AN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE

ACCOUNT OF

BRITISH AMERICA;

COMPREHENDING

CANADA, UPPER AND LOWER, NOVA SCOTIA, NEW-BRUNSWICK, NEWFOUNDLAND, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, THE BERMUDAS AND THE FUR COUNTRIES;

THEIR HISTORY FROM THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT; THEIR STATISTICS, TOPOGRAPHY, COMMERCE, FISHERIES, &c.; AND THEIR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITION; AS ALSO AN ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS AND PRESENT STATE OF THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

BY HUGH MURRAY, F.R.S.E.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

NEW-YORK:

HARPER & BROTHERS, 82 CLIFF-STREET.

1840.

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Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1840, by
HARPER & BROTHERS,
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BY THE AMERICAN PUBLISHERS.

The subject to which these volumes relate is one possessing great interest to the American reader. The history of the present British possessions on this continent is, in the different periods of their discovery, settlement, and growth, intimately connected with our own. Bordering, too, upon our whole northern and eastern frontier, they are, throughout this vast extent of nearly four thousand miles, brought into immediate contact with us. Whether, therefore, these countries continue in a state of colonial dependance, or at some future day successfully assert their claim to self-government, it is manifest that, in either case, there must be relations of the highest importance between them and the United States. Recent occurrences also, both in the provinces and within our own borders, and the very unsatisfactory condition of our relations with Great Britain, arising out of conflicting claims, involving great national considerations, with regard to our extreme northeastern and northwestern

boundaries, give to the subjects treated of in this work peculiar interest at the present moment.

From the high reputation of their author, and the care which has been employed by the American editor in preparing these volumes, the publishers feel great confidence in offering them to the public. In the English edition there were found to be great minuteness and prolixity of detail in relation to statistics, &c., and several subjects treated of at large which could only be considered as of local interest. It has been the aim of the American editor so to condense the work as to retain all that was most valuable, and, at the same time, to disencumber it of those parts which were of inferior importance, and which would have rendered it, as a whole, less entertaining, without being more useful, to the general reader. Notes have been added wherever it was thought necessary to observe and correct what was believed to be erroneous in the statements of the author.

H. & B.

New-York, May, 1840.

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These colonies, too, have acquired an augmented importance from the great changes effected in our own times. Their rich and varied products, their vast extent, and the strong direction which emigrants from Britain have taken towards their

shores, encourage the expectation that they will one day become the seat of great nations, equalling or even surpassing the power of the mother country. A deep interest is naturally felt in their future prospects, more especially when connected with the numbers, amounting during the last twenty years to nearly half a million, who have removed thither from various parts of the United Kingdom.

The author, thus deeply impressed with the importance of his task, has anxiously sought every means of rendering its performance complete and satisfactory. In tracing the condition and history of the aboriginal tribes, as influenced by the early settlement of Europeans, he has had access to extensive works and collections in the French language, to which former writers appear to have been strangers. He has devoted much attention to the statistics and present state of the colonies; an undertaking which was attended with considerable difficulty, on account of the rapid changes which have recently occurred, and rendered all previous information in a great measure useless. Hence, besides the works of Bouchette, M'Gregor, Martin, and others, it was necessary to examine the tables published by the Board of Trade, the voluminous reports laid before Parliament, and to compare them with the narratives of the latest travellers and residents.

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The reader will appreciate one peculiar difficulty under which the author laboured, namely, that while he was composing the work, and even superintending its passage through the press, the subject was undergoing an incessant change; and at length the principal provinces became the theatre of some very momentous occurrences. He has assiduously studied to trace, by means of the most authentic documents, the course of those events, and to exhibit them in a condensed and connected view.

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Bay Company; on the east by Labrador, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and New-Brunswick; and on the south by the United States. The western limit is very vague; but usage does not seem to extend it farther than Lake Superior. Canada may therefore be described as lying between the meridians of 57° 50′ and 90° W., and the parallels of 42° and 52° N.; being about 1300 miles from east to west, and 700 from north to south. The area is estimated at 348,000 square miles.*

Canada, in a general view, consists of a very extensive plain, situated between two ranges of high land; one on the north, separating it from the Hudson's Bay territory, another on the south, dividing it from New-Brunswick and the United States. The grounds which stretch along the borders of the St. Lawrence and the lakes are esteemed the most valuable portion of it. Neither of the ranges now mentioned aspires to an alpine character; nor, if we except Mars Hill in the disputed territory,† does any part of them appear to reach 2000 feet. But they extend over a vast surface, are very broken and rugged, covered with dense forests, while torrents dash down their sides, filling the valleys with numerous lakes. Both on the north, in the upper part of Quebec district, and on the south, in that of Gaspé, the hills press on the banks of the river, giving to it an air of much grandeur. Higher up they recede, and form on either side a gradually-widening and beautiful plain, susceptible of the most perfect cultivation. In Upper Canada this level tract attains a very great breadth, and partly includes the basin of the noble stream of the Ottawa. On the west it appears to terminate with Lake Huron; for the northern coast of that fine sheet of water, as well as of Lake Superior, is flanked by the mountains; a circumstance which renders their shores rough

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 63, 64, 173-182.

† The northeastern portion of Maine.

and craggy. It is said that behind this rocky screen there is much valuable land still uncultivated.*

But the characteristic feature of this region is its waters, more particularly its immense lakes, which, in respect to depth and extent of surface, have no equal on the face of the earth. The Caspian certainly exceeds the largest of them, separately considered; but that great body of *salt* water, besides being comparatively very shallow, has no outlet: whereas the Canadian lakes supply, without apparent diminution, the vast stream of the St. Lawrence. The smallest of them is tossed by tempests like the ocean, and on its surface war was recently waged in ships of the first magnitude.

Lake Superior is the largest of these inland seas, and indeed the most extensive body of fresh water in the world. Its form is an irregular crescent, having the convex side towards Canada; it is very broad in the centre; but the southeastern and southwestern extremities terminate almost in points. Its length, following the line of the curve, is estimated by Captain Bayfield at 360 geographical miles, the greatest breadth at 140, and the circumference about 1500. Its surface appears to be 627 feet above the level of the Atlantic, and the shores afford indications of its having once been 40 or 50 feet higher. The soundings have been given variously from 480 to 900 feet; and the greatest depth is believed to be about 1200. The transparency of the water is completely crystalline, rendering rocks, even at extraordinary depths, distinctly visible.† The bottom

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 185, 186, 283–294, 297, 298.

† The remarkable transparency of the waters of this lake has been attributed to the rocky nature of its shores, and the small quantity of earthy matter brought down by the streams flowing into it. But the phenomenon here alluded to is not peculiar to this lake. The waters of the other great lakes are scarcely less clear, though their shores are of a quite different character, and abundance of earthy matter is mingled with the streams which are their tributaries. Is it not probable that the great purity of

consists chiefly of a very adhesive clay, which speedily indurates on exposure to the atmosphere. In violent gales, the waves rise nearly as high as those on the ocean; and though there are, of course, no tides, the wind, when it blows strongly from any one point, throws the water with considerable force on the opposite shore. In spring, too, it is sometimes greatly swelled by the melting of the snows.

This lake, as formerly observed, is bordered by hills, which in some places rise precipitously from the shore, and in others leave intervals of various breadth, amounting occasionally to fifty or seventy miles. It is remarkable, that while every other large lake is fed by rivers of the first order, this, the most capacious on the surface of the globe, does not receive a third or even fourth rate stream; the St. Louis, the most considerable, not having a course of more than 150 miles. But whatever deficiency there may be in point of magnitude, it is compensated by the vast number which pour in their copious floods from the surrounding heights. The dense covering of wood, and the long continuance of frost, must also, in this region, greatly diminish the quantity drawn off by evaporation.*

The surplus waters of Lake Superior enter near its southeastern extremity into St. Mary's Channel, from one to two miles in breadth, by which they are transmitted into Lake Huron, nearly forty miles distant. About midway are St. Mary's Falls, scarcely entitled to this appellation, being merely a continued cataract, in which the current forces its way through broken rocks with tremendous noise and amid clouds of foam. These rapids cannot be as-

their waters is owing principally to the extraordinary depth and extent of these inland seas, the peculiar nature of their bottom, and the geological character of the region in which they are situated?—*Am. Ed.*

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 127, 128. Darby's View of the United States (18mo, Philadelphia, 1828), p. 200.

cended; but canoes, though with great danger, sometimes shoot downward. The more prudent avoid them by a portage of two miles.

The Huron, into which this channel expands, is the second in succession, as well as in magnitude, of this great chain. Its outline is very irregular, but may, in a general view, be said to have three sides, two facing the north and east, and belonging to Canada, while the third looks to the southwest, and forms part of the United States. Its extreme length, from the entry to the outlet, is about 240 miles; its breadth is not less than 220; and the circumference is supposed to be nearly 1000. Its surface is only thirty-two feet lower than that of Superior; and it is equally distinguished by its extraordinary depth, estimated at 900 or 1000 feet, and by the brilliant transparency of its waters. A range of islands runs parallel to its northern shore, and, with the peninsula of Cabot, separates almost completely the upper part from the main body, so that it was considered by the earliest discoverers as a distinct basin. Among these islands the chief is the Great Manitoulin, seventy-five miles long, viewed by the Indians with superstitious awe as the chosen abode of their Great Spirit. At the outlet of the St. Mary the two islets of St. Joseph and Drummond are fortified as frontier stations, the former by Britain and the latter by the United States. The coast is generally rugged, broken into heights of from 30 to 100 feet, formed of clay, rolled stones, precipitous rocks, and woody steeps. Towards the north the bold ridge of the Cloche mountains exhibits several lofty summits; but the eastern territory is wholly dissimilar, and forms one of the finest portions of the great plain of Upper Canada. This lake receives the Maitland, Severn, Moon, and French rivers—broad streams, though not of long course—but its chief supply is from the St. Mary. Near its northwestern point a strait about four miles wide connects

it with Lake Michigan, entirely included within the boundary of the United States. It is equally deep and clear with Huron, and, though nearly on a level with that lake, is not completely so, as a constant current sets from the former into the latter. Lake Michigan is 260 miles by 55, and has a circuit of 900 miles. The whole superficies of these three lakes is computed at 72,930 square miles; the altitude of their general surface is 640 feet above the sea, while their depth shows that their bottoms are considerably below that level. This immense collection of water is on a higher level by 300 feet than the basin of the Upper Mississippi, and might create some idea of danger to the fertile territory watered by its streams, were that country subject to earthquakes.

The Huron pours out the surplus of its waters at its southern extremity, thus carrying in that direction the great chain of communication. A channel called the River St. Clair, after a course of about thirty miles, expands into the comparatively small lake of the same name. Thence issues the Detroit, a spacious stream, celebrated for the beauty and fertility of the adjacent country. Both it and the lake, however, are so shallow as not to admit vessels which draw more than seven or eight feet of water.*

After running twenty-nine miles, the Detroit opens into the grand expanse of Lake Erie, about 265 miles long, and at its centre sixty-three broad, its mean breadth being about 35, the circumference estimated at somewhat less than 658. The surface is calculated to be 565 feet above the level of the ocean; making it thirty feet lower than Huron, and sixty-two than Superior. The depth seldom amounts to 270 feet, and is said to be perceptibly diminishing from the quantity of earthy matter carried into it

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 133, 134. Darby, p. 203–206.

by numerous rivers. The difficulties of the navigator are increased by the want of harbours and anchorage, as well as by the projecting promontories, which render a frequent change of course necessary. The direction of the great water-communication, which, from the head of Lake Huron, has been nearly due south, changes here to the northeast, till it opens into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The coasts, almost equally divided between the British and Americans, are generally very fertile. Lake Erie has acquired a peculiar importance, from having become the main centre of inland navigation. The two great canals reaching from it to the Hudson on one side, and the Ohio on the other, render it a medium of communication between the Atlantic, the Mississippi, and the Gulf of Mexico. The Welland canal and river, joining it to the Ontario, form a channel by which it is expected that a part even of the produce of the United States will be henceforth transmitted.*

The outlet of Lake Erie, at its northeastern point, is the Niagara Channel, which, after pursuing its course thirty-three miles and a half, opens into Lake Ontario. In its progress it forms those stupendous falls which have no equal in the world, and will be afterward described. The waters, in passing to Ontario, are calculated to fall 334 feet; this lake being so much lower than Erie, and, consequently, only 231 feet above the level of the Atlantic.

Ontario, the smallest of the great lakes, extends almost due east, with some inclination northward; it is 172 miles long, 59¼ broad, and about 467 in circumference. The depth of water varies from 15 to 300 feet; and in the middle, a line of 300 fathoms has been let down without reaching the bottom. The whole area of the five last noticed

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 134–137. Darby, p. 206–208. Gourlay, Statistical Account of Upper Canada (2 vols. 8vo, London, 1822), vol. ii., p. 53.

lakes cannot be less than 80,000 square miles.* The banks are generally level, though a ridge of moderate height rises at some distance from its western and northwestern shores. They are for the most part covered with wood, though now variegated with partial and increasing cultivation. Toronto and Kingston on the British, and Sackett's Harbour on the American side, are excellent stations, in which fleets have been constructed, including ships of the largest size. There are several small islands at the eastern extremity, of which the principal is named Grand Isle. The long and winding bay of Quinté, to the west of Kingston, encloses a very beautiful and fertile peninsula.†

From the eastern extremity of Lake Ontario issues the stream which bears now, for the first time, the name of St. Lawrence, though it has also been called Iroquois and Cataraqui. Its channel is here so spacious that it is called the Lake of the Thousand Islands. The vast number implied in this name was considered a vague exaggeration, till the commissioners employed in fixing the boundary with the United States actually counted them, and found that they amounted to 1692. They are of every imaginable size, shape, and appearance; some barely visible, others covering fifteen acres; but, in general, their broken outline presents the most picturesque combinations of wood and rock. The navigator, in steering through them, sees an ever-changing scene, which reminded an elegant writer of the Happy Islands in the Vision of Mirza. Sometimes he is enclosed in a narrow channel; then he discovers before him twelve openings, like so many noble rivers; and, soon after, a spacious lake seems to surround him on every side.‡

* Nearly double the superficial surface of the State of New-York.—*Am. Ed.*

† Bouchette, vol. i., p. 151. M'Gregor, British America (2 vols. 8vo, Edinburgh, 1832), vol. ii., p. 533–535.

‡ *Howison's Sketches* of Upper Canada (8vo, second edition, *Edinburgh, 1822*), p. 46. Bouchette, vol. ii., p. 156.

At the end of this reach the St. Lawrence is obstructed by an island in the centre, producing what is termed the *Long Sault*. The stream, rushing through a narrow passage on each side, hurries on the bark with dangerous velocity; and the two currents, meeting at the lower end, dash against each other, forming what is called the *Big Pitch*. The river then, expanding to the breadth of more than five miles, is named the Lake of St. Francis. At its termination begins a succession of very formidable rapids, named the Coteau du Lac, the Cedars, the Split Rock, and the Cascades, which, continuing about nine miles, completely interrupt the navigation for vessels of even moderate dimensions. The hardy Canadian boatmen indeed contrive, with poles ten feet in length, to force through certain flat-bottomed barks of from six to twenty tons. Huge rafts of timber are also seen descending the current; but passengers by steam leave the vessel at one end of the declivity and re-embark at the other. Great operations, however, are now in progress to overcome these obstacles, and to secure a safe navigation to the inland seas.

Below these rapids the river spreads out into Lake St. Louis, near which there is a beautiful fall bearing the same name. This impediment to navigation has been recently overcome by a canal called La Chine. The St. Lawrence now receives an important accession by the influx of the great stream of the Ottawa from the northwest, after a course of about 450 miles,* through an extensive plain, generally very fertile, and covered with magnificent for-

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 187. According to Mr. M'Gregor, Brit. Amer., vol. ii., p. 525, this river "is said to have its source near the Rocky Mountains, and to traverse in its windings a distance of 2500 miles." He adds, that it certainly flows ten or twelve hundred miles before joining the St. Lawrence. We have no hesitation, however, in preferring the sober statement of Bouchette to these extravagant estimates.

ests. These rivers at their junction form several large islands, on the principal of which is built the city of Montreal.*

Below that place the St. Lawrence presents a magnificent expanse, navigable for vessels of 600 tons, thus giving to the town just named all the advantages of a seaport, although 560 miles from the sea. About forty-five miles farther down, indeed, where it widens into the Lake of St. Peter, it becomes somewhat shallow, and allows only a narrow passage to large ships. Again, about ninety miles nearer the ocean, the rocks forming the Richelieu rapids so contract the channel as to render it unsafe unless at particular periods of the tide. At Quebec it narrows to 1314 yards; yet the navigation is completely unobstructed, while there is formed near the city a capacious harbour. At 260 miles above its embouchure, it is still eighteen miles in breadth. About twenty-one miles below Quebec, its waters, beginning to mingle with those of the sea, acquire a saline taste, which increases till, at Kamouraska, seventy-five miles nearer its mouth, they become completely salt. Custom, with somewhat doubtful propriety, considers the river as continued down to the island of Anticosti, and bounded by Cape Rosier on the southern, and Mingan Settlement on the northern shore.†

In considering the St. Lawrence as one of the grand hydrographic features of the globe, different views have been taken. Some authors consider it as originating in Lake Ontario, and view the interior channels as only the means of uniting one lake with another. This will give to it a course of about 700 miles. Yet when it is considered that there is a continued current from the most remote tributary of Lake Superior to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, we may seem justified in regarding it as an entire river,

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 156, 162–211.
† Ib. ibid., p. 164–169.

extending upward of 2000 miles, and forming one of the most important water-communications on the face of the earth.

In this river-system a striking and peculiar class of objects is exhibited on a grander scale than in any other region; we mean the waterfalls. These are not, indeed, like such as descend from alpine precipices, distinguished by height or by the picturesque forms of the rocky cliffs amid which they are precipitated; but while the latter are usually mere streamlets, the others are mighty rivers, swelled to their full magnitude, and pouring the entire volume of their waters into the abysses beneath.

Among these cataracts of Northern America there is one which stands without a rival—Niagara. Here an immense river, after receiving the surplus waters of four extensive lakes, projects them downward in a united mass. In general, when such large streams are obstructed by rocky barriers, they force their way through them in a number of narrow channels, with noise and impetuosity, but without any considerable descent. There is scarcely another instance where a sea-like flood, having brought its whole weight of waters to the brink of a lofty precipice, throws them down in one unbroken sheet. The fall of the Rhine at Schaffhausen alone, though without either its height or volume of water, bears some resemblance to that of Niagara, which is acknowledged to be not only the greatest of cataracts, but, according to the general opinion of travellers, the sublimest object on earth. The ocean and the gigantic steeps of the Andes or the Himmaleh may include scenery of more varied magnificence, but probably exhibit no single spectacle so striking and so wonderful.

Without attempting to convey to the reader's mind any image of this stupendous scene, which perhaps no pen can ever accomplish, we will simply state the elements in which its grandeur appears to con-

sist. Several objects that compose the chief beauty of other celebrated waterfalls are altogether wanting. There are no cliffs reaching to an extraordinary height, crowned with trees, or broken into picturesque and varied forms; for, though one of the banks is wooded, the forest-scenery, on the whole, is not imposing. The accompaniments, in short, rank here as nothing. There is merely the display, on a scale elsewhere unrivalled, of the phenomena appropriate to this class of objects. There is the spectacle of a falling sea, the eye filled almost to its utmost reach by the rushing of mighty waters. There is the awful plunge into the abyss beneath, and the reverberation thence in endless lines of foam, and in numberless whirlpools and eddies. There are clouds of spray that fill the whole atmosphere, amid which the most brilliant rainbows, in rapid succession, glitter and disappear. Above all, there is the stupendous sound, of the peculiar character of which all writers, with their utmost efforts, seem to have vainly attempted to convey an idea. Bouchette describes it as "grand, commanding, and majestic, filling the vault of heaven when heard in its fulness;" as "a deep round roar, an alternation of muffled and open sounds," to which there is nothing exactly corresponding. He mentions the report made from a little distance by a great naval battle like that of the Nile; but this few can have experienced. Captain Hall's similitude to the ceaseless, rumbling, deep, monotonous sound of a vast mill, though not very poetical, is generally considered as approaching nearest to reality. The diffusion of the noise is impaired by the rocky heights that enclose the fall, and perhaps even by the volume of spray which it throws up around itself. It varies also according to the state of the atmosphere and the direction of the wind; but, under favourable circumstances, it reaches to Toronto, across Lake Ontario, distant forty-six miles. Some have thought *that the* absence of the accompaniments above al-

luded to impairs its effect; while others, perhaps with reason, conceive that these would only distract the attention from the one great object; and that this is more deeply felt when there is nothing seen but the cataract itself, "no sound but its eternal roar."

The Niagara Channel, as already mentioned, extends from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, and the falls are situated twenty miles from the former and thirteen from the latter. Being occasioned only by a general and not very great descent in the level of the land, there is nothing in the country around to indicate the vicinity of such a striking phenomenon. From the Erie boundary, in particular, the approach is along a smooth though elevated plain; through which the river, about a mile in breadth, flows tranquilly, bordered by fertile and beautiful banks, and enclosing a large island. The deep, awful sound, however, is soon heard, and becomes gradually louder. Yet nothing appears till about a mile above the fall, when the water begins to ripple, and a little below is broken into a series of dashing and foaming rapids, which form a grand spectacle. The stream then becomes more tranquil, though rolling with prodigious rapidity, till it reaches the brink of the great precipice.

The fall itself is divided, by the intervention of Goat Island, into two unequal portions. The one called the British, or Horseshoe, according to the most careful estimate, is 2100 feet broad, and 149 feet 9 inches high. The other or American fall is only 1140 feet broad, and, even in proportion to this inferior dimension, pours a much smaller body of water. It has, indeed, some picturesque beauty, being lined by a wooded shore, and diversified by a number of small islands covered with stunted cedar. Its height is about 164 feet. The British one, however, being that in which the phenomenon is presented on the greatest scale, simple and without accompaniment,

is properly *the* fall. The most approved point of view is from the Table Rock, that reaches close to the waters, and forms part of the very ledge over which they descend. A daring visiter may even, by lying flat on his face, stretch out his hand and plunge it into the descending surge; and it is from this station that the nearest view of the cataract is obtained, and its vastness is most distinctly perceived. An elevated spot behind affords a more extensive but less imposing survey, which, however, combines the surrounding scenery. Nearly half a mile below, at a small chasm in the cliff, a spiral staircase leads the traveller down towards the water, and a narrow, slippery path, amid fragments of rock, conducts him up to the foot of the fall, and even a little above. To look from beneath on this immensity of rushing waters produces a peculiar sentiment of mingled grandeur and terror. Some travellers even venture into a singular hollow formed beneath the rocky ledge, where they may see in front the descending flood, and be wet only by its spray. Hennepin asserts that four coaches might be driven abreast through this awful chasm; and several individuals have penetrated this recess to the distance of more than a hundred and fifty feet.

Goat Island, as already observed, divides the two falls, interposing between them its perpendicular façade, 984 feet in breadth. Its length, extending up the river, is nearly half a mile. It was unapproached by human foot till Mr. Porter, proprietor of extensive mills at Manchester, on the American side, contrived, by sinking strong caissons in the water, flowing perhaps eighteen miles an hour, to rear a wooden bridge 1000 feet long, and practicable for carriages. A road, now formed round the island, commands very fine views both of the fall and the rapids above. This spot is richly clothed with trees, among which the light foam is often seen flying. It is described as a little Elysium amid the chaos of *the surrounding* elements.

The waters projected down this awful steep continue for some space in a state of violent agitation; yet a ferry has been established about half a mile below, across which the passenger is wafted over the heaving current without serious danger. The high level of the country extends seven or eight miles lower, to Queenston and Lewiston, for which space the Niagara rolls through a rocky channel, between high and steep banks, its breadth contracted to a quarter of a mile. Somewhat more than half way down, high cliffs, encircling the current in a peculiar manner, cause it to wheel round with an impetuous violence, which would instantly destroy any object that should come within its action. This is called the Whirlpool. Below Queenston the ground sinks by a steep descent to the level of the Ontario basin. The river then emerges, and again rolls a smooth stream between level and cultivated banks.*

This great fall has excited an additional interest from the remarkable change supposed to have taken place as to its position. It is believed that the impetuous waters, wearing away the rock over which they descend, are gradually removing the cataract higher up the river. By this process it is said to have receded from a point between Queenston and Lewiston, to which, as already observed, the high level of the country continues, and to have excavated the present deep and narrow channel more than seven miles in length. Upon this point geologists and travellers seem generally agreed, the only difference being as to the rate at which the change proceeds. Mr. Gourlay, long a resident, says the oldest inhabitants think that the Great Fall has receded "*several paces.*" Mr. M'Gregor mentions an estimate which fixes this recession at eighteen feet

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 138–146. Howison, p. 108–121. Darby, p. 211–213. Stuart, Three Years in North America (2 vols. 8vo, 2d edit., Edinburgh, 1833), vol. ii., p. 142, 143.

during the thirty years previous to 1810; but he adds another more recent, which raises it to 150 feet in fifty years. Lastly, Captain Hall heard it reckoned, by two persons long resident on the spot, at 150 feet in forty years. This measure, having been adopted by Mr. Lyell in his recent work on geology, may be considered as the established belief on the subject.*

It is not without particular diffidence that we oppose a conclusion thus almost unanimously formed by the most eminent writers. Yet we think we can state facts, of which they were apparently not aware, and which seem completely to refute the supposition that any considerable change has taken place, or is perceptibly in progress, as to the site of this extraordinary object.

We possess two early descriptions of these falls; one by Father Hennepin in 1679, very nearly 160 years ago, illustrated by a plate; the other by Charlevoix in 1721. Now, on comparing these delineations with the best accounts given by recent travellers, it appears impossible to discover any sensible difference between them. In answer to this, it may indeed be asserted, that the cataract, wearing away its rocky ledges in an equable manner throughout, may have considerably changed its place, yet retain still nearly the same dimensions and aspect.† But this supposition seems precluded by the existence in its centre of one great fixed object, the immense rampart of Goat Island, which, while it divides the

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 146. M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 546. Hall's Travels in America (3 vols. 12mo, second edition, Edinburgh, 1830), vol. i., p. 195. Lyell's Principles of Geology (4 vols. 12mo, 5th edition, London, 1837), vol. i., p. 278.

† Hennepin, Nouvelle Découverte d'un très grand Pays dans l'Amerique (18mo, Utrecht, 1697), p. 44–46, 443–452. Charlevoix, Journal of a Voyage to North America (2 vols. 8vo, London, 1761), vol. i., p. 353–356. Hennepin, judging only by the eye, exaggerates greatly the height, making it 600 feet, which Charlevoix corrects. Both agree as to the appearance and relative position of the different objects.

two falls, is on a line with both, or, according to Bouchette, forms along with them the chord of an irregular arc. Now Hennepin's description, and more particularly his plate, represent the island as dividing the falls, and standing every way in the same relative position to them that it now does. But if the cataracts had changed their place in the manner supposed, they must have receded behind the lower extremity of the island, which would thus have been thrown forward, and appeared in front of them in the middle of the stream. If we assume Captain Hall's estimate, there must have been a change, since Hennepin's date, of 600 feet, or nearly a furlong, which would have caused a most conspicuous alteration in the relative position of these objects. Some may urge that the lateral action of the falling waters might demolish this projecting front, and thus cause the island-boundary to recede along with them. Such an hypothesis seems quite out of the question as applicable to this huge mass, nearly a quarter of a mile in breadth. Even supposing it possible, a rock thus demolished from two opposite sides must have been irregularly acted upon, reduced to a broken and shattered state, and in some degree to a pyramidal form. There appears no agency which could cut it down like slices from a loaf, so as to preserve always the same smooth perpendicular face separating the two falls, which it had in 1679, and continues to have at the present moment. No observer has noticed in this island any symptoms of progressive demolition. Mr. Howison so little suspects such a process, that, following up the common idea, he contemplates the period when it will be left "isolated in the midst of the river as a colossal pillar." From what we have stated, however, if any such change were taking place, it must by this time have afforded some manifest proof of its operation.

It may be urged, that water acting with such stu-

pendous force must produce greater changes than we have here supposed. We would, however, refer to a fact which seems too little noticed by geologists, yet which any one who walks along the seashore may at once verify. Rocks daily washed by the tide have their surface hardened and polished to such a degree, as in a great measure to protect them against the action of the waves. Even the loosest sand, when within high-water mark, acquires a comparatively firm and smooth surface. The ledge, too, over which the waters of the St. Lawrence rush, being beneath them, and not opposing any resistance to their course, is little liable to be disintegrated by their action. We are not aware of such an effect being produced on any other cataract, nor does Mr. Lyell refer to any, although several falls are known to have existed from the remotest antiquity. The statements made by the neighbouring inhabitants are so vague, and differ so very widely, that little importance can be attached to them. The only changes which can be considered well authenticated are the occasional breaking down of the rocks in the middle of the great fall. Of this an example occurred on the 28th December, 1828, when a huge fragment fell with a crash which shook the glass vessels in the adjoining inn, and was felt at the distance of two miles. It destroyed in a great measure the angular or horseshoe form, and, by rendering the line of the fall more direct, heightened its grandeur.* In 1818 there had been a similar dislocation of the Table Rock, other sections of which still wear a threatening aspect.† But this change was not produced, as is commonly supposed, by the wearing away of the rocky ledge itself; it was by the undermining of the bed of soft shale on which it rests: and hence the reason why the hollow space already

* Hall, vol. i., p. 196. Mackenzie's Sketches of Canada (8vo, London, 1833), p. 103.

† Bouchette, vol. i., p. 142.

described has been formed beneath it and behind the descending waters. As this softer stratum, however, is acted upon merely by the spray thrown back upon it, the effects appear to be both limited and partial, and the consequent changes to occur only at long intervals.

Having treated the subject with reference to the term of human life and the common historical eras, we feel little inclined to consider it in its bearing upon geological theories. It is only necessary to observe that, admitting the deep chasm through which the river flows to Queenston to have been excavated by its waters, it does not follow that a similar process must still continue in operation. Upon every mineralogical hypothesis, it is admitted that the strata, which form the crust of the earth, were at one time in a state very different from what they are at present; having a soft and yielding texture, produced either by the influence of fire or by recent deposition from water. The action of so mighty a flood might then very easily, and in a comparatively short period, excavate such a channel. But it is unphilosophical to apply reasons, drawn from so remote an era, to a period when the materials of the land have acquired that fixed and consolidated form under which they appear in our days.

We shall now proceed to notice the most important and interesting particulars relating to the topography, &c., of this extensive country; and first of LOWER CANADA.

This province has for its eastern and northern boundaries the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Labrador, and the high ridge which separates the tributaries of the St. Lawrence from the rivers falling into Hudson's Bay. The northern limit terminates about 80° west longitude, where a line drawn due south to Lake Temiscaming, on the Ottawa, separates the two Canadian provinces. The river just named forms the western boundary till it approaches Montreal,

whence a line drawn from it due south passes through Lake St. Francis, and extends for some space southward of the St. Lawrence. The southern frontier is parallel to the whole course of that great river, at a distance of from fifteen to a hundred and thirty miles, and is formed on the south by Chaleur Bay, New-Brunswick, and the States of Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, and New-York. The precise limits, however, still remain dependant on the important territorial question now agitated between Great Britain and the United States.*

This extensive province lies between 45° and 52° north latitude, and between 57° 50′ and 80° 6′ of west longitude, making thus about 950 miles in length, and 490 in breadth. The entire area is estimated by the best authorities at 205,863 square miles, of which not less than 3200 are supposed to consist of lakes and rivers.†

The northern part of this region consists throughout of a bold, rugged, and rocky territory, watered by almost innumerable streams and torrents, and diversified by many chains of small lakes. The soil is generally unproductive, and no settlements have been attempted in any part of it; yet recent surveys have discovered various detached spots, imbosomed among the hills or on the banks of the rivers, that appear susceptible of high cultivation. This description of country comes down and borders upon the St. Lawrence, along its lower course, as high as Cape Tourment, only thirty miles below Quebec. It then recedes, and leaves between itself and the courses of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa, an extensive and generally fruitful plain, varying from fifteen to forty miles in breadth. Detached eminences and branches from the northern mountains serve only to variegate the surface, and give to it a more picturesque appearance.‡ On the south of the St. Law-

* See p. 68. † Bouchette, vol. i., p. 173, 182.

‡ *Lieutenant*-colonel Bouchette considers this plain as ter-

rence there is a similar plain, not quite so spacious, but somewhat more fertile and beautiful. The high lands cover only a small portion of its surface, except in the most eastern district of Gaspé, which presents throughout a rugged surface similar to that of the opposite shore, though including a much larger proportion of good soil.*

Lower Canada, by the census of 1831, the last that has been taken, contained a population of 511,917. Its present number of inhabitants is supposed to be not less than 660,000. This province is divided into three principal districts, Quebec, Trois Rivières, and Montreal, and two small ones, Gaspé and St. Francis; which last, however, is so diminutive, and its townships so enclosed by those of Montreal and Trois Rivières, that its subdivisions have been included within their counties. QUEBEC is divided into thirteen counties: Beauce, Bellechasse, Dorchester, Kamouraska, L'Islet, Lotbinière, Megantic, Montmorenci, Orleans, Portneuf, Quebec, Rimouski, and Saguenay. These are subdivided into seventy-nine seigniories, twelve fiefs, and thirty-eight townships. Population of this district in 1831, 151,985. MONTREAL comprehends nineteen counties: Acadie, Beuharnois, Berthier, Chambly, Lachenaye, La Prairie, L'Assomption, Missisqui, Montreal, Ottawa, Richelieu, Rouville, St. Hyacinthe, Shefford, Stanstead (this county includes five townships of St. Francis), Terrebonne, Two Mountains, Vaudreuil, and Verchères. These are subdivided into sixty-three seigniories, eight fiefs, and forty-five townships, besides fourteen others newly formed beyond the limits of the counties. The district of Montreal had a population of 290,050 by the census

minating, or, according to his order, commencing with the Grenville Hills on the Ottawa; but as the upper banks of that river are still more level than those of the St. Lawrence, that cluster seemingly can only be considered a branch from the great northern range.

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 185, 281-290, 298-304, 324.

of 1831. Trois Rivieres includes six counties: Champlain, Drummond, Nicolet, St. Maurice, Sherbrooke, and Yamaska; subdivided into twenty-five seigniories, nine fiefs, and fifty-three townships; population 56,570 in 1831. Drummond is partly, and Sherbrooke almost wholly, composed of townships belonging to St. Francis. Gaspé contains only two counties, Bonaventure and Gaspé, comprising one seigniory, six fiefs, and ten townships: population as above, 13,312. It may be observed, that large portions of the three principal districts, and, indeed, the most valuable part of Trois Rivières, are situated on the south side of the river.*

The subdivisions above stated, founded upon the feudal system, according to which the French settlers were established, is important to them as connected with various judicial and political arrangements, but have little interest for the general reader.

The district of Quebec occupies the whole coast watered by the gulf and river of St. Lawrence, from the eastern limit of the colony to the mouth of the river St. Anne, about thirty miles below Trois Rivières, and thence in a direct line to the northern boundary. The greater part of this extensive section belongs to the uncultivated portion of the country, and presents a chaos of mountains, lakes, and torrents, tenanted only by wild beasts and a few wandering Indians. At Cape Tourment, however, it begins to give place to a tract of a much more pleasing character; and though still traversed by rugged eminences, it contains much fertile land, which is described as being at once romantic and beautiful.

In the midst of this fine landscape stands Quebec, the capital of British America. It is seated on a promontory stretching out into the river, which, by means of it and Point Levi on the opposite side, is narrowed to about three quarters of a mile, though

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 175-181.

immediately below it spreads out into a wide basin. Cape Diamond, the most elevated point of the city, is reckoned by an eminent traveller 1000 feet high; a proof of the fallacious nature of such estimates, since the more accurate observation of Bouchette fixes it at 345. Above a hundred feet lower is an elevated plain, on which are built the castle and the whole of what is termed the upper town. Thence a perpendicular steep of above 200 feet descends to the banks of the St. Lawrence; and in the narrow interval between this precipice and the river is the lower town, the crowded seat of business and shipping.

The scenery of Quebec and the surrounding country is described by all travellers as rivalling in picturesque beauty the most favoured parts of the earth. The navigator who ascends the St. Lawrence, after he has passed the Isle of Orleans and entered the broad basin already mentioned, where he first comes in sight of this capital, is struck with intense admiration. He sees its citadel crowning a lofty cliff, its castle and batteries overhanging a range of formidable steeps, the river crowded with numerous vessels of every form and size, from the huge timber-raft to the bark canoe. The fall of Montmorenci appears dashing its white foam almost to the clouds; and on each side is a long range of fertile and beautiful shore. On ascending Cape Diamond a still grander and more extensive panorama bursts upon his view, combining all the boldness of rude with the richness of cultivated nature. Up and down the magnificent stream of the St. Lawrence is a reach of more than forty miles, on which sails almost innumerable are in ceaseless movement. Below is the beautiful Isle of Orleans; while the opposite coast is diversified by a great variety of natural and cultivated scenery. To the north appears the river St. Charles, winding amid fertile valleys and hills, with villages hanging on their sides; while the prospect is closed by a bold screen of mountains.

Weld prefers the views from the upper town, where, though fewer objects are seen, they appear more distinct and brilliant. This traveller, after visiting a great part of Europe and America, gives to them a preference over everything that he had observed on either continent. Mr. M'Gregor considers them similar, but much superior to those from the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling.

Quebec, from its situation and the care with which it has been fortified, is a very strong town, and considered the chief bulwark of British America. On the summit of the lofty headland just described stands the citadel. The rock consists of gray granite mixed with quartz crystals, and a species of dark-coloured slate. About forty acres are here covered with works, carried to the edge of the precipice, and connected by massive walls and batteries with the other defences of the place. The main body of the fortress, however, consists of the upper town, whose fortifications enclose a circuit of about two miles and three quarters. The face of the hill towards the river is so extremely precipitous, that it requires only a common wall to protect it, though the gate leading from the lower town is defended by heavy cannon, and the steep approach by Mountain-street is enfiladed and flanked by many guns of large calibre. As the declivity towards the interior and the plains of Abraham does not present the same abrupt face, but descends by successive ridges, it has been strengthened by a series of regular works, including ditch, covered way, and glacis, with some exterior defences to obstruct the approach of an enemy. It seems probable, therefore, that the place would hold out against any attack till the approach of the rigorous winter should compel the assailants to raise the siege.

The upper town, which these fortifications enclose, forms the chief part of Quebec, and the residence of all the principal inhabitants not engaged in trade. It is a tolerably handsome old-looking

town; the houses being mostly of stone, partly roofed with tin. The streets are well paved, and in some instances macadamized, but they are much too narrow, and the broadest does not exceed thirty-two feet. St. Louis-street, the almost exclusive residence of the fashionable circle, has been lately adorned with several elegant mansions. The public buildings are commodious and substantial, without much pretension to architectural ornament. The castle of St. Louis, a large, plain, baronial-looking edifice, forms the dwelling of the governor. It comprises a space of four acres, once fortified; but the great extension of the works has rendered its walls superfluous, and they are allowed to go to decay.

The lower town is a narrow, crowded range of buildings, extending along the base of the precipice. The spot on which it stands is entirely the creation of human industry; for originally the waves at high water beat the very foot of the rock. Wharves, however, have been founded and carried out into the river, though nowhere farther than 240 yards; and on these streets have been erected. So limited, indeed, is the space, that the quarter beyond Cape Diamond communicates with the rest only by a path cut in many places through the solid rock.

On the inland side of the fortress, stretching more than a mile into the interior, are the large suburbs of St. Roch and St. John.

The society of Quebec is more gay and polished than is usual in colonial cities, where the pursuit of wealth forms too often the sole object of the inhabitants. Here, besides merchants, there are a number of British civil and military officers, and a body of French noblesse, living on their domains. These different classes do not, it is said, always thoroughly amalgamate. The French, though often superior in manners and habits, are in some degree disdained by the ruling people, which they do not well brook. Among the English themselves, the chief test of

rank is an introduction at the castle, without which strangers will find themselves placed below those whom they would have been classed above in the mother country.

The cultivated country northward of Quebec does not extend far, being closely hemmed in by the range of mountains. Immediately westward, in front of the fortifications, are the Plains of Abraham, memorable as the scene whereon Quebec was gained by the gallant Wolfe, and whence only it can be successfully assailed. The summit, indeed, is 330 feet high, which does all but command that loftiest pinnacle on which Fort Diamond stands. As some security against this danger, four martello towers have been so placed as to range over the whole plain.

Crossing the St. Charles, and going eastward, we reach the Falls of Montmorenci, one of the most picturesque objects in all America. They do not, indeed, pour down that immense flood of water which renders Niagara so wonderful; but the height is greater, being 240 feet, and the stream descends the whole of this vast steep in one white sheet of foam. It is received into a vast basin, whence arise clouds of vapour that display the most brilliant tints of the rainbow. M. Bouchette imagines that even Switzerland, though it contains much loftier falls, has none which descend in so unbroken a mass. He overlooks, we think, the Staubbach, whose stream, however, is less copious than that of Montmorenci. In winter, when the falling waters congeal into icicles, these accumulate above each other, till they on some occasions swell to an amazing magnitude, and present a most curious spectacle.

Beyond Montmorenci, the country, though somewhat rugged, continues to be cultivated and even traversed by commodious roads. Here occur the villages of Chateau Richer and St. Anne. Immediately after, it is necessary to cross the precipitous mountain forming Cape Tourment, about 1890 feet

high, and the commencement of a long series of similar heights, called "the Capes," which render this part of the St. Lawrence grand but desolate.

The coast below Mal Bay becomes altogether wild and desolate, while a facing of sandhills towards the water renders its aspect still more dreary. This continues to the mouth of the river Saguenay, one of the boldest features in this remarkable country. It has been traced upward only to Lake St. John, about 140 miles from its mouth. That expanse, estimated at 100 miles in circumference, was found by M. Bouchette receiving large rivers from various quarters; but as to their sources and relative magnitude nothing certain is yet known. At some distance below, sixty miles from the mouth, the Bay des Has presents a magnificent harbour, capable of receiving the largest ships, and surrounded by vast tracts of fertile territory. The Saguenay is navigable for vessels of great bulk two leagues above its junction with the Chicoutimi. About five miles farther down, the level character of its banks ceases, and, to the point where it falls into the St. Lawrence, they are bold, steep, and rocky, shooting up sometimes into precipitous cliffs 2000 feet high, thinly clad with fir, birch, and other trees of a northern climate. The breadth, unless when it spreads into small lakes, seldom exceeds half a mile; but the depth is very extraordinary, varying from 600 to 900 feet. Upon joining the great river now mentioned, here eighteen miles broad, it changes for some space the direction of the stream; and presents the remarkable circumstance that while the St. Lawrence at this place is only 240 feet deep, the Saguenay, above the junction, approaches to a thousand.

Below the Saguenay there is still a coast pertaining to Canada 665 miles in length, but of a very uninviting description. The land gradually loses its lofty character, and at Portneuf, forty miles farther

down, it presents only eminences of moderate elevation. Beyond the immediate border it is a deep swamp covered with moss; while the interior, according to the report of the Indians and Esquimaux, by whom alone it is traversed, is composed of rocky cliffs, and low hills scattered over barren plains, diversified with thick forests of stunted pines, and checkered with small lakes.*

Returning to Quebec, and surveying the part of the province above that capital, we discover an entirely different scene. The bold range of the northern mountains gradually disappear, and the country, first diversified by various eminences, afterward sinks into a level plain. This territory is traversed by considerable rivers, fed by the mountains and lakes of the upper country, and flowing with a full and rapid current. These are chiefly the Portneuf, the Jacques Cartier, and the St. Anne, of which the last is the largest, and at its mouth the boundary of the province begins. Generally, this region has a smiling appearance, comprising the concessions, or fiefs and seigniories held by the French Canadians, under regular though not very full cultivation; a considerable space being usually left in the rear, for the mere purpose of supplying timber and fuel. Closely following each other, they form almost one continued village, with neat churches at short distances; a pleasing though not varied scene.

The district of Trois Rivières, extending from the mouth of the St. Anne to the upper part of Lake St. Peter, is less important and populous than the two others; yet it embraces a great extent of fertile land, though chiefly on the southern side of the St. Lawrence. The principal town, bearing the appellation of the district, lies at the mouth of the St. Maurice, a large tributary stream, which, being divided by islands into three branches, at first sup-

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 168, 169, 283–294. M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 467–470.

posed to be distinct, has given this name to the place. It was founded in 1618, in contemplation of its becoming the main emporium of the fur-trade; but since that traffic has been extended into the more remote regions of America, Montreal was found a much more convenient station, and has absorbed it almost entirely. The town, in 1825, contained 2453 inhabitants, and was supposed, in 1831, to have increased to about 4000.

The rural districts of Trois Rivières, so far as they lie northward of the St. Lawrence, form a continuation of the same kind of territory, already described as stretching from Quebec, and in general flatter, and capable of more uniform cultivation. To the westward, especially in ascending the river, it presents a succession of flourishing settlements and gay villages, occurring every eight or nine miles.

The district of Montreal, if not the most extensive in Lower Canada, is at least that which contains the greatest proportion of valuable land. Commencing at the western boundary of Trois Rivières, it extends along the St. Lawrence, but in that direction terminates where Upper Canada begins, not far above the capital. It shoots, however, a long branch up the Ottawa, embracing all the northern bank of that river, till it is bounded, along with the lower province, by Lake Temiscaming.*

Montreal, the chief town in this district, though not ranking as a capital, is equal to Quebec in magnitude, and superior in commercial importance. Its greatness is likely to increase, from its favourable situation and the growing prosperity of Upper Canada, of which, as being the highest point of the St. Lawrence to which vessels of the first class can ascend, it must always continue the emporium.

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 209. Evans, Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Agriculture in Canada (Supplement, 1836), p. 62. Reports of Canada Commissioners (February, 1837), Appendix to General, p. 3.

The site of this town does not present those bold and grand features which distinguish the Canadian metropolis, though its beauty can scarcely be surpassed. The river, in this finest part of its course, divides itself into two channels, enclosing an island thirty-two miles long and ten and a half broad, which forms one of the most favoured spots on earth. The soil, everywhere luxuriant, is cultivated like one great garden, to supply the inhabitants with vegetables and fruits. These last are of the finest quality, and the apples especially are said to display that superiority which so remarkably distinguishes them in the New World. Although the island possesses in general that level surface which fits it for a thorough cultivation, yet about a mile and a half northeast rises a hill 550 feet high, commanding a noble view over the fertile country, which is watered by the several branches and tributaries of the St. Lawrence.

The city, built on the southern border of this fine island, is not crowded, like Quebec, into a limited space, which can alone be covered with streets and habitations. It has a wide level surface to extend over; so that even the older streets are of tolerable breadth, and several of them occupy its entire length. The principal one, Rue Notre Dame, considerably exceeds half a mile in extent, and contains many of the chief public buildings. There is an upper and a lower town, though the difference of elevation is very slight; but the former is much the more handsome of the two. The seven suburbs are not, as in the older capital, detached and extraneous, but on the same level, and immediately adjacent. Their streets, continued in the direction of those in the body of the place, are regular, and display many handsome houses. The vicinity is adorned with beautiful villas.

Of the public edifices, the new Catholic Cathedral, completed in 1829, is undoubtedly the most splen-

did, and is, in fact, superior to any other in British America. Its style is a species of Gothic; it is 255 feet six inches in length, and 134 feet six inches in breadth. The flanks rise sixty-one feet above the terrace; and there are six towers, of which the three belonging to the main front are 220 feet high. It is faced with excellent stone, and roofed with tin. The principal window is sixty-four feet in height, and thirty-two broad. On the roof has been formed a promenade seventy-six feet by twenty, elevated 120 feet, and commanding a most delightful view. The interior contains 1244 pews, equal to the accommodation of at least 10,000 persons.

The harbour of Montreal does not seem to have received all the attention which its importance merits. It is somewhat confined, and has no wharfage, though close to the bank in front of the town is a depth of fifteen feet, sufficient for the largest vessels which ascend to this point. Its chief disadvantage consists in two shoals, and in the rapid of St. Mary's, about a mile below, which vessels often find it difficult to stem. Important improvements are now contemplated, and a grant for the purpose has even been voted by the legislature.

In considering the rural districts of Montreal, so far as they extend northward of the St. Lawrence, we shall begin with the tract reaching down to the province of Trois Rivières. It presents an aspect similar to that of the whole coast from Quebec, but still more level, and also more fertile and populous. It forms one uninterrupted succession of flourishing settlements, with villages on a larger scale than in the lower districts.*

The portion of Montreal district on the St. Lawrence extends to Pointe au Baudet, fifty-five miles above the capital, where it meets the boundary of Upper Canada. This tract, between the St. Law-

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 209-211, 232, 233.

rence and the Ottawa, forms the county of Vaudreuil; it is level, diversified only by a few gentle hills, and is also very fruitful. La Chine is about eight miles above Montreal, where the navigation is interrupted by the fall of St. Louis, to obviate which, the fine canal bearing its name has been erected, at an expense of about 657,000 dollars.

The Ottawa province, extending about 350 miles along the northern bank of that great river, forms, as it were, a very extensive wing, detached from the district and from Lower Canada, while the upper province extends opposite to it along the southern bank. Thus the boundary between these two territories, which at first runs due north as soon as it strikes the Ottawa, stretches first northwest, and then almost due west. This extensive tract is as yet by no means occupied or improved in proportion to its natural capabilities. The numerous obstacles to the navigation, though now in part removed, have doubtless greatly retarded its settlement.

It now only remains to notice the part of Lower Canada southward of the St. Lawrence. Though politically connected with the northern portion, it is so completely separated by the broad expanse of the river, and bears so distinct a character, that we follow M. Bouchette's example in treating it separately. Though less extensive, and containing no large towns, it is in many districts equally fertile and well cultivated, and the cities are dependant on it for a large proportion of their supplies.

The most valuable part of this tract is that attached to the district of Montreal. It consists chiefly of a very extended plain, almost completely flat, except that some detached hills, shooting up to a considerable height, diversify the surface. The Richelieu, the chief river, called also Sorel or Chambly, flows out of Lake Champlain, and is navigable more than half way up for steam-vessels not drawing more than four feet water. It cannot be

compared with the St. Lawrence in grandeur; but in picturesque beauty few tracts can surpass this lovely plain, covered with fruitful fields, luxuriant meadows, smiling villages, and variegated by towering peaks. The soil throughout is generally of such exuberant fertility, that it bears the appellation of the granary of Lower Canada.

The portion of this southern district which belongs to Trois Rivières is watered by fine rivers. The St. Francis, from a lake of the same name, flows due north, and, after traversing many fruitful districts, falls into Lake St. Peter. The Nicolet falls into the St. Lawrence, a short distance above Trois Rivières, and supplies the means of a great intercourse with that place. The Beçancour has falls, said to be nearly equal in beauty to those most admired in Lower Canada. Though this district is almost entirely rural, there are villages near the mouths of the rivers; none, however, of much consequence.*

The whole tract along the St. Lawrence and the Richelieu, extending inward from the bank eight or ten miles, has been granted in seigniories, formed into concessions, and cultivated to a considerable extent, though many tracts in the rear still remain covered by the original forests. But a large territory in the interior, reaching to the American frontier, and situated along the smaller rivers, had totally escaped the attention of these original colonists; though, notwithstanding occasional swamps, it forms one of the finest portions of Lower Canda. Instead of the flat plain which borders the great rivers, it presents an undulating surface, finely wooded and diversified by numerous streamlets, which render it particularly well adapted to pasturage. The climate is somewhat milder than in the vicinity of Montreal, while it has the advantage of being healthy, and altogether

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 299–306, 350. Commissioners' Reports, Appendix to General, p. 1, 2.

free from the ague, which inflicts various parts of the upper province.

The tracts on this side of the river belonging to the district of Quebec embrace a great extent of coast; but the settlements do not extend far into the interior. The possession of a portion, too, amounting to 6,400,000 acres, is still under discussion with the United States.* The aspect of the territory, as compared with the western, is decidedly bold and hilly, though not mountainous, as on the opposite shore. This territory is watered by numerous rivers, full and rapid, though, from being closely hemmed in by high land on the south, they have not so long a course as those farther west. The principal are the Chaudière, Du Sud, St. Anne, Ouelle, Green River, Rimouski, Great Mitis, and Matane.

The tract watered by the Chaudière, the largest of these rivers, is hilly and broken, the soil light, and in some places stony, yet, on the whole, fertile; and the vicinity of the capital has led to its careful cultivation. It derives very great advantages also from the Kennebeck road leading from Quebec to Boston, and completed in 1830, by which its agricultural produce is conveyed to a good market, and large supplies of live stock transported. The fall on the Chaudière forms one of the most picturesque objects in America. If it does not equal the grandeur of Niagara and Montmorenci, it possesses features more interesting than either. The river is here narrowed to the breadth of between 300 and 400 feet, and the height does not exceed 130. It descends, too, not in one continuous sheet, but is broken by projecting rocks into three channels, which, however, unite before reaching the basin below. Nothing, therefore, is on the same great scale as in its two rivals; yet it surpasses both in the magnificent forests by which it is overhung, whose dark fo-

* See page 68.

liage, varied and contrasted by the white foam of the cataracts, produces the most striking effects. These are heightened by the deep and hollow sound of the waters, and the clouds of spray, which, when illumined by the sun, exhibit the most brilliant variety of prismatic colours. A succession of rapids for some space upward displays a continuation of the same bold and beautiful scenery.

For a considerable space below the Chaudière, the shores of the St. Lawrence continue fine and well cultivated. The river Du Sud, in particular, about thirty-five miles from Quebec, traverses a plain so level and fruitful as almost to dispute with the Richelieu the fame of being the granary of Lower Canada. About ninety miles below Quebec, Kamouraska, the most frequented watering-place in Canada, has risen to great importance. Visiters are attracted by the salubrity of the air and the fine scenery.

Below Kamouraska, the country is diversified by more abrupt eminences, while population and culture become more limited.

