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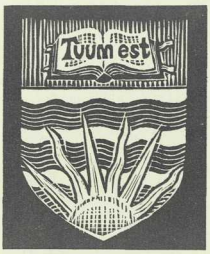

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DOMINION OF CANADA

REPORT

OF THE

PUBLIC ARCHIVES

FOR THE YEAR 1929

ARTHUR G. DOUGHTY
Keeper of Public Records

OTTAWA
F. A. ACLAND
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1930

Price, 50 cents.

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OTTAWA, November 4, 1929.

The Honourable,
The SECRETARY OF STATE,
Ottawa.

SIR,—I have the honour to present to you the report of the work of the Public Archives for the year 1929.

Twenty-five years ago when I entered upon my duties as Dominion Archivist, the collections were deposited in a single room in the Langevin Building, but in the interval the accumulation of material has been so extensive that the new Archives buildings are inadequate for the convenient storage of the records.

The proposal to transfer to the custody of the Archives over one million files from one department of the public service leads one to suspect that there may be congestion in other places. It would therefore seem advisable to examine the state of the records in Ottawa with a view of ascertaining what space is required for their proper storage.

During the past year the department participated in the Exposition rétrospective des Colonies Françaises de l'Amérique du Nord, which was held in Paris from April to June last. Many important documents concerning our history were brought to light through the Exposition, particularly those relating to Courcelles, Charnisay, Pontchartrain, Maurepas, D'Anville and the missions in Canada. Of particular interest were the portraits of Frontenac, Courcelles, Sarrazin and Charnisay. In the course of time, copies of the documents and portraits will be obtained for the Archives.

The offices of the department in the rue de Richelieu, Paris, have been removed to the Canadian Legation, and thus brought under the direction of the Canadian Minister to France.

From London we have placed on our shelves the Amherst papers from 1760 to 1763 and the Simcoe papers from 1763 to 1798.

From the French Archives, copies have been received of volumes 10 to 19 of the Archives of the Colonies relating to the financial administration of New France, and a photographic copy of the *Histoire du Canada depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1766* ascribed to Louis Léonard de France, Sieur de Courville.

Since the last report, Mr. J. S. Ewart has completed his valuable collection of material on the political history of Canada, and presented the whole series to the Archives for the use of students. The despatches and letter books of the Governors General from 1867 to 1883 have been transferred to the Archives. They are exceedingly valuable for the history of Canada immediately after Confederation.

Sir Leicester Harmsworth has added to the Northcliffe collection an excellent bust of General Wolfe, a replica of which was made for South Kensington Museum, London.

A pleasing ceremony took place in the Archives in August last when Lady Cromer, on behalf of her mother, presented to the Government a portrait of Lord Minto.

Professor Adam Shortt and his assistants have made considerable progress with the classification and arrangement of the Baring papers, a valuable collection of letters concerning the financial history of Canada. When these papers are available they will open up a new field of enquiry to students.

The Summer School for teachers was conducted this year by Professor Trotter of Queen's University. It was well attended and the results were satisfactory.

From May until September a number of students and professors of history spent their vacation at the Archives in research.

The details of the activities of the Archives will be found in the report.

I have the honour to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,

A. G. DOUGHTY,
Deputy Minister.

REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES FOR THE YEAR 1929

CLASSIFICATION, INDEX AND INFORMATION DIVISIONS

CLASSIFICATION

Steady progress has been made in the classification of military papers and several hundred records, files of deceased officers, etc., have been added to our collections. These are useful for the verification of rank and service of officers and men.

The classification of the papers of the Customs Department from 1841 to 1867 is nearing completion. Considerable work has been done during the year on the guide to the Series S. and many volumes in the same series have been arranged for binding.

INFORMATION

Requests for information from various parts of Canada and from the United States have increased considerably. Eight hundred and twenty-four inquiries were received and disposed of during the year.

Old age pensions cause considerable researches and it is frequently necessary to establish the age of an applicant through our records. Many of these inquiries involve considerable research and more assistance will be required if the work of this Division is to be kept up.

INDEX

Forty-two thousand three hundred and fifty index cards have been typewritten, sorted and placed in their respective drawers:—

The Quebec Gazette Index (up to 1806)	12,000
Genealogy and Biography	30,350

MANUSCRIPT DIVISION

MATERIALS FROM FRANCE

TRANSCRIPTS

PUBLIC SOURCES

A. ARCHIVES NATIONALES

1. *Colonies*

Series E	Cartons	9	Dossier Arlus (Pierre Marion d') Capitaine au Régiment D'hainault à la Grenade. (1778) 1780. Dossier Arnoux (André), Chirurgien major du Roi à Québec. 1746. Dossier Arrigrand (Gratien d') Sieur 1739–1752. Dossier Artaud (François) Capitaine dans les troupes de la Louisiane. 1721–1779. Dossier Artus (Le sieur d') ingenieur du Roi à la Louisiane. 1719.
"	"	10	Dossier Aubert (Etienne) habitant de Louisbourg 1734. Dossier Aubrespy de la Farelle (Pierre-Philippe) et de Saint Martin 1777.
"	"	12	Dossier Aunel (François) Soldat de la garnison mort à Québec 1760. Dossier D'Aunay (Nicolas-Charles) officier servant au Canada 1751. Dossier Auteuil (Ruette d') procureur general au Conseil Superieur de Québec 1709–19.
"	"	13	Dossier Arice (Jean) Lettres de maitre pilote a lui accordées par l'armirauté de Louisbourg annulées 1736. Dossier D'Arisard (Le sieur) Major de la Rochelle et Carrerot (La demoiselle) sa femme 1769–1770.
"	"	14	Dossier Bacquerisse (Guillaume) Greffier du conseil superieur de l Ile Royale 1769–1777. Dossier Baillard (Jean) ancien soldat de marine en Acadie 1770. Dossier Bailleul (Le Sieur de) officier des colonies servant à Rochefort 1767. Dossier Bailleul (François, Ch^{er} de) lieutenant dans les troupes de la marine au Canada 1760–1767.
"	"	15	Dossier Baillon (Henry) Ancien Entrepreneur des fortifications de Louisbourg, 1755. Dossier Balloy (Roland) forgeron à Saint-Pierre de Terre-Neuve. 1784. Dossier Bailly (Le sieur) architecte de la ville de Québec 1686. Dossier Bailly (Louis) ancien soldat des troupes de Saint-Pierre et Miquelon 1775. Dossier Balmont (Le Sieur) 1721–29.

A. ARCHIVES NATIONALES—*Con.*

1. *Colonies*—Con.

Series E	Cartons	75	Dossier Chartier de Lotbinière, Conseiller au Conseil superieur de Québec. Dossier Chartier de Lotbinière (Eustache). Dossier Chartier de Lotbinière (Michel) 1675–1710.
"	"	103	Dossier Dagneaux d'Ouville (Alexandre René) 1736–1789.
"	Vol.	14A	Conseils du Roy Conseil des Finances. 1607.
"	F^1 Vols.	10–19	Fonds 1697–1717.
"	F^3 "	241	Collection Moreau St. Méry 1682–1723.

2. *Marine*

Series	A^1 Vols.	3–34	Recueil Général des Ordonnances Edits, Arrêts, Lettres Patentes etc., sur la Marine, 1610–1698.
"	B^3 Vol.	291	Clergé, Parlements, Fonctionnaires Divers, 1723.
"	" "	292	Ponant, Dunkerque, Petits Ports de la Manche, 1724.
"	" "	293	Service Général Correspondance Ponant Le Havre, 1724.
"	" "	294	Service Général Correspondance Ponant St. Malo, Brest, Port-Louis, 1724.
"	" "	295	Service Général Correspondance Ponant Nantes, Mr. Bigot de la Mothe Commissaire Général, 1724.
"	" "	296	Service Général Correspondance Levant Toulon, 1724.
"	" "	297	Service Général Correspondance Levant Marseille petits ports de Levant, 1724.
"	" "	298	Service Général Correspondance Ministres, Clergé, Parlements, 1724.
"	" "	299	Service Général Correspondance Gouverneurs et Intendants des Provinces 1724.
"	" "	300	Service Général Correspondance Ponant Le Havre Petits ports de la Manche. 1725.
"	" "	301	Service Général Correspondance Ponant, Le Hâvre, Petits ports de la Manche, 1725.
"	" "	302	Service Général Correspondance Ponant St. Malo, Port Louis, 1725.
"	" "	303	Service Général Correspondance Ponant Nantes, Mr. Bigot de la Mothe Commissaire Général, Rochefort, 1725.
"	" "	304	Service Général Correspondance Levant Toulon, 1725.
"	" "	305	Service Général Correspondance Levant Marseille Ports Secondaires, 1725.
"	" "	306	Service Général Correspondance Ministres, Parlements, 1725.
"	" "	307	Service Général Correspondance Gouverneurs & Intendants des Provinces Mr. Charron a Lyon, Intendants de la Santé, 1725.

3. *Seminaire des Missions Etrangères*

	Vols.	4–7	1663–1679.

A. ARCHIVES COMMUNALES, NC.

2. *Rochefort*

Series	1E	Vols.	137–142	Depêches de la Cour, 1743–1746.
"	"	"	342–345	Correspondance de l'Intendant avec la Cour (Minutes) 1713–1716.
"	"	"	346–347	Lettres de l'Intendant à la Cour (Minutes) 1717–1718.
"	"	"	348–349	Correspondance de l'Intendant avec la Cour (Minutes) 1719–1720.
"	1R	"	7	Lettres diverses, 1742–1750.
"	"	"	8	" " 1768–1774.
"	"	"	9–14	Correspondance du Commissaire Général pour les Colonies. Copie de lettres 1765–1770.
"	"	"	15	Sommes payées aux officiers qui ont enrôlé des hommes pour le Canada, 1684.
"	"	"	16	Etats divers, Détachement du Fort Dauphin envoyé à Rochefort, 1705–1718.
"	"	"	17	Etats Divers Envois de soldats aux Colonies, Mémoire sur la Compe. de Vendôme, Demande de passage, 1720–1728.
"	"	"	18	Etats divers, Passage de soldats, Soldats de nouvelle levée et réformés Habillement des sergents du Canada, 1732–1737.
"	"	"	19	Notes diverses, Habillement, recrues, engagements, Solde d'une Cie. de Karrer envoyée à la Martinique, 1740–1749.
"	"	"	22	Certificat Duplessis-Faher Détachement réformé à la Louisiane 1770.
"	"	"	25	Transport de matériel et passagers 1711–1719.
"	"	"	26	Transports de matériel et de passagers. Réclamation du frère chrétien auquel on refuse son passage sur le Chameau, 1723–1729.
"	"	"	27	Transports divers, Listes de passagers, 1730–1731.
"	"	"	28	Envois de fonds aux Colonies Transport de matériel et de personnel, 1732–1739.
"	"	"	29	Chargements divers, Transports de personnel et de matériel, 1740–49.
"	"	"	30	Noms de matelots ayant voulu se faire forbans. Mémoire sur l'assassinat à Louisbourg du Comte d'Agrain. Information contre un soldat accusé de meurtre, 1723.

C. MINISTÈRE

1. *Affaires Etrangères*

Angleterre, Correspondance Politique, Vols. 433-436, 1751-1753.

PRIVATE SOURCES

Originals

Document relating to Pontchartrain, 1639.

MATERIALS FROM ENGLAND

TRANSCRIPTS

Public Sources

A. BRITISH MUSEUM

1. Additional Manuscripts	Vols.		19075–19076	Papers of Dr. Andrew Brown designed for a History of Nova Scotia.
"	"	"	22616	Official papers relating to the Army, Francis Nicholson 1698–1715.
"	"	"	28609	P. C. Plumier, Nova Plantt. American, Geneva. 1814.
"	"	"	29256–29259	Returns of His Majesty's Forces, 1768–1775.
"	"	"	33440	Correspondence of Comte de Pontchartrain, 1698–1699.

B. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

4. *Colonial Office*

Series 188	Vol.	61	New Brunswick, Public Offices 1838.	
" 226	"	55–58	Prince Edward Island, 1838–1839.	
5. Foreign office	Vols.	132–133	America,	Mr. Bagot, 1818.
" "	"	141–142	"	Mr. Bagot, 1819.
" "	"	143	"	Mr. Antrobus, 1819.
" "	"	148–149	"	Mr. Antrobus, 1819.
" "	"	150	"	Mr. Canning, 1820
" "	"	156–159	"	Mr. Canning, 1821.
" "	"	165–169	"	Mr. Canning, 1822.
" "	"	174–177	"	Mr. Canning, 1823.
" "	"	184–186	"	Mr. Addington, 1824.
" "	"	197–198	"	Mr. Addington, 1825.
" "	"	199	"	Mr. Vaughan, 1825.
" "	"	209–213	"	Mr. Vaughan, 1826.
" "	"	222–225	"	Mr. Vaughan, 1827.
" "	"	235–238	"	Mr. Vaughan, 1828.
" "	"	247–249	"	Mr. Vaughan, 1829.
" "	"	258–260	"	Mr. Vaughan, 1830.
" "	"	265–266	"	Mr. Vaughan, 1831.
" "	"	271–273	"	Mr. Bankhead, 1832.
" "	"	280–283	"	Mr. Vaughan, 1833.
" "	"	288–293	"	Mr. Vaughan, 1834.
" "	"	299	"	Mr. Vaughan, Fox, Bankhead, 1835.
" "	"	300	"	Mr. Vaughan, 1835.
" "	"	301	"	Mr. Vaughan & Bankhead, 1835.
" "	"	306	"	Mr. Bankhead, 1836.
" "	"	307	"	Mr. Fox, 1836.
" "	"	313–314	"	Mr. Fox, 1837.

11. WAR OFFICE

Series 34, Vols. 2–3, The Amherst Papers, 1760–1763.

Private Sources

Amherst Papers, 1834–1835 & 1838.
Simcoe Papers, Packet Mm–Zz, 1763–1795.
" " " A^1–A^4, 1787 & 1791–1798.
Trinity House, London
Cape Breton Shipping Returns, 1818–1820.
Plantation Copies, 1812.

ORIGINALS

Colonial Department Memo. 30th April, 1836, relating to policy of the Government.

MATERIALS FROM CANADA

TRANSCRIPTS

Provincial Sources

Montreal Court House
Archives Judiciaires. Vol. 6, 1676-1750.
McCord Museum
Mémoire du Sieur de C.... (Courville).
Registre de Notre Dame des Anges, 1675-1689.
Archevêché de Québec
Memoir *re* exercise of Roman Catholic Religion in Canada, 1762.
Nova Scotia Archives
Muster Rolls Prince Edward Island Loyalists, 1784.

ORIGINALS

Public Sources

Governor General's Office, G. Series (48 pieces).
Governor General's Letter Book, October, 1870-December, 1875.
From H. M. Minister at Washington, 1869-1875.
Despatches and Papers relating to C.P.R. Charter.
Governor General's Miscellaneous Despatches, 1867-1868.
Drafts to the Secretary of State, 1871-1875.
Despatches from the Secretary of State, 1871-1875.
Index of Despatches from the Secretary of State, 1867-1868.
Index of Despatches from the Secretary of State, 1870-1875.
Letter Book to Secretary of State, 1873, to May, 1876.
Letter Book to others, July, 1875-October 30, 1878.
Confidential Despatches, 1866-1867, 1873-1883.
Registers, 1871-1876.
Transfer Book, 1867-1883.
Miscellaneous Papers addressed to Elgin, Head, etc.
Post Office
Miscellaneous Manuscripts relating to Ocean Mail, etc.

Private Sources

Land Grant and Seal New Brunswick, 1786.
Letter of D'Arcy McGee, June 13, 1861.
Letter of Sir John MacDonald, May 18, 1891.
Note Book of Matthew Bell-Irvine.

Documents relating to C. Briscoe of New Brunswick, 1805-1870.
Land Certificate, February 12, 1784, to lot No. 545 Princess street, River St. John, New Brunswick, to James Tilley.
Certificate dated April 6, 1827, giving freedom of City of St. John, New Brunswick, to Charles Patten.
Power of Attorney dated April 1, 1852, Robert McCalmont to Edward Allison.
Letter dated January 14, 1825, L. J. Papineau to Sir James MacIntosh *re* Union of Upper and Lower Canada.
Letter dated March 18, 1825, A. J. Christie to Neilson & Cowan, Montreal, *re* subscribers to Agricola letters.
Warrant dated May 30, 1815, Major General Couran at Quebec.
Letter dated April 30, 1792, Maisonville at Detroit to Simcoe.
Canadian Manufacturers Association Bills introduced in Parliament (11 Vols).
J. S. Ewart manuscripts on the political history of Canada.

MATERIALS FROM ITALY

Transcripts

ROME

Archives du Vatican
Archives Secrètes de la Secrétairerie d'État au Vatican, 1608-1759.
Archives de la S. Congrégation de la Propagande, 1625-1739.

MATERIALS FROM UNITED STATES

Originals

PRIVATE SOURCES

Hudson Bay Company Manuscripts.
Pelly-Banks Journal, 1845-1846.
Lewis & Pelly Journal, 1848-1852.
Pells River Journal, 1847-1853.

MAP DIVISION

The material in the Map Division exceeds thirty thousand items and includes original maps, hand made and photostat copies and engraved maps and atlases dating from the year 1500 to the present time.

CLASSIFICATION, CATALOGUE AND INDEX

The catalogue, commenced last year after the completion of the classification of the maps, now contains over five thousand cards and has advanced to a point where it is of practical value. The index of maps and plans in the trays has been completed and numbers approximately forty thousand cards.

In addition to the catalogue and index of material in the Archives, a bibliography of maps and plans relating to Canada in other centres has been commenced. Lists of maps in the provincial Archives and in the Government departments at Toronto and of maps in the Department of Railways and Canals at Ottawa have been made.

RESEARCHES

The research work of this division increases each year. Maps were consulted by officials of the departments at Ottawa and by officials of the provincial governments and by more than seventy university professors and teachers. In connection with these investigations one hundred and eighty photostat copies of maps and plans were supplied to Government departments and to outside students of Canadian history.

In addition to these investigations, more than two hundred searches were made and four hundred and twenty photostat copies of maps supplied to correspondents.

ACCESSIONS

The list of accessions follows this report. Special mention should be made of the large number of maps received from the estate of the late James White and of the increase in the number of photostat copies received from London and Paris.

LIST OF ACCESSIONS

Abitibi, Quebec.—Topographical Maps. Témiscamingue et Abitibi. Carte Officielle Feuilles No. 1 and 11. Ministre des Terres et Forêts, Quebec, 1926.

Admiral's Point, Newfoundland.—A plan of the Admiral's Point, Trinity Harbour, Newfoundland. B. M. Kings Maps CXIX 108.

Alberta Province.—Scarborough's New Map of the Prairie Provinces—Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan. C. Tarling Map Mounting Co.

Northern Canada—Northwest Territories, Alberta and Saskatchewan. Topographical Map—James White, F.R.G.S. Geographer. Dept. of Interior.

Northern Alberta—Map showing Disposition of Lands—Topographical Map.

Township	54,	Range	25,	West of	Fourth Meridian.
"	54,	"	26,	"	"
"	54,	"	26,	"	"
"	56,	"	15,	"	"
"	56,	"	16,	"	"
"	57,	"	10,	"	"
"	57,	"	25,	"	"
"	58,	"	11,	"	"
"	61,	"	19,	"	"
"	64,	"	20,	"	"
"	64,	"	21,	"	"
"	64,	"	22,	"	"
"	64,	"	24,	"	"
"	64,	"	26,	"	"
"	65,	"	12,	"	"
"	65,	"	15,	"	"
"	65,	"	21,	"	"
"	65,	"	22,	"	"
"	66,	"	24,	"	"
"	67,	"	23,	"	"
"	67,	"	24,	"	"
"	68,	"	24,	"	"
"	24,	"	10,	"	Fifth Meridian.
"	50,	"	1,	"	"
"	69,	"	2,	"	Sixth Meridian.

Allison, Ontario. Topographical Map—Ontario—Allison Sheet No. 104. Dept. of National Defence. 1928.

America. Early Map of North and South America. Le Mon De Nouveau Lequel contient, les Isles de la Mer Oceane d'Indie, liequll &c. 1585.

America, North. A New General Map of America. Drawn from several Accurate particular Maps and Charts—By Eman Bowen.

A Map of the Northern Parts of America. B.M. Kings Map CXIX 7 (2).

America with those known parts in the Unknowne Worlde—Described and inlarged by I.S. Ano 1628.

An Accurate Map of North America—By Eman Bowen. 1747.

Draught of the Northern English Colonies, together with the French Neighboring Settlements. Boston, Aug. 16, 1749. Charles Morris. B.M. Kings Maps CXVIII. 52.

Extrait d'un Memoire présenté au Congres Americain le 1er Mais 1785. par Peter Pond. Add 15332 E fol. 7.

Annapolis Basin, Nova Scotia. A Draught of Part of the British River and of the Fort of Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia. B.M. Kings Maps CXIX 80. 1725.

Anticosti Island. A New and Accurate Map of the Islands of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, St. John and Anticosta: By Eman Bowen.

Arctic Ocean. The Arctic Ocean or Regions showing Greenland, Iceland and Lapland. B. M. Cotton MS. Aug. 1. i 10.

Arctic Regions. Regiones sub Polo Arctico—By Auctore Guiljelmo Blaeu.

Armstrong, Ontario. Topographical Map of Armstrong, Ont. District of Thunder Bay. Provisional Edition. Sheet No. 52-1. Dept. of the Interior, Canada. July, 1928.

Arrowhead, British Columbia. Topographical Map—Arrowhead Sheet—Map No. 4H. Dept. of Lands. British Columbia. 1926.

Athabaska Lake, Alberta-Saskatchewan. Topographical Map of Lake Athabaska and Connecting Waterways. Sheet No. 3. Northwest Territories. Compiled, drawn and printed at the Office of the Surveyor General, Ottawa. 1928.

Atlas, Classical. A Comprehensive Classical Atlas, with a Memoir on Ancient Geography, drawn and engraved from the best Authorities By William Murphy.

Atlas, Roe's. Roe's Atlas of the Maritime Provinces of the Dominion of Canada.

Badger, Manitoba. Plan of Subdivision at Badger. Province of Manitoba. Dept. of Interior, 7 Oct. 1927.

Barrie, Ontario. Topographical Map—Ontario—Barrie, Sheet No. 105. Dept. of National Defence. 1928.

Battleford, Saskatchewan. Topographical Map—Battleford—Sask. West of Third Meridian. Sectional Sheet, No. 267. Compiled, drawn and printed at the Office of the Surveyor General, Ottawa. July, 1928.

Beauharnois Canal, Quebec. Beauharnois Canal—Measurements—1842-1846. By W. Shanly, Resident Engineer. 1842

Bedford Basin, Nova Scotia. A Draught of Torrington Harbour formerly called by the Indians Chibucto On the Coast of Nova Scotia in the year 1732. Adm. Lib. America Vol. 2. Maps Nos. 9 and 10. Copy.

Belleview, New Brunswick. Plan of the Town of Belle Vieu Situated on the East Side of Beaver Harbour in the District of Passamaquoddy. By Charles Morris, Surv. Genl. B.M. Kings Maps CXIX 54. 1785.

Berens River, Manitoba. Topographical Map of Berens River, Man. Provisional Edition—Sheet No. 63A. Dept. of the Interior, Canada. Norway House 63H. Compiled, drawn and printed at the Office of the Surveyor General, Ottawa. Aug. 1928.

Black, Van-Lear. Route Map showing Accomplished & Projected Flights by Mr. Van-Lear Black Piloted by Messrs. Geysendorffer and Scholte of the K.L.M. Royal Dutch Air Service in the H-NADP.

Boston Harbour, Massachusetts, U.S.A. A Draught of Boston Harbour.

British Columbia. Plan of Sub-division of Northeast Quarter Section 23. North half Section 24 and S.E. Quarter of Section 25, Township 13, East of the Coast Meridian—Province of British Columbia.

Mineral Reference Map—Showing Surveyed Claims—Covering portions of Slocan, Slocan City, Ainsworth and Nelson. Mining Divisions. Kootenay District. Dept. of Lands, British Columbia.

British Isles. The British Isles.

Buoy Island, Newfoundland. A Plan of Buoy I. in Ferryland, Newfoundland. B.M. Kings Maps CXIX 110.

Calgary, Alberta. Topographical Map—Calgary—Northeast. Alberta. Sheet No. 82.

Canada. Sectional Sheets indicating Main Automobile Roads between Canada and United States. Prepared by Natural Resources Intelligence Service.

Atlantic Sheet.

Great Lakes Sheet.

Middle West Sheet.

Pacific Sheet.

Map of Canada—Two reduced copies.

Map of the Country from Lake Superior to Vermilion River. A true copy of the Original Map. A true map of Part of the Survey under the 7th Article of the Treaty of Ghent. Oct. 23rd 1826.

British North America—By Permission Dedicated to The Honble Hudsons Bay Company Containing the latest information which their documents furnish—By their Obedient Servant—J. Arrowsmith. 1832.

Plan showing the Region Explored by S. J. Dawson and his Party between Fort William, Lake Superior and the Great Saskatchewan R. From 1st Aug. 1857 to Nov. 1858. S. J. Dawson.

Map of British America from L. Superior to the Rocky Mountains, 1872.

Canadian Pacific Railway. Canadian Pacific Railway—Sandford Fleming, Engr-in-Chief. Report of Progress on the Explorations and Surveys up to January 1874.

Maps and Charts to Accompany Report on the Explorations and Surveys up to January 1874. Sandford Fleming, Engr-in-Chief.

Canso Harbour, Nova Scotia. A Draught of the Harbour and Ids of Canso in the Govern't of Nova Scotia In the Lattitude of 45°25 North. Survey'd in Anno 1732 by Capt. Thos. Durell. Adm. Lib. America Vol. 2. Map No. 6. Copy.

Cape Breton Island. A new & Accurate Map of the Islands of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, St. John and Anticosta: By Eman Bowen.

Plan of Isle Royalle. B.M. Kings Maps CXIX 85.

A Chart of the South East Part of L'Isle Royal or Cape Bretton taken from the best Surveys, and the Observations of the most able Pilots. B.M. Kings Maps CXIX 86.

A Chart of the Sea Coast of Nova Scotia, Accadia and Cape Breton Drawed by Capt. Tho. Durell, 1736. Adm. Lib. America, Vol. 2. Map No. 8. Copy.

A New Map of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island—with adjacent parts of New England and Canada—By Thos. Jefferys. No. 14. 1775.

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"	3,	"	22,	"	"	"
"	4,	"	21,	"	"	"
"	15,	"	4,	"	"	"
"	22,	"	1,	"	"	"
"	30,	"	17,	"	"	"
"	30,	"	18,	"	"	"
"	31,	"	17,	"	"	"
"	31,	"	18,	"	"	"
"	17,	"	11,	East	"	"
"	20,	"	1,	"	"	"

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A Map of New England and New York.

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A Draught of St. John's Harbour. B.M.Kings Maps CXIX 103.

