if any, over that. Part is dressed on their arrival for immediate use, and the rest broiled, in order to be kept good for some days after. In two days the same thing is repeated, and then they bring back the meat with the bones taken out to the camp. The women and young people dry it in the smoke, whilst the men continue their hunting in the same manner as before. This meat so cured is brought lastly to the village, where they leave their horses to rest for three or four days, when some others, who had remained at home whilst their fellows were on the hunting party, take their places. This manner has given occasion, to some misinformed persons, to conclude the *Padoucas* to be a wandering nation. As this people knows nothing, or very little of husbandry, the *Spaniards*, who supply them with horses, bring them always loaded with tobacco, garden stuff, and *Indian* corn, which they barter for buffalo skins, serving them for coverlids.

*Padouca Indi-
ans.*

Flint hatchets
and knives.

People of
mild disposi-
tion.

Polyga-
my, &c.

The *Padouca Indians* are a very numerous people, inhabiting a country near 200 leagues extent, their villages reaching as far as the *Spanish* settlements in *New Mexico*. They are acquainted with the value of silver, and, according to what they told the *French* on some occasion, they actually worked some mines; and, at the same time, they informed them in what manner they proceeded. Those dwelling in villages, at a distance from the *Spaniards*, have hatchets and knives made of flint; with the largest of the former they fell small trees and underwood, and with the others they flea and cut up the beasts they kill. These people are far from a savageness of disposition, and it is no difficult matter to get acquainted with them, as they have long frequented the *Spaniards*, and in the short acquaintance the *French* have had with them, they have become very familiar; and in one of their villages, composed of 140 cottages, the dwellings of about 800 warriors, 1500 women, and at least 2000 children, in which the *French* concluded a peace with several *Indian* nations of these parts, the inhabitants were desirous to have some of that nation amongst them, promising to take great care of them.

Polygamy seems to be in use among the *Padoucas*, and some of them have to the number of four wives. When they want horses they make use of great dogs, brought up on purpose, to transport their baggage. The men for the most part wear breeches

of

of dressed skins, with stockings of the same piece, like the *Spaniards*. The women also wear bodices, to which their waistcoats, which are made of the dressed skins, are tied : Their waistcoats are adorned with a fringe of skins.

This nation is at present almost entirely destitute of *European* goods, and seems to have but a very slight knowledge of them. The people were wholly unacquainted with fire-arms, till the *French* first brought some amongst them, and are extremely fearful of them, so that they will tremble and crouch on hearing a musket fired.

They commonly go to war on horseback, equipping their horses with skins prepared and hung round with pendants, to save them from the shot of arrows. In other respects their manners are entirely the same with those of the other *Indians* of *Louisiana*, in which they discover nothing barbarous, except in war, but are endowed with greater magnanimity, gratitude, and observance of their word and ministers, and are leis treacherous, and simpler in their diet, than those others.

As to the soil of this country, our author, in this place, says, that from its excellent qualities that of *Louisiana*, even to its utmost boundaries, may be seen. The commerce that might be carried on by means of the fur trade, which is at the same time highly lucrative, and without hazard, is very great.

From the manners and characters of those nations this writer concludes, that those Northern *Indians* of *America* must certainly derive their origin from the country of the *Scythians*.

For if we go back two or three thousand years, and look into times of remote antiquity, we shall find a perfect similitude of customs and genius with those of the ancient *Scythians*, since called *Tartars*. An ancient *Greek* author, who had frequented their country, and was certainly a judge in this point, tells us that the *Scythians* acknowledge one supreme God, the creator of heaven and earth, to whom they offered sacrifice, and worshipped under the image of the sun. They live, says he, in perfect innocence of manners, and are very unjustly deemed barbarous, since they follow the pure dictates of nature, and know no other desires than such as are capable of being satisfied with the fruits of the earth, and with such animals as serve them for food, keeping their promises to each other inviolate, maintaining great kindness and mutual affection in their families, exercising much hospitality towards strangers, and an unbounded humanity towards all mankind, and justly preferring that happy simplicity to our politeness, or rather false refinements, and those ancient and beneficent manners, which they derive from the first mortals, to all the enjoyments of that luxury and effeminacy which have corrupted the other countries of *Asia*. Frugality with them is the parent of justice, and as they are void of covetousness, they never make war to invade the property of others, and having no need of gold and silver, they have no passion for those false riches. Nature, which is their mistress, teaches them lessons of morality, to which all the pride and arrogance of the *Greek* philosophers could never attain ; ignorance of vice performing more in them than the speculative knowledge of virtue in nations under a better polity.

To return from this beautiful lesson of morality in *Herodotus*, the father of history, to the description of *Louisiana* : The next place worthy of notice from the *Missouri* down the *Mississippi*, is the village of *Kaskaskias*, where the *Jesuits* have a very flourishing mission, now divided into two, since the separation of this canton into two villages. The most numerous is that next the *Mississippi*, under the direction of two *Jesuits* in spiritual matters. Further down is fort *Chartres*, at about a musket shot from the *Great River*, and the whole space between the fort and river is now settled with *French* families. Four leagues still further, and a league from the river, is another large *French* town, almost entirely settled with *Canadians*, with a *Jesuit* for curate. The second *Illinois* village is seated two leagues further up the country, and is also under the direction of a *Jesuit*.

The *French* here are in good circumstances ; a *Fleming*, who was a domestic to the *Jesuits*, shewed them how to sow wheat, which succeeds very well ; they have also both horned cattle and poultry. The *Illinois* likewise till the ground their own way, and are very industrious, breeding great numbers of poultry, which they sell to the *French*. Their women too are very dextrous in spinning the wool of the buffalo, which they comb to an equal perfection with the *English* wool, and work it to such a fineness that you would be apt to take it for real silk. Of this they make stuffs, which they dye black, yellow, and of a deep red, and make robes of them, which they sew with the guts of deer, worked and spun into thread in a very simple manner. After the gut has been well cleared of the fleshy parts, they lay it in the sun for some days ; when it is dry, they

Dress.

Fearful of fire-arms.

Manners.

Ancient Scythians compared with Northern Americanians.

French missions and settlements.

Manufacture of buffalo's wool.

they beat it, and out of it very easily make a thread, equal in fineness, and much superior in strength, to that of *Meeblin*.

French town.

The *French* town is bounded on the North by a river, the banks of which are so high that, though the water sometimes rises twenty five feet, it seldom overflows. All this country is open, consisting of immense meadows, separated only by small tufts of trees, all excellent in their kind; but the most common is the white mulberry, which, to the great detriment of the colony, the inhabitants are suffered to fell for building their houses, though they are in no want of other timber, equally fit for this use.

Dangerous sailing on the *Mississippi*.

The river here has been known to freeze so hard as to carry waggons though it be at least a full league in breadth, and more rapid than the *Rhone*. This is very surprising, as the winter in this country is scarce perceptible, except some slight frosts, when a North or North West wind blows. The change of climate is not very quick, on account of the slow navigating here, which in a bark canoe becomes very dangerous, from the great quantities of trees falling from this and the other rivers that run into it, which are often stoppt against some points of land, and thereby interrupt the course of this river.

Pirogues.

Hence it is that, instead of canoes, they make use of pirogues, that is, hollowed trunks of trees, which, though not subject to these inconveniences, are, however, very heavy, and not easily managed, and some of them are so narrow as to be incapable of a fall; besides, the rowers, accustomed to paddle in canoes, are not very dexterous at that exercise. And again, if the wind ever happen, to blow high, which is generally the case in winter, the boat is always in danger of filling with water. The river of the *Kaskajuias* is very small.

Short summer

The leaves fall sooner in this country than in *Europe*, and are much later in budding than with us, not beginning to shoot till towards the latter end of *May*. The cause is by some ascribed to the number of trees which shade the ground, and intercept the rays of the sun, whence it is long before the earth acquires heat enough to cause the sap of plants to circulate, and sprout forth in buds and leaves.

Canes.

Eight leagues lower, on the left, is *Cape St Anthony*. Here are seen the first canes, which are much like those that grow in *Europe*, only longer and thicker. It is asserted by some, that these canes grow only on good land; but moisture likewise is required, and such lands are more proper for rice than wheat. They are not at the trouble to grub them up when they design to clear the grounds where they grow, which would be a very difficult task, because their knotty roots are very long, and spread to a great distance. These roots have a fine natural gloss, or varnish, like the bamboos of *Japan*, of which those fine canes are made which the *Dutch* sell under the name of rattans.

Clearing and manuring a field.

When therefore they intend to cultivate a field covered with these canes, they cut them close by the root, and leave them to dry; when dried, they set fire to them, and the ashes serve for manure, and the fire opens the pores of the earth, which is first slightly broken, and then sown with any kind of seed they think proper, such as rice, maize, water-melons, and, in general, all sorts of grain or pulse, except wheat, which in those far lands run, all to stalk and leaves, producing no seed at all. This defect might easily be remedied by spreading the ground with a good quantity of sand, and sowing maize on it for the first two or three years.

Woods occasion blights.

As for high grounds, and such as are not exposed to the inundations of the river, they are in a condition to bear corn; and if the first attempts made to cultivate wheat have failed by blights, it must be ascribed to the neglect of clearing the country of the woods, whence the air could not have free access to disperse the fogs which engender those blights. In proof of this may be shewn the country of the *Illinois*, in which being generally meadow land, the wheat sprouts and ripens as well as in any part of *Europe*.

Ohio river.

Seven leagues further, after very dangerous sailing, on account of the *Cherokees*, *Outagamis*, *Sioux*, and *Chicacbas*, which infest it, who are enemies to the *French*, and have never made any peace with that nation, is the fine river *Ohio*, which may be navigated as far as the country of the *Iroquois*, when the waters are high. This river at its entry into the *Mississippi*, is at least a quarter of a league broad; and no place can possibly be more proper for a settlement than where these rivers meet. A fort here, *Charlevoix* says, would effectually bridle the *Cherokees*, at present the most populous nation in all this continent.

Six leagues from the *Ohio*, on the East, is a very high coast, which is of a yellow earth, and said to contain iron mines. It is infested with a kind of wild cats, called *Pigats*, very like ours in *Europe*, but larger. They are remarked to have some of them shorter, and others much longer and thicker tails. They are also of a very fierce appearance, and are said to be very carnivorous, and excellent hunters. The forests are full of walnut-trees, such as those in *Canada*, the roots of which have several properties peculiar to those of this country. They are very tender, and the bark of them is used for dying black; but their principal virtues are medicinal, as they are good for stopping a flux, and an excellent emetic.

It is to be remarked of the *Mississippi*, that the farther it runs the more winding it grows, and, what is singular enough, the wind follows the direction of all those windings. They reckon fourscore leagues from the narrow river of the *Chicacbar*, on the East side, to the *Kaskiquis*, though by land the distance is not above one half. The river is divided, from space to space, by a number of islands, some of considerable bigness, into many beautiful channels, where the greatest ships may pass; and it is affirmed that they find 60 fathom water, at a hundred and fifty leagues from the sea.

The river *Marget* runs into the *Mississippi* on the East. A *French* general commandant, having landed in this river, in his expedition against the *Chicajaws*, built a fort on it called *Assumption* Fort; but it was razed next year, when a peace with those *Indians* was concluded.

On the West side the river *St Francis* enters the *Mississippi*; here the *French*, when at war with the *Natchez*, built a fort to serve for a storehouse to their troops, which were marching against those *Indians*.

As to the forests of *Louisiana*, with which this vast province is almost entirely covered, there is nothing in nature comparable to them, whether we regard the bulk and height of the trees, the variety of kinds, or the uses which may be made of them. For, excepting the dying woods, which grow only in hotter climates, and between the tropics, we cannot mention any species of timber which this country does not produce. There are woods of cypresses from eight to ten leagues in extent; and the height and bulk of this species are always in a due proportion, and both exceed the dimensions of the largest timber in *Europe*.

It is not long since the *Europeans* observed an evergreen laurel, called the *Tulip-tree*, from the figure of its flower. This plant rises to a greater height than our *Indian* chestnut, and is adorned with more beautiful flowers. The *Copalm-tree* is higher and thicker than the tulip-tree, and distils a balsam, very little inferior to the *Peruvian*. All the known species of walnut-trees, and all sorts of trees proper for carpentry, or joiner's work, abound every where. But great caution is to be used in the choice of timber, not to chuse such as grows on the banks of rivers, nor in any place subject to the inundations of the *Mississippi*, such timber being not only too heavy, but, from having its roots always in the water, is very subject to rot, and decays presently.

The next place is the first village of the *Akanfas*, built in a small meadow on the Western banks of the *Mississippi*. There are three more within the space of eight leagues, each inhabited by a particular tribe or canton. There is a village which contains two tribes, but however disposed, they all go by the general name of *Akanfas*. One of these tribes is particularly distinguished under the denomination of *Ouyapes*, or *Wiapes*. The *French West India* company had some time ago a warehouse here, with a clerk, who passed his time in a dismal solitude.

The river of the *Akanfas*, which, as is pretended, comes from a very great distance, and at 120 leagues from its mouth is said to precipitate itself from a high chain of mountains, making a fall eighty feet high, which *M. Dumont* advises as a proper and convenient place from which to set out in order to discover the Western ocean, which he says is but 120 leagues distant, discharges itself into the *Mississippi* by two channels, four leagues from each other. This river takes its rise, as is said, in the country of the *Panis*, probably the same with those called *Panis vicaris*. The navigation of the *Akanfas* is very difficult, because of its frequent falls, and rapid currents, its small depth of water, and great number of carrying-places.

The *Fork* of the two branches is seven leagues distance from the second opening, and but two from the first. This is the river to which *M. de la Harpe* was sent to make the discovery of a rock of emeralds. It receives the waters of a beautiful stream coming from the country of the *Ozages*, called *La Riviere Blanche*, or *White River*.

Two

Indianation: Two leagues higher are the *Torimas* and *Topingas*, making between both but one village. Two leagues above this are the *Seibouis*, and a little further still the *Képpas*, a nation very numerous in the time of *Ferdinand Soto*, and even so late as when *M. de la Salle* was here. Opposite to their village may be seen the sad remains of *Lac's* **Lac's grant.** Grant which fell to the share of the company. One hundred and twenty leagues from the *French* post is a navigable river which the *French* have sailed up, and where the *Sieur de Villemont*, who came hither by the way of the *Black* River of the *Akanfas*, had a grant.

To these parts nine thousand *Germans*, raised in the *Palatinate*, were designed to be sent; but, to the great prejudice of the colony, these industrious peasants never did arrive. There is, perhaps, no country in all *Louisiana*, next to that of the *Illinois*, more proper for raising all sorts of corn as well as for rearing of cattle.

Defolation by the small pox. In 1721 the village of the *Wyapes* was fallen to utter decay. Some time before a *Frenchman* passing this way was seized with the small-pox, which soon infected the strongest natives, and spread itself through the whole canton. The burying ground had the appearance of a forest of poles and posts newly erected, according to the *Indian* manner, and hung with all manner of trinkets. This is also reckoned the proper place whence to set out in search of the place marked in *De l'Isles* maps, as being situated on the Western ocean.

Akanfas handsome The *Akanfas* pass for the tallest and handsomest of all the *Indians* of *America*, and are therefore called by way of distinction the *Handsome Men*. For this reason they are thought to have the same original with the *Canjes* on the *Missouri*, and the *Powawecotamis* of *Canada*. The first branch of the river *Akanfas* seems not above five hundred paces in breadth, and the second is much narrower.