The least improved portion of this section of Lower Canada is the district of Gaspé. It forms an extensive peninsula, having on the north the river, and on the east the gulf, of St. Lawrence: on the south, the Bay of Chaleur, penetrating deeply into the land, separates it from New Brunswick. Gaspé, having thus a circuit of about 350 miles of coast, enjoys a favourable position for fishery, which has hitherto been the chief employment of its inhabitants. The fishery is chiefly of cod, carried on by open boats, with the aid of a few larger vessels. Since 1815, the timber trade has become an important resource.

Having thus taken a general survey of Lower Canada, we proceed to speak of the Upper Province. Upper Canada comprehends an extensive range of territory, considered till lately a mere appendage to the Lower Province, but now fast rivalling it in

wealth and population. Its eastern boundary, as defined by the proclamation of 1781, is a line drawn from the St. Lawrence, a little above Montreal, due north to the Ottawa, and then along that river to Lake Temiscaming. Thence it again stretches due north to the mountainous border of the Hudson's Bay territory, which forms the northern limit. On the south it has the winding shores of Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior, with the channels connecting them, and generally ranked as portions of the great stream of the St. Lawrence. On the other side of this water-boundary is the territory of the United States. The western limit is much more vague, being, by the proclamation just mentioned, merely stated to be that of "the country commonly called or known by the name of Canada." M. Bouchette seems to adhere most closely to established ideas, when he fixes it at the head of the streams which fall into Lake Superior, and thus extends it to about 117° west longitude.

This extensive province consists almost throughout of one uniform plain. In all the settled and surveyed portion, at least, there is scarcely an eminence deserving the name even of a hill; though it is traversed by two ridges of considerable extent, which decidedly mark the different levels of the country. The principal one passes through nearly its whole length from southeast to northwest, separating the waters which fall into the St. Lawrence, and the lakes from those which are tributary to the Ottawa. The highest point is supposed to be the greatest elevation of the Rideau Canal, about forty miles north of Kingston. It is 290 feet above the Ottawa at Bytown, but only 160 higher than the level of Lake Ontario. Towards these opposite limits the surface descends at the rate of only about four feet in the mile, exhibiting to the eye no sensible departure from a complete plain. The high ground, however, after passing the limits of settle-

ment, about eighteen miles northward of Lake Balsam, becomes connected with a somewhat loftier range, which continues in nearly the same direction beyond Lakes Huron and Superior, till it joins the mountainous frontier of the Hudson's Bay territory. The other ridge begins near the eastern extremity of Ontario, to which it runs nearly parallel, and proceeds in the same direction to a point about twenty-four miles northwest from Toronto, where it separates the tributaries of that lake from those of Huron. It now turns to the southeast, and, running between Ontario and Erie, crosses the Niagara, forming its stupendous falls, and terminating on the Genesee, in the United States territory. Although no part of it can aspire to the appellation of mountain, it has a more sensible elevation than the former ridge, and even rises into some bold heights.

The whole of this territory is estimated to contain about 141,000 square miles, or nearly three times the extent of England. The only portion, however, that is yet surveyed or at all settled, is that bounded by the eastern coast of Lake Huron, and a line drawn thence to the Ottawa. This is estimated by M. Bouchette to contain about 33,000 square miles, or 21,000,000 acres.*

Upper Canada, down to the period when it was conquered by Britain, was in a very wild and unreclaimed condition. With the exception of the small location on the banks of the Detroit, it contained only detached posts at great distances, formed for military defence and the prosecution of the fur-trade. After the peace of 1763, when the possession of it was confirmed to this country, a proclamation was issued, fixing allotments of land to reduced officers and discharged soldiers. These grants, however, appear to have been sought chiefly in the vicinity of the capitals and cultivated districts, and to

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 64–71.

have scarcely at all extended into the great forest domain.

The real settlement of Upper Canada took place in 1783, at the close of the first American war. At that time not only a large body of troops were disbanded, but many inhabitants of the United States, who had adhered to Britain during this unfortunate contest, sought refuge within her colonies; and as these last were generally in a state of great destitution, the government felt disposed to treat them liberally, and afford the utmost possible compensation for their losses and sufferings. With this view, the whole land along the St. Lawrence above the French settlements, and also on Lake Ontario, to and around the Bay of Quinté, for the space of 150 miles, was formed into townships, originally entitled First, Second, Third, but to which regular names were afterward attached. These settlers were termed the *United Empire Loyalists;* and not only received an ample supply of land, but farming utensils, building materials, and subsistence for two years. A farther engagement was made, that every member of their families, on attaining the age of twenty-one, should have a fresh donation of 200 acres; a promise which has been strictly fulfilled. Military grants were at the same time bestowed, at rates varying from 5000 for a field officer to 200 for a private soldier. These new occupants, many of whom had been accustomed to agricultural labour, and even to the improvement of forest land, soon produced a wonderful change, and converted a great extent of wilderness into fruitful fields. On the site of Fort Frontenac was founded Kingston, which gradually rose into a place of importance. At the same time, other emigrants, in consideration of local habits and attachments, were settled upon the Niagara channel, and upon that part of the Detroit not previously occupied.

In 1791 Upper Canada had attained to such im-

portance, that, when Mr. Pitt determined to bestow a constitution on the colony, he formed this part into a separate government, giving to it the name of Upper, and to the early settled-districts that of Lower Canada. The former was not supposed, after all, to contain at that time above 10,000 inhabitants. General Simcoe, however, in 1794, founded the town of York, which was fixed on as the seat of government, and made the most strenuous efforts to encourage colonists to settle in the neighbourhood. They came in considerable numbers, though chiefly from the United States. It was not till 1803 that, through the exertions of Colonel Talbot, emigration from Britain was commenced on any large scale. The result of these measures was, that in 1811 the country was found to contain about 9623 persons paying taxes. By a careful examination in regard to the most populous township, Mr. Gourlay estimated the tax-payers at one eighth of the entire population, which, on this principle, must have amounted to about 77,000. A vast additional impulse, however, was given at the close of the last war, in consequence of the low rate of profit and wages, and the difficulty of finding employment at home. The attention, first of the labouring, then of the middling class, and finally of the government, was thus forcibly drawn to the relief which might be obtained by removal to a new country, where the means of subsistence were abundant. These motives have attracted a continued succession of emigrants, both individually and in bodies, by whom the population of the province has been most rapidly augmented. In 1824, a series of returns, called for by Parliament, showed the number to be 151,097. In 1828 a similar census produced 185,526. At the end of 1832 the amount had risen to 296,000, and in 1835 to 336,000. It may be observed, too, that these returns are understood to be extremely defective, and the omissions numer-

ous; probably, therefore, the actual population of Upper Canada may not fall materially short of 400,000.

Upper Canada enjoys a climate considerably milder than that of the lower province. The great water-communication, along which it extends, stretches upward from Montreal in a southwestern direction till it reaches nearly the latitude of New-York. M. Bouchette has given a comparative table, from which it appears, that in the year 1820, the mean annual heat was six and a half degrees higher than in the other province. The extremes, also, are less severe; for while the mean of the four winter months is from thirteen to seventeen degrees higher, that of July and August is a little lower. Nor do the seasons follow each other so abruptly as at Quebec; and hence a certain interval occurs between winter and summer. In return for these advantages, the weather is observed to be more variable, and there are only two months in which sleighing or sledge-travelling over the hard snow can be practised. Ague, too, more especially in the newly-settled districts, though not fatal, is distressing and debilitating. But the mildness of the climate affords to the farmer the important advantage that he can sow wheat in autumn, which thus attains a quality superior to that of the spring-grown grain, hitherto alone reared in other parts of British America. The opportunity of cultivating the finer fruits is a less momentous, though a very agreeable circumstance.

The soil of Upper Canada, at least within the present range of settlement, bears a very superior character. Its fertility, indeed, as will presently appear, is not so uniform as has sometimes been represented; yet there is probably no tract of equal extent in the temperate zone with which it may not be advantageously compared. It is nowhere mountainous, nor, with very few exceptions, is it rocky.

Considerable tracts are light and sandy, but few so much so as to be absolutely barren. The productiveness of the country appears to be chiefly interrupted by swamps, which cover a large space, both in the most eastern and most western districts.*

Upper Canada is divided into eleven districts, subdivided into twenty-six counties and six ridings, which altogether comprise 277 townships. In describing this province, we shall follow the example of M. Bouchette, in dividing it into three great portions, the Eastern, the Central, and the Western. We must nevertheless dissent from him so far as to attach the Midland District to the central part, where it appears to us clearly placed by nature. The eastern division will then contain the territory between the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa; the central will have its base on Lake Ontario, and extend north towards the latter of these rivers, without, however, at all approaching it as to actual settlement. The western division composes an extensive peninsula, nearly enclosed by Ontario, Erie, St. Clair, and Huron, and the channels by which these lakes are connected.

The eastern division, then, consists of four districts: Eastern and Johnstown on the St. Lawrence, Ottawa and Bathurst on the Ottawa. In comprised in 1835 a population of 87,380. It is well watered, not only by the two great rivers, but by several important tributaries, of which the largest fall into the Ottawa. The Petite Nation, rising only about five miles from the St. Lawrence, near Johnstown, traverses the territory in a line nearly due northeast. The Rideau, the Mississippi (quite distinct from the great central river of that name), and the Madawaska, rise in the Midland District, and flow in an easterly direction till they reach the Ottawa. The only im-

* Gourlay's Statistical View of Upper Canada, vol. ii., p. 8-14, 139, 170, 222. Bouchette, vol. i., p. 76, 88, 89, 108-110, 237. Martin, p. 297, 298.

portant tributary to the St. Lawrence is the Gananoqui, which falls into it near Lansdown.

The soil of this part of Canada has been somewhat variously reported, but appears, on the whole, not so uniformly good as in the more western districts. Considerable tracts are sandy, some are marshy, and others are broken and rocky. There is not wanting, however, a very fair proportion of fine land. The climate being more northerly than on the upper course of the river, is not so mild, and the summers are shorter; yet, even in these respects, it has the advantage of Lower Canada. It has also the benefit of being near Montreal, where agricultural commodities can be readily turned into money; and the produce of the dairy, with vegetables, fruits, and other articles, which elsewhere can be raised only for home use, find a value in that market. There is an easy conveyance to it by the rivers, though the roads in the inland townships are very defective. Its progress, however, has been particularly retarded by large and improvident grants to American loyalists, disbanded officers and soldiers, or favourites of the ruling powers. Many of these have altogether neglected their lots, and few have turned them to account with that active and improving spirit which has animated the recent classes of British emigrants. The military settlers, it is said, generally showed themselves incapable of the persevering labour necessary to bring wild land into a productive state, and took the first opportunity of selling their allotments. Hence its progress, though great and rapid, has not equalled that of the western districts, towards which the tide of immigration has been chiefly directed.

The central portion, which we consider as consisting of the Midland, Newcastle, and Home districts, has its base upon the northern shores of Lake Ontario, whence it extends towards the Ottawa; *but, long* before reaching that boundary, which, from

the direction of the stream, becomes more and more distant, every trace of settlement disappears amid one vast and pathless forest. This forms by far the most extensive part of Upper Canada, and from its abundance of fertile land is extremely valuable. Till of late, however, it was the least occupied, being nowhere cultivated but in the vicinity of the government stations. The eastern was nearer to Lower Canada, while the western possessed great facilities for the fur-trade, with which view chiefly this upper quarter was in early times resorted to. But the tide of immigration which has lately flowed into Canada has directed itself, in a great degree, towards this central district. It was found more fruitful and much less occupied than the eastern, while it has a nearer market for its agricultural produce than the western. Its increase, accordingly, within the last fifteen years, has been astonishing. The population in 1817 is estimated by Mr. Gourlay at 27,753; in 1824 it had risen to 53,600; in 1832 to 115,504; and in 1835 to 124,473. It is watered by the Moira, Trent, and other rivers of some magnitude. This last is connected with a chain of important lakes, at the head of which is the large one named Simcoe. These waters afford considerable accommodation to the colonists; though they flow from too short a distance to afford an adequate conveyance if cultivation were to stretch much farther northward.*

Kingston, in the county of Frontenac, in the Midland District, was the original capital of Upper Canada, and, even after the transference of the seat of government to Toronto, continued the most flourishing, till the agricultural colonies formed in the west gave to the latter the pre-eminence. It is advantageously built on the site of Fort Frontenac, at the junction of the St. Lawrence with Lake Ontario; a position which has raised it to considerable impor-

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 108. Gourlay, vol. ii., p. 464, 469, 497. Tables, 1832, p. 9.

tance as the main entrepot between the lower and upper province. Barks of from 80 to nearly 200 tons carry on an active intercourse with Toronto, Niagara, and other places on the lake; and magnificent steam-vessels convey passengers to and from those places. About half a mile distant is a low peninsula ending in Point Frederic, which, with another parallel one terminating in Point Henry, encloses Navy Bay, the depot for the maritime armament formed during the late war. On its western side is a dockyard, with other accommodations; and in this inland station were built some of the largest ships in the British navy. The town in 1833 contained 4196 inhabitants.

York, in the county of the same name, in the Home District, and which has now assumed the Indian name of Toronto, is the official capital of Upper Canada, the residence of the governor, the seat of the courts of justice, and the place where the Parliament assembles. No town in the province has made so rapid a progress. In 1793 M. Bouchette saw the spot covered with dense and trackless forests, on the border of which stood one solitary wigwam. In 1794 the town was founded, and in a few years attained a considerable magnitude. It remained long inferior to Kingston, and in 1831 was supposed to contain only 4000 inhabitants. The great improvement, however, of the western districts, and the extensive sales of land made there, both by government and the Canada Company, have now rendered it every way the more important place; and by the last accounts its population had risen to 9500. The streets are spacious, and regularly disposed at right angles. The harbour is formed by a long narrow peninsula, enclosing a circular basin about a mile and a half in diameter, affording spacious and secure accommodation for shipping.

The Western Section of Upper Canada, though less extensive than those just described, possesses

such advantages of soil, climate, and situation as renders it fully equal to them in value and importance. It consists of a long irregular peninsula, enclosed by successive portions of the great lake and river chain of Canada. This boundary, beginning with the western shore of Lake Ontario, is continued by the Niagara channel, Lake Erie, the Detroit, Lake and River St. Clair, and the southern and part of the eastern shore of Lake Huron. It terminates a little beyond Goderich, whence, stretching across to Lake Ontario, it is met by the Home District and the Indian territory. Its surface is singularly level, scarcely containing any eminence that deserves to be called a hill, except in the ridge already described as running in a circuitous line from the neighbourhood of Toronto to Niagara. Even its heights seldom exceed 100, and never 350 feet. Besides that no part is very distant from the grand line of water-communication, several fine rivers traverse the interior. The most considerable is the Thames, which, rising in the London District, and running westward about 150 miles through a fine country, falls into Lake St. Clair. It is navigable for large vessels to Chatham, fifteen miles up, and for boats nearly to its source. Parallel to it on the north, though with a shorter course of not more than 100 miles, is Big Bear Creek, which throws itself into one of the branches of the river St. Clair. Next to the Thames in magnitude is the Ouse, rising in the Home District, and flowing in an opposite direction southeast, till, by a very serpentine course, it reaches Lake Erie. It is navigable for schooners about twenty-five miles above its mouth, and considerably higher for boats. The Welland or Chippeway, nearly parallel to it, runs into the Niagara after a course of only fifty miles; but this river has become important on account of the canal cut from it to Ontario on one side and Erie on the other, which has obviated those obstructions

by which the navigation of the Niagara channel is rendered impracticable.

The soil of this extensive tract is almost entirely alluvial, consisting of a black or yellow loam, sometimes mixed with sand, and covered with a thick stratum of vegetable mould. The forests are dense, but not, as in other quarters, entirely uninterrupted; opening rather, in some places, into wide prairies or expanses of natural meadow. The country has by sanguine writers been described as everywhere luxuriantly fertile; and though minute surveys have discovered light and sandy tracts of considerable extent, there is, perhaps, scarcely a spot on the globe which it may not rival. The climate of a country situated between the 42d and 45th parallels ought to be that of the south of France; but, in consequence of a peculiarity in the American continent, this does not procure an exemption from several months of frost and snow. Still its winter is considerably shorter, and its summer longer than in any other part of Upper Canada.

Such advantages drew the attention of European settlers to this quarter earlier than from its distance might have been expected, and portions of it were brought into cultivation when the rest of Upper Canada was a wilderness. The French, when forming stations for the fur-trade at its western extremity, were tempted by the fertile banks of the Detroit, between Lakes Erie and St. Clair, and established a number of seigniories similar to those on the St. Lawrence in Lower Canada. At the end of the great American contest, a number of disbanded troops or banished loyalists, who, in the course of military operations, had become acquainted with the Niagara district, or to whose former residence and habits it was congenial, accepted grants in it. In 1802, Colonel Talbot, having formed the plan of a settlement on the most central part of the northern coast of Lake Erie, obtained from government a

grant of 100,000 acres, on condition of locating a settler upon every 200; which condition he has successfully fulfilled. From these causes the population in 1817 had attained to the estimated number of 34,227, which in 1824 had risen to 55,200, in 1832 to 101,605, and in 1835, to 124,628.*

This part of Canada is divided into four districts: Gore, London, Niagara, and Western.

With respect to climate, Canada exhibits, in many particulars, a striking dissimilarity to Europe. In the first place, the temperature is much lower under the same latitude; and this remark applies to the whole of North America. Thus Quebec, in 46° 49′ N., has also the same latitude with Nantes in 47° 13′. Yet the mean annual temperature of the former is 41·74°; of the latter, 54·68°, a difference of nearly 13°. Edinburgh and Copenhagen, though more than 9° farther north than Quebec, exceed it in mean annual heat, the one by 6°, the other by 4°.†

The next distinction is the great difference in the temperature of winter and summer; the cold of the one and the heat of the other being much more intense than in those countries where the annual mean is the same. While the medium temperature of winter at Nantes is about 40·46°, at Quebec it is 14·18°; but that of summer is nearly identical; at the first 68·54°, at the second 68·00°. Nay, the mean of the hottest month, which at Nantes is 70·52°, at Quebec is 73.40°. The summer of this last, when compared to that of Edinburgh, is almost tropical, exceeding it by ten degrees, and in the hottest month by fourteen. Even in London the heat rarely attains 83°; whereas in Canada, during July, it rises occasionally 20° higher.‡ These great

* Bouchette, vol. ii., p. 108, 92–96. Gourlay, vol. ii., p. 299, 357, 406, 455. Picken, p. 177.

† See Table by Professor Jamieson, in Murray's Encyclopædia of Geography, p. 164.

‡ Bouchette, vol, i., p. 337.

heats, however, leave the average still much lower than in European places under the same latitude.

We do not intend to enter here into any discussion of the theories formed on this subject, none of which seem yet to be fully established. The influence of the winds, which blow chiefly from the northwest, over a vast expanse of frozen continent; the position of the adjacent ocean, filled with fields and islands of ice, detached from the arctic shores; the uncultivated state of the soil, covered with vast forests and swamps; these have been the chief causes assigned for so remarkable a difference.

There prevails a general opinion that, since British America has been partially cleared and cultivated, the extremes of both summer heat and winter cold have been sensibly mitigated. Others, however, maintain that the variations are casual and temporary, and that the changes referred to have as yet taken place on too small a scale to produce any marked effect.

The prevailing winds in Canada are the northeast, northwest, and southwest. The first, blowing from the ocean, brings rain, snow, and tempest; the second, from a vast extent of frozen land, is dry and intensely cold; the last, from warmer regions, is mild and agreeable. In the height of summer the air is often quite still, the sky brightly clear, and the rays of the sun beat fiercely upon the earth. The nights at this season are beautifully transparent.

Great and sudden transitions from heat to cold also characterize this region. These are, of course, produced by changes of wind, occasioning a rapid transition from the one to the other of those extremes to which the whole continent is liable. The tropical countries being equally warm in the New as in the Old World, the hot and cold climates are in the former nearer to each other, and more apt to come into collision. These sudden changes have the effect of rendering every kind of atmospheric agitation, and

more especially thunder and lightning, peculiarly violent.

The order of the seasons also varies materially from that which prevails in Europe. The absence of spring is generally incident to climates where the winter is very long and severe. The moderate heat of the advancing season appears absorbed in the process of converting the snow and ice into a liquid state, and can thus act only imperfectly upon the atmosphere. By the time this change is accomplished, the sun's rays have become powerful, and the summer is established. Scarcely is the ground cleared of snow when vegetation breaks forth, not gradually, as with us, but with almost preternatural rapidity. The months of June, July, and August are intensely hot, and bring all the crops to a speedy maturity. Autumn, which, according to some writers, does not exist in America, is described by others as the most agreeable of all the seasons. In September and October the days are warm, but the mornings and evenings cool and agreeable; and the foliage, assuming the varied autumnal tints, presents an enchanting picture. In November, when frost is about to set in, a grateful interval usually occurs of what is termed the Indian summer. A delightful warmth is then felt through the air, while a thin and beautiful haze covers the face of nature.* No rational account appears to have been yet given of this phenomenon; for the Canadian theory, that it is produced by the smoke of distant prairies fired by the Indians, is unworthy of refutation. We cannot help suggesting, that all the waters, here so abundant, are then undergoing the process of conversion from a fluid into a solid form; in the course of which they must necessarily give out in large quantities the caloric which held them in a state of fluid-

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 339, 340–344. M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 123–135. Howison, p. 243–245. Gourlay, vol. ii., p. 141–144. Darby, p. 421–431.

ity. Heat thus developed will naturally be accompanied with thin mist, which is, in fact, usually seen rising from the surface of a newly-frozen stream.*

The winter of Lower Canada commences in the end of November, and lasts five months, or till the close of April. In the southern parts of the upper province it is nearly two months shorter. This period, which, in our conceptions, appears so dreary, is to the Canadian a season of cheerfulness and enjoyment. Warm clothing and due precaution secure him against any dangerous or even painful effects from the extreme cold. As the country is easily traversed in every direction by light carioles, large parties assemble, and enliven the gloom of the year by festivity and social intercourse.†

It might have been expected that the excessive rigour of the climate, more especially its extremes and sudden changes, would have been peculiarly trying to the human constitution. Experience, on the contrary, has established its decided salubrity. The countries, too, in which the cold is most severe, and the contrasts greatest, are found the healthiest. Hence Lower is more salubrious than Upper Canada, and the latter than the United States. It is true, at the same time, that diseases originating in cold, such as rheumatism and pulmonary consumption, are the most common; and it is remarkable, that over all America the teeth are subject to early decay. The Upper Province suffers from intermittent fever, though not so severely as the countries farther south; it is distressing and weakening, but seldom fatal.‡

* Unfortunately for the ingenious theory here advanced, this peculiar state of the atmosphere, so common for a few weeks in autumn, is not limited to portions of the country where the waters are overabundant, but is equally experienced throughout the United States.—*Am. Ed.*

† Bouchette, vol. i., p. 343, 344, 409. Howison, p. 243. Backwoods of Canada (18mo, London, 1836), p. 206.

‡ Bouchette, vol. i., p. 344. M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 136–139.

The action of the climate upon agricultural productions is more favourable in these countries than in others which have the same mean temperature. The intense heat even of the short summer ripens corn and fruits which will not thrive in regions where the same warmth is more equally distributed throughout the year. Thus Quebec agrees in mean annual temperature with Christiania; yet wheat, scarcely ever attempted in Norway, is the staple of Lower Canada. The upper province nearly coincides with the north of England; yet the grape, the peach, and the melon come to as much perfection as in their native soil.* Even rice is found growing wild.† In this respect British America seems not to fall much short of European countries under the same latitude. Its winter-cold, at the same time, enables it to combine the products of the northern with those of the southern temperate climates. By the side of the fruits above mentioned flourish the strawberry and the raspberry;‡ while the evergreen pines are copiously intermingled with the oak, the elm, and others of ampler foliage. The woods are filled with the rich fur-bearing animals that belong to an arctic climate. The only difficulty is found with such agricultural productions as, under milder skies, are improved by wintering in the soil. Autumn wheat, for example, has not yet succeeded in Lower Canada; and several of the more delicate artificial grasses have failed. The farmer likewise suffers inconvenience from the short interval in which all his operations of sowing, reaping, and

* Our author is certainly under a mistake here. Although these fruits will grow, and sometimes mature in Upper Canada, they are always very inferior in size and flavour to those produced in more southern latitudes.—*Am. Ed.*

† This is believed to be a different plant, however, from that usually cultivated for its grain. Perhaps the *oryzopsis* of botany, or plant resembling rice.—*Am. Ed.*

‡ Bouchette, vol. i., p. 336. Backwoods, p. 143, 144.

harvesting must be completed, while he is left without occupation during the long remainder of the year.

Before closing this general view of Canada, it may be necessary to introduce some notice of the question which has arisen between Britain and the United States respecting their common boundaries. The vague terms often used in treaties have given rise to disputes and difficulties; but it is seldom, as in the present instance, that they apply to a territory of 10,000 square miles, or 6,400,000 acres. Though this tract is at present only an unbroken forest, yet, as it consists in general of fertile land, the process of colonization, now rapidly approaching it, will, at no very distant period, render it of great value. Both nations maintain their claim in a very peremptory manner; and Bouchette, with other writers on the British side, repels with the utmost indignation the idea of yielding a single inch.* We respect the patriotic zeal of these authors; yet, when such feelings carry a people to unreasonable demands, and prevent them from listening to argument, it may lead to calamitous consequences. We shall therefore endeavour to approach the subject impartially, and view it as if totally abstracted from either British or American interests.

The terms of the treaty on which the dispute hinges are, that the boundary shall be drawn "*along the highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean.*" These words were penned in complete ignorance respecting the country of which they were intended to dispose. Instead of one highland tract, whose opposite waters fall into the specified receptacles, there are two ridges, considerably distant, and enclosing between them the wide expanse of the disputed territory. Throughout its centre, from west to east, flows the St. John,

* *Bouchette,* vol. i., p. 18, 26. M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 140.

receiving nearly all the waters from the north side of the one range and the south side of the other. The British, as their boundary, claim the most southerly, the Americans the most northerly of these two lines. Let us see how these claims will agree with the terms of the treaty.

The British boundary clearly fulfils one condition; all the rivers on its southern side fall into the Atlantic. But on the northern it entirely fails, for there they all flow into the St. John, and not one drop reaches the St. Lawrence. Here, then, we cannot but own a want of coincidence with the literal terms of the convention. Bouchette does not deny this, and allows "that the *letter* of the treaty of 1783 has described a boundary which the physical and hydrographical divisions of the country to be divided rendered it utterly impossible substantially to establish." He contends, however, that its professed design of contemplating "reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience," and of proceeding upon "principles of liberal equity and reciprocity," clearly decides the point in favour of Britain. These, however, are very vague grounds on which to determine a matter of fact; and, besides, we do not very distinctly see their bearing in our favour. No doubt it would be advantageous and convenient for Britain to get the whole of this territory; but we cannot expect that the Americans will see the reciprocal benefit of their losing the whole. They, on the contrary, maintain that their boundary is strictly and literally conformable to the terms of the treaty. The rivers on one side of it undoubtedly flow into the St. Lawrence, while on the other they reach the St. John; which last falls into the Bay of Fundy, and that bay communicates with the Atlantic.* This, they pretend, is equivalent to the original rivers falling directly into the

* Some of them fall into the Ristigouche, and thence into

Atlantic Ocean. But such an interpretation appears to us to be wholly inconsistent with the precision which ever ought to be observed in the terms of a positive treaty. The obvious meaning was, that the rivers descending from the ridge in question were such as fall into the open Atlantic, and not merely connected with it in this indirect manner. It cannot for a moment be doubted, that the first was the meaning of the negotiators; that they had in view the Penobscot, the Kennebeck, and the other streams flowing from the north into the ocean. We do not therefore think that the Americans stand on better ground than the British as to the literal terms of the treaty. Nay, we are convinced that these terms are wholly incapable of being executed, as they were obviously framed by persons entirely ignorant of the territory in question.

In order to adjust this difference, it was agreed by the two contracting powers, on the 12th of January, 1829, to refer it to the arbitration of the King of Holland. Accordingly, on the 10th January, 1831, his majesty delivered his award, in which he concluded that neither of the proposed boundaries could be held as at all conformable to the term of the treaty; and proposed, therefore, in their stead, the river St. John, which, as already stated, flows through the middle of the disputed district.* This decision was rejected by both parties, who represented that the office intrusted to the friendly monarch was to interpret the treaty in reference to the original terms, not to throw it aside and substitute

the Bay of Chaleur, which is also connected with the Atlantic; the argument with regard to these is exactly the same.

* His majesty proposes that the line, after following for a considerable space upward the course of the St. John, should take that of its small tributary the St. Francis, and by it reach and follow the American land-boundary. We do not perceive the motive or advantage of this deviation; our reasoning proceeds upon the St. John being made the boundary throughout, till it strikes the American frontier.

an entirely new boundary of his own contrivance. He had produced, they said, not an interpretation, but a compromise. This is no doubt true; yet, agreeing with his majesty, that the treaty cannot be intelligibly interpreted, or possibly acted upon, and that the affair can be adjusted only by mutual concession, we cannot help thinking that the expedient proposed was deserving of a favourable consideration. The St. John divides the territory into two not very unequal portions; the possession of the northern bank would secure to Britain the communication between New Brunswick and Canada, and prevent the frontier of the United States from encroaching too close on the St. Lawrence. A water boundary, where it can be procured, is usually preferred as the most precise and defensible; and it is very probable that in this case it would have been adopted by the negotiators in 1783, had they not been wholly ignorant of its existence. At all events, it is extremely desirable that some adjustment should take place as speedily as possible, before the increasing importance of the land shall render it a subject of serious dissension between two great nations.* †

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 18–22, 489–498. M'Gregor, vol. i., p. 140.

† With regard to the territory in dispute, it is certain that the condition of the treaty of 1783, referring to streams flowing northerly into the St. Lawrence, can be satisfied in no other way than by assuming that the highlands claimed by the United States are those intended by that treaty. But then, it is required, by a second condition in the same treaty, that the streams running southerly from the designated highlands shall flow into the Atlantic Ocean; and here the British cabinet contends that this latter condition completely fails; inasmuch as the waters of these streams, that is, the St. John and its tributaries, have their outlet in the Bay of Fundy, which, say they, cannot be considered as satisfying the condition that they shall flow into the Atlantic. On this they proceed to set up a very different claim of their own: pretending that certain other highlands, lying south of the St. John's and the disputed territority, are the

ones intended by the treaty; on the ground that the streams running southerly from the latter, viz., the Penobscot and the Kennebeck, fall directly into the Atlantic. But there are no streams originating in these more southern highlands which flow into the St. Lawrence. Still, say the British cabinet, we have as good reason for our claim as you have for yours; inasmuch as, by assuming the northern highlands as the true boundary, you make good only one condition of the treaty, while we, in taking the more southern, no less completely satisfy the other condition.

In opposition to this, the American government contend, and we think most rightfully, that both conditions of the treaty of 1783 are satisfied, and in the only way that they possibly can be, by taking, as they have, the more northern highlands; inasmuch as from these, and from no others, the streams flow northerly into the St. Lawrence, and southerly into the Atlantic; assuming in this, as, under the circumstances, and on every fair principle of construction, they seem justified in doing, that the waters of the St. John's, in flowing into the Bay of Fundy, should be considered within the meaning and intention of the treaty, as flowing into the Atlantic; since this bay is a branch or arm of that ocean, and, as such, a part of the same, receiving its tides and opening broadly into it.

Such are the grounds of the American claim. And now let us briefly consider the counter claim set up by the British cabinet. By their own course of reasoning it may be shown, that they completely fail in the very point which they pretend is in their favour, since neither the Penobscot nor the Kennebeck flow *directly* into the *open* ocean; the former terminating in the bay of the same name, and the latter in Sheepscot Bay. Now, whatever may be the character of this objection, whether it be well-founded or not, it must be considered as valid against the party choosing to avail themselves of it, to answer their own purposes in a parallel case. If, besides this, we consider that there are no streams running from the highlands assumed by the British cabinet into the St. Lawrence, we must be convinced that they make out a most unsatisfactory case; and that, if this matter is to be decided by the terms of the treaty, and nothing else, the American government, to say the least, occupy by far the strongest ground.

How this controversy may finally be adjusted it is impossible to foresee. Neither party manifests a disposition to yield; and recent events have increased the apprehension that serious difficulties may arise. It would be truly lamentable if the two nations should resort to extreme measures to settle this question; nor can we for a moment suppose, whatever may be the present appearances, that it will come to this.—*Am. Ed.*

CHAPTER II.

The Native Indians inhabiting Canada and its Borders.

Peculiar Condition of those Tribes.—Their Physical Character.—Form—Colour—Hair and Beard—Bodily Strength.—Dress.—Ornaments.—Painting and Tattooing of the Skin.—Modes of Subsistence.—Hunting.—Cultivation.—Food.—Houses.—Canoes.—Spirit of Independence.—Internal Order.—Marriages.—Rearing of Children.—Intellectual Character.—Oratory.—Style of Composition.—Religious Ideas.—Importance attached to Dreams.—The Manitou.—Ideas of a Future State.—Reverence for the Dead.—Ceremonies of Interment.—Superstitious Modes of curing the Sick.—Indian Wars.—Their Motives.—Preparations.—March.—Modes of attacking and surprising the Enemy.—Return.—Treatment of Prisoners; Tortures; Adoption.—Treaties.—Indian Amusements—Music—Dancing—Smoking—Games.—Different Tribes inhabiting Canada and its Borders.

Among the intellectual advantages derived from the discovery of America, perhaps the most important was the opening of a new page in the history of man; for he was there presented under an aspect never before viewed by the sages either of the ancient or modern world. The rudest form under which they had observed the human being was that called barbarous; and among the Greeks and Romans, the Scythians were received as representing the man of nature. But, though comparatively rude, that people had already made a considerable progress in the arts. They had reached the pastoral state, possessed numerous flocks and herds, and were united in large bodies under hereditary chiefs. The modern Europeans, again, have records of a time when they themselves were little removed from a similar condition, of which examples still

exist in the outer borders of the Continent; but they have never beheld nations consisting only of handfuls of men, roaming through an unbounded and continuous forest, having scarcely any animals tamed for service or food, and supporting themselves solely on the precarious product of the chase.* On the first intimation of the existence of such tribes, they were in this part of the world supposed to be a mere assemblage of meager and shivering wretches, whose constant exertions must be employed in attempting to escape the famine with which they were perpetually threatened. The first discoverers, accordingly, were surprised to find among them warriors, statesmen, and orators; a proud race, of dignified port, terrible in war, mild in peace, maintaining order without the restraint of law, and uniting by the closest ties the members of the same community. Such, though with some remarkable exceptions, was the picture exhibited by the savages of the New World, particularly in its northern regions; and those nations who dwelt on the rivers and lakes of Canada, presented it in the most decided features, least modified by the restraints and refinements of civilized life. The English and French, who, during nearly three centuries, have been engaged with them in the relations either of close alliance or of deadly war, have learned to appreciate all that is bright as well as all that is dark and terrible in the character of this extraordinary race. From this intercourse we are furnished with ample means of estimating a state of society so peculiar, and so remote from that civilization to which Europe has attained.

In their physical character, the American Indians are considered by Blumenbach as forming a particu-

* This should be somewhat qualified. The native tribes of the New World, at the time of its discovery, were not unacquainted with maize or Indian-corn, which they cultivated in a rude way, as part of their means of subsistence.—*Am. Ed.*

lar variety of the human species, differing, though not very widely, from the Mongolian. Believing, as we do, that the New World was peopled from the Old, and considering that the Mongol race was situated nearest to the point where Asia and America come almost into contact, we incline to ascribe these variations merely to a change of outward circumstances. The face is broad and flat, with high cheek-bones; more rounded and arched, however, than in the allied type, without having the visage expanded to the same breadth. The forehead is generally low; the eyes deep, small, and black; the nose rather diminutive, but prominent, with wide nostrils; and the mouth large, with somewhat thick lips. The stature, which varies remarkably throughout the Continent, is, in the quarter of which we treat, generally above the middle size. This property, however, is confined to the men, the females being usually below that standard, a fact which may be confidently ascribed to the oppressive drudgery they are compelled to undergo. The limbs, in both sexes, are well proportioned; and few instances of deformity ever occur.*

The colour of the skin in the Indian is generally described as red or copper-coloured; or, according to Mr. Lawrence's more precise definition, it is "an obscure orange or rusty iron colour, not unlike the bark of the cinnamon-tree." Although we believe that climate is the chief cause of the diversities in human colour, yet it is certain that all savages are dark-tinted. This peculiarity may be accounted for by their constant exposure to the inclemency of the seasons, to sun, air, and tempests; and the same cause in civilized countries produces a similar effect on sailors, as well as on those who work constantly

* Lawrence's Lectures on Physiology, Zoology, and the Natural History of Man (12mo, London, 1834), p. 365. Adair's History of the American Indians (4to, London, 1775), p. 5, 6. Weld's Travels in North America and Canada (4to, London 1799), *p. 375–377.*

in the fields. In the Old World, the intermediate tints between white and black are generally varieties of brown and yellow. The *red* tint is considered characteristic of the New World. We must, however, observe, that the traveller Adair, who lived upward of thirty years among the Indians, positively asserts that it is artificially produced; that in the oil, grease, and other unctuous substances with which they keep their skin constantly smeared, there is dissolved the juice of a root which gradually tinges it of this colour. He states, that a white man, who spent some years with the natives, and adorned himself in their manner, completely acquired it. Charlevoix seems also to lean to the same opinion. Weld, though rather inclined to dissent from it, admits that such a notion was adopted by missionaries and others who had resided long in the country. It is certain that the inhabitants glory in this colour, and regard Europeans who have it not as nondescript beings, not fully entitled to the name of men. It may be noticed also, that this tint is by no means so universal as is commonly supposed. Humboldt declares that the idea of its general prevalence could never have arisen in equinoctial America, or been suggested by the view of the natives in that region; yet these provinces include by far the larger part of the aboriginal population. The people of Nootka Sound and other districts of the north-western coast are nearly as white as Europeans; which may be ascribed, we think, to their ample clothing and spacious habitations. Thus the red nations appear limited to the eastern tribes of North America, among whom generally prevails the custom of painting or smearing the skin with that favourite colour. We are not prepared to express a decided opinion on this subject; but it obviously requires a closer investigation than it has yet received.*

* Lawrence, p. 365. Humboldt's Personal Narrative of Tra-

The hair is another particular in which the races of mankind remarkably differ. The ruder classes are generally defective, either in the abundance or quality of that graceful appendage; and the hair of the American Indians, like that of their allied type the Mongols, is coarse, black, thin, but strong, and growing to a great length. Like the latter, also, by a curious coincidence, most of them remove it from every part of the head, with the exception of a tuft on the crown, which they cherish with much care. The circumstance, however, which has excited the greatest attention, is the absence of beard, apparently entire, among all the people of the New World. The early travellers viewed it as a natural deficiency; whence Robertson and other eminent writers have even inferred the existence of something peculiarly feeble in their whole frame. But the assertion, with all the inferences founded upon it, so far as relates to the North American tribes, has been completely refuted by recent observation. The original growth has been found nearly, if not wholly, as ample as that of Europeans; but the moment it appears, every trace is studiously obliterated. This is effected by the aged females, originally with a species of clam-shell, but now by means of spiral pieces of brass-wire supplied by the traders. With these an old squaw will in a few minutes reduce the chin to a state of complete smoothness; and slight applications during the year clear away such straggling hairs as may happen to sprout. It is only among old men, who become careless of their appearance, that the beard begins to be perceptible. A late English traveller strongly recommends to his countrymen a practice which, though scarcely accordant with our ideas of manly

vels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent (9 vols. 8vo, London, 1819), vol. iii., p. 223. Adair, p. 3. Weld, p. 375. Charlevoix's Journal of a Voyage to North America (2 vols. 8vo, London, 1761), vol. ii., p. 90.

dignity, would, at the expense of a few minutes' pain, save them much daily trouble. The Indians have probably adopted this usage, as it removes an obstacle to the fantastic painting of the face, which they value so highly. A full beard, at all events, when it was first seen on their French visiters, is said to have been viewed with peculiar antipathy, and to have greatly enhanced the pleasure with which they killed these foreigners.*

The comparative physical strength of savage and civilized nations has been a subject of controversy. A general impression has obtained that the former, inured to simple and active habits, acquire a decided superiority; but experience appears to have proved that this conclusion is ill founded. On the field of battle, when a struggle takes place between man and man, the Indian is usually worsted. In sportive exercises, such as wrestling, he is most frequently thrown, and in leaping comes short of his antagonist. Even in walking or running, if for a short distance, he is left behind; but in these last movements he possesses a power of perseverance and continued exertion to which there is scarcely any parallel. An individual has been known to travel nearly eighty miles in a day, and arrive at his destination without any symptoms of fatigue. These long journeys, also, are frequently performed without any refreshment, and even having the shoulders loaded with heavy burdens, their capacity of supporting which is truly wonderful. For about twelve miles, indeed, a strong European will keep ahead of the Indian; but then he begins to flag, while the other, proceeding with unaltered pace, outstrips him considerably. Even powerful animals cannot equal them in this respect. Many of their civilized ad-

* Weld, p. 377, 378. Adair, p. 6. Relation de ce que s'est passé de plus remarquable aux Missions des P. P. de la Compagnie de Jésus, en la Nouvelle France (32 tomes 8vo, Paris, 1685-1671), an 1667, p. 104.

versaries, when overcome in war, and fleeing before them on swift horses, have, after a long chase, been overtaken and scalped.*

Having thus given a view of the persons of the Indians, we may proceed to consider the manner in which they are clothed and ornamented. This last object might have been expected to be a very secondary one, among tribes whose means of subsistence are so scanty and precarious; but, so far is this from being the case, that there is scarcely any pursuit which occupies so much of their time and regard. They have availed themselves of European intercourse to procure each a small mirror, in which, from time to time, they view their personal decorations, taking care that everything shall be in the most perfect order. Embellishment, however, is not much expended on actual clothing, which is simple, and chiefly arranged with a view to convenience. Instead of shoes, they wear what are termed moccasins, consisting of one strip of soft leather wrapped round the foot, and fastened in front and behind. Europeans, walking over hard roads, soon knock these to pieces; but the Indian, tripping over snow or grass, finds them a light and agreeable *chaussure*. Upward to the middle of the thigh, a piece of leather or cloth, tightly fitted to the limb, serves instead of pantaloons, stockings, and boots; it is sometimes sewed on so close as never to be taken off. To a string or girdle round the waist are fastened two aprons, one before and the other at the back, each somewhat more than a foot square; and these are connected by a piece of cloth like a truss, often used also as a capacious pocket. The use of breeches they have always repelled with contempt, as cumbrous and effeminate. As an article of female dress, they would consider them less objectionable; but

* Lawrence, p. 253. Weld, p. 388, 389. Long's Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader (4to, London, 1791), p. 36.

that the limbs of a warrior should be thus manacled, appears to them utterly preposterous. They were particularly scandalized at seeing an officer have them fastened over the shoulder by braces, and never after gave him any name but Tied-Breech.

The garments now enumerated form the whole of their permanent dress. On occasions of ceremony, indeed, or when exposed to cold, they put over it a short shirt fastened at the neck and wrists, and above it a long loose robe, closed or held together in front. For this purpose they now generally prefer an English blanket. All these articles were originally fabricated from the skins of wild animals; but at present, unless for the moccasins, and sometimes the leggins, European stuffs are preferred. The dress of the female scarcely differs from that of the male, except that the apron reaches down to the knees; and even this is said to have been adopted since their acquaintance with civilized nations. The early French writers relate an amusing anecdote to prove how little dress was considered as making a distinction between the sexes. The Ursuline nuns, having educated a Huron girl, presented her, on her marriage to one of her countrymen, with a complete and handsome suit of clothes in the Parisian style. They were much surprised, some days after, to see the husband, who had ungenerously seized the whole of his bride's attire and arrayed himself in it, parading back and forward in front of the convent, and betraying every symptom of the most extravagant exultation. This was farther heightened when he observed the ladies crowding to the window to see him, and a universal smile spread over their countenances.*

These vestments, as already observed, are simple, and adapted only for use. To gratify his passionate love of ornament, the Indian seeks chiefly to load

* Creuxius, Nova Francia (4to, Paris, 1664), p. 63, 64. Adair, p. 7. Weld, p. 380–383.

his person with certain glittering appendages. Before the arrival of Europeans, shells and feathers took the lead; but, since that period, these commodities have been nearly supplanted by beads, rings, bracelets, and similar toys, which are inserted profusely into various parts of his apparel, particularly the little apron in front. The chiefs usually wear a breastplate ornamented with them; and among all classes it is an object of the greatest ambition to have the largest possible number suspended from the ear. That organ, therefore, is not bored, but slit to such an extent that a stick of wax may be passed through the aperture, which is then loaded with all the bawbles that can be mustered; and if the weight of these gradually draw down the yielding flap till it rest on the shoulder, and the ornaments themselves cover the breast, the Indian has reached his utmost height of finery. This, however, is a precarious splendour; the ear becomes more and more unfit to support the burden, when at length some accident, the branch of a tree, or even a twitch by a waggish comrade, lays at his feet all his decorations, with the portion of flesh to which they were attached. Weld saw very few who had preserved this organ entire through life. The adjustment of the hair, again, is an object of especial study. As already observed, the greater part is generally eradicated, leaving only a tuft, varying in shape and place, according to taste and national custom, but usually encircling the crown. This lock is stuck full of feathers, wings of birds, shells, and every kind of fantastic ornament. The women wear theirs long and flowing, and contrive to collect a considerable number of ornaments for it, as well as for their ears and dress.*

But it is upon his skin that the American warrior chiefly lavishes his powers of embellishment.

* Creuxius, p. 63. Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 119, 120. Weld, p. 381-383. Adair, p. 171.

His taste in doing so is very different from ours. "While the European," says Creuxius, "studies to keep his skin clean, and free from every extraneous substance, the Indian's aim is, that his, by the accumulation of oil, grease, and paint, may shine like that of a roasted pig." Soot scraped from the bottoms of kettles, the juices of herbs, having a green, yellow, and, above all, a vermilion tint, rendered adhesive by combination with oil and grease, are lavishly employed to adorn his person, or, according to our idea, to render it hideous. Black and red, alternating with each other in varied stripes, are the favourite tints. Some blacken the face, leaving in the middle a red circle, including the upper lip and tip of the nose; others have a red spot on each ear, or one eye black and the other of a red colour. In war the black tint is profusely laid on, the others being only employed to heighten its effect, and give to the countenance a terrific expression. M. de Tracy, when governor of Canada, was told by his Indian allies, that, with his good-humoured face, he would never inspire the enemy with any degree of awe. They besought him to place himself under their brush, when they would soon make him such that his very aspect would strike terror. The breast, arms, and legs are the seat of more permanent impressions, analogous to the tattooing of the South Sea Islanders. The colours are either elaborately rubbed in, or fixed by slight incisions with needles and sharp-pointed bones. His guardian spirit, and the animal that forms the symbol of his tribe, are the first objects delineated. After this, every memorable exploit, and particularly the enemies whom he has slain and scalped, are diligently graven on some part of his figure; so that the body of an aged warrior contains the history of his life.*

* Creuxius, p. 62. Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 118. Weld, p. 382, 383. Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1664, 1665.

The means of procuring subsistence must always form an important branch of national economy. Writers take a superficial view of savage life, and, seeing how scanty the articles of food are, while the demand is necessarily urgent, have assumed that the efforts to attain them must absorb his whole mind, and scarcely leave room for any other thought. But, on the contrary, these are to him very subordinate objects. To perform a round of daily labour, even though ensuring the most ample provision for his wants, would be equally contrary to his inclination and supposed dignity. He will not deign to follow any pursuit which does not, at the same time, include enterprise, adventure, and excitement. Hunting, which the higher classes in the civilized parts of the world pursue for mere recreation, is almost the only occupation considered of sufficient importance to engage his attention. It is peculiarly endeared by its resemblance to war, being carried on with the same weapons, and nearly in the same manner. In his native state, the arrow was the favourite and almost exclusive instrument for assailing distant objects; but now the gun has nearly superseded it. The great hunts are rendered more animating, as well as more effectual, from being carried on in large parties, and even by whole tribes. The men are prepared for these by fasting, dreaming, and other superstitious observances, similar to those which we shall find employed in anticipation of war. In such expeditions, too, contrivance and skill, as well as boldness and enterprise, are largely employed. Sometimes a circle is formed, when all the animals surrounded by it are pressed closer and closer, till they are collected in the centre, and fall under the accumulated weight of weapons. On other occasions they are driven to the margin of a lake or river, in which, if they attempt to seek refuge, canoes are ready to intercept them. Elsewhere a space is enclosed by stakes, only a narrow

opening being left, which, by clamour and shouts, the game are compelled to enter, and thereby secured. In autumn and spring, when the ice is newly formed and slight, they are pushed upon it, and their legs breaking through, they are easily caught. In winter, when the snow begins to fall, traps are set, in which planks are so arranged, that the animal, in snatching at the bait, is crushed to death. Originally the deer, both for food and clothing, was the most valuable object of chase; but, since the trade with Europeans has given such a prominent importance to furs, the beaver has in some degree supplanted it. In attacking this animal, great care is taken to prevent his escape into the water, on which his habitation always borders; and with this view various kinds of nets and springes are employed. On some occasions the Indians place themselves upon the dike which encloses his amphibious village. They then make an opening in it, when the inmates, alarmed by seeing the water flowing out, hasten to this barrier, where they encounter their enemies, armed with all the instruments of destruction. At other times, when ice covers the surface of the pond, a hole is made, at which the animal comes to respire; he is then drawn out and secured. The bear is a formidable enemy, which must be assailed by the combined force of the hunters, who are ranged in two rows, armed with bows or muskets. One of them advances and wounds him, and, on being furiously pursued, he retreats between the files, followed in the same line by the animal, which is then overwhelmed by their united onset. In killing these quadrupeds, the natives seem to feel a sort of kindness and sympathy for their victim. On vanquishing a beaver or a bear, they celebrate its praises in a song, recounting those good qualities which it will never more be able to display, yet consoling themselves with the useful purposes to which its flesh and its skin will be applied.*

* *Chateaubriand's* Travels in America and Italy (2 vols. 8vo,

Of the animals usually tamed and rendered subservient to useful purposes, the Indians have only the dog, that faithful friend of man. Though his services in hunting are valuable, he is treated with but little tenderness, and is left to roam about the dwelling, very sparingly supplied with food and shelter. A missionary, who resided in a Huron village, represents his life as having been rendered miserable by these animals. At night they laid themselves on his person for the benefit of the warmth; and, whenever his scanty meal was set down, their snouts were always first in the dish. Dog's flesh is eaten, and has even a peculiar sanctity attached to it. On all solemn festivals it is the principal meat, the use of which, on such occasions, seems to import some high and mysterious meaning.

But, besides the cheering avocations of the chase, other means must be used to ensure the comfort and subsistence of the Indian's family; all of which, however, are most ungenerously devolved upon the weaker sex. Women, according to Creuxius, serve them as domestics, as tailors, as peasants, and as oxen; and Long does not conceive that any other purposes of their existence are recognised, except those of bearing children and performing hard work. They till the ground, carry wood and water, build huts, make canoes, and fish; in which latter processes, however, and in réaping the harvest, their lords deign to give occasional aid. So habituated are they to such occupations, that when one of them saw a party of English soldiers collecting wood, she exclaimed that it was a shame to see men doing women's work, and began herself to carry a load.*

Through the services of this enslaved portion of

London, 1828), vol. i., p. 269-279. Carver's Travels through the Interior Parts of North America (8vo, London, 1778), p. 287-290. Long, p. 96.

* Colden's History of the Five Nations (2 vols. 12mo, London, 1755), vol. i., p. 7, 14. Creuxius, p. 57. Long, p. 137, 138.

the tribe, those savages are enabled to combine in a certain degree the agricultural with the hunting state, without any mixture of the pastoral, usually considered as intermediate. Cultivation, however, is limited to small spots in the immediate vicinity of the villages, and these being usually at the distance of sixteen or seventeen miles from each other, it scarcely makes any impression on the immense expanse of forest. The women, in the beginning of summer, after having burned the stubble of the preceding crop, rudely stir the ground with a long, crooked piece of wood; they then throw in the grain, which is chiefly the coarse but productive species of maize peculiar to the Continent. The nations in the south have a considerable variety of fruits; whereas those of Canada appear to have raised only turnsols, watermelons, and pompions. Tobacco used to be grown largely; but that produced by the European settlers is now universally preferred, and has become a regular object of trade. The grain, after harvest (which is celebrated by a festival), is lodged in large subterraneous stores lined with bark, where it keeps extremely well. Previous to being placed in these, it is sometimes thrashed, on other occasions merely the ears are cut off, and thrown in. When first discovered by settlers from Europe, the degrees of culture were found to vary in different tribes. The Algonquins, who were the ruling people previous to the arrival of the French, wholly despised it, and branded as plebeian their neighbours, by whom it was practised. In general, the northern clans, and those near the mouth of the St. Lawrence, depended almost solely on hunting and fishing; and when these failed they were reduced to dreadful extremities, being often obliged to depend on the miserable resource of that species of lichen called *tripe de roche.*

The maize, when thrashed, is occasionally toasted on the coals, and sometimes made into a coarse

kind of unleavened cake. But the most favourite preparation is that called *sagamity*, a species of pap formed after it has been roosted, bruised, and separated from the husk. It is insipid by itself; yet when thrown into the pot, along with the produce of the chase, it enriches the soup or stew, one of the principal dishes at their feasts. They never eat victuals raw, but rather overboiled; nor have they yet been brought to endure French ragouts, salt, pepper, or, indeed, any species of condiment. A chief, admitted to the governor's table, seeing the general use of mustard, was led by curiosity to take a spoonful and put it into his mouth. On feeling its violent effects, he made incredible efforts to conceal them, and escape the ridicule of the company; but severe sneezings, and the tears starting from his eyes, soon betrayed him, and raised a general laugh. He was then shown the manner in which it should be used; but nothing could ever induce him to allow the "boiling yellow," as he termed it, to enter his lips.

