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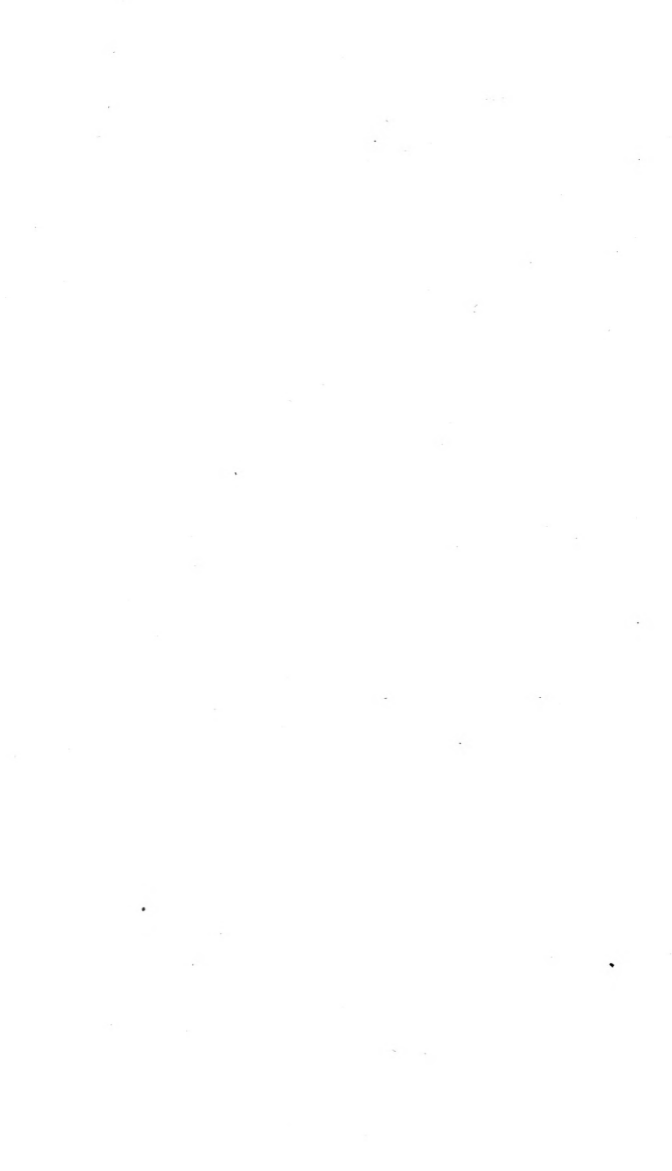
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THREE YEARS
TRAVELS,
THROUGH THE
INTERIOR PARTS OF NORTH-AMERICA,
FOR MORE THAN
FIVE THOUSAND MILES,
CONTAINING,

An ACCOUNT of the great *Lakes*, and all the *Lakes*,
Islands, and *Rivers*, *Cataracts*, *Mountains*, *Minerals*,
Soil and *Vegetable Productions* of the *North-West*
Regions of that *vast Continent*;

WITH A
DESCRIPTION of the BIRDS, BEASTS, REPTILES,
INSECTS, and FISHES peculiar to the COUNTRY.

TOGETHER WITH A CONCISE
HISTORY of the GENIUS, MANNERS, and
CUSTOMS of the INDIANS

Inhabiting the Lands that lie adjacent to the Heads and to the
Westward of the great *River Mississippi*;

AND AN
APPENDIX,
Describing the uncultivated PARTS of AMERICA that are the
most proper for forming Settlements.

BY CAPTAIN JONATHAN CARVER,
OF THE PROVINCIAL TROOPS IN AMERICA.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY JOSEPH CRUKSHANK IN MARKET-STREET,
AND ROBERT BELL, IN THIRD-STREET.

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T O

JOSEPH BANKS, Esq;

P R E S I D E N T

O F T H E

R O Y A L S O C I E T Y,

S I R,

WHEN the Public are informed that I have long had the Honour of your Acquaintance——that my Design in publishing the following Work has received your Sanction——that the Composition of it has stood the Test of your Judgment——and that it is by your Permission a Name so deservedly eminent in the Literary World is prefixed to it, I need not be apprehensive of its Success; as your
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For this public Testimony of your Favour, in which I pride myself, accept, Sir, my most grateful Acknowledgments; and believe me to be, with great Respect,

Your obedient

humble Servant,

J. CARVER.



A N

A D D R E S S

T O T H E

P U B L I C.

T H E S E C O N D E D I T I O N.

*T*H E favourable reception this Work has met with, claims the Author's most grateful acknowledgments. A large edition having run off in a few months, and the sale appearing to be still unabated, a new impression is become necessary. On this occasion was he to conceal his feelings, and pass over, in silence, a distinction so beneficial and flattering, he would justly incur the imputation of ingratitude. That he might not do this, he takes the opportunity, which now presents itself, of conveying to the Public (though in terms inadequate to the warm emotions of his heart) the sense he entertains of their favour; and thus transmits to them his thanks.

In this new edition, care has been taken to rectify those errors which have unavoidably proceeded from the hurry of the press, and likewise any incorrectness in the language that has found its way into it.

The credibility of some of the incidents related in the following pages, and some of the stories introduced therein, having been questioned, particularly the prognostication of the Indian priest on the banks of Lake Superior, and the story of the Indian and his rattle snake, the author thinks it necessary to avail himself of the same opportunity, to endeavour to eradicate any impressions that might have been made on the minds of his readers, by the apparent improbability of these relations.

As to the former, he has related it just as it happened. Being an eye-witness to the whole transaction (and, he flatters himself, at the time, free from every trace of sceptical obstinacy or enthusiastic credulity) he was consequently able to describe every circumstance minutely and impartially. This he has done; but without endeavouring to account for the means by which it was accomplished. Whether the prediction was the result of prior observations, from which certain consequences were expected to follow by the sagacious priest, and the completion of it merely accidental; or whether he was really endowed with supernatural powers, the narrator left to the judgment of his readers; whose conclusions, he supposes, varied according as the mental faculties of each were disposed to admit or reject facts that cannot be accounted for by natural causes.

The story of the rattle snake was related to him by a French gentleman of undoubted veracity; and were the readers of this work as thoroughly acquainted with the sagacity and instinctive proceedings of that animal, as he is, they would be as well assured of the truth of it. It is well known, that those snakes which have survived through the summer the accidents reptiles are liable to, periodically retire to the woods, at the approach of winter; where each (as curious observers have remarked) takes possession of the cavity it had occupied the preceding year. As soon as the season is propitious, enlivened by the invigorating rays of the sun, they leave these retreats, and make their way to the same spot, though ever so distant, on which they before had found subsistence, and the means of propagating their species. Does it then require any extraordinary exertions of the mind to believe, that one of these regular creatures, after having been kindly treated by its master, should return to the box, in which it had usually been supplied with food, and had met with a comfortable abode, and that nearly about the time the Indian, from former experiments, was able to guess at? It certainly does not; nor will the liberal and ingenious doubt the truth of a story so well authenticated, because the circumstances appear extraordinary in a country where the subject of it is scarcely known.

These explanations the author hopes will suffice to convince his readers, that he has not, as travellers are sometimes supposed to do, amused them with improbable tales, or wished to acquire importance by making his adventures savour of the marvellous.



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INTRODUCTION.

NO sooner was the late War with France concluded, and Peace established by the Treaty of Versailles in the Year 1763, than I began to consider (having rendered my country some services during the war) how I might continue still serviceable, and contribute, as much as lay in my power, to make that vast acquisition of territory, gained by Great-Britain, in North America advantageous to it. It appeared to me indispensably needful, that Government should be acquainted in the first place with the true state of the dominions they were now become possessed of. To this purpose, I determined, as the next proof of my zeal, to explore the most unknown parts of them, and to spare no trouble or expence in acquiring a knowledge that promised to be so useful to my countrymen. I knew that many obstructions would arise to my scheme from the want of good Maps and Charts; for the French, whilst they retained their power in North America, had taken every artful method to keep all other nations, particularly the English, in ignorance of the concerns of the interior parts of it: and to accomplish this design with the greater certainty, they had published inaccurate maps and false accounts; calling the different nations of the Indians by nicknames they had given them, and not by those really appertaining to them. Whether the intention of the French in doing this, was to prevent these nations from being discovered and traded with, or to conceal their discourse, when they talked to each other of the Indian concerns, in their presence, I will not determine; but whatsoever was the cause from which it arose, it tended to mislead.

As a proof that the English had been greatly deceived by these accounts, and that their knowledge relative to Canada had usually been very confined;—before the conquest of Crown-Point in 1759, it had been esteemed an impregnable fortress: but no sooner was it taken, than we were convinced that it had acquired its greatest security from false reports, given out by its possessors, and might have been battered down with a few four pounders. Even its situation, which was represented to be so very advantageous, was found to owe its advantages to the same source. It cannot be denied but that some maps of these countries have been published by the French with an appearance of accuracy; but these are of so small a size and drawn on so minute a scale, that they are nearly inexplicable. The sources of the

Mississippi, I can assert from my own experience, are greatly misplaced; for when I had explored them, and compared their situation with the French Charts, I found them very erroneously represented, and am satisfied that these were only copied from the rude sketches of the Indians.

Even so lately as their evacuation of Canada they continued their schemes to deceive; leaving no traces by which any knowledge might accrue to their conquerors: for though they were well acquainted with all the Lakes, particularly with Lake Superior, having constantly a vessel of considerable burthen thereon, yet their plans of them are very incorrect. I discovered many errors in the descriptions given therein of its islands and bays, during a progress of eleven hundred miles that I coasted it in canoes. They likewise, on giving up the possession of them, took care to leave the places they had occupied in the same uncultivated state they had found them; at the same time destroying all their naval force. I observed myself part of the hulk of a very large vessel, burnt to the water's edge, just at the opening from the Straits of St. Marie's into the Lake.

These difficulties, however, were not sufficient to deter me from the undertaking, and I made preparations for setting out. What I chiefly had in view, after gaining a knowledge of the manners, customs, languages, soil, and natural productions of the different nations that inhabit the back of the Mississippi, was to ascertain the breadth of that vast continent, which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, in its broadest part between 43 and 46 degrees northern latitude. Had I been able to accomplish this, I intended to have proposed to government to establish a post in some of those parts about the Straits of Anian, which having been first discovered by Sir Francis Drake, of course belong to the English. This I am convinced would greatly facilitate the discovery of a Northwest Passage, or a communication between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific Ocean. An event so desirable, and which has been so often sought for, but without success. Besides this important end, a settlement on that extremity of America would answer many good purposes, and repay every expence the establishment of it might occasion. For it would not only disclose new sources of trade, and promote many useful discoveries, but would open a passage for conveying intelligence to China, and the English settlements in the East Indies, with greater expedition than a tedious voyage by the Cape of Good Hope, or the Straits of Magellan will allow of.

How far the advantages arising from such an enterprize may extend, can only be ascertained by the favourable concurrence of future events. But that the completion of the scheme, I have had the honour of first planning and attempting, will some time or other be effected, I make no doubt. From the unhappy divisions that at present subsist between Great Britain and America, it will probably be some years before the attempt is repeated; but whenever it is, and the execution of it carried on with propriety,

priety, those who are so fortunate as to succeed, will reap, exclusive of the national advantages that must ensue, emoluments beyond their most sanguine expectations. And whilst their spirits are elated by their success, perhaps they may bestow some commendations and blessings on the person that first pointed out to them the way. These, though but a shadowy recompence for all my toil, I shall receive with pleasure.

To what power or authority this new world will become dependent, after it has arisen from its present uncultivated state, time alone can discover. But as the seat of Empire from time immemorial has been gradually progressive towards the West, there is no doubt but that at some future period, mighty kingdoms will emerge from these wildernesses, and stately palaces and solemn temples, with gilded spires reaching the skies, supplant the Indian huts, whose only decorations are the barbarous trophies of their vanquished enemies.

As some of the preceding passages have already informed the reader that the plan I had laid down for penetrating to the Pacific Ocean, proved abortive, it is necessary to add, that this proceeded not from its impracticability (for the farther I went the more convinced I was that it could certainly be accomplished) but from unforeseen disappointments. However, I proceeded so far, that I was able to make such discoveries as will be useful in any future attempt, and prove a good foundation for some more fortunate successor to build upon. These I shall now lay before the public in the following pages; and am satisfied that the greatest part of them have never been published by any person that has hitherto treated of the interior nations of the Indians; particularly, the account I give of the Naudowessies, and the situation of the heads of the four great rivers that take their rise within a few leagues of each other, nearly about the centre of this great continent; viz. The River Bourbon, which empties itself into Hudson's Bay; the waters of Saint Lawrence; the Mississippi, and the River Oregon, or the River of the West, that falls into the Pacific Ocean, at the Straits of Annian.

The impediments that occasioned my returning, before I had accomplished my purposes, were these. On my arrival at Michillimackinac, the remotest English post, in September 1766, I applied to Mr. Rogers, who was then governor of it, to furnish me with a proper assortment of goods, as presents for the Indians who inhabit the track I intended to pursue. He did this only in part; but promised to supply me with such as were necessary, when I reached the Falls of Saint Anthony. I afterwards learned that the governor fulfilled his promise in ordering the goods to be delivered to me; but those to whose care he intrusted them, instead of conforming to his orders, disposed of them elsewhere.

Disappointed in my expectations from this quarter, I thought it necessary to return to La Prairie Le Chien; for it was impossible to proceed any further without presents to ensure me a favourable

vourable reception. This I did in the beginning of the year 1767, and finding my progress to the westward thus retarded, I determined to direct my course northward. I took this step with a view of finding a communication from the Heads of the Mississippi into Lake Superior, in order to meet, at the grand Portage on the North-west side of that lake, the traders that usually come, about this season, from Michillimackinac. Of these I intended to purchase goods, and then to pursue my journey from that quarter by way of the lakes de Pluye, Dubois, and Ounipique to the Heads of the river of the West, which, as I have said before, falls into the Straits of Annian, the termination of my intended progress.

I accomplished the former part of my design, and reached Lake Superior in proper time; but unluckily the traders I met there acquainted me, that they had no goods to spare; those they had with them being barely sufficient to answer their own demands in these remote parts. Thus disappointed a second time, I found myself obliged to return to the place from whence I began my expedition, which I did after continuing some months on the north and east borders of Lake Superior, and exploring the bays and rivers that empty themselves into this large body of water.

As it may be expected that I should lay before the public the reasons that these discoveries, of so much importance to every one who has any connections with America, have not been imparted to them before, notwithstanding they were made upwards of ten years ago, I will give them to the world in a plain and candid manner, and without mingling with them any complaints on account of the ill treatment I have received.

On my arrival in England, I presented a petition to his Majesty in council, praying for a reimbursement of those sums I had expended in the service of government. This was referred to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. Their Lordships from the tenor of it thought the intelligence I could give of so much importance to the nation, that they ordered me to appear before the Board. This message I obeyed, and underwent a long examination; much I believe to the satisfaction of every Lord present. When it was finished, I requested to know what I should do with my papers; without hesitation the first Lord replied, That I might publish them whenever I pleased. In consequence of this permission, I disposed of them to a bookfeller: but when they were nearly ready for the press, an order was issued from the council board, requiring me to deliver, without delay, into the Plantation Office, all my Charts and Journals, with every paper relative to the discoveries I had made. In order to obey this command, I was obliged to re-purchase them from the bookfeller at a very great expence, and deliver them up. This fresh disbursement I endeavoured to get annexed to the account I had already delivered in; but the request was denied me, notwithstanding I had only acted, in the disposal of my
papers,

papers, conformably to the permission I had received from the Board of Trade. This loss, which amounted to a very considerable sum, I was obliged to bear, and to rest satisfied with an indemnification for my other expences.

Thus situated, my only expectations are from the favour of a generous public; to whom I shall now communicate my plans, journals, and observations, of which I luckily kept copies, when I delivered the originals into the Plantation Office. And this I do the more readily, as I hear they are mislaid; and there is no probability of their ever being published. To those who are interested in the concerns of the interior parts of North America, from the contiguity of their possessions, or commercial engagements, they will be extremely useful, and fully repay the sum at which they are purchased. To those, who, from a laudable curiosity, wish to be acquainted with the manners and customs of every inhabitant of this globe, the accounts here given of the various nations that inhabit so vast a tract of it, a country hitherto almost unexplored, will furnish an ample fund of amusement and gratify their most curious expectations. And I flatter myself they will be as favourably received by the public, as descriptions of islands, which afford no other entertainment than what arises from their novelty; and discoveries, that seem to promise very few advantages to this country, though acquired at an immense expence.

To make the following work as comprehensible and entertaining as possible, I shall first give my readers an account of the route I pursued over this immense continent, and as I pass on, describe the number of inhabitants, the situation of the rivers and lakes, and the productions of the country. Having done this, I shall treat, in distinct chapters, of the manners, customs, and languages of the Indians and to complete the whole, add a vocabulary of the words mostly in use among them.

And here it is necessary to bespeak the candour of the learned part of my readers in the perusal of it, as it is the production of a person unused, from opposite avocations, to literary pursuits. He therefore begs they would not examine it with too critical an eye; especially when he assures them that his attention has been more employed on giving a just description of a country that promises, in some future period, to be an inexhaustible source of riches to that people who shall be so fortunate as to possess it, than on the style or composition; and more careful to render his language intelligible and explicit, than smooth and florid.

JOURNAL OF THE TRAVELS,

WITH A

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

COUNTRY, LAKES, &c.

IN June 1766, I set out from Boston, and proceeded by way of Albany and Niagara, to Michillimackinac; a fort situated between the Lakes Huron and Michigan, and distant from Boston 1300 miles. This being the uttermost of our factories towards the north-west, I considered it as the most convenient place from whence I could begin my intended progress, and enter at once into the regions I designed to explore.

Referring my readers to the publications already extant for an account of those parts of North America, that, from lying adjacent to the back settlements, have been frequently described, I shall confine myself to a description of the more interior parts of it, which having been but seldom visited, are consequently but little known. In doing this, I shall in no instance exceed the bounds of truth, or have recourse to those useless and extravagant exaggerations too often made use of by travellers, to excite the curiosity of the public, or to increase their own importance. Nor shall I insert any observations, but such as I have made myself, or, from the credibility of those by whom they were related, am enabled to vouch for their authenticity.

Michillimackinac, from whence I began my travels, is a fort composed of a strong stockade, and is usually defended by a garrison of one hundred men. It contains about thirty houses, one of which belongs to the governor, and another to the commissary. Several traders also dwell within its fortifications, who find it a convenient situation to traffic with the neighbouring nations. Michillimackinac, in the language of the Chipeway Indians, signifies a Tortoise; and the place is supposed to receive its name from an island, lying about six or seven miles to the north-east, within sight of the fort, which has the appearance of that animal.

During

During the Indian war that followed soon after the conquest of Canada in the year 1763, and which was carried on by an army of confederate nations composed of the Hurons, Miamics, Chipeways, Ottowaws, Pontowattimies, Missiffauges, and some other tribes, under the direction of Pontiac, a celebrated Indian warrior, who had always been in the French interest, it was taken by surprize in the following manner: The Indians having settled their plan, drew near the fort, and began a game at ball, a pastime much used among them, and not unlike tennis. In the height of their game, at which some of the English officers, not suspecting any deceit, stood looking on, they struck the ball, as if by accident, over the stockade; this they repeated two or three times, to make the deception more complete; till at length, having by this means lulled every suspicion of the centry at the south gate, a party rushed by him; and the rest soon following, they took possession of the fort, without meeting with any opposition. Having accomplished their design, the Indians had the humanity to spare the lives of the greatest part of the garrison and traders, but they made them all prisoners, and carried them off. However some time after they took them to Montreal, where they were redeemed at a good price. The fort also was given up again to the English at the peace made with Pontiac, by the commander of Detroit the year following.

Having here made the necessary dispositions for pursuing my travels, and obtained a credit from Mr. Rogers, the governor, on some English and Canadian traders who were going to trade on the Mississippi, and received also from him a promise of a fresh supply of goods when I reached the falls of Saint Anthony, I left the fort on the 3d of September, in company with these traders. It was agreed that they should furnish me with such goods as I might want, for presents to the Indian chiefs, during my continuance with them, agreeable to the governor's order. But when I arrived at the extent of their route, I was to find other guides, and to depend on the goods the governor had promised to supply me with.

We accordingly set out together, and on the 18th arrived at Fort La Bay. This fort is situated on the southern extremity of a bay in Lake Michigan, termed by the French the Bay of Puants; but which, since the English have gained possession of all the settlements on this part of the continent, is called by them the Green Bay. The reason of its being thus denominated, is from its appearance; for on leaving Michillimackinac in the spring season, though the trees there have not even put forth their buds, yet you find the country around La Bay, notwithstanding the passage has not exceeded fourteen days, covered with the finest verdure, and vegetation as forward as it could be were it summer.

This fort also is only surrounded by a stockade, and being much decayed is scarcely defensible against small arms. It was built by the French for the protection of their trade, some time before

before they were forced to relinquish it; and when Canada and its dependencies were surrendered to the English, it was immediately garrisoned with an officer and thirty men. These were made prisoners by the Menomonies soon after the surprize of Michillmackinac, and the fort has neither been garrisoned or kept in repair since.

The bay is about ninety miles long, but differs much in its breadth; being in some places only fifteen miles, in others from twenty to thirty. It lies nearly from north-east to south-west. At the entrance of it from the lake are a string of islands, extending from north to south, called the Grand Traverse. These are about thirty miles in length, and serve to facilitate the passage of canoes, as they shelter them from the winds, which sometimes come with violence across the Lake. On the side that lies to the south-east is the nearest and best navigation.

The islands of the Grand Traverse are mostly small and rocky. Many of the rocks are of an amazing size, and appear as if they had been fashioned by the hands of artists. On the largest and best of these islands stands a town of the Ottowaws, at which I found one of the most considerable chiefs of that nation, who received me with every honour he could possibly show to a stranger. But what appeared extremely singular to me at the time, and must do so to every person unacquainted with the customs of the Indians, was the reception I met with on landing. As our canoes approached the shore, and had reached within about three score rods of it, the Indians began a feu-de-joy; in which they fired their pieces loaded with balls; but at the same time they took care to discharge them in such a manner as to fly a few yards above our heads: during this they ran from one tree or stump to another, shouting and behaving as if they were in the heat of battle. At first I was greatly surprized, and was on the point of ordering my attendants to return their fire, concluding that their intentions were hostile; but being undeceived by some of the traders, who informed me that this was their usual method of receiving the chiefs of other nations, I considered it in its true light, and was pleased with the respect thus paid me.

I remained here one night. Among the presents I made the chiefs, were some spirituous liquors; with which they made themselves merry, and all joined in a dance, that lasted the greatest part of the night. In the morning when I departed, the chief attended me to the shore, and, as soon as I had embarked, offered up, in an audible voice, and with great solemnity, a fervent prayer in my behalf. He prayed "that the Great Spirit would favour me with a prosperous voyage; that he would give me an unclouded sky, and smooth waters, by day, and that I might lie down, by night, on a beaver blanket, enjoying uninterrupted sleep, and pleasant dreams; and also that I might find continual protection under the great pipe of peace." In this manner he continued his petitions till I could no longer hear them.

I must here observe, that notwithstanding the inhabitants of Europe are apt to entertain horrid ideas of the ferocity of these savages, as they are termed, I received from every tribe of them in the interior parts, the most hospitable and courteous treatment; and am convinced, that till they are contaminated by the example and spirituous liquors of their more refined neighbours, they retain this friendly and inoffensive conduct towards strangers. Their inveteracy and cruelty to their enemies I acknowledge to be a great abatement of the favourable opinion I would wish to entertain of them; but this failing is hereditary, and having received the sanction of immemorial custom, has taken too deep root in their minds to be ever extirpated.

Among this people I eat of a very uncommon kind of bread. The Indians, in general, use but little of this nutritious food: whilst their corn is in the milk, as they term it, that is, just before it begins to ripen, they slice off the kernels from the cob to which they grow, and knead them into a paste. This they are enabled to do without the addition of any liquid, by the milk that flows from them; and when it is effected, they parcel it out into cakes, and inclosing them in leaves of the basswood tree, place them in hot embers, where they are soon baked. And better flavoured bread I never eat in any country.

This place is only a small village containing about twenty-five houses and sixty or seventy warriors. I found nothing there worthy of further remark.

The land on the south-east side of the Green Bay is but very indifferent, being overspread with a heavy growth of hemlock, pine, spruce and fir trees. The communication between Lake Michigan and the Green Bay has been reported by some to be impracticable for the passage of any vessels larger than canoes or boats, on account of the shoals that lie between the islands in the Grand Traverse; but on sounding it I found sufficient depth for a vessel of sixty tons, and the breadth proportionable.

The land adjoining to the bottom of this bay is very fertile, the country in general level, and the perspective view of it pleasing and extensive.

A few families live in the fort, which lies on the west-side of the Fox-River, and opposite to it, on the east-side of its entrance, are some French settlers who cultivate the land, and appear to live very comfortably.

The Green Bay or Bay of Puants is one of those places to which the French, as I have mentioned in the introduction, have given nicknames. It is termed by the inhabitants of its coasts, the Menomonie Bay; but why the French have denominated it the Puant or Stinking Bay I know not. The reason they themselves give for it is, that it was not with a view to mislead strangers, but that by adopting this method they could converse with each other, concerning the Indians, in their presence, without being understood by them. For it was remarked by the persons who first traded among them, that when they were speaking to
each

each other about them, and mentioned their proper name, they instantly grew suspicious, and concluded that their visitors were either speaking ill of them, or plotting their destruction. To remedy this they gave them some other name. The only bad consequence arising from the practice then introduced is, that English and French Geographers, in their plans of the interior parts of America, give different names to the same people, and thereby perplex those who have occasion to refer to them.

Lake Michigan, of which the Green Bay is a part, is divided on the north-east from Lake Huron by the Straits of Michillimackinac; and is situated between forty-two and forty-six degrees of latitude, and between eighty-four and eighty-seven degrees of west-longitude. Its greatest length is two hundred and eighty miles, its breadth about forty, and its circumference nearly six hundred. There is a remarkable string of small islands, beginning over against Askin's Farm, and running about thirty miles south-west into the Lake. These are called the Beaver Islands. Their situation is very pleasant, but the soil is bare. However they afford a beautiful prospect.

On the north-west parts of this lake the waters branch out into two bays. That which lies towards the north is the Bay of Noquets, and the other the Green Bay just described.

The waters of this as well as the other great lakes are clear and wholesome, and of sufficient depth for the navigation of large ships. Half the space of the country that lies to the east, and extends to Lake Huron, belongs to the Ottowaw Indians. The line that divides their territories from the Chipéways, runs nearly north and south, and reaches almost from the southern extremity of this lake, across the high lands, to Michillimackinac, through the centre of which it passes. So that when these two tribes happen to meet at the factory, they each encamp on their own dominions, at a few yards distance from the stockade.

The country adjacent either to the east or west side of this lake is composed but of an indifferent soil, except where small brooks or rivers empty themselves into it; on the banks of these it is extremely fertile. Near the borders of the lake grow a great number of sand cherries, which are not less remarkable for their manner of growth, than for their exquisite flavour. They grow upon a small shrub, not more than four feet high, the boughs of which are so loaded that they lie in clusters on the sand. As they grow only on the sand, the warmth of which probably contributes to bring them to such perfection; they are called by the French, cherries de sable, or sand cherries. The size of them does not exceed that of a small musket ball, but they are reckoned superior to any other sort for the purpose of steeping in spirits. There also grow around the lake gooseberries, black currants, and an abundance of juniper, bearing great quantities of berries of the finest sort.

Sumack likewise grows here in great plenty; the leaf of which, gathered at Michaelmas when it turns red, is much esteemed by
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the natives. They mix about an equal quantity of it with their tobacco, which causes it to smoke pleasantly. Near this lake, and indeed about all the great lakes, is found a kind of willow, termed by the French, *bois rouge*, in English red wood. Its bark, when only of one year's growth, is of a fine scarlet colour, and appears very beautiful; but as it grows older, it changes into a mixture of grey and red. The stalks of this shrub grow many of them together, and rise to the height of six or eight feet, the largest not exceeding an inch diameter. The bark being scraped from the sticks, and dried and powdered, is also mixed by the Indians with their tobacco, and is held by them in the highest estimation for their winter smoking. A weed that grows near the great lakes, in rocky places, they use in the summer season. It is called by the Indians, *Segockimac*, and creeps like a vine on the ground, sometimes extending to eight or ten feet, and bearing a leaf about the size of silver penny, nearly round; it is of the substance and colour of the laurel, and is, like the tree it resembles, an evergreen. These leaves, dried and powdered, they likewise mix with their tobacco; and, as said before, smoke it only during the summer. By these three succedaneums the pipes of the Indians are well supplied through every season of the year; and as they are great smokers, they are very careful in properly gathering and preparing them.

On the 20th of September I left the Green Bay, and proceeded up Fox River, still in company with the traders and some Indians. On the 25th I arrived at the great town of the Winnebagoes, situated on a small island, just as you enter the east end of Lake Winnebago. Here the queen who presided over this tribe instead of a Sachem, received me with great civility, and entertained me in a very distinguished manner, during the four days I continued with her.

The day after my arrival I held a council with the chiefs, of whom I asked permission to pass through their country, in my way to more remote nations, on business of importance. This was readily granted me, the request being esteemed by them as a great compliment paid to their tribe. The queen sat in the council, but only asked a few questions, or gave some trifling directions in matters relative to the state; for women are never allowed to sit in their councils, except they happen to be invested with the supreme authority, and then it is not customary for them to make any formal speeches as the chiefs do. She was a very ancient woman, small in stature, and not much distinguished by her dress from several young women that attended her. These her attendants seemed greatly pleased whenever I showed any tokens of respect to their queen, particularly when I saluted her, which I frequently did to acquire her favour. On these occasions the good old lady endeavoured to assume a juvenile gaiety, and by her smiles showed she was equally pleased with the attention I paid her.

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The time I tarried here, I employed in making the best observations possible on the country, and in collecting the most certain intelligence I could of the origin, language, and customs of this people. From these enquiries I have reason to conclude, that the Winnebagoes originally resided in some of the provinces belonging to New Mexico; and being driven from their native country, either by intestine divisions, or by the extensions of the Spanish conquests, they took refuge in these more northern parts about a century ago.

My reason for adopting this supposition, are, first from their unalienable attachment to the Naudowessie Indians (who, they say, gave them the earliest succours during their emigration) notwithstanding their present residence is more than six hundred miles distant from that people.

Secondly, that their dialect totally differs from every other Indian nation yet discovered; it being a very uncouth guttural jargon, which none of their neighbours will attempt to learn. They converse with other nations in the Chipéway tongue, which is the prevailing language throughout all the tribes, from the Mohawks of Canada, to those who inhabit the borders of the Mississippi, and from the Hurons and Illinois to such a dwell near Hudson's Bay.

Thirdly, from their inveterate hatred to the Spaniards. Some of them informed me that they had many excursions to the south-west, which took up several moons. An elderly chief more particularly acquainted me, that about forty-six winters ago, he marched at the head of fifty warriors, toward the south-west, for three moons. That during this expedition, whilst they were crossing a plain, they discovered a body of men on horseback, who belonged to the Black People; for so they call the Spaniards. As soon as they perceived them, they proceeded with caution, and concealed themselves till night came on; when they drew so near as to be able to discern the number and situation of their enemies. Finding they were not able to cope with so great a superiority by day-light, they waited till they had retired to rest; when they rushed upon them, and, after having killed the greatest part of the men, took eighty horses loaded with what they termed white stone. This I suppose to have been silver, as he told me the horses were shod with it, and that their bridles were ornamented with the same. When they had satiated their revenge, they carried off their spoil, and being got so far as to be out of the reach of the Spaniards that had escaped their fury, they left the useless and ponderous burthen, with which the horses were loaded, in the woods, and mounting themselves, in this manner returned to their friends. The party they had thus defeated, I conclude to be the caravan that annually conveys to Mexico, the silver which the Spaniards find in great quantities on the mountains lying near the heads of the Colerado River: and the plains where the attack was made, probably, some they were obliged to pass over in their way to
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the heads of the River St. Fee, or Rio del Nord, which falls into the Gulph of Mexico, to the west of the Mississippi.

The Winnebagoes can raise about two hundred warriors. Their town contains about fifty houses, which are strongly built with palifades, and the island on which it is situated nearly fifty acres. It lies thirty-five miles, reckoning according to the course of the river, from the Green Bay.

The river, for about four or five miles from the bay, has a gentle current; after that space, till you arrive at the Winnebago Lake, it is full of rocks and very rapid. At many places we were obliged to land our canoes, and carry them a considerable way. Its breadth, in general, from the Green Bay to the Winnebago Lake, is between seventy and a hundred yards: the land on its borders very good, and thinly wooded with hickory, oak, and hazel.

The Winnebago Lake is about fifteen miles long from east to west, and six miles wide. At its south-east corner, a river falls into it that takes its rise near some of the northern branches of the Illinois River. This I called the Crocodile River, in consequence of a story that prevails among the Indians, of their having destroyed, in some part of it, an animal, which from their description must be a crocodile or an alligator.

The land adjacent to the Lake is very fertile, abounding with grapes, plums, and other fruits, which grow spontaneously. The Winnebagoes raise on it a great quantity of Indian corn, beans, pumpkins, squash, and water melons, with some tobacco. The lake itself abounds with fish, and in the fall of the year, with geese, ducks, and teal. The latter, which resort to it in great numbers, are remarkably good and extremely fat, and are much better flavoured than those that are found near the sea, as they acquire their excessive fatness by feeding on the wild rice, which grow so plentifully in these parts.

Having made some acceptable presents to the good old queen, and received her blessing, I left the town of the Winnebagoes on the 29th of September, and about twelve miles from it arrived at the place where the Fox River enters the Lake on the north side of it. We proceeded up this river, and on the 7th of October reached the great Carrying Place, which divides it from the Ouifconsin.

The Fox River, from the Green Bay to the Carrying Place, is about one hundred and eighty miles. From the Winnebago Lake to the Carrying Place the current is gentle, and the depth of it considerable; notwithstanding which, it is in some places with difficulty that canoes can pass, through the obstructions they meet with from the rice stalks, which are very large and thick, and grow here in great abundance. The country around it is very fertile and proper in the highest degree for cultivation, excepting in some places near the river, where it is rather too low. It is in no part very woody, and yet can supply sufficient to answer the demands of any number of inhabitants. This river

river is the greatest resort for wild fowl of every kind that I met with in the whole course of my travels; frequently the sun would be obscured by them for some minutes together.

About forty miles up this river, from the great town of the Winnebagoes, stands a smaller town belonging to that nation.

Deer and bears are very numerous in these parts, and a great many beavers and other furs are taken on the streams that empty themselves into this river.

The river I am treating of, is remarkable for having been, about eighty years ago, the residence of the united bands of the Ottigamies and the Saukies, whom the French had nicknamed, according to their wonted custom, Des Sacs and Des Reynards, the Sacks and the Foxes, of whom the following anecdote was related to me by an Indian.

About sixty years ago, the French missionaries and traders having received many insults from these people, a party of French and Indians, under the command of Captain Morand marched to revenge their wrongs. The Captain set out from the Green Bay in the winter, when they were unsuspecting of a visit of this kind, and pursuing his route over the snow to their villages, which lay about fifty miles up the Fox River, came upon them by surprize. Unprepared as they were, he found them an easy conquest, and consequently killed or took prisoners the greatest part of them. On the return of the French to the Green Bay, one of the Indian chiefs in alliance with them, who had a considerable band of the prisoners under his care, stopped to drink at a brook; in the mean time his companions went on: which being observed by one of the women whom they had made captive, she suddenly seized him with both her hands, whilst he stooped to drink, by an exquisitely susceptible part, and held him fast till he expired on the spot. As the chief, from the extreme torture he suffered, was unable to call out to his friends, or to give any alarm, they passed on without knowing what had happened; and the woman having cut the bands of those of her fellow prisoners who were in the rear, with them made her escape. This heroine was ever after treated by her nation as their deliverer, and made a chiefs in her own right, with liberty to entail the same honour on her descendants: an unusual distinction, and permitted only on extraordinary occasions.

About twelve miles before I reached the Carrying Place, I observed several small mountains which extended quite to it. These indeed would only be esteemed as molehills when compared with those on the back of the colonies, but as they were the first I had seen since my leaving Niagara, a track of nearly eleven hundred miles, I could not leave them unnoticed.

The Fox River, where it enters the Winnebago Lake, is about fifty yards wide, but it gradually decreases to the Carrying Place, where it is no more than five yards over, except in a few places where it widens into small lakes, though still of a considerable depth. I cannot recollect any thing else that is remarkable

markable in this river, except that it is so serpentine for five miles, as only to gain in that place one quarter of a mile.

The Carrying Place between the Fox and Ouifconsin Rivers is in breadth not more than a mile and three quarters, though in some maps it is so delineated as to appear to be ten miles. And here I cannot help remarking, that all the maps of these parts, I have ever seen, are very erroneous. The rivers in general are described as running in different directions from what they really do; and many branches of them, particularly of the Mississippi, omitted. The distances of places, likewise, are greatly misrepresented. Whether this is done by the French geographers (for the English maps are all copied from theirs) through design, or for want of a just knowledge of the country, I cannot say; but I am satisfied that travellers who depend upon them in the parts I visited, will find themselves much at a loss.

Near one half of the way, between the rivers, is a morass overgrown with a kind of long grass, the rest of it a plain with some few oak and pine trees growing thereon. I observed here a great number of rattle-snakes. Mons. Pinnifance, a French trader, told me a remarkable story concerning one of these reptiles, of which, he said, he was an eye-witness. An Indian, belonging to the Menomonie nation, having taken one of them, found means to tame it; and when he had done this, treated it as a Deity; calling it his Great Father, and carrying it with him in a box wherever he went. This the Indian had done for several summers, when Mons. Pinnifance accidentally met with him at this Carrying Place, just as he was setting off for a winter's hunt. The French gentleman was surprized, one day, to see the Indian place the box which contained his god on the ground, and opening the door give him his liberty; telling him, whilst he did it, to be sure and return by the time he himself should come back, which was to be in the month of May following. As this was but October, Monsieur told the Indian, whose simplicity astonished him, that he fancied he might wait long enough when May arrived, for the arrival of his great father. The Indian was so confident of his creature's obedience, that he offered to lay the Frenchman a wager of two gallons of rum, that at the time appointed he would come and crawl into his box. This was agreed on, and the second week in May following fixed for the determination of the wager. At that period they both met there again; when the Indian set down his box, and called for his great father. The snake heard him not; and the time being now expired, he acknowledged that he had lost. However, without seeming to be discouraged, he offered to double the bet if his great father came not within two days more. This was further agreed on; when behold on the second day, about one o'clock, the snake arrived, and, of his own accord crawled into the box, which was placed ready for him. The French gentleman vouched for the truth of this story, and
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from the accounts I have often received of the docility of those creatures, I see no reason to doubt his veracity.

I observed that the main body of the Fox River came from the south-west, that of the Ouisconsin from the north-east; and also that some of the small branches of these two rivers, in descending into them, doubled, within a few feet of each other, a little to the south of the Carrying Place. That two such rivers should take their rise so near each other, and after running such different courses, empty themselves into the sea, at a distance so amazing (for the former having passed through several great lakes, and run upwards of two thousand miles, falls into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the other, after joining the Mississippi, and having run an equal number of miles, disembogues itself into the Gulf of Mexico) is an instance scarcely to be met in the extensive continent of North-America. I had an opportunity the year following, of making the same observations on the affinity of various head branches of the waters of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi to each other; and now bring them as a proof, that the opinion of those geographers, who assert, that rivers taking their rise so near each other, must spring from the same source, is erroneous. For I perceived a visibly distinct separation in all of them, notwithstanding, in some places, they approached so near, that I could have stepped from one to the other.

On the 8th of October we got our canoes into the Ouisconsin River, which at this place is more than a hundred yards wide; and the next day arrived at the Great Town of the Saukies. This is the largest and best built Indian town I ever saw. It contains about ninety houses, each large enough for several families. These are built of hewn plank, neatly jointed, and covered with bark so compactly as to keep out the most penetrating rains. Before the doors are placed comfortable sheds, in which the inhabitants sit, when the weather will permit, and smoak their pipes. The streets are regular and spacious; so that it appears more like a civilized town than the abode of savages. The land near the town is very good. In their plantations, which lie adjacent to their houses, and which are neatly laid out, they raise great quantities of Indian corn, beans, melons, &c. so that this place is esteemed the best market for traders to furnish themselves with provisions, of any within eight hundred miles of it.

The Saukies can raise about three hundred warriors, who are generally employed every summer in making incursions into the territories of the Illinois and Pawnee nations, from whence they return with a great number of slaves. But those people frequently retaliate, and, in their turn, destroy many of the Saukies, which I judge to be the reason that they increase no faster.

Whilst I staid here, I took a view of some mountains that lie about fifteen miles to the southward, and abound in lead ore. I ascended on one of the highest of these, and had an extensive

view of the country. For many miles nothing was to be seen but lesser mountains, which appeared at a distance like haycocks, they being free from trees. Only a few groves of hickory, and stunted oaks, covered some of the vallies. So plentiful is lead here, that I saw large quantities of it lying about the streets in the town belonging to the Saukies, and it seemed to be as good as the produce of other countries.

On the 10th of October we proceeded down the river, and the next day reached the first town of the Ottigaumies. This town contained about fifty houses, but we found most of them deserted, on account of an epidemical disorder that had lately raged among them, and carried off more than one half of the inhabitants. The greater part of those who survived had retired into the woods, to avoid the contagion.

On the 15th we entered that extensive river the Mississippi. The Ouifconsin, from the Carrying Place to the part where it falls into the Mississippi, flows with a smooth but strong current; the water of it is exceedingly clear, and through it you may perceive a fine and sandy bottom, tolerably free from rocks. In it are a few islands, the soil of which appeared to be good, though somewhat woody. The land near the river also seemed to be, in general, excellent; but that at a distance is very full of mountains, where it is said there are many lead mines.

About five miles from the junction of the rivers, I observed the ruins of a large town in a very pleasing situation. On enquiring of the neighbouring Indians why it was thus deserted, I was informed, that about thirty years ago, the Great Spirit had appeared on the top of a pyramid of rocks, which lay at a little distance from it, towards the west, and warned them to quit their habitations; for the land on which they were built belonged to him, and he had occasion for it. As a proof that he, who gave them these orders, was really the Great Spirit, he further told them, that the grass should immediately spring up on those very rocks from whence he now addressed them, which they knew to be bare and barren. The Indians obeyed, and soon after discovered that this miraculous alteration had taken place. They shewed me the spot, but the growth of the grass appeared to be no ways supernatural. I apprehend this to have been a stratagem of the French or Spaniards to answer some selfish view; but in what manner they effected their purposes I know not.

This people, soon after their removal, built a town on the bank of the Mississippi, near the mouth of the Ouifconsin, at a place called by the French *La Prairies les Chiens*, which signifies the Dog Plains; it is a large town, and contains about three hundred families; the houses are well built after the Indian manner, and pleasantly situated on a very rich soil, from which they raise every necessary of life in great abundance. I saw here many horses of a good size and shape. This town is the great mart where all the adjacent tribes, and even those who inhabit the most remote branches of the Mississippi, annually assemble about

about the latter end of May, bringing with them their furs to dispose of to the traders. But it is not always that they conclude their sale here; this is determined by a general council of the chiefs, who consult whether it would be more conducive to their interest, to sell their goods at this place, or carry them on to Louisiana, or Michillimackinac. According to the decision of this council they either proceed further, or return to their different homes.

The Mississippi, at the entrance of the Ouifconsin, near which stands a mountain of considerable height, is about half a mile over; but opposite to the last mentioned town it appears to be more than a mile wide, and full of islands, the soil of which is extraordinary rich, and but thinly wooded.

A little farther to the west, on the contrary side, a small river falls into the Mississippi, which the French call *Le Jaun Riviere*, or the Yellow River. Here the traders who had accompanied me hitherto, took up their residence for the winter. I then bought a canoe, and with two servants, one a French Canadian, and the other a Mohawk of Canada, on the 19th proceeded up the Mississippi.

About ten days after I had parted from the traders, I landed as I usually did every evening, and having pitched my tent, I ordered my men, when night came on, to lay themselves down to sleep. By a light that I kept burning I then sat down to copy the minutes I had taken in the course of the preceding day. About ten o'clock, having just finished my memorandums, I stepped out of my tent to see what weather it was. As I cast my eyes towards the bank of the river, I thought I saw by the light of the stars, which shone bright, something that had the appearance of a herd of beasts coming down a descent at some distance; whilst I was wondering what they could be, one of the number suddenly sprung up, and discovered to me the form of a man. In an instant they were all on their legs, and I could count about ten or twelve of them running towards me. I immediately reentered the tent, and having awakened my men, ordered them to take their arms, and follow me. As my first apprehensions were for my canoe, I ran to the water's side, and found a party of Indians (for such I now discovered them to be) on the point of plundering it. Before I reached them I commanded my men not to fire till I had given the word, being unwilling to begin hostilities unless occasion absolutely required. I accordingly advanced with resolution, close to the points of their spears, they had no other weapons, and brandishing my hanger, asked them with a stern voice, what they wanted? They were staggered at this, and perceiving they were like to meet with a warm reception, turned about and precipitately retreated. We pursued them to an adjacent wood, which they entered, and we saw no more of them. However, for fear of their return, we watched alternately during the remainder of the night. The next day my servants were under great apprehensions, and earnestly entreat-
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ed me to return to the traders we had lately left. But I told them, that if they would not be esteemed old women (a term of the greatest reproach among the Indians) they must follow me; for I was determined to pursue my intended route, as an Englishman, when once engaged in an adventure, never retreated. On this they got into the canoe, and I walked on the shore to guard them from any further attack. The party of Indians who had thus intended to plunder me, I afterwards found to be some of those straggling bands, that having been driven from among the different tribes to which they belonged for various crimes, now associated themselves together, and, living by plunder, prove very troublesome to travellers who pass this way; nor are even Indians of every tribe spared by them. The traders had before cautioned me to be upon my guard against them, and I would repeat the same caution to those whose business might call them into these parts.

On the first of November I arrived at Lake Pepin, which is rather an extended part of the River Mississippi, that the French have thus denominated, about two hundred miles from the Ouifconsin. The Mississippi below this Lake flows with a gentle current, but the breadth of it is very uncertain, in some places it being upwards of a mile, in others not more than a quarter. This river has a range of mountains on each side throughout the whole of the way; which in particular parts approach near to it, in others lie at a greater distance. The land betwixt the mountains, and on their sides, is generally covered with grass with a few groves of trees interspersed, near which large droves of deer and elk are frequently seen feeding.

In many places pyramids of rocks appeared, resembling old ruinous towers; at others amazing precipices; and what is very remarkable, whilst this scene presented itself on one side, the opposite side of the same mountain was covered with the finest herbage, which gradually ascended to its summit. From thence the most beautiful and extensive prospect that imagination can form opens to your view. Verdant plains, fruitful meadows, numerous islands, and all these abounding with a variety of trees that yield amazing quantities of fruit, without care or cultivation; such as the nut-tree, the maple which produces sugar, vines loaded with rich grapes, and plum-trees bending under their blooming burdens, but above all, the fine river flowing gently beneath, and reaching as far as the eye can extend, by turns attract your admiration and excite your wonder.

The Lake is about twenty miles long, and near six in breadth; in some places it is very deep, and abounds with various kinds of fish. Great numbers of fowl frequent also this Lake and rivers adjacent; such as storks, swans, geese, brants, and ducks; and in the groves are found great plenty of turkeys and partridges. On the plains are the largest buffaloes of any in America. Here I observed the ruins of a French factory, where it
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is said Captain St. Pierre resided, and carried on a very great trade with the Naudowessies, before the reduction of Canada.

About sixty miles below this Lake is a mountain remarkably situated; for it stands by itself exactly in the middle of the River, and looks as if it had slid from the adjacent shore into the stream. It cannot be termed an island, as it rises immediately from the brink of the water to a considerable height. Both the Indians and the French call it the Mountain in the River.

One day having landed on the shore of the Mississippi, some miles below Lake Pepin, whilst my attendants were preparing my dinner, I walked out to take a view of the adjacent country. I had not proceeded far, before I came to a fine, level, open plain, on which I perceived at a little distance, a partial elevation that had the appearance of an intrenchment. On a nearer inspection I had greater reason to suppose that it had really been intended for this many centuries ago. Notwithstanding it was now covered with grass, I could plainly discern that it had once been a breast-work of about four feet in height, extending the best part of a mile, and sufficiently capacious to cover five thousand men. Its form was somewhat circular, and its flanks reached to the River. Though much defaced by time, every angle was distinguishable, and appeared as regular, and fashioned with as much military skill, as if planned by Vauban himself. The ditch was not visible, but I thought on examining more curiously, that I could perceive there certainly had been one. From its situation also, I am convinced that it must have been designed for this purpose. It fronted the country, and the rear was covered by the River; nor was there any rising ground for a considerable way that commanded it; a few straggling oaks were alone to be seen near it. In many places small tracts were worn across it by the feet of the elks and deer, and from the depth of the bed of earth by which it was covered, I was able to draw certain conclusions of its great antiquity. I examined all the angles and every part with great attention, and have often blamed myself since, for not encamping on the spot, and drawing an exact plan of it. To shew that this description is not the offspring of a heated imagination, or the chimerical tale of a mistaken traveller, I find on enquiry since my return, that Mons. St. Pierre and several traders have, at different times, taken notice of similar appearances, on which they have formed the same conjectures, but without examining them so minutely as I did. How a work of this kind could exist in a country that has hitherto (according to the general received opinion) been the seat of war to untutored Indians alone, whose whole stock of military knowledge has only, till within two centuries, amounted to drawing the bow, and whose only breast-work even at present is the thicket, I know not. I have given as exact an account as possible of this singular appearance,

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and leave to future explorers of these distant regions to discover whether it is a production of nature or art.

Perhaps the hints I have here given might lead to a more perfect investigation of it, and give us very different ideas of the ancient state of realms that we at present believe to have been from the earliest period only the habitations of savages.

The Mississippi, as far as the entrance of the River St. Croix, thirty miles above Lake Pepin, is very full of islands; some of which are of a considerable length. On these, also, grow great numbers of the maple or sugar tree, and around them vines loaded with grapes creeping to their very tops. From the Lake upwards few mountains are to be seen, and those but small. Near the River St. Croix reside three bands of the Naudowessie Indians, called the River Bands.

This nation is composed, at present, of eleven bands. They were originally twelve; but the Assinipoils some years ago revolting, and separating themselves from the others, there remain only at this time eleven. Those I met here are termed the River Bands; because they chiefly dwell near the banks of this River: the other eight are generally distinguished by the title Naudowessies of the Plains, and inhabit a country that lies more to the westward. The names of the former are the Nehogatawonahs, the Mawtawbauntowahs, and the Shahsweentowahs, and consist of about four hundred warriors.

A little before I met with these three bands, I fell in with a party of the Mawtawbauntowahs, amounting to forty warriors and their families. With these I resided a day or two, during which time five or six of their number, who had been out on an excursion, returned in great haste, and acquainted their companions that a large party of the Chipéway warriors, "enough," as they expressed themselves, "to swallow them all up," were close at their heels, and on the point of attacking their little camp. The chiefs applied to me, and desired I would put myself at their head, and lead them out to oppose their enemies. As I was a stranger, and unwilling to excite the anger of either nation, I knew not how to act; and never found myself in a greater dilemma. Had I refused to assist the Naudowessies I should have drawn on myself their displeasure, or had I met the Chipéways with hostile intentions, I should have made that people my foes, and had I been fortunate enough to have escaped their arrows at this time, on some future occasion should probably have experienced the severity of their revenge. In this extremity I chose the middle course, and desired that the Naudowessies would suffer me to meet them, that I might endeavour to avert their fury. To this they reluctantly assented, being persuaded, from the inveteracy which had long prevailed between them, that my remonstrances would be in vain.

Taking my Frenchman with me, who could speak their language, I hastened towards the place where the Chipéways were supposed to be. The Naudowessies during this kept at a distance

stance behind. As I approached them with the pipe of peace, a small party of their chiefs, consisting of about eight or ten, came in a friendly manner towards me; with whom, by the means of my interpreter, I held a long conversation; the result of which was, that their rancour being by my persuasions in some measure mollified, they agreed to return back without accomplishing their savage purposes. During our discourse I could perceive, as they lay scattered about, that the party was very numerous, and many of them armed with muskets.

Having happily succeeded in my undertaking, I returned without delay to the Naudowessies, and desired they would instantly remove their camp to some other part of the country, lest their enemies should repent of the promise they had given, and put their intentions in execution. They accordingly followed my advice, and immediately prepared to strike their tents. Whilst they were doing this, they loaded me with thanks; and when I had seen them on board their canoes I pursued my route.

To this adventure I was chiefly indebted for the friendly reception I afterwards met with from the Naudowessies of the Plains, and for the respect and honours I received during my abode among them. And when I arrived many months after at the Chipéway village, near the Ottowaw lakes, I found that my fame had reached that place before me. The chiefs received me with great cordiality, and the elder part of them thanked me for the mischief I had prevented. They informed me, that the war between their nation and the Naudowessies had continued without interruption for more than forty winters. That they had long wished to put an end to it, but this was generally prevented by the young warriors of either nation, who could not restrain their ardour when they met. They said, they should be happy if some chief of the same pacific disposition as myself, and who possessed an equal degree of resolution and coolness, would settle in the country between the two nations; for by the interference of such a person, an accommodation, which on their parts they sincerely desired, might be brought about. As I did not meet any of the Naudowessies afterwards, I had not an opportunity of forwarding so good a work.

About thirty miles below the Falls of St. Anthony, at which I arrived the tenth day after I left Lake Pepin, is a remarkable cave of an amazing depth. The Indians term it Wakon-teebe, that is, the Dwelling of the Great Spirit. The entrance into it is about ten feet wide, the height of it five feet. The arch within is near fifteen feet high and about thirty feet broad. The bottom of it consists of fine clear sand. About twenty feet from the entrance begins a lake, the water of which is transparent, and extends to an unsearchable distance; for the darkness of the cave prevents all attempts to acquire a knowledge of it. I threw a small pebble towards the interior parts of it with my utmost strength: I could hear that it fell into the water, and notwithstanding it was of so small a size, it caused an astonishing

ing and horrible noise that reverberated through all those gloomy regions. I found in this cave many Indian hieroglyphicks, which appeared very ancient, for time had nearly covered them with moss, so that it was with difficulty I could trace them. They were cut in a rude manner upon the inside of the walls, which were composed of a stone so extremely soft that it might easily be penetrated with a knife: a stone every where to be found near the Mississippi. The cave is only accessible by ascending a narrow, steep passage that lies near the brink of the river.

At a little distance from this dreary cavern is the burying-place of several bands of the Naudowessie Indians: though these people have no fixed residence, living in tents, and abiding but a few months on one spot, yet they always bring the bones of their dead to this place; which they take the opportunity of doing when the chiefs meet to hold their councils, and to settle all public affairs for the ensuing summer.

Ten miles below the Falls of St. Anthony the River St. Pierre, called by the natives the Waddapawmenefotor, falls into the Mississippi from the West. It is not mentioned by Father Hennipin, although a large fair river: this omission I conclude, must have proceeded from a small island that is situated exactly at its entrance, by which the sight of it is intercepted. I should not have discovered this river myself, had I not taken a view, when I was searching for it, from the high lands opposite, which rise to a great height.

Nearly over against this river I was obliged to leave my canoe, on account of the ice, and travel by land to the Falls of St. Anthony, where I arrived on the 17th of November. The Mississippi from the St. Pierre to this place is rather more rapid than I had hitherto found it, and without islands of any consideration.

Before I left my canoe I overtook a young prince of the Winnebago Indians, who was going on an embassy to some of the bands of the Naudowessies. Finding that I intended to take a view of the Falls, he agreed to accompany me, his curiosity having been often excited by the accounts he had received from some of his chiefs: he accordingly left his family (for the Indians never travel without their households) at this place, under the care of my Mohawk servant, and we proceeded together by land, attended only by my Frenchman, to this celebrated place.

We could distinctly hear the noise of the water full fifteen miles before we reached the falls; and I was greatly pleased and surprized, when I approached this astonishing work of nature: but I was not long at liberty to indulge these emotions, my attention being called off by the behaviour of my companion.

The prince had no sooner gained the point that overlooks this wonderful cascade, than he began with an audible voice to address

addresses the Great Spirit, one of whose places of residence he imagined this to be. He told him that he had come a long way to pay his adorations to him, and now would make him the best offerings in his power. He accordingly first threw his pipe into the stream; then the roll that contained his tobacco; after these, the bracelets he wore on his arms and wrists; next an ornament that encircled his neck, composed of beads and wires; and at last the ear-rings from his ears; in short, he presented to his god every part of his dress that was valuable: during this he frequently smote his breast with great violence, threw his arms about, and appeared to be much agitated.

All this while he continued his adorations and at length concluded them with fervent petitions that the Great Spirit would constantly afford us his protection on our travels, giving us a bright sun, a blue sky, and clear untroubled waters: nor would he leave the place till we had smoaked together with my pipe in honour of the Great Spirit.

I was greatly surprized at beholding an instance of such elevated devotion in so young an Indian, and instead of ridiculing the ceremonies attending it, as I observed my catholic servant tacitly did, I looked on the prince with a greater degree of respect for these sincere proofs he gave of his piety; and I doubt not but that his offerings and prayers were as acceptable to the universal Parent of mankind, as if they had been made with greater pomp, or in a consecrated place.

Indeed, the whole conduct of this young prince at once amazed and charmed me. During the few days we were together his attention seemed totally to be employed in yielding me every assistance in his power; and even in so short a time he gave me innumerable proofs of the most generous and disinterested friendship; so that on our return I parted from him with great reluctance. Whilst I beheld the artless, yet engaging manners of this unpolished savage, I could not help drawing a comparison between him and some of the more refined inhabitants of civilized countries, not much, I own, in favour of the latter.

The Falls of St. Anthony received their name from Father Louis Hennipin, a French missionary, who travelled into these parts about the year 1680, and was the first European ever seen by the natives. This amazing body of waters, which are above 250 yards over, form a most pleasing cataract; they fall perpendicularly about thirty feet, and the rapids below, in the space of 300 yards more, render the descent considerably greater; so that when viewed at a distance they appear to be much higher than they really are. The above-mentioned traveller has laid them down at above sixty feet; but he has made a greater error in calculating the height of the Falls of Niagara; which he asserts to be 600 feet; whereas from latter observations accurately made, it is well known that it does not exceed 140 feet. But the good father I fear too often had no other foundation for his accounts than report, or, at best, a slight inspection.

In the middle of the Falls stands a small island, about forty feet broad and somewhat longer, on which grow a few cragged hemlock and spruce trees; and about half way between this island and the eastern shore is a rock, lying at the very edge of the Fall, in an oblique position, that appeared to be about five or six feet broad, and thirty or forty long. These Falls vary much from all the others I have seen, as you may approach close to them without finding the least obstruction from any intervening hill or precipice.

The country around them is extremely beautiful. It is not an uninterrupted plain where the eye finds no relief, but composed of many gentle ascents, which in the summer are covered with the finest verdure, and interspersed with little groves, that give a pleasing variety to the prospect. On the whole, when the Falls are included, which may be seen at the distance of four miles, a more pleasing and picturesque view cannot, I believe, be found throughout the universe. I could have wished that I had happened to enjoy this glorious sight at a more seasonable time of the year, whilst the trees and hillocks were clad in nature's gayest livery, as this must have greatly added to the pleasure I received; however, even then it exceeded my warmest expectations. I have endeavoured to give the reader as just an idea of this enchanting spot as possible; but all description, whether of the pencil or the pen, must fall infinitely short of the original.

At a little distance below the Falls stands a small island, of about an acre and an half, on which grow a great number of oak trees, every branch of which, able to support the weight, was full of eagles nests. The reason that this kind of birds resort in such numbers to this spot, is that they are here secure from the attacks either of man or beast, their retreat being guarded by the rapids, which the Indians never attempt to pass. Another reason is, that they find a constant supply of food for themselves and their young, from the animals and fish which are dashed to pieces by the falls, and driven on the adjacent shore.

Having satisfied my curiosity, as far as the eye of man can be satisfied, I proceeded on, still accompanied by my young friend, till I had reached the River St. Francis, near sixty miles above the Falls. To this river Father Hennipin gave the name of St. Francis, and this was the extent of his travels, as well as mine, towards the north-west. As the season was so advanced, and the weather extremely cold, I was not able to make so many observations on these parts as I otherwise should have done.

It might however, perhaps, be necessary to observe, that in the little tour I made about the Falls, after travelling fourteen miles, by the side of the Mississippi, I came to a river nearly twenty yards wide, which ran from the north-east, called Rum-River. And on the 20th of November came to another termed

Goose-River, about twelve yards wide. On the 21st I arrived at the St. Francis, which is about thirty yards wide. Here the Mississippi itself grows narrow, being not more than ninety yards over; and appears to be chiefly composed of small branches. The ice prevented me from noticing the depth of any of these three rivers.

The country in some places is hilly, but without large mountains; and the land is tolerably good. I observed here many deer and cariboes, some elk, with abundance of beavers, otters, and other furs. A little above this, to the north-east, are a number of small lakes called the Thousand Lakes; the parts about which, though but little frequented, are the best within many miles for hunting, as the hunter never fails of returning loaded beyond his expectations.

The Mississippi has never been explored higher up than the River St. Francis, and only by Father Hennipin and myself thus far. So that we are obliged solely to the Indians, for all the intelligence we are able to give relative to the more northern parts. As this River is not navigable from the sea for vessels of any considerable burthen, much higher up than the Forks of the Ohio, and even that is accomplished with great difficulty, owing to the rapidity of the current, and the windings of the river, those settlements that may be made on the interior branches of it, must be indisputably secure from the attacks of any maritime power. But at the same time the settlers will have the advantage of being able to convey their produce to the sea-ports with great facility, the current of the river from its source to its entrance into the Gulph of Mexico, being extremely favourable for doing this in small craft. This might also in time be facilitated by canals or shorter cuts; and a communication opened by water with New York, Canada, &c. by way of the lakes. The Forks of the Ohio are about nine hundred miles from the mouth of the Mississippi, following the course of the river; and the Messorie two hundred miles above these. From the latter it is about twenty miles to the Illinois River, and from that to the Ouifconsin, which I have given an account of about eight hundred more.

On the 25th I returned to my canoe, which I had left at the mouth of the River St. Pierre; and here I parted with regret from my young friend the prince of the Winnebagoes. This river being clear of ice by reason of its southern situation, I found nothing to obstruct my passage. On the 28th, being advanced about forty miles, I arrived at a small branch that fell into it from the north; to which, as it had no name that I could distinguish it by, I gave my own. About forty miles higher up I came to the Forks of Verd and Red Marble Rivers, which join at some little distance before they enter the St. Pierre.

The River St. Pierre, at its junction with the Mississippi, is about a hundred yards broad, and continues that breadth nearly all the way I sailed upon it. It has a great depth of water,

and in some places runs very briskly. About fifty miles from its mouth are some rapids, and much higher up there are many others.

I proceeded up this river about two hundred miles to the country of the Naudowessies of the Plains, which lies a little above the Forks formed by the Verd and Red Marble Rivers, just mentioned, where a branch from the south nearly joins the Meslone River. By the accounts I received from the Indians, I have reason to believe that the River St. Pierre and the Messorie, though they enter the Mississippi twelve hundred miles from each other, take their rise in the same neighbourhood; and this within the space of a mile.

The River St. Pierre's northern branch rises from a number of lakes near the shining mountains; and it is from some of these, also, that a capital branch of the River Bourbon, which runs into Hudson's Bay, has its sources.

From the intelligence I gained from the Naudowessie Indians, among whom I arrived the 7th of December, and whose language I perfectly acquired during a residence of five months; and also from the accounts I afterwards obtained from the Assinipoils, who speak the same tongue, being a revolted band of the Naudowessies; and from the Killistinoes, neighbours of the Assinipoils, who speak the Chipéway language, and inhabit the heads of the River Bourbon; I say from these nations, together with my own observations, I have learned that the four most capital rivers on the Continent of North America, viz. the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the river Bourbon, and the Oregon of the river of the West (as I hinted in my Introduction) have their sources in the same neighbourhood. The waters of the three former are within thirty miles of each other; the latter, however, is rather farther west.

This shews that these parts are the highest lands in North America; and it is an instance not to be paralleled on the other three quarters of the globe, that four rivers of such magnitude should take their rise together, and each, after running separate courses, discharge their waters into different oceans at the distance of two thousand miles from their sources. For in their passage from this spot to the bay of St. Lawrence, east, to the bay of Mexico, south, to Hudson's Bay, north, and to the bay at the Straights of Annian, west, each of these traverse upwards of two thousand miles.

I shall here give my Readers such reflections as occurred to me, when I had received this interesting information, and had by numberless enquiries, ascertained the truth of it; that is, as far as it was possible to arrive at a certainty without a personal investigation.

It is well known that the Colonies, particularly those of New-England and Canada, are greatly affected, about the time their winter sets in, by a north-west wind, which continues for several months, and renders the cold much more intense there than

it is in the interior parts of America. This I can, from my own knowledge, assert, as I found the winter, that I passed to the westward of the Mississippi, far from severe; and the north-west wind blowing on those countries considerably more temperate than I have often experienced it to be nearer the coast. And that this did not arise from an uncertainty of the seasons, but was annually the case, I conclude, both from the small quantity of snow that then fell, and a total disuse of snow shoes by these Indians, without which none of the more eastern nations can possibly travel during the winter.

As naturalists observe, that air resembles water in many respects, particularly by often flowing in a compact body; and that this is generally remarked to be with the current of large streams, and seldom across them, may not the winds that set violently into the Bay of Mexico about the latter end of the year, take their course over the continent in the same direction as the Mississippi does; till meeting with the north winds (that from a similar cause blow up the Bourbon from Hudson's Bay) they are forced across the great lakes, down the current of the waters of the St. Lawrence, and united, commit those ravages, and occasion those severe winters, experienced in the before-mentioned countries? During their progress over the lakes they become expanded, and consequently affect a greater tract of land than they otherwise would do.

According to my scanty knowledge of natural philosophy, this does not appear improbable. Whether it is agreeable to the laws established by naturalists to account for the operations of that element, I know not. However, the description here given of the situation of these vast bodies of water, and their near approach to each other, with my own undigested suppositions of their effect on the winds, may prove perhaps, in abler hands, the means of leading to many useful discoveries.

On the 7th of December, I arrived (as I said before) at the utmost extent of my travels towards the west; where I met with a large party of the Naudowessie Indians, among whom I resided seven months. These constituted a part of the eight bands of the Naudowessies of the Plains; and are termed the Wawpeentowahs, the Tintons, the Afrahcootans, the Mawhaws, and the Schians. The other three bands, whose names are the Schianese, the Chongouseton, and the Waddapawjeitin, dwell higher up, to the west of the River St. Pierre, on plains that, according to their account, are unbounded; and probably terminate on the coast of the Pacific Ocean. The Naudowessie nation, when united, consists of more than two thousand warriors. The Assinipoils, who revolted from them, amount to about three hundred; and leagued with the Killistinoes, live in a continual state of enmity with the other eleven bands.

As I proceeded up the River St. Pierre, and had nearly reached the place where these people were encamped, I observed two or three canoes coming down the stream; but no sooner
had

had the Indians that were on board them discovered us, than they rowed toward the land, and leaping ashore with precipitation, left their canoes to float as the current drove them. In a few minutes I perceived some others; who, as soon as they came in sight, followed, with equal speed, the example of their countrymen.

I now thought it necessary to proceed with caution; and therefore kept on the side of the river opposite to that on which the Indians had landed. However, I still continued my course, satisfied that the pipe of peace, which was fixed at the head of my canoe, and the English colours that were flying at the stern, would prove my security. After rowing about half a mile farther, in turning a point, I discovered a great number of tents, and more than a thousand Indians, at a little distance from the shore. Being now nearly opposite to them, I ordered my men to pull directly over, as I was willing to convince the Indians by such a step, that I placed some confidence in them.

As soon as I had reached the land, two of the chiefs presented their hands to me, and led me, amidst the astonished multitude, who had most of them never seen a white man before, to a tent. Into this we entered, and according to the custom that universally prevails among every Indian nation, began to smoke the pipe of peace. We had not sat long before the crowd became so great, both around, and upon the tent, that we were in danger of being crushed by its fall. On this we returned to the plain, where, having gratified the curiosity of the common people, their wonder abated, and ever after they treated me with great respect.

From the chiefs I met with the most friendly and hospitable reception; which induced me, as the season was so far advanced, to take up my residence among them during the winter. To render my stay as comfortable as possible, I first endeavoured to learn their language. This I soon did, so as to make myself perfectly intelligible, having before acquired some slight knowledge of the language of those Indians that live on the back of the settlements; and in consequence met with every accommodation their manner of living would afford. Nor did I want for such amusements as tended to make so long a period pass cheerfully away. I frequently hunted with them; and at other times beheld with pleasure their recreations and pastimes, which I shall describe hereafter.

Sometimes I sat with the chiefs, and whilst we smoked the friendly pipe, entertained them, in return for the accounts they gave me of their wars and excursions, with a narrative of my own adventures, and a description of all the battles fought between the English and the French in America, in many of which I had a personal share. They always paid great attention to my details, and asked many pertinent questions relative to the European methods of making war.

I hold these conversations with them in a great measure to procure

procure from them some information relative to the chief point I had constantly in view, that of gaining a knowledge of the situation and produce, both of their own country, and those that lay to the westward of them. Nor was I disappointed in my designs; for I procured from them much useful intelligence. They likewise drew for me plans of all the countries with which they were acquainted; but as I entertained no great opinion of their geographical knowledge, I placed not much dependence on them, and therefore think it unnecessary to give them to the public. They draw with a piece of burnt coal, taken from the hearth, upon the inside bark of the birch tree; which is as smooth as paper, and answers the same purposes, notwithstanding it is of a yellow cast. Their sketches are made in a rude manner, but they seem to give us as just an idea of a country, although the plan is not so exact, as more experienced draughtsmen could do.

I left the habitations of these hospitable Indians the latter end of April 1767; but did not part from them for several days, as I was accompanied on my journey by near three hundred of them, among whom were many chiefs, to the mouth of the River St. Pierre. At this season, these bands annually go to the Great Cave, before mentioned, to hold a grand council with all the other bands; wherein they settle their operations for the ensuing year. At the same time they carry with them their dead for interment, bound up in buffaloes skins. Besides those that accompanied me, others were gone before, and the rest were to follow.

Never did I travel with so cheerful and happy a company. But their mirth met with a sudden and temporary alloy from a violent storm that overtook us one day on our passage. We had just landed, and were preparing to set up our tents for the night, when a heavy cloud overspread the heavens, and the most dreadful thunder, lightning, and rain issued from it, that ever I beheld.