Pointe Coupee is a high promontory, advancing into the river from the West. It has been cut by the river, whence it has obtained this name, and so is become an island; but the new channel is not as yet navigable, except when the water is much swelled. The distance from hence to the greater branch of the *Akanfas* is computed at two and twenty leagues, though the direct course be scarce above ten, for the *Mississippi* turns and winds, in an extraordinary manner, between the village of the *Wyapes* and the river of the *Yazou* *Indians*, which is 70 leagues distance.

Yazou river. The entry of the *Yazous* river lies North West and South East, and is about 200 feet in breadth. Its waters are red, and, as some pretend, give the bloody flux; and the air in the neighbourhood is very unwholesome. Three leagues hence is the *French* fort, which was some time since intended to have been transported from this place to a more healthy situation, in a fine meadow, close by a village inhabited by a medley of *Yazous*, *Couroas*, and *Ofogoula* *Indians*, who together may be able to muster about two hundred warriors. The *French* are, however, very distrustful of those *Indians*, on account of their connections with the *English*. Six leagues from its mouth, is the Grant of *M. le Blanc*, who had a fort and garrison here, destroyed by the *Indians* in 1730. A league from this place is an *Indian* village, and near it an hill, on which are to be seen the remains of an *English* fort. This river is navigable 45 leagues above its mouth, after which it divides into two branches, and abounds with crocodiles, from twelve to fifteen feet long. They are never heard to cry but in the night, and their bellowing so exactly resembles that of a bull, as to be easily mistaken for it. The *French*, however, bathe here with as much security as in the *Seine* at *Paris*; and though those animals never fail to surround them all the time they continue in the water, they are, however, not in the least apprehensive of them, as the crocodiles never attempt to molest them while they are in the river, only watching the moment they come out of it to surprize them. The way to save themselves, in this case, is to beat the water with a stick, which they never omit to carry with them, and by this means are in perfect security.

French merchant settlement. The company have what they call a warehouse *d'Attente* [that is, an occasional one] in this settlement, as well as in that on the *Akanfas*; but the fort and ground on which it stands belonged to a society of *French* gentlemen. It is not easy to guess what made them chuse the river of the *Yazous* for their Grant, when they had it in their power to fix on a spot of better land, as well as a more proper situation. What probably determined their choice, was the importance of commanding this river, which rises in the *English* colony of *Carolina*, for keeping a bridge on the *Yazous*, who are allies of the *Cherokees*, an *Indian* nation under the protection of the crown of *Great Britain*.

Below the *Tunous* is a gulf, or whirl-pool, so dangerous that Father *Charles* tells us that, had it not been for a *Natché Indian*, the only person with him who knew any thing of it, he had been certainly lost in it. For, before you can perceive you are so far engaged as to be under an utter impossibility of extricating yourself. This dangerous gulf lies under a high cape on the left, containing, as they say, good Quarries. This dangerous gulf lies under a high cape on the left, containing, as they say, good Quarries. This dangerous gulf lies under a high cape on the left, containing, as they say, good Quarries. This dangerous gulf lies under a high cape on the left, containing, as they say, good Quarries.

The next country is that of the *Natché Indians*, the most beautiful, fruitful, and populous of all *Louisiana*, forty leagues distant from the *Taxous*, and situated on the same side of the river. The landing-place is opposite to a high and steep cliff, at the foot of which runs a stream navigable for pirogues and shallops. After this first height is a second tolerably easy, and on its top, a fort of redoubt inclosed within palisades, which, in this country, is called a fort. Redoubt.

M. de Iberville, the first Frenchman who entered the *Mississippi* by the sea, sailed up as high as the country of the *Natchez*, and found it so delightful, and advantageously situated, that he concluded it the fittest place that could be found for erecting a metropolis of the whole colony. Wherefore he drew the plan of a city, to which he gave the name of *Resalie*, after the lady of the chancellor *Pont Chartrain*. This project, however, appears not to have been carried into execution, though the name of this city is retained in most maps, and particularly by *D'Arville* is called *Fort Resalie*. Fine country. *Resalie* name for a metropolis.

Father *Charlevoix*, though of opinion that the chief emporium in the first times, of the colony, at least, would be more properly seated nearer the sea, yet thinks that in case the colony which he believes likely enough to thrive, should ever arrive at any high degree of wealth and populousness, this place would be as fit a spot as any to support a capital. It is not subject to be overflowed by the river, the air is pure and wholesome, the country extensive, fruitful in all sorts of grain, pulse, and herbage, and, what is of vast advantage, extremely well watered. Besides, it is at no such immense distance from the sea, but that ships may easily sail up to it. And lastly, it is within a proper distance of all those places on which the *French* propose to settle, which he seems to think a principal point. The *French* had here, in 1721, a warehouse, with a chief factory, who had no great business on his hands. Seat for a capital. *French* factory.

Amongst the many Grants in this territory, which, at the time now mentioned, were already in a good way, we find two of a large extent, consisting of a square of four leagues. One of these belongs to the people of *St Maloes*, and the other to the company, who have sent labourers hither from *Clerac* to plant tobacco. These two Grants are situated so as to form, with the fort, an equilateral triangle the sides of which are a league in length; half way between the angles is the great village of the *Natchez*. The granted lands are both watered by a fine river, which discharges itself at two leagues distance into the Great River; and a noble wood of cypress-trees serves for a screen to the company's plantation. The cultivation of tobacco succeeded perfectly well, though most of the workmen of *Clerac* are long since returned to *France*. The cultivation of indigo and cotton was undertaken much about the same time. *French* grants and plantations.

The great village of the *Natchez* has been long since reduced to a very small number of cabins; and the reason given for it is, that the great chief has a right to seize at pleasure all the effects of his subjects, who, to avoid his rapine, take the first opportunity to desert him; the revolvers forming several hamlets, or cantons, at some distance from the great village, which, as it is besides the residence of the court, is respected as the capital of the nation. The *Sioux Indians*, allies to the *Natchez* and *French*, are also settled in a canton in the neighbourhood. *Indian* capital and cantons.

Four leagues from the *Natchez* is a small river, where the *Mississippi* makes a circular sweep of fourteen leagues. Forty leagues farther down is another river, where the boats lie to in the night, and where the noise of the multitudes of fish that gambol in the river is prodigious. Two leagues farther is the river of the *Tunicas*, which, though but a rill at its mouth, at the distance of a musket shot up the country forms a considerable lake. The river of the *Tunicas* is represented by *D'Arville* as crossing a neck of land, and, by joining with the *Mississippi*, shortens the passage of that river 10 leagues. River of *Tunicas*.

The village of the *Tunicas* stands on the other side of the lake, on a considerable eminence; the air is said to be but indifferently wholesome, which is ascribed to the quality of the water, or, perhaps with more justice, to the stagnation and putrefaction of the waters. Village of *Tunicas*.

of the lake. The village itself is of a round form, with a large square in the middle, without walls, and but indifferently peopled. The chief's cabin is highly ornamented on the outside for the residence of an *Indian*: There are figures in relief graven upon it, and of more tolerable workmanship than one would naturally expect in such a place. The inside is, however, but ill lighted, and without any of those coffers which, as some travellers tell us, were filled with stuffs and silver. The chief appears in a *French* or *European* dress, with an air perfectly free and unaffected. The *French* officers in *Louisiana* place their chief trust and confidence in this personage, who is much attached to that nation, which, on the other hand, strives to repay his good services with interest; a just piece of policy, and worthy the imitation of all who would do their country any service amongst the natives of *America*. He trafficks also with that people, furnishing them with horses and poultry, and is said to have good notions of trade. He has also learnt of the *Europeans* to hoard up money, and passes for a man of substance in that part of the world. The other cabins of this village are partly of a square form, like that of their chief, and partly round, in imitation of those of the *Natchez*: The square on which they are all built is about an hundred paces diameter. Two other villages of the same nation, at a small distance from this, are all the remains of a nation once very numerous. The *Tunicas* had formerly a missionary amongst them, of whom they were extremely fond; but drove him out after some time, for burning their temple, which, however, they have been at no pains to rebuild, nor have they rekindled their sacred fire; whence we may judge of their zeal for their own, or indeed for any religion. Some time afterwards they recalled their missionary from his exile; but their native indolence got so much the ascendant over all his preaching, that he was obliged to abandon them in his turn.

At the bottom of the lake of the *Tunicas*, is a carrying-place of about two leagues, that saves ten leagues of the way by the Great River. Two leagues from the river of the *Tunicas* is the *Rio Colorado*, or the *Red River*, formerly called *la Riviere de Mârne*, the *Oumas*, and *la Riviere Sabloniere*, as also the *River of the Natchitoches*, after the *Indians* inhabiting its banks; but it retains only the name of *Red River* from the colour of its sands: The *French* built a fort here in 1745, 36 leagues from the *Mississippi*. The *Indians* say that this river runs from a lake, on which they never fail on account of the great swelling of its waves. From the same lake proceeds the river *Noir*, or *Black River*, which, after a course of 120 leagues, discharges itself into the *Red River*. It was hither the *Natchez Indians* retired in 1730, after having destroyed all the *French* in their country.

The *Red* river is only navigable for canoes, or pirogues, for forty leagues, afterwards it is nothing but unpassable morasses. Its opening appears to be about two hundred paces broad. Ten leagues above its mouth it receives on the West *la Riviere Noire*, or the *Black River*, otherwise called the River of the *Onatchitas*. This flows from the North, and is quite dry for seven months of the year. Though here are several grants, yet not one of them appears in a fair way of thriving, since their only motive was the neighbourhood of the *Spaniards*, at all times a fatal bait to the *French* of *Louisiana*; for, in hopes of carrying on a trade with that nation, the best lands are uncleared and uncultivated. The *Natchitoches* are settled on the *Red River*, and the *French* have thought fit to build a fort in their country, to prevent the *Spaniards* from settling in the neighbourhood of the colony.

Twelve leagues below the mouth of the *Red River* is a second *Pointe Coupée*, or *New-Cut Island*; the Great River makes a large winding in this place. Some *Canadians*, by opening a small gut that lay behind a point, let in the waters of the *Mississippi*, which pouring through it with great impetuosity finished the canal about thirty feet fathom deep, by which travellers save fourteen leagues. The bed of the river is now become quite dry, except in time of an inundation; a manifest proof that the *Mississippi* presses towards the Eastern side in this place; a particular to be carefully remarked by such as intend to settle on the banks of that river.

To the North of this cut, and on the same side, is another grant, or settlement, called *La Concession de Ste Reyne*, in a very unthriving condition; and a league South is another, exposed to the same danger with the preceding. The soil on which this last stands is excellent, but the building, of necessity, erected at a quarter of a league distance from the river side, behind a cypress wood, the bottom of which is swampy, though capable of producing rice and garden-stuff. Two leagues within the wood is a like two

Residence, dress, and character of the chief.

Useless zeal of a missionary.

A carrying-place.

Red and black rivers.

French grants and hopes.

Fort.

New-cut island.

Remark on the Mississippi.

French settlements.

leagues in circumference of plenty of fish.

The male eyesides is other balsam, which is an assured pellicle, or bark tree, formerly towards strewn.

Three leagues tortoiseshell of iron with the Staff. Twelve are still to be seen inhabitants were of fears, and have a single family selves to the cut mulberry trees. ved wonderfully.

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Six leagues b fully situated, b *Colapiffas* had fo low is the great na, though it n very. Their c seldom use any ing of a texture chief's cabin is that of the sun the grant called formerly reside gure in this co the place calle some neighbour and what is me

Ten leagues who, after the obtained leave application and the purveyors greens, and pu ny excellent for set, and then the current of morning at Ne the banks of t and when they again on their their plantation of their labour

leagues

leagues in circuit, abounding with wild fowl, and its waters might be made productive of plenty of fish, by destroying the crocodiles which swarm in it.

The male cypress bears a sort of berry, or knob, which, if gathered green, affords a balsam, which is a sovereign cure for cuts. That which distils from the copalma, besides its other virtues, is also said to cure the dropsy. The root of the great cotton-tree, formerly mentioned, and which is to be found the whole way from Lake Ontario, is an assured remedy for burns and scalds of all sorts. They take the inner pellicle, or bark, and boil it in water, then bath the wound with this water, and afterwards strew on it the ashes of the same pellicle burnt for that purpose.

Three leagues farther is the well situated grant of M. *Diron d'Artaguette*, where are tortoises of a monstrous size, and so very strong that they are said to break a thick bar of iron with their paws. This spot is called the grant of the *Baton Rouge*, or *Red Staff*. Twelve leagues below are the *Bayagoula Indians*, the ruins of whose village are still to be seen. About fifty years ago it was very populous, when part of the inhabitants were carried off by the small-pox, and the rest scattered and dispersed by their fears, and have never been heard of since, so that it is much doubted whether there be a single family of them now in being. The settlers here have long applied themselves to the cultivation of silk, and for that purpose have planted great numbers of mulberry trees. They have also cultivated tobacco and indigo, which have long thrived wonderfully.

The next place is the little village of the *Oumas*, situated on the East side of the river, and containing some *French* houses; the great village stands a quarter of a league higher up the country. This nation is allied, and zealously affected to the *French*. Two leagues above this the *Mississippi* divides into two streams, making what is called a *Fork* in this country, by working and hollowing out to itself on the right, upon which it continually presses in these parts, a channel called the *Fork of the Cbetimachés*, or *Stimachés*, which, before it pours its waters into the sea, forms a lake of moderate extent. The *Cbetimacha Indians* are now almost entirely destroyed, those who remain of them serving as slaves in the *French* colony.

Six leagues below the *Oumas* is the grant of the *Marquis d'Ansenis*, most delightfully situated, but since reduced to nothing by fire and some other fatal accidents. The *Colapissas* had formed a small village in this place, which subsisted no long time. Below is the great village of that nation, much the pleasantest and finest of all *Louisiana*, though it musters only two hundred warriors, but all of them of undaunted bravery. Their cabins are in form of a pavilion, like those of the *Sioux*, and they very seldom use any fire in them. They have double hangings, that on the inside consisting of a texture of the leaves of the latanier, and the outer composed of mats. The chief's cabin is thirty six feet in diameter, one of the greatest any where to be seen, that of the sun among the *Natchez* having only thirty. Five leagues further is seated the grant called the *Burnt Canes*, between which and the *Colapissas* the ground on which formerly resided the *Taensas* nation, which, in M. de la Salle's time, made a great figure in this country, but has sometime since entirely disappeared. Next in course is the place called the *Chapitoulds*, two leagues from *New Orleans*, which, as well as some neighbouring habitations, are in a very prosperous way. The land is fertile, and, and what is more, has fallen into the hands of very industrious persons.

Ten leagues before the stream reaches *New Orleans* is the settlement of the *Germans*, who, after the disgrace of Mr *Law*, abandoned his plantation at *Arkansas*, and obtained leave of the council to settle in this country. Here, by means of their application and industry, they have got extremely well cultivated plantations, and are the purveyors of the capital, whither they bring, weekly, cabbages, fallads, fruits, greens, and pulse of all sorts, as well as vast quantities of wild-fowl, salt pork, and many excellent sorts of fish. They load their vessels on the *Friday* evening, towards sunset, and then placing themselves two together in a pirogue, to be carried down by the current of the river, without ever using their oars, arrive early on *Saturday* morning at *New Orleans*, where they hold their market, whilst the morning lasts, along the banks of the river, selling their commodities for ready money. After this is done, and when they have provided themselves with what necessaries they want, they embark again on their return, rowing their pirogues up the river against the stream, and reach their plantations in the evening with provisions, or the money arising from the produce of their labours.

