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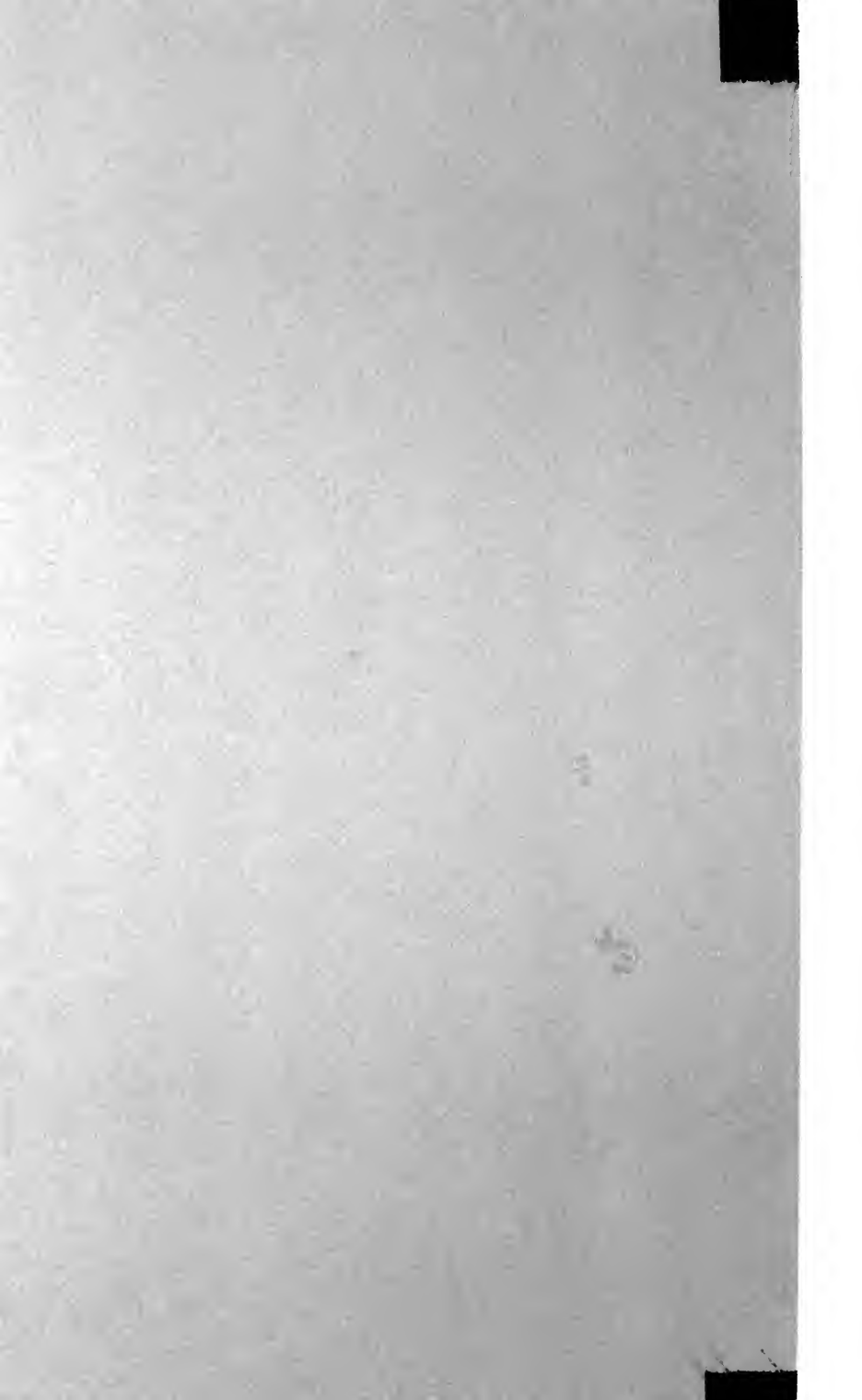
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Valentine

Journal of the voyage
of the Brunswick

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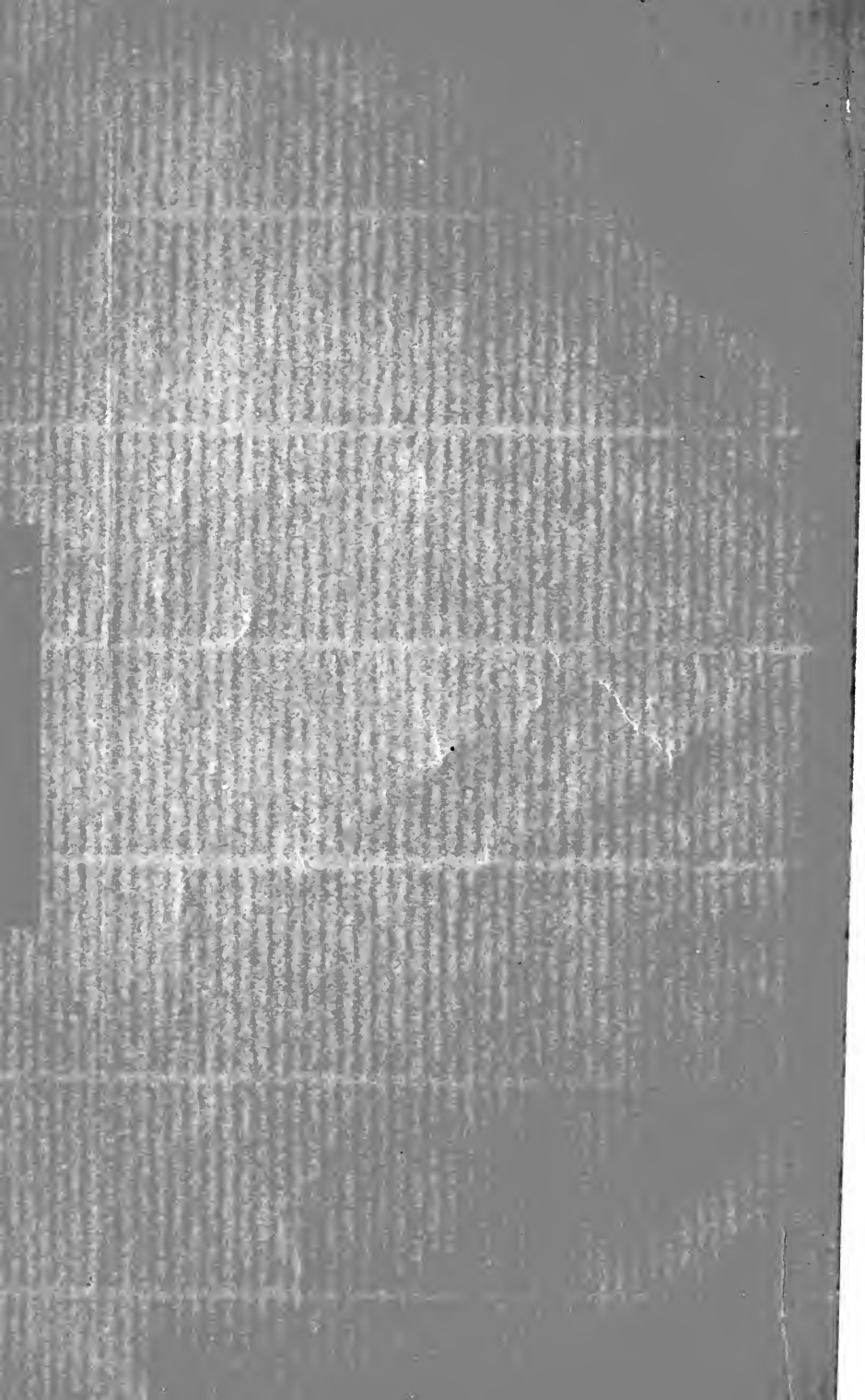
JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE
OF THE
RUNSWICK AUXILIARIES
FROM
WOLFENBÜTTEL
TO
QUEBEC

BY
F. V. MELSHEIMER,
CHAPLAIN TO THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK'S DRAGOON REGIMENT,
MINDEN, 1776.



QUEBEC:
"MORNING CHRONICLE" STEAM PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT.
1891.





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PREFACE.

This Journal was presented to the Society by William L. Stone, Esq., of Jersey City, N. J., U. S. A., author of the *Life and Times of Sir Wm. Johnson, &c., &c.*, together with the translation from the German, of the second part. The first part having been translated by William Wood, Esq., Council Secretary; to both these gentlemen the thanks of the Society are tendered.

Melsheimer was Chaplain of the Brunswick Regiment of Dragoons and was present at the battle of Bennington, where it seems his regiment suffered severely, and he was wounded in the arm shortly before being taken prisoner. The *Journal of the Hessian Regiment Von Huyn* states he was, in October, 1778, at Newport on parole with other Brunswick officers.

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PART I.

The 22nd February, 1776, was the day appointed for the marching of the first four regiments of Brunswick auxiliaries from Brunswick and Wolfenbüttel. The regiments marching with the first Division were: 1. The Duke of Brunswick's Dragoons, under Lieut.-Colonel Baum. 2. Riedesel's Foot under Lieut.-Colonel Von Speth. 3. Prince Frederick's Foot under Lieut.-Colonel Pretorius. 4. The Grenadiers under Lieut.-Col. Breymann: all under the command of Major General Von Riedesel.