The Indians were greatly terrified, and ran to such shelter as they could find; for only a few tents were as yet erected. Apprehensive of the danger that might ensue from standing near any thing which could serve for a conductor, as the cloud appeared to contain such an uncommon quantity of electrical fluid, I took my stand as far as possible from any covering; chusing rather to be exposed to the peltings of the storm, than to receive a fatal stroke. At this the Indians were greatly surprized, and drew conclusions from it not unfavourable to the opinion they already entertained of my resolution. Yet I acknowledge that I was never more affected in my life; for nothing scarcely could exceed the terrific scene. The peals of thunder were so loud that they shook the earth; and the lightning flashed along the ground in streams of sulphur; so that the Indian chiefs themselves, although their courage in war is usually invincible, could not help trembling at the horrid combustion. As soon as the storm was over, they flocked around me, and informed me, that it was a

proof of the anger of the evil spirits, whom they were apprehensive that they had highly offended.

When we arrived at the Great Cave, and the Indians had deposited the remains of their deceased friends in the burial-place that stands adjacent to it, they held their great council, into which I was admitted, and at the same time had the honour to be installed or adopted a chief of their bands. On this occasion I made the following speech, which I insert to give my readers a specimen of the language and manner in which it is necessary to address the Indians, so as to engage their attention, and to render the speaker's expressions consonant to their ideas. It was delivered on the first day of May 1767.

“ My brothers, chiefs of the numerous and powerful Naudowessies! I rejoice that through my long abode with you, I can now speak to you (though after an imperfect manner) in your own tongue, like one of your own children. I rejoice also that I have had an opportunity so frequently to inform you of the glory and power of the Great King that reigns over the English and other nations; who is descended from a very ancient race of sovereigns, as old as the earth and waters; whose feet stand on two great islands, larger than any you have ever seen, amidst the greatest waters in the world; whose head reaches to the sun, and whose arms encircle the whole earth. The number of whose warriors are equal to the trees in the vallies, the stalks of rice in yonder marshes, or the blades of grass on your great plains. Who has hundreds of canoes of his own, of such amazing bigness, that all the waters in your country would not suffice for one of them to swim in; each of which have guns, not small like mine, which you see before you, but of such magnitude, that an hundred of your stoutest young men would with difficulty be able to carry one. And these are equally surprizing in their operation against the great kings enemies when engaged in battle; the terror they carry with them your language wants words to express. You may remember the other day when we were encamping, at Wadawpawmenesoter, the black clouds, the wind, the fire, the stupendous noise, the horrible cracks, and the trembling of the earth, which then alarmed you, and gave you reason to think your gods were angry with you; not unlike these are the warlike implements of the English, when they are fighting the battles of their great King.

“ Several of the chiefs of your bands have often told me, in times past, when I dwelt with you in your tents, that they much wished to be counted among the children and allies of the great King my master. You may remember how often you have desired me, when I return again to my own country, to acquaint the great King of your good disposition towards him and his subjects, and that you wished for traders from the English to come among you.

“ Being now about to take my leave of you, and to return
“ to

“ to my own country, a long way towards the rising sun, I
 “ again ask you to tell me whether you continue of the same
 “ mind as when I spoke to you in council last winter; and as
 “ there are now several of your chiefs here, who came from
 “ the great plains towards the setting of the sun, whom I have
 “ never spoke with in council before, I ask you to let me know
 “ if you are all willing to acknowledge yourselves the children
 “ of my great master the King of the English and other nati-
 “ ons, as I shall take the first opportunity to acquaint him of
 “ your desires and good intentions.

“ I charge you not to give heed to bad reports; for there
 “ are wicked birds flying about among the neighbouring nati-
 “ ons, who may whisper evil things in your ears against the
 “ English, contrary to what I have told you; you must not be-
 “ lieve them, for I have told you the truth.

“ And as for the chiefs that are about to go to Michillimack-
 “ inac, I shall take care to make for them and their suite, a
 “ straight road, smooth waters, and a clear sky; that they may
 “ go there, and smoke the pipe of Peace, and rest secure on a
 “ beaver blanket under the shade of the great tree of Peace.
 “ Farewell!”

To this speech I received the following answer, from the
 mouth of the principal chief:

“ Good brother! I am now about to speak to you with the
 “ mouths of these my brothers, chiefs of the eight bands of
 “ the powerful nation of the Naudowessies. We believe and
 “ are well satisfied in the truth of every thing you have told
 “ us about your great nation, and the Great King our greatest
 “ father; for whom we spread this beaver blanket, that his
 “ fatherly protection may ever rest easy and safe amongst us his
 “ children: your colours and your arms agree with the accounts
 “ you have given us about your great nation. We desire that
 “ when you return, you will acquaint the Great King how
 “ much the Naudowessies wish to be counted among his good
 “ children.

“ You may believe us when we tell you that we will not open
 “ our ears to any who may dare to speak evil of our Great Fa-
 “ ther the King of the English and other nations.

“ We thank you for what you have done for us in making
 “ peace between the Naudowessies and the Chipéways, and hope
 “ when you return to us again, that you will complete this
 “ good work; and quite dispelling the clouds that intervene,
 “ open the blue sky of peace, and cause the bloody hatchet to
 “ be deep buried under the roots of the great tree of peace.

“ We wish you to remember to represent to our Great Fa-
 “ ther, how much we desire that traders may be sent to abide
 “ among us, with such things as we need, that the hearts of
 “ our young men, our wives, and children may be made glad.
 “ And may peace subsist between us, so long as the sun, the

"moon, the earth, and the waters shall endure. Fare-
"well!"

I thought it necessary to caution the Indians against giving heed to any bad reports that may reach them from the neighbouring nations to the disadvantage of the English, as I had heard, at different places through which I passed, that emissaries were still employed by the French to detach those who were friendly to the English from their interest. And I saw, myself, several belts of Wampum that had been delivered for this purpose to some of the tribes I was among. On the delivery of each of these a Talk was held, wherein the Indians were told that the English, who were but a petty people, had stolen that country from their Great Father the king of France whilst he was asleep; but that he would soon awake, and take them again under his protection. These I found were sent from Canada by persons who appeared to be well affected towards the government under which they lived.

Whilst I tarried at the mouth of the River St. Pierre with these friendly Indians, I endeavoured to gain intelligence whether any goods had been sent towards the Falls of St. Anthony for my use, agreeable to the promise I had received from the governor when I left Michillimackinac. But finding from some Indians, who passed by in their return from those parts, that this agreement had not been fulfilled, I was obliged to give up all thoughts of proceeding farther to the north-west by this route, according to my original plan. I therefore returned to La Prairie le Chien, where I procured as many goods from the traders I left there the preceeding year as they could spare.

As these however were not sufficient to enable me to renew my first design, I determined to endeavour to make my way across the country of the Chipéways to Lake Superior; in hopes of meeting at the Grand Portage on the north side of it, the traders that annually go from Michillimackinac to the north-west; of whom I doubted not but that I should be able to procure goods enough to answer my purpose, and also to penetrate through those more northern parts to the Straights of Annian.

And I the more readily returned to La Prairie le Chien, as I could by that means the better fulfil the engagement I had made to the party of Naudowessies mentioned at the conclusion of my speech.

During my abode with this people, wishing to secure them entirely in the interest of the English, I had advised some of the chiefs to go to Michillimackinac, where they would have an opportunity of trading, and of hearing the accounts that I had entertained them with of my countrymen, confirmed. At the same time I had furnished them with a recommendation to the governor, and given them every direction necessary for their voyage.

In consequence of this, one of the principal chiefs, and twenty-five of an inferior rank, agreed to go the ensuing summer.

mer. This they took an opportunity of doing, when they came with the rest of their band to attend the grand council at the mouth of the River St. Pierre. Being obliged, on account of the disappointment I had just been informed of, to return so far down the Mississippi, I could from thence the more easily let them on their journey.

As the intermediate parts of this river are much frequented by the Chipéways, with whom the Naudowessies are continually at war, they thought it more prudent, being but a small party, to take the advantage of the night, than to travel with me by day; accordingly no sooner was the grand council broke up, than I took a friendly leave of these people, from whom I had received innumerable civilities, and pursued once more my voyage.

I reached the eastern side of Lake Pepin the same night, where I went ashore and encamped as usual. The next morning, when I had proceeded some miles farther, I perceived at a distance before me a smoke, which denoted that some Indians were near; and in a short time discovered ten or twelve tents not far from the bank of the river. As I was apprehensive that this was a party of the Rovers I had before met with, I knew not what course to pursue. My attendants persuaded me to endeavour to pass by them on the opposite side of the river; but as I had hitherto found that the best way to ensure a friendly reception from the Indians, is to meet them boldly, and without shewing any tokens of fear, I would by no means consent to their proposal. Instead of this I crossed directly over, and landed in the midst of them, for by this time the greatest part of them were standing on the shore.

The first I accosted were Chipéways inhabiting near the Ottowaw Lakes; who received me with great cordiality, and took me by the hand in token of friendship. At some little distance behind these stood a chief remarkably tall and well made, but of so stern an aspect, that the most undaunted person could not behold him without feeling some degree of terror. He seemed to have passed the meridian of life, and by the mode in which he was painted and tatowed, I discovered that he was of high rank. However, I approached him in a courteous manner, and expected to have met with the same reception I had done from the others: but to my great surprize, he withheld his hand, and looking fiercely at me, said in the Chipéway tongue, "Cawin nishishin saganosh," that is, "The English are no good." As he had his tomahawk in his hand, I expected that this laconick sentence would have been followed by a blow; to prevent which, I drew a pistol from my belt, and, holding it in a careless position, passed close by him, to let him see I was not afraid of him.

I learned soon after from the other Indians, that this was a chief, called by the French the Grand Sautor, or the Great Chipéway Chief, for they denominate the Chipéways Sautors. They
likewise

likewise told me that he had been always a steady friend to that people, and when they delivered up Michillimackinac to the English on their evacuation of Canada, the Grand Sautor had sworn that he would ever remain the avowed enemy of its new possessors, as the territories on which the fort is built belonged to him.

Finding him thus disposed, I took care to be constantly upon my guard whilst I staid; but that he might not suppose I was driven away by his frowns, I took up my abode there for the night. I pitched my tent at some distance from the Indians, and had no sooner laid myself down to rest, than I was awakened by my French servant. Having been alarmed by the sound of Indian music, he had run to the outside of the tent, where he beheld a party of the young savages dancing towards us in an extraordinary manner, each carrying in his hand a torch fixed on the top of a long pole. But I shall defer any further account of this uncommon entertainment, which at once surprized and alarmed me till I treat of the Indian dances.

The next morning I continued my voyage, and before night reached La Prairie le Chien; at which place the party of Naudowessies soon overtook me. Not long after the Grand Sautor also arrived, and before the Naudowessies left that place to continue their journey to Michillimackinac, he found means, in conjunction with some French traders from Louisiana, to draw from me about ten of the Naudowessie chiefs, whom he prevailed upon to go towards those parts.

The remainder proceeded, according to my directions, to the English fort; from whence I afterwards heard that they returned to their own country without any unfortunate accident befalling them, and greatly pleased with the reception they had met with. Whilst not more than half of those who went to the southward, through the difference of that southern climate from their own, lived to reach their abode. And since I came to England I have been informed, that the Grand Sautor having rendered himself more and more disgustful to the English, by his inveterate enmity towards them, was at length stabbed in his tent, as he encamped near Michillimackinac, by a trader to whom I had related the foregoing story.

I should have remarked, that whatever Indians happen to meet at La Prairie le Chien, the great mart to which all who inhabit the adjacent countries resort, though the nations to which they belong are at war with each other, yet they are obliged to restrain their enmity, and to forbear all hostile acts during their stay there. This regulation has been long established among them for their mutual convenience, as without it no trade could be carried on. The same rule is observed also at the Red Mountain (afterwards described) from whence they get the stone of which they make their pipes: these being indispensable to the accommodation of every neighbouring tribe, a similar restriction becomes needful, and is of public utility.

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The River St. Pierre, which runs through the territories of the Naudowessies, flows through a most delightful country, abounding with all the necessaries of life, that grow spontaneously; and with a little cultivation it might be made to produce even the luxuries of life. Wild rice grows here in great abundance; and every part is filled with trees bending under their loads of fruits, such as plums, grapes, and apples; the meadows are covered with hops, and many sorts of vegetables; whilst the ground is stored with useful roots, with angelica, spikenard, and ground-nuts as large as hens eggs. At a little distance from the sides of the river are eminences, from which you have views that cannot be exceeded even by the most beautiful of those I have already described; amidst these are delightful groves, and such amazing quantities of maples, that they would produce sugar sufficient for any number of inhabitants.

A little way from the mouth of this river, on the north side of it, stands a hill, one part of which, that towards the Mississippi, is composed entirely of white stone, of the same soft nature as that I have before described; for such, indeed, is all the stone in this country. But what appears remarkable is, that the colour of it is as white as the driven snow. The outward part of it was crumbled by the wind and weather into heaps of sand, of which a beautiful composition might be made; or, I am of opinion that, when properly treated, the stone itself would grow harder by time, and have a very noble effect in architecture.

Near that branch which is termed the Marble River, is a mountain, from whence the Indians get a sort of red stone, out of which they hew the bowls of their pipes. In some of these parts is found a black hard clay, or rather stone, of which the Naudowessies make their family utensils. This country likewise abounds with a milk-white clay, of which China ware might be made equal in goodness to the Asiatic; and also with a blue clay that serves the Indians for paint, with this last they contrive, by mixing it with the red stone powdered, to paint themselves of different colours. Those that can get the blue clay here mentioned, paint themselves very much with it; particularly when they are about to begin their sports and pastimes. It is also esteemed by them a mark of peace, as it has a resemblance of a blue sky, which with them is a symbol of it, and made use of in their speeches as a figurative expression to denote peace. When they wish to shew that their inclinations are pacific towards other tribes, they greatly ornament both themselves and their belts with it.

Having concluded my business at La Prairie le Chien, I proceeded once more up the Mississippi, as far as the place where the Chipéway River enters it a little below Lake Pepin. Here, having engaged an Indian pilot, I directed him to steer towards the Ottawaw Lakes, which lie near the head of this river. This he did, and I arrived at them the beginning of July.

The Chipéway River, at its junction with the Mississippi, is about eighty yards wide, but is much wider as you advance in-

to it. Near thirty miles up it separates into two branches, and I took my course through that which lies to the eastward.

The country adjoining to the river, for about sixty miles, is very level, and on its banks lie fine meadows, where larger droves of buffaloes and elks were feeding, than I had observed in any other part of my travels. The track between the two branches of this river is termed the Road of War between the Chipeway and Naudowessie Indians.

The country to the Falls is almost without any timber, and above that very uneven and rugged, and closely wooded with pines, beach, maple and birch. Here a most remarkable and astonishing sight presented itself to my view. In a wood, on the east of the river, which was about three quarters of a mile in length, and in depth farther than my eye could reach, I observed that every tree, many of which were more than six feet in circumference, was lying flat on the ground, torn up by the roots. This appeared to have been done by some extraordinary hurricane, that came from the west some years ago; but how many I could not learn, as I found no inhabitants near it, of whom I could gain information. The country on the west side of the river, from being less woody, had escaped in a great measure this havock, as only a few trees were blown down.

Near the heads of this river is a town of the Chipeways, from whence it takes its name. It is situated on each side of the river (which at this place is of no considerable breadth) and lies adjacent to the banks of a small lake. This town contains about forty houses, and can send out upwards of one hundred warriors, many of whom were fine stout young men. The houses of it are built after the Indian manner, and have neat plantations behind them; but the inhabitants, in general, seemed to be the nastiest people I had ever been among. I observed that the women and children indulged themselves in a custom, which though common, in some degree, throughout every Indian nation, appears to be, according to our ideas, of the most nauseous and indelicate nature; that of searching each other's head, and eating the prey caught therein.

In July I left this town, and having crossed a number of small lakes and carrying places that intervened, came to a head branch of the River St. Croix. This branch I descended to a fork, and then ascended another to its source. On both these rivers I discovered several mines of virgin copper, which was as pure as that found in any other country.

Here I came to a small brook, which my guide thought might be joined at some distance by streams that would at length render it navigable. The water at first was so scanty, that my canoe would by no means swim in it; but having stopped up several old beaver dams, which had been broken down by the hunters, I was enabled to proceed for some miles, till by the conjunction of a few brooks, these aids became no longer necessary. In a short time the water increased to a most rapid

pid river, which we descended till it entered into Lake Superior. This river I named after a gentleman that desired to accompany me from the town of the Ottagaumies to the Carrying Place on Lake Superior, Goddard's River.

To the west of this is another small river, which also empties itself into the Lake. This I termed Strawberry River, from the great number of strawberries of a good size and flavour that grew on its banks.

The country from the Ottawaw Lakes to Lake Superior is in general very uneven and thickly covered with woods. The soil in some places is tolerably good, in others but indifferent. In the heads of the St. Croix and the Chipéways Rivers are exceeding fine sturgeon. All the wilderness between the Mississippi and Lake Superior is called by the Indians the Moschettoe country, and I thought it most justly named; for, it being then their season, I never saw or felt so many of those insects in my life.

The latter end of July I arrived, after having coasted through West Bay, at the Grand Portage, which lies on the north-west borders of Lake Superior. Here those who go on the north-west trade, to the Lakes De Pluye, Dubois, &c. carry over their canoes and baggage about nine miles, till they come to a number of small lakes, the waters of some of which descend into Lake Superior, and others into the River Bourbon. Lake Superior from West Bay to this place is bounded by rocks, except towards the south-west part of the Bay where I first entered it, there it was tolerably level.

At the Grand Portage is a small bay, before the entrance of which lies an island that intercepts the dreary and uninterrupted view over the Lake which otherwise would have presented itself, and makes the bay serene and pleasant. Here I met a large party of the Killistimoe and Assinipoil Indians, with their respective kings and their families. They were come to this place in order to meet the traders from Michillimackinac, who make this their road to the north-west. From them I received the following account of the Lakes that lie to the north-west of Lake Superior.

Lake Bourbon, the most northern of those yet discovered, received its name from the French traders who accompanied a party of Indians to Hudson's Bay some years ago; and was thus denominated by them in honour of the royal family of France. It is composed of the waters of the Bourbon River, which, as I have before observed, rises a great way to the southward, not far from the northern heads of the Mississippi.

This lake is about eighty miles in length, north and south, and is nearly circular. It has no very large islands on it. The land on the eastern side is very good; and to the south-west there are some mountains: in many other parts there are barren plains, bogs and morasses. Its latitude is between fifty-two and fifty-four degrees north, and it lies nearly south-west from Hudson's

son's Bay. As through its northern situation the weather there is extremely cold, only a few animals are to be found in the country that borders on it. They gave me but an indifferent account either of the beasts, birds, or fishes. There are indeed some buffaloes of a small size, which are fat and good about the latter end of summer, with a few moose and caribboo deer; however this deficiency is made up by the furs of every sort that are to be met with in great plenty around the lake. The timber growing here is chiefly fir, cedar, spruce, and some maple.

Lake Winnepeck, or as the French write it Lac Ouinipique, which lies nearest to the foregoing, is composed of the same waters. It is in length about two hundred miles north and south; its breadth has never been properly ascertained, but is supposed to be about one hundred miles in its widest part. This lake is very full of islands; these are, however, of no great magnitude. Many considerable rivers empty themselves into it, which, as yet, are not distinguished by any names. The waters are stored with fish, such as trout and sturgeon, and also with others of a smaller kind, peculiar to these lakes.

The land on the south-west part of it is very good, especially about the entrance of a large branch of the River Bourbon, which flows from the south-west. On this river there is a factory that was built by the French, called Fort la Reine, to which the traders from Michillimackinac resort to trade with the Assinipoils and Killistinoes. To this place the Mahabs, who inhabit a country two hundred and fifty miles south-west, come also to trade with them; and bring great quantities of Indian corn, to exchange for knives, tomakawks, and other articles. Those people are supposed to dwell on some of the branches of the River of the West.

Lake Winnepeck has on the north-east some mountains, and on the east many barren plains. The maple or sugar tree grows here in great plenty, and there is likewise gathered an amazing quantity of rice, which proves that grain will flourish in these northern climates as well as in warmer. Buffaloes, caribboo, and moose deer, are numerous in these parts. The buffaloes of this country differ from those that are found more to the south only in size; the former being much smaller: just as the black cattle of the northern parts of Great-Britain differ from English oxen.

On the waters that fall into this Lake, the neighbouring nations take great numbers of excellent furs. Some of these they carry to the factories and settlements belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, situated above the entrance of the Bourbon River; but this they do with reluctance on several accounts; for some of the Assinipoils and Killistinoes, who usually traded with the Company's servants, told me, that if they could be sure of a constant supply of goods from Michillimackinac, they would not trade any where else. They shewed me some cloth and other articles

articles that they had purchased at Hudson's Bay, with which they were much dissatisfied, thinking they had been greatly imposed upon in the barter.

Allowing that their accounts were true, I could not help joining in their opinion. But this dissatisfaction might probably proceed, in a great measure, from the intrigues of the Canadian traders: for whilst the French were in possession of Michillimackinac, having acquired a thorough knowledge of the trade of the north-west countries, they were employed on that account, after the reduction of Canada, by the English traders there, in the establishment of this trade with which they were themselves quite unacquainted. One of the methods they took to withdraw these Indians from their attachment to the Hudson's Bay Company, and to engage their good opinion in behalf of their new employers, was by depreciating on all occasions the Company's goods, and magnifying the advantages that would arise to them from trafficking entirely with the Canadian traders. In this they too well succeeded, and from this, doubtless, did the dissatisfaction the Assinipoils and Killistinoes expressed to me, partly proceed. But another reason augmented it; and this was the length of their journey to the Hudson's Bay factories, which, they informed me, took them up three months, during the summer heats to go and return, and from the smallness of their canoes they could not carry more than a third of the beavers they killed. So that it is not to be wondered at, that these Indians should wish to have traders come to reside among them. It is true that the parts they inhabit are within the limits of the Hudson's Bay territories; but the Company must be under the necessity of winking at an encroachment of this kind, as the Indians would without doubt protect the traders when among them. Besides, the passports granted to the traders that go from Michillimackinac give them liberty to trade to the north-west about Lake Superior; by which is meant Fort La Reine, Lake Winnepeek, or any other parts of the waters of the Bourbon River, where the Couriers de Bois, or Traders, may make it most convenient to reside.

Lac du Bois is commonly termed by the French in their maps, or in English the Lake of the Wood, is so called from the multiplicity of wood growing on its banks; such as oaks, pines, firs, spruce, &c. This Lake lies still higher upon a branch of the River Bourbon, and nearly east from the south end of Lake Winnepeek. It is of great depth in some places. Its length from east to west about seventy miles, and its greatest breadth about forty miles. It has but few islands, and these of no great magnitude. The fishes, fowls, and quadrupeds that are found near it, vary but little from those of the other two lakes. A few of the Killistinoe Indians sometimes encamp on the borders of it to fish and hunt.

This Lake lies in the communication between Lake Superior, and the Lakes Winnepeek and Bourbon. Its waters are not

esteemed quite so pure as those of the other lakes, it having, in many places, a muddy bottom.

Lac La Pluye, so called by the French, in English the Rainy Lake, is supposed to have acquired this name from the first travellers, that passed over it, meeting with an uncommon deal of rain; or, as some have affirmed, from a mist like rain, occasioned by a perpendicular water-fall that empties itself into a river which lies to the south-west.

This Lake appears to be divided by an isthmus, near the middle, into two parts: the west part is called the Great Rainy Lake, the east, the Little Rainy Lake, as being the least division. It lies a few miles farther to the eastward, on the same branch of the Bourbon, than the last-mentioned Lake. It is in general very shallow in its depth. The broadest part of it is not more than twenty miles, its length, including both, about three hundred miles. In the west part the water is very clear and good; and some excellent fish are taken in it. A great many fowl resort here at the fall of the year. Moose deer are to be found in great plenty, and likewise the cariboo; whose skin for breeches or gloves exceeds by far any other to be met with in North-America. The land on the borders of this Lake is esteemed in some places very good, but rather too thickly covered with wood. Here reside a considerable band of the Chippéways.

Eastward from this Lake lie several small ones, which extend in a string to the great carrying place, and from thence into Lake Superior. Between these little Lakes are several carrying places, which renders the trade to the north-west difficult to accomplish, and exceedingly tedious, as it takes two years to make one voyage from Michillimackinac to these parts.

Red Lake is a comparatively small lake at the head of a branch of the Bourbon River, which is called by some Red River. Its form is nearly round, and about sixty miles in circumference. On one side of it is a tolerable large island, close by which a small river enters. It bears almost south-east both from Lake Winnepeek and from Lake du Bois. The parts adjacent are very little known, or frequented, even by the savages themselves.

Not far from this Lake, a little to the south-west, is another called White Bear Lake, which is nearly about the size of the last mentioned. The waters that compose this Lake are the most northern of any that supply the Mississippi, and may be called with propriety its most remote source. It is fed by two or three small rivers, or rather large brooks.

A few miles from it, to the south-east, are a great number of small lakes, none of which are more than ten miles in circumference, that are called the Thousand Lakes. In the adjacent country is reckoned the finest hunting for furs of any on this continent; the Indians who hunt here seldom returning without having their canoes loaded as deep as they can swim.

Having

Having just before observed that this Lake is the utmost northern source of the Mississippi, I shall here further remark, that before this river enters the Gulph of Mexico, it has not run less, through all its meanderings, than three thousand miles; or, in a strait line from north to south, about twenty degrees, which is nearly fourteen hundred English miles.

These Indians informed me, that to the north-west of Lake Winnepeek lies another, whose circumference vastly exceeded any they had given me an account of. They describe it as much larger than Lake Superior. But as it appears to be so far to the north-west, I should imagine that it was not a lake, but rather the Archipelago or broken waters that form the communication between Hudson's Bay and the northern parts of the Pacific Ocean.

There are an infinite number of small lakes, on the more western parts of the western head-branches of the Mississippi, as well between these and Lake Winnepeek, but none of them are large enough to suppose either of them to be the lake or waters meant by the Indians.

They likewise informed me, that some of the northern branches of the Messorie and the southern branches of the St. Pierre have a communication with each other, except for a mile; over which they carry their canoes. And by what I could learn from them, this is the road they take when their war parties make their excursions upon the Pawnees and Pawnawnees, nations inhabiting some branches of the Messorie River. In the country belonging to these people it is said, that Mandrakes are frequently found, a species of root resembling human beings of both sexes; and that these are more perfect than such as are discovered about the Nile in Nether-Ethiopia.

A little to the north-west of the heads of the Messorie and the St. Pierre, the Indians further told me, that there was a nation rather smaller and whiter than the neighbouring tribes, who cultivate the ground, and, (as far as I could gather from their expressions) in some measure, the arts. To this account they added that some of the nations, who inhabit those parts that lie to the west of the Shining Mountains, have gold so plenty among them that they make their most common utensils of it. These mountains (which I shall describe more particularly hereafter) divide the waters that fall into the South Sea from those that run into the Atlantic.

The people dwelling near them are supposed to be some of the different tribes that were tributary to the Mexican kings, and who fled from their native country, to seek an asylum in these parts, about the time of the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, more than two centuries ago.

As some confirmation of this supposition it is remarked, that they have chosen the most interior parts for their retreat, being still prepossessed with a notion that the sea-coasts have been infested ever since with monsters vomiting fire, and hurling about
thunder

thunder and lightning; from whose bowels issued men, who, with unseen instruments, or by the power of magick, killed the harmless Indians at an astonishing distance. From such as these, their fore-fathers (according to a tradition among them that still remains unimpaired) fled to the retired abodes they now inhabit. For as they found that the floating monsters, which had thus terrified them could not approach the land, and that those who had descended from their sides did not care to make excursions to any considerable distance from them, they formed a resolution to betake themselves to some country, that lay far from the sea-coasts, where only they could be secure from such diabolical enemies. They accordingly set out with their families, and after a long peregrination, settled themselves near these mountains, where they concluded they had found a place of perfect security.

The Winnebagoes, dwelling on the Fox River (whom I have already treated of) are likewise supposed to be some straggling band from the Mexican countries. But they are able to give only an imperfect account of their original residence. They say they formerly came a great way from the westward, and were driven by wars to take refuge among the Naudowessies; but as they are entirely ignorant of the arts, or of the value of gold, it is rather to be supposed, that they were driven from their ancient settlements by the above-mentioned emigrants, as they passed on towards their present habitation.

These suppositions, however, may want confirmation; for the smaller tribes of Indians are subject to such various alterations in their places of abode, from the wars they are continually engaged in, that it is almost impossible to ascertain, after half a century, the original situation of any of them.

That range of mountains, of which the Shining Mountains are a part, begin at Mexico, and continuing northward on the back, or to the east of California, separate the waters of those numerous rivers that fall either into the Gulph of Mexico, or the Gulph of California. From thence continuing their course still northward, between the sources of the Mississippi and the rivers that run into the South Sea, they appear to end in about forty-seven or forty-eight degrees of north-latitude; where a number of rivers arise, and empty themselves either into the South Sea, into Hudson's Bay, or into the waters that communicate between these two seas.

Among these mountains, those that lie to the west of the River St. Pierre, are called the Shining Mountains, from an infinite number of chrystal stones, of an amazing size, with which they are covered, and which, when the sun shines full upon them, sparkle so as to be seen at a very great distance.

This extraordinary range of mountains is calculated to be more than three thousand miles in length, without any very considerable intervals, which I believe surpasses any thing of the kind in the other quarters of the globe. Probably in future
ages

ages they may be found to contain more riches in their bowels, than those of Indostan and Malabar or that are produced on the golden coast of Guinea; nor will I except even the Peruvian mines. To the west of these mountains, when explored by future Columbofes or Raleighs, may be found other lakes, rivers, and countries, full fraught with all the necessaries or luxuries of life; and where future generations may find an asylum, whether driven from their country by the ravages of lawless tyrants, or by religious persecutions, or reluctantly leaving it to remedy the inconveniences arising from a superabundant increase of inhabitants; whether, I say, impelled by these, or allured by hopes of commercial advantages, there is little doubt but their expectations will be fully gratified in these rich and unexhausted climes.

But to return to the Assinipoils and Killistnoes, whom I left at the Grand Portage, and from whom I received the foregoing account of the lakes that lie to the north-west of this place.

The traders we expected being later this season than usual, and our numbers very considerable, for there were more than three hundred of us, the stock of provisions we had brought with us was nearly exhausted, and we waited with impatience for their arrival.

One day, whilst we were all expressing our wishes for this desirable event, and looking from an eminence in hopes of seeing them come over the lake, the chief priest belonging to the band of the Killistnoes told us, that he would endeavour to obtain a conference with the Great Spirit, and know from him when the traders would arrive. I paid little attention to this declaration, supposing that it would be productive of some juggling trick, just sufficiently covered to deceive the ignorant Indians. But the king of that tribe telling me that this was chiefly undertaken by the priest to alleviate my anxiety, and at the same time to convince me how much interest he had with the Great Spirit I thought it necessary to restrain my animadversions on his design.

The following evening was fixed upon for this spiritual conference. When every thing had been properly prepared, the king came to me and led me to a capacious tent, the covering of which was drawn up, so as to render what was transacting within visible to those who stood without. We found the tent surrounded by a great number of the Indians, but we readily gained admission, and seated ourselves on skins laid on the ground for that purpose.

In the center I observed that there was a place of an oblong shape, which was composed of stakes stuck in the ground, with intervals between, so as to form a kind of chest or coffin, large enough to contain the body of a man. These were of a middle size, and placed at such a distance from each other, that whatever lay within them was readily to be discerned. The tent was perfectly illuminated by a great number of torches made

splinters cut from the pine or birch tree, which the Indians held in their hands.

In a few minutes the priest entered; when an amazing large elk's skin being spread on the ground, just at my feet, he laid himself down upon it, after having stript himself of every garment except that which he wore close about his middle. Being now prostrate on his back, he first laid hold of one side of the skin, and folded it over him, and then the other; leaving only his head uncovered. This was no sooner done, than two of the young men who stood by, took about forty yards of strong cord, made also of an elk's hide, and rolled it tight round his body, so that he was completely swathed within the skin. Being thus bound up like an Egyptian Mummy, one took him by the heels, and the other by the head, and lifted him over the pales into the inclosure. I could also now discern him as plain as I had hitherto done, and I took care not to turn my eyes a moment from the object before me, that I might the more readily detect the artifice; for such I doubted not but that it would turn out to be.

The priest had not lain in this situation more than a few seconds, when he began to mutter. This he continued to do for some time, and then by degrees grew louder and louder, till at length he spoke articulately; however what he uttered was in such a mixed jargon of the Chipéway, Ottowaw, and Killistnoe languages, that I could understand but very little of it. Having continued in this tone for a considerable while, he at last exerted his voice to its utmost pitch, sometimes raving, and sometimes praying, till he had worked himself into such an agitation, that he foamed at his mouth.

After having remained near three quarters of an hour in the place, and continued his vociferation with unabated vigor, he seemed to be quite exhausted, and remained speechless. But in an instant he sprung upon his feet, notwithstanding at the time he was put in, it appeared impossible for him to move either his legs or arms, and shaking off his covering, as quick as if the bands with which it had been bound were burned asunder, he began to address those who stood around, in a firm and audible voice. "My brothers," said he, "the Great Spirit has deigned to hold a Talk with his servant at my earnest request. He has not, indeed, told me when the persons we expect, will be here; but to-morrow, soon after the sun has reached his highest point in the heavens, a canoe will arrive, and the people in that will inform us when the traders will come."

Having said this, he stepped out of the inclosure, and after he had put on his robes, dismissed the assembly. I own I was greatly astonished at what I had seen; but as I observed that every eye in the company was fixed on me with a view to discover my sentiments, I carefully concealed every emotion.

The next day the sun shone bright, and long before noon all the Indians were gathered together on the eminence that overlooked

looked the lake. The old king came to me and asked me, whether I had so much confidence in what the priest had foretold, as to join his people on the hill, and wait for the completion of it? I told him I was at a loss what opinion to form of the prediction, but that I would readily attend him. On this we walked together to the place where the others were assembled. Every eye was again fixed by turns on me and on the lake; when just as the sun had reached his zenith, agreeable to what the priest had foretold, a canoe came round a point of land about a league distant. The Indians no sooner beheld it, than they set up an universal shout, and by their looks seemed to triumph in the interest their priest thus evidently had with the Great Spirit.

In less than an hour the canoe reached the shore, when I attended the king and chiefs to receive those who were onboard. As soon as the men were landed, we walked all together to the king's tent, when, according to their invariable custom, we began to smoke; and this we did, notwithstanding our impatience to know the tidings they brought, without asking any questions; for the Indians are the most deliberate people in the world. However, after some trivial conversation, the king enquired of them, whether they had seen any thing of the traders? The men replied, that they had parted from them a few days before, and that they proposed being here the second day from the present. They accordingly arrived at that time greatly to our satisfaction, but more particularly so to that of the Indians, who found by this event the importance both of their priest and of their nation, greatly augmented in the sight of a stranger.

This story I acknowledge appears to carry with it marks of great credulity in the relator. But no one is less tainted with that weakness than myself. The circumstances of it, I own, are of a very extraordinary nature; however, as I can vouch for their being free from either exaggeration or misrepresentation, being myself a cool and dispassionate observer of them all, I thought it necessary to give them to the public. And this I do without wishing to mislead the judgment of my readers, or to make any superstitious impressions on their minds, but leaving them to draw from it what conclusions they please.

I have already observed that the Assinipoils with a part of whom I met here, are a revolted band of the Nadowessies; who on account of some real or imagined grievances, for the Indians in general are very tenacious of their liberty, had separated themselves from their countrymen, and sought for freedom at the expence of their ease. For the country they now inhabit about the borders of Lake Winnepeck, being much farther north, is not near so fertile or agreeable as that they have relinquished. They still retain the language and manners of their former associates.

The Killitinoes, now the neighbours and allies of the Assinipoils, for they also dwell near the same lake, and on the waters

ters of the River Bourbon, appear to have been originally a tribe of the Chipéways, as they speak their language, though in a different dialect. Their nation consists of about three or four hundred warriors, and they seem to be a hardy brave people. I have already given an account of their country when I treated of Lake Winnepeek. As they reside within the limits of Hudson's Bay, they generally trade at the factories which belong to that company, but, for the reasons mentioned before, they frequently come to the place where I happened to join them, in order to meet the traders from Michillimackinac.

The anxiety I had felt on account of the traders delay, was not much alleviated by their arrival. I again found my expectations disappointed, for I was not able to procure the goods I wanted from any of them. I was therefore obliged to give over my designs, and return to the place from whence I first began my extensive circuit. I accordingly took leave of the old king of the Killistinoes, with the chiefs of both bands, and departed. This prince was upwards of sixty years of age, tall and slightly made, but he carried himself very erect: He was of a courteous, affable disposition, and treated me, as did all the chiefs, with great civility.

I observed that this people still continued a custom, that appeared to have been universal before any of them became acquainted with the manners of the Europeans, that of complimenting strangers with the company of their wives; and this is not only practised by the lower ranks, but by the chiefs themselves, who esteem it the greatest proof of courtesy they can give a stranger.

The beginning of October, after having coasted round the north and east borders of Lake Superior, I arrived at Cadot's Fort, which adjoins to the Falls of St. Marie, and is situated near the south-west corner of it.

Lake Superior, formerly termed the Upper Lake from its northern situation, is so called on account of its being superior in magnitude to any of the Lakes on that vast continent. It might justly be termed the Caspian of America, and is supposed to be the largest body of fresh water on the globe. Its circumference, according to the French charts, is about fifteen hundred miles; but I believe, that if it was coasted round, and the utmost extent of every bay taken, it would exceed sixteen hundred.

After I first entered it from Goddard's River on the west Bay, I coasted near twelve hundred miles of the north and east shores of it, and observed that the greatest part of that extensive tract was bounded by rocks and uneven ground. The water in general appeared to lie on a bed of rocks. When it was calm, and the sun shone bright, I could sit in my canoe, where the depth was upwards of six fathoms, and plainly see huge piles of stone at the bottom, of different shapes, some of which appeared as if they were hewn. The water at this time was as pure and transparent as air; and my canoe seemed as if it hung suspend-
ed.

ed in that element. It was impossible to look attentively through this limpid medium at the rocks below, without finding, before many minutes were elapsed, your head swim, and your eyes no longer able to behold the dazzling scene.

I discovered also by accident another extraordinary property in the waters of this lake. Though it was in the month of July that I passed over it, and the surface of the water, from the heat of the superambient air, impregnated with no small degree of warmth, yet on letting down a cup to the depth of about a fathom, the water drawn from thence was so excessively cold, that it had the same effect when received into the mouth as ice.

The situation of this Lake is variously laid down; but from the most exact observations I could make, it lies between forty-six and fifty degrees of north-latitude, and between eighty-four and ninety-three degrees of west longitude from the meridian of London.

There are many islands in this lake, two of which are very large; and if the land of them is proper for cultivation, there appears to be sufficient to form on each a considerable province; especially on Isle Royal, which cannot be less than an hundred miles long, and in many places forty broad. But there is no way at present of ascertaining the exact length or breadth of either. Even the French, who always kept a small schooner on this lake, whilst they were in possession of Canada, by which they could have made this discovery, have only acquired a slight knowledge of the external parts of these islands; at least they have never published any account of the internal parts of them, that I could get intelligence of.

Nor was I able to discover from any of the conversations which I held with the neighbouring Indians, that they had ever made any settlements on them, or even landed there in their hunting excursions. From what I could gather by their discourse, they suppose them to have been, from their first information, the residence of the Great Spirit; and relate many ridiculous stories of enchantment and magical tricks that had been experienced by such as were obliged through stress of weather to take shelter on them.

One of the Chipéway chiefs told me, that some of their people being once driven on the island of Mauropas, which lies towards the north-east part of the lake, found on it large quantities of a heavy shining yellow sand, that from their description must have been gold dust. Being struck with the beautiful appearance of it, in the morning, when they re-entered their canoe, they attempted to bring some away; but a spirit of an amazing size, according to their account sixty feet in height, strode in the water after them, and commanded them to deliver back what they had taken away. Terrified at his gigantic stature, and seeing that he had nearly overtaken them, they were glad to restore their shining treasure; on which they were suf-

ferred to depart without further molestation. Since this incident, no Indian that has ever heard of it, will venture near the same haunted coast. Besides this, they recounted to me many other stories of these islands, equally fabulous.

The country on the north and east parts of Lake Superior is very mountainous and barren. The weather being intensely cold in the winter, and the sun having but little power in the summer, vegetation there is very slow; and consequently but little fruit is to be found on its shore. It however produces some few species in great abundance. Whortleberries of an uncommon size, and fine flavour, grow on the mountains near the lake in amazing quantities; as do black currants and gooseberries in the same luxuriant manner.

But the fruit which exceeds all the others, is a berry resembling a raspberry in its manner of growth, but of a lighter red, and much larger; its taste is far more delicious than the fruit I have compared it too, notwithstanding that it is so highly esteemed in Europe: it grows on a shrub of the nature of a vine, with leaves similar to those of the grape; and I am persuaded that was it transplanted into a warmer and more kindly climate, it would prove a most rare and delicious fruit.

Two very large rivers empty themselves into this lake, on the north and north-east side; one is called the Nipigon River, or, as the French pronounce it, the Allanipegon, which leads to a band of the Chipéways, inhabiting a lake of the same name, and the other is termed the Michipicooton River, the source of which is situated towards James's Bay, from whence there is but a short carriage to another river, which empties itself into that bay, at a fort belonging to the company. It was by this passage that a party of French from Michillimackinac invaded the settlements of that society in the reign of Queen Anne. Having taken and destroyed their forts, they brought the cannon which they found in them to the forts from whence they had issued; these were small brass pieces, and remain there to this present time; having, through the usual revolutions of fortune, returned to the possession of their former masters.

Not far from the Nipigon is a small river, that just before it enters the lake, has a perpendicular fall from the top of a mountain, of more than six hundred feet. Being very narrow, it appears at a distance like a white garter suspended in the air.

A few Indians inhabit round the eastern borders of this lake, supposed to be the remains of the Algonkins, who formerly possessed this country, but who have been nearly extirpated by the Iroquois of Canada. Lake Superior has near forty rivers that fall into it, some of which are of a considerable size. On the south-side of it is a remarkable point or cape, of about sixty miles in length, called Point Chegomegan. It might as properly be termed a peninsula, as it is nearly separated from the continent, on the east side, by a narrow bay that extends from east to west. Canoes have but a short portage across the isthmus,

mus, whereas if they coast it round, the voyage is more than an hundred miles.

About that distance to the west of the cape just described, a considerable river falls into the lake, the head of which is composed of a great assemblage of small streams. This river is remarkable for the abundance of virgin copper that is found on and near its banks. A metal which is met with also in several other places on this coast. I observed that many of the small islands, particularly those on the eastern shores, were covered with copper ore. They appeared like beds of copperas, of which many tons lay in a small space.

A company of adventurers from England began, soon after the conquest of Canada, to bring away some of this metal, but the distracted situation of affairs in America has obliged them to relinquish their scheme. It might in future times be made a very advantageous trade, as the metal, which costs nothing on the spot, and requires but little expence to get it on board, could be conveyed in boats or canoes through the Falls of St. Marie, to the Isle of St. Joseph, which lies at the bottom of the Straights near the entrance into Lake Huron; from thence it might be put on board larger vessels, and in them transported across that lake to the Falls of Niagara; there being carried by land across the Portage, it might be conveyed without much more obstruction to Quebec. The cheapness and ease with which any quantity of it may be procured, will make up for the length of way that is necessary to transport it before it reaches the sea coast, and enable the proprietors to send it to foreign markets on as good terms as it can be exported from other countries.

Lake Superior abounds with a variety of fish, the principal and best are the trout and sturgeon, which may be caught at almost any season in the greatest abundance. The trouts in general weigh about twelve pounds, but some are caught that exceed fifty. Besides these, a species of white fish is taken in great quantities here, that resemble a shad in their shape, but they are rather thicker, and less bony; they weigh about four pounds each, and are of a delicious taste. The best way of catching these fish is with a net; but the trout might be taken at all times with the hook. There are likewise many sorts of smaller fish in great plenty here, and which may be taken with ease; among these is a sort resembling a herring, that are generally made use of as a bait for the trout. Very small crabs, not larger than half a crown piece, are found both in this and Lake Michigan.

This Lake is as much affected by storms as the Atlantic Ocean; the waves run as high, and are equally as dangerous to ships. It discharges its waters from the south-east corner, through the Straights of St. Marie. At the upper end of these Straights stands a fort that receives its name from them, commanded by Mons. Cadot, a French Canadian, who being proprietor of the soil, is still permitted to keep possession of it. Near this fort

is a very strong rapid, against which, though it is impossible for canoes to ascend, yet when conducted by careful pilots, they might pass down without danger.

Though Lake Superior, as I have before observed, is supplied by near forty rivers, many of which are considerable ones, yet it does not appear that one tenth part of the waters which are conveyed into it by these rivers, are carried off at this evacuation. How such a superabundance of waters can be disposed of, as it must certainly be by some means or other, without which the circumference of the lake would be continually enlarging, I know not: that it does not empty itself, as the Mediterranean sea is supposed to do, by an under current, which perpetually counteracts that near the surface, is certain; for the stream which falls over the rock is not more than five or six feet in depth, and the whole of it passes on through the Straights into the adjacent lake; nor is it probable that so great a quantity can be absorbed by exhalations; consequently they must find a passage through some subterranean cavities, deep, unfathomable, and never to be explored.

The Falls of St. Marie do not descend perpendicularly as those of Niagara or St. Anthony do, but consist of a rapid which continues near three quarters of a mile, over which canoes well piloted might pass.

At the bottom of these Falls, Nature has formed a most commodious station for catching the fish which are to be found there in immense quantities. Persons standing on the rocks that lie adjacent to it, may take with dipping nets, about the months of September and October, the white fish before mentioned; at that season, together with several other species, they crowd up to this spot in such amazing shoals, that enough may be taken to supply, when properly cured, thousands of inhabitants throughout the year.

The Straights of St. Marie are about forty miles long, bearing south-east, but varying much in their breadth. The current between the Falls and Lake Huron is not so rapid as might be expected, nor do they prevent the navigation of ships of burden as far up as the island of St. Joseph.

It has been observed by travellers that the entrance into Lake Superior, from these Straights, affords one of the most pleasing prospects in the world. The place in which this might be viewed to the greatest advantage, is just at the opening of the lake, from whence may be seen on the left, many beautiful little islands that extend a considerable way before you; and on the right, an agreeable succession of small points of land, that project a little way into the water, and contribute, with the islands, to render this delightful basin (as it might be termed) calm and secure from the ravages of those tempestuous winds by which the adjoining lake is frequently troubled.

Lake Huron, into which you now enter from the Straights of St. Marie, is the next in magnitude to Lake Superior. It
lies

lies between forty-two and forty-six degrees of north latitude, and seventy-nine and eighty-five degrees of west longitude. Its shape is nearly triangular, and its circumference about one thousand miles.

On the north side of it lies an island that is remarkable for being near an hundred miles in length, and no more than eight miles broad. This island is known by the name of Manataulin, which signifies a Place of Spirits, and is considered by the Indians as sacred as those already mentioned in Lake Superior.

About the middle of the south-west side of this lake, is Saganauum Bay: The capes that separate this bay from the lake, are about eighteen miles distant from each other; near the middle of the intermediate space stand two islands, which greatly tend to facilitate the passage of canoes and small vessels, by affording them shelter, as without this security it would not be prudent to venture across so wide a sea; and the coasting round the bay would make the voyage long and tedious. This bay is about eighty miles in length, and in general about eighteen or twenty miles broad.

Nearly half way between Saganauum Bay and the north-west corner of the Lake, lies another, which is termed Thunder Bay. The Indians, who have frequented these parts from time immemorial, and every European traveller that has passed through it, have unanimously agreed to call it by this name, on account of the continual thunder they have always observed here. The bay is about nine miles broad, and the same in length, and whilst I was passing over it, which took me up near twenty-four hours, it thundered and lightened during the greatest part of the time to an excessive degree.

There appeared to be no visible reason for this that I could discover, nor is the country in general subject to thunder; the hills that stood around were not of a remarkable height, neither did the external parts of them seem to be covered with any sulphureous substance. But as this phenomenon must originate from some natural cause, I conjecture that the shores of the bay, or the adjacent mountains, are either impregnated with an uncommon quantity of sulphureous matter, or contain some metal or mineral apt to attract in a great degree, the electrical particles that are hourly borne over them by the passant clouds. But the solution of this, and those other philosophical remarks which casually occur throughout these pages, I leave to the discussion of abler heads.

The fish in Lake Huron are much the same as those in Lake Superior. Some of the land on its banks is very fertile, and proper for cultivation, but in other parts it is sandy and barren. The promontory that separates this lake from Lake Michigan, is composed of a vast plain, upwards of one hundred miles long, but varying in its breadth, being from ten to fifteen miles broad. This tract, as I have before observed, is divided into almost an equal portion between the Ottowaw and Chipéway Indians.

At the north-east corner this lake has a communication with Lake Michigan, by the Straits of Michillimackinac already described.

I had like to have omitted a very extraordinary circumstance, relative to these Straights. According to observations made by the French, whilst they were in possession of the fort: although there is no diurnal flood or ebb to be perceived in these waters, yet, from an exact attention to their state, a periodical alteration in them has been discovered. It was observed that they arose by gradual, but almost imperceptible degrees till they had reached the height of about three feet. This was accomplished in seven years and a half; and in the same space they as gently decreased, till they had reached their former situation; so that in fifteen years they had completed this inexplicable revolution.

At the time I was there, the truth of these observations could not be confirmed by the English, as they had then been only a few years in possession of the fort; but they all agreed that some alteration in the limits of the Straights was apparent. All these lakes are so affected by the winds, as sometimes to have the appearance of a tide, according as they happen to blow; but this is only temporary and partial.

A great number of the Chipéway Indians live scattered around this Lake, particularly near Saganaum Bay. On its banks are found an amazing quantity of the sand cherries, and in the adjacent country nearly the same fruits as those that grow about the other lakes.

From the Falls of St. Marie I leisurely proceeded back to Michillimackinac, and arrived there the beginning of November 1767, having been fourteen months on this extensive tour, travelled near four thousand miles, and visited twelve nations of Indians lying to the west and north of this place. The winter setting in soon after my arrival, I was obliged to tarry there till the June following, the navigation over Lake Huron for large vessels not being open, on account of the ice, till that time. Meeting here with sociable company, I passed these months very agreeably, and without finding the hours tedious.

One of my chief amusements was that of fishing for trouts. Though the Straights were covered with ice, we found means to make holes through it, and letting down strong lines of fifteen yards in length, to which were fixed three or four hooks baited with the small fish before described, we frequently caught two at a time of forty pounds weight each; but the common size is from ten to twenty pounds. These are most delicious food. The method of preserving them during the three months the winter generally lasts, is by hanging them up in the air; and in one night they will be frozen so hard that they will keep as well as if they were cured with salt.

I have

I have only pointed out in the plan of my travels the circuit I made from my leaving Michillimackinac till I arrived again at that fort. Those countries that lie nearer to the colonies have been so often and so minutely described, that any further account of them would be useless. I shall therefore only give my Readers in the remainder of my journal, as I at first proposed, a description of the other great lakes of Canada, many of which I have navigated over, and relate at the same time a few particular incidents that I trust will not be found inapplicable or unentertaining.

In June 1768 I left Michillimackinac, and returned in the Gladwyn Schooner, a vessel of about eighty tons burthen, over Lake Huron to Lake St. Claire, where we left the ship, and proceeded in boats to Detroit. This lake is about ninety miles in circumference, and by the way of Huron River, which runs from the south corner of Lake Huron, receives the waters of the three great lakes, Superior, Michigan, and Huron. Its form is rather round, and in some places it is deep enough for the navigation of large vessels, but towards the middle of it there is a bar of sand, which prevents those that are loaded from passing over it. Such as are in ballast only may find water sufficient to carry them quite through; the cargoes, however, of such as are freighted must be taken out, and after being transported across the bar in boats, re-shipped again.

The river that runs from Lake St. Claire to Lake Erie (or rather the Straight, for thus it might be termed from its name) is called Detroit, which is in French, the Straight. It runs nearly south, has a gentle current, and depth of water sufficient for ships of considerable burthen. The town of Detroit is situated on the western banks of this river, about nine miles below Lake St. Claire.

Almost opposite on the eastern shore, is the village of the ancient Hurons: a tribe of Indians which have been treated of by so many writers, that adhering to the restrictions I have laid myself under of only describing places and people little known, or incidents that have passed unnoticed by others, I shall omit giving a description of them. A missionary of the order of Carthusian Friars, by permission of the bishop of Canada, resides among them.

The banks of the River Detroit, both above and below these towns, are covered with settlements that extend more than twenty miles; the country being exceedingly fruitful, and proper for the cultivation of wheat, Indian corn, oats and peas. It has also many spots of fine pasturage; but as the inhabitants, who are chiefly French that submitted to the English government, after the conquest of these parts by General Amherst, are more attentive to the Indian trade than to farming, it is but badly cultivated.

The town of Detroit contains upwards of one hundred houses. The streets are somewhat regular, and have a range of very convenient

venient and handsome barracks, with a spacious parade at the south end. On the west side lies the King's garden, belonging to the governor, which is very well laid out and kept in good order. The fortifications of the town consist of a strong stockade, made of round piles, fixed firmly in the ground, and lined with palisades. These are defended by some small bastions, on which are mounted a few indifferent cannon of an inconsiderable size, just sufficient for its defence against the Indians, or an enemy not provided with artillery.

The garrison, in time of peace, consists of two hundred men, commanded by a field officer, who acts as chief magistrate under the governor of Canada. Mr. Turnbull, captain of the 60th regiment, or Royal Americans, was commandant when I happened to be there. This gentleman was deservedly esteemed and respected, both by the inhabitants and traders, for the propriety of his conduct; and I am happy to have an opportunity of thus publickly making my acknowledgments to him for the civilities I received from him during my stay.

In the year 1762, in the month of July, it rained on this town and the parts adjacent, a sulphureous water of the colour and consistence of ink; some of which being collected into bottles, and wrote with appeared perfectly intelligible on the paper, and answered every purpose of that useful liquid. Soon after, the Indian wars already spoken of, broke out in these parts. I mean not to say that this incident was ominous of them, notwithstanding it is well known that innumerable well attested instances of extraordinary phænomena happening before extraordinary events, have been recorded in almost every age by historians of veracity; I only relate the circumstances as a fact of which I was informed by many persons of undoubted probity, and leave my readers, as I have hitherto done, to draw their own conclusions from it.

Pontiac, under whom the party that surprized Fort Michillimackinac, as related in the former part of this work, acted, was an enterprising chief or head-warrior of the Miamis. During the late war between the English and the French, he had been a steady friend to the latter, and continued his inveteracy to the former, even after peace had been concluded between these two nations. Unwilling to put an end to the depredations he had been so long engaged in, he collected an army of confederate Indians, consisting of the nations before enumerated, with an intention to renew the war. However, instead of openly attacking the English settlements, he laid a scheme for taking by surprize those forts on the extremities which they had lately gained possession of.

How well the party he detached to take Fort Michillimackinac succeeded, the reader already knows. To get into his hands Detroit, a place of greater consequence, and much better guarded, required greater resolution, and more consummate art. He of course took the management of this expedition on himself,

himself, and drew near it with the principal body of his troops; He was however prevented from carrying his designs into execution by an apparently trivial and unforeseen circumstance. On such does the fate of mighty Empires frequently depend!

The town of Detroit, when Pontiac formed his plan, was garrisoned by about three hundred men, commanded by Major Gladwyn, a gallant officer. As at that time every appearance of war was at an end, and the Indians seemed to be on a friendly footing, Pontiac approached the Fort, without exciting any suspicions in the breast of the governor or the inhabitants. He encamped at a little distance from it, and sent to let the commandant know that he was come to trade; and being desirous of brightening the chain of peace between the English and his nation, desired that he and his chiefs might be admitted to hold a council with him. The governor still unsuspecting, and not in the least doubting the sincerity of the Indians, granted their general's request, and fixed on the next morning for their reception.

The evening of that day, an Indian woman who had been employed by Major Gladwyn, to make him a pair of Indian shoes, out of curious elk-skin, brought them home. The Major was so pleased with them, that, intending these as a present for a friend, he ordered her to take the remainder back, and make it into others for himself. He then directed his servant to pay her for those she had done, and dismissed her. The woman went to the door that led to the street, but no further; she there loitered about as if she had not finished the business on which she came. A servant at length observed her, and asked her why she staid there; she gave him, however, no answer.

Some short time after, the governor himself saw her; and enquired of his servant what occasioned her stay. Not being able to get a satisfactory answer, he ordered the woman to be called in. When she came into his presence he desired to know what was the reason of her loitering about, and not hastening home before the gates were shut, that she might complete in due time the work he had given her to do. She told him, after much hesitation, that as he had always behaved with great goodness towards her, she was unwilling to take away the remainder of the skin, because he put so great a value upon it; and yet had not been able to prevail upon herself to tell him so. He then asked her, why she was more reluctant to do so now, than she had been when she made the former pair. With increased reluctance she answered, that she never should be able to bring them back.

His curiosity being now excited, he insisted on her disclosing to him the secret that seemed to be struggling in her bosom for utterance. At last, on receiving a promise that the intelligence she was about to give him should not turn to her prejudice, and that if it appeared to be beneficial she should be rewarded for it, she informed him, that at the council to be held with the In-

dians the following day, Pontiac and his chiefs intended to murder him; and, after having massacred the garrison and inhabitants, to plunder the town. That for this purpose all the chiefs who were to be admitted into the council-room had cut their guns short, so that they could conceal them under their blankets; with which, at a signal given by their general, on delivering the belt, they were all to rise up, and instantly to fire on him and his attendants. Having effected this, they were immediately to rush into the town, where they would find themselves supported by a great number of their warriors, that were to come into it during the sitting of the council, under pretence of trading, but privately armed in the same manner. Having gained from the woman every necessary particular relative to the plot, and also the means by which she acquired a knowledge of them, he dismissed her with injunctions of secrecy, and a promise of fulfilling on his part with punctuality the engagements he had entered into.

The intelligence the governor had just received, gave him great uneasiness; and he immediately consulted the officer who was next to him in command on the subject. But that gentleman considering the information as a story invented for some artful purposes, advised him to pay no attention to it. This conclusion however had happily no weight with him. He thought it prudent to conclude it to be true, till he was convinced that it was not so; and therefore, without revealing his suspicions to any other person, he took every needful precaution that the time would admit of. He walked round the fort during the whole night, and saw himself that every centinel was on duty, and every weapon of defence in proper order.

As he traversed the ramparts which lay nearest to the Indian camp, he heard them in high festivity, and, little imagining that their plot was discovered, probably pleasing themselves with the anticipation of their success. As soon as the morning dawned, he ordered all the garrison under arms; and then imparting his apprehensions to a few of the principal officers, gave them such directions as he thought necessary. At the same time he sent round to all the traders, to inform them, that as it was expected a great number of Indians would enter the town that day, who might be inclined to plunder, he desired they would have their arms ready, and repel every attempt of that kind.

About ten o'clock, Pontiac and his chiefs arrived; and were conducted to the council-chamber, where the governor and his principal officers, each with pistols in their belts, awaited his arrival. As the Indians passed on, they could not help observing that a greater number of troops than usual were drawn up on the parade, or marching about. No sooner were they entered, and seated on the skins prepared for them, than Pontiac asked the governor on what occasion his young men, meaning the soldiers, were thus drawn up, and parading the streets. He received

received for answer, that it was only intended to keep them perfect in their exercise.

The Indian chief-warrior now began his speech, which contained the strongest professions of friendship and good-will towards the English; and when he came to the delivery of the belt of wampum, the particular mode of which, according to the woman's information, was to be the signal for his chiefs to fire, the governor and all his attendants drew their swords half-way out of their scabbards; and the soldiers at the same instant made a clattering with their arms before the doors, which had been purposely left open. Pontiac, though one of the boldest of men, immediately turned pale, and trembled; and instead of giving the belt in the manner proposed, delivered it according to the usual way. His chiefs, who had impatiently expected the signal, looked at each other with astonishment, but continued quiet, waiting the result.

The governor in his turn made a speech; but instead of thanking the great warrior for the professions of friendship he had just uttered, he accused him of being a traitor. He told him that the English, who knew every thing, were convinced of his treachery and villainous designs; and as a proof that they were well acquainted with his most secret thoughts and intentions, he stepped towards the Indian chief that sat nearest to him, and drawing aside his blanket discovered the shortened firelock. This entirely disconcerted the Indians, and frustrated their design.

He then continued to tell them, that as he had given his word at the time they desired an audience, that their persons should be safe, he would hold his promise inviolable, though they so little deserved it. However he advised them to make the best of their way out of the fort, lest his young men, on being acquainted with their treacherous purposes, should cut every one of them to pieces.

Pontiac endeavoured to contradict the accusation, and to make excuses for his suspicious conduct; but the governor, satisfied of the falsity of his protestations, would not listen to him. The Indians immediately left the fort, but instead of being sensible of the governor's generous behaviour, they threw off the mask, and the next day made a regular attack upon it.

Major Gladwyn has not escaped censure for this mistaken lenity; for probably had he kept a few of the principal chiefs prisoners, whilst he had them in his power, he might have been able to have brought the whole confederacy to terms, and have prevented a war. But he atoned for this oversight, by the gallant defence he made for more than a year, amidst a variety of discouragements.

During that period some very smart skirmishes happened between the besiegers and the garrison, of which the following

was the principal and most bloody: Captain Delzel, a brave officer, prevailed on the governor to give him the command of about two hundred men, and to permit him to attack the enemy's camp. This being complied with, he sallied from the town before day-break; but Pontiac, receiving from some of his swift-footed warriors, who were constantly employed in watching the motions of the garrison, timely intelligence of their design, he collected together the choicest of his troops, and met the detachment at some distance from his camp, near a place since called Bloody-Bridge.

As the Indians were vastly superior in numbers to captain Delzel's party, he was soon over-powered and driven back. Being now nearly surrounded, he made a vigorous effort to regain the bridge he had just crossed, by which alone he could find a retreat; but in doing this he lost his life, and many of his men fell with him. However, Major Rogers, the second in command, assisted by Lieutenant Brehm, found means to draw off the shattered remains of their little army, and conducted them into the fort.

Thus considerably reduced, it was with difficulty the Major could defend the town; notwithstanding which, he held out against the Indians till he was relieved, as after this they made but few attacks on the place, and only continued to blockade it.

The Gladwyn Schooner (that in which I afterwards took my passage from Michillimackinac to Detroit, and which I since learn was lost with all her crew on Lake Erie, through the obstinacy of the commander, who could not be prevailed upon to take in sufficient ballast) arrived about this time near the town with a reinforcement and necessary supplies. But before this vessel could reach the place of its destination, it was most vigorously attacked by a detachment from Pontiac's army. The Indians surrounded it in their canoes, and made great havock among the crew.

At length the captain of the schooner, with a considerable number of his men being killed, and the savages beginning to climb up the sides from every quarter, the Lieutenant (Mr. Jacobs, who afterwards commanded, and was lost in it) being determined that the stores should not fall into the enemy's hands, and seeing no other alternative, ordered the gunner to set fire to the powder-room, and blow the ship up. This order was on the point of being executed, when a chief of the Hurons, who understood the English language, gave out to his friends the intention of the commander. On receiving this intelligence, the Indians hurried down the sides of the ship with the greatest precipitation, and got as far from it as possible; whilst the commander immediately took advantage of their consternation, and arrived without any further obstruction at the town.

This seasonable supply gave the garrison fresh spirits; and Pontiac being now convinced that it would not be in his power to

to reduce the place, proposed an accommodation; the governor wishing as much to get rid of such troublesome enemies, who obstructed the intercourse of the traders with the neighbouring nations, listened to his proposals, and having procured advantageous terms, agreed to a peace. The Indians soon after separated, and returned to their different provinces; nor have they since thought proper to disturb, at least in any great degree, the tranquillity of these parts.

Pontiac henceforward seemed to have laid aside the animosity he had hitherto borne towards the English, and apparently became their zealous friend. To reward this new attachment, and to insure a continuance of it, government allowed him a handsome pension. But his restless and intriguing spirit would not suffer him to be grateful for this allowance, and his conduct at length grew suspicious; so that going, in the year 1767, to hold a council in the country of the Illinois, a faithful Indian, who was either commissioned by one of the English governors, or instigated by the love he bore the English nation, attended him as a spy; and being convinced from the speech Pontiac made in the council, that he still retained his former prejudices against those for whom he now professed a friendship, he plunged his knife into his heart, as soon as he had done speaking, and laid him dead on the spot. But to return from this digression.

Lake Erie receives the waters by which it is supplied from the three great lakes, through the Straights of Detroit, that lie at its north-west corner. This lake is situated between forty-one and forty-three degrees of north latitude, and between seventy-eight and eighty-three degrees of west longitude. It is near 300 miles long from east to west, and about forty in its broadest part: and a remarkable long narrow point lies on its north side, that projects for several miles into the lake towards the south-east.

There are several islands near the west end of it so infested with rattle-snakes, that it is very dangerous to land on them. It is impossible that any place can produce a greater number of all kinds of these reptiles than this does, particularly of the water-snake. The Lake is covered near the banks of the islands with the large pond-lily; the leaves of which lie on the surface of the water so thick, as to cover it entirely for many acres together; and on each of these lay, when I passed over it, wreaths of water-snakes basking in the sun, which amounted to myriads.

The most remarkable of the different species that infest this lake, is the hissing-snake, which is of the small speckled kind, and about eighteen inches long. When any thing approaches, it flattens itself in a moment, and its spots, which are of various dyes, become visibly brighter through rage; at the same time it blows from its mouth, with great force, a subtle wind, that is reported to be of a nauseous smell; and if drawn in with the breath of the unwary traveller, will infallibly bring on a decline, that in a few months must prove mortal, there being

no remedy yet discovered which can counteract its baneful influence.

The stones and pebbles on the shores of this lake are most of them tinged, in a greater or less degree, with spots that resemble brass in their colour, but which are of a more sulphureous nature. Small pieces, about the size of hazle-nuts, of the same kinds of ore, are found on the sands that lie on its banks, and under the water.

The navigation of this lake is esteemed more dangerous than any of the others, on account of many high lands that lie on the borders of it, and project into the water, in a perpendicular direction for many miles together; so that whenever sudden storms arise, canoes and boats are frequently lost, as there is no place for them to find a shelter.

This Lake discharges its waters at the north-east end, into the River Niagara, which runs north and south, and is about thirty-six miles in length; from whence it falls into Lake Ontario. At the entrance of this river, on its eastern shore, lies Fort Niagara; and, about eighteen miles further up, those remarkable Falls which are esteemed one of the most extraordinary productions of nature at present known.

As these have been visited by so many travellers, and so frequently described, I shall omit giving a particular description of them, and only observe, that the waters by which they are supplied, after taking their rise near two thousand miles to the north-west, and passing through the Lakes Superior, Michigan, Huron, and Erie, during which they have been receiving constant accumulations, at length rush down a stupendous precipice of one hundred and forty feet perpendicular; and in a strong rapid, that extends to the distance of eight or nine miles below, fall nearly as much more: this River soon after empties itself into Lake Ontario.

The noise of these Falls may be heard an amazing way. I could plainly distinguish them in a calm morning more than twenty miles. Others have said that at particular times, and when the wind fits fair, the sound of them reaches fifteen leagues.

The land about the Falls is exceedingly hilly and uneven, but the greatest part of that on the Niagara River is very good, especially for grass and pasturage.

Fort Niagara stands nearly at the entrance of the west end of Lake Ontario, and on the east part of the Straights of Niagara. It was taken from the French in the year 1759, by the forces under the command of Sir William Johnson, and at present is defended by a considerable garrison.

Lake Ontario is the next, and least of the five great Lakes of Canada. Its situation is between forty-three and forty-five degrees of latitude, and between seventy-six and seventy-nine degrees of west longitude. The form of it is nearly oval, its greatest length being from north-east to south-west, and in circumference,

cumference, about six hundred miles. Near the south-east part it receives the waters of the Oswego River, and on the north-east discharges itself into the River Cataraqui. Not far from the place where it issues, Fort Frontenac formerly stood, which was taken from the French during the last war, in the year 1758, by a small army of Provincials under Col. Bradstreet.

At the entrance of Oswego river stands a fort of the same name, garrisoned only at present by an inconsiderable party. This fort was taken in the year 1756, by the French, when a great part of the garrison, which consisted of the late Shirley's and Pepperil's regiments, were massacred in cold blood by the savages.

In Lake Ontario are taken many sorts of fish, among which is the Oswego Bass, of an excellent flavour, and weighing about three or four pounds. There is also a sort called the Cat-head or Pout, which are in general very large, some of them weighing eight or ten pounds; and they are esteemed a rare dish when properly dressed.

On the north-west part of this Lake, and to the south-east of Lake Huron, is a tribe of Indians called Missisagues, whose town is denominated Toronto, from the lake on which it lies; but they are not very numerous. The country about Lake Ontario, especially the more north and eastern parts, is composed of good land, and in time may make very flourishing settlements.

The Oniada Lake, situated near the head of the River Oswego, receives the waters of Wood-Creek, which takes its rise not far from the Mohawks River. These two lie so adjacent to each other, that a junction is effected by sluices at Fort Stanwix, about twelve miles from the mouth of the former. This lake is about thirty miles long from east to west, and near fifteen broad. The country around it belongs to the Oniada Indians.

Lake Champlain, the next in size to Lake Ontario, and which lies nearly east from it, is about eighty miles in length, north and south, and in its broadest part fourteen. It is well stored with fish, and the lands that lie on all the borders of it, or about its rivers, very good.

Lake George, formerly called by the French Lake St. Sacrament, lies to the south west of the last-mentioned lake, and is about thirty-five miles long from north-east to south-west, but of no great breadth. The country around it is very mountainous, but in the vallies the land is tolerably good.

When these two lakes were first discovered, they were known by no other name than that of the Iroquois Lakes; and I believe in the first plans taken of those parts were so denominated. The Indians also that were then called the Iroquois, are since known by the name of the Five Mohawk nations, and the Mohawks of Canada. In the late war, the former, which consist of the Onondagoes, the Oniadas, the Senecas, the Tuscarories, and Iroondocks, fought on the side of the English: the latter,
which

which are called the Cohnawaghans, and St. Francis Indians; joined the French.

A vast tract of land that lies between the two last mentioned lakes, and Lake Ontario, was granted in the year 1629, by the Plymouth Company, under a patent they had received from King James I. to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and to Captain John Mason, the head of that family, afterwards distinguished from others of the same name by the Masons of Connecticut. The countries specified in this grant are said to begin ten miles from the heads of the rivers that run from the east and south into Lake George and Lake Champlain; and continuing from these in a direct line westward, extend to the middle of Lake Ontario; from thence, being bounded by the Catarqui, or river of the Iroquois, they take their course to Montreal, as far as Fort Sorrell, which lies at the junction of this river with the Richlieu; and from that point are inclosed by the last-mentioned river till it returns back to the two lakes.