New

New Orleans
capital of
Louisiana.

New Orleans, the famous metropolis of *Louisiana*, is the first city which this king of rivers, the *Mississippi*, ever beheld upon its banks. The accounts given of the eight hundred fine houses, in five parishes, before the year 1722, appear much exaggerated, this place consisting then of about a hundred forty barracks, disposed with no great regularity, a great wooden warehouse, and two or three houses, which would be esteemed common and ordinary buildings in an *European* village. There is, however, reason to believe that *New Orleans* may in after times become a great and opulent city, if we consider the advantages of its situation, thirty leagues from the sea, which, according to some authors, requires no more than a course of twenty four hours, on a noble river, in a most fertile country, under a most delightful and wholesome climate, inhabited by people extremely industrious, within fifteen days sail of *Mexico* by sea, and still nearer the *English*, *French*, and *Spanish* islands in the *West Indies*; all which are much more than sufficient to ensure the future wealth, power, and prosperity of this city.

As the face of this metropolis has been much changed since the time in which the preceding description was made, it has been thought proper to subjoin the following from much later memoirs.

New Orleans
in its more
modern state.

At first *New Orleans* consisted of a few inconsiderable houses, scattered up and down, without any order or regularity, which had been built by some travellers, come from the country of the *Illinois*. When a resolution therefore was taken by the commandant in *Louisiana* in 1720, to build a capital, *M. de la Tour* an engineer was sent, who made choice of this as a proper place, and began with clearing the adjacent lands of the woods, and afterwards, traced the streets and quarters which were to compose the new city, advertising the inhabitants that, upon presenting a petition to the council, proper spaces should be allotted them for building. Each lot was ten fathoms in front, by twenty in depth; and, as each quarter contained a square of fifty fathoms, should contain twelve lots, whereof the two in the center should have ten fathoms, in front, by twenty five in depth. It was ordered that such as should obtain lots, should be obliged to inclose them within palisades, leaving quite round a void space of three feet in breadth at least, below which should be dug a ditch for draining off the waters in the season of the river's inundation. Besides these lesser drains, or defences, against the overflowings of the *Mississippi*, a dike, or bank, of earth, 16 leagues in length, was raised on both sides the river, from *Englishman's creek* to 10 leagues above the city, and behind that a ditch in the same manner. The buildings were at first only of wood, being properly so many cabins; but since brickworks have been erected, they are all of those materials, so that the governor's house, the church, the barracks, and almost all the houses are of brick, or half brick and half wood.

In situation
and more re-
markable
edifices.

New Orleans stands on the East bank of the *Mississippi*, in 29 deg. 57 min. North latitude; and is said to be placed in a situation much inferior to many others which might have been chosen, on account of its vicinity to the *Mobile*, the chief settlement of the colony in its beginnings. Vessels of a thousand tons may ride here with their sides close to the banks at low water. It is only a league hence to the Creek of *St John*, where persons passing through the Lake of *St Louis* embark for the *Mobile*. The place of arms is an open square towards the river, in the bottom of which stands the parochial church, dedicated to *St Louis*, and served by the *Capuchins*. On the left of the church is the house of those monks; on the right is the prison and guard-room; and the two sides of the square are taken up with barracks for the troops. All the streets are strait, and cross each other at right angles, dividing the city into forty three islands, eleven in length along the river side, and four in depth. The intendant's house is behind the barracks, that of the governor's stands adjacent to the place of arms. The new convent of the *Ursuline Nuns* is at the extremity of the city towards the right, at the corner of *Rue de Chartres*, next the place of arms.

In this city is the council, held commonly on *Thursdays* and *Wednesdays*. It is composed of six counsellors, a procurator or attorney for the king, and an intendant, who acts also in quality of commissary, ordonnateur, or director of the works; there are besides a register and secretary to the council. Causes are tried here without advocates, or attorneys, and therefore without any charge, every man being his own council and solicitor.

The market stands on the bank on the left, and a little above the intendant's, and opposite

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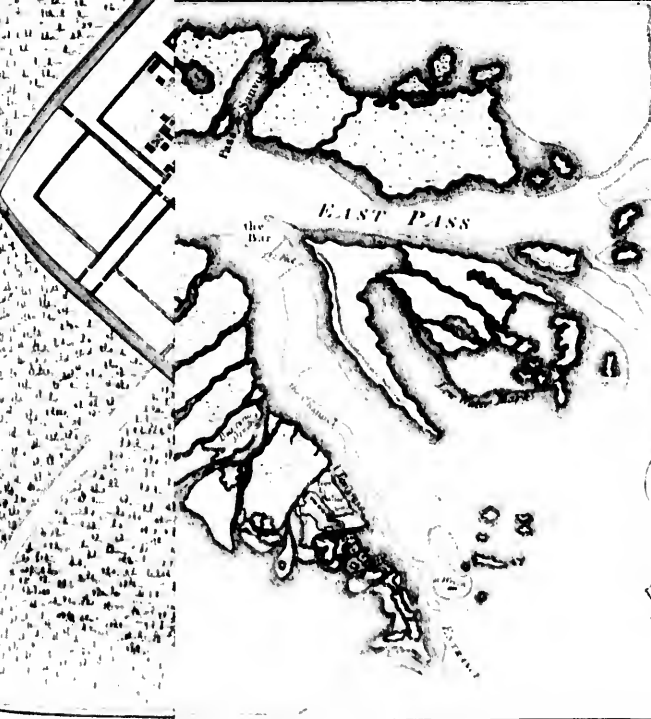
PLAN OF NEW ORLEANS

THE CAPITAL OF LOUISIANA with the Disposition of its Quarters and City as they have been laid out by M^r de la Tourette in the Year 1772

REFERENCE

- A. House of the Intendant
- B. Consent of the Capuchin Priory
- C. The State
- D. Guard Room
- E. Hospital and Consent of the
- F. Guard House of the Inhabitants
- G. The place where the Windmill Stands

British Fathom



THE EAST MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI, with the PASS OF FORT LA BUISE, which depends the Entrance and Channel of that River

By J. B. B. M.

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in which the the following

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n. North lati- others which of settlement re with their Creek of St for the Me- e bottom of by the Ca- right is the barracks for dividing the ur in depth. s adjacent to mity of the arms. It is com- ndant, who ; there are at advocates, council and

ndant's, and opposite

**PLAN OF
NEW ORLEANS
THE CAPITAL OF
LOUISIANA;**
*with the Disposition of
its Quarters and Canals
as they have been traced
by M. de la Bour
in the Year 1720.*

REFERENCES

- Place of the Intendant*
- Convent of the Capuchin Friars*
- The Jail*
- Guard Room*
- Hospital and Convent of the Ursulines*
- Guard House of the Inhabitants*
- Place where the Windmill Stood*

British Fathoms



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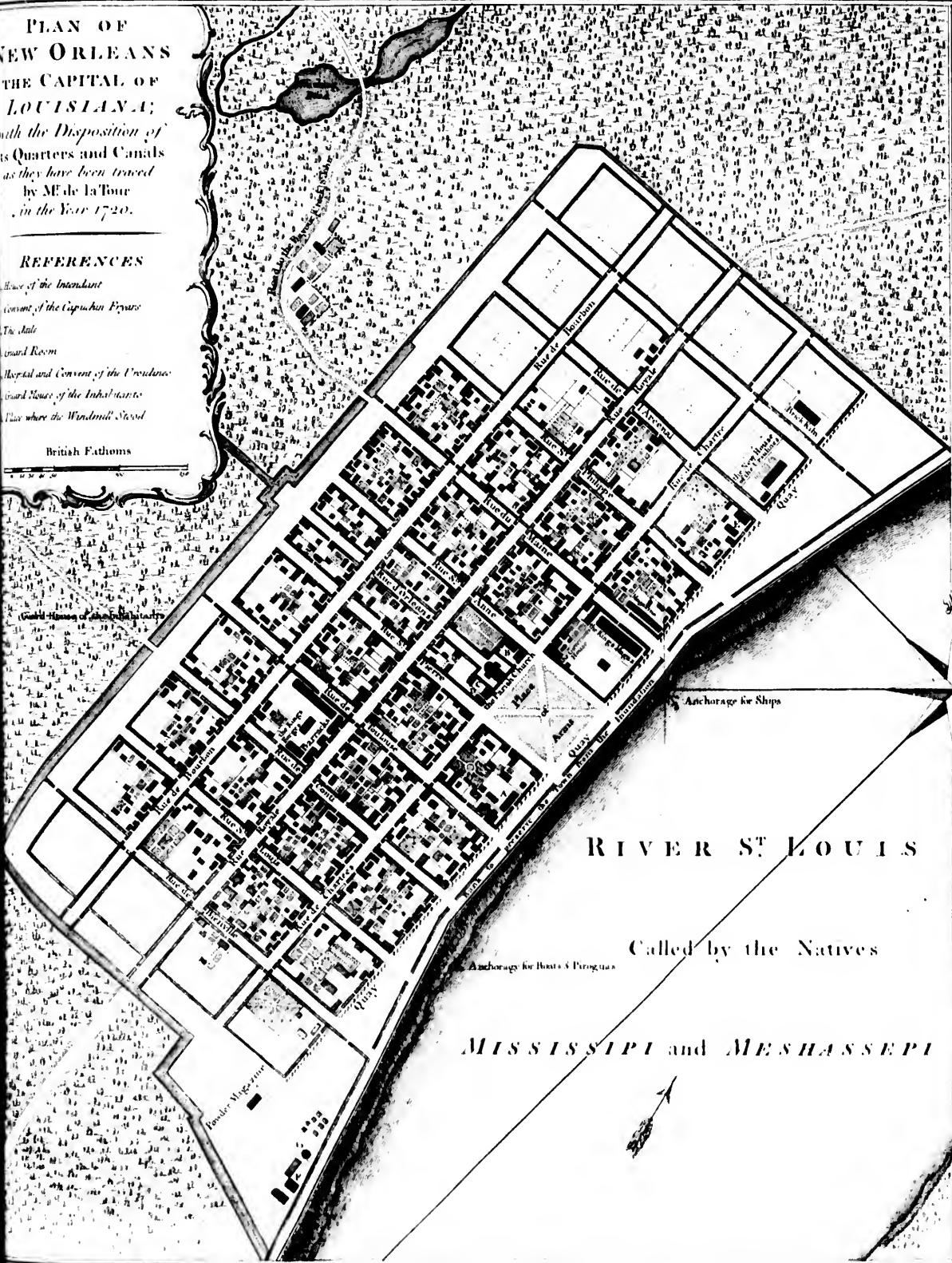
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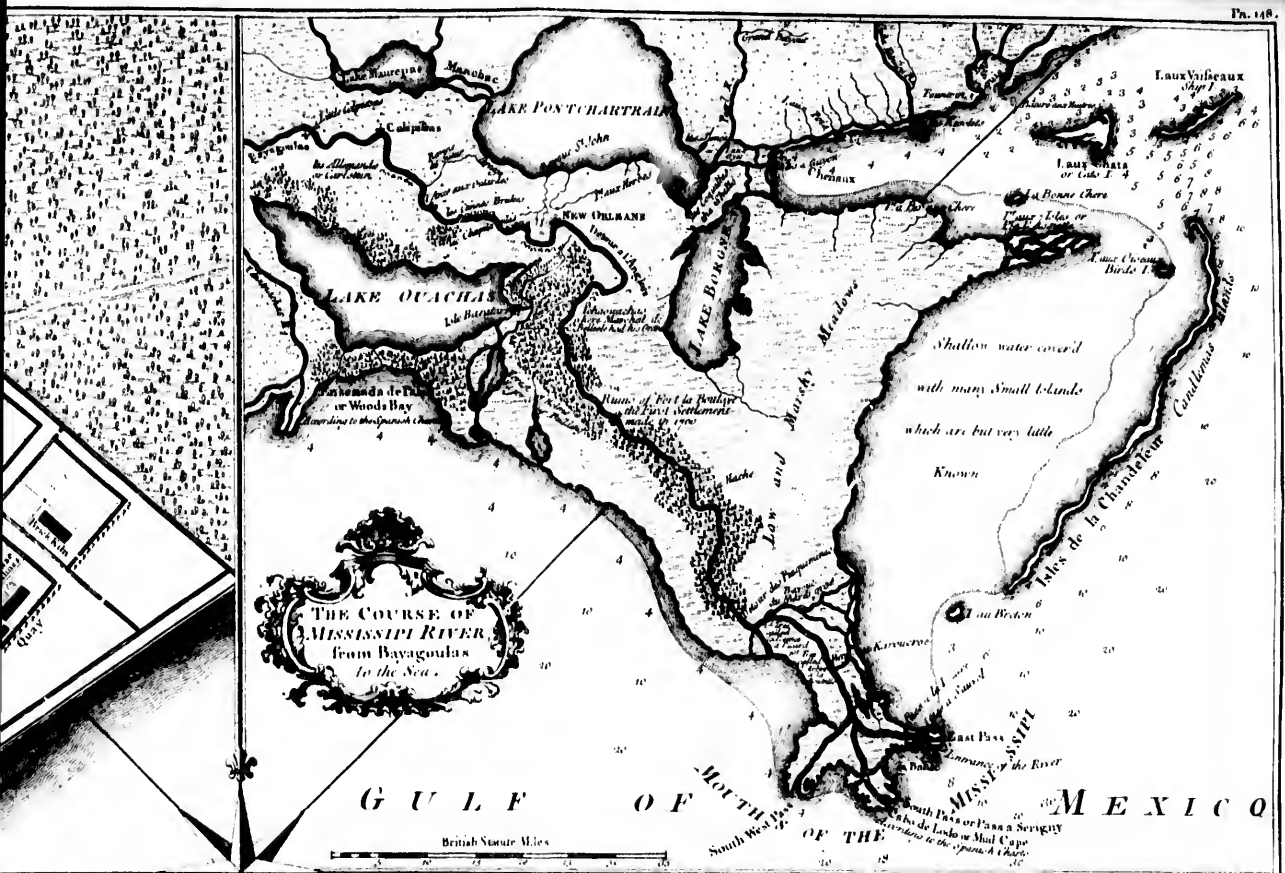
General House of the Regulars



RIVER ST LOUIS

Called by the Natives

MISSISSIPPI and MESHASSEPI



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opposite to that side of the square or place of arms, where the magazines are, is the anchoring place, where the ships lie with their sides close to the bank. The powder magazine is at some distance from the city, for fear of accidents. In a word, nothing is wanting to this capital, excepting fortifications. In other respects, there are a number of fine brick buildings, and many houses from four to five stories.

The banks of the river, for sixteen leagues on both sides, are covered with plantations not far from each other, each inhabitant raising a dike to secure his own dwelling from the inundation, which happens, as in *Egypt*, regularly every year in the spring, when such ships as happen to be at *New Orleans* take care to set sail, for fear of being prevented by the vast quantity of trees that the river carries along with it, which would break the strongest cables.

New Orleans, in 1720, made a very contemptible figure, being only, as *Charlevoix* tells us, an encampment of two hundred people on the banks of a great river, sent to build a city, and thinking of nothing farther than barely how to screen themselves from the inclemency of the weather, till a plan should be settled, by which they would be regulated in building their houses.