Our route from Brunswick almost to Stade lay entirely through moors, an unpleasant one for those who were accustomed to better districts highly cultivated by an industrious peasantry. No fruitbearing field, no pleasant meadows, no happy hamlets, but everything miserable; everything dismal, an unvarying monotony and 27 miles of it without a break! Whoever could go through this without melancholy must be far above the reach of pleasure. The route taken by the Dragoons (the corps was divided on the march) lay by Grossen Schwülper, the first Hanoverian village, the property of Herr Von Wahrenholz and situated 2 miles from Wolfenbüttel, from here to Isenbüttel (2 miles) and Wahrenholz (3 miles), where we had our first rest, which, on account of the good arrangements of the Hanoverian government, refreshed us very much. The first camp after this was at Nettelcamp (4 miles), then Linden (2 miles), and lastly Amelunghausen (2½ miles), where we rested another day. The Major General and Staff joined us here, and from this time on our regiment had the honour of seeing the General continually with it. We left the wretched village behind us with joy, and our next billet in

Ramelsloh (3 miles) was much better, the best was in Haarburg (2 miles), a fair sized town, which on account of its favourable situation for trade had very well to do citizens. Here there is a custom house, which is in a strong fort outside the town near the Elbe; the fortifications are fine and regular. The Elbe is here a mile wide and is dotted with numbers of islands, the good grazing on which is much sought after. You cannot imagine a finer sight than the view of one of Germany's most powerful commercial towns, the great Hamburg, across the broad river; and you have too a hundred other places around to win your admiration and delight. It was against our will that we left this place and took our last billet in Buxtehude (2½ miles), remaining over a day for rest. Although this place is as well situated as Haarburg, the inhabitants are mostly poor and live chiefly by fishing. Then we made our last march to Stade (2½ miles), which we reached on the 5th March, without losing a single man from the regiment either by desertion or sickness. As the transports had not yet arrived we were quartered in the town; the soldiers being delighted at having another rest on their journey. Stade is a fairly large place and has a good fortress; it is joined to the Elbe by a little tributary, the Schwinge, so all goods have to be brought in very small boats.

Colonel Faucet having already arrived, on the 7th the corps was mustered and the oath of allegiance to the King of England taken. On the 12th of March our transports arrived, and the 13th the embarkation began with the Dragoons and Grenadiers. The 16th Riedesel's and the 17th Prince Frederick's regiments were embarked. The names of the ships from England are:—

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| (1) Pallas..... | } Major General Riedesel,
1 Squadron Dragoons. |
| (2) Minerva..... | |
| (3) Union.. .. | Major Van Meibom. |

- (4) John and JamesLt.-Colonel Breymann.
- (5) Laurie.....Captain Von Bärtling.
- (6) Apollo.....Captain Von Schick.
- (7) Royal Briton.....Captain Von Lehneisen.
- (8) Harmonie.....Lt.-Colonel Von Speth.
- (9) Elizabeth.....Captain Von Poelnitz.
- (10) Polly.....Captain Harbort.
- (11) Nancy.....Major Von Menge.
- (12) Prince of Wales.....Lt.-Colonel Pretorius.
- (13) Providence.....Major Von Hille.
- (14) Lord Sandwich.....Captain Rosenberg.
- (15) Beggy.....Captain Dieterich.
- (16) Martha.....Lieutenant Wolgast, which was
told off as a horse-transport.

Considering that we were at sea, where the comforts of land life are necessarily absent, our quarters were very good. The vessel I found myself in was the "Minerva," 102 Rhenish feet long by 24 beam; the cabin was an uncommonly good one with two side rooms fitted up with beds. We had a crew of 143, who were provisioned for six months. The soldiers' sleeping quarters were very good, clean and in good sanitary condition. Every soldier got the very first day a mattress, a small pillow and a plain and a coloured coverlet, with all which he could make himself very comfortable. The daily rations consisted of pulse, biscuit, salt meat, butter, cheese, small beer, brandy and water, which were divided into proper portions. We had hardly been two days at sea before we had become so accustomed to our new way of living that we almost forgot that there was anything new in it at all. At last the day of departure broke in upon our pleasures, pleasures for which we were chiefly beholden to the leading families of Stade. Eleven A.M. the 19th March we all, with the exception of the Flagship and four others, set sail for Freyburg, where we again anchored, being thus enabled to still

use the sweet waters of the Elbe; a little lower down they became brackish. On this our first day out we passed Glückstadt, a Danish town; here we saw a man-of-war in the little harbour, it being much needed for the protecting of the customs. As I wanted to take the last chance of enjoying myself ashore and wished also to settle some affairs at my inn, I went over to Freyburg on the afternoon of the 20th. The place is small, rather a village than a town, the people are chiefly graziers and fisher folk. By my return the sailors had sighted the ships coming on from Stade and elsewhere. The 22nd we again weighed anchor and dropped down only to Cuxhaven (6 miles), the wind being not very favourable; here we spent the night preparatory to an early start the next day. Cuxhaven is a suburban part of Hamburg, situated at the mouth of the Elbe, and being convenient for ships entering or clearing. Its citizens are prosperous and but little taxed. At 7 A.M. the 23rd of March, the wind being more favourable the officer in command ordered a gun to be fired, which was the signal for our putting out. At first we made way very fast, soon leaving behind the Island of Neuwerck, with its light-house and straggling buildings. A Hamburg pilot vessel was in waiting opposite the island to take the pilots off; ours taking leave of us in quite an affecting manner.

The commencement of our voyage was most auspicious. So light was the wind and so gently did we glide through the water that we spent the greater part of the day in jolly converse on deck. We were surrounded by a sea like a mirror which was lit up by the fiery rays of the sun. Such a sight never fails to make a powerful impression on any one previously unaccustomed to anything so sublime. One P.M. we sighted the red and sterile coast of Heligoland, and at 5 P.M. were so near it as to be able to distinguish everything very clearly. The first objects to strike us were a church and a light-house, and then a little town on the cliffs and some fishermen's huts down by the water's

edge. There is a little white-sand island between which and the mainland lay a large number of ships, some refitting, others victualling the port, for no corn grows there. We sailed away so slowly that at 4 A.M. on the 24th we could still see the island. The wind then changed and freshened. The lively motion of the ship soon made both officers and men very sea-sick; Cornet Graef and Surgeon Vorbrod were not sick, and as for myself I never felt the slightest touch of it. We were now alone and the captain could not make out one of our companions.

Before you have been to sea yourself you have terrifying ideas of a gale. Waves as high as the highest towers, bottomless abysses, and so on, who can help a shudder at all this on reading it in a book of travel. It is true enough that our ship was often borne up on the crest of an immense wave and then fell back with a plunge into the trough. However there is no real danger. the ships rising and falling with the sea is the most natural way. From time to time we would ship a sea, or, to speak more correctly, a drenching shower of spray which some great wave would dash against the bulwarks; I have often observed this. If those kind mothers whose love compels them to torture their children by rocking them in a little cradle could only be tossed about for a day as we were they would hardly take such severe measures again to put their babies to sleep; for even the strongest of us, though not actually sick, felt a giddiness and headache as well as a soreness of the limbs the whole time we were on board.

The 25th we had a stiff and favourable wind, so that we had hopes of soon sighting England. How we rejoiced the next morning on seeing our hopes fulfilled. The English coast, on account of its chalk formation, is most dazzling to the eyes when the sun is shining on it. First we sighted the Forelands, then a little town, and then about 10 A.M. got into the Channel proper. We begged our captain to hug the shore, so closely as possible, in order that we might

have a good view of the coast; this he did for us. We had seen Dover Castle plainly on the cliff for some time; now we could distinguish many other parts. In the distance the castle appeared to be old and decaying; so far as we could judge it seemed to be of high antiquity. Underneath lay the town, fairly large, but neither wealthy nor modern in appearance. There is a daily mail service between Dover and Calais, and since the Channel is only twenty-one English miles wide here, the same boat often crosses and recrosses in the same day. (60 English = 15 German miles.) A fog prevented our seeing the French coast. A great number of sea fowl of different kinds kept continually circling round our vessel, often resting on the masts and yards. At 1 P.M. we lost sight of Dover, and from this on the Channel kept on widening considerably. Soon we lost sight of France and then of England. We talked much that day about the happy lot of England, of whom Nature would seem to have taken especial care, guarding her from every foe. Her high south coast is a mighty bulwark against the landing of invaders, and so long as she remains the mistress of the seas her people may rest in peace.

Although we had been promised by the captain that he would drop anchor in Spithead roads that evening, we were disappointed, being detained by contrary winds, yet at 7 A.M. on the 26th we found ourselves opposite the Isle of Wight. As the wind was dead off Portsmouth we had to go on tacking till 1 P.M. At 2 the wind shifted and at 7 we dropped anchor, after a four days' prosperous voyage from Cuxhaven. The "Union" and "Laurie" were there the evening before, the rest, to our great delight, all came in on the 28th. As we were leaving for America very soon, we made the most of our time seeing the sights.

As a seaport the town is admirably situated, the harbour is large and well sheltered. On the north and east are hills, on the other sides the Isle of Wight. The entrance

is safe for the largest ships, and is very well buoyed. Besides several others there was a man-of-war here all ready for sea which protected the roads. The town itself is of very fine appearance towards the sea; the houses are small and nearly all one-storied, the streets are narrow, with the exception of High Street. The side-walks are flagged with big stones and the carriage ways well paved. The arsenal and dockyard are splendidly equipped. You can view them except on Sundays and at meal times. The ramparts are lined with fine trees and form a favourite promenade for the townsfolk. They are mounted with 142 iron cannon which command the roadstead. We had the pleasure of seeing a great warship still on the slips. She is the "Britannia," of 120 guns, 220 ft. stem to stern and 52 beam, with a crew of 700. She is to be more powerful than any foreign ship afloat—power is her strong point, as she can only sail with a good breeze.