This immense space was granted, by the name of the Province of Laconia, to the aforesaid gentlemen on specified conditions, and under certain penalties; but none of these amounted, in case of omission in the fulfillment of any part of them, to forfeiture, a fine only could be exacted.

On account of the continual wars to which these parts have been subject, from their situation between the settlements of the Engli, the French, and the Indians, this grant has been suffered to lie dormant by the real proprietors. Notwithstanding which, several towns have been settled since the late war, on the borders of Lake Champlain, and grants made to different people by the governor of New-York, of part of these territories, which are now become annexed to that province.

There are a great number of lakes on the north of Canada, between Labrador, Lake Superior; and Hudson's Bay, but these are comparatively small. As they lie out of the track that I pursued, I shall only give a summary account of them. The most westerly of these are the Lakes Nipising and Tamiscaming. The first lies at the head of the French River, and runs into Lake Huron; the other on the Ottowaw River, which empties itself into the Catarqui, at Montreal. These Lakes are each about one hundred miles in circumference.

The next is Lake Mistassin, on the head of Rupert's River, that falls into James's Bay. This Lake is so irregular from the large points of land by which it is intersected on every side, that it is difficult either to describe its shape, or to ascertain its size. It however appears on the whole to be more than two hundred miles in circumference.

Lake St. John, which is about eighty miles round, and of a circular form, lies on the Saguenay River, directly north of Quebec, and falls into the St. Lawrence, somewhat north-east of that city. Lake Manikouagone lies near the head of the Black River, which empties itself into the St. Lawrence to the eastward

ward of the last-mentioned river, near the coast of Labrador, and is about sixty miles in circumference. Lake Pertibi, Lake Wincktagan, Lake Etchelaugon, and Lake Papenouagane, with a number of other small lakes, lie near the heads of the Bustard-River to the north of the St. Lawrence. Many others, which it is unnecessary to particularize here, are also found between the Lakes Huron and Ontario.

The whole of those I have enumerated, amounting to upwards of twenty, are within the limits of Canada; and from this account it might be deduced, that the northern parts of North-America, through these numerous inland seas, contain a greater quantity of water than any other quarter of the globe.

In October 1768 I arrived at Boston, having been absent from it on this expedition two years and five months, and during that time travelled near seven thousand miles. From thence, as soon as I had properly digested my Journal and Charts, I set out for England, to communicate the discoveries I had made, and to render them beneficial to the kingdom. But the prosecution of my plans for reaping these advantages have hitherto been obstructed by the unhappy divisions that have been fomented between Great-Britain and the Colonies by their mutual enemies. Should peace once more be restored, I doubt not but that the countries I have described will prove a more abundant source of riches to this nation than either its East or West Indian settlements; and I shall not only pride myself, but sincerely rejoice in being the means of pointing out to it so valuable an acquisition.

I cannot conclude the account of my extensive travels, without expressing my gratitude to that beneficent Being who invisibly protected me through those perils which unavoidably attend so long a tour among fierce and untutored savages.

At the same time let me not be accused of vanity or presumption, if I declare that the motives alledged in the introduction of this work, were not the only ones that induced me to engage in this arduous undertaking. My views were not solely confined to the advantages that might accrue either to myself, or the community to which I belonged; but nobler purposes contributed principally to urge me on.

The confined state, both with regard to civil and religious improvements, in which so many of my fellow creatures remained, aroused within my bosom an irresistible inclination to explore the almost unknown regions which they inhabited; and as a preparatory step towards the introduction of more polished manners, and more humane sentiments, to gain a knowledge of their language, customs, and principles.

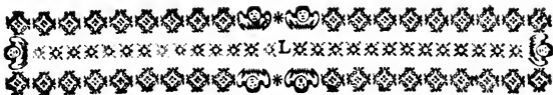
I confess that the little benefit too many of the Indian nations have hitherto received from their intercourse with those who denominate themselves Christians, did not tend to encourage my charitable purposes; yet as many, though not the generality, might receive some benefit from the introduction among
L
them

them of the polity and religion of the Europeans, without retaining only the errors or vices that from the depravity and perversion of their professors are unhappily attendant on these, I determined to persevere.

Nor could I flatter myself that I should be able to accomplish alone this great design; however, I was willing to contribute as much as lay in my power towards it. In all public undertakings would every one do this, and furnish with alacrity his particular share towards it, what stupendous works might not be completed.

It is true that the Indians are not without some sense of religion, and such as proves that they worship the Great Creator, with a degree of purity unknown to nations who have greater opportunities of improvement; but their religious principles are far from being so faultless as described by a learned writer, or unmixed with opinions and ceremonies that greatly lessen their excellency in this point. So that could the doctrines of genuine and vital Christianity be introduced among them, pure and untainted as it flowed from the lips of its Divine Institutor, it would certainly tend to clear away that superstitious or idolatrous dross by which the rationality of their religious tenets are obscured. Its mild and beneficent precepts would likewise conduce to soften their implacable dispositions, and to refine their savage manners; an event most desirable; and happy shall I esteem myself if this publication shall prove the means of pointing out the path by which salutary instructions may be conveyed to them, and the conversion, though but of a few, be the consequence.

Conclusion of the JOURNAL, &c.



O F T H E

ORIGIN, MANNERS, CUSTOMS,
RELIGION AND LANGUAGE

O F T H E

I N D I A N S.



C H A P T E R I.

Of their O R I G I N.

TH E means by which America received its first inhabitants, have, since the time of its discovery by the Europeans, been the subject of numberless disquisitions. Was I to endeavour to collect the different opinions and reasonings on the various writers that have taken up the pen in defence of their conjectures, the enumeration would much exceed the bounds I have prescribed myself, and oblige me to be less explicit on points of greater moment.

From the obscurity in which this debate is enveloped, thro' the total disuse of letters among every nation of Indians on this extensive continent, and the uncertainty of oral tradition at the distance of so many ages, I fear, that even after the most minute investigation we shall not be able to settle it with any great degree

degree of certainty. And this apprehension will receive additional force when it is considered that the diversity of language, which is apparently distinct between most of the Indians, tends to ascertain that this population was not effected from one particular country, but from several neighbouring ones, and completed at different periods.

Most of the historians or travellers that have treated on the American Aborigines disagree in their sentiments relative to them. Many of the ancients are supposed to have known that this quarter of the globe not only existed, but also that it was inhabited. Plato in his *Timæus* has asserted, that beyond the island which he calls *Atalantis*, and which according to his description was situated in the western Ocean, there were a great number of other islands, and behind those a vast continent.

Oviedo, a celebrated Spanish author of a much later date, has made no scruple to affirm that the *Antilles* are the famous *Hesperides* so often mentioned by the poets; which are at length restored to the kings of Spain, the descendants of king *Hesperus*, who lived upwards of three thousand years ago, and from whom these islands received their name.

Two other Spaniards, the one, Father *Gregorio Garcia*, a Dominican, the other, Father *Joseph De Acoſta*, a Jesuit, have written on the origin of the Americans.

The former, who had been employed in the missions of Mexico and Peru, endeavoured to prove from the traditions of the Mexicans, Peruvians, and others, which he received on the spot, and from the variety of characters, customs, languages, and religion observable in the different countries of the new world, that different nations had contributed to the peopling of it.

The latter, Father *De Acoſta*, in his examination of the means by which the first Indians of America might have found a passage to that continent, discredits the conclusions of those who have supposed it to be by sea, because no ancient author has made mention of the compass: and concludes, that it must be either by the north of Asia and Europe, which adjoin to each other, or by those regions that lie to the southward of the Straights of Magellan. He also rejects the assertions of such as have advanced that it was peopled by the Hebrews.

John De Laët, a Flemish writer, has controverted the opinions of these Spanish fathers, and of many others who have written on the same subject. The hypothesis he endeavours to establish, is, that America was certainly peopled by the Scythians or Tartars; and that the transmigration of these people happened soon after the dispersion of Noah's grandsons. He undertakes to show, that the most northern Americans have a greater resemblance, not only in the features of their countenances, but also in their complexion and manner of living, to the Scythians, Tartars, and Samocides, than to any other nations.

In answer to Grotius, who had asserted that some of the Norwegians passed into America by way of Greenland, and over a vast continent, he says, that it is well known that Greenland was not discovered till the year 964; and both Gomera and Herrera inform us that the Chichimeques were settled on the Lake of Mexico in 721. He adds, that these savages, according to the uniform tradition of the Mexicans who dispossessed them, came from the country since called New Mexico, and from the neighbourhood of California; consequently North America, must have been inhabited many ages before it could receive any inhabitants from Norway by way of Greenland.

It is no less certain, he observes, that the real Mexicans founded their empire in 902, after having subdued the Chichimeques, the Otomias, and other barbarous nations, who had taken possession of the country round the Lake of Mexico, and each of whom spoke a language peculiar to themselves. The real Mexicans are likewise supposed to come from some of the countries that lie near California, and that they performed their journey for the most part by land; of course they could not come from Norway.

De Laët further adds, that though some of the inhabitants of North America may have entered it from the north-west, yet, as it is related by Pliny, and some other writers, that on many of the islands near the western coast of Africa, particularly on the Canaries, some ancient edifices were seen, it is highly probable from their being now deserted, that the inhabitants may have passed over to America; the passage being neither long nor difficult. This migration, according to the calculation of those authors, must have happened more than two thousand years ago, at a time when the Spaniards were much troubled by the Carthaginians; from whom having obtained a knowledge of navigation, and the construction of ships, they might have retired to the Antilles, by the way of the western isles, which were exactly half way on their voyage.

He thinks also that Great Britain, Ireland, and the Orcades were extremely proper to admit of a similar conjecture. As a proof, he inserts the following passage from the history of Wales, written by Dr. David Powel, in the year 1170.

This historian says, that Madoc, of the sons of Prince Owen Gwynnith, being disgusted at the civil wars which broke out between his brothers, after the death of their father, fitted out several vessels, and having provided them with every thing necessary for a long voyage, went in quest of new lands to the westward of Ireland; there he discovered very fertile countries, but destitute of inhabitants; when landing part of his people, he returned to Britain, where he raised new levies, and afterwards transported them to his colony.

The Flemish Author then returns to the Scythians, between whom and the Americans he draws a parallel. He observes that several nations of them to the north of the Caspian Sea,

led a wandering life; which, as well as many other of their customs, and way of living, agrees in many circumstances with the Indians of America. And though the resemblances are not absolutely perfect, yet the emigrants, even before they left their own country, differed from each other, and went not by the same name. Their change of abode effected what remained.

He further says, that a similar likeness exists between several American nations, and the Samœides who are settled, according to the Russian accounts, on the great River Oby. And it is more natural, continues he, to suppose that Colonies of these nations passed over to America by crossing the icy sea on their sledges, than for the Norwegians to travel all the way Grotius has marked out for them.

This writer makes many other remarks that are equally sensible, and which appear to be just; but he intermixes with these some that are not so well founded.

Emanuel de Moraez, a Portugeuze, in his history of Brazil, asserts, that America has been wholly peopled by the Carthaginians and Israelites. He brings as a proof of this assertion, the discoveries the former are known to have made at a great distance beyond the coast of Africa. The progress of which being put a stop to by the senate of Carthage, those who happened to be then in the newly discovered countries, being cut off from all communication with their countrymen, and destitute of many necessaries of life, fell into a state of barbarism. As to the Israelites, this author thinks that nothing but circumcision is wanted in order to constitute a perfect resemblance between them and the Brazilians.

George De Hornn, a learned Dutchman, has likewise written on this subject. He sets out with declaring, that he does not believe it possible America could have been peopled before the flood, considering the short space of time which elapsed between the creation of the world and that memorable event. In the next place he lays it down as a principle, that after the deluge, men and other terrestrial animals penetrated into that country both by sea and by land; some through accident, and some from a formed design. That birds got thither by flight; which they were enabled to do by resting on the rocks and islands that are scattered about in the Ocean.

He further observes, that wild beasts may have found a free passage by land; and that if we do not meet with horses or cattle, (to which he might have added elephants, camels, rhinoceros, and beasts of many other kinds) it is because those nations that passed thither, were either not acquainted with their use, or had no convenience to support them.

Having totally excluded many nations that others have admitted as the probable first settlers of America, for which he gives substantial reasons, he supposes that it began to be peopled by the north; and maintains, that the primitive colonies spread themselves

themselves by the means of the isthmus of Panama through the whole extent of the continent.

He believes that the first founders of the Indian Colonies were Scythians. That the Phœnicians and Carthaginians afterwards got footing in America across the Atlantic Ocean, and the Chinese by way of the Pacific. And that other nations might from time to time have landed there by one or other of these ways, or might possibly have been thrown on the coast by tempests: since, through the whole extent of that Continent, both in its northern and southern parts, we meet with undoubted marks of a mixture of the northern nations with those who have come from other places. And lastly, that some Jews and Christians might have been carried there by such like events, but that this must have happened at a time when the whole of the New World was already peopled.

After all, he acknowledges that great difficulties attend the determination of the question. These, he says, are occasioned in the first place by the imperfect knowledge we have of the extremities of the globe, towards the north and south pole; and in the next place to the havock which the Spaniards, the first discoverers of the new world, made among its most ancient monuments; as witness the great double road betwixt Quito and Cuzco, an undertaking so stupendous, that even the most magnificent of those executed by the Romans, cannot be compared to it.

He supposes also another migration of the Phœnicians, than those already mentioned, to have taken place; and this was during a three years voyage made by the Tyrian fleet in the service of King Solomon. He asserts on the authority of Josephus, that the port at which this embarkation was made, lay in the Mediterranean. The fleet, he adds, went in quest of elephants teeth and peacocks to the western Coast of Africa, which is Tarfish; then to Ophir for gold, which is Haité, or the island of Hispaniola; and in the latter opinion he is supported by Columbus, who, when he discovered that island, thought he could trace the furnaces in which the gold was refined.

To these migrations which preceded the Christian æra, he adds many others of a later date from different nations, but these I have not time to enumerate. For the same reason I am obliged to pass over numberless writers on this subject; and shall content myself with only giving the sentiments of two or three more.

The first of these is Pierre De Charlevoix, a Frenchman, who, in his journal of a voyage to North America, made so lately as the year 1720, has recapitulated the opinions of a variety of authors on this head, to which he has subjoined his own conjectures. But the latter cannot without some difficulty be extracted, as they are so interwoven with the passages he

has quoted, that it requires much attention to discriminate them.

He seems to allow that America might have received its first inhabitants from Tartary and Hyrcania. This he confirms, by observing that the lions and tigers which are found in the former, must have come from those countries, and whose passage serves for a proof that the two hemispheres join to the northward of Asia. He then draws a corroboration of this argument, from a story he says he has often heard related by Father Grollon, a French Jesuit, as an undoubted matter of fact.

This father, after having laboured some time in the missions of New France, passed over to those of China. One day as he was travelling in Tartary, he met a Huron woman whom he had formerly known in Canada. He asked her by what adventure she had been carried into a country so distant from her own. She made answer, that having been taken in war, she had been conducted from nation to nation, till she had reached the place at which she then was.

Monsieur Charlevoix says further, that he had been assured another Jesuit, passing through Nantz, in his return from China, had related much such another affair of a Spanish woman from Florida. She also had been taken by certain Indians, and given to those of a more distant country; and by these again to another nation, till having thus been successively passed from country to country, and travelled through regions extremely cold, she at last found herself in Tartary. Here she had married a Tartar, who had attended the conquerors in China, where she was then settled.

He acknowledges as an allay to the probability of these stories, that those who had sailed farthest to the eastward of Asia, by pursuing the Coast of Jesso or Kamtschatka, have pretended that they had perceived the extremity of this continent; and from thence have concluded that there could not possibly be any communication by land. But he adds that Francis Guella, a Spaniard, is said to have asserted, that this separation is no more than a strait, about one hundred miles over, and that some late voyages of the Japanese give grounds to think that this strait is only a bay, above which there is passage over land.

He goes on to observe, that though there are few wild beasts to be met with in North America, except a kind of tigers without spots, which are found in the country of the Iroquoise, yet towards the tropics there are lions and real tigers, which, notwithstanding, might have come from Hyrcania and Tartary; for as by advancing gradually southward they met with climates more agreeable to their natures, they have in time abandoned the northern countries.

He quotes both Solinus and Pliny to prove that the Scythian Anthropophagi once depopulated a great extent of country, as far as the promontory Tabin; and also an author of later date, Mark Pol, a Venetian, who, he says, tells us, that to the north-east

east of China and Tartary there are vast uninhabited countries, which might be sufficient to confirm any conjectures concerning the retreat of a great number of Scythians into America.

To this he adds, that we find in the ancients the names of some of these nations. Pliny speaks of the Tabians; Solinus mentions the Apuleans, who had for neighbours the Massagetes, whom Pliny since assures us to have entirely disappeared. Ammianus Marcellinus expressly tells us, that the fear of the Anthropophagi obliged several of the inhabitants of those countries to take refuge elsewhere. From all these authorities Monsieur Charlevoix concludes, that there is at least room to conjecture that more than one nation in America had a Scythian or Tartarian original.

He finishes his remarks on the authors he has quoted, by the following observations: It appears to me that this controversy may be reduced to the two following articles; first, how the new world might have been peopled; and secondly, by whom, and by what means it has been peopled.

Nothing, he asserts, may be more easily answered than the first. America might have been peopled as the three other parts of the world have been. Many difficulties have been formed on this subject, which have been deemed insolvable, but which are far from being so. The inhabitants of both hemispheres are certainly the descendants of the same father; the common parent of mankind received an express command from Heaven to people the whole world, and accordingly it has been peopled.

To bring this about it was necessary to overcome all difficulties that lay in the way, and they have been got over. Were these difficulties greater with respect to peopling the extremities of Asia, Africa, and Europe, or the transporting men into the islands which lie at a considerable distance from those continents, than to pass over into America? certainly not.

Navigation, which has arrived at so great perfection within these three or four centuries, might possibly have been more perfect in those early ages than at this day. Who can believe that Noah and his immediate descendants knew less of this art than we do? That the builder and pilot of the largest ship that ever was, a ship that was formed to traverse an unbounded ocean, and had so many shoals and quick-sands to guard against, should be ignorant of, or should not have communicated to those of his descendants who survived him, and by whose means he was to execute the order of the Great Creator; I say, who can believe he should not have communicated to them the art of sailing upon an ocean, which was not only more calm and pacific, but at the same time confined within its ancient limits?

Admitting this, how easy is it to pass, exclusive of the passage already described, by land from the coast of Africa to Brazil, from the Canaries to the Western Islands, and from them to the Antilles? From the British Isles, or the coast of France, to Newfoundland, the passage is neither long nor difficult; I might

say as much of that from China to Japan; from Japan, or the Phillipines, to the Isles Mariannes; and from thence to Mexico.

There are islands at a considerable distance from the continent of Asia, where we have not been surprized to find inhabitants, why then should we wonder to meet with people in America? Nor can it be imagined that the grandsons of Noah, when they were obliged to separate, and spread themselves in conformity to the designs of God, over the whole earth, should find it absolutely impossible to people almost one half of it.

I have been more copious in my extracts from this author than I intended, as his reasons appear to be solid. and many of his observations just. From this encomium, however, I must exclude the stories he has introduced of the Huron and Floridan women, which I think I might venture to pronounce fabulous.

I shall only add, to give my readers a more comprehensive view of *Monf. Charlevoix's* dissertation, the method he proposes to come at the truth of what we are in search of.

The only means by which this can be done, he says, is by comparing the languages of the Americans with the different nations, from whence we might suppose they have peregrinated. If we compare the former with those words that are considered as primitives, it might possibly set us upon some happy discovery. And this way of ascending to the original of nations, which is by far the least equivocal, is not so difficult as might be imagined. We have had, and still have, travellers and missionaries who have attained the languages that are spoken in all the provinces of the new world; it would only be necessary to make a collection of their grammars and vocabularies, and to collate them with the dead and living languages of the old world, that pass for originals, and the similarity might easily be traced. Even the different dialects, in spite of the alterations they have undergone, still retain enough of the mother tongue to furnish considerable lights.

Any enquiry into the manners, customs, religion, or traditions of the Americans, in order to discover by that means their origin, he thinks would prove fallacious. A disquisition of that kind, he observes, is only capable of producing a false light, more likely to dazzle, and to make us wander from the right path, than to lead us with certainty to the point proposed.

Ancient traditions are effaced from the minds of such as either have not, or for several ages have been without those helps that are necessary to preserve them. And in this situation is full one half of the world. New events, and a new arrangement of things, give rise to new traditions, which efface the former, and are themselves effaced in turn. After one or two centuries have passed, there no longer remain any traces of the first traditions; and thus we are involved in a state of uncertainty.

He concludes with the following remarks, among many others. **Unforeseen accidents, tempests, and shipwrecks, have certainly contributed**

contributed to people every habitable part of the world: and ought we to wonder after this, at perceiving certain resemblances, both of persons and manners between nations that are most remote from each other, when we find such a difference between those that border on one another? As we are destitute of historical monuments, there is nothing, I repeat it, but a knowledge of the primitive languages that is capable of throwing any light upon these clouds of impenetrable darkness.

By this enquiry we should at least be satisfied, among that prodigious number of various nations inhabiting America, and differing so much in languages from each other, which are those who make use of words totally and entirely different from those of the old world, and who consequently must be reckoned to have passed over to America in the earliest ages, and those who, from the analogy of their language with such as are at present used in the three other parts of the globe, leave room to judge that their migration has been more recent, and which ought to be attributed to shipwrecks, or to some accident similar to those which have been spoken of in the course of this treatise.

I shall only add the opinion of one author more, before I give my own sentiments on the subject, and that is of James Adair, Esq; who resided forty years among the Indians, and published the history of them in the year 1772. In his learned and systematical history of those nations, inhabiting the western parts of the most southern of the American colonies; this gentleman without hesitation pronounces that the American Aborigines are descended from the Israelites, either whilst they were a maritime power, or soon after their general captivity.

This descent he endeavours to prove from their religious rites, their civil and martial customs, their marriages, their funeral ceremonies, their manners, language, traditions, and from a variety of other particulars. And so complete is his conviction on this head, that he fancies he finds a perfect and indisputable similitude in each. Through all these I have not time to follow him, and shall therefore only give a few extracts to show on what foundation he builds his conjectures, and what degree of credit he is entitled to on this point.

He begins with observing, that though some have supposed the Americans to be descended from the Chinese, yet neither their religion, laws, or customs agree in the least with those of the Chinese; which sufficiently proves that they are not of this line. Besides, as our best ships are now almost half a year in sailing for China (our author does not here recollect that this is from a high northern latitude, across the Line, and then back again greatly to the northward of it, and not directly athwart the Pacific Ocean, for only one hundred and eleven degrees) or from thence to Europe, it is very unlikely they should attempt such dangerous discoveries, with their supposed small vessels, against rapid currents, and in dark and sickly Monsoons.

He

He further remarks, that this is more particularly improbable, as there is reason to believe that this nation was unacquainted with the use of the loadstone to direct their course.

China, he says, is about eight thousand miles distant from the American continent, which is twice as far as across the Atlantic Ocean. And we are not informed by any ancient writer of their maritime skill, or so much as any inclination that way, besides small coasting voyages. The winds blow likewise, with little variation from east to west within the latitudes thirty and odd, north and south, and therefore these could not drive them on the American coast, it lying directly contrary to such a course.

Neither could persons, according to this writer's account, sail to America from the north by the way of Tartary or Ancient Scythia; that, from its situation, never having been or can be a maritime power; and it is utterly impracticable, he says, for any to come to America by sea from that quarter. Besides, the remaining traces of their religious ceremonies, and civil and martial customs, are quite opposite to the like vestiges of the Old Scythians.

Even in the moderate northern climates there is not to be seen the least trace of any ancient stately buildings, or of any thick settlements, as are said to remain in the less healthy regions of Peru and Mexico. And several of the Indian nations assure us, that they crossed the Mississippi before they made their present northern settlements; which, connected with the former arguments, he concludes will sufficiently explode that weak opinion of the American Aborigines being lineally descended from the Tartars or ancient Scythians.

Mr Adair's reasons for supposing that the Americans derive their origin from the Jews are,

First, because they are divided into tribes, and have chiefs over them as the Israelites had.

Secondly, because, as by a strict permanent divine precept, the Hebrew nation were ordered to worship, at Jerusalem, Jehovah the true and living God, so do the Indians, styling him Yohewah. The ancient Heathens, he adds, it is well known worshipped a plurality of gods, but the Indians pay their religious devoirs to the Great beneficent, supreme, holy Spirit of Fire, who resides, as they think, above the clouds, and on earth also with unpolluted people. They pay no adoration to images, or to dead persons, neither to the celestial luminaries, to evil spirits, nor to any created beings whatever.

Thirdly, because, agreeable to the theocracy or divine government of Israel, the Indians think the Deity to be the immediate head of their state.

Fourthly, because, as the Jews believe in the ministration of angels, the Indians also believe that the higher regions are inhabited by good spirits.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, because the Indian language and dialects appear to have the very idiom and genius of the Hebrew. Their words and sentences being expressive, concise, emphatical, sonorous, and bold; and often, both in letters, and signification, are synonymous with the Hebrew language.

Sixthly, because they count their time after the manner of the Hebrews.

Seventhly, because in conformity to, or after the manner of the Jews, they have their prophets, high-priests, and other religious orders.

Eighthly, because their festivals, fasts, and religious rites have a great resemblance to those of the Hebrews.

Ninthly, because the Indians, before they go to war, have many preparatory ceremonies of purification and fasting, like what is recorded of the Israelites.

Tenthly, because the same taste for ornaments, and the same kind, are made use of by the Indians, as by the Hebrews.

These and many other arguments of a similar nature, Mr. Adair brings in support of his favourite system; but I should imagine, that if the Indians are really derived from the Hebrews, among their religious ceremonies, on which he chiefly seems to build his hypothesis, the principal, that of circumcision, would never have been laid aside, and its very remembrance obliterated.

Thus numerous and diverse are the opinions of those who have hitherto written on this subject! I shall not, however, either endeavour to reconcile them, or to point out the errors of each, but proceed to give my own sentiments on the origin of the Americans; which are founded on conclusions drawn from the most rational arguments of the writers I have mentioned, and from my own observations; the consistency of these I shall leave to the judgment of my Readers.

The better to introduce my conjectures on this head, it is necessary first to ascertain the distances between America and those parts of the habitable globe that approach nearest to it.

The Continent of America, as far as we can judge from all the researches that have been made near the poles, appears to be entirely separated from the other quarters of the world. That part of Europe which approaches nearest to it, is the coast of Greenland, lying in about seventy degrees of north latitude; and which reaches within twelve degrees of the coast of Labrador, situated on the north-east borders of this continent. The coast of Guinea is the nearest part of Africa; which lies about eighteen hundred and sixty miles north-east from the Brazils. The most eastern coast of Asia, which extends to the Korean Sea on the north of China, projects north-east through eastern Tartary and Kamtschatka to Siberia, in about sixty degrees of north latitude. Towards which the western coasts of America, from California to the Straights of Annian, extend near-

ly north-west, and lie in about forty-six degrees of the same latitude.

Whether the Continent of America stretches any farther north than these straights, and joins to the eastern parts of Asia, agreeable to what has been asserted by some of the writers I have quoted, or whether the lands that have been discovered in the intermediate parts are only an archipelago of islands, verging towards the opposite continent, is not yet ascertained.

It being, however, certain that there are many considerable islands which lie between the extremities of Asia and America, viz. Japon, Jesso or Jedso, Gama's Land, Behring's Isle, with many others discovered by Tschirikow, and besides these, from fifty degrees north there appearing to be a cluster of islands that reach as far as Siberia, it is probable from their proximity to America, that it received its first inhabitants from them.

This conclusion is the most rational I am able to draw, supposing that since the Aborigines got footing on this continent, no extraordinary or sudden change in the position or surface of it has taken place, from inundations, earthquakes, or any revolutions of the earth that we are at present unacquainted with.

To me it appears highly improbable that it should have been peopled from different quarters, across the Ocean, as others have asserted. From the size of the ships made use of in those early ages, and the want of the compass, it cannot be supposed that any maritime nation would by choice venture over the unfathomable ocean, in search of distant continents. Had this however been attempted, or had America been first accidentally peopled from ships freighted with passengers of both sexes, which were driven by strong easterly winds across the Atlantic, these settlers must have retained some traces of the language of the country from whence they migrated; and this since the discovery of it by the Europeans must have been made out. It also appears extraordinary that several of these accidental migrations, as allowed by some, and these from different parts, should have taken place.

Upon the whole, after the most critical enquiries, and the maturest deliberation, I am of opinion, that America received its first inhabitants from the north-east, by way of the great archipelago just mentioned, and from these alone. But this might have been effected at different times, and from various parts: from Tartary, China, Japon, or Kamtschatka, the inhabitants of these places resembling each other in colour, features, and shape; and who, before some of them acquired a knowledge of the arts and sciences, might have likewise resembled each other in their manners, customs, religion, and language.

The only difference between the Chinese nation and the Tartars lies in the cultivated state of the one, and the unpolished situation of the others. The former have become a commercial people, and dwell in houses formed into regular towns and cities; the latter live chiefly in tents, and rove about in differ-

rent hords, without any fixed abode. Nor can the long and bloody wars these two nations have been engaged in, exterminate their hereditary similitude. The present family of the Chinese emperors is of Tartarian extraction; and if they were not sensible of some claim beside that of conquest, so numerous a people would scarcely fit quiet under the dominion of strangers.

It is very evident that some of the manners and customs of the American Indians resemble those of the Tartars; and I make no doubt but that in some future æra, and this is not a very distant one, it will be reduced to a certainty, that during some of the wars between the Tartars and the Chinese, a part of the inhabitants of the northern provinces were driven from their native country, and took refuge in some of the isles before-mentioned, and from thence found their way into America. At different periods each nation might prove victorious, and the conquered by turns fly before their conquerors; and from hence might arise the similitude of the Indians to all these people, and that animosity which exists between so many of their tribes.

It appears plainly to me that a great similarity between the Indian and Chinese is conspicuous in that particular custom of shaving or plucking off the hair, and leaving only a small tuft on the crown of the head. This mode is said to have been enjoined by the Tartarian emperors on their accession to the throne of China, and consequently is a further proof that this custom was in use among the Tartars; to whom as well as the Chinese, the Americans might be indebted for it.

Many words also are used both by the Chinese and Indians, which have a resemblance to each other, not only in their sound, but their signification. The Chinese call a slave, *shungo*; and the Naudowessie Indians, whose language from their little intercourse with the Europeans is the least corrupted, term a dog, *shunguth*. The former denominate one species of their tea, *thoufong*; the latter call their tobacco, *shoufaffau*. Many other of the words used by the Indians contain the syllables *che*, *chaw*, and *chu*, after the dialect of the Chinese.

There probably might be found a similar connection between the language of the Tartars and the American Aborigines, were we as well acquainted with it as we are, from a commercial intercourse, with that of the Chinese.

I am confirmed in these conjectures, by the accounts of Kamfchatka, published a few years ago by order of the Empress of Russia. The author of which says, that the sea which divides that peninsula from America is full of islands; and that the distance between Tschukotskoi-Nofs, a promontory which lies at the eastern extremity of that country, and the coast of America, is not more than two degrees and a half of a great circle. He further says, that there is the greatest reason to suppose that Asia and America once joined at this place, as the coasts of both continents appear to have been broken into capes and bays, which

which answer each other; more especially as the inhabitants of this part of both resemble each other in their persons, habits, customs, and food. Their language, indeed, he observes, does not appear to be the same, but then the inhabitants of each district in Kamschatka speak a language as different from each other, as from that spoken on the opposite coast. These observations, to which he adds, the similarity of the boats of the inhabitants of each coast, and a remark that the natives of this part of America are wholly strangers to wine and tobacco, which he looks upon as a proof that they have as yet had no communication with the natives of Europe, he says, amount to little less than a demonstration that America was peopled from this part of Asia.

The limits of my present undertaking will not permit me to dwell any longer on this subject, or to enumerate any other proofs in favour of my hypothesis. I am however so thoroughly convinced of the certainty of it, and so desirous have I been to obtain every testimony which can be procured in its support, that I once made an offer to a private society of gentlemen, who were curious in such researches, and to whom I had communicated my sentiments on this point, that I would undertake a journey, on receiving such supplies as were needful, through the north-east parts of Europe and Asia to the interior parts of America, and from thence to England; making, as I proceeded, such observations both on the languages and manners of the people with whom I should be conversant, as might tend to illustrate the doctrine I have here laid down, and to satisfy the curiosity of the learned or inquisitive; but as this proposal was judged rather to require a national than a private support, it was not carried into execution.

I am happy to find, since I formed the foregoing conclusions, that they correspond with the sentiments of that great and learned historian Doctor Robertson; and though, with him, I acknowledge that the investigation, from its nature, is so obscure and intricate, that the conjectures I have made can only be considered as conjectures, and not indisputable conclusions, yet they carry with them a greater degree of probability than the suppositions of those who assert that this continent was peopled from another quarter.

One of the Doctor's quotations from the Journals of Behring and Tschirikow, who sailed from Kamschatka, about the year 1741, in quest of the New World, appears to carry great weight with it, and to afford our conclusions firm support: "These
 " commanders having shaped their course towards the east, dis-
 " covered land, which to them appeared to be part of the Ame-
 " rican continent; and according to their observations, it seems
 " to be situated within a few degrees of the north-west coast of
 " California. They had there some intercourse with the inha-
 " bitants, who seemed to them to resemble the North-Ameri-
 " cans; as they presented to the Russians the Calumet or Pipe
 " of

“ of Peace, which is a symbol of friendship universal among the people of North America, and an usage of arbitrary institution peculiar to them.”

One of this incomparable writer's own arguments in support of his hypothesis, is also urged with great judgment, and appears to be nearly conclusive. He says, “ We may lay it down as a certain principle in this enquiry, that America was not peopled by any nation of the ancient continent, which had made considerable progress in civilization. The inhabitants of the New World were in a state of society so extremely rude, as to be unacquainted with those arts which are the first essays of human ingenuity in its advance towards improvement. Even the most cultivated nations of America were strangers to many of those simple inventions, which were almost cœval with society in other parts of the world, and were known in the earliest periods of civil life. From this it is manifest that the tribes which originally migrated to America, came off from nations which must have been no less barbarous than their posterity, at the time when they were first discovered by the Europeans. If ever the use of iron had been known to the savages of America, or to their progenitors, if ever they had employed a plough, a loom, or a forge, the utility of these inventions would have preserved them, and it is impossible that they should have been abandoned or forgotten.”

CHAPTER II.

Of their PERSONS, DRESS, &c.

FROM the first settlement of the French in Canada, to the conquest of it by the English in 1760, several of that nation, who had travelled into the interior parts of North America, either to trade with the Indians, or to endeavour to make converts of them have published accounts of their customs, manners, &c.

The principal of these are Father Louis Hennipin, Monsr. Charlevoix, and the Baron Le Hontan. The first, many years ago, published some very judicious remarks, which he was the better enabled to do by the assistance he received from the maps and diaries of the unfortunate M. De la Salle, who was assassinated whilst he was on his travels, by some of his own party. That gentleman's journals falling into Father Hennipin's hands, he was enabled by them to publish many interesting particulars relative

to the Indians. But in some respects he fell very short of that knowledge which it was in his power to have attained from his long residence among them. Nor was he always (as has been already observed,) exact in his calculations, or just in the intelligence he has given us.

The accounts published by the other two, particularly those of Charlevoix, are very erroneous in the geographical parts, and many of the stories told by the Baron are mere delusions.

Some of the Jesuits, who heretofore travelled into these parts, have also written on this subject; but as few, if any, of their works have been translated into the English language, the generality of Readers are not benefited by them; and, indeed, had this been done, they would have reaped but few advantages from them, as they have chiefly confined their observations to the religious principles of the savages, and the steps taken for their conversion.

Since the conquest of Canada, some of our own countrymen, who have lived among the Indians, and learned their language, have published their observations; however as their travels have not extended to any of the interior parts I treat of, but have only been made among the nations that border on our settlements, a knowledge of the genuine and uncontaminated customs and manners of the Indians could not have been acquired by them.

The southern tribes, and those that have held a constant intercourse with the French or English, cannot have preserved their manners or their customs in their original purity. They could not avoid acquiring the vices with the language of those they conversed with; and the frequent intoxications they experienced through the baneful juices introduced among them by the Europeans, have completed a total alteration in their characters.

In such as these, a confused medley of principles or usages are only to be observed; their real and unpolluted customs could be seen among those nations alone that have held but little communications with the provinces. These I found in the north-west parts, and therefore flatter myself that I am able to give a more just account of the customs and manners of the Indians, in their ancient purity, than any that has been hitherto published. I have made observations on thirty nations, and though most of these have differed in their languages, there has appeared a great similiarity in their manners, and from these have I endeavoured to extract the following remarks.

As I do not propose to give a regular and connected system of Indian concerns, but only to relate such particulars of their manners, customs, &c. as I thought most worthy of notice, and which interfere as little as possible with the accounts given by other writers, I must beg my Readers to excuse their not be-

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arranged systematically, or treated of in a more copious manner.

The Indian nations do not appear to me to differ so widely in their make, colour, or constitution from each other, as represented by some writers. They are in general slight made, rather tall and strait, and you seldom see any among them deformed; their skin is of a reddish or copper colour; their eyes are large and black, and their hair of the same hue, but very rarely is it curled; they have good teeth, and their breath is as sweet as the air they draw in; their cheek-bones rather raised, but more so in the women than the men; the former are not quite so tall as the European women, however you frequently meet with good faces and agreeable persons among them, although they are more inclined to be fat than the other sex.

I shall not enter into a particular enquiry whether the Indians are indebted to nature, art, or the temperature of the climate for the colour of their skin, nor shall I quote any of the contradictory accounts I have read on this subject; I shall only say, that it appears to me to be the tincture they received originally from the hands of their Creator; but at what period the variation which is at present visible, both in the complexion and features of many nations took place, at what time the European whiteness, the jetty hue of the African, or the copper cast of the American were given them; which was the original colour of the first inhabitants of the earth, or which might be esteemed the most perfect, I will not pretend to determine.

Many writers have asserted, that the Indians, even at the maturest period of their existence, are only furnished with hair on their heads; and that notwithstanding the profusion with which that part is covered, those parts which among the inhabitants of other climates are usually the seat of this excrescence, remain entirely free from it. Even Doctor Robertson, through their misrepresentations, has contributed to propagate the error; and supposing the remark justly founded, has drawn several conclusions from it relative to the habit and temperature of their bodies, which are consequently invalid. But from minute enquiries, and a curious inspection, I am able to declare, (however respectable I may hold the authority of these historians in other points) that their assertions are erroneous, and proceeding from the want of a thorough knowledge of the customs of the Indians.

After the age of puberty, their bodies, in their natural state, are covered in the same manner as those of the Europeans. The men, indeed, esteem a beard very unbecoming, and take great pains to get rid of it, nor is there any ever to be perceived on their faces, except when they grow old, and become inattentive to their appearance. Every crinous efflorescence on the other parts of the body is held unseemly by them, and both sexes employ much time in their extirpation.

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The Naudowessies, and the remote nations, pluck them out with bent pieces of hard wood, formed into a kind of nippers; whilst those who have communication with Europeans procure from them wire, which they twist into a screw or worm; applying this to the part, they press the rings together, and with a sudden twitch draw out all the hairs that are inclosed between them.

The men of every nation differ in their dress very little from each other, except those who trade with the Europeans; these exchange their furs for blankets, shirts and other apparel, which they wear as much for ornament as necessity. The latter fasten by a girdle around their waists about half a yard of broadcloth, which covers the middle parts of their bodies. Those who wear shirts never make them fast either at the wrist or collar; this would be a most insufferable confinement to them. They throw their blanket loose upon their shoulders, and holding the upper side of it by the two corners, with a knife in one hand, and a tobacco pouch, pipe, &c. in the other; thus accoutred they walk about in their villages or camps: but in their dances they seldom wear this covering.

Those among the men who wish to appear gayer than the rest, pluck from their heads all the hair, except from a spot on the top of it, about the size of a crown piece, where it is permitted to grow to a considerable length: on this are fastened plumes of feathers of various colours, with silver or ivory quills. The manner of cutting and ornamenting this part of the head distinguishes different nations from each other.

They paint their faces red and black, which they esteem as greatly ornamental. They also paint themselves when they go to war; but the method they make use of on this occasion differs from that wherein they use it merely as a decoration.

The young Indians, who are desirous of excelling their companions in finery, slit the outward rim of both their ears; at the same time they take care not to separate them entirely, but leave the flesh thus cut, still untouched at both extremities: around this spongy substance, from the upper to the lower part, they twist brass wire, till the weight draws the amputated rim into a bow of five or six inches diameter, and drags it almost down to the shoulder. This decoration is esteemed to be excessively gay and becoming.

It is also a common custom among them to bore their noses, and wear in them pendants of different sorts. I observed that sea shells were much worn by those of the interior parts, and reckoned very ornamental; but how they procure them I could not learn; probably by their traffic with other nations nearer the sea.

They go without any covering for the thigh, except that before spoken of, round the middle, which reaches down half way the thighs; but they make for their legs a sort of stocking, either of skins or cloth: these are sewed as near to the shape
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of the leg as possible, so as to admit of being drawn on and off. The edges of the stuff of which they are composed are left annexed to the seam, and hang loose for about the breadth of a hand; and this part, which is placed on the outside of the leg, is generally ornamented by those who have any communication with Europeans, if of cloth, with ribands or lace, if of leather, with embroidery and porcupine quills curiously coloured. Strangers who hunt among the Indians, in the parts where there is a great deal of snow, find these stockings much more convenient than any others.

Their shoes are made of the skin of the deer, elk, or buffalo: these, after being sometimes dressed according to the European manner, at others with the hair remaining on them, are cut into shoes, and fashioned so as to be easy to the feet, and convenient for walking. The edges round the ankle are decorated with pieces of brass or tin fixed around leather strings, about an inch long, which being placed very thick, make a cheerful tinkling noise either when they walk or dance.

The women wear a covering of some kind or other from the neck to the knees. Those who trade with the Europeans wear a linen garment, the same as that used by the men; the flaps of which hang over the petticoat. Such as dress after their ancient manner, make a kind of shift with leather, which covers the body but not the arms. Their petticoats are made either of leather or cloth, and reach from the waist to the knee. On their legs they wear stockings and shoes, made and ornamented as those of the men.

They differ from each other in the mode of dressing their heads, each following the custom of the nation or band to which they belong, and adhering to the form made use of by their ancestors from time immemorial.

I remarked that most of the females, who dwell on the east side of the Mississippi, decorate their heads by inclosing their hair either in ribands, or in plates of silver; the latter is only made use of by the higher ranks, as it is a costly ornament. The silver they use on this occasion is formed into thin plates of about four inches broad, in several of which they confine their hair. That plate which is nearest the head is of a considerable width; the next narrower, and made so as to pass a little way under the other, and in this manner they fasten into each other, and gradually tapering, descend to the waist. The hair of the Indian women being in general very long, this proves an expensive method.

But the women that live to the west of the Mississippi, viz. the Naudowessies, the Assinipoils, &c. divide their hair in the middle of the head, and form it into two rolls, one against each ear. These rolls are about three inches long, and as large as their wrists. They hang in a perpendicular attitude at the front of each ear, and descend as far as the lower part of it.

The women of every nation generally place a spot of paint, about the size of a crown-piece, against each ear; some of them put paint on their hair, and sometimes a small spot in the middle of the forehead.

The Indians, in general, pay a greater attention to their dress, and to the ornaments with which they decorate their persons, than to the accommodation of their huts or tents. They construct the latter in the following simple and expeditious manner.

Being provided with poles of a proper length, they fasten two of them across, near their ends, with bands made of bark. Having done this, they raise them up, and extend the bottom of each as wide as they purpose to make the area of the tent: they then erect others of an equal height, and fix them so as to support the two principal ones. On the whole they lay skins of the elk or deer, sewed together, in quantity sufficient to cover the poles, and by lapping over to form the door. A great number of skins are sometimes required for this purpose, as some of their tents are very capacious. That of the chief warrior of the Naudowessies was at least forty feet in circumference, and very commodious.

They observe no regularity in fixing their tents, when they encamp, but place them just as it suits their conveniency.

The huts also, which those who use not tents, erect when they travel, for very few tribes have fixed abodes, or regular towns, or villages, are equally simple, and almost as soon constructed.

They fix small pliable poles in the ground, and bending them till they meet at the top and form a semi-circle, then lash them together. These they cover with mats made of rushes platted, or with birch bark, which they carry with them in their canoes for this purpose.

These cabins have neither chimnies nor windows; there is only a small aperture left in the middle of the roofs through which the smoke is discharged, but as this is obliged to be stopped up when it rains or snows violently, the smoke then proves exceedingly troublesome.

They lie on skins, generally those of the bear, which are placed in rows on the ground; and if the floor is not large enough to contain beds sufficient for the accommodation of the whole family, a frame is erected about four or five feet from the ground, in which the younger part of it sleep.

As the habitations of the Indians are thus rude, their domestic utensils are few in number, and plain in their formation. The tools wherewith they fashion them are so awkward and defective, that it is not only impossible to form them with any degree of neatness or elegance, but the time required in the execution is so considerable, as to deter them from engaging in the manufacture of such as are not absolutely necessary.

The Naudowessies make the pots in which they boil their victuals

tuals of the black clay or stone mentioned in my journal; which resists the effects of the fire, nearly as well as iron. When they roast, if it is a large joint, or a whole animal, such as a beaver, they fix it as Europeans do, on a spit made of a hard wood, and placing the ends on two forked props, now and then turn it. If the piece is smaller they spit it as before, and fixing the spit in an erect but slanting position, with the meat inclining towards the fire, frequently change the sides, till every part is sufficiently roasted.

They make their dishes in which they serve up their meat, and their bowls and pans, out of the knotty excrescences of the maple tree, or any other wood. They fashion their spoons with a tolerable degree of neatness (as these require much less trouble than large utensils) from a wood that is termed in America Spoon Wood, and which greatly resembles box wood.

Every tribe are now possessed of knives, and steels to strike fire with. These being so essentially needful for the common uses of life, those who have not an immediate communication with the European traders, purchase them of such their neighbours as are situated nearer the settlements, and generally give in exchange for them slaves.

C H A P T E R III.

Of their MANNERS, QUALIFICATIONS, &c.

WHEN the Indian women sit down, they place themselves in a decent attitude, with their knees close together; but from being accustomed to this posture, they walk badly, and appear to be lame.

They have no midwives amongst them, their climate, or some peculiar happiness in their constitutions, rendering any assistance at that time unnecessary. On these occasions they are confined but a few hours from their usual employments, which are commonly very laborious, as the men, who are remarkably indolent, leave to them every kind of drudgery; even in their hunting parties the former will not deign to bring home the game, but send their wives for it, though it lies at a very considerable distance.

The women place their children soon after they are born on boards stuffed with soft moss, such as is found in morasses or meadows. The child is laid on its back in one of these kind of cradles, and, being wrapped in skins or cloth to keep it warm, is secured in it by small bent pieces of timber.

To these machines they fasten strings, by which they hang them to branches of trees; or if they find not trees at hand, fasten them to a stump or stone, whilst they transact any needful business. In this position are the children kept for some months, When they are taken out, the boys are suffered to go naked, and the girls are covered from the neck to the knees with a shift and a short petticoat.

The Indian women are remarkably decent during their menstrual illness. Those nations that are most remote from the European settlements, as the Naudowessies, &c. are more particularly attentive to this point; though they all without exception adhere in some degree to the same custom.

In every camp or town there is an apartment appropriated for their retirement at this time, to which both single and married retreat, and seclude themselves with the utmost strictness during this period from all society. Afterwards they purify themselves in running streams, and return to their different employments.

The men on these occasions most carefully avoid holding any communication with them; and the Naudowessies are so rigid in this observance, that they will not suffer any belonging to them to fetch such things as are necessary, even fire, from these female lunar retreats, though the want of them is attended with the greatest inconvenience. They are also so superstitious as to think, if a pipe stem cracks, which among them is made of wood, that the possessor has either lighted it at one of these polluted fires, or held some converse with a woman during her retirement, which is esteemed by them most disgraceful and wicked.

The Indians are extremely circumspect and deliberate in every word and action; there is nothing that hurries them into any intemperate warmth, but that inveteracy to their enemies, which is rooted in every Indian heart, and never can be eradicated. In all other instances they are cool, and remarkably cautious, taking care not to betray on any account whatever their emotions. If an Indian has discovered that a friend is in danger of being intercepted and cut off by one to whom he has rendered himself obnoxious; he does not inform him in plain and explicit terms of the danger he runs by pursuing the track near which his enemy lies in wait for him, but he first coolly asks him which way he is going that day; and having received his answer, with the same indifference tells him that he has been informed that a dog lies near the spot, which might probably do him a mischief. This hint proves sufficient; and his friend avoids the danger with as much caution as if every design and motion of his enemy had been pointed out to him.

This apathy often shews itself on occasions that would call forth all the fervour of a susceptible heart. If an Indian has been absent from his family and friends many months, either on a war or hunting party, when his wife and children meet him at some distance from his habitation, instead of the affectionate sens-

sations that would naturally arise in the breast of more refined beings, and be productive of mutual congratulations, he continues his course without paying the least attention to those who surround him, till he arrives at his home.

He there sits down, and with the same unconcern as if he had not been absent a day, smokes his pipe; those of his acquaintance who have followed him, do the same; and perhaps it is several hours before he relates to them the incidents which have befallen him during his absence, though perhaps he has left a father, brother, or son on the field, whose loss he ought to have lamented, or has been unsuccessful in the undertaking that called him from his home.

Has an Indian been engaged for several days in the chase, or on any other laborious expedition, and by accident continued thus long without food, when he arrives at the hut or tent of a friend, where he knows his wants may be immediately supplied, he takes care not to show the least symptoms of impatience, or to betray the extreme hunger by which he is tortured; but on being invited in, sits contentedly down, and smokes his pipe with as much composure as if every appetite was allayed, and he was perfectly at ease; he does the same if among strangers. This custom is strictly adhered to by every tribe, as they esteem it a proof of fortitude, and think the reverse would intitle them to the appellation of old women.

If you tell an Indian that his children have greatly signalized themselves against an enemy, have taken many scalps, and brought home many prisoners, he does not appear to feel any extraordinary pleasure on the occasion; his answer generally is, "It is well," and he makes very little further enquiry about it. On the contrary, if you inform him that his children are slain or taken prisoners, he makes no complaints, he only replies, "It does not signify;" and probably, for some time at least, asks not how it happened.

This seeming indifference, however, does not proceed from an entire suppression of the natural affections; for notwithstanding they are esteemed savages, I never saw among any other people greater proofs of parental or filial tenderness; and although they meet their wives after a long absence with the stoical indifference just mentioned, they are not, in general, void of conjugal affection.

Another peculiarity is observable in their manner of paying their visits. If an Indian goes to visit a particular person in a family, he mentions to whom his visit is intended, and the rest of the family immediately retiring to the other end of the hut or tent, are careful not to come near enough to interrupt them during the whole of the conversation. The same method is pursued if a man goes to pay his respects to one of the other sex; but then he must be careful not to let love be the subject of his discourse, whilst the day light remains.

The Indians discover an amazing sagacity, and acquire with the greatest readiness anything that depends upon the attention of the mind. By experience and an acute observation, they attain many perfections to which Europeans are strangers. For instance, they will cross a forest or a plain which is two hundred miles in breadth, and reach with great exactness the point at which they intended to arrive, keeping during the whole of that space in a direct line, without any material deviations; and this they will do with the same ease, whether the weather be fair or cloudy.

With equal acuteness will they point to that part of the heavens the sun is in, though it be intercepted by clouds or fogs. Besides this, they are able to pursue with incredible facility the traces of man or beast, either on leaves or grass; and on this account it is with great difficulty a flying enemy escapes discovery.

They are indebted for these talents not only to nature, but to an extraordinary command of the intellectual faculties, which can only be acquired by an unremitting attention, and by long experience.

They are in general very happy in a retentive memory; they can recapitulate every particular that has been treated of in council, and remember the exact time when these were held. Their belts of wampum preserve the substance of the treaties they have concluded with the neighbouring tribes for ages back, to which they will appeal, and refer with as much perspicuity and readiness as Europeans can to their written records.

Every nation pays great respect to old age. The advice of a father will seldom meet with any extraordinary attention from the young Indians, probably they receive it with only a bare assent; but they will tremble before a grandfather, and submit to his injunction with the utmost alacrity. The words of the ancient part of their community are esteemed by the young as oracles. If they take during their hunting parties any game that is reckoned by them uncommonly delicious, it is immediately presented to the oldest of their relations.

They never suffer themselves to be overburdened with care, but live in a state of perfect tranquillity and contentment. Being naturally indolent, if provision just sufficient for their subsistence can be procured with little trouble, and near at hand, they will not go far, or take any extraordinary pains for it, though by so doing they might acquire greater plenty, and of a more estimable kind.

Having much leisure time they indulge this indolence to which they are so prone, by eating, drinking, or sleeping, and rambling about in their towns or camps. But when necessity obliges them to take the field, either to oppose an enemy, or to procure themselves food, they are alert and indefatigable. Many instances of their activity, on these occasions, will be given when I treat of their wars.

The infatuating spirit of gaming is not confined to Europe; the Indians also feel the bewitching impulse, and often lose their arms, their apparel, and every thing they are possessed of. In this case, however, they do not follow the example of more refined gamesters, for they neither murmur nor repine; not a fretful word escapes them, but they bear the frowns of fortune with a philosophic composure.

The greatest blemish in their character is that savage disposition which impels them to treat their enemies with a severity every other nation shudders at. But if they are thus barbarous to those with whom they are at war, they are friendly, hospitable, and humane in peace. It may with truth be said of them, that they are the worst enemies, and the best friends, of any people in the whole world.

The Indians in general are strangers to the passion of jealousy; and brand a man with folly that is distrustful of his wife. Among some bands the very Idea is not known; as the most abandoned of their young men very rarely attempt the virtue of married women, nor do these often put themselves in the way of sollicitation. Yet the Indian women in general are of an amorous temperature, and before they are married are not the less esteemed for the indulgence of their passions.

The Indians in their common state are strangers to all distinction of property, except in the articles of domestic use, which every one considers as his own, and increases as circumstances admit. They are extremely liberal to each other, and supply the deficiency of their friends with any superfluity of their own.

In dangers they readily give assistance to those of their band, who stand in need of it, without any expectation of return, except of those just rewards that are always conferred by the Indians on merit. Governed by the plain and equitable laws of nature, every one is rewarded solely according to his deserts; and their equality of condition, manners, and privileges, with that constant and sociable familiarity which prevails throughout every Indian nation, animates them with a pure and truly patriotic spirit, that tends to the general good of the society to which they belong.

If any of their neighbours are bereaved by death, or by an enemy of their children, those who are possessed of the greatest number of slaves, supply the deficiency; and these are adopted by them, and treated in every respect as if they really were the children of the person to whom they are presented.

The Indians, except those who live adjoining to the European colonies, can form to themselves no idea of the value of money; they consider it, when they are made acquainted with the uses to which it is applied by other nations, as the source of innumerable evils. To it they attribute all the mischiefs that are prevalent among Europeans, such as treachery, plundering, devastations, and murder.

They

They esteem it irrational that one man should be possessed of a greater quantity than another, and are amazed that any honour should be annexed to the possession of it. But that the want of this useless metal should be the cause of depriving persons of their liberty, and that on account of this partial distribution of it, great numbers should be immured within the dreary walls of a prison, cut off from that society of which they constitute a part, exceeds their belief. Nor do they fail, on hearing this part of the European system of government related, to charge the institutors of it with a total want of humanity, and to brand them with the names of savages and brutes.

They shew almost an equal degree of indifference for the productions of art. When any of these are shewn them, they say, "It is pretty, I like to look at it," but are not inquisitive about the construction of it, neither can they form proper conceptions of its use. But if you tell them of a person who is able to run with great agility, that is well skilled in hunting, can direct with unerring aim a gun, or bend with ease a bow, that can dextrously work a canoe, understands the art of war, is acquainted with the situation of a country, and can make his way without a guide, through an immense forest, subsisting during this on a small quantity of provisions, they are in raptures; they listen with great attention to the pleasing tale, and bestow the highest commendations on the hero of it.

CHAPTER IV.

Their Method of reckoning TIME, &c.

CONSIDERING their ignorance of astronomy, time is very rationally divided by the Indians. Those in the interior parts (and of those I would generally be understood to speak) count their years by winters; or, as they express themselves, by snows.

Some nations among them reckon their years by moons, and make them consist of twelve synodical or lunar months, observing, when thirty moons have waned, to add a supernumerary one, which they term the lost moon; and then begin to count as before. They pay a great regard to the first appearance of every moon, and on the occasion always repeat some joyful sounds, stretching at the same time their hands towards it.

Every month has with them a name expressive of its season; for instance, they call the month of March (in which their year generally

generally begins at the first New Moon after the vernal Equinox) the Worm Month or Moon; because at this time the worms quit their retreats in the bark of the trees, wood, &c. where they have sheltered themselves during the winter.

The month of April is termed by them the month of Plants. May, the Month of Flowers. June, the Hot Moon. July, the Buck-Moon. Their reason for thus denominating these is obvious.

August, the Sturgeon Moon; because in this month they catch great numbers of that fish.

September, the Corn Moon; because in that month they gather in their Indian corn.

October, the Travelling Moon; as they leave at this time their villages, and travel towards the places where they intend to hunt during the winter.

November, the Beaver Moon; for in this month the beavers begin to take shelter in their houses, having laid up a sufficient store of provisions for the winter season.

December, the Hunting Moon, because they employ this month in pursuit of their game.

January, the Cold Moon, as it generally freezes harder, and the cold is more intense in this than in any other month.

February they call the Snow Moon, because more snow commonly falls during this month, than any other in the winter.

When the moon does not shine they say the moon is dead; and some call the three last days of it the naked days. The moon's first appearance they term its coming to life again.

They make no division of weeks; but days they count by sleeps; half days by pointing to the sun at noon; and quarters by the rising and the setting of the sun: to express which in their traditions they make use of very significant hieroglyphicks.

The Indians are totally unskilled in geography as well as all the other sciences, and yet, as I have before hinted, they draw on their birch bark very exact charts or maps of the countries with which they are acquainted. The latitude and longitude is only wanting to make them tolerably complete.

Their sole knowledge in astronomy consists in being able to point out the pole-star; by which they regulate their course when they travel in the night.

They reckon the distance of places, not by miles or leagues; but by a day's journey, which, according to the best calculations I could make, appears to be about twenty English miles. These they also divide into halves and quarters, and will demonstrate them in their maps with great exactness, by the hieroglyphicks just mentioned, when they regulate in council their war parties, or their most distant hunting excursions.

They have no idea of arithmetic; and though they are able to count to any number, figures as well as letters appear mysterious to them, and above their comprehension.

During

During my abode with the Naudowessies, some of the chiefs observing one day a draft of an eclipse of the moon, in a book of astronomy which I held in my hand, they desired I would permit them to look at it. Happening to give them the book shut, they began to count the leaves till they came to the place in which the plate was. After they had viewed it, and asked many questions relative to it, I told them they needed not to have taken so much pains to find the leaf on which it was drawn, for I could not only tell in an instant the place, without counting the leaves, but also how many preceded it.

They seemed greatly amazed at my assertion, and begged that I would demonstrate to them the possibility of doing it. To this purpose I desired the chief that held the book, to open it at any particular place, and just shewing me the page carefully to conceal the edges of the leaves, so that I might not be able to count them.

This he did with the greatest caution; notwithstanding which, by looking at the folio, I told him, to his great surprize, the number of leaves. He counted them regularly over, and discovered that I was exact. And when, after repeated trials, the Indians found I could do it with great readiness, and without ever erring in my calculation, they all seemed as much astonished as if I had raised the dead. The only way they could account for my knowledge, was by concluding that the book was a spirit, and whispered me answers to whatever I demanded of it.

This circumstance, trifling as it might appear to those who are less illiterate, contributed to increase my consequence, and to augment the favourable opinion they already entertained of me.

CHAPTER V.

Of their GOVERNMENT, &c.

EVERY separate body of Indians is divided into bands or tribes; which band or tribe forms a little community with the nation to which it belongs. As the nation has some particular symbol by which it is distinguished from others, so each tribe has a badge from which it is denominated: as that of the Eagle, the Panther, the Tiger, the Buffalo, &c. &c. One band of the Naudowessie is represented by a Snake, another a Tortoise, a third a Squirrel, a fourth a Wolf, and a fifth a Buffalo. Throughout every nation they particularize themselves in the same manner, and the meanest person among them will remember his lineal descent, and distinguish himself by his respective family.

Did not many circumstances tend to confute the supposition, I should be almost induced to conclude from this distinction of tribes, and the particular attachment of the Indians to them, that they derive their origin, as some have asserted, from the Israelites.

Besides this, every nation distinguish themselves by the manner of constructing their tents or huts. And so well versed are all the Indians in this distinction, that though there appears to be no difference on the nicest observation made by an European, yet they will immediately discover, from the position of a pole left in the ground, what nation has encamped on the spot many months before.

Every band has a chief who is termed the Great Chief or the chief Warrior; and who is chosen in consideration of his experience in war, and of his approved valour, to direct their military operations, and to regulate all concerns belonging to that department. But this chief is not considered as the head of the state; besides the great warrior who is elected for his war-like qualifications, there is another who enjoys a pre-eminence as his hereditary right, and has the more immediate management of their civil affairs. This chief might with greater propriety be denominated the Sachem; whose assent is necessary in all conveyances and treaties, to which he affixes the mark of the tribe or nation.

Though these two are considered as the heads of the band, and the latter is usually denominated their king, yet the Indians are sensible of neither civil or military subordination. As every one of them entertains a high opinion of his consequence, and is extremely tenacious of his liberty, all injunctions that carry with them the appearance of a positive command, are instantly rejected with scorn.

On this account, it is seldom that their leaders are so indiscreet as to give out any of their orders in a peremptory stile; a bare hint from a chief that he thinks such a thing necessary to be done, instantly arouses an emulation among the inferior ranks, and it is immediately executed with great alacrity. By this method the disgustful part of the command is evaded, and an authority that falls little short of absolute sway instituted in its room.

Among the Indians no visible form of government is established; they allow of no such distinction as magistrate and subject, every one appearing to enjoy an independence that cannot be controuled. The object of government among them is rather foreign than domestic, for their attention seems more to be employed in preserving such an union among the members of their tribe as will enable them to watch the motions of their enemies, and to act against them with concert and vigour, than to maintain interior order by any public regulations. If a scheme that appears to be of service to the community is proposed by the chief, every one is at liberty to chuse whether he will assist in carrying

carrying it on; for they have no compulsory laws that lay them under any restrictions. If violence is committed, or blood is shed, the right of revenging these misdemeanours are left to the family of the injured; the chiefs assume neither the power of inflicting or moderating the punishment.

Some nations, where the dignity is hereditary, limit the succession to the female line. On the death of a chief, his sister's son sometimes succeeds him in preference to his own son; and if he happens to have no sister, the nearest female relation assumes the dignity. This accounts for a woman being at the head of the Winnebago nation, which, before I was acquainted with their laws, appeared strange to me.

Each family has a right to appoint one of its chiefs to be an assistant to the principal chief, who watches over the interest of his family, and without whose consent nothing of a public nature can be carried into execution. These are generally chosen for their ability in speaking; and such only are permitted to make orations in their councils and general assemblies.

In this body, with the hereditary chief at its head, the supreme authority appears to be lodged; as by its determination every transaction relative to their hunting, to their making war or peace, and to all their public concerns are regulated. Next to these, the body of warriors, which comprehends all that are able bear arms, hold their rank. This division has sometimes at its head the chief of the nation, if he has signalized himself by any renowned action, if not, some chief that has rendered himself famous.

In their councils, which are held by the foregoing members, every affair of consequence is debated; and no enterprize of the least moment undertaken, unless it there meets with the general approbation of the chiefs. They commonly assemble in a hut or tent appropriated to this purpose, and being seated in a circle on the ground, the eldest chief rises and makes a speech; when he has concluded, another gets up; and thus they all speak, if necessary by turns.

On this occasion their language is nervous, and their manner of expression emphatical. Their style is adorned with images, comparisons, and strong metaphors, and is equal in allegories to that of any of the eastern nations. In all their set speeches they express themselves with much vehemence, but in common discourse according to our usual method of speech.

The young men are suffered to be present at the councils, though they are not allowed to make a speech till they are regularly admitted: they however listen with great attention, and to shew that they both understand, and approve of the resolutions taken by the assembled chiefs, they frequently exclaim, "That is right." "That is good."

The customary mode among all the ranks of expressing their assent, and which they repeat at the end of almost every period, is by uttering a kind of forcible aspiration, which sounds like an union of the letters OAH.

CHAPTER. VI.

Of their FEASTS.

MANY of the Indian nations neither make use of bread, salt, or spices; and some of them have never seen or tasted of either. The Naudowessies in particular have no bread, nor any substitute for it. They eat the wild rice which grows in great quantities in different parts of their territories; but they boil it and eat it alone. They also eat the flesh of the beasts they kill, without having recourse to any farinaceous substance to absorb the grosser particles of it. And even when they consume the sugar which they have extracted from the maple tree, they use it not to render some other food palatable, but generally eat it by itself.

Neither have they any idea of the use of milk, although they might collect great quantities from the buffalo or the elk; they only consider it as proper for the nutriment of the young of these beasts during their tender state. I could not perceive that any inconveniency attended the total disuse of articles esteemed so necessary and nutritious by other nations, on the contrary, they are in general healthy and vigorous.

One dish however, which answers nearly the same purpose as bread, is in use among the Ottagaumies, the Saukies, and the more eastern nations, where Indian corn grows, which is not only much esteemed by them, but it is reckoned extremely palatable by all the Europeans who enter their dominions. This is composed of their unripe corn as before described, and beans in the same state, boiled together with bear's flesh, the fat of which moistens the pulse, and renders it beyond comparison delicious. They call this food Succatosh.

The Indians are far from being cannibals, as they are said to be. All their victuals are either roasted or boiled; and this in the extreme. Their drink is generally the broth in which it has been boiled.

Their food consists of the flesh of the bear, the buffalo, the elk, the deer, the beaver, and the racoon; which they prepare in the manner just mentioned. They usually eat the flesh of the deer which is naturally dry, with that of the bear which is fat and juicy; and though the latter is extremely rich and luscious, it is never known to cloy.

In the spring of the year the Naudowessies eat the inside bark of a shrub, that they gather in some part of their country; but I could neither learn the name of it, or discover from whence they got it. It was of a brittle nature and easily masticated. The taste of it was very agreeable, and they said it was extremely nourishing. In flavour it was not unlike the turnip, and when received into the mouth resembled that root both in its pulpous and frangible nature.

The lower ranks of the Indians are exceedingly nasty in dressing their victuals, but some of the chiefs are very neat and cleanly in their apparel, tents, and food.

They commonly eat in large parties, so that their meals may properly be termed feasts; and this they do without being restricted to any fixed or regular hours, but just as their appetites require, and convenience suits.

They usually dance either before or after every meal; and by this cheerfulness probably render the Great Spirit, to whom they consider themselves as indebted for every good, a more acceptable sacrifice than a formal and unanimated thanksgiving. The men and women feast apart: and each sex invite by turns their companions, to partake with them of the food they happen to have; but in their domestic way of living the men and women eat together.

No people are more hospitable, kind, and free than the Indians. They will readily share with any of their own tribe the last part of their provisions, and even with those of a different nation, if they chance to come in when they are eating. Though they do not keep one common stock, yet that community of goods which is so prevalent among them, and their generous disposition, render it nearly of the same effect.

When the chiefs are convened on any public business, they always conclude with a feast, at which their festivity and cheerfulness knows no limits.

CHAPTER VII.

Of their DANCES.

DANCING is a favourite exercise among the Indians; they never meet on any public occasion, but this makes a part of the entertainment. And when they are not engaged in war or hunting, the youth of both sexes amuse themselves in this manner every evening.

They always dance, as I have just observed, at their feast.

In

In these as well as all their other dances, every man rises in his turn, and moves about with great freedom and boldness; singing as he does so, the exploits of his ancestors. During this the company, who are seated on the ground in a circle, around the dancer, join with him in marking the cadence, by an odd tone, which they utter all together, and which sounds, "Heh, heh, heh." These notes, if they might be so termed, are articulated with a harsh accent, and strained out with the utmost force of their lungs; so that one would imagine their strength must be soon exhausted by it; instead of which, they repeat it with the same violence during the whole of their entertainment.

The women, particularly those of the western nations, dance very gracefully. They carry themselves erect, and with their arms hanging down close to their sides, move first a few yards to the right, and then back again to the left. This movement they perform without taking any steps as an European would do, but with their feet conjoined, moving by turns their toes and heels. In this manner they glide with great agility to a certain distance, and then return; and let those who join in the dance be ever so numerous, they keep time so exactly with each other that no interruption ensues. During this, at stated periods, they mingle their shrill voices, with the hoarser ones of the men, who sit around (for it is to be observed that the sexes never intermix in the same dance) which, with the music of the drums and chichicoes, make an agreeable harmony.

The Indians have several kinds of dances, which they use on different occasions, as the Pipe or Calumet Dance, the War Dance, the Marriage Dance, and the Dance of the Sacrifice. The movements in every one of these are dissimilar; but it is almost impossible to convey any idea of the points in which they are unlike.

Different nations likewise vary in their manner of dancing. The Chipéways throw themselves into a greater variety of attitudes than any other people; sometimes they hold their heads erect, at others they bend them almost to the ground; then recline on one side, and immediately after on the other. The Naudowessies carry themselves more upright, step firmer, and move more gracefully. But they all accompany their dances with the disagreeable noise just mentioned.

The Pipe Dance is the principal, and the most pleasing to a spectator of any of them, being the least frantic, and the movement of it most graceful. It is but on particular occasions that it is used; as when ambassadors from an enemy arrive to treat of peace, or when strangers of eminence pass through their territories.

The War Dance, which they use both before they set out on their war parties, and on their return from them, strikes terror into strangers. It is performed, as the others, amidst a circle of the warriors; a chief generally begins it, who moves from

from the right to the left, singing at the same time both his own exploits, and those of his ancestors. When he has concluded his account of any memorable action, he gives a violent blow with his war-club, against a post that is fixed in the ground, near the center of the assembly, for this purpose.