St. Lawrence Bridge.—The St. Lawrence Bridge and Manufacturing Scheme. Sir J. A. Macdonald (for private circulation) Book.

St. Lawrence River.—A New & Exact Draught of the River Canada Approved of by Ye Honbl Sr Will Phipps in his last years Expedition to Quebeck. By Geo. Harwar. B.M.Add MS. 5414 14.

Plan of the River of Catarouqui or Galette, the South West Fork of the River St. Lawrence. B.M.Kings Maps CXIX 16.

Carte tres particulieres de la Riviere de Saint Laurens avec ses Environs Située dans L'Amerique Septentrionale commencons aux Isles de Richelieu et finissant au Cap des Oies. (Seigneuries) Inset Views. B.M. Kings Maps CXIX 22.

Plan of the River St. Lawrence From Montreal to the parish of Berthier, on the North side of the River, and Sorel on the South, being part of a Survey to be continued to Quebec by Order of his Excellency Major General Amherst, General and Commander-in-Chief of all his Majesty's Forces in North America. By John Montresor, Sub-Engineer & Lieut. Samuel Holland, Capt. and Assisting Engineer. B.M.Kings Maps CXIX 28.

St. Lawrence River—*Con.*

A Plan of the River St. Lawrence from Montreal to Berthier on the North and to Sorel on the South side of the River, being part of a Survey intended to Quebec. Montresor, Sub-Engineer & Lieut. Samuel Holland, Capt. B.M.Kings Maps CXIX. 29.

Le fleuve, St. Laurent depuis Montreal jusques a L'Embouchure du Lac Ontario. B.M.Add. MS. 15331 f. 26.

Carte du fleuve St. Laurens depuis Gaspé jusqu'a quebec dressée par les meilleures observations. B.M.Add MS. 15332 G.

Carte du Fleuve de St. Laurent. [Insets]—Plan du Bassin et De La Rade de Quebec. B.M.Add MS. 15332 F 1-3. 1730-32.

A Map of the River St. Laurence reduced from the Actual Surveys of Samuel Holland, Esqr. Surveyor General of the Northern District of America; and Assistants; Surveyed agreable to the Orders and Instructions of the Right Honourable the Lord Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. Reduced and copied by Samuel Lewis. B.M.Kings Maps CXIX 23. 1773.

North and South shore of the St. Lawrence. 1849.

Map of Part of the St. Lawrence and Saguenay Rivers showing the situation of Mr. William Price's Mills. Sheet No. 2. Chicoutimi. 1860.

St. Mary's River, Ontario—U.S.A.—Map of the St. Mary's River—S. Whitney. From Lake Superior to Lake Huron. Compiled from U.S. Govt. Surveys. By Lieut A. L. Magilton. 1855. Eng. & Printed for S. Whitney. (Book).

Saint Maurice, Quebec.—Topographical Map of Saint Maurice—Carte Officielle—Feuillets No. 1 and 11. 1926.

St. Pierre Island, Newfoundland.—A Plan of the Islands of St. Peters, Langley and Miquelong, Survey'd by Order of His Excellency Thos. Graves, Esq. Governor of Newfoundland &c. By James Cook. B.M.Kings Maps CXIX 111.

Saskatchewan Province.—Scarborough's New Map of the Prairie Provinces—Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan. C. Tarling Map Mounting Co.

Northern Canada—Northwest Territories, Alberta and Saskatchewan. Topographical Map—James White, F.R.G.S. Geographer. Dept. of Interior.

Explored Routes in the lower parts of the drainage Area of Churchill and Nelson Rivers. Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Dept. of Mines. To Accompany Memoir No. 30 by Wm. McInnes. 1914.

Topographical Map—Saskatchewan—Map showing Disposition of Lands.

Township	10,	Range	5,	West	of Second	Meridian.
"	10,	"	7,	"	"	"
"	22,	"	2,	"	"	"
"	22,	"	22,	"	"	"
"	31,	"	1,	"	"	"
"	45,	"	4,	"	"	"
"	41,	"	2,	"	Third	"
"	41,	"	28,	"	"	"
"	42,	"	16,	"	"	"
"	42,	"	17,	"	"	"
"	42,	"	20,	"	"	"
"	44,	"	18,	"	"	"
"	45,	"	16,	"	"	"
"	46,	"	8,	"	"	"
"	46,	"	9,	"	"	"

Saskatchewan, Province—*Con.*

Township 46, Range 15, West of Third Meridian.
" 46, " 16, " " "
" 46, " 27, " " "
" 47, " 20, " " "
" 47, " 21, " " "
" 47, " 22, " " "
" 47, " 24, " " "
" 47, " 26, " " "
" 48, " 16, " " "
" 53, " 7, " " "

Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.—Topographical Map of Saskatoon—West of Third Meridian. Sectional Sheet No. 218. 1928.

Shawinigan, Quebec.—Topographical Map of Shawinigan Quebec—Sheet No. 31 1/10. Compiled, drawn and printed at the office of the Surveyor General. Ottawa, July 1928.

Sherbrooke, Quebec.—Topographical Map—Sherbrooke—Quebec Sheet—Highway Routes etc. Published by Geographical Section, General Staff, Dept. of National Defence, 1928.

Shubenacadie River, Nova Scotia.—A Plan of the River of Chibenaccadie from its Source to its Discharge into the Bay of Mines. B.M.Kings Maps CXIX 61a.

Sioux Lookout, Ontario.—Sioux Lookout, Ontario. Sheet No. 52J. Provisional Edition. Dept. of Interior, 1928.

Slave Lake, Mackenzie.—Topographical Map of Great Slave Lake—Western Sheet. Sheet No. 9. Dept. of the Interior.

Slave River, Mackenzie.—Topographical Map of Slave River—Ft. Smith to Resolution. Northwest Territories. Sheet No. 6.

Sorel, Quebec.—Topographical Map—Sorel Quebec—Sheet No. 31¼.

Temiscamingue, Quebec.—Topographical Maps. Temiscamingue et Abitibi. Carte Officielle Feuilles No. 1 and 11. Ministre des Terres et Forets, Quebec, 1926.

Topographical Map of Temiscamingue et Pontiac. Carte Officielle Ministre des Terres et Forets, Quebec, 1927.

Tennessee, U.S.A.—Plan of Part of Southern States including Luisiana, Tennasse, Georgia and Florida. B.M. Add MS. 17649 a.

Three Islands Bay, Newfoundland.—A Plan of the Bay of Three Islands in Newfoundland. B.M. Add MS. 17693 a.

Trinity, Newfoundland.—Abstract of the Report for Ferryland Carboniere & Trinity. Copy. Edw. Browne. B.M.Kings Maps CXIX 107b.

Trinity Harbour, Newfoundland.—A Plan of Trinity's Harbour, Newfoundland, 1748. B.M.Kings Maps CXIX 107a.

United States of America.—Plan of Part of Southern States including Luisiana, Tennasse, Georgia and Florida. B.M. Add MS. 17649 a.

Sketch from a Map of North America by Hutchins; given to a Deputation of Indians, at Philadelphia, with Speeches—From Simcoe Papers Packet Gg. Lent by Mr. W. P. Cole, 116 Highfield Lane, Southampton.

The United States of North America with the British Territories and Those of Spain, according to the Treaty of 1784. Engraved by Wm. Faden, 1796.-

Vaudreuil, M. C. Marquis de.—Plan de la Maison de M. la Marquis de Vaudreuil —Dessinée par Charles Baudoin, Février, 1927. Archives Nationales, Marine C 7. No. 340. Dossier Vaudreuil. 1927.

Plan de Lemplacements Et Maison de Monsieur De Vaudreuil A Montreal. Archives Nationales Marine C 7, No. 340. Dossier Vaudreuil. 1927.

Vermilion, Alberta.—Topographical Map of Vermilion. West of Fourth Meridian. Sectional Sheet No. 316.

Virginia, U.S.A.—A New & Accurate Map of Virginia & Maryland. By Eman Bowen.

A Map of Virginia and Maryland.

West Indies.—An Accurate Map of the West Indies. Eman Bowen.

White Plains, N.Y.—Plan of Roads at the Battle of White Plains—Gen. Howe's & Gen. Heister's Quarters. B.M. Add MS. 16367 E.

Winnipeg Lake District, Manitoba. North West Territories—Lake Winnipeg District. B.M.Add MS 15331 4 & 5.

Wolfville, Nova Scotia. Topographical Map of Nova Scotia. Sheet No. 21H. Wolfville, N.S. 1928. 1

World. A New & Accurate Map of All the Known World. B. Eman Bowen.

The World at One View or Times of All Nations. Costumes of Various Nations.

The World showing the British Empire.

York Harbour, Newfoundland. A Plan of York Harbour and Lark Bay within the Bay of Three Islands in Newfoundland. B.M. Add MS. 17693 b.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH AND PUBLICITY DIVISION

I. RESEARCH

During the year one hundred and four special investigations were made by the Division, either for the service of the Government or for the assistance of outside inquirers. Much has been accomplished in the preparation of card indexes and other aids to future work.

II. PUBLICATIONS

Work is progressing on the text of the Catalogue of Pictures and of other publications the preparations of which has been assigned to this Division.

III. PAINTINGS, DRAWINGS AND PRINTS

Pictures received—2,966

Progress has been made in the arrangement of the unframed pictures and also in the work on the manuscript catalogue. During the year some 2700 items were catalogued, bringing the total to about 26,000.

IV. PHOTOSTATS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

Photostat negatives prepared and indexed—1033

Photograph negatives prepared and indexed—293

During the year more than 1500 photographic and photostatic prints of material in the Public Archives were supplied in response to requests either from other branches of the federal Government or from outside institutions and individuals.

V. LANTERN SLIDES

Lantern slides prepared—114

The policy of loaning lantern slides to responsible teachers and lecturers throughout Canada has been continued, and has received the warm commendation of those who have taken advantage of this service.

LIBRARY DIVISION

Books and pamphlets received and card-indexed.. ..	4,200
Books loaned to students and staff..	10,368
Index-cards prepared and typed..	17,000
Newspaper and magazine articles classified..	2,650
Researches made for bibliography and information..	194
Catalogue of pamphlets from 1868 to date now in the course of preparation.	

BINDERY DIVISION

Volumes bound..	1,477	
Requisitions for repairs, etc..	95	
Portfolios, tag folders, etc..	2,026	
Maps and pictures mounted..	640	
Manuscripts repaired and bound..	96	vols.
In various stages of progress..	471	"

PHOTOGRAPHIC DIVISION

Pages photostated..	19,492
Plates made..	371
Prints from plates..	791

RESTORATION DIVISION

In this Division, considerable work has been done in restoring paintings and reframing pictures, prints and lithographs. A certain number of coats-of-arms were also executed. Considerable time was expended in the maintenance of the exhibition rooms throughout the building, which draw to the Archives a constant flow of visitors.

APPENDIX A

MONTCALM'S CORRESPONDENCE

[NOTE.—The present correspondence consists of Montcalm's letters to his family and friends in France, among which are included accounts of Montcalm's victories at William Henry and Carillon, as well as a few letters of Bougainville, addressed to the same correspondents. The originals are in the possession of the Montcalm family but a transcription exists in the Canadian Archives. The letters have been listed in chronological order. When postcripts are added at different dates to a letter waiting for a ship sailing to France, such postcripts are left with the letter under the original date.

Montcalm's official letters are to be found partly in *Archives des Colonies* $C^{11}A$ *Series*, Vol. 102-104 (See *Report on Canadian Archives, 1887*, pp. CCVI-CCXXI), and partly in *Ministère de la Guerre, Archives Historiques*, Vol. 3417, 3457, 3498, 3499, 3540 (See Roy, J. E. *Rapport sur les Archives de France relatives à l'histoire du Canada*, 1911, pp. 386-416). Transcriptions of both series are in the Canadian Archives. Montcalm's letters to Bourlamaque form Vol. I of the *Bourlamaque Collection*, in the Canadian Archives. These last letters are the originals. (See *Report of the Public Archives for the year 1923*, Appendix C. pp. 3-70). Montcalm's letters to Lévis have been published in *Lettres du Marquis de Montcalm au Chevalier de Lévis*, Québec, Demers, 1894, pp. 240.)]

VERSAILLES, February 22, 1756.

To his son.

Your answer to the officers of the regiment who have done you the honour of writing to you, or who may write to you, should be to the effect that you deeply appreciate their congratulations; that you would have notified them, had it been possible to do so; but that not having yet been gazetted as colonel of your father's regiment you can not write to them about it; that you will inform them of it when you shall be in a position to thank the King for it; that you beg of them to continue their friendship to you, to assist you with their advice, and that you will be happy to give them proofs of the sincere attachment with which you have the honour to be, etc.

In writing to the Lieutenants, should any of them write to you you may write in the same sense, but without speaking of advice. This is the distinction which you must draw between the Captains and the Lieutenants.

MONTCALM.

Messrs.	de Paillot	1
	Drouot	2
	de St. Germain	3
	De Mandavre	4
	De Gramont	5
	De Maisoncelles	6
	De Cayle	7
	Defaisse	8
	De Chateau Moran	9
	De Monsallet	10

A Monsieur, Monsieur le Comte de Montcalm,
Light Horseman of the King's ordinary guard, At Versailles,

PARIS, February 24, 1756.

You must not look for any news, or for a long letter, between now and the first of March; but I shall begin to breathe as soon as all my business is finished. I have not yet seen the Chevalier de Montcalm. I arrived, last night,

from Versailles, and return there tomorrow morning. The matter of the Chevalier de Redmont has been arranged. M. de Maisoncelles (is to be) lieutenant colonel. The company is given, as I wished, to M. le Comte de Bernis, who, in a few years, will be transferred to the grenadiers of France, and hand it over to the Chevalier de Montcalm. L'abbé de Bernis has paid me no end of compliments on all that I have done in this matter. The king gives me, as he gave M. de Dieskau, twenty five thousand francs, and twelve thousand for my outfit, which will cost me over a thousand crowns more than that, but I must go on. I embrace my dearest, and all the family. As I cannot write more, I will end my letter, assuring you, my mother, of my entire respect.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

(No heading, or date)

In Montcalm's writing

My son is here, since yesterday, so that I may give him his titles, and instruct him, and have a uniform made for him in which he may return thanks, when I take my leave in my embroidered coat. The 12000 lvs. will not cover my outfit, and may leave (me with) debts; I am impatiently awaiting the accounts. If you send me the 12 coffee spoons, I will leave 6 with my son. I have written to M. de St Priest. I will write you, in a few days, in regard to instructions, and other matters. You have the draft of my will, I wish you would have it copied, and send it to me before I start. I will send Madame de Montcalm a letter from the King, which it would be well for her to keep, for her own sake, and for mine; for hers, in case of misfortune, for mine, when I return, which is of more importance. I do not tell you any more about public matters, I have ceased to concern myself with them. I embrace you, and my daughter. I think of her, and embrace her affectionately. If M. Durcy and M. de Seychelles were here (we) should make use of them.

MONTCALM.

Allow me to assure you and my mother, at the foot of this letter, of my respect; how pleased I am to find myself at the head of a regiment; of my regrets at my father's leaving, of my gratitude for the sacrifice he has made on my behalf, and for the kindness you and my mother are good enough to have for me. I pray that you may continue it to me, and shall endeavour to deserve it.

COMTE DE MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

PARIS, February 28, 1756.

Yesterday, I made over more than three thousand pounds (weight of goods) to the Brest waggoners, and have still at least 7 or 8 hundred to send. I expect to send off part of my household on Monday. I shall probably go to Versailles tomorrow morning, and return in the evening. My eldest son has been here these last few days, he is suffering from a stiff neck. The Chevalier is as thin as ever, and not at all strong, but is growing out of all reason. M. de Ganges is not very big, but he looks strong and well, with a clear colour, which is sure to please those ladies of whom you have asked the two louis I advanced them, last November. I am sending you a receipt, from M. de Vezaide, for five hundred crowns, and which I had always forgotten. I hope I shall have

time to write you about necessary matters, before I leave. Truth to tell, however, I have not a moment at present. I embrace you all, and my daughter, whom I love dearly. I do not know if she often writes to her relations in Paris: I mean her grandmother and her aunt de la Bourdonnaye, and, from time to time, to her cousin d'Aligre.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

PARIS, March 2, 1756.

In Montcalm's writing

My affairs are beginning to progress. Three thousand pounds (weight) went off, the day before yesterday, with the king's carriages, an assistant cook and two caterers yesterday; my cook a very good man, will go with my secretary on the 8th; Joseph and Dejean will go with me. You can write to me, here, in answer to this letter, on Monday the 8th, and on Wednesday the 10th; after that, unless you hear to the contrary, to Brest, but pray do not speak of this. I go to Versailles, tomorrow evening, until Sunday, and will write to Madame de Montcalm from there. I will also send you a memorandum for my son, for the Chevalier, and for Melle; and a memorandum in regard to correspondence, a copy of one left with my son. You will be in communication with M. de Bresac, a merchant at La Rochelle, one at Bordeaux, and with Mr. de la Porte, the head of the navy offices. Make your correspondence-lackey work, and reward him. They will let you know when I have finally left port, and you will then follow (my) directions. I will send you one, as guide, which I expect to turn out well.

(Please) write to the Abbess, to whom I ought to write and to the abbess of Carcassonne; to Naiyac, M. de Brassac, Rigaud, (and) Richard, the men of business. Let people write you anything they like, it will be your daily despatch to write it to me. I am limiting my correspondence to you and to my dearest one. In Paris, to M. du Boulay, Molé, my son, the regiment, the major. I will send you a statement of my debts, before I leave, and of the arrangements (made in connexion with them). I have three aides de camp; Bougainville a clever man, and pleasant company, under the protection of M. de Seychelles; who, between you and me, is ill; you will understand what I mean. The important matter of the Prince-Dukes has been arranged everywhere. Germany is hopeful of peace. M. Périer, who sailed on the 19th, for San Domingo, with 3 ships and 2 frigates, put back, they say, on the 21st, and sailed (again) on the 23rd. They were saying, yesterday, that he put back on the 24th; others say no.

Salières
Détentevelle are dead of apoplexy.
de Chevalier

St Felix (was seized with) apoplexy while playing at Madame de Pomponne's. Madame Nazarde who was safely delivered on Tuesday, was dangerously ill with a malignant fever on the Friday. I go there twice a day, and am now going out to do so. She has a daughter. I embrace you all.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

PARIS, March 3, 1756.

In Montcalm's writing

The controller-general is somewhat out of health, and they say he is going to retire. M. de St Priest is spoken of, as is M. Berrier, lieutenant of police. The grand cross (held by) Salières has been given to M. de Valory; his gov-

ernment of Digne will, I feel sure, go to Rubempré. Mailly (has been made) Squire (Equery?) to Madame la Dauphine. The chevalier has grown very big, and is wonderfully well. The elder is weak with a cold; I kept him with me this week, and am taking him back to Versailles this evening. M. de Périer who sailed on the 19th, with 6 or 7 frigates, put back on the 20th; sailed on the 23rd, put back on the 24th; sailed, once more, at noon on the 26th or 27th. There was no news of him, and every one thought he was well on his way; as I could only have notified you on Saturday, I thought I would write you a word. I embrace my dearest one tenderly. I have written a letter to M. le duc de Mirepoix by this mail.

It might be well not to say a word about the controller-general at Montpellier? Madame Nazarde is better. There was nothing worse the matter with St Felix than an attack of indigestion.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

PARIS, March 6, 1756.

In Montcalm's writing

Business of all kinds, and the want of a secretary, keep me from writing much of things. I must go to Versailles tomorrow evening, (and back) to Paris on Monday. My household will consist of three aides de camp; M. de Bougainville as intimate and confidential aide; M. de la Rochebeaucourt, lieutenant of the Montcalm cavalry regiment. I am obliging M. de Paulmy. I am replacing Clavin, and obliging M. de Voyer. Moreover I am making it easy for my son to form a good assistant-surgeon in two years, and oblige some one. The Sr. Marcel (will act as) aide de camp on duty and secretary; he is a sergeant who becomes an officer.

A cook
An Assistant
A demi-valet-de-chambre-Grison, Joseph
Dejean, first lackey
2 other men in livery
1 secretary

Surgeon, none, I am taking one of the first rank, with assistant surgeons, whom the king is sending. I will have no time to write many details to you by this mail. All the family is well here, and at Versailles. Everything seems to be going well, with the public and with the court in regard to my concerns. I do not think I shall be able to write you as fully as I could wish before Tuesday. I am going to write a word to M. de St Laurens I embrace you all.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

LYONS, March 8, evening

In Montcalm's writing

I have just arrived, in beautiful weather, and in good health. I saw our host at Tain, in passing. I set out on my travels again tomorrow. I have not had time to draw up a statement of my accounts, nor to send you one. I shall still less be able, at Paris, to have the Asèze papers put on one side.

I had much pleasure in sending the history of New France, Father Charlevoix. He gives a pleasant description of Quebec; (we have) choice company

(there). You may rest assured, however, that I shall always be glad to get back (to France). I embrace my dearest one, and my daughter. I am always yours, my mother, with heart and soul.

M. de Voyer is here, giving out the remounts to the dragoons. If you think proper, you may make a reduction to the Marquis de Boisleffre (to the amount of) 51 thousand; I spoke of it to Saquet. In that case, instead of 8777, it would be 6900. The curé of.. ..had said Mass for me, and is to say one a week, which is a good thing.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

PARIS, March 13, 1756.

In Montcalm's writing

I leave Paris this evening. It will be a great day for your son tomorrow, when he returns thanks to the king as a colonel. Your d'Aligre niece is making a will in favour of you and yours, in favour of your sister in a strictly just fashion, of her niece, and of you, but, as her niece's share comes back to you and yours, do not say anything to her about it, unless she writes to you on the subject. I am paying every account on leaving, and hope not to borrow anything at Brest; in any case, I shall draw on Mazade, (as) arranged, I have paid him the 3000 lvs., and only owe him the 1200 taken at Montpellier. I leave a debt of 2287 to Duc the tailor, an item which St. Laurens will pay when he draws my pension (for) 1754, and the first 6 months of (my pay as) colonel (for) 1755. There will even be a balance of 3 or 400 lvs., which he will send to M. Joly, who holds orders for drawing what is left. To M. St. Amand, the tailor, as account in full for myself and my children 1714 and 17 lvs., he has given me a receipt, and I have given him two notes, one for 714:17: for the 1st of August, the other for 1000 for the 12th of March, which he is to take to Joly. I have withdrawn the old note of 1350. I have settled everything and received a quittance except a note of August 1st for 762 lvs. to be paid at Joly's. M. Levis is lending me 1200 lvs., this morning. I am drawing on my mother, in favour of Duc, 3 dozen bottles of syrup for the Duchesse de Brancas, lady of honour to Madame la Dauphine. You should notify him of it, and the price to be sent to M. Molé; there is no use in being taken in.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm, at Montpellier.

VERSAILLES, March 15, 1756.

In Montcalm's writing

I received with your last letter, my mother, the copy of my will, which I am taking with me. I will write you from Brest. I am leaving in a few hours. Yesterday, I presented my son, with whom I am greatly pleased, to all the royal family. I shall have a secretary at Brest, and shall write at greater length from there, and in regard to many matters.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

RENNES, March 18, 1756.

In Montcalm's writing

I arrived this morning, my dearest. M. de la Bourdonnaye came here, specially, from his estate, and I am staying here all day. I shall be at Brest by the 21st; everything will be on board by the 26th; but as ships are sometimes kept in the roads for 15 days (you may) risk an answer to this letter. Three ships, the *Héros, L'Illustre* and the *Léopard*, equipped as transports, will carry the two battalions of La Sarre and Royal Roussillon, three frigates, those in command. I am taking 3 aides de camp; the first, M. de Bougainville, brother of the secretary of the Academy of Inscriptions, a bright young fellow; la Rochebeaucourt, a lieutenant in the regiment, and my sergeant (who has been) made an officer. There was much talk, in Paris, about peace, and, in fact, negotiations were proceeding on land. M. de Seychelles will remain, and his son-in-law, M. de Moras, will, I think, be associated with him. Madame de la Bourdonnaye made me draw up a draft of her will. Her sister and her mother share equally, with entail, (in favour) of her niece, to her sister and her children, and should you die before your mother, your share (would go) to your children. Madame d'Aligre has just assured me that, should she die, she makes over (her share) to you and to your sister, and, after you two, to your children. Monteil is leaving for Cologne. Monpercin wished to come to Canada, as colonel; I spoke about it to his aunt and to his uncle, who will not give him a penny, and he is loaded down with debts to the regiment. I have seen Montferrier, and am leaving the 12 coffee spoons with Madame du Boulay; I had some. I was not able to go to St. Antoine. M de la Bourdonnaye is much pleased about my journey, and prophecies complete success, and approves of it. M. de Bougainville is very pleasant; he is under the protection of Seychelles, and of Madame la Marquise. L'Abbé de Bernis seemed to be gratified by our promises; I took your son to him, whom, indeed, I have taken everywhere. Should Richelieu go to Montpellier be sure and have some attentions shewn him; he has put a memoir into his despatch bag on which to act under any circumstances which may arise, and has been extremely friendly to your son. I embrace you, dear heart, and love you fondly. L'Abbé de Bernis will, I think, play a great part.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm, at Montpellier.

BREST, March 24, 1756.

I am answering herewith, my mother, your letters of the 10th and 12th. I have answered Rigaud, and declined. I notified you of my public nomination as brigadier general, on March 11, and my son as colonel the same day. When writing to me in Canada you need only put, brigadier of the camps and armies at Quebec. I am always charmed with La Devèze. I will write to Baschi from here. I thank my dearest one for all that she is doing for her daughter. I am much obliged for the letter sent me for the merchant. I have plenty to do here. My health is good, and the voyage over will be a time of rest. You may acknowledge the pensions, and even say so, without making it public, after I have left. I embrace all of you, and my dearest one, and my daughters. A thousand kind messages to all the family. I will write up to the last moment, making use of the boat, as is customary.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

BREST, March 24, 1756.

I trust, Madame, that God will preserve us to each other, and will grant me the greatest and most desirable favour I can ask for, that, namely, of embracing you on my return from the Canada Expedition.

Fortunately, I feel sure of doing so, and it is this anticipation which supports me. I shall sail on the 27th, if the wind suits, but so many delays occur when we are waiting on the wind, that I beg of you, Madame, to be so good as to risk sending one more answer to Brest. Thereafter, to Quebec, by the channels which I have had the honour to mention to you.

I have the honour to be, with the tenderest and most respectful affection, Madame,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise du Boulay,
At the Abbey of Port Royal,
Foubourg St. Jacques, Paris.

BREST, March 26, 1756.