There is nothing very remarkable in the neighbourhood of *New Orleans*: With respect to the advantages or disadvantages of the situation of that capital, opinions are divided. They who maintain the former, alledge the conveniency of its communication with the sea, by means of a small river, some time since discovered, about a league from the place towards the North East, called *le Bayou de St Jean*, or *St John's creek*. This way, say they, a very safe trade may be easily carried on between the metropolis and the *Mobile*, *Biloxi*, and the other *French* ports situated along the sea. They moreover observe that the river makes a great circuit below the city, called the *Englishman's creek*, which, by retarding the progress of vessels in their way to *New Orleans*, secures it effectually from being surpris'd by an enemy.

The gentlemen, who are of another opinion, alledge that these reasons are rather specious than solid. For, in the first place, say they, those who argue in this manner admit that the river is only capable of small vessels. Now on this supposition, they ask, what need has the capital, if ever so little fortified, need to fear a surpris, since it is thus granted that it can be attacked only with small craft, utterly incapable of heavy ordnance? However, say the same opponents, let the city be placed where it will, the mouth of the river is, at all events, to be secured with a fort and good batteries, which would, at least, serve to give timely notice to the capital to prepare for the reception of the enemy. Secondly, they ask where lie the great advantages of a communication which can only be kept open by means of shallows, and with ports which, in case of an attack, could not be defended, and whence but feeble assistance, of no manner of utility, could be drawn in return. To these objections they add, that when a vessel is going up through *Englishman's creek*, it stands in need of a change of wind almost every minute, which is enough to detain it whole weeks in a passage of no more than seven or eight leagues.

A little below *New Orleans* the land begins to be very low, on both sides the river, cross the country, and gradually declines as it approaches nearer the sea. This point of land is, to all appearance, of no long date; for upon digging ever so little below the surface, you come to the water. Besides, the number of beaches, or breakers, and illets formed within the last half century at all the several mouths of the river, leaves no room to doubt that this peninsula has been entirely formed in the same manner. And it is very certain that when *M. de la Salle* sailed down the *Mississippi* to the sea, the opening of that river was very different from what it is at present.

The nearer you approach to the sea, the truth of what is here said becomes more visible. The bars which cross the most part of those small channels, which the river has opened for itself, have been multiplied only by means of the trees carried down by the current, one of which, stopped by its roots or branches, in places of shallow water, will retain a thousand more in the same place. *Charlevoix* says he has seen gatherings of trees, formed in this manner, two hundred leagues from this capital, one of which, alone, would have filled all the timber and fuel yards in *Paris*. As no human force is, in this case, able to remove them, the mud carried down by the river serves to bind and cement them together, till, by degrees, it entirely covers them. Every inundation leaves a new layer, or bed, and, after ten years time, canes

State of *New Orleans* in 1722.

Advantageous situation of *New Orleans*.

Objections.

Peninsula formed by the *Mississippi*.

Islands formed by aggregates of trees.

and shrubs begin to grow a-top of them, thus forming points and islands, which frequently oblige the river to shift its bed, and take a new course.

Land un-
granted.

Between *New Orleans* and the sea you find no grants, on account of the small breadth of land; so that all you see in this route is only a few private habitations, with public warehouses for supplying the large grants with necessaries.

Charwachas
Indians.

Behind one of these habitations, and immediately below the *Englishman's creek*, were formerly settled the *Charwachas*, the ruins of whose village are still to be seen. The chief's cabin was not unlike the cottage of some *French* peasant, excepting only that it had no windows. It was built of branches of trees, the void places between which were filled with the leaves of the latanier. The roof was constructed in the same manner; this chief is absolute, like all those of *Florida*; he hunts only for his pleasure, his subjects being obliged to supply him with game out of what they take for themselves. The village now stands on the other side of the river, and a league lower down, whither the *Indians* have transported even the very bones of their dead.

Passes of the
Missipi.

A little below their new abode the coast is much higher than any where else this way; and here, according to *Charlevoix's* opinion, is the best place for building the capital, which would then be but twenty leagues from the sea; so, that with a moderate breeze of wind at South East, a ship might easily reach it in fifteen hours. Lower is an other winding of the river, called *le detour aux Piakimines*, or *Piakimine tree Creek*. Soon after great care must be taken in navigating amidst the Channels of the *Mississippi*, for fear of falling into a wrong channel, in which case it is past all possibility of ever extricating the vessel. These channels, for the most part, are but small streams, some of which are only separated by means of the bottom, which rises in ridges above the surface of the water, occasioned by the choaking up of its course with mud and trees, the bar of the *Mississippi* multiplying those channels by stopping the vent of the water, and so forcing it to break out into new openings, through the softest and newest-formed earth near it; and it might happen in time, if great care be not taken to prevent it, that all the passes should become alike impracticable, at least for ships.

Island of
Tchouloufe.

Opposite to the bar is the *Island of Tchouloufe*, formerly called *Ile de la Balise*, (Island of the sea-mark) from a sea-mark, some time since erected here for the conveniency of shipping. This island is about half a league round, including another island separated from it by means of a channel always wet. It is every where very low land, except in one place, which is never covered with the inundation, and comprehends sufficient room to contain the fort and magazine. Here ships may unload, when otherwise unable to get over the bar. The bottom is hard, clayey ground, with five or six small springs issuing from it, which leave a very fine kind of salt on the surface. When the river is at the lowest, or during the three hottest months, the water is salt round this island; but in the time of inundation perfectly fresh, and retains this quality a full league out at sea; at other times it is brackish after passing the bar. Hence what we are told of the *Mississippi's* preserving its waters unmixed with the sea, for twenty leagues, is a meer fable.

Waters of the
Missipi.

Principal
channel.

The following is the state of the principal channel of the *Mississippi*, as examined by the Pilot *Kerlazio* in 1722. This opening runs North West and South East for the space of three hundred fathoms, it is 250 broad, ascending from the sea to the island of *Tchouloufe*, opposite to which are three small islands, which, though considerably elevated above the level of the water, had no herbage. All this way the depth of the channel in the middle is eighteen feet, on a bottom of soft mud: but such as are not acquainted must always have the lead in their hand. Ascending from hence four hundred fathoms more, in the same direction North West, there is still fifteen feet water, and the same bottom, with good anchorage all the way, and sheltered from all winds, except the South and South East, which might cause the driving of the ships from their anchors when it blows a storm; but without danger, since they must strike on the bar, which is soft mud. Afterwards the course is North West, one quarter North East, for five hundred fathoms. The river at the bar is 250 fathoms broad between low lands covered with bushes, and has twelve feet depth; and at half low water great caution must be taken, because of banks in the way.

Eastern chan-
nel.

In sailing through the Eastern channel, which is 250 fathoms broad, and from 4 to 15 deep, they steer full West for a league, and then all of a sudden find no bottom. Then entering the great channel, after leaving the bar, they sail still North West for the space of

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three hundred fathoms, constantly in forty five feet water. On the left is what the French call the *Passé à Sauvok*, by which shallops may go to *Biloxi*, steering their course Northwards. This channel takes its name from an officer, left by M. *Berville* as commandant in the colony, when he returned to France.

Then turning Westward, one quarter North West, for fifty fathoms, and on the left hand, is a bay, at the end of which are three channels, one on the South East, another on the South, and a third on the West South West quarter. This bay has no more than ten fathoms in breadth, and one in diameter; and all these channels have very little water. Following the same course, fifty fathoms further, lies another bay, which is twenty paces in diameter, and fifty in depth within land. It contains two small channels, though they are hardly reckoned in that number, since a canoe of bark can scarce make its way through them.

From hence, you steer Westward five hundred fathoms, to the *Passé à Louvre*, or *Otter Channel*. This is on the right hand, and runs towards the South East. It is five hundred fathoms broad, but is only capable of receiving pirogues. Afterwards you sail South West twenty fathoms, and then standing Westward three hundred, after that West one quarter North West, for a hundred more; again as much West North West, then North West eight hundred, to the *Passé au Sud*, or *the Southern Pass*, two hundred and fifty fathoms in breadth, which has nine fathoms water at its entry into the *Mississipi*, and only two feet where it falls into the sea. Two hundred and fifty fathoms farther, is the *Passé au Sud Ouest*, or South West pass, of the same breadth nearly, and never less than from seven to eight feet water.

Near the entrance of the river, and on the East of the Southern passage, are the islands called *Iles de Chandeleur*, on which are found vast quantities of eggs of all manner of sea fowl. It is believed that between these islands and the land there is a passage for ships of the greatest burthen, and that it would be no difficult matter to make an excellent port here. The passage is bounded on the left by a series of small lakes, situated towards the extremity of that of the *Cbetimachas*, and on the right, as above, by the *Iles de Chandeleur*, or *Candlemas Islands*. Large barks may go up as high as the lake of the *Cbetimachas*, where they may freely cut fine oaks, with which all this coast is covered. Near this gut the lands begin to be less marshy, though they are drowned four months in the year. All along the banks of the river thus far you see nothing but sand and canes. It is also remarkable that, for the space of eleven leagues up the river, the banks are so bare and naked as to produce but two trees, both on the East side, and at a league distance from each other: The one is called *l'arbre a bouteille*, or *the bottle tree*, from a bottle hung on it when first discovered by the French, and inclosing a letter from some person informing his fellow travellers which way he had gone. The second is called *la Potence à Picard*, or *Picard's gallows*, and owes this ill omened appellation to a saying of one *Picard*, who, passing by this tree in a pirogue, said, if ever it were his fortune to be hanged, he wished it might be either on this tree, or at least on such another. Here too the banks begin to be covered with lofty trees, and those in such numbers, and so thick, as to becalm the ships that pass, so that they are often obliged to warp their way with the windlafs from point to point; whence it sometimes happens that they take up two months time to make the nineteen leagues hence to the capital. Were it not for this difficulty, ships might with ease sail up the *Mississipi* above five hundred leagues; and this might be removed by clearing its banks of the wood.

Some have been of opinion that the best way would be to stut up all the passages except the principal one, by conveying the trees which are continually floating from above into the other channels. The advantage arising from this improvement would, in the first place, be this; that, by rendering the river inaccessible even to small vessels and canoes themselves, the colony would be almost effectually secured from any surprisè. The second is, that all the waters of the *Mississipi*, having been thus conveyed into one and the only remaining channel, would naturally, and of themselves, by degrees, hollow its bed, and possibly, in time, remove the bar itself. What has actually happened in regard to the two *Pointes Coupées*, already taken notice of, renders this notion far from being unreasonable. All that would then remain to be done, would be to keep the channel clear of any embarrassments from floating trees; a matter of no insurmountable difficulty.

As to the breadth of the river between the passes, that is, for four leagues distance from the island of the *Tbouloise* to the South West pass, it never exceeds fifty fathoms.

But

But just above this pass the *Mississippi* recovers insensibly, and by slow degrees, its ordinary breadth, which is never under a mile, and seldom above two miles. Its depth increases in like manner, from the bar upwards, contrary to what is in other rivers, which generally have their greatest depth nearest the sea.

Plantation distant from the river navigable.

It appears that the plantations would be better placed, at least a quarter, if not half a league from the banks, than close by the river, from the inconveniences of living on land which is always moist, and where with ever so little digging you come presently to water, and consequently can have neither cellar nor vault. Perhaps too it might be no small benefit to remove farther off, and leave the intermediate grounds and settlements free to the inundations, which might possibly contribute much to their improvement. The mud, which remains after the waters are fallen, renews and fattens the soil, part of which might be employed in pasture, and on the other might be sown rice, pulse, and, in general, such plants as prosper best in fat, moist lands. The banks of the *Mississippi* might be made to produce, from its gardens, meadow and pasture ground, not only a stock of provisions sufficient to support the inhabitants, but might furnish articles in commerce proper for the islands and neighbouring colonies. Those who have failed down this river, and gone on shore twice or three times every day, say that almost every where at the smallest distance from the banks are rising grounds, where houses and other buildings may be erected on solid and durable foundations, and where wheat would grow very well, provided the timber was felled, and by that means the grounds left open to the salutary effects of the free circulation of the air.

Navigation of the *Mississippi*.

As to the navigation of the river, this will always continue to be attended with difficulty in its ascension, on account of the strength of the current, which even obliges persons to be very careful when descending, as it often carries them upon the points which project into the river, and upon the breakers or beaches. Hence, to navigate with safety, they will be under the necessity of using such vessels as are proper for sailing and rowing at the same time. Besides, as it is impossible to pursue their way in the night, when dark weather, these voyages must consequently be always very tedious and expensive, at least till such time as the banks of the river become better and more closely peopled through its whole course, that is, from the river *Illinois* to the sea.

Coast of Louisiana.

The coast of *Louisiana* is bounded, according to the *French* writers, on the West by *St Bernard's Bay*, where *M. de la Salle* landed, imagining it to be the mouth of the *Mississippi*. Into this Bay falls a small river, with several others, as into *Ascension Bay*; the inhabitants of the colony scarce ever visit this coast. Towards the East the coast is, by the same writers, said to be bounded by *Rio Perdido*, corruptly termed, by the *French*, *Riviere aux Perdrix*, or *Partridge River*. The *Spaniards* call it *Rio Perdido*, or, *the River which loses itself*, from its running under ground, and afterwards emerging, and continuing its course till it falls into the sea, a small distance Eastward from the *Mobile*, where the *French* of this colony had their first settlement. The coast, from the Island of *Toulouse* to the *Ile aux Vaisseaux*, opposite to *Biloxi*, is so very flat, that merchants dare not approach nearer than four, and barks than two leagues of the shore; and even these latter must keep at a greater distance when the wind is North or North West, or else they will run aground, as it sometimes happens. The road lies along the shore of the Island *aux Vaisseaux*, extending a short league from East to West, and very narrow.

Rio perdido.

Mobile French settlement. *Iles Toulouse* and *aux Vaisseaux*.

East from this island is *Ile Dauphine*, formerly *Massacre Island*, so called from the great quantity of human bones found in it on its first discovery, where the *French* had their first settlement in these parts. Its length from East to West is about 17 leagues, and its breadth from North to South one large league. It is constantly exposed to the burning heat of the sun, and the soil so barren as to be scarce productive of sallads and other greens. The soil consists of little more than sand, which near the sea is so white and glittering, that when the rays of the sun fall directly upon it, the eye cannot behold it without great pain; and some have been obliged to leave it on account of this inconvenience, which endangered their sight. Though this island be entirely surrounded by the sea, it has this very great advantage, that by digging in the sand, at a very small distance from the shore, you meet with the greatest plenty of the finest fresh water. The anchoring place is at two leagues distance from the island, because of the sand banks. The seas about it abound with store of excellent fish. With respect to trees, the most common are, the pine and the fir, with some shrubs, and great quantities of a plant, which bears a fruit called *Pommes de raquette*, [*Racket Apples*] which is a sovereign remedy

Ile Dauphine described.

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remedy against the dysentery and bloody flux. Sun-burns are also extremely frequent in this island. Here was anciently a commodious harbour, but destroyed by having its entry choked with sand in two hour's time by a hurricane.

To the Westward of *Ile aux Vaisseaux* lie *l'Ile de Cats*, or *Cat-Island*, otherwise *Ile de Chats* and a *Corn*. *Bierville Island*, *isle de la Chandeleur*, or *Candlemas Island*, and to the East are *l'Ile de Corn*, or *Horned Island*, and the *Ile Dauphine*.