Every one dances in his turn, and recapitulates the wondrous deeds of his family, till they all at last join in the dance. Then it becomes truly alarming to any stranger that happens to be among them, as they throw themselves into every horrible and terrifying posture that can be imagined, rehearsing at the same time the parts they expect to act against their enemies in the field. During this they hold their sharp knives in their hands, with which, as they whirl about, they are every moment in danger of cutting each others throats; and did they not shun the threatened mischief with inconceivable dexterity, it could not be avoided. By these motions they intend to represent the manner in which they kill, scalp, and take their prisoners. To heighten the scene, they set up the same hideous yells, cries, and war-hoops they use in time of action: so that it is impossible to consider them in any other light than as an assembly of demons.

I have frequently joined in this dance with them, but it soon ceased to be an amusement to me, as I could not lay aside my apprehensions of receiving some dreadful wound, that from the violence of their gestures must have proved mortal.

I found that the nations to the westward of the Mississippi, and on the borders of Lake Superior, still continue to make use of the Pawwaw or Black Dance. The people of the colonies tell a thousand ridiculous stories of the Devil being raised in this dance by the Indians. But they allow that this was in former times, and is now nearly extinct among those who live adjacent to the European settlements. However I discovered that it was still used in the interior parts; and though I did not actually see the Devil raised by it, I was witness to some scenes that could only be performed by such as dealt with him, or were very expert and dextrous jugglers.

Whilst I was among the Naudowessies, a dance, which they thus termed, was performed. Before the dance began, one of the Indians was admitted into a society which they denominated Wakon-Kitchewah, that is, the Friendly Society of the Spirit. This society is composed of persons of both sexes, but such only can be admitted into it as are of unexceptionable character, and who receive the approbation of the whole body. To this admission succeeded the Pawwaw Dance (in which I saw nothing that could give rise to the reports I had heard) and the whole, according to their usual custom, concluded with a grand feast.

The initiation being attended with some very singular circumstances, which, as I have before observed, must be either the effect of magic, or of amazing dexterity, I shall give a particular account of the whole procedure. It was performed at the time of

the new moon, in a place appropriated to the purpose, near the centre of their camp, that would contain about two hundred people. Being a stranger, and on all occasions treated by them with great civility, I was invited to see the ceremony, and placed close to the rails of the inclosure.

About twelve o'clock they began to assemble; when the sun shone bright, which they considered as a good omen, for they never by choice hold any of their public meetings unless the sky be clear and unclouded. A great number of chiefs first appeared, who were dressed in their best apparel; and after them came the head-warrior, clad in a long robe of rich furs, that trailed on the ground, attended by a retinue of fifteen or twenty persons, painted and dressed in the gayest manner. Next followed the wives of such as had been already admitted into the society; and in the rear a confused heap of the lower ranks, all contributing as much as lay in their power to make the appearance grand and showy.

When the assembly was seated, and silence proclaimed, one of the principal chiefs arose, and in a short but masterly speech informed his audience of the occasion of their meeting. He acquainted them that one of their young men wished to be admitted into their society; and taking him by the hand presented him to their view, asking them, at the same time, whether they had any objection to his becoming one of their community.

No objection being made, the young candidate was placed in the centre, and four of the chiefs took their stations close to him; after exhorting him, by turns, not to faint under the operation he was about to go through, but to behave like an Indian and a man, two of them took hold of his arms, and caused him to kneel; another placed himself behind him, so as to receive him when he fell, and the last of the four retired to the distance of about twelve feet from him exactly in front.

This disposition being completed, the chief that stood before the kneeling candidate, began to speak to him with an audible voice. He told him that he himself was now agitated by the same spirit which he should in a few moments communicate to him; that it would strike him dead, but that he would instantly be restored again to life; to this he added, that the communication, however terrifying, was a necessary introduction to the advantages enjoyed by the community into which he was on the point of being admitted.

As he spoke this, he appeared to be greatly agitated; till at last his emotions became so violent, that his countenance was distorted, and his whole frame convulsed. At this juncture he threw something that appeared both in shape and colour like a small bean, at the young man, which seemed to enter his mouth, and he instantly fell as motionless as if he had been shot. The chief that was placed behind him received him in his arms, and, by the assistance of the other two, laid him on the ground to all appearance bereft of life.

Having

Having done this, they immediately began to rub his limbs, and to strike him on the back, giving him such blows, as seemed more calculated to fill the quick, than to raise the dead. During these extraordinary applications, the speaker continued his harangue, desiring the spectators not to be surprized, or to despair of the young man's recovery, as his present inanimate situation proceeded only from the forcible operation of the spirit, on faculties that had hitherto been unused to inspirations of this kind.

The candidate lay several minutes without sense or motion; but at length, after receiving many violent blows, he began to discover some symptoms of returning life. These, however, were attended with strong convulsions, and an apparent obstruction in his throat. But they were soon at an end; for having discharged from his mouth the bean, or whatever it was that the chief had thrown at him, but which on the closest inspection I had not perceived to enter it, he soon after appeared to be tolerably recovered.

This part of the ceremony being happily effected, the officiating chiefs disrobed him of the cloaths he had usually worn, and put on him a set of apparel entirely new. When he was dressed, the speaker once more took him by the hand, and presented him to the society as a regular and thoroughly initiated member, exhorting them, at the same time, to give him such necessary assistance, as being a young member, he might stand in need of. He then also charged the newly elected brother to receive with humility, and to follow with punctuality the advice of his elder brethren.

All those who had been admitted within the rails, now formed a circle around their new brother, and the music striking up, the great chief sung a song, celebrating as usual their martial exploits.

The only music they make use of is a drum, which is composed of a piece of a hollow tree curiously wrought, and over one end of which is strained a skin, this they beat with a single stick, and it gives a sound that is far from harmonious, but it just serves to beat time with. To this they sometimes add the chichicoe, and in their war dances they likewise use a kind of fife, formed of a reed, which makes a shrill harsh noise.

The whole assembly were by this time united, and the dance began; several singers assisted the music with their voices, and the women joining in the chorus at certain intervals, they produced together a not unpleasing but savage harmony. This was one of the most agreeable entertainments I saw whilst I was among them.

I could not help laughing at a singular childish custom I observed they introduced into this dance, and which was the only one that had the least appearance of conjuration. Most of the members carried in their hands an otter or martin's skin, which being taken whole from the body, and filled with wind, on being compressed

compressed made a squeaking noise through a small piece of wood organically formed and fixed in its mouth. When this instrument was presented to the face of any of the company, and the sound emitted, the person receiving it instantly fell down to appearance dead. Sometimes two or three, both men and women, were on the ground together; but immediately recovering, they rose up and joined again in the dance. This seemed to afford, even the chiefs themselves, infinite diversion. I afterwards learned that these were their *Dii Penates* or Household Gods.

After some hours spent in this manner the feast began; the dishes being brought near me, I perceived that they consisted of dog's flesh; and I was informed that at all their public grand feasts they never made use of any other kind of food. For this purpose, at the feast I am now speaking of, the new candidate provides fat dogs, if they can be procured at any price.

In this custom of eating dog's flesh on particular occasions, they resemble the inhabitants of some of the countries that lie on the north-east borders of Asia. The author of the account of *Kamschatka*, published by order of the Empress of Russia (before referred to) informs us, that the people inhabiting *Koreka*, a country north of *Kamschatka*, who wander about in hords like the Arabs, when they pay their worship to the evil beings, kill a rein-deer or a dog, the flesh of which they eat, and leave the head and tongue sticking on a pole with the front towards the east. Also that when they are afraid of any infectious distemper, they kill a dog, and winding the guts about two poles, pass between them. These customs, in which they are nearly imitated by the Indians, seem to add strength to my supposition, that America was first peopled from this quarter.

I know not under what class of dances to rank that performed by the Indians who came to my tent when I landed near *Lake Pepin*, on the banks of the *Mississippi*, as related in my Journals. When I looked out, as I there mentioned, I saw about twenty naked young Indians, the most perfect in their shape, and by far the handsomest of any I had ever seen, coming towards me, and dancing as they approached, to the music of their drums. At every ten or twelve yards they halted, and set up their yells and cries.

When they reached my tent, I asked them to come in; which, without deigning to make me any answer, they did. As I observed that they were painted red and black, as they usually are when they go against an enemy, and perceived that some parts of the war-dance were intermixed with their other movements, I doubted not but they were set on by the inimical chief who had refused my salutation: I therefore determined to sell my life as dear as possible. To this purpose, I received them sitting on my chest, with my gun and pistols beside me, and ordered my men to keep a watchful eye on them, and to be also upon their guard.

The Indians being entered, they continued their dance alternately, singing at the same time of their heroic exploits, and the superiority of their race over every other people. To enforce their language, though it was uncommonly nervous and expressive, and such as would of itself have carried terror to the firmest heart, at the end of every period they struck their war-clubs against the poles of my tent, with such violence, that I expected every moment it would have tumbled upon us. As each of them, in dancing round, passed by me, they placed their right hands over their eyes, and coming close to me, looked me steadily in the face, which I could not construe into a token of friendship. My men gave themselves up for lost, and I acknowledge, for my own part, that I never found my apprehensions more tumultuous on any occasion.

When they had nearly ended their dance, I presented to them the pipe of peace, but they would not receive it. I then, as my last resource, thought I would try what presents would do; accordingly I took from my chest some ribands and trinkets, which I laid before them. These seemed to stagger their resolutions, and to avert in some degree their anger; for after holding a consultation together, they sat down on the ground, which I considered as a favourable omen.

Thus it proved, as in a short time they received the pipe of peace, and lighting it, first presented it to me, and then smoked with it themselves. Soon after they took up the presents, which had hitherto lain neglected, and appearing to be greatly pleased with them, departed in a friendly manner. And never did I receive greater pleasure than at getting rid of such formidable guests.

It was not ever in my power to gain a thorough knowledge of the designs of my visitors. I had sufficient reason to conclude that they were hostile, and that their visit, at so late an hour, was made through the instigation of the Grand Sauter; but I was afterwards informed that it might be intended as a compliment which they usually pay to the chiefs of every other nation who happen to fall in with them, and that the circumstances in their conduct, which had appeared so suspicious to me, were merely the effects of their vanity, and designed to impress on the minds of those whom they thus visited an elevated opinion of their valour and prowess. In the morning before I continued my route, several of their wives brought me a present of some sugar, for whom I found a few more ribands.

The Dance of the sacrifice is not so denominated from their offering up at the same time a sacrifice to any good or evil spirit, but is a dance to which the Naudowessies give that title from being used when any public fortunate circumstance befalls them. Whilst I resided among them, a fine large deer accidentally strayed into the middle of their encampment, which they soon destroyed. As this happened just at the new moon, they esteemed

esteemed it a lucky omen; and having roasted it whole, every one in the camp partook of it. After their feast, they all joined in a dance, which they termed, from its being somewhat of a religious nature, a Dance of the sacrifice.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of their HUNTING.

HUNTING is the principal occupation of the Indians; they are trained to it from their earliest youth, and it is an exercise which is esteemed no less honourable than necessary towards their subsistence. A dextrous and resolute hunter is held nearly in as great estimation by them as a distinguished warrior. Scarcely any device which the ingenuity of man has discovered for ensnaring or destroying those animals that supply them with food, or whose skins are valuable to Europeans, is unknown to them.

Whilst they are engaged in this exercise, they shake off the indolence peculiar to their nature, and become active, persevering, and indefatigable. They are equally sagacious in finding their prey, and in the means they use to destroy it. They discern the footsteps of the beasts they are in pursuit of, although they are imperceptible to every other eye, and can follow them with certainty through the pathless forest.

The beasts that the Indians hunt, both for their flesh on which they subsist, and for their skins, of which they either make their apparel, or barter with the Europeans for necessaries, are the buffalo, the elk, the deer, the moose, caribboo, the bear, the beaver, the otter, the martin, &c. I defer giving a description of these creatures here, and shall only at present treat of their manner of hunting them.

The route they shall take for this purpose, and the parties that shall go on the different expeditions are fixed in their general councils which are held some time in the summer, when all the operations for the ensuing winter are concluded on. The chief-warrior, whose province it is to regulate their proceedings on this occasion, with great solemnity issues out an invitation to those who choose to attend him; for the Indians, as before observed, acknowledge no superiority, nor have they any idea of compulsion; and every one that accepts it prepares himself by fasting during several days.

The

The Indians do not fast as some other nations do, on the richest and most luxurious food, but they totally abstain from every kind either of victuals or drink; and such is their patience and resolution, that the most extreme thirst could not oblige them to taste a drop of water; yet amidst this severe abstinence they appear cheerful and happy.

The reasons they give for thus fasting, are, that it enables them freely to dream, in which dreams they are informed where they shall find the greatest plenty of game; and also that it averts the displeasure of the evil spirits, and induces them to be propitious. They also on these occasions blacken those parts of their bodies that are uncovered.

The fast being ended, and the place of hunting made known, the chief who is to conduct them, gives a grand feast to those who are to form the different parties; of which none of them dare to partake till they have bathed themselves. At this feast, notwithstanding they have fasted so long, they eat with great moderation; and the chief that presides employs himself in rehearsing the feats of those who have been most successful in the business they are about to enter upon. They soon after set out on the march towards the place appointed, painted or rather bedawbed with black, amidst the acclamations of all the people.

It is impossible to describe their agility or perseverance, whilst they are in pursuit of their prey; neither thickets, ditches, torrents, pools, or rivers stop them; they always go straight forward in the most direct line they possibly can, and there are few of the savage inhabitants of the woods that they cannot overtake.

When they hunt for bears, they endeavour to find out their retreats; for, during the winter, these animals conceal themselves in the hollow trunks of trees, or make themselves holes in the ground, where they continue without food, whilst the severe weather lasts.

When the Indians think they have arrived at a place where these creatures usually haunt, they form themselves into a circle according to their number, and moving onward, endeavour, as they advance towards the centre, to discover the retreats of their prey. By this means, if any lie in the intermediate space, they are sure of arousing them, and bringing them down either with their bows or their guns. The bears will take to flight at sight of a man or a dog, and will only make resistance when they are extremely hungry, or after they are wounded.

The Indian method of hunting the buffalo is by forming a circle or a square, nearly in the same manner as when they search for the bear. Having taken their different stations, they set the grass, which at this time is rank and dry, on fire, and these animals, who are extremely fearful of that element, flying with precipitation before it, great numbers are hemmed in a small compass, and scarcely a single one escapes.

They

They have different ways of hunting the elk, the deer, and the caribboo. Sometimes they seek them out in the woods, to which they retire during the severity of the cold, where they are easily shot from behind the trees. In the more northern climates they take the advantage of the weather to destroy the elk; when the sun has just strength enough to melt the snow, and the frost in the night forms a kind of crust on the surface, this creature being heavy, breaks it with his forked hoofs, and with difficulty extricates himself from it: at this time therefore he is soon overtaken and destroyed.

Some nations have a method of hunting these animals which is more easily executed, and free from danger. The hunting party divide themselves into two bands, and choosing a spot near the borders of some river, one party embarks on board their canoes, whilst the other forming themselves into a semi-circle on the land, the flanks of which reach the shore, let loose their dogs, and by this means rouse all the game that lies within these bounds; they then drive them towards the river, into which they no sooner enter, than the greatest part of them are immediately dispatched by those who remain in the canoes.

Both the elk and the buffalo are very furious when they are wounded, and will return fiercely on their pursuers, and trample them under their feet, if the hunter finds no means to complete their destruction, or seeks for security in flight to some adjacent tree; by this method they are frequently avoided, and so tired with the pursuit, that they voluntarily give it over.

But the hunting in which the Indians, particularly those who inhabit the northern parts, chiefly employ themselves, and from which they reap the greatest advantage, is the beaver hunting. The season for this is throughout the whole of the winter, from November to April; during which time the fur of these creatures is in the greatest perfection. A description of this extraordinary animal, the construction of their huts, and the regulations of their almost rational community, I shall give in another place.

The hunters make use of several methods to destroy them. Those generally practised, are either that of taking them in snares, cutting through the ice, or opening their caufeways.

As the eyes of these animals are very quick, and their hearing exceedingly acute, great precaution is necessary in approaching their abodes; for as they seldom go far from the water, and their houses are always built close to the side of some large river or lake, or dams of their own constructing, upon the least alarm they hasten to the deepest part of the water, and dive immediately to the bottom; as they do this they make a great noise by beating the water with their tails, on purpose to put the whole fraternity on their guard.

They take them with snares in the following manner: though the beavers usually lay up a sufficient store of provision to serve for their subsistence during the winter, they make from time to time excursions to the neighbouring woods to procure further supplies

supplies of food. The hunters having found out their haunts, place a trap in their way, baited with small pieces of bark, or young shoots of trees, which the beaver has no sooner laid hold of, than a large log of wood falls upon him, and breaks his back; his enemies, who are upon the watch, soon appear, and instantly dispatch the helpless animal.

At other times, when the ice on the rivers and lakes is about half a foot thick, they make an opening through it with their hatchets, to which the beavers will soon hasten, on being disturbed at their houses, for a supply of fresh air. As their breath occasions a considerable motion in the waters, the hunter has sufficient notice of their approach, and methods are easily taken for knocking them on the head the moment they appear above the surface.

When the houses of the beavers happen to be near a rivulet, they are more easily destroyed: the hunters then cut the ice, and spreading a net under it, break down the cabins of the beavers, who never fail to make towards the deepest part, where they are entangled and taken. But they must not be suffered to remain there long, as they would soon extricate themselves with their teeth, which are well known to be excessively sharp and strong.

The Indians take great care to hinder their dogs from touching the bones of the beavers. The reasons they give for these precautions, are, first, that the bones are so excessively hard, that they spoil the teeth of the dogs; and, secondly, that they are apprehensive they shall so exasperate the spirits of the beavers by this permission, as to render the next hunting season unsuccessful.

The skins of these animals the hunters exchange with the Europeans for necessaries, and as they are more valued by the latter than any other kind of furs, they pay the greatest attention to this species of hunting.

When the Indians destroy buffalos, elks, deer, &c. they generally divide the flesh of such as they have taken among the tribe to which they belong. But in hunting the beaver a few families usually unite and divide the spoil between them. Indeed, in the first instance they generally pay some attention in the division to their own families; but no jealousies or murmurings are ever known to arise on account of any apparent partiality.

Among the Naudowessies, if a person shoots a deer, buffalo, &c. and it runs to a considerable distance before it drops, where a person belonging to another tribe, being nearer, first sticks a knife into it, the game is considered as the property of the latter, notwithstanding it had been mortally wounded by the former. Though this custom appears to be arbitrary and unjust, yet that people cheerfully submit to it. This decision is, however, very different from that practised by the Indians on the back of the colonies, where the first person that hits it is entitled to the best share.

CHAPTER IX.

Of their Manner of making WAR, &c.

THE Indians begin to bear arms at the age of fifteen, and lay them aside when they arrive at the age of sixty. Some nations to the southward, I have been informed, do not continue their military exercises after they are fifty.

In every band or nation there is a select number who are stiled the warriors, and who are always ready to act either offensively or defensively, as occasion requires. These are well armed, bearing the weapons commonly in use among them, which vary according to the situation of their countries. Such as have an intercourse with the Europeans make use of tomahawks, knives, and fire-arms; but those whose dwellings are situated to the westward of the Mississippi, and who have not an opportunity of purchasing these kinds of weapons, use bows and arrows, and also the *Cassé Tête* or War-club.

The Indians that inhabit still farther to the westward, a country which extends to the South Sea, use in fight a warlike instrument that is very uncommon. Having great plenty of horses, they always attack their enemies on horseback, and encumber themselves with no other weapon, than a stone of a middling size, curiously wrought, which they fasten by a string, about a yard and a half long, to their right arms, a little above the elbow. These stones they conveniently carry in their hands, till they reach their enemies, and then swinging them with great dexterity, as they ride full speed, never fail of doing execution. The country which these tribes possess, abounding with large extensive plains, those who attack them seldom return; as the swiftness of the horses, on which they are mounted, enables them to overtake even the fleetest of their invaders.

The Naudowessies, who had been at war with this people, informed me, that unless they found morasses or thickets to which they could retire, they were sure of being cut off: to prevent this they always took care whenever they made an onset, to do it near such retreats as were impassable for cavalry, they then having a great advantage over their enemies, whose weapons would not there reach them.

Some nations make use of a javelin, pointed with bone, worked into different forms; but their Indian weapons in general are bows and arrows, and the short club already mentioned. The latter is made of a very hard wood, and the head of it fashioned

fashioned round like a ball, about three inches and a half diameter; in this rotund part is fixed an edge resembling that of a tomahawk, either of steel or flint, whichever they can procure.

The dagger is peculiar to the Naudowessie nation, and of ancient construction, but they can give no account how long it has been in use among them. It was originally made of flint or bone, but since they have had communication with the European traders, they have formed it of steel. The length of it is about ten inches, and that part close to the handle nearly three inches broad. Its edges are keen, and it gradually tapers towards a point. They wear it in a sheath made of deer's leather, neatly ornamented with porcupine quills; and it is usually hung by a string, decorated in the same manner, which reaches as low only as the breast. This curious weapon is worn by a few of the principal chiefs alone, and considered both as an useful instrument, and an ornamental badge of superiority.

I observed among the Naudowessies a few targets or shields made of raw buffalo hides, and in the form of those used by the ancients. But as the number of these was small, and I could gain no intelligence of the æra in which they first were introduced among them, I suppose those I saw had descended from father to son for many generations.

The reasons the Indians give for making war against one another, are much the same as those urged by more civilized nations for disturbing the tranquillity of their neighbours. The pleas of the former are however in general more rational and just, than such as are brought by Europeans in vindication of their proceedings.

The extension of empire is seldom a motive with these people to invade, and to commit depredations on the territories of those who happen to dwell near them. To secure the rights of hunting within particular limits, to maintain the liberty of passing through their accustomed tracks, and to guard those lands which they consider from a long tenure as their own, against any infringement, are the general causes of those dissensions that so often break out between the Indian nations, and which are carried on with so much animosity.

Though strangers to the idea of separate property, yet the most uncultivated among them are well acquainted with the rights of their community to the domains they possess, and oppose with vigour every encroachment on them.

Notwithstanding it is generally supposed that from their territories being so extensive, the boundaries of them cannot be ascertained, yet I am well assured that the limits of each nation in the interior parts are laid down in their rude plans with great precision. By theirs, as I have before observed, was I enabled to regulate my own; and after the most exact observations and enquiries found very few instances in which they erred.

But interest is not either the most frequent or most powerful incentive to their making war on each other. The passion of revenge, which is the distinguishing characteristic of these people, is the most general motive. Injuries are felt by them with exquisite sensibility, and vengeance pursued with unremitting ardour. To this may be added, that natural excitation which every Indian becomes sensible of as soon as he approaches the age of manhood to give proofs of his valour and prowess.

As they are early possessed with a notion that war ought to be the chief business of their lives, that there is nothing more desirable than the reputation of being a great warrior, and that the scalps of their enemies, or a number of prisoners are alone to be esteemed valuable, it is not to be wondered at that the younger Indians are continually restless and uneasy if their ardour is repressed, and they are kept in a state of inactivity. Either of these propensities, the desire of revenge, or the gratification of an impulse, that by degrees becomes habitual to them, is sufficient, frequently, to induce them to commit hostilities on some of the neighbouring nations.

When the chiefs find any occasion for making war, they endeavour to arouse these habitudes, and by that means soon excite their warriors to take arms. To this purpose they make use of their martial eloquence, nearly in the following words, which never fails of proving effectual; "The bones of our deceased countrymen lie uncovered, they call out to us to revenge their wrongs, and we must satisfy their request. Their spirits cry out against us. They must be appeased. The genii, who are the guardians of our honour, inspire us with a resolution to seek the enemies of our murdered brothers. Let us go and devour those by whom they were slain. Sit therefore no longer inactive, give way to the impulse of your natural valour, anoint your hair, paint your faces, fill your quivers, cause the forests to resound with your songs, console the spirits of the dead, and tell them they shall be revenged."

Animated by these exhortations the warriors snatch their arms in a transport of fury, sing the song of war, and burn with impatience to inbrue their hands in the blood of their enemies.

Sometimes private chiefs assemble small parties, and make excursions against those with whom they are at war, or such as have injured them. A single warrior, prompted by revenge or a desire to show his prowess, will march unattended for several hundred miles, to surprize and cut off a straggling party.

These irregular sallies, however, are not always approved of by the elder chiefs, though they are often obliged to connive at them; as in the instance before given of the Naudowessie and Chipéway nations.

But when a war is national, and undertaken by the community, their deliberations are formal and slow. The elders assemble

femle in council, to which all the head warriors and young men are admitted, where they deliver their opinions in solemn speeches, weighing with maturity the nature of the enterprize they are about to engage in, and balancing with great sagacity the advantages or inconveniences that will arise from it.

Their priests are also consulted on the subject, and even, sometimes, the advice of the most intelligent of their women is asked.

If the determination be for war, they prepare for it with much ceremony.

The chief warrior of a nation does not on all occasions head the war party himself, he frequently deposes a warrior of whose valour and prudence he has a good opinion. The person thus fixed on being first bedaubed with black, observes a fast of several days, during which he invokes the Great Spirit, or deprecates the anger of the evil ones, holding whilst it lasts no converse with any of his tribe.

He is particularly careful at the same time to observe his dreams, for on these do they suppose their success will in a great measure depend; and from the firm persuasion every Indian actuated by his own presumptuous thoughts is impressed with, that he shall march forth to certain victory, these are generally favourable to his wishes.

After he has fasted as long as custom prescribes, he assembles the warriors, and holding a belt of wampum in his hand, thus addresses them:

“ Brothers! by the inspiration of the Great Spirit I now speak unto you, and by him am I prompted to carry into execution the intentions which I am about to disclose to you. The blood of our deceased brothers is not yet wiped away; their bodies are not yet covered, and I am going to perform this duty to them.”

Having then made known to them all the motives that induce him to take up arms against the nation with whom they are to engage, he thus proceeds: “ I have therefore resolved to march through the war-path to surprize them. We will eat their flesh, and drink their blood; we will take scalps, and make prisoners; and should we perish in this glorious enterprize, we shall not be forever hid in the dust, for this belt shall be a recompence to him who buries the dead.” Having said this, he lays the belt on the ground, and he who takes it up declares himself his lieutenant, and is considered as the second in command; this, however, is only done by some distinguished warrior who has a right, by the number of his scalps, to the post.

Though the Indians thus assert that they will eat the flesh and drink the blood of their enemies, the threat is only to be considered as a figurative expression. Notwithstanding they sometimes devour the hearts of those they slay, and drink their blood, by way of bravado, or to gratify in a more complete manner

manner their revenge, yet they are not naturally anthropophagi, nor ever feed on the flesh of men.

The chief is now washed from his sable covering, anointed with bear's fat, and painted with their red paint, in such figures as will make him appear most terrible to his enemies. He then sings the war song, and enumerates his warlike actions. Having done this he fixes his eyes on the sun, and pays his adorations to the Great Spirit, in which he is accompanied by all the warriors.

This ceremony is followed with dances, such as I have before described; and the whole concludes with a feast, which usually consists of dogs flesh.

This feast is held in the hut or tent of the chief warrior, to which all those who intend to accompany him in his expedition send their dishes to be filled; and during the feast, notwithstanding he has fasted so long, he sits composedly with his pipe in his mouth, and recounts the valorous deeds of his family.

As the hopes of having their wounds, should they receive any, properly treated, and expeditiously cured, must be some additional inducement to the warriors to expose themselves more freely to danger, the priests, who are also their doctors, prepare such medicines as will prove efficacious. With great ceremony they carry various roots and plants, and pretend that they impart to them the power of healing.

Notwithstanding this superstitious method of proceeding, it is very certain that they have acquired a knowledge of many plants and herbs that are of a medicinal quality, and which they know how to use with great skill.

From the time the resolution of engaging in a war is taken, to the departure of the warriors, the nights are spent in festivity, and their days in making the needful preparations.

If it is thought necessary by the nation going to war, to solicit the alliance of any neighbouring tribe, they fix upon one of their chiefs who speaks the language of that people well, and who is a good orator, and send to them by him a belt of wampum, on which is specified the purport of the embassy in figures that every nation is well acquainted with. At the same time he carries with him a hatchet painted red.

As soon as he reaches the camp or village to which he is destined, he acquaints the chief of the tribe with the general tenor of his commission, who immediately assembles a council, to which the ambassador is invited. There having laid the hatchet on the ground he holds the belt in his hand, and enters more minutely into the occasion of his embassy. In his speech he invites them to take up the hatchet, and as soon as he has finished speaking delivers the belt.

If his hearers are inclined to become auxiliaries to his nation, a chief steps forward and takes up the hatchet, and they immediately espouse with spirit the cause they have thus engaged to support. But if on this application neither the belt or hatchet

are accepted, the emissary concludes that the people whose assistance he solicits have already entered into an alliance with the foes of his nation, and returns with speed to inform his countrymen of his ill success.

The manner in which the Indians declare war against each other, is by sending a slave with a hatchet, the handle of which is painted red, to the nation which they intend to break with; and the messenger, notwithstanding the danger to which he is exposed from the sudden fury of those whom he thus sets at defiance, executes his commission with great fidelity.

Sometimes this token of defiance has such an instantaneous effect on those to whom it is presented, that in the first transports of their fury a small party will issue forth, without waiting for the permission of the elder chiefs, and slaying the first of the offending nation they meet, cut open the body and flick a hatchet of the same kind as that they have just received, into the heart of their slaughtered foe. Among the more remote tribes this is done with an arrow or spear, the end of which is painted red. And the more to exasperate, they dismember the body, to show that they esteem them not as men but as old women.

The Indians seldom take the field in large bodies, as such numbers would require a greater degree of industry to provide for their subsistence, during their tedious marches through dreary forests, or long voyages over lakes and rivers, than they would care to bestow.

Their armies are never encumbered with baggage or military stores. Each warrior, besides his weapons, carries with him only a mat, and whilst at a distance from the frontiers of the enemy supports himself with the game he kills or the fish he catches.

When they pass through a country where they have no apprehensions of meeting with an enemy, they use very little precaution: sometimes there are scarcely a dozen warriors left together, the rest being dispersed in pursuit of their game; but though they should have roved to a very considerable distance from the war-path, they are sure to arrive at the place of rendezvous by the hour appointed.

They always pitch their tents long before sun-set; and being naturally presumptuous, take very little care to guard against a surprize. They place great confidence in their Manitous, or household gods, which they always carry with them; and being persuaded that they take upon them the office of centinels, they sleep very securely under their protection.

These Manitous, as they are called by some nations, but which are termed Wakons, that is, spirits, by the the Naudowessies, are nothing more than the otter and martins skins I have already described, for which, however, they have a great veneration.

After they have entered the enemies country, no people can be more cautious and circumspect; fires are no longer lighted,

no more shouting is heard, nor the game any longer pursued. They are not even permitted to speak; but must convey whatever they have to impart to each other by signs and motions.

They now proceed wholly by stratagem and ambuscado. Having discovered their enemies, they send to reconnoitre them; and a council is immediately held, during which they speak only in whispers, to consider of the intelligence imparted by those who were sent out.

The attack is generally made just before day-break, at which period they suppose the foes to be in their soundest sleep. Throughout the whole of the preceding night they will lie flat upon their faces, without stirring; and make their approaches in the same posture, creeping upon their hands and feet till they are got within bow-shot of those they have destined to destruction. On a signal given by the chief warrior, to which the whole body makes answer by the most hideous yells, they all start up, and discharging their arrows in the same instant, without giving their adversaries time to recover from the confusion into which they are thrown, pour in upon them with their war-clubs or tomahawks.

The Indians think there is little glory to be acquired from attacking their enemies openly in the field; their greatest pride is to surprize and destroy. They seldom engage without a manifest appearance of advantage. If they find the enemy on their guard, too strongly entrenched, or superior in numbers, they retire, provided there is an opportunity of doing so. And they esteem it the greatest qualification of a chief warrior, to be able to manage an attack, so as to destroy as many of the enemy as possible, at the expence of a few men.

Sometimes they secure themselves behind trees, hillocks, or stones, and having given one or two rounds retire before they are discovered. Europeans, who are unacquainted with this method of fighting too often find to their cost the destructive efficacy of it.

General Braddock was one of this unhappy number. Marching in the year 1755, to attack Fort Du Quesne, he was intercepted by a party of French and confederate Indians in their interest, who by this insidious method of engaging found means to defeat his army, which consisted of about two thousand brave and well-disciplined troops. So securely were the Indians posted, that the English scarcely knew from whence or by whom they were thus annoyed. During the whole of the engagement the latter had scarcely a sight of an enemy; and were obliged to retreat without the satisfaction of being able to take the least degree of revenge for the havock made among them. The General paid for his temerity with his life, and was accompanied in his fall by a great number of brave fellows; whilst his invisible enemies had only two or three of their number wounded.

When the Indians succeed in their silent approaches, and are able to force the camp which they attack, a scene of horror that

that exceeds description, ensues. The savage fierceness of the conquerors, and the desperation of the conquered, who well know what they have to expect should they fall alive into the hands of their assailants, occasion the most extraordinary exertions on both sides. The figure of the combatants all besmeared with black and red paint, and covered with the blood of the slain, their horrid yells, and ungovernable fury, are not to be conceived by those who have never crossed the Atlantic.

I have frequently been a spectator of them, and once bore a part in a similar scene. But what added to the horror of it was, that I had not the consolation of being able to oppose their savage attacks. Every circumstance of the adventure still dwells on my remembrance, and enables me to describe with greater perspicuity the brutal fierceness of the Indians when they have surprized or overpowered an enemy.

As a detail of the massacre at Fort William Henry in the year 1757, the scene to which I refer, cannot appear foreign to the design of this publication, but will serve to give my readers a just idea of the ferocity of this people, I shall take the liberty to insert it, apologizing at the same time for the length of the digression, and those egotisms which the relation renders unavoidable.

General Webb, who commanded the English army in North America, which was then encamped at Fort Edward, having intelligence that the French troops under Mons. Montcalm were making some movements towards Fort William Henry, he detached a corps of about fifteen hundred men, consisting of English and Provincials, to strengthen the garrison. In this party I went as a volunteer among the latter.

The apprehensions of the English General were not without foundation; for the day after our arrival we saw Lake George (formerly Lake Sacrament) to which it lies contiguous, covered with an immense number of boats; and in a few hours we found our lines attacked by the French General, who had just landed with eleven thousand Regulars and Canadians, and two thousand Indians. Colonel Monro, a brave officer, commanded in the Fort, and had no more than two thousand three hundred men with him, our detachment included.

With these he made a gallant defence, and probably would have been able at last to preserve the Fort, had he been properly supported, and permitted to continue his efforts. On every summons to surrender sent by the French General, who offered the most honourable terms, his answer repeatedly was, 'That he yet found himself in a condition to repel the most vigorous attacks his besiegers were able to make; and if he thought his present force insufficient, he could soon be supplied with a greater number from the adjacent army.'

But the Colonel having acquainted General Webb with his situation, and desired he would send him some fresh troops, the general dispatched a messenger to him with a letter, wherein he informed

informed him that it was not in his power to assist him, and therefore gave him orders to surrender up the Fort on the best terms he could procure. This packet fell into the hands of the French General, who immediately sent a flag of truce, desiring a conference with the governor.

They accordingly met, attended only by a small guard, in the centre between the lines; when Monsi. Montcalm told the Colonel, that he was come in person to demand possession of the Fort, as it belonged to the King his master. The Colonel replied, that he knew not how that could be, nor should he surrender it up whilst it was in his power to defend it.

The French General rejoined, at the same time delivering the packet into the Colonel's hand, "By this authority do I make the requisition." The brave Governor had no sooner read the contents of it, and was convinced that such were the orders of the commander in chief, and not to be disobeyed, than he hung his head in silence, and reluctantly entered into a negotiation.

In consideration of the gallant defence the garrison had made, they were to be permitted to march out with all the honours of war, to be allowed covered waggons to transport their baggage to Fort Edward, and a guard to protect them from the fury of the savages.

The morning after the capitulation was signed, as soon as day broke, the whole garrison, now consisting of about two thousand men, besides women and children, were drawn up within the lines, and on the point of marching off, when great numbers of the Indians gathered about, and began to plunder. We were at first in hopes that this was their only view, and suffered them to proceed without opposition. Indeed it was not in our power to make any, had we been so inclined; for though we were permitted to carry off our arms, yet we were not allowed a single round of ammunition. In these hopes however we were disappointed: for presently some of them began to attack the sick and wounded, when such as were not able to crawl into the ranks, notwithstanding they endeavoured to avert the fury of their enemies by their shrieks or groans, were soon dispatched.

Here we were fully in expectation that the disturbance would have concluded; and our little army began to move; but in a short time we saw the front division driven back, and discovered that we were entirely encircled by the savages. We expected every moment that the guard, which the French, by the articles of capitulation, had agreed to allow us, would have arrived, and put an end to our apprehensions; but none appeared. The Indians now began to strip every one without exception of their arms and cloaths, and those who made the least resistance felt the weight of their tomahawks.

I happened to be in the rear division, but it was not long before I shared the fate of my companions. Three or four of the savages laid hold of me, and whilst some held their weapons

over my head, the others soon disrobed me of my coat, waist-coat, hat, and buckles, omitting not to take from me what money I had in my pocket. As this was transacted close by the passage that led from the lines on to the plain, near which a French sentinel was posted, I ran to him and claimed his protection; but he only called me an English dog, and thrust me with violence back again into the midst of the Indians.

I now endeavoured to join a body of our troops that were crowded together at some distance; but innumerable were the blows that were made at me with different weapons as I passed on; luckily however the savages were so close together, that they could not strike at me without endangering each other. Notwithstanding which one of them found means to make a thrust at me with a spear, which grazed my side, and from another I received a wound, with the same kind of weapon, in my ankle. At length I gained the spot where my countrymen stood, and forced myself into the midst of them. But before I got thus far out of the hands of the Indians, the collar and wrist-bands of my shirt were all that remained of it, and my flesh was scratched and torn in many places by their savage grips.

By this time the war-hoop was given, and the Indians began to murder those that were nearest to them without distinction. It is not in the power of words to give any tolerable idea of the horrid scene that now ensued; men, women, and children were dispatched in the most wanton and cruel manner, and immediately scalped. Many of these savages drank the blood of their victims, as it flowed warm from the fatal wound.

We now perceived, though too late to avail us, that we were to expect no relief from the French; and that, contrary to the agreement they had so lately signed to allow us a sufficient force to protect us from these insults, they tacitly permitted them; for I could plainly perceive the French officers walking about at some distance, discoursing together with apparent unconcern. For the honour of human nature I would hope that this flagrant breach of every sacred law, proceeded rather from the savage disposition of the Indians, which I acknowledge it is sometimes almost impossible to controul, and which might now unexpectedly have arrived to a pitch not easily to be restrained, than to any premeditated design in the French commander. An unprejudiced observer would, however, be apt to conclude, that a body of ten thousand christian troops, most christian troops, had it in their power to prevent the massacre from becoming so general. But whatever was the cause from which it arose, the consequences of it were dreadful, and not to be paralleled in modern history.

As the circle in which I stood inclosed by this time was much thinned, and death seemed to be approaching with hasty strides, it was proposed by some of the most resolute to make one vigorous effort, and endeavour to force our way through the savages, the only probable method of preserving our lives that

now

now remained. This, however desperate, was resolved on, and about twenty of us sprung at once into the midst of them.

In a moment we were all separated, and what was the fate of my companions I could not learn till some months after, when I found that only six or seven of them effected their design. Intent only on my own hazardous situation, I endeavoured to make my way through my savage enemies in the best manner possible. And I have often been astonished since, when I have recollected with what composure I took, as I did, every necessary step for my preservation. Some I overturned, being at that time young and athletic, and others I passed by, dextrously avoiding their weapons; till at last two very stout chiefs, of the most savage tribes, as I could distinguish by their dress, whose strength I could not resist, laid hold of me by each arm, and began to force me through the crowd.

I now resigned myself to my fate, not doubting but that they intended to dispatch me, and then to satiate their vengeance with my blood, as I found they were hurrying me towards a retired swamp that lay at some distance. But before we had got many yards, an English gentleman of some distinction, as I could discover by his breeches, the only covering he had on, which were of fine scarlet velvet, rushed close by us. One of the the Indians instantly relinquished his hold, and springing on this new object, endeavoured to seize him as his prey; but the gentleman being strong, threw him on the ground, and would probably have got away, had not he who held my other arm, quitted me to assist his brother. I seized the opportunity, and hastened away to join another party of English troops that were yet unbroken, and stood in a body at some distance. But before I had taken many steps, I hastily cast my eye towards the gentleman, and saw the Indian's tomahawk gash into his back, and heard him utter his last groan; this added both to my speed and desperation.

I had left this shocking scene but a few yards, when a fine boy about twelve years of age, that had hitherto escaped, came up to me, and begged that I would let him lay hold of me, so that he might stand some chance of getting out of the hands of the savages. I told him that I would give him every assistance in my power, and to this purpose bid him lay hold; but in a few moments he was torn from my side, and by his shrieks I judge was soon demolished. I could not help forgetting my own cares for a minute, to lament the fate of so young a sufferer; but it was utterly impossible for me to take any methods to prevent it.

I now got once more into the midst of friends, but we were unable to afford each other any succour. As this was the division that had advanced the furthest from the fort, I thought there might be a possibility (though but a very bare one) of my forcing my way through the outer ranks of the Indians, and getting to a neighbouring wood; which I perceived at some distance.

sance. I was still encouraged to hope by the almost miraculous preservation I had already experienced.

Nor were my hopes in vain, or the efforts I made ineffectual. Suffice it to say, that I reached the wood; but by the time I had penetrated a little way into it, my breath was so exhausted that I threw myself into a brake, and lay for some minutes apparently at the last gasp. At length I recovered the power of respiration; but my apprehensions returned with all their former force, when I saw several savages pass by, probably in pursuit of me, at no very great distance. In this situation I knew not whether it was better to proceed, or endeavour to conceal myself where I lay, till night came on; fearing, however, that they would return the same way, I thought it most prudent to get farther from the dreadful scene of my past distresses. Accordingly, striking into another part of the wood, I hastened on as fast as the briars and the loss of one of my shoes would permit me; and after a slow progress of some hours, gained a hill that overlooked the plain which I had just left, from whence I could discern that the bloody storm still raged with unabated fury.

But not to tire my readers, I shall only add, that after passing three days without subsistence, and enduring the severity of the cold dews for three nights, I at length reached Fort Edward; where with proper care my body soon recovered its wonted strength, and my mind, as far as the recollection of the late melancholy events would permit, its usual composure.

It was computed that fifteen hundred persons were killed or made prisoners by these savages during this fatal day. Many of the latter were carried off by them and never returned. A few, through favourable accidents, found their way back to their native country, after having experienced a long and severe captivity.

The brave Colonel Monro had hastened away, soon after the confusion began, to the French camp to endeavour to procure the guard agreed by the stipulation; but his application proving ineffectual, he remained there till General Webb sent a party of troops to demand and protect him back to Fort Edward. But these unhappy occurrences, which would probably have been prevented, had he been left to pursue his own plans, together with the loss of so many brave fellows, murdered in cold blood, to whose valour he had been so lately a witness, made such an impression on his mind, that he did not long survive. He died in about three months of a broken heart, and with truth might it be said, that he was an honour to his country.

I mean not to point out the following circumstance as the immediate judgment of heaven, and intended as an atonement for this slaughter; but I cannot omit that very few of those different tribes of Indians that shared in it ever lived to return home. The small-pox, by means of their communication with the Europeans, found its way among them, and made an equal havock

to what they themselves had done. The methods they pursued on the first attack of that malignant disorder, to abate the fever attending it, rendered it fatal. Whilst their blood was in a state of fermentation, and nature was striving to throw out the peccant matter, they checked her operations by plunging into the water: the consequence was that they died by hundreds. The few that survived were transformed by it into hideous objects, and bore with them to the grave deep indented marks of this much-dreaded disease.

Monsieur Montcalm fell soon after on the plains of Quebec.

That the unprovoked cruelty of this commander was not approved of by the generality of his countrymen, I have since been convinced of by many proofs. One only however, which I received from a person who was witness to it, shall I at present give. A Canadian merchant, of some consideration, having heard of the surrender of the English fort, celebrated the fortunate event with great rejoicings and hospitality, according to the custom of that county; but no sooner did the news of the massacre which ensued reach his ears, than he put an immediate stop to the festivity, and exclaimed in the severest terms against the inhuman permission; declaring at the same time that those who had connived at it, had thereby drawn down, on that part of their king's dominions the vengeance of Heaven. To this he added, that he much feared the total loss of them would deservedly be the consequence. How truly this prediction has been verified we all know.

But to return—Though the Indians are negligent in guarding against surprizes, they are alert and dextrous in surprizing their enemies. To their caution and perseverance and stealing on the party they design to attack, they add that admirable talent, or rather instinctive qualification, I have already described, of tracing out those they are in pursuit of. On the smoothest grass, on the hardest earth, and even on the very stones, will they discover the traces of an enemy, and by the shape of the foot steps, and the distance between the prints, distinguish not only whether it is a man or woman who has passed that way, but even the nation to which they belong. However incredible this might appear, yet, from the many proofs I received whilst among them of their amazing sagacity in this point, I see no reason to discredit even these extraordinary exertions of it.

When they have overcome an enemy, and victory is no longer doubtful, the conquerors first dispatch all such as they think they shall not be able to carry off without great trouble, and then endeavour to take as many prisoners as possible; after this they return to scalp those who are either dead, or too much wounded to be taken with them.

At this business they are exceedingly expert. They seize the head of the disabled or dead enemy, and placing one of their feet on the neck, twist their left hand in the hair; by this means, having extended the skin that covers the top of the head, they

draw out their scalping knives, which are always kept in good order for this cruel purpose, and with a few dextrous strokes take off the part that is termed the scalp. They are so expeditious in doing this, that the whole time required scarcely exceeds a minute. These they preserve as monuments of their prowess, and at the same time as proofs of the vengeance they have inflicted on their enemies.

If two Indians seize in the same instant a prisoner, and seem to have an equal claim, the contest between them is soon decided; for to put a speedy end to any dispute that might arise, the person that is apprehensive he shall lose his expected reward, immediately has recourse to his tomahawk or war-club, and knocks on the head the unhappy cause of their contention.

Having completed their purposes, and made as much havock as possible, they immediately retire towards their own country, with the spoil they have acquired; for fear of being pursued.

Should this be the case, they make use of many stratagems to elude the searches of their pursuers. They sometimes scatter leaves, sand, or dust over the prints of their feet; sometimes tread in each others footsteps; and sometimes lift their feet so high, and tread so lightly, as not to make any impression on the ground. But if they find all these precautions unavailing, and that they are near being overtaken, they first dispatch and scalp their prisoners, and then dividing, each endeavours to regain his native country by a different route. This prevents all farther pursuit; for their pursuers now despairing, either of gratifying their revenge, or of releasing those of their friends who were made captives, return home.

If the successful party is so lucky as to make good their retreat unmolested, they hasten with the greatest expedition to reach a country where they may be perfectly secure; and that their wounded companions may not retard their flight, they carry them by turns in litters, or if it is in the winter season draw them on sledges.

Their litters are made in a rude manner of the branches of trees. Their sledges consist of two small thin boards, about a foot wide when joined, and near six feet long. The fore-part is turned up, and the sides are bordered with small bands. The Indians draw these carriages with great ease, be they ever so much loaded, by means of a string which passes round the breast. This collar is called a Metump, and is in use throughout America, both in the settlements and the internal parts. Those used in the latter are made of leather, and very curiously wrought.

The prisoners during their march are guarded with the greatest care. During the day, if the journey is over land, they are always held by some of the victorious party; if by water, they are fastened to the canoe. In the night-time they are stretched along the ground quite naked, with their legs, arms, and neck fastened to hooks fixed in the ground. Besides this, cords are tied

ties to their arms or legs, which are held by an Indian, who instantly awakes at the least motion of them.

Notwithstanding such precautions are usually taken by the Indians, it is recorded in the annals of New England, that one of the weaker sex, almost alone, and unassisted, found means to elude the vigilance of a party of warriors, and not only to make her escape from them, but to revenge the cause of her countrymen.

Some years ago, a small band of Canadian Indians, consisting of ten warriors attended by two of their wives, made an irruption into the back settlements of New England. They lurked for some time in the vicinity of one of the most exterior towns, and at length, after having killed and scalped several people, found means to take prisoner a woman who had with her a son of about twelve years of age. Being satisfied with the execution they had done, they retreated towards their native country, which lay at three hundred miles distance, and carried off with them their two captives.

The second night of their retreat, the woman, whose name, if I mistake not, was Rowe, formed a resolution worthy of the most intrepid hero. She thought she should be able to get from her hands the manacles by which they were confined, and determined if she did so to make a desperate effort for the recovery of her freedom. To this purpose, when she concluded that her conquerors were in their soundest sleep, she strove to slip the cords from her hands. In this she succeeded; and cautioning her son, whom they had suffered to go unbound, in a whisper, against being surprized at what she was about to do, she removed to a distance with great wariness the defensive weapons of the Indians, which lay by their sides.

Having done this, she put one of the tomahawks into the hands of the boy, bidding him to follow her example; and taking another herself, fell upon the sleeping Indians, several of whom she instantly dispatched. But her attempt was nearly frustrated by the imbecility of her son, who wanting both strength and resolution, made a feeble stroke at one of them, which only served to awaken him; she however sprung at the rising warrior, and before he could recover his arms, made him sink under the weight of her tomahawk; and this she alternately did to all the rest, except one of the women, who awoke in time, and made her escape.

The heroine then took off the scalps of her vanquished enemies, and seizing also those they were carrying away with them as proofs of their success, she returned in triumph to the town from whence she had so lately been dragged, to the great astonishment of her neighbours, who could scarcely credit their senses, or the testimonies she bore of her amazonian intrepidity.

During their march they oblige their prisoners to sing their death-song, which generally consists of these or similar sentences:

tences: " I am going to die, I am about to suffer; but I
 " will bear the severest tortures my enemies can inflict, with
 " becoming fortitude. I will die like a brave man, and I shall
 " then go to join the chiefs that have suffered on the same ac-
 " count." These songs are continued with necessary intervals,
 until they reach the village or camp to which they are going.

When the warriors are arrived within hearing, they set up different cries, which communicates to their friends a general history of the success of the expedition. The number of the death-cries they give, declares how many of their own party are lost; the number of war-hoops, the number of prisoners they have taken.

It is difficult to describe these cries, but the best idea I can convey of them is, that the former consists of the sound Who, Who, Whoop, which is continued in a long shrill tone, nearly till the breath is exhausted, and then broken off with a sudden elevation of the voice. The latter of a loud cry, of much the same kind, which is modulated into notes by the hand being placed before the mouth. Both of them might be heard to a very considerable distance.

Whilst these are uttering, the persons to whom they are designed to convey the intelligence, continue motionless and all attention. When this ceremony is performed, the whole village issue out to learn the particulars of the relation they have just heard in general terms, and according as the news prove mournful or the contrary, they answer by so many acclamations or cries of lamentation.

Being by this time arrived at the village or camp, the women and children arm themselves with sticks and bludgeons, and form themselves into two ranks, through which the prisoners are obliged to pass. The treatment they undergo before they reach the extremity of the line, is very severe. Sometimes they are so beaten over the head and face, as to have scarcely any remains of life; and happy would it be for them if by this usage an end was put to their wretched beings. But their tormentors take care that none of the blows they give prove mortal, as they wish to reserve the miserable sufferers for more severe inflictions.

After having undergone this introductory discipline, they are bound hand and foot, whilst the chiefs hold a council, in which their fate is determined. Those who are decreed to be put to death by the usual torments, are delivered to the chief of the warriors; such as are to be spared, are given into the hands of the chief of the nation: so that in a short time all the prisoners may be assured of their fate, as the sentence now pronounced is irrevocable. The former they term being consigned to the house of death, the latter to the house of grace.

Such captives as are pretty far advanced in life, and have acquired great honour by their war-like deeds, always atone for the blood they have spilt, by the tortures of fire. Their
 success

success in war is readily known by the blue marks upon their breasts and arms, which are as legible to the Indians as letters are to Europeans.

The manner in which these hieroglyphicks are made, is by breaking the skin with the teeth of fish, or sharpened flints, dipped in a kind of ink made of the foot of pitch pine. Like those of the ancient Picts of Britain these are esteemed ornamental; and at the same time they serve as registers of the heroic actions of the warrior, who thus bears about him indelible marks of his valour.

The prisoners destined to death are soon led to the place of execution, which is generally in the centre of the camp or village; where, being stript, and every part of their bodies blackened, the skin of a crow or raven is fixed on their heads. They are then bound to a stake, with faggots heaped around them, and obliged, for the last time, to sing their death-song.

The warriors, for such it is only who commonly suffer this punishment, now perform in a more prolix manner this sad solemnity. They recount with an audible voice all the brave actions they have performed, and pride themselves in the number of enemies they have killed. In this rehearsal they spare not even their tormentors, but strive by every provoking tale they can invent, to irritate and insult them. Sometimes this has the desired effect, and the sufferers are dispatched sooner than they otherwise would have been.

There are many other methods which the Indians make use of to put their prisoners to death, but these are only occasional; that of burning is most generally used.

Whilst I was at the chief town of the Ottagaumies, an Illinois Indian was brought in, who had been made prisoner by one of their war parties. I had then an opportunity of seeing the customary cruelties inflicted by these people on their captives, through the minutest part of their process. After the previous steps necessary to his condemnation, he was carried, early in the morning, to a little distance from the town, where he was bound to a tree.

This being done, all the boys, who amounted to a great number, as the place was populous, were permitted to amuse themselves with shooting their arrows at the unhappy victim. As they were none of them more than twelve years old, and were placed at a considerable distance, they had not strength to penetrate to the vital parts, so that the poor wretch stood pierced with arrows, and suffering the consequent agonies, for more than two days.

During this time he sung his warlike exploits. He recapitulated every stratagem he had made use of to surprize his enemies: he boasted of the quantity of scalps he possessed, and enumerated the prisoners he had taken. He then described the different barbarous methods by which he had put the latter to death,

death, and seemed even then to receive inconceivable pleasure from the recital of the horrid tale.

But he dwelt more particularly on the cruelties he had practised on such of the kindred of his present tormentors, as had fallen into his hands; endeavouring by these aggravated insults to induce them to increase his tortures, that he might be able to give greater proofs of fortitude. Even in the last struggles of life, when he was no longer able to vent in words the indignant provocation his tongue would have uttered, a smile of mingled scorn and triumph sat on his countenance.

This method of tormenting their enemies is considered by the Indians as productive of more than one beneficial consequence. It satiates, in a greater degree, that diabolical lust of revenge, which is the predominant passion in the breast of every individual of every tribe, and it gives the growing warriors an early propensity to that cruelty and thirst for blood, which is so necessary a qualification for such as would be thoroughly skilled in their savage art of war.

I have been informed, that an Indian who was under the hands of his tormentors, had the audacity to tell them, that they were ignorant old woman, and did not know how to put brave prisoners to death. He acquainted them that he had heretofore taken some of their warriors, and instead of the trivial punishments they inflicted on him, he had devised for them the most excruciating torments; that having bound them to a stake, he had stuck their bodies full of sharp splinters of turpentine wood, to which he then set fire, and dancing around them enjoyed the agonizing pangs of the flaming victims.

This bravado, which carried with it a degree of insult, that even the accustomed ear of an Indian could not listen to unmoved, threw his tormentors off their guard, and shortened the duration of his torments; for one of the chiefs ran to him, and ripping out his heart, stopped with it the mouth from which had issued such provoking language.

Innumerable are the stories that may be told of the courage and resolution of the Indians, who happen to be made prisoners by their adversaries. Many that I have heard are so astonishing, that they seem to exceed the utmost limits of credibility; it is, however, certain that these savages are possessed with many heroic qualities, and bear every species of misfortune with a degree of fortitude which has not been outdone by any of the ancient heroes of either of Greece or Rome.

Notwithstanding these acts of severity exercised by the Indians towards those of their own species, who fall into their hands, some tribes of them have been remarked for their moderation to such female prisoners, belonging to the English colonies as have happened to be taken by them. Women of great beauty have frequently been carried off by them, and during a march of three or four hundred miles, through their retired forests, have lain by their sides without receiving any insult, and their

their chastity has remained inviolate. Instances have happened where female captives, who have been pregnant at the time of their being taken, have found the pangs of child-birth come upon them in the midst of solitary woods, and savages their only companions; yet from these, savages as they were, have they received every assistance their situation would admit of, and been treated with a degree of delicacy and humanity they little expected.

This forbearance, it must be acknowledged does not proceed altogether from their dispositions, but is only inherent in those who have held some communication with the French missionaries. Without intending that their natural enemies, the English, should enjoy the benefit of their labours, these fathers have taken great pains to inculcate on the minds of the Indians the general principles of humanity, which has diffused itself through their manners, and has proved of public utility.

Those prisoners that are consigned to the house of grace, and these are commonly the young men, women and children, await the disposal of the chiefs, who, after the execution of such as are condemned to die, hold a council for this purpose.

A herald is sent round the village or camp, to give notice that such as have lost any relation in the late expedition, are desired to attend the distribution which is about to take place. Those women who have lost their sons or husbands, are generally satisfied in the first place; after these, such as have been deprived of friends of a more remote degree of consanguinity, or who choose to adopt some of the youth.

The division being made, which is done, as in other cases, without the least dispute, those who have received any share lead them to their tents or huts; and having unbound them, wash and dress their wounds if they happen to have received any; they then cloath them, and give them the most comfortable and refreshing food their store will afford.

Whilst their new domesticks are feeding, they endeavour to administer consolation to them; they tell them that as they are redeemed from death, they must now be cheerful and happy; and if they serve them well, without murmuring or repining, nothing shall be wanting to make them such atonement for the loss of their country and friends as circumstances will allow of.

If any men are spared, they are commonly given to the widows that have lost their husbands by the hand of the enemy, should there be any such, to whom, if they happen to prove agreeable, they are soon married. But should the dame be otherwise engaged, the life of him who falls to her lot is in great danger; especially if she fancies that her late husband wants a slave in the country of spirits, to which he is gone.

When this is the case, a number of young men take the devoted captive to some distance, and dispatch him without any ceremony: after he has been spared by the council, they con-

side him of too little consequence to be entitled to the torments allotted to those who have been judged worthy of them.

The women are usually distributed to the men, from whom they do not fail of meeting with a favourable reception. The boys and girls are taken into the families of such as have need of them, and are considered as slaves; and it is not uncommon that they are sold in the same capacity to the European traders, who come among them.

The Indians have no idea of moderating the ravages of war, by sparing their prisoners, and entering into a negotiation with the band from whom they have been taken, for an exchange. All that are captivated by both parties, are either put to death, adopted, or made slaves of. And so particular are every nation in this respect, that if any of their tribe, even a warrior, should be taken prisoner, and by chance be received into the house of grace, either as an adopted person or a slave, and should afterwards make his escape, they will by no means receive him, or acknowledge him as one of their band.

The condition of such as are adopted differs not in any one instance from the children of the nation to which they now belong. They assume all the rights of those whose places they supply, and frequently make no difficulty of going in the war-parties against their own countrymen. Should, however, any of these by chance make their escape, and be afterwards retaken, they are esteemed as unnatural children and ungrateful persons, who have deserted and made war upon their parents and benefactors, and are treated with uncommon severity.

That part of the prisoners which are considered as slaves, are generally distributed among the chiefs; who frequently make presents of some of them to the European governors of the outposts, or to the superintendants or commissaries of Indian affairs. I have been informed that it was the Jesuits and French missionaries that first occasioned the introduction of these unhappy captives into the settlements, and who by so doing taught the Indians that they were valuable.

Their views indeed were laudable, as they imagined that by this method they should not only prevent much barbarity and bloodshed, but find the opportunities of spreading their religion among them increased. To this purpose they encouraged the traders to purchase such slaves as they met with.

The good effects of this mode of proceeding was not however equal to the expectations of these pious fathers. Instead of being the means of preventing cruelty and bloodshed, it only caused the dissensions between the Indian nations to be carried on with a greater degree of violence, and with unre-mitted ardour. The prize they fought for being no longer revenge or fame, but the acquirement of spirituous liquors, for which their captives were to be exchanged, and of which almost every nation is immoderately fond, they fought for their
enemies

enemies with unwonted alacrity, and were constantly on the watch to surprize and carry them off.

It might still be said that fewer of the captives are tormented and put to death, since these expectations of receiving so valuable a consideration for them have been excited than there usually had been; but it does not appear that their accustomed cruelty to the warriors they take, is in the least abated; their natural desire of vengeance must be gratified; they now only become more assiduous in securing a greater number of young prisoners, whilst those who are made captive in their defence are tormented and put to death as before

The missionaries finding that contrary to their wishes their zeal had only served to increase the sale of the noxious juices, applied to the Governor of Canada, in the year 1693, for a prohibition of this baneful trade. An order was issued accordingly, but it could not put a total stop to it; the French *Couriers de Bois* were hardy enough to carry it on clandestinely, notwithstanding the penalty annexed to a breach of the prohibition was a considerable fine and imprisonment.

Some who were detected in the prosecution of it withdrew into the Indian countries, where they intermarried with the natives, and underwent a voluntary banishment. These, however, being an abandoned and debauched set, their conduct contributed very little either towards reforming the manners of their new relations, or engaging them to entertain a favourable opinion of the religion they professed. Thus did these indefatigable religious men see their designs in some measure oncemore frustrated.

However, the emigration was productive of an effect which turned out to be beneficial to their nation. By the connection of these refugees with the Iroquois, Mississauges, Hurons, Miamies, Powtowottomies, Puants, Menomonies, Algonkins, &c. and the constant representations these various nations received from them of the power and grandeur of the French, to the aggrandizement of whose monarch, notwithstanding their banishment, they still retained their habitual inclination, the Indians became insensibly prejudiced in favour of that people, and I am persuaded will take every opportunity of shewing their attachment to them.

And this, even in despite of the disgraceful estimation they must be held by them, since they have been driven out of Canada; for the Indians consider every conquered people as in a state of vassalage to their conquerors. After one nation has finally subdued another, and a conditional submission is agreed on, it is customary for the chiefs of the conquered, when they sit in council with their subduers, to wear petticoats, as an acknowledgement that they are in a state of subjection, and ought to be ranked among the women. Their partiality to the French has however taken too deep root for time itself to eradicate it.

CHAPTER X.

Of their Manner of making PEACE, &c.

THE wars that are carried on between the Indian nations are in general hereditary, and continue from age to age with a few interruptions. If a peace becomes necessary, the principal care of both parties is to avoid the appearance of making the first advances.

When they treat with an enemy, relative to a suspension of hostilities, the chief who is commissioned to undertake the negotiation, if it is not brought about by the mediation of some neighbouring band, abates nothing of his natural haughtiness: even when the affairs of his country are in the worst situation, he makes no concessions, but endeavours to persuade his adversaries that it is their interest to put an end to the war.

Accidents sometimes contribute to bring about a peace between nations that otherwise could not be prevailed on to listen to terms of accommodation. An instance of this, which I heard of in almost every nation I passed through, I shall relate.

About eighty years ago, the Iroquois and Chipéways, two powerful nations, were at war with the Ottagaumies and Saukies, who were much inferior to their adversaries both in numbers and strength. One winter near a thousand of the former made an excursion from Lake Ontario, by way of Toronto, towards the territories of their enemies. They coasted Lake Huron on its east and northern borders, till they arrivèd at the island of St. Joseph, which is situated in the Straights of St. Marie. There they crossed these Straights upon the ice about fifteen miles below the falls, and continued their route still westward. As the ground was covered with snow, to prevent a discovery of their numbers, they marched in a single file, treading in each others footsteps.

Four Chipéway Indians, passing that way, observed this army, and readily guessed from the direction of their march, and the precautions they took, both the country to which they were hastening, and their designs.

Notwithstanding the nation to which they belonged was at war with the Ottagaumies, and in alliance with their invaders, yet from a principle which cannot be accounted for, they took an instant resolution to apprize the former of their danger.

To this purpose they hastened away with their usual celerity, and, taking a circuit to avoid discovery, arrived at the hunting grounds of the Ottagaumies, before so large a body, moving in so cautious a manner, could do. There they found a party of about four hundred warriors, some of which were Saukies, whom they informed of the approach of their enemies.

The chiefs immediately collected their whole force, and held a council on the steps that were to be taken for their defence. As they were encumbered with their families, it was impossible that they could retreat in time; they therefore determined to choose the most advantageous spot, and to give the Iroquois the best reception in their power.

Not far from the place where they then happened to be, stood two small lakes, between which ran a narrow neck of land about a mile in length, and only from twenty to forty yards in breadth. Concluding that the Iroquois intended to pass through this defile, the united bands divided their little party into two bodies of two hundred each. One of these took post at the extremity of the pass that lay nearest to their hunting grounds, which they immediately fortified with a breast-work formed of palisades; whilst the other body took a compass round one of the lakes, with a design to hem their enemies in when they had entered the defile.

Their stratagem succeeded; for no sooner had the whole of the Iroquois entered the pass, than, being provided with wood for the purpose, they formed a similar breast-work on the other extremity, and thus enclosed their enemies.

The Iroquois soon perceived their situation, and immediately held a council on the measures that were necessary to be pursued to extricate themselves. Unluckily for them a thaw had just taken place, which had so far dissolved the ice as to render it impassible, and yet there still remained sufficient to prevent them from either passing over the lakes on rafts, or from swimming across. In this dilemma it was agreed that they should endeavour to force one of the breast-works; but they soon found them too well defended to effect their purpose.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, with the usual composure and unapprehensiveness of Indians, they amused themselves three or four days in fishing. By this time the ice being quite dissolved, they made themselves rafts, which they were enabled to do by some trees that fortunately grew on the spot, and attempted to cross one of the lakes.

They accordingly set off before day-break; but the Ottagaumies, who had been watchful of their motions, perceiving their design, detached one hundred and fifty men from each of their parties, to oppose their landing. These three hundred marched so expeditiously to the other side of the lake, that they reached it before their opponents had gained the shore, they being retarded by their poles sticking in the mud.

As soon as the confederates arrived, they poured in a very heavy fire, both from their bows and musquetry, on the Iroquois, which greatly disconcerted them; till the latter finding their situation desperate, leaped into the water, and fought their way through their enemies. This however they could not do without losing more than half their men.

After the Iroquois had landed, they made good their retreat, but were obliged to leave their enemies masters of the field, and in possession of all the furs they had taken during their winter's hunt. Thus dearly did they pay for an unprovoked excursion to such distance from the route they ought to have pursued, and to which they were only impelled by a sudden desire of cutting off some of their ancient enemies.

But had they known their strength they might have destroyed every man of the party that opposed them; which even at the first onset was only inconsiderable, and, when diminished by the action, totally unable to make any stand against them.

The victorious bands rewarded the Chipéways, who had been the means of their success, with a share of the spoils. They pressed them to take any quantity they chose of the richest of the furs, and sent them under an escort of fifty men, to their own country. The disinterested Chipéways, as the Indians in general are seldom actuated by mercenary motives, for a considerable time refused these presents, but were at length persuaded to accept of them.

The brave and well-concerted resistance here made by the Ottawaumies and Saukies, aided by the mediation of the Chipéways, who laying aside on this occasion the animosity they had so long born, those people approved of the generous conduct of their four chiefs, were together the means of effecting a reconciliation between these nations; and in process of time united them all in the bands of amity.

And I believe that all the Indians inhabiting that extensive country, which lies between Quebec, the banks of the Mississippi north of the Ouifconsin, and the settlements belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, are at present in a state of profound peace. When their restless dispositions will not suffer them to remain inactive, these northern Indians seldom commit hostilities on each other, but make excursions to the southward, against the Cherokees, Choctahs, Chickfaws or Illinois.

Sometimes the Indians grow tired of a war which they have carried on against some neighbouring nation for many years without much success, and in this case they seek for mediators to begin a negotiation. These being obtained, the treaty is thus conducted.

A number of their own chiefs, joined by those who have accepted the friendly office, set out together for the country of their enemies; such as are chosen for this purpose, are chiefs of the most extensive abilities, and of the greatest integrity. They bear before them the Pipe of Peace, which I need not inform

inform my readers is of the same nature as a Flag of Truce among the Europeans, and is treated with the greatest respect and veneration, even by the most barbarous nations. I never heard of an instance wherein the bearers of this sacred badge of friendship were ever treated disrespectfully, or its rights violated. The Indians believe that the Great Spirit never suffers an infraction of this kind to go unpunished.

The Pipe of Peace, which is termed by the French the Calumet, for what reason I could never learn, is about four feet long. The bowl of it is made of red marble, and the stem of it of a light wood, curiously painted with hieroglyphicks in various colours, and adorned with feathers of the most beautiful birds; but it is not in my power to convey an idea of the various tints and pleasing ornaments of this much esteemed Indian implement.

Every nation has a different method of decorating these pipes, and they can tell at first sight to what band it belongs. It is used as an introduction to all treaties, and great ceremony attends the use of it on these occasions.

The assistant or aid-du camp of the great warrior, when the chiefs are assembled and seated, fills it with tobacco mixed with the herbs before-mentioned, taking care at the same time that no part of it touches the ground. When it is filled, he takes a coal that is thoroughly kindled, from a fire which is generally kept burning in the midst of the assembly, and places it on the tobacco.

As soon as it is sufficiently lighted, he throws off the coal. He then turns the stem of it towards the heavens, after this towards the earth, and now holding it horizontally, moves himself round till he has completed a circle: by the first action he is supposed to present it to the Great Spirit, whose aid is thereby supplicated; by the second, to avert any malicious interposition of the evil spirits; and by the third to gain the protection of the spirits inhabiting the air, the earth, and the waters. Having thus secured the favour of those invisible agents, in whose power they suppose it is either to forward or obstruct the issue of their present deliberations, he presents it to the hereditary chief, who having taken two or three whiffs, blows the smoke from his mouth first towards heaven, and then around him upon the ground.

It is afterwards put in the same manner into the mouths of the ambassadors or strangers, who observe the same ceremony; then to the chief of the warriors, and to all the other chiefs in turn, according to their gradation. During this time the person who executes this honourable office holds the pipe slightly in his hand, as if he feared to press the sacred instrument; nor does any one presume to touch it but with his lips.

When the chiefs who are intrusted with the commission for making peace, approach the town or camp to which they are going, they begin to sing and dance the songs and dances appropriated

to this occasion. By this time the adverse party are apprized of their arrival, and divesting themselves of their wonted enmity at the sight of the Pipe of Peace, invite them to the habitation of the Great Chief, and furnish them with every conveniency during the negotiation.

A council is then held; and when the speeches and debates are ended, if no obstructions arise to put a stop to the treaty, the painted hatchet is buried in the ground, as a memorial that all animosities between the contending nations have ceased, and a peace taken place. Among the ruder bands, such as have no communication with the Europeans, a war club, painted red, is buried, instead of the hatchet.

A belt of wampum is also given on this occasion, which serves as a ratification of the peace, and records to the latest posterity, by the hieroglyphicks into which the beads are formed, every stipulated article in the treaty.