In Montcalm's writing

La Devèze has stirred up the whole navy to such purpose that he has been transferred from on board *La Galathée* to my frigate, *La Licorne*. This last is a new ship, well fitted to withstand storms, and they are giving me the Sr. Pelegrin, captain of the port at Quebec, who could go up the St. Lawrence river with his eyes shut. You can see that the keeper of the Seals means to take care of us. M. de la Rigaudière, an officer of great merit, and very friendly, is urging me (to take him?). Are you not charmed with la Devèze! Write about it to the two abbesses. He is the best fellow in the world, who is giving me a great proof of friendship, and who is in love with his profession. You must remember that the general of an army never writes any news of his march; nevertheless, here it is, there are no English to be seen off the coast, but they may appear at any moment. The troops are on three vessels equipped as transports; the *Héros, L'Illustre,* and the *Léopard;* the staff on *La Licorne, La Sauvage, La Sirène.* One ship, and one frigate will start, 12 or 24 hours after tomorrow, so as to sail in consort, without signals, and, should we be separated by the fog, and not meet again when it clears, we are to proceed without looking for each other. I embrace my dearest one, and my daughters. La Lande will forward you 50 livres, which the father of my 3rd aide de camp is sending him, and which I am handing to him here.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

BREST, March 28, 1756.

In Montcalm's writing

I reply, herewith, Madame, to your letter of March 22, by which I learn that Madame de la Bourdonnaye is still suffering from whooping-cough; the weather we have here is not such as is likely to cure her, I trust it is better at Paris. We are all ready, this evening, to start tomorrow. If the wind holds, you will know of my setting out by an aide de camp who does not leave for

twenty four hours after I do, for the reason that, in order to attract less attention, we do sail in squadron. I thank you for the news you give me of my children. I commend them to you, and beg you to be assured, Madame, of an affection as tender as it is respectful.

Pray write to us, Madame, about the 10th or 12th of April, and address your letter to M. de Bélingan, ship's captain, at Port Louis, under double cover.

To Madame la Marquise du Boulay,
At the Abbey of Port Royal.

BREST, March 28, 1756.

In Montcalm's writing

I am sending you, my son, a letter to you from your aunt, the abbess of Carcassonne, and one from the Count de Graville to me. Write him that I have informed you of his favours, and that you ask them of him as having the honour to belong to him, and on account of the friendship with which he has honoured me; that you will do your best to make yourself worthy of them. Think a little, and write a good letter. Give him the title of Monsieur on the line, and finish with respect. His address is: M. le Comte de Graville, Lt. General of the forces, commanding at Roussillon. Sign your letters, the Count de Montcalm, when you write to anyone for the first time. Have you written to M. the Marquis de Mesnil, Inspector of Cavalry, Lt. General of the forces at Besançon? Do so. Write to me on the 8th of April, and send your letter, under double cover, to Port Royal, to your grandmother. This one will very likely be the last you will get from me from here.

Have no doubt of my affection, my son.

MONTCALM.

BREST ROADS, March 28, 1756.
On board *La Licorne*

In Montcalm's writing

If the wind were favourable, we should sail tomorrow. Marcel, who does not leave for 24 or 36 hours after me, will write to you. We have the best of pilots, and a good ship, two great safeguards against shipwreck. I have received your letter of the 15th, dearest; write me in answer to this, under double cover the outer one (addressed) to M. de Bélingan, captain of the king's ships at Port Louis; he will leave between the 20th and the 25th, but do not say anything about it. M. de Montfaucon remains in Europe; M. de Poulhariez goes, and my sister de Massillan's recommendation will have effect. A thousand loving massages to her and to her husband, to my sister de Caras, and to the Councillor. I embrace Mirène and her elder sister. Pierre's son goes on board; I have given him 12 lvs. Tell Madame de Galières that I have spoken, twice, to Comont, about M. de Massias' son. The arrangement made about (the position of) controller general is just as I should have wished. I assure my mother of my affection and my respect; it would be impossible to love you more than I do. I am very well pleased with the Chevalier de Lévis; he should be with me. The American regiments will be satisfied with me, and with what I have done for them.

Nothing has come to me from Bordeaux. I have made things good here as best I could; and have paid for everything. I have given orders to get rid here

or at Bordeaux, of anything that may have been bought for me, if there was any plague there. M. Hébert who is commissary general of the navy, and keeper of the king's privy purse, must be written to under the latter (title) only, should he apply direct to you for payment of anything I might possibly owe him. I doubt his doing so. I am in receipt of a letter from my mother dated March 10; I have nothing to add beyond thanks and acknowledgment. I shall continue to write by each mail, so long as I remain here. M. de Foucolombe having wished for a man, La Lande will have only 50 lvs. to forward to my mother, instead of 100 lvs. I embrace you, dearest, with all my heart.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm, at Montpellier.

BREST ROADS, March 30, 1756.

I forgot, my dear son, to send you that part of M. le Comte de Graville's letter, wherein he expresses himself in so kindly a fashion in regard to you. The winds are against us, and keep us here, which worries me, since when one has a task to perform, one would like to be at it. We are ready to start at any moment; but these wretched winds sometimes keep us for a fortnight. Your cousin, la Devèze, who is the prettiest fellow going, full of politeness, good will, and love for his profession, has given me a great proof of friendship, which I beg you will not forget when you have a chance (to return it); he has had himself transferred from the frigate he was on, in order to come with me. Although we are ready to start at any moment, the winds may keep us here for a long time, as that happens at this time of year. I beg you will have no doubt of the tender affection I shall have for you, my dear son, if you behave yourself well.

Pray give my compliments to M.M. de Lubressac and de Vezane.

MONTCALM.

I have just received your letter of March 24. I am very sorry that the health of Madame la Comtesse de Bernis was no better.

BREST ROADS, March 31, 1756.

The winds, Madame, are altogether contrary, and I hear our sailors say that this sometimes last a long time. We lack nothing more, we are quite ready to start at any moment. It is to be hoped that, since we are to go, it may be as soon as possible, for the stay in the Roads is always the most tiresome for the officer and the soldier. Personally, I find that one must always take everything as it comes, and it is a pleasure to me to go on giving you my news, while I have the means of doing so. I have nothing more to do. I take things quietly, and am getting rid of a cold, which was pretty severe; but I have cured it by doing nothing to it. I do wish that Madame de la Bourdonnaye's whooping-cough could have gone in the same way.

I have the honour to be, with all the most sincere and most respectful attachment, Madame,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

Madame la Marquise du Boulay.

At the anchorage, 10 leagues from Quebec, May 11, 1756.

We are now nearly at the end of our voyage. I wanted to try to go to Quebec, yesterday, partly by boat, and partly by land, but as I should have arrived too late at Quebec, and the falls of Montmorency is difficult to pass, because of the melting snow, I returned on board the frigate to sleep; I was hoping to start again today, by taking my measures better. It cannot be done, however, as the wind is against us, and so strong that we have hard work in holding our anchorage, with all our anchors. Our voyage may be considered a very fortunate one, as we are fairly near the end of it on the thirty-eighth day. I was lucky enough not to be upset, though somewhat tired by the gale we met with during Holy Week. Those who came with me were not so fortunate, they all suffered, severely, from sea sickness, chiefly M. Estève, my secretary, and Joseph in whose case it was a real illness; seventeen days unable to take anything but water, and vomiting until (he brought up) blood, and unable to perform his duties. My assistant cook had a sore throat, and an incipient (attack of) scrofula. Dejean had a quinsy, followed by inflammation of the lungs; he is better today, his seventh day, and his tenth bleeding. Fribourg, another lackey, a nephew of Madame de la Bourdonnaye's porter, is well on in his recovery from an inflammation of the lungs, for which he was bled nine times. We had many cases of this on board, but only one sailor died. We have made a very early voyage for a country (with) so severe (a climate); it is most fortunate that the winter should have been so mild in Canada, with so little snow and ice. We left Brest Roads, as I had the honour to inform you, on the 3rd (of April), in consort with the *Héros*, which carries nine companies of the regiment of La Sarre. We had very pleasant weather until Monday the 12th; from that day until the Saturday, we had very rough weather, and a gale which lasted ninety hours, and which placed us in real danger. On Good Friday, we found ourselves close to the Great Bank, and were forced to change our course, and run to the southward, with the wind astern; thereby sailing 100 leagues towards Martinique. The sailors say they have seen gales just as severe, but never so long. M. de la Rigaudière, who was with the Duc d'Anville's squadron, says that the gale which scattered it was not as hard (as this one). The gale, moreover, had raised such a sea that our forecastle was covered by the waves the whole time, which passed twice (clear) over the poop. If we had decided, on Holy Saturday, to go broadside on, with what they call a trysail, as our captain wished to do, we should have been swamped, or should, at least, have sustained serious damage. M. de la Rigaudière, a most charming man, whom I cannot be sufficiently glad to have with me, wished to hoist a trysail, so that we should not get too far away from our course; as the other officers, however, were naturally of a different opinion, he decided on the safer course. Easter Sunday brought us better weather, which gave us all great pleasure, as we had not been without anxiety. We cruised about, from the 18th till midnight on the 27th in order to get back to the Great Bank, from which we had only been 40 leagues away on Friday the 16th. From the 27th till the evening of the 4th, we sailed in a fog, such as always makes navigation, here, full of risks; much cold (weather), and an astonishing number of icebergs, which it is very dangerous to run against. On the 30th, which was, fortunately, free of fog, we counted as many as 16. They are enormous masses (of ice), some of which are more than 150 feet high. On the eve of the 29th a fairly large one came under the bowsprit, which scraped, and might have smashed us, had not the quartermaster quickly given the order to *Luff!* that is to say to turn the helm so as to come into the wind, and so avoid the ice.

On the 4th, we were very anxious about our navigation, as we feared we were too near the land, but could not make it out, on account of the fog. It cleared at about half past six, and we were able to make out that we were level

with Cape Ray. Sailors will find it hard to believe that, leaving the Cape at half past six in the evening, we were able to come to an anchorage near the Isle du Bic at six (the next) evening, but had a strong South-East wind (with Us). We weighed on the 7th, and, until yesterday, made hardly any way. We found three large merchant vessels from Bordeaux and LaRochelle in the river St. Lawrence, chartered on the King's account, carrying provisions of food and munitions of war, and 280 recruits. The *Héros*, from which we had been separated since the night of the 15th-16th, and of which we had had no news, is anchored some three or 4 leagues from here, waiting, like us, for a favourable moment to go on to Quebec.

We did not catch sight of any English ship, during our voyage, except on (April) 4, when we were followed, all day at a distance, by a small ship, which seemed, from her movements, to be watching us, and on Good Friday, when we saw a large man-of-war, to leeward to us, a long way off. This was towards the close of the day, and she had as much trouble as we to make head against the sea. This gale, I fancy, must have made the English ships seek shelter, if they were out cruising, as happened, last year on the Green Bank (?).

Having told you of our hardships and sufferings, I must say a word about our pleasures, which consisted in fishing for cod, and eating them; it (is a fish) of a delicious flavour; the head, the tongue, and the liver, which are never sent to Europe, as they would need too much salt to keep them, are tit-bits worthy of our epicures but I do not advise any one to make the voyage on purpose. They make a cod-sauce with the liver, as they do with the mullet. The heads of cod make a very good soup.

My health is as good as it has been for a long time. I have found it well to eat little, to take no supper, and to eat only wholesome things, tea at long intervals, and plenty of lemonade. I have taken very little liking for the sea, in spite of our short voyage, and I think that, when I shall have been so happy as to join you again, I shall then end my sea voyages. All sailors agree that the Canada voyage is the hardest they have to make; they prefer going to San Domingo and Martinique; the return voyage is less difficult because they leave at a better time of year, and have mostly a wind aft for returning to France, and that the fair winds for returning to France almost always bring clear weather, whereas the fair winds for the voyage from France to Canada almost always bring fog, from the time a ship reaches the Great Bank.

I do not know when this letter will leave; I shall take advantage of the first ship sailing for France, and shall go on writing till then. I know that it is always pleasant to have news of those we love and I have felt that my mother and you, dearest, will read with pleasure all these particulars, which would have little interest for others. La Devèze, who is wonderfully well, seems made for his profession, and to love it, and yet gentle in company; and I must say that, during the critical moments of our gale, when our officers seemed to be as anxious as I was, I was thinking more than once, of the fact that not being commissioned to this ship, he had forced my hand in order to get transferred to her, out of friendship to me. We heard Mass, devoutly, on Easter Day; it has not been possible to say it all the week on account of a rolling which made me at a loss how to keep my seat. I really think that, had I dared I should have had myself lashed. I shall not soon forget that Holy Week.

QUEBEC, May 19, 1756.

I came by land, and got there on the 13th. I have sent a messenger to M. de Vaudreuil, who is in Montreal. No one could have been better pleased than I was at the civilities shewn me by M. André Portes, a merchant, to whom his uncle, M. Mathieu, had written, and whose letter you had sent me. Pray

convey my thanks to him. I am leaving, on Saturday, for Montreal, and foresee that I shall be by no means idle there. Our campaign will not be long of beginning. Everything is in train, and we have news, which is fortunate, of the arrival of your two ships and our two frigates, which are safely anchored in the river a dozen leagues from here. You must not look for any news or for any details concerning the operations of the campaign. The general of an army never gives any information as to his movements, nor as to the enemy, until after everything is over. I may only tell you that the whole winter has been fairly quiet; the Indians have made great ravages in Pennsylvania and Virginia where they have carried off men, women, and children as is their custom; in fact, they have too many prisoners in their villages. We had but one expedition which turned out in our favour, namely, a party of Canadians and Indians, with sixty volunteers from our troops, under the command of M. de Léris, a colonial officer, which took a small fort from the English, on the way to Chouegen. The little garrison was put to the edge of the sword. We only lost two men. Our volunteers greatly distinguished themselves, and bore the hardships like those born in the country. There are some warriors of the Five Nations in this party; which makes us hope that they will declare themselves (on our side); up till now, they have merely promised to remain neutral. The Indians took two young officers prisoners a few days ago.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm, at Montpellier.

QUEBEC, May 20, 1756.

In Montcalm's writing

We have news that the two other men-of-war, and the two frigates, are anchored 15 leagues from here, which is the same thing as if they had reached this safely. Please have a High Mass said at the convent of Montpellier as soon as my letter reaches you, to thank God for our safe voyage, and to ask a continuation of success.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm, at Montpellier.

QUEBEC, May 20, 1756.

People in Canada did not expect that the reinforcements, which the King was sending this year, would reach there so early; it was a surprise to them to see, on May 12, the Ship *Le Héros*, bringing nine companies of the La Sarre Regiment. The *La Licorne* frigate with M. le Marquis de Montcalm on board, arrived the next day. Yesterday an officer sent by the commander of *La Sirène*, brought us the news that she was anchored nine leagues from here, and the *Léopard* twelve. We learn, today that *L'Illustre*, and the *La Sauvage* frigate anchored, on the 15th at l'isle du Bic. We are, therefore, assured of the arrival of the whole of the reinforcements which sailed from Brest with the first North-East Wind. The crossing was short, with hardly any cases of sickness; the *La Licorne* frigate is the only one which may, possibly, have been in any danger, having met with a 90 hour gale, longer and stronger, according to the sailors, than that which scattered the Squadron of M. le Duc d'Anville, on the occasion of the Chiboutou Expedition.

There are, also, three large merchant vessels in the roads, and a schooner, which sailed from Bordeaux and from La Rochelle, chartered on the King's account; they have brought provisions, munitions of war, and some 260 recruits.

We hope that all the other ships, which were to sail, one after the other, during the month of April, will also get here. Some of them, indeed, according to news received today, have already entered our river, as the River Saint Lawrence is commonly called.

The winter has not been severe, which is fortunate for navigation, and the season is very early. M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil has already set everything going, militia, colonial troops, our Battalions, and our Indians, to begin the campaign. M. le Marquis de Montcalm sets out, the day after tomorrow, to join him.

The operations of the winter were limited to a great many journeys on the part of the up-country Indians who seriously laid waste a part of Pennsylvania, and of Virgina, and to an expedition, which M. de Vaudreuil caused to be undertaken by M. de Lévis, Lieutenant of the colonial troops, who, with about 600 men, Canadians and Indians, and 60 volunteers from the French Battalions, made a month's march through impassable forests, and, on March 27, carried, at the point of the sword, a log-fort near Chouegen. The garrison was put to the edge of the sword. They only took three prisoners. They destroyed the fort; burned a store of victuals, and sank (drowned) 45 thousand pounds of powder. The soldiers aver that the hardships in Bohemia were not nearly so great as those of this expedition. They gained great credit for themselves, and endured these hardships, the discomfort of marching on snow-shoes, and of dragging their victuals on a sled, as the Canadians are accustomed to do. They had only sergeants with them. Some of the warriors of the Five Nations took part in this expedition, a fact which is worth noting. Up till now, they have merely promised to remain neutral; but we still fancy that they may declare themselves (on our side). This expedition only cost us three men. The Indians have brought in, as prisoners, during these last days, two young English officers. As the country is very healthy, there were no cases of sickness or death this winter.

I am as well as possible, Madame, all my people were sick, but I was not even upset by the sea. Pray tell Melle de Sillery that M. de Bigot is well, and gave me a very good reception.

To Madame la Marquise du Boulay.

Incomplete.

According to news which reached us yesterday, and which left 14 days ago, everything was very quiet there; no English ship had been seen there, and with the exception of a small one, which seemed to be engaged in watching us, which we saw the day after leaving Brest, and one of 60 guns which appeared to leeward of us on Good Friday, we saw none. This last was as much put about at the bad weather as we were, and had no thought of coming to pick a quarrel with us.

I am not writing, Madame, to anyone by this channel, as it may prove a slow one and not reliable.

My compliments, and news of me, to all my relations.

Madame la Marquise du Boulay.

QUEBEC, May 21, 1756.

We have news that *L'Illustre, La Léopard, La Sauvage,* and *La Sirène,* which left Brest on the 6th, are anchored at Cap Tourmente, and, consequently, all safe. I leave, tomorrow, for Montreal.

To Madame la Marquise du Boulay.

MONTREAL, June 12, 1756.

I am still very well; you see that I have not yet set out on my campaign. We, have, however, three camps formed, and I shall probably be able to go there, myself, soon. I received one of your letters, here, which gave me much pleasure. I have no doubt but that you approved of Madame de La Bourdonnaye's good intentions. You are too well aware of my tender and respectful devotion to have any doubt of it. These are feelings, Madame, which will end only with my life.

I embrace the chevalier, and urge him to be diligent with his studies.

To Madame la Marquise du Boulay.

MONTREAL, June 16, 1756.

I am very well, as are all my people, except Dejean, who is slow in making his recovery. However, according to the last news received from Quebec, there is nothing to fear, and he is going on well. My establishment here gives me lots of troubles as is the case in all beginnings, everything is horribly dear, and I shall find it hard to make the two ends of the year meet with the twenty-five thousand francs which the King gives me. M. le Chevalier de Lévis only joined me yesterday, in very good health. I am sending him from here to one camp, in a few days time, and Colonel de Bourlamaque for the other, as we have three camps, one at Carillon, near where M. de Dieskau had his affair last year, which is eighty leagues from here; the second at Frontenac, sixty leagues from here, and the third at Niagara, one hundred and forty (leagues away). I do not know in what direction, nor when I shall march, it depends on the enemy's movements, about which we have only too little information. It seems to me that everything goes slowly in this New World; my activity has need to moderate itself. In fact, it is only the King's service, and the desire to have made my son's fortune, which can keep me from dwelling too much on my banishment, on my separation from you, and on the tedium which would be still greater in this country, were I not able to keep a little of my natural cheerfulness. I shall be very glad to get news of you, and I pray God to send us peace this winter, for if any one has cause to wish it, it is I, all the more that success is always very uncertain. The Indians seem well enough disposed towards us; they are an ugly crowd, even when they come out from their self-adornment, at which they pass their lives. You would not believe it, but, in addition to a tomahawk and a musket, the men always carry a looking-glass with them to war, in order to smear themselves properly with various colours, arrange their feathers on their heads and their rings in their ears and their nostrils. They consider it a great beauty to slash the lobe of the ear, in early life, to draw it out so as to make it fall on the shoulder; often they have no shirts, but a coat laced outside, you would take them for devils in a masquerade, and you need to have an angel's patience with them. There have been nothing but visits, harangues, and deputations from these gentlemen, ever since I came here. The Iroquois ladies, who always have a share in their government, were also present, and made me the honour to bring me necklaces, which will make it incumbent on me to go and see them, and sing war songs with them before going to war. They are only five leagues from here. Yesterday, we had eighty-three of them, who have gone on the war-path. These gentlemen, moreover, make war with horrible cruelty; they carry off everything, women and children, and lift your scalp, an operation from which you usually die, as is (only natural and) proper. For that matter, Duché, junior, can lend you the fifth and sixth volumes of Father Charlevoix; as a rule, all that he says is true, with the exception of the burning of prisoners, that has so to say gone out of fashion this

year. They did indeed, burn one, in the vicinity of La Belle Rivière so as not to lose the habit, and were going to burn an English woman, with her son, but for the generosity of a soldier, who gave them 500d by way of ransom; they are here. We ransom prisoners from them, from time to time, who, when they come into our hands, are treated according to the laws of war.

In Montcalm's writing

I embrace my dearest one, and my daughteer, nor do I forget my poor Mirête, I am writing through the Chevalier de Tourville. I wrote by way of Louisbourg, and a long letter to my dearest one. Though this letter is meant for you my mother, I am addressing it to her. Fumerin, a clerk in the war-office, will be more careful in sending it to her, and it comes to the same thing, between the two of you, so long as you have news of one.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

MONTREAL, June 19, 1756.

I wrote two very long letters by way of Louisbourg, through the Chevalier de Tourville; as I have made up my mind not to let any ship go without giving you news of me, I am writing to you, my mother, by a schooner returning to France, and as her arrivals is more or less uncertain, I am only writing to you, and to Madame la Marquise du Boulay, and confine myself to telling you that I am very well, as are all my people. Our troops are on campaign, Messieurs de Lévis and de Bourlamaque set out for different camps the day after tomorrow and on the 25th. I expect to begin my campaign on the first, and shall probably cover much ground before bringing it to an end. I embrace my dearest one, my sisters, Massilland, my daughters and, with all possible respect and affection, always wholly yours, my mother.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

MONTREAL, June 25, 1756.

I am at last leaving, Madame, the day after tomorrow, with M. le Chevalier de Lévis, to Lake St. Sacrament, to take command of our camp there. We hear that the enemy are gathered in that neighbourhood. Colonel de Bourlamaque has been sent in the direction of Lake Ontario. I can tell you nothing of our campaign in advance, but I am well, which is the chief and most necessary matter, as the hardships are severe, and we have many things to put up with. I am not writing to our relations, as I have nothing of interest to tell them. Kindly say a thousand and one things to them, for me; there is no one more tenderly devoted to them than I am, who have for you, Madame, all possible attachment and respect. I embrace the little Chevalier.

To Madame la Marquise du Boulay.

MONTREAL, July 20, 1756.

I began my campaign, on the 27th of last month by leaving this, with M. the Chevalier de Lévis, for the camp at Carillon, which we reached on the 3rd. I had plenty to do, and was worn out with the various orders I had to give there,

in the endeavour to arrange everything; hospitals, provisions, diligence in the work of finishing a fort, begun last year, but in which we cannot risk a garrison for five or six weeks yet; in reconnoitring the country, in establishing posts for the safety of the camp; in conciliating the Indians, in providing for the safety of our communications by way of Lake Champlain, where the enemy has captured two small vessels. I could not have been helped better than I was by M. the Chevalier de Lévis. A messenger from M. de Vaudreuil reached me on the evening of the 13th. I left on the 16th, and, travelling day and night, got here yesterday. I can safely assure you that never in my life have I had so little time as in those three weeks. I am leaving M. the Chevalier de Lévis in a ticklish position, from which, however, he will draw himself better than any other, being full of zeal, intelligence, and courage; I have left him 2200 men, including the Queens, the Royal-Roussillon, and the Languedoc regiments, these with the colonial troops only make up about 1500 regulars, the Queen's and Languedoc being only nine companies each; the remainder are militia. I have, I think, induced the Marquis de Vaudreuil to increase this force to 3000 men, which, even then, will not be too many. We have always had detachments in this region, who have taken some prisoners and scalps. It is thought that the enemy means to concentrate all his forces there. I leave, tomorrow evening, to get to Frontenac as quickly as possible, where I shall find our regiments of La Sarre, Guienne, and Béarn, with M. de Bourlamaque and M. de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, brother of the governor general, and a body of colonial troops, militia, Canadians and Indians, some 1500 men in all, with engineers and artillery, to attempt a landing near Chouegen, which may put me in a position to besiege it, or, at least, to create a diversion, and recall part of the English forces, who seem to be threatening M. le Chevalier de Lévis. My undertaking, which bristles with difficulties, depends on the coincidence of so many things, that I can only count on plenty of zeal for its accomplishment. We have gained two advantages, quite lately, in this region, M. de Villiers, having taken ship, seriously annoyed some English vessels with his musketry. He took one, with 7 prisoners, and killed six men. Our little squadron, on Lake Ontario, chased the English one, but could only take one vessel, carrying six swivel-guns and the men. Several days later, M. de Villiers attacked a convoy of 400 vessels, returning from Chouegen, commanded by a lieutenant colonel; the Indians swam after the vessels. The enemy's loss is estimated at 400 men. I doubt the fact; but several vessels were sunk. We are sure of some fifty prisoners, and of as many scalps. My health stands the fatigue and the marches on foot fairly well. M. le Chevalier de Lévis, who is younger and more vigorous, made up a flying party in order to ascertain whether what is known as the Agnier route could be made use of to reach the camp and Fort of St. Frederic. He was three days out, marching like the Canadians and biyouacking in the woods. We made the other journeys together.

In Montcalm's writing

I have never been in better health. I have got on well, so far, with the Canadians and the Indians; they worship me, and I had to promise to return to Carillon, in order to prevent the desertion of the Indians, who would have followed me. I have taken to their ways, and spend whole days with them, holding councils of war; still, it is excessively tedious. I embrace my mother and my daughters.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm, at Montpellier.

MONTREAL, August 30, 1756.

About the middle of June, the enemy seemed to be concentrating all their forces in the direction of Lake St. Sacrament. For two months, I had been suggesting to M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil that we should give our defensive operations the semblance of an attack; by making a diversion towards Chouegen, which might set free the Lake St. Sacrament frontier, where M. de Lévis was in command and (that we might), at the same time, lay siege to the place in question, should the slowness, or the mistakes of the enemy, allow of our doing so. This undertaking was carried out so swiftly and so successfully that, leaving Montreal on July 21, I reached Frontenac, where M. de Bourlamaque was in command on the 29th. This officer had already received instructions to make preparations for a siege. I left there, on the evening of the 4th, with (the regiments of) Guienne, La Sarre, and the militia. I reached the Bay of Niaouré on the 6th, and, from there, with an advance-guard of militia and Indians under M. de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, we arrived within half a league of Chouegen at midnight on the 10th, without having been discovered. I landed, and set up a battery of four 12-pounders on the shore, during the night, which fired on the English vessels in the morning. We spent the 11th and 12th in making half a league of road through woods which the enemy deemed impassable, (in making) fascines, gabions and faggots. (The regiment of) Bearn arrived, during the night of the 11th-12th, with 80 batteaux laden with artillery and ammunition; that same evening I opened a trench within 80 fathoms of Fort Ontario. The enemy's fire was sharp, on the 13th, until about 4 o'clock; at five, it was seen that they had abandoned a fort which could have held out for several days. The fear shewn by this manoeuvre, emboldened me to keep my little army at work, all night long, in making a battery, a communication, and in carrying cannon to set up a battery of 20 pieces, nine only of which were ready to be fired. At dawn, on the 14th, I ordered M. de Rigaud, with the Canadians and Indians, to ford the river, below Chouegen. I had had a reconnaissance of the anchorage made, in order to land the regiment of Bearn, with three guns, the next night, above Fort George, to mislead the enemy, an easy manoeuvre in a wooded country; but I was spared the trouble, as the enemy capitulated at noon that same day, the 14th. They gave themselves up as prisoners of war, to the number of 1700, including 80 officers and two English regiments. I took five flags, three military chests, 121 guns, including 47 swivel-guns, a supply of provisions for 3000 men for a year and 6 vessels of from 4 to 20 guns; they came in very useful for my departure, and also because it was necessary to carry out this expedition with as little delay as possible, so as to send the Canadian to reap the harvest, and bring back the troops to another frontier, between the 15th and the 21st. I destroyed or burned their three forts and their sheds, brought away their guns, their vessels, their provisions and their prisoners. This capture is a matter of about 15 millions for England, and the most important that could have been made in this colony.