The Marine Hospital, which strikes the stranger's eye more than anything else, is on the other side of the harbour. (Opposite lies Gosport with its ramparts and batteries.) It is a large copper-roofed building excellently adapted for its purpose. Here those who have served their country by sea for many years may calmly pass the rest of their days in peace, not forgetting to bless the King who, if he has done little else in a philanthropic way, is at least in this instance of the Marine Hospital entitled to the heartfelt thanks of his subjects. What reflexions the mere sight of this building gives rise to—the perils of battle, of the sea, the loss of ship mates, the glories of victory. The inhabitants' manners are mid-way between the lightsomeness of the French and the gravity of the English. The continual presence of so many strangers has undoubtedly altered the national character here. They are open-hearted, wide-awake, ready to oblige if you only win their confidence by your unaffected goodfellowship. Goods of all kinds are

dearer than in Germany, but much better ; if it was not for the heavy duties there would be little difference in price.

The English troops having embarked, and also the Hesse-Hainault Regiment, which was in Major General Riedesel's command, we waited for our sailing orders. We got them at 5 P.M. the 4th of April ; but had to come to again as the wind was ahead. Our fleet was now of twenty-nine sail, including two frigates of thirty-two guns each, which were to convoy us across. The 5th the wind shifted and we weighed anchor and stood out at 7 A.M. (W. by N. 30.) We were astonished at the change in the colour of the water ; the North Sea appeared bright green, this black. On this account we could now see clearly the phosphorescent wake we left behind us. (W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. 38.) The 7th we were off Plymouth, where we ran in according to orders. So bad was the wind that we spent the whole day tacking up the roadstead. (W. by N. 40.) At 5 P.M. we saw a tender, which brought General Burgoyne fresh orders ; these shattered all our hopes of seeing this famous port any closer. We were very much disappointed at missing the chance of seeing this place which, our captain assured us, possessed many advantages over Portsmouth.

Our fleet was now thirty-seven strong. Ten A.M. on the 8th (W. by N. 58) we could still see the English coast ; but thenceforth we had nothing but sea and sky around us. The 9th S. W, by W, 48, 10th W, S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. 101, 11th W. 68, 12th W. 110, 13th W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. 90, 14th W. 74, 15th W. by S. 115, Up to the 16th nothing noteworthy happened. (W. by S. 141.) The wind being nearly always good, we were able, by the help of the weather and the Grace of God to promise ourselves a prosperous voyage. 17th (S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. 85) one of the sick died in the night. The same day preparations, and those of the simplest kind, were made for the burial. They tied the corpse up in two bits of canvas, put a stone at his head, another at his feet, and slid him into the water—this is the custom on board ship. Strange

indeed for those accustomed to mourning, tolling of bells and wakes! The same day we sighted a fleet holding the same course as ourselves. At first we could not make them out as British transports; the following day, the 18th (W. S. W. 78) we discovered them to be friends, thirty-seven sail in all, out from Cork with fresh regiments bound for Quebec on board. How we rejoiced at this addition to our fleet. (19th W. S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. 17.)

The 20th (W. by N. 40) a ship out from America met us, but brought no important news. The 21st W. N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. 80, 22nd W. N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. 78. The 23rd (S. W. 73) a dead calm. Several grampuses amused us very much with their gambols; one monster must have been ten ells long. He was brown with a horizontally placed tail, and was spouting with great force; we saw him well as he was half above water. The 24th (W. by N. 67) we had a miserable day, a heavy storm and driving mist, compelled us to keep our berths; soon after however it cleared and the wind fell. The Irish fleet had lost us and we did not sight them again. 25th W. by N. 81, 26th W $\frac{1}{2}$ N. 29, 27th W. 82, 28th W. 134, 28th, 6 P.M., wind very strong. A clumsy sailor let slip the tiller, the helm swung to, and everything and everybody were knocked about by the violence of the shock. We then found out that we had been in danger, having taken a tremendous list and shipped a great deal of water.

The 29th (W. S. W. 84) we had good weather and good wind; but the nearer we came to America the colder it got. The sea water now changed back from black to green. To-day we saw gulls again which, no more than fishes, we had not seen for some time. With some probability we now guessed that we were not far off land. The captain confirmed our opinion by telling us that we were now only some 220 English miles off Newfoundland. The 30th (S. W. 74) a contrary wind and tacking all day long in order to keep our course; 10 P.M. the wind shifted but was too light to do us much good. This evening, May day

eve, our thoughts went back to our Fatherland, 1000 German miles away, to where the spectre appears on the Brocken. Oh! how we blessed the future that should restore us to our home!

The 1st of May (N. by W. 31) came in darkly. To-day if anything convinced us that we were breathing the air of a new land. No magic song of the nightingale awakening the listener to new felt joys and then drawing forth sighs from his breast with its sweet complaint; none of the strength and the splendour of spring born Nature, no soft warm rays of the summer sun calling again the fruits of the earth to life and filling our hearts with thankfulness to God; but all is waste and dead, nothing stirring save the melancholy wind sighing through the shrouds. A thick fog lay like a great white pall upon the sea, shutting in the view on every hand. Truly this day has been our worst; we can see scarcely twenty paces ahead; all day long there is the booming of cannon which serves to mark our position and to keep the fleet from scattering. A dead calm and cold so penetrating that we can hardly support it for two minutes together on deck. To-day our captain caught what he called a young swordfish; it was barely a foot long, the head being half its total length, and sharply pointed, the belly was uncommonly thick and inclosed with two flaps of hide, the tail was thin, broad and short, its skin resembled frog's spawn and its flesh was like white jelly. We could discover only one bone, a very broad one and hinged on to another one which was sickle-shaped. Two big eyes situated at the juncture of head and back were the only outward things visible to the naked eye.

According to our captain we might expect many more days of calm and fog before landing at Quebec; would that we had reached the end of our voyage! At 10 P.M. the sky cleared, the wind blew and the moon shone out brightly, so we looked forward to better weather, but in vain.

The 2nd of May was as bad and as foggy as the first. (W. N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. 52.) The signal guns were again fired to keep us together. A great number of sea-fowl were flying about us. The English call them sea-pigeons; they seem to be some sort of diver about as big as a quail, thick-headed, with a pointed bill, white breast and black wings; their cry was not unlike a thrush's. The spoon-bills too were visible in these waters, and although a couple were shot by the officers it was impossible to get them on board.

The 3rd of May (W. N. W. 96) was as foggy as the two preceding days; the wind, however, was stronger; there was a very heavy fog on the Banks. To-day a one-masted English ship, bound for the fisheries, passed us. England has reserved the fishing rights for herself, making prisoners of all who do not keep the statutory distance from land. These fisheries are to England what Peru is to Spain or Java to Holland. We were now on the Great Banks, and at 11 o'clock the weather clearing, and the Commodore observing that some vessels had already got out of their places and were straggling off, gave the signal to make way slowly. Our captain wishing to give us some thing fresh for dinner began trolling astern. A great big fish of $23\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. was caught, all running aft to see it, the English call it Cod, we Labrador; it had some mussels and a small half digested fish inside. I could see the sinker on the bottom ten to fifteen fathoms down every time a cast was made. The captain, English fashion, had given us the head of the fish; we found the flesh excellent; but we missed a German cook, for the fiery English power of reducing hard food to digestibility is lacking in the German stomach. However we fortified ourselves against all this with a good bottle of port wine.

Every day we saw how right our captain was; the fog continued, and the 4th of May (N. by N. 112) was like December. A New Jersey fishing smack met us and we were all very much pleased to feel so near our journey's

end, and to see the first native American. Several gambolling grampuses kept us amused on deck for two hours in spite of the biting cold. At 3 A.M. on the 5th I rose to find a bright May sun streaming in on me; what was my surprise to find the deck covered with ice! Even the hardy sailor said his "very cold morning" with a shiver. The sun rode majestically in the Heaven, but soon withdrew behind thick banks of clouds as if ashamed of looking on such a May morning. At 4 P.M. we could have sighted Newfoundland had the weather only been a little clearer.

This morning, the 6th of May, the captain pointed out to me the coast of Newfoundland. The weather was fairly good, but the wind contrary. (W. N. W. by W.) We had a long talk with the captain about the wonderful developments of the art of navigation, he showing us many charts and instruments which he was in the habit of using. How astonishing is the industry and activity of those who follow the sea—no spot in the ocean that they do not know, no sand-bank they have not measured, no coast they cannot accurately describe. The Englishman, proud of his command of the sea, despises danger on it, trusting to his knowledge of his profession and knowing that in a moment he can find his position and his path across the trackless waste of waves. Though the heavens may be hid in clouds he knows the way and follows it without swerving a hand's breadth to right or left. This day and the next we were hindered by contrary winds.

The 8th of May the wind was favourable and the weather tolerably fine. A two-masted ship spoke the Commodore; but we could not hear. The 9th we had a good wind which soon increased, and from 4 till midnight blew a half gale. A Nova Scotian fisherman, whom we recognized as an American by his clothes, met us. The 10th light winds and not very favourable. We fished and caught two cod, one of which the English cook did for us in the German fashion. At 2 in the afternoon the wind shifted

and became stronger and more favourable. The air was still cloudy and foggy. As the ship was not pitching or rolling much we went early to bed to get a good rest; but the worst possible night awaited us and banished all rest and hope. The "Pallas," either through the negligence of the seamen or through the look-out not discovering us soon enough, bore down full on us, and then crash went both the ships together. The shouts of the crew, the roaring of the wind and the darkness of the night made every thing still more terrible. But Providence watching over us guarded us from danger. Chilled to the marrow and almost without clothing of any kind we ran to the cabin, and there, the danger past, gave thanks to God for his protection. From midnight till 8 the next morning a great gale blew; our helm was lashed and there we lay at the mercy of the winds and waves.

The 11th and 12th contrary winds carried us hither and thither with much buffeting. We longed for our journey's end, for our food was nearly finished and the water becoming bad.