The Indians are capable of extraordinary abstinence from food, in which they can persevere for successive days without complaint or apparent suffering. They even take a pride in long-fasts, by which they usually prepare themselves for any great undertaking. Yet, when once set down to a feast, their gluttony is described as enormous, and the capacity of their stomachs almost incredible. They will go from feast to feast, doing honour to each in succession. The chief giving the entertainment does not partake, but with his own hands distributes portions among the guests. On solemn occasions, it is a rule that everything shall be eaten; nor does this obligation seem to be felt as either burdensome or unpleasant. In their native state, they were not acquainted with any species of intoxicating liquors; their love of ardent spirits, attended with so many

ruinous effects, having been entirely consequent on their intercourse with Europeans.*

The habitations of the Indians receive much less of their attention than the attire, or, at least, embellishment of their persons. Our countrymen, by common consent, give to them no better appellation than cabins. The bark of trees is their chief material both for houses and boats: they peel it off with considerable skill, sometimes stripping a whole tree in one piece. This coating, spread not unskilfully over a framework of poles, and fastened to them by strips of tough rind, forms their dwellings. The shape, according to the owner's fancy, resembles a tub, a cone, or a cart-shed, the mixture of which gives to the village a confused and chaotic appearance. Light and heat are admitted only by an aperture at the top, through which also the smoke escapes, after filling all the upper part of the mansion. Little inconvenience is felt from this by the natives, who, within doors, never think of any position except sitting or lying; but to Europeans, who must occasionally stand or walk, the abode is thereby rendered almost intolerable; and matters become much worse when rain or snow makes it necessary to close the roof. These structures are sometimes upward of a hundred feet long; but they are then the residence of two or three separate families. Four of them occasionally compose a quadrangle, each open on the inside, and having a common fire in the centre. Formerly the Iroquois had houses somewhat superior, adorned even with some rude carving; but these were burned down by the French in successive expeditions, and were never after rebuilt in the same style. The Canadians in this respect seem to be surpassed by the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and other tribes in the south, and

* Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 121–125. Adair, p. 409–412. Creuxius, p. 66. Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1657, 1658, p. 106. 107.

even by the Saukies in the west, whose mansions Carver describes as constructed of well-hewn planks, neatly jointed, and each capable of containing several families.

In their expeditions, whether for war or hunting, which often lead them through desolate forests, several hundred miles from home, the Indians have the art of rearing, with great expedition, temporary abodes. On arriving at their evening station, a few poles, meeting at the top in the form of a cone, are in half an hour covered with bark; and having spread a few pine-branches within by way of mattress, they sleep as soundly as on beds of down. Like the Esquimaux, they also understand how to convert snow into a material for building; and find it in the depth of winter the warmest and most comfortable. A few twigs platted together secure the roof. Our own countrymen, in their several campaigns, have, in cases of necessity, used with advantage this species of bivouac.

The furniture in these native huts is exceedingly simple. The chief articles are two or three pots or kettles for boiling their food, with a few wooden plates and spoons. The former, in the absence of metal, with which the inhabitants were unacquainted, were made of coarse earthenware that resisted the fire; and sometimes of a species of soft stone, which could be excavated with their rude hatchets. Nay, in some cases, their kitchen utensils were of wood, and the water made to boil by throwing in heated stones. Since their acquaintance with Europeans, the superiority of iron vessels has been found so decided, that they are now universally preferred. The great kettle or caldron, employed only on high festivals associated with religion, hunting, or war, attracts even a kind of veneration; and potent chiefs have assumed its name as their title of honour.

Canoes, another fabric which the Indians construct

very rudely, are yet adapted with considerable skill to their purpose. These are usually framed of the bark of a single tree, strengthened at the centre with ribs of tough wood. The ends are of bark only, but, being curved upward, are always above water, and thus remain perfectly tight. Our sailors can scarcely believe such nut-shells safe even on the smoothest waters, and see with surprise the natives guiding them amid stormy waves, where their very lightness and buoyancy preserve them from sinking. They have another quality of great advantage in the devious pursuits of the owners; being so extremely light, that they can be easily conveyed on the shoulder from one river or branch of a lake to another. One man, it is said, can carry on his back a canoe in which twelve persons may navigate with safety.*

Having taken this minute survey of the physical condition of the Indians, we shall proceed to an examination of their social condition. The fundamental principle of their polity is the complete independence of every individual, his right to do whatever he pleases, be it good or bad, nay, even though criminal and destructive. When any one announces an intention which is disagreeable to his neighbours, they dare not attempt to check him by reproach or coercion; these would only rivet his determination more strongly. Their only resource is to sooth him, like a spoiled child, by kind words, and especially by gifts. If, notwithstanding, he proceeds to wound or murder any one, the public look on without concern, though revenge is eagerly sought by the kindred of the injured person.

Notwithstanding this impunity, which, on our side of the Atlantic, would be followed by the most dreadful consequences, it is somewhat mortifying

* Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 127-130. Weld, p. 383-389. Creuxius, p. 68. Carver, p. 46, 231-233. Adair, p. 413-420.

to the pride of European civilization to learn, that there reigns a degree of tranquillity greater than the strictest police can preserve with us. The Indians are divided into a number of little nations or tribes, fiercely hostile to each other, but whose members are bound among themselves by the strictest union. The honour and welfare of the clan supply their ruling principle, and are cherished with an ardour not surpassed in the most brilliant eras of Greek and Roman patriotism. This national attachment forms a social tie, linking the members to each other, and rendering exceedingly rare, not only deeds of violence, but even personal quarrels, and banishing entirely that coarse and abusive language which is so prevalent among the vulgar in more enlightened communities. This feeling, added to the sentiment of dignity and self-command considered suitable to the character of a warrior, renders their deportment exceedingly pleasing. They are completely free from that false shame which is termed *mauvaise honte*. When seated at table with Europeans of the highest rank, they retain the most thorough self-possession; and, at the same time, by carefully observing the proceedings of the other guests, they avoid all awkwardness in their manners. Their generosity, too, in relieving each other's necessities, scarcely knows any bounds, and only stops short of an absolute community of goods. No member of a tribe can be in the least danger of starving if the rest have wherewith to supply him. Children rendered orphans by the casualties to which savage life is subject, are immediately taken in charge by the nearest relative, and supplied with everything needful as abundantly as if they were his own. Nothing gives them a more unfavourable opinion of the French and English than to see one portion revelling in abundance, while the other suffers the extremities of want; but when they are told that, for want of these accommodations, men

are seized by their fellow-creatures and immured in dungeons, such a degree of barbarism appears to them almost incredible. Whole tribes, when obliged by the vicissitudes of war to seek refuge among their neighbours, are received with unbounded hospitality; habitations and lands are assigned to them, and they are treated by their new friends in every respect as a part of themselves. It may, however, be observed, that as such an accession of numbers augments the military strength of the tribe, there may be a mixture of policy in this cordial reception.*

In consequence of this spirit of order and internal union, the unbounded personal freedom which marks their social condition seldom breaks out into such crimes as would disturb the public peace. Its greatest evil, of which we shall see repeated instances, is, that individuals, actuated by revenge or a spirit of daring enterprise, think themselves justified in surprising and murdering a hated adversary. From this cause every treaty between the tribes is rendered precarious; though, as each is aware of these lawless propensities, room is left for mutual explanation, so that particular outrages may not involve a general war. This circumstance leads us to notice, that the favourable aspect presented by the interior of these communities can by no means warrant any conclusion as to the superiority of savage life when compared with that of civilized man. On the contrary, the most perfect form of government devised by the human being in the state of nature, has never been exempted from those feelings of relentless enmity and continual fear with which bordering nations regard each other. These, as will appear in the sequel, often impel them to the most

* Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 30-32, 86, 87. Creuxius, p. 72, 73. Carver, p. 248, 412. Adair, p. 378, 412. Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1657, 1658, p. 128.

direful crimes; but at present we shall proceed with our survey of their domestic usages.

Some writers have denied that there exists among the Indians anything that can properly be termed a matrimonial union. This, however, seems only a prejudice, in consequence of there not being any regular ceremony, as with us. The man, it appears, after having made an arrangement with the parent of his bride, takes her home, and they live in every respect as husband and wife. The mode of courtship among several of the tribes is singular. The wooer, attended often by several comrades, repairs at midnight to his fair one's apartment, and three times twitches her nose. If she be inclined to listen to his suit, she rises; otherwise he must depart. Though this visit be so very unseasonable, it is said to be rarely accompanied with any impropriety; the missionaries, however, did not think it right to sanction such freedom in their converts. The preliminary step is, in this manner, taken with the lady, but the decision still rests with the father, to whom the suiter now applies. Long has given no unpleasing specimen of the address: "Father, I love your daughter: will you give her to me, that the small roots of her heart may entangle with mine, so that the strongest wind that blows may never separate them?" He offers, at the same time, a handsome present, the acceptance of which is considered as sealing the union. Considerable discrepance prevails in the descriptions, and apparently in the practice, as applied to different tribes; yet, on the whole, great reserve and propriety seem to mark this intercourse. The young men of the Five Nations valued themselves highly for their correct conduct towards the other sex. Of numerous female captives who fell into their hands during a long series of wars, though some were possessed of great personal beauty, no one had to complain that her honour was exposed to the slightest danger. The girls

themselves are not always quite so exemplary; but their failures are viewed with indulgence, and form no obstacle to marriage. Once united by that tie, however, a strict fidelity is expected and commonly observed. The husband, generally speaking, is not jealous, unless when intoxicated; but when his suspicions are really excited regarding the conduct of his partner, he is very indignant, beats her, bites off her nose, and dismisses her in disgrace. There are occasional intsances of a divorce being inflicted without any assigned reason; but such arbitrary proceeding is by no means frequent. As the wife performs the whole labour, and furnishes a great part of the subsistence, she is usually considered too valuable a possession to be rashly parted with. In some cases these domestic drudges become even an object of dispute and competition. A missionary mentions a woman, who, during the absence of her husband, formed a new connexion. Her first partner having returned, without being agitated by any delicate sensibilities, demanded her back. The question was referred to a chief, who could contrive no better scheme than that of placing her at a certain distance from both, and decreeing that he who should first reach her should have her; "thus," says he, "the wife fell to him who had the best legs." With regard to polygamy, the usual liberty is claimed, and by the chiefs in the west and the south it is indulged to a considerable extent; but among the tribes on the lakes the practice is rare and limited. When it does occur, the man very commonly marries his wife's sister, and even her whole family, on the presumption, we may suppose, that the household will be thereby rendered more harmonious. The Indian is said never to betray the slightest symptom of tenderness towards his wife or children. If he meets them on his return from a distant expedition, he proceeds without taking the slightest notice, and seats himself in his cabin as if

he had not been a day absent. Yet his exertions for their welfare, and the eagerness with which he avenges their wrongs, testify that his apparent apathy springs only from pride and a fancied sense of decorum. It is equally displayed with regard to his own most urgent wants. Though he may have been without food during several days, and enters a neighbour's house, nothing can make him stoop to ask for a morsel.*

The rearing (for it cannot be called the education) of the children is chiefly arranged so that it may cost the parents the least possible trouble in addition to the labour of procuring their subsistence. The father is either engrossed by war and hunting, or resigned to total indolence; while the mother, op-

Infant in a Frame.

pressed by various toils, cannot devote much time to the cares of nurture. The infant, therefore, being fastened with pieces of skin to a board spread with soft moss, is laid on the ground or suspended to the branch of a tree, where it swings as in a cradle, an

* La Potherie Bacqueville de, Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale (4 tomes 12mo, Paris, 1674), vol. ii., p. 22, 31. Long, p. 93, 136. Carver, p. 230-241, 367-376, 410.

expedient which is so carefully adopted as scarcely ever to be attended with accident. As soon as the creatures are able to crawl on hands and feet, they are allowed to move about every part of the house and vicinity, like a cat or dog. Their favourite resort is the border of the river or lake, to which an Indian village is usually adjacent, and where, in summer, they are seen all day long, sporting like fishes. As reason dawns, they enjoy in the most ample degree that independence which is held the birthright of their tribe; for, whatever extravagances they may indulge in, the parents never take any steps to restrain or chastise them. The mother only ventures to give her daughter some delicate reproach, or throws water in her face, which is said to produce a powerful effect. The youths, however, without any express instructions, soon imbibe the spirit of their forefathers. Everything they see, the tales which they hear, inspire them with the ardent desire to become great hunters and warriors. Their first study, their favourite sport, is to bend the bow, to wield the hatchet, and practise all those exercises which are to be their glory in after-life. As manhood approaches, they spontaneously assume that serious character, that studied and stately gravity, of which the example has been set by their elders.*

The intellectual character of the American savage presents some very striking peculiarities. Considering his unfavourable condition, he of all other human beings might seem doomed to make the nearest approach to the brute; while, in point of fact, without any aid from letters or study, many of the higher faculties of his mind are developed in a very remarkable degree. He displays a decided superiority over the uninstructed labourer in a civilized community, whose mental energies are benumbed amid the daily round of mechanical occupation.

* Chateaubriand, vol. i., p. 129, 213. Weld, p. 387, 388.

The former spends a great part of his life in arduous enterprises, where much contrivance is requisite, and whence he must often extricate himself by presence of mind and ingenuity. His senses, particularly those of seeing and smelling, have acquired by practice an almost preternatural acuteness. He can trace an animal or a foe by indications which to a European eye would be wholly imperceptible; and in his wanderings he gathers a minute acquaintance with the geography of the countries which he traverses. He can even draw a rude outline of them by applying a mixture of charcoal and grease to prepared skins, and on seeing a regular map he soon understands its construction, and readily finds out places. His facility in discovering the most direct way to spots situated at the distance of hundreds of miles, and known perhaps only by the report of his countrymen, is truly astonishing. It has been ascribed by some to a mysterious and supernatural instinct, but it appears to be achieved by merely observing the different aspect of the trees or shrubs when exposed to the north or the south, as also the position of the sun, which he can point out, although hidden by clouds. Even where there is a beaten track, if at all circuitous, he strikes directly through the woods, and reaches his destination by the straightest possible line.*

Other faculties of a higher order are developed by the scenes amid which the life of savages is spent. They are divided into a number of little communities, between which are actively carried on all the relations of war, negotiation, treaty, and alliance. As mighty revolutions, observes an eloquent writer, take place in these kingdoms of wood and cities of bark, as in the most powerful civilized states. To increase the influence and extend the possessions of their own tribe, to humble and, if possible, to de-

* Weld, p. 391-394. Long, p. 83. Carver, p. 241, 242.

stroy those hostile to them, are the constant aims of every member of those little commonwealths. For these ends, not only deeds of daring valour are achieved, but schemes are deeply laid, and pursued with the most accurate calculation. There is scarcely a refinement in European diplomacy to which they are strangers. The French once made an attempt to crush the confederacy of the Five Nations by attacking each in succession; but as they were on their march against the first tribe, they were met by the deputies of the others, who offered their mediation, intimating that, if it were rejected, they would make common cause with the one threatened. That association also showed that they completely understood how to employ the hostility which prevailed between their enemy and the English for promoting their own aggrandizement. Embassies, announced by the calumet of peace, are constantly passing from one tribe to another.

The same political circumstances develop in an extraordinary degree the powers of oratory; for nothing of any importance is transacted without a speech. On every emergency a council of the tribe is called, when the aged and wise hold long deliberations for the public weal. The best speakers are despatched to conduct their negotiations, the object of which is unfolded in studied harangues. The functions of orator, among the Five Nations, had even become a separate profession, held in equal or higher honour than that of the warrior; and each clan appointed the most eloquent of their number to speak for them in the public council. Nay, there was a general orator for the whole confederacy, who could say to the French governor, "Ononthio, lend thine ear; I am the mouth of all the country; you hear all the Iroquois in hearing my word." Decanesora, their speaker at a later period, was greatly admired by the English, and his bust was thought to resemble that of Cicero. In their diplomatic discourses, each

proposition is prefaced by the delivery of a belt of wampum, of which what follows is understood to be the explanation, and which is to be preserved as a record of the conference. The orator does not express his proposals in words only, but gives to every sentence its appropriate action. If he threatens war, he wildly brandishes the tomahawk; if he solicits alliance, he twines his arms closely with those of the chief whom he addresses; and if he invites friendly intercourse, he assumes all the attitudes of one who is forming a road in the Indian manner, by cutting down the trees, clearing them away, and carefully removing the leaves and branches. To a French writer, who witnessed the delivery of a solemn embassy, it suggested the idea of a company of actors performing on a stage. So expressive are their gestures, that negotiations have been conducted and alliances concluded between petty states and communities who understood nothing of one another's language.*

The composition of the Indian orators is studied and elaborate. The language of the Iroquois is even held to be susceptible of an Attic elegance, which few can attain so fully as to escape all criticism. It is figurative in the highest degree, every notion being expressed by images addressed to the senses. Thus, to throw up the hatchet or to put on the great caldron is to begin a war; to throw the hatchet to the sky is to wage open and terrible war; to take off the caldron or to bury the hatchet is to make peace; to plant the tree of peace on the highest mountain of the earth is to make a general pacification. To throw a prisoner into the caldron is to devote him to torture and death; to take him out, is to pardon and receive him as a member of the community. Ambassadors coming to propose a full and general treaty say, "We rend the clouds asun-

* Missions en la Nouvelle France, an 1644, p. 87-93. Carver, p. 260. Colden, vol. i., p. 169, *et seq.* Adair, p. 79.

der, and drive away all darkness from the heavens, that the sun of peace may shine with brightness over us all." On another occasion, referring to their own violent conduct, they said, "We are glad that Assarigoa will bury in the pit what is past; let the earth be trodden hard over it, or, rather, let a strong stream run under the pit to wash away the evil." They afterward added, "We now plant a tree, whose top will reach the sun, and its branches spread far abroad, and we shall shelter ourselves under it, and live in peace." To send the collar under ground is to carry on a secret negotiation; but when expressing a desire that there might be no duplicity or concealment between them and the French, they said that "they wished to fix the sun in the top of the heaven, immediately above that pole, that it might beat directly down and leave nothing in obscurity." In pledging themselves to a firm and steady peace, they declared that they would not only throw down the great war-caldron, and cause all the water to flow out, but would break it in pieces. This disposition to represent everything by a sensible object extends to matters the most important. One powerful people assumed the appellation of Foxes, while another gloried in that of Cats. Even when the entire nation bore a different appellation, separate fraternities distinguished themselves as the tribe of the Bear, the Tortoise, and the Wolf. They did not disdain a reference even to inanimate things. The Black Caldron was at one time the chief warrior of the Five Nations; and Red Shoes was a person of distinction well known to Long the traveller. When the chiefs concluded treaties with Europeans, their signature consisted in a picture, often tolerably well executed, of the beast or object after which they chose to be named.*

* La Potherie, preface to tome iii. Colden, vol. i., p. 15, 49, 175. Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1665, 1656, p. 21. *Weld, p. 395.*

The absence among these tribes of any written or even pictorial mode of recording events, was supplied by the memories of their old men, which were so retentive, that a certain writer calls them living books. Their only remembrancer consisted in the wampum belts; of which one was appropriated to each division of a speech or treaty, and had seemingly a powerful effect in calling it to recollection. On the close of the transaction, these were deposited as public documents, to be drawn forth on great occasions, when the orators, and even the old women, could repeat verbatim the passage to which each referred. Europeans were thus enabled to collect information concerning the revolutions of different tribes, for several ages preceding their own arrival.*

The earliest visiters of the New-World, on seeing among the Indians neither priests, temples, idols, nor sacrifices, represented them as a people wholly destitute of religious opinions. Closer inquiry, however, showed that a belief in the spiritual world, however imperfect, had a commanding influence over almost all their actions. Their creed includes even some lofty and pure conceptions. Under the title of the Great Spirit, the Master of Life, the maker of heaven and earth, they distinctly recognise a supreme ruler of the universe and an arbiter of their destiny. A party of them, when informed by the missionaries of the existence of a being of infinite power, who had created the heavens and the earth, with one consent exclaimed, "*Atahocan! Atahocan!*" that being the name of their principal deity. According to Long, the Indians among whom he resided ascribe every event, propitious or unfortunate, to the favour or anger of the Master of Life. They address him for their daily subsistence; they

* Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1659, 1660, p. 28. Weld, p. 389, 390.

believe him to convey to them presence of mind in battle; and amid tortures they thank him for inspiring them with courage. Yet though this one elevated and just conception is deeply graven on their minds, it is combined with others which show all the imperfection of unassisted reason in attempting to think rightly on this great subject. It may even be observed, that the term, rendered into our language "great spirit," does not really convey the idea of an immaterial nature. It imports with them merely some being possessed of lofty and mysterious powers, and in this sense is applied to men, and even to animals. The brute creation, which occupies a prominent place in all their ideas, is often viewed by them as invested, to a great extent, with supernatural powers; an extreme absurdity, which, however, they share with the civilized creeds of Egypt and India.

When the missionaries, on their first arrival, attempted to form an idea of the Indian mythology, it appeared to them extremely complicated, more especially because those who attempted to explain it had no fixed opinions. Each man differed from his neighbour, and at another time from himself; and when the discrepances were pointed out, no attempt was made to reconcile them. The southern tribes, who had a more settled faith, are described by Adair as intoxicated with spiritual pride, and denouncing even their European allies as "the accursed people." The native Canadian, on the contrary, is said to have been so little tenacious, that he would at any time renounce all his theological errors for a pipe of tobacco, though, as soon as it was smoked, he immediately relapsed. An idea was found prevalent respecting a certain mystical animal, called Mesou or Messessagen, who, when the earth was buried in water, had drawn it up and restored it. Others spoke of a contest between the hare, the fox, the beaver, and the seal, for the empire of the

world. Among the principal nations of Canada, the hare is thought to have attained a decided pre-eminence; and hence the Great Spirit and the Great Hare are sometimes used as synonymous terms. What should have raised this creature to such distinction seems rather unaccountable; unless it were that its extreme swiftness might appear something supernatural. Among the Ottowas alone the heavenly bodies become an object of veneration; the sun appears to rank as their supreme deity.*

To dive into the abyss of futurity has always been a favourite object of superstition. It has been attempted by various means; but the Indian seeks it chiefly through his dreams, which always bear with him a sacred character. Before engaging in any high undertaking, especially in hunting or war, the dreams of the principal chiefs are carefully watched and studiously examined; and according to the interpretation their conduct is guided. A whole nation has been set in motion by the sleeping fancies of a single man. Sometimes a person imagines in his sleep that he has been presented with an article of value by another, who then cannot, without impropriety, leave the omen unfulfilled. When Sir William Johnson, during the American war, was negotiating an alliance with a friendly tribe, the chief confidentially disclosed that, during his slumbers, he had been favoured with a vision of Sir William bestowing upon him the rich laced coat which formed his full dress. The fulfilment of this revelation was very inconvenient; yet, on being assured that it positively occurred, the English commander found it advisable to resign his uniform. Soon after, however, he unfolded to the Indian a dream with which he had himself been favoured, and in which the former was seen presenting him with a large tract of fertile land most commodiously situated. The native ruler admitted

* Adair, p. 32. La Potherie, tome ii., p. 3-8, 11, 12. Long, p. 139. Creuxius, p. 84.

that, since the vision had been vouchsafed, it must be realized, yet earnestly proposed to cease this mutual dreaming, which he found had turned much to his own disadvantage.*

The manitou is an object of peculiar veneration; and the fixing upon this guardian power is not only the most important event in the history of a youth, but even constitutes his initiation into active life. As a preliminary, his face is painted black, and he undergoes a severe fast, which is, if possible, prolonged for eight days. This is preparatory to the dream in which he is to behold the idol destined ever after to afford him aid and protection. In this state of excited expectation, and while every nocturnal vision is carefully watched, there seldom fails to occur to his mind something which, as it makes a deep impression, is pronounced his manitou. Most commonly it is a trifling and even fantastic article; the head, beak, or claw of a bird, the hoof of a cow, or even a piece of wood. However, having undergone a thorough perspiration in one of their vapour-baths, he is laid on his back, and a picture of it is drawn upon his breast by needles of fish-bone dipped in vermilion. A good specimen of the original being procured, it is carefully treasured up; and to it he applies in every emergency, hoping that it will inspire his dreams, and secure to him every kind of good fortune. When, however, notwithstanding every means of propitiating its favour, misfortunes befall him, the manitou is considered as having exposed itself to just and serious reproach. He begins with remonstrances, representing all that has been done for it, the disgrace it incurs by not protecting its votary, and, finally, the danger that, in case of repeated neglect, it may be discarded for another. Nor is this considered merely as an empty threat; for if the manitou is judged incorrigible, it is thrown away;

* Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 156–158. Creuxius, p. 84. Long, p. 89.

and by means of a fresh course of fasting, dreaming, sweating, and painting, another is installed, from whom better success may be hoped.*

The absence of temples, worship, sacrifices, and all the observances to which superstition prompts the untutored mind, is a remarkable circumstance, and, as we have already remarked, led the early visiters to believe that the Indians were strangers to all religious ideas. Yet the missionaries found room to suspect that some of their great feasts, in which everything presented must be eaten, bore an idolatrous character, and were held in honour of the Great Hare. The Ottawas, whose mythological system seems to have been the most complicated, were wont to keep a regular festival to celebrate the beneficence of the sun; on which occasion the luminary was told that this service was in return for the good hunting he had procured for his people, and as an encouragement to persevere in his friendly cares. They were also observed to erect an idol in the middle of their town, and sacrifice to it; but such ceremonies were by no means general. On first witnessing Christian worship, the only idea suggested by it was that of their asking some temporal good, which was either granted or refused.† The missionaries mention two Hurons, who arrived from the woods soon after the congregation had assembled. Standing without, they began to speculate what it was the white men were asking, and then whether they were getting it. As the service continued beyond expectation, it was concluded they were *not* getting it; and as the devotional duties still proceeded, they admired the perseverance with which this rejected suit was urged. At length, when the vesper hymn began, one of the savages observed to

* Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 145, 146. La Potherie, vol. ii., p. 11, &c.

† Missions en la Nouvelle France, an 1635, p. 72.

the other: "Listen to them now in despair, crying with all their might."*

The grand doctrine of a life beyond the grave was, among all the tribes of America, most deeply cherished and most sincerely believed.† They had even formed a distinct idea of the region whither they hoped to be transported, and of the new and happier mode of existence, free from those wars, tortures, and cruelties which throw so dark a shade over their lot upon earth. Yet their conceptions on this subject were by no means either exalted or spiritualized. They expected simply a prolongation of their present life and enjoyments, under more favourable circumstances, and with the same objects furnished in greater choice and abundance. In that brighter land the sun ever shines unclouded, the forests abound with deer, the lakes and rivers with fish; benefits which are farther enhanced in their imagination by a faithful wife and dutiful children. They do not reach it, however, till after a journey of several months, and encountering various obstacles; a broad river, a chain of lofty mountains, and the attack of a furious dog. This favoured country lies far in the west, at the remotest boundary of the earth, which is supposed to terminate in a steep precipice, with the ocean rolling beneath. Sometimes, in the too eager pursuit of game, the spirits fall over, and are converted into fishes. The local position of their paradise appears connected with certain obscure intimations received from their wandering neighbours of the Mississippi, the Rocky Mountains, and the distant shores of the Pacific. This system of belief labours under a great defect, inasmuch as it scarcely connects felicity in the future world with virtuous conduct in the present. The one is held to

* La Potherie, vol. ii., p. 12. Missions en la Nouvelle France, an 1667, p. 53–55; an 1635, p. 72.

† Animorum immortalitatem persuasissimam quidem omnes habent. Creuxius, p. 87.

be simply a continuation of the other; and under this impression, the arms, ornaments, and everything that had contributed to the welfare of the deceased, are interred along with him. This supposed assurance of a future life, so comformable to their gross habits and conceptions, was found by the missionaries a serious obstacle when they attempted to allure them by the hope of a destiny, purer and higher indeed, but less accordant with their untutored conceptions. Upon being told that in the promised world they would neither hunt, eat, drink, nor marry, many of them declared that, far from endeavouring to reach such an abode, they would consider their arrival there as the greatest calamity. Mention is made of a Huron girl whom one of the Christian ministers was endeavouring to instruct, and whose first question was what she would find to eat. The answer being "Nothing," she then asked what she would see; and being informed that she would see the Maker of heaven and earth, she expressed herself much at a loss how she should address him.*

Another sentiment, congenial with that now described, is most deeply rooted in the mind of the Indians. This is reverence for the dead, with which Chateaubriand, though somewhat hastily, considers them more deeply imbued than any other people.† During life they are by no means lavish in their expressions of tenderness, but on the hour of final separation it is displayed with extraordinary force. When any member of a family becomes seriously ill, all the resources of magic and medicine are exhausted in order to procure his recovery. When the fatal moment arrives, all the kindred burst into loud lamentations, which continue till some person possessing the requisite authority desires them to

* Missions en la Nouvelle France, an 1637, p. 121, 170; an 1635, p. 41. Creuxius, p. 87. Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 154, 155.
† Cura ingens mortuorum. Creuxius, p. 91.

cease. These expressions of grief, however, are renewed for a considerable time at sunrise and sunset. After three days the funeral takes place, when all the provisions which the family can procure are expended in a feast, to which the neighbours are generally invited; and, although on all solemn occasions it is required that everything should be eaten, the relations do not partake. These last cut off their hair, cover their heads, paint their faces of a black colour, and continue long to deny themselves every species of amusement.* The deceased is then interred with his arms and ornaments, his face painted, and his person attired in the richest robes which they can furnish. It was the opinion of one of the early missionaries, that the chief object of the Hurons in their traffic with the French was to procure materials for honouring their dead; and, as a proof of this, many of them have been seen shivering half naked in the cold, while their hut contained rich robes to be wrapped round them after their decease. The body is placed in the tomb in an upright posture, and skins are carefully spread round it, so that no part may touch the earth. This, however, is by no means the final ceremony, being followed by another still more solemn and singular. Every eighth, tenth, or twelfth year, according to the custom of the different nations, is celebrated the festival of the dead; and, till then, the souls are supposed to hover round their former tenement, and not to depart for their final abode in the west. On this occasion the people march in procession to the places of interment, open the tombs, and, on beholding the mortal remains of their friends, continue some time fixed in mournful silence. The women then break out into loud cries, and the party begin to collect the bones, removing every remnant of flesh. The remains are then wrapped in fresh and

* Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 191.

valuable robes, and conveyed amid continual lamentation to the family-cabin. A feast is then given, followed during several days by dances, games, and prize-combats, to which strangers often repair from a great distance. This mode of celebration certainly accords very ill with the sad occasion; yet the Greek and Roman obsequies were solemnized in a similar manner; nay, in many parts of Scotland, till very recently, they were accompanied by festival, and often by revelry. The relics are then carried to the council-house of the nation, where they are hung for exhibition along the walls, with fresh presents destined to be interred along with them. Sometimes they are even displayed from village to village. At length, being deposited in a pit previously dug in the earth, and lined with the richest furs, they are finally entombed. Tears and lamentations are again lavished; and during a few days food is brought to the place. The bones of their fathers are considered by the Indians the strongest ties to their native soil; and when calamity forces them to quit it, these mouldering fragments are, if possible, conveyed along with them.*

Under the head of religious rites we may include medicine, which is almost entirely within the domain of superstition. The great warmth of affection which, amid their apparent apathy, the natives cherish for each other, urges them, when their friends are seriously ill, to seek with the utmost eagerness for a remedy. An order of men has thus arisen entirely different from the rest of the society, uniting the characters of priests, physicians, sorcerers, and sages. Nor are they quite strangers to some branches of the healing art. In external hurts or wounds, the cause of which is obvious, they apply various simples of considerable power, chiefly drawn from the vegetable world. Chateaubriand enumerates

* Chateaubriand, vol. i., p. 215. Creuxius, p. 91. Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 186, 187; 193-195.

the ginseng of the Chinese, the sassafras, the three-leaved hedisaron, and a tall shrub called bellis; with decoctions from which they cure wounds and ulcers in a surprising manner. With sharp-pointed bones they scarify inflamed or rheumatic parts; and shells of gourds, filled with combustible matters, serve instead of cupping-glasses. They learned the art of bleeding from the French, but employed it sometimes rashly and fatally, by opening the vein in the forehead: they now understand it better, but their favourite specific in all internal complaints is the vapour-bath. To procure this, a small hut or shed is framed of bark or branches of trees, covered with skins, and made completely tight on every side, leaving only a small hole, through which the patient is admitted. By throwing red-hot stones into a pot of water, it is made to boil, and thus emit a warm steam, which, filling the hut, throws the patient into a most profuse perspiration. When he is completely bathed in it, he rushes out, even should it be in the depth of winter, and throws himself into the nearest pond or river; and this exercise, which we should be apt to think sufficient to produce death, is proved, by their example as well as that of the Russians, to be safe and salutary. As a very large proportion of their maladies arise from cold and obstructed perspiration, this remedy is by no means ill chosen. They attach to it, however, a supernatural influence, calling it the sorcerer's bath, and employ it not only in the cure of diseases, but in opening their minds whenever they are to hold a council on great affairs, or to engage in any important undertaking.*

All cases of internal malady or of obscure origin are ascribed without hesitation to the secret agency of malignant powers or spirits. The physician, therefore, must then invest himself with his mystic char-

* Chateaubriand, vol. i., p. 247-249. Creuxius, p. 58, 59. Carver, p. 390, 391. Long, p. 46, 100.

acter, and direct all his efforts against these invisible enemies. His proceedings are various, and prompted seemingly by a mixture of delusion and imposture. On his first arrival, he begins to sing and dance round the patient, invoking his god with loud cries. Then, pretending to search out the seat of the enchantment, he feels his body all over, till cries seem to indicate the bewitched spot. He then rushes upon it like a madman or an enraged dog, tears it with his teeth, and often pretends to show a small bone or other object which he has extracted, and in which the evil power had been lodged. His disciples next day renew the process, and the whole family join in the chorus, so that, setting aside the disease, a frame of iron would appear necessary to withstand the remedies. Another contrivance is to surround the cabin with men of straw and wooden masks of the most frightful shapes, in hopes of scaring away the mysterious tormentor. Sometimes a painted image is formed, which the doctor pierces with an arrow, pretending that he has thereby vanquished the evil spirit. On other occasions he professes to discover a mysterious desire, which exists in the patient unknown to himself, for some particular object; and this, however distant or difficult of attainment, the poor family strain all their efforts to procure. It is alleged, that when the malady appears hopeless, he fixes upon something completely beyond reach, the want of which is then represented as the cause of death. The deep faith reposed in these preposterous remedies caused to the missionaries much difficulty even with the most intelligent converts. When a mother found one of her children dangerously ill, her pagan neighbours came round and assured her, that if she would allow it to be blown upon, and danced and howled round in the genuine Indian manner, there would be no doubt of a speedy recovery. They exhorted her to take it into the woods, where the

black-robes, as they called the Christian priests, would not be able to find her. The latter could not fully undeceive their disciples, because in that less enlightened age they themselves were impressed with the notion that the magicians communicated and derived aid from the Prince of Darkness. All they could do, therefore, was to exhort them resolutely to sacrifice any benefit that might be derived from so unholy a source. This, however, was a hard duty; and they record with pride the example of a Huron wife, who, though much attached to her husband, and apparently convinced that he could be cured by this impious process, chose rather to lose him. In other respects the missionaries suffered from the superstitious creed of the natives, who, even when unconverted, believed them to possess supernatural powers, which, it was suspected, they sometimes employed to introduce the epidemic diseases with which the country was from time to time afflicted. They exclaimed, it was not the demons that made so many die, it was prayers, images, and baptism; and when a severe pestilential disorder followed the murder of a Frenchman who fell by their hands, they imagined that the priests were thus avenging the death of their countryman.*

We have still to describe the most prominent object of the Indian's passions and pursuits, his warfare. It is that which presents him under the darkest aspect, effacing almost all his fine qualities, and assimilating his nature to that of fiends. While the most cordial union reigns between the members of each tribe, they have neighbours whom they regard with the deepest enmity, and for whose extermination they continually thirst. The intense excitement which war affords, and the glory

* Missions en la Nouvelle France, an 1685, part iii., p. 155, 217; ans 1642, 1643, p. 49; an 1637, part iii., p. 216, 217; part ii., p. 238, &c. La Potherie, vol. ii., p. 36-40. Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 176-180.

which rewards its achievements, probably give the primary impulse; but after hostilities have begun, the feeling which keeps them alive is revenge. Every Indian who falls into the power of an enemy, and suffers the dreadful fate to which the vanquished are doomed, must have his ghost appeased by a victim from that hostile race. Thus every contest generates another and a more deeply imbittered one. Nor are they strangers to those more refined motives which urge civilized nations to take arms—the extension of their boundaries, an object pursued with ardent zeal, and the power of their tribe, which last they seek to promote by incorporating in its ranks the defeated bands of their antagonists. Personal dislike and the love of distinction often impel individuals to make inroads into a hostile territory even contrary to the general wish; but when war is to be waged by the whole nation, more enlarged views, connected with its interest and aggrandizement, guide the decision. To most savages, however, long-continued peace becomes irksome and unpopular; and the prudence of the aged can with difficulty restrain the fire of the young, who thirst for adventure.

As soon as the determination has been formed, the war-chief, to whom the voice of the nation assigns the supremacy, enters on a course of solemn preparation. This consists not, however, in providing arms or supplies for the campaign, for these are comprised in the personal resources of each individual. He devotes himself to observances which are meant to propitiate or learn the will of the Great Spirit, who, when considered as presiding over the destinies of war, is named Areskoui. He begins by marching three times round his winter-house, spreading the great bloody flag, variegated with deep tints of black. As soon as the young warriors see this signal of death, they crowd around, listening to the oration by which he summons them

to the field: "Comrades," he exclaims, "the blood of our countrymen is yet unavenged; their bones lie uncovered; their spirits cry to us from the tomb. Youths, arise! anoint your hair, paint your faces, let your songs resound through the forest, and console the dead with the assurance that they shall be avenged. Youths, follow me, while I march through the war-path to surprise our enemies, to eat their flesh, to drink their blood, and tear them limb from limb! We shall return triumphant; or, should we fall, this belt will record our valour." The wampum, that grand symbol of Indian policy, is then thrown on the ground. Many desire to lift it; but this privilege is reserved for some chief of high reputation, judged worthy to fill the post of second in command. The leader now commences his series of mystic observances. He is painted all over black, and enters on a strict fast, never eating, nor even sitting down, till after sunset. From time to time he drinks a decoction of consecrated herbs, with the view of giving vivacity to his dreams, which are carefully noted, and submitted to the deliberation of the sages and old men. When a warlike spirit is in the ascendant, it is understood that either their tenour or their interpretation betokens success. The powerful influence of the vapour-bath is also employed. After these solemn preliminaries, a copious application of warm water removes the deep black coating, and he is painted afresh in bright and varied colours, among which red predominates. A huge fire is kindled, whereon is placed the great war-caldron, into which every one present throws something; and if any allies, invited by a belt of wampum and bloody hatchet to devour the flesh and drink the blood of the enemy, have accepted the summons, they send some ingredients to be also cast in. The chief then announces the enterprise by singing a war-song, never sounded but on such occasions, and his example is

followed by all the warriors, who join in the military dance; recounting their former exploits, and dilating on those which they hope to achieve. They now proceed to arm, suspending the bow and quiver, or, more frequently, the musket, from the shoulder, the hatchet or tomahawk from the hand, while the scalping-knife is stuck in the girdle. A portion of parched corn or sagamity, prepared for the purpose, is received from the women, who frequently bear it to a considerable distance. But the most important operation is the collection of the manitous or guardian spirits, to be placed in a common box, which is looked to as a protecting power. The females, during these preparations, have been busily negotiating for a supply of captives, on whom to wreak their vengeance and appease the shades of their fallen kindred; sometimes also with the more merciful view of supplying their place. Tenderer feelings arise as the moment approaches when the warriors must depart, perhaps to return no more, and it may be to endure the same dreadful fate which they are imprecating on others. The leader, having made a short harangue, commences the march, singing his war-song, while the others follow at intervals sounding the war-whoop. The women accompany them at some distance, and when they must separate, they exchange endearing names, and express the most ardent wishes for a triumphant return; while each party receives and gives some object which has been long worn by the other, as a memorial of this tender parting.

As long as the warriors continue in their own country, they straggle in small parties for the convenience of hunting, still holding communication by shouts, in which they imitate the cries of certain birds and beasts. When arrived at the frontier, they all unite and hold another great festival, followed by solemn dreaming, the tenour of which is carefully examined. If found inauspicious, room is still left

to return; and those whose courage shrinks are on such occasions supplied with an apology for relinquishing the undertaking; but such an issue is rare. On entering the hostile territory deep silence is enjoined; the chase is discontinued; they crawl on all fours; step on the trunks of fallen trees, or through swamps. Sometimes they fasten on their feet the hoof of the buffalo or the paw of the bear, and run in an irregular track like those animals. Equally earnest and skilful are they in tracing through the woods the haunts of the enemy. The slightest indications, such as would wholly escape the notice of a European, enable them to thread their course through the vast depths of the western forests. They boast of being able to discern the impression of steps even on the yielding grass, and of knowing by inspection the nation or tribe by whom it has been made. Various and ingenious artifices are employed to entrap their foe. From the recesses of the wood they send forth the cries of the animals which are most eagerly sought by the rival hunters. Their grand object, however, is to surprise a village, and, if possible, the principal one belonging to the hated tribe. Thither all their steps tend, as they steal like silent ghosts through the lonely forest. On approching it, they cast hasty glances from the tops of trees or of hillocks, and then retreat into the thickest covert; but, in total disregard of the most disastrous experience, the obvious precaution of placing nightly sentinels has never been adopted. Even when aware of danger, they content themselves with exploring the vicinity two or three miles around, when, if nothing is discovered, they go to sleep without dread. This supineness is much fostered by a delusive confidence in the manitous enclosed in the holy ark. If, during the day, the assailants have reached unperceived a covert spot in the neighbourhood of the devoted village, they expect the satisfaction of finding its inhabitants buried

in the deepest slumber in the course of the ensuing night. They keep close watch till immediately before daybreak, when silence and security are usually the most complete. Then, flat on their faces, and carefully suppressing the slightest sound, they creep slowly towards the scene of action. Having reached it undiscovered, the chief, by a shrill cry, gives the signal, which is instantly followed by a discharge of arrows or musketry; after which they rush in with the war-club and the tomahawk. The air echoes with the sound of the death-whoop and of arms. The savage aspect of the combatants; their faces painted black and red, and soon streaming with blood; their frightful yells, make them appear like demons risen from the world beneath. The victims, too late aroused, spring from their fatal slumber, and, foreseeing the dreadful fate which awaits them if taken prisoners, make almost superhuman struggles for deliverance. The contest rages with all the fury of revenge and despair, but it is usually short. The unhappy wretches, surprised and bewildered, can seldom rally or resist; they seek safety by fleeing into the depth of forests or marshes, whither they are hotly pursued. The main study of the victorious army is to take the fugitives alive, in order to subject them to the horrible punishments which will be presently described. Should this be impracticable, the tomahawk or the hatchet despatches them on the spot, and the scalp is then carried off as a trophy. Placing a foot on the neck of his fallen enemy, and twisting a hand in the hair, the warrior draws out a long, sharp-pointed knife, specially formed for this operation; then cutting a circle round the crown of the head, by a few skilful scoops he detaches the hair and skin, lodges the whole in his bag, and returns in triumph.*

* Charlevoix, vol. i., p. 317, 327, 330, 338, 339, 359–361. Adair, p. 380–388. Rogers's Concise Account of North America (London, 1765), p. 222.

At the close of the expedition, the warriors repair to their village, and even in approaching, announce its results by various signals well understood among their families. According to the most approved custom, the evil tidings are first communicated. A herald advances before the troop, and for every kinsman who has fallen sounds the death-whoop; a shrill, lengthened note, ending in an elevated key. An interval is then allowed, during which the burst of grief excited by these tidings may be in some degree exhausted. Then rises the loud, inspiring sound of the war-whoop, which, by its successive repetitions, expresses the number of captives brought home as the fruits of victory. The barbarous joy thus kindled banishes for the moment all trace of lamentation. The women and children form two rows, through which the prisoner is led, having his face painted, and crowned with flowers as for a festival. Then begins the darkest of all the scenes by which the savage life is deformed. A series of studied and elaborate torture commences, in which ingenuity is tasked to the utmost to inflict the intensest agony that can be endured without actually extinguishing life. The first caress, as the French call it, is to tear the nails from the fingers; the flesh is then pierced to the bone, and fire in various forms applied to the extremities. Blows are also given to the last degree that nature can sustain; and sometimes an amusement is found in tossing, for a long time, the victim like a ball from one to another. Other contrivances, peculiar to infuriated savages, are sometimes resorted to. One missionary, for example, being made to lie on his back, had his stomach covered with sagamity, on which hungry dogs were set to feed, which tore his flesh with their teeth. The unhappy wretch is occasionally paraded from village to village, kept for weeks in this state of suffering, fed on the coarsest refuse, and allowed only a neglected corner of the cabin to

sleep in. At length a grand council is held to decide his fate, or, in other words, to determine whether all the furies of vengeance shall be let loose upon him, and his life be taken away amid the most frightful tortures, or whether he shall be saluted as one of themselves, and treated as a brother. The decision is influenced by various considerations. If he be a youth or new to the field, a lenient course may probably be adopted; but a veteran warrior, who has been the terror of the nation, and on whose skin is painted a record of triumphs, has to dread a sterner sentence. The women have much influence, according as they either demand revenge for the loss of a husband or brother, or solicit that the captive may supply the vacancy. The Iroquois, though the fiercest of these barbarians, being the deepest politicians, were always anxious to augment their numbers; hence, though they prolonged and heightened the preliminary torture, they usually ended it by adoption. This was carried so far that they are described as having at length become less a single nation than an aggregate of all the surrounding tribes. The stranger, being received into one of the families as a husband, brother, or son, is treated with the utmost tenderness; and she, who perhaps immediately before exhausted her ingenuity in tormenting him, now nurses the wounds she has made, and loads him with caresses. He becomes now one of the clan, and goes with them to war, even against his former countrymen; and so far is the point of honour carried, that to return into their ranks would be branded as an act of baseness.*

There are, however, many occasions in which the more inhuman resolution is taken, and a fearful display is then made of the darkest passions that can

* Charlevoix, vol. i., p. 368–373. Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1642, 1643, p. 257, &c.; ans 1643, 1644, p. 162–168. Adair, p. 389.

agitate the human breast. The captive is informed of his fate by being invested with moccasins of black bear's-skin, and having placed over his head a flaming torch, the sure indications of his doom. Before the fatal scene begins, however, he is allowed a short interval to sing his death-song, which he performs in a triumphant tone. He proclaims the joy with which he goes to the land of souls, where he will meet his brave ancestors, who taught him the great lesson to fight and to suffer. He recounts his warlike exploits, particularly those performed against the kindred of his tormentors; and if there was any one of them whom he vanquished and caused to expire amid tortures, he loudly proclaims it. He declares his inextinguishable desire to eat their flesh and to drink their blood to the last drop. The scene is considered, even when compared to the field of battle, as the great theatre of Indian glory. When two prisoners were about to be tortured by the French at Quebec, a charitable hand privately supplied a weapon with which one of them killed himself; but the other derided his effeminacy, and proudly prepared himself for his fiery trial. In this dreadful work the women take the lead, and seem transformed into raging furies. She, to glut whose vengeance the doom has been specially pronounced, invokes the spirit of her husband, her brother, or her son, who has fallen in battle or died amid torture, bidding him come now and be appeased. A feast is prepared for him; a warrior is to be thrown into the great caldron; his blood will be poured out; his flesh torn from the bones; let the injured spirit then cease to complain. A game begins between the torturers and the tortured, one to inflict the most intense suffering, the other to bear it with proud insensibility. That there may be some appearance of open contest, he is not chained, but merely tied to a post, and a certain range allowed, within which, while the brand, the

hatchet, and every engine of torture are applied, he can do somewhat to repel his assailants, and even attack in his turn. He struggles fiercely in the unequal strife, and while his frame is consuming in agony, still defies his tormentors, and outbraves death itself. Some even deride the feeble efforts of their executioners, boasting how much more effectively they themselves had applied torture to individuals of their tribe. Yet there are instances when the murderers at last triumph; the sufferer exclaims, "Fire is strong, and too powerful;" he even utters loud shrieks, which are responded to by exulting shouts of savage laughter. Some few have been known, by almost incredible efforts, to break loose, and by rapid flight to effect their escape. The general result, however, is death, after protracted suffering; when the scalp, if still entire, is taken off and deposited among the military trophies.*

It has been made a question whether the Indians can be justly charged with cannibalism. It is certain that all the terms by which they designate their inhuman mode of putting a prisoner to death bear reference to this horrid practice. The expressions are to throw him into the caldron, to devour him, to eat soup made of his flesh. It has hence been plausibly inferred that this enormity really prevailed in early times, but was changed, we can scarcely say mitigated, into the present system of torture. Yet, as every action is described by them in terms highly figurative, those now quoted may have been used as expressing most fully the complete gratification of their revenge. Of this charge they cannot now be either condemned or wholly acquitted. In the excited fury of their passions, portions of the flesh are often seized, roasted, and eaten, and draughts taken of the blood. To eat an enemy's

* Charlevoix, vol. i., p. 375. Adair, p. 390, 391. Colden, vol. i., p. 144, 145.

heart is considered a peculiar enjoyment. Long mentions a gentleman who came upon a party who were busy broiling a human heart, when he with difficulty prevailed on them to desist. There is little hesitation among them, in periods of scarcity, to relieve hunger with the flesh of their captives; and during one war, this fate is said to have befallen many French soldiers who fell into the hands of the Five Nations. Colonel Schuyler told Colden, that, having entered the cabin of a chief who had some rich soup before him, he was invited to partake. Being hungry and tired, he readily agreed, till the ladle, being put into the great caldron, brought up a human hand, the sight of which put an immediate end to his appetite and meal.*

Although war may be considered as the ordinary state of those tribes, yet, after having for a considerable time experienced its destructive effects, there usually arises a desire for an interval of tranquillity. To procure this, a regular form is observed. The nation which resolves to make the overture despatches several individuals, usually of some note, as ambassadors, with at least one orator. They bear before them the calumet of peace, which renders their character sacred, and secures them from violence. They carry also a certain number of belts of wampum, with which are respectively connected the several motives and terms of the proposed treaty. The orator having obtained an audience of the chiefs on the other side, expounds the belts, dancing and singing in unison, and by actions expressing the peaceful purpose of his mission. If the opposite party be favourably inclined, they accept the offered symbols, and next day present others of a similar import. He them smokes in the calumet, and the contract is sealed by burying a hatchet; if there be any allies, one is depos

* Charlevoix, vol. i., p. 318. Adair, p. 199. Long, p. 77, 78 Colden, vol. i., p. 156.

ited for each. This agreement is often accompanied with professions, at the moment perhaps sincere, of maintaining the sun always in the heavens, and never again digging up the hatchet; but the turbulence of individuals, and the satiety of long peace, to which the whole nation is subject, usually rekindle hostilities at no distant period.*

Some notice may finally be expected of Indian amusements; the most favourite of which are smoking, music, and dancing. These, however, are viewed in a much higher light than mere pastime; being ranked among the most serious occupations, and esteemed quite indispensable in the conduct of every important affair. Without them a council cannot be held, a negotiation carried on, peace or war proclaimed, nor any public or private contract entered into; for not one of these transactions is accounted valid till it has been smoked over, and sung and danced to. The calumet is the grand instrument of their policy. No important affair can be taken into consideration without the pipe in their mouths; and hence, to call an assembly of the chiefs is said to be lighting the council-fire. This tube accompanies and is the guardian of every embassy, and to smoke together is the chief cement of national union.

Music and dancing accompanying each other are equally indispensable to every solemn celebration. Yet the instruments and performance are alike simple and rude; for their song, though often continued for a long period, consists merely in the perpetual iteration of a few wild melancholy notes. The words are usually of the minstrel's own composition, and record his exploits in war or hunting, and sometimes the praises of the animals which he has killed in the chase. The song is accompanied by performance on the drum, and on the chichikoue,

* Charlevoix, vol. i., p. 321.

or pipe. The former is merely a hollowed piece of wood, covered with skin; the latter is formed of a thick cane, upward of two feet in length, with eight or nine holes, and a mouthpiece not unlike that of a common whistle. Those who know how to stop the holes and bring out a sound consider themselves performers; yet they cannot play upon it even those simple airs which they execute with the voice, though they will often continue for hours drawing out wild irregular notes.

The dances of the Indians, even those at common festivals, are on an extensive scale, requiring to a complete performance forty or fifty persons, who execute their evolutions by following each other round a great fire kindled in the centre. Their movements, monotonous but violent, consist in stamping furiously on the ground, and often brandishing their arms in a manner compared by an able writer to a baker converting flour into dough. They keep good time; but the music is so exceedingly simple that this implies little merit. They conclude with a loud shout or howl, which echoes frightfully through the woods. The dances in celebration of particular events are of a more varied character, and often form a very expressive pantomime. The war-dance is the most favourite and frequent. In this extraordinary performance, a complete image is given of the terrible reality; the war-whoop is sounded with the most frightful yells; the tomahawk is wildly brandished; and the enemy are surprised, seized, and scalped, or carried off for torture. The calumet-dance, which celebrates peace between nations, and the marriage-dance, which represents domestic life, are much more pleasing. Some mention is made of a mystic dance, carried on by the jugglers or doctors, with strange superstitious ceremonies, and in which a supernatural personage, termed by some the devil, rises and performs; but it does not seem to have been wit-

nessed by any European, and is said to be now in a great measure disused.*

There are, moreover, games to which the Indians are fondly attached, which, though they be only ranked under the head of amusement, are yet constructed in the same serious manner as their other transactions. Their great parties are said to be collected by supernatural authority, communicated by the jugglers; and they are preceded, like their wars and hunts, by a course of fasting, dreaming, and other means of propitiating fortune. The favourite game is that of the bone, in which small pieces of that substance, resembling dice, and painted of different colours, are thrown in the air, and according to the manner in which they fall, the game is decided. Only two persons can play; but a numerous party, and sometimes whole villages, embrace one side or the other, and look on with intense interest. At each throw, especially if it be decisive, tremendous shouts are raised; the players and spectators equally resemble persons possessed; the air rings with invocations to the bones and to the manitous. Their eagerness sometimes leads to quarrelling and even fighting, which on no other occasion ever disturb the interior of thesé societies. To such a pitch are they occasionally worked up, that they stake successively all they possess, and even their personal liberty; but this description must apply only to the more southern nations, as slavery was unknown among the Canadian Indians.