I have been extremely busy since the 26th of June, and have travelled 300 leagues, having gone, in turn, to the two chief frontiers of Canada. The enemy had 150 men killed or wounded, counting those massacred by our Indians when trying to escape, during the capitulation. It cost us 30 men killed or wounded. Our first engineer was killed by one of our own Indians, who took him for an Englishman, when coming in from a reconnaissance. Colonel de Bourlamaque was slightly wounded. I cannot too highly praise the zeal shewn by all the troops in order to bring this undertaking to a speedy conclusion, their diligence in working. The display of our troops, in forming two attacks, misled the enemy, and made them think we were 6000 (strong) whereas we had barely 3000. This, joined to their fear of the cruelty of our Indians, and the loss of their com-

mandant, colonel Mercer, doubtless brought about the surrender of these forts much sooner than we had any right to expect. It is a very pretty affair, dearest, be sure and thank God for it, in my chapel. I have still a good part of my campaign to make. I am leaving, with a reinforcement of troops, to join the Chevalier de Lévis, on Lake St. Sacrament. I am not writing either to my sisters, or to Madame de Brassac, or to the abbesses, or to St. Véran about whom I have written, this time, to the keeper of the seals; do you answer for me, dear; I am worn out with work. (I ask only) that you and my mother will love me, and that I may rejoin you all, next year. I embrace my daughters. No one could love you more devotedly than I do, dearest.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm, at Montpellier.

MONTREAL, August 30, 1756.

(Same letter as previous one, except for the last paragraph, replaced by the following one):

I embrace the Chevalier de Montcalm. I have no time to write to Madame de la Bourdonnaye, say everything to her for me. I am overwhelmed with writings, and with the orders I must give in order to send a thousand men to Lake Saint Sacrament. The enemy appears to be threatening that frontier. I doubt his attacking it. I am going there, and shall have joined the Chevalier de Lévis by the 10th of next month. My health keeps up, but I find myself worn out with physical and mental labours. You know, Madame, how dear you are to me, and how great is my respect for you.

To Madame la Marquise du Boulay.

MONTREAL, Sept. 9, 1756.

Though I had the honour of writing you a few days ago, this is to tell you that the Abbé de La Corne's brother is sending him six fine marten's tails, to make a muff for Madame de Montcalm. If they arrive, and he brings them to you, pray thank him for these attentions. There is no news, since my last letter, except a council of war, held, this morning, by the King's order against two English hostages, held by us since the capture of Fort Necessity in 1754. One of them was condemned to be beheaded; Robert Stobo, a captain, convicted of illicit dealings with the enemy. The other was acquitted; the execution was postponed in virtue of the same King's orders, which instructed us to try them. Our last troops break camp the day after tomorrow, I expect them here on the 18th or on the 16th. I embrace my children; a thousand messages to all our relations. I have the honour to be, Madame, with all possible respect and affection,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

Madame la Marquise du Boulay.

CARILLON, Sept. 18, 1756.

I am sending you, herewith, my mother, a memorandum of certain supplies, which I require from Montpellier; please see that they are in good condition, and well-packed, and send them all to the Sr. Gradis, banker at Bordeaux. The

goods must reach him by the first of February, at the latest, and I sincerely trust I shall not need them, but, even should peace be declared and I should return (to France), send them all the same; I could dispose of them here; let me know the price. Rest assured of my respect and affection, my mother.

In Montcalm's writing

I embrace my dearest one and my daughter. Should you hear that my health is not very good, do not be anxious. I have written to the ministers and to Paris, that my fatigues have affected it, and that I trust the winter will restore it. It is always necessary to write in this strain. It is an army general's sciatica. Send me an account of what (the goods) cost, in case I should wish to sell again.

Sept. 22.

In Montcalm's writing

I have just made up a strong party of 600 Indians. The English have abandoned the islands on which they had taken up positions. I took 20 of them prisoners, with a league and a half of their camp, and 31 scalps, including 30 officers, of whom 2 were killed, one taken prisoner. It is hotter here than in Languedoc, and we shall have Stockholm weather, this winter.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

CAMP AT CARILLON, Sept. 26, 1756.

I rejoined the camp at Carillon on the 10th, with (the regiments of) Guienne, Béarn, and 100 men of La Sarre. It seemed to be feared in the colony that Lord Loudon would collect all his forces in order to attack us. Small parties, indeed, ventured to appear round our camp. M.M. de Biville and de Tarsac, lieutenants of the Queen's regiment, had been scalped, when out hunting in spite of the repeated prohibitions of M. le Chevalier de Lévis. A few days after my arrival, I made up a large detachment of Indians and Canadians, the movement of which caused the enemy to abandon those islands on Lake Saint Sacrament where they seemed to wish to take up positions. In the rear of this detachment I sent the Chevalier Mercier, commandant of artillery, the Sieur Desandrouins, an engineer, and the Sieur Bougainville, one of our aides de camp, to make a reconnaissance of the neighbourhood without incurring any risk. The detachment in question was only able, by sending small bodies within musket-shot of the enemy's entrenchments, to draw out a force of 52 men, including three officers, only one man of whom got away.

I expect to make the reviews usually held at the close of a campaign about the 15th, to take back the 100 men of (the regiment of) La Sarre, and to be in Montreal about the 30th, in order to send off my final despatches. M. le Chevalier de Lévis, who is familiar with this frontier, and who has made the best possible dispositions there, which I have followed, will withdraw the troops at the latter end of October, or in the first days of November; Lord Louden, has, I should judge, 10,000 men on this frontier whom he can assemble in twenty-four hours.

Our last news from La Belle Rivière, under date of August 13, are excellent. M. Dumas, a colonial captain, who is in command there, goes on laying waste Pennsylvania; the Chevalier de Villiers de Lévis, lieutenant, brother of the M. de Jumonville who was murdered by the English, (and of) M. de Villiers, captain,

who, this year, made a brilliant campaign in the direction of Lake Ontario,—this Chevalier de Villiers, then, has lately, with 55 men, burned Fort La Grandville in Pennsylvania. There were two swivel-guns, provisions for six months, and thirty men of garrison, under Lieutenant Braford, who was killed.

I am fairly well, but I need rest, and I am worn out with work. I am not writing to any of the family. Please tell my news to M. Molé, my mother, my children, etc., and to Madame de La Bourdonnaye, with a thousand excuses to the last for my not writing. I am writing, however, to Monsieur, as I believe he is in Brittany.

To Monsieur de La Bourdonnaye.

MONTREAL, November 3, 1756.

After the capture of Chouegen, the enemy concentrated all their forces towards Lake St. Sacrament. I arrived at the camp at Carillon on September 9, with the regiments of Guienne, Béarn, 100 men of La Sarre, and 600 Indians, to reinforce the troops under the command of M. le Chevalier de Lévis. On the 16th, I sent out a strong party to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, who hastily abandoned the islands on Lake St. Sacrament, which they were holding. One of their parties, consisting of three officers and 52 men, was completely destroyed. From that time on, we confined ourselves to putting the fort of Carillon into a position of defence, and in provisioning it, as well as Fort St. Frederic. (There were) many small parties (out), on one side and the other, reconnoitring, which merely resulted in a few prisoners and scalps. I left the army on the 27th, in order to come and consult with M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil, before the last ships should sail. M. le Chevalier de Lévis, who has orders to withdraw the troops, is to break camp between the 10th and the 15th. By that time the fort at Carillon will be ready for the garrison. The up-country Indians seem more than ever devoted to us, since the capture of Chouegen; the provinces bordering on La Belle Rivière are being laid waste by our parties.

In Montcalm's writing

The greatest misfortune, in America, is the want of news. Your letters (were those) of May 3, (in reference to) the civility of St. Laurens. I am charmed with Planchut, and am answering him; please thank him. I was really unwell in camp, but am getting on all right. All my people are well. I shall spend the winter with the Chevalier de Lévis, who is a good friend of mine. Tell M. de Mirepoix that it is a great pleasure to me to do anything for him, and that I pay him no compliment in doing so. I am not without matters of amusement, but I do not write about them. Embrace my daughters for me, and my mother, and love me fondly. Instead of one barrel of anchovies, and one of olives, please double these items. I worship you dearest, and shall have my heart's desire to the full if I can rejoin you in October, 1757. So may it be.

I am 400 leagues from the Gévaudan with the sea between. Dortoman was well on the 13th September; it is for the good of the country that he is a good assistant surgeon, but without means. I am asking for a gratuity for Dortoman. Germain has a daughter. Reboul and Plantin (are) good sergeants. All the Montpellier people, to the number of 80, are well.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm, at Montpellier.

MONTREAL, November 9, 1756.

I shall now be six or seven months, my mother, without writing to you; yet, though I wrote to Madame de Montcalm only a few days ago, I wish to renew the expression of my respectful devotion to you. My health is good, and the winter's rest, of which I stood in great need, will do me much good. I expect to spend the winter here, with the exception of one month which I shall pass at Quebec, when we shall be able to travel on the ice. I embrace my dearest one fondly, my daughter, and our dear Massillan. If some marten's tails reach Paris safely, my dearest will have a muff. Another year, I will see to sending some to my daughter, but would rather bring them. Our last troops break camp the day after tomorrow. I have the honour to be wholly yours, my mother, with all possible respect and affection.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

MONTREAL, April 1, 1757.

All our troops having finished their campaign at the camp of Carillon, went into winter quarters at Quebec, Montreal and vicinity, between the 10th and 20th of November. We were still without information, at the close of the campaign, as to whether the English had destroyed their trading-posts on the Chouegen river, known as forts Bull and William. We could, however, have no doubt in regard to the matter and the Indians of the Five Nations assured us that they had evacuated and burned them. The Five Nations (as the Iroquois are called) sent an embassy to Montreal, at the beginning of the winter, consisting of 180 persons including women and children. Great councils took place, on this occasion, to use the local expression; that is to say a sort of Congress was held at Montreal at which our settled Iroquois, the Nepissings,the Algonkins, the Poutéoutains, the Outaouais, Indian tribes allied to France, were represented by deputies. This ambassy was the most noteworthy that ever occurred in Canada, as much on account of the number of ambassadors, and the importance of the subjects discussed, as of the good dispositions apparently shewn by the Five Nations. We have grounds for expecting a strict neutrality on their part. We may even hope that, though these nations will not take the hatchet against the English, many of their young men will follow us to war, which is all that can fairly be asked of a people who are practically surrounded by English settlements.

Our settled Indians spoke to the Five Nations, in these councils, threateningly and proudly. M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil promised to forget their behaviour in the past, and to supply all they might need, should they remain faithful to their word. These Indians brought in the medals (given them by) the English, and trampled them under foot. They did not, however, hide from us that they had deputies at Orange as well. We learned, in fact, at the end of March, that these last had drawn off from the English, without coming to any agreement. This sort of congress lasted the whole month of December. According to all the news received from Fort Duquêne, from Detroit, and from M. Pouchot, captain of the regiment of Béarn, who commands the fort at Niagara, the up-country Indians are greatly devoted to us, (all of) which is chiefly owing to the capture of Chouegen. Parties have been out, all winter, taking scalps from the English, who, in their turn, have called in the Catabas, Indians settled near Carolina. These Indians took several scalps, near fort Duquêne, from our allies, the Chaouanons, but one of our parties killed several of them. A body of 60 picked English soldiers with 10 sergeants and 7 officers, making 77 men in all, having set out for the purpose

of making prisoners near our forts, took 7 of our soldiers, between fort Carillon and Fort St. Frederic, on January 21. On receipt of this news, M. de Lusignan, a colonial captain, who was in command at Fort Carillon, despatched a hundred men under M. M. de Basserode and de la Grandville, captains in the Languedoc and Queen's regiments, with some Indians and Canadians. They came up with the enemy at about three o'clock in the afternoon, and fell on their advance-guard with fixed bayonets. As our men, however, had omitted to secure a small height, close to the road, the English fell back into it, and the firing continued until night. The enemy took advantage of the darkness to withdraw, leaving 42 killed on the field of battle, including three officers. We took 8 of them prisoners, and got back our own. We learned, subsequently, that of the 77 forming this party, only three returned to Fort George, the rest having died of cold, hardship, and possibly, of their wounds. We had 9 men killed and 18 wounded, some of whom have died of their wounds. Captain de Basserode, who was in command, was dangerously (wounded).

A strong party was sent out, on February 23, under the command of M. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, governor of Three Rivers, and brother of the governor general, and of M. de Longueuil, the King's lieutenant at Quebec. It consisted of 50 grenadiers, and 200 volunteers chosen from the regiments of La Sarre, Royal-Roussillon, Languedoc and Béarn, under the command of M. de Poulhariès, captain of grenadiers in the Royal-Roussillon regiment; of 250 colonial troops, 600 Canadians, and 300 Indians. They were obliged to march 60 leagues on foot, with snowshoes, with their provisions on sledges, which, on good roads, can be drawn by dogs, sleeping in the snow on bear-skins with merely a sheet to shelter them from the wind. In this way, they crossed Lake Champlain and Lake St. Sacrament, and, on March 18, came within a short league of Fort George, situated at the lower end of the latter lake. As it was impossible to make an open attack on the fort, they confined themselves to burning everything on the outside of it, on the nights of the 18th-19th, 19th-20th, 20th-21st, 21st-22nd, more than 300 boats, four vessels, one with port-holes for 16 guns, a saw-mill, a quantity of building and firewood, two store-houses filled with provisions and goods belonging to the troops, a small log fortification containing a dozen houses or barracks for the lodgment of troops and invalids. In spite of the musketry fire, of bombs and guns which they fired at us, we only lost 5 soldiers in these different operations. We had 6 men slightly wounded, including 2 Indians. This success is of all the greater value to the colony from the fact that the enemy were in readiness to open the campaign, in this neighbourhood, earlier than we (could). It is to be hoped that their operations will be delayed, and that those Canadians here who are both farmers and soldiers, will have time to sow their crops. This party, also, was of use in ascertaining the precise situation of Fort George. It was a surprise to the Canadians to see our officers and soldiers keep up with them in a kind of marching to which they were not so much used.

We had had no news, since the month of September, from M. de Boishébert, captain of colonial troops, who is holding his own with a few troops, and a force of Acadians unshaken in their loyalty to France. News came, however, in January, to the effect that the English evacuated and burned Fort Gaspareaux on October 12, in order to hold only that of Beauséjour, the fortifications of which they are strengthening.

The winter has been very severe. The river St. Lawrence froze on the first days of December, and is still frozen on April 1, so that sleighs can cross. The thermometer which in France, in 1709, registered only 15 degrees in the coldest weather, has several times been at 27, often from 18 to 20 and almost always from 12 to 15. There has been an extraordinary amount of snow.

April 24.

We have just received news of Louisbourg, under date of February 3. All is well there. Their little privateers have made a hundred thousand crowns worth of captures, since the declaration of war. They are more fortunate than us in getting news from France; they heard, on January 30, by a ship which left La Rochelle on November 6. We had had no news of the kingdom since the end of July. They told us the news they had got, which gives us some idea (of what had happened) up to October 28. We expect news, in a few days, of the end of March, and the beginning of April; we shall soon be making a move towards opening the campaign. A force of Canadians are leaving for La Belle Rivière, 300 leagues from here. Some local troops, which wintered 120 leagues from here, may, possibly, follow them. M. de Bourlamaque is, also, leaving with our troops for Carillon. The remainder are advancing towards the frontier.

July 1.

The lack of provisions, and the late arrival of the ships from France, prevented our carrying out any operations early (in the season), as we had hoped to do. We were forced, therefore, to confine ourselves (to acting on) the defensive during May and June, to send a reinforcement of 400 men to La Belle Rivière, which appeared to be threatened; to employ the (regiments of) Royal-Roussillon and Béarn in completing the fortifications of Carillon; La Sarre in fortifying St. Jean, and Guienne in making a road, necessary in time of war, and useful in time of peace. The Queen's (regiment) and (the) Languedoc remained at Quebec and Montreal. It was in this way that the troops were disposed. Hardly had a few ships arrived from France, when the Marquis de Vaudreuil, in order to take advantage of the goodwill of the 1,200 Indians who had come from up-country, collected the six regiments, our settled Indians, and a large force of colonial troops and Canadians who set out, one after the other, to meet at the camp of Carillon, on July 20, under the command of the Marquis de Montcalm, who will have with him M. le Chevalier de Lévis, (as) brigadier, M. de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, and Colonel de Bourlamaque. The last named will hold the camp of Carillon from the month of May.

July 4.

We have satisfactory news from Louisbourg. The squadrons under M. du Bois de La Mothe and de Beaufremont have arrived though the English are in superior force. The latest prisoners, captured some days ago, in the vicinity of Lake St. Sacrament, say that general Webb is collecting forces there which may well prove superior to ours. We shall see what we must do, according to circumstances, since the enemy's movements may change or check our plans.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

MONTREAL, April 15, 1757.

I do not know, Madame, whether this letter, which I am risking by the Louisbourg route, will reach you sooner or more safely, than the one which I shall write you shortly by a direct route; I am writing, by this one, only to the Ministers, to you, Madame, to M. le Président Molé, so that, if this letter reaches you first, I would ask you kindly to give my news to M. and Mde La Bourdonnaye, Mde and Melle d'Aligre, and my two sons; Madame d'Aligre will, I trust, give the news to M. le Comte de Noailles, and to my friend de Mazade. If, however,

this letter does not reach you until after the one I shall send you, in duplicate, by the ships sailing for France, you need not give yourself this trouble, as all those mentioned will get my letters.—My health has improved this winter, although I have not been without my troubles, my occupations and my journeys, having travelled 120 leagues over the ice, to Quebec and back, where I stayed a month.

M. le Chevalier de Lévis is wonderfully well. I cannot sufficiently congratulate myself on having him for a second, as well as M. de Bourlamaque. My commission would call for greater abilities (than I possess): I omit nothing in order to fulfil it properly, in all respects; it involves great expense, the cost of provisions puts me in debt instead of saving but, so long as they are satisfied with me in France, I regret neither the expense nor my health, and, to use an Indian expression: *I have thrown my body, and I count nothing of any worth when it comes to serving Ononthio-Goa;* this is their name for the King. What troubles me most is the lack of news concerning those who are as dear to me as you are, Madame.

We know nothing of what is happening in France of a later date than the news of June 29; we heard of the taking of Port Mahon by (way of) Louisbourg: it is a most regrettable loss. The coming of letters is as much a cause of anxiety as of hope; 1500 leagues do but add to the feelings of affection and respect which I have pledged to you and which I owe you for so many reasons, Madame.

My respects to Madame l'Abbess de Gercy, and to the young ladies de Baschy.

April 24.

My health is always good, Madame; I am waiting impatiently for news of you, and hope to hear, within the next few days. The Five Nations sent an embassy to Montreal, at the beginning of winter, consisting of 180 persons, including women and children; great councils took place, on this occasion, to use the expression of this country, that is to say, that a sort of Congress was held at Montreal, at which our settled Iroquois, the Nepissings, the Algonquins, the Poutéoutains, and the Outaouais, Indian nations allied to France, were present by their deputies. This embassy is the most memorable that ever occurred in Canada, as much by the number of ambassadors and the nature of the subjects discussed, as by the good dispositions shewn by the Five Nations. We have every reason to look for the strictest neutrality on their part, and may even hope that, although these nations will not take the hatchet against the English, many of their young men will follow us to war; this is all we can reasonably expect of a people who live almost surrounded by English settlements.

A detachment of 60 chosen English soldiers, with 10 sergeants and 7 officers, making 77 men in all, having set out to make some prisoners in the neighbourhood of our forts, had captured 7 of our soldiers on January 21, between the fort of Carillon and that of St. Frederic. On receipt of the news, M. de Lusignan, a colonial captain, who was in command of the fort at Carillon, despatched 100 men, under M.M. de Basserode, and de la Grandville, captains in the Languedoc and Queen's regiments, together with some Indians and Canadians. The detachment came up with the enemy at about three o'clock in the afternoon, and attacked their advance guard with fixed bayonets. As we had omitted to occupy a small height, within musket-shot of the road, the enemy fell back on it, and firing was kept up until night. The enemy took advantage of the darkness to withdraw, leaving 42 men killed on the field of battle, including 3 officers. We took 8 of them prisoners, and recovered our own. We learned, subsequently, that, of the 77 men forming this detachment, only three got back to Fort George, the rest having died of cold and hardship, and, possibly, of their wounds. Captain de Basserode, who was in command, was dangerously wounded.

On February 23 a strong party was despatched, under M. de Vaudreuil, governor of Three Rivers, and brother of the Governor General, and of M. de Longueuil, the King's lieutenant at Quebec. The detachment consisted of 50 grenadiers and 200 volunteers, taken from the battalions of La Sarre, Royal Roussillon and Béarn, under the command of M. de Poulhariès, captain of the grenadiers of the Royal Roussillon Regiment, of 250 colonial troops, 600 Canadians, and 300 Indians. The detachment had to travel 60 leagues over the ice, and, on March 18, arrived within a short league of the fort which we wrongly call Fort George, and which the English call William Henry, situated at the foot of Lake Saint Sacrament. We confined ourselves during the nights of the 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st; and 21st-22nd, to burning everything that was outside the fort; more than 300 boats, 4 ships, one with port-holes for 16 guns, a saw-mill, a great quantity of building and firewood, two store-houses, filled with provisions and things belonging to the troops, a small log fort, in which there were a dozen houses or barracks to shelter the troops and their invalids; we only had five men killed and six wounded.

MONTREAL, May 24.

In Montcalm's writing

I wrote you, Madame, by way of Louisburg, on April 24. The above report is a duplicate of the one I sent you. We are impatiently awaiting the ships from France; it is great pity they are not here already; the enemy are threatening Louisbourg and La Belle Rivière. Mr. de Bourlamaque is holding the camp at Carillon with a corps. The Chevalier de Lévis and I will join him, should it prove necessary to do so, with the rest of the troops, who are intended for this purpose. In the meantime, he is completing a fort, begun in September 1755, after the Dieskau affair. All the Indian nations are on the move for us, the English are afraid of them. I have nothing more to write to you. My health is better, my courage ready for anything that may happen, and my zeal without bounds. I only wish that my abilities were of a corresponding kind, but I do my best. Always anxious for the termination of my commission, I risk this letter by way of Louisbourg, and write, this time, to you alone, of all the family. A thousand messages to all. I love and respect you Madame, as it is my duty to do so.

Madame la Marquise du Boulay.

MONTREAL, April 16, 1757.

In Montcalm's writing

If I could only have news of you, dearest, and of my mother, I should find my exile less unendurable, but it is hard to think that I have had no letter later than one dated May 5, and shall not hear till the 10th or 15th of next month. This, of mine, is meant to go, at the opening of navigation, by way of Louisbourg. If it reaches you sooner than those I shall write to you direct, please convey its news to my three sisters, M. de Brassac, the two abbesses, Naujac St. Laurens, and our friends at Montpellier; write a line to Rigaud Guiron, and to M. de St. Priest;(and send) a copy (of it) to M. de Graville, if he is at Roussillon; tell its news to M. de Mirepoix, the arch (bishop) of Narbonne the bishop of Carcassonne, if they are in the country; if they are in Paris, they will have news of me. If, however, you only get this letter after the one that I shall write to you direct, there will be no need for all this. I am only writing to you, to your mother, to Molé, to Chevert, and to the three ministers to whom I am bound

to write. My health is good, in spite of much work, especially of writing. My secretary, Estève, is getting married. He has a good character, spells well, and writes quickly. I am getting a position for him, and a chance of making his fortune, if he wishes to do so. He is marrying above him, still, I am afraid he is doing so like any other giddy fop, gambler, boaster, dandy and spendthrift. I still have Marcel, and soldiers who can copy at a pinch; I should like to make something of Plantin, who is well, and of Reboul, whom I put in the black hole for a month; he is under the protection of M. de Quinson. All the Montpellier soldiers are well, with the exception of Pierre's son, who died in my house. Everything is very expensive, one must live respectively, and I do so, every day. (There are) 16 persons at the governor general's every 15 days, and at M. le Chevalier de Lévis' who also lives very well. He gave three very fine balls in my honour, up till Lent. In addition to the dinners, there are grand suppers for ladies three times a week. On the day for the pious prudes, there are concerts; on the day for the younger ones there are itinerant fiddlers, because they asked me to, which only lasted till two in the morning. After supper, people would come in to dance, without being asked, but sure of being welcomed by those who had been at supper. It cost a lot, was poor fun, and often wearisome. At Quebec, where we passed a month, my household followed me over the ice, but I often stayed with the intendant for the festivities. You know my household; I have added to it a coachman, a rubber, a kitchen-boy, and have married my assistant-cook, for I am trying to populate the colony. There were 80 soldiers married, this winter, and two officers. Germain has lost his daughter; he married above him, a good woman, but without money, like the rest of them. I am very fond of my brave Chevalier de Lévis; Bourlamaque was a good choice, a man of cold disposition. Bougainville has talent, a hot head and a hot heart, but he will mellow (with time). I get on well with the local and with the colonial troops, to both of whom I am equally civil. We have great men of Languedoc here, chiefly from Béziers. Here are their names: you can answer for their health; Estor, Mazérac d'Aureillan, Servies, Beaumavielle, Bernard, etc. M. de Brassac will see that I do not forget my friends. I have put a strong detachment under the command of Poulhariès' brother. The Comte de Cayla's protégé was one of the group; he needs help (in getting) the cross of St. Louis, although he was the first to ask for it. Write to Madame Corrier and St. Hypolite, (and tell her) that I am very fond of her husband; that he spent the winter with me, though his regiment was at Quebec; that he is very well, and is looking for peace as eargely as I do.