It was an indescribably joyful moment when for the first time for five weeks we sighted land, at 8 on the morning of the 13th of May. Cape Breton lay like a blue cloud in the distance; the wind was contrary, so we kept the same position all day. The morning of the 14th at 5 o'clock we passed Cape Ray and the Island of St. Paul with a favourable wind; we could see both coasts easily with the naked eye, and both were covered with snow. Cape Ray stands out boldly and mountainously, and has a grand look from the water. St. Paul Island, twenty to twenty-five miles off, looks very low in the water. The distance between the two mainlands is about thirty-five miles. At midday we lost sight of both, and an hour later entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The wind was favourable all day, and the captain cheered us with the information that with such a

wind we should make Quebec in five or six days. The 15th was also a day of good winds, and as the weather was bright and fairly warm, and the sea smooth, we could reckon this day among the few pleasant ones spent at sea. There was much sea-weed floating about of different kinds, some with red berries, some with a kind of long leaves, others with stems of such prodigious length that the eye lost them in trying to follow them to their end. Some small birds, not unlike sparrows, came aboard; they had a white stripe on each side of the head. A hungry bird of prey seized one of these and carried him off from one of our masts.

The 16th we were wafted over the water very gently and almost imperceptibly; but there was a good deal of fog hanging about, and so signal guns were continually fired by the two frigates. An English ship who had damaged her steering gear sailed at random through the fleet and had a collision with another vessel. We saw this accident from a distance; it was not very serious, though a great deal of the rigging was brought away; happily, too, the wind was light and the sea smooth, otherwise in the fog we would have got separated. At 11 o'clock a strong contrary wind rose, and kept swinging us clear out of our course. At 5 we sighted the Island Bonaventure about thirty-six miles off; but the wind being so strong we stood out well to sea and were well knocked about till 10 P.M. During the night the Aurora Borealis lit up the sea with great splendour.

At 6 A.M. on the 17th we sighted Anticosti; the wind rather good, the weather bright and warm, the sea calm as we approached the island till at 3 o'clock we were only two miles distant. The bushes and scrubby trees growing on the rocky hills were not yet out. At the foot of the hills we saw some snow still remaining which surprised us not a little. The wind becoming contrary again compelled us to tack. We had hoped to be in the mouth of the river by this time. The 18th still found us off Anticosti, the weather

was fine and the wind good though light. At midday a change took place, great black clouds rolled up, and it came on to snow so heavily that soon our decks were quite covered. Soldiers and sailors snow-balled each other, wondering at such a snow storm in May. What, we asked ourselves, is to become of our troops in such a changeable climate? At 5 o'clock it cleared up and became fine and warm again. We could now see another coast, but it was so distant as to be scarcely distinguishable from a cloud; the next morning however it was in full view. It was Cape Rosier, whose lofty summit is almost lost amid the clouds. Never have I seen a finer sight—the Cape crowned with glistening snow, overgrown with innumerable trees and lighted up from base to summit with the fitful rays of the morning sun which made an indescribably grand play of lights and shadows over the whole of that tall rocky face. Truly a day to be reckoned among the best we ever had!

At last on the morning of the 20th we entered the mouth of the River St. Lawrence, the weather fine and a favourable if too light wind. The Nova Scotian coast, here and there rising boldly into pyramidal mountains, but generally keeping of one level, lay on our left; parts of it recalled to us places we had left behind at home. At 4 we sighted land on our right and knew for certain that we were well in the river. Lt.-Colonel Baum and the rest had a long talk with those on board the "Union"; they, like us, wishing for a speedy disembarkation. We exchanged our superfluous rations with theirs (so does the sea promote goodfellowship). At 9 the wind freshened but remained favourable.

The 21st, at 10 in the morning, the wind was still strong, but the weather very dirty, so that we lost sight of land. We could now notice the ebb and flow of the tide and judged ourselves to be one hundred and twenty miles from Quebec. At 12 it cleared, but the wind was contrary and the weather turned cold. We could now distinguish both

shores plainly, that of New Britain lower than that of Nova Scotia; both darkly clothed with pine forests. The 22nd the wind still contrary. We were opposite the mountains called Notre-Dame, which are in Nova Scotia; they were snow-covered except their rugged summits, which were bare; some were close together, others standing in barren isolation and just visible through clefts between those on the shore. In the evening the wind became favourable again and took us along in grand style. Two English soldiers fell overboard, and in spite of all efforts were drowned; we all bewailing their sad fate. We now expected to get fresh water, but on the 23rd were still drinking ship's water. During a dead calm the ships drifted hither and thither, meeting and parting apparently as if on the best of terms. At noon a strong contrary wind forced us to yield ground somewhat. The 24th again we had that abominable and hostile west wind more furiously than ever. Our discontent being of no avail, we had to wait patiently for a change. The change came sooner than we expected, for on the 25th the wind was so good that we pressed forward under full sail, leaving the Notre-Dame range behind us and rejoicing in the now continual change of view. We passed an island which was partly hidden by fog. About evening we found ourselves between the Capitiona and Bic Island, and as the weather was still dirty and shoals and sandbanks abounded here, the pilot signalled to drop anchor. Had we run on most likely we would have been dashed against the cliffs, which are very dangerous.

The 26th the wind still kept us at anchor. During the night we heard a great roaring of water, and in the morning discovered the cause to have been the dashing of the waves against the rocky cliffs. These cliffs run out in the water in the form of very dangerous reefs. Some smoke we saw made us think it highly probable that there were some men about. We wished to find out all about the smoke, but our captain, who was as much a stranger here

as ourselves, wouldn't hear of a closer approach. Some of the officers on the "Union" however landed, and that evening gave us a glowing account of the manners and customs of the inhabitants they had found; making us green with envy of their luck. According to their account the people were French Canadians living under English rule. They saw two little houses which stood open for them to enter. Curiosity compelled them to go into one, where they found a large wooden box unfastened, containing clothes, fishing tackle and other necessaries of their life, on either hand stood cowsheds and all kinds of implements lay about. Soon the man appeared out of the wood led by his little children. He made them come into his dwelling-house, where everything was clean, neat and artless. Two pleasant-looking girls welcomed the visitors. Milk and bread was brought. The good man said that three days before fifty-two sail had passed up; these doubtless were the Irish fleet; and added that the Americans had been forced to raise the siege of Quebec with great loss and had retreated to Montreal—all which was good news for us.

The wind changing at 3 A.M. on the 27th we weighed anchor. A bright morning promised us a fine day, and as a fact we had one finer by far than the bad ones were bad. A voyage of eighty miles up a great river with constantly shifting panoramas on either hand; the river itself alive with strange animals, porpoises, grampuses, beavers and seals, to say nothing of birds, was indeed a pleasure never to be forgotten. There are many islands, among the principal ones we passed were Hare Island, White Island and Red Island. Along the New England shore lay scattered one-storied houses, all alike, and covered with gray slates; some, whose owners were probably old and well-to-do settlers, had several outhouses. This settler-life is very happy, free from the ills both of poverty and of wealth. They have fish and game, cattle and agriculture for their wants. This

evening we anchored by a little island in mid-stream. On the left shore lay a hamlet on a hill, there was a neat little church with a tiny tower closer to the river. On the right shore range upon range of barren mountains rose on the horizon, in places still covered with snow.

The 28th we sailed bravely on till 1 o'clock, when a contrary wind stayed us. We anchored near Isle-aux-Coudres and at 4 crossed to the mainland to anchor for the night. Here was another little village and another little church, built in the same way as the last. At evening a sloop came down with the Quebec pilot on board, a man whose services were much needed, as the river is full of reefs and sand-banks. The 29th, yesterday's contrary wind still held strongly. We were obliged to leave our moorings where we had twenty-three fathoms for others where we had only ten. The short, choppy seas made the ship's motion jerky and uncomfortable. At 1 o'clock on the 30th our pilot weighed anchor and very nearly took us on to a sand-bank; the tide saved us. A contrary wind again brought us to anchor, a very unpleasant thing for us, as well as for the overworked sailors. At 11 we sailed with a north-west wind into the elbow made by Isle-aux-Coudres and the shore. The passage is here very dangerous; a transport carrying some English troops ran on a sand-bank. As we were under full sail, and as there were boats enough there to save every one, we hadn't the satisfaction of seeing the rescue.

The country hereabouts is the pleasantest the eye can rest upon; great abrupt rocks, impenetrable forests, roaring cataracts; little plantations part begun, part finished here and there. Especially beautiful is Baie St. Paul, near which we passed. It lies within the arms of a vast and splendid amphitheatre, and the little village on its shore has a romantic situation enjoyed by very few. We had to hug the North shore because the channel is there at its deepest; after a pleasant day we came to anchor off Cap Reel. The wind was fairly strong at night and at 3 A.M. we set sail,

but a calm followed, and the tide ebbing we again came to anchor. At 10 the wind was better and our captain tried again. We passed Goose Island on our left and some reefs on our right. A small streak on the water—and we were on a bank! but setting all sail we dragged away again. As we drew fourteen feet of water and were sailing in from three to six fathoms it was dangerous work. After much difficult tacking we cleared this treacherous place. To-day we had real fresh water for the first time, a perfect Godsend to us all. We never know how great Heaven's commonest blessings are until we are deprived of them. So it was with us as we drank our fill and returned thanks for the mercy of God.

This evening we anchored off the Island of Orleans. It was still early and our captain wanted to go ashore; he asked me to be of his party, and I, nothing loth, cheerfully jumped into his gig. We found a parish here with the pastor a Frenchman by birth and a Protestant by religion. Uprightness and simplicity in all his ways made this good man of sixty-two a true father to his parishioners who numbered fifty-four families. These islanders live in noble simplicity. They are nearly all natives and live happily under the British dominion. Their houses are scattered along the shore, each man having his garden and plot of land. They raise all kinds of crops as peas, oats, wheat and barley, nor do they want for all the market garden produce we see in Germany, except for fruit trees, which are very uncommon. On asking the reason they told me that they could make little out of fruit-farming. They possess horses, cattle, sheep and all kinds of fowls. They have shingled one-storied wooden houses which are both roomy and comfortable. Every thing was in full bloom: and all had to ripen in their four months' summer. We bought some fresh food and at 10 returned on board.