These belts are made of shells found on the coasts of New England and Virginia, which are sawed out into beads of an oblong form, about a quarter of an inch long, and round like other beads. Being strung on leather strings, and several of them sewed neatly together with fine sinewy threads, they then compose what is termed a belt of Wampum.

The shells are generally of two colours, some white and others violet; but the latter are more highly esteemed than the former. They are held in as much estimation by the Indians, as gold, silver, or precious stones are by the Europeans.

The belts are composed of ten, twelve, or a greater number of strings, according to the importance of the affair in agitation, or the dignity of the person to whom it is presented. On more trifling occasions, strings of these beads are presented by the chiefs to each other, and frequently worn by them about their necks, as a valuable ornament,

CHAPTER XI.

Of their GAMES.

AS I have before observed, the Indians are greatly addicted to gaming, and will even stake, and lose with composure, all the valuables they are possessed of. They amuse themselves at several sorts of games, but the principal and most esteemed among them is that of the ball, which is not unlike the European game of tennis.

The balls they use are rather larger than those made use of at tennis, and are formed of a piece of deer-skin; which being moistened to render it supple, is stuffed hard with the hair of the same creature, and sewed with its sinews. The ball-sticks are about three feet long, at the end of which there is fixed a kind of racket, resembling the palm of the hand, and fashioned of thongs cut from a deer-skin. In these they catch the ball, and throw it to a great distance, if they are not prevented by some of the opposite party, who fly to intercept it.

This game is generally played by large companies, that sometimes consist of more than three hundred; and it is not uncommon for different bands to play against each other.

They begin by fixing two poles in the ground at about six hundred yards apart, and one of these goals belong to each party of the combatants. The ball is thrown up high in the centre of the ground, and in a direct line between the goals; towards which each party endeavours to strike it, and which-ever side first causes it to reach their own goal, reckons towards the game.

They are so exceeding dextrous in this manly exercise, that the ball is usually kept flying in different directions by the force of the rackets, without touching the ground during the whole contention; for they are not allowed to catch it with their hands. They run with amazing velocity in pursuit of each other, and when one is on the point of hurling it to a great distance, an antagonist overtakes him, and by a sudden stroke dashes down the ball.

They play with so much vehemence that they frequently wound each other, and sometimes a bone is broken; but notwithstanding these accidents there never appears to be any spite or wanton exertions of strength to effect them, nor do any disputes ever happen between the parties.

There is another game also in use among them worthy of remark, and this is the game of the Bowl or Platter. This game is played between two persons only. Each person has six or eight little bones not unlike a peach-stone either in size or shape, except that they are quadrangular; two of the sides of which are coloured black, and the others white. These they throw up into the air, from whence they fall into a bowl or platter placed underneath, and made to spin round.

According as these bones present the white or black side upwards they reckon the game: he that happens to have the greatest number turn up of a similar colour, counts five points; and forty is the game.

The winning party keeps his place, and the loser yields his to another who is appointed by one of the umpires; for a whole village is sometimes concerned in the party, and at times one band plays against another.

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During this play the Indians appear to be greatly agitated, and at every decisive throw set up a hideous shout. They make a thousand contortions, addressing themselves at the same time to the bones, and loading with imprecations the evil spirits that assist their successful antagonists.

At this game some will lose their apparel, all the moveables of their cabins, and sometimes even their liberty, notwithstanding there are no people in the universe more jealous of the latter than the Indians are.

CHAPTER XII.

Of their MARRIAGE CEREMONIES, &c.

THE Indians allow of polygamy, and persons of every rank indulge themselves in this point. The chiefs in particular have a seraglio, which consists of an uncertain number, usually from six to twelve or fourteen. The lower ranks are permitted to take as many as there is a probability of their being able, with the children they may bear, to maintain. It is not uncommon for an Indian to marry two sisters; sometimes, if there happen to be more, the whole number; and notwithstanding this (as it appears to civilized nations) unnatural union, they all live in the greatest harmony.

The younger wives are submissive to the elder; and those who have no children, do such menial offices for those who are fertile, as causes their situation to differ but little from a state of servitude. However they perform every injunction with the greatest cheerfulness, in hopes of gaining thereby the affection of their husband, that they in their turns may have the happiness of becoming mothers, and be entitled to the respect attendant on that state.

It is not uncommon for an Indian, although he takes to himself so many wives, to live in a state of continence with many of them for several years. Such as are not so fortunate as to gain the favour of their husband, by their submissive and prudent behaviour, and by that means to share in his embraces, continue in their virgin state during the whole of their lives, except they happen to be presented by him to some stranger chief, whose abode among them will not admit of his entering into a more lasting connection. In this case they submit to the injunction of their husband without murmuring, and are not displeased at the temporary union. But if at any time it is known that they take this liberty without first receiving his consent, they

they are punished in the same manner as if they had been guilty of adultery.

This custom is more prevalent among the nations which lie in the interior parts, than among those that are nearer the settlements, as the manners of the latter are rendered more conformable in some points to those of the Europeans, by the intercourse they hold with them.

The Indian nations differ but little from each other in their marriage ceremonies, and less in the manner of their divorces. The tribes that inhabit the borders of Canada, make use of the following custom.

When a young Indian has fixed his inclinations on one of the other sex, he endeavours to gain her consent, and if he succeeds, it is never known that her parents ever obstruct their union. When every preliminary is agreed on, and the day appointed, the friends and acquaintance of both parties assemble at the house or tent of the oldest relation of the bridegroom, where a feast is prepared on the occasion.

The company who meet to assist at the festival are sometimes very numerous; they dance, they sing, and enter into every other diversion usually made use of on any of their public rejoicings.

When these are finished, all those who attended merely out of ceremony depart, and the bridegroom and bride are left alone with three or four of the nearest and oldest relations of either side; those of the bridegroom being men, those of the bride, women.

Presently the bride, attended by these few friends, having withdrawn herself for the purpose, appears at one of the doors of the house, and is led to the bridegroom, who stands ready to receive her. Having now taken their station, on a mat placed in the centre of the room, they lay hold of the extremities of a wand, about four feet long, by which they continue separated, whilst the old men pronounce some short harangues suitable to the occasion.

The married couple after this make a public declaration of the love and regard they entertain for each other, and still holding the rod between them, dance and sing. When they have finished this part of the ceremony, they break the rod into as many pieces as there are witnesses present, who each take a piece, and preserve it with great care.

The bride is then reconducted out of the door at which she entered, where her young companions wait to attend her to her father's house; there the bridegroom is obliged to seek her, and the marriage is consummated. Very often the wife remains at her father's house till she has a child, when she packs up her apparel, which is all the fortune she is generally possessed of, and accompanies her husband to his habitation.

When from any dislike a separation takes place, for they are seldom known to quarrel, they generally give their friends a few days notice of their intentions, and sometimes offer reasons

to justify their conduct. The witnesses who were present at the marriage, meet on the day requested, at the house of the couple that are about to separate, and bringing with them the pieces of rod which they had received at their nuptials, throw them into the fire, in the presence of all the parties.

This is the whole of the ceremony required, and the separation is carried on without any murmurings or ill-will between the couple or their relations; and after a few months they are at liberty to marry again.

When a marriage is thus dissolved, the children which have been produced from it, are equally divided between them; and as children are esteemed a treasure by the Indians, if the number happens to be odd, the woman is allowed to take the better half.

Though this custom seems to encourage fickleness and frequent separations, yet there are many of the Indians who have but one wife, and enjoy with her a state of connubial happiness not to be exceeded in more refined societies. There are also not a few instances of women preserving an inviolable attachment to their husbands, except in the cases beforementioned, which are not considered as either a violation of their chastity or fidelity.

Although I have said that the Indian nations differ very little from each other in their marriage ceremonies, there are some exceptions. The Naudowessies have a singular method of celebrating their marriages, which seems to bear no resemblance to those made use of by any other nation I passed through. When one of their young men has fixed on a young woman he approves of, he discovers his passion to her parents, who give him an invitation to come and live with them in their tent.

He accordingly accepts the offer, and by so doing engages to reside in it for a whole year, in the character of a menial servant. During this time he hunts, and brings all the game he kills to the family; by which means the father has an opportunity of seeing whether he is able to provide for the support of his daughter and the children that might be the consequence of their union. This however is only done whilst they are young men, and for their first wife, and not repeated like Jacob's servitudes.

When this period is expired, the marriage is solemnized after the custom of the country, in the following manner: Three or four of the oldest male relations of the bridegroom, and as many of the bride's, accompany the young couple from their respective tents, to an open part in the centre of the camp.

The chiefs and warriors being here assembled to receive them, a party of the latter are drawn up in two ranks on each side of the bride and bridegroom immediately on their arrival. Their principal chief then acquaints the whole assembly with the design of their meeting, and tells them that the couple before them, mentioning at the same time their names, are come to avow publicly their intentions of living together as man and wife.

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He then asks the two young people alternately, whether they desire that the union might take place. Having declared with an audible voice that they do so, the warriors fix their arrows, and discharge them over the heads of the married pair; this done, the chief pronounces them man and wife.

The bridegroom then turns round, and bending his body, takes his wife on his back, in which manner he carries her amidst the acclamations of the spectators to his tent. This ceremony is succeeded by the most plentiful feast the new married man can afford, and songs and dances, according to the usual custom, conclude the festival.

Divorces happen so seldom among the Naudowessies, that I had not an opportunity of learning how they are accomplished.

Adultery is esteemed by them a heinous crime, and punished with the greatest rigour. The husband in these cases bites off the wife's nose, and a separation instantly ensues. I saw an instance wherein this mode of punishment was inflicted, whilst I remained among them. The children, when this happens, are distributed according to the usual custom observed by other nations, that is, they are equally divided.

Among the Indian as well as European nations, there are many that devote themselves to pleasure, and notwithstanding the accounts given by some modern writers of the frigidity of an Indian constitution, become the zealous votaries of Venus. The young warriors that are thus disposed, seldom want opportunities for gratifying their passion; and as the mode usually followed on these occasions is rather singular, I shall describe it.

When one of these young debauchees imagines from the behaviour of the person he has chosen for his mistress, that he shall not meet with any great obstruction to his suit from her, he pursues the following plan.

It has been already observed, that the Indians acknowledge no superiority, nor have they any ideas of subordination, except in the necessary regulations of their war or hunting parties; they consequently live nearly in a state of equality, pursuant to the first principles of nature. The lover therefore is not apprehensive of any check or countrol in the accomplishment of his purposes, if he can find a convenient opportunity for completing them.

As the Indians are also under no apprehension of robbers, or secret enemies, they leave the doors of their tents or huts unfastened during the night, as well as in the day. Two or three hours after sunset, the slaves or old people cover over the fire, that is generally burning in the midst of their apartment, with ashes, and retire to their repose.

Whilst darkness thus prevails, and all is quiet, one of these sons of pleasure, wrapped up closely in his blanket, to prevent his being known, will sometimes enter the apartment of his intended mistress. Having first lighted at the smothered fire a small splinter of wood, which answers the purpose of a match, he

he approaches the place where she reposes, and gently pulling away the covering from the head, jogs her till she awakes. If she then rises up, and blows out the light, he needs no further confirmation that his company is not disagreeable; but if, after he has discovered himself, she hides her head, and takes no notice of him, he might rest assured that any further solicitations will prove vain, and that it is necessary immediately for him to retire.

During his stay he conceals the light as much as possible in the hollow of his hands, and as the tents or rooms of the Indians are usually large and capacious, he escapes without detection. It is said that the young women who admit their lovers on these occasions, take great care, by an immediate application to herbs, with the potent efficacy of which they are well acquainted, to prevent the effects of these illicit amours from becoming visible; for should the natural consequences ensue, they must forever remain unmarried.

The children of the Indians are always distinguished by the name of the mother; and if a woman marries several husbands, and has issue by each of them, they are all called after her. The reason they give for this is, that as their offspring are indebted to the father for their souls, the invisible part of their essence, and to the mother for their corporeal and apparent part, it is more rational that they should be distinguished by the name of the latter, from whom they indubitably derive their being, than by that of the father, to which a doubt might sometimes arise whether they are justly intitled.

There are some ceremonies made use of by the Indians at the imposition of the name, and it is considered by them as a matter of great importance; but what these are I could never learn, through the secrecy observed on the occasion. I only know that it is usually given when the children have passed the state of infancy.

Nothing can exceed the tenderness shown by them to their offspring; and a person cannot recommend himself to their favour by any method more certain, than by paying some attention to the younger branches of their families. I can impute, in some measure, to the presents I made to the children of the chiefs of the Naudowessies, the hospitable reception I met with when among them.

There is some difficulty attends an explanation of the manner in which the Indians distinguish themselves from each other. Besides the name of the animal by which every nation and tribe is denominated, there are others that are personal, and which the children receive from their mother.

The chiefs are also distinguished by a name that has either some reference to their abilities, or to the hieroglyphick of their families; and these are acquired after they arrive at the age of manhood. Such as have signalized themselves either in their war or hunting parties, or are possessed of some eminent qualification,

fication, receive a name that serves to perpetuate the fame of these actions, or to make their abilities conspicuous.

Thus the great warrior of the Naudowessies was named *Ottah-tongoomlithcah*, that is, the Great Father of Snakes; *ottah* being in English father, *tongoom* great, and *lithcah* a snake. Another chief was called *Honahpawjatin*, which means a swift runner over the mountains. And when they adopted me a chief among them, they named me *Shebaygo*, which signifies a writer, or a person that is curious in making hieroglyphicks, as they saw me often writing.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of their RELIGION.

IT is very difficult to attain a perfect knowledge of the religious principles of the Indians. Their ceremonies and doctrines have been so often ridiculed by the Europeans, that they endeavour to conceal them; and if, after the greatest intimacy, you desire any of them to explain to you their system of religion, to prevent your ridicule, they intermix with it many of the tenets they have received from the French missionaries, so that it is at last rendered an unintelligible jargon, and not to be depended upon.

Such as I could discover among the Naudowessies (for they also were very reserved in this point) I shall give my readers, without paying any attention to the accounts of others. As the religion of that people from their situation appears to be totally unadulter'd with the superstitions of the church of Rome, we shall be able to gain from their religious customs a more perfect Idea of the original tenets and ceremonies of the Indians in general, than from those of any nations that approach nearer to the settlements.

It is certain they acknowledge one Supreme Being, or Giver of Life, who presides over all things. The *Chipéways* call this Being *Manitou*, or *Kitchi-Manitou*; the *Naudowessies*, *Wakon* or *Tongo-Wakon*, that is, the Great Spirit; and they look up to him as the source of good, from whom no evil can proceed. They also believe in a bad spirit, to whom they ascribe great power, and suppose that through his means all the evils which befall mankind are inflicted. To him therefore do they pray in their distresses, begging that he would either avert their troubles, or moderate them when they are no longer avoidable.

They say that the Great Spirit, who is infinitely good, neither wishes or is able to do any mischief to mankind; but on
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the contrary, that he showers down on them all the blessings they deserve; whereas the evil spirit is continually employed in contriving how he may punish the human race; and to do which he is not only possessed of the will, but of the power.

They hold also that there are good spirits of a lesser degree, who have their particular departments, in which they are constantly contributing to the happiness of mortals. These they suppose to preside over all the extraordinary productions of nature, such as those lakes, rivers, or mountains that are of an uncommon magnitude; and likewise the beasts, birds, fishes, and even vegetables, or stones that exceed the rest of their species in size or singularity. To all of these they pay some kind of adoration. Thus when they arrive on the borders of Lake Superior, on the banks of the Mississippi, or any other great body of water, they present to the Spirit who resides there some kind of offering, as the prince of the Winnebagoes did when he attended me to the Falls of St. Anthony.

But at the same time I fancy that the ideas they annex to the word spirit, are very different from the conceptions more enlightened nations entertain of it. They appear to fashion to themselves corporeal representations of their gods, and believe them to be of a human form, though of a nature more excellent than man.

Of the same kind are their sentiments relative to a futurity. They doubt not but they shall exist in some future state; they however fancy that their employments there will be similar to those they are engaged in here, without the labour and difficulty annexed to them in this period of their existence.

They consequently expect to be translated to a delightful country, where they shall always have a clear unclouded sky, and enjoy a perpetual spring; where the forests will abound with game, and the lakes with fish, which might be taken without requiring a painful exertion of skill, or a laborious pursuit; in short, that they shall live for ever in regions of plenty, and enjoy every gratification they delight in here, in a greater degree.

To intellectual pleasures they are strangers; nor are these included in their scheme of happiness. But they expect that even these animal pleasures will be proportioned and distributed according to their merit; the skilful hunter, the bold and successful warrior, will be entitled to a greater share than those who through indolence or want of skill cannot boast of any superiority over the common herd.

The priests of the Indians are at the same time their physicians, and their conjurors; whilst they heal their wounds, or cure their diseases, they interpret their dreams, give them protective charms, and satisfy that desire which is so prevalent among them, of searching into futurity.

How well they execute the latter part of their professional engagements, and the methods they make use of on some of these occasions, I have already shewn in the exertions of the priest of the

the Killifinoes, who was fortunate enough to succeed in his extraordinary attempt near Lake Superior. They frequently are successful likewise in administering the salubrious herbs they have acquired a knowledge of; but that the ceremonies they make use of during the administration of them contributes to their success, I shall not take upon me to assert.

When any of the people are ill, the person who is invested with this triple character of doctor, priest, and magician, sits by the patient day and night, rattling in his ears a goad-shell filled with dry beans, called a Chichicoué, and making a disagreeable noise that cannot be well described.

This uncouth harmony one would imagine should disturb the sick person, and prevent the good effects of the doctor's prescription; but on the contrary they believe that the method made use of contributes to his recovery, by diverting from his malignant purposes the evil spirit who has inflicted the disorder; or at least that it will take off his attention, so that he shall not increase the malady. This they are credulous enough to imagine he is constantly on the watch to do, and would carry his inveteracy to a fatal length if they did not thus charm him.

I could not discover that they make use of any other religious ceremonies than those I have described; indeed, on the appearance of the new moon they dance and sing; but it is not evident that they pay that planet any adoration; they only seem to rejoice at the return of a luminary that makes the night cheerful, and which serves to light them on their way when they travel during the absence of the sun.

Notwithstanding Mr. Adair has asserted that the nations among whom he resided, observe with very little variation all the rites appointed by the Mosaic Law, I own I could never discover among those tribes that lie but a few degrees to the north-west, the least traces of the Jewish religion, except it be admitted that one particular female custom and their division into tribes, carry with them proofs sufficient to establish this assertion.

The Jesuits and French missionaries have also pretended that the Indians had, when they first travelled into America, some notions, though these were dark and confused, of the christian institution; that they have been greatly agitated at the sight of a cross, and given proofs, by the impressions made on them, that they were not entirely unacquainted with the sacred mysteries of Christianity. I need not say that these are too glaring absurdities to be credited, and could only receive their existence from the zeal of those fathers, who endeavoured at once to give the public a better opinion of the success of their missions, and to add support to the cause they were engaged in.

The Indians appear to be in their religious principles, rude and uninstructed. The doctrines they hold are few and simple, and such as have been generally impressed on the human mind, by some means or other, in the most ignorant ages. They however

ever have not deviated, as many other uncivilized nations, and too many civilized ones have done, into idolatrous modes of worship; they venerate indeed, and make offerings to the wonderful parts of the creation, as I have before observed; but whether these rites are performed on account of the impression such extraordinary appearances make on them, or whether they consider them as the peculiar charge, or the usual places of residence of the invisible spirits they acknowledge, I cannot positively determine.

The human mind in its uncultivated state is apt to ascribe the extraordinary occurrences of nature, such as earthquakes, thunder, or hurricanes, to the interposition of unseen beings; the troubles and disasters also that are annexed to a savage life, the apprehensions attendant on a precarious subsistence and those numberless inconveniencies which man in his improved state has found means to remedy, are supposed to proceed from the interposition of evil spirits; the savage consequently lives in continual apprehensions of their unkind attacks, and to avert them has recourse to charms, to the fantastic ceremonies of his priest, or the powerful influence of his Manitou. Fear has of course a greater share in his devotions than gratitude, and he pays more attention to deprecating the wrath of the evil than to securing the favour of the good beings.

The Indians, however, entertain these absurdities in common with those of every part of the globe who have not been illumined by that religion which only can disperse the clouds of superstition and ignorance, and they are as free from error as a people can be that has not been favoured with its instructive doctrines.

CHAPTER. XIV.

Of their DISEASES, &c.

THE Indians in general are healthy, and subject but to few diseases, many of those that afflict civilized nations, and are the immediate consequences of luxury or sloth, being not known among them; however, the hardships and fatigues which they endure in hunting or war, the inclemency of the seasons to which they are continually exposed, but above all the extremes of hunger, and that voraciousness their long excursions consequently subject them to, cannot fail of impairing the constitution, and bringing on disorders.

Pains

Pains and weaknesses in the stomach and breast are sometime^s the result of their long fasting, and consumptions of the excessive fatigue and violent exercises they expose themselves to from their infancy, before they have strength sufficient to support them. But the disorder to which they are most subject, is the pleurisy; for the removal of which, they apply their grand remedy and preservative against the generality of their complaints, sweating.

The manner in which they construct their stoves for this purpose is as follows: They fix several small poles in the ground, the tops of which they twist together, so as to form a rotunda: this frame they cover with skins or blankets; and they lay them on with so much nicety, that the air is kept from entering through any crevice; a small space being only left, just sufficient to creep in at, which is immediately after closed. In the middle of this confined building they place red hot stones, on which they pour water till a steam arises that produces a great degree of heat.

This causes an instantenous perspiration, which they increase as they please. Having continued in it for some time, they immediately hasten to the nearest stream, and plunge into the water; and, after bathing therein for about half a minute, they put on their cloaths, sit down and smooke with great composure, thoroughly persuaded that the remedy will prove efficacious. They often make use of this sudoriferous method to refresh themselves, or to prepare their minds for the management of any business that requires uncommon deliberation and sagacity.

They are likewise afflicted with the dropsy and paralytic complaints, which, however, are but very seldom known among them. As a remedy for these as well as for fevers they make use of lotions and decoctions, composed of herbs, which the physicians know perfectly well how to compound and apply. But they never trust to medicines alone; they always have recourse likewise to some superstitious ceremonies, without which their patients would not think the physical preparations sufficiently powerful.

With equal judgment they make use of simples for the cure of wounds, fractures, or bruises; and are able to extract by these, without incision, splinters, iron, or any sort of matter by which the wound is caused. In cures of this kind they are extremely dextrous, and complete them in much less time than might be expected from their mode of proceeding.

With the skin of a snake, which those reptiles annually shed, they will also extract splinters. It is amazing to see the sudden efficacy of this application, notwithstanding there does not appear to be the least moisture remaining in it.

It has long been a subject of dispute, on what continent the venereal disease first received its destructive power. This dreadful malady is supposed to have originated in America, but the literary contest still remains undecided; to give some elucidation

tion to it I shall remark, that as I could not discover the least traces among the Naudowessies, with whom I resided so long, and was also informed that it was yet unknown among the more western nations, I think I may venture to pronounce that it had not its origin in North America. Those nations that have any communication with the Europeans, or the southern tribes, are greatly afflicted with it; but they have all of them acquired a knowledge of such certain and expeditious remedies, that the communication is not attended with any dangerous consequences.

Soon after I set out on my travels, one of the traders whom I accompanied, complained of a violent gonorrhœa, with all its alarming symptoms: this increased to such a degree, that by the time we had reached the town of the Winnebagoes, he was unable to travel. Having made his complaint known to one of the chiefs of that tribe, he told him not to be uneasy, for he would engage that by following his advice, he should be able in a few days to pursue his journey, and in a little longer time be entirely free from his disorder.

The chief had no sooner said this than he prepared for him a decoction of the bark of the roots of the prickly ash, a tree scarcely known in England, but which grows in great plenty throughout North America; by the use of which, in a few days he was greatly recovered, and having received directions how to prepare it, in a fortnight after his departure from this place perceived that he was radically cured.

If from excessive exercise, or the extremes of heat or cold, they are affected with pains in their limbs or joints, they scarify the parts affected. Those nations who have no commerce with Europeans do this with a sharp flint; and it is surprizing to see how fine a point they have the dexterity to bring them; a lancet can scarcely exceed in sharpness the instruments they make use of this unmallearable substance.

They never can be convinced a person is ill, whilst he has an appetite; but when he rejects all kind of nourishment, they consider the disease as dangerous, and pay great attention to it; and during the continuance of the disorder, the physician refuses his patient no sort of food that he is desirous of.

Their doctors are not only supposed to be skilled in the physical treatment of diseases; but the common people believe that by the ceremony of the Chichicoué usually made use of, as before described, they are able to gain intelligence from the spirits of the cause of the complaints with which they are afflicted, and are thereby the better enabled to find remedies for them. They discover something supernatural in all their diseases, and the physick administered must invariably be aided by these superstitious.

Sometimes a sick person fancies that his disorder arises from witchcraft; in this case the physician or juggler is consulted, who, after the usual preparations, gives his opinion on the state of the disease, and frequently finds some means for his cure.

But

But notwithstanding the Indian physicians always annex these superstitious ceremonies to their prescriptions, it is very certain, as I have already observed, that they exercise their art by principles which are founded on the knowledge of simples, and on experience which they acquire by an indefatigable attention to their operations.

The following story, which I received from a person of undoubted credit, proves that the Indians are not only able to reason with great acuteness on the causes and symptoms of many of the disorders which are attendant on human nature, but to apply with equal judgment proper remedies.

In Penobscot, a settlement in the province of Main, in the north-east parts of New-England, the wife of a soldier was taken in labour, and notwithstanding every necessary assistance was given her, could not be delivered. In this situation she remained for two or three days, the persons around her expecting that the next pang would put an end to her existence.

An Indian woman, who accidentally passed by, heard the groans of the unhappy sufferer, and enquired from whence they proceeded. Being made acquainted with the desperate circumstances attending the case, she told the informant, that if she might be permitted to see the person, she did not doubt but that she could be of great service to her.

The surgeon that had attended, and the midwife who was then present, having given up every hope of preserving their patient, the Indian woman was allowed to make use of any methods she thought proper. She accordingly took a handkerchief, and bound it tight over the nose and mouth of the woman: this immediately brought on a suffocation; and from the struggles that consequently ensued she was in a few seconds delivered. The moment this was achieved, and time enough to prevent any fatal effect, the handkerchief was taken off. The long suffering patient thus happily relieved from her pains, soon after perfectly recovered, to the astonishment of all those who had been witness to her desperate situation.

The reason given by the Indian for this hazardous method of proceeding was, that desperate disorders require desperate remedies; that as she observed the exertions of nature were not sufficiently forcible to effect the desired consequence, she thought it necessary to augment their force, which could only be done by some mode that was violent in the extreme.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the Manner in which they treat their
D E A D.

AN Indian meets death when it approaches him in his hut, with the same resolution he has often faced him in the field. His indifference relative to this important article, which is the source of so many apprehensions to almost every other nation, is truly admirable. When his fate is pronounced by the physician, and it remains no longer uncertain, he harangues those about him with the greatest composure.

If he is a chief and has a family, he makes a kind of funeral oration, which he concludes by giving to his children such advice for the regulation of their conduct as he thinks necessary. He then takes leave of his friends, and issues out orders for the preparation of a feast, which is designed to regale those of his tribe that come to pronounce his eulogium.

After the breath is departed, the body is dressed in the same attire it usually wore whilst living, his face is painted, and he seated in an erect posture, on a mat or skin, placed in the middle of the hut, with his weapons by his side. His relations being seated round, each harangues in turn the deceased; and if he has been a great warrior, recounts his heroic actions nearly to the following purport, which in the Indian language is extremely poetical and pleasing:

“ You still sit among us, Brother, your person retains its
 “ usual resemblance, and continues similar to ours, without any
 “ visible deficiency, except that it has lost the power of action.
 “ But whither is that breath flown, which a few hours ago sent
 “ up smoke to the Great Spirit? Why are those lips silent, that
 “ lately delivered to us expressive and pleasing language? why
 “ are those feet motionless, that a short time ago were fleetier
 “ than the deer on yonder mountains? why useless hang those
 “ arms that could climb the tallest tree, or draw the toughest
 “ bow? Alas! every part of that frame which we lately beheld
 “ with admiration and wonder, is now become as inanimate as
 “ it was three hundred winters ago. We will not, however,
 “ bemoan thee as if thou wast for ever lost to us, or that thy
 “ name would be buried in oblivion; thy soul yet lives in the
 “ great Country of Spirits, with those of thy nation that are
 “ gone before thee; and though we are left behind to perpetuate
 “ thy fame, we shall one day join thee. Actuated by the
 “ respect

“respect we bore thee whilst living, we now come to tender
 “to thee the last act of kindness it is in our power to bestow:
 “that thy body might not lie neglected on the plain, and be-
 “come a prey to the beasts of the field, or the fowls of the
 “air, we will take care to lay it with those of thy predecessors
 “who are gone before thee; hoping at the same time, that thy
 “spirit will feed with their spirits, and be ready to receive
 “ours, when we also shall arrive at the great Country of Souls.”

In short speeches somewhat similar to this does every chief speak the praises of his departed friend. When they have so done, if they happen to be at a great distance from the place of interment, appropriated to their tribe, and the person dies during the winter season, they wrap the body in skins, and lay it on a high stage built for this purpose, or on the branches of a large tree, till the spring arrives. They then, after the manner described in my journal, carry it, together with all those belonging to the same nation, to the general burial place, where it is interred with some other ceremonies that I could not discover.

When the Naudowessies brought their dead for interment to the great cave, I attempted to get an insight into the remaining burial rites; but whether it was on account of the stench which arose from so many bodies, the weather being then hot, or whether they chose to keep this part of their customs secret from me, I could not discover; I found, however, that they considered my curiosity as ill-timed, and therefore I withdrew.

After the interment, the band to which the person belongs, take care to fix near the place such hieroglyphicks as shall show to future ages his merit and accomplishments. If any of these people die in the summer at a distance from the burying-ground, and they find it impossible to remove the body before it putrefies, they burn the flesh from the bones, and preserving the latter, bury them in the manner described.

As the Indians believe that the souls of the deceased employ themselves in the same manner in the country of spirits, as they did on earth, that they acquire their food by hunting, and have there, also, enemies to contend with, they take care that they do not enter those regions defenceless and unprovided: they consequently bury with them their bows, their arrows, and all the other weapons used either in hunting or war. As they doubt not but they will likewise have occasion both for the necessaries of life, and those things they esteem as ornaments, they usually deposit in their tombs such skins or stuffs as they commonly made their garments of, domestic utensils, and paint for ornamenting their persons.

The near relations of the deceased lament his loss with an appearance of great sorrow and anguish; they weep and howl, and make use of many contortions, as they sit in the hut or tent around the body, when the intervals between the praises of the chiefs will permit.

One formality in mourning for the dead among the Naudowessies is very different from any mode I observed in the other nations through which I passed. The men, to show how great their sorrow is, pierce the flesh of their arms, above the elbows, with arrows; the scars of which I could perceive on those of every rank, in a greater or less degree; and the women cut and gash their legs with sharp broken flints, till the blood flows very plentifully.

Whilst I remained among them, a couple whose tent was adjacent to mine, lost a son of about four years of age. The parents were so much affected at the death of their favourite child, that they pursued the usual testimonies of grief with such uncommon rigour, as through the weight of sorrow and loss of blood, to occasion the death of the father. The woman, who had hitherto been inconsolable, no sooner saw her husband expire, than she dried up her tears, and appeared cheerful and resigned.

As I knew not how to account for so extraordinary a transition, I took an opportunity to ask her the reason of it; telling her at the same time, that I should have imagined the loss of her husband would rather have occasioned an increase of grief, than such a sudden diminution of it.

She informed me, that as the child was so young when it died, and unable to support itself in the country of spirits, both she and her husband had been apprehensive that its situation would be far from happy; but no sooner did she behold its father depart for the same place, who not only loved the child with the tenderest affection, but was a good hunter, and would be able to provide plentifully for its support, than she ceased to mourn. She added, that she now saw no reason to continue her tears, as the child on whom she doted, was happy under the care and protection of a fond father, and she had only one wish that remained ungratified, which was that of being herself with them.

Expressions so replete with unaffected tenderness, and sentiments that would have done honour to a Roman matron, made an impression on my mind greatly in favour of the people to whom she belonged, and tended not a little to counteract the prejudices I had hitherto entertained, in common with every other traveller, of Indian insensibility and want of parental tenderness.

Her subsequent conduct confirmed the favourable opinion I had just imbibed; and convinced me, that, notwithstanding this apparent suspension of her grief, some particles of that reluctance, to be separated from a beloved relation, which is implanted either by nature or custom in every human heart, still lurked in hers. I observed that she went almost every evening to the foot of the tree, on a branch of which the bodies of her husband and child were laid, and after cutting off a lock of her hair, and throwing it on the ground, in a plaintive melancholy

choly song bemoaned its fate. A recapitulation of the actions he might have performed, had his life been spared, appeared to be her favourite theme; and whilst she foretold the fame that would have attended an imitation of his father's virtues, her grief seemed to be suspended:—

“ If thou hadst continued with us, my dear Son,” would she cry, “ how well would the bow have become thy hand, and “ and how fatal would thy arrows have proved to the enemies “ of our bands. Thou wouldst often have drank their blood, and “ eaten their flesh, and numerous slaves would have rewarded “ thy toils. With a nervous arm wouldst thou have seized the “ wounded buffalo, or have combated the fury of the enraged “ bear. Thou wouldst have overtaken the flying elk, and have “ kept pace on the mountain's brow with the fleetest deer. “ What feats mightest thou not have performed, hadst thou “ staid among us till age had given thee strength, and thy father “ had instructed thee in every Indian accomplishment!.” In terms like these did this untutored savage bewail the loss of her son, and frequently would she pass the greatest part of the night in the affectionate employ.

The Indians in general are very strict in the observance of their laws relative to mourning for their dead. In some nations they cut off their hair, blacken their faces, and sit in an erect posture, with their heads closely covered, and depriving themselves of every pleasure. This severity is continued for several months, and with some relaxations the appearance is sometimes kept up for several years. I was told that when the Naudowessies recollected any incidents of the lives of their deceased relations, even after an interval of ten years, they would howl so as to be heard at a great distance. They would sometimes continue this proof of respect and affection for several hours; and if it happened that the thought occurred, and the noise was begun towards the evening, those of their tribe, who are at hand would join with them.

CHAPTER XVI.

A concise CHARACTER of the INDIANS.

THE character of the Indians, like that of other uncivilized nations, is composed of a mixture of ferocity and gentleness. They are at once guided by passions and appetites, which they hold in common with the fiercest beasts that inhabit their woods, and are possessed of virtues which do honour to human nature.

In the following estimate I shall endeavour to forget on the one hand the prejudices of Europeans, who usually annex to the word Indian epithets that are disgraceful to human nature, and who view them in no other light than as savages and cannibals; whilst with equal care I avoid any partiality towards them, as some must naturally arise from the favourable reception I met with during my stay among them.

At the same time I shall confine my remarks to the nations inhabiting only the western regions, such as the Naudowessies, the Ottaguamies, the Chipéways, the Winnebagoes, and the Saukies; for as throughout that diversity of climates, the extensive continent of America is composed of, there are people of different dispositions and various characters, it would be incompatible with my present undertaking to treat of all these, and to give a general view of them as a conjunctive body.

That the Indians are of a cruel, revengeful, inexorable disposition, that they will watch whole days unmindful of the calls of nature, and make their way through pathless, and almost unbounded woods, subsisting only on the scanty produce of them, to pursue and revenge themselves of an enemy; that they hear unmoved the piercing cries of such as unhappily fall into their hands, and receive a diabolical pleasure from the tortures they inflict on their prisoners, I readily grant; but let us look on the reverse of this terrifying picture, and we shall find them temperate both in their diet and potations (it must be remembered that I speak of those tribes who have little communication with Europeans) that they withstand, with unexampled patience, the attacks of hunger, or the inclemency of the seasons, and esteem the gratification of their appetites but as a secondary consideration.

We shall likewise see them social and humane to those whom they consider as their friends, and even to their adopted enemies; and ready to partake with them of the last morsel, or to risk their lives in their defence.

In contradiction to the report of many other travellers, all of which have been tinged with prejudice, I can assert, that notwithstanding the apparent indifference with which an Indian meets his wife and children after a long absence, an indifference proceeding rather from custom than insensibility, he is not unmindful of the claims either of connubial or parental tenderness; the little story I have introduced in the preceding chapter, of the Naudowessie woman lamenting her child, and the immature death of the father, will elucidate this point, and enforce the assertion much better than the most studied arguments I can make use of.

Accustomed from their youth to innumerable hardships, they soon become superior to a sense of danger, or the dread of death; and their fortitude, implanted by nature, and nurtured by example, by precept and accident, never experiences a moment's alloy.

Though

Though slothful and inactive whilst their store of provision remains unexhausted, and their foes are at a distance, they are indefatigable and persevering in pursuit of their game, or in circumventing their enemies.

If they are artful and designing, and ready to take every advantage, if they are cool and deliberate in their councils, and cautious in the extreme either of discovering their sentiments, or of revealing a secret, they might at the same time boast of possessing qualifications of a more animated nature, of the sagacity of a hound, the penetrating sight of a lynx, the cunning of the fox, the agility of a bounding roe, and the unconquerable fierceness of the tyger.

In their public characters, as forming part of a community, they possess an attachment for that band to which they belong, unknown to the inhabitants of any other country. They combine, as if they were actuated only by one soul, against the enemies of their nation, and banish from their minds every consideration opposed to this.

They consult without unnecessary opposition, or without giving way to the excitements of envy or ambition, on the measures necessary to be pursued for the destruction of those who have drawn on themselves their displeasure. No selfish views ever influence their advice, or obstruct their consultations. Nor is it in the power of bribes or threats to diminish the love they bear their country.

The honour of their tribe, and the welfare of their nation, is the first and most predominant emotion of their hearts; and from hence proceed in a great measure all their virtues and their vices. Actuated by by this, they brave every danger, endure the most exquisite torments, and expire triumphing in their fortitude, not as a personal qualification, but as a national characteristic.

From these also flow that insatiable revenge towards those with whom they are at war, and all the consequent horrors that disgrace their name. Their uncultivated mind, being incapable of judging of the propriety of an action, in opposition to their passions, which are totally insensible to the controuls of reason or humanity, they know not how to keep their fury within any bounds, and consequently that courage and resolution, which would otherwise do them honour, degenerates into a savage ferocity.

But this short dissertation must suffice; the limits of my work will not permit me to treat the subject more copiously, or to pursue it with a logical regularity. The observations already made by my readers on the preceding pages, will, I trust, render it unnecessary; as by them they will be enabled to form a tolerably just idea of the people I have been describing. Experience teaches, that anecdotes, and relations of particular events, however trifling they might appear, enable us to form a truer judgment of the manners and customs of a people, and are

much declaratory of their real state, than the most studied and elaboratèd disquisition, without these aids.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of their LANGUAGE, HIEROGLYPHICKS, &c.

THE principal languages of the natives of North America may be divided into four classes, as they consist of such as are made use of by the nations of the Iroquois towards the eastern parts of it, the Chipéways or Algonkins to the northwest, the Naudowessies to the west, and the Cherokees, Chickasaws, &c. to the south. One or other of these four are used by all the Indians who inhabit the parts that lie between the coast of Labrador on the north, the Florida south, the Atlantic ocean east, and, as far as we can judge from the discoveries hitherto made, the Pacific Ocean on the west.

But of all these, the Chipéway tongue appears to be the most prevailing; it being held in such esteem, that the chiefs of every tribe, dwelling about the great lakes, or to the westward of these on the banks of the Mississippi, with those as far south as the Ohio, and as far north as Hudson's Bay, consisting of more than thirty different tribes, speak this language alone in their councils, notwithstanding each has a peculiar one of their own.

It will probably in time become universal among all the Indian nations, as none of them attempt to make excursions to any great distance, or are considered as qualified to carry on any negotiation with a distant band, unless they have acquired the Chipéway tongue.

At present, besides the Chipéways, to whom it is natural, the Ottawaws, the Saukies, the Ottawaunies, the Killistinoes, the Nipegons, the bands about Lake Le Pleuve, and the remains of the Algonkins, or Gens de Terre, all converse in it, with some little variation of dialect; but whether it be natural to these nations, or acquired, I was not able to discover. I am however of opinion that the barbarous and uncouth dialect of the Winnebagoes, the Menomonies, and many other tribes, will become in time totally extinct, and this be adopted in its stead.

The Chipéway tongue is not incumbered with any unnecessary tones or accents, neither are there any words in it that are superfluous; it is also easy to pronounce, and much more copious than any other Indian language.

As the Indians are unacquainted with the polite arts, or with the sciences, and as they are also strangers to ceremony, or compliment,

pliment, they neither have nor need an infinity of words wherewith to embellish their discourse. Plain and unpolished in their manners, they only make use of such as serve to denominate the necessaries or conveniences of life, and to express their wants, which in a state of nature can be but few.

I have annexed hereto a short vocabulary of the Chipéway language, and another of that of the Naudowessies, but am not able to reduce them to the rules of grammar.

The latter is spoken in a soft accent, without any guttural sounds, so that it may be learnt with facility, and is not difficult either to be pronounced or written. It is nearly as copious and expressive as the Chipéway tongue, and is the most prevailing language of any on the western banks of the Mississippi; being in use, according to their account, among all the nations that lie to the north of the Messorie, and extend as far west as the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

As the Indians are not acquainted with letters, it is very difficult to convey with precision the exact sound of their words; I have however endeavoured to write them as near to the manner in which they expressed, as such an uncertain mode will admit of.

Although the Indians cannot communicate their ideas by writing, yet they form certain hieroglyphicks, which, in some measure, serve to perpetuate any extraordinary transaction, or uncommon event. Thus when they are on their excursions, and either intend to proceed, or have been on any remarkable enterprise, they peel the bark from the trees which lie in their way, to give intelligence to those parties that happen to be at a distance, of the path they must pursue to overtake them.

The following instance will convey a more perfect idea of the methods they make use of on this occasion, than any expressions I can frame.

When I left the Mississippi, and proceeded up the Chipéway River, in my way to Lake Superior, as related in my Journal, my guide, who was a chief of the Chipéways that dwell on the Ottawa Lake, near the heads of the river we had just entered, fearing that some parties of the Naudowessies, with whom his nation are perpetually at war, might accidentally fall in with us, and before they were apprized of my being in company, do us some mischief, he took the following steps:

He peeled the bark from a large tree, near the entrance of a river, and with wood-coal, mixed with bear's grease, their usual substitute for ink, made in an uncouth, but expressive manner, the figure of the town of the Ottagaumies. He then formed to the left a man dressed in skins, by which he intended to represent a Naudowessie, with a line drawn from his mouth to that of a deer, the symbol of the Chipéways. After this he depicted still farther to the left a canoe as proceeding up the river, in which he placed a man sitting with a hat on; this figure was designed to represent an Englishman, or myself, and my Frenchman

man was drawn with a handkerchief tied round his head, and rowing the canoe; to these he added several other significant emblems, among which the Pipe of Peace appeared painted on the prow of the canoe.

The meaning he intended to convey to the Naudowessies, and which I doubt not appeared perfectly intelligible to them, was, that one of the Chipéway chiefs had received a speech from some Naudowessie chiefs, at the town of the Ottagaumies, desiring him to conduct the Englishman, who had lately been among them, up the Chipéway river; and that they thereby required, that the Chipéway, notwithstanding he was an avowed enemy, should not be molested by them on his passage, as he had the care of a person whom they esteemed as one of their nation.

Some authors have pretended that the Indians have armorial bearings, which they blazon with great exactness, and which distinguish one nation from another; but I never could observe any other arms among them than the symbols already described.

A short VOCABULARY of the Chipéway Language.

N. B. This people do not make use either of the consonants *F* or *V*.

A			
<p>ABOVE</p> <p>Abandon</p> <p>Admirable</p> <p>Afterwards</p> <p>All</p> <p>Always</p> <p>Amifs</p> <p>Arrive</p> <p>Ax</p> <p>Ashes</p> <p>Assist</p>	<p><i>Spimink</i></p> <p><i>Packiton</i></p> <p><i>Pilawah</i></p> <p><i>Mipidach</i></p> <p><i>Kokinum</i></p> <p><i>Kokali</i></p> <p><i>Napitch</i></p> <p><i>Takouchin</i></p> <p><i>Agacwet</i></p> <p><i>Pingoe</i></p> <p><i>Mawinewih</i></p>	<p>Bag, or tobac- co-pouch</p> <p>Barrel</p> <p>Beat</p> <p>Bear,</p> <p>Bear, a young one</p> <p>Beaver</p> <p>Beaver's skin</p> <p>Be, or to be</p> <p>Beard</p> <p>Because</p> <p>Believe</p> <p>Belly</p> <p>Black</p> <p>Blood</p> <p>Body</p>	<p>} <i>Caspetaugan</i></p> <p>} <i>Owentaugan</i></p> <p><i>Pakhite</i></p> <p><i>Mackwah</i></p> <p>} <i>Makon</i></p> <p><i>Amik</i></p> <p><i>Apiminiqué</i></p> <p><i>Tapaié</i></p> <p><i>Misichiton</i></p> <p><i>Mewinch</i></p> <p><i>Tilerimah</i></p> <p><i>Misbemout</i></p> <p><i>Markaut e</i></p> <p><i>Miskew</i></p> <p><i>Toe</i></p>
	B		
Ball	<i>Alewin</i>		

Bottle

Bottle	<i>Shifbego</i>
Brother	<i>Neconnis</i>
Brandy or Rum	<i>Scuttawawbah</i>
Bread	<i>Paboufshigan</i>
Breech	<i>Mifcoufab</i>
Breeches	<i>Kipokitie Koufah</i>
Buck	<i>Wafketch</i>

C

Canoe	<i>Chemam</i>
Call	<i>Tefhenekaw</i>
Chief, a	<i>Okemaw</i>
Carry	<i>Petou</i>
Child or Children	<i>Bobelofbin</i>
Coat	<i>Capotewian</i>
Cold, I am	<i>Kekalch</i>
Come on	<i>Moppa</i>
Come to	<i>Pemotcha</i>
Comrade	<i>Neechee</i>
Concerned	<i>Tallemiffi</i>
Corn	<i>Melomin</i>
Covering, or a Blanket	<i>Wawbewion</i>
Country	<i>Enlawlawkeen</i>
Courage	<i>Tagwawmiffii</i>
Cup	<i>Olawgan</i>

D

Dance	<i>Nemeh</i>
Dart	<i>Sheshikwee</i>
Die, to	<i>Nip</i>
Dish	<i>Mackoan</i>
Dog	<i>Alim</i>
Dead	<i>Neepoo</i>
Devil or evil Spirit	<i>Matcho-Manitou</i>
Dog, a little one	<i>Alemon</i>
Done, it is done	<i>Shialh</i>
Do	<i>Tofbiton</i>
Doubtless	<i>Ontclatoubah</i>
Dress the kettle	<i>Poutwah</i>
Drink	<i>Minikvah</i>
Drunken	<i>Ouisquiba</i>
Duck	<i>Chickhip</i>

E

Earth	<i>Aukwin</i>
Eat	<i>Owiffine</i>
Each	<i>Papégik</i>
English	<i>Sagaunofb</i>
Enough	<i>Mimilic</i>
Equal, or alike	<i>Tawbifcouch</i>
Esteem	<i>Nawpetelinaw</i>
Eyes	<i>Wifkinkhie</i>

F

Fast	<i>Watiebic</i>
Fall	<i>Ponkifin</i>
Far off	<i>Watsaw</i>
Fat	<i>Pimmittee</i>
Friend	<i>Niconnis</i>
Father	<i>Noofah</i>
Few, or little	<i>Maungis</i>
Fatigued	<i>Taukwiffi</i>
Field sown	<i>Kittegaunic</i>
Fire	<i>Scutta</i>
Fire, to strike	<i>Scutecke</i>
Find	<i>Nantounawaw</i>
Fish	<i>Kickon</i>
Fork	<i>Naffawokvot</i>
Formerly	<i>Pirwego</i>
Fort	<i>Wakaigon</i>
Forward	<i>Nopawink</i>
French	<i>Nechtegoofb</i>
Freeze, to	<i>Kiffin</i>
Freezes hard	<i>Kiffin Magat</i>
Full	<i>Moufkinet</i>
Fuzee or Gun	<i>Pafkeffigan</i>

G

God, or the Great Spirit	<i>Kitchi Manitou</i>
Go by water	<i>Pimmifcaw</i>
Girl	<i>Seckwaffin</i>
Give	<i>Millaw</i>
Glass, a mirror	<i>Wawbemo</i>
Good	<i>Cawlatck</i>
Good for no-thing	<i>Malatal</i>
Govern	<i>Tibarimaw</i>

General,

General, or }
 Commander }
 in Chief }

Kitchi Okimaw
Simiuganish

Grapes *Shoamin*
 Great *Manatoru*
 Greedy *Sawfiawkiſſi*
 Guts *Olawbiſh*

H

Hare *Wawpooſ*
 Heart *Michewaiſ*
 Hate *Shingaurimaw*
 Half *Nawbal*
 Hair, human *Liffiſ*
 Hair of beaſts *Pewal*
 Handſome *Canogimſ*
 Have *Tandaular*
 Head *Ouſtecouan*
 Heaven *Speminkakwin*
 Herb *Mejaſk*
 Here *Aconda*
 Hidden *Kemouch*
 Home *Entayent*
 Honour *Mackawalaw*
 Hot *Akeſbotta*
 How *Tawné*
 How many *Tawnemilik*
 Hunt *Kewaffa*
 Hut, or Houſe *Wig-Waum*

I

Indians *Iſſinawbah*
 Iron *Pewawbick*
 Iſland *Minis*
 Immediately *Webatch*
 Indian Corn *Mittawmin*
 Intirely *Nawpitch*
 Impoſter *Mawlawtiſſie*
 It might be ſo *Tawneendo*

K

Kettle *Ackikooſ*
 King, or Chief *Okimaw*
 Keep *Ganverimaw*
 Knife *Mockeman*

Knife that is }
 crooked } *Coolawgan*
 Know *Thickeremaw*

L

Lake *Kitchigawmink*
 Laugh *Pawpi*
 Lazy *Kittimi*
 Lame *Kikekate*
 Leave *Pockiton*
 Letter *Mawſignaugon*
 Life *Nouchimowin*
 Love *Saukie*
 Long ſince *Shawſhia*
 Land Carriage *Cappatawgon*
 Loſe *Packilaugé*
 Lie down *Weipemaw*
 Little *Waubſheen*

M

Meat *Wooſ*
 Much *Nibbilaw*
 Man *Alliſſinape*
 March, to go *Pimmouſſie*
 Marry *Wewwin*
 Medicine *Maſkikic*
 Merchandize *Alokochigon*
 Moon *Debicot*
 Mortar to }
 pound in } *Poutawgon*
 Male *Nape*
 Miſtreſs *Neremouſin*

N

Needle *Shawbonkin*
 Near *Pewitch*
 Nation *Irinee*
 Never *Cawikkaw*
 Night *Debicot*
 No *Kaw*
 Noſe *Tuch*
 Nothing *Kakego*
 Not yet *Kawmiſché*
 Not at all *Kagutch*
 Nought good }
 for nothing } *Malatat*

	O	
Old	<i>Kauweſhine</i>	
Otter	<i>Nikkik</i>	
Other	<i>Coutack</i>	
	P	
Pipe	<i>Poagan</i>	
Part, what part	<i>Tawnapee</i>	
Play	<i>Packeigo</i>	
Powder, gun, } or duſt }	<i>Pingo</i>	
Peace, to make	<i>Pecacotiche</i>	
Pray	<i>Tawlaimia</i>	
Proper	<i>Sawjega</i>	
Preſently	<i>Webatch</i>	
Peninſula*	<i>Minniſſin</i>	
	Q	
Quick	<i>Kegotch</i>	
	R	
Regard	<i>Wawbewo</i>	
Red	<i>Mijcow</i>	
Reſolve	<i>Tibelindon</i>	
Relation	<i>Towwemaw</i>	
Reſpect	<i>Tawbrwmica</i>	
Rain	<i>Kimmewan</i>	
Robe	<i>Ockolaw</i>	
River	<i>Sippin</i>	
Run, to	<i>Pitchebot</i>	
	S	
Sad	<i>Talinwiſſie</i>	
Sail	<i>Pomijcaw</i>	
Sack, or Bag	<i>Maſkimot</i>	
Sea or large } Lake }	<i>Agankitchigaw- mink</i>	
Shoes	<i>Maukiſſin</i>	
Ship, or large } Canoe }	<i>Kitchi Cbeman</i>	
Sorry	<i>Niſcottiſſie</i>	
Spirit	<i>Mmitou</i>	
Spoon	<i>Mickvou</i>	

Star	<i>Alank</i>
Steal	<i>Kemautin</i>
Stockings	<i>Mittans</i>
Strong	<i>Maſtkauwih</i>
Sturgeon	<i>Lawmack</i>
Sun	<i>Kiſſis</i>
Sword	<i>Simaugan</i>
Surprizing	<i>Etwah, Etwahs</i>
See	<i>Wawbewo</i>
Since	<i>Mapedoh</i>
Shirt	<i>Papawkwéan</i>
Slave	<i>Wackan</i>
Sleep	<i>Nippee</i>
Sit down	<i>Mintepin</i>

T

Take	<i>Emaundah</i>
Teeth	<i>Tibbit</i>
That	<i>Mawbah</i>
There	<i>Watſaudeh</i>
This	<i>Maundah</i>
Truly	<i>Kikit</i>
Together	<i>Mawmawwee</i>
Tobacco	<i>Semau</i>
Tongue	<i>Outon</i>
Tired	<i>Tawkonſie</i>
Too little	<i>Oſawmangis</i>
Too much	<i>Oſauné</i>
Thank you	<i>Megwatch</i>
To-morrow	<i>Wawbunk</i>
To-morrow } the day after }	<i>Ouſwawbunk</i>

W

Warriors	<i>Semauganauſh</i>
Water	<i>Nabbi</i>
War	<i>Nantaubaulaw</i>
Way	<i>Alickon</i>
Well then!	<i>Tauneendah!</i>
What is that?	<i>Wawwewin?</i>
What now?	<i>Quagonie?</i>
Whence	<i>Taumippi</i>
Where	<i>Tah</i>
White	<i>Waybé</i>
Who is there?	<i>Quagonie Maz- bah?</i>
Wind	<i>Loutin</i>

Winter

Winter	<i>Pepoun</i>		Y
Woman	<i>Ickwee</i>	Yesterday	<i>Petchilawgo</i>
Wood	<i>Mittic</i>	Yet	<i>Minnewatch</i>
Wolf	<i>Mawhingon</i>	Young	<i>Wisconekiffi</i>
		Yellow	<i>Wazzo.</i>

The Numerical Terms of the Chipeways.

One	<i>Pásbik</i>	Fifty	<i>Naran Mittawnaw</i>
Two	<i>Ninch</i>	Sixty	{ <i>Ningoutwassou Mit-</i> <i>tawnaw</i>
Three	<i>Nissou</i>	Seventy	{ <i>Ninchowassou Mit-</i> <i>tawnaw</i>
Four	<i>Neau</i>	Eighty	{ <i>Nissowassou Mittaw-</i> <i>naw</i>
Five	<i>Naran</i>	Ninety	{ <i>Shongassou Mittaw-</i> <i>naw</i>
Six	<i>Ningoutwassou</i>	Hundred	{ <i>Mittawassou Mittaw-</i> <i>naw</i>
Seven	<i>Ninchowassou</i>	Thousand	{ <i>Mittawassou Mittaw-</i> <i>sou Mittawnaw.</i>
Eight	<i>Nissowassou</i>		
Nine	<i>Shongassou</i>		
Ten	<i>Mittawassou</i>		
Eleven	<i>Mittawassou Pásbik</i>		
Twenty	<i>Ninchtawnaw</i>		
Thirty	<i>Nissou Mittawnaw</i>		
Forty	<i>Neau Mittawnaw</i>		

A Short VOCABULARY of the Naudowessie Language.

	A	Child, a Male	<i>Wechoakfesh</i>
Axe	<i>Ashpaw</i>	Child, a Female	<i>Whacheekfesh</i>
		Come here	<i>Accoonyiyore</i>
	B		D
Beaver	<i>Chawbah</i>	Dead	<i>Negush</i>
Buffalo.	<i>Tawtongo</i>	Deer	<i>Tohinjoh</i>
Bad	<i>Shejah</i>	Dog	<i>Shungush</i>
Broach	<i>Muzahootoo</i>		E
Bear, a	<i>Wahkonshajah</i>		
	C	Eat	<i>Echawmenaw</i>
Canoe	<i>Waahtoh</i>	Ears	<i>Nookah</i>
Cold	<i>Mechuetah</i>	Eyes	<i>Eshbike</i>
		Evil	<i>Shejah</i>

Fire

	F		Moon	<i>Oweeh</i>
Fire	<i>Paahlah</i>		Mouth	<i>Eeh</i>
Father	<i>Otah</i>		Medal	<i>Muzah Otah</i>
Frenchman	<i>Neehteeegush</i>		Mine	<i>Mewah</i>
Falls of Water	<i>Oweh Menah</i>		Milk	<i>Etsawboh</i>
Friend	<i>Kitchiwah</i>			N
	G		No	<i>Heyah</i>
Good	<i>Wofhtah</i>		Near	<i>Jeeshtinaw</i>
Give	<i>Acceoyeh</i>			O
Go away	<i>Accoowab</i>		Oh!	<i>Hopiniyahie!</i>
God, or the Great Spirit	<i>Wakon</i>			P
Gun	<i>Muzah Wakon</i>		Pipe	<i>Shanuapaw</i>
Great	<i>Tongo</i>		Pipe of Peace	<i>Shanuapaw W kon</i>
Gold	<i>Muzaham</i>			R
	H		Rain	<i>Owah Meneh</i>
Hear	<i>Nookishon</i>		Ring	<i>Muzamchupah</i>
Horse	<i>Shuetongo</i>		Round	<i>Chupah</i>
Home, or do- mestic	<i>Shuah</i>			S
House	<i>Teebee</i>		Smoke	<i>Shawcah</i>
Heaven	<i>Wofhta Teebee</i>		Salt Water	<i>Menis Queah</i>
	I		See, to	<i>Eshkaw</i>
Iron	<i>Muzah</i>		Sleep	<i>Eshsteemo</i>
I, or me	<i>Meah</i>		Snake	<i>Omlishcaw</i>
	K		Sun	<i>Paahlah</i>
King, or Chief	<i>Otah</i>		Spirit	<i>Wakon</i>
Kill	<i>Negushaugaw</i>		Spirituos Li- quors	<i>Menah Wakon</i>
	L		Snow	<i>Sinnee</i>
Little	<i>Jeshin</i>		Surprizing	<i>Hopiniayarc</i>
Long	<i>Tongoom</i>		Silver	<i>Muzaham</i>
Lake	<i>Tongo Menah</i>			T
Love	<i>Ehwahmeah</i>		Tobacco	<i>Shawfaffaw</i>
	M		Talk	<i>Owehchin</i>
Much	<i>Otah</i>		Tree	<i>Ochaw</i>
More	<i>Otenaw</i>		There	<i>Dach</i>
		Z		Woman

W		Y
Woman	<i>Winnokejah</i>	You <i>Chee</i>
Wonderful	<i>Hopiniyare</i>	Young <i>Hawpannaw</i>
Water	<i>Menel</i>	You are good <i>Washtah Chee</i>
What	<i>Tawgo</i>	You are a Spirit <i>Wakon Chee</i>
Who is there?	<i>Tawgodaché?</i>	You are my } <i>Washtah Kitchi-</i> good Friend } <i>wah Chee</i>
Wicked	<i>Heyahatchta</i>	No Good <i>Heyah Washtah.</i>

The Numerical Terms of the Naudowessies.

One	<i>Wonchaw</i>	Forty	} <i>Wegochunganong</i>
Two	<i>Noompaw</i>		} <i>Toboh</i>
Three	<i>Tawmonee</i>	Fifty	} <i>Wegochunganong</i>
Four	<i>Toboh</i>		} <i>Sawbuttee</i>
Five	<i>Sawbuttee</i>	Sixty	} <i>Wegochunganong</i>
Six	<i>Shawco</i>		} <i>Shawco</i>
Seven	<i>Shawcopee</i>	Seventy	} <i>Wegochunganong</i>
Eight	<i>Shahindohin</i>		} <i>Shawcopee</i>
Nine	<i>Nebochunganong</i>	Eighty	} <i>Wegochunganong</i>
Ten	<i>Wegochunganong</i>		} <i>Shahindohin</i>
Eleven	} <i>Wegochunganong</i>	Ninety	} <i>Wegochunganong</i>
	} <i>Wonchaw</i>		} <i>Nebochunganong</i>
Twenty	} <i>Wegochunganong</i>	Hundred	} <i>Opohng</i>
	} <i>Noompaw</i>	Thousand	} <i>Wegochudganong</i>
Thirty	} <i>Wegochunganong</i>		} <i>Opohng</i>
	} <i>Tawmonee</i>		

To this short vocabulary of the Naudowessie language, I shall adjoin a specimen of the manner in which they unite their words. I have chosen for this purpose a short song, which they sing, with some kind of melody, though not with any appearance of poetical measure, when they set out on their hunting expeditions: and have given as near a translation as the difference of the idioms will permit.

Meob accoowah eshtaw paatah negushtawgow sbejah menah. Tongo Wakon meoh washta, paatah accoowah. Hopiniyahie oweeh accooyee meoh, woshta patah otah tohinjah meoh teebee.

I will rise before the sun, and ascend yonder hill, to see the new light chase away the vapours, and disperse the clouds. Great Spirit give me success. And when the sun is gone, lend me, oh moon, light sufficient to guide me with safety back to my tent laden with deer!

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the BEASTS, BIRDS, FISHES, REPTILES, and INSECTS, which are found in the interior Parts of North America.

OF these I shall, in the first place, give a catalogue, and afterwards a description of such only as are either peculiar to this country, or which differ in some material point from those that are to be met with in other realms.

OF THE BEASTS.

The Tyger, the Bear, Wolves, Foxes, Dogs, the Cat of the Mountain, the Wild Cat, the Buffalo, the Deer, the Elk, the Moose, the Carrabou, the Carcajou, the Skunk, the Porcupine, the Hedge-hog, the Wood-chuck, the Raccoon, the Marten, the Fisher, the Muskquaw, Squirrels, Hares, Rabbits, the Mole, the Weazel, the Mouse, the Dormouse, the Beaver, the Otter, the Mink, and Bats.

The T Y G E R. The Tyger of America resembles in shape those of Africa and Asia, but is considerably smaller. Nor does it appear to be so fierce and ravenous as they are. The colour of it is a darkish fallow, and it is entirely free from spots. I saw one on an island in the Chipeway-River, of which I had a very good view, as it was at no great distance from me. It sat up on its hinder parts like a dog; and did not seem either to be apprehensive of our approach, or to discover any ravenous inclinations. It is however very seldom to be met with in this part of the world.

The B E A R. Bears are very numerous on this continent, but more particularly so in the northern parts of it, and contribute to furnish both food and beds for almost every Indian nation. Those of America differ in many respects from those either of Greenland or Russia, they being not only somewhat smaller, but timorous and inoffensive, unless they are pinched by hunger, or smarting from a wound. The sight of a man terrifies them; and a dog will put several to flight. They are extremely fond of grapes, and will climb to the top of the highest trees in quest of them. This kind of food renders their flesh excessively rich and finely flavoured; and it is consequently preferred

ferred by the Indians and traders to that of any other animal. The fat is very white, and besides being sweet and wholesome is possessed of one valuable quality, which is, that it never cloy. The inhabitants of these parts constantly anoint themselves with it, and to its efficacy they in a great measure owe their agility. The season for hunting the bear is during the winter; when they take up their abode in hollow trees, or make themselves dens in the roots of those that are blown down, the entrance of which they stop up with branches of fir that lie scattered about. From these retreats it is said they stir not whilst the weather continues severe, and as it is well known that they do not provide themselves with food, they are supposed to be enabled by nature to subsist for some months without, and during this time to continue of the same bulk.

The W O L F. The wolves of North America are much less than those which are met with in other parts of the world. They have, however, in common with the rest of their species, a wildness in their looks, and a fierceness in their eyes; notwithstanding which, they are far from being so ravenous as the European wolves, nor will they ever attack a man, except they have accidentally fed on the flesh of those slain in battle. When they herd together, as they often do in the winter, they make a hideous and terrible noise. In these parts there are two kinds; one of which is of a fallow colour, the other of a dun, inclining to a black.

The F O X. There are two sorts of foxes in North America, which differ only in their colour, one being of a reddish brown, the other of a grey; those of the latter kind that are found near the river Mississippi, are extremely beautiful, their hair being of a fine silver grey.

D O G S. The dogs employed by the Indians in hunting appear to be all of the same species; they carry their ears erect, and greatly resemble a wolf about the head. They are exceedingly useful to them in their hunting excursions, and will attack the fiercest of the game they are in pursuit of. They are also remarkable for their fidelity to their masters; but being ill fed by them, are very troublesome in their huts or tents.

The C A T of the Mountain. This creature is in shape like a cat, only much larger. The hair or fur resembles also the skin of that domestic animal; the colour however differs, for the former is of a reddish or orange cast, but grows lighter near the belly. The whole skin is beautified with black spots of different figures, of which those on the back are long, and those on the lower parts round. On the ears there are black stripes. This creature is nearly as fierce as a leopard, but will seldom attack a man.

The B U F F A L O. This beast, of which there are amazing numbers in these parts, is larger than an ox, has short black horns, with a large beard under his chin, and his head is so full of hair, that it falls over his eyes, and gives him a frightful

frightful look. There is a bunch on his back which begins at the haunches, and increasing gradually to the shoulders, reaches on to the neck. Both this excrescence and its whole body are covered with long hair, or rather wool, of a dun or mouse colour, which is exceedingly valuable, especially that on the fore part of the body. Its head is larger than a bull's, with a very short neck; the breast is broad, and the body decreases towards the buttocks. These creatures will run away at the sight of a man, and a whole herd will make off when they perceive a single dog. The flesh of the buffalo is excellent food, its hide extremely useful, and the hair very proper for the manufacture of various articles.

The D E E R. There is but one species of deer in North America, and these are higher and of a slimmer make than those in Europe. Their shape is nearly the same as the European, their colour of a deep fallow, and their horns very large and branching. This beast is the swiftest on the American plains, and they herd together as they do in other countries.

The E L K greatly exceeds the deer in size, being in bulk equal to a horse. Its body is shaped like that of a deer, only its tail is remarkably short, being not more than three inches long. The colour of its hair, which is grey, and not unlike that of a camel, but of a more reddish cast, is nearly three inches in length, and as coarse as that of a horse. The horns of this creature grow to a prodigious size, extending so wide that two or three persons might sit between them at the same time. They are not forked like those of a deer, but have all their teeth or branches on the outer edge. Nor does the form of those of the elk resemble a deer's, the former being flat, and eight or ten inches broad, whereas the latter are round and considerably narrower. They shed their horns every year in the month of February, and by August the new ones are nearly arrived at their full growth. Notwithstanding their size, and the means of defence nature has furnished them with, they are as timorous as a deer. Their skin is very useful, and will dress as well as that of a buck. They feed on grass in the summer, and on moss or buds in the winter.

The MOOSE is nearly about the size of the elk, and the horns of it are almost as enormous as that animal's; the stem of them however are not quite so wide, and they branch on both sides like those of a deer. This creature also sheds them every year. Though its hinder parts are very broad, its tail is not above an inch long. It has feet and legs like a camel; its head is about two feet long, its upper lip much larger than the under, and the nostrils of it are so wide that a man might thrust his hand into them a considerable way. The hair of the moose is light grey, mixed with a blackish red. It is very elastic, for though it be beaten ever so long, it will retain its original shape. The flesh is exceeding good food, easy of digestion, and very nourishing. The nose, or upper lip, which is large
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and loose from the gums, is esteemed a great delicacy, being of a firm consistence, between marrow and gristle, and when properly dressed, affords a rich and luscious dish. Its hide is very proper for leather, being thick and strong, yet soft and pliable. The pace of this creature is always a trot, which is so expeditious, that it is exceeded in swiftness but by few of its fellow inhabitants of these woods. It is generally found in the forests, where it feeds on moss and buds. Though this creature is of the deer kind, it never herds as those do. Most authors confound it with the elk, deer, or carrabou, but it is a species totally different, as might be discovered by attending to the description I have given of each.

The CARRABOU. This beast is not near so tall as the moose, however it is something like it in shape, only rather more heavy, and inclining to the form of the ass. The horns of it are not flat as those of the elk are, but round like those of the deer; they also meet nearer together at the extremities, and bend more over the face, than either those of the elk or moose. It partakes of the swiftness of the deer, and is with difficulty overtaken by its pursuers. The flesh of it likewise is equally as good, the tongue particularly is in high esteem. The skin being smooth and free from veins, is as valuable as shamoy.

The CARCAJOU. This creature, which is of the cat kind, is a terrible enemy to the preceding four species of beasts. He either comes upon them from some concealment unperceived, or climbs up into a tree, and taking his station on some of the branches, waits till one of them, driven by an extreme of heat or cold, takes shelter under it; when he fastens upon his neck, and opening the jugular vein, soon brings his prey to the ground. This he is enabled to do by his long tail, with which he encircles the body of his adversary; and the only means they have to shun their fate, is by flying immediately to the water; by this method, as the carcajou has a great dislike to that element, he is sometimes got rid of before he can effect his purpose.

The SKUNK. This is the most extraordinary animal that the American woods produce. It is rather less than a pole-cat, and of the same species; it is therefore often mistaken for that creature, but it is very different from it in many points. Its hair is long and shining, variegated with large black and white spots, the former mostly on the shoulders and rump; its tail is very bushy, like that of the fox, part black, and part white, like its body; it lives chiefly in the woods and hedges; but its extraordinary powers are only shewn when it is pursued. As soon as he finds himself in danger he ejects, to a great distance from behind, a small stream of water, of so subtle a nature, and at the same time of so powerful a smell, that the air is tainted with it for half a mile in circumference; and his pursuers, whether men or dogs, being almost suffocated with the stench, are obliged to give over the pursuit. On this account he is called by the French, *Enfant du Diable*, the Child of the Devil;

or Bête Puante, the Stinking Beast. It is almost impossible to describe the noisome effects of the liquid with which this creature is supplied by nature for its defence. If a drop of it falls on your cloaths, they are rendered so disagreeable that it is impossible ever after to wear them; or if any of it enters your eyelids, the pain becomes intolerable for a long time, and perhaps at last you lose your sight. The smell of the skunk, though thus to be dreaded, is not like that of a putrid carcase, but a strong fœtid effluvia of musk, which displeases rather from its penetrating power than from its nauseousness. It is notwithstanding considered as conducive to clear the head, and to raise the spirits. This water is supposed by naturalists to be its urine; but I have dissected many of them that I have shot, and have found within their bodies, near the urinal vessel, a small receptacle of water, totally distinct from the bladder which contained the urine, and from which alone I am satisfied the horrid stench proceeds. After having taken out with great care the bag wherein this water is lodged, I have frequently fed on them, and have found them very sweet and good; but one drop emitted taints not only the carcase, but the whole house, and renders every kind of provisions, that are in it, unfit for use. With great justice therefore do the French give it such a diabolical name.