On the continent opposite to the *Ile aux Vaisseaux* are the *Old* and *New Biloxi*, two places remarkable for their having been successively the chief settlements of the *French* *Biloxi Oldland* and *New*. after their abandoning the *Ile Dauphine*, and so called from an *Indian* nation anciently residing in this place, and since removed higher up the country towards the North West, on the banks of a little river called *la riviere de Perles*, or *Pearl river*, from the great quantity of pearls, of an ordinary quality, found in it. The situation of the *New Biloxi* is so bad that a worse could not have been found, both an account of the difficulty of its being approached by the shipping, for reasons already mentioned, and because the road has two great inconveniences, viz. the extreme badness of the anchorage, and the swarms of worms which destroy the shipping, its sole use being to shelter ships from the violence of hurricanes in case of their standing in for the mouths of the *Mississippi* when they want watering, it being dangerous, on account of the flatness of the coast, to approach it otherwise. It is no better in respect of its situation with regard to the land; the soil consists only of sand, and produces nothing but pines and cedars, and the cissine, otherwise called the *zipalacine* plant, which springs up every where in great abundance. The heats are here prodigious in the summers, especially after the sun has set the sands on fire, if it may be permitted so to speak. And we are assured that were it not for the sea breezes, which arise regularly every day between nine and ten in the morning, this part would be absolutely uninhabitable. *New Biloxi* stands in thirty degrees sixteen minutes North latitude, as the mouth of the *Mississippi* does in twenty nine. The cold here in *February* is pretty sharp, when the wind comes from the North or North West, but lasts no long time, and is even sometimes followed with considerable heats, storms, and thunder, so that in the morning you are in the winter, and in the afternoon in the summer seasons, with intervals of spring and autumn. The breeze comes regularly always from the East, and when it proceeds from the North it is only the reflexion of the wind, and is less refreshing, but always welcome, as without wind here is no breathing at all.

Coasting along this shore, the prospect is always agreeable to the eye, but coming near it the scene is quite changed; the whole is a sandy bottom as at *Biloxi*, and nothing but gloomy woods are to be found.

Thirteen or fourteen leagues Eastward from *Biloxi* is the *Mobile*, on *Maubile*, called by the *Natives* and *English* *Chicasaw river* running from North to South, one of the principal rivers of *Louisiana*, on account of the *French* settlements on it, and falling into the sea opposite to *Ile Dauphine*. This river takes its rise in 3 streams at the foot of a chain of mountains in the country of the *Chicasaws*, and after a course of a hundred and thirty, or, as others say, three hundred leagues falls into a bay of the same name, at the distance of four score leagues by sea from that of the *Mississippi*, at the Western entrance of the river is situated *le Fort Comte de la Mobile*, built of brick with four bastions, besides half moons, a good ditch, covered ways and glacis, in the method of *Vauban*; with a magazine and cazerns for the soldiers of the garrison, which is always very numerous. Twelve leagues to the North on the same side of the river. Is the *French* Fort called *Fort Louis de la Mobile*, built in 1702, and deserted in 1711. The bed of the *Mobile* is very narrow, and winding, and at the same time very rapid, but is navigable only for piragues when the waters are low. The *French* fort on this river was for a long time the chief settlement of the whole colony. It is most valued on account of its serving to keep in awe the *Chicasaws*, a numerous nation, forming a good barrier to the *French* against the *Chicasaws*, and other *Indian* nations, in the province of *Carolina*. Some say that a stone quarry has been discovered near this place, which may be made of great service. The soil near this river is said to be extremely barren, but the interior parts, and such as are at a greater distance from it, are tolerably fertile. A hundred and sixty leagues higher is the Fort of *Tombuché*, built in 1735, to serve as a communication in the war with the *Chicasaw*. *Tombuché* is a kind of mountain, consisting of a white, soft stone, and is the canton which most abounds in cedars of the whole province; the earth here is also very proper for potters work. About sixty leagues from the mouth of the *Mobile* it receives on the left the waters of the river *Aubama*, on which, at the distance of sixty leagues from its opening,

in the Country of the *Creek Indians* in *South Carolina* the *French* have built *Fort Toulouse*. This canton is said to be one of the finest countries in the whole world.

The soil on the coast, from *Rio Perdido* as far as *St Louis Bay*, is a very fine sand, as white as snow, and produces pines, cedars, and some green oaks. The river *Mobile*, whose bed is of a fine sand is far from being equal in plenty of silt to the river *Mississippi*. The banks from its source to the sea are equally unfruitful, being nothing but gravel, with a small mixture of earth; and, though not absolutely barren, its productions differ extremely from that of such lands as lie contiguous to the great river. This country is in some parts mountainous, though it is not certainly known whether they have any quarries of stone fit for building. The lands are somewhat better about the river of *Alabama*.

An unfruitful soil.

Communicative of barrenness to women.

The lands and water of the *Mobile* are extremely unfruitful, not only in plants and fishes, but, as the quality of both these contributes much to the decrease of animals, the same effect happens with respect to the Inhabitants, many of the women having become barren on their settling in these parts; as, on the contrary, they have recovered on removing to the banks of the *Mississippi*. The interior parts of this country must be exempted from this quality common to many parts near the sea.

NATURAL HISTORY of LOUISIANA.

Introduction.

NO study can be more pleasing than that of Natural History, every advance therein disposes the mind to adore the Almighty providence, whose power, the more immediately it is examined, appears still more wonderful and beneficent: every new discovery is a fresh gratification to the curious inquirer, and its uses are manifest both in commerce and medicine. *Louisiana*, it must be confessed, affords a large field for the pursuit of this science, which has been the object of our careful attention, taking *du Pratz*, for our principal guide, baiting with him at the most remarkable places, though without staying too long at one stage, or wasting the time in needless excursions, or too circumstantial descriptions.

Beautiful country.

The inland country of *Louisiana* affords as great a variety of beautiful landscapes, as the imagination can form; the fields are diversified with the sweetest flowers, and the slopes conveniently covered with woods, where the beasts find a sure shelter from the dews which fall here very heavily.

Herd of beeves.

As you advance the country becomes pleasanter and more fertile. Game abounds on every hand, and it is not uncommon to meet with five or six hundred beeves feeding in a herd. When you fire upon one, the rest run away; but if the creature at whom the hunter aimed, is not disabled, he turns with infinite fury upon his assailant.

Deer, roe-bucks.

Deer are every where seen in numbers, and large roe-bucks, which sometimes march under the direction of a white one of their own species, whom they all seem to respect, treading exactly in his steps, and none presuming to advance before him.

Natural observation. Singing birds.

In the woods are many sorts of song-birds, that delight the ear, nor is their concert disturbed by the hawk, or any other bird of prey. In travelling, if a man chances to be necessitated to pitch his tent near a large lake or river, he is not to expect much rest; for the screaming of the flamingos, the cranes, herons, wild geese, ducks, and other water fowls are sure to keep him waking.

Water-fowl.

Mines and minerals.

Here are mines of gold, silver, copper and lead, with good coals, and water near at hand to render the working them cheap. In some places they find rocks of hard crystal, marble, a substance resembling porphyry, salt, salt-petre, and sometimes stone fit for building. But these last are in many parts so scarce as not to be found in a space of 100 leagues.

Grain and pulse.

European grains and pulse thrive here very well. They have also various sorts of maize, and what we call *Turkey* corn, which is natural to this country, shoots up a stalk 7 or 8 feet high, with 6 or 7 beards, each perhaps 2 inches in diameter, and containing 6 or 700 grains. This grain flourishes best in a light, loose soil, is good nourishment

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nourishment both for men and beasts, and especially fattening to fowl. They have beans of different colours, as red, black, &c. called the forty days bean, as it runs up in that time, and is good food, and the apalachene bean, which is delicate eating, but rather insipid, if not well dressed. The latter was either brought from *Guinea*, or from the *English* at *Carolina*. The stalk creeps the length of 4 or 5 feet on the ground, and the leaf resembles that of ivy.

Their pumpions are of two sorts, one of which is round, and but little regarded; Pompon. the other has a firm pulp with few seeds: and being cut in form of a pear, or of any other fruit, is laid by to keep in jars, covered with sugar, of which it requires but little, being naturally sweet and pleasant; it is also used to give a relish to fricassees, soups, and sauces. Melons of every sort are found in *Louisiana*, but all much better Melons. than those of *Europe* of the same species. The water melon is here particularly fine, transcending that of *Africa*, and is perhaps the most delicious in the world. It sometimes weighs 30lb. is very light and refreshing, melts in the mouth like snow, and may be given without any danger to the sick. The seed is flat and oval, sometimes black, sometimes red; but the former produces the best fruit, if sown in a light soil, which is the most proper, otherwise it degenerates, and the melon it produces, contains a reddish kind of seed. They have also fine potatoes, from which the Potatoes. *French* distil a strong spirit, so that they afford both meat and drink.

Vines are here so plenty that a man cannot go 100 yards from the coast for 500 Vines. leagues to the North, without meeting with a vine circling round a tree; but so shaded from the heat of the sun that the grapes seldom attain any degree of ripeness. But with proper management our author thinks good wine might be made of them; and he takes notice of a vine here bearing two crops of fruit within the season. Among them he thinks he found the currant, the Burgundy, and the Muscadillo grape. Here is a sort of medlar, called by the *French* *Piacminier*, or *Piacminier*, the flower of which A sort of medlar made into bread, is white; composed of 5 petals. The fruit is rather sweeter and more delicate than the medlar, which it otherwise resembles, being however as large as an hen's egg. The natives make it up in cakes, a foot and half long, a foot broad, and an inch high, carefully separating from them the skin and seed, and dry them in the sun or with a gentle heat, the former is the better way of preparation, as it preserves the flavour. The *French* buy this cake, which is good against the dysentery and gripes after a proper cathartic. But in this case it must be taken not at random, but medicinally, being of an astringent nature, and the fruit of which it is made should be gathered ripe.

Here is a pleasant violet plum, which in a garden might be made tributary to the Plum. table's elegance; and another of a bright cherry colour, small; but too sour to be Cherries. eaten. It is common to meet with a small cherry, which communicates a pleasant relish to brandy, and may perhaps be the same with what is used for that purpose in *England*, and distinguished by the name of mazarine. The blue is a shrub producing Blue shrub a blue, sweet fruit, like a gooseberry, which agrees well with brandy; and is said to have some good physical qualities.

The black mulberry is not found in *Louisiana*, but they have the red, and two sorts Mulberries. of white, one of which is very sweet and palatable. The first of these makes good vinegar, provided it be kept in a shady place, and close stopped. As the mulberry is extremely common, the manufacture of silk might be easily introduced, the leaf being the nourishment of the silk-worm.

The olive here is a fine tree growing often to the height of 30 feet, yielding pa- Olive. latable fruit, and excellent oil. Among other kinds of walnuts, this country pro- Walnuts. duces one as big as a large egg, which is pleasant enough; but the shell so hard, that the getting at it is scarcely worth the pains. The natives bruise the nut, and then throwing it into water continue stirring it, till the skin and oil being quite separated from the pulp, the two former swim upon the surface, and of the latter, which sinks to the bottom, they make a cake. There is a smaller nut of this kind, so very bitter, Smaller Sort. that none will meddle with it but the *perroquet*, to whom it seems a most delicious morsel; if we can judge, by his activity and noise, while upon the tree. This nut is smaller than ours, and the shell is soft. Of the bark, which is white, and close grained, the natives make a sort of spade to use in the fields. Hazel-nuts require a less Hazel-nut. fertile soil, and therefore are not here in great plenty.

The copalm is very common, and the balm which distils from it has an infinity of Copalm. good qualities. The bark of this tree is black and hard; its timber too soft for any use; besides, it always runs into splinters, so that there is no working of it. A small quantity

- quantity of it thrown on the fire yields a most charming odour, but there would be no bearing much of it without suffocation; its leaf is a pentagon pointed like a star. The balsm of this tree is a wonderful friend to human nature; the quantity of 10 or 12 drops taken in a dish of tea is a febrifuge. It cures a green wound in two days, and is equally efficacious in all sorts of ulcers, provided the sore be first prepared by a plaster of bruised ground-ivy. It cures consumptions, removes obstructions, relieves the cholick, and all disorders of the bowels, and cheers the heart.
- Virtues of its*
Woods. The red and white cedar, according to our author, are both incorruptible, so soft that they are easily wrought, and their odour, which is exquisite, is sufficiently strong to destroy insects. The cypress ranks, next to the cedar in value, and is by some held above corruption. This is certain that neither one nor yet 2 centuries will corrupt it; as was observed from one found 20 feet under ground at *New Orleans*, which tho' buried 200 years, was yet not in the least impaired. Out of the trunk of one of these trees, it is used to hollow a canoe of not more than an inch in thickness, which shall carry 3 or 4000 weight. The branches of the cypress are few, the leaves small and slender, and wood of a beautiful reddish colour, soft, light, yielding and compact.
- Color red and*
white. The laurel-tulip, which is entirely unknown in *Europe*, grows to the height and thickness of a common wall-nut, the top of it is round, and so framed as to be impene- trable both to sun and rain. Its leaves are pretty thick about 3 inches broad and 4 long: the upper part of a fine sea-green, the under white. The bark is tough, and of a dark-brown; the wood soft, white and flexible. It takes its name from a large white flower, that adorns it in the spring, and has a fine effect at a distance. The tallest flower is succeeded by a fruit resembling the pine apple; and its grain changes to bright red, at the first return of the cold season. The parrots, are fond of it, as it is very bitter, and some esteem it a febrifuge.
- Cypress.* Sassafras, well known among the faculty, is a large, thick tree with a coarse, chapped bark, and a cinnamon-colour wood, which is easily worked and has a pleasant smell, particularly when burning. But it may be afflicted by some other wood in its conflagration; for as soon as the auxiliary fuel fails, it goes out, as if water had been cast upon it.
- Several*
other
trees. Far to the Northward the maple grows upon the high lands, and yields a syrup said to be an excellent stomachic. The wax-tree must be especially useful in this country where the bees are obliged to deposit the fruits of their labours under ground, to protect them from the bears, their great enemy. At first sight the bark leaf, and height of this tree will impose it on you for the laurel. But the leaf is less bright and not so thick. Its fruit comes in clusters and produces a tail about 2 inches long, to which hangs a small almond, inclosed in a nut covered with wax. This wax is of two sorts, a yellowish white, and a green; of which the former bears more than double the price of the latter. It is gathered by throwing the nut into boiling water, whereby the wax is totally separated from the skin, swims at top, and is easily skimmed off, and made into cakes for use. This tree is not delicate in its situation, it grows as well in the deep shade of the wood, as in open sun-shine, in a dry as a warm soil, and is equally common in *New Orleans* as in some parts of *Canada*, where the weather is as cold as in *Denmark*. This wax bleaches quickly and well, and makes as solid and as good candles as any in *Europe*.
- Maple and*
Wax tree. The cotton tree of this climate has but little title to that name; it has a pentagon leaf, and a fruit about as large as a nut containing its seed. The wood is yellow, hard and hardish, and useful to joiners. The bark is fine and compact; that of its root will stain red, and is sovereign in cuts.
- Sassafras.* The inhabitants look upon the wood of the *Acacia* to be perennial. Of it they make their bows, a use for which it is very proper, on account of its toughness; and it serves the *French* in house building. The black oak takes its name from the colour of its bark. The wood is hard, of a deep red, and may perhaps be hereafter found useful in dyeing; this our author infers from its communicating a red colour to such rain as falls upon it. Besides the black, they have red, white and green oaks, and the last has been found as good in workmanship as any other.
- Maple and*
Wax tree. You find also good elm, beech, elder, willow, &c. of which they make wheels, which there is no necessity of binding with iron in a country where is neither gravel nor stones, and where you may travel some hundred of leagues without meeting with any. We should have remarked that the gardens are not destitute of lemons, oranges, citrons, and peaches.