I embrace my daughters, and assure my mother of my entire affection and respect. I only live in the hope of rejoining you all. However, Montreal, in time of peace, is as good as Alais, and better, because so many people live here, and even the Marquis de Vaudreuil spent only a month at Quebec. As for Quebec, (it is) like the best cities of France, when you except some ten of them; smaller than Montpellier, but larger than Béziers, Nîmes, etc. the climate healthy, the air pure, a fine sun, (but) no spring, no autumn, (only) winter or summer. July, August and September (are the) same as in Languedoc, and at the camp at Carillon we are farther south than at Naples. (There are) days of drift in winter (which are) unbearable, when one must stay indoors. The ladies are witty and polite, pious at Quebec, (and) fond of play at Montreal, of conversation and of dancing. My friends the Indians, also, who are often unbearable, with whom I am as calm as I am patient, are very fond of me. The Chevalier de Botteville's nephew, M. Fontaine, is well; he is not brillant, but he will get on. (Say) all sorts of things to M. de Moncan, let him know my news; very kind regards to Mesdames du Cayla, de Girard, (and) de Fouillac de Galières. If I were not a kind of general, through greatly subordinate to the Governor General, who has naturally the chief and decisive voice, I might

chatter to you about the plans of our campaign, which seems likely to open, on the Lake St. Sacrament frontier, between the 10th and the 15th of May, but generals tell of what they have done, and never of what they intend to do, all the more that (such plans) are (always) uncertain. I (had) worked at the last plan, and it might have had greater results, though it was to our advantage. In fact, I only wanted 300 men. M. le Chevalier de Lévis would have been in command, or M. de (Bourlamaque). However, it went off well, and (was) in good hands, (in those, namely, of) the governor general's brother, who is exceedingly civil to me, and whom he believed to be used to marching and to the winter. Goodbye, my dearest, I worship you and love you. I embrace my daughters and my mother. Joseph's promotion, by the way, came off all right. Dejean is well.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm, at Montpellier.

MONTREAL, July 1, 1757.

A ship is to be sent to England, my mother, as a transport, taking English prisoners, to be exchanged there, and I take advantage of it, in order to write to you, and I count the more surely on the civility of the first English commander to whom they shall be handed over, for the forwarding of this letter to France, via Holland, in that I merely tell you that my health is excellent, as is that of the Chevalier de Lévis, and that distance cannot affect the feelings of devotion and attachment which I owe you, Madame de Montcalm, my children, and all near to me. I embrace you, my mother.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

MONTREAL, July 6, 1757.

I have got your letter No. 13, dearest, dated November 28, by way of M. Gradis etc., from which I learn that there are eleven numbers in arrear, captured or lost, or which will come in the mails from Court. The report, herewith, will tell you our news. All the particulars in those you write me give me untold happiness. My supplies from Montpellier and from Bordeaux were sent by several ships; three (of which) have come in. The *Robuste* was in a hard fight, and put back into this port. There is no news of the *Superbe* and of the *Renommée*, by which the rest (of the goods) must have been sent. Up till now, the following cases, from Montpellier, have reached Quebec.

No. 1 Liqueurs
No. 2 Passerilles
No. 3 Plums
No. 4 Cloth, olives, anchovies, Portmanteau
No. 5, 6 Muscatel (wine)
No. 7 Semolina, Vermichelly

(I will) now (give you) in advance the list for next year:

200 lbs. of preserves
200 bottles of muscatel wine
300 bottles of liqueurs
100 lbs. of good figs
100 lbs. of passerilles (?)
30 lbs. of semolina.

I omit the vermichelly and the maccaroni

2 barrels of anchovies
2 barrels of olives
1 barrel of capers
50 sausages
Some gray cloth for making coats and breeches for six men-servants.
Some scarlet cloth, idem.
Some small lace, with the usual border

Three cases, and give instructions to have them shipped by three different vessels. (Please send in) each the plainest possible sachet, 3 quilted pocket-books, twelve ordinary scent-bags which cost 10 louis each, 4 Portuguese ditto at 40 louis each, (containing) Lavender flour, because others are made here at once. Add a small case with a few little pots of scented pomade in each; if only one reaches me, I will make a present of it, if three reach me, I shall have three (presents) to make. Be sure, however, and give instructions that these cases, which you will number 1, 2 & 3, are to shipped, separately, by different vessels. It will be well, moreover, that you should have assorted cases made up at Montpellier, so that if only one ship should get in I may have a little of everything. Even should peace be made, and my recall become certain, send the things asked for, just the same. I am addressing the first part of this letter to my mother; there is not an hour of the day that I do not think of you, of her, and of my children. I embrace my daughter, and I worship you, dearest, as I do my mother. (Say) a thousand things to my sisters, I have no time to write to them, or to Naujac, or the abbesses. I am writing to St. Véran, but am not writing either to Guiraud or Rigaud, or to St. Laurens Slochier, write to them for me. A thousand kind messages to our curés, to Fempier. My oil mill seems to be a good thing, which has given me much pleasure; Bougainville, moreover, finds that we talk a great deal about the oil-mill. I was much touched about M. d'Argenson, but I count on M. de Paulmy. I know more of and have more of an intimacy with M. de Moras. I have already written to him about the new navy captain, St. Véran, and on behalf of La Devèze. All my household are well; I am pleased with Joseph and with Dejean. We have not yet received any official instructions or letters, and very little reinforcement in the way of provisions or recruits. On the 9th, I am going to sing war-songs at the Lake of the Two Mountains, on the 10th at Sault St. Louis, a long and tedious ceremony, and I leave on the 12th. We shall, I think, see something happen at the very end of this month, or at the beginning of the next. My kind regards at the Château d'Aubais, to the du Caylas, the Feuillacs, and the Girards. Do not forget to put in a dozen English bottles, pints, of Lavender water; you will put in four for each lot sent.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm, at Montpellier.

AT THE TRANSIT CAMP, August 20, 1757.

In Montcalm's writing

I have received, Madame, two of your letters, and there must be many others at sea, or lost. I am back from my expedition. I took Fort George and its entrenched camp at the end of 6 days of open trenches; it was held by 2400 men. They are not to serve for 18 months. I destroyed the fort, and took away the artillery, with munitions of war, and provisions for 6000 men for six weeks. General Webb had collected nearly ten thousand men, and did not venture to attack me; I wish he had done so. I consider our campaign finished, as far as any further action is concerned. I have no time to write to Madame

de la Bourdonnaye, nor to Madame d'Aligre, to whom I am sending a naughty song. The fort I have taken is called Williams-Henry by the English. I had the honour to answer you, at the end of the campaign, in respect of that which concerns the cousins. I got the letters which you sent me. You know my respect and my affection. I embrace my two sons.

MONTCALM.

Madame la Marquise du Boulay.

QUEBEC, September 13, 1757.

I have only been here two days, and was intending, Madame, to write you at length, but the *Célèbre* and the *Bizarre* leave, tomorrow, for Louisbourg, which, at this present time is bound to attrack the notice of the World; may it please God to be (on our side). I have only time to draw up my despatches for the minister, and for Louisbourg, to tell you that I am well, that I believe my campaign to be at an end, but not my occupations. I will write you by the last ships, as well as to Madame de la Bourdonnaye. I have received two letters from my son, but have no word of M. Molé. His letters, I suppose, have been taken or lost. I have been very exact about writing to him, and shall always be devoted to him, to Madame, and all his. I take it for granted, Madame, that he will have shewn you a very full narrative which M. de Bouganville, my aide de camp, sent him on my behalf. I rely, entirely, on your affection, and on that of my relations; they may rest assured of mine and of my gratitude. It is with such feelings that I am specially devoted to you, Madame.

MONTCALM.

Madame la Marquise du Boulay.

QUEBEC, September 13, 1757.

I have been here two days, my mother, overwhelmed with business of all kinds, and with writing, till my head swims, because the two warships, which were not to have left for five or six days, sail, tomorrow, for Louisbourg, whence we are eagerly awaiting news. On the 20th, the English fleet was within range of ours, with eighteen thousand troops for landing. My health, by the way, is very good, though worn out with work. I have been wanting to write you, fully, about many matters, (but this) must be at the close of the campaign, as I cannot get at it sooner. I embrace my daughter and my dearest one, of whom I am always thinking, and you may assure her that I have no time to spend with ladies, even were I inclined to do so.

All the things ordered from Montpellier have arrived with the exception of the sausages, (but) I have lost one third of the supplies from Bordeaux; they were taken from me by the English, on board the *Superbe,* and I have grounds for anxiety in regard to all that is being sent from Paris on board a ship called *La Liberté.* I am getting into debt here, economically as I live, but I do not worry about it. I love you fondly, my mother.

MONTCALM.

List of letters received from my mother, in 1757.

No. 6 June 10, 1756	No. 11 Sept. 10 & 18, 1756
No. 7 July 15, 1756	No. 13 November 28, 1757
No. 8 July 27, 1756	No. 14 January 20, 1757
No. 9 July 28, 1756	No. 15 March 2 & 30, 1757
No. 10 Sept. 14, 1756	No. 16 April 18 & 30, 1757

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

QUEBEC, September 23, 1757.

In Montcalm's writing

I have read over your letters, my mother, and am answering them. In your letter of June 10, you speak of the poll-tax. As brigadier general, I am exempt, (in any case) we do not pay it in the colonies; but you were right in sending to St. Laurens, lest they should deduct it from my pay. I have instructed him to draw my pay, and I send to him, in order to avoid all signatures in blank and certificates of my being alive. Write to him and to M. Joly. My allowances as colonel on the retired list, which are paid every six months, were due me when I left Paris, beginning with the first six months of 1755, and my pension of 2000, which expired on June 1, 1755, was in arrears; the order-in-council in regard to it was to have been issued in May 1755. As a matter of fact, I left to be paid:

to St. Amand, the tailor..	1900
to Duc, the tailor..	2400
to Pantasson..	800
	4100

By the first of January, 1758, they ought to have drawn my allowances as colonel on the retired list, for 1755 and 1756, which should make 4000 less 4d for books.

Two years' pension, which, with deductions for books, makes 3,500. At the present moment if any (colonel) commanding should have died since March 11, it would give me a thousand crowns a year to draw. I am very glad of the friendship which Baschi shews my son. The death of M. d'Avarcy should make them think of my son. You must always exercise patience and await my return in order that by so doing you will keep up your courage on my account and that of my relatives, for I am anxious, if God shall spare me, to change the colour of my ribbon. Ambition grows with success. (It is a question of) saving Louisburg, which does not, however, rest with me. I can answer for 1758, not withstanding the hardship due to lack of bread.

Letter of July 15.

Mademoiselle de Montcalm. The dress trimmed with blond-lace should suit her, as she is pretty. The Chevalier likes to read the Gazette, I take it kindly on his part.

Letter of July 21.

M. Molé, it would seem, is indifferent. I keep on my own way in regard to him. If I live, I hope to have need of no one except myself. M. de Paulmy writes to me as a friend.

Letter of July 28.

I am grateful for the interest taken in me at Montpellier. My secretary has married, I have made him a store-keeper; I miss him, but I manage without him. A young man who could write well, and who should be like Rampon, would be useful to me; (he must have) a good character, and might do something. Of 8 battalions, not one is to my liking. M. Marcel is not enough for me, for I am overwhelmed with writing. If you knew of any one, prudent, (and of) good character, who would eat with my people, send him; I will give him a good salary and he would end by making his fortune. Send him to the Sr. Gradis, who will forward him to me. I was very glad to read my dear daughter's writing.

Letter of September.

(The news of) My oil mill and its repair (gave me) as much pleasure as my red ribbon. I was much flattered at the intendant's praise before the States. I see that St. Laurens has drawn my pay; I count on his continuing to do so, and understand that he has paid what I owed. M. de la Porte, chief clerk of the Navy Office, is so neglectful, that I must ask you not to write through him any more, but through M. Gradis, at Bordeaux, through M. Capit, war commissary at Brest, M. Risteau at Bordeaux, M. Rateau, at La Rochelle, the abbé de la Corne, dean of Quebec, in care of M. de Mazade, at Paris, who knows where he lives, (or through) the abbé de Lille, the directors of the *Missions Etrangères.*
Letter of November 16 to January 20.

It is a fine thing to capture forts, if only that is kept up, in good time. My health is good, but, fortunately, I have some boils that are getting well, due to blood heated by fatigue. I am sure they have saved me an illness. Send some letters, in any case, to the Navy Office. I have written to M. de Castries, and have spoken to La Lande.

All my provisions reached me, except the two cases of preserves captured on *La Superbe*, on which I had 1200 lvs. worth; the sausages have proved fortunate, as well as my supplies from Paris, on board of *La Liberté.*

I have paid and settled my Bordeaux account. I am sending M. Joly 3600 lvs. which he will account for to you, in order to pay for the things you bought me and for those he bought, of which he has sent me no list. I do the same thing every year though I do no not wish to bring anything into Canada; as a matter-of-fact, I am borrowing from the treasurer, but hope that the King will make good my outlay. Next year therefor (send in) your account as (you did) this year, and order things for me, as by the list herewith. The muscatel wine is excellent, and everything is in very good condition.
Letter of March 29.

The marriage of Caures seems to me like a dream. I doubt it.
Letter of March 30.

My son's behaviour is good. I wish he were not making this campaign, but if M. de Mirepoix has got an army, as the gazettes say, he will have marched.

I see that you are in need of money; I am in the same case. The necessary repairs.

Privat is a good man, whom I like well enough. Tell this to Belleval, who recommends him.

I will speak to M. le Comte Dupré about the Messrs Abbert who were to send the white and red cloth for officers' (uniforms); there is very little of it, the colony is in want of it. M. Valète, recommended by Madame de Villevicille, has just been made a Knight of St. Louis.

Captain de Fare La Tour, idem.

I shall certainly make the Chevalier de Montcalm a captain of cavalry. I am writing what is needful to M. de la Bourdonnaye, who will arrange with the colonel, when the time comes. See to this proofs (of nobility); if there is any hurry, consult with Arles.
Letter of April 18.

Now that M. de Lespine is dead, will his son be rich, and will the hunchback marry?

Du Laurens d'Estrées is going to die insolvent, and the case comes to nothing. Parliern will be pleased at being a councillor. Monsarrain will have difficulty in getting off scot-free. To think that Marcel, a sergeant in Flanders, should, through having followed me, have been made captain in attendance on the Queen.

Letter of April 30.

M. le Comte de Montcalm's letters are (certainly) brief. M. de Moras has written me civilly in regard to St. Véran. There is to be a council of war to try the colonial officers who surrendered Beauséjour in 1755. The King's instructions bore date of 1756. Why should it have been put off? I do not know, but I believe they will be acquitted. The matter does not concern me, or the officers of my troops, as my position is unlike any other. I am a general-in-chief, subordinate (to the governor), giving orders, having nothing to do with certain matters, and everything with others.

(I am) esteemed, respected, liked, hated, proud, yielding, stubborn, obliging, polite, devout, gallant, etc....and very anxious for peace. I embrace my dearest one.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

QUEBEC, February 19, 1758.

In Montcalm's writing

A messenger on foot has just come in from Louisbourg, dearest, whom we are sending back there. I am writing by this route to the two ministers, to you, M. de la Bourdonnaye, and to the Maréchal de Richelieu. As I cannot give the messenger many letters to carry, convey my needs to M. de St. Priest, and to all my friends and relations in the province. Do not forget Monsieur de St. Laurens.

I embrace my sisters. My health was poor during part of the winter and I had to take a purge, I ended with an emetic, which did me good. All my people are well. Fournier du Pouget very nearly died. The winter was less severe than the last. Everything has gone up in price, I am being ruined, and now owe the treasurer 12000 lvs. I have not yet got my ribbon, I suppose the English have taken it; it does not matter much, but I hope the King will pay my debts, which I have incurred in his service. I cannot tell you anything about the probable course of the campaign, about provisions, or the success or failure of the enemy, who are able, and ought to get the start of us. I have been here since September 15; I leave tomorrow for Montreal to stay there until I start for another of our frontiers. I count on my good luck for the success of the campaign. Even if we only act on the defensive, we shall be doing well, if, thereby, we can only check the enemy ('s advance). We have exchanged letters with Lord Loudon in regard to the surrender of Fort George. It is a matter to be treated of with pen-strokes while waiting to treat of some affair with sword strokes and musket-shots.

I went this Spring to sing war-songs and feast with my children the Iroquois, the Algonquins, and the Nipissings. This winter I performed the same ceremony among the Hurons, and this Spring I shall visit the Abenakis. These Indians are very fond of me; in fact I often find more truth and honesty among them than in those who boast of being civilized. The balls still go on, and fearfully high play, in spite of public distress. Although we can, at best count on (maintaining) the defensive yet, should provisions reach us in good time, we shall try to act on the offensive instead, so far, at least, as the enemy will allow of our doing so. Good-bye, dearest, I love you fondly. I am sighing for peace, and for you. I embrace my children and long to return to my country. Our last news from France bring us down to September 29. The Parliament (had been) adjusted, the Electorate of Hanover subdued, the Island of Aix taken.

The part between brackets was meant for publication

[The necessity of economizing our provisions has prevented our undertaking any important marches this winter. A party of Indians and Canadians, commanded by the Sieur de Bellêtre, lieutenant of colonial troops, which left Montreal on October 4, pushed through to within 16 leagues of the town of Corlar, after a march of a hundred leagues, and surprised a village belonging to the English, inhabited by emigrants from the Palatinate. The village was pillaged, burned, and plundered. All the inhabitants who escaped the fury of the Indians were brought away as prisoners. At the present moment, we have two parties in the field; one towards Fort Lydius, and the other in the vicinity of Corlar. The English have several times shewn themselves in great force at Fort Carillon. The Sieur d'Hébecourt, captain of the Queen's regiment, who was in command there, during the winter, was on the alert, at all times, as was his garrison; all their expeditions (however,) merely resulted in the capture of a soldier, who had lost his way. There is nothing to be said (so far) about the campaign; it will probably not open before May. The Marquis de Montcalm, who has been staying in Quebec, has just left there for Montreal. Judging by our news from Fort Duquesne, and from the upper country, we may count on the good will of the Indians.]

February 20.

Our troops have been and are still living on half a pound of bread with 3 pounds of beef, 3 pounds of horseflesh, and 2 pounds of cod, every 8 days. The people on a quarter of a pound of bread. My household, and those who have dined with me (have had) the same rations, and a good many have lived on horseflesh. There has been discontent among the people and the troops. M. le Chevalier de Lévis, managed well at Montreal. But for the firm tone which he assumed, there would have been a riot. I have had less trouble here; do not say anything about this last matter, except to M. de Mirepoix. I have written about it to the two ministers; I do not think M. de V. will do so. You will see that we are not without cause for anxiety or for awaiting the ships from France.

MONTREAL, February 22.

I have just arrived, after a journey of 60 leagues on the ice. It is a delightful way of travelling, but cold. One of our parties came in lately with 25 scalps, and 3 English prisoners. It would seem, by the reports of these last, that the enemy are collecting a great quantity of provisions between Lydius and Orange.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm, at Montpellier.

MONTREAL, April 10, 1758.

In spite of the severity of the weather and the scarcity of provisions, which has obliged us to economize them, in order to be able to live while awaiting (the supplies) asked for France, a better harvest, and the means wherewith to offer resistance to the enemy, should he take the field early, we have harassed him, all the winter through with a number of expeditions, which followed each other without intermission. M. de Bellêtre, an officer of colonial troops, burned a very rich village, 16 leagues from Corlar, in the month of November, and brought away the women and children.

The Indians of the Five Nations who seem to be still well-disposed toward us burned several settlements in the vicinity of this same Corlar. M. Wolff, an officer in the land forces, went, with the Abenakis, to burn and destroy a number of settlements in the direction of Massachusetts. M. de Langy, a colonial officer, destroyed a party of 50 men, near Fort Lydius, in the month of February.

The English shewed themselves several times in front of Fort Carillon and planned all winter to take it by surprise, but the Sieur d'Hébécourt, captain of the Queen's regiment, who is in command there, was on the alert, (and) their movements remained without result. On March 13, the Sieur d'Hébécourt learned that a detachment (of the enemy, numbering) 200 men, was in the field. He accordingly sent a similar party of our Indians and some Canadians, who had reached him the evening before, with the Sieurs de Langy, La Durantaye, several colonial cadets, and a few officers and sergeants of the land forces, who joined them. The English detachment, consisting of picked soldiers, twelve officers, and their best fighter, Major Rogers, was wiped out. Our Indians brought back 146 scalps....of famine in the woods. We had 8 Indians killed in this action, and a score wounded. There are 8 small parties of our men in the field at this present moment, who may be able to gain information for us concerning the enemy's plans, from prisoners. The troops will begin to move during the first days of next month, when we shall expect to receive news from France, and from La Belle Rivière. The interruption of navigation, due to the ice, has prevented us from receiving any since the end of last year. A force of 6 or 700 men will leave here in a few days for the St. John River, and will proceed to Louisbourg in order to strengthen the garrison there.

MONTCALM.

MONTREAL, April 18, 1758.

Although the severity of the weather and a scarcity of provisions, caused by a poor harvest, have obliged us to be sparing with them so as to have the wherewith to await help from France, and a better harvest, as well as to enable us to resist the attacks of the enemy, should he take the field early,—we have harassed him all the winter through with a number of expeditions, which have followed one another without intermission.

M. de Bellêtre, a colonial captain, burned, in the month of November last, a village 17 leagues from Corlar, which had grown very wealthy through its trade with the Five Nations; those who escaped the rage of our Indians were brought in as prisoners, women and children, to the number of 150. Since then, several bands of our Indians, and even of the Five Nations, have struck blows in the neighbourhood of this same Corlar, and have burned a number of houses.

In the month of February, M. de Langy, an officer of colonial troops, surprised a party of 50 men, near Lydius. M. Wolff, a lieutenant of French troops, went, with the Abenakis, to burn a number of houses in the vicinity of Massachusetts.

All winter, the English were intending either to surprise or to cannonade Carillon, and shewed themselves there several times. The Sr. d'Hébécourt, captain in the Queen's Regiment, who was put in command there after the campaign, and his garrison kept a vigilant guard. The English expeditions were always without results, and the Sr. d'Hébécourt, learning that they had a detachment of 200 men in the field, took advantage, on March 13, of the fortunate arrival of 200 Iroquois or Nepissing, from the Sault St. Louis, or from the Lake of the Two Mountains, the night before, with the Sr. de la Durantaye and a number of colonial cadets, who had been joined by the Sr. de Langy, a very intelligent officer, and several lieutenants and sergeants of our forces, whose zeal alone had caused them to do so. The English detachment, consisting of chosen

soldiers and 12 officers, under the command of Major Rogers, their best fighter, was completely destroyed; our Indians brought away 146 scalps, and only a few prisoners, in order to send *living letters to their friends,* an Indian name for prisoners; the others must have perished of hardship in the woods. Some of them, including two officers of the Blakeney regiment, gave themselves up as prisoners at our fort of Carillon, at the end of five days, their guide having died the night before. We lost 8 Indians in this action, and had 17 wounded, as well as 2 colonial cadets, and one Canadian. The dead were buried with great ceremony, and presents were given, in the King's name (the Great Ononthio) to the families of those who had been killed. The Governor General will reward the valour of our Iroquois by a promotion (which will consist) in giving a number of gorgets and medals to those who have distinguished themselves. These will stir them up to avenge the loss which they have suffered.

We have, at the present time, eight small detachments in the field, and shall doubtless learn of the enemy's movements from the prisoners they may make which will decide ours in the first days of May. We can have no doubt but that the English, who receive reinforcements this autumn, have, with their Highlanders, 23 complete regiments of English troops in North America. The forces we have here are greatly inferior in numbers, but the courage of our troops and of the Canadians, together with the assistance of our Indians, will make what is wanting.

M. de Boishébert, captain of colonial troops, leaves, in a few days, with 6 or 700 Acadians, Canadians, or Indians for the St. John River, and thence to Louisbourg, which the English appear to be continually threatening. We are expecting news from La Belle Rivière, where the English are leaving nothing undone in order to withdraw the Loups and the Chaouanons, Indians who are laying waste Virginia and Pennsylvania, from their alliance with us.

June 12.

M. de Boishébert, being detained by contrary winds, cannot have arrived at Louisbourg as early as we counted on his doing; we have kept on sending small detachments against the enemy, and always with good results. Only a few of the ships which are to come to us from Bordeaux, in three convoys, have yet arrived, and we fear lest all those which have not come in should have met with misfortune! The want, and the delay of provisions have, of necessity, produced a delay in the operations of the campaign; all our troops, however, are on the move. M. de Bourlamaque left, today, for Carillon. I shall leave, on the 24th, with the remainder of our troops, to act according to circumstances. M. le Chevalier de Lévis will leave, about the same time, with a strong force of picked men, to carry out an undertaking in the country of the Five Nations, which may accomplish simultaneously certain political and military objects. This force will seriously weaken the army which I am to command, but the circumstances render it imperative.

In Montcalm's writing

This, Madame, is all that has happened in Canada, this winter. We are expecting news about May 15, and I hope to learn that your health is still very good. Mine keeps up, although my attention has been drawn to my stomach this winter, and I have twice taken my usual medicine (America). In matters of medicine, indeed I follow Indian methods: perspiration and emetics. I believe, however, that I eat too much and too fast. I once more commend my children to you; I thank you for your kindness to them; I trust they may be worthy of it, and that a speedy peace may give me the means of thanking you, and of assuring you of an affection which equals my respect.

June 12.

In Montcalm's writing

I am about to undertake a campaign which may be momentous in view of our inferiority, and of our having been unable to get the start of the enemy through lack of provisions. M. le Chevalier de Lévis has a very strong detachment, he cannot fail to be more or less successful. I trust in my star. Pray say a thousand things to my niece for me; I am very fond of the Chevalier. They are keeping at Malta for him a fine picture of the grand master, de Gozon, and I have written to the Chevalier de Vignier, who intends it for him, to thank him for it.

My respect and my affection, Madame, have no bounds.

MONTCALM.

Madame la Marquise du Boulay.

June 20.

In Montcalm's writing

I am about, Madame, to begin a campaign as momentous as it is difficult. I am delighted to oblige M. de St. Alembert, who is recommended by M. Talon, and who has handed me the letter with which you honoured me on February 12. He is a fine officer, but a spendthrift. A thousand messages to all our relations, particularly to M. de la Bourdonnaye.

MONTCALM.

Madame la Marquise du Boulay.

(P.S. to the letter of April 18, 1758, written in two despatches).

April 18, 1758.

(The same letter as above to the Marquise du Boulay was addressed to the Marquise de Montcalm, with the following postscript):

In Montcalm's writing

April 20, 1758.

I am well, dearest, and love you more than ever. Gor grant that I may see peace again, next year. A thousand kind messages to all. I embrace my daughters. When shall I embrace you, dearest, a moment which I should prefer to even a victory over General Habre Combrie. (sic: Abercromby).

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm, at Montpellier.

April 18, 1758.

(The same letter as above to the Marquise du Boulay was addressed to the Comte de Montcalm, with the following postscript):

In Montcalm's writing

All that I ask for and await impatiently, is to hear good news of your health and of your behaviour. My health is so-so; however, I hope, by taking care of

it, to make it bear the hardships entailed by the King's service. Many loving messages to your brother, you may both rest assured of my affection. La Rochebeaucourt is well. Pray say many things for me to the officers of the Montcalm regiment, especially to the Major.