A temporary interval of wild license, of emancipation from all the restraints of dignity and decorum, seems to afford an enjoyment highly prized in all rude societies. Corresponding with the saturnalia and bacchanals of antiquity, the Indians have their festival of dreams, which, during fifteen

* Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1645, 1646, p. 20, 21. Weld, p. 412–417. Creuxius, p. 67. Chateaubriand, vol. i., p. 205. Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 70. Carver, p. 270, 271.

days, enlivens the inaction of the coldest season. Laying aside all their usual order and gravity, they run about, frightfully disguised, and commiting every imaginable extravagance. He who meets another demands an explanation of his visions, and if not satisfied, imposes some fantastic penalty. He throws upon him cold water, hot ashes, or filth; sometimes, rushing into his cabin, he breaks and destroys the furniture. Although everything appears wild and unpremeditated, it is alleged that opportunities are often taken to give vent to old and secret resentments. The period having elapsed, a feast is given, order is restored, and the damages done are carefully repaired.*

On the first settlement of Europeans in Canada, that territory was chiefly divided between three great nations, the Algonquins, the Hurons, and the Iroquois or Five Nations. The first held an extensive domain along the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, about a hundred leagues above Trois Rivières. Shortly before, they had been the most powerful of all these tribes, and considered even in some degree as masters over this part of America. They are described also as having the mildest aspect and polished manners of any. They subsisted entirely by hunting, and looked with proud disdain on their neighbours, who consented to bestow on the soil even the smallest cultivation.† The Hurons were a numerous people, whose very extensive territory reached from the Algonquin frontier to the borders of the great lake bearing their name. They were also more industrious, and derived an abundant subsistence from the fine territory of Upper Canada. But they were, at the same time, more effeminate and voluptuous, and had less of the proud independence of savage life, having chiefs

* Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 13-15, 159 164, &c. Chateaubriand, vol. i., p. 238-242. La Potherie, vol. ii., p. 126, 127.

† La Potherie, vol. i., p. 232--289.

hereditary in the female line, to whom they paid considerable deference.

The Iroquois, destined to act the most conspicuous part among all the native tribes, occupied a long range of territory on the southern border of the St. Lawrence, from Lake Champlain to the western extremity of Lake Ontario. They were thus beyond the limits of what is now considered Canada; yet, as all their transactions were completely connected with the interests of that country, we cannot at present avoid considering them as belonging to it.

This people were divided into five cantons, each of which was considered as an independent nation. They were united, however, by the closest alliance; were never found waging war with each other; nor did they often fail to combine their forces when attacked by neighbouring tribes.* The following are the names given to them by English and French authors:

English.	French.
Mohawks.	Agniers.
Oneidas.	Onneyouths.
Onondagoes.	Onontagues.
Cayugas.	Anniegué.
Senecas.	Tsomonthouans.

* La Potherie, vol. i., p. 232–289. Rogers, p. 237. Colden, p. 3, 4.

CHAPTER III.

History of Canada under the French.

Earliest Discoveries of the English and French.—De la Roche.—Chauvin and Pontgravé.—De Monts.—Champlain, employed by him, ascends the St. Lawrence.—Founds Quebec.—Dealings with a Party of Natives.—Joins a warlike Expedition.—Victory.—Torture.—Transactions in France.—Fresh military Encounter.—Foundation of Montreal.—Various Transactions.—Voyage up the Ottawa.—Great Expedition against the Iroquois.—Unsuccessful.—Difficulties in France.—Appointment of De Caen.—Peace among the Indian Tribes.—Duke de Ventadour Viceroy.—Rupture of the Treaty.—Quebec taken by the English.—Restored.—Large Supplies sent out.—Death of Champlain.—Great Power of the Five Nations.—Treaty with them.—War renewed.—Destruction of the French Indian Allies.—A Remnant flee to Quebec.—Iroquois Masters of Canada.—Louis XIV. determines to reenforce the Colony.—Expedition under De Tracy.—Government of De Courcelles.—Frontenac.—De la Barre.—His fruitless Expedition.—Denonville.—His violent Proceedings.—Critical state of the Colony.—Second Government of Frontenac.—Capture of Corlaer or Schenectady.—The English under Phipps attack Quebec.—Repulsed.—Negotiations with the Indians.—Invasion of their Territory.—Death of Frontenac.—De Callières.—Peace, and speedy Renewal of War.—Attempts by the English to conquer Canada.—Treaty of Utrecht.—Charlevoix's Account of the State of the Colony.—Its prosperity.—Administration of Du Quesne.

THE English took decidedly the most prominent part in the discovery of North America. In 1497, John Cabot, under a commission from Henry VII., landed on its shores, four years only after Columbus had reached the West Indies, and nearly twelve months before that celebrated navigator had touched at any part of the continent. In the following year, Sebastian, son to the first discoverer, performed a most extensive exploratory voyage along the greater

part of the eastern coast, to lat. 56° or 58° N., and south as far as Florida. The same eminent seaman took part in another expedition undertaken in 1517, for the discovery of a northwest passage. The squadron appears to have penetrated into Hudson's Bay, but through the pusillanimity of Sir Thomas Pert, the commander, returned without completing the object in view. These interesting voyages, however, have been illustrated with such diligent and acute research by Mr. Tytler, that to our readers another detailed narrative of them would be very superfluous.*

Various circumstances combined to withdraw the successors of Henry from this brilliant career. They were succeeded in it by France; and it is singular that the settlement of by far the greater part of what is now British America was effected by that power. When, too, England had wrested these possessions from her rival, she retained them after most of her own colonies had established their independence; for which reason we find it necessary to enter at considerable length into the proceedings of those Gallic adventurers who laid the foundations of civilization in the Canadian provinces.

In 1524, Francis I. commissioned Giovanni Verazzano, a skilful Florentine navigator, who appears to have sailed along the whole coast from Carolina to the northern extremity of Nova Scotia. It was then appropriated in the name of his most Christian majesty, under the magnificent title of New France. His second expedition was disastrous; but in 1534, Jacques Cartier, a bold and able mariner of St. Malo, was sent out with a similar view. This discoverer made two voyages, in the second of which he penetrated up the St. Lawrence as high as the position now occupied by Montreal, and brought home with

* See Progress of Discovery on the more Northern Coasts of America, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time, p. 15–24, 31–38. Harpers' Family Library.

him Donnaconna, a native king. He was employed a third time in 1540, though in a subordinate rank, under the Sieur de Roberval, an opulent nobleman of Picardy, who, having agreed to defray the expense of the expedition, was created lieutenant-general and viceroy. The enterprise was begun with spirit; and a fort named Charlesbourg was erected near the site now occupied by Quebec. The natives, however, showed a hostile spirit; the two leaders quarrelled; and Roberval abandoned the undertaking. He renewed it in 1540, but with an issue singularly unfortunate, neither he nor his brother, who accompanied him, being ever again heard of. For the details of these voyages also we refer to the work above mentioned, where they will be found narrated in a very satisfactory manner.*

These failures, and still more, perhaps, the distracted state of France during many years, occasioned by religious wars, withdrew the attention of the government from schemes of transatlantic colonization. The merchants, however, of the great commercial towns, particularly Dieppe, Rouen, St. Malo, and Rochelle, had opened communications, and even established posts for the prosecution of the fur-trade. That of Canada was carried on chiefly at Tadoussac, near the mouth of the river Saguenay.

Tranquillity being restored by the union of parties under the sway of Henry IV., the public attention was again directed towards New France. The Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany, undertook to equip an expedition on a large scale, and form a settlement on that remote shore. The encouragements to such enterprises were always liberal; and Henry in this respect seems to have surpassed all other monarchs. The marquis was authorized not only to levy troops, make war, build forts and cities,

* Pages 49-58.

and enact laws, but even to create lords, counts, barons, and similar dignities. He accordingly equipped several vessels, with a considerable number of settlers, whom, however, he was obliged to draw partly from the prisons of Paris. He sailed under the guidance of Chedotel, a Norman pilot; but of the voyage it is only narrated that he landed and left forty men on Sable Island, a small barren spot near the coast of Nova Scotia. He then returned; when, being thwarted in his designs at court, he fell sick, and died of chagrin. The colonists were entirely forgotten, and soon experienced such hardships as caused even the criminals among them to regret their dungeons. Having, with a few planks obtained from a wrecked vessel, erected a hut, they were obliged to subsist on the fish which they caught, and to replace their worn-out garments with the skins of sea-wolves. In this condition they were left seven years, when the king, or, according to Champlain, the parliament of Rouen, sent out Chedotel to see what was become of them. He found only twelve survivers, who exhibited the most wretched and deplorable aspect. On their return to France they waited upon Henry, who received them kindly, and made them a handsome donation.*

The king was still disposed to encourage colonization. In 1599, two eminent naval characters, Chauvin of Rouen and Pontgravé of St. Malo, undertook to settle five hundred persons, and prevailed on his majesty to aid them, by granting a monopoly of the fur-trade on the St. Lawrence. Chauvin, it is alleged, was disposed to execute as little as possible of the agreement, his chief object being to avail himself of the exclusive traffic. However, being under the necessity of making some show, he fitted out two vessels, and arrived at Tadoussac.

* Histoire Générale des Voyages (19 vols. 4to, Paris, 1746–1770), tome xiv., p. 589–591. Champlain, Voyages du Sieur de (2 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1830), tome i., p. 41–43.

This situation being bleak and barren in the extreme, he was strongly advised to proceed farther up the river, to one which was reported to be much more advantageous. Disregarding this suggestion, he built a house twenty-four feet long, eighteen broad, and eight high, surrounded it with a ditch, and lodged there sixteen settlers for the winter. They had, however, a very slender stock of provisions, and on the setting in of the cold were reduced to the last extremity, and finally obliged to throw themselves on the mercy of the natives. From that simple people they experienced a great degree of kindness, but, nevertheless, suffered such hardships, that many of them perished before the arrival of vessels from France. Chauvin performed another voyage, which was as fruitless as the first; and in the course of a third he was taken ill and died.*

Fresh adventurers were never wanting in this hazardous enterprise. The next was the Commandeur de Chaste, governor of Dieppe, who, though already gray with years, engaged in it, and prevailed upon some considerable merchants to second him. He made a most important acquisition in Samuel Champlain, the destined founder of the French settlements in Canada, who had just arrived from the East Indies. He and Pontgravé were sent out to Tadoussac, with instructions to ascend the St. Lawrence, and examine the country on its upper borders. They penetrated as far as the Sault St. Louis, a little above Montreal; but, finding it impossible to pass that cataract, they with some difficulty reached the height above it, where they made the best observations they could on the river and country. Champlain, on his arrival in France, was dismayed to find De Chaste dead, and the whole undertaking deranged. He proceeded, however, to Paris, and showed to the king a chart and

* Champlain, tome i., p. 44–48.

description of the region he had surveyed, with which his majesty appeared highly pleased.*

Scarcely an interval elapsed when the same enterprise was taken up by De Monts, a gentleman of opulence and distinction, and a special favourite of Henry. He obtained the highest privileges that had been granted to any of his predecessors, and having prepared an expedition on a more extensive scale than any former one, he put to sea; but as he had accompanied Chauvin to Tadoussac, and viewed that bleak shore, he felt very averse to enter the St. Lawrence. It appeared to him that the seacoast, being in a more southern latitude, was likely to enjoy a milder climate; an idea plausible, though erroneous. He directed his chief efforts, therefore, to the country now named Nova Scotia; and though his operations there were disastrous to his companions, and ultimately to himself, they were the means of founding the important colony of Acadia. Our narrative of these adventurers, however, is reserved till we come to treat of that province.†

Champlain, whose services he had secured, then remonstrated with him on the error of preferring an iron-bound coast to the beautiful and fertile banks of the upper St. Lawrence. De Monts listened to the suggestion, and, undeterred by previous losses, applied to the king for a commission. He obtained it without difficulty, associated, as before, with a grant of a monopoly of the fur-trade on the river. He fitted out two vessels, but, not finding it convenient to command in person, placed them under Champlain, who, accompanied by Pontgravé, was authorized to act as his lieutenant.‡

The expedition sailed from Honfleur on the 13th April, 1608, and on the 3d June reached Tadoussac.

* Champlain, tome i., p. 49–53. † Ibid., p. 54–56.
‡ Ibid., p. 150, 151.

The Saguenay, hitherto the chief seat of the traffic in furs, was described as flowing from a considerably distant source in the north. Forty or fifty leogues up, its current was broken by a succession of falls, beyond which was a lake (St. John) which it required three days to cross. On the other side were wandering tribes, from whom the skins were chiefly procured, and who reported that in their roamings they came in view of the Northern Sea. Champlain had sufficient information to know that this could only be a large gulf; though he had no knowledge of Hudson's Bay, which had not yet been entered by the great navigator whose name it bears. The small port of Tadoussac was tolerably safe; but the shore consisted only of dreary rocks and sands, scantily clothed with larch and pine. He could find nothing to catch except a few small birds, which visited the spot only in summer. The natives who traded with the French sailed in canoes of birch-bark, so light that a man could easily carry them from one river or lake to another.

The navigator continued to ascend the stream, though the banks were still naked and unpromising, till he reached the Isle of Orleans, which formed the commencement of the most valuable part of the river, being adorned with fine woods and meadows.*

After passing this island, he immediately sought a commodious place of settlement, and soon fixed on a hill richly clothed with vines and walnut-trees, called by the natives Quebeio or Quebec. Having begun to clear and build, he formed an acquaintance with a number of the natives busily employed in the fishery of eels. They showed a considerable disposition to adopt European culture and other improvements, the introduction of which he was led to hope might issue in their conversion.†

The Frenchman spent the winter here, and sow-

* Champlain, tome i., liv. iii., ch. 3, 4.
† Ibid., liv. iv., ch. 5.

ed some grain, for which he found the soil well adapted. The inhabitants, who, unlike those higher up the river, did not practise agriculture in any degree, were often reduced to the most dreadful extremes of famine. Of this the settlers witnessed a painful example in February, 1609, when a party of the savages, seeing them from the opposite bank, and hoping to obtain relief, resolved to cross, without regard to the floating ice. The French considered the attempt quite desperate; and accordingly, in mid-channel, the canoes were dashed to pieces, and the poor creatures leaped on a mass of ice, whence they raised the most doleful cries. By peculiarly good fortune, a larger piece struck that on which they stood and caused it to drift ashore. They landed with joy, but in a state of such ravening hunger, that, had the discoverers made any attempt to satisfy it, their whole stock would have been swallowed up. A limited allowance was, however, granted, which they sought to augment by very strange expedients. A dead pig and dog had been laid out as a bait for foxes; but having been exposed two months, and the weather becoming milder, such a scent issued from them that the French could scarcely approach the spot. The new-comers, however, on discovering this store, exultingly carried it to their hut, and began to feast upon it. Their hosts ran to warn them of the danger of such food, but found them so busily engaged, each with a piece in his hand, that remonstrance was vain, and being themselves assailed with disgusting odours from the half-cooked victuals, they were glad to retreat. Another dead dog had been placed on the top of a tree to attract birds of prey. The natives were so extremely weak that they could not climb; but having, by great efforts, cut down the tree, they possessed themselves of this highly-flavoured morsel.*

* Champlain, tome i., liv. iii., ch. 6.

As soon as the season admitted, Champlain resumed his voyage up the river, the banks of which were covered with noble forests. Twenty-five leagues above Quebec, at a small island named St. Eloi, he met a band belonging chiefly to the celebrated nation of the Algonquins, commanded by two chiefs, Yroquet and Ochasteguin. It now appears that a treaty had already been opened at the winter station by a son of the former, through whom they had promised to assist the stranger in his attempt to traverse the country of the Iroquois, on the condition that he should aid them in a war against that fierce people. The zeal of our adventurer blinded him not only to the danger, but to the guilt of this most unprovoked aggression on a nation who had never offended him. In reply to a solemn appeal from the savage chiefs, he assured them of his determination strictly to fulfil this questionable engagement, and accepted of their proposal to visit him previously at Quebec.* They accompanied him thither, and, exulting in the prospect of approaching triumph, spent five or six days in dancing and festivity, while Champlain procured a reenforcement from Tadoussac. He set out with his new allies on the 28th May; and in a short time, having passed through Lake St. Pierre, he reached the mouth of the river which takes its rise in the country of the Iroquois. He had been apprized that fifteen leagues farther up there was a considerable fall, but had been led to hope that his light shallop might be conveyed beyond it. On reconnoitring the spot, he found this to be quite impracticable, as the stream from bank to bank was dashing with violence amid rocks and stones; and his party had not strength to cut a road through the woods. Nothing, however, could damp his ardour; and, in the failure of every other resource, he deter-

* Champlain, tome i., liv. iii. ch. 7.

mined to commit himself to the canoes of the savages, and share their fate. As soon, however, as this was announced to his men, they "bled at the nose;" and two only were found who did not shrink from accompanying the Indians.*

By carrying their canoes, arms, and baggage half a league overland, the natives avoided the fall and re-embarked. When night approached they landed, reared huts covered with birch-bark, and having cut down large trees, formed round the spot a barricade of such strength, that five hundred assailants could not have stormed it without much difficulty. They sent some of their number to reconnoitre a few miles up and down the river, but rejected the advice of their European ally to set a watch during the night. High conjurations were now performed by the *pilotois* or priest, who was placed alone in a cabin, while the multitude sat round in solemn silence. Violent and mysterious movements shook the wigwam, which the Frenchman clearly perceived to be produced by its crafty inmate; while, in answer to his solemn call, the demon appeared, and, in the form of a stone, foretold the issue of the enterprise. Solemn sounds overawed the spectators, though it was easy to discover that they were all uttered by the pilotois himself. The French chief was also every morning carefully examined regarding his dreams, and great exultation was expressed when they appeared to portend success. The only drilling employed to prepare them for the approaching battle was confined to their taking a number of canes, one for each man, with two longer ones for the chiefs, and fixing them in the ground according to the order in which the troops were to advance. The Indians then practised the various movements till they could arrange themselves exactly in the same manner. The river was diversified with nu-

* Champlain, tome i., liv. iii., ch. 8.

merous low islands, abounding in woods, meadows, and game, but deserted in consequence of the deadly wars which had for some time been raging. It opened into an extensive lake, now named, from our traveller, Champlain, and containing four large islands, also uninhabited. They had reached its southern extremity, and even entered a smaller one (George) connected with it, when, on the 29th June, at ten in the evening, they beheld the Iroquois, who raised loud shouts of defiance, and began hastily to arm and to form a barricade with trunks of trees. The invaders sent two canoes to ask if their adversaries would fight; the answer was, there was nothing they more desired, but the hour was unsuitable, adding, however, that they would be ready next morning at daybreak. This delay was approved; but the two parties, instead of qualifying themselves for the combat by taking suitable rest, danced the whole night without intermission, exchanging the most imbittered expressions of reproach and contempt. The Algonquins being told that neither their courage nor arms were of any value, and that to-morrow would witness their doom, threw out in return mysterious hints that their adversaries would then see something never before witnessed. In the morning they landed, and the French chief saw the enemy come out of their barricade, two hundred strong, firm and robust, headed by leaders with waving plumes, and advancing with a bold and determined aspect, which struck him with admiration. He and his two countrymen stationed themselves at different points, and the natives made way for him to go about twenty paces in front. He then fired an arquebus, loaded with four balls, by which two Indians were killed and one mortally wounded. His allies raised shouts which would have drowned the loudest thunder, while the enemy were astounded at seeing armour, proof against native weapons, pierced by this unknown instrument

of destruction. Yet they still poured in clouds of arrows, till another shot, fired from a thicket, excited such a degree of fear that they fled precipitately, abandoning their fort, and seeking refuge in the heart of the forest. A number were killed, and ten or twelve taken prisoners.*

The savages, having celebrated their victory with dance and festival, immediately began their return to their own country. After travelling sixteen leagues, they took one of the captives, and in a formal harangue recounted to him all the cruelties of his countrymen, which he must now expiate; they then summoned him, if he were a man of courage, to sing. He did so, though in a somewhat lugubrious tone. Champlain, then, was perhaps the first European who beheld that horrid scene of torture, which we spare our readers, though described by him in the most minute detail. He did not, however, witness that stoical apathy so often displayed, for the sufferer occasionally uttered loud shrieks, though his fortitude was, on the whole, wonderful. The Frenchman was asked why he did not join in this triumphant vengeance; and when he declared that the sight gave him pain, and even showed a disposition to withdraw, they allowed him to terminate the scene by a discharge of his arquebus. The most shocking indignities were inflicted on the lifeless body; even the heart was plucked out and cut in small pieces, which the other prisoners were compelled to receive into their mouths, though they were not expected to swallow the horrid morsel. The Algonquins marched on with the remaining Iroquois, who continued to sing, though fully aware of their approaching fate. Another employment of the victors was to ornament the heads of the slain, to be displayed in triumph on their arrival. With this view they earnestly solicited from Champlain

* Champlain, tome i., liv. iii., ch.

some copies of the paternoster, which sacred article, amid all his professions of piety, he did not hesitate to bestow for this profane purpose. Thus prepared, as the party approached home, the heads were fastened on the ends of poles, and exhibited to the women, who came swimming across the river to meet their lords. The adventurer himself was presented with one of these savage trophies, with a request that he would offer it to his sovereign, which, to please them, he engaged to do.*

On the author's return from this expedition, which seemed to hold out a great promise of ultimate success, he was greeted with unfavourable tidings from France. The merchants of that country, to his deep indignation, though, we think, with very good reason, had raised loud complaints of the injury which they, as well as the nation at large, sustained by the fur-trade being confined to a single individual. De Mont's commission was in consequence revoked, and his lieutenant was obliged to return home. He gave an account of his transactions, first to his patron, and then to the king, who listened to them with much satisfaction. All his attempts, however, to procure a renewal of the monopoly proved abortive; yet such was his zeal, that he determined even without this aid to retain the settlement. To lighten the expense, he made an agreement with some traders at Rochelle, to give them the use of his building at Quebec as a depôt for their goods, while they, by way of recompense, engaged to assist him in his plans of colonization. He was thus enabled in 1610 to fit out Champlain with a considerable reenforcement and fresh supplies.†

On his return to the St. Lawrence, he received an application from the Algonquins to assist them in a new war; and they promised to join him with 400 men at the entrance of the Iroquois river. Un-

* Champlain, tome i., liv. iii., ch. 10. † Ibid., p. 152, 153.

deterred by any motive either of fear or principle, and seemingly without any hesitation, he accepted the proposal; but, on reaching the spot, affairs were found more urgent than had been supposed. A canoe arrived with intelligence that a hundred of the enemy were so strongly intrenched in the vicinity, that, without the aid of the Misthigosches, as the French were termed, it appeared impossible to dislodge them. The savages, on this information, hurried on board of their canoes, and prevailed on their European friend to quit his bark, and accompany them with four of his countrymen. On landing, the natives ran forward so swiftly that they were soon out of the sight of their allies, who floundered after them through woods and marshes, tormented by moschetoes, and much at a loss for their way. They met, however, an Indian, who came in all haste to inform them that his brethren, ill acquainted with military tactics, had no sooner arrived, than, without waiting for the French, they rushed to the assault; and that, having sustained a most severe repulse, in which several of their chiefs were killed and a number wounded, all their hopes were now placed in their auxiliaries. Having proceeded about half a mile, they heard the howlings of the hostile parties, who, as usual, poured on each other torrents of invective. On their appearance, these illustrious allies raised shouts louder than thunder, while Champlain advanced to reconnoitre the fort. He found it very strong, composed, according to the usual fashion, of large trees fixed close together in a circle. He himself was immediately wounded in the ear and neck by an arrow pointed with stone, yet not so as to disable him from acting. At the discharge of fire-arms the Iroquois, who seem to have been a different party from those formerly encountered, felt the same astonishment and dismay. Covered by their intrenchments, however, they continued to pour forth clouds of darts, and Champlain,

whose ammunition began to fail, urged the savages to exert themselves in forcing a way into the barricade. He made them fasten ropes round the trunks of single trees, and apply all their strength to drag them out, undertaking, mean time, to protect them with his fire. Fortunately, at this moment, a party of French traders, unconnected with our leader, being seized with martial ardour, came to join him; and he thought it fair "that they should have their share in the diversion." Under their cover, the Algonquins pulled so stoutly, that a sufficient opening was soon made; and though the stumps still stood six feet high, the allies leaped in, and the enemy were completely routed, most of them being killed or drowned, and fifteen taken. Of the assailants three fell in the action, and fifty were wounded. Instead of carrying the heads of the slain, they "flayed them," taking the scalps as their trophy. Champlain asked and obtained one of the captives, whom he saved from the dreadful tortures which were inflicted on most of the others, one by one, at different stages; the rest being carefully reserved for their wives and daughters, who took peculiar delight in these scenes of savage vengeance, and were even ingenious in devising new and exquisite torments. His prisoner, not being very carefully guarded, made his escape. The Frenchman, before taking leave of his allies, prevailed on them to allow one of his people to remain with them and learn their language, while he, at their request, took a native youth with him to Europe.*

In 1611 Champlain returned to America with his savage, and on the 28th May arrived at the place of rendezvous appointed for another warlike expedition. Not finding the Indians, he employed his time in choosing a spot for a new settlement higher up the river than Quebec. After a careful survey he

* Champlain, tome i., liv. iii., ch. 11, 12.

fixed upon ground in the vicinity of an eminence which he called Mont Royal; and his choice has been amply justified by the prosperity to which this place, under the name of Montreal, has subsequently risen. He cleared a considerable space, sowed some grain, and enclosed it by an earthen wall. A distressing accident soon afterward occurred. Savignon, the native who had accompanied him to France, with Louis, a European, and Outetoucos, an Indian leader, set out on a hunting excursion to an island in the Chambly. After excellent sport they were returning, when Savignon, who guided the canoe, proposed to make a circuit to avoid a dangerous rapid. The chief, however, insisted that it was quite safe, without even lightening the boat, and the other allowed himself to be persuaded; but, as soon as they came within the action of the whirlpool, the bark was tossed up and down in the most violent manner. Louis was thrown into the water and drowned. The chief endeavoured to swim to land, but could not stem the eddies, and sunk. Savignon alone, clinging to the canoe, whether above or below water, at length reached the shore. Champlain, on coming to the spot, could scarcely believe it possible that any person should have attempted to pass this formidable rapid.*

At length, on the 13th of June, three weeks after the time appointed, a party of his savage friends appeared. They evinced much pleasure at meeting their countryman, who gave the most favourable report of the treatment which he had received in France; and, after a liberal present of beaver-skins, they unfolded the cause of this long delay. The prisoner who escaped the previous year had spread a report that the French, having now resolved to espouse the cause of the Iroquois, were coming in great force to destroy altogether the Algonquin na-

* Champlain, tome i., liv. iii., ch. 13.

tion. Champlain bitterly complained of their having listened to such a rumour, which all his actions belied. They protested that it had never gained credence with them, but only with those of their tribe who had no opportunity of knowing the foreigners. However, having received solemn protestations of friendship, they declared their determination of adhering to their alliance, and aiding to the utmost of their power his projects of penetrating into the interior. They gave him very extensive information respecting the continent, their acquaintance with which was found to reach southward as far as the Gulf of Mexico. They agreed to his proposal of returning with forty or fifty of his people to prosecute discoveries, and even form settlements in the country. The warlike designs, for some reason not explained, appear to have been dropped for the present; but they requested that a French youth should accompany them and make observations upon their territory and tribe. They asked their visiter to use his influence in order to dissuade one of their bravest warriors, who had been three times made prisoner by the Iroquois and always escaped, to relinquish the purpose he had now formed of setting out with only nine companions to attack the enemy and avenge his former wrongs. Attempts were made to divert him from so rash a purpose; but, exhibiting his fingers partly cut off and his whole body covered with wounds, he declared that it was impossible to live unless he obtained revenge.*

Champlain again returned to France with the view of making arrangements for those more extensive operations which he contemplated and had recommended to his Indian allies. The negotiation was attended with difficulty. De Monts, who had been appointed governor of Saintonge, was no longer inclined to take the lead, and excused himself from

* Champlain, tome i., liv. iii., ch. 14.

going to court, on account of the urgency of his own affairs. He committed the whole to his former agent, advising him to seek some powerful protector, whose authority might overcome the opposition to his plans. Our adventurer was so fortunate as almost immediately to gain the Count de Soissons, who obtained the title of Lieutenant-general of New France, and who, by a fornal agreement, delegated to him all the functions of that high office. The count died soon after; but a still more influential friend was found in the Prince of Condé, who succeeded to all the privileges of the deceased, and made them over in a manner equally ample. His commission, including a monopoly of the trade, excited loud complaints among the merchants; but our author endeavoured to remove the principal objection by allowing as many of them to embark in the traffic as chose to accompany him. There came accordingly three from Normandy, one from Rochelle, and one from St. Malo. These were allowed free trade, burdened only with the condition of contributing six men each to assist in his projects of discovery, and a twentieth of their profits to defray the expenses of settlement.*

In the beginning of March, 1613,† this expedition sailed from Honfleur, and on the 7th May arrived at Quebec. Champlain, however, had an aim which diverted him from his grand schemes of war and discovery in the west. Among the objects of adventure in that age, a favourite one was a northwest passage to China; hence everything connected with the report of a sea beyond Canada inspired the greatest hopes. There was a Frenchman named Nicolas de Vignau, who had accompanied our traveller in

* Champlain, tome i., liv. iv., ch. 5.

† Champlain's dates are jumbled in the most confused manner; but on comparing page 312 with pages 245 and 246, it will be evident that the one here given is correct, though the narrative of his voyage precedes the account of his departure.

former expeditions, and spent a winter among the savages. This person reported that the river of the Algonquins (the Ottawa) issued from a lake which was connected with the North Sea; that he had visited its shores, and had there witnessed the wreck of an English vessel. The crew, eighty in number, had reached the shore, where they had all been killed and scalped by the inhabitants, except one boy, whom they would have been happy to present to him, along with the trophies of their victory. Wishing to assure himself as to this story, the navigator caused the man to sign his declaration before two notaries, warning him, if it were false, that he was putting a rope round his own neck. Finding the fellow persevere, and learning that some English vessels had really been wrecked in 1612 on the coast of Labrador, his doubts were removed, and he determined to devote a season to the prosecution of this grand object.

With this view he did not stop at Quebec, but, setting sail on the 13th May, arrived on the 21st at the fall of St. Louis. Here, with only two canoes, containing four of his countrymen and one native, he began his voyage up the river. The hardships and difficulties were very severe. He encountered a succession of cataracts and rapids, which it was necessary to avoid by carrying the skiffs and stores overland. Sometimes the woods being too dense to admit of this, it became requisite to drag them through the foaming current, not without danger of being themselves ingulfed. If they had lost their boats, they could neither have proceeded back nor forward, unless by the mere accident of meeting with friendly Indians. There was reason, besides, to dread an attack from some wandering bands of Iroquois, who, if victorious, would have doubtless treated the French as they treated their Algonquin captives. As the difficulties of navigation increased, they were obliged to leave their corn behind, and

trust entirely to their guns and nets, which afforded a precarious and somewhat scanty supply. Nicolas, to our author's surprise, was forward in recommending parts of the river which the natives declared to be highly dangerous. At length the party reached the abode of Tessouat, a friendly chief, whose country was only eight days' sail from that of the Nebicerini (Nipissings), on whose borders the shipwreck was said to have occurred. The people received our adventurer courteously, and agreed to his request of admission to a solemn council. It was preceded by an entertainment of boiled maize, with meat and fish; after which the young men went out, and the old took their pipes and smoked for half an hour in silence. Champlain being then asked his object in soliciting the interview, after many courteous professions requested four canoes to escort him into the country of the Nipissings, which he earnestly desired to visit. To this the Indians demurred, stating that the route was very difficult, and that they were bad men and sorcerers, who had caused the death of many of their tribe; nevertheless, upon his earnest entreaty, they at length consented. After the meeting had broken up, however, the French chief learned that there was a great indisposition to fulfil the engagement, and that no one could be found who was willing to accompany him. He therefore again called them together; reproached them with their meditated breach of faith; and in refutation of their assertions of danger as arising from the people, referred to the fact of Nicolas having spent some time among them without any annoyance. Hereupon De Vignau was called on to say if he had ever made such a journey; and when, after long hesitation, he answered in the affirmative, they raised loud and fierce cries, declaring that he was speaking falsely, having never passed beyond their *country*, where he had gone to bed with *them every evening* and risen every morning; and

that he ought to be tortured to death for having so grossly deceived his chief. Champlain, seeing his follower a good deal confused, took him aside, and adjured him to state the truth. The fellow, however, having recovered his confidence, renewed his former averments, and gave the fullest assurance that, if canoes could be procured, they would, ere long, reach the spot. The commander, unable to believe that any individual could persevere in such audacious falsehoods, went back to the savages, referred to the interior sea, the English shipwreck, the eighty scalps, and the young boy in possession of the natives. Hereupon they shouted louder than ever, proclaiming his deceit to be now quite palpable. They began to put close interrogatories, to which he returned only unsatisfactory replies. Champlain, extremely perplexed, called him again to a private interview, and told him that everything already past should be forgiven; but that if, by persisting in false assertions, he should induce the expedition to go any farther, he would most assuredly be hanged. The man then, after remaining silent for some time, fell on his knees and confessed that all he had said, and which had induced his master to undertake so long and painful a journey, was a complete untruth. The motives of this crime had been the eclat derived from the supposed discovery, and the being brought out to New France in a conspicuous situation. He had trusted that the obstacles would be such as, at some earlier point, to lead his superior to renounce the attempt; and with this view, in passing the falls, he had urged him to prefer the most dangerous channels. Champlain was obliged to inform the Indians that they were right, and himself egregiously deceived. They earnestly entreated him to place the liar in their hands, who *they* would take effectual care should never again *deceive him*. But, though much and justly enraged, *he resolved* honourably to redeem his pledge. He

had the vexation, however, to reflect, that not only had he encountered in vain a long series of labours and fatigues, but that the whole season had been spent without any effort to promote other objects which he had much at heart. He had now no alternative but to commence his voyage down the Ottawa, and on his way he was joined by a considerable number of savage allies, who rendezvoused at the fall of St. Louis. They agreed, though with difficulty, to allow two young Frenchmen to accompany them, with the view of obtaining a knowledge of the country. Champlain left also De Vignau, as a punishment for his falsehood; who promised to make further discoveries, and to reach, if possible, the North Sea; but none of the natives would have any intercourse with him. Our author then sailed to Tadoussac, and thence to St. Malo, where he arrived on the 26th August, 1614.*

Affairs in France continued favourable to the colony. The Prince of Condé being still powerful at court, no difficulty was found in equipping an expedition from Rouen and St. Malo, though it gave some discontent to the merchants of Rochelle, who were excluded on account of their not having come in time. They were accompanied by four Fathers Recollets, whose benevolence led them to attempt the conversion of the Indians.†

Champlain, with this new company, arrived on the 25th of May, 1615, at Tadoussac, where he immediately pushed up to Quebec, and thence to the place of rendezvous at the fall of St. Louis. He found his old allies there, full of projects of war against the Iroquois, whom they proposed now to assail among the lakes to the westward; and they promised to muster for this attack no fewer than 2500 fighting men. The Frenchman, never slow to

* *Champlain*, tome i., liv. iv., ch. 1, 2, 3.
† *Ibid., tome i.*, p. 313-317.

embark in such enterprises, now laid down a plan of operations, at which they expressed the utmost satisfaction. He accompanied them in a long route, first up the Ottawa, then, partly carrying the canoes overland, partly launching them on small pieces of water, till they came to Lake Nipissing, northward to that of Huron. The country through which he passed is described as in many places broken and rocky, though not mountainous, and completely uncultivated; yet there was a profusion of berries and delicate small fruits, which the natives preserved for winter use. The Nipissings, about 700 or 800 in number, who inhabited the shores of this lake, received the party well. After remaining two days, they made their way by land and water to the coast of the great lake Attigouantan, which appeared a complete fresh-water sea, 300 leagues in length by 50 in breadth. It is evidently the northern part of Lake Huron, apparently separated into a distinct body of water by the continuous chain of islands which extend parallel to this shore.* After coasting it for about forty-five leagues, they turned a point which forms its extremity, and struck into the interior, with the view of reaching Cahiague, the appointed rendezvous of their savage friends. This country was found much superior to that hitherto passed, being well cultivated, and abounding in Indian corn and fruits. At the place just mentioned, a large body were found collected, who gave them a joyful welcome, stating their expectation of five hundred more, who also considered the Iroquois as enemies. While their forces were mustering, several days was spent in dancing and festivity, the usual prelude to their expeditions. They then set out and passed several small lakes, one of which led to the great one, which they now named Entouhonorons (Huron).

* Champlain, tome i., liv. iv., ch. 6.

On the way they employed themselves in several hunting parties. Upon one occasion they made a large circle, enclosing the whole of a promontory that stretched into the lake; after which, by loud cries and volleys of arrows, they drove all the animals to the extreme point, where they were either taken or threw themselves into the water. To meet this last case a range of canoes were drawn up, and the quadrupeds fell beneath the weapons darted from either side. Having met a detachment returning with a band of prisoners, our adventurer was shocked to see them begin the horrid work of torment upon a female, and reproached the leader with a cruelty so unworthy of a genuine warrior. The Indian replied, that it was no more than the enemy did to his country-women; but, in courtesy to his ally, he would desist, retaining, however, his full right to torture the men.

After quitting the Huron Lake, they struck into the interior, and came to a smaller expanse of water, finely diversified by islands, which seems to be Lake George. On its banks they descried the Iroquois fort, which, in expectation of this attack, had been rendered peculiarly strong. It was defended by four successive palisades of trees twined together, with strong parapets at top; and it enclosed a pond whence streams were led to the different quarters, with the view of extinguishing fire. They had advanced, and were skirmishing with success against their assailants; but when the firearms began to play, and they heard the balls whizzing about their ears, they hastily retreated within the rampart. Thence, however, they poured forth showers of arrows and stones, which induced the allies, in spite of the exhortations and reproaches of Champlain, to withdraw beyond their reach. He now, however, endeavoured to train them to the use of European machinery, teaching them to construct with wood an elevated enclosure of planks, called

a cavalier, which should command the enemy's intrenchment. The discharge from this platform was meant to drive them from the parapet, and afford to the assailants an opportunity of setting fire to the defences. The savages showed the utmost activity in constructing this work, which they finished in four hours, and 200 of the strongest moved it forward close to the pallisade. The shot from it drove the Iroquois into the interior of their stronghold, whence they still continued to return missiles of various kinds. The Indians might now, with the greatest ease, have set the fort in a blaze; but Champlain soon found that he had to do with men who would make war only as they were inclined and accustomed. Instead of following his directions, they preferred to pour out execrations upon the enemy, and shoot arrows against the strong wooden defences. At length they began to throw pieces of burning timber, but carelessly, and with little effect. Their European ally called out to them in what manner to proceed; but the field was filled with such clamour and confusion, that his voice was lost amid the tumult. The Iroquois, mean time, drew water from their reservoir so copiously, that streams flowed through every part of the fortress, and the slight fires were speedily quenched. Taking advantage of the disorder in the adverse ranks, they made arrows descend like hail, which pierced two chiefs and a number of their followers. Champlain himself was twice wounded in the leg. His allies hereupon felt a strong inclination to retire, and, as usual, they followed their own views, without any regard to his exhortations. They justified themselves by alleging the absence of the 500 auxiliaries, promising, on their arrival, to renew the assault. Although, therefore, for two days a strong wind blew most favourably for another attempt, nothing could induce them to advance. Several petty attacks were made, but with so little success, that the French were always obliged to come to the res-

cue; while the enemy bitterly taunted the Algonquins as unable to cope with them in a fair field, and obliged to seek the odious aid of this strange and unknown race.

As the re-enforcement did not appear, the savages determined to abandon the enterprise altogether, and return homeward. The retreat was conducted with a degree of skill and judgment which had not appeared in any of their offensive operations. They placed the wounded and aged in the centre, while armed warriors guarded the front, rear, and flanks. The Iroquois followed a short way, but soon gave up the pursuit. If, however, the safety of the disabled was well provided for, their comfort was very little considered. Their bodies were bent into a circular form, bound with cords, and thrown into a basket, where they lay like infants in swaddling-clothes, unable to stir hand or foot. Champlain feelingly describes the agonies he endured while carried twenty-five or thirty leagues in this position, on being relieved from which he felt as if he had come out of a dungeon.

He now claimed the promise to convey him home after his campaign. First, however, guides were wanting, then a canoe; and he soon found that they were determined to detain him and his companions, with a view to their defence in case of attack, or to aid them in future expeditions. He was very ill provided for winter in so desolate a region; but a chief, Darontal, gave him his hovel, built in the best Indian style, and he found considerable amusement in their hunting excursions. On one occasion they constructed a wooden enclosure of a triangular form, each side nearly a mile long, with a narrow opening at the point, into which, by loud cries, and imitating the howling of wolves, they contrived to drive all the deer in the vicinity. The aperture being then shut, the animals became an easy prey.*

* Champlain, tome i., liv. iv., ch. 7.

On the 20th May of the following year Champlain set out, and found himself in the end of June at the Sault St. Louis. Having remained there a short time, he repaired to Tadoussac, whence he sailed, and arrived at Honfleur on the 10th September, 1616.*

The interests of the colony were now in considerable jeopardy. The Prince of Condé, in consequence of the share taken by him in the disturbances during the minority of Louis XIII., was not only in disgrace, but under confinement. The Marshal de Themines, however, was prevailed upon to undertake the duties of the situation, on condition of sharing its emoluments. Unfortunately, he was soon involved in controversy with the merchants, and after many and tedious transactions, during two years and a half, the Duke de Montmorency was induced to treat with Condé for his office of viceroy, and obtained it upon the payment of 11,000 crowns. Champlain considered this arrangement as every way eligible, the duke being better qualified for such functions, and, from his situation of high admiral, possessing the best means of forwarding the object. A body of associated merchants had already, in January, 1619, agreed to send out a larger colony than any preceding one, of eighty persons, including three friars, with the necessary supply of furniture, arms, seed-corn, and domestic animals. Their departure was, however, delayed a whole year by the disputes between Rochelle and other commercial cities, and between the Protestants and the Catholics. Attempts were also made to degrade Champlain from the high situation in which he had been placed; but by virtue of commissions both from Montmorency and the king, he succeeded in crushing this opposition.†

In May, 1620, he set sail with his new equipment, and, after a very tedious voyage, anchored on the

* Champlain, tome i., p. 396-398.
† Ibid., tome i., liv. iv., ch. 4.

7th July near the port of Tadoussac. He found that, during his long absence, the settlements had been considerably neglected, especially at Trois Rivières, which he enlarged and defended by a fort, placed on a mountain that commanded the passage of the river. After all that had been done for the colony, there remained, when winter arrived, not more than sixty inhabitants, including women, children, and clergy, and ten of the number were employed in establishing a religious seminary.*

The following year, as soon as the season permitted, a vessel was sent out with letters from Montmorency and his secretary, announcing a change which greatly surprised and by no means delighted our commander. The association of merchants who had fitted out the last expedition were deprived of all their privileges by the duke, who had intrusted the care of the colony to the Sieurs de Caen, uncle and nephew, one a merchant and the other a mariner, the latter of whom was to visit it personally in the course of the summer. The local governor, who saw many causes of complaint against the merchants, had no ground on which he could object to this arrangement; yet he was thereby virtually divested of his command, and subjected to the control of another, armed with formidable powers.†

About the middle of July he received notice that De Caen had arrived at Tadoussac, and was desirous of an interview. After some delay, he set out, and met him on the 3d August. He was received with the utmost courtesy, but soon found the new superintendent disposed to act in a very violent and arbitrary manner. He claimed the right of seizing all the vessels belonging to the associated merchants, which might have come out for the purpose of traffic; and he actually took that of Du Pont,

* Champlain, tome ii., liv. i., ch. 1.
† *Ibid., tome* ii., liv. i., ch. 2.

their favourite agent, and an intimate friend of our author. Champlain remonstrated strongly against these proceedings, but without any effect, as he possessed no power which could effectually check the violence of this new dictator. De Caen, however, left a supply of provisions, arms, and ammunition; though this last is said to have been both scanty and ill adapted to its object. In consequence of these arrangements, a great part of the population connected with the European traders took their departure, while the agent of Montmorency had brought only eighteen new settlers; so that the colony, instead of being augmented, was thereby reduced to forty-eight.*

Notwithstanding these vexatious occurrences, as soon as the governor had time to breathe, he turned his attention to discovery and settlement in the interior. He formed an intimate connexion with a Huron who had assumed the name of Mahigan Aticq (Wolf Stag), to express the union of ferocity and mildness which became the savage character. Through him intelligence was received of a proposal made to terminate the long and desolating war which had raged between his nation and that of the Iroquois. Champlain, on former occasions, when such an accommodation was mentioned, earnestly represented to them its great advantages; and he now expressed the utmost anxiety to forward it. Learning, therefore, that two individuals of the hostile people had arrived at Trois Rivières, he invited them to Quebec, and met them at a village of friendly Indians in that vicinity. On his arrival, Mahigan took his hand, kissed and locked his own into it, causing the two strangers to do the same to his companions. Thus, hand in hand, they entered the chief cabin, where a number of the natives were seated, according to their respective ranks, and learned with

* Champlain, tome ii., liv. i., ch. 4.

satisfaction the good understanding that now prevailed. They then proceeded to the important operation of dancing, which was kept up a long time by the allies and the three visiters; then each of them kissed his hand, and put theirs into that of the governor. The Hurons now danced in a body, men, women, and children, when harmony was considered as completely established. At this stage the Iroquois explained their object, which Champlain readily engaged to promote. They represented this proposal for amity as proceeding entirely from themselves, and that they came not as authorized envoys; though this, we suspect, was rather to avoid prematurely committing the nation. The Hurons, however, treated them with friendship, and, in concurrence with their French ally, determined upon sending four of their number to complete, if possible, the negotiation opened under such favourable auspices.* On arriving at the headquarters of the Iroquois, they met a very kind reception, and the treaty was nearly concluded, when it was almost broken off by an event strikingly characteristic of this fierce independent race. Even before they set out, a savage, whom the French named Simon, declared his determination to accompany them, but in a hostile character, singly to wage war against this hated enemy; and such, in this rude tribe, was the total want of any public authority, that they could use nothing beyond impotent remonstrances to deter him. They had recourse to their ally, who employed warm representations, and even threats, to make the barbarian desist. But though the latter admitted it to be very wicked in him, he declared that he was perfectly miserable, and could have no peace till he had cut off the head of an enemy. After this assurance all argument was vain, the community not having any means of placing its members under the slight-

* Champlain, tome ii., liv. i., ch. 6.

est restraint. He accompanied his countrymen, and shared in their good reception; but as they were returning home, he met one of the detested tribe, and gratified his vengeance by despatching him. Such a deed, by any member of a civilized mission, must at once have terminated all negotiation; but the deputies having satisfied the Iroquois, who were no strangers to such sallies, that it was completely an individual act, lamented by the nation, they overlooked it, and sent six of their number to conclude the treaty.*

In the mean time the progress of the colony was still checked by dissensions in the mother country. A union, indeed, was formed between the old and new companies, which enabled them to proceed for some time with greater vigour. But, though united, they were not of one mind; contentions were soon kindled, which made Montmorency complain, that he had more trouble with this concern than with his most important affairs; so that he was well pleased, for a moderate consideration, to transfer it to the Duke de Ventadour. The new viceroy, however, soon found himself involved in serious troubles. He professed, in a manner peculiarly decided, that his main object was to diffuse the Catholic religion throughout the New World; but it so happened that the Protestants were the only French citizens who possessed the nautical skill to conduct such an expedition, or were willing to brave its dangers. In despite of the court, therefore, they formed the majority of every crew; and though the most illiberal restrictions were laid upon their worship, their numbers enabled them to treat these with little ceremony. Even De Caen professed this faith; and the new viceroy had the affliction to learn that he had not only allowed Protestant prayers to be publicly offered up, but even

* Champlain, tome ii., p. 79-89.

desired the Romanists to attend them. He was restless, therefore, till an arrangement could be made by which a captain of sound belief should be appointed to command the vessels. He could not, however, escape the fatal necessity of employing a crew, most of whom were accounted heretical; but, in return, he directed that the means of exercising their religion should be confined within the narrowest possible limits. In particular, he strictly enjoined that they should not sing psalms in the St. Lawrence; but the mariners, who had freely performed this act of worship in the open sea, loudly exclaimed against such a capricious restriction; and though the express orders of the duke could not be departed from, a compromise was made, allowing them greater latitude in other parts of their ritual. Our author uniformly expresses a pious horror touching the Reformers, and the utmost reluctance to grant them the slightest favour; but oddly excuses himself by saying, "They were almost two thirds Huguenots; so of a bad debt, one must take what payment he can get."*

Champlain was continued in all his powers by the Duke de Ventadour, who kept him a considerable time near his person, so that two years and a half had elapsed before his return to Canada. He found the colony in the same unsatisfactory state as after his former absence; the fort, for completing which all the materials and full instructions had been left, was exactly in the same condition as when he departed. The settlement at Quebec consisted still of no more than fifty-five persons, of whom twenty-four only were fit for labour.† He learned, moreover, that the Indian affairs were by no means in a good state. The Iroquois, being on their way to attack a tribe called the Wolves, had

* Champlain, tome ii., p. 41, 94, 103, 104, 133.
† Ibid., tome ii., p. 137, 138.

killed a party who opposed their progress, among whom were five of another nation. The latter forthwith sent messengers, bearing as gifts collars of wampum, to the chiefs of the French allies, and entreating their aid in a war of revenge. It was easy to kindle a hostile spirit among these fierce clans, and a strong party was soon formed in favour of warlike measures. The more prudent anxiously recommended a pacific policy, and Mahigan Aticq hastened to Quebec, to apprize Champlain of what was passing. Deeply regretting these events, he reiterated all his arguments for the preservation of the blessings enjoyed under the present tranquil system. As it was not in his power to go in person, he sent Boullé, his brother-in-law, and afterward one of his people, named Emery, to impress these views upon the savage assembly. They were both well received, and their advice approved by the great body of the nation; but the lawless system which still prevailed in the tribe made it impossible to prevent nine or ten hot-headed youths from making an unauthorized inroad into the Iroquois territory. This band, having reached Lake Champlain, surprised a canoe with three individuals, two of whom they seized and brought home in triumph. The preparations for the work of torture were already going on, when Emery hastened to convey the intelligence to Champlain, who immediately repaired to the spot. The sight of the captives, fine young men, and of the tortures preparing for them, quickened his ardour in the cause of peace and humanity. He strongly urged that, instead of such barbarous treatment, they should be sent home unhurt, with presents to compensate for this wanton attack. After due deliberation, this advice was so far adopted that one individual was sent back, with two allies, one of them a chief, and Magnan, a Frenchman. This expedition, sent with so laudable an intention, had the most tragical

issue. An Algonquin who wished to foment war, contrived to rouse the jealousy of the Iroquois by persuading them that this mission, though professing friendship, was devised with the most treacherous intent. Misled by these views, the latter prepared to take cool and deliberate revenge. When the strangers arrived, they found the fire kindled, the caldron boiling, and, being courteously received, were invited to sit down. The Iroquois then asked the chief if, after so long a journey, he did not feel hungry. As he replied in the affirmative, they rushed upon him, and began to cut slices from his arms, and throw them into the pot; soon after, they presented them to him half cooked. They then cut pieces from other parts of his body, and continued their torture till he died in lingering agonies. The Frenchman was tormented to death in the usual manner. Another Indian, more fortunate, while attempting to escape, was shot dead on the spot; a fourth was made prisoner. When news reached the allies of this dreadful tragedy, the war-cry was immediately sounded, and the remaining captive was put to death with every refinement of cruelty.* Champlain himself, though deeply afflicted by the intelligence, saw no longer any possibility of averting hostilities; he felt that, as a countryman had been deprived of life, the power of the nation would be held in contempt if no resentment were shown at so dreadful an outrage. Indeed, he experienced no little trouble, even among the friendly tribes, who immediately surrounded him. In several cases, Europeans were murdered in an atrocious manner, and under circumstances which rendered it impossible to accept as an explanation the assurance that parties of Iroquois had penetrated to the spot. After overlooking these as much as possible, a fresh instance

* Champlain, tome ii., p. 146, 211–214.

having occurred, he demanded that an individual, to whom strong suspicion attached, should be put into his hands. He detained him fourteen months; but being unable to procure positive evidence, and pressed by other circumstances now to be related, he set him at liberty.

The dignity of the French required that vigorous measures should have been taken to avenge so great a wrong; but their attention was soon called to other quarters. Hostilities having broken out with England, two of their subjects, David and Louis Kertk, Calvinist refugees, entered the service of that country, where they were known under the name of Kirk. They equipped a squadron, which sailed to the mouth of the St. Lawrence, captured several vessels, and intercepted the communication between the mother-country and the colony. The settlers, who had not yet sufficiently extended cultivation to supply themselves with provisions, were thus reduced to the greatest distress. At length, in July, 1629, Sir David Kirk summoned Quebec. As, in addition to famine, the ammunition was nearly exhausted, the governor considered himself as having no choice but to surrender. The invader, who still retained many of the feelings of his birth, promised honourable conditions, and every species of good treatment to his countrymen. They were allowed to depart with their arms, clothes, and baggage. The request of a ship to convey them directly home could not be complied with; but they were promised a commodious passage by way of England. Champlain was desirous to take with him two little native girls whom he had carefully educated, and although at first objected to, this was granted on a fuller explanation. The place being surrendered, Kirk and the English showed to the garrison every species of courtesy; though Baillif, a renegade Frenchman, to whom he intrusted the keys of the magazine,

seized a great quantity of furs, besides various articles of church property, and subjected his countrymen to all the ill treatment in his power.

Champlain, who arrived at Dover on the 27th October, proceeded thence to London for the purpose of conferring with the French ambassador. The differences between the two nations were now in a train of adjustment; but a large party in the Gallic cabinet set too little value on the settlement to think its restoration worth insisting upon. Champlain strongly deprecated this view of the subject; his counsels at length prevailed at the court of Louis XIII.; and when the English found the matter seriously pressed, they consented without much difficulty. The final treaty, however, was not signed till the 29th March, 1632.