The 1st of June we again had to tack, sailing at 2 A.M. with the Island of Orleans on our right. There are several

two and three-storied houses with churches here and there. At 5 we saw Quebec and at 7 cast anchor in the harbour. The town is built upon a hill, on which too is the citadel. Here and there were burnt patches reminding us of the late presence of the rebels. The harbour was protected by a man-of-war under Commodore Douglas, and there were two English regiments in garrison. Not a single ship of our fleet was lost on the voyage. Some had arrived before us, others kept coming in during the next two days. Often in danger, so often rescued by the hand of Providence. Our captain, Atkinson, is an experienced seaman, who, so soon as he understood his passengers, gave them every evidence of his care and good-will.

The present Commandant of Quebec, General Carleton, together with Major General Riedesel, marched with all their mobile forces to Montreal, and left the command to that excellent man, Lt.-Colonel Baum. The Brunswick Dragoons and Prince Frederick's Foot remain here till further orders, which, though scarcely yet disembarked, we expect to arrive every hour

If the further adventures of the Brunswick Dragoons have any interest for those at home, I shall take the first good opportunity of recording them.

Quebec, 3rd June, 1776.

[Translated by William Wood—Quebec, 31st May—1st June, 1891.]

PART II.

At the end of my last Journal, I mentioned that immediately upon our arrival at Quebec we received news that our regiment and that of Prince Frederick were to encamp here for some length of time. We had wished for a good while before this that some time might be given us for rest and recuperation ; for notwithstanding our long enforced idleness, we perceived a marked diminution of our strength. Although the actual number of those suffering from scurvy was small, yet the food, the air and the constant motion of the vessel easily made sick those who were not accustomed to such experiences. It may, therefore, easily be imagined that we were delighted when the orders of General Carleton were enforced on the 6th of June. According to these orders, the officers were at liberty to hire rooms in the city (Quebec) as might best suit their convenience ; while the privates were sent into barracks, which, although somewhat dilapidated, had been put somewhat into repair. The latter meanwhile retained the same rations as if they were on ship-board—in fact, paying one-half pence less. Eight days later, viz : on the 14th, Prince Frederick's Regiment was disembarked, and was admitted to the same advantages as our own regiment.

On the 8th, as General Carleton and the other Generals moved forward with their respective regiments as far as Montreal, Lt.-Colonel Baum was appointed Commander not only of the City of Quebec itself, but of the entire surrounding country. At the same time, two hundred men of our troops were detached to the other side of the St. Lawrence, as the loyalty of the inhabitants was still doubted ; while, at the same time, such measures were taken as should make a surprise entirely impossible.

Quebec, the capital of all Canada, is a place of considerable importance, especially when the two suburbs, which were burned during the last siege * are taken into consideration. It is built on the side of a hill, and presents, from the water, a very pretty view. But its very situation makes locomotion in the city very tiresome: since one has now to ascend and again to descend. On the North and East side it is bounded by the St. Lawrence River; and on the South it is connected with the main land. On the West, the St. Charles River flows close to the city, and near which empties into the St. Lawrence. It has, therefore, as far as commerce is concerned, immense advantages over other cities; for even the largest ships can come close up to the walls and discharge their cargoes. Although the St. Charles River is not navigable (for it is not more than three fathoms wide, and in most places only one fathom deep), yet it is of great advantage to the city on account of its deliciously flavored and beautiful fish.

The city, itself, is divided into the "Upper" and "Lower Town," each of which communicates with the other by a gate. The "Upper Town" consists really of the fortifications, and is almost entirely surrounded by a rampart and high walls. There are only three gates in the "Upper Town" which really deserve that name, viz.: that of St. Louis, St. John and the Palais Gate (a demolished castle) which derives its name from the French, and which was destroyed at the time of the English siege. The "Lower Town" has no gates whatever, for most of the streets terminate at the river's edge. It is a good three-quarters of an hour around the city; but there are a great many unoccupied lots, which, on account of the favorable location of the city, it was formerly supposed would greatly increase in value and be built upon. This space was enclosed by a wall; and without doubt the name "Canada" has hitherto been

* Referring to the attack by Montgomery and Arnold.—S.

only a hindrance to these lots rising in value. And for this reason those Europeans who come to America with means choose for themselves other and better Provinces where they can make their fortune with greater certainty and without hard work. It cannot truly be said that the inhabitants of Canada are poor; but it is nevertheless true that scarcely any one meets here few persons of means, since there are in Canada but few domestic products which can be exported. The streets in the city are very irregular, particularly in the "Lower Town," where they are so narrow that two carriages can hardly be driven abreast. Most of the houses consist of but one story. They are, however, strongly built and covered with shingles, which, when new, look from a distance like plates of lead. The interior of these houses are divided into rooms, according to French taste, by thin wooden boards. In summer, all of the stoves are taken out of the rooms, for every one uses wood furnaces; and should there chance to be a few cold days, fires are built in the chimney. These chimnies are in all the rooms.

In the city there are five monasteries; of which, one is for the Jesuits, and one for the Recollets of the Franciscan Order, the other three, viz: the General Hospital, the Hotel Dieu, and the Ursuline Augustine, are convents. Besides these, the Catholics have three other churches for their services. Two of these, the Cathedral and the Seminary Church, are in the "Upper Town," while the other, St. Anne's Church, is in the "Lower Town." The head of all the Catholic Priests in Canada is a Bishop, who generally resides in Quebec, and is sanctioned by the English Parliament. Of the English Churches there are here a Presbyterian and an Episcopalian. The former have a church of their own and the latter one in common with the Catholics.† Those of the Lutherans who have settled in this city attend

† The Recollet Church.—F. C. W.

the English Church, as there is no Lutheran preacher in these parts. At present, we have Divine Service in a chapel built for sailors. We hope, however, that another church will be given us for our use.* There is in Quebec but one library, which belongs to the Seminary and consists only of a few Latin, and a large number of French books. There are no printing offices here, unless one would call a book-binder a printer, and who by the way, has to manage the *Quebeck Gazette*. The Catholic Priests, who are in the majority, are not as zealous and intolerant as they generally are; yet, one of the nuns in the General Hospital told us to our face that it were a pity that our soldiers, who were so good and moral, should remain in error, and that we ought therefore, as we had such a good opportunity, to turn them over to them for conversion!

Among the most noted buildings in Quebec is: 1st, the "Castle," which is only one story high and small at that; 2nd, the Citadel, on top of the Hill—an old building, which threatens at any time to tumble over, and is not inhabited. This part of the mountain is called Cape Diamond, very likely from the stones that are found here and which were at first thought to be real diamonds by the discoverers. They are a kind of a glass-stone, are of different sizes, and are almost invariably four or six cornered and as smooth as if they had been polished. These stones are hardly ever found in a pure state, but have generally black spots, and are, consequently, of no value, otherwise, they are so hard that glass can easily be cut by them. 3rd. The General Hospital outside of the city and the Hotel Dieu in the city—both large, extensive and imposing buildings that have recently been turned into hospitals, in which the sick have every attention and accommodation.

There has been also, in Quebec, a Post Office for the last six years, through which one can send overland letters to

* It will be remembered that the writer was a Lutheran chaplain.—W. S.

all of the English Provinces. The present Postmaster, Mr. Finley, has, himself, brought about this splendid state of things, and although stopped for the present by the commotions of this year, it is to be hoped that his efficient postal service will soon again be resumed. One can now, even as it is, send to, and get an answer back from Montreal twice a week.

The secular courts, which are composed of the Lieut.-Gov. and twenty-four councillors, meet twice a week and are called the "Great Council." There are under judges in the different Parishes who decide cases of minor importance. As a general thing, however, Canada is still governed by French laws for the reason that the *habitants* are familiar with them. The native French like these laws and cling to them, whereas the English, on the contrary, would be glad if they were abolished. In suits of importance both parties have the right of appeal to the English Parliament, in case they are dissatisfied with the rulings of the "Great Council;" in which case, however, the amount at issue must involve at least £100 sterling. But, as a general thing, it may be said that there is no country in which the points at issue are decided more justly and in accordance with natural right than in Canada. The innocent win, no matter how lowly and poor he may be; and the guilty loses, because the distortion of the law by legal quibbles is here an entirely unknown trick.

The most respected occupation of the people is that of a merchant. Every one is in trade, since every one is at liberty to make a living in what seems to him the easiest manner. But all the goods must come hither by way of England. By this channel they receive cloths, linen, porcelain, sugar, tea, coffee, lemons, spices, etc., etc., for which they pay in furs, fish and flour. There is, however, a total want of real manufactures. Indeed, all the various trades here are susceptible of great improvement, although there

is a distillery and a few sugar refineries which fully supply the city in their respective lines. Those of our people [*i. e.*, soldiers,] who have learned trades are greatly in demand and are well paid. Through an impression (perhaps with no foundation) that the Canadian climate, especially in the vicinity of Quebec, is too raw and the winters too severe, agriculture is entirely neglected. But it only requires a limited knowledge of farming to see that in this the country people are mostly to blame. The soil is rich and would amply repay the labor spent to make it productive if it were only manured and thoroughly worked. Of such labor, however, nothing whatever is known here. Should one spot be no longer productive, it is left fallow for ten or twenty years, during which time another piece of land is cultivated. This habit arises from land being so plenty, and also from the fact that it can any day be bought of the Government at the lowest price.