MONTCALM.

Monsieur le Comte de Montcalm, colonel of the cavalry regiment of his name, Army of the Lower Rhine.

MONTREAL, April 20, 1758.

My Lord,

Although M. le Chevalier de Lévis will, doubtless, give you a full account of our news, I crave the honour of being allowed to send you a report of all the most interesting events (that have occurred) on this continent, since the last ships sailed. I rejoined Monsieur le Chevalier de Lévis on February 22; I had left him, on August 29, with instructions to bring the campaign to a conclusion. Each of us found himself, at Quebec and Montreal, in a critical position. All passed off well, however, as far as the troops were concerned, though there was a time in Montreal which might have given grounds for anxiety. Between ourselves (I may say that) the colonial troops refused (to submit to) a reduction of rations which had become imperative; there was a certain amount of excitement in the heads of the Béarn soldiers, and of the people. M. le Chevalier has a very military tone, and we should be grateful that he should have used it to such purpose. I have made a point of informing the two ministers, to whom it is my duty to report. I am very glad to have him as a colleague; I could wish, for his sake, that he were under a general officer whose importance would give more weight to what I am writing though he will never serve under anyone who is a better friend.

Your kindness, my lord, on which I rely implicitely, emboldens me to speak to you in regard to the Chevalier de Montcalm. He will be fifteen in October, and is to leave college in order to enter the service in his brother's regiment. You must, doubtless, have staff-commands at your disposal, could you include him in your arrangements so as to give him one, in three or four years from now, when he is eighteen or nineteen? I should be extremely grateful and proud were you to grant him this favour, if he turns out well, a favour which, at that age, determines the fortune of a younger son, and enables him to make his own way. I am not in a position to forecast anything about our campaign. We are in want of provisions, and soon, should circumstances not allow of our acting on the offensive, we shall make the best defence possible, and shall endeavour to annoy the enemy by means of expeditions and detachments.

Permit me to convey the expression of my respect to Madame la Duchesse de Mirepoix, and to beg that you will rest assured of that with which I have the honour to be, above all others,

My Lord

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

To Monseiur le Duc de Mirepoix.

(The following letter is not dated, but, judging from its contents, it should be placed after the letter addressed to the Duc de Mirepoix, dated April 20 of this same year, 1758).

In Montcalm's writing

This is the third letter, my mother, which I am writing to you, or to my dearest, this year. I wrote at the end of February, and on the 10th of this month, by way of Isle Royale; in the case of this one I am taking advantage of a ship we are sending to France, and which, should no mishap befall it, will return this year. My last news of the family are (those) of the month of May, from the ministers (as follows); from the minister of war, March 15; of the Navy, May 27 and August 3; from France, by way of Louisbourg, September 29. I am writing by this mail to M. de St. Priest, to the Arch (bishop) of Narbonne, to St. Laurens, Rigaud, M. de Lunas, the two abbesses, and to St. Véran at Toulon, under cover to Madame Mercier. If you do not hear of peace, or of an armistice, let Madame de Montcalm write strongly to the minister of war, of the navy, to M. de Richelieu, and to M. le Comte de Baschy (asking) for my recall. It will be a case of picturing the needs of my family and (of pointing out) that she has known how to keep silence hitherto.

I am also writing to Tempié.

All my people are well; this country, on the whole, is very healthy. I remained at Quebec until February 27. I embrace my dearest one, and my daughters. Many kind messages to our curés at Vauvert Beauvoisin. I have just written to the duc de Mirepoix, to arrange with him about a staff-appointment for the Chevalier, in two or three years time. Do not say anything about it, and do not speak to him about it, unless he should speak to you, when you can seem to hear of it through him (for the first time).

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

MONTREAL, June 2, 1758.

I have already had the honour of writing to you, this year, my mother, or to Madame de Montcalm, on February 19, by (way of) Isle Royale, on April 10, idem; on April 20, by a fishing vessel from Quebec, bound for France, and on May 9, by a second ship, idem. Since May 19, the following ships have entered the Quebec roads:—a frigate, an English prize which the frigate took, on her way out, and ten ships chartered at Bordeaux bringing provisions which came at the last moment, as the people were beginning to eat grass and herbs, and the soldiers' rations had been reduced to half a pound of bread for another month. These same ships have brought me about a third of my Bordeaux provisions from Gradis. The *Foudroyant* which was bringing the remainder, must have been captured. The twelve cases sent from Montpellier for shipment by the second convoy arrived too late at Bordeaux, and would seem to have been spoiled. A ship which has come in left them where they were. Once for all, everything must reach (Bordeaux) by January, or by February 15, at the latest. And, once for all, no more lists; (please) copy that of last year, even in regard to sachets, scents, and scent-bags. I look on those of this year as captured. I received a number of letters from the navy by these last ships, but not one from the land (forces); I learn that the Maréchal de Belleisle has M. de Paulmy's place, with a foot in the ministry. (There is a) very civil letter from the abbé Comte de Bernitz; a letter from Baschy a profitable

riddance in respect of the first president. People seem very well satisfied with my last campaign; with more means, and, especially, with more provisions, I should do better. Just fancy, I cannot take the field with indifferent troops for six weeks, and (even then) I must give at least half my troops leave of absence to gather in the harvest. Shall I never be in Europe, at the head of an army, where there will be no such obstacles to be met with! The Indians who are disposed to take the field interviewed me yesterday in full council. They paid me (many) compliments, and urged me to lead them to war. The Queen's (regiment) is at Carillon with the pickets which passed the winter there. (Those of) Languedoc and Berry leave Quebec on the 3rd and 5th with M. de Bourlamaque, who goes in command; I expect to go there, if nothing occurs to prevent me, at the end of June. Our affairs on La Belle Rivière are progressing satisfactorily. Since March 2, (we have taken) 140 prisoners from the English and destroyed a number of settlements, in spite of many transactions on the part of the English and of things on our part which might have harmed us. The last news, of May 20, seem to me to be good. I trust also that the arrival of nine ships or frigates at Louisbourg, with a regiment of foreign volunteers, will save that important place, (which is) 300 leagues from here, (with) the sea between (us).

I was deeply grieved at the loss of my sister, though her condition gave me cause for fear. I was the bearer of bad news and a comforter to MM. de Roquemaure and de Lévis. I had written to the Duc de Mirepoix, on behalf of the Chevalier de Montcalm; I have just written again to the Prince de Beauveau. (What I ask) is for three or four years hence.

I do not know when this letter will leave, but I will have duplicates made of it, in any case, three and even four copies.

I am about to answer your letters, which I have just received.

Madame de Massillan, July 10, 1757.
My mother, No. 18, July 17, 1757.
My mother, No. 20, Sept. 8, 1757.
My mother, No. 21, Sept. 15, 1757.
My mother, No. 22, October 18, 1757.
Madame de Lunas, October 18, 1757.
M. de Feuillac, November 5, 1757.
My mother, No. 1, January 20, 1758.

Please convey to each the news that will be of interest to them. St. Laurens has sent me all the news, up to the end of January. I have learned of the death of the Marquis d'Aubais from a gazette which some one happened to send me by way of Louisbourg; I am writing to the father, who must be deeply grieved. I do not think he has any grandsons living. I foresee lawsuits some day, with la Vacaresse; Gille's death will make her rich. I am also writing to the little marquise, and to Madame du Cayla de Beauvoisin, but as letters get lost at sea, and as I have not the time to have four copies made for everybody, please let them know. D'Aubais will give the MS. to the King, or to the community, he would do better by giving them to me, on my return to France; it would amuse me, and I would get more credit out of them on his behalf and for him. St. Véran has written to me, as have the Abbess and the Comte de Noailles, but what a lot of letters for me go astray!

I am (now) answering Madame de Massillan's (letter) of July 10, and my mother's of June 10.

I am delighted (to hear that) Massillan is keeping well, and that his wife's affairs, whom I love devotedly, are satisfactorily settled; my stay in America has spared me that anxiety. A man can only serve in the colonial troops, or in the land (forces). As to the first, which are under the control of the Marquis

de Vaudreuil, the country supplies more fit men than they can find room for, and a man must begin by being a cadet. The pay is poor; moreover, men are sent from France, every year, 18 out of every 20 of whom are sent back. As to our troops the lieutenant who could have lived on his pay in 1757 (or) 1756, is now starving, nor is the general any better off, with his 25000 lvs. who owes as much as that, and is eating into 1759. (There are) good men waiting their turn (to get into) our regiments. A poor creature of 25, like the Chevalier Rose (who is as) sluggish as a whale (?), cannot come here, so that there is (absolutely) no hope of doing anything for him. I exercise no influence in the choice of the Canadian troops, and I have made it a rule never to ask for an appointment. You do not need to be an Oedipus, in order to guess this riddle; in any case, here are 4 lines from Corneille:—

"'Tis my real crime that I this day should be
"Of greater name than....virtue more than he;
"This is the source whence springs that secret hate,
"Which time but renders stronger and more great" (*Surena*)

However, I live on very good terms with every one here, and serve the King to the best of my ability. If they could do without me, or make me fall into some snare, or if I should meet with some reverse, still, I am quite easy (in my mind). Luckily for my health, I have grown callous. Rigaud's sortie at Bayonne does not surprise me. He has two letters from me, every year, at the opening and at the close of the campaign. I treat him as (I would) one of the greatest (men) in the Kingdom and all my (relations) except you and the two ministers, for I do not treat the others any better.

In answer to (Letter) No. 20.

You can answer, without hesitation, in regard to the health of our Languedoc men, whether at Toulouse or at Roquemaure, (that is, in regard to) Assetat, Cadillac, Poulhariès; or at Béziers and in the neighbourhood of Oudeston, (in regard to) Aureillan, Servies, Beaumavieille, Mazénac, Bernard, (and) Casanières of Montpellier; Germain Friaire (who is a) sort of a little fool, Théron, Montredon, d'Uzès, Tombonne, Restauran of St. Esprit, Privat of Beaucaire, Théron of Calsisson, d'Alquier of Carcassonne; once for all; as well as (in regard to) Cornier of St. Hyppolite; (You may) answer for their good health, when I do not write you anything about (them). I am delighted that my son should have *chizergnes;* if he finishes the war with my (elder) son, keep him (at home). My people here are well enough, but will have to be dismissed when I get back to France. I have written to Madame de Fourbin; I am glad to hear that my dear little chevalier is growing. I shall have much to go over with him and (with) my dear daughter; I am very pleased that the elder is taking a liking to his profession.

No. 21 September 15.

In regard to the Abbess, I am of opinion that we shall have to be done with her. However, I am writing to the Bishop of Digne on her behalf; we should, I think, ask him for Arles, Montpellier (or) Alais, should those abbeys be vacant. I see with pleasure that they are to go on with the repairs; it is the nursing mother, and I shall be glad to see it inhabited again.

I have no anxiety about the love of my dearest one, and I swear to you that I love her devotedly.

No. 22 September 18.

The Fort William expedition is worth more (to us) than the Chouegen one, though less important; there was less good fortune but more results. As far as this year (is concerned) I shall think I am doing a great deal in

warding off everything, so do not look for anything brilliant; I prefer to be Fabius, rather than Hannibal, and it is necessary (that I should). I am very glad to hear that the young (Mlle) Boiand came off so well, and of the agreement there is in that family. The little Ganges (has been made) a baron of the States, and *seigneur de place;* I doubt if he could look for something else. (Pray convey) my thanks to the people of Montpellier. The minister writes me that it is only from America that the King gets good news.

I will write strongly at the close of the campaign, on behalf of La Devèze, both to the minister and to Madame Hérault.

Madame de Lunas, October 18.

I have informed MM. de Serviès and d'Aubrespy of Madame de Lunas' recommendation. M. de Forestat, news of whom is asked for, won a lot of money at play, and went back to France after the Fort William Henry expedition. Le Grave, of the Guienne regiment, a cousin of the marquis, is behaving well; he is not going to get married. He has been ill (scrofula, which is prevalent here, and was notable to make the last campaign; he is (now) well again). I am delighted that the Con^er^ Lunas is turning out well. It is pleasant to know that Madame de Girard likes me, for I am very fond of her, and wish her happiness. M. de Galières should make a good magistrate. The court of reliefs has lost in losing M. de Richelieu; it is the age of Parliaments. If I could do anything to oblige Berriac's correspondent, I would, but, in my position as general, I cannot be of much service to a merchant. Fournier de Pouget is well; he has been very ill by his own fault. There are (? Venuses ?) here from the three quarters of the globe, African, American, European. I will, recommend the interests of M. M. Albert and Berriac to M. le Comte Dupré.

(In) answer to the letter of the Sieur Cavanhac (in the matter of) M. Passementier, of Alais, who is asking for news of his brother-in-law, Laurent Pellet, a native of Alais (and) a soldier in the Burgundy Regiment. I will write about this to Louisbourg for this regiment, although in some sense under my orders, is not with me, here.

Letter of Feuillac, November 5.

(I wish) his wife better health, and less suffocation. I am well disposed in regard to the Sieur Alexis Grand, of St. Esprit, and will try to do something for him at the close of the campaign.

No. 1, January 20, 1758.

For a first campaign, M. le Comte de Montcalm is doing very well. I am not asking you for any money; on the contrary, I will send you some from here to pay for the things ordered for me; I trust my cordon has been granted, (it means) a thousand crowns more for my son, or for you. It made me laugh till I cried to see Scellier, a cadet in the Guienne (regiment), cut himself with a knife when dancing (with) the Indian ladies.

Lord Thomond is very civil; I am writing to him in duplicate. M. de St. Priest becomes minister of war. His having praised me in (a) full (assembly of the) States will, no doubt, prove of good omen. I think that the Marquis de Grémian is (falling into his) dotage. Montserein had, all his life, the look of a consumptive. La Vacaresse will found a rich family, and will think of buying Vauvert on the strength of it. It seems to us that the Comte de Lévis was in a great hurry to take the name of Mirepoix.

I am surprised that the Comte de Lévis should have failed to express himself to you as satisfied with my success. It is better to gain envy than pity, which will happen to me in the case of some who may, possibly, think that I may not distinguish myself; by way of return, I do my best to gain credit for those who are serving here. The following was said by the abbé de Bernis: "Everyone does you justice here (at Versailles); personally, I admire the justice you find pleasure in doing to those who assist you".

I am very grateful to the Chevalier de Vignier, and am writing to him, at Malta, to thank him. I am deeply grieved about my sister Escoulombre, and I will say, with Corneille: "I worshipped her when living, and weep for her when dead." (She was) a most covetable woman, with a good heart, though thoughtless. I am writing to her husband.

It is well that the Chevalier should not be too easy with the presidents. And so Sauviguargnes was never rich; (you may) contradict all Lauris' notions that everything is going to ruin (here). The returns from the oil-mill have not been so good; still, it is a valuable property. Is St. Estève dead? And has the young Pas been made an honorary lieutenant colonel at last?

I am writing to the Marquis de Caloisson.

(Letter) No. 23 has not come to hand, so that I have not received M. de Bougainville's answer, either.

I have told Madame de Verdhelan that I was 1500 leagues (away), but that I have sent her son-in-law's letter to their cousin, des Fourneil, so that he may follow and ask.

I am writing to the young Marquise, though I do not think she will find it hard to console herself.

The Canada balsam, the sables, (and) the maple sugar, should reach you, via Bordeaux. Write to M. Gradis about them. M. Rozier the captain of the *Robuste,* and the Chevalier de St. Rome, took charge of them. They have reached France safe and sound. They went by transport, in charge of English prisoners, and had, (therefore), nothing to fear.

Baschy is not pleased with Monteynard, (which is a) trouble. M. le Marquis d'Aubais seems to be an unfortunate father; is Madame Durre still in her place? I would take her with me. What a family d'Aubais leaves!

June 12.

In Montcalm's writing

Everything, apparently, has been captured, except what little has reached me. M. le Chevalier de Lévis is leaving with a party of picked men to act in the vicinity of the Five Nations. He is a good friend of mine. Personally, I shall do what I can with a small army in the direction of Lake St. Sacrament (though they are) four against (my) one.

June 20.

In Montcalm's writing

I leave on the 24th, and am sending this letter through the War Commissary, whom I am keeping at Quebec for my correspondence. (He is) M. Doreil, a paymaster, a worthy man, who will send this letter by some ship).

MONTCALM.

Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

CARILLON, July 14, 1758.

With no Indians, and hardly any Canadians or naval troops—I had four hundred,—with only MM. de Lévis and Bourlamaque and land forces to the number of three thousand one hundred combatants, I defeated an army of twenty-five thousand men, on July 8. The fight which was sharp as it was hotly contested, lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon until eight in the evening. This army which had been collected for the general invasion of Canada (so it is termed in the commissions of the officers from the various English provinces), hastily recrossed Lake St. Sacrement on the 9th with a loss of at

least five thousand men. Our losses amount to 12 officers killed, 23 wounded; 92 soldiers killed, 248 wounded. On the 6th, the day on which I was under the necessity of causing all my advance posts to fall back, I had 8 officers killed or taken prisoners, 183 soldiers killed or prisoners, owing to the misfortune of a detachment which lost its way in the woods, and fell in with a column of the English. In spite of the enemy's pursuit, I drew off the remaining men, for my retreat, with this exception; was carried out in perfect order. The glorious day of the 8th will always be an honour to our armies. M. le Chevalier de Lévis and M. de Bourlamaque had the greatest share in it; the latter was seriously wounded. I have no time to write at greater length. I am well, and embrace you, dearest, as I do my mother. (Please tell her that) the baker she sent me (has come).

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm, at Montpellier.

CARILLON, July 21, 1758.

I do not believe, my mother, that any general was ever in so critical a situation. God helped me out of it, (be sure and) thank Him for it. He gives me health, although I am overpowered with fatigue, toil, bothers, and troubles, which have decided me to ask for my recall; God grant they may give it to me, even should I have to spend the rest of my days on my estate. If Bougainville had not been wounded, he would have sent you an account, which I have not the time to do, but you will (be able to) read the one which the government is sure to have printed from mine.

I have the honour to be, with all possible affection and respect, my mother, wholly yours. I embrace my dearest. A thousand loving messages to my children, and to all the family. I am not writing to anyone.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

At the Transit Camp, August 20, 1758.

In Montcalm's writing

No sooner had I taken Fort George than I sent M. de Bougainville to M. de Vaudreuil, with instructions to take advantage of a ship just about to sail, in order to write to Madame de Montcalm. Please convey the news to all the family. I shall take your recommendation on behalf of M. Théron into consideration. The King has sent me the red ribbon. The expedition against Fort George was more important and even more successful than the one against Chouegen. My health keeps good. I think my campaign is at an end. I shall, however, be overwhelmed with work from now till the last ships sail in November; any amount of writing, journeys to Montreal and Quebec, in the interests of the service, I (really) believe that more than half of my supplies and of what I asked from Paris has been captured. I am not worrying over it, nor am I bothered about money, if I can only join you again soon and in good health. Give the family a thousand messages from me.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

At The Camp at Carillon, August 24, 1758.

I have not received any account or statement, my mother, of the things which you sent me. I only see, by Gradis account that he received sixteen cases addressed to me, and I have received eight for myself or Dejean; because as it all came while I was in the field, nothing has been unpacked. I also received 4 chests and cases d'*aye* from the abbess, (which were) excellent. I am sending 3600 lvs. to M. Joly as I did last year (but) am not giving any orders for next year. He sent me goods to a large amount, this year, all of which I look on as captured. The commissions which I am going to give you, this year will be confined to 3 cases of Montpellier liqueur, put up in English pints.

3 cases, each with a space in the middle, one side of it to be filled with good, ordinary prunes, the other with those delicious raisins without stems (not in bunches); there are (some) to be had in Marseilles which come from Smyrna, for the Turks have better taste than we (have). Put a box of citron peel in each. Give instructions to have these things sent by three ships, and that the two (?) cases marked No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, are to be sent together. They must all be at Bordeaux by the end of January, for the shipments (to Canada) will be made very early. You wrote me in regard to a debt of the governess; I have been careful not to speak to Captain de Bernard, of the Béarn regiment, about it, he finds hard enough to pay those he contracts in America. I am sending you, for your amusement, two songs on the fight of July 8, one of which is in the style of the fishwives of Paris. M. le curé of Vauvert, however, will greatly prefer the French and Latin inscriptions placed on a cross raised on the field of Battle.

I embrace my dearest one, and my daughter. I am longing to see you all again, and to bring my campaigning to a close. You may rest assured of the unalterable respect and devotion which I owe you, my mother.

"Chrétien! ce ne fut pas Montcalm et la prudence,
Ces arbres renversés, ces héros, leurs exploits,
Qui des Anglais confus ont brisé l'espérance,
C'est le bras de ton Dieu vainqueur sur cette croix."
Quid dux, quid miles, quid strata ingentia ligna?
En signum! En victor! Deus hic, Deus ipse triumphat.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

CARILLON, September 25, 1758.

In Montcalm's writing

My mother, and my dearest and well-loved wife. (I am sending you) this letter through M. de Bougainville, whose ill-health obliges him to return to France, much to my regret, for I am very fond of him. If he reaches Paris, he will write to you, and tell you of me up to the time of his leaving, at the end of October or beginning of November. He and I have two ideas in common, in regard to a marriage of daughter and son; the first is romantic and fanciful, but would please me, and ought to please; the second good, and feasible, all the more so that I see that negotiations are in progress with the comte de Baschy on behalf of Montmartel's son. I take it, the plan has reference to the fourth (daughter) on account of the suitability of their ages, which puts an end to the idea we had, and which the Comte de Baschy favoured. Respect, love, affection, devotion are due to you (from me) and I cherish them all for you, to their fullest extent.

I embrace my dear children. Our younger son (must be a) light-horseman, and then captain, when I get back (to France). I have written, and am very civil, to the Prince de Beauveau, the successor to the Maréchal de Mirepoix. (My object is that) staff-appointment in the making.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm, at Montpellier.

Camp at Carillon, October 14, 1758.

Since the action of July 8 to which Canada owes its safety for this campaign, General Abercromby has continued to hold the head of Lake Saint Sacrament, as we (hold) the camp on the heights of Carillon. He passed the campaign in entrenching his position, and in threatening us with a second visit. On our side, our one thought has been to protect this frontier throughout the remainder of the campaign. The war has been one of detachments only, in which we have gained some advantages. The obstinacy of the enemy in remaining in force in his camp, will oblige us to wait till the frost before withdrawing into cantonments.

During the period that the enemy continued to shew us an army ready to attack us a second time, he endeavoured to put us on the wrong scent by a diversion in the direction of Lake Ontario. They took the post of Frontenac, where there were 70 men of the colonial troops, and immediately abandoned it in order to rebuild their Fort Bull, destroyed in 1756. We are expecting news from La Belle Rivière, where a body of 8000 men, under the command of Brigadier General Forbes, was to act. Since the taking of Louisbourg, an English fleet has continually held the lower St. Lawrence. The King's ship, *L'Aigle*, has been last on the *Cailles de Quéquampoix*, eight leagues from *Mécatina*. The crew were saved, and we hope to ge her off.

In Montcalm's writing

I have received with many thanks, Madam, the letter you did me the honour to write me on May 11. I am delighted that your health is so good. I long to see my children and my country again, and nothing draws me back, Madame, more than you. Our situation is so critical that peace is much to be wished for. I have had a letter from the young colonel, written in the month February (which is) fairly satisfactory although in 16 pages. He has formed a close acquaintance with a (certain) Comte de Bavière Holstein (Count of Bavaria Holstein), brother of the Countess of Bavaria, which has put an all-too-brilliant fancy into his head (Melle de Bavière) her niece, no less. I have written to him, in a suitable strand to tell him not to let himself get infatuated with (such) notions. My health is utterly exhausted, and this campaign seems to me likely to be a long one, as the enemy is obstinate. Adieu, Madame, my respect has no bounds.

To Madame la Marquise du Boulay.

At the Camp at Carillon, October 16, 1758.

In Montcalm's writing

I am enclosing, my mother, with this letter, a report (intended) for publication. Our situation is critical, and, the farther we go, the more so it becomes, yet I am not anxious; whatever happens, I shall always keep God and my honour above all else. As I shall remain in the field until November 15, and as the ships will leave Quebec (which is) 120 leagues from here, on the 4th or 6th, this will be my last letter this year. I have always thought that the enemy would make a second attack on me; but am now beginning to think that, seeing that it is late in the year, nothing will come of it. As I have a thousand things (to attend to), I am not writing either to the two abbesses, or to St. Véran, or to my two sisters, or to Madame de Brassac, do you write instead, as well as to all the others, including Rigaud. I got your two letters of May 18 and 26 only a few days ago. Also, one of 16 pages from my son, well written, (but) a little in the present-day style, the military details well (given); it is dated February 18; (there is) rather too much about Princes and Counts of the Empire; (he has formed) a great friendship with a brother of the Countess of Bavaria who had infatuated him in regard to a marriage which he has no right to look to. My son is young, and over-confident, and is easily infatuated. M. de la Bourdonnaye writes me that the chevalier is as tall as an oak, (but) rather thin. You may fancy how worried I am at not getting any news. My health is fairly good, in spite of great fatigues. Since the taking of Frontenac, which I had foreseen and foretold and (which might have been) easily prevented, they call me, in Montreal, "the doctor after death". I have been very busy. I left here on the 6th of September, and got back on the 16th. Bougainville is returning to France; God grant he may get there; if so, he will write to you. M. Doreil, commissary of Ordinance, is also going. Under the circumstances "living letters" were needed; will they arrive? I am very glad to have Naujac here again, (also) La Devèze. I had written about him to M. de Moras (and to) Madame Hérault. I am writing to M. de Massiac, and am instructing my ambassadors, Bougainville and Doreil, if they reach (France) to plead for him.

I am in sore need of rest; I owe ten thousand crowns, and I am certainly growing old. I do not expect to be in Montreal before the ice, between the 20th and 25th of November. I am going to rest till Christmas; thence to Quebec, for January and February; March and April in Montreal, and shall (then) doubtless return here where something decisive will take place. The English are at least six to (our) one. What a difference in forces! All the Languedoc men are well; d'Assezac and Carles (and) Roquemaure from Toulouse. From Montpellier, Germain, a little fool of a third-rank man, (who will have) to be sent back next year; (Please) notify his relations.

From Pézenas or Béziers: La Pause, d'Aubrespy d'Eston, d'Aureillan, Castagnière, Serviès, Mazérad, Bernard, Beaumavieille.

From d'Uzès, Montredon.

From Pont St Esprit, Fombonne, Restauran, Garnet (who is) a prisoner, (but) whom I have, nevertheless, made an officer, although with the English.

From St Hyppolite, Carnier

From Vigan, d'Arenne, but with the loss of an arm.

From Beaucaire, Privert.

From Alais, La Fare.

Plantin is well, and over his wound. So is Reboul, but with the loss of an arm.

From Rouergue, St Rome.