The indifference with which both countries viewed this colony, though bearing the pompous title of New France, was not ill justified by its actual condition. A fort, with some houses and barracks at Quebec; a few huts for fishing and trade at Tadoussac, Trois Rivières, and Montreal, formed nearly all that answered to that imposing name.* But even prior to its late disaster, arrangements had been made with a view to rescue it from this depressed state. Under the direction of Cardinal Richelieu, whose administration was marked by a bold and enterprising character, an association was formed of a hundred distinguished individuals, who undertook that, by the year 1643, they would raise the population to 6000. They engaged to maintain the emigrants for three years, bestowing upon them lands and seed-corn. They were also to send a suitable number of clergymen, subsisting them for fifteen years, and at the end of that period to assign them glebes sufficient for their support.† Their opera-

* Heriot, History of Canada, 8vo, London, 1804 (translated from Charlevoix, Histoire de la Nouvelle France), p. 49.

† Charlevoix in Heriot, p. 37, 38.

tions were suspended by the disastrous events just narrated; but when the above treaty restored Canada to the French, their rights were fully confirmed, and they made no hesitation in reinvesting Champlain with his former jurisdiction. The year 1633 had arrived, however, before an expedition was ready to sail, which carried with it more property than was supposed at the time to exist in the colony. The governor found most of those whom he had left; but their prosperity must have been greatly checked by the bigoted spirit which induced the court to prohibit altogether the exercise of the reformed religion, by whose professors chiefly the settlement had been supported. Some small compensation was afforded by the institution of religious establishments embracing objects of general education and instruction. A son of the Marquis de Gamache, whose fervour had impelled him to join the order of Jesuits, conceived the ambition of founding a college at Quebec, and was enabled by his friends to offer 6000 gold crowns for this purpose. His proposal was readily accepted, and, though delayed by the misfortunes of the colony, was carried into effect in 1635. Four years later, under the auspices of the Duchess d'Aiguillon, a party of Ursuline nuns were sent out, and a seminary established by them at Quebec. But the religious foundation from which the greatest advantages were derived was that projected by the Abbé Olivier, who had originated the order of St. Sulpice, and proposed that a seminary, bearing its name and composed of its members, should be formed in New France. The king listened favourably to this suggestion, and, with a view of realizing it, made a grant of the whole island of Montreal. A party was formed, the Sieur Maisonneuve was placed at its head, and invested with the government. That important place, where hitherto there had been only a few detached huts, assumed now the aspect of a regular settle-

ment, and rose, by gradual steps, until it attained a great degree of prosperity.*

But, in the mean time, the rising colony was destined to encounter severe disasters. The death of Champlain, early in 1636, was a severe blow. Though some parts of his early policy were very questionable, his devotion to the cause, his energy and high reputation, were generally viewed as the chief bond by which the whole undertaking had been held together. The company, after their first great effort, soon relaxed, and allowed the settlement to relapse into a languishing state. They had sent, indeed, a considerable number of monks and nuns; but of troops and stores, which were more urgently wanted, the supply was very scanty. The situation of M. de Montmagny, the new governor, was rendered more critical by the state of the Indian nations. We have already seen the renewal of the war with the Iroquois; and as the weakness of the French had rendered it impossible for them to afford any aid to their native allies, that warlike confederacy had advanced by rapid steps to a supremacy of power. They had completely humbled the Algonquins, who formerly held the foremost place in the savage world; they closely pressed the Hurons, scarcely allowing their canoes to pass up and down the river; and they now threatened in great force the settlement of Trois Rivières. In this exigency, Montmagny's resources enabled him only to carry on a defensive warfare, which he appears to have done with vigour, erecting a fort at the mouth of the river Sorel, by which the Iroquois chiefly made their descents. That fierce people, whether tired of so long a contest or awed by the renewed power displayed by the French, began to make proposals for a solid peace; and though the governor had good reason to doubt their sincerity and dread some sin-

* Charlevoix in Heriot, p. 49–53.

ister object, his situation left no choice but to receive them with apparent cordiality. He therefore repaired to Trois Rivières to meet their deputies, while the chiefs of the tribes in alliance with him came also to the interview. The envoys of the Five Nations then produced seventeen belts, which they had arranged along a cord fastened between two stakes. Their orator came forward and addressed the governor-general by the title of Ononthio, which, in their language, signifies Great Mountain; and though it was in reference to his name of Montmagny, they continued ever after to apply this term to the French viceroy. They often added the respectful appellation of father. The speaker declared the sincerity of their intentions, and their wish "to forget their songs of war and to resume the voice of cheerfulness." He then proceeded to the exposition of the belts, which occupied three hours, each explanation being accompanied with appropriate gestures, which alone would have been almost sufficient to unfold his meaning. Thus, having occasion to refer to the difficulties of canoe-navigation, he performed all the movements necessary in guiding one through the rapids, and, representing himself as striking against a rock, used signs expressive of the pain caused by such an accident. These belts variously expressed the calming of the spirit of war, the opening of the paths, the mutual visits to be paid, the feasts to be given, the restitution of the captives, and other friendly proceedings. The governor, in conformity to Indian etiquette, delayed his answer for two days, when, at another general meeting, he bestowed as many presents as he had received belts, and through an interpreter expressed the most pacific sentiments. Piskaret, a great Algonquin chief, then said, "Behold a stone, which I place on the sepulchre of those who were killed in the war, that no one may attempt to remove their bones, and that every desire of avenging their

death may be laid aside." Three discharges of cannon were considered as sealing the treaty. It was for some time faithfully observed, and unwonted tranquillity reigned throughout this savage region. The Iroquois, the Algonquins, and Hurons forgot their deadly feuds, and mingled in the chase as if they had been one nation.*

M. de Montmagny, like his predecessor, appears to have commanded the general respect of the native inhabitants. Unluckily, in consequence of an attempt by De Poinci, who commanded in the West Indies, to render himself independent, the court adopted the jealous policy of continuing no governor in power longer than three years. This system was peculiarly ill suited to a settlement like that of Canada, where intimate local knowledge, and a peculiar mixture of firmness and address, were necessary to deal with tumultuary tribes whom they had not strength to subdue. Montmagny was replaced by Ailleboust, said to have been a man of probity, but scarcely possessing the energy required in so difficult a situation. During his government the Iroquois formed the resolution of renewing the war in all its fury. No ground is stated; but the Europeans and their allies, in consequence, became exposed to a series of dreadful calamities.

The missionaries had not merely formed establishments at Quebec and Montreal, but had also penetrated into the territory of the savages. In this task they certainly gave full proof of sincerity, renouncing all the comforts of civilized life, and exposing themselves to every species of hardship and danger. They have been accused of unduly combining political with religious objects. They did certainly employ their influence for the furtherance of French power, since they induced a number even of the Iroquois not only to quit the country to which

* Charlevoix in Heriot, p. 51-63.

they were so strongly attached and settle within the limits of the colony, but even to fight against their own relations. But, at the same time, they undoubtedly reclaimed their votaries from many savage habits, and trained them to some degree of order and industry. The Hurons were found the most docile and susceptible of improvement, and their great numbers afforded a wide field of exertion. Upward of three thousand of them are recorded to have been baptized at one time; and though it was easier to make converts than to retain them, yet a considerable change is said to have appeared in the aspect of this wild region, and very favourable prospects to have been opened.* The main object was to unite them in villages, of which the chief was Sillery, or St. Joseph and St. Mary, with several smaller dependent ones.

In 1648 the Iroquois, as already stated, determined to renew the war; a resolution adopted by them, if we may believe the annals of the colony, without any ground, or even pretext. The settlement, however, was now destined to experience the terrible effects of their rapid movements; that they could advance like foxes and attack like lions; and that their arrival and triumphant return were usually announced at the same moment.† In the village of Sillery, where four hundred families were settled in the most profound peace, and the missionary was celebrating the most solemn ordinances of religion, the cry was suddenly raised, "We are murdered!" An indiscriminate massacre had begun, without distinction of sex or age. In vain did women flee into the depth of the forest with infants in their arms, whose feeble cries betrayed themselves and their mothers. Finally, the assailants fell upon

* Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1642, 1643, p. 32; an 1647, p. 19; ans 1649, 1650, p. 92.

† Missions, ans 1659, 1660, p. 17.

the priest, and, after each successively had struck a blow, threw him into the flames.*

Notwithstanding this dreadful example, the Iroquois having disappeared for six months, the villages relapsed into their former security. This tranquillity, however, was again disturbed in 1649 by a party of the same people, amounting to a thousand, who made an attack upon the mission of St. Ignace. Some resistance was offered, and ten assailants fell; but ultimately all the inhabitants, except three, were killed or carried off. St. Louis was next attacked, and made a brave defence, which, though it was finally stormed, enabled many of the women and children to escape. The missionaries could have saved themselves; but, like others of their brethren, attaching a high importance to the administration of the sacrament to the dying, they sacrificed their lives to the performance of this sacred rite. They were not killed on the spot, but "reserved for greater crowns," having to pass through a dreadful series of torture and mutilation.†

Deep and universal dismay now spread among the Huron people. Their country, lately so peaceable and flourishing, was become a land of horror and of blood, a sepulchre of the dead, and no hope appeared to the survivers. The whole nation, with one consent, broke up and fled for refuge in every direction. A few reluctantly offered to unite with their conquerors, who, according to their usual policy, readily accepted them. The greater number sought an asylum among the nations of the Cat, the Ottawa, and others still more remote. The missionaries were greatly at a loss how to proceed with the remnant of their converts, now nearly reduced to the single village of St. Mary. The island of Manitoulin, in Lake Huron, was proposed; but,

* Missions en la Novuelle France, ans 1648, 1649, p. 12, 13.
† Missions, ans 1648, 1649, p. 12, 34–39, c. iv.

though they wanted the means or courage to defend their country, they felt a deep reluctance to remove to such a distance from it. They preferred the insular situation of St. Joseph, in Lake Ontario, which, it was hoped, would secure them against this dreaded foe. They enjoyed for some time an unwonted tranquillity, but were obliged, by the difficulty of subsistence, to form stations on the opposite coast, at the distance of six or eight leagues. It was hoped that, on any alarm, the inhabitants might thence flee to the island for safety; but the Iroquois, on learning the existence of these posts, came upon them successively, with such suddenness and fatal precision, that it seemed as if a destroying angel had guided their steps. One after the other was surprised and destroyed, till of many hundreds only a single individual escaped.

The unhappy remnant of the Huron nation, now reduced to 300, renounced every hope of remaining in their native seats. One of their chiefs addressed the missionary, representing the extremity to which they were reduced, being ghosts rather than men, and hoping to preserve their wretched existence only by fleeing into the depth of the forests, or to some distant country. If he chose to remain where he was, he could only have trees and rocks to instruct. This was the preface to a solicitation that he should convey them to Quebec, and place them under the immediate protection of the French settlement. After serious consideration, this was deemed the most eligible course, and arrangements were immediately made for its execution. They were then led through the wide regions lately peopled by their countrymen, to the number of ten or twelve thousand, but which now presented a scene of unbroken silence and desolation. The sombre aspect of the vast forest was only interrupted by the traces of havoc and slaughter at every spot formerly inhabited, attesting the general destruction

of the Huron name. Overwhelmed with distress, they reached Quebec, where they experienced a mortifying contrast to the reception which they would have found among any neighbouring tribe of savages. There they would have had every want supplied, and been welcomed as countrymen and equals. Here they were viewed only as objects of charity; and though in this light considerable exertions were made, the religious houses finding room for a hundred of the most destitute, yet the remainder were in danger of perishing from cold and hunger, till a station could be formed for them, which, from their former chief settlement, was named Sillery.*

As the Iroquois now lorded it completely over Canada, the French were virtually blockaded in the three forts of Quebec, Trois Rivières, and Montreal, from under the very cannon of which they and their allies were sometimes carried off; and, almost every autumn, bands of hostile invaders swept away the limited harvests raised in the immediate vicinity of these places. Yet in 1653 this fierce nation began, of their own accord, to make overtures of peace; and it was found with surprise that the missionaries had powerfully contributed to this resolution. They had been regarded at first with extreme antipathy, being probably considered as enemies of their race, seeking to subvert the native deities and customs. In the course of the late inroads, however, a considerable number had been carried off, and after suffering protracted torture and partial mutilation, had been spared and adopted. Then their meek deportment, their solemn ceremonies, and the fervour with which "they raised to God hands without fingers," made a strong impression on the savage breast. Hence, at different times, deputies from the ruling horde said, in their figurative language,

* Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1649, 1650, p. 83–88, 100.

that they came to wipe away the blood which had reddened the mountains, the lakes, and the rivers, to bring back the sun, which had hid his face during the late dreadful scenes of warfare. They solicited, at the same time, "black-robes," as they termed the missionaries, to teach them the Christian doctrine. The invitation to go into the midst of ferocious enemies, into a land yet smoking with European blood, would have shaken the nerves of most men. Yet individuals were found who, with a generous self-devotion, did not shrink from the undertaking; nor does it appear that the implied pledge of safety was violated even during war.* The Onondagoes, in 1656, went so far as to solicit that a settlement connected with a mission should be formed in their territory; and Lauson, then governor, having acceded to this proposal, sent the Sieur Dupuys, with fifty of his countrymen, who built a church in the bosom of that savage region. This establishment, however, was generally disapproved by the other tribes; and after it had subsisted two years, formidable assemblages took place, which Dupuys could not doubt were intended to attack him. He therefore considered himself fortunate in being able, while their attention was attracted to a great feast given for that purpose by a friendly Indian, to embark his troops and convey them to Montreal.†

The French felt themselves too weak to reject proposals for peace, though often made with mortifying haughtiness. The Viscount d'Argenson, who went out in 1658, considered it necessary to accept their terms, especially as the utmost cruelties were otherwise threatened to the captives. Yet even by these means his countrymen scarcely obtained any degree of the expected repose. This disappointment arose either from deliberate treachery, or the impos-

* Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1655, 1656, p. 18–20; ans 1660, 1661, p. 33–40.

† Charlevoix in Heriot, p. 74, 81–86.

sibility of confining in one course the various unruly elements of which the confederacy consisted. The most amicable professions hardly procured a respite from hostility; for while one party treated, another attacked: "Peace, it is said, is proclaimed at Montreal, while war rages at Trois Rivières; we are daily attacked and murdered by those who call themselves our friends." At length, in 1663, it was announced that a grand deputation was coming from all the cantons, with the professed intention to unite the whole earth, and to bury the hatchet so deep that it might never again be dug up; and they brought with them a hundred collars of wampum. Unhappily, a party of Algonquins, stung by accumulated wrongs, determined to violate even the sacred character of such a mission; and having formed an ambuscade, they surprised and killed the greater part of them. All prospects of peace were thus blasted, and the war raged with greater fury than ever.*

The Iroquois, during this period, continually extended their dominion. Having seen the powerful effect of firearms, they procured them from the Dutch at Manhatti, and thus acquired an additional superiority over the neighbouring tribes. They attacked the Ottawas, on account of the shelter afforded to their fugitive enemies. That people did not make even an attempt at resistance, but sought refuge amid marshes or in the islands on Lake Huron, while others penetrated far southwest into the valley of the Mississippi, where they formed a junction with the Sioux. On the same ground the Iroquois commenced a desperate war with the nation of the Eriez, a name in their language signifying Cats. After a somewhat hard struggle, they completely succeeded; seven hundred of them stormed the main fortress of the enemy, though defended by

* Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1660, 1661, p. 12–26; ans 1663, 1664, p. 160, &c. Heriot, p. 87, 94, 95.

2000 men; and the survivers were either incorporated with the victors, or fled into remoter regions. This once-powerful nation has left no memorial of its existence except the great lake which bears its name. It is reckoned that the conquerors held undisputed sway over a country five hundred miles in circuit. The very sight of one of them struck terror into the neighbouring tribes; and on the side of New-England, the cry of "A Mohawk!" echoed from hill to hill, causing general consternation and flight.*

Amid this series of disastrous events, the French governors, whether from weakness or pusillanimity, beheld the destruction of their allies and the complete ascendency of this hostile power, without any attempt to prevent either. They did not even go to war, but thought it enough to keep the colonists shut up in fortified posts, which the enemy had not skill to besiege; and nothing else prevented them from speedily destroying these settlements, the environs of which they daily assaulted. They even made a descent upon the Isle of Orleans, where they surprised a party of ninety Hurons; and having killed six, bound the rest, and made them sing in front of Quebec, thus openly defying the governor. M. Maisonneuve, apprehensive for Montreal, and unable otherwise to procure aid, repaired to France, where, by earnest solicitation, he obtained a re-enforcement of a hundred men. The Hurons, under European protection, in a moment of despondency, had made an offer of uniting themselves to the Iroquois, which, as usual, was readily accepted; but the former soon repented. That proud nation then sent thirty deputies to remonstrate, not only with them, but with the governor-general, M. de Lauson. To him they said, "Lift up thy arm, Ononthio, and allow thy children, whom thou holdest pressed to

* Heriot, p. 73–77. Missions, ans 1659, 1660, p. 33–35. Colden's History of the Five Nations, vol. i., p. 3, 4.

thy bosom, to depart; for if they are guilty of any imprudence, thou hast reason to fear, that, in coming to chastise them, my blows fall on thy head." They even demanded canoes to convey these reluctant associates. Lauson, instead of resenting this haughty address, caused them to be informed, that if the Hurons were inclined to go, he would not oppose their departure; that he had no canoes, but they might construct as many as they wanted. After this, considering that no option was left them, except to which of the five nations they should unite themselves, the greater part, in consequence, left the island.*

Amid these external evils, the colony was farther visited by a terrible convulsion of nature. A succession of earthquakes, which commenced on the 5th of February, 1663, were felt for half a year with little intermission throughout all Canada, recurring two or three times every day, agitating both the earth and the waters, and spreading universal alarm; yet, as they did not inflict any permanent injury, nor cause the loss of a single life, the accounts given of them are probably much exaggerated.†

Meantime the most urgent representations were made to Louis XIV. that his government was totally neglecting one of the finest countries in the world, and exposing the French name to contempt, by allowing it to be trampled upon by a handful of savages. That prince, who had recently assumed the reins of power, being eagerly bent upon every means of aggrandizement, was not likely to overlook one so considerable. He was seconded by his minister Colbert, who had specially devoted his thoughts to the extension of commerce; and it was therefore immediately resolved to take steps for raising Canada to her due importance. Four hun-

* Heriot, p. 73, 75, 78–82.
† Ibid., p. 99–102. Missions, an 1663, p. 17, 18.

dred troops were ordered thither; and M. de Monts was appointed commissioner to examine into and regulate the different branches of administration. The governor had hitherto exercised in person, and without control, all its functions; but there was now united with him a council of royal appointment, and an intendant, to whom were intrusted the weighty concerns of justice, police, finance, and marine.

This new system did not at first work altogether smoothly, nor did the independent materials of which it was composed well harmonize. M. de Mesy, the governor, after having sent back to France two of the principal members of council, was himself recalled. The court, however, persevered in its determination to raise the new colony to a proper rank. The associates, who had so long neglected it, and were unwilling to involve themselves in a large outlay with uncertain returns, resigned their privileges into the hands of the crown; and government, according to the unvarying system of that age, placed it in the hands of the West India Company, though it retained for some time the administration of its affairs.*

In pursuance of these views, the Marquis de Tracy was sent out in 1665 under the joint character of viceroy and lieutenant-general, and thus invested with uncontrolled power. Along with him, in addition to the former detachment, was despatched the entire regiment of Carignan-Salières, for some time employed in Hungary against the Turks, where it had acquired a high reputation. A considerable number of settlers, including artisans, with horses and cattle, formed an accession to the colony exceeding the amount of its actual members.

The new viceroy lost no time in taking measures for checking the insolence of the Iroquois, and establishing a supremacy over these proud savages.

* Charlevoix in Heriot, p. 97, 103–112.

He began by erecting three forts on the river Richelieu, in a situation fitted to cover the French territory from their incursions. Overawed by these movements, and by the report of his large force, three of the cantons sent deputies, with ample professions of friendship, proposing an exchange of all the prisoners taken on both sides since the last treaty. The viceroy was pleased with their deportment, and agreed to the terms. The fierce Oneidas and Mohawks, however, still kept aloof; and a party of the latter even killed three officers, one of whom, De Chasy, was nephew to the viceroy. But as two corps were advancing into their territory, an envoy from each nation soon appeared at Quebec, professing to negotiate for peace. They were well received, and invited to the governor's table, when the conversation happening to fall on De Chasy's death, the Mohawk, in a paroxysm of savage pride, lifted his arm, saying, "With this hand that young officer was slain." Tracy, in a transport of rage, told him he should never live to kill another Frenchman, and ordered him to be immediately strangled, while the other deputy was detained a prisoner.*

This event put an end to all pacific overtures. De Courcelles had already begun his march into the Mohawk dominions; but as it was the depth of winter, the excessive cold, together with the wary conduct adopted by the enemy, prevented him from effecting much. On his return he found the viceroy ready to take the field, with an expedition on a greater scale, in which 600 of the Carignan regiment were employed. He detained, without listening to them, two new ambassadors, and, notwithstanding his advanced age, resolved to command in person. In spite of every precaution, the Indians had received notice of his approach, and, abandoning their villages, they left him to march through a

* Heriot, p. 112-116.

desolate country. He found, however, an abundance of grain buried near their deserted abodes, which enabled him to subsist his troops till he reached the extreme frontier, where he found the Indians assembled on a spot whither they had not expected him to penetrate. On discovering the French they attempted no resistance, but fled with precipitation into still more remote and less accessible retreats; and as the viceroy could not attempt to occupy this extensive territory, he found it necessary to return, without striking any decisive blow.

Though this expedition had not fully answered its object, yet the awe which it inspired, added to the protection of the forts, secured the colony in a great degree from the inroads of these fierce marauders. It enjoyed a long tranquillity, and began even to assume a flourishing and cultivated appearance. Most of the regiment of Carignan, both officers and soldiers, settled in the country, where they received liberal grants of land. As many of the former belonged to families of rank, they rendered society more polished than was usual in transatlantic communities, though they introduced the feudal laws and usages at that time common in Europe. Considerable inconvenience having arisen from the scattered manner in which a great part of the lands had been brought into cultivation, an attempt was made to concentrate them; but the amount of labour and property already invested rendered this to a great extent impracticable.*

M. de Courcelles, who succeeded Tracy in 1667, is accused of some faults in the internal administration; but in his conduct towards the Indians, which formed the most important and difficult branch, he displayed a happy union of firmness and address. He even succeeded, though not without difficulty and some indignation on their part, in pre-

* Heriot, p. 120–125.

venting his savage allies from engaging in war against the Iroquois. He availed himself of this auspicious interval to extend the power of France to the interior of Canada and the upper parts of the St. Lawrence. Two Jesuits, Perrot and Marquette, were employed to survey those districts. The latter induced a large body of the Hurons to settle at Michillimackinac, on an island in the river, between the great lakes Huron and Michigan, a situation very favourable for the fur-trade. Agreeably to the reports transmitted to him, the governor fixed upon Cataraqui, on Lake Ontario, near the present site of Kingston, as an advantageous point both for the protection of the trade and for holding the Five Nations in awe. He visited the spot, and having procured a meeting of the savage chiefs, obtained their consent to the measure, carefully concealing, of course, the most important object comtemplated in its erection.

Courcelles had requested his recall; and on his return to Quebec in 1672, found his place supplied by Louis, count de Frontenac, who was destined to act a most important part in the history of Canada. He was able, enterprising, active, and ambitious, but proud, overbearing, and subject to capricious jealousies and enmities. He entered, however, cordially into the views of his predecessor in regard to the fort at Cataraqui, which he immediately caused to be established; and it has often from him been called Fort Frontenac. At the same time he set on foot, or actively promoted, vast projects for exploring the interior regions of America.*

Although this leader conducted the affairs of the colony with spirit and energy, his domineering temper could not brook the checks by which a jealous court sought to limit his jurisdiction. It was enjoined that all affairs of importance should be deci-

* Heriot, p. 123-140.

ded in a council composed of himself, the bishop, and the intendant, each with an equal vote. The prelate was supported by a numerous body of clergy, many of whom were connected with powerful families at home, and were accused of wishing to obtain the supreme direction of affairs. Their influence was laudably exerted in opposing the sale of spirits to the savages, which produced most pernicious effects, but which the count considered as at once extremely profitable, and a means of attaching them to the French interest. The government, on carefully considering the opposite statements, decided according to the opinion of the clergy, and strictly prohibited the traffic. But the count had still more violent dissensions with the intendant, M. Chesneau, who was not only a member of the council, but authorized to act as its president; and being considered a man of mild temper, the chief blame was thrown on the governor. As it was found impossible for them to act together, the court determined to recall both; and M. de la Barre, accordingly, in 1682, was sent out as the new viceroy.*

Canada was then in a critical situation, which rendered it ill able to sustain the want of a vigorous administration. The fine territory on the Hudson, at first occupied by the Dutch under the title of New Belgium, was subsequently claimed, and, after several contests, secured by the English, who named it New-York. Here, according to European ideas, they held the Iroquois country as included within their dominion; and though this pretension could not be yet declared, they endeavoured with success to court that people, and alienate them from the French. Their merchants, carrying on a free trade, while that of their rivals was fettered by an exclusive company, dealt with the tribes on more

* Heriot, p. 146–149, 160, 161.

advantageous terms. The Iroquois, therefore, found it their interest, not only to carry all their furs to the English market, but to buy up those of the savages in alliance with France. Heavy complaints were made by that power; but the Indians, assured of British support, treated them with great indifference; and that shrewd race soon discovered, in the eager competition between these two European nations, the means of rendering their own position more secure and imposing. The military strength of the colony, too, was greatly reduced; the troops who had gone out with De Tracy, having had lands assigned to them, were become proprietors and cultivators rather than soldiers; and though they held their tenures on the condition of military service, they could not be called out without interrupting the agriculture of the country, and endangering its subsistence.

M. de la Barre, however, determined upon war; and, having obtained a re-enforcement of 200 men, advanced up the river. He was met at Montreal by deputies from the cantons, who made strong professions of friendship; but these he considered vague and unworthy of credit, and was confirmed in this opinion when, soon after, a party of fourteen of his counytrmen were attacked and plundered.* He endeavoured, however, to divide the strength of these fierce tribes, by sending belts of peace to three of them, and directing all his force against the Senecas, whom he considered the most hostile, and also, we suspect, because it was through their territory that the English penetrated to the fur-trade on the lakes. The hope was quite illusory in regard to the members of so politic a confederation. In proceeding upward, he received notice that deputies from the other tribes were coming to mediate a peace between him and their neighbours; that, in case of

* Heriot, p. 162-168, 174, 175.

refusal, they were determined to make common cause with them; and, in the event of this alternative, they had received ample assurances of support from New-York. The difficulties of the French commander were greatly increased by sickness, which, in consequence of the bad quality of the provisions, had broken out in his army. Yet when the deputies met him on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, he assumed a lofty tone. He complained of their inroads into the country of the Illinois and other tribes in alliance with France; of their outrages against the traders of that nation; and particularly of their having conducted the English to the lakes, and enabled them to supplant the commerce of his countrymen. He concluded by stating that, unless reparation were made for these injuries, with a promise to abstain from them in future, war and the devastation of their country must be the immediate consequence. The deputies very coolly replied, that Ononthio appeared to speak like one in a dream; and that, if he would open his eyes, he would see himself wholly destitute of the means to execute these formidable threats. They defended their right to make war upon any Indian nations by whom they conceived themselves aggrieved; adding that the French party were attacked by them because they were conveying arms to their enemies. As to the English, they had allowed them to pass through their lands, on the same principle that they had given permission to his people, and would continue to do so. They were afraid lest the great number of the warriors here present, if they proceeded to Cataraqui, should trample down the tree of peace there so happily planted. They were still willing to dance the calumet-dance under the shadow of its branches, and to leave the hatchet buried, unless the country granted to them by the Great Spirit should be attacked. The Onondago deputies guarantied reparation for

any actual plunder inflicted on French traders, but added that no more could be conceded, and that the army must be immediately withdrawn. However humiliating these terms were, after such lofty threats and preparations, De la Barre had no choice but to comply.* The English, on the other hand, reproached the Iroquois for not having prosecuted the war, and in terms which seemed to indicate a right to direct their movements. They replied, however, in the same determined manner: "Ononthio," said they, "is our father, and Corlaer (as they called the governor of New-York) our brother; but neither of them is our master. He who created the world gave us the land which we occupy; we are free; we respect both; but neither has a right to command us; and no person ought to take offence that we prevent the earth from being troubled." On another occasion, they said "Brother Corlaer, we tell you that we shall bind a covenant chain to our arm and to his as thick as that post."† We cannot forbear remarking, that in this whole transaction the savages appear to great advantage compared both with their European allies and enemies.

De la Barre, on arriving at Quebec, received despatches which placed him greatly at fault. A fresh re-enforcement had been landed, and the letters from court intimated the full expectation that he was carrying on a triumphant war with the Five Nations. On this supposition, the king made an absurd and cruel request, that he would send a number of Iroquois prisoners to man his galleys. We may then imagine the dissatisfaction felt at home when the real issue of the campaign was reported. The governor was immediately pronounced unfit for his situation, and was superseded in 1685 by the Marquis de Denonville, distingushed as a brave and active officer.

* Heriot, p. 170–189.
† Ibid., p. 179–180. Colden, vol. i., p. 66.

This commander, on his arrival, made some professions of a wish to maintain peace, though he must have understood that a quite opposite course was really expected of him. After giving what he professed to consider a fair trial, he soon declared his conviction that the Iroquois could never be conciliated, and that it was a matter of political necessity either to extirpate or reduce them to entire dependence. He proposed also to erect a strong fort at Niagara, both to hold them in check and also to prevent their introducing the English to the fur-trade on the lakes. He opened his campaign with a measure the most iniquitous and unjustifiable that can well be conceived. Having, under various pretexts, allured a number of chiefs to meet him on the banks of Lake Ontario, he suddenly put them in irons, and sent them off to France, to fulfil the king's absurd scheme with regard to the manning of his galleys. He had not scrupled to employ two missionaries in this base stratagem; but the Indians, believing them to be unconscious instruments of the crime, generously spared them both.*

There could now be nothing on either side but war to the utmost extremity. Denonville was fully prepared for it, and had 800 French regulars, with 1300 Canadians and savages, ready to advance into the Seneca country, with the resolution, it is said, of putting all to the sword. On approaching the first village, they were suddenly attacked in front and rear by 800 of the enemy, and it was most mortifying to the French to find themselves thrown into a good deal of confusion, and to see the battle retrieved by their undisciplined allies. The Iroquois, being repulsed, did not again make their appearance in the field. The conqueror marched for ten days through vast woods, burning and destroying the grain and provisions, but not meeting a single ene-

* Heriot, p. 190–194, 208, 209.

my. A doubt respecting the fidelity of his allies, and, as we suspect, the exhausted state of his general equipment, then induced him to retire. He carried into execution, however, his plan of erecting and garrisoning a fort at Niagara.

Notwithstanding the semblance of success in this expedition, it appeared, on the retreat of the invaders, that the Iroquois were complete masters of the upper course of the St. Lawrence. They blockaded the two forts of Niagara and Cataraqui, the former of which they reduced and razed to the ground. They covered Lake Ontario with their canoes. The native allies of the French, seeing no prospect of assistance from them, began to waver; nor is it doubted that, if the savages had understood the art of siege, they would have rooted the Europeans entirely out of Canada. As it was, they determined on the course which, it must be owned, they had often shown themselves very ready to embrace, of making proposals of peace. Deputies arrived at Montreal, leaving at two days' march behind a corps of 1200 of their countrymen, ready for immediate action. They boasted to the governor of their commanding position, and, insisting upon the restoration of the chiefs unjustly seized and of all other captives, allowed him only four days to accept the offer, otherwise the whole country would be in flames. The deepest consternation prevailed at Montreal; and Denonville saw himself under the necessity of accepting these humiliating terms, and requesting back from France the chiefs whom he had iniquitously sent thither.*

This treaty was interrupted by an unexpected act of treachery. The Hurons had entered into the war on the full understanding that it should not terminate till the Iroquois were destroyed or completely hum-

* Heriot, p. 212-219. Colden, p. 93. La Potherie, vol. ii., p. 207, 208.

bled. They dreaded now that they might be left defenceless, and have to sustain the attacks of that potent tribe; an issue which their principal chief, the Rat, took a most savage means of averting. Having learned that a body of their deputies were to land at the cascades of the St. Lawrence on their way to Montreal, he and a party of his countrymen lay in ambush, and killed or captured them as they successively disembarked. He then informed the prisoners that this crime had been committed at the instigation of the governor, who had even practised a deception to induce him to commit it, and pretending to be shocked at the treachery into which he had been seduced, he sent them home. It is easy to conceive the indignation of the cantons at this intelligence; and though Denonville disavowed, in the strongest terms, the allegations of the Rat, the flame once kindled could not be fully quenched. The Hurons were also encouraged by the hope of gaining over the allies of the French, who, seeing that people no longer able to protect them, were all disposed to make terms with the party which now appeared the strongest. The Iroquois made a sudden descent on the island of Montreal, which they laid waste with fire and sword, carrying off 200 prisoners, without having experienced any resistance. The fort at Cataraqui, like that at Niagara, was blown up and abandoned.

In this extremity, when the very existence of the colony was threatened, it was judged indispensable to place at its head an officer possessing energy of character, and address in dealing with the savages. These qualities were united in the Count de Frontenac, who, during his former administration, had made himself both beloved and feared by all those nations; and experience, it was hoped, would teach him to avoid the errors which had led to his recall. The count took out with him the captive chiefs whom his predecessor had so unjustly seized; and

so fascinating were his manners, that he completely gained their favour; Oureouharé, the principal one, remaining ever after most strongly attached to him.

Frontenac, on his arrival in 1689, endeavoured to open a negotiation with the Iroquois, whom he entertained sanguine hopes of conciliating. By the advice of Oureouharé, he sent a deputy of that nation whom he found at Montreal, with four of his captive countrymen, to announce to the cantons his return, and his wish to resume amicable relations. The friendly chief transmitted a message, requesting them to send an embassy to their ancient father, from whom they would experience much tenderness and esteem, and whom he would not quit till the affair was satisfactorily adjusted.

The council of the Iroquois, after some deliberation, sent back the same deputies with six belts, intimating their resolution. It was expressed in lofty and even imbittered terms. Choosing to consider Ononthio as always one and the same, they complained that his rods of correction had been too sharp and cutting. The roots of the tree of peace which he had planted at Fort Frontenac had been withered by blood; the ground had been polluted with treachery and falsehood. They demanded atonement for these injuries, and that Oureouharé, with his captive companions, should be sent back previous to the liberation of the French prisoners. Ononthio would then be at liberty to plant again the "tree of peace, but not on the same spot." This answer was regarded by Frontenac as very unsatisfactory; yet anxious to keep open the negotiation, he sent an officer with eight belts from Oureouharé, importing that they should detach themselves from the English and Dutch, and unite in close alliance with France. Till then that chief declined returning to his canton.*

* Heriot, p. 220-236.

Two circumstances imboldened the Iroquois to assume this high tone. In consequence of the revolution of 1688, when the cause of Jamess II. was embraced by the French monarch, the two kingdoms were now at open war; and the Five Nations could depend upon the cordial co-operation both of the English and the Dutch. At the same time, they were engaged in a treaty with the Ottawas and other tribes, who, besides being anxious to have a better market for their furs, complained that the alliance of the French was only a burden to them, as they found it necessary to protect them instead of enjoying their protection. In this crisis, the count feeling a strong inducement to do something to retrieve the reputation of his country, resolved to strike the first blow against the English, on whose support the enemy so strongly relied. An expedition was fitted out at Quebec in 1690 against Corlaer or Schenectady, the frontier town of New-York, and from which the Indians gave the name to the governor. This party, composed of 110 French and a number of savages, succeeded completely in surprising the place. They found the gates open, and encountered resistance only at one point, where it was soon overcome. The fort and every house were pillaged and burned. The English accounts add, that all the horrors of Indian warfare were let loose on the defenceless inhabitants; that sixty-three men, women, and children were massacred in cold blood, and a small remnant carried away as prisoners. The victors, on their return, suffered severely from want of food, being obliged to kill almost all their horses. The Iroquois were not intimidated nor estranged from the English by this catastrophe; on the contrary, they sent to the survivers a number of belts, importing that they felt and would avenge the wrong as if done to themselves. Not a man in Canada should dare to go out to cut a stick. "We are," said they, "of the race of the bear, and a bear, you

know, never yields while a drop of his blood is left." One belt, importing eyewater to make their sight sharp, delicately intimated the necessity of greater precaution in future. Others were to wipe away their tears, and assure them that "the sun, which had been cloudy and sent this disaster, would shine again with his pleasant beams."*

Meantime, a smaller expedition from Trois Rivières succeeded in surprising and destroying an English village named Sementels. The count also sent M. de Louvigny, with a large detachment, to strengthen the remote post of Michillimackinac, which had been maintained with great difficulty. This service was effected, and a party of the enemy, who attempted to surprise them, were completely defeated. Notwithstanding this success, the Iroquois maintained the same active hostility; but a favourable influence was produced on the old allies of the French, who, seeing them resume their former energy, determined to prefer their support to that of new and suspicious friends. The Ottawas owned that they had made some progress in a negotiation, but as soon as they heard of the return of their ancient father, had determined to break it off. The Hurons, who had not taken such open steps, denied having ever entered into any treaty.*

Meantime a storm was ready to burst, which threatened the very existence of French power in America. The English determined to strike a blow, which might at once deprive the enemy of all his possessions. Two expeditions were prepared, one by sea from Boston against Quebec, the other by land from New-York against Montreal. The first was commanded by Sir William Phipps, a native of New-England, of humble birth, who had raised himself by his talents to a high station. Having sailed with thirty-four vessels of different sizes, and a large

* Heriot, p. 237–242. Colden, vol. i., p, 120–125.
† Heriot, p. 243–248, 249, 250.

body of troops, he proceeded with such activity that he had captured all the posts in Acadia and Newfoundland, with several on the St. Lawrence, and was within a few days' sail of Quebec before the alarm spread thither. Frontenac, who was at Montreal, hastened down to strengthen the defences, which at that time consisted, in a great measure, of rude intrenchments of timber and earth. On the morning of the 16th October, 1690, the fleet appeared in view, and an officer came with a summons, which was peremptorily rejected. Sir William took no active measures till midday on the 18th, a remissness which was much blamed. He then landed 1500 men on the banks of the river St. Charles. The French could muster only 300 irregulars; but these, posting themselves among rocks and bushes, with which the marshy ground was covered, kept up a constant fire that caused great loss to their enemy. Before night, however, they retreated into the town, leaving the assailants masters of the field. In the evening the large vessels anchored in front of the city and opened a brisk fire; but, being directed against the upper part, it produced little effect. It was renewed on the following day, and continued till noon, but was equally fruitless, while the ships sustained considerable damage. The squadron was then moved up the river, beyond Cape Diamond. On the same day, the troops continued to advance, though slowly, and harassed by constant attacks. Phipps, whose only hope was now from land-batteries, sent on shore six pieces of ordnance, and next day endeavoured again to push forward with his men. The militia, however, with increased numbers and activity, harassed them, and at length, covered by some palisades, kept up so brisk a fire as to arrest their progress. The English commander, at this stage considering the enterprise hopeless, embarked the soldiers on the 22d, submitting, at the same time, to the mortifying necessity of leaving

his cannon and ammunition. Colden considers it certain, that, had he at once made a vigorous attack on the body of the place, he would have easily carried it. The French, he says, returned fervent thanks to Providence for having, by a special interposition, deprived their enemies of common sense.*

The expedition against Montreal did not take place at the appointed time, owing to a want of concert between the parties. Next year, however (1691), after some desultory ravages by the Iroquois, news arrived that they, with their English and native allies, were advancing along the river Sorel. The command at Montreal was then held by De Callières, a very able officer, who had gained the respect and attachment of his savage neighbours. It is said that, on this and other high occasions, he danced with them the war-dance, brandishing the hatchet, shouting and hallooing in their national manner. In addition to his countrymen, he had assembled about 800 Indians at the Prairie de la Magdeleine, near the town. Still the Iroquois, by their rapid movements and skill in ambuscade, succeeded in surprising several of the advanced posts, and carrying off a considerable number of prisoners. But when the force on both sides was fully mustered, the assailants, though after a very hard contest, were obliged to retreat.

After these successes, the governor felt himself in a very commanding position, and no longer entertained any fear for the safety of the colony. Yet the Iroquois, under a favourite chief named the Black Caldron, continued to make sudden inroads in every direction, rendering seedtime and harvest alike precarious, and exposing every one who stirred out of the forts to the hazard of losing his life. It was their boast, that their enemies should have no rest except in the grave. In this desultory contest the

* Heriot, p. 255-262. Colden, vol. i., p. 137, 138.

advantage was usually on their side; and, though a detachment penetrated into the canton of the Mohawks, they were obliged to return without gaining any decisive advantage.*

The Iroquois, however, in the beginning of 1694, began to show a disposition towards peace. Two Onondagoes came to Montreal, and asked De Callières if certain deputies who were on their way would be received. They were answered in the affirmative; yet two months elapsed before they availed themselves of this concession. In March there came only an apology from the chief, who was to have been at the head of the embassy, and who threw the blame of the delay upon the English. A dark suspicion was now entertained, that these missions were contrived with a most treacherous design; to stab the governor and M. de Callières in public council, while a large body concealed in ambush should take advantage of the confusion. Nothing ever occurred that could seem to justify this horrid apprehension, so little consistent with the cold and tardy manner in which the proposals were made. The truth appears to be, that two parties divided the councils of the savages. One, supported by the English, and relying on their promises, eagerly urged the prosecution of the war. But the other, seconded by the "praying Indians," or the converts made by the missionaries, represented that the nation was wasting itself in a fruitless warfare; that the British made large promises, and put them on bold enterprises, but did nothing to support them; that, in short, they were lavish of Indian blood, but sparing of their own. A vacillating policy resulted from this conflict. However, in May, the chief arrived with eight deputies, and was well received by the governor, notwithstanding his want of confidence. This was the season of sowing, during the

* Heriot, p. 265-278. Colden, vol. i., p. 139-142.

continuance of which a truce was extremely convenient. They expressed the most friendly disposition, and even solicited the restoration of the fort of Cataraqui; a request which Frontenac little expected, but was quite disposed to grant. Oureouharé went with these deputies, and returned in company with others, bringing also thirteen Frenchmen, several of whom were persons of distinction, who had been long held in captivity. They came, however, only from two cantons; and though the first belt, relating to the prisoners, was conceived in friendly terms, the exposition of the others was obscure and unsatisfactory; and all attempt to obtain a proper explanation proved fruitless. It transpired, however, that the English interest was powerfully exerted against peace; and all that was at present contemplated was "to suspend the hatchet." The count, though courteously, rejected all the belts except the first, declaring that he wished to chastise them only as a father does his children; but that, unless more friendly sentiments were entertained, he could not long withhold the intended blow.*

Affairs continued for some time in this uncertain state, the enemy making repeated proposals, to which little credit was attached; while the governor, not having yet sufficient force to open the campaign in an imposing manner against a people who could muster 3000 warriors, was not unwilling to have a pretext for delay. Instead, however, of showing a more friendly temper, the deputies began to assume a loftier tone, demanding that he should send envoys to their villages, and should cease at once all hostilities against them and the English. It was also understood that various attempts were made on their part to detach the allies, not without some prospect of success. The

* Heriot, p. 262-266.

count, therefore, considered it indispensable to proceed to some measure which might impress the savages with an adequate idea of his power. The prevailing opinion was, that he ought at once to march his whole force into the heart of their territory; but he preferred sending, in the first instance, an expedition to re-establish the fort of Cataraqui. This service was effected with promptitude, and almost without opposition. It did not, however, stop the tendency to defection among his confederates, who loudly complained of the disadvantageous terms on which the French traders dealt with them, when compared with those obtained from the British through the Five Nations. The lead was taken by a Huron chief, named the Baron, who concluded a treaty, not only comprehending his own adherents, but even embracing the Ottawas: all of whom promised to desert the French, and unite with their mortal enemies. Yet La Motte Cadillac, commander at Michillimackinac, by impressing on them with great address a dread of his sovereign's power, contrived to change the resolution of these fickle tribes. They were even guilty of a counter-treachery, attacking a party of the Iroquois who had joined them, and defeating them with great loss.* These proceedings, however, were felt by the governor as strongly calling for some vigorous step to restore the reputation of his arms; and this could only be effected by carrying war on a great scale into the enemy's country. As this resolution, however, was formed in the autumn, its execution was delayed till the following summer, De Callières being convinced that the army could not, without much suffering, march amid frost and snow into those desolate regions. He listened to a plan for sending a detachment during the winter into the canton of the Mohawks; but it was soon understood that, through

* Heriot, p. 289, 291-298, 305-308.

the aid of the English, they had placed themselves beyond the hazard of being overwhelmed by any sudden attack. An attempt to surprise hunting-parties, who crossed the St. Lawrence in spring, was attended with only partial success.

It was not till the month of June, 1696, that operations could be regularly commenced. At that period all the forces which could be mustered, regulars, militia, and Indians, were marched upon Cataraqui, and thence into the canton of Onondago. Great difficulty was found in conveying the army and baggage in batteaux along rapid streams; and on one occasion the greater part had nearly been carried down an impetuous waterfall. On entering a lake, they discovered, suspended to a tree, two bundles of rushes, which intimated that 1434 warriors were waiting to engage them. They therefore sailed across, and formed themselves in regular order of battle. A fort was constructed to serve as a magazine and place of retreat, and the troops then cautiously began their march into the heart of those savage regions. De Callières commanded the left wing; the Chevalier de Vaudreuil the right: while the count, then seventy-six years of age, was carried in the centre in an elbow-chair. The host of the Five Nations, however, did not appear; and, on reaching their principal fortress, it was found reduced to ashes, while two Frenchmen, long detained there, had been recently massacred. This excited surprise, as the fort had been carefully constructed by the English, in a regular form, with a double palisade, and strengthened by bastions and redoubts. It soon, however, became evident, that the cantons had determined to adopt the same policy as on former occasions, of allowing the enemy to march unresisted through their territory, satisfied that they would never be able to form any permanent establishment. Several prisoners escaped; but the invaders could only overtake one In-

dian, nearly a hundred years old, who was barbarously given up to the allied savages to be tortured. It was a dreadful spectacle to see more than four hundred men venting their rage on this venerable and infirm warrior, who endured all they could inflict upon him with unshaken fortitude, deriding his adversaries as slaves to a contemptible race of foreigners.*

After the Onondago canton had been thus overrun, the Oneidas sent deputies; but Frontenac, under present circumstances, would accept nothing short of unconditional submission. De Vaudreuil marched into their territory and laid it waste. It had been determined in council to advance, and treat the Cayugas in a similar manner; but the count, influenced probably by the exhausted state of his armament, resolved upon returning to Montreal. This conduct is much censured by the French writers, who consider that operations might have been carried further with great advantage. English authors, on the contrary, consider the whole expedition as an act of heroic folly, by which nothing was effected except the destruction of some grain and wooden cabins. The Iroquois presently rallied, and harassed the invaders severely in their retreat; nor did they afterward cease their incursions into the settlement till they found the frontier so strongly guarded that they could not carry off any important plunder.†

The governor, meanwhile, had a difficult negotiation with his own court, who had been persuaded that the advanced posts maintained in the upper parts of the colony were of very little advantage, while they chiefly caused the desolating wars in which it had been involved. The traffic thither, in fact, was carried on very irregularly by

* Heriot, p. 309–321. La Potherie, vol. iii., p. 207, 208.
† Ibid., p. 322–327. Colden, vol i., p. 197, 202.

an adventurous but desperate race, called the *coureurs du bois—rangers of the forest.* It was, besides, a strict monopoly, being only allowed under licenses granted to old officers or favourites, who sold them for about 600 crowns each to the merchants. The purchasers fitted out the coureurs with canoes and merchandise, reaping profits so ample that the value of 8000 crowns was procured for French goods worth only a thousand. The savages, by their intercourse with the English, learning the extent to which they were cheated, made incessant complaints; and it was therefore proposed to allow them to bring their own furs and dispose of them at Montreal, while the colonists should devote all their attention to the cultivation of the soil. But the governor and other members of the administration argued that this step would throw the Indian allies entirely into the hands of the Five Nations and the British; adding that, while the fur-trade would be entirely lost, a general confederacy of the tribes against France might be also dreaded. They were probably influenced by the fear of sacrificing their own power and patronage; and they contrived so to modify the injunctions from court, that they produced little practical effect.*

The Iroquois continued the war with vigour, but both they and the English met with repeated disasters, which made them wish for peace. The Black Caldron himself, in a hunting expedition, was surprised and killed by a party of Algonquins. Negotiations were opened through Oureouharé, whose sudden death again retarded them; but their success was secured by tidings that peace had been concluded in Europe between France and Britain. The colonists of the latter power, who first received the intelligence, sent a deputation to Quebec to propose an exchange of prisoners, both as re-

* Heriot, p. 200, 201, 334–336.

spected themselves and their allies. The count, however, preferred to negotiate separately with the cantons, and he soon had the satisfaction to discover that, notwithstanding the alliance which had so long united them to the English, a deep jealousy was now felt lest that people, when no longer obliged to court their aid, should endeavour to enforce certain claims of sovereignty. He studiously cherished this impression, hoping to improve it into a friendship with his own countrymen. But in the midst of these transactions he died, on the 29th November, 1698, leaving a high reputation for the energetic measures by which, with little aid from the mother country, he had retrieved the affairs of the settlement, and raised it into a powerful and flourishing state. He was disinterested, but ambitious, haughty, and jealous of his authority; qualities which created him many enemies, and considerably obstructed his designs.*

De Callières, who had already distinguished himself by important services, was appointed his successor, and administered affairs in a manner which gave entire satisfaction. With more steadiness and prudence than the count, he possessed nearly equal vigour and address. Much time and many difficulties, however, still intervened before all matters could be finally adjusted with the Iroquois, and between them and the allies; but at length, in 1700, a pacification was effected, and the numerous prisoners on both sides were allowed to return. On this occasion there was witnessed a surprising and somewhat mortifying occurrence; for, while the natives eagerly sought their homes, the greater part of the French captives were found to have contracted such an attachment to the wild freedom of the woods, that neither the commands of the king, nor the tears and entreaties of their friends, could induce

* Heriot, p. 337–345.

them to quit the savage associates with whom they had united.

After peace had been thus established with their enemies, the French were involved in a contest with their allies. Bourgmont, governor of Detroit, had endeavoured to unite the Ottawas with the Miamis in an expedition into the interior of the continent; but animosities had been for some time fermenting between these tribes, aggravated by some imprudent and violent actions on his part. At length the former, instigated by a leading chief named "the Heavy," commenced an attack upon the latter, whom they pursued under the cannon of the fort. The guns being opened upon them, a contest ensued, in which two Frenchmen, one of whom was a priest, were killed. The assailants then retired, and an old chief came to the governor to make the most humble apologies for this outrage, describing it as a momentary ebullition, for which they could not themselves account. The European leader promised pardon, provided the savage, who had instigated them to this violence, were delivered up. To this step they showed the most extreme reluctance, even pretending that it was out of their power; but, as the condition was held indispensable, they at length produced the offender, though with the most earnest entreaties for his pardon. This was granted, though rather imprudently; for the Miamis, who had considered themselves fully entitled to his head, raised a violent commotion, which it required some force to put down.*

Scarcely had peace been thus concluded among the savage tribes, with some hope of duration, when it was broken by their civilized neighbours. The succession of Philip of Anjou to the throne of Spain gave rise to a long and eventful contest between France and England. It was begun by Louis XIV.

* Heriot, p. 346, 362, 374-377, 380-384.

in the height of his power, and with every prospect of giving law to all Europe; instead of which, the exploits of Marlborough and Eugene, the fields of Blenheim and Ramillies, reduced him to the lowest condition, and at one time even seemed to place his crown in peril. In these disastrous circumstances, the mother country was obliged to leave her colonies to their own resources; while England, elated with repeated triumphs, conceived the bold design of embracing within her territory the whole north of America. The situation of Canada was rendered still more critical by the death of De Callières, her able governor, which took place in May, 1703, though he was succeeded by the Count de Vaudreuil, who proved himself by no means destitute of the qualities requisite for his high office.

The English now called upon their allies of the Five Nations to renew hostilities against their old enemies; but these tribes were exceedingly unwilling to interrupt their repose. They alleged that, when they concluded a treaty, they did so with an intention to keep it; while the Europeans seemed to enter into such engagements solely with the view of immediately breaking them. One chief, with the rude freedom of his nation, intimated his suspicion that the nations were both drunk. They did little, therefore, of themselves or by their own impulse; and, when called upon to join an expedition, came slowly and reluctantly forward.

De Vaudreuil, in contemplation of a formidable attack, sought to dissipate it by an offensive movement. He sent out a detachment 200 strong, which, after a long march, succeeded in storming and destroying a frontier village named Haverhill;* though, while returning, they fell into an ambuscade. Thirty of their number were killed; but, having beaten off their assailants, the remainder reached Montreal in safety.†

* In Essex county, Massachusetts.—*Am. Ed.*

† *Heriot*, p. 363, 364, 388, 397.