The PORCUPINE. The body of an American porcupine is in bulk about the size of a small dog, but it is both shorter in length, and not so high from the ground. It varies very much from those of other countries both in its shape and the length of its quills. The former is like that of a fox, except the head, which is not so sharp and long, but resembles more that of a rabbit. Its body is covered with hair of a dark brown, about four inches long, great part of which are the thickness of a straw, and are termed its quills. These are white, with black points, hollow, and very strong, especially those that grow on the back. The quills serve this creature for offensive and defensive weapons, which he darts at his enemies, and if they pierce the flesh in the least degree, they will sink quite into it, and are not to be extracted without incision. The Indians use them for boring their ears and noses, to insert their pendants, and also by way of ornament to their stockings, hair, &c. besides which they greatly esteem the flesh.

The WOOD-CHUCK is a ground animal of the fur kind, about the size of a martin, being nearly fifteen inches long; its body however is rounder, and his legs shorter; the fore-paws of it are broad, and constructed for the purpose of digging holes in the ground, where it burrows like a rabbit; its fur is of a grey colour, on the reddish cast, and its flesh tolerable food.

The RACCOON is somewhat less in size than a beaver, and its feet and legs are like those of that creature, but short in proportion to its body, which resembles that of a badger. The shape of its head is much like a fox's, only the ears are shorter.

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more round and naked; and its hair is also similar to that animal's, being thick, long, soft, and black at the ends. On its face there is a broad stripe that runs across it, and includes the eyes, which are large. Its muzzle is black, and at the end roundish like that of a dog; the teeth are also similar to those of a dog in number and shape; the tail is long and round, with annular stripes on it like those of a cat; the feet have five long slender toes, armed with sharp claws, by which it is enabled to climb up trees like a monkey, and to run to the very extremities of the boughs. It makes use of its fore feet, in the manner of hands, and feeds itself with them. The flesh of this creature is very good in the months of September and October, when fruit and nuts, on which it likes to feed, are plenty.

The MARTIN is rather larger than a squirrel, and somewhat of the same make; its legs and claws however are considerably shorter. Its ears are short, broad, and roundish, and its eyes shine in the night like those of a cat. The whole body is covered with fur of a brownish fallow colour, and there are some in the more northern parts which are black; the skins of the latter are of much greater value than the others. The tail is covered with long hair, which makes it appear thicker than it really is. Its flesh is sometimes eaten, but is not in any great esteem.

The MUSQUASH, or MUSK-RAT, is so termed for the exquisite musk which it affords. It appears to be a diminutive of the beaver, being endowed with all the properties of that sagacious animal, and wants nothing but size and strength, being not much bigger than a large rat of the Norway breed, to rival the creature it so much resembles. Was it not for its tail, which is exactly the same as that of an European rat, the structure of their bodies is so much alike, especially the head, that it might be taken for a small beaver. Like that creature it builds itself a cabin, but of a less perfect construction, and takes up its abode near the side of some piece of water. In the spring they leave their retreats, and in pairs subsist on leaves and roots till the summer comes on, when they feed on strawberries, raspberries, and such other fruits as they can reach. At the approach of winter they separate, when each takes up its lodging apart by itself in some hollow of a tree, where they remain quite unprovided with food, and there is the greatest reason to believe, subsist without any till the return of spring.

SQUIRRELS. There are five sorts of squirrels in America; the red, the grey, the black, the variegated, and the flying. The two former are exactly the same as those of Europe; the black are somewhat larger, and differ from them only in colour; the variegated also resemble them in shape and figure, but are very beautiful, being finely striped with white or grey, and sometimes with red and black. The American flying squirrel is much less than the European, being not above five inches long, and of a ruffet grey or ash colour on the back, and white on the

under parts. It has black prominent eyes, like those of the mouse, with a long flat broad tail. By a membrane on each side which reaches from its fore to its hind legs, this creature is enabled to leap from one tree to another, even if they stand a considerable distance apart; this loose skin, which it is enabled to stretch out like a sail, and by which it is buoyed up, is about two inches broad, and is covered with a fine hair or down. It feeds upon the same provisions as the others, and is easily tamed.

The BEAVER. This creature has been so often treated of, and his uncommon abilities so minutely described, that any further account of it will appear unnecessary; however for the benefit of those of my readers who are not so well acquainted with the form and properties of this sagacious and useful animal, I shall give a concise description of it. The beaver is an amphibious quadruped, which cannot live for any long time in the water, and it is said is even able to exist entirely without it, provided it has the convenience of sometimes bathing itself. The largest beavers are nearly four feet in length, and about fourteen or fifteen inches in breadth over the haunches; they weigh about sixty pounds. Its head is like that of the otter, but larger; its snout is pretty long, the eyes small, the ears short, round, hairy on the outside, and smooth within, and its teeth very long; the under teeth stand out of their mouths about the breadth of three fingers, and the upper half a finger, all of which are broad, crooked, strong and sharp; besides those teeth called the incisors, which grow double, are set very deep in their jaws, and bend like the edge of an axe, they have sixteen grinders, eight on each side, four above and four below, directly opposite to each other. With the former they are able to cut down trees of a considerable size, with the latter to break the hardest substances. Its legs are short, particularly the fore legs, which are only four or five inches long, and not unlike those of a badger; the toes of the fore-feet are separate, the nails placed obliquely, and are hollow like quills; but the hind feet are quite different, and furnished with membranes between the toes. By this means it can walk, though but slowly, and is able to swim with as much ease as any other aquatic animal. The tail has somewhat in it that resembles a fish, and seems to have no manner of relation to the rest of the body, except the hind feet, all the other parts being similar to those of land animals. The tail is covered with a skin furnished with scales, that are joined together by a pellicle; these scales are about the thickness of parchment, nearly a line and a half in length, and generally of a hexagonal figure, having six corners; it is about eleven or twelve inches in length, and broader in the middle, where it is four inches over, than either at the root or the extremity. It is about two inches thick near the body, where it is almost round, and grows gradually thinner and flatter to the end. The colour of the beaver is different according to the different climates

mates in which it is found. In the most northern parts they are generally quite black; in more temperate, brown; their colour becoming lighter and lighter as they approach towards the south. The fur is of two sorts all over the body, except at the feet, where it is very short; that which is the longest is generally in length about an inch, but on the back it sometimes extends to two inches, gradually diminishing towards the head and tail. This part of the fur is harsh, coarse, and thinning, and of little use; the other part consists of a very thick and fine down, so soft that it feels almost like silk, about three quarters of an inch in length, and is what is commonly manufactured. Castor, which is useful in medicine, is produced from the body of this creature; it was formerly believed to be its testicles, but later discoveries have shown that it is contained in four bags, situated in the lower belly. Two of which, that are called the superior, from their being more elevated than the others, are filled with a soft resinous, adhesive matter, mixed with small fibres, greyish without, and yellow within, of a strong, disagreeable, and penetrating scent, and very inflammable. This is the true castoreum; it hardens in the air, and becomes brown, brittle, and friable. The inferior bags contain an unctuous liquor like honey; the colour of which is a pale yellow, and its odour somewhat different from the other, being rather weaker and more disagreeable; it however thickens as it grows older, and at length becomes about the consistence of tallow. This has also its particular use in medicine; but it is not so valuable as the true castoreum.

The ingenuity of these creatures in building their cabins, and in providing for their subsistence, is truly wonderful. When they are about to chuse themselves a habitation, they assemble in companies sometimes of two or three hundred, and after mature deliberation fix on a place where plenty of provisions, and all necessaries are to be found. Their houses are always situated in the water, and when they can find neither lake nor pond adjacent, they endeavour to supply the defect by stopping the current of some brook or small river, by means of a causeway or dam. For this purpose they set about felling of trees, and they take care to chuse out those that grow above the place where they intend to build, that they might swim down with the current. Having fixed on those that are proper, three or four beavers placing themselves round a large one, find means with their strong teeth to bring it down. They also prudently contrive that it shall fall towards the water, that they may have the less way to carry it. After they have by a continuance of the same labour and industry, cut it into proper lengths, they roll these into the water, and navigate them towards the place where they are to be employed. Without entering more minutely into the measures they pursue in the construction of their dams, I shall only remark, that having prepared a kind of mortar with their feet, and laid it on with their tails, which they had before
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made use of to transport it to the place where it is requisite, they construct them with as much solidity and regularity as the most experienced workman could do. The formation of their cabins is no less amazing. These are either built on piles in the middle of the small lakes they have thus formed, on the bank of a river, or at the extremity of some point of land that advances into a lake. The figure of them is round or oval, and they are fashioned with an ingenuity equal to their dams. Two thirds of the edifice stands above the water, and this part is sufficiently capacious to contain eight or ten inhabitants. Each beaver has his place assigned him, the floor of which he curiously strews with leaves, or small branches of the pine-tree, so as to render it clean and comfortable; and their cabins are all situated so contiguous to each other, as to allow of an easy communication. The winter never surprizes these animals before their business is completed; for by the latter end of September their houses are finished, and their stock of provisions are generally laid in. These consist of small pieces of wood whose texture is soft, such as the poplar, the aspin, or willow, &c. which they lay up in piles, and dispose of in such manner as to preserve their moisture. Was I to enumerate every instance of sagacity that is to be discovered in these animals, they would fill a volume, and prove not only entertaining but instructive.

The OTTER. This creature also is amphibious, and greatly resembles a beaver, but is very different from it in many respects. Its body is nearly as long as a beaver's, but considerably less in all its parts. The muzzle, eyes, and the form of the head are nearly the same, but the teeth are very unlike, for the otter wants the large incisors or nippers that a beaver has; instead of these, all his teeth, without any distinction, are shaped like those of a dog or wolf. The hair also of the former is not half so long as that belonging to the latter, nor is the colour of it exactly the same, for the hair of an otter under the neck, stomach, and belly, is more greyish than that of a beaver, and in many other respects it likewise varies. This animal, which is met with in most parts of the world, but in much greater numbers in North America, is very mischievous, and when he is closely pursued, will not only attack dogs but men.

It generally feeds upon fish, especially in the summer, but in the winter is contented with the bark of trees, or the produce of the fields. Its flesh both tastes and smells of fish, and is not wholesome food, though it is sometimes eaten through necessity.

The **MINK** is of the otter kind, and subsists in the same manner. In shape and size it resembles a pole-cat, being equally long and slender. Its skin is blacker than that of an otter, or almost any other creature; "as black as a mink," being a proverbial expression in America; it is not however so valuable, though this greatly depends on the season in which it is tak-

en. Its tail is round like that of a snake, but growing flattish towards the end, and is entirely without hair. An agreeable musky scent exhales from its body; and it is met with near the sources of rivers, on whose banks it chiefly lives.

O F T H E B I R D S.

The Eagle, the Hawk, the Night Hawk, the Fish Hawk, the Whipperwill, the Raven, the Crow, the Owl, Parrots, the Pelican, the Crane, the Stork, the Cormorant, the Heron, the Swan, the Goose, Ducks, Teal, the Loon, the Water-Hen, the Turkey, the Heath Cock, the Partridge, the Quail, Pigeons, the Snipe, Larks, the Woodpecker, the Cuckoo, the Blue Jay, the Swallow, the Wagon Bird, the Black Bird, the Red Bird, the Thrush, the Whetfaw, the Nightingale, the King Bird, the Robin, the Wren, and the Humming Bird.

The **EAGLE**. There are only two sorts of eagles in these parts, the bald and the grey, which are much the same in size, and similar to the shape of those of other countries.

The **NIGHT HAWK**. This Bird is of the hawk species, its bill being crooked, its wings formed for swiftness, and its shape nearly like that of the common hawk; but in size it is considerably less, and in colour rather darker. It is scarcely ever seen but in the evening, when, at the approach of twilight, it flies about, and darts itself in wanton gambols at the head of the belated traveller. Before a thunder-shower these birds are seen at an amazing height in the air assembled together in great numbers, as swallows are observed to do on the same occasion.

The **WHIPPERWILL**, or, as it is termed by the Indians, the Muckawifs. This extraordinary bird is somewhat like the last-mentioned in its shape and colour, only it has some whitish stripes across the wings, and like that is seldom ever seen till after sun-set. It also is never met with but during the spring and summer months. As soon as the Indians are informed by its notes of its return, they conclude that the frost is entirely gone, in which they are seldom deceived; and on receiving this assurance of milder weather, begin to sow their corn. It acquires its name by the noise it makes, which to the people of the colonies sounds like the name they give it, Whipper-will; to an Indian ear Muck-a-wifs. The words, it is true, are not alike, but in this manner they strike the imagination of each; and the circumstance is a proof that the same sounds, if they are not rendered certain by being reduced to the rules of orthography,

phy, might convey different ideas to different people. As soon as night comes on, these birds will place themselves on the fences, stumps, or stones that lie near some house, and repeat their melancholy notes without any variation till midnight. The Indians, and some of the inhabitants of the back settlements, think if this bird perches upon any house, that it betokens some mishap to the inhabitants of it.

The **FISH HAWK** greatly resembles the latter in its shape, and receives his name from his food, which is generally fish; it skims over the lakes and rivers, and sometimes seems to lie expanded on the water, as he hovers so close to it, and having by some attractive power drawn the fish within its reach, darts suddenly upon them. The charm it makes use of is supposed to be an oil contained in a small bag in the body, and which nature has by some means or other supplied him with the power of using for this purpose; it is however very certain that any bait touched with a drop of the oil collected from this bird is an irresistible lure for all sorts of fish, and insures the angler great success.

The **OWL**. The only sort of owls that is found on the banks of the Mississippi is extremely beautiful in its plumage, being of a fine deep yellow or gold colour, pleasingly shaded and spotted.

The **CRANE**. There is a kind of crane in these parts, which is called by Father Hennepin a pelican, that is about the size of the European crane, of a greyish colour, and with long legs; but this species differs from all others in its bill, which is about twelve inches long, and one inch and half broad, of which breadth it continues to the end, where it is blunted, and round like a paddle; its tongue is of the same length.

DUCKS. Among a variety of wild ducks, the different species of which amount to upwards of twenty, I shall confine my description to one sort, that is, the wood duck, or, as the French term it, *Canard branchus*. This fowl receives its name from its frequenting the woods, and perching on the branches of trees, which no other kind of water fowl (a characteristic that this still preserves) is known to do. It is nearly of a size with other ducks; its plumage is beautifully variegated, and very brilliant. The flesh of it also, as it feeds but little on fish, is finely flavoured, and much superior to any other sort.

The **TEAL**. I have already remarked in my Journal, that the teal found on the Fox River, and the head branches of the Mississippi, are perhaps not to be equalled for the fatness and delicacy of their flesh by any other in the world. In colour, shape, and size they are very little different from those found in other countries.

The **LOON** is a water fowl, somewhat less than a teal, and is a species of the *dobchick*. Its wings are short, and its legs and feet large in proportion to the body; the colour of it is a dark brown, nearly approaching to black; and as it feeds only on fish, the flesh of it is very ill-flavoured. These birds are
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exceedingly nimble and expert at diving, so that it is almost impossible for one person to shoot them, as they will dextrously avoid the shot by diving before they reach them; so that it requires three persons to kill one of them, and this can only be done the moment it raises his head out of the water as it returns to the surface after diving. It however only repays the trouble taken to obtain it, by the excellent sport it affords.

The PARTRIDGE. There are three sorts of partridges here, the brown, the red, and the black, the first of which are most esteemed. They are all much larger than the European partridges, being nearly the size of a hen pheasant; their head and eyes are also like that bird, and they have all long tails, which they spread like a fan, but not erect; but contrary to the custom of those in other countries, they will perch on the branches of the poplar and black birch, on the buds of which they feed early in the morning and in the twilight of the evening during the winter months, when they are easily shot.

The WOOD PIGEON, is nearly the same as ours, and there is such prodigious quantities of them on the banks of the Mississippi, that they will sometimes darken the sun for several minutes.

The WOODPECKER. This is a very beautiful bird; there is one sort whose feathers are a mixture of various colours; and another that is brown all over the body, except the head and neck, which are of a fine red. As this bird is supposed to make a greater noise than ordinary at particular times, it is conjectured his cries then denote rain.

The BLUE JAY. This bird is shaped nearly like the European jay, only that its tail is longer. On the top of its head is a crest of blue feathers, which is raised or let down at pleasure. The lower part of the neck behind, and the back, are of a purplish colour, and the upper sides of the wings and tail, as well as the lower part of the back and rump, are of a fine blue; the extremities of the wings are blackish, faintly tinged with dark blue on the edges, whilst the other parts of the wing are barred across with black in an elegant manner. Upon the whole this bird can scarcely be exceeded in beauty by any of the winged inhabitants of this or other climates. It has the same jetting motion that jays generally have, and its cry is far more pleasing.

The WAKON BIRD, as it is termed by the Indians, appears to be of the same species as the birds of paradise. The name they have given it is expressive of its superior excellence, and the veneration they have for it; the wakon bird being in their language the bird of the Great Spirit. It is nearly the size of a swallow, of a brown colour, shaded about the neck with a bright green; the wings are of a darker brown than the body; its tail is composed of four or five feathers, which are three times as long as its body, and which are beautifully shaded with green and purple. It carries this fine length of plumage in the same

same manner as a peacock does, but it is not known whether it ever raises it into the erect position that bird sometimes does. I never saw any of these birds in the colonies, but the Naudowessie Indians caught several of them when I was in their country, and seemed to treat them as if they were of a superior rank to any other of the feathered race.

The BLACK BIRD. There are three sorts of birds in North America that bear this name; the first is the common, or as it is there termed, the crow blackbird, which is quite black, and of the same size and shape of those in Europe, but it has not that melody in its notes which they have. In the month of September this sort fly in large flights, and do great mischief to the Indian corn, which is at that time just ripe. The second sort is the red-wing, which is rather smaller than the first species, but like that it is black all over its body, except on the lower rim of the wings, where it is of a fine bright full scarlet. It builds its nest, and chiefly resorts among the small bushes that grow in meadows and low swampy places. It whistles a few notes, but is not equal in its song to the European blackbird. The third sort is of the same size as the latter, and is jet black like that, but all the upper part of the wing, just below the back, is of a fine clear white; as if nature intended to diversify the species, and to atone for the want of a melodious pipe by the beauty of its plumage; for this also is deficient in its musical powers. The beaks of every sort are of a full yellow, and the females of each of a rusty black like the European.

The RED BIRD is about the size of a sparrow, but with a long tail, and is all over of a bright vermilion colour. I saw many of them about the Ottawaw Lakes, but I could not learn that they sung. I also observed in some other parts, a bird of much the same make, that was entirely of a fine yellow.

The WHETSAW is of the cuckoo kind, being like that, a solitary bird, and scarcely ever seen. In the summer months it is heard in the groves, where it makes a noise like the filing of a saw; from which it receives its name.

The KING BIRD is like a swallow, and seems to be of the same species as the black martin or swift. It is called the King Bird because it is able to master almost every bird that flies. I have often seen it bring down a hawk.

The HUMMING BIRD. This beautiful bird, which is the smallest of the feathered inhabitants of the air, is about the third part the size of a wren, and is shaped extremely like it. Its legs, which are about an inch long, appear like two small needles, and its body is proportionable to them. But its plumage exceeds description. On its head it has a small tuft of a jetty shining black; the breast of it is red, the belly white, the back, wings, and tail of the finest pale green; and small specks of gold are scattered with inexpressible grace over the whole: besides this, an almost imperceptible down softens the colours, and produces the most pleasing shades. With its bill, which is

of the same diminutive size as the other parts of its body, it extracts from the flowers a moisture which is its nourishment; over these it hovers like a bee, but never lights on them, moving at the same time its wings with such velocity that the motion of them is imperceptible; notwithstanding which they make a humming noise, from whence it receives its name.

Of the FISHES which are found in the waters of the Mississippi.

I have already given a description of those that are taken in the great lakes.

The Sturgeon, the Pout or Cat Fish, the Pike, the Carp, and the Chub.

The STURGEON. The fresh water sturgeon is shaped in no other respect like those taken near the sea, except in the formation of its head and tail; which are fashioned in the same manner, but the body is not so angulated, nor are there so many horny scales about it as on the latter. Its length is generally about two feet and a half or three feet long, but in circumference not proportionable, being a slender fish. The flesh is exceedingly delicate and finely flavoured; I caught some in the head waters of the river St. Croix that far exceeded trout. The manner of taking them is by watching them as they lie under the banks in a clear stream, and darting at them with a fish-spear; for they will not take a bait. There is also in the Mississippi, and there only, another sort than the species I have described, which is similar to it in every respect, except that the upper jaw extends fourteen or fifteen inches beyond the under; this extensive jaw, which is of a gristly substance, is three inches and a half broad, and continues of that breadth, somewhat in the shape of an oar, to the end, which is flat. The flesh of this fish, however, is not to be compared with the other sort, and is not so much esteemed even by the Indians.

The CAT FISH. This fish is about eighteen inches long; of a brownish colour and without scales. It has a large round head, from whence it receives its name, on different parts of which grow three or four strong sharp horns about two inches long. Its fins are also very bony and strong, and without great care will pierce the hands of those who take them. It weighs commonly

commonly about five or six pounds; the flesh of it is excessively fat and luscious, and greatly resembles that of an eel in its flavour.

The **CARP** and **CHUB** are much the same as those in England, and nearly about the same in size.

O F S E R P E N T S.

The Rattle Snake, the Long Black Snake, the Wall or House Adder, the Striped or Garter Snake, the Water Snake, the Hissing Snake, the Green Snake, the Thorn-tail Snake, the Speckled Snake, the Ring Snake, the Two-headed Snake.

The **RATTLE SNAKE**. There appears to be two species of this reptile; one of which is commonly termed the Black, and the other the yellow; and of these the latter is generally considered as the largest. At their full growth they are upwards of five feet long, and the middle part of the body, at which it is of the greatest bulk, measures about nine inches round. From that part it gradually decreases both towards the head and the tail. The neck is proportionably very small, and the head broad and depressed. These are of a light brown colour, the iris of the eye red, and all the upper part of the body brown, mixed with a ruddy yellow, and chequered with many regular lines of a deep black, gradually shading towards a gold colour. In short the whole of this dangerous reptile is very beautiful, and could it be viewed with less terror, such a variegated arrangement of colours would be extremely pleasing. But these are only to be seen in their highest perfection at the time this creature is animated by resentment; then every tint rushes from its subcutaneous recess, and gives the surface of the skin a deeper stain. The belly is of a palish blue, which grows fuller as it approaches the sides, and is at length intermixed with the colour of the upper part. The rattle at its tail, from which it receives its name, is composed of a firm, dry, callous, or horny substance of a light brown, and consists of a number of cells which articulate one within another, like joints; and which increase every year, and make known the age of the creature. These articulations being very loose, the included points strike against the inner surface of the concave parts or rings into which they are admitted, and as the snake vibrates, or shakes its tail, makes a rattling noise. This alarm it always gives when it is apprehensive of danger; and in an instant after forms itself into a spiral wreath, in the centre of which appears the head erect, and breathing forth vengeance against either man or beast that

shall dare to come near it. In this attitude he awaits the approach of his enemies, rattling his tail as he sees or hears them coming on. By this timely intimation, which heaven seems to have provided as a means to counteract the mischief this venomous reptile would otherwise be perpetrator of, the unwary traveller is apprized of his danger, and has an opportunity of avoiding it. It is however to be observed, that it never acts offensively; it neither pursues or flies from any thing that approaches it, but lies in the position described, rattling his tail as if reluctant to hurt. The teeth with which this serpent effects his poisonous purposes are not those he makes use of on ordinary occasions, they are only two in number, very small and sharp pointed, and fixed in a sinewy substance that lies near the extremity of the upper jaw, resembling the claws of a cat; at the root of each of these, which might be extended, contracted, or entirely hidden, as need requires, are two small bladders which nature has so constructed, that at the same instant an incision is made by the teeth, a drop of a greenish poisonous liquid enters the wound, and taints with its destructive quality the whole mass of blood. In a moment the unfortunate victim of its wrath feels a chilly tremor run through all his frame; a swelling immediately begins on the spot where the teeth had entered, which spreads by degrees over the whole body, and produces on every part of the skin the variegated hue of the snake. The bite of this reptile is more or less venomous, according to the season of the year in which it is given. In the dog-days it often proves instantly mortal, and especially if the wound is made among the sinews situated in the back part of the leg, above the heel; but in the spring, in autumn, or during a cool day which might happen in the summer, its bad effects are to be prevented by the immediate application of proper remedies; and these Providence has bounteously supplied, by causing the Rattle Snake Plantain, an approved antidote to the poison of this creature, to grow in great profusion where-ever they are to be met with. There are likewise several other remedies besides this, for the venom of its bite. A decoction made of the buds or bark of the white ash, taken internally, prevents its pernicious effects. Salt is a newly discovered remedy, and if applied immediately to the part, or the wound be washed with brine, a cure might be assured. The fat of the reptile also rubbed on it is frequently found to be very efficacious. But though the lives of the persons who have been bitten might be preserved by these, and their health in some degree restored, yet they annually experience a slight return of the dreadful symptoms about the time they received the insillation. However remarkable it may appear it is certain, that though the venom of this creature affects in a greater or less degree all animated nature, the hog is an exception to the rule, as that animal will readily destroy them without dreading their poisonous fangs, and fatten on their flesh. It has been often observed, and I

can confirm the observation, that the Rattle Snake is charmed with any harmonious sounds, whether vocal or instrumental; I have many times seen them, even when they have been enraged, place themselves into a listening posture, and continue immovably attentive and susceptible of delight all the time the music has lasted. I should have remarked, that when the Rattle Snake bites, it drops its under jaw, and holding the upper jaw erect, throws itself in a curve line, with great force, and as quick as lightning, on the object of its resentment. In a moment after, it returns again to its defensive posture, having disengaged its teeth from the wound with great celerity, by means of the position in which it had placed its head when it made the attack. It never extends itself to a greater distance than half its length will reach, and though it sometimes repeats the blow two or three times, it as often returns, with a sudden rebound to its former state. The Black Rattle Snake differs in no other respect from the yellow, than in being rather smaller, and in the variegation of its colours, which are exactly reversed: one is black where the other is yellow, and vice versa. They are equally venomous. It is not known how these creatures engender; I have often found the eggs of several other species of the snake, but notwithstanding no one has taken more pains to acquire a perfect knowledge of every property of these reptiles than myself, I never could discover the manner in which they bring forth their young. I once killed a female that had seventy young ones in its belly, but these were perfectly formed, and I saw them just before retire to the mouth of their mother, as a place of security, on my approach. The gall of this serpent, mixed with chalk, are formed into little balls, and exported from America, for medicinal purposes. They are of the nature of Gascoign's powders, and are an excellent remedy for complaints incident to children. The flesh of the snake also dried, and made into broth, is much more nutritive than that of vipers, and very efficacious against consumptions.

THE LONG BLACK SNAKE. These are also of two sorts, both of which are exactly similar in shape and size, only the belly of one is a light red, the other a faint blue; all the upper parts of their bodies are black and scaly. They are generally from six to eight feet in length, and carry their heads, as they crawl along, about a foot and an half from the ground. They easily climb the highest tree, in pursuit of birds and squirrels, which are their chief food; and these, it is said, they charm by their looks, and render incapable of escaping from them. Their appearance carries terror with it to those who are unacquainted with their inability to hurt, but they are perfectly inoffensive and free from venom.

The **STRIPED** or **GARTER SNAKE** is exactly the same as that species found in other climates.

The **WATER SNAKE** is much like the Rattle Snake in shape and size, but is not endowed with the same venomous powers, being quite harmless. The

The **HISSING SNAKE** I have already particularly described, when I treated, in my Journal, of Lake Erie.

The **GREEN SNAKE** is about a foot and an half long, and in colour so near to grass and herbs, that it cannot be discovered as it lies on the ground; happily however it is free from venom, otherwise it would do an infinite deal of mischief, as those who pass through the meadows, not being able to perceive it, are deprived of the power of avoiding it.

The **THORN-TAIL SNAKE**. This reptile is found in many parts of America, but it is very seldom to be seen. It is of a middle size, and receives its name from a thorn-like dart in its tail, with which it is said to inflict a mortal wound.

The **SPECKLED SNAKE** is an aqueous reptile about two feet and an half in length, but without venom. Its skin, which is brown and white with some spots of yellow in it, is used by the Americans as a cover for the handles of whips, and it renders them very pleasing to the sight.

The **RING SNAKE** is about twelve inches long; the body of it is entirely black, except a yellow ring which it has about its neck, and which appears like a narrow piece of ribband tied around it. This odd reptile is frequently found in the bark of trees, and among old logs.

The **TWO-HEADED SNAKE**. The only snake of this kind that was ever seen in America, was found about the year 1762, near Lake Champlain, by Mr. Park, a gentleman of New England, and made a present to Lord Amherst. It was about a foot long, and in shape like the common snake, but it was furnished with two heads exactly similar, which united at the neck. Whether this was a distinct species of snakes, and was able to propagate its likeness, or whether it was an accidental formation, I know not.

The **TORTOISE** or **LAND TURTLE**. The shape of this creature is so well known that it is unnecessary to describe it. There are seven or eight sorts of them in America, some of which are beautifully variegated, even beyond description. The shells of many have spots of red, green, and yellow in them, and the chequer work is composed of small squares, curiously disposed. The most beautiful sort of these creatures are the smallest, and the bite of them is said to be venomous.

L I Z A R D S, &c.

Though there are numerous kinds of this class of the animal creation, in the country I treat of, I shall only take notice of two of them; which are termed the Swift and the slow Lizard.

The

The **SWIFT LIZARD** is about six inches long, and has four legs and a tail. Its body, which is blue, is prettily striped with dark lines shaded with yellow; but the end of the tail is totally blue. It is so remarkably agile, that in an instant it is out of sight, nor can its movement be perceived by the quickest eye; so that it might more justly be said to vanish, than to run away. This species are supposed to poison those they bite, but are not dangerous, as they never attack persons that approach them, chusing rather to get suddenly out of their reach.

The **SLOW LIZARD** is of the same shape as the Swift, but its colour is brown; it is moreover of an opposite disposition, being altogether as slow in its movements as the other is swift. It is remarkable that these lizards are extremely brittle, and will break off near the tail as easily as an icicle.

Among the reptiles of North America, there is a species of the toad termed the **TREE TOAD**, which is nearly of the same shape as the common sort, but smaller and with longer claws. It is usually found on trees, sticking close to the bark, or lying in the crevices of it; and so nearly does it resemble the colour of the tree to which it cleaves, that it is with difficulty distinguished from it. These creatures are only heard during the twilight of the morning and evening, or just before and after a shower of rain, when they make a croaking noise somewhat shriller than that of a frog, which might be heard to a great distance. They infest the woods in such numbers, that their responsive notes at these times make the air resound. It is only a summer animal, and never to be found during the winter.

I N S E C T S.

The interior parts of North America abound with nearly the same insects as are met with in the same parallels of latitude; and the species of them are so numerous and diversified that even a succinct description of the whole of them would fill a volume; I shall therefore confine myself to a few, which I believe are almost peculiar to this country; the Silk Worm, the Tobacco Worm, the Bee, the Lightning Bug, the Water Bug, and the Horned Bug.

The **SILK WORM** is nearly the same as those of France and Italy, but will not produce the same quantity of silk.

The **TOBACCO WORM** is a caterpillar of the size and figure of a silk worm, it is of a fine sea-green colour, on its rump it has a sting or horn near a quarter of an inch long.

The **BEEES**, in America, principally lodge their honey in the earth to secure it from the ravages of the bears, who are remarkably fond of it.

The **LIGHTNING BUG** or **FIRE FLY** is about the size of a bee, but it is of the beetle kind, having like that insect two pair of wings the upper of which are of a firm texture, to defend it from danger. When it flies, and the wings are expanded, there is under these a kind of coat, constructed also like wings, which is luminous; and as the insect passes on, causes all the hinder part of its body to appear like a bright fiery coal. Having placed one of them on your hand, the under part only shines, and throws the light on the space beneath; but as soon as it spreads its upper wings to fly away, the whole body which lies behind them appears illuminated all around. The light it gives is not constantly of the same magnitude, even when it flies; but seems to depend on the expansion or contraction of the luminous coat or wings, and is very different from that emitted in a dark night by dry wood or some kinds of fish, it having much more the appearance of real fire. They seem to be sensible of the power they are possessed of, and to know the most suitable time for exerting it, as in a very dark night they are much more numerous than at any other time. They are only seen during the summer months of June, July, and August, and then at no other time but in the night. Whether from their colour, which is a dusky brown, they are not then discernible, or from their retiring to holes and crevices, I know not, but they are never to be discovered in the day. They chiefly are seen in low swampy land, and appear like innumerable transient gleams of light. In dark nights when there is much lightning, without rain, they seem as if they wished either to imitate or assist the flashes; for during the intervals, they are uncommonly agile, and endeavour to throw out every ray they can collect. Notwithstanding this effulgent appearance, these insects are perfectly harmless; you may permit them to crawl upon your hand, when five or six, if they freely exhibit their glow together, will enable you to read almost the smallest print.

The **WATER BUG** is of a brown colour, about the size of a pea, and in shape nearly oval: it has many legs, by means of which it passes over the surface of the water with such incredible swiftness, that it seems to slide or dart itself along.

The **HORNED BUG**, or, as it is sometimes termed, the **STAG BEETLE**, is of a dusky brown colour nearly approaching to black, about an inch and an half long, and half an inch broad. It has two large horns, which grow on each side of the head, and meet horizontally, and with these it pinches very hard; they are branched like those of a stag, from whence it receives its name. They fly about in the evening, and prove very troublesome to those who are in the fields at that time.

I must not omit that the **LOCUST** is a septennial insect, as they are only seen, a small number of stragglers excepted, every seven years, when they infest these parts, and the interior colonies in large swarms, and do a great deal of mischief. The years when they thus arrive are denominated the locust years.

CHAPTER XIX.

*Of the TREES, SHRUBS, ROOTS, HERBS,
FLOWERS, &c.*

I SHALL here observe the same method that I have pursued in the preceding chapter, and having given a list of the trees, &c. which are natives of the interior parts of North America, particularize such only as differ from the produce of other countries, or, being little known, have not been described.

OF TREES.

The Oak, the Pine Tree, the Maple, the Ash, the Hemlock, the Bass or White Wood, the Cedar, the Elm, the Birch, the Fir, the Locust Tree, the Poplar, the Wickopick or Suckwick, the Spruce, the Hornbeam, and the Button Wood Tree.

The OAK. There are several sorts of oaks in these parts; the black, the white, the red, the yellow, the grey, the swamp oak, and the chefnut oak: the five former vary but little in their external appearance, the shape of the leaves, and the colour of the bark being so much alike, that they are scarcely distinguishable; but the body of the tree when sawed discovers the variation, which chiefly consists in the colour of the wood, they being all very hard and proper for building. The swamp oak differs materially from the others both in the shape of the leaf, which is smaller, and in the bark, which is smoother; and likewise as it grows only in a moist gravelly soil. It is esteemed the toughest of all woods, being so strong yet pliable, that it is often made use of instead of whalebone, and is equally serviceable. The chefnut oak also is greatly different from the others, particularly in the shape of the leaf, which much resembles that of a chefnut-tree, and for this reason is so denominated. It is neither so strong as the former species, or so tough as the latter, but is of a nature proper to be split into rails for fences, in which state it will endure a considerable time.

The PINE TREE. That species of the pine tree peculiar to this part of the continent is the white, the quality of which I need not describe, as the timber of it is so well known under the

the name of deals. It grows here in great plenty, to an amazing height and size, and yields an excellent turpentine, though not in such quantities as those in the northern parts of Europe.

The MAPLE. Of this tree there are two sorts, the hard and the soft, both of which yield a luscious juice, from which the Indians, by boiling, make very good sugar. The sap of the former is much richer and sweeter than the latter, but the soft produces a greater quantity. The wood of the hard maple is very beautifully veined and curled, and when wrought into cabinets, tables, gunstocks, &c. is greatly valued. That of the soft sort differs in its texture, wanting the variegated grain of the hard; it also grows more strait and free from branches, and is more easily split. It likewise may be distinguished from the hard, as this grows in meadows and low-lands, that on the hills and up-lands. The leaves are shaped alike, but those of the soft maple are much the largest, and of a deeper green.

The ASH. There are several sorts of this tree in these parts, but that to which I shall confine my description, is the yellow ash, which is only found near the head branches of the Mississippi. This tree grows to an amazing height, and the body of it is so firm and sound, that the French traders who go into that country from Louisiana, to purchase furs, make of them periaguays; this they do by excavating them by fire, and when they are compleated, convey in them the produce of their trade to New Orleans, where they find a good market both for their vessels and cargoes. The wood of this tree greatly resembles that of the common ash; but it might be distinguished from any other tree by its bark; the rofs or outside bark being near eight inches thick, and indented with furrows more than six inches deep, which make those that are arrived to a great bulk appear uncommonly rough; and by this peculiarity they may be readily known. The rind or inside bark is of the same thickness as that of other trees, but its colour is a fine bright yellow, insomuch that if it is but slightly handled, it will leave a stain on the fingers, which cannot easily be washed away; and if in the spring you peel off the bark, and touch the sap, which then rises between that and the body of the tree, it will leave so deep a tincture that it will require three or four days to wear it off. Many useful qualities belonging to this tree I doubt not will be discovered in time, besides it proving a valuable acquisition to the dyer.

The HEMLOCK TREE grows in every part of America, in a greater or less degree. It is an ever-green of a very large growth, and has leaves somewhat like that of the yew; it is however quite usefess, and only an incumbrance to the ground, the wood being of a very coarse grain, and full of wind-shakes or cracks.

The BASS or WHITE WOOD is a tree of a middling size, and the whitest and softest wood that grows; when quite dry it swims on the water like a cork; in the settlements the turners
make

make of it bowls, trenchers, and dishes, which wear smooth, and will last a long time; but when applied to any other purpose it is far from durable.

The **WICKOPICK** or **SUCKWICK** appears to be a species of the white wood, and is distinguished from it by a peculiar quality in the bark, which when pounded and moistened with a little water, instantly becomes a matter of the consistence and nature of size. With this the Indians pay their canoes, and it greatly exceeds pitch, or any other material usually appropriated to that purpose; for besides its adhesive quality, it is of so oily a nature, that the water cannot penetrate through it, and its repelling power abates not for a considerable time.

The **BUTTON WOOD** is a tree of the largest size, and might be distinguished by its bark, which is quite smooth and prettily mottled. The wood is very proper for the use of cabinet-makers. It is covered with small hard burs, which spring from the branches, that appear not unlike buttons, and from these, I believe, it receives its name.

N U T T R E E S.

The **Butter** or **Oil Nut**, the **Walnut**, the **Hazle Nut**, the **Beech Nut**, the **Pecan Nut**, the **Chestnut**, the **Hickory**.

The **BUTTER** or **OIL NUT**. As no mention has been made by any authors of this nut, I shall be the more particular in my account of it. The tree grows in meadows where the soil is rich and warm. The body of it seldom exceeds a yard in circumference, is full of branches, the twigs of which are short and blunt, and its leaves resemble those of the walnut. The nut has a shell like that fruit, which when ripe is more furrowed, and more easily craked; it is also much longer and larger than a walnut, and contains a greater quantity of kernel, which is very oily, and of a rich agreeable flavour. I am persuaded that a much purer oil than that of olives might be extracted from this nut. The inside bark of this tree dyes a good purple; and it is said, varies in its shade, being either darker or lighter, according to the month in which it is gathered.

The **BEECH NUT**. Though this tree grows exactly like that of the same name in Europe, yet it produces nuts equally as good as chestnuts; on which bears, martins, squirrels, partridges, turkies, and many other beasts and birds feed. The nut is contained, whilst growing, in an outside case, like that of a chestnut, but not so prickly; and the coat of the inside shell is also smooth like that; only its form is nearly triangular. Vast quantities of them lie scattered about in the woods, and supply with food great numbers of the creatures just mentioned.

The leaves, which are white, continue on the trees during the whole winter. A decoction made of them is a certain and expeditious cure for wounds which arise from burning or scalding, as well as a restorative for those members that are nipped by the frost.

The PECAN NUT is somewhat of the walnut kind, but rather smaller than a walnut, being about the size of a middling acorn, and of an oval form; the shell is easily cracked, and the kernel shaped like that of a walnut. This tree grows chiefly near the Illinois river.

The HICKORY is also of the walnut kind, and bears a fruit nearly like that tree. There are several sorts of them, which vary only in the colour of the wood. Being of a very tough nature, the wood is generally used for the handles of axes, &c. It is also very good fire-wood, and as it burns an excellent sugar distils from it.

F R U I T T R E E S.

I need not to observe that these are all the spontaneous productions of nature, which have never received the advantages of ingrafting, transplanting, or manuring.

The Vine, the Mulberry Tree, the Crab Apple Tree, the Plum Tree, the Cherry Tree, and the Sweet Gum Tree.

The VINE is very common here, and of three kinds; the first sort hardly deserves the name of a grape; the second much resembles the Burgundy grape, and if exposed to the sun a good wine might be made from them. The third sort resembles Zant currants, which are so frequently used in cakes, &c. in England, and if proper care was taken of them, would be equal, if not superior, to those of that country.

The MULBERRY TREE is of two kinds, red and white, and nearly of the same size of those of France and Italy, and grow in such plenty, as to feed any quantity of silk worms.

The CRAB APPLE TREE bears a fruit that is much larger and better flavoured than those of Europe.

The PLUM TREE. There are two sorts of plums in this country, one a large sort of a purple cast on one side, and red on the reverse, the second totally green, and much smaller. Both these are of a good flavour, and are greatly esteemed by the Indians, whose taste is not refined, but who are satisfied with the productions of nature in their unimproved state.

The CHERRY TREE. There are three sorts of cherries in this country; the black, the red, and the sand cherry; the two latter may with more propriety be ranked among the shrubs,

the bush that bears the sand cherries almost creeps along the ground, and the other rises not above eight or ten feet in height; however I shall give an account of them all in this place. The black cherries are about the size of a currant, and hang in clusters like grapes; the trees which bear them being very fruitful, they are generally loaded, but the fruit is not good to eat, however they give an agreeable flavour to brandy, and turn it to the colour of claret. The red cherries grow in the greatest profusion, and hang in bunches, like the black sort just described; so that the bushes which bear them appear at a distance like solid bodies of red matter. Some people admire this fruit, but they partake of the nature and taste of alum, leaving a disagreeable roughness in the throat, and being very astringent. As I have already described the sand cherries, which greatly exceed the two other sorts, both in flavour and size, I shall give no further description of them. The wood of the black cherry tree is very useful, and works well into cabinet ware.

The SWEET GUM TREE or LIQUIDAMBER (Copalm) is not only extremely common, but it affords a balm, the virtues of which are infinite. Its bark is black and hard, and its wood so tender and supple, that when the tree is felled, you may draw from the middle of it rods of five or six feet in length. It cannot be employed in building or furniture, as it warps continually. Its leaf is indented with five points, like a star. This balm is reckoned by the Indians to be an excellent febrifuge, and it cures wounds in two or three days.

S H R U B S.

The Willow, Shin Wood, Shumack, Sassafras, the Prickly Ash, Moose Wood, Spoon Wood, Large Elder, Dwarf Elder, Poisonous Elder, Juniper, Shrub Oak, Sweet Fern, the Laurel, the Witch Hazle, the Myrtle Wax tree, Winter Green, the Fever Bush, the Cranberry Bush, the Gooseberry Bush, the Currant Bush, the Whirtle Berry, the Raspberry, the Black Berry, and the Choak Berry.

The WILLOW. There are several species of the willow, the most remarkable of which is a small sort that grows on the banks of the Mississippi, and some other places adjacent. The bark of this shrub supplies the beaver with its winter food; and where the water has washed the soil from its roots, they appear to consist of fibres interwoven together like thread, the colour of which is of an inexpressible fine scarlet; with this the Indians tinge many of the ornamental parts of their dresses.

SHIN WOOD. This extraordinary shrub grows in the forests, and rising like a vine, runs near the ground for six or eight feet,

feet; and then takes root again; in the same manner taking root, and springing up successively, one stalk covers a large space; this proves very troublesome to the hasty traveller, by striking against his shins, and entangling his legs; from which it has acquired its name.

The **SASSAFRAS** is a wood well known for its medicinal qualities. It might with equal propriety be termed a tree as a shrub, as it sometimes grows thirty feet high; but in general it does not reach higher than those of the shrub kind. The leaves, which yield an agreeable fragrance, are large, and nearly separated into three divisions. It bears a reddish brown berry, of the size and shape of Pimento, and which is sometimes used in the colonies as a substitute for that spice. The bark or roots of this tree is infinitely superior to the wood for its use in medicine, and I am surprized it is so seldom to be met with, as its efficacy is so much greater.

The **PRICKLY ASH** is a shrub that sometimes grows to the height of ten or fifteen feet, and has a leaf exactly resembling that of an ash, but it receives the epithet to its name from the abundance of short thorns with which every branch is covered, and which renders it very troublesome to those who pass through the spot where they grow thick. It also bears a scarlet berry, which, when ripe, has a fiery taste, like pepper. The bark of this tree, particularly the bark of the roots, is highly esteemed by the natives for its medicinal qualities. I have already mentioned one instance of its efficacy, and there is no doubt but that the decoction of it will expeditiously and radically remove all impurities of the blood.

The **MOOSE WOOD** grows about four feet high, and is very full of branches; but what renders it worth notice is its bark, which is of so strong and pliable a texture, that being peeled off at any season, and twisted, makes equally as good cordage as hemp.

The **SPOON WOOD** is a species of the laurel, and the wood when sawed resembles box wood.

The **ELDER**, commonly termed the poisonous elder, nearly resembles the other sorts in its leaves and branches, but it grows much straiter, and is only found in swamps and moist soils. This shrub is endowed with a very extraordinary quality, that renders it poisonous to some constitutions, which it effects if the person only approaches within a few yards of it, whilst others may even chew the leaves or the rind without receiving the least detriment from them: the poison however is not mortal, though it operates very violently on the infected person, whose body and head swell to an amazing size, and are covered with eruptions, that at their height resemble the confluent small-pox. As it grows also in many of the provinces, the inhabitants cure its venom by drinking saffron tea, and anointing the external parts with a mixture composed of cream and marsh mallows.

The

The **SHRUB OAK** is exactly similar to the oak tree, both in its wood and leaves, and like that it bears an acorn, but it never rises from the ground above four or five feet, growing crooked and knotty. It is found chiefly on a dry gravelly soil.

The **WITCH HAZLE** grows very bushy, about ten feet high, and is covered early in May with numerous white blossoms. When this shrub is in bloom, the Indians esteem it a further indication that the frost is entirely gone, and that they might sow their corn. It has been said, that it is possessed of the power of attracting gold or silver, and that twigs of it are made use of to discover where the veins of these metals lie hid; but I am apprehensive that this is only a fallacious story, and not to be depended on; however that supposition has given it the name of Witch Hazle.

The **MYRTLE WAX TREE** is a shrub about four or five feet high, the leaves of which are larger than those of the common myrtle, but they smell exactly alike. It bears its fruit in bunches, like a nosegay, rising from the same place in various stalks, about two inches long: at the end of each of these is a little nut containing a kernel, which is wholly covered with a gluey substance, which being boiled in water, swims on the surface of it, and becomes a kind of green wax; this is more valuable than bees-wax, being of a more brittle nature, but mixed with it makes a good candle, which, as it burns, sends forth an agreeable scent.

WINTER GREEN. This is an ever-green, of the species of the myrtle, and is found on dry heaths; the flowers of it are white, and in the form of a rose, but not larger than a silver penny; in the winter it is full of red berries, about the size of a floe, which are smooth and round; these are preserved during the severe season by the snow, and are at that time in the highest perfection. The Indians eat these berries, esteeming them very balsamic, and invigorating to the stomach. The people inhabiting the interior colonies steep both sprigs and berries in beer, and use it as a diet drink for cleansing the blood from scorbutic disorders.

The **FEVER BUSH** grows about five or six feet high; its leaf is like that of a lilach, and it bears a reddish berry of a spicy flavour. The stalks of it are excessively brittle. A decoction of the buds or wood is an excellent febrifuge, and from this valuable property it receives its name. It is an ancient Indian remedy for all inflammatory complaints, and likewise much esteemed on the same account, by the inhabitants of the interior parts of the colonies.

The **CRANBERRY BUSH.** Though the fruit of this bush greatly resembles in size and appearance that of the common sort, which grows on a small vine, in morasses and bogs, yet the bush runs to the height of ten or twelve feet; but it is very rarely to be met with. As the meadow cranberry, being of a local growth, and flourishing only in morasses, cannot be transplanted

transplanted or cultivated, the former, if removed at a proper season, would be a valuable acquisition to the garden, and with proper nurture prove equally as good, if not better.

The CHOAK BERRY. The shrub thus termed by the natives grows about five or six feet high, and bears a berry about the size of a sloe, of a jet black, which contains several small seeds within the pulp. The juice of this fruit, though not of a disagreeable flavour, is extremely tart, and leaves a roughness in the mouth and throat when eaten, that has gained it the name of choak berry.

R O O T S and P L A N T S.

Elecampagne, Spikenard, Angelica, Sarsaparilla, Ginsang, Ground Nuts, Wild Potatoes, Liquorice, Snake Root, Gold Thread, Solomon's Seal, Devil's Bit, Blood Root, Onions, Garlick, Wild Parsnips, Mandrakes, Hellebore White and Black.

SPIKENARD, vulgarly called in the colonies Petty-Morrel. This plant appears to be exactly the same as the Asiatick spikenard, so much valued by the ancients. It grows near the sides of brooks, in rocky places, and its stem, which is about the size of a goose quill, springs up like that of angelica, reaching about a foot and an half from the ground. It bears bunches of berries in all respects like those of the elder, only rather larger. These are of such a balsamic nature, that when infused in spirits, they make a most palatable and reviving cordial.

SARSAPARILLA. The root of this plant, which is the most estimable part of it, is about the size of a goose quill, and runs in different directions, twined and crooked to a great length in the ground; from the principal stem of it spring many smaller fibres, all of which are tough and flexible. From the root immediately shoots a stalk about a foot and an half long, which at the top branches into three stems; each of these has three leaves, much of the shape and size of a walnut leaf; and from the fork of each of the three stems grows a bunch of bluish white flowers, resembling those of the spikenard. The bark of the roots, which alone should be used in medicine, is of a bitterish flavour, but aromatic. It is deservedly esteemed for its medicinal virtues, being a gentle sudorific, and very powerful in attenuating the blood when impeded by gross humours.

GINSANG is a root that was once supposed to grow only in Korea, from whence it was usually exported to Japan, and by that means found its way to Europe; but it has been lately discovered to be also a native of North America, where it grows to as great perfection, and is equally valuable. Its root is like a small carrot, but not so taper at the end; it is sometimes divided

divided into two or more branches, in all other respects it resembles *Sarsaparilla* in its growth. The taste of the root is bitterish. In the eastern parts of Asia it bears a great price, being there considered as a panacea, and is the last refuge of the inhabitants in all disorders. When chewed it certainly is a great strengthener of the stomach.

GOLD THREAD. This is a plant of the small vine kind, which grows in swampy places, and lies on the ground. The roots spread themselves just under the surface of the morasses, and are easily drawn up by handfuls. They resemble a large entangled skain of thread, of a fine bright gold colour; and I am persuaded would yield a beautiful and permanent yellow dye. It is also greatly esteemed both by the Indians and colonists as a remedy for any soreness in the mouth, but the taste of it is exquisitely bitter.

SOLOMON'S SEAL is a plant that grows on the sides of rivers, and in rich meadow land. It rises in the whole to about three feet high, the stalks being two feet, when the leaves begin to spread themselves and reach a foot further. A part in every root has an impression upon it about the size of a sixpence, which appears as if it was made by a seal, and from these it receives its name. It is greatly valued on account of its being a fine purifier of the blood.

DEVIL'S BIT is another wild plant, which grows in the fields, and receives its name from a print that seems to be made by teeth in the roots. The Indians say that this was once an universal remedy for every disorder that human nature is incident to; but some of the evil spirits envying mankind in the possession of so efficacious a medicine gave the root a bite, which deprived it of a great part of its virtue.

BLOOD ROOT. A sort of plantain that springs out of the ground in six or seven long rough leaves, the veins of which are red; the root of it is like a small carrot, both in colour and appearance; when broken, the inside of it is of a deeper colour than the outside, and distils several drops of juice that look like blood. This is a strong emetic, but a very dangerous one.

H E R B S.

Balm, Nettles, Cinque Foil, Eyebright, Sanicle, Plantain, Rattle Snake Plantain, Poor Robin's Plantain, Toad Plantain, Maiden Hair, Wild Dock, Rock Liverwort, Noble Liverwort, Bloodwort, Wild Beans, Ground Ivy, Water Cresses, Yarrow, May Weed, Gargit, Skunk Cabbage or Poke, Wake Robin, Betony, Scabious, Mullen, Wild Pease, Mouse Ear, Wild Indigo, Tobacco, and Cat Mint.

SANICLE has a root which is thick towards the upper part, and full of small fibres below; the leaves of it are broad, roundish, hard, smooth, and of a fine shining green; a stalk rises from these to the height of a foot, which is quite smooth and free from knots, and on the top of it are several small flowers of a reddish white, shaped like a wild rose. A tea made of the root is vulnerary and balsamic.

RATTLE SNAKE PLANTAIN. This useful herb is of the plantain kind, and its leaves, which spread themselves on the ground, are about one inch and an half wide, and five inches long; from the centre of these arises a small stalk, nearly six inches long, which bears a little white flower; the root is about the size of a goose quill, and much bent and divided into several branches. The leaves of this herb are more efficacious than any other part of it for the bite of the reptile from which it receives its name; and being chewed and applied immediately to the wound, and some of the juice swallowed, seldom fails of averting every dangerous symptom. So convinced are the Indians of the power of this infallible antidote, that for a trifling bribe of spirituous liquor, they will at any time permit a rattle snake to drive his fangs into their flesh. It is to be remarked that during those months in which the bite of these creatures is most venomous, that this remedy for it is in its greatest perfection, and most luxuriant in its growth.

POOR ROBIN'S PLANTAIN is of the same species as the last, but more diminutive in every respect; it receives its name from its size, and the poor land on which it grows. It is a good medicinal herb, and often administered with success in fevers and internal weaknesses.

TOAD PLANTAIN resembles the common plantain, only it grows much ranker, and is thus denominated because toads love to harbour under it.

ROCK LIVERWORT is a sort of Liverwort that grows on rocks, and is of the nature of kelp or moss. It is esteemed as an excellent remedy against declines.

GARGIT or **SKOKE** is a large kind of weed, the leaves of which are about six inches long, and two inches and an half broad; they resemble those of spinach in their colour and texture, but not in shape. The root is very large, from which spring different stalks that run eight or ten feet high, and are full of red berries; these hang in clusters in the month of September, and are generally called pigeon berries, as those birds then feed on them. When the leaves first spring from the ground, after being boiled, they are a nutritious and wholesome vegetable, but when they are grown nearly to their full size, they acquire a poisonous quality. The roots applied to the hands or feet of a person afflicted with a fever, prove a very powerful absorbent.

SKUNK CABBAGE or **POKE** is an herb that grows in moist and swampy places. The leaves of it are about a foot long,
and

and six inches broad, nearly oval, but rather pointed. The roots are composed of great numbers of fibres, a lotion of which is made use of by the people in the colonies for the cure of the itch. There issues a strong musky smell from this herb, something like the animal of the same name before described, and on that account it is so termed.

WAKE ROBIN is an herb that grows in swampy lands; its root resembles a small turnip, and if tasted will greatly inflame the tongue, and immediately convert it from its natural shape into a round hard substance; in which state it will continue for some time, and during this no other part of the mouth will be affected. But when dried, it loses its astringent quality, and becomes beneficial to mankind, for if grated into cold water, and taken internally, it is very good for all complaints of the bowels.

WILD INDIGO is an herb of the same species as that from whence indigo is made in the southern colonies. It grows in one stalk to the height of five or six inches from the ground, when it divides into many branches, from which issue a great number of small hard bluish leaves that spread to a great breadth, and among these it bears a yellow flower; the juice of it has a very disagreeable scent.

CAT MINT has a woody root, divided into several branches, and it sends forth a stalk about three feet high; the leaves are like those of the nettle or betony, and they have a strong smell of mint, with a biting acrid taste; the flowers grow on the tops of the branches, and are of a faint purple or whitish colour. It is called cat mint, because it is said that cats have an antipathy to it, and will not let it grow. It has nearly the virtues of common mint.*

F L O W E R S.

Heart's Ease, Lilies red and yellow, Pond Lilies, Cowslips, May Flowers, Jessamine, Honeyfuckles, Rock Honeyfuckles, Roses red and white, Wild Hollyhock, Wild Pinks, Golden Rod.

I shall not enter into a minute description of the flowers above recited, but only just observe, that they much resemble those of the same name which grow in Europe, and are as beautiful in colour, and as perfect in odour, as they can be supposed to be in their wild uncultivated state.

* For an account of Tobacco, see a treatise I have published on the culture of that plant.

FARINACEOUS and LEGUMINOUS ROOTS, &c.

Maize or Indian Corn, Wild Rice, Beans, the Squash, &c.

MAIZE or INDIAN CORN grows from six to ten feet high, on a stalk full of joints, which is stiff and solid, and when green, abounding with a sweet juice. The leaves are like those of the reed, about two feet in length, and three or four inches broad. The flowers which are produced at some distance from the fruit, on the same plant, grow like the ears of oats, and are sometimes white, yellow, or of a purple colour. The seeds are as large as peas, and like them quite naked and smooth, but of a roundish surface, rather compressed. One spike generally consists of about six hundred grains, which are placed closely together in rows to the number of eight or ten, and sometimes twelve. This corn is very wholesome, easy of digestion, and yields as good nourishment as any other sort. After the Indians have reduced it into meal by pounding it, they make cakes of it, and bake them before the fire. I have already mentioned that some nations eat it in cakes before it is ripe, in which state it is very agreeable to the palate, and extremely nutritive.

WILD RICE. This grain, which grows in the greatest plenty throughout the interior parts of North America, is the most valuable of all the spontaneous productions of that country. Exclusive of its utility, as a supply of food for those of the human species, who inhabit this part of the continent, and obtained without any other trouble than that of gathering it in, the sweetness and nutritious quality of it attracts an infinite number of wild fowl of every kind, which flock from distant climes, to enjoy this rare repast; and by it become inexpressibly fat and delicious. In future periods it will be of great service to the infant colonies, as it will afford them a present support, until in the course of cultivation other supplies may be produced; whereas in those realms which are not furnished with this bounteous gift of nature, even if the climate is temperate and the soil good, the first settlers are often exposed to great hardships from the want of an immediate resource for necessary food. This useful grain grows in the water where it is about two feet deep, and where it finds a rich muddy soil. The stalks of it, and the branches or ears that bear the seed, resemble oats both in their appearance and manner of growing. The stalks are full of joints, and rise more than eight feet above the water. The natives gather the grain in the following manner: nearly about the time that it begins to turn from its milky state and to ripen, they run their canoes into the midst of it, and tying bunches of it together, just below the ears with bark, leave it in this situation three or four weeks longer, till it is perfectly ripe. About the latter end

of September they return to the river, when each family having its separate allotment, and being able to distinguish their own property by the manner of fastening the sheaves, gather in the portion that belongs to them. This they do by placing their canoes close to the bunches of rice, in such position as to receive the grain when it falls, and then beat it out, with pieces of wood formed for that purpose. Having done this, they dry it with smoke, and afterwards tread or rub off the outside husk; when it is fit for use they put it into the skins of fawns, or young buffalos, taken off nearly whole for this purpose, and sewed into a sort of sack, wherein they preserve it till the return of their harvest. It has been the subject of much speculation, why this spontaneous grain is not found in any other regions of America, or in those countries situated in the same parallels of latitude, where the waters are as apparently adapted for its growth as in the climates I treat of. As for instance, none of the countries that lie to the south and east of the great lakes, even from the provinces north of the Carolinas, to the extremities of Labradore, produce any of this grain. It is true I found great quantities of it in the watered lands near Detroit, between Lake Huron and Lake Erié, but on enquiry I learned that it never arrived nearer to maturity than just to blossom; after which it appeared blighted, and died away. This convinces me that the north-west wind, as I have before hinted, is much more powerful in these than in the interior parts; and that it is more inimical to the fruits of the earth, after it has passed over the lakes, and become united with the wind which joins it from the frozen regions of the north, than it is farther to the westward.

BEANS. These are nearly of the same shape as the European beans, but are not much larger than the smallest size of them. They are boiled by the Indians, and eaten chiefly with bear's flesh.

The **SQUASH.** They have also several species of the **MELON** or **PUMPKIN**, which by some are called squashes, and which serve many nations partly as a substitute for bread. Of these there is the round, the crane-neck, the small flat, and the large oblong squash. The smaller sorts being boiled, are eaten during the summer as vegetables; and are all of a pleasing flavour. The crane-neck, which greatly excels all the others, are usually hang up for a winter's store, and in this manner might be preserved for several months.

A P P E N D I X.

THE countries that lie between the great lakes and River Mississippi, and from thence southward to West Florida, although in the midst of a large continent, and at a great distance from the sea, are so situated, that a communication between them and other realms might conveniently be opened; by which means those empires or colonies that may hereafter be founded or planted therein, will be rendered commercial ones. The great River Mississippi, which runs through the whole of them, will enable their inhabitants to establish an intercourse with foreign climes, equally as well as the Euphrates, the Nile, the Danube, or the Wolga do those people which dwell on their banks, and who have no other convenience for exporting the produce of their own country, or for importing those of others, than boats and vessels of light burden: notwithstanding which they have become powerful and opulent states.

The Mississippi, as I have before observed, runs from north to south, and passes through the most fertile and temperate part of North America, excluding only the extremities of it, which verge both on the torrid and frigid zones. Thus favourably situated, when once its banks are covered with inhabitants, they need not long be at a loss for means to establish an extensive and profitable commerce. They will find the country towards the south almost spontaneously producing silk, cotton, indigo, and tobacco; and the more northern parts, wine, oil, beef, tallow, skins, buffalo-wool, and furs; with lead, copper, iron, coals, lumber, corn, rice, and fruits, besides earth and barks for dying.

These articles, with which it abounds even to profusion, may be transported to the ocean through this river without greater difficulty than that which attends the conveyance of merchandize down some of those I have just mentioned. It is true that the Mississippi being the boundary between the English and Spanish settlements, and the Spaniards in possession of the mouth of it, they may obstruct the passage of it, and greatly dishearten those who make the first attempts; yet when the advantages that will certainly arise to settlers are known, multitudes of adventurers, allured by the prospect of such abundant riches, will flock to it, and establish themselves, though at the expence of rivers of blood.

But should the nation that happens to be in possession of New Orleans prove unfriendly to the internal settlers, they may find a way into the Gulph of Mexico, by the River Iberville, which empties itself from the Mississippi, after passing through Lake Maurepas, into Lake Ponchartrain; which has a communication

tion with the sea within the borders of West-Florida. The River Iberville branches off from the Mississippi about eighty miles above New Orleans, and though it is at present choaked up in some parts, it might at an inconsiderable expence be made navigable, so as to answer all the purposes proposed.

Although the English have acquired since the last peace a more extensive knowledge of the interior parts than were ever obtained before, even by the French, yet many of their productions still remain unknown. And though I was not deficient either in assiduity or attention during the short time I remained in them, yet I must acknowledge that the intelligence I gained was not so perfect as I could wish, and that it requires further researches to make the world thoroughly acquainted with the real value of these long hidden realms.

The parts of the Mississippi of which no survey have hitherto been taken, amount to upwards of eight hundred miles, following the course of the stream, that is, from the Illinois to the Quisconsin Rivers. Plans of such as reach from the Mississippi to the Gulph of Mexico, have been delineated by several hands, and I have the pleasure to find that an actual survey of the intermediate parts of the Mississippi, between the Illinois River and the sea, with the Ohio, Cherokee, and Ouabache Rivers, taken on the spot by a very ingenious Gentleman*, is now published. I flatter myself that the observations therein contained, which have been made by one whose knowledge of the parts therein described was acquired by a personal investigation, aided by a solid judgment, will confirm the remarks I have made, and promote the plan I am here recommending.

I shall also here give a concise description of each, beginning, according to the rule of geographers, with that which lies most to the north.

It is however necessary to observe, that before these settlements can be established, grants must be procured in the manner customary on such occasions, and the lands be purchased of those who have acquired a right to them by a long possession; but no greater difficulty will attend the completion of this point, than the original founders of every colony on the continent met with to obstruct their intentions; and the number of Indians who inhabit these tracts being greatly inadequate to their extent, it is not to be doubted, but they will readily give up for a reasonable consideration, territories that are of little use to them; or remove for the accommodation of their new neighbours, to lands at a greater distance from the Mississippi, the navigation of which is not essential to the welfare of their communities.

No. I. The country within these lines, from its situation, is colder than any of the others; yet I am convinced that the air is much more temperate than in those provinces that lie in
the

* Thomas Hutchins, Esq; Captain in his Majesty's 60th, or Royal American Regiment of Foot.

the same degree of latitude to the east of it. The soil is excellent, and there is a great deal of land that is free from woods in the parts adjoining to the Mississippi; whilst on the contrary the north-eastern borders of it are well wooded. Towards the heads of the River Saint Croix, rice grows in great plenty, and there is abundance of copper. Though the falls of Saint Anthony are situated at the south-east corner of this division, yet that impediment will not totally obstruct the navigation, as the River Saint Croix, which runs through a great part of the southern side of it, enters the Mississippi just below the Falls, and flows with so gentle a current, that it affords a convenient navigation for boats. This tract is about one hundred miles from north-west to south-east, and one hundred and twenty miles from north-east to south-west.

No. II. This tract, as I have already described it in my Journals, exceeds the highest encomiums I can give it; notwithstanding which it is entirely uninhabited, and the profusion of blessings that nature has showered on this heavenly spot, return unenjoyed to the lap from whence they sprung. Lake Pepin, as I have termed it after the French, lies within these bounds; but the lake to which that name properly belongs is a little above the River St. Croix; however, as all the traders call the lower lake by that name, I have so denominated it, contrary to the information I received from the Indians. This colony lying in unequal angles, the dimensions of it cannot be exactly given, but it appears to be on an average about one hundred and ten miles long, and eighty broad.

No. III. The greatest part of this division is situated on the River Ouisconsin, which is navigable for boats about one hundred and eighty miles, till it reaches the carrying place that divides it from the Fox River. The land which is contained within its limits, is in some parts mountainous, and in others consists of fertile meadows and fine pasturage. It is furnished also with a great deal of good timber, and, as is generally the case on the banks of the Mississippi and its branches, has much fine, open, clear land, proper for cultivation. To these are added an inexhaustible fund of riches, in a number of lead mines which lie at a little distance from the Ouisconsin towards the south, and appear to be uncommonly full of ore. Although the Saukies and Ottagaumies inhabit a part of this tract, the whole of the lands under their cultivation does not exceed three hundred acres. It is in length from east to west about one hundred and fifty miles, and about eighty from north to south.

No. IV. This colony consists of lands of various denominations, some of which are very good, and others very bad. The best is situated on the borders of the Green Bay and the Fox River, where there are innumerable acres covered with fine grass, most part of which grows to an astonishing height. This river will afford a good navigation for boats throughout the whole of its course, which is about one hundred and eighty miles

miles, except between the Winnebago Lake, and the Green Bay; where there are several carrying-places in the space of thirty miles. The Fox River is rendered remarkable by the abundance of rice that grows on its shores, and the almost infinite numbers of wild fowl that frequent its banks. The land which lies near it appears to be very fertile, and promises to produce a sufficient supply of all the necessaries of life for any number of inhabitants. A communication might be opened by those who shall settle here, either through the Green Bay, Lake Michigan, Lake Huron, Lake Erie, and Lake Ontario with Canada, or by way of the Ouiscouin into the Mississippi. This division is about one hundred and sixty miles long from north to south, and one hundred and forty broad.

No. V. This is an excellent tract of land, and, considering its interior situation, has greater advantages than could be expected; for having the Mississippi on its western borders, and the Illinois on its south-east, it has as free a navigation as most of the others. The northern parts of it are somewhat mountainous, but it contains a great deal of clear land, the soil of which is excellent, with many fine fertile meadows, and not a few rich mines. It is upwards of two hundred miles from north to south, and one hundred and fifty from east to west.

No. VI. This colony being situated upon the heads of the Rivers Illinois and Ouabache, the former of which empties itself immediately into the Mississippi, and the latter into the same river by means of the Ohio, will readily find a communication with the sea through these. Having also the River Miamis passing through it, which runs into Lake Erie, an intercourse might be established with Canada also by way of the lakes, as before pointed out. It contains a great deal of rich fertile land, and though more inland than any of the others, will be as valuable an acquisition as the best of them. From north to south it is about one hundred and sixty miles, from east to west one hundred and eighty.

No. VII. This division is not inferior to any of the foregoing. Its northern borders lying adjacent to the Illinois river, and its western to the Mississippi, the situation of it for establishing a commercial intercourse with foreign nations is very commodious. It abounds with all the necessaries of life, and is about one hundred and fifty miles from north to south, and sixty miles from east to west; but the confines of it being more irregular than the others, I cannot exactly ascertain the dimensions of it.

No. VIII. This colony having the River Ouabache running through the centre of it, and the Ohio for its southern boundary, will enjoy the advantages of a free navigation. It extends about one hundred and forty miles from north to south, and one hundred and thirty from east to west.

No. IX. X. and XI. being similar in situation, and furnished with nearly the same conveniencies as all the others, I shall only

ly give their dimensions. No. IX. is about eighty miles each way, but not exactly square. No. X. is nearly in the same form, and about the same extent. No. XI. is much larger, being at least one hundred and fifty miles from north to south, and one hundred and forty from east to west, as nearly as from its irregularity it is possible to calculate.

After the description of this delightful country I have already given, I need not repeat that all the spots I have thus pointed out as proper for colonization, abound not only with the necessaries of life, being well stored with rice, deer, buffalos, bears, &c. but produce in equal abundance such as may be termed luxuries, or at least those articles of commerce before recited, which the inhabitants of it will have an opportunity of exchanging for the needful productions of other countries.

The discovery of a north-west passage to India has been the subject of innumerable disquisitions. Many efforts likewise have been made by way of Hudson's Bay, to penetrate into the Pacific Ocean, though without success. I shall not therefore trouble myself to enumerate the advantages that would result from this much wished-for discovery, its utility being already too well known to the commercial world to need any elucidation; I shall only confine myself to the methods that appear most probable to ensure success to future adventurers.