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The ayac-wood is a shrub with a leaf resembling the laurel, but yielding a much less pleasing smell; it distils a yellowish water, which the natives use in colouring their skins. It is of a glutinous quality, and might grow to some height, did they not take care to curb its growth by lopping.

The leaf of the machoneti, or vinegar-tree, resembles the beech, and mixed by the natives with their tobacco for smoking, as it takes off some of its acrimony, it has an astringent quality. The leaf of the apalachine taken as tea is a stomachic, and the natives by boiling it procure an intoxicating spirit, of which they are very fond. It grows generally to the height of 15 feet, has a smooth bark, a close wood, and bears a seed on which black-birds like to feed.

Love-wood (*bois d'Amourette*) grows 10 or 12 feet high, and of a moderate bulk. It is fenced with short, thick prickles, which are easily removed, and contains a pith like that of elder, whose leaf it also resembles. This shrub has 2 barks, the exterior of a dusky hue, the interior of a very pale red. The bigness of a pea stripped from the later and chewed, gives ease in the toothach.

The natives hold in high estimation a shrub called the passion-thorn, which is covered from the root to the branches all round with prickles shaped like a cross, so that one must be cautious in touching it. *Du Pratz* knows nothing of its virtues, and here he closes his account of the arborific productions of Louisiana, with observing that tho' he has described every thing that came to his knowledge, yet he has not so much of the traveller about him as to go farther. He takes notice however, in this chapter, of a kind of agaric, or champignon, that grows under the wall-nut tree, particularly when fallen, which the inhabitants, who are very choice in their food, gather carefully, and having boiled in water, mix with their gruel. It is delicate, a little insipid, but easily made relishing.

There is another excrescence called *Spanish beard*, found sticking to the branches of trees near the sides of lakes and rivers. It is of a greyish colour, but when dried, the outer skin falls off, and discovers a skin of long, black threads, as strong as horse-hair. This excrescence may be used in stuffing quilts, couches &c. The *French* on their first coming found it a good ingredient in their mud for building. It is said to be incorruptible, and derives its name from the resemblance the natives found between it, and the beards of the *Spaniards*, who were the first *Europeans* they saw.

Among the variety of creeping plants, which the richness of the soil renders very common, the barbed creeper is not the least remarkable in that it has such a liking to the copalm, or balm-tree, that it will pass by any other to attach itself to this. It derives its name from being covered with an hairy excrescence, about an inch long, hooked at the end, and no thicker than a horse-hair. A decoction of this creeper is a certain cure for a fever, and tho' bitter, it excels quinquina in as much as it fortifies the stomach, whereas the latter is accused of having a contrary effect.

This country yields as good sarsaparilla as any in the world, and here is a shrub very like it, bearing a small nut, smooth on one side, and rough on the other, like the cowrie shells that pass as money on the *Guinea* coast. Our author is silent as to it's properties, which he hints to be something mysterious, saying, 'the use of these nuts is too well known to the women and girls of Louisiana, who have recourse to them oftener than they should. Reader! make thine own inference.'

L'esquine is a kind of thorny bramble, found among canes, with a shining, hard stalk and a spongy root. It is a famous sudorific; and a constant washing of the head with a strong decoction of it, contributes so much to the growth of hair, that it will bring it down to the ancle.

Of canes or Reeds here are 2 sorts. What is found in marshy places the natives work into mats, sieves, hats, baskets, and various other kinds of things. The produce of the dry grounds is not so large, but so very hard that, before the coming of the *French*, the natives used them in cutting their victuals. At the end of a certain number of years these canes, having attained full maturity, produce a crop of grain, every way larger than oats, which the inhabitants carefully gather, and make into bread. The Reed then dies, and it is a good while before another springs up in it's place.

The *Plat de Bois*, the *Wooden Plover*, is highly esteemed by the native physicians for it's sudorific effects. It bears, upon a strong stalk 16 or 17 inches high, a cinnamon coloured leaf, about 2 inches long, and one broad, with a blossom like broom, it's seed lies within a sort of crowned calix cup.

Rattle-head. *L'herbe à serpent à cornettes*, the rattle-snake-root, called in the language of the country *Oudla coulogouille*, grows about 3 feet high, and bears a purple flower with 5 petals, about an inch broad, and formed like a cup. This flower, falling off when ripe, shews a sort of nut, divided into 4 separate apartments, each containing a small black seed. If you shake this nut it sounds exactly like a rattle-snake, as if nature thus wisely gave it voice to proclaim it's virtue; it is an absolute remedy against the bite of that dangerous reptile, by applying it chewed to the injured part; for in 5 or 6 hour's it entirely draws out the venom. A plaister of the ground-ivy of *Louisiana* laid close to the skull gives present ease in the headach; and our author cured a friend, in a few minutes, of a megrin, by making him snuff up salts extracted from this herb.

**Ground-ivy,
cure for the
headach.**

Achetchy.

The achetchy is a very valuable plant, found generally in the shade of the forests, and growing not more than 6 inches high. The natives boil the root, and then by squeezing it hard obtain a beautiful red dye, which they apply variously.

**Strawberries,
common.**

In the beginning of *April* appear whole fields covered with the finest strawberries. Hemp grows spontaneously, and the flax-seed that has been brought from *Europe* thrives exceedingly. The plains are covered all the summer with diversity of fine flowers, of which if our author declines an account, it is because he rather applied himself to matters that might be useful to society, rather than to those of mere curiosity. He takes notice however of one flower called the lion's mouth (*gueule de lion*) which is, he says, a nefegay in itself, on account of it's beautiful colours and durability; as it seldom dies in less than 3 or 4 months. In this country, they also raise, indigo, cotton, tobacco, hops and saffron.

Lion's mouth.

Wolves.

The wolves of *Louisiana* are seldom more than 14 inches high and every way proportioned, they are so tame that they come down to the habitations in search of food, and retire without hurting any body. If the huntsman when he encamps at night near a river, discerns a wolf lurking in the environs, he may assure himself that there is a herd of cattle not far off; and the wolf serves as a guide to them, being rewarded with the offals. These animals stimulated by hunger, attack the wild cattle before and behind. In the latter they shew some cunning for the creature looks about him and stands upon his defence. When they have brought down one beast they strangle him, and then proceed to another; for they destroy as many as they can, without regard to what will serve their turn.

Story.

It happened that 2 men, sailing up a river in *Louisiana*, went ashore at night to lie, and covered themselves closely from the rain, having brought every thing on shore from the canoe, which they fastened to a stake in the strand, with three or four hide instead of rope. One of them, more careful, rose as soon as he waked to look after the canoe, and when he came to the water saw it was gone. As they were 50 leagues from any habitation, the accident alarmed and made him very uneasy. He roused his companion with the unhappy tidings, and both repaired to the beach, where soon after the moon shining out with a good degree of clearness, shewed them their little vessel smoothly dancing down with the current. One of them immediately stripped and soon came up with it, nor was he intimidated from boarding it instantly, tho' he found a stranger at the helm who glared upon him with a most menacing aspect, then leaped into the water, and left him clear possession. This stranger was a wolf, which during their sleep, had climbed into the vessel in search of provision; but finding nothing else made free with the cable, and then put off from shore, without meaning any harm.

Black wolves.

Two large black wolves, of a much stronger species, and more carnivorous than those common to the country were killed here in our author's time. They were supposed to come from some distant climate, the eldest inhabitant never remembering to have seen any of them before; one of them was a female, big with young.

Small tiger.

As we have dwelt largely on the bear, buffalo, elk, and some other quadrupeds in our account of *Canada*, the reader would blame us to repeat them. Wherefore we shall confine ourselves generally to the notice of such as have not been before mentioned.

Small tiger.

Among these is a small tiger, scarcely more than twenty inches high, and every way proportionable. His skin is of a bright bay colour, but has none of those marks that render it in other countries valuable, it is very quick and active, but no way, daring, for it will run from the sight of a man, and increase it's speed if shored after. This our author affirms from his own knowledge, having one time rescued his dog, and another time his pig, from this animal's voracious jaws. What he calls the pichon which, he says, is as high as the tiger, with a most beautiful coat, and an enemy to poultry, may be perhaps the leopard.

Pichon.

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The foxes here think the farmer's yard beneath their notice, as they find sufficient ^{Foxes.} subsistence in the woods. Their hair is thick, smooth, of a deep brown colour; underneath it is long, and silver coloured, which has a pleasant effect, they are vastly numerous among the woods of the small hills, and here also the tiger and pichou most commonly inhabit, nothing but hunger bringing them down to the farms.

The wild cat of *Louisiana* is very different from that of *Canada*, or indeed from any ^{Wild-cat.} other of the species, and very improperly so named, it having nothing of a cat about it, but its nimbleness. It is easily familiarised to a house, and then it becomes larger and fatter; but its skin is not so beautiful as that of a fox. It is not above 8 or 10 inches high, sometimes 15 long, and when tamed full of diverting tricks. This animal is sometimes served up to table, and not bad food. It lives upon fruit and vegetables, and is not fond of game; to catch which its short claws were never formed by nature.

The head and tail of the wood-rat are like those of the common rat, only his ^{Wood-rat.} tail has hardly any hair upon it, if you take hold of it, it winds about your finger. It is a slow, lazy animal, which scarcely any thing can put out of its common pace; but it has cunning enough on apprehension of danger, to counterfeit death so well, that the deceit was not to be discovered, nor will it stir, though you should to it about till you are weary. It is very common, and easily taken. Nothing can be more defenceless; and though it is a violent enemy to poultry; the blood of which it sucks, one would imagine it had no enemies among the brute creation. The down is thin, greyish and rough; the natives spin it, and makes girdles of it, which they die red. It climbs well, and seeks its prey in the night. The flesh is very good food, tasting like young pig; the fat is said to allay the pain of the rheumatism and sciatica. See more particulars of this little animal, and our account of squirrels, porcupines, &c. in the Natural History of *Canada*, p. 3^o.

The beaver, hedge-hog, crocodile, and some land tortoises are found in these re- ^{Other beasts.} gions, with frogs a foot and half long, the croak of which is loud and horridly disagreeable. In the woods and Savannas are several sorts of serpents, none of which is so much to be feared as the rattle snake, whose tail, in which is a rattle, proclaims the ^{Rattle snake.} danger of his coming, and that plant which is an antidote against his poison, is always ^{Reptiles.} found near him. We have here also chameleons, various other sorts of lizards, and very large spiders.

We shall now proceed to the birds and fishes peculiar to this part of the world, in ^{Birds and} which our author confines himself, with his usual fidelity, to describing such only as ^{fishes.} he had an opportunity of knowing; and these, he observes, are very few in comparison with what the country affords. The eagle is not here so large as in *Europe*; its ^{Eagle.} feathers are white edged with black, vastly esteemed by the natives, and used in adorning their calumet, or signal of peace. They have also several sorts of hawks; but ^{Hawks.} their birds of prey rather level their rage against hares, rabbits, squirrels, and other quadrupeds, than against their own species.

Their swan is large, fat, and good eating; and its feathers in high estimation for ^{Swan.} adorning crowns, and making head-dresses for women, and tippets. It flies high, and is larger than ours.

The saw bill so named from part of its bill being indented like a saw, lives only, as ^{Saw-bill.} it is said, on shrimps, which it picks from the shell, after breaking it with its bill. The crook-bill [*bec-croche*] is as large as a capon; its feathers are white, and its flesh, ^{Crook-bill.} though red, good eating. It feeds on cray-fish. The hatchet-bill [*bec-de-bach*] takes ^{Hatchet-bill.} its name from the resemblance of its bill, which is red, to the edge of a hatchet, it is sometimes called *red-foot*, the legs and feet being of a beautiful red. It hunts by the sea-side in search of shell-fish, on which it subsists, and its retreat within land is an insupportable sign of a storm. The king-fisher differs from that in *Europe* only by the ^{King-fisher.} beauty of his plumage, which displays all the colours of the rainbow.

Our author observes, that when the booby, the man of war-bird, and cheef bird, (one seemingly of the same species, but swifter flighted, and chequered with brown and white) fly low, they are sure prognostics of a storm; whereas the appearance of a ^{Prognosticks} halcyon is quite the reverse; an observation known to all the world. He describes ^{of a storm.} the last as somewhat larger than a swallow, with a longer bill, and the finest violet ^{Halcyon} feathers, with two streaks of yellowish brown near the extremity of its wings, and one coming over the back.

Observations on that bird. He says that one of them, to the great joy of the sailors, followed the ship, in which he returned to *Europe* for 3 days, during which time it often dived, to pick up, as he supposed, such insects as chanced to drop from the sides or bottom; and rose exactly where it disappeared. As it made no use of its legs or feet in this submersion, like other aquatic birds, he supposes it to have been assisted in its motion by the suction of the ship; and he was confirmed in this opinion by its taking wing when it left them.

Parrots. The parrots are easily taught to speak, but, like the natives are seldom heard. They are mostly of a fine sea-green, with a saffron-colour head, reddish near the bill.

Corbican. The corbican is very common, and as large as the woodcock; the feathers exhibit a pleasing variety of colours; the beak is crooked, long and reddish, which is also the colour of its feet. The author prefers its flesh to that of the woodcock; he also flights the meat of the pheasant, which is however, in his eye, the most beautiful bird he ever saw; but he has omitted to describe it; and his figure of the flamingo is so incorrect, that we may venture to affirm it was never drawn from the life, or, if it was, the artist must have been a sad bungler. The number of wood-pigeons which swarm here in winter, and in *Canada*, where they remain till autumn is astonishing; in *Louisiana* they feed upon acorns, in *Canada* they do much mischief by devouring the grain. They may be taken by finding out their recesses, and fumigating them with brimstone in the night. By this means they fall from the branches in heaps, and torches should also be provided to frighten them, and afford light at the same time for collecting them.

Pope. We have already spoken of the cardinal; and ought to beg pardon of his instability for not having given precedence to the pope, a bird with red and black feathers, but of a grave aspect. When it sings, which is rare, its notes are soft and weak, as it were old.

Bishop. We should be wanting in respect to the dignity of the two last mentioned ecclesiastics, if we took no notice of an inferior order of clergy provided to attend them; wherefore the naturalists have appointed them a bishop. He is not so large as a finch, and feeds upon a sort of millet, natural to this soil; his wings are of a deep violet, and the rest of his plumage a dark blue. His song is so harmonious, and his notes so soft and various, that those who hear him scruple not to set him in competition with the nightingale. It continues it here a quarter of an hour, without seeming to breathe: then pauses, and when once he begins seldom ceases, except to rest, in less than 2 hours.

Accident. One of these birds was wont to visit *M. du Prat's* every evening, which in the end had like to have almost literally verified the proverb, and have brought an old hawk about the good father's ears. A large oak, on which his visitant was wont to perch, and of which he was therefore very careful, came thundering down one stormy night upon his roof, and went near to demolish it.

Besides these, and many others, of which we have no account, they have here the flamingo, the carion-crow of the *Antilles*, the grand-gosier, sometimes called a pelican, cormorants, cranes, wild geese, wild ducks, teal, widgeon, divers, wild turkeys, herons, egrets, spatulas, gulls, bitterns, gulls, sea-pies, snipes, partridges, owls large and white, swallows, martins, wood-peckers, ortolans, turtles, nightingales, black-birds, finches, wrens, and humming birds.