In May, 1709, an individual named Vetch, who had become intimately acquainted with the navigation of the St. Lawrence, laid before the cabinet of Queen Anne a plan for the conquest of Canada. It being approved, he was sent to New-York, then called Manhattan, with authority and resources supposed sufficient for its accomplishment. De Vaudreuil soon learned that 2000 English had issued from the place just mentioned, and that these were to be joined by an equal number of savages. Having mustered his troops, he at first thought of carrying war again into the enemy's country; but, after the march had begun, his allies objected, and he adopted the more prudent course of merely protecting his frontier. The British, after forming a chain of posts from New-York, had occupied in great force Lakes George and Champlain, and were erecting forts with a view to cover their descent upon Canada. The Iroquois had joined them according to promise; but it appears that a general council of the cantons was held at Onondago, when one of their chief orators remarked that their independence was only maintained by the mutual jealousy of the two European nations, each of whom, if they could, would lord it completely over them, and that it was therefore highly imprudent to permit the English to conquer New France. These views were considered accordant with the policy which had always governed the cantons, and were immediately acted upon, though the manner in which this was accomplished does not exactly appear. The English, however, in consequence of this want of co-operation, and of a pestilential disorder which broke out among their own troops, abandoned the enterprise, burning their canoes, and reducing their forts to ashes.*

* A report has generally prevailed, that the Iroquois caused this malady by throwing the skins of wild beasts into the stream

Canada now enjoyed an interval of repose, though it was understood that the enemy were making active preparations for a fresh expedition, and sparing no pains to secure the co-operation of the Five Nations. All means of conciliation were therefore studiously employed, and were so far successful as to obtain friendly professions from the Senecas and the Onondagoes, but from them alone. At this time, however, the French were involved in a desperate struggle in the upper territory, with a nation hitherto unheard of, called the Outagamis or Foxes. This they ascribe to the machinations of their old antagonists, who yet do not appear to have taken any share in the contest. By the aid of a large body of Indian allies, these people were reduced to the necessity of humbly soliciting terms of peace. But the subjects of Louis were persuaded by their savage auxiliaries to push matters to the last extremity; and after a fresh and dreadful struggle, this unfortunate tribe was nearly exterminated. The victors, notwithstanding, had reason to repent of their barbarous conduct, as the remnant of the defeated nation carried on against them a ceaseless and harassing warfare, and rendered insecure their communication with the settlements on the Mississippi.*

The English in 1710 prepared a new and greater armament. General Nicholson arrived at Boston with a considerable squadron; and fresh forces were expected, which, with those already in the colony, were to be employed in two joint expeditions, by sea against Quebec, and by land against Montreal. Notwithstanding every possible preparation, these tidings excited deep apprehension, which continued unabated till a report arrived, and proved ultimately correct, that the invading squadron had been wrecked at the Seven Islands, near

out of which the English drank; but we cannot think this a very probable story.

* Heriot, p. 397–416.

the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Several barks having sailed thither, found the remains of eight vessels, which, having struck upon the rocks, had been abandoned, after being stripped of their cannon and stores. A number of dead bodies scattered along the shore attested this calamitous event. The commander, impatient to proceed, and disregarding the warning of an experienced pilot, had involved his armament in this disaster. General Nicholson had already taken the field; but, learning the loss of the fleet, and foreseeing that the whole force of the enemy would now be turned against him, he fell back upon New-York.*

Though Canada had thus been twice delivered, intelligence was received that fresh preparations were making, and there was reason to fear that, if left without aid, she would at length be overwhelmed by superior forces. The governor, however, was relieved by the intelligence that, in consequence of a complete change of ministry, the English cabinet had determined to separate from its allies, and had opened a negotiation at Utrecht. Instructions were sent to the colonial councils to suspend hostilities. Both the European powers being favourably inclined, the negotiations proceeded smoothly, and on the 30th March, 1713, this memorable treaty was signed. France retained Canada, though obliged, by the urgency of her circumstances, to cede Acadia and Newfoundland. She made over likewise all her claims to the sovereignty of the Five Nations: a very empty concession, by which she gave that which she had never possessed, and England received a nominal right which she could not enforce.†

After this treaty Canada enjoyed a long period of uninterrupted tranquillity. The observations of Charlevoix, who visited the principal settlements

* Heriot, p. 399–404. † Ibid., p. 418, 419.

during the years 1720 and 1721, give a pretty good idea of their condition at that period. Quebec was estimated to contain about 7000 inhabitants; both the lower and upper town were partially built, but none of the extensive suburbs appear to have then existed. The view from the summit of the rock appeared to him extremely striking; and anticipating the change, since partly fulfilled, when the surrounding shores and islands, then covered with almost unbroken forests, should display cultivated fields, meadows, and villages, with numberless barks studding the broad expanse of the St. Lawrence, he expects it to form a prospect which nothing could equal. The society, composed in a great measure of military officers and noblesse, was extremely agreeable; and nowhere was the French language spoken in greater purity. Under this gay exterior, however, was concealed a very general poverty. The settlers, while they admitted that their English neighbours knew better how to accumulate wealth, were consoled by reflecting that they were quite ignorant how to enjoy it. They themselves, on the contrary, understood thoroughly the most elegant and agreeable modes of spending money, but were greatly at a loss where to obtain it. The only employment suited to their taste was the fur-trade, the roving and adventurous habits of which were extremely attractive to them, and little fortunes were thereby occasionally made; but they were in such haste to expend these in pleasure and display, that the author compares them to hillocks of sand in the deserts of Africa, which rise and disappear almost at the same moment. Many, who had made a handsome figure, were now languishing in distress. They began by retrenching the luxury of their table, and, as long as possible, were richly dressed. The patient and laborious process of agriculture had drawn little attention, and the timber-trade was yet in its infancy, though the author points out the great

importance which it was capable of attaining. The absence of gold and silver, almost the only objects then considered as giving lustre to a colony, had always caused New France to be viewed as of very secondary importance.*

The coasts of the St. Lawrence, for some extent below Quebec, were already laid out in seigniories, and tolerably cultivated. At Pointe aux Trembles, seven leagues from the capital, many of the farmers were found in easy circumstances, and richer than their landlords; the latter, having obtained grants which they had neither capital nor industry to improve, were obliged to let them at very small quit-rents. On reaching the mouth of the Beçancour, he found a baron bearing the title of that river, and holding the office of inspector of the highways. He lived almost in a desert, and derived his income chiefly from traffic with the neighbouring Indians. Thence Charlevoix crossed to Trois Rivières, which he found an agreeable place, amid a circuit of well-cultivated fields, but not containing more than 800 inhabitants. The fur-trade, with a view to which it was founded, had already been in a great measure transferred to Montreal, and the iron-mines had not yet begun to be worked.

From Trois Rivières he proceeded through the Lake of St. Peter, and, coasting along its southern shore, made particular observations on the river and district of St. Francis. From its excellent soil, covered with timber, it appeared to him well fitted for cultivation; but the farmers were few, and had made such small progress, that, but for the opportunities of trade, they would have been extremely poor. A more cheerful scene presented itself at the island and city of Montreal, the beauties of which he describes in terms similar to those of all subse-

* Charlevoix's Journal, vol. i., p. 104, 111-114, 121-125, 145, 263-265.

quent visiters. He does not make any estimate of the population; but it must have been considerable, as both the upper and lower towns were already built, and a suburb had been commenced. The place was then enjoying a respite from the alarms and calamities of war; and the two neighbouring villages of Sault St. Louis and Montgomery, inhabited by friendly Indians, served as barriers against their more savage countrymen.*

Above Montreal, the traveller appears to have found nothing but detached stations for defence and trade. He made his way through the rapids to Lake Ontario, in Indian canoes formed of birch-bark. We find no mention of anything French till he comes to Fort Cataraqui or Frontenac, at the entrance of the lake; but in his short description there is no appearance as if the neighbourhood contained either cultivation or settlement. He had then a tedious voyage to perform along the southern shore in slender canoes, in which he was obliged to follow every winding of the coast, and often to sail two hundred leagues in order to shun a direct passage of twenty. He was liable also to be detained for an indefinite period by violent or adverse winds. At length he entered the river of Niagara, and came to a cottage which had been dignified to him with the name of fortress, and was occupied by the Sieur de Joncaire. There were two or three officers of rank, and, we presume, a few troops, but apparently no trace of cultivation.†

After having surveyed the falls, he ascended the channel of Niagara, and having entered upon Lake Erie, proceeded along its northern shore. The voyage appeared to him delightful, in a charming climate, on waters clear as the purest fountain, and landing every night on the most desirable spots. He

* Charlevoix, Journal, vol. i., p. 172–178, 190, 213–218.
† Ibid., p. 293–297, 312–316, 341.

found always abundance of game, and a beautiful landscape, bounded by the noblest forests in the world. He fancied himself, like the ancient patriarchs, wandering through wide, unappropriated tracts, where he could pitch his tent in the most pleasant scenes. The oaks of Mamre and the fountain of Jacob seemed realized to him in the wilderness. Five days' sail along these beautiful shores brought him to the channel of Detroit, at the other end of which, near Lake St. Clair, he found the fort bearing that name. He inclined to the opinion of those who regarded this as the most beautiful and fruitful part of all Canada. A French settlement had been begun there fifteen years before, but various untoward circumstances had reduced it almost to nothing. He proceeded thence to Michillimackinac, near the adjoining extremities of the great lakes Huron, Superior, and Michigan. Like the others, it was a mere fort surrounded by an Indian village. On the whole, it appears that, above Montreal, there was nothing at this time which could be called a colony.†

The repose procured for Canada by the treaty of Utrecht was followed by a long continuance of prosperity. Vaudreuil, till his death in 1725, administered her affairs with judgment and activity; and under him cultivation was greatly extended. To remedy the want of hands, he proposed sending out annually 150 convicts, of the class usually condemned to the galleys.

This governor was succeeded by the Chevalier de Beauharnois, who continued in power twenty years. This long period seems to have been diligently employed in promoting the interests of the colony, and was productive of remarkable improvement. The range of cultivated farms was extended along the whole shore from Quebec to Montreal, and even

* Charlevoix, Journal, vol. ii., p. 3-7.

several of the tributary streams. As the French Canadians studiously sought a river-frontage, they were content with lots including only a small portion of this, with extensive back-ground. The proportion, in some degree fixed by statute, was an acre and a half in front, with an extent of forty behind. In the course of this period, too, the settlement at Detroit, which Charlevoix had found in such a languishing state, was raised to some consequence.

The French likewise, during this interval, appear to have entirely overcome that rooted enmity so long cherished by the great Indian tribes. Their pliant and courteous manners, their frequent intermarriages, and, in some instances, an actual adoption of the habits of savage life, rendered them better fitted than the English to secure the confidence of this savage race. Instead of having to dread them as allies of Britain, they could usually, when occasion required, employ them as formidable, or, at least, harassing enemies to her. By their aid, and by the erection in commanding positions of the forts of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, they kept the rival colonies in perpetual alarm. The struggles, however, carried on during almost the first half of the eighteenth century were chiefly confined to Nova Scotia, under which head they will be narrated. Canada enjoyed a happy exemption from those eventful vicissitudes which form the materials of history.

An equally favourable change took place in respect to the fur-trade, which had shown so great a preference of the English market. A more liberal and equitable system appears to have been adopted; and a large annual fair, opened at Montreal under judicious regulations, became the general centre of this traffic. Even the Indians in the back settlements of New-York brought their furs thither rather than to the capital of that state.*

* M'Gregor's British America, vol. ii., p. 374. Burke's Account of the European Settlements in America (2 vols. 8vo, London, 1808), vol. ii., p. 42, 43.

M. de Beauharnois was followed in office by a rapid succession of governors, each holding sway for an extremely short period, incompatible with any steady system of administration. The Count de la Galissonière, though a nobleman of great acquirements, ruled only a year, being superseded in 1746 by M. de la Jonquière, who took an active part in the war for the reduction of Nova Scotia. After a temporary occupation of power by the Baron de Longueuil, the Marquis du Quesne, in 1752, went out as governor-general. This officer appears to have carried on more openly than ever the system of encroaching upon the British colonies; and the fort bearing his name was erected within the confines of Virginia. So great an alarm, indeed, spread through our settlements, that a general convention was held at Albany, when a plan of common defence, proposed by the celebrated Dr. Franklin, was approved, but, from different causes, never carried into effect.* A census taken of the colony in 1753, is said by Raynal to have shown a population of 91,000; but, from the number afterward found by the English, this appears to be somewhat exaggerated. The finances were, however, involved in considerable disorder. The expenditure, which in 1729 did not exceed 400,000 francs, had risen in 1750 to 2,100,000 livres; in 1758 it was 27,900,000; but this last, we may observe, was a period of general war, of which North America became one of the principal theatres. The conduct of Bigot, the intendant, was loudly complained of, and proved, indeed, to have been most fraudulent, his defalcations amounting to about 1,920,000 dollars. In 1755, Du Quesne was succeeded by De Vaudreuil Cavagnal.†

* The failure of the plan of union here spoken of was owing to its being rejected by the Parliament of Great Britain, from the fear that it would too much increase the power of the colonies. —*Am. Ed.*

† M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 375–381. Raynal, Histoire Philoso-

CHAPTER IV.

History of Canada under the British.

War between Great Britain and France.—Advantages gained by the latter.—Expedition against Canada under Wolfe.—His first Repulse.—Lands a second Time.—Victory.—Death.—Conquest of Canada.—State of the Population.—Their good Treatment.—Refuse to join the Rebellion by the United Colonies.—The latter invade Canada.—Siege of Quebec.—Repulse and Death of Montgomery.—Americans driven out of Canada.—A Constitution granted.—Division into Upper and Lower.—Rise of Internal Dissension.—War with the United States.—Advantages gained by Britain on the western Frontier.—On the Niagara, &c.—The Americans take York (Toronto) and Fort George.—Obliged to Retreat.—Their Successes in the West.—Fruitless Attempt on Montreal.—Events on the Niagara Frontier.—Large Re-enforcements from England.—Failure of Sir George Prevost.—Peace.—Discontents of the Assembly.—Administration of the Duke of Richmond.—Earl of Dalhousie.—Sir James Kempt.—Lord Aylmer.—Increased Discontent.—Commission of Inquiry.—Earl of Gosford.—Assembly still refuse Supplies.—Resolutions of the British Parliament.—Disturbances in Canada.—Insurrection.—Suppressed.—Political Movements in Upper Canada.—Sir Francis Head Governor.—Rising and Defeat of Mackenzie.—Aggressions from the United States.—Conduct of their Government.—Mission of the Earl of Durham.—Recent Events.

We now approach the most memorable period in the history of Canada, when its dominion was finally transferred from France to a rival power. As the events of this contest, however, though extremely memorable, form a portion of general history, and are familiar to many readers, we shall

phique et Politique des Etablissements et du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes (4 vols. 4to, Geneva, 1780), vol. iv., p. 125, 137. Hawkins's Picture of Quebec (18mo, Quebec, 1834), p. 316, 317.

here content ourselves with a rapid summary of them.

The great war which broke out in 1755 opened in a manner most unfavourable to the British arms. General Braddock, who marched from New-York against Canada, having neglected the precautions necessary in such a country, was completely surprised by a combined force of French and Indians. He himself being killed, only part of the army was saved by the skill and intrepidity of Colonel (afterward General) Washington, who on that occasion distinguished himself for the first time. His troops being afterward joined to the provincial force under Generals Shirley and Johnson, repulsed near Lake George an attack made by a large body of the enemy under Baron Dieskau. Johnson, having acquitted himself with great ability, and received several wounds, was rewarded with the honour of knighthood, and was long much esteemed in American warfare.* But in the two following years the enemy, headed by the gallant Marquis de Montcalm, obtained a series of successes, terminating in the reduction of the important forts called Oswego and William Henry. This last triumph was stained with the barbarous murder, by the Indians, of fifteen hundred English prisoners; which Montcalm, though, it should seem, unjustly, was accused of sanctioning. These disasters, joined to the failure of Admiral Byng at Minorca, and other abortive expeditions, deeply depressed the spirit of the nation, and seemed to sink their reputation in arms lower than at any former period. Yet the courage of the British nation was soon afterward roused: the public voice called to the helm of affairs William Pitt, the greatest statesman then living, and who was destined to raise his country to a pitch of glory before unrivalled.

* Hawkins, p. 318, 319. Bouchette, vol. i., p. 440.

It was one of the main objects of Pitt's policy to obtain possession of the French territories in America, and to form them, together with the British colonies, into one vast range of dominion. He chose as his chief instrument Wolfe, a young man without family or parliamentary interest, or even any established character as a commander. He had served only in subordinate situations; yet the minister, with intuitive sagacity, saw in him the man best fitted to lead British troops to victory.* In the expedition against Louisburg in 1758, the most active, though not the highest, post was assigned to him, and through his exertions, chiefly, that main bulwark of French America fell. After the great name thus earned, there could no longer be any objection to investing him with the chief command.

In 1759 preparations were made on a great scale for the conquest of Canada, comprising twenty sail of the line, with smaller vessels and transports, having on board 8000 veteran troops. These were placed under the direction of Wolfe, who was allowed the choice of all his officers. After a prosperous voyage, the armament, on the 26th June, arrived off the Isle of Orleans. Quebec was defended by the Marquis de Montcalm, having under his command 13,000 men, of whom, indeed, only 2000 were regular troops, the rest being Canadian militia, with a few Indians. The attack having been long foreseen, full time was given him to intrench and strengthen his position. An attempt was first made to destroy the British fleet by fire-ships; but these were caught with grappling-irons, towed aside, and allowed to burn out without doing any injury. Brigadier-general Monckton then occupied Point Levi, opposite to the capital, which was thence bombarded with vigour; but, though a

* Entick's History of the late War, vol. iv., p. 91.

number of houses were destroyed, the defences remained almost uninjured. The place, therefore, could only be carried by storming the intrenchments which the French had thrown up in front of it. This bold measure Wolfe resolved to adopt, and on the 31st July he effected a landing. The boats, however, had met with an accidental delay; the grenadiers, it is said, rushed forward with too blind and impetuous a valour; Montcalm, strongly posted between Quebec and Montmorenci, poured in upon them a destructive fire; the Indian rifle told with fatal effect; and the assailants were finally repulsed with the loss of 182 killed and 650 wounded.

Wolfe felt this disappointment so deeply that his delicate frame was thrown into a violent fever; and in a despatch to Mr. Pitt, he afterward expressed the apprehensions under which he laboured. The fleet, his strongest arm, could not act against the wall of rock on which Quebec is seated; and with his weakened force he had to storm fortified positions defended by troops more numerous than his own. As soon, however, as his health permitted, he called a council of war, desired the general officers to consult together, and, it is said, proposed to them a second attack on the French lines, avoiding the errors which had led to the failure of the first. They were decidedly of opinion that this was inexpedient; but, on the suggestion, as is now believed, of Brigadier-general Townsend, the second in command, they proposed to attempt a point on the other side of Quebec, where the enemy were yet unprepared, and whence they might gain the Heights of Abraham, which overlooked the city. Wolfe assented, and applied all his powers to the accomplishment of this plan. Such active demonstrations were made against Montcalm's original position, that he believed it still the main object; and, though he observed detachments moving up the river,

merely sent De Bougainville with 2000 men to Cape Rouge, a position too distant, being nine miles above Quebec. On the night of the 12th September, in deep silence, the troops were embarked and conveyed in two divisions to the place now named Wolfe's Cove. The precipice here was so steep, that even the general for a moment doubted the possibility of scaling it; but Fraser's Highlanders, grasping the bushes which grew on its face, soon reached the summit, and in a short time he had his whole army drawn up in regular order on the plains above. Montcalm, struck by this unexpected intelligence, at once concluded that, unless the English could be driven from this position, Quebec was lost; and hoping, probably, that only a detachment had yet reached it, pushed forward at once to the attack. About 1500 light infantry and Indians arrived first, and began a desultory fire from among the bushes; but the British reserved their shot for the main body, which was seen advancing behind. They came forward in good order, and commenced a brisk attack; yet no general fire was opened in return till they were within forty yards, when it could be followed up by the bayonet. The first volley was decisive; Wolfe and Montcalm both fell almost at the same moment; the French instantly gave way in every quarter; and repeated charges, in which the Highland broadsword was powerfully wielded, soon completed the victory. As soon as Wolfe received his mortal wound, he said, "Support me! let not my brave soldiers see me drop." He was carried to some distance in the rear, and hearing the cry, "They run!" he asked, "Who run?" Being told "The enemy," he gave some short directions, and then said, "Now, God be praised, I die happy!" We cannot forbear quoting the simple and feeling observations of General Townsend respecting his heroic friend, whose fate threw so affecting a lustre on this memorable victory: "I am not ashamed to

own to you, that my heart does not exult in the midst of this success. I have lost but a friend in General Wolfe; our country has lost a sure support and a perpetual honour. If the world were sensible at how dear a price we have purchased Quebec in his death, it would damp the public joy. Our best consolation is, that Providence seemed not to promise that he should remain long among us. He was himself sensible of the weakness of his constitution, and determined to crowd into a few years actions that would have adorned length of life."

The battle had scarcely closed when De Bougainville appeared in the rear; but, on seeing the fortune of the day, immediately retreated. On the 17th a flag of truce came out, and on the 18th a capitulation was concluded on honourable terms to the French, who were not made prisoners, but conveyed home to their native country.*

Canada was not yet conquered. General Amherst, indeed, marching from New-York with a large force, had reduced the strong posts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; while General Prideaux, aided by Sir William Johnson with a body of Indians, had taken Niagara. But the winter arrested their farther advance; and General de Levi, who had assembled at Montreal upward of ten thousand men, conceived the design of recapturing Quebec in the spring, before it could obtain succours either by sea or land. Being baffled in his projects to carry it by a *coup de main*, he landed his army on the 27th April, 1760, advanced to the heights of Abraham, and prepared to carry on a regular siege. General Murray had been left with a garrison of 6000 men; but a severe attack of scurvy had reduced to half that number those who were capable of bearing arms. This officer, dreading that the place was un-

* Entick's History of the Late War, vol. iv., p. 85–118. Hawkins' Picture of Quebec, p. 331, 359, 373, 374.

fit to stand a siege, and hoping much from the bravery of his troops, attacked the enemy on the 27th April at Sillery; but, being overpowered by superior numbers, he was defeated with great loss. If guilty here of any rashness, he atoned for it by the activity with which he placed Quebec in a state of defence, and held out the town till the 15th May, when a fleet, under Admiral Swanton, arrived and raised the siege. The French army then concentrated itself in Montreal, where the Marquis de Vaudreuil made an attempt to maintain his ground; but being enclosed by the forces under General Amherst, and by those from Quebec and Niagara, he found himself obliged, on the 8th September, 1760, to sign a capitulation, by which that city and the whole of Canada were transferred to British dominion. He obtained liberal stipulations for the good treatment of the inhabitants, and particularly the free exercise of the Catholic faith, and the preservation of the property belonging to the religious communities. He even demanded that the bishop should continue to be appointed by the French monarch, but this was of course refused.* The possession of Canada, as well as of all the adjoining countries, was confirmed to Britain by the peace of Paris, signed on the 10th February, 1763.

The population at the time of the conquest was stated by Governor Murray to amount to 69,275, consisting mostly of cultivators, a frugal, industrious, and moral race; with a noblesse, also very poor, but much respected among them. The Indians converted to Catholicism were estimated at 7400.† The inhabitants were involved in great calamity by the refusal of the French government to pay the bills drawn and the paper currency issued by M. Bigot, the late intendant, already mentioned as having been guilty of the most extensive peculation. The

* Hawkins, p. 410–413. Entick, vol. iv., p. 473, 474.

† M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 382.

gross sum is stated by Raynal at 80,000,000 of livres (£3,333,000 sterling); but, considering the small number and poverty of the people, we cannot help suspecting it to be much exaggerated. It is said that the claims were, on grounds of equity, reduced to 38,000,000; though, according to M'Gregor, no more was received in return for them than £250,000 in money, and £125,000 in bonds, which never became effective.*

The terms in favour of the French residents were faithfully, and even liberally, fulfilled by the English government. All offices, however, were conferred on British subjects, who then consisted only of military men, with not quite 500 petty traders, many of whom were ill fitted for so important a situation. They showed a bigoted spirit, and an offensive contempt of the old inhabitants, including even their class of nobles. General Murray, notwithstanding, strenuously protected the latter, without regard to repeated complaints made against him to the ministry at home; and by this impartial conduct he gained their confidence in a degree which became conspicuous on occasion of the great revolt of the United Colonies. During that momentous period, though pressingly invited to assist the latter, the Canadians never swerved from their allegiance. With a view to conciliate them, the "Quebec Act," passed in 1774, changed the English civil law, which had been at first introduced, for the ancient system called the *coutume de Paris*. The French language was also directed to be employed in the law-courts, and other changes made with the view of gratifying that nation. These concessions did not, however, give universal satisfaction, especially as they were not attended with any grant of a national representation.

The Americans, finding all their proposals reject-

* Raynal, vol. v., p. 230. M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 381.

ed, determined to view Canada as a hostile country. They observed that the British, almost entirely occupied in the attempt to put down the insurrection, had left this country very slightly defended. In September, 1775, two expeditions were fitted out, which were distinguished by tragical events, as well as by the brilliant and romantic valour of their chiefs. While the main body, under Montgomery, marched by Lake Champlain upon Montreal, Arnold, with 1100 men, sailed up the Kennebec, and proceeded through the vast forest that stretches between it and the St. Lawrence, hoping to surprise Quebec. The sufferings of the party were extreme, being obliged to eat dogs' flesh and the leather of their cartouch-boxes. Ye tthey arrived, on the 9th November, at Point Levi, without any alarm having reached the capital; but all the shipping had fortunately been removed from that side. Arnold was thus unable to cross, and in twenty-four hours the inhabitants were apprized of the danger. On the 14th that active officer contrived to pass the river and occupy the Heights of Abraham, though his force was too small for active movements till joined by Montgomery. This commander sent forward a reconnoitring party under Colonel Ethan Allen, who made a brave but rash attempt on Montreal, in which he was taken with his party, and afterward sent in irons to England. Montgomery, however, having reduced the posts of St. John and Chambly, and made prisoners of their garrisons, which included a large proportion of the regular force in Canada, that city was quite unable to resist; and General Carleton, the governor, with difficulty escaped in a boat with muffled paddles. The American leader then advanced upon Quebec, and took the command of the united force. Carleton had under arms only 1800 men, of whom not more than seventy were regulars; 230 of Fraser's Highlanders, who had settled in the country, were reimbodied under

Colonel M'Lean; the rest were British and Canadian militia, seamen, and others. The summons to surrender, however, was at once rejected; and Montgomery, after pushing the siege during the month of December without any prospect of success, determined to carry the place by a night-assault. On the 31st, two storming parties were formed; one under himself, and the other under Arnold. They were to advance from opposite sides, and meet at the foot of Mountain-street, then force Prescott Gate, and reach the upper town. The first battery encountered by Montgomery was defended chiefly by a party of Canadian militia, with nine British seamen to work the guns. Having received some previous notice, they were on the watch; and, about daybreak, saw amid the snow a body of troops in full march from Wolfe's Cove. Orders were given to make no movement; and the enemy having halted at the distance of fifty yards, sent forward an officer to reconnoitre, who found everything perfectly still. On his return the Americans rushed forward in double quick time to the attack. When they were close to the spot, Captain Barnsfare, at the critical moment, gave the signal for a general discharge of guns and musketry. It told with unexpected and fatal effect; for, among many others, Montgomery himself, the gallant chief, fell to rise no more. The troops, on witnessing this disaster, made a precipitate retreat.*

Meantime Arnold, from the opposite side, pushed

* This event has been very variously related. Hinton (History and Topography of the United States, 2 vols. 4to, London, 1834, vol. i., 336) even represents it as a mere casual fire by which Montgomery was killed; but we have followed Hawkins, whose narrative appears to be the result of very careful research.*

* Notwithstanding what is here said, the better opinion undoubtedly is, that this was a mere random shot; and that, but for this fatal casualty, the surprise would have been complete, and the result of the enterprise very different from what it proved.—*Am. Ed.*

on his attack with desperate resolution. In assaulting the first barrier, he received a severe wound in the leg, which obliged him to quit the field.* But his party, led on by Captain Morgan, carried the post, and pushed on to a second. Here, however, their efforts were vain; and General Carleton having sent a detachment upon their rear, they were surrounded, and finally, to the number of 426, obliged to surrender. Neither of the parties thus reached the main point of attack at Prescott Gate, where the governor was stationed, with the determination to maintain it to the last extremity.

The British were not yet aware of all the results of the contest. As soon as the retreat of the first party was ascertained, they went out and collected from under the snow, which had already covered them, thirteen bodies. The surmise soon arose that one of them was that of the commander; yet some hours elapsed before an officer of Arnold's division identified him, with the deepest expressions of admiration and regret. Montgomery, a gentleman of good family in the north of Ireland, had served under Wolfe, but having afterward formed a matrimonial connexion in America, he had adopted with enthusiasm the cause of the United States as that of liberty. His military character, joined to his private virtues, inspired general esteem, and has secured to him a place on the roll of noble and gallant chiefs who fell beneath the walls of Quebec.

Arnold succeeded to the command, and attempted still to maintain his ground; but the dispirited state of his men, still more than his actual loss, rendered

* What a melancholy contrast to the heroism here displayed, was exhibited in the conduct of this officer at a subsequent period. By his execrable attempt to betray the all-important military post of West Point, its garrison, and, it is believed, the person of Washington himself, and, with these, the last hopes of his country, into the hands of the enemy, he covered his name with infamy, and obliterated all remembrance of his glorious deeds.—*Am. Ed.*

him unable to keep up more than an imperfect blockade, at the distance of three miles. In April, 1776, his place was taken by General Wooster, who brought a re-enforcement, and made some fresh attempts, but without success. Early in May several vessels arrived from England with troops and supplies, on which the enemy raised the siege and fell back upon Montreal. Thence they were driven from post to post, till, on the 18th June, they finally evacuated the province, on which they never made any farther attempt.*

This long war terminated in 1783, by the independence of all the colonies which had united against Britain. The issue, unfavourable, or, at least, mortifying to the mother country, was attended with considerable advantages to Canada; for a large body of loyalists, expatriated on account of their political principles, sought refuge in her territory. They received liberal grants of land, and laid the foundation of that prosperity which has since so eminently distinguished the upper province.

The country continued for some years in a state of progressive advancement, being only agitated by the desire, sometimes strongly expressed, of obtaining a representative government. In 1790, Mr. Pitt determined to grant this boon on a basis nearly resembling that of the British Constitution. As a preliminary, it was resolved to divide Canada into two governments, Upper and Lower: and it is somewhat remarkable, that this arrangement, so much deprecated by the present loyalist party, originated with the minister, who carried it through in the face of strong opposition from Fox and other Whig members. He considered that the attempt to unite two classes of population, so different in origin, language, and manners, would evidently lead to disunion and dissension; while they argued that this

* Hawkins's Picture of Quebec, p. 424–434, 438. Hinton, vol. i., p. 344.

union would afford the best means of harmonizing them into one social system. Another question arose with regard to the constitution of the legislative council. Mr. Pitt proposed to form it of an hereditary noblesse, to be created for the purpose, and to include the more respectable French seigneurs. Mr. Fox recommended a representative council, or, in default of this, one composed of members chosen by the king for life. This last suggestion, though not at first well received by the premier, was the plan ultimately adopted.

The first House of Assembly, consisting of fifty members, was opened in 1792 by Lieutenant-governor Clarke. Their proceedings were for some time of no great importance. In 1797, Lord Dorchester, who had been governor since 1786, was succeeded by General Prescott. Loud complaints were soon afterward made respecting the granting of lands, the board for that purpose having appropriated large districts to themselves, and thereby obstructed the general settlement of the country. In 1800 Sir Robert S. Milnes was appointed lieutenant-governor. In 1803 a decision of the chief-justice of Montreal declared slavery inconsistent with the laws of the country, and the few individuals in that condition received a grant of freedom. In 1807, apprehensions being felt of war with America, Sir James Craig, an officer of distinction, was sent out to superintend the affairs of the colony.

About this time began those internal dissensions which have since so generally agitated the colony. The House of Assembly, though meeting regularly, do not seem previously to have aimed at the exercise of any high powers, or to have obstructed the governor in the discretionary exercise of his authority. But at this epoch they appear to have formed the design of rendering themselves independent, and even of controlling the executive. With the former view they demanded that the judges should

be expelled from their body, as being dependant upon and removable by government. To gain the latter object, they offered to defray from the funds of the colony the whole expense of the civil administration. Although this was a boon, and unasked for, yet, on account of its apprehended purpose, it was repelled with indignation, and the assembly soon afterward dissolved. The novel exercise of a free press by a newspaper called "the Canadian," in attacking the measures of government, was severely checked; the printer was sent to prison, and all his materials destroyed. Six individuals were also taken into custody, though never brought to trial. These proceedings gave to this period the appellation of the "Reign of Terror.*

In 1811 a new Assembly was called, which did not show itself more compliant. In the autumn of that year, however, Sir George Prevost, a more popular governor, assumed the reins of administration; and circumstances soon after occurred which induced the Canadians to suspend their complaints, and to make displays of loyalty as ardent as if they had never been dissatisfied.

The war commenced by the United States against Britain in 1812 produced a formidable crisis in the history of Canada, especially of the upper province. It is not proposed to enter into any discussion of the grounds or merits of the hostile resolution adopted by Congress.† Doubtless, however, as Britain

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 443, 445. M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 391. Roebuck on Existing Difficulties in the Administration of the Canadas (London, 1836), p. 6.

† From the treaty of 1783, acknowledging the independence of her former colonies, the policy of Great Britain towards the United States was but little worthy of a great and magnanimous nation. She persisted for several years in keeping possession of the western military posts, in direct violation of the stipulations of that treaty; exercising by this means a widely-extended influence over the Indian tribes, to the great injury of our frontier settlements. By reviving the iniquitous rule of 1756, which

then stood, with her whole disposable force engaged against Napoleon, they calculated with confidence on obtaining possession of the Canadas, if not of all British America. A similar impression prevailed in the colony itself, defended then by only 4500 troops, of whom not more than 1450 were in the upper province, though the most exposed, and presenting the most extended frontier. Not a few were inclined on the first alarm to pack up and quit

goes in effect to deny to the neutral all trade not enjoyed by the belligerant, she greatly crippled and distressed our rising commerce. By her orders in council of November, 1793, her armed ships were authorized to make prize of all neutral vessels having on board the produce of the colonies of France, or carrying provisions or supplies to the same; and this in the absence of any blockade of the ports of such colonies. Notwithstanding the treaty concluded by Mr. Jay in 1794, with the object of affording some protection to American interests, these obnoxious orders, in place of being permanently repealed, were merely modified somewhat in their effects, by the substitution of others scarcely less objectionable, in 1795 and 1798. In 1806 she interdicted all neutral commerce with France and her dependances, by merely a paper blockade. Subjected to such sweeping annoyances from one of the great belligerants, and exposed to vexations equally ruinous at the hands of the other, there was no longer the smallest security for the peaceful prosecution of commercial enterprises, and our merchant ships could scarcely move upon the ocean but at the imminent hazard of capture and confiscation. But the abuse which most strongly excited the indignant feelings of the nation, as being more aggravated and intolerable than any other, was the practice of British naval officers boarding our ships on the high seas, and forcibly taking from them the seamen by which they were navigated, under the pretence of their being British subjects. Thus the American sailor found no protection afforded to him by his national flag, but might at any time be seized and transported on board a British ship-of-war, there to be detained, he knew not for what length of time, in a state of odious and oppressive servitude. If to this list of grievances be added the outrageous attack upon the frigate Chesapeake by a British squadron at a time of peace, and within the American waters, and the crowning fact that no endeavours of the American government were of the slightest avail in obtaining either redress for the past or security for the future, the reader will be able to perceive the causes by which this war was provoked.—*Am. Ed.*

the country; but Sir George Prevost, seconded by the majority of the inhabitants, adopted a more spirited resolution. The militia were called out; Quebec was garrisoned by the citizens; and the frontier placed in a state of defence.*

The States, though they had resorted to hostilities with such sanguine anticipations, were by no means in a forward state of preparation. Few of the officers who had distinguished themselves in the war of independence survived the lapse of nearly thirty years.† General Hull, however, one of these veterans, was sent with a force of 2500 men to open the campaign on the western frontier of Upper Canada.‡ On the 5th of July, 1812, he arrived at Detroit, and on the 12th crossed the river and took possession of Sandwich, whence he issued a proclamation inviting the colonists to join him, or, at least, to remain neutral. Having no cannon mounted, he did not think it practicable to attack Fort Malden, which covered Amherstburg, where Lieutenant-colonel St. George with his small force was posted. Hull, however, pushed forward detachments into the country, which gained some advantages and induced a few of the inhabitants to join them. But his prospects were soon clouded. Captain Roberts, with a small detachment, had early reduced the Fort of Michillimackinac,§ which "opened upon him the northern

* Montgomery Martin's History of the British Colonies (5 vols. 8vo, London, 1834), vol. iii., p. 188.

† Carey and Lea, Geography, &c., of America (8vo, London, 1823), p. 59.

‡ This force consisted of about an equal number of regular troops and of volunteers from the State of Ohio.—*Am. Ed.*

§ Lieut. Hanks, who held this important post with a garrison of only fifty-six men, had, by some unaccountable negligence, received no information of the war, and was first apprized of its existence by the appearance of a hostile force, and a summons from its commander to surrender the place. The great superiority of the enemy, whose force, consisting of regulars and Indians, was nine hundred strong, left no alternative to the American

hive of Indians." Almost the whole of that race eagerly espoused the British cause, and poured in from every quarter to support it. Meantime, General Brock, having embarked all the troops that could be spared from the Niagara frontier, arrived on the 12th August at Amherstburg, where he mustered about 330 regulars, 400 militia, and 600 Indians. Hull, whose force, weakened by sickness and by sending away two detachments, is said not to have exceeded 800 effective men, retreated across the river, withdrawing the cannon prepared for the siege of Amherstburg, and shut himself up in Detroit. General Brock instantly crossed, advanced upon the fort, and prepared for an immediate assault; but a white flag then appeared from the walls, and a capitulation was quickly signed, by which the whole American force, including the detachments, were surrendered prisoners of war. Loud complaints were made by the Americans against the conduct of Hull,* who was afterward tried and con-

commander but to capitulate at once on the most honourable terms he could obtain.—*Am. Ed.*

* That the conduct of General Hull was most extraordinary throughout this brief and disastrous campaign, there can be little doubt. Of the effective character of the troops under his command we have the most satisfactory evidence, in the spirit and gallantry which they uniformly displayed whenever they were called to face the enemy. A detachment under Major Vanhorn had bravely and successfully defended itself against a greatly superior force; and Col. Miller, at the head of three hundred soldiers of the gallant forty-fourth regiment, so distinguished for its valour at Tippecanoe, had completely routed a body of seven hundred British and Indians. Had Hull pushed on against Malden with his intrepid little army immediately after his arrival in Canada, there can be little doubt that he would have carried the place by a coup-de-main, such was the ardour of his troops. By neglecting to do this, he had afforded opportunity to the enemy greatly to strengthen his defences; still, by the first of August, he was provided with a sufficient battering train to enable him to attack the fort in form. A council of war was accordingly held, and it was resolved that this should immediately be done. The general in command sanc-

demned to be shot, though spared on account of his age and former services.*

The Americans made great efforts to obtain a more fortunate result on the Niagara frontier. Early in September more than 6000 men were brought to the banks of the river, with the view of crossing it and penetrating into Canada. They were encouraged by the exploit of two row-boats, which captured the same number of British gun-brigs, with

tioned the decision, the cannon were embarked, the time appointed, and everything prepared for the army to advance; when, to its utter astonishment, without the slightest change of circumstances, or any apparent cause whatever, instead of moving against the enemy, they received orders to retreat without delay to the American side, and thus to abandon even such advantages as they had already obtained. This movement was executed not without exciting the utmost indignation both in the officers and men. As the Americans retired, the British assumed the offensive, and advanced. They commenced their operations by erecting batteries on the opposite shore to Detroit. Their next step was to despatch a flag of truce to the American commander, very modestly demanding, before a gun had been fired, the surrender of his position, and of the force under his command. The reply returned was, that the place would be defended to the last extremity. This was followed by an ineffectual bombardment from either side. On the morning of the 16th the British army was suffered to land without opposition on the American shore; they advanced immediately upon Detroit; the American troops were posted most advantageously to receive them; everything appeared to promise an easy victory; when, just before the approaching clamour of the enemy had come within the range of the American artillery, orders were received not to fire; and, at the same time, the troops posted in the town were commanded to retire to the fort. A white flag, in token of submission, was hung out upon the walls, and an unconditional surrender was immediately agreed to, not only of the fort and garrison, but of the entire military district, with all the troops within the American general's command. Thus terminated this most humiliating and calamitous affair; and the reader may judge whether there were not good grounds for at least some of the weighty charges preferred against the American commander.—*Am. Ed.*

* James, vol. i., p. 56–58, 374–376, 72, 73. Martin, vol. iii., p. 169. Brackenridge's History of the late War (12mo, 6th edition, Philadelphia, 1836), p. 32–41.

valuable cargoes, as they were passing Fort Erie. The troops are represented as filled with enthusiastic confidence, urging and almost compelling General Van Rensselaer, their commander, to commence active operations. Accordingly, he succeeded, on the morning of 13th October, in pushing across to Queenston a detachment, which, being well re-enforced, gained possession of the heights. General Brock having come up, resolved to check their progress; but, making his advance with too small force, he was repulsed and killed, closing his brilliant career by a glorious death. Meantime General Sheaffe, having brought up the main force of the British from Fort George, and being joined by a body of Indians, with a detachment from Chippeway, attacked the enemy; and, after a sharp contest of half an hour, compelled the whole, amounting to above 900, to surrender at discretion.*

The Americans made yet another attempt to retrieve this unfortunate campaign. General Smyth, who succeeded Van Rensselaer, had assembled on the 27th November 4500 men in the vicinity of Black Rock. Early on the following morning, two detachments succeeded in crossing, and, after a long and confused fight in the dark, drove in with loss

* Notwithstanding the unfortunate result of the battle of Queenston, attributable to the refusal of the militia to cross over to the support of the detachment on the Canada shore, it was undoubtedly, as it regards the troops engaged, a very gallant affair. The whole American force did not much exceed 1000 men, of which not more than 300 were regulars; whereas, from the commencement of the action, they were opposed to superior numbers, afterward re-enforced by 600 regular troops under General Brock, and still later in the day by a detachment of 800 strong under General Sheaffe, nearly all regular troops. Notwithstanding this, the Americans bravely defended the ground they had won, against reiterated attacks, from an early hour in the morning to 5 o'clock in the afternoon; nor did they finally yield until there was no longer any hope of their being sustained by re-enforcements from the other side.—*Am. Ed.*

the British outposts;* but when day broke, and Lieutenant-colonel Bisshopp had collected about 600 regulars and militia, they hastily retired to the other side, leaving a party of thirty to fall into the hands of the English. Another division began to cross, but some rounds of musketry and artillery induced them to return. In the course of the day, after a vain summons to surrender Fort Erie, nearly half the force was embarked, though in the afternoon the postponement of the enterprise was announced. After several days of uncertain councils, it was finally decided that the expedition should be abandoned for the season.†

The severity of the season caused a suspension of operations scarcely interrupted unless by an attack on Ogdensburgh by Captain M'Donnell, who, crossing the St. Lawrence on the ice, drove out the garrison, and obtained possession of eleven pieces of cannon and a considerable quantity of stores.‡ The Americans, meantime, were making extraordinary exertions to open the new campaign. At Sackett's Harbour, on the southern shore of Ontario, a naval armament was equipped, which gave them for some time the control of that fine lake. A large force had been assembled and placed under a new commander, General Dearborn. The plan of this campaign was limited to the conquest of Upper Canada, the achievement of which, as that country was defended by only 2100 regular troops, was considered beyond the reach of chance. On the 25th

* These detachments the American accounts state to have been entirely successful in occupying the enemy's works and spiking their cannon; and that here, again, the failure of timely re-enforcements alone prevented a complete triumph.—*Am. Ed.*

† James, vol. i., p. 61, 376, 377, 382–384. Brackenridge, p. 65–69.

‡ This place was defended by a small militia force hastily raised under Col. Benedict, who conducted themselves with great gallantry, but could not successfully resist the British detachment, which was twelve hundred strong.—*Am. Ed.*

April, 1813, the general, with Commodore Chauncey, embarked about 2000 men, and sailed to York (Toronto), the rising capital of the province. It was then very ill prepared for resistance, scarcely at all fortified, and defended by General Sheaffe with only about 600 men.* On the morning of the 27th they reached the place and succeeded in landing, when, after a brave defence, protracted till two o'clock, the English were obliged to abandon the town. The invaders suffered chiefly by the explosion of a mine, which killed or wounded about 260, including among the former General Pike, a young officer of distinguished merit, who had planned and conducted the attack.† After burning all the public buildings, they carried off the artillery and naval stores, and by the 1st of May evacuated the place.‡

The next enterprise was still more important, being directed against Fort George, near Newark, at the entrance of the Niagara channel, considered the chief military position in the country. Nearly the whole force was employed, a small part only being left to defend Sackett's Harbour. Brigadier-general Vincent, on the other hand, had only a British detachment of about 1000 regulars and 300 militia; and Newark had been exposed to so severe a fire from the American fort on the opposite side, that it was no longer defensible. The enemy, therefore, could be resisted only by opposing his landing, or by beating him afterward in the field. When

* By the American accounts, the British force in this action is stated to have been about 1000 regular troops and militia, and half that number of Indians. The number of prisoners alone was 550.

† The firing of this mine was undoubtedly a most barbarous and unjustifiable act on the part of the British. Their defeat was already inevitable, and they knew the explosion could not affect the result. It was, therefore, a wanton destruction of life, as cowardly as it was cruel, without any expectation of benefit to themselves.—*Am. Ed.*

‡ James, p. 136--149, 397--406. Brackenridge, p. 102--105.

Commodore Chauncey, on the 27th May, disembarked 4000 men under Dearborn and Lewis, both these operations were attempted; but, after a long and severe contest, were rendered unavailing by the superior numbers of the invaders.* Vincent was obliged, after calling in the garrisons of Chippeway and Fort Erie, to retreat first to the Beaver Dams, and then to Burlington Heights, near the western extremity of Lake Ontario. The victors could not intercept his retreat, but they established for the first time a regular lodgment in Canada.†

Meantime a respectable naval force having been organized at Kingston by Sir James Yeo, Sir George Prevost, the governor, was prevailed upon to employ it in the attack of Sackett's Harbour, defended only by a small party, while the main body of the enemy was employed against Fort George. He sailed on the 27th of May, with about 750 men; but, on approaching, showed considerable hesitation, and even gave orders for a return to Kingston, till, encouraged by the success of the Indians in capturing twelve boats with seventy dragoons, he succeeded in effecting a landing on the morning of the 29th. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the ground, he drove the enemy before him, till they took shelter in a log-barrack and stockaded fort. Thence they kept up such a destructive fire, that General Prevost, considering it impossible to force the position, and panic-struck, it is said, by a false alarm raised by General Brown in his rear, ordered a retreat. Much difference of opinion, however, prevailed among the officers. Major Drummond is reported to have said: "A few

* The only part of the American army really engaged in this action was the advanced corps under Col. Scott, and part of the brigade of General Boyd, united, both numerically inferior to the enemy. The victory was complete, and the prisoners alone exceeded 600.—*Am. Ed.*

† James, vol. i., p. 151-164, 407-412. Brackenridge, p. 108-112.

minutes, sir, and I will put you in possession of the place." He was ordered to obey; upon which discontent and a want of confidence in the commander-in-chief became general, and had a most injurious effect on the subsequent operations.*

Fortune, so favourable to the Americans at the opening of the campaign, did not continue so throughout. Extraordinary exertions were made in the western states, particularly Kentucky. Two corps were formed, and despatched under Generals Winchester and Harrison, to march in different lines through Michigan; then to unite and co-operate in recovering Detroit, and invading the adjoining districts. Winchester, suspected of a desire to achieve something before yielding his command to his co-adjutor, advanced with about 1000 men to Frenchtown, within twenty-six miles of Detroit. Colonel Proctor, justly appreciating the importance of attacking him before the junction, hastily collected all the force within his reach, amounting to about 500 whites and 450 Indians. With these, on the 22d January, 1813, he succeeded in bringing the enemy to action. They made an obstinate resistance, and being posted in houses and enclosures, caused considerable loss to the assailants: but they were ultimately overpowered, and nearly all made prisoners. The general himself was among the number.†

* James, vol. i., p. 165--176, 413--416.

† The battle of the river Raisin was gallantly fought by the Americans. Their little army consisted of only 750 men, nearly all volunteers from Kentucky, while the enemy's force was twice that number, including regular troops and Indians. The most shocking barbarity was practised by the savages after the action. The remnant of these brave volunteers, among whom were many of the most distinguished and respectable citizens of Kentucky, when there was no longer any hope of successful resistance, had capitulated on the condition that they should be protected against the Indians. This stipulation, however, was not fulfilled. Scarcely had these gallant men given up their arms, when a dreadful scene commenced. The wounded were scalped and stripped, the dead shockingly mutilated, and

General Harrison, on receiving intelligence of this disaster, took up a position near the rapids of Miami to await re-enforcements. Colonel Proctor felt equally the importance of attacking him before their arrival. Having assembled about 1000 regulars and militia and 1200 Indians, he embarked them at Amherstburg on the 23d April, then sailed across Lake Erie, and up the Miami. Many delays, however, occurred, by which the enemy was enabled so to strengthen his position, that the attack made on the 1st of May had very little effect. The Americans were then encouraged to assume the offensive, which they did with large bodies of troops, partly landed from the river, partly sallying from the fort. At first they gained possession of the British batteries; but they were then attacked at different points with such decisive success, that upward of a thousand were killed or taken, and the rest with difficulty found refuge within the intrenchments.* These Proctor found himself still unable to storm; but he had so weakened the enemy's force as to remove all immediate danger of invasion.†

Let us now return to the main theatre of operations on the Niagara frontier, where we have seen

an indiscriminate massacre of the prisoners took place. Out of the 450 who had surrendered, a comparatively small number only escaped.—*Am. Ed.*

* The force brought by Proctor to the attack of Fort Meigs is stated in the American accounts to have been 550 regulars, 800 militia, and 1500 Indians. The American garrison consisted of 1200 men, principally volunteers, and in the sortie against the enemy's works they were supported by a detachment from the corps under General Clay, amounting to 800 men, also volunteers. The principal loss sustained by the Americans was owing to their too great impetuosity in pursuing the enemy, by which means they were drawn into an ambuscade, and attacked on all sides by a savage force greatly outnumbering their own. The abandonment of the siege, and the retreat of the enemy, are the best evidence of the prowess of the American troops.—*Am. Ed.*

† James, vol. i., p. 194-201, 426-428. Brackenridge, p. 96-98.

the British driven before the enemy to Burlington Heights. Dearborn immediately sent forward Generals Chandler and Winder, with 4000 men, to destroy, if possible, this shattered remnant; a success which would have been followed by the conquest of all the western provinces. On the fifth of June they took post at Stony Creek, to prepare for operations on the following day. In this critical situation, Lieutenant-colonel Harvey, having carefully reconnoitred the enemy's position, suggested a night attack, to which General Vincent readily assented. It was made with 700 chosen troops, and, being favoured by deep darkness, was completely successful; the two commanders, with seven officers and 116 men, were made prisoners. The British at daylight withdrew their small force; and the Americans contended, that, but for the capture of the two generals, the advantage was all on their side. Their loss, indeed, had not been great; yet such was the impression made by the events of the night, that, before eleven next morning, they had commenced a retreat to Forty-mile Creek, eleven miles distant.* Here they received a re-enforcement; but, being threatened by Sir James Yeo, who had come with a squadron and a small body of troops to support General Vincent, they determined on retreating to Niagara. Intelligence being received by the American commander that the English had a small advanced post at Beaver-dam, Lieutenant-colonel Boerstler, with about 700 men, was sent to attack it. That officer, however, being unexpectedly assailed, first by a party of Indians, and

* The united corps of Generals Chandler and Winder amounted to about 2500 men. The capture of these officers is to be attributed to the confusion arising from the darkness of the night, and the consequent difficulty of distinguishing friend from foe. The loss of the Americans was 150 in killed, wounded, and missing; that of the enemy in prisoners alone was 100. —*Am. Ed.*

soon afterward by a small body of regulars, conceived himself to be surrounded, and, on being summoned by Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, surrendered his whole corps prisoners of war.* The Americans now held nothing on the right bank of the river beyond Fort George. The British even made incursions on the opposite shore, in one of which Colonel Bisshopp gained possession of Black Rock, where he destroyed or carried off the arms and stores; but being attacked while re-embarking by a superior force, his party suffered some loss, and he himself received three wounds, which proved mortal.†

The British at this time gained some advantages on Lake Champlain, taking several vessels, and destroying the American magazines at Plattsburg and Swanton.‡ They were now, however, destined to experience severe reverses, and that, too, on the theatre of their most brilliant triumphs.

The Americans made extraordinary exertions to retrieve their affairs on the western frontier; volunteers crowded from Kentucky, a territory of daring and warlike habits, and by September they had succeeded in augmenting General Harrison's army to upward of 5000 men. They had formed another fortified station on Sandusky river, which Major-general Proctor, without success, attempted

* There is no doubt this expedition was ill judged, and without any sufficient object to have rendered it expedient. Still the account here given is most unjust to the American commander and the troops under his charge. They made a most brave resistance, though attacked on all sides by a greatly superior force of British and Indians; nor did they capitulate until their ammunition was all but exhausted, and one third of their number either killed or wounded.—*Am. Ed.*

† James, vol. i., p. 205-229, 431-442. Brackenridge, p. 114-119.