I embrace my dearest one fondly, whom I love beyond words. I am not sending you anything this year, I have had no time to think about it. I embrace my daughter, and am wholly yours, my mother, with equal devotion and respect. A thousand kind messages to Massillan; I do not know where to find Escowlombre, (please) write to him for me. My regards to our curés, to M. and Madame Girard, M. and Madame de Galières, M. and Madame de Feuillac, the du Caylas, to Father d'Aubais, and tell all my countrymen who take an interest in me.

MONTCALM

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at her house at Montpellier.

At the Camp at Carillon, October 27, 1758.

The enemy are beginning to quit their camp at the head of Lake Saint Sacrament, and are filing off towards their (winter) quarters, according (to the reports of) certain deserters. I have four small parties out, at the present time, who bring me news of them. I am getting ready to march off my regiments (and the) colonial troops.

I shall form the rear guard between the 1st and the 8th and shall leave my two forts of Carillon and St. Frederic, which I have guarded throughout the campaign with very inadequate forces, (in charge of) garrisons well provisioned and with polings. This is how things will remain until the beginning of May.

I shall only be in Montreal from the 12th to the 15th; a very rigorous time in this climate; in Quebec (during) January and February. I shall go there over the ice, and shall return to Montreal. We defeated an advance-guard of 900 men at La Belle Rivière, 300 leagues from here, on September 13. This year the English had at Louisbourg, here, or at La Belle Rivière, between 50 and 60 thousand men, and we—I dare not write it.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Candiac.

CARILLON, October 27, 1758.

The enemy, dearest, are at last begining to quit their camp at the head of Lake St Sacrament and are filing off towards their (winter) quarters, according to (the reports of) certain deserters. I have four small parties out, at the present time, who bring me news of them. I am getting ready to march off my regiments, colonial troops, etc. I shall form the rearguard between the 1st and the 8th; and shall leave my two forts of Carillon and St Frederic which I have guarded throughout the campaign with very inadequate forces, (in charge of) garrisons well provisioned, and with good polings. This is how things will remain, thank God, until the beginning of May, for unless God should intervene, we shall have to fight bravely in the next campaign.

I shall only be in Montreal from the 12th to the 15th a very rigorous time in this climate; in Quebec (during) January and February. I shall go there over the ice, and shall return thence to Montreal. We defeated an advance-guard of 900 men at La Belle Rivière, which is 300 leagues from here, on September 13, but are anxious lest the 6000 should have retaliated. This year, the English had at Louisbourg, here, or at La Belle Rivière, from 50 to 60 thousand men in the field and we—I dare not write it.

Goodbye, dear heart, (and) love me; I think much of you, and love you dearly, and my mother. I embrace my daughter. When shall I see my Candiac again? My health must be good, but it is wearing out with work, for I have to be everything and of all trades here. I love you, more than ever.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm, at Montpellier.

(The two letters which follow are old, but they have just come by a ship which brought the news that M. de Bougainville and most of the ships which left for Canada this Spring, with food and munitions of war, got in safely, giving ground for hope that Canada may be able to hold out this year as well.)

Note at the head of the following letter.

MONTREAL, November 14, 1758.

Although our troops set out, dearest, earlier than in 1755 and 1756, we met with a gale on Lake Champlain, which scattered our fleet of boats like those of St. Cloud. This was followed by a cold which made us afraid of remaining on the ice, but, thank God, after much suffering and trouble we all got back to our quarters. I did my very best to relieve the hardships of the officers and soldiers, it only cost some four soldiers, and certain expenses for transport, but the object is not worth the trouble. The Chevalier de Lévis was in some danger; in my case I had, in the midst of the gale the boat which carried " Caesar and his fortune ". We have news from La Belle Rivière of the 23rd. We gained another advantage on Nov. 15. The English lost 150 men. (The place) is, I believe, safe for this year. For fresh events (we shall need) fresh counsels. The English have abandoned Gaspé; we have done our best in 1756, 1757 and 1758, may it be so in 1759, by God's help, unless you make peace in Europe. I shall fight as best I can, with what I may have. I trust that my son has come off well, that the Chevalier is attentive to his studies, that my daughters are very well, my mother, and all of you, my dearest, whom I love fondly, now and always.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm, at Montpellier.

MONTREAL, November 14, 1758.

In Montcalm's writing

Although our troops set out, Sir, earlier than in 1755 and 1756, we met with a gale on Lake Champlain which scattered our fleet of boats like those of St. Cloud. This was followed by a cold which made us abandon a great many boats on the ice, but, thank God, after much suffering and trouble, we all got back to our quarters; the suffering is forgotten, and we lost only four men. The Chevalier de Lévis was, indeed, in some danger. Personally, I was among the first to reach St. John, where I was obliged to remain in order to relieve the hardships of the officers and soldiers to the best of my ability; in fact, my boat did seem to have some advantage over the others. I was always progressing in spite of the wind, and was 48 hours ahead of the Chevalier de Lévis, with whom I started; but we are here at last in quiet till May. We have news from La Belle Rivière of the 23rd. We gained another advantage in October 15 (*sic. v. supr.*). The English lost 150 men. (The place) is, I believe, safe until next

year; for fresh events (we shall need) fresh counsels. The English have abandoned Gaspé. We have done our best in 1756, 1757 and 1758 may it be so in 1759, with God's help, unless you make peace in Europe. I shall remain here during November and December; January and February at Quebec; March and April here. That is my itinerary for the winter. When shall I travel in a coach instead of in a boat or a sleigh, and when shall I see you? I send you a thousand messages, to your wife, to Madame du Boulay, and to all your relations.

MONTCALM.

To Monsieur de la Bourdonnaye,
Councillor of State, at Paris.

MONTREAL, November 21, 1758.

In Montcalm's writing

If the *Craquelin* which sails on the 25th makes port safely, you will, I am sure, my mother, be glad that I should write to you up to the last moment, so as to tell you a hundred times over that, busy as I am with the fate of New France, the welfare of the troops, and my own glory, I am forever thinking of you, and of my dearest one, whom I embrace as I do all who are near to me. My health is good, though (I am) somewhat feverish. I am going to dose myself with a little medicine (which is) a bad habit, but unavoidable at the close of a campaign, during which I (cannot) follow M. le Roy's rules who requires that the mind should be free when one is eating; I can assure you that mine never is. This campaign must, I think, have given you (cause for) anxiety; but God grant, most of all, that the Comte de Montcalm may have fared as well. Do make peace, not but what I have hopes for 1759, whatever happens. The baker (who was) sent is dead; he was the brother of a priest of Notre Dame. His estate amounts to 200 livres. Joseph owes Faquet 400 livres, making 600 livres which he has handed to me, please forward them to Faquet and to the brother. If Fournier du Pouget goes to Languedoc, you will see him arrive with 4 or 5000 lvs., but (as he is) a bad lot, not far from being a rogue, he is sure to be hanged. In fact, the scoundrels all make their fortunes here, while honest men are beggared. What a country! I owe the treasurer ten thousand crowns. Bordeaux wine is 800 the case, and everything else in proportion. (I enclose a) report to be sent to Tempier, who will do with it as usual.
Quebec, November 21, 1758.

Our troops, under the command of M. le Marquis de Montcalm, returned to their quarters at the beginning of the month, the English having also left their camp on Lake St. Sacrament and levelled their entrenchments. They have abandoned their position at Gaspé, where they had made a landing and captured a few wretched fishermen. It is 120 leagues from the mouth of the Gulf; we might have paid them a visit this winter over the ice. Our last news from La Belle Rivière are of October 23. The enemy were still in the field; one of our detachments had defeated an advance-guard of theirs on the 15th. The English lost 150 killed or wounded, and several officers; our loss amounted to 7 men, five of whom were wounded. The lateness of the season gives us grounds for thinking that the campaign will come to a close in that direction as well. The English general in command, General Forbes, was still with a main body more than thirty leagues from Fort Duquesne.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier in Languedoc.

MONTREAL, November 29, 1758.

I had written to my mother, but my letter could not go by the schooner *La Sérieuse;* it goes by this one. I might omit writing to you on that account as I have nothing fresh to tell you, but I am glad to (be able to) give you my news up to the last moment, and as much of it as I can. I am fairly well, as I trust you are, and all the family. This is my resting time, I did not expect that we should send a ship to France so late as this. I take advantage of it in order to tell you, once more, of the feelings with which I am wholly yours. I embrace my mother, my children, my sisters, and the dear Massillan. No one could love you more truly than I do, dear heart.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm, at Montpellier.

MONTREAL, November 29, 1758.

I had the honour of writing to you, Sir, on the 17th by the schooner *La Sérieuse,* which left Quebec on the 21st. I take advantage of the sailing of a schooner, *La Manette,* which is to be despatched from Quebec, in order to give you further news of us. The close of the campaign was hard on account of the cold, from which the troops suffered severely. We have still cause for anxiety in regard to La Belle Rivière, in spite of the advantages gained on September 13 and October 15 and the good dispositions of the Indians; the lateness of the season, however, sets my mind at rest for the autumn and winter.

Private letters say that the Maréchal d'Estrées (has been admitted) into the Council, and even entrusted with the war department in the room of the Maréchal de Belleisle. I am not writing to him, but, if this is true, he is a friend of yours and of Madame de la Bourdonnaye. There was a time when he seemed to be one of mine, give him my regards, and Madame la Maréchalle also; ask him for favours, protection and advancement. As I am keeping up my correspondence with M. le Maréchal de Belleisle and M. de Crémille, my letters will come back to him. Say all that is most kind to your wife, I am utterly devoted to each of you, now and always. Fribourg, who is well, says that his parents do not write to him.

MONTCALM.

To Monsieur de la Bourdonnaye, Councillor of State, at his residence, Rue St. Dominique, Faubourg St. Germain, Paris.

MONTREAL April 12, 1759.

Our last letters, of the beginning of November must have warned you of the fate of La Belle Rivière. M. de Ligneris captain of colonial troops, abandoned and blew up Fort Duquesne on November 23. He fell back on a supposed fort, known as Fort Machaut; the English took up a position in the Ohio and entered into treaty with the Indians, who still seemed inclined to side with us. We do not, however, count on this. It will be a great thing if they (even) remain neutral; the Five Nations, on whom many prudent persons never dared to rely, seem ill-disposed (toward us).

The new English general Amherst has a strong army and ample supplies; 22 battalions of regular troops, and more than 3000 militia; the English moreover, expect to attack Canada at various points and to invade it. We saved this colony, last year, by a success which might almost seem miraculous. Can we look for another like it? We must, at least, try for it. What a pity that we have not a greater number of such brave soldiers.

In Montcalm's writing

Tedium does not kill, as I perceive. My health has been somewhat poor, this winter, sometimes my stomach, an inflammation on one eye, but these were nothing but discomforts. I am confident, however, of supporting the hardships of campaign, in which there will be toil of mind (as well as) toil of body. I wish I had a grain of faith which might suffice to multiply men and food. Still, I trust in God, who fought for me on the 8th of July. In any case, His will be done. My life here is anything but a pleasant one; I am being ruined, and am always in uncertainty as to whether the news from France will comfort me; I await them with as much fear as eagerness. (It is hard) to be eight months without getting any, and who knows if we shall get much, this year. In truth, if I gain any reward, and the poor advantage of figuring, once or twice a year in the gazettes, I pay dearly for it. I am not writing this time, either to my two sisters, to the abbesses, to Rigaud or to Tempier, but (I am) to St Priest and to the Arch (bishop) of Narbonne.

(You had better) write to Arles, to ascertain whether there is any risk in regard to the Chevalier de Montcalm's proofs (of nobility). Should it be necessary we ask for commissioners from a chapter, you give the proof required, and then you bring forward the previous acts by way of explanation. Look up the degree of nobility. You need only bring forward (proofs) as far as Guillaume de Montcalm's marriage-contract, in 1470; that is far enough back, in fact, it is in excess (of what can be asked for.) You know that Malta is full of formalities, and that everything must be done at its (proper) time. I embrace my daughter. How comes it that Molé is not thinking of marrying his niece, with protection (patronage) in his parliament, to the son of some rich financier, who would be glad to come to terms over it. The Chevalier de Lévis is well; Bourlamaque has recovered from his severe wound. My regards to all. The people and the Indians have confidence in me. I spent two months at Quebec, this winter. The absurd and mischievous report got about that I was dead of poison. I had to shew them *Heraclius*, in order to reassure them. Try and borrow a new book called "The Friend of Men". Read the part (on) "Colonies", the author knows (all about) them. My regards to all; my respects to my mother, and love to my children. I love you most fondly, dear heart; when shall I return?

There is a lieutenant (Thérond) in the Berry regiment (who comes) from Calsisson; I have lent him a hundred crowns (the lieutenants could not live (on their pay). He told me his parents would make it good to him.

Beef at 30 to 40 the pound	Bacon 3 the pound
Mutton at 50 to 60 the piece	Partridges 8 a pair
Veal from 80 to a hundred	Fowls 15 a pair
Eggs 3♯ the dozen	Turkeys 35 a pair
Butter 4 the pound	Ducks 12 a pair
Lard 3 the pound	Salt 45 the minot
Wax Candles, 10♯ the pound	Velvet 100
(Tallow) candles a crown the pound	A Skein of thread 20
Gruyère cheese 6 the pound	" " silk 40
Prunes 4♯	Shoes 24 to 24 livres
A tankard of wine 10♯	Bread 10 the pound
Lodève cloth, 60♯	

You will not wonder, (therefore), that, in spite of the reduction of my establishment, I owe the treasurer ten thousand crowns. I only get 25,000♯.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm, at Montpellier.

MONTREAL, May 16, 1759.

Bougainville has handed me your letter, dearest; our daughter is well married. I am answering the son-in-law and am writing to the Abbé de Coriolis. St. Veranete would do very well with Randon, although he does not come (of the family of) Châteauneuf de Randon, still, he is a good match, as he has an income of a hundred thousand livres. Should this ex-financier, however, not prove complaisant, and should M. de St. Véran, who seems to me to still wish for one of his (my) nieces, prove to be less ugly, in her eyes, than Madame d'Espinousse found him, give her to him. I am not writing either to my mother, or to Madame de Lunas, or to the abbesses, or to St Véran, or to any one in the province, except Madame de Massillan; please write to all the others for me, I am overwhelmed with writing and with business. Bourlamaque is already in the field, and it will not be long before I am. I think I would (be willing to) give up all claim to honour for the sake of getting back to you, but the King must be obeyed. It will be the happiest moment of my life when I see you again; goodbye, dear heart, I really think I love you more than I ever did. I embrace my mother, and assure her of my respect.

Bougainville has told me of the death of one of my daughters. I am grieved at it, although I have four. He could not say which one it was, but I think it must be poor Mirète, who was like me, and of whom I was very fond.

In Montcalm's writing

I embrace you, dear heart.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm,
at Candiac by Nismes, in Languedoc.

MONTREAL, May 19, 1759.

This letter, my mother, is to thank you for sending the supplies. It remains to be seen whether they will reach me. I will send direct to you, and not to M. Joly, in payment of what I owe; he is a very good man, but too much taken up with others. Do not forget the Chevalier's proofs (of nobility), nor to have repaid you, for last year, the 600♯ which Joseph cost me, namely: 400♯ at his request, and 200♯ to the brother of my late baker, the vicaire of Notre Dame. I have no time to write you a long letter; please renew my apologies to Messieurs Rigaud et Tempier, from whom I have heard. I embrace my dearest one, and you also, my mother.

MONTCALM.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran, at Montpellier.

Letters written par M. de Bougainville

MONTREAL, August 19, 1757.

Sir,

The Marquis de Montcalm, in sending me inform M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil of the capture of Fort William Henry, instructed me to forward the particulars to you. As a frigate is to be despatched immediately to convey to the Court the news of these fortunate occurrences, M. de Montcalm, who is busy with the results of his victory, would not have time to write to you. His health

has been affected by the incredible hardships which he, more than anyone else, endured throughout this expedition. Glory is, however, a good cure. At the present time, he is pulling down the English fort, he is to bring the army back to Carillon, where we shall, in all probability, finish the campaign on the defensive. Louisbourg is safe: M. Dubois de la Motte, with 18 ships of the line and 5 frigates, is blockading, at Chibouctou, Lord Loudon and the English squadron which was to have taken Isle Royale and Quebec. The two battalions of the Berry (regiment) have arrived here. The capture of Chouegen ensures (our hold of) the upper country, and this last victory of M. the Marquis de Montcalm provides for the safety of the Lake St. Sacrament frontier. Our situation here, in fact, would be excellent, were it not for the continued lack of provisions.

During the siege of Fort William Henry, M. de Montcalm received the red ribbon. You were doubtless, aware, Sir, sooner than we, that the King had granted it to him. I can assure you, as an eye witness, that everyone in this country, Canadians and Indians, is delighted with this gracious action on the part of H. M. M. de Montcalm has gained all hearts here, and the Indians nations have his name continually on their lips. He is as familiar with the art of ruling them, as if he had been brought up in their cabins. I would ask, Sir, to be so good as to convey the particulars of this expedition to M. de Montcalm's family. I have thanked my general for giving me this opportunity of assuring you of the respect with which I have the honour to be,

Unsigned

To M. St. Laurens, at Versailles.

(The following letter is on the same sheet as the above)

VERSAILLES, October 15, 1757.

(I send you) herewith, Madame, a copy of the letter which I have received from M. de Bougainville, whom Monsieur your son sent to M. de Vaudreuil, conveying an account of the important matter which he has accomplished. Pray accept my compliments in regard to it. I am informed that M. the first president has received the account of it, which is very long, and that he is to make it known to his family.

Monsieur your son informed me, on July 4, that his troops would be collected, on the 20th, to meet the enemy. I have been unable to send you this account, the post is about to leave, and I am obliged to return to Versailles immediately.

I have the honour to be, with respect, Madame,
Your most humble and obedient servant,

ST. LAURENS.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran.

Camp at Lake St. Sacrament, July 25, 1758.

Madame,

I have the honour to send you an account of the victory gained by M. le Marquis de Montcalm on the 8th instant, over an army of from 20 to 25 thousand English. He had with him only the eight French battalions, amounting to some 3200 men and 400 Canadians or marines, but no Indians. It may be said that, for the present, he has saved the colony. You will see, Madame, by the details of the action, that everything was of a most brilliant nature, all, that is, that preceeded, accompanied, and followed it.

M. le Marquis de Montcalm begs that you will cause the account, which I have the honour of sending you,[1] published in the gazette of Avignon. It differs from that which he sent to the Court, the ministers cannot, therefore, object to its publication. M. de Montcalm is well. He would need an iron constitution to withstand the fatigues of all kinds which he has had and which he must still undergo. You have not, and cannot have any conception in Europe of the manifold and infinitely detailed duties, often subject to serious hardships, almost always to set-backs and difficulties of all kinds, which overwhelm a general in this country. Patience is an indispenable qualification, and there could be no better school in which to learn it. All the Languedoc officers, M. M. Germain, Destor, Cornier, etc. are well. M. de Restoran, the nephew of M. de Fonbonne, was wounded, but only slightly. Reboul a sergeant in the Queen's (regiment) lost an arm. Plantin was wounded, but great care was taken of him, and his wound will have no serious consequences. M. Granet, of St. Esprit, has arrived here. He was taken prisoner on the 6th instant. We have news of him since then. M. le Marquis de Montcalm has sent him money and will appoint him to a position in the regiment of La Sarre at the close of the campaign. The baker (sent by) Madame la Marquise de St. Véran has also arrived. He is a useless acquisition to a general officer in this country. M. de Montcalm has given him a position in the bakeries of the commissary general, but he will find it hard to make much of a fortune there, if he is only a baker. We greatly regret (the loss of) a captain in the Regiment of Guyenne, a relation of the Bishop of Lodève, whom Madame de Lunas may, possibly, have known. It is M. de St-Vincent who has died of his wounds.

M. le Marquis de Montcalm bids me to request you to note, Madame, that this report must not appear to have been sent by him to the gazette at Avignon. M. Tempier, sub-delegate of Nisme, can have it sent there, indirectly. I am in receipt of the letter you did me the honour to write me. M. de Montcalm had already heard of the death of Madame his sister. If you will send the report to Madame de Brassac, she will cause it to be printed at Toulouse as well.

I have the honour to be, Madame, with all respect
your most humble and obedient servant,

DE BOUGAINVILLE.

Joseph has just come to inform M. le Marquis de Montcalm that the baker, of whose illness we were not aware, died recently of a rush of blood.

Allow me, Madame, to present, herewith, my respects to Madame la Marquise de St. Véran. M. d'Aresne, the nephew of Madame de Sorbs, has lost an arm, but is doing well.

October 17.

In Montcalms' writing

I embrace you with all my heart, dearest and best loved one.

M.

I have opened my letter again, Madame, in order to send you a plan of the battle, which I have since made.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm.

[1] The account is printed below at p. 103.

PARIS, December 22, 1758.

Madame,

I have the honour of sending you some letters[1] from your son. (I have been) sent here by him, in conjunction with Monsieur le Marquis de Vaudreuil, —this, Madame, I beg, you will keep to yourself only,—in order to make a report on the situation of the colony. I left Quebec on November 12, and reached Versailles on December 20. M. le Marquis de Montcalm, whom I left on October 20, was very well. I shall have the honour, Madame, of imparting to you full particulars of all that concerns him. At the present moment, I do not know where I am and have, therefore, only time to express to you the great pleasure it gives me to see how every one, and I have already seen many, both at Court and in the city, does justice to Monsieur your son. He is liked and respected here, and people even wonder at him. How I wish he were at hand to enjoy himself, his fame and his success. I believe he will be made Lieutenant General, and for this reason. When I told M. de Crémille that M. le Marquis de Montcalm would appreciate nothing less than the rank of Lieutenant General, he answered: Your general will be satisfied. This, Madame, is a reason for hoping, but it is not a certainty, since, at Court, a thing is not certain until it has been done. I am going to take up my quarters at Versailles today. I shall carry out all M. le Marquis de Montcalm's instructions, and shall have the honour to impart everything to you as soon as I know it. Fournier, whom Monsieur your son gave me, is returning to Languedoc. You will learn from him all particulars concerning (your son's) private life. It has been a pleasure to me that you should have some one to question, even in regard to such matters. I expect to see all M. le Marquis de Montcalm's relations, before leaving for Versailles, in accordance with the instructions he gave me. Be good enough, Madame, to allow me to assure Madame la Marquise de Montcalm of my respect, and pray believe the respectful and unalterable devotion with which I am, Madame,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

DE BOUGAINVILLE.

Bougainville, captain of dragoons, care of Madame Hérault (wife of the) Councillor of State, Rue de Varenne, Faubourg St. Germain.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran.

February 5.

All these letters have just been returned to me, as having been wrongly addressed. This is why you receive them, Madame, so long after their date.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran.

VERSAILLES, December 29, 1758.

Madame,

I hasten to inform you that Monsieur your son, has been made Lieutenant General (dating) from the month of October last. As the minister has not seen fit to make the information public, I beg that you will only tell Madame la Marquise de Montcalm. It is a great pleasure to me to give you such good news. It is now a question of arranging the matter of his pay in his new rank, and of

[1] Probably Montcalm's letters of September 25 and October 14, 16 and 27.

the debts contracted in Canada on behalf of (the King's) service. Rest assured Madame, that I shall pursue this matter with all the zeal of which I am capable, since I have no other desire than to shew my gratitude for the kindness of Monsieur your son, and the respectful devotion with which I am, Madame,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

DE BOUGAINVILLE.

I take the liberty of assuring Madame la Marquise de Montcalm of my respect. Kindly let me know whether M. le Comte de Montcalm is with you. Monsieur your son also instructed me to ascertain, from you, the state of that affair with Madam the Countess of Bavaria, concerning which M. le Comte de Montcalm wrote to him at great length, (but) without convincing him to any extent.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran.

PARIS, January 16, 1759.

Madame,

At the very time when I requested you to keep the secret of Monsieur your son's promotion, you must have seen his name in the list of lieutenants general in almost all the almanacs. This has been the little magic of the court in regard to this matter, the motives of which I have not (been able to) guess; they made it precisely the secret of the comedy. I have not left Versailles since the moment of my arrival and have pursued, with all the zeal and patience of which I am capable, both the public and the personal matters entrusted to me by my generals. Almost all the favours asked for by Monsieur your son, on behalf of the troops, have been granted. Their pay is increased, and M. de Montcalm will receive, from the Court, all that may serve to make his position a pleasant one, and I venture to believe that he will be granted all (possible) facilities for doing well, without being hampered in his operations. Unfortunately this all comes very late, and, in my opinion, it is a case of the doctor after death. It is at least, however, a satisfactory matter for M. de Montcalm and for his relations, that his glory is safe, and that the Court being (now) well aware of the situation in Canada, and of the impossibility of bringing about a less terrible state of inferiority, will be grateful to its general for every hour by which he may stave off the loss of the colony. I have had several opportunities of describing the situation to Madame de Pompadour, your son's struggles and his good management, and am of opinion that, as far as one may gather from appearances in this country, she is well inclined towards him and, at last, gives him all the credit that he deserves.

As Monsieur your grandson is with you, Madame, I would ask you to be so good as to get him to sign the memorandum herewith, in order to put M. de la Rochebeaucourt, aide-de-camp to M. le Marquis de Montcalm, in the way of receiving his half-pay on the strength of the Montcalm Regiment. The match of which we have thought for the young Colonel is (with) Mademoiselle de Chammeville, only daughter of the former general of posts, who has been very well brought up and who will have an income of 150,000 livres. I have spoken about it, tentatively, but the father is quite decided not to (let) her marry until she is eighteen, and she is only 16. Still, I have been spoken about it in such a way as to allow me to gather that if, two years hence, the Comte de Montcalm

should be free and his behaviour should accord with his father's fame, he would be as well received as anyone. M. de Chammeville is a very prudent man, who will look for birth and solid qualities in his son-in-law. I cannot say anything to you, at present, Madame, about the other match which Monsieur your son.. (*the rest of this letter is missing; it has been torn*).

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran.

VERSAILLES, January 28, 1759.

Madame,

I am in receipt of the letter, dated January 11, which you have done me the honour to write me, and have the honour to thank you for the interest you are so good as to take in that which concerns me. It is true that no one could be more devoted to Monsieur your son, than I am, by the strongest possible motives. I have every reason to hope that I shall shortly receive the colonel's commission which Monsieur your son has asked for me. I shall also have the pleasure of taking away with me all the favours he has asked for on behalf of the troops. Monsieur your son will be greatly pleased. I may also tell you, Madame, in strictest confidence that, if they are sending us scarcely any reinforcements they are sending much in (the way of) supplies of all kinds, warlike, and provisions (and) that Monsieur your son will have reason to be satisfied with the ministry, whose letters will give him great weight out there, and even authority, and that he will have all the compensations in his banishment to which his many deserts entitle him. I have taken the liberty of having a Lieutenant General's uniform made for him, it is fitting that he should have one. His pay will be increased in accordance with his new rank, of which, indeed, he stands in great need; I am attending to this matter to-day. I am taking him a red ribbon from the Court, instructions to nominate and appoint immediately to all positions which shall become vacant, and a sum of money, (to be placed) at his disposal for distribution to such as he may consider worthy.