Insects. Among the most remarkable insects is the silk-worm, one called the tobacco worm, which is very destructive to that shrub, and caterpillars; the latter are indeed few, but produce butterflies of incomparable beauty. In the meadows are black grasshoppers, or locusts, which seldom leap, and seldom take wing. They are often 3 inches long, and as thick as ones finger, with a head like a horse, and have beautiful purple wings.

Bees. Cats feed on them with great avidity. The bees search eagerly for honey, without regarding the stings of the bees, which its rough skin prevents from feeling. The bees here either burrow under ground, or retire to deposit their honey in the depth of the forest, whither their enemies seldom penetrate.

Green fly. The green fly is larger than the common bee, and his back is covered with a beautiful green armour, which has a pleasing effect. The fire or lantern-fly abounds here, as also cantharides, which inflames the skin that they touch, and may be fed with ash-leaves. Brimstone burned morning and evening is sure to drive away the musketoos, as our author has experienced. Here are many other sorts of troublesome creatures, too tedious to mention.

Fishes. Of fish we have here the surgeon and fardinia fish, barbles 3 or 4 feet long, carp, pike, eel, outers, muscels, and many others, which have been either described above, or have not come under the inspection of the author whom we have consulted.

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Of the Origin, Manners, Customs, Laws, and Religion of the ancient Inhabitants of LOUISIANA.

HAD we undertaken a complete account of a country which had preserved its annals and records from age to age, and had undergone, as well as most others, revolutions in literature, we doubtless should begin its history with tracing the origin of the people. But, as we have no lights from ancient history or tradition to shew us the direct way, we are obliged to take a contrary course, and from considering the manners, customs, laws, and religion of the different nations or rather tribes, of this vast tract of land, and comparing them with those of other nations, endeavour to deliver some probable conjecture concerning their first origin and extraction: the necessity of this manner of proceeding will we hope excuse our seeming defect in point of method.

The industry of the inhabitants of *Louisiana* extends no farther than their necessities: to supply themselves with subsistence, and provide security against the inclemency of the seasons, is the utmost extent of their invention. To cut down trees for fuel and building, they had such a sort of hatchet as that used by the natives of *Canada*; their knives were formed out of a reed, which is very common; their bows were made of *Acacia*, and strung first with a tough bark of a tree, but exchanged in process of time for thongs twined of the skins of the beasts which they hunted down; the feathers of birds afforded them ornament, and their utensils, dress &c. as were much the same as has been already described in the history of *Canada*.

The continent of *America* appears to have been very populous before the arrival of the *Spaniards*; as is evident both from tradition, and the histories of their discoveries and conquests. The destruction made among these people by the *Spanish* arms is too well known to need in this place a recapitulation.

We are assured also that many tribes, both in *Peru* and *Mexico*, devoted themselves voluntarily as sacrifices to the names of their sovereign, who perished either by nature or the sword, while others, preferring suicide to slavery, fell the victims to liberty by their own hands, to escape the tyranny of the *Spaniards*.

The wretched disposition also of some of these people has helped to thin them considerably. For while instigated by revenge, animosity, or some other passion, they waged long and bloody wars with their neighbours, they weakened themselves very much, though even crowned with conquest.

They have been also visited by two diseases, which have made considerable ravage among them, and against which their physicians, or cunning men, have no defence, though in other cases often wonderfully skilful. These distempers are the small-pox and colds. They fall before the small-pox like grass under the scythe; for they live all under one root, and neither light nor air can enter but through the door, which is seldom more than four feet high, and two broad. This disorder no sooner seizes one, but the whole family, not even the oldest excepted, contract the infection. As they are naturally clean-skinned, and well made, consequently greatly alarmed at the eruptions of the pustules from this distemper; they fly to the water, to wash them off, if possible, and though they knew it to be a fatal resource, they will persist, unless prevented by some of their friends.

Our author desires us to observe, that in the maps and charts of *Louisiana* there will be found many more nations named, than he takes notice of in his history: but this he desires the reader will not impute to his neglect, but to the carelessness of travellers, who have taken many things upon trust, and given imaginary situations to nations, with whose bare names they were only acquainted: some of these perhaps no longer exist, and others have been swallowed up by their more powerful neighbours, among whom their name is intirely lost. Upon the whole, he says, it is certain, that their number is greatly diminished, and that scarcely more than one third of the country, marked in the maps as populous, is at present inhabited.

On the first establishments, made by the *French* in this country, they carried on a friendly correspondence, drove some trade with the *Alibamous*, who are no friends to the *English*, and lie North of the *Apalachins*. They are a powerful people, but of late

- late the intercourse with them has been dropped, as being too far removed from the *Mississippi* river on the banks of which the colony is settled.
- Chatots nation.* After this our author gives a succinct history of the nations inhabiting the banks of the river *Mobile*, from its mouth upward. The *Chatots* consisting of about 40 hamlets, are nearest the sea; they profess themselves *Roman catholics*, and endeavour to shew the *French* every act of kindness in their power. The *French* colony of *Fort Louis* lies near them to the North.
- Thomex.* A little North of the fort are the *Thomex*, a small catholic nation, whose servile friendship often makes them troublesome. The *Tanjas* consisting of about 100 hamlets are a little more to the North. They are derived from the *Natchez*, and commit the care of the eternal fire to young men; being strongly persuaded that women would never sacrifice their liberty to it. But more of this hereafter. Near the bay
- Mobile nation, river and bay.* is found the *Mowill* nation, called by the *French* *Mobile*, whose name is also given to the river and bay. The *French* on their arrival here found all the small nations at peace, in which they still continue, being covered on the East by other nations, which stand as bulwarks between them and the *Iroquois*. The *Chickasaws* regard these nations as brethren, because they speak the same tongue, which is the language of those bordering on the East of the *Mobile*.
- Pachagolwas nation.* The *Pachagolwas*, or the nation of bread, consisting of about 30 hamlets, lies West of the *Mobile*, near a bay bearing the same name. Among them are mixed some *Canadians*, who live with them as brethren. For as they are naturally of an easy temper, and well acquainted with the characters of the different people, they know how to deport themselves amicably among any of the *Indian* nations.
- Languages.* The *Tanjas* have preserved among them their native tongue, which is that of the *Natchez*, but they speak a corrupted *Chickasaws*, called by the *French*, the *Nidshan* language. The *Chat-kaws*, who, in comparison of the *Chickasaws*, are mere moderns, preserve also their own tongue intermixed with some *Chickasaw* words; and our author discoursed with them in the latter tongue. These people are dependant on *Great Britain*.
- Aquila Pissat nation.* There is a small nation within a league of *New Orleans*, and North of the lake, with which the *French* have no great communication; they speak a sort of *Chickasaws*, and have about twenty hamlets, or rather huts. They are called *Aquila pissat*, which signifies a nation that can both hear and see; the *French* call them *Colapissas*.
- Oumas.* On the East coast of the *Mississippi* river lies the *Oumas*, or red nation. Some *French* who were at first fixed here, did them great prejudice, by allowing them an immoderate use of strong waters. *New Orleans* is about 20 leagues distant.
- Tonicas.* The *Tonicas* a fragment of a nation always upon good terms with the *French*, are situated up along the river *Mississippi*, opposite the *Red River*. They used to assist the *French* in their wars, and their chief was strongly attached to their interest, which being properly represented at *Versailles*, the king, by brevet, appointed him brigadier of his armies, and sent him a gold headed cane, and a blue ribbon, to which was hung a silver medal representing his marriage. And the reverse was a view of *Paris*. Of these signal marks of friendship the *Indian* was very ostentatious. The *Tonicas* differ in some particulars, and a little in their language from the neighbouring nations: as for instance, in using the letter *R*, to which the others are strangers. Their chief abovementioned was wounded in assisting against the *Natchez*, who were formerly one of the most respectable of all these nations, both with respect to their customs and behaviour.
- Natchez.* In 1720 the *Natchez*, were settled on and about a small river, to which they gave name. They had among them two nations, who had implored, and obtained their protection; one of these the *French* call *Grigras*, from their frequent uttering these two syllables. But this name will hardly appear consistent with our author's observation, that those people were easily distinguished by strangers among the *Natchez*, as being incapable of pronouncing the letter *R*. Their language is nearly the same with that of the *Chickasaws*. The other nation settled among the *Natchez* is the remainder of the *Thoux*, a people once very formidable, warlike, and restless, by which means they drew upon themselves the indignation of the *Chickasaws*, whom they resisted with desperate obstinacy, and never gave way till they were no longer able to oppose the arms of their enemies.
- Grigras.*
- Toux.*

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These three nations together can now muster about 1200 men, whereas tradition informs us, that the *Natchez* were formerly the most powerful nation in all *North America*, and respected by all others as their superiors. They formerly stretched from *Manchare*, which is 50 leagues from the sea, to the river *Wabache*, at the distance of 460. Among them were 500 princes, whom they called *suns*, [*soleils*] nothing could exceed the vanity of these grandees, in preparing the detestable custom of permitting people to sacrifice themselves upon their funeral bier; a destruction which men and women voluntarily, nay gladly embraced, imagining by this action to secure to themselves a happy situation in a future world; that they should be retained in the service of their prince, without fear or punishment, that they should not suffer by hunger, thirst, heat, or cold; that they should have every sort of food they could wish; and to crown all, they should neither suffer nor die. It must however be observed that two branches of these people, whose princes were more humane than the rest, withdrew from the main body, and with some few followers settled upon distant lands to preserve their people from falling a prey to this desperate barbarity. These are the *Tanufas*, of whom we have just now spoken, and the *Tchitimachas*, whom the *Natchez* always regarded as brethren.

Forty leagues North keeping the great river on the East, are the *Taxoux*, possessing about 100 huts on the banks of a river, to which they give name; and farther upon this river are the *Coroas* in about 40 huts; who pronounce R.

The *Chactioumas*, or *red blisters*, have about 50 huts on the same river. The *Oustacugas* about 60, and the *Tapouffas* not more than 25.

North of the river *Wabache*, near the banks of the *Mississippi* are the *Illinois*, who give name to a river, along the sides of which they are scattered in several villages, near one of which, called *Tamarouas*, there is one of the most considerable *French* settlements possessed by some *Canadians*: for these people have been always staunch to the *French* interest, and assisted them as much as possible in their discoveries, particularly of *Louisiana*, nor is that complaisance, which gives them so easy an ingress among other *American* people, any mark of their want of courage, which has been often tried and approved.

The *Renards* lie farther North, and are a large nation, who have for a long time been in peace, tho' they were formerly fond of war. The *Sioux* are a vast way beyond these, without any intermediate nation, and are dispersed East and West, on both sides of the great river. In going from the sea North, keeping West of the river *Mississippi*, the first nation we find is a very small one, known by the name of *Telonechas*, and *Onachas*, the last being a small village united to it. It lies between the river *Mississippi*, and the lake.

In this neighbourhood are also the remains of the *Tchitimachas*, who from a numerous people are dwindled into nothing. Many of them were destroyed by the *Indians* in alliance with the *French*, whom they therefore hate, and prefer living solitary and remote from other people, and especially declining all correspondence with those *Europeans*, to whom they would by no means be obliged. The first occasion of this difference was their murder of a missionary, who was going down the river. His death was revenged: and hence hostilities commenced on both sides. This nation, which is not of a martial turn, lost many of its bravest people; in consequence of which they sued for peace, and it was granted them, on condition of their bringing in the head of the assassin. They did so, and at the same time presented the calumet to the *French* governor.

Along the western coast, not far from the sea, there is a nation of men-eaters, who are supposed to feed upon their enemies. The *French* call them *Atacouffas*, but our author says they have some more proper appellation, which he could never learn. They correspond with other *Indian* nations, but have no communication with *Europeans*.

The adventures of an officer of some consideration, who in the infancy of the colony fell into the hands of these *Anthropophagi*, may not be thought perhaps amiss in this place, as it may afford proper caution to people, whose fortune may lead them into this part of the world. A vessel from *France* coming to an anchor at the bottom of the river *Mississippi*, the captain-general sent down a brigantine, on board which was Mr. *Charleville*, a *Canadian*, perfectly well acquainted with all the *Indian* nations, among whom he had often travelled, with orders to the master to supply the brigantine with an officer and a few soldiers, to proceed on discoveries; but

Natchez formerly powerful.

Tragical effects of vanity and credulity.

Taxoux, nation on and river.

Coroas nation.

Chactioumas, Oustacugas, and Tapouffas nation Illinois, Tamarouas, French settlement.

Renards, Sioux.

Telonechas and Onachas.

At war with the French.

Cannibals.

Adventure of an officer among the cannibals.

the particular orders our author has not noted. The master, in compliance with the governor's orders, sent an officer, named *Belle-Isle*, a serjeant called *Silvester*, and some men on board the brigantine, with whom he proceeded to *St. Bernard's Bay*. Here the crew went ashore, pleased with the beauty of the country, which abounded with game, whereby they were tempted to walk in the woods, farther than prudence should have suggested; nor were all the remonstrances of *M. Charleville*, whose experience had taught him that the consequences might be fatal, of force to dissuade them from a proceeding of which in the end they had reason heartily to repent: when they left the ship, the master warned them not to wander too far, and desired they would return early in the evening. He also told them that if they did not return back that night, he would fire two warning guns in the morning, and set sail in two hours after, if the wind continued fair; promising moreover, that, if they should not appear betimes in the evening, he would fire a gun for directing them to the sea side. He kept his word. And they heard the discharge at the time appointed, but imagined from the reverberation, that it came from a contrary quarter; so that what was intended for their perversion, led them farther astray. In the morning, the signal guns of departure were fired from the brigantine, and the Captain waited for them, till he almost lost his tide, to no purpose; the next day, ammunition beginning to run short, *Charleville* struck off to the *Eagle*, supposing it the way to the river, but could not prevail on his company to follow. The serjeant quite spent with fatigue and hunger, dropped down under a tree, where probably he ended his days. *Belle-Isle* being young and vigorous kept up his spirits, and proceeded, till in a little time, he lighted on a wood-rat, an animal extremely sluggish, which he knocked down, field and devoured with high relish. Sometime after, he fired upon a roe-buck, which he killed, and having husbanded his ammunition, had a little left, but the noise of his piece brought down upon him some of the natives of *Atacassitas*, in whose country he was, and he found himself surrounded, and a prisoner, before he had the smallest apprehension of danger; resistance was in vain, and it was to no little purpose to endeavour informing them by signs of his being a traveller, who had missed his way. Had he known the customs of this part of the world, where the people lie in ambush, and steal upon their enemy like a wolf on its prey, he would not have gone a step without looking cautiously about him to prevent a surprize; and in that case he would have gone up directly to the first man that approached him, with a pleasant yet resolute countenance, laid down his arms, and held out his hand in token of amity. A traveller in such circumstances, who observes these directions, has nothing to fear; but may I promise himself every possible assistance. He remained several months in slavery among these people, but the nature of his employment, or the hardships he underwent, were not told: it does not appear, however, notwithstanding their anthropophagous characters, that they had any intention of fattening him for the spit or the pot. At length he was discovered by his men to be a *Frenchman* by certain *Indians* of *New Spain* who had brought hither the *Calumet*. They named to him *M. St. Denis* who commanded among the *Nachitoulous*. It was all he understood of their language; but he knew the name to be *French*, and expressed his satisfaction by signs at hearing it. He then made a shift to scrawl upon a bit of paper, which he luckily had about him, that he was a *French* officer of *Louisiana*, who had been lost with *Charleville*. This he directed to *St. Denis*, and dispatched it so privately by two *Indians*, whom the countrymen gave out to be lost, and delayed their departure, under pretence of waiting their return. The two *Indians* did not stay long, but when they came back, kept themselves very private in the woods, contriving however to give notice of their proximity to their comrades, and conveying by the same channel to *St. Denis's* answer, the sum of which was a direction to take these two men for two guides; and depend upon this conduct, for his late deliverance from the present calamity; which was accordingly effected. We should have remarked, that his ink, when he wrote to *St. Denis*, was charcoal, pounded and mixed with water, and a sort of pen made of a turkey quill; and also that the correspondence between him and his unexpected friends for his release, was carried on so privately, that his talk-masters had not the least suspicion of it; so that he found it easy to secret himself in the woods, according to his instructions.