The many attempts that have hitherto been made for this purpose, but which have all been rendered abortive, seem to have turned the spirit of making useful researches into another channel, and this most interesting one has almost been given up as impracticable; but, in my opinion, their failure rather proceeds from their being begun at an improper place, than from their impracticability.

All navigators that have hitherto gone in search of this passage, have first entered Hudson's Bay; the consequence of which has been, that having spent the season during which only those seas are navigable, in exploring many of the numerous inlets lying therein, and this without discovering any opening, terrified at the approach of winter, they have hastened back for fear of being frozen up, and consequently of being obliged to continue till the return of summer in those bleak and dreary realms. Even such as have perceived the coasts to enfold themselves, and who have of course entertained hopes of succeeding, have been deterred from prosecuting their voyage, lest the winter should set in before they could reach a more temperate climate.

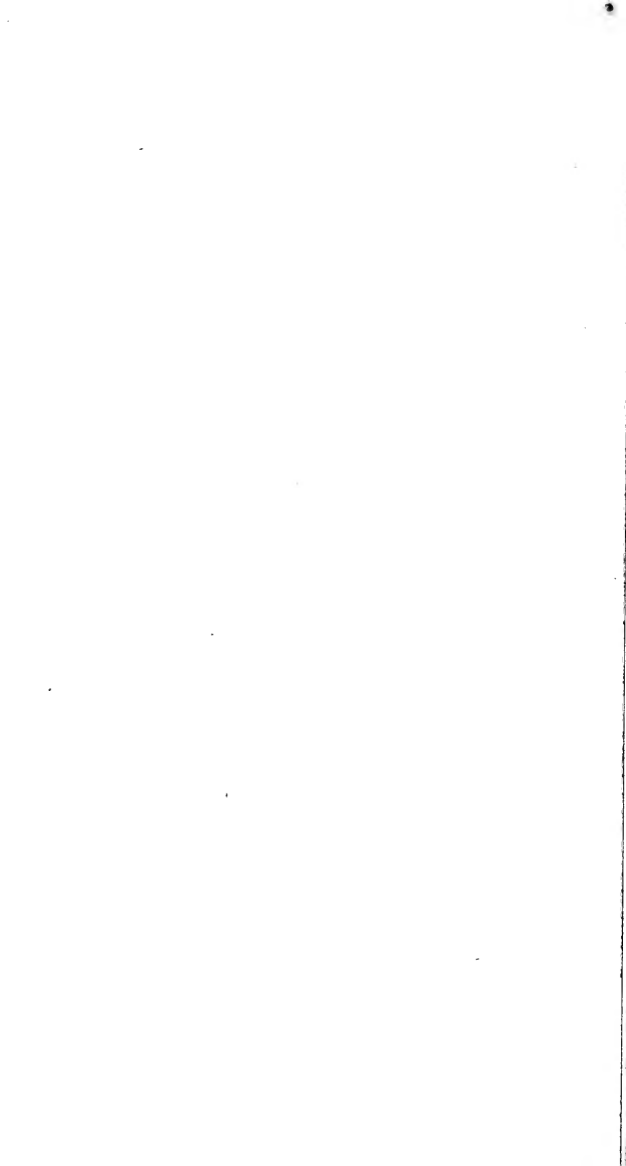
These apprehensions have discouraged the boldest adventurers from completing the expeditions in which they have engaged, and frustrated every attempt. But as it has been discovered by such as have sailed into the northern parts of the Pacific Ocean, that there are many inlets which verge towards Hudson's Bay, it is not to be doubted but that a passage might be made out from that quarter, if it be sought for at a proper season. And should these expectations be disappointed, the explorers would

not be in the same hazardous situation with those who set out from Hudson's Bay, for they will always be sure of a safe retreat, through an open sea, to warmer regions, even after repeated disappointments. And this confidence will enable them to proceed with greater resolution, and probably be the means of effecting what too much circumspection or timidity has prevented.

These reasons for altering the plan of enquiry after this convenient passage, carry with them such conviction, that in the year 1774 Richard Whitworth, Esq; member of parliament for Stafford, a gentleman of an extensive knowledge in geography, of an active enterprising disposition, and whose benevolent mind is ever ready to promote the happiness of individuals, or the welfare of the public, from the representations made to him of the expediency of it by myself and others, intended to travel across the continent of America, that he might attempt to carry a scheme of this kind into execution.

He designed to have pursued nearly the same route that I did; and after having built a fort at Lake Pepin, to have proceeded up the River St. Pierre, and from thence up a branch of the River Messorie, till having discovered the source of the Oregon or River of the West, on the other side the summit of the lands that divide the waters which run into the Gulph of Mexico from those that fall into the Pacific Ocean, he would have sailed down that river to the place where it is said to empty itself near the Straights of Annian

Having there established another settlement on some spot that appeared best calculated for the support of his people, in the neighbourhood of some of the inlets which tend towards the north-east, he would from thence have begun his researches. This gentleman was to have been attended in the expedition by Colonel Rogers, myself, and others, and to have taken out with him a sufficient number of artificers and mariners for building the forts and vessels necessary on the occasion, and for navigating the latter; in all not less than fifty or sixty men. The grants and other requisites for this purpose were even nearly completed, when the present troubles in America began, which put a stop to an enterprize that promised to be of inconceivable advantage to the British dominions.



A N
HISTORICAL NARRATIVE
A N D
TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION
O F
L O U I S I A N A,
A N D
W E S T - F L O R I D A,
C O M P R E H E N D I N G T H E
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A N I M A L, V E G E T A B L E, O R M I N E R A L;

W I T H
Directions for Sailing into all the Bays, Lakes, Harbours and Rivers on
the North Side of the Gulf of Mexico, and for Navigating between the
Islands situated along that Coast, and ascending the Mississippi River.

B Y T H O M A S H U T C H I N S,
G E O G R A P H E R T O T H E U N I T E D S T A T E S.

P H I L A D E L P H I A:

P R I N T E D F O R T H E A U T H O R, A N D S O L D B Y R O B E R T
A I T K E N, N E A R T H E C O F F E E - H O U S E, I N
M A R K E T - S T R E E T.

M. DCC. LXXXIV.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

SEVERAL years residence in the Province of West-Florida, during which I entered into a minute examination of its coasts, harbours, lakes, and rivers, having made me perfectly acquainted with their situation, bearings, soundings, and every particular requisite to be known by Navigators, for their benefit I am induced to make my observations public. The expence and trouble at which this knowledge has been acquired, are far from inconsiderable; however, if the accurate surveys and descriptions I am thereby enabled to give, prove instructive and beneficial to my country, I shall esteem myself amply repaid.

It may be proper to observe that I have had the assistance of the remarks and surveys, so far as relates to the mouths of the Mississippi and the coast and soundings of West-Florida, of the late ingenious Mr. George Gauld, a Gentleman who was employed by the Lords of the British Admiralty for the express purpose of making an accurate chart of the abovementioned places.

I have also had recourse, in describing some parts of the Mississippi, to the publication of Captain Pitman, who resided many years on that river, and was well acquainted with the country through which it flows.

A particular detail of the advantages that may in time accrue to the possessors of West-Florida, with a complete description of the country and its productions,
would

would not make an improper addition to the following work ; but as the more immediate purpose of it is to point out the dangers of its coasts to the approaching mariner, I shall confine the cursory remarks I make on those heads, to such particulars only as are most deserving of notice.

Before I enter on the prosecution of my design, I would just observe, that I shall be more solicitous to make the result of my investigations useful than amusing, I shall endeavour rather to be clear and intelligible than study to deliver myself in florid language.

AN
HISTORICAL
AND
TOPOGRAPHICAL
DESCRIPTION, &c.

A DESCRIPTION of the river Mississippi and the country through which it flows, called Louisiana, would have been the first objects submitted to the reader's attention; were it not humbly presumed that a short account of the discovery of the river Mississippi, and a view of the different States to which its banks have been subjected are judged necessary, before their description is attempted.

The merit of first discovering the river Mississippi, (or in the language of the natives, Meschaupi, for the general appellation of the former is a corruption of the latter) according to Lewis Hennepin's account published in London 1698, is due to the Sieur la Salle, who discovered that river in 1682. It seems that father Hennepin forgot that this river was previously discovered by Ferdinand de Soto in 1541, also by Col. Wood in 1654, and by Captain Bolt in 1670. Monsieur de la Salle was the first who traversed that river. In the spring of the same year 1682, he passed down to the mouths of the Mississippi; he afterwards remounted that river, and returned to Canada in the month of October following, from whence he took his passage to France, where he gave so flattering an account of the advantages that would certainly accrue from the settling a colony in those parts, that a company was formed for carrying those designs into execution, with a squadron consisting of four vessels; having

Discovery of
the Mississippi.

Arrival and
murder of la
Salle.

having on board a sufficient number of persons, and all kinds of goods and provisions, necessary for the service of the new colony, which he proposed to fix at or near the mouth of the Mississippi. But having failed beyond the mouth of the river, he attempted to fix a colony at the bay of St. Bernard, where he arrived the 18th of February 1684, about 100 leagues westward of the Mississippi. There his men underwent such hardships that most of them perished miserably. The leader, animated with an ardent desire of extending his discoveries, made various excursions with such of them who were able to travel; but on the 19th of March 1687, two of his men villainously murdered him, when exploring the interior parts of the country, in search of mines, and of the tract which led to those of St. Barbe in New Mexico.

Ibberville's
Arrival.

About seven years after, Mons. Ibberville, a respectable officer in the French navy, undertook to execute whatever La Salle had promised; and his reputation being established already, the court intrusted him with the conduct of the project. He carried his people very safely to the mouth of the great river, and there laid the foundation of the first colony the French ever had in the Mississippi. He took care to provide them with every thing necessary for their subsistence, and obliged them to erect a fort, for their defence against the Indians. This being done, he returned to France in order to obtain supplies.

Louisiana
granted to Cro-
zat.

The success of his voyage made him extremely welcome at court, and he was soon in a condition to put to sea again. His second voyage was as fortunate as the first; but very unluckily for his colony, he died whilst he was preparing for the third. The design might have been abandoned, had not Crozat, a private man of an immense fortune, undertaken its support at his own expence. In 1712, the King gave him Louisiana. Thus Lewis imitated the Pope, who

who divided between the kings of Spain and Portugal the territories of America, where the holy see had not one inch of ground.

In this grant the bounds are fixed by the Illinois river and the lake of that name on the North; by Carolina on the East, the gulph of Mexico on the South, and New Mexico on the West. As to Canada, or New France, the French court would scarcely admit it had any other northern boundary than the Pole. The avidity of Great Britain was equal, but France having been unfortunate in the war of 1710, the northern boundary of Canada was fixed by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. It assigns New Britain and Hudson's Bay, on the North of Canada, to Great Britain; and commissioners afterwards on both sides ascertained the limits by an imaginary line, running from a cape or promontory in New Britain to the Atlantic ocean, in 58 degrees 30 minutes North latitude, thence South-west to the lake Misgosink or Mistasim; from thence farther South-west directly to the latitude of 49 degrees. All the lands to the North of the imaginary line, being assigned to Great Britain; and all southward of that line, as far as the river of St. Lawrence, to the French. These were at that time the true limits of Louisiana and Canada, Crozat's grant not subsisting long after the death of Lewis XIV.

Bounds of
Louisiana.

Limits of
Louisiana and
Canada by the
treaty of
Utrecht.

In order to have some plausible pretence for setting on foot a project for changing the face of public affairs in France, this settlement was thought the most convenient; and therefore all imaginable pains were taken to represent it as a paradise, and place from whence inexhaustible riches might be derived, provided due encouragement could be obtained from government. For this purpose it was thought requisite that a new company should be erected, to make way for which Mr. Crozat was to resign his grant; which he did accordingly.

Crozat's grant
vacated.

This

This occasioned the noise that was made about the Mississippi, not in France only, but throughout all Europe, which was filled with romantic stories of the vast fruitfulness of the banks of this great river, and the incredible wealth that was likely to flow from thence; and those accounts, though true in part, in the end proved ruinous to many.

Bounds of
Louisiana
before the
peace of 1762.

Before the treaty of peace in 1762, Louisiana, or the southern part of New France, extended in the French maps from the gulph of Mexico, in about 29 degrees, to near 45 degrees of North latitude, on the West of the Mississippi, and to near 39 degrees on its eastern bank. Its boundaries were Canada on the North; New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and the North-west part of the easternmost peninsula of Florida, on the East; the Gulf of Mexico on the South; and lastly the kingdom of New Mexico on the West.

Aburd claims.

The European states having observed that kings and republicks claimed the sovereignty of every tract which had been seen, and were pretended to have been discovered by navigators sailing under their flags, their geographers were not permitted to publish maps which might have contradicted such wild claims. This was the absurdity of former days. But political circumstances often emboldened pretenders to urge their chimerical rights; and their no less chimerical opponents then yielded what they had no better right to cede. But the absurd recognition of such absurd pretensions is but a temporary compliance. It ever did and ever will sow the seeds of implacable animosities and contentions, until pre-occupancy and cultivation, the true tests of lawful possession, shall have remedied the former invalidity of the claim.

Both sides of the Mississippi continued under the dominion of his most Christian Majesty till the peace of 1762, when the eastern side was ceded to the king of
Great

Great Britain by the 7th article of the definitive treaty, in the following words. " In order to re-establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all subject of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America, it is agreed, that for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the Lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain, to the sea; and for this purpose the most Christian King cedes in full right, and guaranties to his Britannic Majesty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain, as to those of France, in its whole length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth: it is further stipulated that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation, shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulations inserted in the 4th article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, shall also take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article."

Division line
between the
French and
English in
1762.

In the year 1762, and the day before the preliminary articles to the peace were signed, his Christian Majesty ceded to Spain all his territories on the western side of the Mississippi, together with the town of

The cession of
his Christian
Majesty to
Spain.

New Orleans, and the peninsula in which it is situated on the eastern bank. But the inhabitants of Louisiana were ignorant of this cession before the year 1764, when Mr. D'Abbadie, then governor, published the king's letter to him on that subject, mentioning the date of the cession, and containing a declaration that he had stipulated with Spain that the French laws and usages should not be altered.

Bounds by the
Definitive
Treaty of
1783.

The definitive treaty, between Great-Britain and the United States of America, signed at Paris the 3d day of September 1783, runs as follows :

“ARTICLE 1. His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz. New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign, and independent states; that he treats with them as such, and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, property, and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof.

“ART. 2. And that all disputes which might arise in future, on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States, may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and shall be their boundaries, viz. From the North-west angle of Nova-Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due North from the source of St. Croix river to the Highlands, along the said Highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Laurence from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the North-westernmost head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of North latitude; from thence by a line due West on said latitude, until it strikes the river Irriquois or Cataraqui; thence along
the

the middle of the said river into Lake Ontario; through the middle of the said lake until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake, until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron, thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior, northward of the Isles Royal and Phelipeaux to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of said Long Lake and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods, thence through the said Lake to the most North-western point thereof, and from thence on a due West course to the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of North latitude. South, by a line to be drawn due East from the determination of the line last mentioned in the latitude of thirty-one degrees North of the Equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Catanouche: thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint-River: thence straight to the head of St. Mary's River: and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic ocean: East, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the River St. Croix, from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly North to the aforesaid Highlands which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean from those which fall into the River St. Laurence, comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due East from the points where the aforesaid boundaries

boundaries between Nova-Scotia on the one part, and East-Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean, excepting such islands as now are or heretofore have been within the limits of the said province of Nova-Scotia.

“ART. 8. The navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall for ever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain, and the citizens of the United States.”

Having mentioned all the boundaries that were at different periods assigned to Louisiana, the conduct of the Spaniards on possessing themselves of that colony, is to be considered next in course.

Arrival of
Don Ulloa at
New Orleans
with soldiers.

Don Antonio Ulloa arrived at New Orleans about the middle of the year 1766, but deferred to take possession of the government of the colony in his Catholic Majesty's name, until he had received special orders to that effect.

In the beginning of the year 1767, two thousand Spanish soldiers were sent from the Havanna, but he did not then take possession of the country. He sent however about sixty of these troops to erect two forts, one opposite to the British fort, named Bute, on the mouth of the Ibberville, and the other on the western side of the Mississippi, a little below the Natchez, where a detachment of British troops had taken post; another party was sent in the autumn of 1767 to build a fort at the mouth of the river Missouri; but the commandant had positive orders not to interfere with the civil government of the Illinois country, where Mons. de Saint Ange the French commandant continued to command with about twenty French soldiers. Don Antonio Ulloa, without taking possession in his Catholic Majesty's name, and consequently without authority from France or Spain, established monopolies, restricted commerce, and committed several abuses, which rendered him odious

to

to the colonists. At last, on the 29th of October 1768, the council issued a decree to oblige him and the principal Spanish officers to leave the province in November following, notwithstanding M. Aubry's remonstrances, and the protest he made against the edict of the council.

Spaniards obliged to depart from Louisiana.

Don Ulloa's conduct had rendered him the more obnoxious, as, from the letter written by the king of France, acquainting Mr. D'Abbadie with the cession he had made to Spain, it appeared that the two kings had agreed, that Louisiana should retain her laws, privileges and customs. The French, nay the Spaniards themselves, all blamed Mr. Aubry's acquiescence; for every one was sensible that the king of France never would have directed him to treat Don Ulloa with an obsequiousness which degraded royal authority and the French nation; and that his instructions could, at most, authorise Mr. Aubry to follow that officer's advice, until the government of Louisiana should be delivered to Spain. Whatever entreaties had been used to persuade Don Ulloa to take possession, and by that measure render the exercise of his authority lawful, he evaded, but did not cease to oppress; so that he lost the esteem which he had acquired by the publication of his voyages; and the colonists having been informed of the severity with which he had governed the city of Quito in Peru, he was only considered as a tyrant, whose sole merit was to be learned in the mathematics.

Don Ulloa obnoxious to the people.

The superior council, guided by the Intendant and the Attorney General, having threatened him with a prosecution, he declared that, at the Balize, Mr. Aubry had privately delivered to him the command of the colony. As none could conceive that a clandestine possession ought to authorise the public exercise of sovereign power, Ulloa's declaration was judged an artifice of the grossest texture; and Mr. Aubry, who

Threatened with a prosecution.

who affirmed the declaration to be true, was not believed. It made him fall into contempt, and emboldened the leaders of the party which opposed him. These increased the doubts of the public relative to the cession, and served to convince every one, that the Spaniards did not seriously intend taking possession :---
 “ The cession,” said they, “ was made in 1762, the
 “ day before the preliminary articles of peace were
 “ signed : near two years elapsed before it was first
 “ known by the king’s letter to Mr. D’Abbadie :
 “ more than another year passed before the arrival of
 “ Don Ulloa, who has been above two years in the
 “ country and did not yet take possession.” If the reflections occasioned by these circumstances put together ; if the conjectures scattered in the English news-papers, or by the English who came into the country, led the inhabitants to think that the cession was fictitious, and a state manœuvre, their fears were at the same time quieted, since they did not apprehend those evils which the change of sovereignty makes almost unavoidable, even when the new government is milder and more favourable. On the other hand, their indignation was the greater against Don Ulloa, who abused the reasons of state that were supposed to be the cause of his having been sent to Louisiana ; who availed himself of Mr. Aubry’s imbecility, to establish a species of despotism, the more intolerant, as it shocked the manners of the French nation.

To put a stop to this tyranny, it would have been sufficient to commence, with circumspection, a juridical prosecution against him, and inform the ministry of the proceedings. But the council began by issuing a decree for expelling him and the Spaniards. To reduce the people to the necessity of supporting that violence, the leaders excited them to offend the king of Spain, from whom they had received no injury, and who doubtless would have punished his officer,

Doubts of the public respecting his conduct.

Their want of circumspection.

ficer, had the council proceeded with respect, and used lawful means to transmit to him their grievances.

But, indignities were offered to the Spanish flag; a step which rendered the insult personal to the king of Spain, and made him overlook his envoy's misdemeanors. This is not all: the council and the inhabitants sent deputies to France, charged them to represent the grievances of the colony to their sovereign, and supplicate him to retain the province. Their prayers were accompanied with protestations of devotion and loyalty. But before the departure of these deputies, the leaders of the faction seduced some members of the council, secretly sent another deputation to Pensacola; and, without the people's knowledge, offered Louisiana to Great Britain!

Indignities,
&c. offered.

Deputies sent
to France—

The dread of being called to account, with which the crafty Don Ulloa had often threatened the Intendant and the Attorney General, that he might obstruct their prosecutions, and silence them, relatively to his own conduct, was doubtless the sole cause of that desperate step, the authors of which might have foreseen the unsuccessful issue, had they not been bereft of their senses. It is true that there has been no public inquiry on that head; and therefore, the public has no juridical proof of this fact; but the characteristics of such inquiry as was made, its terrifying apparatus, its result, and the concerted silence of those by whom it was directed, sufficiently confirm not only what is openly said among the English, but what the inhabitants of Louisiana whisper to each other, when complaining of their miseries with which the perfidiousness of their leaders had loaded them, though not accomplices of their crimes. It is also said, that the governor of West-Florida was unwilling to countenance the treason and revolt of the subjects of a prince then in peace with Great Britain: it is affirmed that he sent to Mr. Aubry the original offers

offers he had received, and that Don Ulloa, who had not yet failed, carried them with him to Europe for his justification. Why then did not Mr. Aubry produce that paper to confound the conspirators? They would have been looked upon with execration by the people whom they had betrayed, and the disturbances would have immediately subsided. Can it be believed, that the governor of Florida insisted on secrecy, as it is intimated by some persons who would be glad to apologize for Mr. Aubry's conduct respecting this matter? Had the intestine divisions, which then rent the British colonies of North-America, induced the British governor to discover the conspiracy in order to prevent the fatal consequences of so dangerous an example, would not secrecy have deprived him of the only fruit he could expect from his policy?

—Never heard of.

Monfieur de Sacier, one of the council, with two other Gentlemen of the colony, who were sent to France with the edict of the superior council, and to implore the protection of the king, as before mentioned, were imprisoned on their arrival, and have never been heard of since.

During six months, which elapsed before news could be received from Europe, the unhappy colonists vainly flattered themselves with hopes of being justified for the steps they had taken by the court of France. On the 23d of July 1769, news was brought to New Orleans of the arrival of General O'Riley at the Balize, with eighteen transports, followed by ten more from the Havanna, having four thousand five hundred troops on board, and loaded with stores and ammunition. This intelligence threw the town into the greatest consternation and perplexity, as but a few days before, letters had arrived from Europe signifying that the colony was restored to France.

Gen. O'Riley's arrival at the Balize.

Inhabitants determined to oppose him.

In the general distraction that took place, the inhabitants of the town and the adjacent plantations determined

determined to oppose the landing of the Spaniards, and sent couriers requiring the Germans and Acadian Neutrals to join them. On the 24th an express arrived from General O'Riley, which was read by Monsieur Aubry to the people in church; by this they were informed that he was sent by his Catholic Majesty to take possession of the colony, but not to distress the inhabitants; and that when he should be in possession, he would publish the remaining part of the orders he had in charge from the king his master; and should any attempt be made to oppose his landing, he was resolved not to depart until he could put his majesty's commands in execution.

The people, dissatisfied with this ambiguous message, came to a resolution of sending three deputies to General O'Riley, viz. Messieurs Grandmaison town-major, La Friniere attorney-general, and De Mazant formerly captain in the colony's troops, and a man of very considerable property; these gentlemen acquainted him, that the inhabitants had come to a resolution of abandoning the province, and demanded no other favour than that he would grant them two years to remove themselves and effects. The general received the deputies with great politeness, but did not enter into the merits of their embassy, farther than assuring them, that he would comply with every reasonable request of the colonists; that he had the interest of their country much at heart, and nothing on his part should be wanting to promote it; that all past transactions should be buried in oblivion, and all who had offended should be forgiven: to this he added every thing that he imagined could flatter the expectations of the people. On the first of August the deputies returned, and made public the kind reception the general had given them, and the fair promises he had made. The minds of the people were now greatly tranquilized, and those who had before determined

Deputies sent
to meet him.

suddenly to quit their plantations now resolved to remain until their crops were off the ground.

His arrival & disembarking of the troops at New Orleans.

On the 16th of August 1769, General O'Riley with the frigate, transports and troops on board arrived opposite to New Orleans. On the 18th the troops disembarked, and the general took possession in form, of New Orleans and the province of Louisiana, in the name of his Catholic Majesty, as quietly as a French governor would have done in the happiest times; and on the 25th, ordered the attorney general and twelve others amongst the principal inhabitants to be arrested.

Attorney-General and others arrested.

Of these thirteen, no more than one was released: this was the printer, who produced the positive orders which the intendant had given him, for printing the decree issued against Don Ulloa, and several other writings. A few days before the proceedings began, a young gentleman nearly related to the attorney general, and one of the prisoners, feigned a design of forcibly rescuing himself from the soldiers who guarded him. He received several wounds, which gave him that death which he sought. The proceedings against the eleven others, were conducted in a military manner by Gen. O'Riley, and the members of the court were mostly Spanish officers. The council of war pronounced their sentence on those proceedings. In vain did the attorney general and the other prisoners demand to be tried by the French laws. These would not have proved favourable to their accusers. General O'Riley was so unjust as to refuse that reasonable request. The attorney general and four others, who were shot with him, died with fortitude. Had they really deserved that fate, their condemnation is not the less criminal, in the eyes of those who are not stupid enough to reverence authority when trampling upon the laws. The sentence of the court martial dishonours the authors and tools of that injustice; it dishonours no others. The

Sentence of the Council of War.

The six other state prisoners were sent to fort Moro in the island of Cuba, whence they were released after one year's confinement. The estates of the eleven persons, who were condemned by the court martial, were confiscated, according to the practice of most countries; a practice as impolitic as it is unjust. It reflects disgrace on princes, occasions the impunity of the greatest crimes, and often multiplies the number of criminals. Many might be virtuous enough not to screen a guilty kinsman from justice; but few have sufficient magnanimity to see with indifference the estate of that kinsman pass into the prince's coffers, or those of his ministers. How many has not this sole reason seduced to engage in conspiracies or rebellions, which they would otherwise have wished to destroy: in such cases it frequently happens that the prince, whom confiscations cause to behold as an enemy, is deservedly opposed for his rapaciousness or inattention to his own interest.

The French beheld, with horror, their countrymen given up to foreigners, privately tried and arbitrarily punished, for crimes of which they were accused in a country subject to France. The indignity offered to Spain was the ostensible cause of their condemnation; but whatever their crime might have been, France alone ought to have had cognizance of it. If the accused were guilty of nothing else; or if, for state reasons, it was thought proper to mention that offence only, the king of Spain would have caused his name to be for ever blessed in the colony, had he, a judge in his own cause, generously forgiven. The measures that have been adopted, have produced a very different effect. They are nearly the same as those of the Portuguese government, which contrived Father Malagrida's being burnt by the inquisition, on the pretence of his having boasted that he had sometimes conversed with the Holy Virgin; but whose

real

The French beheld, with horror, their countrymen given up to foreigners.

real crime was an attempt against his sovereign's life, in order to make another family ascend the throne. Crimes like these, openly perpetrated by the administration against the laws, common sense and public safety; can no where be palliated with the pretence of necessity. Whatever those who advise them may think on the subject, they betray their country and their sovereign himself. In free states, where the personal safety of the meanest individual is as interesting to the whole nation as that of the greatest, crimes of this kind are never seen. They can be committed in such countries only, where despotism is established; where a few, favoured slaves, reduce the rest secretly to wish for the annihilation of those whom they seemingly adore.

The same disordered brains which projected the illegal prosecutions carried on against the factious leaders of Louisiana, have doubtless fancied, that they would deserve immortality for a masterly stroke of policy, when they procured the abolition of the laws, privileges, and superior council of Louisiana, under the pretence of a decree issued against Don Ulloa. Have they really thought that people could be deceived by names which were to represent nothing? The shadow of a tribunal was established under the name of Cabildo government, that is civil government, but the governor and his assessor are in fact the only judges. Since the judgments given by them jointly have the same virtue as those of that Cabildo government, few are so unskilful as to apply to this tribunal. Nay, who would dare to do it except in trifling matters? Was it likewise believed that, for the governor and his assessor's conveniency, the substituting of the Spanish language to the French, in all the juridical proceedings of Louisiana, where the inhabitants understand the French language only; the impartial dispensation of justice, which is the true glory of the state, would

Abolition of
the laws of
Louisiana.

would thence be effectually promoted? Things will certainly go well, as long as governors and their assessors shall have all the qualifications that perfect judges ought to have, and whilst the parties can procure faithful interpreters: but it is as true that, wise as these regulations are boasted to be, they depopulate the colony. -

General O'Riley confirmed all the decrees of the superior council, except that which had been issued against Don Ulloa. This was solemnly approving the seditious nomination of the members of Mr. Foucault's and the Attorney-General's making; it was therefore arrogantly annulling the protest which Mr. Aubry had entered in behalf of the king of France and the public, against that nomination, and all the decrees issued out of that tribunal during the anarchy; it was depriving those who had been oppressed from the hopes of obtaining redress in the colony. For, the council being abolished, how could any one take the benefit of the French laws, (since trials by peers or juries are refused) or think despotic rulers would allow of applying to sovereign courts for obtaining new trials of the causes, which they themselves may have tried illegally, or against evidence? But, to flatter the Spaniards, Gen. O'Riley had determined that they alone should be judges; and military men of that nation could not, with the least plausibility, pretend that they were acquainted with the French laws; he, therefore, had rather cut off than untie. Such is the disposition of tyrants of every rank and denomination: Alexander cutting the Gordian Knot is, perhaps, of all the fables that are confounded with history, that which more truly characterises despotism. Men who led by avarice and ambition obtain admittance to that order, disregarding the people to whose preservation they seem to have professedly devoted themselves, but who are determined on making their fortunes, are never disturbed

Gen. O'Riley confirms the decrees of the Superior Council.

The disposition of tyrants.

disturbed in the least about the means which can promote their grand design. Their eyes being fixed on all those who have a share in the dispensation of wealth and honours, they see them only. Their mercenary zeal prompts them to wish for their being entrusted with iniquitous and inhuman orders, which they alone are fit to execute. Strangers to nature, they are deaf to the voice of justice and the cries of humanity; and, unable to rise by noble and generous actions, they glory in displaying their zeal for the prince, by wholly loading themselves with that public execration which attends the execution of sanguinary orders. It is not from such abject souls that a prince, inebriated with power, can ever learn that there are moments, not numerous indeed, but yet frequent enough to comfort the oppressed and chastise the oppressor---moments, when, after having made himself odious to his subjects; after having weakened and degraded them, he may regret their attachment, the courage which despotism has endeavoured to enervate, and the patriotism which it has attempted to destroy.

Galvez takes possession of the British posts.

After this General Galvez Governor of New Orleans, in the year 1779, possessed himself of the British posts at the Iberville and Baton Rouge. By capitulation, the post at the Natchez was evacuated, and the garrison permitted to join the troops at Pensacola. The Spaniards likewise reduced the forts of Mobile and Pensacola; the former in the year 1780, and the latter in 1781. The above conquests not only subjected the eastern side of the Mississippi, but the whole province of West-Florida to the dominion of Spain.

Having briefly touched on the principal revolutions which have happened in Louisiana, I shall now proceed with a short account of the Mississippi.

The safety and commercial prosperity which may be

be secured to the United States by the definitive treaty of peace, will chiefly depend upon the share of the navigation of the Mississippi which shall be allowed to them. Is it not amazing, true as it is, that few amongst us know this to be the key to the northern part of the western continent? It is the only channel through which that extensive region, bathed by its waters, and enriched by the many streams it receives, communicates with the sea. And here let us further observe, that the Mississippi river may truly be considered as the great passage made by the hand of nature for a variety of valuable purposes, but principally to promote the happiness and benefit of mankind; amongst which, the conveyance of the produce of that immense and fertile country, lying westward of the United States, down its stream to the Gulf of Mexico, is not the least. To expect the free navigation of the Mississippi is absurd, whilst the Spaniards are in possession of New Orleans, which commands the entrance to the western country above-mentioned; this is an idea calculated to impose only upon the weak. The Spaniards have forts on the Mississippi, and whenever they may think it consistent with their interest, they will make use of them to prevent our navigating on it. Treaties are not always to be depended on; the most solemn have been broken*: therefore we learn that no one should put much faith in the princes of any country: for he that trusts to any thing but the operation of their interest, is a poor politician; and he that complains of deceit, where there is an interest to deceive, will ever be considered as deficient in understanding.

Commercial advantages from the treaty of peace.

Account of the Mississippi.

The great length and uncommon depth of that river,

* Notwithstanding the free navigation of the Mississippi allowed by the treaty of 1762, General O'Riley, in the year 1769, sent a party of soldiers to cut the hawfers of a British vessel called the Sea Flower, that had made fast to the bank of the river above the town of New Orleans; the order was obeyed, and the vessel narrowly escaped being lost.

river, and the excessive muddiness and salubrious quality of its waters, after its junction with the Mississippi, are very singular*. The direction of the channel is so crooked, that from New Orleans to the mouth of the Ohio, a distance which does not exceed 460 miles in a straight line, is about 856 by water. It may be shortened at least 250 miles, by cutting across eight or ten necks of land, some of which are not 30 yards wide. Charlevoix relates that in the year 1722, at Point Coupeé or Cut Point, the river made a great turn, and some Canadians, by deepening the channel of a small brook, diverted the waters of the river into it. The impetuosity of the stream was so violent and the soil of so rich and loose a quality that, in a short time, the point was entirely cut through, and travellers saved 14 leagues of their voyage. The old bed has no water in it, the times of the periodical overflows only excepted. The new channel has been since founded with a line of thirty fathoms, without finding bottom.

In the spring floods the Mississippi is very high, and the current so strong that with difficulty it can be ascended; but that disadvantage is compensated by eddies or counter-currents, which always run in the bends close to the banks of the river with nearly equal velocity against the stream, and assist the ascending boats. The current at this season descends at the rate of about five miles an hour. In autumn, when the waters are low, it does not run faster than two miles, but it is rapid in such parts of the river, which have clusters of islands, shoals and sand-banks. The circumference of many of these shoals being several

* In a half pint tumbler of this water has been found a sediment of two inches of slime. It is, notwithstanding, extremely wholesome and well tasted, and very cool in the hottest seasons of the year; the rowers who are then employed drink of it when they are in the strongest perspiration, and never receive any bad effects from it. The inhabitants of New Orleans use no other water than that of the river, which by keeping in jars becomes perfectly clear.

veral miles, the voyage is longer and in some parts more dangerous than in the spring. The merchandize necessary for the commerce of the upper settlements on or near the Mississippi, is conveyed in the spring and autumn in batteaux rowed by 18 or 20 men, and carrying about 40 tons. From New Orleans to the Illinois, the voyage is commonly performed in eight or ten weeks. A prodigious number of islands, some of which are of great extent, intersperse that mighty river. Its depth increases as you ascend it. Its waters, after overflowing its banks below the river Iberville, never return within them again. These singularities distinguish it from every other known river in the world. Below New Orleans the land begins to be very low on both sides of the river across the country, and gradually declines as it approaches nearer to the sea. This point of land which in the treaty of peace in 1762, is mistaken for an island, is to all appearance of no long date; for in digging ever so little below the surface, you find water and great quantities of trees. The many beaches and breakers, as well as inlets, which arose out of the channel within the last half century, at the several mouths of the river, are convincing proofs that this peninsula was wholly formed in the same manner. And it is certain that when La Salle sailed down the Mississippi to the sea, the opening of that river was very different from what it is at present.

The nearer you approach to the sea, this truth becomes more striking. The bars that cross most of these small channels, opened by the current, have been multiplied by means of the trees carried down with the streams; one of which stopped by its roots or branches, in a shallow part, is sufficient to obstruct the passage of thousands more, and to fix them at the same place. Such collections of trees are daily seen between the Balize and the Missouri, which singly

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would

would supply the largest city in Europe, with fuel for several years. No human force being sufficient for removing them, the mud carried down by the river serves to bind and cement them together. They are gradually covered, and every inundation not only extends their length and breadth, but adds another layer to their height. In less than ten years time, canes and shrubs grow on them, and form points and islands, which forcibly shift the bed of the river.

Nothing can be asserted, with certainty, respecting its length. Its source is not known, but supposed to be upwards of 3000 miles from the sea as the river runs. We only know that, from St. Anthony's falls, it glides with a pleasant clear stream, and becomes comparatively narrow before its junction with the Missouri, the muddy waters of which immediately discolour the lower part of the river to the sea. Its rapidity, breadth, and other peculiarities then begin to give it the majestic appearance of the Missouri which affords a more extensive navigation, and is a longer, broader and deeper river than the Mississippi. It has been ascended by French traders about twelve or thirteen hundred miles, and from the depth of water, and breadth of the river at that distance, it appeared to be navigable many miles further.

From the Missouri river to nearly opposite the Ohio, the western bank of the Mississippi is (some few places excepted) higher than the eastern. From Mine au fer to the Ibberville, the eastern bank is higher than the western, on which there is not a single discernable rising or eminence, the distance of 750 miles. From the Ibberville to the sea, there are no eminences on either side, though the eastern bank appears rather the higher of the two, as far as the English turn. Thence the banks gradually diminish in height to the mouths of the river, where they are not two or three feet higher than the common surface of the water.

The

The slime which the annual floods of the river Mississippi leaves on the surface of the adjacent shores, may be compared with that of the Nile, which deposits a similar manure, and for many centuries past has insured the fertility of Egypt. When its banks shall have been cultivated as the excellency of its soil and temperature of the climate deserve, its population will equal that, or any other part of the world. The trade, wealth and power of America will at some future period, depend and perhaps center upon the Mississippi. This also resembles the Nile in the number of its mouths, all issuing into a sea that may be compared to the Mediterranean, which is bounded on the North and South by the two continents of Europe and Africa, as the Mexican bay is by North and South America. The smaller mouths of this river might be easily stopped up, by means of those floating trees with which the river during the floods is always covered. The whole force of the channel being united, the only opening then left would probably grow deep as well as the bar.

Comparison
with the Nile.

Probability of
deepening the
channel.

To judge of the produce to be expected from the soil of Louisiana, let us turn our eyes to Egypt, Arabia Felix, Persia, India, China, and Japan, all lying in correspondent latitudes. Of these China alone has a tolerable government; and yet it must be acknowledged they all are, or have been, famous for their riches and fertility. When our wandering imagination soars to regions of wealth and terrestrial bliss, it delights in resting on those countries we have just mentioned.

Produce of
Louisiana.

Louisiana is agreeably situated between the extremes of heat and cold. Its climate varies as it extends towards the North. The southern parts, lying within the reach of the refreshing breezes from the sea, are not scorched like those under the same latitudes in Africa; and its northern regions are colder than those

Its pleasant
climate.

those of Europe under the same parallels, with a wholesome serene air, very similar to the South of France and Lisbon. New Orleans, situated in 30d. 2 m. which nearly answers to the northern coasts of Barbary and Egypt, enjoys the same temperature of climate with Marseilles. Not quite two degrees higher in the country of the Natchez, the climate is much more uniform and temperate than at New Orleans. And in the country of the Illinois, which lies about 37 degrees, the summer season is nearly the same as at Paris in France.

Objections to
the navigation
of the
Mississippi
removed.

An objection has been often made by misinformed men, otherwise of great abilities, who too credulously believed that the navigation of the Mississippi river, on account of its rapid current, was more difficult than it is in reality. It appears from the calculation made by several skilful and experienced travellers, that in the autumn when the waters are low, the current descends at the rate of about one and a half or two miles in an hour; and that the waters are in this state more than one half of the year. In the spring when the freshes are up, or at their greatest height, the current runs at the rate of five or six miles. It is true that the navigation would be difficult at that season, to those who sail or row up against the stream; but there is no example of such folly. When the waters of this river are high, the commodities and produce of the interior country are gathered and prepared for exportation with the descending current. And when the waters are low, the produce of the interior country is growing to maturity. This is the time for the navigator's importation. Great advantages are likewise taken then from eddy currents. At present there are few builders skilful enough to construct vessels better calculated for that navigation, than those already mentioned. Time and experience will doubtless produce improvements, and render the navigation

vigation of this river nearly as cheap as any other. But that the Mississippi can answer every purpose of trade and commerce, is proved to a demonstration, by the rapid progress the French, German, and Acadian inhabitants on that river, have made. They have attained a state of opulence never before so soon acquired in any new country. And this was effected under all the discouragements of an indolent and rapacious government. It may be further asserted, that no country in North-America, or perhaps in the universe, exceeds the neighbourhood of the Mississippi in fertility of soil and temperature of climate. Both sides of this river are truly remarkable for the very great diversity and luxuriance of their productions. They might probably be brought, from the favourableness of the climate, to produce two annual crops of Indian corn as well as rice, and with little cultivation would furnish grain of every kind in the greatest abundance. But this value is not confined to the fertility and immensity of champaign lands; their timber is as fine as any in the world, and the quantities of live and other oak, ash, mulberry, walnut, cherry, cypress, and cedar, are astonishing. The neighbourhood of the Mississippi, besides, furnishes the richest fruits in great variety, particularly grapes, oranges, and lemons in the highest perfection. It produces silk, cotton, saffrafs, saffron and rhubarb; is peculiarly adapted for hemp and flax, and in goodness of tobacco equals the Brazils; and indigo is at this present a staple commodity, which commonly yields the planter from three to four cuttings. In a word, whatever is rich or rare in the most desirable climates in Europe, seems natural to such a degree on the Mississippi; that France, though she sent few or no emigrants into Louisiana but decayed soldiers, or persons in indigent circumstances, (and these very poorly supplied with the implements of husbandry) soon began

Its advantages
for trade and
commerce.

Equal to any
country in
North-Ame-
rica.

began

began to dread a rival in her colony, particularly in the cultivation of vines, from which she prohibited the colonists under a very heavy penalty; yet soil and situation triumphed over all political restraints, and the adventurers, at the end of the war in 1762, were very little inferior to the most ancient settlements of America in all the modern refinements of luxury.

Soil and situation triumph over political restraints.

The Mississippi furnishes in great plenty several sorts of fish, particularly perch, pike, sturgeon, eel, and calts of a monstrous size. Craw-fish abound in this country; they are in every part of the earth, and when the inhabitants chuse a dish of them, they send to their gardens where they have a small pond dug for that purpose, and are sure of getting as many as they have occasion for. A dish of shrimps is as easily procured: by hanging a small canvas bag with a bit of meat in it to the bank of the river, and letting it drop a little below the surface of the water, in a few hours a sufficient quantity will have got into the bag. Shrimps are found in the Mississippi as far as the Natchez, 34th miles from the sea.

River Mississippi furnishes fish.

Description of the coast and islands about the mouths of the Mississippi.

Having glanced at the many advantages that will result from the cultivation and improvement of the lands in the neighbourhood of the Mississippi, we now proceed with a description of the coasts and islands about the mouths of that river with directions to mariners.

The coast here is very low and marshy, and it would be difficult to find the entrances of that river, were it not for the houses at the old and new Balize, and the flag staff at the former, which appear some distance at sea. The white clayey colour of the river water remaining unmixed on the surface, is another indication that the Mississippi is not far distant; and though it may be alarming to strangers, as it was to myself when I first beheld it, as it has the appearance of a shoal, yet the soundings are much deeper off the Mississippi than any where else on the coast. It

It is an observation said to be founded on experience, that where the water of the Mississippi incorporates with, and apparently loses itself in the bay of Mexico, the current divides, and generally sets north-easterly and south-westerly, but out of soundings the currents are in a great measure governed by the winds; and if they are not attended to, vessels may be driven south-westward beyond the Balize into the bay of St. Bernard, which is reported to be full of shoals, and consequently a very dangerous navigation.

To come to an anchor off the Balize, vessels approaching the land ought to bring the old Balize to bear about W by S, and the new Balize nearly W N W; they will then be about two miles distant from, and opposite to the East pass, or mouth, in 13 or 14 fathom water: and the strong N E and S E winds always occasion great swells off the Balize, yet when anchored as above directed they may ride in safety; except a S E wind, which is the most dangerous, as it blows directly on shore, should come on so violent as to part them from their anchors, and prevent their carrying sail; in which case, if care has not been taken to obtain a good offing, they will drift either on the mud banks into the pass *ala Loutre*, which has only eight feet water, or into the bay Britton, where they will be in a critical situation, on account of the shoal water for which that bay is remarkable.

Directions to
Mariners.

The best precaution against the consequences of a south-east wind will be to get under way before the strength of the gale comes on, and to steer about N by W half W for the island called Grand Gosier distant 7 leagues. In sailing round the south westernmost part of which, care should be taken to steer clear of a shoal that runs out from it W S W about two miles, which being passed, vessels should luff up, until the S W end of the island bears nearly S E two miles; there

Precautions.

there is then good anchoring in three and an half fathoms soft bottom.

There is another safe anchoring place in 2 fathom water, just within the S W point of the Isle au Briton; from the S W end of which a shoal runs out nearly half a mile. This island is about a league to the westward of the Grand Gosier, and there is good anchoring between them in 3 and 4 fathoms.

If a south-east gale should happen at night, it would be impossible to see the way between the above islands. In that case, a N N E course from the mouths of the Mississippi will clear the chandelures, situated about 3 leagues to the northward of the Isle au Grand Gosier, which are better than 9 leagues in length. As all the above islands are low and have no trees growing on them, they cannot be seen at any distance. On that account it will be necessary when sailing towards them, to keep a good look out. There is drift wood on these islands, and fresh water may be got by digging. The water between the chandelures and the peninsula of Orleans is full of shoals, and the navigation fit only for small craft.

Mouths of
the Mississippi
how formed.

The river Mississippi discharges itself into the gulph of Mexico by several mouths of different depths of water: in the year 1772, that called the south-east in latitude 29 d 10 m North, and longitude 89 d 10 m West from London afforded 12 feet; the East mouth, which before the above period furnished 15 feet, had then no more than 10 and an half feet; and the north-east only 9 and an half feet on the bar of it. The latter now affords 12 feet, and S W has sixteen feet. The bars are subject to shift; but immediately after entering the river, there is from 3 to 7, 8 and 10 fathoms as far as the south-west pass, and from thence 12, 15, 20 and 30 fathoms is the general depth for 1142 computed miles to the Missouri river.

The

The shoals about the Mississippi are formed from the trees, mud, leaves, and a variety of other matter continually brought down by the waters of the river, which being forced along by the current, until repelled by the tides, then subside, and occasion what are commonly called the bars: their distance from the entrances of the river, which is generally about 2 miles, depend much on the winds being accidentally with or against the tides: when these bars accumulate sufficiently to resist the tides and the current of the river, they form numerous small islands, which by constantly increasing, join to each other and at last reach the continent.

All the land bordering the mouths of the Mississippi has been made in this manner. It is more than probable that the whole of the country on both sides of the river as far as the Ibberville, a distance of 204 miles, has been produced in a succession of ages by the vast quantities of mud, trees, leaves &c. brought down by the annual floods which overflow the banks of the Mississippi; the large trunks or bodies of trees which have been frequently found in digging in the above distance, seems to confirm this opinion; and it may reasonably be supposed, that the lakes on each side of this river are parts of the sea not yet filled up: thus the land is annually raised and constantly gains on the sea. The old Balize, a small port erected by the French on a little island, was in the year 1734, at the mouth of the river, it is now two miles above it. In the year 1766, Don Antonio D'Ulloa erected some barracks on a small island, the new Balize, (to which he gave the name of St. Carlos) for the convenience of pilots, and other purposes, being near the south-east entrance of the river, and a more dry and higher situation than any thereabouts. There was not the least appearance of this island 30 years ago*.

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* Whatever doubts may arise respecting the above account, there are not

Old and New
Balize.

The old and new Balize were formerly very inconsiderable posts, with 3 or 4 cannon in each, and garrisoned by a subaltern's command. Such are their situations that they neither defend the Mississippi, nor the deepest channel into it, and appear to have been established only for the purposes of assisting vessels coming into the river, and forwarding intelligence or dispatches to New Orleans.

In ascending
the Mississippi.

In ascending the Mississippi there are extensive natural meadows, with a prospect of the sea, on both sides, most part of the distance to the Detour aux Plaquemines, which is 32 miles: from thence to the settlements 20 miles further, the whole is a continued tract of low and marshy grounds, generally overflowed, and covered with thick wood, Palmetto bushes, &c. which appear almost impenetrable to either man or beast. From thence the banks of the river are well inhabited to the Detour des Anglois, where
the

Detour les
Anglois.

not instances wanting to prove that some other parts of the earth have been formed in a similar manner, as will appear by the following facts.

Havre de Grace is situated in the Pays de Caux, about 18 leagues from Rouen, and as much from Dieppe, on the point of a large valley at the mouth of the river Seine, in the latitude of 49 degrees 30 minutes North. It stands upon a plain spot of ground, full of morasses, and crossed by a great number of creeks, and ditches full of water, which contribute not a little to its security. This ground was originally gained out of the sea, and formed from the large quantities of sand, gravel, and mud, which the force of the tide and the river conveyed to that place in a long course of time and by insensible degrees. And as it was formed, so it seems to be daily increased by the same means: for we are assured by a late author*, that about 70 or 80 years ago, the sea, at high water, came very near that gate of the city which is next the harbour; whereas now the high water mark is nearly half a mile distant from it. So that it appears, the sea has gradually given way, and, as it were, retired to leave the earth at liberty to enlarge and extend itself. Nor ought we to be surpris'd at this. The ground on which the city of Tyre is built, though now united to the continent, being formerly part of an island. Venice would have had the same fate long ago, had it not been for the great pains the inhabitants have taken to prevent it: the sea formerly washed the walls of Ravenna, which is now a league distant from it; nor are other instances of this kind wanting, even in the same kingdom of France, particularly Frejus and Narbonne, a few centuries ago, were on the shore of the Mediterranean; but now the one is a league, and the other almost two, distant from it.—Description de la Haute Normandie, tom. i. p. 193.

* Piganiol de la Force, Nouvelle description de la France, tom. ix. page 593.

the circular direction of the river is so very considerable that vessels cannot pass it with the same wind that conducted them to it, and must either wait for a favourable wind, or make fast to the bank, and haul close, there being sufficient depth of water for any vessel that can enter the river. The two forts and batteries at this place, one of each, on both sides of the river, are more than sufficient to stop the progress of any vessel whatever*. The distance from hence to New Orleans is 18 miles. The Banks of the river are settled and well cultivated, and there is a good road for carriages all the way.

Nothing with certainty can be determined respecting the time a vessel may take in sailing from the Balize to New Orleans, a distance of 105 miles. With favourable winds the voyage has been performed in 3 or 4, but it generally takes 7 or 8 days, and sometimes two or three weeks. There is always shoal water near the low points of land covered with willows. In approaching them, a few casts of the lead will be necessary; and in several places there are trees fixed with one end in the bottom, and the other just below the surface of the river, and in the same direction with the current, which by continual friction of the water, are reduced to a point; and as there are instances of vessels sailing with force against them being run through their bottoms, and sinking immediately after, too much care cannot be taken to avoid them. Attention should also be paid to keep clear of the trees floating down the river during the floods†.

The

* Doctor Cox of New Jersey ascended the Mississippi to this place in the year 1698, took possession, and called the country Carolina.

† It is impossible to anchor without being exposed to the danger of the great trees, which frequently come down with the current, but more especially at the time of the floods, which if any of them should come athwart hawse, would most probably drive in the bows of the vessel;
and

The water is every where deep enough (except at the Willow Points) to admit vessels close to either shore, where instead of letting go an anchor, which would probably be lost among the logs sunk in the bottom of the river, vessels may safely make fast to the trees on the bank; which are generally tall and in such abundance, in some parts, that they prevent the winds from being of that service to vessels in ascending the Mississippi, that might be expected. It will be therefore necessary for expedition sake, to rig as many topmasts as possible, which commonly reach above the trees and are of more use than all the other masts together; however, care must be taken to stand by the halliards to prevent the wind, which frequently comes in very strong puffs, from carrying away the top masts, sails, &c.

Town and
fortifications
of New Orleans.

The town of New Orleans, the metropolis of Louisiana, was regularly laid out by the French in the year 1720 is situated on the East side of the river in 30 d 2 m North latitude, 105 miles from the Balize, as already mentioned; all the streets are perfectly straight but too narrow, and cross each other at right angles. There are betwixt seven and eight hundred houses in this town, generally built with timber frames raised about eight feet from the ground, with large galleries round them, and the cellars under the floors level with the ground: any subteraneous buildings would be constantly full of water. Most of the houses, have gardens: Exclusive of slaves, there are about seven thousand inhabitants of both sexes. The fortification is only a line of stockades, with bastions of
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and there is a certainty of losing the anchors, as the bottom of the river is very soft mud, covered with sunk logs this points out the impossibility for vessels to navigate upon the Mississippi, unless they are permitted to make fast to the shore and no vessel can be said to enjoy the free navigation of the river, if deprived of this necessary privilege.

the same materials, on three sides, a banquet within, and a very trifling ditch without, and is only a defence against musquetry. The side next the river is open, and is secured from the inundation of the river by a raised bank, generally called the *Levéé*, which extends from the English Turn, or the *Detour des Anglois*, to the upper settlements of the Germans, a distance of more than 50 miles, with a good road all the way. There is reason to believe the period is not very distant when New Orleans may become a great and opulent city, if we consider the advantages of its situation, but a few leagues from the sea, on a noble river, in a most fertile country, under a most delightful and wholesome climate, within two weeks sail of Mexico by sea, and still nearer the French Spanish and British islands in the West Indies, with a moral certainty of its becoming a general receptacle for the produce of that extensive and valuable country on the Mississippi, Ohio, and its other branches; all which are much more than sufficient to ensure the future wealth, power and prosperity of this city.

It may become a great and opulent city.

The vessels which sail up the Mississippi haul close along side the bank next to Orleans, to which they make fast, and take in or discharge their cargoes with the same ease as from a wharf.

Easy loading and unloading vessels.

From New Orleans there is a very easy communication with West-Florida, by means of the Bayouk of St. John, a little creek which is navigable for vessels drawing about four feet water six miles up from the lake Ponchartrain, where there is a landing-place, at which vessels load and unload: this is about two miles from the town. The entrance of the Bayouk of St. John is defended by a battery of five or six cannon. There are some plantations on the Bayouk, and on the road from thence to New Orleans.

Canes-Brulé, Chapitoula, and the German settlements join each other, and are a continuation of well-

Canes-Brulé, Chapitoula, and the German settlements.

well-cultivated plantations, of near fifty miles from New Orleans, on each side of the river. At the German settlements, on the West side of the river, is a church served by the Capuchins. There was formerly a small stockaded fort in the centre of the settlements on the East side of the river: this post was originally erected as an asylum for the inhabitants who first settled there, and were much molested by the Chactaws and Chickasaws, who in alliance carried on a war against the settlers on the Mississippi. Their entry into this part of the colony was very easy, as they went up a small creek, Tigahoe, in canoes. The entrance of this creek, which is in the lake Pontchartrain, was defended by a small redoubt, since in ruins.

Produce of the plantations, &c.

The produce of the plantations, commencing below the English Turn, and continuing to the upper settlements of the Germans, form a very considerable part of the commerce of this country; the different articles are indigo, cotton, rice, beans, myrtle-wax and lumber. The indigo is much esteemed for its beautiful colour and good quality; the colour is brighter than that which is fabricated at St. Domingo. The cotton formerly cultivated, though of a most perfect white, is of a very short staple, and is therefore not in great request. The different sorts of beans, rice, and myrtle candles, are articles in constant demand at St. Domingo.

Sugar made with success.

In the year 1762, several of the richest planters began the cultivation of sugar, and erected mills to press the canes; the sugar produced was of a very fine quality, and some of the crops were very large: but no dependance can be had on this article, as some years the winters are too cold, and kill the canes in the ground.

Slaves how employed in autumn.

In the autumn, the planters employ their slaves in cutting down and squaring timber, for sawing into boards

boards and scantling. The carriage of this timber is very easy, for those who cut it at the back of their plantations make a ditch, which is supplied with water from the back swamps, and by that means conduct their timber to the river with very little labour: others send their slaves up to the cypress swamps, of which there are a great many between New Orleans and Point Coupeé. There they make rafts of the timber they cut, and float down to New Orleans. Many of the planters have saw-mills, which are worked by the waters of the Mississippi, in the time of the floods, and then they are kept going night and day till the waters fall. The quantity of lumber sent from the Mississippi to the West India islands is prodigious, and it generally goes to a good market.

About 60 miles from New Orleans are the villages of the Humas and Alibamas. The former were once a considerable nation of Indians, but are reduced now to about 25 warriors; the latter consists of about 30, being part of a nation which lived near fort Toulouse, on the river Alabama, and followed the French when they abandoned that post in the year 1762. Three miles further up is the Fourche de Chetimachas, near which is the village of a tribe of Indians of the same name; they reckon about 27 warriors.

Villages of the
Humas and
Alibamas.

Fourche de
Chetimachas.

It is truly surprising, that the nations who have successively possessed Louisiana, never endeavoured to obtain an exact knowledge of the sea coast westward of the mouths of the Mississippi. The many difficulties and dangers to which vessels are exposed in making, and getting over the shallow and shifting bars of that river, as well as in a long and tedious navigation upwards of thirty leagues to New Orleans, would render a harbour to the westward of the Balize, and a water communication with the upper parts of the Mississippi of vast importance. The nature of the narrow

row

row slip of land extending upwards of 60 leagues between that river and the sea, in a westerly course, indicates very strongly the probability of a better and more easy communication from that quarter, than that by the river Iberville through the lakes Ponchartrain and Maurepas. This opinion is fully confirmed by the information received from Natchiabe, an intelligent chief of the Humas tribe, who inhabit the banks of a creek known by the name of the Chetimachas fork, already mentioned, and which I am now to describe. The Chetimachas forms one of the outlets of the Mississippi about 30 leagues above New Orleans, and after running in a southerly direction about 8 leagues from the river, divides into two branches, one of which runs south-westerly and the other south-easterly, to the distance of 7 leagues, when they both empty their waters into the Mexican Gulph.

On the Chetimachas, 6 leagues from the Mississippi, is a small settlement of a tribe of Indians of the same name. To this settlement the Chetimachas is uniformly about 100 yards in width, the depth from 2 to 4 fathoms, when the water is lowest. The course southerly, without any material winding or shoal, except at its rise from the Mississippi, where there are large collections of drifted logs, which have probably occasioned the sand bank formed at the same place. This bank however extends no farther than 60 yards, and through which a passage might easily be cleared for batteaux. The upper part of this outlet is also obstructed, in several places, by heaps of drifted logs similar to those just mentioned, but as the water, at all times, runs deep under them, they could easily be cleared off. It would be as easy to prevent any further collection of logs, or sands, at the entrance of this creek, by erecting a spar, with piles or caissons, a little above it, in an oblique direction with the current of the Mississippi. That difficulty once overcome, there

there is no other that can impede navigation from the river to the above mentioned settlement of the Chetimachas village; nor, as these Indians inform, to the Gulph. The banks on both sides of the Chetimachas, are generally higher than those of the Mississippi, and so elevated in some places as never to be overflowed. The ground rises gradually from its banks about 200 yards, and then gently descends to extensive cypress swamps. The natural productions are the same as on the Mississippi, but the soil from the extraordinary size and compactness of the canes growing on it, is something superior. If measures were adopted and pursued with a view to improve that communication, there would soon be, on its banks, the most prosperous and important settlements of that colony.

Nine miles above the Chetimachas is the *concession* of Monsieur Paris, a pleasant situation and good land. Large herds of cattle are generally kept here, belonging to the inhabitants of Point Coupé.

The settlements of the Acadians are on both sides of the river, and reach from the Germans to the Iberville. These are the remainder of the families which were sent by Gen. Lawrance from Nova Scotia to the then British southern provinces; where, by their industry, they did and might have continued to live very happy, but that they could not publicly enjoy the Roman catholic religion, to which they are greatly bigotted. They took the earliest opportunity, after the peace, of transporting themselves to St. Domingo, where the climate disagreed with them so much, that they, in a few months, lost near half their numbers; the remainder, few only excepted, were, in the latter end of the year 1763, removed to New Orleans at the expence of the king of France. There are about three hundred families of this unfortunate people settled in different parts of Louisiana. They

The settle-
ments of A-
cadians.

are sober and industrious ; they clothe themselves in almost every respect with the produce of their own fields, and the work of their own hands, and are very obedient and useful subjects.

River Ibber-
ville.

The river Ibberville is 99 miles from New Orleans, 204 miles from the Balize, and 270 miles from Pensacola, by the way of the lakes Pouchartrain and Maurepas.

In 1765 a post was established here, and the garrison, which was a detachment of the 34th regiment, withdrawn in the month of July in the same year. In December 1766, this post was re-possessed, and a small stockaded fort built by a party of the 21st regiment, and was demolished and abandoned in 1768. And in the year 1778 it was again possessed by part of the 16th regiment, who were made prisoners by the Spaniards in the year following.

Before the cession of Louisiana to Spain, the peltries of the British and French shores of the Illinois have been mostly carried in the British dominions, either in Canada, by the upper parts of the Mississippi through Machillimakinak, or by the way of New Orleans at the mouth of that river. Philadelphia and New-York have also received great quantities of peltries in return for their flour and the dry goods which they have sent to New Orleans, for the Indian trade, or the use of the inhabitants. Pensacola received likewise large parcels of skins and furs, which have been exported thence to London, to South-Carolina, or other parts of America. This is the reason why the importance of the Illinois or upper Mississippi has, till now, been little known. It is even certain, that it has been artfully concealed by many, who availed themselves of the ignorance of the public on that head.

This would not have been the case, had not the British government withdrawn in 1768, the garrison of fort Bute, which was constructed at Manchac, on the

the bank of the Mississippi, opposite to another fort which the French erected in 1767, at the distance of about 400 paces from the British fort. These forts were situated near the place which, in the treaty of peace in 1762, is described as the mouth of Ibberville river to the North of New Orleans island, and the then boundary-line of the possessions of the two crowns in those parts; but the plenipotentiaries of the two powers were misinformed; for, as we have already observed, the city of New Orleans is not in an island, but on the continent. Or if the tract of land on which that city is situated, can be termed an island, that name can with propriety be applied to it during only two, or at most three months every year, when the Mississippi overflows; an accidental communication with lake Ponchartrain is then opened through the Gut of Ibberville. It may be dignified, during that short period, with the title of river, but dries up as soon as the Mississippi ceases to overflow. At any other time the walking from English to French, now Spanish Manchac, is perfectly dry.

This place, if attended to, might be of consequence to the commerce of West-Florida; for it may with reason be supposed, that the inhabitants and traders who reside at Point Coupeé, at Natchitoches, Attacappa, the Natchez, on the East side of the Mississippi above and below the Natchez, at the Illinois, and St. Vincents on the Ouabache, would rather trade at this place than at New Orleans, if they could have as good returns for their peltry and the produce of their country; for it makes a difference of ten days in their voyage, which is no inconsiderable saving of labour, money, and time. The only difficulty which opposes itself to this necessary establishment, is the want of a navigation through the river Ibberville, so that vessels might carry on a constant intercourse betwixt this place and Pensacola without going up the Mississippi,

issippi, which is a more tedious navigation. However, this difficulty is greatly obviated by a good road made for carriages between the navigable water of the Ibberville (a distance of ten miles) and the Mississippi; and when the latter is high enough to run into the former, which it generally is during the months of May, June, and July, vessels drawing from three to four feet, or more, may then pass from one to the other.

Village of
Alabama In-
dians.

About a mile above the Ibberville, on the East side of the Mississippi, there is a village of Alabama Indians, consisting of twenty-five warriors.

Point Coupeé
settlement.

From the Ibberville to the settlements of Point Coupeé is 35 miles; they extend full 20 miles on the West side of the Mississippi, and there are some plantations back on the side of what is generally called La Fausse Riviere, through which the Mississippi passed about 70 years ago, making the shape of a crescent. The fort, which is a square figure with four bastions, built with stockades, is situated on the same side of the Mississippi, about four and a half miles above the lowest plantation. The inhabitants of Point Coupeé amount to about 2000 of all ages and sexes, and 7000 slaves. They cultivate tobacco, indigo, and Indian corn; raise vast quantities of poultry, which they send to market at New Orleans, and furnish to the shipping. They square a great deal of timber and make staves, which they convey in rafts to New Orleans. Eight miles above the fort at Point Coupeé, on the same side of the river, is a small village of the Affagoula Indians. They have only about a dozen warriors.

Affagoula
Indians.

On the East side of the river, and opposite to the upper plantations of Point Coupeé, is the village of the Tonicas, formerly a numerous nation of Indians; but their constant intercourse with the white people, and immoderate use of spirituous liquors, have reduced them to about twenty warriors.

Village of
Tonicas.

About

About ten miles above the Tonicas village, on the same side of the river, is a village of Pascagoula Indians, of twenty warriors; and a little lower down, on the opposite side, there is a village of Biloxi Indians, containing thirty warriors.

Villages of
Pascagoula
and Biloxi
Indians.

The Chafalaya is about 30 miles above the settlement of Point Coupeé, and 3 miles below the mouth of the river Rouge. It is the uppermost mouth of the Mississippi, and after running many miles through one of the most fertile countries in the world, falls into the Bay of St. Bernard, a considerable distance westward of the mouths of the Mississippi.

Chafalaya
upper mouth
of the Missis-
sippi.

Fifty-four miles from the Mississippi down the Chafalaya, on the eastern side, is the place called the Portage, just above the mouth of a small rivulet. This Portage is 18 miles from Point Coupeé. Twelve miles below this Portage is a narrow island 24 miles long. The eastern channel is choked up with logs, but the western affords good navigation. The river Appaloufa communicates with this channel nearly opposite the middle of the island, on the West side. There are two settlements on the Appaloufa; the first is 30 miles, and the other 12 miles further, from its mouth. In descending the Chafalaya it is 3 miles from the last mentioned island to Isle au Vauche; and to the bay de Chafalaya, which is on the eastern side of the river, it is 3 miles more. This bay is of a triangular figure, about 6 miles in length, and something better than a mile in width at its entrance. When the Chafalaya is not raised with freshes, there is seldom more than 5 feet water in this bay. Fifteen miles from it on the eastern side, is the bay of Plaquimenes. About half the distance between these bays, is a rivulet which communicates with the former bed of the Mississippi, back of Point Coupeé, during the annual floods in that river. The country between them is very low, swampy and full of ponds of water.

Near

Near the source of the Chafalaya the current is very rapid, but gradually diminishes to the mouth, where it is very gentle.

Isle au
Vauche.

We will now return to the Isle au Vauche, and proceed from thence to lake de Portage, which is 3 miles from the island. This lake is 13 miles long, and not more than one and an half broad. It communicates at the southern end, by a strait a quarter of a mile wide, with the grand lake of Chetimachas, which is 24 miles in length and 9 in width. The country bordering these lakes is low and flat, and timbered principally with cypress, some live and other kinds of oak; and on the eastern side, the land between it and the Chafalaya river, is divided and again subdivided by innumerable small streams, which occasion as many islands. Some of these streams are navigable.

At a little distance from the south-eastern shore of the lake Chetimachas, is an island where persons passing that way generally halt as a resting place. Nearly opposite this island, along the western shore, there is an opening which leads to the sea. It is about 150 yards wide, and has 16 or 17 fathoms water. From the lake along this opening it is 3 miles to the Tage river, which is on the North side. Three small rivulets fall in on the same side, in the above distance; and 3 miles below the Tage river on the western side is a large savanna known by the name of Prairu de Jacko. From this savanna it is about 33 miles to the sea.

Tage river.

In ascending the Tage river, it is 10 leagues from its mouth to an old Indian village, on the East side, called Mingo Luoac, which signifies Fire Chief. From this village to the habitation of Monf. Mafé, which is on the West side, it is 2 leagues. One and an half leagues further up, on the East side, is the village de Selieu Rouge, from whence there is a portage of half a mile to lake Chetimacha. Two leagues further up the river, and on the West side, is the habitation of
Monf.

Monf. Sorrel. From whence, to the town la Nouvelle Iberie, on the fame fide, it is fix leagues. The whole of this diftance is tolerably well fettled. From this town about fix leagues westerly acrofs the country is fituated the village de Skunnemoke or the Tuckapas, on the Vermillion river, which runs into the bay of St. Bernard. The river Tage, is in general better than 100 yards wide, with a gentle current, and a small ebb and flow of about 8 or 10 inches. It narrows as you afcend it, where in fome places, it is not 50 yards over. Veffels drawing from 7 to 8 feet water may go from the fea to this town without any obftructions. About 3 leagues above la Nouvelle Iberie is la Force Point, formerly fettled by French neutrals. It is now inhabited by creoles of the country, Spaniards from the Canarie iflands, and a few Englifh from the eastern fide of the Miffiffippi. Then to la Shute branch, which paffes over a fall of about 10 feet, near to where it enters into the Tage river, it is 3 leagues, and inhabited the whole diftance. From this branch to Monf. Flemming's is 2 leagues more. A quarter of a mile back from Mr. Flemming's there is lake 3 leagues in circuit. From Mr. Flemming's to the church De fata cappau, which is on the Weft fide of the Tage, it is 1 league further, all which is inhabited. From the church to what is called the bottom of the bite, is two leagues, and the whole diftance clofely fettled. From thence to the point fettlement of Acadians is one league, to the plantation of Monf l'Deé is alfo a league, and to the point of Monf. Deé it is half a league further. From Monf. Deé's to Monf. Fuzelliere's is 5 leagues by water, but only three by land. Fuzelliere's fork, or branch, is juft below his houfe, and divides the diftricts of Attacappau and Appaloufe. And, at the diftance of about 2 leagues, this branch communicates with the Vermillion river westerly. The river Tage ftill continues to the eaftward. At one

Church De-
fata cappau.

Diftricts of
Attacappau
and Appa-
loufe.

and

and an half leagues from the fork, or branch, is the Prairie de Monf. Man, to Monf. Man's plantation it is one and an half leagues further ; from thence upwards the river divides into little brooks, and loses itself in rich and extensive savannahs.

Inhabitants.

All the Indians in this part of the country, consisting of several small tribes, do not exceed 100 families. The white people are about 400 families, and can raise 500 militia. The number of negroes are nearly equal to the whites.

Soil and Produce.

Although this country might produce all the valuable articles raised in other parts of the globe, situated in the same latitudes, yet the inhabitants principally cultivate indigo, rice, tobacco, indian corn and some wheat ; and they raise large stocks of black cattle, horses, mules, hogs, sheep and poultry. The sheep is said to be the sweetest mutton in the world. The black cattle, when fat enough for sale, which they commonly are the year round, are driven across the country to New Orleans, where there is always a good market.