This much, however, is certain, that if two hundred Brunswick or Brandenburg farmers had soil like this to cultivate, it would not look the same after fifty years. Wheat bread is most commonly used for food ; at first, it did not suit our troops, as it is sweet ; but gradually they became used to it, and now they like its taste. One sees here no other vehicle except carts and caleches, horses, though small, have a good and staying disposition, and travel a long distance without becoming tired. Light loads are transported by dogs from place to place, those animals having been taught to draw small carts. On this account most of the mechanics keep two or three of such trained animals, which can easily be guided by a child in any direction. Although heat and cold are said to be a few degrees higher or lower than with us at home, yet there has never been an instance of a dog going mad. Vegetables are abundant and as well flavored as they are in our fatherland. Englishmen care very little for vegetables ; and in this respect, it would seem as if they were imitating the French, as garden

products are seldom seen on their tables. They all, however, are very fond of meat and fish, which are both cheap and plentiful, and can be had daily.

The domestic animals, namely: cattle, sheep, pigs, goats, chickens, pigeons, geese, etc., are brought into the city by the country people for sale. We ourselves find them still cheap, although the inhabitants, themselves, assure us that meat, butter and milk has not been so high for a long time.

It may thus be seen that Canada is not so unproductive and barren as it is commonly made out to be in descriptions of travels: and, further, it can be surmised what it may yet prove to be under English rule.

Fruit trees are very scarce, not because they would freeze in the winter, but on account of fruit being at a discount. Nevertheless, great quantities are brought here from Montreal in little sloops; and I have seen in the woods cherry, chestnut, mulberry and walnut trees which increase greatly notwithstanding that these are of a kind injured most by frost. Inasmuch, also, as the city lies on the banks of two rivers which abound in fish, it may readily be seen that there is no scarcity of that article of food. The most common are pickerel, trout, salmon, white fish, smelts, lobsters and all kinds of sea fish which are caught by the inhabitants from out of boats. The fur trade is undoubtedly the most important industry, and, indeed, it is this which makes Quebec so celebrated.

In the woods there are bears, wolves, elk, reindeers, wolf-lynxes, deer, does, and different species of martins, which latter are as highly praised as Russian sables. In the rivers are otters and beavers, the latter of which, except those for home consumption, are shipped to England.

A good beaver hat costs at present in Quebec 5 piastres or, in our money, about 7 Reichsthaler. It is therefore a mistake to suppose that such a hat can be bought in Germany for 5 or 6 Reichsthaler, as they are sold in a country, where the beaver lives, for a higher price. Of wines,

none can be had except those of Spain and Portugal, as French wines are forbidden by the Government, and are heavily taxed should they come by way of England. A bottle of white port wine now costs 3 shillings (21 ggl.); red, 2 shillings (14 ggl.), and the ordinary Spanish 1 shilling. In addition to English beer they have here another drink which is called by the inhabitants *Epinette* beer. They brew it from a species of pine which is common in the woods.* It has a disagreeable and pitchy taste, and is considered an excellent remedy for scurvy. It certainly proved beneficial when taken by those of our troops who were suffering from that disease. Others, however, tried it with no benefit. Upon first using it, it caused a violent diarrhœa, which, however, abated on the second or third day, without producing any other effects. I have lately, with the help of some of our soldiers who understand it, been experimenting in the making of German beer. So, possibly, we may be able, if successful, to produce a good drink, for the want of which we now suffer!

The larger portion of Canada is covered by a primeval forest, composed of an indescribable number of the finest and best timber such as oaks of uncommon diameter and height, and pines suitable for the masts of ships. It can, therefore, readily be seen what an immense source of revenue these forests would be for England were it not for the great distance. Vessels are built here, it is true; but only one and two masters of from 100 to 150 tons burden. Those ships which are damaged on the voyage from England are here repaired; for which purpose the necessary timber is furnished free from the Royal Magazines.

Persons, who are familiar with herbs and plants, consider themselves amply repaid for the fatigue of a tramp through the forests and over the mountains of Canada. Sarsaparilla, *herba capillaris*, annisroot and many other herbs common

* Undoubtedly *Spruce* beer.—S.

with us and the medicinal qualities of which are well known are frequently met with in these woods, and are eagerly sought after both by the Indians and the country people.

These Indians—our nearest neighbors—are the remnants of the great and celebrated nation of the Hurons. There are now only one hundred and twenty families left. They live at New Lorette, a village three French miles distant from Quebec. They have all embraced the Roman Catholic religion ; in 1720, a church was built for them and a priest furnished from the Jesuit order. This priest resides among them. In addition to the French, they also speak among themselves the old Huron language, a tongue which, as the priest himself assured us, is so difficult that no one, unless born and brought up among them, can ever learn it perfectly. Their men are all large, stalwart and well formed. They have a longish face and black hair cut close to the head. Their color is generally red ; for, in order to be handsome in their own opinion, they paint themselves with that color. Their ordinary clothing consists of a shirt, a coat made of coarse cloth, a woolen blanket, which they hang over their shoulders, cloth stockings, sewed together outside and which reach up to the fleshy part of the leg, and shoes of leather without heels. They know nothing of trousers, using in the place of that article a linen cloth which is bound across the hips. Some have rings in their ears and noses, others, again, cut off the outer edge of the ears to such an extent that it only just hangs together on the upper part looking like a long strip of flesh. They usually have on their right side a linen pouch ornamented with pearls, and fastened by a long band resting on the shoulder. Around the body they also wear a belt, also decorated with pearls, in which they carry a long knife in a sheath. On the breast, they always wear either a white shell or a brass breastplate shaped like a shell. The dress of the women (squaws) is essentially

similar, except that the pouch and knife are forbidden them. Instead of one woolen blanket they have two, one around the shoulders, the other around the hips. These squaws have long hair which hangs over their shoulders without being tied together; when in their houses, men, women and children are bare headed. Indeed, the women and children are obliged to do this always, even on a journey; and only the married men have the right to wear a hat or a cap. Still, now a days they are not so particular, for one often sees women in the city with caps painted on the top. They are great lovers of ornaments, such as trinkets, bracelets, neck-laces of pure silver, and strings of beads, which are worn by all of them. Their shoes, pouches, hats, clothing, stockings—in short every article of clothing—are richly decorated, which give to their dress a very rich appearance. Their choicest amusement is the chase. With the most marvelous swiftness, they pursue on their snow-shoes an elk or reindeer, never failing to overtake it. They all now use firearms, only making use of the bow and arrow, when powder is too dear. In the summer they are idle, doing nothing, unless it may be to aid their wives and children in the cultivation of their fields and gardens—for to the squaws is delegated this business, as well as all the domestic economy of the household. They yet have their chief, who is distinguished from all the rest of the tribe by a large silver medal, on one side of which is the picture of the King of England, and on the other the coat of arms of Great Britain.* The position, or rather the office of chieftain, is hereditary; and if the father dies before his son has reached his majority (which with them is the 12th year), then, the brother of the deceased chieftain, a sachem, or his nearest relative, must be the guardian till the heir reaches his majority. This, too, is the case even at the present time.

* In the same way, Red Jacket always wore with pride the silver medal given him by Washington, having on one side the picture of the "Father of his country," greeting him, and on the other a Legend.—S.

When they have resolved to wage war against an enemy—in which case a particular day is always designated—the entire nation assembles in the house of the chief. A circle is then formed, in the center of which the head of a dead animal and its intestines are placed. Then the chief takes his battle-axe, and while raising it on high, the whole assembly begins the usual “Death Song.” This song being finished, the chief takes up the head, and with terrible sounding expressions, bites a few mouthfuls from the same, and swallows them. He then passes the head to his nearest neighbor, and he to the next one until it is entirely consumed. This ceremony is with them tantamount to a declaration of war; and they went through the same performance before taking up arms for us against the rebels.

Our two Lieutenants, Von Knesbeck and Von Reitzenstein, and myself, lately paid a visit to this nation in their village. We found everything neat and clean, and their outdoor surroundings as good as those in Quebec itself. We were desirous of obtaining some information concerning the fate, costumes, customs, habits and religion of their forefathers; but they seem to know nothing whatever regarding these things, except that they are descended from the Hurons, and that they have, by many and bloody wars with the neighboring Indian nations and with Europeans, lost all their land. The people of this nation are still distinguished by bravery, craftiness, an inventive genius, and an aptitude in imitating with remarkable skill things they have seen for the first time. In short, the Hurons deserve the name of Savages solely from their physiognomy, their dress and language; while, as regards their morals, they are surely just as good, if not better, than the best Christians. Formerly, their land extended from the Island of Orleans, on the St. Lawrence, to Montreal.

Forty French miles further inland are the Esquimaux, who, even to the present day, live in the woods in a savage state. They are said to be a considerable people; but I

know no more of them than what is found in all travels—as the distance from here is too far for observation. Our friend among the Indians, named Oteeses, has promised to take us to them without danger, as they are friends of the English.

Among the most prominent sights of Quebec is unquestionably the waterfall of Montmorency—a village some two * miles distant from here. A small stream—about three fathoms wide—falls, judging from appearances, 100 or 150 feet from a rock with a noise that, with a north-east wind, can be often heard very plainly at Quebec. A mist rises on the heights from the water, and turning into a strong drizzling rain, prevents a near approach to the Falls. Indeed, no more beautiful sight can be imagined than when, on a clear day, the rays of the sun fall directly upon this waterfall, thereby forming most beautiful rainbows. The country people of this region have certain signs whereby they prophecy the weather of the next day according as the cataract makes a greater or less noise; and their conclusions are said to be invariably correct.