Historical Geography of the Territory. The people who once inhabited the territory called *Bayonne Ogoulas*, are now dispersed elsewhere. On the border of two small lakes to the westward, covered by a craggy point of land, is a nation known only by name to the *French* called *Ogoula*.

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Lou'fat, or Black Water, because the lakes are covered with leaves which give the water that colour. Between these and the *Avoyels*, a small nation inhabiting the banks of the red river, which is very rapid, we find the country quite deserted. These people are used to suppl. the *French*, settled at *Louisiana*, with horses, cows and calves, at a very moderate price. At present they have them in vast plenty, without any purchase.

Ogni Lou'fat.

Avoyels Nation.

Fifty leagues up the red river, near a *French* settlement, is the nation of *Natchitoches*, consisting of about 200 huts, they have no love for the *Spaniards*, but are well attached to the *French*, who have a settlement very near them. There are some scattered branches of this nation, but none of them numerous.

Natchitoches.

About a hundred leagues from the place where this river falls into the *Mississippi*, are the habitations of a vast nation called *Cadodaguinox*, which extends in different tribes a vast way. They as well as the people before-mentioned, have a language peculiar to themselves; but that of *Clickasaw* is understood among them all, like *lingua franca* in the *Levant*; they call it the vulgar tongue.

Cadodaguinox.

The *Ouachitas* are intermixed among them, having abandoned the black river, to which they gave name, to avoid the rage of the *Clickasaw*, who dare not follow them; for the same reason the *Tuensas*, who formerly inhabited this coast, near a river to which they lent their denomination, withdrew to the neighbourhood of the *Mobilians*, where we before took notice of them. These martial gentry also made war upon the *Arkansas*, a nation of good warriors, and able huntsmen, but met a reception so very warm, that they were glad to desist, more especially as they found them joined by the *Kappas*, *Michiganians* and a party of *Illinois*. There are no other people on the banks of this river, though the contrary has been advanced by former travellers.

Ouachitas.

Arkansas Kappas Michiganians Nations.

The *Missouris* are a numerous people, on the banks of the famous river so called. The *French* had here a settlement, the garrison of which was surpris'd and cut off by the natives. There are many other small nations about the *Missuris*, the re-capitulating which would be tedious; and north of them all, a branch of the *Sioux* was thought formerly to have resided. Our author is inclined to believe, that they formerly were to be found on both sides of the great river; and he justly observes that we must be content to wait some centuries before we can arrive at any certain knowledge of the vast tract of land running *North of Louisiana*.

Missuris.

The first *French* settlement made in this province, was upon the *Mobile*, where the commander in chief resided; but since the foundation of *New Orleans* on the banks of the great river, which is now the capital, it has been in a good measure deserted. Here is however a garrisoned fort, with four strong bastions, that secure the furr trade on this side, awes the neighbouring nations, and cuts off the *Chatahoues* from corresponding with the *English*, who are also curtailed in their views on the *Clickasaw* side, by fort *Tombec*, built in 1736.

Fort Tombec.

Not far from the *Mobile* is a settlement of some *Canadians*, who contented with little, prefer the small advantages of rural labour to all the profits of tillage; and who only visit *New Orleans* when they want necessaries.

A rural settlement of Canadians.

Among the different nations into which *Louisiana* is divided, *Du Pratz* informs us that of the *Natchez* is the most remarkable; being not only very numerous, but better polished than the rest, their way of thinking more consistent with humanity; their sentiments more refined; and their customs more reconcilable to reason: therefore in describing the customs and manners of the people of this country in general, he draws his information principally from the *Natchez*.

Natchez, a polished nation.

The natives of *Louisiana*, and almost all the *Americans*, are strong, nervous, and well made; with black eyes and hair, regular features, and none less than five feet and a half high; the women are rather lower than the men; but giants, dwarfs, and deformed men are unknown among them. They are white when born, at which time care is taken to wash them in cold water: by degrees they become brown, and to this, the rubbing them with oil and bears fat, contributes not a little: besides which, it renders their limbs more flexible, and saves them from the stinging of the muskitoes. As they grow up they are furnished with bows and arrows proportioned to their strength, and by way of exercise and diversion, try their skill at a mark. He that excels is sure of great prize, and siled the great warrior, a title of which they are not a little proud: they also delight in running races.

Complexion and stature of the natives.

As they live to a very great age, the oldest of a family is the most respected, and his will obeyed with as much caution as if he was a sovereign prince. Great care is taken to prevent among them quarrels and disputes; they rarely happen. All are

Respect paid to the oldest.

taught the use and necessity of labour; but the women are rather more employed than the men, they are obliged when young, every morning to wash and (twice) under the direction of one of their elders, without regard to sex, (mothers who have the care of infants excepted) and this inures them to fatigue, strengthens their limbs, and fits them better for war. They never strike or beat their youth, but endeavour to instruct them by repeated precepts and example.

Their belief. These people believe in one great and good God incapable of evil, who created the world, and whose common commands are executed by angels, or subservient spirits, of which an inferior order who have offended him, govern in the air; and these they invoke for rain, or sun-shine, as it may be wanting to the ground. Man he created, say they, with his own hand, and the whole world is the produce of his wisdom and power.

The sacred fire explained. The sacred fire, of which we have before made some mention, was, according to the account given of it to our missioner, by the principal person entrusted with the care of it, enkindled by means of a miraculous flame, brought from the sun, by a holy person who had descended himself from that planet, and whom they had chosen for their sovereign, submitting to a set of laws which he laid down for their government, and which were admirably adapted to the advantage of society.

Precept of their first grand Soiree. He taught benevolence, social love and resignation to the divine will, as points indispensably necessary to be observed; to avoid quarrelling, and to detest murder, adultery, untruth, avarice and drunkenness. From him are their sovereigns descended, who are also called *Suns*, for he lived to a very great age, and saw the children of his children flourish. Our author astonished the priest, who had given him this account, by enkindling some fuel with reflection of the sun beams upon a piece of glass, which glass, the grand soiree intreated of the father as a very great favour; it was given him, and he was very fond to use it.

Government of the Natchez. This monarch, if we may be so allowed to call him, governs with despotic power; he has no law but that of reason, and disposes at will of the lives of his subjects. So good use does he happen to make of this authority, that no evil attempt upon him is ever heard of. His stipends are very considerable, tho' not stated, being free gifts, pledges of his people's love, and respect, and never levied by any sort of taxation.

Fest of the new corn. Among their many religious festivals, the most solemn is, that of gathering in the new corn, on which they all assemble to feed in common, and have some particular ceremonies, with a relation of which we shall not now detain the reader. They are particularly tenacious of precedency, whether in public or private, and such is the distinction of sexes, that a boy of two years of age, is permitted to take place of a woman. Each man is absolute in his own family, as long as he lives; he governs his children, and his children's children, with an uncontrollable rule, and when he dies, the next to him in years assumes the domestic command.

Their rules for intermarrying. They never marry within the third degree, and the oldest of each family, agree upon the terms of the match, without consulting any of the minors, whom, however they never join against their consent; the man having first asked her hand of the woman.

Marriage ceremonies. The day for the ceremony being arrived, the bride is conducted to the house of the bridegroom by all her family, with silence and solemnity. They are received at the door by all his friends, who invite them to enter the house, which they do, with few words and little ceremony. For compliments and talkativeness, are by them deemed loss of time. Having seated themselves, after some space, the old men on each side arise, and the contracted parties do the same. A short speech is then made them, in which they are desired not to marry unless they find themselves impelled by mutual liking; and previously resolved to live together happily; "this union," says the ancient orator, "must be of your own choice, think not your friends are here assembled to force your inclinations; if either of you has any objection, declare it, that we may break off." The father of the bridegroom then delivers the portion intended for his son, into his custody, and he, having asked the love and hand of the bride, and being answered satisfactorily, gives it in keeping to her father. The nuptials being celebrated with some other ceremonies, their company gives themselves up to merriment, and generally dance till morning.

Grand division of the people. The *Natchez* are divided into two grand classes, viz. The nobles and the people. The people are also distinguished by an appellation that implies striking, *Miké-miké-Quay*, however they do not much relish being called so. They each of them have a

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language peculiar to themselves, that of the nobles being much the purer and more excellent, being strong, smooth and copious, having nouns substantive declined like the Latin, without articles.

The nobles are divided into *soleils*, nobles and respected (*confidés*). We have already made mention that the *soleils* are so named, because they are descended from a man and a woman, who made the people believe they came from the sun, the *French* for which is *Soleil*. This couple commanded that their posterity should be always distinguished above the main body of the nation; that none of them should be on any account put to death, but be permitted to end their days in peace according to the course of nature.

In order to preserve purity of blood, the title of *soleils* is only transmitted in the male line. The male children bear the appellation but for their natural lives; their issue are ranked among the nobles, and the offspring of these among the *confidés*, or respected; thus declining until they are reduced among the people. Nor is it unusual for a *Soleil* to live to see his posterity thus degenerated. When the grand *Soleil* dies, he is not succeeded by any of his children, but by the eldest son of his nearest kinswoman; and at his or her interment, the husband or wife is always put to death to keep them company in the world of spirits. And often, all his next of kin, voluntarily devote themselves to the flames, or fall by the sword. The natives of this country are in general very superstitious, observers of omens, the flight of birds, &c. and curious to dive into the secrets of futurity. When one people, are about to declare war against another. A council of their oldest and best warriors is assembled in a hut, at the door of which the calmet of war is fixed on a pole. The occasion of the intended breach is then discoursed upon, and immediate hostilities always recommended by the chiefs, in which they find their account, being in war more respected and invested with more authority than in time of peace; their determination is always subscribed to by the chief or sovereign, the council being held in his presence, and he, as well as his subjects holding in the highest esteem the elders and their judgement. Sometimes it is agreed, to send an ambassador to the power, with whom they are at variance, to offer the calmet of peace, but without any presents, lest it should be thought they wanted to purchase it, in the mean time they solicit the aid and assistance of their neighbours. They most commonly march by night to prevent their enemies discovering them, and carry on the war as much as possible by ambuscade and surprize, taking care to leave behind them as few marks as possible whereby they may be traced. Such women and children as they make prisoners they enslave, the men they reserve for a public sacrifice, putting them with great cruelty to death; and drowning their cries with incessant repetitions of the war-hoop.

None but the *soleils* and guardians of the sacred fire are permitted to enter the temple containing the sacred fire; the guardians are eight; their business is to see the fire kept up, two of them are always acting, and they are relieved quarterly: the sacred fire is preserved in more temples than one, that it may be restored, in case of its expiring in one place, from another.

The ashes of the first grand *soleil* are deposited in the grand temple of *Natchez*, in a sort of urn made of cane, and very prettily wrought. It stands upon an altar four feet high, six long, and two broad. They have a particular veneration for the memory of their dead, and erect a sort of tomb over every body that is interred, to which for a great while they carry victuals and drink. All the nations of *Louisiana* have their respective temples, which are either grander or meaner, according to their respective force or wealth. That of *Natchez* in particular, is a solid regular building, on an eminence near a small river, it is about thirty feet every way; the wood composing it being cypress, is deemed incorruptible; and on the roof; which is shelving, are three large birds cut in wood, something like geese, and looking to the East.

They have few holidays, and scarcely any sort of diversions; except a fatiguing game, resembling our pitching the bar, and playing the quoits both intermixed, of this they are so very fond, that they often play away every thing they have, and when thus reduced, become public spoilers, taking by force from the neighbours, whatever they may stand in need of. In their visits, they speak little, the guest takes his seat, and rigid silence is observed, till he breaks it. You never see two people in company chattering at the same time; and for this they laugh at the *French*, who often all talk together.

Their

Their food, and beverage. Their food is beef, venison, bear's and dog's flesh, with every sort of aquatic birds, and fish without exception. They either roast their meat on a wooden spit, or broil it, and they have maize served up at all their meals, differently prepared; or in lieu of it potatoes. They have no set hours for dining, except at public entertainments, when they all sit down together, and in token of unanimity eat out of the same dish, the women and children excepted, who have their respective shares given to themselves: at other times, they eat or drink, according as they find they have appetite. They are afraid of made dishes, and the *French* have never been able, either by example or reasoning, to persuade them to their soups, or ragouts, they not knowing what to make of the ingredients. They will drink nothing but water, or brandy, the clearness of these liquours determine their goodness; for if it be clear, they do not think it can possibly be sophisticated.

Their fasting. When they want to make intercession with heaven, for any particular benefit, they make intercessions with one of their elders reputed for sanctity among them, to intercede for them. He does it by fasting nine days, during which time he abtains entirely from venery and from all manner of food till sun set, when a mess of gruel without salt, and a draught of water is brought for his refreshment.

Respect to the grand chief. Besides the obedience and profound respect paid by the *Natchez*, to the grand chief, they are so strongly attached to him; that when his nearest relations die, not only all those who are in his train, but numbers of others, sacrifice themselves to the manes, to have the honour of attending him or her, in the world to come, and hence comes it, that this nation is not near so populous as it might otherwise be.

This nation destroyed by the French. In the year 1730, they were entirely cut off by the *French*, on account of their having joined in some schemes intended for their destruction, so that at present scarcely any thing remains of this once celebrated nation, but the name. Most authors who treat of this vast tract, observe that the best way of keeping peace with the different people, is to keep them at such a distance, as may impress them with awe and veneration; but this impression vanishes if you treat them with too much familiarity, verifying the proverb: "that familiarity breeds contempt."

Commercial advantages to be drawn from hence. *France* draws considerable advantages from the furs of *Louisiana*, and in our hands they might be greatly improved. Large profits might also be drawn from the hides and fat of their oxen, for which alone the different nations kill them. The fruit of the wax-tree, is also a commodity worth dealing in: as are the various kinds of wood for house-building, ship-building and ornament; and for the completing a naval force here is plenty of hemp, and excellent iron.

The soil seems admirably adapted to the bearing of salt petre; and vast quantities of silk might be produced, as the worms thrive here well. Saffron, salafra, the copal balm, and various other kinds of useful druggs are the produce of these climates, and always sure of a ready market in *Europe*.

A conclusive opinion of the country. To give a brief character of *Louisiana*, we may venture to affirm that it abounds in grain, cattle, and rich commodities, which the many streams watering the country, and falling into the great river *Mississipi* render still more valuable; and no part of the world seems more happily adapted to second the operations, and improve the glory of a maritime power, than this province of *America*.

The End of the Account of LOUISIANA.

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