This country is principally timbered with all the different kinds of oak, but mostly with live oak of the largest and best quality, uncommonly large cypress, black walnut, hickory, white ash, cherry, plumb, poplar trees, and grape vines ; here is found also a great variety of shrubs and medicinal roots. The lands bordering the rivers and lakes are generally well wooded, but at a small distance from them are very extensive natural meadows, or savannas, of the most luxuriant soil, composed of a black mould about one and a half feet deep, very loose and rich, occasioned, in part, by the frequent burning of the savannas ; below the black mould, it is a stiff clay of different colours. It is said this clay, after being exposed sometime to the sun, becomes so hard that it is difficult either to break or bend, but when wet by
a light

a light shower of rain, it slackens in the same manner as lime does when exposed to moisture, and becomes loose and moulders away; after which it is found excellent for vegetation.

This country being situated between the latitudes of 30 and 31 d. North, the climate is of course very mild and temperate; white frosts, and sometimes thin ice have been experienced here; but snow is very uncommon.

Climate.

The river Rouge, which is so called from its waters being of a reddish colour, and said to tinge those of the Mississippi at the time of the floods. Its source is in New Mexico, and it runs about 600 miles. The river Noir empties itself into this river about 30 miles from its confluence with the Mississippi, which is 187 miles from New Orleans. The famous Ferdinand Soto ended his discoveries and his life at the entrance of this river, and was buried there. Near 70 leagues up this river the French had a very considerable post, Natchitoches. It was a frontier on the Spanish settlements, being 20 miles from the fort of Adais. The French fort was garrisoned by a captain's command. There were forty families settled here, consisting mostly of discharged soldiers and some merchants who traded with the Spaniards. A great quantity of tobacco was cultivated at this post, and sold for a good price at New Orleans, being held in great esteem. They sent also some peltry, which they received in trade from the neighbouring Indians.

River Rouge.

From the river Rouge to fort Rosalie it is fifty-six and a quarter miles. This fort is situated in the country known by the name of the Natchez, in 31 d. 40 m. North latitude, about 243 computed miles from New Orleans, and 348 from the Balize, following the course of the river. The soil, at this place, is superior to any of the lands on the borders of the river Mississippi, for the production of many articles.

Fort Rosalie.

Soil at the Natchez.

Its situation being higher, affords a greater variety of soil, and is in a more favourable climate for the growth of wheat, rye, barley, oats, &c. than the country lower down, and nearer to the sea. The soil also produces, in equal abundance, Indian corn, rice, hemp, flax, indigo, cotton, pot-herbs, pulse of every kind, and pasturage; and the tobacco made here is esteemed preferable to any cultivated in other parts of America. Hops grow wild; all kinds of European fruits arrive to great perfection, and no part of the known world is more favourable for the raising of every kind of stock. The climate is healthy and temperate; the country delightful and well watered; and the prospect is beautiful and extensive, variegated by many inequalities and fine meadows, separated by innumerable coves, the trees of which are of different kinds, but mostly of walnut and oak. The rising grounds, which are clothed with grass and other herbs of the finest verdure, are properly disposed for the culture of vines; the mulberry trees are very numerous, and the winters sufficiently moderate for the breed of silk worms. Clay of different colours, fit for glass works and pottery, is found here in great abundance; and also a variety of stately timber fit for house and ship building, &c. The elevated, open, and airy situation of this country renders it less liable to fevers and agues (the only disorders ever known in its neighbourhood) than some other parts bordering on the Mississippi, where the want of sufficient descent to convey the waters off occasions numbers of stagnant ponds, whose exhalations infect the air.

This country was once famous for its inhabitants, who from their great numbers, and the state of society they lived in, were considered as the most civilized Indians on the continent of America. They lived some years in great friendship with the French, whom they permitted to settle on their lands, and to whom they

they rendered every service in their power. Their hospitality, it seems, was repaid in such a manner, that they determined to get rid of their guests; for on the eve of St. Andrew 1729, they surpris'd the fort, and put the whole garrison to death. At the same time they made a massacre of the inhabitants, in which upwards of 500 were killed; some of the women and children they made prisoners; and very few of either sex escaped. The whole colony armed to revenge their slaughtered countrymen, and they had several skirmishes with the Natchez, in which the success was various. In 1730, Monsieur De Perrier de Salvart, brother to the governor, arrived from France, with the rank of lieutenant-general in Louisiana, and 500 regular troops, who joined the troops and militia of the colony. This army, amounting to 1500 men, went, under the command of the two brothers, to attack the nation of the Natchez; who, with their chiefs, determined to defend themselves in a fort they had built near a lake which communicates with the Bayouk Dargent, lying West of the Natchez, and North of the river Rouge. They invested this fort, and the Indians made a very resolute and vigorous sally on them, but were repulsed, after a considerable loss on both sides. The French having brought two or three mortars, threw some shells into the fort, which making a havoc amongst their women and children, so terrified the Indians, unused to this sort of war, that they surrendered at discretion, and were conducted to New Orleans; except a few who had escaped to the Chickasaws, with their hunters who were providing provisions for their garrison. Nothing now remains of this nation but their name, by which their country continues to be called. The district of the Natchez, as well as all along the eastern bank of the Mississippi to the river Ibberville, was settling very fast by daily emigrations from the northern states, but the capture of the British

Massacre of
the French in
1729.

Destruction of
Natchez In-
dians in 1730.

tish troops on the Mississippi, 1779, put an entire stop to it.

Petit Goufre. From fort Rosalie to the Petit Goufre is thirty-one and a half miles. There is a firm rock on the East side of the Mississippi for near a mile, which seems to be of the nature of limestone. The land near the river is much broken and very high, with a good soil, and several plantations on it.

Bayouk Pierre. From the Petit Goufre to Bayouk Pierre, or Stoney River, is four miles and a quarter. From the mouth to what is called the fork of this river, is computed to be 21 miles. In this distance there are several quarries of stone, and the land has a clay soil with gravel on the surface of the ground. On the North side of this river the land, in general, is low and rich; that on the South side is much higher, but broken into hills and vales; but here the low lands are not often overflowed: both sides are shaded with a variety of useful timber. At the fork the river parts almost at right angles, and the lands between, and on each side of them, are said to be clay and marl soil, not so uneven as the lands on this river lower down.

Loufa Chitto. From the Bayouk Pierre to Loufa Chitto, or the Big Black, at the Grand Goufre, is 10 miles. The Big Black (or Loufa Chitto) is, at the mouth, about 30 yards wide, but within, from 30 to 50 yards, and is said to be navigable for canoes 30 or 40 leagues. About a mile and a half up this river, the high lands are close on the right and are much broken. A mile and a half further, the high lands appear again on the right, where there are several springs of water, but none as yet has been discovered on the left. At about eight miles further, the high lands are near the river, on the left, and appear to be the same range that comes from the Yazou cliffs, which are about twelve miles up the Yazou river. At six miles further the high lands are near the river on both sides,

and

and continue for two or three miles, but broken and full of springs of water. This land on the left was chosen by General Putnam, Captain Enos, Mr. Lyman and other New England adventurers, as a proper place for a town; and, by order of the governor and council of West Florida in 1773, it was reserved for the capital. The country round is very fit for settlements. For four or five miles above this place, on both sides of the river, the land is rich, and not so much drowned, nor so uneven, as some parts lower down. About six miles and a half further, there is a rapid water, stones and gravel bottom 160 yards in length; and in one place a firm rock almost across the river, and as much of it bare, when the water is at a moderate height, as confines the stream to nearly 20 feet; and the channel is about 4 feet deep.

From the Big Black to the Yazou cliffs is 39 miles and three quarters. Yazou cliffs. From this cliff the high lands lie North eastward and South south eastward, bearing off from the river, full of cane and rich soil, even on the very highest ridges. Just at the South end of the cliffs, the bank is low, where the water of the Mississippi, when high, flows back and runs between the bank and high land, which ranges nearly northerly and south south easterly to the Loufa Chitto, occasioning much wet ground, cypress swamp and stagnant ponds.

From the Cliffs, or Aux Cotes, is seven miles and a half to the river Yazou. Yazou river. The mouth of this river is upwards of 100 yards in width, and was found by Mr. Gauld to be in latitude 32 d. 37 m. and by Mr. Purcel in 32 d. 28 m. North. The water of the Mississippi, when the river is high, runs up the Yazou several miles, and empties itself again by a number of channels, which direct their course across the country, and fall in above the Walnut hills. The Yazou runs from the north-east and glides through a healthy fertile

tile and pleasant country, greatly resembling that about the Natchez, particularly, in the luxuriancy and diversity of its soil, variety of timber, temperature of climate and delightful situation. It is remarkably well watered by springs and brooks; many of the latter afford convenient seats for mills. Further up this river the canes are less frequent and smaller in size, and at the distance of 20 miles there are scarcely any. Here the country is clear of underwood and well watered, and the soil very rich, which continues to the Chactaw and Chickasaw towns. The former is situated on the eastern branch of the Yazou, an hundred miles from the mouth of that river, and consists nearly of 140 warriors: the towns of the latter are about 15 miles West of the north-west branch 150 miles from the Mississippi. They can raise upwards of 500 warriors. The above branches unite 50 miles from the Mississippi, following the course of the river; the navigation to their junction, commonly called the fork, is practicable with very large boats in the spring season, and with smaller ones a considerable way further, with the interruption of but one fall, where they are obliged to make a short portage, 20 miles up the north-west branch, and 70 miles from the Mississippi. The country in which the Chactaw and Chickasaw towns are situated, is said to be as healthy as any part of this continent, the natives scarcely ever being sick. Such of them as frequent the Mississippi, leave its banks as the summer approaches, lest they might partake of the fevers that sometimes visit the low swampy lands bordering upon that river. Wheat, it is said, yields better at the Yazou than at the Natchez, owing probably to its more northern situation. One very considerable advantage will attend the settlers on the river Yazou, which those at the Natchez will be deprived of, without going to a great expence; I mean the building with stone, there being great plenty

ty near the Yazou, but none has yet been discovered nearer to the Natchez than the Petit Goufre, or little Whirlpool, a distance of 31 miles and a half. Between this place and the Balize there is not a stone to be seen any where near the river. Though the quantity of good land on the Mississippi and its branches, from the bay of Mexico to the river Ohio, a distance of nearly one thousand miles, is vastly great, and the conveniences attending it; so likewise we may esteem that in the neighbourhood of the Natchez, and of the river Yazou the flower of it all.

About a mile and a half up the Yazou river, on the North side, there is a large creek, which communicates with the Mississippi above the river St. Francis, about 100 leagues higher up, by the course of the river. It passes through several lakes by the way. At the distance of twelve miles from the mouth of the river Yazou, on the South side, are the Yazou hills. There is a cliff of solid rock at the landing place, on which are a variety of broken pieces of sea shells, and some entire. Four miles further up is the place called the Ball Ground, near which a church, fort St. Peter, and a French settlement formerly stood. They were destroyed by the Yazou Indians in 1729. That nation is now entirely extinct.

Destruction
of the French
in 1729.

From the Yazou to the river Arkanfaw is 158 and a quarter miles. It is so called from a nation of Indians of the same name. Its source is nearly in the latitude of Santa Fé in New Mexico, and it is said to be navigable for batteaux 750 miles. It runs through an immensely rich and fertile country. About ten or twelve miles up this river from the Mississippi there was formerly a fort, garrisoned generally by a company of Spanish soldiers, for the purpose of defending the trade carried on between New Orleans and the several villages of St. Genevieve, &c. and particularly for defending the commerce with the Arkanfaw

River Arkan-
faw.

kanfaw Indians, confifting of about 280 warriors, who are as much attached to the French intereft, as the Chickafaws are to that of the Englifh. No fettlements were made here, except one or two for the immediate accommodation of the garrifon. The inundation of the Miffiffippi, about three years ago, occafioned the evacuation of the above poft, and the eftablifhment of another on the northern bank of the river 36 miles higher up. This poft, confifting of a fubaltern's command, fix pieces of cannon and eight fwivels, was attacked about eighteen months fince by a party of Chickafaws, who killed ten foldiers of the garrifon, and foon after concluded a peace with the Spaniards. There is a hamlet clofe to the fort, inhabited only by merchants and traders. The Arkanfaw river difcharges itfelf into the Miffiffippi by two channels, about 15 miles from each other; the uppermoft is called Riviere Blanche, from its receiving a river of that name, reported to be navigable 600 miles, and the foil through which it runs equal in quality to any on the Miffiffippi.

River St.
Francis.

From the Arkanfaw river to the river St. Francis, which is on the Weft fide of the Miffiffippi, is 108 miles. This is a fmall river, and is remarkable for nothing but the general rendezvous of the hunters from New Orleans, who winter there, and collect falt meat, fuet, and bears oil, for the fupply of that city. Formerly the French had a poft at the entrance of this river, for a magazine of ftokes and provifions during their wars with the Chickafaws, by whom their Illinois convoys were constantly attacked and frequently deftroyed.

River Margot.

From the river St. Francis to the river and hights of Margot, which are on the Eaft fide of the Miffiffippi, is 70 and a half miles. This river is faid to be navigable for batteaux a number of miles. It appears to be a pretty little river. The high ground below
its

its junction with the Mississippi affords a commanding, airy, pleasant and extensive situation for settlements; the soil is remarkably fertile. On this ground just below the mouth of the river, the French built a fort, called Assumption Fort, when at war with the Chickasaws, in the year 1736, but it was demolished in the year following, when a peace with those Indians was concluded.

From the river Margot to the Chickasaw river, Chickasaw River. which is on the East side of the Mississippi, is 104 and a half miles. The lands here are of an excellent quality, and covered with a variety of useful timber, canes, &c. This river may be ascended during high floods upwards of 30 miles with boats of several tons burthen.

From the Chickasaw river to Mine au fer, or the Mine au fer. Iron Mines, on the East side of the Mississippi, is 67 and a quarter miles. Here the land is nearly similar in quality to that bordering the Chickasaw river, interspersed with gradual risings or small eminences. There is a post at this place, near the South boundary of Virginia.

From Mine au fer to the Ohio river, which is the Ohio River. largest eastern branch of the Mississippi, is 15 miles. This river, and its principal branches, as also the settlements in the Illinois country, are delineated in a map, and very particularly described in a pamphlet which I published in London, the 1st of January 1778, and to them the reader is referred.

Having briefly touched upon all the settlements on, and principal branches of the Mississippi, from the sea to the river Ohio; I shall now just mention the bounds of West-Florida.

The province of West-Florida is situated on the Bounds of West-Florida. North side of the Gulph of Mexico, and extends from the river Appalachicola, which is the boundary between it and East-Florida, to the Regolets at the en-

trance into lake Ponchartrain, thence through the lakes Ponchartrain and Maurepas, and along the river Iberville to the Mississippi, thence along the Mississippi to the northernmost part of the 31st deg. of North latitude, thence by a line drawn due East along the South boundary of the state of Georgia to the river Appalachicola, including all the islands within six leagues of the coast, between the Appalachicola and lake Ponchartrain.

General observations relating to the coast of Florida.

I now proceed to make some general observations, which may be of service in making the land when you arrive on the coast of Florida. This is distinguishable many different ways; as by the latitudes, the trenching and direction of the shore, and the soundings and quality of the bottom, to each of which particular attention must be paid.

From cape Blaise in 29 d 41 m North latitude, to the Balize at the mouth of the Mississippi, the coast forms a curve, inclining to the northward, for 28 leagues, as far as the East end of Rose island in 30 d 28 m North; from thence the land gradually declines to the southward, as far as Mobile Point in 30 d 17 m North about 30 leagues. Dauphin island, and the other islands, including Ship island, stretch nearly West for the space of 20 leagues, and from the North end of the Chandeleurs, which lies near 5 leagues to the South-east of Ship island, the coast runs chiefly to the southward till you arrive at the entrance of the river Mississippi.

It is likewise to be observed, that in several places there is double land to be seen over the different bays and lagoons: as at St. Andrew's bay; which may be known by a high white sand hill, near the point of a peninsula, on the left hand going in: at St. Rose's bay; where there is a remarkable red bluff on the East side of the entrance just opposite to the East end of Rose island; over the greatest part of which island double land may likewise be seen from
the

the mast head, and at the bay of Pensacola, the entrance of which is remarkable on account of the red cliff opposite to the West end of Rose island. There is a large lagoon, a little more than a league to the westward of this cliff, about 3 leagues in length, leaving a narrow peninsula, over which the double land may easily be seen, with a high red bank on the North side about half way; this seems to distinguish it from any other part of the coast. There is a double land at the entrance of the river Perdido; but it is not easily observed at any considerable distance. The same may also be seen over some parts of Dauphin island, and those to the westward of it, viz. Massacre, Horn and Ship islands, as well as between them; but it appears at so great a distance, that it cannot be mistaken for any part of the coast to the eastward of Mobile Point.

The Chandeleurs, which were 5 in number, when I visited them in the year 1772, extend nearly S by W 9 or 10 leagues. The Isle aux Grand Gozier lies about 10 or 11 miles to the southward of them, with breakers all the way between. The Isle au Briton, or rather a cluster of islands of that name, lie about 4 miles to the westward of the Grand Goziers, or Great Pelican island: both these and the Chandeleur islands are very low, with some bushes: and behind them, at a considerable distance, there is a chain of low marshy islands and lagoons, bordering the peninsula of Orleans.

This is a dangerous part of the coast to a stranger, both on account of the lowness of the land, which cannot be seen at any distance, as there are no trees, and likewise on account of the above mentioned shoal between the southernmost of the Chandeleurs, and the Grand Goziers, from latitude 29 d 42 m North, to 29 d 32 m North.

There is however very good shelter for ships, within

The Chandeleur islands.

A dangerous part of the coast.

Nassau Road. in the North end of the Chandeleurs, in Nassau road, which lies 5 leagues to the southward of Ship island, and is one of the best for large vessels on the whole coast of Florida; not only as it affords good shelter from those winds that blow on shore, but as it is, by having no bar, of so easy an access from the sea. Care must however be taken, not to go within three quarters of a mile of the inside of the island, it being shoal near that distance from the shore.

Vessels may go round the North end of it from the sea, in 5 and a half and 6 fathoms, at half a mile from the shore; and afterwards must keep in 4 and a half and 5 fathoms, till the North point bears N N E about 2 miles; when they may come to an anchor in 4 fathoms good holding ground, sheltered from easterly and southerly winds.

It would be necessary for vessels to be well acquainted with this road, as easterly winds are frequent on the coast of Florida. There is fresh water to be got any where on the Chandeleurs by digging; besides which it might be met with in a kind of well, at an old hut near the North end. No wood is to be found here but drift wood, of which there is great plenty along shore.

Nassau Road was first discovered by Dr. Daniel Cox of New Jersey, about the time of King William the 3d, who gave it the name of Nassau, in honour of that prince. Doctor Cox had likewise given the name of the Myrtle islands to those which are still so denominated, before the French called them the Chandeleurs; and they were so named by both, from the candles made of the myrtle wax with which these islands abound.

River Ibberville. From the West side of the * isthmus of the peninsula of Orleans to the junction of the Ibberville with lake

* The river Ibberville was very little known by the English at the treaty of peace in 1762; for notwithstanding the crown has expended some

lake Maurepas, it is 60 computed miles, following the course of the river, which for the first 10 miles is not navigable above four months in the year; but there is at all times from two to six feet for three miles further, and between two and four fathoms is the depth the remaining part of the way to the lake.

The river Amit falls into the Ibberville on the North side, about 21 miles from the junction of the Ibberville with the Mississippi. The water of the Amit is clear, with a gravelly bottom. It may be ascended with vessels drawing five or six feet water, about half a dozen miles, and with batteaux 100 miles further. Seventeen miles from the Ibberville this river forks; the western branch, called the Comit, has its source near the country of the Natchez; and the eastern branch, which is the most considerable, rises near the Pearl river: both these branches run through a very fertile country, in some parts hilly, which, as well as the low lands, is covered with canes, oaks, ash, mulberry, hickory, poplar, cedar and cypress. The banks in general are high, yet in some parts they are subject to be overflowed. There were a number of inhabitants settled on the Amit and Comit, who had slaves, and who raised indigo, cotton, rice, hemp, tobacco, and Indian corn, in great abundance, and all excellent in their kind. They had plenty of horses, cows, hogs, poultry, &c. and the river abounds with a variety of fish.

From the Amit to lake Maurepas is 39 miles, following the Ibberville. The quality of the land and timber

some thousands of pounds in clearing the Ibberville, it is not now navigable from the Mississippi towards lake Maurepas, even for a canoe; and when I viewed it on the 10th of October 1766, the surface of the water of the Mississippi was then 24 feet below the bed or bottom of the Ibberville. The Mississippi is the source of the Ibberville, when raised high enough to run into it, and occasions what is erroneously called the island of Orleans to be then an island in fact, but at any other time it is not environed with water; therefore, with what degree of propriety can the Ibberville be termed a river, or the town of New Orleans said to be situated on an island?

timber on this river is similar to that on the *Amit*, with this difference, its banks in general are lower and the country less hilly, and there is a greater proportion of rice land, and also cypresses and live oak; the latter is of an extraordinary quality for ship building. There were several inhabitants on this river who raised indigo, Indian corn, rice, &c. and were in a very thriving way.

Lake Maurepas.

Lake Maurepas is about 10 miles in length and 7 in width, with 10 or 12 feet water in it. The country round it is low, and covered with cypresses, live oak, myrtle, &c. Two creeks fall into this lake; one from the North side, called *Nattabanie*, the other from the peninsula of *Orleans*.

Passage between Lake Ponchartrain and Maurepas.

From the *Iberville* across the lake, it is 7 miles to the passage leading to *Ponchartrain*. The length of this passage is 7 miles, and only 300 yards in width, which is divided into two branches by an island that extends from *Maurepas* to about the distance of a mile from *Ponchartrain*. The South channel is the deepest and shortest.

Lake Ponchartrain.

Lake *Ponchartrain*. The greatest length of this lake is about 40 miles, breadth 24 miles, and depth 18 feet. The following creeks fall in on the North side, *Tangipaho* and *Le Comble*, 4 feet deep; *Chefuncta*, 7; and *Bonfouca*, 6; and from the peninsula of *Orleans*, *Tigahoc*, at the mouth of which was a small post. The *Bayouk* of *St. John*, which also communicates on the same side, has been already mentioned. The French inhabitants, who formerly resided on the North side of this lake, chiefly employed themselves in making pitch, tar, and turpentine, and raising stock, for which the country is very favourable.

The distance from lake *Ponchartrain* through the *Regolets* is 10 miles, and between 3 and 400 yards broad, and lined with marshes on each side.

On

On the South side of the Regolets, and near to the entrance from the sea, there is a large passage into the lake Borgne, or Blind lake, and, by some creeks that fall into it, small craft may go as far as the plantations on the Mississippi; and there is a passage between the lakes Borgne and Ponchartrain: but either by this, or that of the Rigolets, six, and sometimes seven feet, is the deepest water through.

Passage into
Lake Borgne.

Passage thro'
the Regolets.

Near the entrance at the East end of the Regolets, and on the North side, are the principal mouths of Pearl river, which rises in the Chaftaw nation, and is navigable upwards of 150 miles. There is 7 feet going into it, and deep water afterwards. In the year 1769, there were some settlements on this river, where they raised tobacco, indigo, cotton, rice, Indian corn, and all sorts of vegetables. The land produces a variety of timber fit for pipe and hog-head staves, masts, yards, and all kinds of plank for ship building.

Pearl River.

Produce of
the country on
the banks of
Pearl River.

From the Regolets to the bay of St. Louis is about 18 miles. This is a small beautiful compact bay with about 7 feet water in it: the land near it is of a light soil, and good for pasture. There were several settlers formerly on it, but in the year 1767, the Chaftaw Indians killed their cattle and obliged them to remove.

St. Louis Bay.

From this bay to the bay of Biloxi, is 26 miles. Just opposite to Ship island, on the main land, is situated old Biloxi, in a small bay of the same name, behind L'Isle au Chevereuil, or Buck or Deer island. This is the place where the French made their first establishment in Louisiana: but they did not continue there long, finding it in every respect an improper situation for the capital. There are still a few inhabitants at Biloxi, some of whom are the offspring of the original settlers. Their chief employment is raising of cattle and stock, and making pitch and tar: but the natives are very troublesome to them.

Bay of Biloxi.

Old Biloxi.

From

Pascagoula
River.

From the Biloxi to the Pascagouli river is about 13 miles. This river empties itself by several mouths; between the eastermost and westermost of which, there is a space of between 3 and 4 miles, that is nearly one continued bed of oyster shells, with very shoal water. The only channel is at the westermost entrance, where there are 4 feet. This large river about 20 miles above its entrance is divided into two branches, which continue their course to the sea, generally about 5 or 6 miles asunder. The intermediate space, for several miles above its mouth, is nothing but marshes intersected by lagoons. After getting into either of the branches, there is from 3 to 6 fathoms, and the river is said to be navigable for more than 150 miles.

Soil on the
River.

The soil on this river, like all other rivers on the coast of West Florida, grows better the higher up you go; but even near the entrance it is far from being bad. There are some good plantations on the East side, but here, as well as all the way to the westward, the inhabitants are much molested by the natives, especially by the Chactaws who kill their cattle, &c.

Pas au Heron

From the Pascagoula river to the Pas au Heron at the bay of Mobile is 18 miles. This pas has 4 feet water; and from thence to the point, which is on the East side of the bay of Mobile, in latitude 30 d 17 m North, is nearly 6 miles.

Before describing this bay, I shall take notice of the following islands situated along the coast, between the bay of St. Louis and the point of Mobile.

Cat Island,
and the adja-
cent parts.

Cat island lies about 8 miles eastward of the bay of St. Louis, and 7 miles from the coast: it is 6 miles in length, very narrow, and of an irregular shape, with a large shoal from the East end of it, extending within two miles of Ship island. The soil is poor, producing nothing but pine, some live oak and grass,
and

and its shore is almost every where covered, or bordered with an immensity of shells.

The marshy islands near the peninsula of Orleans, are distant about 3 miles South of Cat island; and between them there is a channel of 9 feet, which continues to the Regolets through a number of shoals.

Ship island is situated between 7 and 8 miles East Ship island.

of Cat island, and about 10 miles South of the bay of Biloxi. This island is 9 miles in length and 2 miles in width where broadest. It produces pine trees and grafs, and there is a well of tolerable water on it. The western part of this island is very narrow, and for better than three miles there is not a tree on it. A shoal runs out due South, about a mile from the West end. The channel is better than a mile wide with from 4 to 5 and 6 fathoms, but the bar has only 25 feet. In going over it from the sea the course to be steered is due North, keeping the above shoal near half a mile to the eastward, and after fairly passing the end of the island, from the inner part of which lies a shoal, the course proceeds N E until the broadest part of the point of the island bears due South about one mile and a half, where there is between 4 and 5 fathoms. This is a good place to anchor in the summer time; but is very much exposed in winter, when the northerly winds prevail; and is a very convenient place for shipping the produce of the rivers Pearl, Ibberville and Amit, and the lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain.

Directions for anchoring.

From Ship island to Horn island is between 5 and 6 Horn island.

miles, with a small key called Dog island between, about two thirds of the way, and with a shoal all the way from the former to about a quarter of a mile of the latter, where there is a channel of 5 fathoms. The above shoal extends South of the channel nearly 2 miles, where there is a bar of 15 feet; in crossing of which it behoves the mariner to keep about half a

mile from the shore, and to steer for the end of the island, and on approaching it to give it a birth of about a cables length, to avoid a shoal on the left; after passing of which he ought to keep a little to the westward, on account of a shoal that runs from the inside of the island, then to haul round to the eastward, where there is better than 15 feet water, a little more than a mile from the island.

Its description. Horn island is nearly 17 miles in length, and about half a mile in width. There are more trees on the middle of the island than in any other part of it; and for about 3 miles from the East end there are no trees at all, but there are a number of sandy hillocks.

Round island. Round island lies about 5 miles North from opposite the middle of Horn island, and is well timbered.

Island of Massacre. The island of Massacre is upwards of 2 miles to the eastward of Horn island, from which a shoal extends better than a mile and a half between them, leaving a channel of about 11 feet round the West end of Massacre island; but within the island there is between 3 and 4 fathoms.

Massacre is nearly 9 miles long and very narrow, it is remarkable for a grove of trees in the middle, which is the more particular as there is not a tree any where else on the island.

The distance between Massacre island and the main, is about 10 miles, from 2 to 3 fathoms all the way across; except one large shoal called la Grand Bature, which stretches out from the main land about a league, with 2 or 3 feet water on it, and in some places not so much. Behind it, there is a large bay called L'ance de la Grand Bature, 8 miles East of Pascagoula bluff.

The land here and to the eastward, as far as the bay of Mobile, is swampy towards the sea, with a clay bottom for 2 or 3 miles back; but afterwards it is covered chiefly with pines, live oak and hickory, and the soil is sandy or gravelly for several miles, before it

it becomes truly fit for culture; notwithstanding which it is good for pasture.

From Massacre to Dauphin island is 5 miles, with a shoal all the way between them. These are supposed formerly to have been but one, which went by the general name of Massacre, so called by *Monf. d'Ibberville*, from a large heap of human bones found thereon at his first landing; but it was afterwards called Dauphin island, in honor of the Dauphin of France, and to take off the disagreeable idea excited by the other name. .

Dauphin island is about 10 miles long, and in the broadest part not quite 2 miles. The West end for between 3 and 4 miles, is a narrow slip of land with some dead trees; the rest is covered with thick pines, which come close to the waters edge on the East side, forming a large bluff. There is the remains of an old French post on the South side of the island; about two miles from that bluff are a few old houses on the North side opposite to it, near which are large hillocks of oyster shells, now covered with dwarf cedar and live oak. There are many such vestiges of the antient inhabitants in several bays and other places on the coast, and as these are always found on high banks, the usual places where the natives encamp, it cannot well be supposed they were left there by the sea, though many are of that opinion.

Gillori island is divided from Dauphin island on the North side by a narrow channel, through which a boat may pass with some difficulty; and between Gillori and the main land, on the West side of Mobile bay, there is a chain of small islands, and oyster shells, through which there is a passage of four feet, called *Passé au Heron*, where small craft may go from Mobile bay to the westward within the islands. There is likewise a passage for small boats and canoes from the West side of the bay of Mobile, through what the French call *Riviere aux Poules*, which falls in opposite

posite to the West end of Dauphin island, and cuts off a considerable space of ground.

Great Pelican
Island.

Just opposite the old fort, on the South side of Dauphin island, distant one mile, lies Great Pelican island, which is about a mile in length, and very narrow. It stretches to the S E in form of a half moon, the concave side being towards the East end of Dauphin island. There are neither trees nor bushes on it, but here and there large tufts of grass like small reeds, on the sandy parts near the sea side.

Hawk's Bay.

Hawk's bay is between Pelican and Dauphin islands. There is a broad channel of 11 and 12 feet, afterwards safe anchorage in four fathoms good holding ground, and well sheltered from most winds; on which account it is very convenient for small vessels.

Little Pelican
Island.

There is a small sand key called Little Pelican island, about a league S E from Great Pelican island, forming a curve to the eastward, and there it meets a large shoal extending from Mobile Point.

Directions for
entering Mo-
bille Bay.

The deepest water on the bar of Mobile, or rather of Mobile bay, (for there is another bar at the entrance of the river near the town) is only 15 or 16 feet. The mark for going over it in the deepest channel, is to bring Little Pelican island well on with the bluff on the East end of Dauphin island, bearing about N N W 3-4 W, and then to steer in for the key in that direction. The Point of Mobile bears from the bar nearly due North four miles, and the key is more than a mile and a half within it. Both the East and West reefs, as well as the bar itself, are steep towards the sea, there being from three to seven and eight fathoms immediately without; this occasions a constant swell with a heavy sea when it blows from the southward: and therefore in rough weather, it would be imprudent to go over it in a vessel that draws above 10 or 11 feet water. Within the bar it deepens gradually towards Little Pelican island, be-
tween

tween which and the East reef, the channel is not more than a quarter of a mile broad, with six or seven fathoms water. This depth continues all the way round Mobile Point, where is tolerable good anchorage in four or five fathoms, but it is at best an open roadstead, the bay being too large to afford much shelter.

From Mobile Point to the town the distance is about 11 leagues nearly due North, and the breadth of the bay in general is about three or four leagues. At the lower part of it is a deep bight that runs about six leagues to the eastward of the point, having a narrow peninsula between it and the sea. The river Bon Secour falls into the bottom of this bay or bight, and Fish river with that of La Sant on the North side of it; on all of which there are several habitations.

On the West side of the bay of Mobile there are likewise some small rivers, but none considerable, besides La Riviere aux Poules, by which there is a small inland communication to the westward, and Dog river, which falls into the bay about nine miles below Mobile. The former has five or six feet in the entrance, and is navigable for a boat several miles back into the country. With regard to the general depth of the water in the bay, there is from two to three fathoms two-thirds of the way from Mobile Point towards the town, and the deepest water to be depended on in the upper part of the bay is only 10 or 12 feet, and in many places not so much; but there is no danger, as the bottom is soft mud. Large vessels cannot go within seven miles of the town.

Notwithstanding all these inconveniencies in point of navigation, Mobile having been the frontiers of the French dominions in Louisiana, always was, and now is a very considerable place. It has a small regular fort, built with brick, and a neat square of barracks for the officers and soldiers. The town is pretty

Directions for
entering Mo-
bille Bay.

La Riviere
aux Poules,
and Dog Ri-
ver.

Town of Mo-
bille.

pretty regular of an oblong figure, on the West bank of the river, where it enters the bay,

There is a considerable Indian trade carried on here. Mobile, when in possession of his Britannic Majesty, sent yearly to London, skins and furs amounting from 12 to 15,000 pounds sterling: it was then the only staple commodity in this part of the province. The British garrison at Mobile surrendered to the arms of his Catholic Majesty in the year 1780.

The bay of Mobile terminates a little to the north-eastward of the town, in a number of marshes, and lagoons: which subject the people to fevers and agues in the hot season.

Mobiles River.

The river of Mobile is divided into two principal branches about 40 miles above the town: one of which is called the Tanfa, falls into the East part of the bay; the other empties itself close by the town, where it has a bar of 7 feet; but there is a branch a little to the eastward of this, called Spanish river, where there is a channel of 9 or 10 feet, when the water is high, but this joins Mobile river about two leagues above the town.

Alibama River.

Two or three leagues above the Tanfa branch, the Alibama river falls into Mobile river, after running from the N E a course of about 130 miles; that is from Alibama fort, situated at the confluence of the Coussa, and Talpouse, both very considerable rivers; on which and their branches are the chief settlements of the upper Creek Indians.

The French fort at Alibama was evacuated 1763, and has not since been garrisoned. Above the confluence of Alibama and Mobile, the latter is called the Tombecbe river, from the fort of Tombecbe situated on the West side of it, about 96 leagues above the town of Mobile. The source of this river, is reckoned to be about 40 leagues higher up, in the
country

Tombecbe River.

country of the Chickafaws. The fort of Tombecbe was taken possession of by the English, but abandoned again in 1767, by order of the commandant of Pensacola. The river is navigable for sloops and schooners about 35 leagues above the town of Mobile. The banks, where low, are partly overflowed in the rainy seasons, which adds greatly to the soil, and adapts it particularly to the cultivation of rice. The sides of the river are covered in many places with large canes, so thick that they are almost impenetrable; there is also plenty of remarkable large red and white cedar, cypress, elm, ash, hickory and various kinds of oak. Several people have settled on this river, who find the soil to answer beyond expectation.

The lands near the mouth of the Mobile river are generally low: as you proceed upwards, the land grows higher, and may with great propriety be divided into three stages. First, low rice lands on or near the banks of the river, of a most excellent quality. Secondly, what are called by the people of the country second low grounds, or level flat cane lands about 4 or 5 feet higher than the low ricelands. And, thirdly the high upland or open country. The first or low lands extend about an half or 3 quarters of a mile from the river, and may almost every where be easily drained and turned into most excellent rice fields, and are capable of being laid under water at almost all seasons of the year. They are a deep black mud or slime, which have in a succession of time been accumulated, or formed by the overflowing of the river.

The second low grounds being, in general, formed by a regular rising of about 4 or 5 feet higher than the low lands, appears to have been originally the edge of the river. This second class or kind of land is in general extremely rich and covered with large timber and thick strong canes, extending in width
upon

upon an average three quarters of a mile, and in general a perfect level. It is excellent for all kinds of grain, and well calculated for the culture of indigo, hemp, flax or tobacco.

At the extremity of these second grounds, you come to what is called the high or upland, which is covered with pine, oak and hickory, and other kinds of large timber. The soil is of a good quality, but much inferior to the second or low land. It answers well for raising Indian corn, potatoes, and every thing else that delights in a dry light soil. Further out in the country again, on the West side of this river, you come to a pine barren, with extensive reed swamps and natural meadows or savannahs which afford excellent ranges of innumerable herds of cattle.

On the East of the river Mobile, towards the river Alabama, is one entire extended rich cane country, not inferior perhaps to any in America.

Whenever portages are made between the Mobile and Cherokee river, or their branches, which are probably but a few miles apart, the Mobile will be the first river for commerce, (the Mississippi excepted) in this part of the world, as it affords the shortest and most direct communication to the sea.

The land to the eastward of Mobile Point, for about three leagues on the peninsula, is remarkable for alternate spaces of thick and thin trees. The Point is covered with a grove of thick but not very tall ones. There is a small lagoon about four leagues to the eastward of the Point, with hardly water at the entrance for a boat, the trees about which are very tall and thick. There are several hillocks to the eastward along shore, all the way from thence to the river Perdido, except at one place, about two-thirds of the way; where double lands may be seen over a lagoon which stretches to the westward of that river.

Sea coast between Mobile and Pensacola.

River and bay of Perdido.

The river Perdido empties itself into the sea about 10 leagues

10 leagues to the eastward of Mobile Point, and four leagues to the westward of the bar of Pensacola. The entrance is narrow, with a bar of six feet; but afterwards it widens considerably, stretching first to the N E upwards of a league, where it goes within a mile of the head of the great lagoon West of the entrance of Pensacola harbour. From this the Perdido turns to the westward for three or four miles, where it forms a large bay. This river was formerly the boundary between Florida and Louisiana, dividing the French and Spanish dominions.

There is nothing remarkable between the river Perdido and the bar of Pensacola, except the grand lagoon, which reaches near to the Perdido, with some straggling trees on the peninsula, and the high red bank on the North side of it before mentioned. The soundings between the bars of Mobile and Pensacola are pretty regular, except near the bars, where there is deep water along shore, as they stretch out. It is necessary in nearing them, to keep a good offing till their respective marks are on for going over in the deepest channel. Immediately without them there is very deep water, from 7 to 12 and 13 fathoms, oozy bottom, and good holding ground. At the same distance from the shore between them, there is only six or eight fathoms; the bottom in general is fine white sand with black specks and broken shells: in some places a coarser bottom, and in others oozy sand.

The West end of the Island of St. Rosa stretches athwart the mouth of the harbour, and defends it from the sea. It would be difficult to ascertain the entrance, were it not for a remarkable red cliff which not only distinguishes the place, but is a mark for going over the bar in the deepest water.

The bar of Pensacola is of a semicircular form, with the convex side to the sea, and lies at a considerable

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able

Coast to Pensacola Bay.

Pensacola Harbour.

Bar.

able distance from the land, occasioned, no doubt, by the conflict between the sea and the bay. The bar runs in a curve from the West breakers all the way to the eastward of the fort, or Signal House on Rose island, the outer end of it extending about a mile without the breakers; it is a flat, hard sand, but the bottom on both sides is soft, oozy ground. After entering on the bar in the deepest channel, the old fort on Rose island bears N E 1-4 N two and a half miles; the middle or highest red cliff, N 1-2 W three and a half miles. In coming from the eastward or westward it is best to keep in six or seven fathoms, till the West declivity of the highest part of the red cliff bears about N 1-2 W, as above; and then to continue that direction. The water shoals gradually from four to three and three-fourths fathoms; on the shoalest part it is 21 feet, then it regularly deepens and the bottom grows softer.

The latitude of the bar of Pensacola is 30 d 22 m North, and longitude 87 d 40 m West from London, the variation of the compass near 5 d East.

Directions for
passing thro'
the Bay.

When over the bar in five or six fathoms, it is necessary to incline a little towards the western reef, which has deep water close to it, in order to avoid the 10 feet bank that there extends about half a mile S W from the point of Rose island. As the line of direction for the deepest water over the bar leads just over the West point of this bank, therefore it is proper to keep within one and a half or two cables length of the breakers (on the North end of which there are two dry sandy keys) till the West point of Rose island is open with the straggling trees to the southward of Deer Point, at the entrance of St. Rosa channel, when one must haul up to the eastward between them clear of the 10 feet bank. There is a narrow channel of 13 feet between this bank and the point of Rose island. There is also a shoal stretching in a
sweep

sweep from the red cliff towards the above mentioned sandy key, therefore care must be taken not to shut in Tartar Point with Deer Point; but as the soundings are regular, there is no fear, unless there be little wind, with the tide of ebb, which sets directly on this shoal, and in that case it is necessary to anchor in time.

Within Tartar Point the bay is about five or six miles broad, stretching to the North-east towards the town; which is situated on the main land, about eight miles from Rose island. From thence the bay turns more to the eastward, and is divided into two large branches or arms; one of which continues to the eastward about 18 miles from Pensacola, and the other to the northward nearly the same distance, from three to five miles broad.

Between Tartar Point and Pensacola there are two large lagoons, the southermost of which runs behind the red cliff.

All the West side of the bay, which forms a sweep towards the town, is shoal for upwards of half a mile off shore, but the soundings are regular to it. There is no danger in the bay between Pensacola and Rose island, except a shoal that runs from Deer Point, which ought to be attended to in working up or down the harbour. It is the more dangerous, as there is no warning given by the soundings; for from six fathoms, in a few casts of the lead, you have but as many feet. It runs more than half a mile to the westward from the point. The governor's house in the fort bears from the extremity of it N 1-2 E three and a half miles, and English Point N N E 1-4 E five miles. The best anchorage for large vessels is just a-breast of the town, in four fathoms, about one-third of a mile off shore; taking care not to bring the governor's house more to the westward than N W 1-4 W, on account of a shoal that runs off from
Indian

Indian Point at the East end of the town. As the tides in that offing run nearly East and West, ships should be moored accordingly.

Discovery
of Pensacola.

The bay of Pensacola, was first discovered by Pamphilio de Narvaez in 1525*. After him, several other Spanish adventurers visited it, who gave it different names; as *Porta da Anchuse*, *Bahia de St. Maria*, &c. But Pensacola was the proper name of it among the Indians, which it will henceforth probably retain. The first establishment the Spaniards made here was in 1696; when Don Andrea de Arivola was appointed governor of this province, which then comprehended a very large tract of land, on the gulph of Mexico. He built a small stockado, which he called fort St. Charles, with a church, &c. just by the red cliff at the entrance of the harbour.

This place was taken in the year 1719, by the French from Mobile. Pensacola fell at that time an easy prey, having only about 150 men to defend it. Shortly afterwards it was retaken by the Spaniards, who were again dispossessed by the French in the same year.

The second time the French made themselves masters of it, they kept possession till the year 1722, when it was restored to the crown of Spain by treaty. The Spaniards in the interim removed to St. Joseph's bay. About the year 1726, they built a small town on the West side of Rose island, near the present fort, or signal house, which was originally constructed by them, but greatly improved by General Haldimand. The settlement remained there till about the year 1754; but being then partly overflowed in a gale of wind, the town was removed to the place where it now stands. After this country was ceded to the English by the peace of 1762, many places were pointed out as conveniently

* But the Florida coast was previously discovered by Sebastian Cabot in 1497, and by John Ponce de Leon in 1512.

veniently situated for the purpose of building a town; but on due examination, the present situation was generally preferred, and the present town regularly laid out in the beginning of the year 1765.

The town of Pensacola is of an oblong form, and lies almost parallel to the beach. It is about a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile in breadth, but contracts at both ends. At the West end is a fine rivulet, from which vessels are supplied with water. The present fort was built by the writer of this narrative in 1775, with cedar pickets, with 4 block houses at proper distances, which defend or flank the works. It takes up a large space of ground just in the middle of the town, which it divides in a manner into two separate towns, and can be of no great service towards the defence of the place, in case an attack be made on it, either by the natives or a civilized enemy.

Description
of the Town
of Pensacola.

The town of Pensacola is surrounded by two pretty large brooks of water, which take their rise under Gage hill, a small mount behind the town, and discharge themselves into the bay, one at each extremity of the town.

The town and fort of Pensacola, surrendered to the arms of his Catholic Majesty, in the year 1781, and with them the whole province of West Florida became subject to the king of Spain, as before mentioned.

The hopes of a Spanish trade induced many people to settle here, at a great expence, but it did not answer their expectation. The principal objects ought to be the Indian trade, indigo, cotton, rice, hemp, tobacco and lumber, these being the natural produce of the country. Tho' Pensacola stands in a very sandy situation, yet with pains the gardens produce great plenty of vegetables. Fruit trees, such as orange, fig, and peach trees are here in perfection. And the bay abounds with a variety of fine fish.

About

About a mile to the eastward of Pensacola, between it and the English point, is the East lagoon, which after turning to the N W 4 or 5 miles, receives the Six Mile Brook. This is a pretty little winding stream, on the East side of which is an iron mine, where a large natural magnet was found. There is a fine mineral spring of the Chalybeate kind, near the mouth of the lagoon, of which there are several others in this country.

Campble
Town.

From English point, the bay stretches to the northward. On the West side, near the mouth of the river Escambia, lies Campble Town, a settlement of French protestants, about 10 miles from Pensacola by land, and 13 by water. The spot on which it stands is high, and a very light soil; but its situation being near to the marshes, it is thereby rendered unhealthy, and has been the means of carrying off many of the inhabitants who were sent out in 1766, and were for sometime supported by government, in order to manufacture silk; but either for want of proper management, or other reasons, nothing of that kind was attempted, and the place is since abandoned and the town destroyed.

River Escam-
bia.

The river Escambia, the most considerable that falls into the bay of Pensacola, empties itself near the head of the North branch, about 12 or 15 miles from Pensacola, through several marshes, and channels, which have a number of islands between them, that are overflowed when the water is high. There is a shoal near the entrance, and vessels that draw more than 5 or 6 feet cannot be carried into it, even through the deepest channel; but there is from 2 to 4 fathoms afterwards. I ascended it with a boat upwards of 80 miles, where from the depth of water it appeared to be navigable for pettiaugers many miles further. It is uncertain where the source of this river is; but supposed to be at a considerable distance, and is very winding in its course. The

The lands in general on each side of the river, are rich low or swamp, admirably adapted for the culture of rice or corn, as may suit the planter best; and what gives these low lands a superiority over many others, is the great number of rivulets that fall into this river from the high circumjacent country, which may easily be led over any part of, or almost all the rice lands, at any season of the year whatever. Near the mouth of this river are a great number of islands, some of very considerable extent, and not inferior for rice to any in America. The settlements made by Messieurs Tait and Mitchell, Captain Johnson, Mr. M'Kinnon and some others, are very evident proofs of this assertion, who, in the course of two years from their first settlement, had nearly cleared all the expences they had been at in making very considerable establishments; and I am well assured would entirely have done it in another year, had not the Spaniards taken possession of the country.

Remarks on the lands upon the Escambia, and near Pensacola in West Florida.

Further up the river, we meet with other islands, having much higher banks than those below, very fit for raising Indian corn, or pulse of all kinds, with a sufficient proportion of rice land on them also. The large island on which Mr. Marshall made his settlement, nearly opposite the old stockaded fort, about 28 miles from Pensacola by land and 40 by water, is the uppermost island of any note in the river Escambia, and is, without doubt, in point of fertility of soil, equal to any thing to be met with in the country. The westerly part of this last mentioned island is high, and not subject to be overflowed, unless in remarkable high freshes, and then only some particular low parts of it, the rest is high and well secured against floods; the eastern part of it is low and liable to be overflowed at some times of the year; the high land extends from about a mile, to a mile and a half from the westernmost branch of the river that surrounds it, and

is

is equal to any on the Mississippi, Amit, or Comit. A more advantageous place for small settlements than this, is not to be met with any where near Pensacola.

The country on each side of the river above this island is higher, and as the water is confined in one channel, forms a most beautiful river, with great plenty of good low lands on each side of it for many miles up. The low lands generally extend from a mile and a half to two miles from the banks of the river, and some places more, when we come to a fine high pine country, intermixed with oak and hickory land. There are, on both sides of this river, a number of rising grounds or bluffs, which afford delightful prospects on the river, and would be elegant situations for gentlemens seats. The low lands and islands abound with great quantities of white and red oak for staves, which answer well for the West-India market, and an inexhaustible quantity of cypress for lumber and shingles, together with plenty of red and white cedar for building. The open country, or high lands bordering on these low rich lands are generally pine, but of a quality superior to most other pine countries, having generally a good soil for five or six inches deep, and well adapted for raising corn, beans, peas, turnips, potatoes, &c.

Perhaps there is no country more beautifully diversified with hills and dales, nor more plentifully supplied with fine streams, than that which borders on the low lands upon this river. But what, in a very particular manner, recommends this part of West-Florida, is the fine and extensive ranges for cattle which are so frequently to be met with here; it being very common for an ordinary planter to have 200 heads and some 1000 heads, within the vicinity of Pensacola. There is scarcely a stream in these parts but what has water sufficient for saw-mills, and the country abounds with excellent timber for planks or lumber of all kinds. The

The air is pure and healthy, and the planters and negroes enjoy a good state of health the year round. The Indians emphatically call it, on account of the fine streams of water every where to be met with, *the sweet water country*. Great plenty of fish is to be found in this river, and all kinds of wild game are to be met with in great abundance.

With regard to the face of the country between the Escambia and Pensacola, it is varied with vallies and rising grounds. At about 20 miles from Pensacola the soil grows better than it is at the town; the vallies are covered with grafs or canes, interspersed with thickets of laurel, myrtle, and casina. There is generally a rivulet running through each of them, either towards the Perdido or Escambia. The rising grounds are chiefly covered with pines, oak, and hickory.

The North branch of the bay of Pensacola is only navigable for small vessels. It was formerly well settled on each side. The middle land between the North bay and the Ouyavalana, or Yellow Water, a branch of the East bay, abounds with large tall pines fit for masts, yards, &c.

The Yellow Water, or Middle river, enters the Middle River. East branch of the bay at the N E corner, and after going about five or six leagues up the country, the eastern branch ends in a basin or lake at the bottom of a rising ground, but the western branch I have ascended some leagues further. There are several small islands near the entrance of this river, which produce cypress and small cedars, but the soil is indifferant.

The East river empties into the bottom of the East East River. branch, about six miles from the Middle river. It is about a quarter of a mile broad for 2 leagues, and then contracts to the breadth of 30 or 40 feet. This river comes from the eastward, running nearly paral-

lel to St. Rofes channel, and its source is about 16 miles from its entrance into the bay.

The peninsula between the bay of Pensacola and St. Rofes channel, which is from 1 to 3 or 4 miles broad, is in general very poor sandy foil. It produces, in some places, large pines and live oak.

Rofe Island.

Rofe island extends along the coast, for the space of near 50 miles, and is no where above half a mile broad. It is very remarkable for its white sandy hummocks, and straggling trees here and there. There is a clump of 4 tall trees close together, which, at a distance, appears like one, about 18 miles from the West end, and another of the same kind about a league further to the eastward. There are likewise several hummocks, more easy to remark than describe, but an attentive person, after once or twice sailing along, can be at no loss to know what part of the coast he falls in with.

The peculiarity of the appearance of Rofe island from the sea, and the deep soundings all along it, are of great service to know the coast: there are 9 or 10 fathoms in some places, within a mile or two of the shore; and, when a frigate is within 16 or 17 fathoms, the tops of the trees on the main land may be descried from the quarter deck. The bottom is generally fine white sand, with broken shells, and black specks, but in one place off the East end of Rofe island, out of sight of land, the bottom is of a coarse gravel, mixed with coral. This ought particularly to be attended to, as it is the only spot with that kind of soundings on the coast: it is of a considerable extent, and there are from 20 to 30 and 40 fathoms on it, or more. There is indeed a coral bottom off the bay of Esperito Sancto, and some other parts on the coast of East Florida, but these generally begin in 7 or 8 fathoms, within sight of land; from which and the difference of latitude, one cannot be mistaken for the other. This

This is a very extensive bay, stretching about 30 miles to the north-east, and is from 4 to 6 miles broad. There is a bar before it with only 7 or 8 feet where deepest. But afterwards there is 16 or 17 feet, as far as the red bluff on the main land. The channel between this bluff and the East part of Rose island is but narrow, and a little further on, towards the bay, it is choaked up with a large shoal in some places dry, the deepest water on it is only 4 or 5 feet; so that nothing but very small vessels can enter this bay from the sea, and the channel between Rose island and the main, is just sufficient for boats or pettiangers.

Bay of St.
Rose.

On the North side of St. Rose's bay, almost opposite to the entrance from the sea, there are three pretty large branches, which stretch several miles: the westernmost, which is the largest, is again subdivided into smaller branches, all which have deep water. The other two receive each a considerable rivulet of clear water with a rapid stream. On the banks there is plenty of cedar, &c.

The largest river that falls into St. Rose's bay is the Chahta-hatcha or Pea river, which runs from the N E, and enters the bottom of the bay through several mouths, but so shoal that only a small boat or canoe can pass them. I ascended this river about 25 leagues, where there is settled a small party of the Couffac Indians. The banks of this river, in point of soil and timber, resembles very much those of the river Escambia.

Chahta-hatcha
River.

Between the bays of St. Rosa, and St. Andrews, the coast runs E S E, and S E by E, for the space of 52 miles, the soundings much the same as off Rose island; it is to be observed that the trees are thick, and come pretty close to the shore. There are likewise some red hummocks as well as white, which with the trenching of the land may be of service to know that part of the coast.

Coast between
the bays of St.
Rosa and St.
Andrews.

The

St. Andrew's
Bay.

The entrance of St. Andrew's bay is between a small island on the right hand, and a narrow peninsula on the left. There is a high white sand hill, which is a remarkable object from the sea: it lies in latitude 30 d 06 m North, and about 10 leagues to the North-west of Cape Blaise. From the point of the peninsula, there is a large shoal extending for more than two thirds of the way towards the island; which is 2 miles distant, leaving a channel of 17 or 18 feet, but it has a small bar of 13 feet.

There is anchorage just within St. Andrew's island in 3 fathoms and an half, but it is more commodious within the point of the peninsula in 5 fathoms, with the advantage of fresh water, which is easily got by digging.

St. Andrew's bay runs first to the N W, nearly parallel to the sea shore, for 3 leagues; then it turns to the eastward for about a league, when a large branch breaks off to the S E. The main body continues to the northward for 2 leagues, when it is divided into two large branches, one going to the N E, and the other to the westward. This last, which is the least, reaches within a few miles of St. Rosa's bay. The country between them is low and marshy, and full of fresh water ponds.

St. Andrew's bay is navigable for any vessels that can go over the bar. There is a large shoal with only 3 or 4 feet, about half way up the first reach, but there is a deep channel on the West side of it, and afterwards there is from 3 to 7 fathoms all over the bay. There are no rivers of any consequence, nor can the soil immediately on the bay be much commended; there is however great plenty of large pines, live oak, and cedar.

Coast from St.
Andrew's
island to the
bay of St.
Joseph.

From St. Andrew's island to the bay of St. Joseph's, the middle of the coast between them runs about E S E near 15 miles, with a shoal all the way between them

them near the shore, which easily appears, it being of a whiteish colour. There is from 12 to 18 feet on the greatest part of it, except towards the mouth of St. Joseph's bay, where there is a bank near the middle, between St. Joseph's point and the main land, with only 7 or 8 feet, and 4 fathoms just within; but there is a very good channel with 3 fathoms on the bar, between that bank and St. Joseph's point, on the right hand going in.

In going into St. Joseph's bay it is requisite to keep within a cable and a half or two cables length of the peninsula, in five or four and a half fathoms, as it shoals regularly towards the point, from which a spit of sand runs out a little way; and when in three fathoms to haul round gradually, still keeping near two cables length off shore. The bar is narrow, and immediately within it there is from four to six and a half fathoms soft ground. The end of the peninsula forms two or three points, from each of which a small spit runs off for a little distance, which may be known by the discoloured water on them. This is an excellent harbour; in which the best place for anchoring is just within the peninsula, opposite to some ruins that still remain of the village of St. Joseph. There the Spaniards had a post, which they abandoned about the year 1700, but they took possession of it again in 1719. There is very good water to be got here by digging, and on the North side of the bay are two or three small fresh water brooks, opposite to which are three or four fathoms close to the shore. In the year 1717, the French erected a fort which they called *Cœvœœur*, a mile to the northward of a brook in St. Joseph's bay, opposite to the point of the peninsula, but abandoned in the next year, on the representation of the governor of Pensacola that it belonged to his Catholic Majesty. The bay is nearly of the figure of a horse-shoe, being about twelve miles

St. Joseph's
Bay.

miles in length, and seven across where broadest. Towards the bottom of it are a few small islands, and the water is so shoal that a boat can hardly go near the shore.

The soil on the North side of the bay is very sandy, but there are some spots near the ruins of St. Joseph's that are covered with a kind of verdure, and produce plenty of grapes, some of which are large, of a purple colour, and pretty good to the taste: they were probably planted there by the Spaniards. There are here likewise some small cabbage trees, of which there are great numbers on St. George's islands beyond Cape Blaise, and on all the coast to the eastward. These cabbage trees do not grow above the height of 20 feet; the bud, or unformed leaves in the heart being boiled has somewhat the taste of cabbage, but is more delicious.

A very good establishment might be made here for a fishery, as the settlers might make salt on the spot to cure the bass, rock, cod, grouper, red mullet, and other kinds of fish, which are here in great abundance; and, when well cured, are little if at all inferior to those brought from the northward.

Peninsula between St. Joseph's and Cape Blaise.

The peninsula between St. Joseph's and Cape Blaise is a narrow slip of land, in some places not above a quarter of a mile broad. The gaps here and there upon it, and the water in the bay appearing through them from the mast-head, together with the trenching of the land about NNW, and SSE, for near four leagues, make it easily known. The trees about Cape Blaise are very thick, and there is a remarkable single tree, like a bush, that stands without the others towards the point. In case of an easterly wind, there is safe anchorage opposite the thickest trees in six or seven fathoms, about one or two miles off shore; and there is a large pond of fresh water near the beach, about three or four miles to the eastward of Cape Blaise.

Blaife. There is also a remarkable gap among the trees between the sea and the bottom of St. Joseph's bay, where is a narrow isthmus not above 5 or 600 yards broad.

Cape Blaife, where it ends in a low point near two miles from the trees, in latitude 29 d 40 m N, is not only remarkable from the aforesaid circumstances, but likewise on account of the irregular foundings that are found a great way out at sea from it. There is a spit of land that runs about two miles from the point in a SSE direction; and there are several banks of three or four fathoms, at the distance of six or seven miles, with deep water from seven to ten fathoms between them. There are even some banks of five and six fathoms almost out of sight of land from the mast-head; but though they may alarm a stranger, there is no danger in going near enough to make the land plain.

There is another cape or point of land about six leagues to the eastward of Cape Blaife, being an elbow of the largest of St. George's islands, nearly opposite to the river Apalachicola. This point lies in 29 d 38 m N. There is a large shoal running out from it a considerable way, but how far has not yet been ascertained. The coast between it and Cape Blaife forms a kind of hollow bay, with deep foundings and a soft bottom. There are two islands to the North-west of St. George's cape; that nearest to it is small, and remarkable for a clump of straggling trees on the middle of it; the other is a pretty large island of a triangular form, and reaches within three leagues of Cape Blaife, having a passage at each end of it for small craft into the bay, between these islands and the river Apalachicola: but this bay is full of shoals and oyster banks, and not above two or three feet water at most in any of the branches of that river.

Having thus given an account of the sea-coast of West-
General Observations.

West-Florida, I shall conclude with a few general observations on the seasons, winds, tides, &c. As most of the bars lie a considerable way without the entrance of the bays and rivers, the water seldom rises or falls on them above a foot; but in the bays or channels it rises two or three feet. The tides are irregular, and seem to be governed in a great measure by the winds; but not always by that wind which blows directly on the spot. Though there is generally about 12 hours flood and 12 hours ebb, yet it often happens that there are two tides of each in the space of 24 hours; and sometimes the tide will run one way for the space of 18 hours together, and only five or six hours the contrary, so that nothing can be said with certainty on this subject. By reason of the trade winds blowing in the Atlantic ocean, and continuing into the bay of Mexico, it is natural to suppose that the water, being there hemmed in, will of course force a passage out where it finds the least resistance; which is through the gulph of Florida. From this general principle it should follow, that on the coast of West-Florida it ought to run from West to East, which in some measure would account for the shoals being found at the East end of all the islands on this coast, and deep water on the West ends; but in a large bay or Mediterranean sea like that of Mexico, where there are so many rivers, bays, &c. the general course of the current must be greatly disturbed. From this proceeds that irregularity which is observable on the North side of the bay of Mexico, where the tide of ebb always sets to the eastward near the shore, and the flood from the southward or S E: what it may do in the offing has not yet been examined, nor will it be easily determined.

To the eastward of Cape Blaise, the general observations concerning the deep water at the West end of the

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the islands and peninsulas, and vice versa, do not seem always to hold good. Indeed, as far as has been examined of the West part of East-Florida, it is a shoal a considerable way from the land, (and therefore ought to be known only to be avoided) except the bay of Espíritu Santo*, at the entrance of which, in the latitude 27 d 8 m, there is four fathoms and safe anchorage.

From the winds that prevail in general on this coast during the months of April, May, and to the middle of June, the weather is mild. The sea and land breezes are pretty regular, and they generally continue so all the summer. In July, August, and most of September, there are frequent squalls, with much rain, thunder, and lightning; and sometimes gales of wind from the South and South-west for several days together. From the middle of October to the end of March, the northerly winds prevail, which at times blow very hard during that season; when the wind changes to the eastward or southward of that point, it is commonly attended with close, hazy, or foggy weather.

It ought to be observed in sailing in the Gulph of Mexico, to be very careful of logs or driftwood in the night time; for when the waters of the Mississippi are high, that river discharges an immense number of large logs, or trees, which being driven by the winds and currents all over the gulph, may do considerable damage to vessels under full sail.

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* The bay of Espíritu Santo is situated on the West coast of the province of East-Florida, in 27 deg. of North latitude. It has a good harbour, but the land all about that coast is very low, and cannot be seen from a ship's deck when in seven fathoms water. Several low sandy islands and marshes, covered with mangrove bushes, lie before the main land. Here is the greatest quantity of fish in the summer time imaginable, which may be catched with a seine, enough to load a ship, if the climate would admit of curing them, even in a few days.

Here is stone proper for building, on this coast. Also great plenty of deer, and some wild cattle. But the main land near the coast is in general sandy and barren, and is intermixed in many places with valleys capable of improvement for stock of all sorts. The bay and islands before the main land abound with fish and various sorts of wild fowl.

I SHALL here subjoin some Remarks on the Tortugas, &c. as heretofore published by George Gauld, Esquire.

AS a competent knowledge of the situation of the Dry Tortugas is absolutely necessary for the navigation to and from the North side of the bay of Mexico, and from the West-Indies through the Gulph of Florida, a few general remarks concerning them may not be unacceptable to the public at this time.

They consist of ten small islands, or keys, extending ENE and WSW for ten or eleven miles, at the distance of about thirty leagues from the nearest part of the coast of Florida, forty from the island of Cuba; and fourteen leagues from the westernmost of the Florida keys. They are all very low, but some of them covered with mangrove bushes, and may be seen at four leagues distance. The southwestermost keys, which, in going from Pensacola, Mobile, or the Mississippi, is the corner to be turned, and coming from Cape Antonio the point to be avoided, lies in 24 d 32 m North latitude, and about 83 d 50 m West longitude, from the Royal Observatory at Greenwich; the variation of the compass, by a medium of several observations, is seven degrees East. A reef of coral rocks runs about a quarter of a mile SW from these keys, the water on which is discoloured; and in general, wherever there is danger it may easily be seen from the mast-head in the day time. There is a large bank of brown coral rocks, intermixed with white patches of sand, about five or six miles to the westward of the Tortugas, with very irregular soundings from six to twelve fathoms; the bottom appears very plainly, and though it may be alarming to strangers, yet there is no danger. You will find from thirteen to seventeen fathoms between this bank and the Tortugas.

If

If you are bound to the eastward, and meet with a strong easterly gale, which is frequent there in the summer season, you may safely come to an anchor in five or six fathoms, under the lee of the long sandy island to the northward of the S W key, about a quarter of a mile off shore. The bank of soundings extends only about five or six leagues to the southward of the Tortugas, but much farther to the westward, and all the way to the northward along the Florida shore. This is a lucky circumstance for the safety of navigation in those parts, as caution in soundings may prevent any danger in the night time; for the soundings are extremely regular all along this bank to the northward, almost to Cape Blaise, in latitude 29 d 41 m: so that by the latitude and depth of water, we generally know how far we are to the eastward or westward. There is a space of several leagues together, from twenty to fifty fathoms, but from fifty or sixty it deepens fast to seventy, eighty, and soon after no ground.

From the bar of Pensacola to the Dry Tortugas the true course is S 30 d E 134 leagues, and therefore SE by S by the compass will carry you clear of them to the westward; but it will be both prudent and necessary to sound frequently when you get into the latitude of 26 d and 25 m, and never stand in to less than thirty fathoms in the night time, till you are past the latitude of 24 d 30 m, when you may haul up SE by E or E S E, which will carry you near to the Havanna.

There is a broad channel over the bank to the eastward of the Tortugas, of ten to seventeen fathoms, which, in going to and from the coast of West-Florida, &c. might occasionally cut off a great deal of the distance; but that passage is by no means to be attempted, unless you can see the Tortugas distinctly, and keep within two or three leagues of the
eastermost

eastermost of them, as there is a coral bank of only twelve feet at the distance of five leagues, and farther on towards Cayo Marques, the westernmost of the Florida keys, there is a very dangerous and extensive bank of quicksand, on many parts of which there are no more than four or five feet of water. It is of a remarkable white colour, and may be easily seen and avoided in the day time.

HAVING now finished my intended narrative, I shall close it with the following observations upon the probable consequences that will arise to the United States of America, from the possession of so extensive a country, abounding with such a variety of climate, soil, and productions; referring my reader for his further information upon the subject, to the Philosophical Essays published in London in 1772, concerning the state of the British empire on this continent.

There is some amusement at least in reflecting upon the vast consequences, which some time or other must infallibly attend the settling of America. If we consider the progress of the empires which have hitherto existed in the world, we shall find the short duration of their most glorious periods, owing to causes which will not operate against that of North America. Those empires were formed by conquest; a great many nations different in character, language and ideas, were by force jumbled into one heterogeneous power: it is most surprising that such dissonant parts should hold together so long. But when the band of union was weakened, they returned to their original and natural separation: language and national character formed many sovereignties out of the former connected varieties. This, however, will be very different with North America. The habitable parts of which, including the dominions of Britain
and

and of Spain, North of latitude 30d, contain above 3,500,000 square miles. It would be unnecessary to remark, that this includes what at present does not belong to our North America. If we want it, I warrant it will soon be ours. This extent of territory is much greater than that of any empire that ever existed, as will appear by the following table.

	Square Miles.
The Persian empire under Darius contained - - - -	1,650,000
The Roman empire in its utmost extent	1,610,000
The Chinese empire, - - - -	1,749,000
The Great Mogul's, - - - -	1,116,000

The Russian empire, including all Tartary, is larger than any of these. But I might as well throw into the American scale the countries about the Hudson's bay, for the one is as likely to be peopled as the other; whereas all I have taken in will assuredly be so. Besides, North-America is actually peopling very fast, which is far enough from being the case with the Russian deserts. Now the habitable part of what was once the British dominions alone in North-America, contains above 1,200,000 square miles, or almost equal to any of the above. But the whole, as I before observed, is 3,500,000, or more than the Persian and Roman empires together. In respect, therefore, to extent, and the means of maintaining numbers of people, it is superior to all. But then comes the advantage which is decisive of its duration. This immense continent will be peopled by persons whose language and national character must be the same. Foreigners who may resort to us, will be confounded by the general population, and the whole people, physically speaking, one: so that those seeds of decay, sown in the very foundation of the ancient empires, will

will have no existence here. Further, the peopling of this vast tract from a nation renowned in trade, navigation and naval power, has occasioned all the ideas of the original to be transplanted into the copy. And these advantages having been so long enjoyed, with the amazing and unparalleled situation for commerce between Europe, Asia, and the great southern continent; and America at the same time possessing, above other countries, the means of building, fitting out, and maintaining a great navy; the inhabitants of this potent empire, so far from being in the least danger from the attacks of any other quarter of the globe, will have it in their power to engross the whole commerce of it, and to reign, not only lords of America, but to possess, in the utmost security, the dominion of sea throughout the world, which their ancestors enjoyed before them. None of the ancient empires, therefore, which fell a prey to the Tartars, nor the present one of China, can be compared to this of North-America, which, as surely as the land is now in being, will hereafter be trod by the first people the world ever knew.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

- Page 6, line 24, instead of *in* read *on* the Mississippi.
 Page 10, line 36, instead of *on* read *in* said latitude.
 Page 29, line 19, instead of *this* read *their* value.
 Page 31, line 16, instead of *the* read *though* strong.
 Page 33, line 27, instead of *port* read *post*.
 Page 47, line 22, instead of *lake* read *a lake*.

TABLE OF DISTANCES.

	Miles.
From the Balize or the Mouths of the Mississippi	
to the Detour aux Plaquemines, is - - -	32
to beginning of the settlements - - -	20
to the Detour des Anglois - - -	35
to New Orleans - - - -	18
to the villages of the Humas and Alabama Indians - - - - -	60
to the Fourche de Chetimachas and Indian village of the same name - - -	3
to the Concession of Monf. Paris - - -	9
to the Ibberville - - - -	27
to Baton Rouge - - - -	18
to the settlement of Point Coupeé -	17
to upper end of this settlement where there is a village of Tunica Indians on the East side - - - - -	20
to the Chafalaya, the uppermost mouth of the Mississippi - - - -	30
to the River Rouge - - - -	3
to Fort Rosalie at the Natchez - - -	56 $\frac{1}{2}$
to the Petit Goufre - - - -	31 $\frac{1}{2}$
to the Grand Goufre - - - -	14
to the Yazou Cliffs - - - -	39 $\frac{1}{2}$
to the River Yazou - - - -	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
to the River Arkansaw - - - -	158 $\frac{1}{2}$
to the River St. Francis - - - -	108
to the River and Heights of Margot -	70 $\frac{1}{2}$
to the Chickasaw River - - - -	104 $\frac{1}{2}$
to Mine au fer - - - -	67 $\frac{1}{2}$
to the River Ohio - - - -	15
Total,	964 $\frac{1}{2}$

Deacidified using the Bookkeeper process.
Neutralizing agent: Magnesium Oxide
Treatment Date: Dec. 2004

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