One feature of Quebec is especially noticeable. This is a number of tremendously large stones in different localities on the surface of the ground, which leads to all sorts of reflections. One often sees three or four of these stones very close together. Sometimes they are situated in a small cavity. They are most frequently met with near the St. Louis and John's Gates, whence they gradually disappear and are rarely seen. The hill, upon which Quebec is built, consists of a rock of black chalk slate; and these stones or boulders (a kind of grey sand-stone) are not met with elsewhere except in the bed of the river at ebb tide. Whence do these stones come? Surely not by the efforts of men; for the hands of thousands would have to toil

* The German mile is equal to 4.60 English miles, but the chaplain had evidently miscalculated the width of the Falls, as he has done the height.

Width 90 feet, height 250 feet.—F. C. WURTELE.

even to move one of them.* It is, however, most certain that very great changes have taken place here at some time; but what were the nature of these changes can only be told with certainty by those who were eye-witnesses of them. I must also add that the St. Lawrence River is still considered as the boundary of Canada; and it may further be said, that after the most accurate surveys it is found that the country extends forty French miles beyond that river, and comprises numerous parishes—all under the Government of Quebec.

I will now briefly mention what has taken place during our stay in Canada.

On the 11th of January (1776) we received news, by a messenger from General Carleton, that a rebel General named Thomson, and several other officers, together with a large number of privates, had been taken prisoners, and transported to this place for safe-keeping.

On the 17th the first detachment of our troops crossed to the opposite bank of the river. It consisted of one staff-officer, two captains, five subalterns and two hundred privates.

On the 18th another messenger arrived from General Carleton. From him we learn that the Rebels are said to have evacuated Montreal and all other posts in that vicinity; and, without awaiting our troops, had fallen back upon Crown Point. Canada, it thus appears, is entirely free from the enemy; and one cannot but flatter himself with the hope that the other rebellious Provinces will soon follow suit.

To-day, the 27th, we had the first opportunity of informing our friends in Europe of our fate; for the transport-ship "London," having on board General Carleton's Brigade Major, sailed for England.

* The writer, evidently, was not familiar with the "glacier theory,"—but, how could he have been, since this has been promulgated since he lived.—S.

The weather now begins to be very hot, though it is still bearable—the Parisian thermometer ranging, on the 28th, from 31 to 32 degrees. Scurvy made its appearance among many of our men, and was almost invariably accompanied by a maglinant billious fever which generally turned into a wasting fever. Whenever this took place the patient was gone (*i. e.* died). By the request of the English doctor, Mabane, Lieut.-Colonel Baum issued an order that no one should drink of the well-water here. It is, to a large extent, impregnated with minerals, and causes a bad diarrhœa, which soon brings on great debility. We had constantly in our regiment alone, from twenty to thirty sick in the hospital, of whom fourteen died within two months.

The prisoners arrived at Montreal in vessels on the 4th of July; but they were not landed, as they were to be sent on still further. General Thomson was brought to this city, where he was treated with all respect. He is a young man and by birth a Frenchman,* who, like many others, has, perhaps, joined the Rebels to make his fortune. We have lately had seven thunder-storms accompanied by hail and strong winds. The heat, however, has not been so unbearable as we were led to expect it would be by the citizens on our first arrival. The same, perhaps, may be the case with what they told us of the cold.

All the news we have received from Montreal is that our troops were encamped at La Prairie—a village above Montreal. From this entire region laborers were sent to the army; for it was determined to cross Lake Champlain before the end of this Summer, and to drive the Rebels from their fortress at Crown Point.

On the 22nd General Carleton arrived here from Montreal with the intention of remaining with us for a time; for the army was still employed in cutting a road two miles

* A mistake, General Thompson (not Thomson) was born in Ireland, and died near Carlisle, Pa., Sept, 4th, 1781.—S.

long through the woods, in order that the large boats could be transported on rollers to Lake Champlain. Hannibal crossed the Alps with his army—a daring undertaking for Europe—here, in America, they carry ships two miles through woods and make roads where no roads were before!

On the 6th of August, those prisoners which had lately arrived and also those that had been captured during the last siege and had been kept in the prisons here, sailed for Halifax. On their arrival there, General Howe will designate the place of their future imprisonment.

On the 15th a detachment, consisting of two staff officers, three captains, six officers (lieutenants?), and three hundred privates were sent to the opposite side of the River St. Lawrence, in order to bring into submission some of the inhabitants who had lately proved refractory.

Two savages of the Sioux nation, who dwell on the Mississippi river, arrived here from Montreal, after a journey of 2,400 English miles. Capt. Carleton, a relative of the General, came with them from Montreal as their guide.* They asked for an audience, which was granted to them on the morning of the 16th. The officers of both regiments, and also a few English officers were as usual gathered at the General's quarters; when, accompanied by their guide and an interpreter, they entered the room.

I was not present on this occasion myself, but the following account was narrated to me by Lieutenant Reitzenstein, ‡ who paid strict attention to everything which occurred. I will therefore relate to you his whole story:—

One of the chairs was moved a few paces in front of the others, on which General Carleton seated himself. He then

* Capt. Carleton was a nephew of Gen. Carleton and married a sister of the latter's wife. He married (Indian fashion) an Indian squaw and lived with the Indians for some time, adopting their dress, etc., etc. For a long account of him, see *Hadden's Journal*, edited by Gen. Rogers, and also, "Letters of Hessian and Brunswick officers," translated by Wm. L. Stone.—S.

‡ Gottlieb Christian. He remained by permission, in 1783, in America.—S.

requested us all to be seated also. Behind his chair stood his adjutants ; and, on his left, his interpreter. The Indians were then ordered to be also seated by the side of the interpreter. After sitting a few moments, one of the savages, the chief of the entire nation, arose, shook hands first with the General and then with Captain Carleton, and addressed the former as follows :

“ MY FATHER :

“ Thy word, which thou hast sent to all the world, has also reached my ears ; and as soon as I heard it, my heart and my ears were united. I would have brought with me, also, my young men who are as willing, as I am, to obey thy word ; but, My Father, thou, as the ruler of the world, knowest better than I, that it could not be done. The long distance, the dangers of the journey, also the great hardships which I had to endure, would not have kept back one of my men from seeing thee, the father of the world ; but they had to remain behind to protect our children, our cattle, and our sick brothers. This, my father, we owe to them. For this reason, therefore, I started with only a few of my nation to obey thy word and see thee * * *

“ We had much to endure on our journey, but no difficulty could deter us, and we came to thy city (Montreal), where I saw a man whom you, My Father, must know, who had orders from thee to reveal to me thy will. I wished to see thee, and said so to the man whom thou knowest. He answered me. The Father of the World comes to-morrow : he comes day after to-morrow ; but thou camest not, My Father. The man told me to be quiet and I was quiet, and enquired every morning after thee but in vain. I resolved, therefore, to look for thee ; and the man, whom thou knowest, was satisfied and sent me hither ; but to him, who stands by thy side (Capt. Carleton), I owe it that I have met thee, for he led me. I am, above all of my nation, glad to be present on this occasion ; for I can see

thee, My Father; can talk, with thee and can invoke thy mercy. Thou, My Father, hast given me your hand, and as thou hast touched my hand, so may I hope that thy heart has been moved in pity towards me, and dost now recognize me as thy child. Although, as a man who has nothing but his ears, I am not able to be of as much service to you as many others of thy children, yet, thou art nevertheless My Father; for all under the Sun are thy children, and I, above all others, have reason to pray thee for mercy and pity. A few years ago, two of my servants (*i. e.*, young men of his nation) entered a French tavern and demanded brandy. The landlord said, 'I have no brandy,' and my young men killed him. The Father of the Province, whom thou hast given us, said it was a great crime. I do not know what a crime is; but this I do know, that it was a disgraceful deed, which soils our honor; and this disgrace falls particularly upon me, also, as the king and head of the nation. I must, accordingly, come to thee, that thou, as the Father of the World, may wipe this stain from me, and acknowledge me as thy child. I am told that thou art not in need of our services. I will therefore return, when it is thy pleasure, to my own people, and tell them of the happiness I had in speaking to the Father of the world.

"Although I do not know if I shall see my brothers again—for on the long journey home I may have to face many dangers from our neighbors, who are continually seeking to take our lives—still, should I be so fortunate as once more to meet them, it shall be my greatest pride to tell them that I have seen thee, my Father; and that thou hast acknowledged me as thy child."

The King of the Savages thereupon took a pipe, which his follower had filled towards the end of his speech, and handed it to General Carleton. His companion then placed fire upon it, and the General was obliged to smoke. Meanwhile, the Savage, through the interpreter, told the General that tobacco-smoke was a means of purifying the hearts of

men, and would incite the General to pity and paternal sentiments. As soon as the General had started the pipe, the King of the Savages handed it to Capt. Carleton; and after the latter had also taken a few whiffs, the Indian chief, through the interpreter, asked the General who, after him, was the highest in rank in the company? Whereupon, the General pointed to Lieut.-Colonel Baum. Thereupon, the chief gave the pipe to his follower, who presented it first to Lieut.-Colonel Baum and then to all of us, to be smoked in turn. The interpreter told us that we must all take the pipe, at least into our mouths; for it was a sign of peace and friendship with this nation; and that they would consider it as a great insult should any of us refuse to accept it. Finally, after we all had smoked, the Indian chieftain handed the pipe to General Carleton as a token of the new bond of friendship, and then again addressed him as follows:—

“MY FATHER :

“The feathers on this pipe are not as white and clean as they ought to be; but it is not my fault. I gave to the Father of the Province, whom thou gavest us a few years ago, when I made a Treaty with him, a pipe, the feathers of which were as white as snow. But, upon my asking him, before my departure, to give it back to me in order to take it to the Father of the World, he gave me this one, which is not as white. It is, however, the same pipe I received from the Father of the Province; and although I am only a man who has nothing but his ears, yet thou mayest believe me when I say that I always tell the truth.”