‡ The magazines were the private warehouses of the citizens, whose property was most wantonly plundered and destroyed.—*Am. Ed.*

to reduce.* A squadron of nine vessels, mounting fifty-six guns, had been equipped by them on Lake Erie, and it was with great difficulty that one able to contend with it could be fitted out by the British, under Captain Barclay. An engagement took place, which was maintained with the utmost obstinacy; but the conflict ended in the defeat and entire surrender of the English squadron.†‡ This event reduced General Proctor to extreme distress, depriving him of access to supplies and re-enforcements, while his stock of provisions had become quite inadequate for his own troops and the numerous Indians who had joined his standard. On the arrival, therefore, in the end of September, of General Harrison at Detroit, he did not attempt to maintain his position at Amherstburg, but retreated up the river Thames. The other pursued him closely with 3500 troops, while Proctor was deserted by most of his Indians, of whom he had now only about 500, with 800 whites. At the Moravian town, on the 5th of October, he took up a strong position, flanked by the river on one side and a wood on the other, where he hoped to render unavailing the superior numbers of the enemy. Harrison, however, had with him a body of combat-

* The defence of this fort was one of the most gallant affairs during the war. The American garrison consisted of only 160 men, under the command of Major Croghan. Their works were weak, and a single six-pounder was all their artillery. Proctor assailed it with a force of 500 regular troops and 700 Indians, and was repulsed in all his attempts with great slaughter.—*Am. Ed.*

† The American squadron in this action consisted of nine vessels, mounting fifty-six guns; the British, of six vessels, mounting sixty-nine guns. With the exception of the Lawrence and the Niagara, all the American vessels were small, whereas five of the British vessels were comparatively large. The loss of the Americans was twenty-seven killed and ninety-six wounded; that of the British, two hundred in killed and wounded, and six hundred prisoners.—*Am. Ed.*

‡ James, vol. i., p. 263--274. Carey and Lea, p. 62.

ants yet unknown in warfare, the Kentucky mounted riflemen, accustomed to ride through the woods, using their weapon with almost preternatural skill. Their very novelty, he justly hoped, would make a strong impression. Following his instructions, they received the fire of their opponents, then galloped forward, and in a few minutes completely broke the British ranks, spreading among them a general confusion.* The severest conflict was with the Indians, who lost their chief Tecumseh, one of the bravest of the brave, and equally distinguished by policy and eloquence. The main object of his life had been to unite his followers in a grand confederacy against the Americans. In enmity to them, he had warmly attached himself to the cause of the British, and aided them in successive victories. General Proctor retreated to Ancaster, where he could rally only 200 men, with whom he joined the Niagara army. Harrison also, having thus recovered Michigan, and conquered the western districts, marched to re-enforce his countrymen in that quarter.†

The Americans now formed a plan of operations on a grander scale, directed against Montreal, the success of which would have placed in their hands the whole of Upper Canada. In this enterprise two armies were destined to co-operate; one, consisting of nearly 6000, under Major-general Hampton, from Lake Champlain; the other, amounting to 8800, under Major-general Wilkinson, from Grenadier Island, near Sackett's Harbour, on Lake Ontario. As the city was defended by a very small proportion of the regular soldiers, who were chiefly

* The British force in this action is no doubt much underrated. The Indians alone were, according to the American accounts, from 1200 to 1500. Six hundred regular troops were among the prisoners.—*Am. Ed.*

† James, vol. i., p. 276-298, 451-458. Brackenridge, p. 146-156.

employed in the upper province, Hampton hoped, by pushing vigorously forward, to capture the place with little difficulty. But, having passed the frontier in the end of October, he found on the banks of the river Chateauguay the advanced corps of 800 British, with 172 Indians, commanded by Lieutenant-colonels De Salaberry and M'Donnell. These officers posted their troops so judiciously amid woods, and so skilfully concealed the smallness of their number, that the enemy, though they made several brisk attacks, were always repulsed; and Hampton, believing himself opposed by a large force, determined to retreat.

Meantime, the larger expedition under General Wilkinson having crossed Lake Ontario, entered the river Saint Lawrence. At Williamsburg, two considerable detachments were landed, in order at once to clear the banks and to lighten the boats while descending the rapids. On the 11th November, one of these, under Major-general Boyd, encountered Lieutenant-colonel Morrison with an inferior British force. A very obstinate conflict ensued, in which both parties claimed the victory.* The result was not such as to prevent the Americans from continuing to descend the river towards Montreal. Near Cornwall the commander received despatches from General Hampton, intimating that he declined the expected co-operation, and intended to fall back upon Lake Champlain. Wilkinson then conceived it necessary to give up for this season any attempt upon Montreal, especially as he found the population hostile to the States, and attached to the British government. He therefore placed his army in winter quarters, near the French mills, on the Salmon river, where he formed a plan for attacking Prescott and Kingston; but, finding himself

* In point of numbers, the detachments engaged in this conflict were probably about equal. The Americans were mostly new recruits, never before in action, while the British force consisted entirely of veteran troops.—*Am. Ed.*

much straitened for provisions, was induced to fall back upon Plattsburg.*

Meantime, the employment of the main army of the Americans in this unsuccessful expedition enabled their opponents to resume the offensive on the Niagara frontier. On the first intelligence of the disasters sustained in the west, General Vincent had been ordered to fall back upon Kingston; but he considered that circumstances now justified him in maintaining his position. The enemy's force in this quarter had been greatly reduced. On the advance of a strong detachment under Colonel Murray, the American commander, General M'Clure, first fell back upon Fort George, then abandoned that post, previous to which he reduced the adjoining town of Newark to ashes.† Murray was not content with pursuing him beyond the river; he also surprised and stormed Fort Niagara, taking above 400 prisoners, with a large quantity of arms and stores.‡ The English afterward surprised and plundered the villages of Lewiston, Black Rock, and Buffalo, where they retaliated not very considerately the acts of M'Clure at Fort George.§

Operations were recommenced early in the spring of 1814. Lieutenant-colonel Williams, with

* James, p. 301--333, 347--350, 467--475. Brackenridge, p. 158--167.

† This act excited great indignation in the United States against their own commander, and was promptly disavowed by the American government.—*Am. Ed.*

‡ The garrison of this place consisted of about 300 men, mostly invalids. Capt. Lewis, the commanding officer, was absent from his post at the time of the attack, and, with the most culpable negligence, had made no provision against surprise. The entire garrison, with the exception of about twenty men who escaped, instead of being taken prisoners as is here stated, were put to the sword. A scene of devastation followed along the whole Niagara frontier, under pretence of retaliation for the burning of Newark, that was truly appalling.—*Am. Ed.*

§ James, vol. ii., p. 4, 8--22, 396--403. Brackenridge, p. 169--171.

1500 British, having taken post at La Colle on the river Richelieu, Wilkinson, who had upward of 4000 men at Plattsburg, determined to attack them. On the 30th March he completely invested a large mill, which the British had converted into a fortress. All his attempts to carry it were, however, fruitless. Major Handcock even made two attacks on the artillery posted in a wood, though without success. The American general finally gave up the undertaking, and fell back upon Plattsburg. In the beginning of May the English troops gained another advantage, carrying, though with some loss, the fort of Oswego, where they captured a considerable quantity of ammunition and stores.*†

The main effort of the enemy during this campaign was made on the Niagara frontier, where about 5000 men were placed under Major-general Brown, an officer who had distinguished himself on several occasions. On the 3d of July he crossed and summoned Fort Erie, which, with its garrison of 170, immediately surrendered. He then marched towards Chippeway, and beat at Street's Creek the advanced guard of Major-general Riall, which had endeavoured to stop his progress. The English general was then obliged to retreat to Fort George, and thence in the direction of Burlington Heights. Brown hereupon laid siege to the fort, but, finding it stronger than he expected, and being disappointed of assistance from Sackett's Harbour, he fell back upon Chippeway. General Riall, on his part, having received some re-enforcements, advanced; the armies came close to each other, and

* The American force stationed at this place did not exceed 300 men. The British were, notwithstanding, repulsed with great loss in their first attack, and it was not until they made a second attempt, with a body of 2000 men, that they succeeded in compelling the Americans to retire. In the mean time the stores, &c., had been removed, and nothing of value fell into the enemy's hands.—*Am. Ed.*

† James, vol. i., p. 83-90, 421-427. Brackenridge, p. 190-193.

on the 25th the Americans commenced the attack. The battle of Lundy's Lane was fought long, obstinately, and with various fortune, a great part of it amid thick darkness, which caused several strange mistakes. The American general and the second in command were wounded, and Riall, on the other side, was taken prisoner. By a singular accident, in the midst of the conflict, Lieutenant-general Drummond arrived with a re-enforcement from York, which restored the battle. Both sides claim a dearly-bought victory;* the enemy, however, retired to Fort Erie. On the night of the 14th of August, Drummond made an attack upon the place in two divisions; but his men, in both cases, were repulsed with very severe loss.†

Meantime another part of Canada became the theatre of important operations. After the successes of the allied powers in Europe, the capture of Paris, and the abdication of Napoleon, Britain was enabled to turn her whole strength against the United States, over whom a full triumph was then anticipated. A strong detachment from the south of France arrived in Canada, and enabled Sir George Prevost to place himself at the head of 11,000 men, with whom he undertook to carry the war into the enemy's country. He proceeded to the attack of Plattsburg on Lake Champlain, defended only by 1500 troops, the rest having been sent to the upper province. Macomb, the American commander, on being pressed by this superior force, fell back on his main position, which he strongly fortified. Sir George, on the 11th of September, arrived in front of it; but

* The battle of Lundy's Lane was among the most sanguinary and obstinate conflicts that occurred during the war. The American accounts state that the British force engaged was little short of 5000; while their own was nearly a third less. The loss on both sides was exceedingly severe, and nearly equal; amounting, in the aggregate, to nearly 2000 men.—*Am. Ed.*

† James, vol. ii., p. 143–147, 436–452. Brackenridge, p. 219–236.

the naval force under Captain Downie, destined to co-operate with him, was attacked by the enemy, and under his very eye completely defeated and captured.* Conceiving, after this disaster, that any success in storming the enemy's position would be fruitless as to ulterior objects, and a useless sacrifice of men, he immediately withdrew his army. This course was not approved by all; and the general result, so contrary to expectation, gave rise to much discontent and recrimination.†

The Americans were still strong in Upper Canada. On the 17th, General Brown sallied from Fort Erie, and caused a severe loss to the British, who soon after raised the siege. Being pressed by a large additional force under Izard, General Drummond retreated to the old position at Burlington Heights; but receiving a re-enforcement, consisting of a detachment of the troops newly arrived from Europe, he again advanced. Izard, upon this, evacuated Fort Erie, and took up winter quarters on the opposite side of the river. During the autumn the Americans gained some advantages on Lake Erie, but were repulsed with considerable loss in an attempt to recover Fort Michillimackinac.‡

The war, meantime, in other parts of America was productive of important events. The British obtained possession of Washington, where they destroyed the public edifices and property; but they were defeated in their attacks upon Baltimore and New-Orleans. Both parties at this time became

* The British force in this action consisted of seventeen vessels, carrying ninety-six guns, and more than a thousand men. That of the Americans was composed of fourteen vessels, with eighty guns, and about eight hundred men. While the action was raging on the lake, several desperate but unsuccessful attempts were made to storm the American works. The triumph of the Americans was thus complete.—*Am. Ed.*

† James, vol. ii., p. 213–217, 462–468. Brackenridge, p. 266–271.

‡ James, vol. ii., p. 230–240, 470. Brackenridge, p. 241.

inclined for peace, which was concluded at Ghent on the 24th December, 1814, upon terms which, after this long and checkered contest, brought back the two powers to exactly the same position as when they had commenced.*

Sir George Prevost was succeeded in April, 1815, by Sir George Gordon Drummond, under whom some discontents began again to appear. These referred chiefly to the conduct of the judges, whom the Assembly viewed with such jealousy that they had impeached at one time the heads of the court both at Quebec and Montreal. In 1816, Sir John Coape Sherbrooke went out as governor-general; and under his administration, at once vigorous and conciliatory, harmony was little interrupted. In 1818, he was instructed by Earl Bathurst to accept the offer formerly made to pay the whole civil list out of the funds of the province; and he applied, not for a permanent settlement, but merely for the sum necessary to meet the current expenses. This was readily granted; and, in order to raise it, new taxes were imposed, of which, however, the Assembly reserved to themselves the appropriation.

Sir John being obliged by severe illness to return to England, was succeeded in 1818 by the Duke of Richmond. This nobleman, though personally popular, introduced an innovation, which led to the long and serious conflict between the crown and the Assembly. Instead of submitting, like his predecessor, a detailed estimate of every object of expenditure, he divided the whole into chapters, each comprehending a head or branch, the entire amount of which was alone specified. The Assembly refused to sanction such a change, and passed a vote according to the estimate of the former governor, stating each payment in detail. The legislative

* For a full and accurate account of the events of this war, see Hale's History of the United States, Harpers' School District Library, Third Series.

council, however, withheld their concurrence from this resolution; and the duke, expressing his displeasure with the lower house, had recourse to the irregular measure of drawing upon the receiver-general for the sum which he had demanded.

In September, 1819, the duke's life and government were suddenly terminated by an attack of hydrophobia.* After short intervals under the Hon. James Monk and Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Earl of Dalhousie, in 1820, was removed from Nova Scotia to Canada. This nobleman, possessing a high military reputation and an amiable disposition, had been very popular in his former station; yet, sharing with his advisers, it is probable, those extreme monarchical ideas which had hitherto prevailed in the colonies, he was ill fitted to meet the new crisis that had arisen. Having estimated about $105,600 as the amount necessary for the public service, in addition to the revenues vested in the crown, he solicited this sum as a permanent grant. But the Assembly refused to pass more than an annual bill of supply, in which they specified every item. The council again rejected their vote, with the entire concurrence of the governor, who hesitated not to draw upon the treasurer for even a larger amount than had been asked from the Assembly.

Earl Bathurst, on receiving notice of these proceedings, did not disapprove of Lord Dalhousie's conduct, but strongly recommended economy. He directed, also, that two estimates should be presented, one embracing the government expenses, to be defrayed by funds of which the crown claimed the entire disposal; the other to be employed on popular objects, in regard to which the members might be left uncontrolled. At the same time, it was enjoined that both of these should be given in

* This was occasioned by the bite of a tame fox, not suspected to be in a rabid state, and with which the duke was amusing himself.—*Am. Ed.*

full detail. This arrangement was well received, the required sum was voted, and the session terminated amid mutual courtesies.

In the year 1823, the popular cause was strengthened by the insolvency of the receiver-general, Sir John Caldwell; an inquiry into whose accounts had been vainly demanded by the Assembly, and who proved to be indebted to the public nearly £100,000. When, in the following year, the governor presented his estimates, the representatives assumed a high tone; disputing the right of the crown to select the objects on which to employ its revenue; condemning the unlawful appropriation of public money, and materially reducing the amount of the sum demanded. These proceedings drew forth a strong expression of displeasure from Lord Dalhousie.

In 1825, the government, during his lordship's temporary absence, was administered by Sir Francis Burton. This officer, anxious to conciliate the lower house, yielded nearly all the points in dispute. He sanctioned a bill of supply, in which no distinction was made between the government and the popular expenditure; an annual grant being made, with considerable reductions, so that a virtual control over the whole revenue was thereby conceded to the members. Accordingly, they now openly claimed the right to appropriate all that was raised within the province, denying the privilege, hitherto exercised by government, of the uncontrolled disposal of certain branches. These were the produce of duties on imports, imposed by act of Parliament in 1774, and yielding annually about £34,000, with some of smaller amount arising from the sale of land, timber, and other casual sources. Earl Bathrust strongly disapproved of the concessions made by Burton; and Lord Dalhousie, having resumed office in 1826, disallowed a bill in which the above claim was incorporated.

Lord Goderich, who in 1827 received the seals of the Colonial Office, though he maintained the right of government to dispose of the disputed revenue, yet directed that an offer should be made of resigning it to the Assembly on their granting an annual civil list of £36,000. On the meeting of that body, however, M. Papineau was elected speaker; an appointment which, on account of his violent opposition to the measures of administration, Lord Dalhousie refused to sanction. The consequence was, that no session of either house was held in the winter of 1827–1828.*

Discontent had now risen to an alarming height; and in the latter year a petition was presented to the king, signed by 87,000 inhabitants, complaining of the conduct of successive governors, particularly of the Earl of Dalhousie, and urging a compliance with the demands of the Assembly. Mr. Huskisson, who had become colonial minister, moved that this petition should be referred to a committee of the House of Commons. One was accordingly named, composed in a great degree of members attached to liberal principles, who, after a very elaborate investigation, gave in a report, in which they strongly condemned the practice of appropriating large sums taken from the public revenue without the sanction of the representatives of the people. With regard to the main portion of the disputed income, being that produced by the duties of 1774, its disposal appeared, from the report of his majesty's law officers, to be vested in the crown; yet the committee judged that the real interests of the province would be best promoted by placing the whole under the control of the Assembly. At the same time, they distinctly expressed their opinion that the governor, the judges, and the executive council should be

* Despatches from the Earl of Aberdeen to Earl Amherst (ordered to be printed 22d March, 1838), p. 10, 11. M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 395–398.

made independent of the annual votes of that body. They recommended that a more liberal character should be conferred on the legislative and executive councils; and that the public lands should be assigned in a more beneficial manner. Generally admitting that the grievances complained of were more or less well founded, they advised a thorough and effectual redress.

This report appears to have given very decided satisfaction in the colony, and the Assembly ordered it to be printed, and 400 copies distributed.* In a series of resolutions passed on the 19th March, 1830, they seem to limit their demands to the complete fulfilment of its provisions.† Sir James Kempt, who was sent out in 1828, had been furnished with instructions to carry the recommendations of the committee into effect with as little delay as possible, and generally to follow a conciliatory system. He appears to have proceeded with zeal and efficiency in the prescribed course. Three new members were added to the legislative council, who are said to have been agreeable to the popular party. The judges, with the exception of the chief justice, whose advice on legal questions was considered desirable, were requested, with some earnestness, to resign their places in that body. They declined compliance, but agreed to take no share in its deliberations, and did not afterward attend its sittings. New members were also added to the executive council, in which seats were even offered to Neilson and Papineau, the leaders of the opposition. The act transferring to the Assembly the revenue in dispute could not be obtained immediately, but it was promised on the first meeting of Parliament. The Assembly, however, in voting the supplies of 1829, had proceeded on the supposition of having the whole at their dis-

* Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Select Committee appointed in 1824 on the Affairs of Lower Canada.

† Ibid., p. 8.

posal, and cut off several thousand pounds from the governor's estimates; but as the vote did not appear to involve any absolute recognition of their claim, and as it seemed inexpedient to dispute a point virtually given up, Sir James yielded his assent. This step, though not approved by Sir George Murray, was not, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, positively disallowed. The governor is said to have treated the ruling party in the Assembly with a courtesy of manners to which they had not been accustomed; and on his departure in 1830, addresses were presented to him by the most respectable inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal, which were signed by Papineau and other popular leaders.*

Lord Aylmer immediately succeeded to the government. His communications with the Assembly were of the most friendly description; and though circumstances consequent on the death of George IV. had still prevented the passing of the proposed act, it was promised with all practicable speed. Lord Goderich, who now presided in the Colonial Office, directed that the items, which had been again rejected in 1830, and amounted now to $36,000, should not be longer pressed, but a compensation be requested for several individuals who had been thereby deprived of their income. On the 24th December, his lordship sent two despatches, intimating his intention to bring in a bill which should empower his majesty to place the proceeds of the duties in question at the disposal of the Assembly. In return, that body was expected to make a permanent provision for the judges, as well as for the principal officers of government. The demand was fixed at $91,680, which, by a grant of $24,000, made in 1795 for the support of the civil government, would be

* Evidence before Committee of 1834, p. 4, 5, 8, 87, 91-93. Existing Difficulties in the Government of the Canadas, by J. A. Roebuck, M.P. (London, 1836), p. 16.

reduced to $67,680. It was intimated, however, that the casual and territorial revenues arising from the sale of land, the cutting of timber, and other sources, were still to be considered as belonging to the king. They had amounted in the previous year to $53,908; but were reduced, by expenses of collection and other deductions, to about $36,000. This sum it was proposed to employ chiefly in paying the stipends of the clergy of the Established Church, hitherto drawn, not very appropriately, out of the army extraordinaries. It was urged that these funds belonged legally and constitutionally to his majesty, whose employment of them upon objects not of mere patronage, but closely connected with the interests of the province, could not be reasonably objected to.

Lord Aylmer was well aware that this last reservation would be deemed very unsatisfactory; but he considered it most prudent to lay before the Assembly a full and frank statement of the views of government. That body, after inquiring into the mode of collection and amount of these revenues, passed a resolution, that, "under no circumstances, and upon no consideration whatever, they would abandon or compromise their claim to control over the whole public revenue." Particular objection was also intimated to the support of exclusive religious establishments; doubtless more strongly felt from the circumstance that the church to be endowed was different from that of the ruling party. They determined, therefore, for the present, not to grant any permanent supply; and on the 8th March, 1831, drew up, on the motion of Mr. Neilson, a long list of grievances, which was presented to the governor. He expressed, in return, an earnest wish to know if these comprised the whole of their complaints; giving them to understand that silence would be construed into an admission of their being so. They were accordingly silent; passed a

bill of annual supply; and showed, on the whole, a more favourable tone and temper.*

His lordship transmitted the list of complaints, with admission that many of them were well founded, at the same time strongly eulogizing the loyal disposition of the people of Canada. Lord Goderich, in a long reply, dated July 7, 1831, declared that there was scarcely a point which government were not ready to concede, and expressed his satisfaction at the prospect thus afforded of a termination to this long and harassing contest. This despatch was laid before the House, who, in a series of resolutions, declared their gratitude for the expressions of his majesty's paternal regard, the proofs of a just and liberal policy, and the feelings of kindness and good-will manifested in it. The different points to which it related were referred to separate committees.†

Soon after, a despatch from the colonial secretary made known that the act for transferring the funds in dispute had passed the houses of Parliament and received the royal assent. Whether from extreme liberality or total inadvertence, it was so worded as to preclude the imperial treasury from ever exercising any control over them, leaving thus no room for negotiation with the Assembly. Lord Aylmer was instructed, however, to demand, in return, a grant of permanent salaries to the judges, who were also, according to the Assembly's desire, to be made independent of the crown; and a similar provision was asked for the governor and a few of the chief executive officers. This matter being referred to the Assembly, they began, on the 20th January, 1832, with the first particular. On providing that the judges should be independent of the crown, and, with the exception of the chief justice,

* Evidence before Committee of 1834, p. 9–13, 19–25, 31–40.
† Ibid., p. 37–47.

should not sit in the executive or legislative councils, it was determined that permanent salaries should be paid to them. But, at the same time, a motion of Mr. Neilson was carried by a large majority, that these should be drawn in the first instance from the casual and territorial revenues, which Lord Goderich had expressly reserved to the crown. Lord Aylmer considered it, therefore, necessary to send home the bill, yet with an advice to accept the terms, as the best there was any likelihood of obtaining. It was rejected, however, on two grounds; first, that it did not render the judges really independent of the Assembly, but left an annual vote still necessary. We cannot help suspecting that there was here an unhappy misconception. The terms of the bill are, "that the salaries shall be secured to them in a fixed and permanent manner;" and "shall be taken and paid out of the proceeds of the casual and territorial revenue, and the revenue now appropriated by acts of the provincial Parliament for defraying the charges of the administration of justice and the support of the civil government, and out of any other public revenue of the province which may be, or come into the hands of the receiver-general." It would appear that, according to the plain meaning of language, these terms involved a full warrant for payment. Probably Lord Goderich had legal advice, and some technical terms usual in British acts might be wanting; but a provincial legislature could scarcely be expected to be fully aware of these niceties. The legislative body, the governor, and, we doubt not, also the Assembly, had considered this as a permanent settlement; the latter, had it been so acted on, probably would not, and certainly could not, reasonably have objected. The other ground was the encroachment upon the casual and territorial revenue, which, made in this indirect manner, was considered peculiarly offensive, though Lord Gode-

rich had been fully apprized of their determination against any agreement in which this article was not included.*

The next question which came before the Assembly was the demand of a permanent provision for the governor and a certain number of the leading executive officers. After a long debate, however, it was carried by a large majority in the negative. This decision placed the Assembly completely at issue with the crown, and has been represented as a breach of faith on their part. They had not, it is true, come under any formal engagement; yet the report of the committee of 1828, which decidedly connected this arrangement with the cession of the disputed revenues, had always been referred to by them as embracing almost everything desired; and to this part of it they had never hinted any objection. On the 6th of December, 1830, they had passed resolutions, insisting indeed on the control of the entire revenue, but expressing an intention, were this gained, to grant the permanent provision now demanded. That preliminary claim certainly embraced also the casual and territorial branches still withheld; yet these were not of great amount; and the present bill, like that relating to the judges, might have been so framed as to be inoperative without these funds being embraced by it. No reason was assigned; but the view of the Assembly is stated to have been, that the executive not being dependant on them for a naval and military establishment, would, in case of such a permanent settlement, have been entirely free from that control which they sought to exercise over it. They passed, however, a vote of annual supply, which Lord Goderich, though much dissatisfied with the tenour of their proceedings, thought it expedient to sanction.†

* Evidence, 1834, p. 56–65. † Ibid., p. 58–63.

Next year (1833) the Assembly still granted only an annual bill, in which, according to a requisition of Lord Goderich, they stated the purposes to which each particular sum was to be applied. They added, without its being asked or wished, the individuals to whom it was to be paid; and appended a number of conditions, chiefly bearing, that such persons should not hold any other situation, and should not be members of the executive or legislative councils. This was considered objectionable, because public officers were thus suddenly deprived of situations which they had long held, without any consideration of their claims to compensation; also because those regulations ought not to have been tacked to a money bill, but made the subject of a separate enactment. On these grounds this bill was negatived by the legislative council, and Lord Stanley, who had been placed at the head of the Colonial Office, intimated that, had it reached him, he could not have advised his majesty to assent to it. In the same session, a measure was introduced for securing independence and permanent provision to the judges, in a form calculated to obviate Lord Goderich's chief objections; but, on the motion of M. Papineau, it was rejected, and the speeches of the leaders of the Assembly are said to have implied, that it was no longer considered advisable to exempt these functionaries from their control.*

The breach now continually widened. Lord Stanley, considering the conduct of the Canadians as manifesting a resolution to engross the whole power of the state, directed the funds not yet made over by Parliament to be employed in the partial payment of the civil officers; and he is said to have determined to bring in a bill for repealing the act by which the concession had been made. Meantime

* Evidence, 1834, p. 74-79.

the Assembly had raised, and placed in the front of their demands, a new article, which almost entirely precluded all hope of accommodation, namely, the abolition of the present legislative council, and the substitution of one elected, like themselves, by the body of the people. Such an arrangement was without example in any British colony; and the existing state of political feeling in the mother country would have rendered it scarcely possible for ministers to propose it in Parliament. It had been first started in March, 1831, when Lord Aylmer had just gone out with the announced intention of acting upon the report of 1828, and redressing, if possible, every grievance hitherto complained of. There seemed, therefore, room to suspect, that the conciliatory disposition shown, instead of producing final satisfaction, had only prompted to higher demands, through the belief that, by perseverance, they would finally obtain whatever they chose to ask. Yet, though a resolution of the committee to that effect was approved by the members, it was not expressly included in the list of grievances then presented. But, on the 20th March, 1833, a petition to the king, signed by M. Papineau, speaker of the House of Assembly, strenuously urged this measure, and the calling of a body of delegates to arrange the conditions. The leading ones proposed were, a qualification in the electors of $48 in the country and of $96 in towns, a certain income to qualify the councillor, and the duration of his functions for six years. Lord Stanley, in reply, said this was an object to which, deeming it altogether inconsistent with the very existence of monarchical institutions, he could never advise his majesty to consent; and he particularly objected to the proposed mode of effecting it, by what he termed "a national convention." A counter address, however, by the legislative council, was censured as intemperate in its language, and appearing to ascribe generally to his

majesty's subjects of one origin views inconsistent with their allegiance. In conclusion, he alluded to "the possibility that events might unhappily force upon Parliament the exercise of its supreme authority to compose the internal dissensions of the colonies, and which might lead to a modification of the charter of the Canadas."*

This despatch was submitted to the Assembly, and its entire tenour, particularly the implied threat at the close, excited the highest indignation in that body. They declined this year (1834) to pass any bill of supply whatever, and employed the session in preparing another long list of grievances. They complained that, while those formerly urged were still unredressed, there had been added the partial payment of the civil officers without their consent. They made a peremptory demand of the elective legislative council, without which nothing would be accepted as satisfactory. Lord Aylmer's conduct was reprobated as violent, unconstitutional, and contemptuous, and his recall urgently demanded. The petition was presented to Parliament, and a committee appointed for its consideration.

Meantime Lord Stanley retired from power, and was succeeded in the colonial department by Mr. Spring Rice. This gentleman renounced the design entertained by his predecessor of recalling the revenues yielded to the Assembly, and gave intimation, it is said, that he would follow a more conciliatory course. He only asked a little time till he could make himself master of the subject; and thus the popular leaders were induced to delay taking any strong measures. They bitterly complained, however, that the administration was carried on as before. Lord Aylmer was continued in the government, and though the Canadian funds were not intrenched upon, a sum of $148,800 was advanced

* Evidence, 1834, p. 78, 193-200. Roebuck, p. 17.

from the military chest for payment of the civil servants, by which their responsibility to the Assembly was equally evaded. Before Mr. Rice had matured his plan, he was removed from office by the accession of Sir Robert Peel to power. He stated that he had it completed, and was ready to submit it to the cabinet on the very day when this change occurred; an assertion which Mr. Roebuck treats with evident skepticism, though seemingly without any adequate ground.

Sir Robert, on assuming the reins of office, early directed his attention to the disturbed state of Canada. After some deliberation, he determined to send out a commissioner, with power to examine on the spot, and redress without delay, every real grievance which should be proved to exist. Even the casual and territorial revenues were to be surrendered, on condition of the settlement of a civil list for at least seven years. The elective legislative council, however, and the entire management of the public lands, could not be conceded.* Viscount Canterbury, the late speaker, was first invited to fill this important appointment, and, on his declining, it was conferred on Earl Amherst. This arrangement, however, was nullified by the vote which led to the resignation of Sir Robert, and the return of Lord Melbourne to power.

The restored ministry followed up, with certain modifications, the plan of their predecessors. A commission was sent out, for inquiry only, and without the power of decision, composed of the following individuals: the Earl of Gosford, Sir Charles Edward Grey, and Sir George Gipps. The first, an Irish nobleman, professing principles decidedly liberal, succeeded Lord Aylmer as governor. Lord Glenelg, now the colonial secretary, drew up for their guidance a series of instructions, in which he

* Despatch from the Earl of Aberdeen to Earl Amherst, p. 3-6.

considered the claim to the disposal of the entire revenue somewhat exorbitant, and not warranted by British example, yet was willing, for the sake of peace, to consent to it on certain conditions. These were, an independent provision for the judges, and salaries for the civil officers, fixed for a certain number of years, ten being mentioned as particularly suitable. With regard to the uncleared lands, the whole proceeds arising from their sale were to be placed at the disposal of the Assembly; but government could not consent to part with the management of them, or annul the contract made with the Land Company, though they would be ready to guard against all abuses, and even to receive any suggestions on the subject. The existing pensions were also to be retained, but the future power of granting them would be surrendered. In regard to the critical question of the elective legislative council, it was said, "The king is most unwilling to admit, as open to debate, the question, whether one of the vital principles of the provincial government shall undergo alteration." The right of petition, however, was fully recognised, and his majesty would not "absolutely close the avenue to inquiry," even where, "for the present, he saw no reasonable ground of doubt."*

The Earl of Gosford having arrived in Canada, lost no time in calling a meeting of the legislature, who were convoked on the 27th October, 1835; and in his opening speeches he professed the most conciliatory views, particularly towards the French or popular party. He avowed the opinion, that "to be acceptable to the great body of the people is one of the most essential elements of fitness for public station." He intimated his readiness to place the whole revenue at the disposal of the Assembly on the conditions formerly stated. All the other griev-

* Copy of the Instructions to the Earl of Gosford, &c., p. 5-13.

ances were to be carefully examined and redressed; and allusion was made to "still graver matters," respecting which the commissioners "were not precluded from entering into an inquiry."

The legislative council returned an answer which, in all respects, was extremely moderate. They generally concurred in the sentiments of the speech, deprecated the idea that difference of origin should affect political rights, which ought to be equal to all his majesty's subjects. But the House of Assembly, while holding conciliatory language, advanced much higher pretensions. The change in the legislative council was repeatedly pressed, as absolutely essential to the tranquillity and contentment of the province. The entire control of the public revenue was referred to, not as a boon, but an incontestable and essential right; and while they stated their readiness to consider attentively any measure tending to facilitate the exercise of this right, they avoided all mention of conditions to be performed in return. Notwithstanding the high ground thus taken, the intercourse between the popular leaders and the governor was extremely friendly. He admitted them to his table and his intimacy, and treated them on every occasion with much kindness. They were understood to represent the great body of the people, whom he had expressed his desire to conciliate; and he professed liberal views to those who would understand that term in its widest sense. So decided was the impression produced, that the opposite party loaded him with the bitterest invectives, and even threw out menaces of insurrection; while the leaders of the Assembly went so far as to intimate, that they would relieve the immediate financial embarrassments by granting the three years' arrears, and a half year in advance. They attached to the grant somewhat hard conditions, which, however, were not rejected; and on the remark being made that these would ensure its rejec-

tion by the legislative council, an intimation is said to have been given that it would be accepted directly by address, without being liable to the veto of that body.*

This good understanding was suddenly interrupted. The governor's language above cited, in regard to the elective council, had been very different from that of his instructions, not pledging him indeed to the measure, yet such as, combined with his other conduct, conveyed to both parties the idea that it was determined upon. This course is defended as the only one by which the supplies so urgently wanted could be obtained; and it was hoped that, by a continued conciliatory course, the Assembly might, when the real intention of the cabinet could no longer be concealed, be induced to wave their demand. Any degree of duplicity in a government, however, must, when discovered, lower its dignity, irritate the deceived parties, and, at the same time, give them an impression of their strength, which had driven those in authority to such an expedient. Unhappily, all those effects followed before any of the expected fruits had been reaped. Sir Francis Bond Head had, at the same time, been sent out to Upper Canada, and, being a very straightforward person, and seemingly unapprized of Lord Gosford's intentions, had made public a part of the instructions, including that momentous passage already quoted relative to the legislative council. It was such as, though not wholly precluding discussion on the object, left to the popular leaders scarcely a hope of its attainment. Their rage knew no bounds; they complained not only of disappointment in their favourite object, but of a deception by which they had been nearly misled. It was now determined

* Papers relating to Lower Canada (20th February, 1837), p. 4–12. Anti-Gallic Letters, by Camillus (Montreal, 1836), p. 35–41. Correspondence on Canada Affairs (Brighton, 1836), p. 3–6, &c.

not to grant the three years' arrears, but merely a supply for the current half year, allowing only that short period to comply with their demands. This slender boon, too, was clogged with conditions which, as had been foreseen, induced the upper house to reject it, so that the session, in all respects very stormy, passed over without any provision whatever being made for the public service. The legislative council felt indignant at the violent attempts meditated for its overthrow, and instead of studying to show these to be unmerited, the members vented their resentment by rejecting almost every bill sent up from the Assembly. Among these was the vote continuing the funds for national education, which were thus entirely withdrawn. All the political elements were disturbed, and in violent collision with each other.*

The commissioners, in March, 1836, viewing this state of things, and seeing no prospect of obtaining money to carry on the government, without immediately yielding to every demand of the lower house, considered it indispensable to obtain it without their consent. This, they thought, would be best accomplished by Parliament repealing the act passed on the motion of Lord Goderich, by which funds to the amount of $182,400 had been made over to the Assembly. This would indeed excite bitter resentment; but, with the other reserved revenues, it would at least enable the government to proceed without any grants from that body. Lord Glenelg was not forward to act on this recommendation. He wrote to the Earl of Gosford, expressing a hope, on grounds which do not very distinctly appear, that the violent resolution complained of had been induced by the partial and imperfect knowledge of the instructions, and that a communication of the whole

* Roebuck, p. 39. The late Session of the Provincial Parliament (Montreal, 1836), p. 13-29.

might lead to more favourable views. He expressed a wish, therefore, that the provincial Parliament should be again called, and an opportunity afforded for retracting before recourse was had to extreme measures. The meeting was accordingly held on the 22d of September, 1836; but the majority soon presented an address to the governor, denying that, according to the apprehension expressed in his speech, they laboured under any kind of misconception; they saw nothing to make them change their views, or prevent them from insisting on the same demands, particularly that of the elective council. They adverted in an indignant manner to certain pretended authorities, as they termed the commission, and maintained that they themselves were the legitimate and authorized organ of all classes of inhabitants; that they had used their power in such a manner as ought to have secured confidence; and to them, not to a few strangers, ought to have been committed the fate of the country. They declared it their imperative duty to adhere to the contents of their last address; "and to them do we adhere." They finally expressed a resolution not only to do nothing more in regard to supply, but to adjourn their deliberations altogether, unless government should commence the great work of justice and reform, particularly in regard to the second branch of the legislature.*

Matters had now reached an extremity which seemed to render it no longer possible to delay an interposition.

Ministers therefore determined no longer to postpone measures for counteracting the proceedings of the popular party, and placing the executive government in a state of regular action. Parliament having assembled, and the reports of the com-

* Second Report of Canada Commissioners, p. 93–95, &c. Papers relating to Lower Canada, p. 31–41.

missioners being laid on the table, Lord John Russell, on the 6th March, 1837, moved a series of resolutions on which acts were to be founded. After a statement of the actual posture of affairs, it was proposed that the sum of $681,600 should be taken out of the provincial funds locked up by the Assembly, and applied to the payment of the judges and other civil officers, down to the 10th April. It was afterward agreed, not, as the commissioners had recommended, to resume any part of the ceded moneys, but by a strict economy to carry on the government from that date with the casual and territorial revenues, which circumstances had now raised to about $134,400. The elective legislative council, and the direct responsibility of the executive one to the Assembly, were both declared inexpedient; though it was stated as desirable that considerable improvements should be made in the composition of both. These suggestions gave occasion to very warm debates. The Tories, while they supported the proposals of government, accused them of an imprudent indulgence and want of energy, which had imboldened the malecontent party to proceed to extremities. On the other hand, a small but active section of the popular leaders justified all the claims and proceedings of the Canadian Assembly, denounced the resolutions as unconstitutional and tyrannical, and predicted as their result civil war and the loss of the colonies. The motion of Mr. Leader, however, in favour of an elective council, was negatived by 318 to 56, and the cabinet measures were carried by overwhelming majorities; but the death of William IV. intervened before they could be imbodied in acts of Parliament. The necessity of a dissolution, and the unwillingness to begin the government of a young and popular queen by a scheme of coercion, induced ministers to substitute the expedient of advancing the amount by way of loan from the British revenue, in

the prospect of being ultimately reimbursed from the provincial fund.

As an interval was to elapse between the passing of the resolutions and their being acted on, Lord Gosford was instructed to make a last trial of the Assembly, in hopes that, seeing such a vast majority in Parliament against them, they might be induced of themselves to vote the money, and thus save the necessity of any unwonted interference. Already, however, several violent demonstrations had taken place. Meetings were held in the counties of Montreal and Richelieu, in which it was affirmed, that the votes of the commons had put an end to all hopes of justice; and that no farther attempts should be made to obtain redress from the Imperial Parliament. They considered the government as now only one of force, to be submitted to from necessity during their present weakness; and in order to reduce as far as possible its power, they declared that all consumption of British manufactures, and of articles paying taxes, ought to be discontinued; and, finally, that a general convention should be held, to consider what farther measures were advisable.

Lord Glenelg, in consequence of this state of things in Canada, had resolved to send out two additional regiments; but afterward, finding this to be inconvenient, he gave authority to apply to Sir Colin Campbell for such force as could be spared from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. On the 6th of May the governor replied, that he had not the least expectation of anything serious, though in case of a dissolution he admitted that "there might be some broken heads." On the 10th June, however, upon learning that a system of organization was carrying on, he applied to Sir Colin for a regiment, which arrived early in July. He had already issued a proclamation, warning the people against all attempts to seduce them from their

allegiance. Meetings, numerously attended, were held in Montreal and Quebec, condemning the conduct of the House of Assembly, declaring attachment to British connexion, and deprecating any breach of the public peace.*

On the 18th August Lord Gosford again called the provincial Parliament. The resolutions were laid before the Assembly, with the expression of a hope that its proceedings would supersede the necessity of their being acted on. The changes in the constitution of the councils had been unfortunately delayed by difficulties as to certain appointments; but these improvements were solemnly promised. Warm debates ensued. Mr. Andrew Stuart, one of the members for Quebec, proposed a compliance with the request of government, which was negatived by 63 to 13. An address was then moved by M. Taschereau, a representative of the county of Beauce, expressing a willingness to give a trial to the means proposed for amending the legislative council, but declining any grant till they were brought into operation. Another address, breathing most determined hostility, was then moved, and carried by 46 to 31. It denounced the step now taken as an absolute destruction of the representative government in the province, a total refusal of all the reforms and improvements demanded. If these resolutions were carried into effect, the colony, it was said, would no longer be attached to the mother country by feelings of duty, of affection, and mutual interest, but solely by physical force. In this conjuncture they could see no motive for the slightest departure from their intention to withhold the supplies; and they adhered in every respect to their resolutions of 30th September, 1836. Lord Gosford, in reply, gave utterance to his deep regret at measures which he considered a virtual annihila-

* Copies, &c., of Correspondence relative to Lower Canada (23d December, 1837), p. 8–13, 20–33.

tion of the constitution, and immediately prorogued the Assembly.*

The popular leaders seem now to have formed the resolution of having recourse to arms. They had often asserted,† and seem to have at length believed, that only an effort was required to sever the colonies from the mother country. This was a most hasty and inconsiderate conclusion. The example of the American colonies was referred to; but they were much stronger than the Canadians are now, while the power of Britain, on the other hand, was considerably smaller. Yet it was only after a long and calamitous contest of eight years that they established their independence. The aid of the United States was indeed held forth; but the latter had been so little disposed to intermeddle on such occasions, that they remained neutral during the long contest between Spain and her colonies, although her situation gave them little to dread from her resentment. It was, therefore, very unlikely that they should now engage for such an object in a contest with the whole power of Britain.

The meetings in pursuance of these views were not held on so great a scale, or in the same public manner as formerly. They were numerous, however, and breathed the most hostile spirit, renouncing all hope of redress from the parent state, and pointing directly to a separation. A central committee was formed at Montreal, whose proceedings were in a great measure secret, and preparations were understood to be making for a general convention. It was nearly vain to attempt repressing the most violent demonstrations against the government, since no petty jury could be found to convict; and in two instances, when the evidence was considered perfectly conclusive, the bills were ignored by the grand jury. The governor, however,

* Correspondence, &c., p. 36–45.
† Roebuck, p. 33, 43, 56.

learning that numerous individuals holding her majesty's commission had taken a share in those meetings, caused letters to be written to them demanding an explanation. On receiving none that was satisfactory, he dismissed eighteen magistrates and thirty-two militia officers. Among the latter was Papineau. In the beginning of October, the new arrangement of the two councils was carried into effect, at least to a great extent; but it excited little interest, and was rejected by the popular leaders as wholly unsatisfactory.*

The malecontent party became every day bolder. An association was formed, under the title of "The Sons of Liberty," who paraded the streets of Montreal in a hostile and threatening manner. They emitted a proclamation containing the most violent expressions. "The wicked designs," said they, "of British authorities have severed all ties of sympathy for an unfeeling mother country."—"A glorious destiny awaits the young men of these colonies;" and this was explained to be "to disfranchise our beloved country from all human authority, except that of the bold democracy residing within its bosom." They alluded to "the struggle for life and liberty in which we must sooner or later be engaged, when the day of glory arrives, that will see us emerge from a long, dark bondage to the splendour of light and freedom." At the same time, in the county of Two Mountains, the people determined not to obey the magistrates appointed in the room of those displaced; an organization was formed of *pacificator* justices, to compose differences without recourse to the constituted authorities, and in whose decisions all true patriots were required to acquiesce. Meanwhile, the militia in that district were organized in a new form, under officers of their own selection, including those recently dis-

* Correspondence, p. 47-50, 63, 72.

missed; and an active training was carried on. All loyal and neutral residents were compelled either to join the malecontents or quit the territory, throughout which British authority entirely ceased.*

No long time passed before this course of proceeding was imitated in the more populous portion of the Montreal territory lying southward of the St. Lawrence. On the 23d October, a meeting was held of the five counties on the Richelieu and the Yamaska, when a petition was presented from L'Acadie to be admitted as a sixth. The petitioners used the strongest language, declaring themselves prepared to sacrifice everything most dear to them in this world, to emancipate from a vile slavery the land that gave them birth. They renounced all principles but those of the purest democracy, and desired to place themselves under the guidance and behind the buckler of L. J. Papineau. At the meeting of the *six* counties, the numbers attending were variously estimated from 1500 to 5000, of whom a proportion were armed. The recent appointments to the two councils were declared wholly unsatisfactory, while the introduction of an armed force into the province was stigmatized as a new and enormous grievance. The magistrates and militia were to be organized after the model of those of the Two Mountains, and the example of the Sons of Liberty was also recommended, "that they might be prepared to support each other with promptitude and effect, should circumstances require them to protect and defend their threatened liberties." A similar address was drawn up on the following day, and circulated through the province. The same course was followed, of compelling the officers to resign their situations or leave the country.†

Government did not remain passive while its authority was openly set at naught, and insurrection

* Correspondence, &c., p. 63-70. † Ibid., p. 86--89, 95--100.

matured under its very eye. Applications were made to Sir Colin Campbell for two additional regiments, and likewise for what force could be spared from the Upper Province. The offers of the loyal inhabitants to place themselves in arms, which had been long declined from motives of prudence, were now accepted, and volunteer corps were zealously and rapidly organized. The Catholic clergy took a decided part in the support of order and peace, and an address was published by the Bishop of Montreal, exhorting his flock against the violent and illegal proceedings now in progress. This, among a religious people, though it did not stop the career of those who had so deeply committed themselves, had probably a powerful effect in arresting the spread of the disorder, and keeping it confined, as it still was, to Montreal district.

The first blow was struck at the town now mentioned, between the "Sons of Liberty" and a loyal association formed in opposition to them. The former were worsted, and pursued through the streets; none were killed, but several severely hurt, particularly Brown, who had assumed the title of their general. Papineau's house, which the victors attempted to burn, was saved, but the office of the Vindicator newspaper was destroyed. Exaggerated reports of this affair being spread throughout the country, heightened the general ferment; and it was announced from various quarters that resistance was daily extending, and assuming a more organized form.

It was now obvious, that, unless some decisive step were taken, the malecontent cause must continually gain new strength, and the connexion of the colonies with the mother country become seriously endangered. The course deemed most effectual was immediately to arrest the most active leaders. A warrant was accordingly issued at Montreal against twenty-six, of whom seven were mem-

bers of the Assembly, including Papineau and Viger. Nine were apprehended; but Papineau had disappeared, and doubts were even entertained if he were still in the province.* This step necessarily led to a crisis, especially as some of the warrants were against persons residing in the heart of the disturbed territory. Two being in the vicinity of St. John, on the Richelieu, a party of eighteen volunteer militia were despatched thither to apprehend them. An oversight seems to have been committed in sending so small a force, not regular, into the midst of a hostile country. They succeeded, however, in capturing the parties; and an armed body of thirty, who appeared near Chambly, made no attempt to intercept them. Near Longueuil, however, they found a field on the right of the road occupied by 300 well-armed men, protected by a high fence. From this assemblage a fire was immediately opened upon the detachment, which, from its position, could not be returned with effect. Several were wounded, the rest retreated, and the two prisoners were rescued by the insurgents.†

The standard of insurrection having thus been openly raised, it became necessary to act with the utmost promptitude. Information was received that Papineau, Brown, and Neilson were at the villages of St. Denis and St. Charles, on the Richelieu, which had been occupied by the armed inhabitants; and accordingly, Sir John Colborne, the commander-in-chief, sent strong detachments, under Colonels Gore and Wetherall, to attack these places. The former, on the 22d of November, having conveyed his force in a steamer to Sorel, proceeded up the river against St. Denis; but being obliged to take a circuitous

* It has been asserted by M. Papineau and his friends, that he gave no encouragement to extreme measures; that he was opposed to the insurrection, and that he left the province to avoid being implicated in it.—*Am. Ed.*

† Correspondence, p. 95, 102–110.

route, through tracks which, from previous rain, were knee-deep, the troops arrived in a very jaded state. Though the whole country was in arms, no serious resistance was encountered till they reached the village, the entrance to which was defended by a large stone house strongly fortified, from which, as well as from others on each side, a heavy fire was opened. A howitzer was brought up against it, whence round-shot was fired with a view to batter it down, but without effect. Captain Markham, with the advance, had cleared the way and taken an adjoining house, but was then severely wounded, and obliged to quit the field. Finding that no impression could be made on the main barrier, that his ammunition was nearly exhausted, and that the troops were overpowered with fatigue, Gore considered a retreat unavoidable. It was effected without serious inconvenience, though it became necessary to leave a cannon on the road, while his loss was six killed, ten wounded, and six missing.

Meantime, Colonel Wetherall, with his detachment, proceeded by way of Chambly to St. Charles, a point higher up the river. He was delayed in a similar manner by the badness of the roads; and, on reaching St. Hilaire, found it necessary to procure another company from Chambly, and even to send a messenger to Montreal, we presume for farther aid. Having reason, however, to consider his communications with that place intercepted, he determined, on the 26th, to advance to the attack. About 1500 insurgents, under the command of Brown, had posted themselves in the village, and surrounded it with a strong stockade. The English commander, on his arrival, drew up his force at a short distance, in the hope of producing some defection; but none taking place, and a heavy fire being opened upon him, he pushed forward to the assault. In about an hour the intrenchment was carried, the fortified houses and palisades were set on fire, the troops

were masters of the town, and the insurgents fled in every direction. The carnage was great, the entire loss of the insurgents being about 300. Charges have been made of severe and vindictive proceedings, which we should hope are exaggerated.* Another body took up a position in his rear, with a view of cutting off his return to Chambly; but when he approached them on the 28th, they broke and dispersed at the first onset.†

The affair of St. Charles decided the fate of the contest. A general panic spread among the peasantry, and they began to consider themselves betrayed by their leaders. Colonel Gore, strongly re-enforced, again advanced upon St. Denis, which he entered without resistance on the 2d of December, Neilson and Brown having quitted it on the preceding evening. He then marched upon St. Hyacinthe, but found it also undefended, and made a vain search for Papineau. The chiefs, renouncing their hopes, were already seeking safety in the territory of the United States. Brown reached it with great difficulty, through many perils; Neilson was taken in a barn, conveyed to Montreal, and thrown into prison. Papineau, however, could not be discovered.

Attempts were made to support the cause from a quarter which, under certain circumstances, might have proved very formidable. The United States contained many individuals disposed to sympathize deeply with the Canadians, and some of whom were inclined to join them. Even in the present hopeless circumstances, 200 passed the frontier; but, before Sir John Colborne could send a force against them, a party of the volunteers of Missisqui county, under

* There appears to be little doubt that there was a wanton and barbarous destruction of human life on this occasion.—*Am. Ed.*

† Papers relating to Lower Canada (16th January, 1838), p. 3-6.

the command of Captain Kemp, took arms and drove them back with some loss. The whole of the six counties, so lately in open rebellion, were in a fortnight reduced to perfect tranquillity.*

There remained still the districts of Two Mountains and Terrebonne, north of Montreal, where insurrection had been first organized, and still wore its most determined aspect. Sir John Colborne had judiciously postponed operations against this quarter till, the south being completely tranquillized, he could direct thither his whole force. On the 14th December he marched in person, with about 1300 regular and volunteer troops, against the large village of St. Eustache. The disasters of their brethren elsewhere had spread a well-founded alarm; and the greater number of the men and their leaders, including Girod, the supposed commander-in-chief, fled precipitately. About 400 of the most resolute, however, continued to occupy a church and adjoining buildings, which had been carefully fortified; and here so obstinate a stand was made, that a British detachment was at one point obliged to recede. But fire having reached the adjacent edifices, soon spread to the church itself, the defenders of which were thereby speedily dislodged: while the troops, being protected by the houses, did not lose more than one killed and nine wounded.

Colonel Maitland now marched towards St. Benoit, the chief village of the Grand Brulé district, which had been the focus of insurrection; but on his way he met a deputation, tendering the most humble submission, and he entered the place without resistance. Unfortunately, the loyal inhabitants, who had been plundered and driven out of the country, could not be restrained from acts of violence, and a considerable portion of the houses were reduced to ashes. Maitland, after occupying St. Scho-

* Papers (16th January, 1838), p. 18, 19; (2d February), p. 3.

lastique, returned to Montreal, leaving the district in a state of perfect tranquillity. The people, complaining that their chiefs, after instigating them to revolt, had deserted them, seemed determined not to be again seduced into such a course. Several of the leaders were taken; Girod himself, being surrounded so that he could not escape, committed suicide.*

Upper Canada, meantime, had become the theatre of important events. For a considerable time, especially since the residence there of Mr. Gourlay, a party had existed supporting extreme political opinions. These, it is true, were not imbittered by any feelings arising from difference of race; but many of the inhabitants had migrated from the United States, to whose institutions they were naturally partial. They gained over a number of the British residents, influenced by the usual motives, and who complained especially of the favouritism shown in the granting of land. These grounds of discontent were carefully investigated by the committee of 1828, and instructions issued by Lord Goderich, which here, as in the Lower Province, gave general satisfaction. The discontented party, however, proceeded from one step to another, till Mackenzie, Duncombe, and other leaders scarcely made any secret of their desire to separate from Britain and join the American union. In 1834, this party for the first time obtained a majority in the Assembly; and though they had hitherto confined themselves to complaints on particular subjects, they now commenced a general opposition to the royal government, and at length, as in the other province, came into violent collision with the legislative council. They transmitted to the king a long list of grievances, complaining that the offices in the colony were too numerous, too highly paid, and the holders re-

* Papers (29th January, 1838), p. 11--14; (2d February), p. 4, &c.

movable at the pleasure of the crown; that support had been unduly given to particular religious establishments; and that Lord Goderich's recommendations had by no means been fully acted upon. They also urged, with the same vehemence as in the sister colony, the demand for an elective legislative council.*

This union of the two provinces, pushing with equal zeal the most extreme measures, brought affairs into a somewhat hazardous position. When Lord Gosford and the commissioners were sent to Lower Canada, the ministry placed the upper province under Sir Francis Head. Having arrived early in 1836, as already related, he took the straightforward course of at once publishing the extent and limits of his instructions; at the same time assuring the people of his most zealous efforts to remove every practical grievance. The Assembly, however, were by no means satisfied; and another ground of contest soon arose. Sir Francis added to the executive three members, whose appointment was highly satisfactory to the popular party; but, as several weeks elapsed without their having been consulted on any subject, they stated in a letter that they considered themselves thus rendered responsible for measures in which they were allowed no share, and therefore tendered their resignation. While accepting it with regret, he maintained that he lay under no obligation to consult them on every measure; but was at perfect liberty to judge of the occasions on which the public interest might require their aid. The House of Assembly immediately took up the affair, and having, agreeably to request, been furnished with a copy of the correspondence, drew up a report, and afterward a long address to the king, strenuously controverting the governor's doctrine, and, in the course of it, broadly charging him with "deviations from candour and truth."