This pipe was richly ornamented. The bowl was made of a black stone, which has greatly the appearance of serpent stone, and of which substance the Indians make their pipe-bowls. The stem was about one and a half yards long, and of wood bound around with the bristles of the porcupine. It was also decorated with long bird feathers of all colors which gave it more the appearance of a spread out peacock's tail than that of a pipe stem.

The Indian King thereupon sat down with his companion and the General told them, through the interpreter, that he was greatly pleased to see them, and that he thanked them for the trouble they had taken to come here ; that he should always be glad, when an opportunity offered itself, to do something for them ; and finally, that they might be assured of his care for them. Then Gen. Carleton arose, shook hands with the two Indians and retired to his room. The Savages, having also shaken hands with us, took their leave with Capt. Carleton and the interpreter.

On the following day, the 18th, these same Indians were for a second time with the General. The King, meanwhile, had received a large silver medal as a present, and his follower, one a little smaller. These they carried on their breasts attached to a blue ribbon around their necks. On the front of the medals was the bust of the King of England, and on the reverse the coat of arms of Great Britain. In addition to these presents a shirt of fine linen was given to each, which they at once put over their old ones. The King then once more gave his reasons to the General for beseeching his interest for himself and his nation, that he (the General) would give them his protection in their own country. These were chiefly that their Savage neighbors were so treacherous that after coming to them and most solemnly pledging friendship, they would, should they chance to meet one of the children of his nation away from home, cut it in pieces and scatter them along the path ; or if one of his people was intercepted on a journey, they would, in a most treacherous manner, take his life. Consequently, they were in continual danger of their lives, and were constantly in fear of such treacherous attacks. To this appeal the General responded that he would do all in his power to obtain for them safety and quiet ; and that he wished nothing more than that all the Indian nations would live together in harmony. The General then again shook hands with both of them and said that Captain Carleton

was expecting them to breakfast on the man-of-war "Isis." Upon which Captain Carleton and the interpreter accompanied them on board of the vessel, when the Indian King was saluted with the discharge of twelve cannon. According to the statement of the interpreter, this nation (the Sioux), is a very wild one (numbering about 1200 warriors), which has its own laws, morals and customs. The men are brave, but most cruel towards their conquered enemies, whom they skin alive.

General Carleton left for the main army on this same day, and on the 21st we had the pleasure of seeing General Riedesel, who, after reviewing for two days the regiments stationed here, returned to Montreal. At the same time we received the pleasing intelligence that part of our regiment this Fall, and the whole of our regiment certainly by next Spring, would receive cavalry horses.*

To-day, the 26th, an English transport ship arrived, having on board the Hesse-Hanau Artillery which, on the following day, continued its journey to Montreal. They informed us that the second division of our troops had sailed from Portsmouth on the 27th of June, and would certainly be here within eight days. Indeed, for the last fourteen days we have confidently looked for the arrival of our brothers-in-arms, knowing well by experience that a long sea-voyage is not a very desirable pleasure. By the middle of this month, the days began to be pretty cold, a circumstance which gave us much concern about the future. But, towards the end, it again grew so warm that, on the 1st of September, we had heavy thunder storms.

On the 10th of September, preparations were made to execute a soldier of Prince Frederick's Regiment, who had deserted while on sentinel duty at Point Levi. He was accompanied to the place of execution by two preachers and

* The regiment to which the writer was attached was a Dragoon Regiment, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Baum. They came to Canada dismounted.—S.

led into the circle. After the death warrant had been again read to him, he was blindfolded, and a heart fastened to his breast. But by special favor and very strong influence at head-quarters, his life was given him at the very moment that the sharp-shooters had taken their position ready to fire at the signal.

On the 14th, the Regiment of Prince Frederick received orders to get in readiness for immediate marching, as it was to accompany the second division of our troops to the main army as soon as that division arrived. It was also given out that only one hundred men of that regiment (Prince Frederick's) were to remain here as a garrison. One hundred men each of the Regiments Rhetz and Specht were also to be left here for the same purpose. We have received no further news from Montreal, except that the Rebels were very vigilant; that they had many armed vessels on the Lake (Champlain); and that they still continued to strengthen themselves at Crown Point.

On the 16th the frigate, having on board the second division, arrived in this harbor. This leads us to believe that the transports will also be here either to-day or surely to-morrow. Although the voyage from Portsmouth hither has taken thirteen weeks, yet the troops were never in want of the most necessary provisions; and even the water kept very fresh on some of the ships. The latter, during the voyage, experienced generally either contrary winds or no wind at all, which is usually the case at this time of the year.

The transports have at last all arrived safely and undamaged, excepting the "East Friesland." This vessel became separated from the rest of the fleet by a little storm, and has not been seen for the last seven weeks. Since, however, it is very seldom that a vessel is shipwrecked on the voyage from Portsmouth, we expect the "East Friesland" daily. Scurvy, before the end of the voyage, assumed large proportions among the troops, and our hospitals are already filled

with their sick. Voyages would be delightful if it were possible to banish this tedious disease from the ships. Even I, after enjoying the land breezes for so long a time, still have attacks of this deleterious poison which remains in the system and makes one feel its effects on the slightest cause.

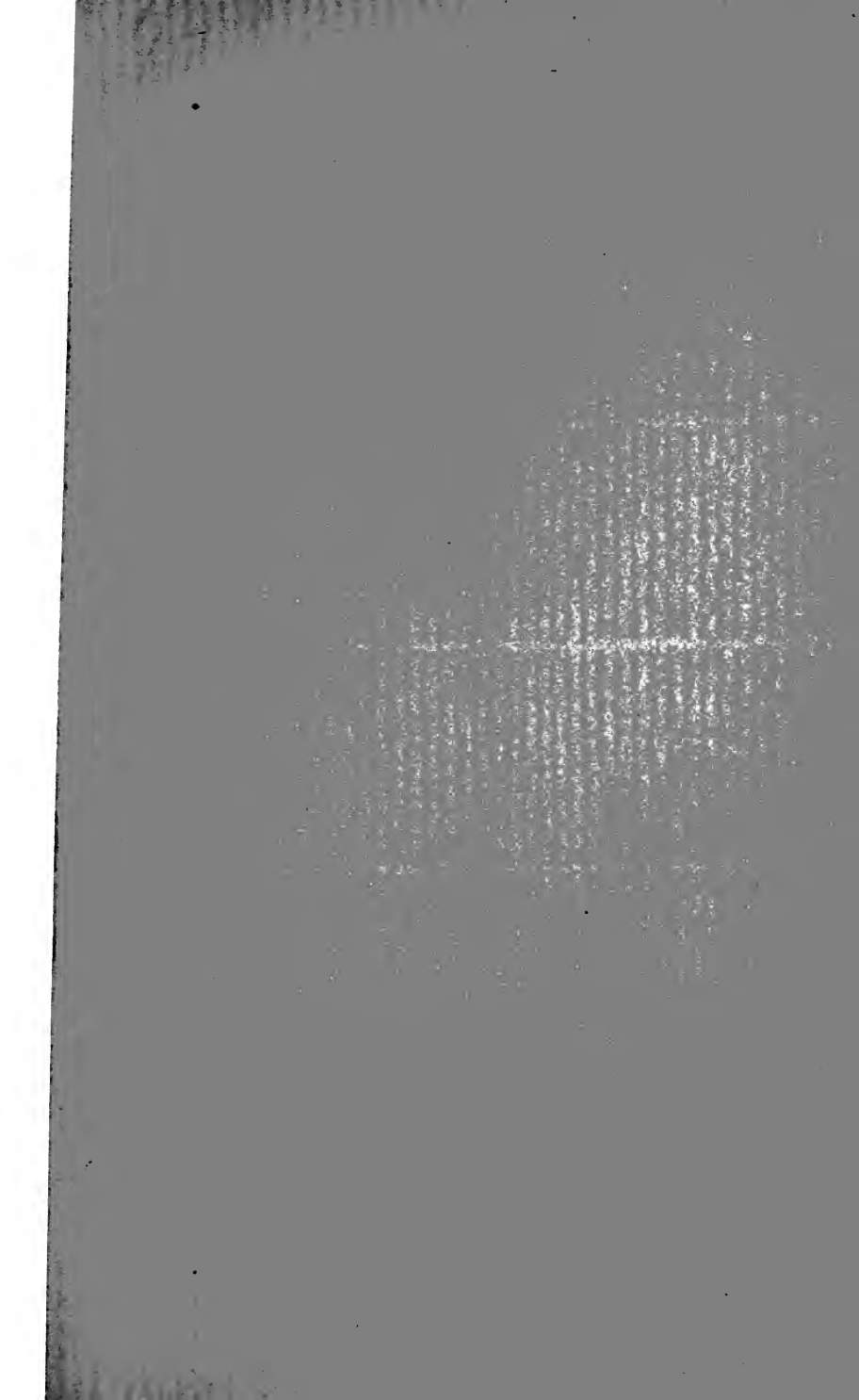
The order issued on the 12th, (sic) * to Prince Frederick's Regiment, was rescinded on the 20th. It will therefore remain here in garrison, and, in its place, our Regiment will go to the army. The march is set down for the 24th, and all the necessary preparations for it are now being made. Our men are much gratified that this is to be their fate, as they prefer serving in the field to doing garrison duty. §

Since a new chapter begins here in our American experiences, I will at this point close the second portion of my "Journal;" and will give, in my next continuation, everything which is worthy of being recorded in the future.

Quebec, Sept. 21st, 1776.

* Melsheimer makes the order (see *ante*) as having been issued on the 14th.—S.

§ Those readers who would like to follow the interesting march of this Regiment are referred to "Stone's Letters from Brunswick and Hessian officers during the Revolution," or to "The Military Journals of Major-Genl. Riedesel," translated by Wm. L. Stone.—S.



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Melsheimer, Frederick
Valentine
Journal of the voyage o
the Brunswick

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