* Instructions to Lord Gosford and Sir Francis Head, p. 55-65.

Proceeding in the same spirit, they for the first time stopped the supplies; in consequence of which, Sir Francis reserved all their money-bills for his majesty's decision, and rejected the application for payment of their incidental expenses.*

All hopes of accommodation being thus closed, he determined, on the 28th of May, to make an appeal to the people by a new election. It was contested with extraordinary ardour; and a war of manifestoes, proclamations, and addresses was forthwith waged between the parties. The result was, that in the new Assembly a decided majority supported the constitutional side. The opposite party complained to the ministry that this effect had been produced by illegal means, by extraordinary grants of land, and even by violence and bribery. The Assembly, however, after inquiry by a committee, declared these allegations to be utterly false, expressing, at the same time, the strongest attachment to the mother country and to the governor.

During this tranquil and satisfactory state of Upper Canada, insurrection broke out in the lower province; and Sir Francis being requested to state what force he could spare, his answer was, all. He considered it not only practicable, but desirable, that every soldier should be removed out of his district, and a full display thus made of its loyal and peaceful condition. He caused the arms to be deposited in the city hall of Toronto, under charge of the mayor, declining even to place a guard over them, to prevent sudden capture. In this state of things Mackenzie determined to make an attempt upon the capital. Having a number of small detached parties throughout the province, who were ready to obey his mandate, and had even been trained to the use of weapons, he ordered them to assemble, on the 4th December, on the great road called Yonge-street,

* Upper Canada Papers (30th June, 1836), p. 6, 48-50.

leading to Lake Simcoe. Hurrying by cross paths through the forest, they mustered at Montgomerie's tavern, about four miles from Toronto. Their numbers, at first estimated at 3000, are not supposed to have exceeded 500. With the view of effecting a surprise, they attacked every one going to the city; among whom Colonel Moodie, a distinguished officer, was wounded, and died in a few hours. Alderman Powell, however, having shot one of his assailants, escaped, roused the governor, and gave the alarm; upon which Sir Francis ran to the town hall, where he found the chief justice with a musket on his shoulder, surrounded by a band of brave men who had hastily assembled. The arms being unpacked and placed in their hands, they posted themselves in a defensive attitude at the windows of the building, and of others flanking it. But Mackenzie, presuming that Powell would instantly give notice, did not venture to advance; a pusillanimous resolution, assuredly, since he could never again expect so favourable an opportunity. By morning 300 loyalists were mustered; and in the course of the day, Mr. Allan M'Nab, speaker of the House of Assembly, arrived with sixty from the Gore District, and others from different quarters raised the number to 500. On the 6th the force was considered sufficient for offensive operations; but the governor, anxious to avoid the effusion of blood, sent a message to the insurgents, inviting them to lay down their arms. Mackenzie offered to comply, on condition that a national convention should be called, allowing till two o'clock for the answer; but as no reply could be given to this proposition, arrangements were immediately made for attack on the following day.

On the 7th December, at noon, the whole force marched out. The insurgents had occupied an elevated position in front of the tavern, where, being in some degree protected by houses, they endeav-

oured to make a stand; but the militia, advancing to the charge with the utmost enthusiasm, soon broke the whole corps, which dispersed in every direction, Mackenzie himself escaping with extreme precipitation. They were pursued four miles; two of the chiefs were taken; the tavern was burned to the ground; and the revolt was so completely quashed, that Sir Francis considered he might safely exercise lenity, and dismissed the greater part of the prisoners.*

The militia, meantime, had been marching towards Toronto in great numbers; 2600 from the Newcastle District, and in all upward of 10,000. Immediate notice was now issued that they might return to their homes; and those of the eastern districts were authorized to give their aid to Lower Canada. As it was understood, however, that Duncombe had assembled a corps in the London District, which had been a main seat of faction, Colonel M'Nab was sent thither with a sufficient force. On its approach the chiefs disappeared, and about 300 of their followers laid down their arms.

The insurrection had thus been entirely put down, and upper Canada was everywhere completely tranquil, when a sudden danger arose which threatened to become very serious. Mackenzie fled to the city of Buffalo, in which he held several meetings, and kindled a considerable excitement. Van Rensselaer, Sutherland, and other individuals acquainted with military service, presented themselves as leaders of an armament. A small corps was assembled, which took possession of Navy Island, situated in the Niagara channel, between Grand Island and the British shore, which they fortified with thirteen pieces of cannon. Hence Mackenzie issued a proclamation in the assumed name of the provisional government of Upper Canada. Volunteers were invi-

* Papers (16th Jan., 1838), p. 21, 22; (29th Jan.), p. 3, 5.

ted from that country and from the States; being assured that out of the ten millions of acres which victory would place at their disposal, each should receive 300 in full property. There was to be no more dependence on Downing-street; the Assembly, council, governor, and officers were all to be elected by the people. Trade was to be freed from all restraints; and it was added, that the largest vessels would be enabled to ascend to Lake Superior. Recruits continued flocking to this post till their numbers amounted to about a thousand. Colonel M'Nab soon arrived with double that number of militia; but he wanted materials for crossing the channel and forcing the strong position held by the insurgents.*

All eyes were now turned to the government of the United States, on which the question of peace or war evidently depended. As soon as the first notice was received, there was displayed the most sincere determination to maintain a strict neutrality. The president issued two successive proclamations, warning the people of the penalties to which they would become liable by engaging in hostilities with a friendly power; and the debates in Congress displayed the most complete unanimity against any measure which might commit the American government in such a contest. The leaders of opposite parties united with one voice in this sentiment. Mr. Calhoun declared that, "of all calamities which could befall the civilized world, a war with Great Britain would at this moment be the most to be deplored." There was scarcely time for a legislative enactment; but the president appointed General Scott, a veteran officer of energetic and decisive character, to take the command of the disturbed frontier.

Meantime an event occurred which created great

* Papers (2d February, 1838), p. 12--14.

excitement. A small steamer, named the Caroline, was employed by the insurgents between Fort Schlosser on the American shore and Navy Island, conveying to the latter troops and stores. Captain Drew was instructed by Colonel M'Nab to intercept her return. He did not succeed; but, seeing her in the channel, moored to the American shore, determined to attack her. He approached undiscovered to within twenty yards; and being then asked the countersign, promised to show it when on deck. The Caroline immediately opened a fire; but the British boarded, and in two minutes were masters of her. Those who resisted were killed or made prisoners; while others, who appeared to be peaceable citizens, were put on shore. The vessel itself, which the strength of the current made it inconvenient to tow across, was set on fire and abandoned, when the stream hurried it rapidly to the brink of the great cataract, down which the flaming mass was precipitated.*

The destruction of the Caroline was soon followed by the arrival of General Scott, who took vigorous and effective measures to prevent any supplies or recruits reaching Navy Island. Meantime, the force of the assailants was continually augmented; two companies of regulars, with a train of artillery, had been sent from Lower Canada, and a tremendous cannonade was commenced. The insurgents, seeing that their position became every day more desperate, determined to evacuate it, an object

* This attack on the Caroline very justly excited the highest indignation in the United States. It was manifestly an outrage, too flagrant to be borne, on their national honour and their neutral rights. The vessel was in American waters, and moored to the American shore; and nothing but an actual state of war between the two countries could justify a hostile attack under these circumstances. Furthermore, the American accounts deny that any resistance was made; and affirm that the boat was wholly unarmed, and that there was nothing to provoke the shedding of a drop of blood.—*Am. Ed.*

which they effected on the 14th January. Van Rensselaer and Mackenzie were arrested by the American authorities, but admitted to bail.

Sutherland, with a party of the fugitives, hastened to the extreme west, where, being re-enforced by some adventurers in that quarter, they attempted an establishment on Bois Blanc, an island in the Detroit channel. A body of troops, however, was soon despatched against them; and a vessel, containing not only supplies, but several chiefs dignified with military titles, was captured. Finding it impossible to maintain themselves there, they sought an asylum on Sugar Island, which belongs to the United States. General Scott, meanwhile, was hastening to the place; the governor of Michigan, however, addressed the refugees, and by mere dint of remonstrance prevailed upon them to disperse. Attempts were made at other points to form tumultuary assemblages for invading Canada; but, under the altered circumstances, these did not excite any serious alarm.

Meantime intelligence of the first insurrectionary movements reached Britain, where it excited the strongest sensation. A few of the popular leaders exulted in the event itself, and in the anticipation of its triumphant issue; but the nation in general by no means shared this sentiment. The Tories, though they accused government of having, by want of energy, prepared this convulsion, expressed their cordial concurrence in all the means suggested for its suppression. As the house was about to rise for the Christmas holydays, ministers proposed that, instead of postponing their meetings, as usual, till the beginning of February, they should fix it for the 16th of January, when, according to the course of events, suitable resolutions might be adopted.

Parliament had no sooner reassembled than information arrived which left no room to doubt that the insurrection would be suppressed without hav-

ing assumed any formidable character. The aims of the government were therefore directed towards reorganizing the executive on such a footing as, without suppressing Canadian liberty, might secure future tranquillity. But it was considered indispensable, for the present at least, to suspend the constitution of the lower province. A council was to be named by the queen, which, with the governor, might exercise the functions now performed by the two legislative bodies; but their powers were not to last beyond the 1st of November, 1840, nor were any of their enactments, unless continued by the proper authority, to be valid beyond the 1st of November, 1842.

Sir John Colborne, then acting as provisional governor of Lower Canada, was instructed to carry these measures into immediate execution. The ministry, however, had determined upon a farther step, with a view to the ultimate settlement of the province. The Earl of Durham was solicited and prevailed upon to undertake its government, as well as that of all British America, and also to turn his attention towards an improved plan for its future management. This nobleman's high reputation as a statesman, and the liberality of his views on political subjects, seemed to afford a security that he would act with vigour, and, at the same time, with a strict regard to national freedom. He was empowered to form a species of representative council, composed of thirteen members from each province, but to use them merely as advisers, and to call and dismiss them at pleasure.*

On the 29th May, 1838, Lord Durham arrived at Quebec, where he was received in the most cordial manner, for all parties seemed to unite in expecting from him a settlement of those dissensions which

* Correspondence relative to the affairs of British North America (ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 11th Feb., 1839), p. 1, 7.

had so greatly distracted the country. In his subsequent progress to other districts, and to Upper Canada as far as Niagara, he met similar expressions of confidence and congratulation. He was soon, however, called to decide upon a delicate and difficult question, which Sir John Colborne had thought it expedient to reserve for his determination. Wolfred Neilson, Bouchette, Viger, and other individuals of some distinction, were lying in the jail of Montreal charged with high treason. Some strong punishment was necessary to mark their crime, and deter from its repetition; yet an impartial jury could not be expected for their trial, which, besides, would have reopened all those party animosities which it was the object of his lordship to appease. Under this view he adopted the following course: The prisoners, having been induced to make a confession of guilt, were sentenced to be deported to Bermuda, and to be there kept in strict surveillance. If they should ever return to Canada without leave from the governor, they were to suffer the penalty of death. The same was awarded to Papineau and others implicated in the late insurrection, but who, after its disastrous issue, had fled the country.*

As soon as this ordinance was known in Britain, it created an unusual excitement in the legislature. Lord Brougham, in the House of Peers, made a motion, declaring it illegal, as condemning to death without trial, and to transportation to a colony which was not within the jurisdiction of the governor-general; but, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, he proposed a grant of indemnity. This vote, though strenuously opposed by Lord Melbourne, was carried in the Upper House by a considerable majority. Ministers then having received from the law-officers of the crown an un-

* Correspondence, p. 103, 104, 128, 129.

favourable report, at least as to the last particular, considered it impossible to make any farther resistance. They annulled the ordinance; but, at the same time, conveyed to Lord Durham expressions of their regret, of their general approbation of his measures, and of the unaltered confidence with which they regarded his administration.*

Lord Durham, however, was not of a character to brook this interposition. He had, it is true, passed the limits of strict law; but he maintained that these were scarcely applicable in the critical and convulsed state of the province; that the sentence was lenient; and on the principle of *volenti nulla fit injuria*, the parties concerned could not be wronged by a decision in which they had cheerfully acquiesced. In short, there being no substantial injustice inflicted, Lord Durham thought he had reason to complain that his scheme was not allowed a fair trial. He had, perhaps, an equal ground of dissatisfaction in reference to the hostile interference of the opposition lords, and more especially because the ministers, his employers, did not resist it to the utmost. Yet it would certainly have been more magnanimous on his part had he endeavoured, under every discouragement, to do his best to accomplish his undertaking. He yielded too far to passion and pride, when, even before receiving the official accounts, he publicly announced his intention of throwing up the administration. He did not even follow the established course of requesting her majesty's permission to resign, and waiting till he received it. In announcing, too, the disallowance of the ordinance, he commented on the decision with a severity which was considered irregular, and tending to compromise the royal authority. On the 1st November his lordship set sail from Quebec, and on the 26th arrived at Plymouth.†

* Correspondence, p. 55-60. † Ibid., p. 206-209, 243, 245.

Meantime a fresh storm of insurrection brooded over the province. In the course of the summer, even amid apparent quiet, the burning of a steam-vessel, called the Sir Robert Peel, in the St. Lawrence, and the acquittal of the murderers of Chartrand in the face of the clearest evidence, showed that the spirit of disaffection was still deeply cherished. By the beginning of winter arrangements had been made for a general rising of the *habitans*, supported by individuals on the American side, who, under the title of *sympathizers*, had espoused their cause. Arms and ammunition had been clandestinely introduced; and a species of association, bound by secret oaths and signs, had been formed along the frontier. Lord Durham imputes this movement to the proceedings at home, which had shaken the confidence in his authority, and raised the hopes of the disaffected; but Sir John Colborne considers that those preparations had been actively pursued ever since the preceding June. The government of the United States gave the first intimation of what was going on to Mr. Fox, the British ambassador at Washington. The tidings were soon confirmed from other quarters; and Sir John Colborne lost no time in putting the province in a state of defence, and procuring an additional force from Nova Scotia.*

On the night of the 3d November, a concerted rising took place in all the southern counties of Montreal District; but, owing to some failure of arrangement, the stations along the Richelieu were not found supplied with arms according to appointment, so that most of the inhabitants there dispersed and returned to their homes. The chief seat of insurrection was now farther west, between that river and the St. Lawrence. There Dr. Robert Nelson, Côte, and Gagnon had collected about 4000 men,

* Correspondence, p. 106, 125, 174-180, 222, 246.

and established their headquarters at Napierville. Their first object was to open a communication with their friends in the States, for which purpose 400 men were detached to the frontier. There a body of British volunteers had established themselves, by whom the rebels were attacked, and obliged to retreat with great loss. To retrieve this disaster, Dr. Nelson, with upward of 900 men, marched against the loyalists. The latter, only 200 strong, took post in Odelltown chapel, on which the enemy commenced a brisk attack, but, after two hours and a half, were obliged to retreat, with the loss of one hundred killed and wounded. The defenders had an officer and five men killed, and nine wounded.*

Meantime Major-general Sir James M'Donnell, under orders from the governor, with seven regiments of the line, crossed the St. Lawrence and marched upon Napierville. The insurgents, discouraged by former losses, after a vain attempt to unite their forces, dispersed in every direction without firing a shot. They still retained a post at Beauharnois; but Colonel Carmichael, with a detachment of regulars and 1000 Glengarry militia, drove them out, though with the loss of two men killed and the same number wounded. Mr. Ellice and a party of friends, who had been made prisoners by them at the outset, were allowed to return to Montreal. On the 11th, a week only after the first movement, M'Donnell could announce that the insurrection was completely at an end.†

We must now turn to Upper Canada, where, even before the former outbreak, Sir Francis Head had resigned. The immediate cause was the disapprobation expressed by Lord Glenelg for his removing Judge Ridout on account of his democratical principles, and his refusing to obey an order to raise to the bench Mr. Bidwell, late speaker of the Assem-

* Correspondence, p. 248, 261, 262. † Ibid., p. 260--263.

bly, and an opposition leader. He at the same time, in no measured terms, condemned the system of conciliation hitherto pursued in the Colonial Office, whose members he even branded as republicans; insisting that a stern, uncompromising maintenance of the monarchical principle, and the exclusion from office of all opposed to it, was the only basis on which Canada could be governed. Ministers unwillingly accepted his resignation; and Colonel Sir George Arthur, who had previously held a similar situation in Van Diemen's Land, was appointed to succeed him.*

The new governor soon found himself involved in difficult circumstances; for early in June, bands to the number of 1000 or 1200 from the American side crossed the Niagara channel, and endeavoured to excite the people to insurrection. They attacked a party of fourteen lancers posted in an inn, and, by setting it on fire, obliged them to surrender. But no sooner did they learn that Sir George had arrived at Niagara, and that the country was rising against them, than they hastily recrossed the frontier, leaving about forty prisoners, among whom were Morrow and Waite, the first and second in command. In the end of June a smaller party passed the St. Clair and invaded the Western District; but finding themselves unsupported, and the militia advancing, they returned, after losing a few of their number, who fell into the hands of the pursuers.†

The summer now passed in comparative quietness, though the great movement at the beginning of November continued to be deeply felt along the upper frontier. Almost simultaneously with the rising in Montreal District, a body of about 400 sailed from the vicinity of Sackett's Harbour and landed

* Narrative by Sir Francis B. Head, Bart. (8vo, London, 1839, 2d edition), p. 218--344.

† Correspondence, p. 314-321.

at Prescott. On the 13th, Colonel Young, with what force he could muster, and aided by Captain Sandom with an armed steamer, compelled a large proportion of them to disperse, while the rest took refuge in a windmill and an adjacent house built of stone, whence they could not be dislodged. Eighteen British were here killed and wounded. In the course of the day Colonel Dundas arrived with four companies from Kingston, but considered the buildings, the walls of which were three or four feet thick, too strong to be reduced without cannon. A few guns and some additional troops being brought up, an attack was commenced on the 16th, when the party within the stone building, after some stand, sought to escape among the brushwood, but were all captured; upon which those in the mill displayed a white flag, and surrendered at discretion. The whole number of prisoners was 159. The militia, among whom some lukewarmness had been suspected, showed the utmost zeal, and mustered to the extent of 5000.*

The Niagara frontier was found so well guarded that no attempt was máde there. But early in the morning of the 4th December, about 350 landed near Sandwich, set fire to the steamer and to the barracks, and killed several individuals. They were, however, no sooner attacked by a party of militia, than they fled either to the woods or the American shore, leaving twenty-six killed and twenty-five prisoners.†

The captives on the former occasion had been treated with extraordinary lenity; but this forbearance not having produced the expected effect, and being loudly complained of by the inhabitants, it was judged necessary to exercise great rigour on the present occasion. A considerable number of the most conspicuous were accordingly put to death, and the rest condemned to severe or ignominious punishments.

* Correspondence, p. 354--361. † Ibid., p. 369--372.

CHAPTER V.

Social and Political State of Canada.

Different Classes of People.—French Habitans.—Their Tenures.—Outward Appearance.—Mode of Living.—Religious and moral Character.—Manners in Upper Canada.—Mode of Living.—Native Indians.—Their Number.—Catholic Indians.—Hurons of Loretto.—Different Tribes.—Effects of Protestant Conversion.—Government Expenditure on them.—Present Dress and Mode of living.—Religious Instruction in Lower and Upper Canada.—Education.—Political State.—Government under the French.—British Arrangements.—Constitution granted to the Canadas.—Division into Upper and Lower.—Revenue.—Military Force.—Justice.

The inhabitants of Canada are divided into three classes, among which no complete amalgamation has yet been formed. These are the original French colonists, commonly called *habitans;* the British settlers; and the Indian tribes.

The *habitans*, at the time of the conquest, formed almost the whole of the European population. They had occupied the best lands along the banks of the St. Lawrence, between Quebec and Montreal; a considerable extent of those upon the Richelieu; and a small space on the Chaudière, the Yamaska, the St. Maurice, and other tributaries of the great river, as well as a detached settlement on the fertile shores of the Detroit. These tracts had been granted to persons of distinction and to favourites, usually in large blocks, which, as already stated, they held under the title of seigneurs. But it accorded not with their habits to clear and cultivate for themselves grounds covered with an unbroken forest; nor would the task be undertaken by farmers on the terms of an ordinary lease. The proprietors were therefore

obliged to make them over, in small lots, under the feudal title of fiefs, to hard-working men, who, on receiving this permanent interest, were willing to encounter the toil. The annual payment or quit-rent is in general exceedingly small, amounting on some properties only to 10 shillings a year, with a bushel of wheat and two fowls. The seigneur has, besides, certain feudal claims; a tithe on fish, mill-dues, and, more especially, payments on sale or transference, which in some cases amount to a fifth of the purchase-money.*

The occupants of these fiefs or farms, under the burdens now specified, are virtual proprietors of the soil, which they cultivate with their own hands, aided by their families. They are described as a particularly contented, industrious, and amiable race of people; and the lots, though much subdivided in the course of succession, are still sufficient to maintain them in simple plenty. They till their lands with diligence, though without skill, having scarcely adopted any of the modern improvements. Their study is to produce from the farm everything they need; not only the whole of their food, but their candles, soap, and even sugar. From flax of their own raising, too, and the wool of their own sheep, they are enabled to manufacture almost every article of clothing. Their houses, though generally built of wood, and only one story high, are whitewashed, and tolerably commodious. A partition in the middle separates the kitchen from the principal apartment, at one end of which are the bedrooms. There is a garden, which, though in a somewhat rude and straggling state, and cultivated by the females only, yields a comfortable supply of the more common fruits and vegetables.

The personal appearance of the *habitans* is peculiar. They are tall, thin, and, from exposure to the

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 376, 377. M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 426.

climate, almost as dark as the Indians. They have thin lips and often aquiline noses, with small, dark, and lively eyes. Many of the girls are pretty oval-faced brunettes, with fine eyes, good teeth, and glossy locks. The dress is nearly after the old fashion of the French peasantry. The men wear the *capot*, a large gray coat or surtout, covering nearly the whole body, and tied with a girdle of brilliant colours. On the legs they have moccasins, and on the head a straw hat in summer, and a red bonnet in winter. The hair is still tied in a long queue behind. The women wear short jackets or bedgowns (mantelets), with petticoats distinct, and sometimes of a different colour, and caps instead of bonnets; a mode of dress formerly common in Scotland, and not yet wholly disused. They have long waists, and sometimes the hair tied behind in a large club. At church or other occasions of full dress, they adopt the English fashion, but display a much greater variety of showy colours. Hair-powder is sometimes worn, and beet-root employed as rouge; but both in their dress and houses they are perfectly clean.

The *habitans* are frugal and moderate in their ordinary diet, which mostly consists of different kinds of soup. They have, however, their *jours gras*, or great feast-days, particularly before and after Lent, when large companies assemble, and the board is spread with every delicacy which their larder can afford. The table groans beneath immense turkey-pies, huge joints of beef, mutton, and pork, followed by a profusion of fruit-puddings. Extraordinary justice is said to be done to these viands, as well as to the rum which follows; but the younger members of the company are soon roused by the sound of the violin; and the dancing, of which they are passionately fond, engages them till a late hour. Weddings, above all, are celebrated by a mighty concourse of friends and acquaintances.

Twenty or thirty of the country carriages bring in parties to witness the ceremony, which is followed by feasts and dances, not unfrequently prolonged for several days. The young people, however, have a somewhat rude method of expressing their opinion of an unequal union, especially if arising from the relative age of the parties. They assemble at night in large bodies, sounding various discordant instruments, horns, drums, bells, kettles, accompanied by loud shouts; and a contribution to the church or some charitable purpose is indispensable to obtain a respite from this jocular persecution. The short summer is necessarily spent in almost unremitting labour; but when ice and snow have covered the ground, the gay season begins, and in their carioles or little chaises on steel runners, which pass swiftly over the frozen surface, they visit their neighbours, and spend much time in social intercourse.*

The Canadian French, like their forefathers, profess the Roman Catholic religion with much zeal, and in a manner which occasionally approaches superstition. The roads are marked by crosses erected at the side; their houses are filled with little pictures of the Madonna and child, waxen images of saints and of the crucifixion; and there is a profuse expenditure of holy water and candles. They reluctantly establish their dwelling beyond hearing of the church bells, and on Sundays the attendance is crowded. They have, however, those inadequate notions as to the sanctity of that day, which are general in Catholic countries. When worship is over, the remainder is devoted, without reserve, to amusement. "Sunday," it is said, "is to them their day of gayety; there is then an assemblage of friends and relations; the parish-church collects together all whom they know, with whom they have rela-

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 405–409. M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 565–569, 594.

tions of business or pleasure; the young and old, men and women, clad in their best garments, riding their best horses, driving in their gayest *calèches*, meet there for purposes of business, love, and pleasure. The young *habitant*, decked out in his most splendid finery, makes his court to the maiden whom he has singled out as the object of his affections; the maiden, exhibiting in her adornment every colour of the rainbow, there hopes to meet her chevalier; the bold rider descants upon and gives evidence of the merits of his unrivalled pacer; and in winter the powers of the various horses are tried in sleigh or cariole racing; in short, Sunday is the grand fête." Even the violin and the dance in the evening are not considered unsuitable. Notwithstanding these customs, the religious spirit of the Canadians appears sincere, and is attended with great benefits. Their general conduct is inoffensive and praiseworthy. Crimes of an atrocious description, as murder and violent assaults upon the person, scarcely ever occur. Property is perfectly safe, both from the thief and the robber; the doors of the houses stand open, and all sorts of goods are exposed without any precaution. They scarcely ever engage in those furious personal conflicts which, among the Americans of English descent, are often carried on with such violence; they know neither duelling, boxing, nor gouging. On the contrary, they mutually treat each other with all the ceremonious politeness of the French school. One of the first things taught to a child is to speak decorously, to bow or courtesy to its elders or to strangers. They are said to be generous in relieving those in distress, liberal and courteous to all who have any claim on their hospitality. The custom of parents and children living together, often to the third generation, in the same house, marks a mild and friendly temper. The only form under which *hostile* passions are vented is that of litigation, to

which they are immoderately addicted, being favoured by the comparative cheapness of law. M. Bouchette defends this as securing them from violent and turbulent modes of terminating their differences.

The *habitans* are not a stirring, enterprising, or improving race. They tread in the steps of their forefathers, following the same routine, and with difficulty adopting the most obvious improvements of modern husbandry. Although extensive tracts lie in their immediate neighbourhood unoccupied, they resign them to the English and Americans, and have scarcely at all extended the range of their original settlement. Even their amiable qualities tend to retain them in this stationary condition; to which we may add their social disposition, their attachment to their kindred, their church, and the rites of their religion. They feel as if in leaving these things they would leave all. Their range of information has hitherto been very limited: and their priests, it has been alleged, by no means favour the diffusion among them even of the first elements of education; so that the majority of the adults cannot even read or write. But the legislature have lately made great exertions to improve them in this respect, and it is hoped that the rising generation will be more enlightened.*

The society in Upper Canada, with some exceptions, presents a very different aspect. A great majority of the inhabitants consist of emigrants recently arrived from Ireland, Scotland, and England, who have not yet made much change in their original ideas and habits. Those established at successive periods during the previous half century, are not represented by Mr. Howison, Mr. Talbot, and other writers under a very favourable light. Disbanded soldiers and sailors were not well calculated

* Bouchette, vol. i., p. 404–413. M'Gregor, vol. ii., p. 458, 561–567.

to improve the race; and even the voluntary emigrants were not always composed of the respectable classes, who, under the pressure of the times, have lately embraced this resource. The removal of the ordinary restraints of society, and the absence of religious ordinances and ministration, concur in giving to them a reckless and unprincipled character; but the increased means of instruction, and the example of respectable immigrants, will, it may be hoped, gradually effect a thorough reform.

No people in the world live better than the inhabitants of Upper Canada. The abundance of produce, and the low price at which it can be sold, naturally inclines them to take the full use of it. Three copious meals are daily served up, called breakfast, dinner, and supper, but consisting generally of the same component parts. They are not very social in their daily habits, to which, indeed, the almost impassable state of the roads opposes great obstacles; but they are fond of large parties, and, in a favourable season, five or six families often unite, and, without any notice, drive to visit another at the distance of ten or twelve miles. Such an arrival would not always be very opportune in an English household; but "in this land of plenty," the flour-barrel, the pork-tub, and the fowl-house afford at all times materials for meeting such an emergency; and the board is soon spread with a plentiful meal. The dance is an amusement of which they are passionately fond. No inn is considered worthy of the name, unless it be provided with a spacious ball-room, which is called into requisition as often as convenience will permit. Intellectual recreations have not hitherto attracted all the attention which they merit. The sources of improvement already alluded to, however, have already made a great impression, and will, we doubt not, ere long wipe off this reproach from the Canadian people.*

* Talbot, p. 21, 35-43, 59, 66, 118. Gourlay, vol. ii., p. 252. *Shirreff*, p. 389.

There remains yet undescribed a small but interesting portion, the remnant of the Indian nations. It has appeared mysterious how tribes once so powerful, without war or bloodshed, should have silently disappeared, and only a handful survive. The occupation of their hunting-grounds by European settlers, the introduction of destructive diseases, particularly smallpox, and the free use of intoxicating liquors, have, no doubt, materially thinned their numbers. Our researches, however, have led us to suspect that the diminution has not been nearly so great as is supposed; in other words, that the original numbers were much exaggerated. We have had occasion to observe, that the Iroquois, the most powerful people in America, and occupying a territory extending several hundred miles in every direction, were not estimated by the French to include more than 3000 warriors. Yet they enjoyed a better climate, and were not so entirely ignorant of cultivation as the tribes northward of the St. Lawrence.

The Indians under British protection are dispersed in small villages and settlements in different parts of Upper and Lower Canada. The charge made by Mr. M'Gregor* that they have not been kindly treated by the British government, seems scarcely well founded; for not only do they remain peaceably under her sway, but they have repeatedly taken up arms in her cause against the "Big Knives," as they term the Americans. In consideration of their services, and in compensation for the encroachments made on their domain, each individual, on repairing to a fixed station, receives a certain amount of goods as an annual present; and this grant affords the means of estimating the number residing within the provinces. In Lower Canada, in 1828, it amounted to 2922, exclusive of about

* Vol. ii., p. 573.

450 Micmacs, or wandering tribes, from Nova Scotia and New-Brunswick. The number in Upper Canada to whom, about the same time, donations were made, was 12,919;* making in the two provinces 15,841. The estimate thus obtained, however, is not quite so accurate as could be wished. Several thousands came from beyond the western frontier, a distance, in some cases, of four or five hundred miles, and even from the territory of the United States; but in consequence of the signal services rendered by them during the last war, pledges had been given which Britain must now fulfil. On the other hand, in the immense forest territory which the hand of cultivation has not yet approached, there are doubtless very considerable numbers who retain their wild independence, and hold no relations whatever with Europeans. We may notice, in particular, the vast tracts to the east and north of Quebec, whence no mention is made of any resort to the stations of distribution.

The Indians of Lower Canada have been converted to the Catholic religion, and their spiritual concerns are superintended by five missionaries, who receive salaries of from $192 to $336 per annum. They appear much attached to these instructers, and show a deep sense of their religious duties; yet they have admitted scarcely any change in their original habits, or made any progress in industry. Their husbandry, as formerly, is on a small scale, of the rudest description, and carried on entirely by women and old men. "The Indian tribes," said the late Lord Dalhousie, "continue to be warlike in their ideas and recollections. Insignificant as are some of the tribes now in Lower Canada, civilized and accustomed to social life, there is not one of them that does not boast of the warlike days of their chiefs and warriors; even now the word war-

* Papers relating to Aboriginal Tribes. Ordered by House of Commons to be printed, 14th August, 1834, p. 23–25.

rior is assumed by every young man; he is trained up to it, and has a higher idea of the approbation of his chief, or the consideration of white men, in that character of an active hunter or warrior, than he has of any other object or use of his existence." The missionaries, though they execute their spiritual functions with zeal and diligence, not only take no pains to instruct them in reading or writing, but effectually oppose any efforts for that purpose, at least when made by Protestant teachers. We even suspect that they indulge rather than check the warlike spirit of their flocks; since it appears that, on the annual religious festival called the grand fête de Dieu, the Indians are in the habit of marching to church in military order, headed by their chiefs, bearing arms, and amid the music of drums and fifes.*

A few miles northward from Quebec is the Huron settlement of Loretto, consisting of sixty-seven men, sixty-five women, and forty-seven children. This poor remnant of a race once so powerful, holding only forty acres of land, derive a precarious subsistence from hunting, fishing, and some trifling articles made by their females. They recently preferred a claim to the fief of Sillery, a fine tract extending a league along the St. Lawrence, near Quebec, in virtue of a grant made to their ancestors in 1651. The case being brought before the courts, it was argued by the crown lawyers that the grant had been made to the Jesuits in general terms, for the purpose "of assembling the wandering nations of New France, and instructing them in the Christian religion;" that, in 1699, these missionaries, representing that the Indians had quitted the spot on account of the soil being exhausted, requested and obtained a grant of it for themselves; and that it remained in their pos-

* Papers relating to Aboriginal Tribes. Ordered by House of Commons to be printed, 14th August, 1834, p. 6-9, 96, 97.

session till the extinction of their order in 1800, when it devolved on the British government. On these grounds the judges decided against the Hurons. We cannot help referring, however, to certain facts in our historical narrative, founded on authorities which we incline to believe were unknown to either party in this contest. It there appears that the grant immediately followed the destruction of the Huron nation by the Iroquois, when the Jesuits, as the only means of saving the remnant of the tribe, removed them to Quebec. The date and the name of the principal settlement seem to show, that however general the terms may have been, the grant was made virtually for the benefit of these unfortunate fugitives, and to the Jesuits only as their trustees. If this be admitted, we know not how far their quitting it at one time for another spot, without any formal relinquishment, could be considered as vacating their title. On the loss of their cause, they sent two deputies to London, who very earnestly solicited an interview with their great father. Sir George Murray evaded this demand, but received them kindly, and though he could not reopen a legal decision, offered them grants of crown lands in other quarters; but they replied that an arrangement which would separate them, and require a complete change in their mode of life, could not be felt by them as any real advantage.

In the vicinity of Three Rivers are 82 Algonquins, and near St. Francis and Beçancour, on the opposite side, 359 Abenaquis. These tribes inhabit rude villages, composed of very poor bark huts, though somewhat better than the ordinary wigwams. They once possessed a considerable extent of land, the greater part of which has been wrested from them under various pretences by designing individuals; and to prevent such frauds, it is proposed that no alienation of property by these untaught tribes shall be held valid until it has been sanctioned by govern-

ment. Farther down the river are three settlements of Iroquois, one at Sault St. Louis and Caughnawaga, amounting to 967; another at St. Regis of 348; and a third of 282 at the Lake of the Two Mountains. This tribe, once powerful and even intelligent, are now indolent, wretched, and despised by their own countrymen. Those of Sault St. Louis possess some land, though, from mismanagement, it produces little; and a late claim for an addition, founded on minute boundary questions, was fruitless, though they also sent deputies to London to enforce it. At the Lake of the Two Mountains are likewise 355 Algonquins and 250 Nipissings. These have no land to cultivate, but, by their activity in hunting and supplying Europeans with furs, they have placed themselves in a more comfortable condition than any other Indians in Lower Canada. They complain much, however, of the extended colonization on the Ottawa, by which their hunting grounds are greatly narrowed.*

In Upper Canada, along the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, the Mississaguas are the leading tribe. Those of Kingston and Gananoqui, only 82 in number, are described as worthless and depraved; but such as dwell on the Bay of Quinté and Rice Lake, amounting respectively to 143 and 317, have been converted to Christianity, and are much improved. On the bay are also 319 Mohawks, many of whom have applied themselves to agriculture, and even adopted in some degree the European dress, though mixed in a grotesque manner with their native attire. On the river Credit, which falls into the western part of Ontario, are 180 of the same nation, who have been greatly civilized by their conversion. Around Lake Simcoe and its vicinity, about 550 Chippewas reside, under their chief, Yellowhead. These also have expressed a strong desire for in-

* Papers relating to Aboriginal Tribes. Ordered by House of Commons to be printed, 14th August, 1834, p. 23, 25, 34, 66, 84.

struction and the knowledge of religion, but have not yet experienced those benefits in an equal degree. The banks of the Grand River, which falls into Lake Erie to the extent of six miles on each side, was, by a proclamation of General Haldimand, set apart for the Mohawks and Six Nations, who occupy it to the number of about 2000. Some part of these lands has been sold with the consent of government, and the proceeds lodged in the British funds, yielding an annual revenue of £1500, which is distributed among them in goods. They still hold 260,000 acres of an excellent soil, over which they have spread themselves in small villages, and many of them attempt the simpler modes of farming. Farther west are the Munseys, on the Thames, 445 in number, and 309 Hurons, connected with the French settlement on the Detroit, and converts to the Catholic form of worship.*

With the last exception, all the tribes in Upper Canada, till within these few years, remained in their primitive state of rudeness and ignorance. They are now, however, willing converts to the Christian faith, receiving instruction in reading and writing: their morals are greatly improved, and, in short, the way is paved for their adopting generally the habits of civilized life. This good work has been almost entirely accomplished by teachers from the United States, belonging to the "Canada Conference Missionary Society," auxiliary to that of the Methodist Church of New-York. The Indians have always shown themselves desirous to be instructed. In 1827, the tribes, when receiving presents at the remote station of Drummond Island, intimated to the agent that there was at Michillimackinac a school, or place where the natives are taught to live as the whites do, "to mark their thoughts on

* Papers relating to Aboriginal Tribes. Ordered by House of Commons to be printed, 14th August, 1834, p. 27–30.

paper, and to think the news from books (read and write)." It was in their power to send their children thither "to get sense;" but not being partial to the Big Knives, and hearing that their great father at York was teaching their brethren to "cut up the ground and be beloved of the Great Spirit," they would rather be instructed by him. In the same year, the Chippeways at Gwillimbury, through their chief Yellowhead, delivered successive strings of wampum, importing that they wished to be settled together, to pursue agriculture, and "to worship that God which is known to the whites in the good book."

The work of conversion and civilization was already proceeding, through the exertions of the New-York missionaries. Their first success was on the river Credit, in the Home District, where they were greatly aided by Mr. Peter Jones, alias Kakkewaquonaby, the son of a Welsh father by an Indian mother, and thoroughly acquainted with their customs and language. They formed themselves into a village, where Sir Peregrine Maitland built for them twenty houses; they added fifteen for themselves, with a mill; and the Methodist Society aided them in erecting a chapel, schoolhouse, and workshop. They now renounced the "fire-waters" (spirits), the effects of which had been so pernicious; and without giving up hunting, combined with it the culture of the ground and the rearing of cattle. According to the report of the Rev. Mr. Magrath, they had, in March, 1828, brought thirty-five acres into cultivation, and possessed nine yoke of oxen, twelve cows, and six horses. The adults were taught to get by heart the most essential doctrines of religion; but for the children of both sexes schools were established, attended by thirty-five boys and thirty-six girls. The Mississaguas near Belleville soon followed the example of their brethren, and, with the aid of the society, formed a village on Grape Island, in the Bay of Quinté. Finding this position too

limited, they applied for more land, and were allowed to select the requisite number of vacant lots in the Midland District. This salutary process was soon afterward extended to the Mississaguas on the borders of Rice Lake, and of Mud Lake, northward of Cobourg. They occupied, by right, the islands on the former, and, on the petition of their teachers, were allowed besides 1200 acres of waste land. Improvement was next extended to the Chippeways, near Lake Simcoe. They were entitled to three islands, but Sir John Colborne thought it more for their benefit that they should be located on its northwestern shore, and on the road to Lake Huron. In these objects about $14,400 were spent, chiefly saved out of the annual presents. Another establishment has been formed at Munseytown, on the river Thames, and it appears that much has been done among the Six Nations, particularly the Mohawks, on the Grand River. In short, there seems no room to doubt that the whole of this savage race will soon be brought within the pale of Christianity and civilization.

Vehement objections have been taken against the religious body by whom this change has been effected. They are accused of propagating the political creed of their own country, accompanied with sentiments of hostility to the Established Church. It does not appear, however, that any disloyal or turbulent proceedings have resulted; and when they are doing so much good, it would certainly be very inexpedient to obstruct their operations, until some efficient substitute shall be found. Sir John Colborne expressly says, that the established clergy have not effected any Indian conversions; and the worthy Bishop of Quebec candidly observes, that, whoever were the instruments, the effect must be a source of satisfaction; and that the hand of God seems to be visible in it. The society allow about

$200 or $250 a year to their missionaries, and maintain ten schools, attended by 251 pupils.

The Indians, as already observed, have certain fixed stations to which they resort for the purpose of receiving their annual presents. These are, in Lower Canada, Quebec, to which, in 1827, there came 652; St. Francis, 541; Caughnawaga, 967; Lake of Two Mountains, 887; and St. Regis, 348. In Upper Canada they are, Kingston, 859; York, 781; Fort George (Niagara), 1857; Amherstburg, 5906; and Drummond Island, 3516. The expense became very large during the war, when their services were so valuable. Between 1813 and 1816 it averaged $720,000 a year. Since that time it has been reduced to about $76,800; which, with $21,120 for management, raises the Indian department to $97,920 a year. This, in Upper Canada, is estimated at 18*s.* 9*d.* to each individual, for which slender remuneration some travel 500 miles. References have been made from the Colonial Office to ascertain whether this sum might not be still farther reduced, and paid in money, by which the estimates could be formed with greater precision. To the first point, it has been replied by the governors, that the donation is one to which we are bound by the faith of treaties, made in return for important services; and its discontinuance would excite the deepest indignation, and provoke an hostility which might be attended with disastrous consequences. Probably, like all rude nations, the Indians, instead of viewing these gifts as in any degree humiliating, pride themselves upon them as testimonies of respect, perhaps even as a species of tribute. As to the payment in money, it was deprecated in the strongest terms by almost all the chiefs and those interested in their welfare; because the immediate consequence would be its conversion into spirits, thereby causing a serious injury instead of a benefit.

Since the diffusion of civilization, many of the In-

dians have consented, and even desired, to exchange these presents for houses, implements of agriculture, and other useful objects. A considerable number have even begun to wish for money, which, happily, they no longer abuse as formerly, but rather find the most convenient instrument in procuring whatever they may happen to want. Asance, a chief, said, that at York "he found it convenient, when hungry, to be able to put his hand into his pocket, and find something jingling there for which he could get bread."*

The Indians, as formerly observed, retain in general their original fashion of dress; but, instead of composing it entirely of the skins of wild animals, they have adopted, as more commodious, materials of English manufacture. For the outer covering, or great coat, a blanket is decidedly preferred; the shirt beneath is chiefly of calico or printed cotton; the leggins and pouches of common cloths. The gartering, of gaudy colours, serves for binding and ornamental borders. The moccasins only, an article so extremely suited to their habits, cannot be composed of any better material than their deer-skin. When, however, any particular piece of finery strikes their fancy, they eagerly seek to procure it, and combine it, often fantastically, with their old habiliments. The vicinity of Europeans, where it does not induce the destructive habit of intoxication, affords them various means for bettering their condition. A ready sale for venison, wild ducks, and other feathered game, and for the fish which they spear, is found among settlers who have themselves little leisure for angling or the chase. The skins and furs also of the animals caught by them are readily bought by the merchants. The women make baskets, trays, and other utensils, of birch bark, and sometimes of the inner rind of the

* Papers relating to Aboriginal Tribes, &c., p. 16, 17, 42, 135–137, 127–132, 136, 54, 55. Martin, p. 218.

basswood and white ash; which, when ornamented with porcupine quills, dyed in beautiful colours, form elegant articles of furniture. Their moccasins, similarly adorned, are often purchased by Europeans for winter use. They cannot, however, be depended upon for making or procuring any article to order. They produce and bring their commodities to market when it suits their own convenience; and they are disposed to drive a pretty hard bargain, especially the females, on whom that task usually devolves. The converted Indians are said to display a simple, fervent, and sincere devotion. They pay a particular regard to the sanctity of the Sabbath; and while singing hymns on the evening of that day, their rich soft voices, rising on the still air, are extremely sweet. This principle of piety, having produced the valuable fruit of inducing them to renounce the ruinous habit of intoxication, has made a most happy change in their condition; and since the evils incident to the savage have thus been removed, perhaps the admirer of the picturesque in human life may not feel impatient for that thorough amalgamation with Europeans which some of their friends ardently desire. They may be willing that some trace should still survive of the peculiar costume, aspect, and occupations of this remarkable aboriginal race.*

The means of religious instruction in Lower Canada have long existed on a liberal scale. The great majority of the inhabitants, as formerly observed, are French Roman Catholics. They support their clergy by a contribution of a twenty-sixth part of the produce of their lands, which does not, however, as has been sometimes represented, form a compulsory assessment, since Protestant converts may discontinue payment. This affords to upward of 200 *vicaires* and *curés* an average income of $1440

* Weld, p. 379–382. Backwoods, p. 162–170.

per annum, which, in Canada, is very liberal. They are described as respectable in character and attainments, very attentive to their parishioners, and extremely beloved by them. They have been accused as hostile to the diffusion of knowledge; yet no mention is made of any opposition made by them to the late remarkable spread of elementary schools. The bishop, who has under him two coadjutors and four vicars-general, receives from government a stipend of $4800 a year. There are also monastic establishments, containing upward of 300 monks and nuns. The English Church has assigned for its support a seventh of all the lands unoccupied by the *habitans* and formed into townships. This proportion appears large, and has even been complained of as such, yet it has not hitherto produced any great revenue. The clergy of this church are at present forty in number, at the head of whom is the Bishop of Quebec, with a stipend of $4800 a year. There are fourteen Presbyterian ministers connected with the Church of Scotland, partly paid by government; and also twelve Methodists of the Wesleyan persuasion.

Upper Canada, as already hinted, was long miserably destitute of the means of religious instruction. In 1800, according to Mr. Talbot, there were only three Episcopal clergymen in the country; in 1819 they had increased to ten; and in 1824 were still only sixteen. Since that time effective measures have been taken to supply this great deficiency. There are now forty-three clergymen belonging to the English Established Church; and two archdeacons, at Toronto and Kingston, subject to the Bishop of Quebec, have each £300 a year. The remainder of the clergy received, in 1835, an income of £6784 11*s.* 8*d.*, of which £5484 18*s.* was defrayed from the proceeds of the ecclesiastical reserves, which, as in Lower Canada, consist of one seventh of the uncultivated lands; the rest was paid out of

the crown revenue. The Catholics have twenty-four priests, of whom the bishop, bearing the title of regiopolis, has £500; the rest receive £1000 annually divided among them, out of the public purse. From the same fund were paid, in 1835, to the ministers of the Church of Scotland, £1586; to those of the Presbyterian Synod of Upper Canada, £700; £171 was granted to the fund for building Catholic churches; £550 was given for the same purpose to the Scottish Church; and £550 to the Wesleyan Methodists. From this fund was also allowed £2344, 11*s*. 8*d*. for missionaries of the Church of England. There are said to be also twenty-eight Methodist and forty or fifty Baptist churches, which appear to be supported by the congregations.

The means even of the most common education were long extremely deficient in Canada. This want was equally felt in the lower province, where the Catholic clergy, though diligent in their religious ministrations, either opposed or did nothing to forward elementary instruction. They particularly interfered to prevent attendance on the schools organized in 1817 by what was termed the Royal Institution, as being chiefly under the management of Church of England clergymen. In 1829, however, the legislature voted for this object $30,907, which was gradually increased to upward of $96,000. In that year the number of scholars was 14,753, of whom only about a third paid fees. In 1835, the number of free scholars had risen to 72,498, of those paying to 25,160; showing thus a wonderful increase both in the gross number and in the proportion of those who defrayed their own charges. In 1836, however, the vote of the House of Assembly for this patriotic purpose was negatived by the Legislative Council; a step which seems not unworthy of the severe animadversions made on it by the popular leaders. The Council stated that their motive was to induce the people to contribute more towards the

education of their families. This was admitted to be desirable as an ultimate object; but it could not justify the abrupt withdrawal of the means by which nearly 40,000 children were educated, without allowing time or even legal authority to substitute any other.*

In Upper Canada the government is making great exertions to remove that cloud of ignorance in which the country was once involved. A college at Toronto is supported on a liberal footing. There are also grammar schools in every district, to the teachers of which $480 yearly is allowed by the legislature. The scholars attending them amount in all to about 350. The sum of $35,424 was also granted in 1835 for the support of common schools, estimated to amount to several hundreds, and to educate about 20,000 children. In the same year the legislature voted $864 and $432 to the Mechanics' Institutes at Toronto and Kingston.

The political constitution of Canada has undergone various changes. Under French dominion, after the early companies were broken up, the sovereign assumed a jurisdiction almost quite absolute, not being checked, as at home, by the influence of the nobility or the parliaments. The necessity of delegation, however, and fears that the governor should aim at independence, induced the cabinet to divide the administration among several heads; a system which rendered it weak rather than free, producing, as we have seen, frequent and violent collision among its members. These jealous feelings, moreover, caused the royal council to lend a ready ear to complaints from every class. The clergy, especially the monastic and missionary orders, who had taken a large share in the first settle-

* This arbitrary, impolitic, and cruel conduct of the Legislative Council greatly exasperated the Canadians, as well it might; and nothing, perhaps, contributed more to produce the violent scenes by which it was not long after followed.—*Am. Ed.*

ment and were richly endowed, enjoyed great influence both in the colony and with the court.

In 1759 Canada was conquered by the arms of Britain, and by the treaty which followed was permanently annexed to her empire. It is generally admitted, that no people, completely subdued, were ever more liberally treated than the French colonists in that country. Not only was their property preserved inviolate, but they were also invested with all the rights of citizens, and rendered admissible to every office on the same footing as British subjects. The Catholic religion did not merely enjoy full toleration, but the large property with which it had been invested was preserved to it entire. As a farther boon, the law of England, civil and criminal, including the trial by jury, was introduced. The improved security afforded by the latter code to person and life was duly appreciated; but in regard to property and civil jurisdiction, the *coutume de Paris*, with the ordinances of the French kings, though forming a complicated, perplexed, and inconvenient system, had been so interwoven with the habits of the settlers, that they could not be persuaded to prefer one decidedly better. The civil law, indeed, had scarcely a fair trial, being administered by somewhat unlearned judges, partly naval and military officers, partly citizens not bred to the profession. In the prospect of a contest with the United Colonies, it became necessary to conciliate the Canadians, and a statue (14th Geo. III., cap. 83) was passed, called the "Quebec Act," founded upon a report of the crown lawyers, by which the French system was revived in the province, with the exception of the criminal branch, which continued to be similar to that of England.

Although the rights of person and property had thus been from the first secured, the people had not yet been admitted to any share of political privilege. The administration, civil and military, was exercised

by one individual, uniting the functions of governor and commander-in-chief; and though the Quebec Act provided that there should be a legislative council of at least twenty-three members, the nomination rested entirely with the sovereign. The natives, long unaccustomed to any other species of rule, for some time felt no dissatisfaction; but at a later period, when they had opportunities of observing the operation of a more liberal system in England and the United States, a desire for improvement arose, and in 1784 a petition was presented for the establishment of a representative constitution. The British settlers took the lead, but many of the French joined them. Their request was not granted till 1791, when Mr. Pitt proposed and carried in Parliament a scheme of government resembling that of the mother country.

By this act the upper province, which had long been rising in importance, was separated from the lower, and a distinct constitution appointed for each. The representative body in the latter consists of eighty-eight members, four from each of the cities of Quebec and Montreal, two from Three Rivers, one from William Henry or Sorel, and a varying number, but most commonly two, from each of the counties. The qualification of electors in the country arises from the possession of landed property amounting to 40*s.* a year; in the towns, from owning a dwelling-house of £5 a year, or renting one of £10; and no religious disability exists. The members hold their seats during four years, and there must be an annual session, which usually continues through the months of January, February, and March. The governor has the same power in convoking, proroguing, or dissolving them, that the king has in England. For the last three sessions, the members have been allowed ten shillings a day while sitting, and four shillings a league for travelling expenses.

The legislative council exercises the attributes of the House of Lords in Great Britain, having power to alter and even to reject all bills sent up from the lower house; they can also originate bills, which, however, must pass the ordeal of the representative assembly. It was at first proposed that this body should consist of hereditary nobility, selected from the great landed proprietors; but as such a class could scarcely exist in a new country, where so few possessed large fortunes or the means of acquiring them, it was finally determined that the members should be appointed for life by *mandamus* from the king.

The governor, with the aid of an executive council of eleven, appointed, like himself, by the sovereign, exercised all the executive functions. No act passed by the legislature could become law till it received his assent, which he had power to suspend till the measure had been submitted to the government at home; and even after it had been sanctioned by him and come into operation, the king retained the power of disallowing it within two years. No new tax could be imposed without the consent of the Assembly; and though this law was not retrospective, the existing burdens were so very light as to make the exception of little consequence. The jurisdiction of the legislature extended to every object connected with the colony; but any act affecting religion, its ministers or revenues, or the waste lands belonging to the crown, was to be laid before the two houses of Parliament, and remain there for thirty days before the royal assent could be given.

The constitution of Upper Canada was made nearly an exact copy of this on a somewhat smaller scale. The House of Assembly comprised originally sixteen members, which, with the increase of population and settlement, have been raised to sixty-two.

The departments of finance, military defence, and administration of justice need not be treated at length, as they will doubtless be greatly modified in the process of new-modelling which the constitution of the two provinces is about to undergo.

The most considerable branch of revenue is derived from the duties on imported goods, which are almost wholly in Lower Canada.

The entire revenue of both provinces in 1834 was £275,330.

The British government have usually maintained three regiments of the line in Lower Canada, but this number, of course, has been of late much augmented. The militia of that province were returned in 1827 at about 80,000 effective men, though these had among them only 10,000 muskets. The militia of Upper Canada exceeds 50,000.*

Justice is administered by two courts of King's Bench at Quebec and Montreal, each consisting of a chief justice and three subordinate ones. There are provincial judges in the districts of Three Rivers, Gaspé, and St. Francis; but there is no supreme tribunal, which Mr. Buller considers a serious defect.

Such had been for nearly fifty years the constitution of Canada. But in consequence of events well known to our readers, and already narrated, it has been to a great extent dissolved, and the British Parliament are now employed in the important task of its reconstruction.

* Martin, vol. iii., p. 140, 280.

END OF VOL. I.