I have the honour to inform you, Madame, that I leave here on February 15, in order that you may begin to send me your letters. I will notify you of my place of embarkation as soon as it is settled, and of my address at the said port, which will give you more time.

Madame la Marquise du Boulay has been good enough to inform me of the proposed match for the settlement of Mademoiselle de Montcalm. I shall treat the matter with all the secrecy required by a match which is not completed. I trust it may be so in time for me to take the news of it to a father to whom nothing could give greater pleasure. In respect of the match which I had the honour to submit to you for M. le Comte de Montcalm, Mademoiselle de Chammeville will not be getting married for fifteen or eighteen months, and M. Chauvelin, to whom I have spoken about it, and for whom M. de Chammeville has the greatest confidence and respect, has promised to keep an eye on her. What the father will look for most carefully in a son-in-law, is good behaviour. I am doing my best, here, to overcome the vexatious objection raised by M. le Maréchal de Belleisle in regard to the want of several months (in age) for the cornetcy of M. le Chevalier de Montcalm.

I venture to ask you to be so good as to present my respects to Madame your daughter, and to rest assured of the unalterable and respectful devotion with which I am, Madame,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

DE BOUGAINVILLE.

My address is:—
Care of Madame Hérault, rue de Varenne,
Faubourg St. Germain.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran.

VERSAILLES, February 1, 1759.

Madame,

I have just received the letter, dated January 23, which you have done me the honour to write me. I beg you to believe that all my endeavours, here, to deserve your friendship, and a continuance of Monsieur your son's, can never repay the debt I owe him, and which I am, and always shall be, glad to owe.

I am delighted at the match of which you have been good enough to inform me; I take the keenest interest in it, all that the more that in my opinion it is one which is sure to please Monsieur de Montcalm greatly.

I am extremely anxious that it should be completed before I leave, in order that I may be the bearer of such good news. In respect of that which affects Monsieur your grandson, I have had the honour to inform you of what passed between Monsieur Chauvelin and me. Your interests could not, I believe, be in better hands. M. de Chevert, whom I have seen several times, greatly wishes that M. le Comte de Montcalm should serve with him. It would be a pleasure to him to be in a position to shew the son proofs of the friendship he has for the father. I also had the honour to inform you that the ministry was doing all that was necessary to confer on our general, out there, all the authority and importance to which he is in so many ways entitled, and that he will at last have all the compensations which the time and country can afford him. His salary has recently been raised to 36000# and as I laid stress on what he owed, notwithstanding that he has incurred only strictly necessary expenses, I have been given permission to assure him that should he continue to live with the same regard to the King's interests, no difficulty will be made, on his return to this country, in respect to what he may owe the treasurer. But as words, in this country especially, are little to be relied on, I have asked, and I think I have obtained, that the minister should write him to the same effect. The Maréchal de Belleisle's interview with the King, next Saturday, will settle matters in regard to our recent favours. I have every reason to hope that he will obtain me my colonel's commission. Being exceedingly grateful, Madame, for the interest you are good enough to take in the matter, I shall have the honour to inform you of it, when it has been arranged.

I am not able to write anything to Fournier on leaving, and since you allow me (to enter into such) particulars, (I may say that he is) really a good and honest lad, but slow, lazy, and too deliberate. I should be very glad not to have to look after him, but if he really wishes to go to Canada, I will procure the means and the opportunity. As I do not know whether Monsieur

your grandson has or has not set out to join the army, I take the liberty of sending this letter to your care, in answer to the one he did me the honour to write me. Pray allow me, at the same time, to offer my respects to Madame la Marquise de Montcalm.

I have the honour to be, Madame, with equal devotion and respect,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

DE BOUGAINVILLE.

My address is:—
Care of Madame Hérault
Rue de Varenne
Faubourg St. Germain.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran.

VERSAILLES, February 16, 1759.

Madame,

I am in receipt of the letter of the 8th instant which you have done me the honour to write me, together with the one for my general. Pray accept my congratulations on the marriage of Mademoiselle de Montcalm, you (do but) give me credit for the interest that I take in it. I wish I could tell Monsieur her father, that the matter has been completed, although I now consider that it is so. I am extremely gratified at the interest you are good enough to take in what concerns me. The King has given me a colonel's commission and the cross of St. Louis. I am most grateful to my general, I owe everything to the good word he has been pleased to say in regard to my good will and the confidence with which he honours me. (I trust) you will put the seal on my obligations to him, Madame, by granting me your friendship. I shall endeavour to become worthy of it by the unalterable and respectful devotion with which I am, Madame,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

DE BOUGAINVILLE.

Kindly address your letters to me from now on, Madame, in care of MM. Pierre d'Esclaux and elder son, merchants, at Bordeaux. It has occurred to me that, if M. le Chevalier de Montcalm cannot obtain his cornetcy, it might be well to have him make the present campaign as aide-de-camp to M. de Chevert or to M. le Comte de Noailles. I do not know whether you will approve of my suggestion.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran.

BORDEAUX, March 5, 1759.

Madame,

Your letter of February 27 reached me here. I am delighted to hear, before leaving, of the conclusion of a matter in which I took so great an interest. I beg that you will allow me to congratulate Madame d'Espinouse. I wish I were already in a position to convey to Monsieur her father, a piece of news which will give him the greatest possible pleasure.

I have arranged for the shipment of the cases of which you have notified me, as soon as ever they arrive. I have not been able to see M. Gradis today to ascertain whether they are already here.

I very much doubt whether Monsieur de Montcalm can have got your letter telling him of the death of Mademoiselle de Tournemire, as I never heard him speak of it. I will fulfil the commission entrusted to me by you in this matter.

Nearly all our ships have dropped down below Bordeaux. The 400 recruits, whom I am taking out, will reach Blayes tomorrow; I expect, therefore, Madame, that we shall be able to sail at the end of this week, if the wind holds. I shall have the honour of letting you know the moment of my departure.

Pray allow me to present my respects, herewith, to Madame la Marquise de Montcalm, and to renew the assurance of that with which I am, Madame,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

DE BOUGAINVILLE.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran.

PARIS, December 3, 1760.

Madame,

I beg that you will accept my homage at the beginning of this year. The many kindnesses wherewith your son has loaded me, give me a claim on you. My gratitude for them will end only with my life, and my one consolation for the grief which his loss has caused me, is that I should be able to pay all the tributes to his memory which he deserves. May I ask you, Madame, to be so good as to send me his baptismal names, title, arms, the place and date of his birth. These particulars are needed for the epitaph which I hope to send to Quebec, and which the English, who respect and deplore him, are willing should be placed on his tomb. I trust you will forgive me, Madame, for recalling such sad remembrances, but since the public praises bring back to you unceasingly a sorrow in which they share, I thought that you would not mind my expressing all mine and the feelings of an undying gratitude.

I venture to beg you to be good enough to allow me to assure Madame la Marquise de Montcalm of my regard.

I am, Madame, with all respect,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

DE BOUGAINVILLE.

My address, if it pleases you, Madame, (is) under one cover to Madame Hérault, Faubourg St. Honoré.

To Madame la Marquise de St. Véran.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ATTACK AND TAKING OF FORT WILLIAM HENRY

The winter march in which the detachment commanded by the Sieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil burned the ships, rafts and storehouses of the English at Fort William Henry, made it impossible for the latter to take advantage of their state of almost complete preparation, and of a navigation which the climate allows of their beginning a month earlier than it does us, in order to come and attack our forts of Carillon and St. Frederic. We might, on the other hand, have been able to act on the offensive in this quarter at the beginning of Spring, but the colony was suffering severely from a lack of provisions. The inhabitants of Quebec had been reduced to a very scanty ration of bread; those living in the country had nothing but milk. How, then, would it have been possible to collect provisions for a considerable force? As the disposition of the English, however, seemed to threaten Quebec, the Marquis de Vaudreuil determined to make a great effort to secure the Lake St. Sacrament frontier by taking Fort William Henry, (which had been) built by the English at the head of the lake in question, in order that he might, thereafter, concentrate all his attention and all his forces on the defence of the Capital. The Canadians fell in with the views of their Governor General with a zeal worthy of that which they have always shewn; those who had stores of grain, even for the support of their families, agreed to lend them to the King, and by this means it became possible to obtain sufficient food for the support of an army of 8000 men for 40 days. It was, therefore, collected and put in the field at a time of the year when the interval between seed-time and harvest allows the farmers to leave their work. It was necessary, also, to take advantage of the presence of a large number of Indians who had been drawn to Montreal by the taking of Chouegen, and who would be obliged to set out again before the end of August, since they would have to travel 4 or 500 leagues of rivers and lakes which freeze. The whole army was collected at Carillon on July 20, whereupon the Marquis de Montcalm, in accordance with instructions received from the Marquis de Vaudreuil, distributed the militia into brigades commanded by officers of the colonial forces, and into companies detached from the (main) body; he formed battalions similar to us, and intended to fall back upon them. He also gave the Sieur de Villiers a force of 300 Canadian volunteers (No. A), as he had done in the campaign of the previous year. This, then, was the strength and the composition of the army.

(No. A). A few days after the arrival of the Marquis de Montcalm at Carillon, the Sieur Marin, lieutenant of colonial forces, came in from an expedition as successful as (it had been) daring, in which with 200 Canadians and Indians he had taken scalps in the open country and under the entrenchments of Fort Edward; and the Sieur Corbières, lieutenant of the same forces, with a strong force of Indians and some Canadians, completely routed a detachment of 350 men under the command of Colonel Parker, on Lake St. Sacrament, who had come on 30 rafts, 2 only of which got back to Fort William Henry.

Regular Troops

The Queen's Brigade, composed of the Queen's and Languedoc regiments, and of the colonial forces. The Sarre Brigade, of the La Sarre and Guyenne regiments; the Royal-Roussillon Brigade of the Royal-Roussillon and Béarn regiments.

Militia

The following Brigades: La Corne, Vassan, Repentigny, Courtemanche, St. Ours, and Gaspé; the 300 volunteers of Villiers, with M. de Rigaud as commander in chief.

Indians

Domesticated, 820.
From up-country, 986.

Artillery and Engineers

The Sieur Mercier, in command, 6 officers and about 120 gunners, bombardiers and workmen.

The Sieurs Desandrouins and de Lotbinière, engineers. This army, after deducting the garrisons of Carillon, the invalids and the non-complements of the regiments, amounted to 5,500 combatants, not counting Indians.

The transport of a considerable (quantity of) artillery and of all kinds of munitions of war and provisions, of 250 boats and 200 canoes, which had to be carried on men's shoulders from Carillon to Lake St. Sacrament, could only be effected on the night between July 31 and August 1.

The Marquis de Montcalm had held a great council, at which, by a necklace of 6000 beads, given by the King, he had bound together all Indian nations among themselves, and to himself, so that they should not separate or leave him before the end of the expedition, his plan and arrangements for which he made known to them. On the morning of the 3rd, the Chevalier de Lévis, at the head of a force of 2500 men, consisting of six companies of grenadiers, eight pickets, the Villiers volunteers, some one thousand Canadians and 500 Indians, set out through the woods in order to explore them, and so ensure the passage of the army; to reconnoitre and cover its landings. They had, as a guide, Kancetagou, an Iroquois, the most famous hunter of that nation. On the evening of the 31st, the Indians who were to go by water had advanced three leagues on Lake St. Sacrament, where they awaited us.

The army embarked at two o'clock in the afternoon of August 1, and reached the bay of Ganaouské at three o'clock in the morning of the 2nd, at a distance of 4 leagues from Fort William Henry, where the Chevalier de Lévis had taken up a position at five o'clock the previous evening, after a march which the great heat, the succession of mountains and overturned trees, (added to) the necessity of carrying everything on their backs, had rendered trying to the Indians themselves. He started again at ten in the morning and betook himself to an inlet about a league away from the English fort, and at once made a reconnaissance of the fort, the position of the enemy, and a proper landing for the artillery. The army reached this inlet at about eleven in the evening, where they bivouacked. We learned, from some prisoners taken during the night that the enemy probably numbered 3000, 500 (of whom were) in the fort, and the remainder in an entrenched camp situated on an elevation some two hundred fathoms from the fort, whence they could strengthen the garrison. They told us, also, that at the signal of a gunshot, all the troops were to fall to arms. Monsieur le Marquis de Montcalm, therefore, at once ordered the army to march in such order as to (be prepared to) receive the enemy, should they come to meet us, or, in case they should not come, to invest the place, and even attack the entrenched camp, should it be deemed possible to assault it. At dawn on the 3rd, the army got under way, the advance-guard consisting of the corps commanded by the Chevalier de Lévis, a body of Canadians, and all the Indians. The regiments and the remainder of the militia followed in column, with the Sieur de Rigaud on the right, the Sieur de Bourlamaque

on the left, and the Marquis de Montcalm in the centre. The Sieur de Privat, lieutenant colonel, had been placed, with 500 men and the brigade of St. Ours, to guard the boats and the artillery. By midday the investment had been completed, and the Marquis de Montcalm, who had joined the advance-guard, realizing that he could not attack the enemy's entrenchment without risking the whole strength of the Colony, sent an order to the Sieur de Bourlamaque to besiege the camp of the army, with his left on the lake, his right on some almost inaccessible ravines, and to bring into action the La Sarre and Royal-Roussillon Brigades. He, himself, with the Queen's Brigade and the Gaspé militia, spent the night in bivouac, in readiness to support the force of the Chevalier de Lévis. He had notified the commandant of the fort, on arriving, that once the batteries should be in position, we might not be able to check the cruelty of the Indians, but this summons dictated (as it was) by humanity had remained without result.

On the morning of the 4th, the position taken up by the advance-guard, though the best possible for (the purpose of) cutting off communication between the besieged and Fort Edward, (having been found to be) too far from the siege, the boats and the provisions, it drew in; the Marquis de Montcalm brought back the Queen's and Gaspé brigades to take their place in the camp marked out the previous evening, and the army intended for the siege, which was under the command of the Sieur de la Bourlamaque, found itself in position, and composed of the seven regiments and the brigades of St. Ours and Gaspé. The Chevalier de Lévis, with the other four brigades of militia, the Villiers volunteers, and all the Indians, had orders to cover our right, to note the movements in the direction of the main road to Fort Edward and to lead them to believe by continual movements that we still held that communication, as it would have required an army three times as numerous as ours to invest the place completely.

On the afternon of the 4th, the trench-depot was marked out, and a road made from the depot to the camp, with the fascines, gabions and faggots required for the first night's work, and a cove was made ready, on which this depot rested, where the artillery could be landed at night, as it was needed.

On the night between the 4th and 5th, the trench was opened at 350 fathoms from the fort, the attack being directed against the northwest front. This trench was a kind of first parallel; two batteries were also begun, and their communication with the parallel.

During the 5th, the day-workers completed the night's work; it was found necessary to move the left of the army camp a little to the rear, as being too much exposed to the fire of the fort, the guns and bombs of which had killed some of our men in the tents. The Indians intercepted a letter from General Webb, written at Fort Edward, and dated the 4th, at midnight. He informed the commandant of the fort that as soon as the provincial militia, whom he had ordered to join him, should arrive, he would march to attack the French army; but that, should the militia arrive too late, the commandant must obtain the best terms possible. This letter decided the Marquis de Montcalm to push on the construction of the batteries, and the number of workers was increased. He also summoned a council of all the (Indian) nations, to whom he communicated the contents of the intercepted letter and the measures he intended to take as a result. He then proceeded to complain that their young men were less busied with the indispensable task of scouting, than with firing uselessly all day long round the fort, and that hardly any of them had turned up at the camp of the Chevalier de Lévis, although it was necessary, for many reasons, that they should do so, as they had all promised him they would. The Indians thanked M. le Marquis de Montcalm for the news he gave them; (and) assured him

that they would proceed to the camp of the Chevalier de Lévis, in order to carry out his wishes in the matter of scouting. The Marquis de Montcalm bound them by twelve necklaces and ten pieces of porcelain. On the night of the 5th-6th the workmen completed the left battery, the communication of the right (battery) with the parallel, and made great progress with the battery itself. The left battery was in readiness to fire by dawn to the great delight of the Indians, whose shouts of joy bade every round which hit the mark. It was of eight guns and a mortar, and fired on the wall to be attacked and on the ship-anchorage. On the night of the 6th-7th, we led a branch trench of 150 fathoms forward towards the turning of the western bastion, and completed the right battery. This battery, of eight guns, a mortar, and two howitzers, fired slantwise on the wall of attack and by ricochet on the entrenched camp. It was unmasked at 7 in the morning, and, after a double salvo from the two batteries, the Marquis de Montcalm sent me to take to the commandant the letter of his general (which had been) intercepted by the Indians. This was (done) at a time when our works were already well advanced, in order to give him an excuse for speaking of capitulation; the Indians indeed, had asked that such action should be taken. On the night of the 7th-8th, our workers advanced nearer to the fort by continuing the branch trench begun the day before, which was let to within 100 fathoms of the ditch. At the end of this branch trench they opened a turn, in order to set up a third battery and place musketry. About midnight, two deserters, who had left the entrenched camp, fell into an ambush of Indians, who were lying crouched on the ground in front of our workers. At the noise of the volley that was fired on them, the mountains round the fort resounded with the shouts of all the Indians, who were calling to, and answering each other, which, in all probability, kept the besieged from attempting the sortie which they were in such an excellent position to make. Our labour of the night brought us to a marsh about 50 fathoms across, which a hill, at its edge, sheltered from the batteries of the fort, except for a distance of ten fathoms, during which we were exposed to their fire. Although it was broad day, the Marquis de Montcalm ordered the crossing to be made as if it were merely a moat full of water. The sappers advanced with so much dash that, in spite of the enemy's gun and musketry fire, it was completed during the morning, which enabled us to construct a roadway through the marsh, before night, fit to bear artillery.

At four in the evening, our Indian scouts reported that a strong force was marching to the relief of the fort by the main road from Fort Edward. The Chevalier de Lévis at once took up his position there with most of the Canadians and all the Indians. The Marquis de Montcalm was not long in following him, at the head of the Queen's Brigade and the Gaspé militia, leaving the Brigades of La Sarre, Royal-Roussillon, and St. Ours, under the Sieur de Bourlamaque, to guard the trenches, the boats, and the Camp. At 6, the army advanced in (order of) battle, ready to receive the enemy, the regiments in column on the main road, the Indians and Canadians on the flanks in the woods. As soon as it became known that the news of the enemy's march was untrue, the troops returned to camp, and the work of the siege was in no way interrupted. Moreover, the swiftness of our movement greatly increased the confidence which the Indians have in the French troops since it shewed that these troops, whom they call their bulwark, are as active as they are brave. On the night of the 8th-9th, we came out from the marsh by means of a branch trench, which served as a communication with the second parallel, which had been opened on the crest of the hill, and was pushed far forward during the night. It was from this parallel that we should have to start in order to set up breaching batteries, surround the fort, and cut off its communication with the entrenched camp, by prolonging it, the said communication having been open up till that time. The besieged, however, did not give us time (to

do so): at eight in the morning they hoisted a white flag. The Marquis de Montcalm told Colonel Young (who was) sent by the commandant to treat concerning the capitulation, that he could not sign one until he should have communicated its terms to the Indian nations, and they should have agreed to them. He accordingly summoned a general council at once, wherein he made known to the chiefs the conditions on which the English were willing to surrender, and those which he had made up his mind to grant them; he asked whether they approved of them, and whether their young men might not infringe on them. The chiefs assured him that they approved of the terms, and that they would keep their young men from committing any disorders.

In accordance with this pledge so solemnly given, the Marquis de Montcalm sent me to draw up the capitulation with Colonel Monroe, the commandant of the fort and entrenchment. The principal articles were that the troops, both of the garrison and of the camp, should leave with their belongings and with the honours of war; that they should withdraw the next morning to Fort Edward, and that, to ensure them against the Indians, they should be escorted by a detachment of our men, and by the principal officers and interpreters attached to the Indians; that their troops must not serve for eighteen months either against His Majesty or against his allies; that, within the space of three months, all French Canadian or Indian prisoners made on land in North America, since the beginning of the war, should be brought back to the French forts, etc., etc.

This capitulation was signed at noon, and the garrison at once left the fort, of which the Sieur de Bourlamaque took possession, with the troops of the trench. We also sent a guard of our troops to the entrenched camp, (as) requested by Colonel Monroe, and the Marquis de Montcalm instructed the officers and interpreters attached to the Indians to remain there until the departure of the English. In spite, however, of all these precautions, (which were) the only ones possible, the Indians tried to pillage, and there was reason to fear lest some excesses should occur in consequence. The Marquis de Montcalm hastened thither, himself, and did all in his power to restrain and stop these savages; in the end, he appeared to succeed and even obtained that, in addition to the escort agreed on by the capitulation, two chiefs, for each nation, should accompany the English troops to within a short distance of Fort Edward. It was only after he had come to this last arrangement that he sent me to take the capitulation to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

Such was the success of an expedition in which 5,500 combatants, not counting the Indians, captured a fort and an entrenched camp defended by 3000 men, with nearly 50 guns or mortars, amply supplied with provisions of all kinds, and within reach of assistance from all the forces of the English colonies.

While the siege lasted, the whole army was practically on duty day and night, either in the trenches, in camp, or in the woods, (making) the fascines, gabions and faggots needed; 600 fathoms of trench, wide enough to hold two guns at its opening, were made with spade, axe and saw, the fallen trees with which all this part of the country is encumbered making it impossible for the guns to pass along the outside (of the trench). We had some 60 men killed or wounded. The Marquis de Montcalm was in a position to demand that the English should yield as prisoners of war, but how could the colony have fed an additional 2500 men at a time when a number of the inhabitants were suffering severely for lack of food. This scarcity, a portage of six leagues to be made with an army almost worn out with labours and poor food; the departure of all the up-country, and most of the domesticated Indians; the necessity of sending back the Canadians to a harvest which was already ripe; all these formed insurmountable difficulties in the way of our marching against Fort

Edward. The Marquis de Montcalm is going to see to the destruction of Fort William Henry, re-embark his army, and make the portage between Lake St. Sacrament and Carillon, where we expect to finish the campaign on the defensive.

P.S. We have just heard of the outrages committed by the Indians on the morning of the 10th. The English who have an unspeakable fear of them were anxious to get away from them, and set out before our escort was collected or got ready. Some of their soldiers, in spite of all the advice given on the subject, had given the Indians rum to drink, and who could possibly restrain 1800 Indians of 32 different tribes, when they have been drinking? The trouble began with the Abenaquis from Panaouasmeské in Acadia, who claimed that they had been badly treated by the English. Their example drew others; they threw themselves on the garrison whom instead of facing them bodly, became panic-stricken, and thus emboldened the Indians, who plundered them, killed some twenty of them, and carried off 5 to 600. The French officers who hastened up on hearing the noise of this trouble, did all in their power to put a stop to it, to such an extent, indeed, that some of the grenadiers of our escort were wounded by the Indians. The English, themselves, state that the Marquis de Montcalm, M.M. de Lévis, de Bourlamaque, and several other officers, risked their lives in order to save them, since, in such cases, the Indians respect nothing. They were finally pacified, and M. le Marquis de Montcalm immediately caused 400 of those who had been taken prisoners to be given up to him, whom he clothed, and whom, when the Indians had left, he subsequently sent under escort to Fort Edward. Those whom the Indians brought to Montreal were ransomed for large sums by the Marquis de Vaudreuil at the King's expense, and will be shortly sent back to Halifax in a vessel despatched as a transport.

To Madame la Marquise de Montcalm.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TAKING OF FORT GEORGE, OR WILLIAM HENRY, SITUATED ON LAKE ST. SACRAMENT, AND OF EVENTS IN CANADA THIS YEAR. (SUPPLEMENT TO THE GAZETTE OF OCTOBER 15, 1757).

The ill-success of the attempts made by the English to invade Canada, either during peace, or since the declaration of war, did not discourage them. It is well known what great preparations they made to attack us, this year, both by sea and land, at the same time. The naval forces sent by the King to protect the colony caused the failure of their attack by sea; and the arrangements made in the country rendered it equally impossible for them to make any attempt on the frontiers.

From the close of last year's campaign, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor and Lieutenant General of New France, took in hand all the arrangements which might prove necessary in order to enable us to repulse the enemy at all points.

He took measures to have bodies of Canadians and Indians continually in the field throughout the winter. The inroads which these detachments made on the enemy resulted in the killing of many of them, and caused (great) alarm in their colonies, in which (our men) did much damage.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil also took pains to foster the goodwill of the Indian nations which, as a rule, are aroused against the unjust claims and

violent proceedings of the English. Those which have long been the allies of France, have continued to shew fresh evidences of their fidelity and have been all the time in the field against the enemy. Many other nations have joined this alliance and have taken part in the war. Even the Iroquois, the tribes whom the English claim, in Europe, as their subjects, have been animated by the same motives as the other Indians, and have taken the same side, in spite of the various attempts, made by the English Governors, to induce them to maintain the neutrality they have observed in previous wars between France and England.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, therefore, planned his operations with reference to the advantages to be derived from the goodwill of all these tribes. He was of opinion that the enemy would direct their chief efforts towards the region of Lake St. Sacrament and Lake Champlain, and took special measures to strengthen the forts guarding this frontier. The enemy having learned that supplies were to be sent from Fort Saint Frederic to Fort Carillon, in charge of a small detachment, sent one of eighty picked men, who captured the first sledges of the convoy and seven others. The commandant of Fort Saint Frederic, however, despatched a second detachment, which intercepted that of the enemy and completely destroyed it, with the exception of three men who escaped. They recovered the sledges captured by the enemy, and three soldiers who remained of those who had been carried off. This action took place in the month of January. The sieurs de Basserode and de la Grandville, captain in the Queen's and Languedoc regiments, had the chief share in it.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil learned, at the same time, that the enemy had collected a large quantity of supplies of all kinds at Fort George on Lake St. Sacrament, and had made a great number of barracks boats, and other buildings under the guns of the said Fort, not only for the transport of the supplies in question, but also to ensure (their control of) the navigation of Lake St. Sacrament. He came to the conclusion that all these preparations had reference to certain plans which the enemy intended to carry out in the Spring. With a view, therefore, of depriving them of the means (of doing so), he despatched a detachment of fifteen hundred regulars, Canadians and Indians, in the month of March, under the command of the Sieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil, the Governor of Three Rivers. This expedition proved so successful that they were able to burn all the boats, the store-houses full of supplies of every kind and of weapons for an army of fifteen thousand men, all, in fact, which the enemy had collected round the fort which (thus) remained isolated.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil did not, however, confine himself to thus placing difficulties in the way of the enemy's carrying out their plans in the region of Lake St. Sacrament. He once more strengthened the garrisons of the posts along this frontier, so that, by means of the reinforcement of troops and the other assistance sent by the King to Canada, the Governor found himself in a position to act on the offensive against the enemy.

In the Belle Rivière region, he caused several small forts which they had built there to be destroyed. In order, moreover, to take full advantage of the Sieur de Rigaud's expedition and of the position of the colony at sea, he formed the plan of taking possession of Fort George.

This fort, it may be said, had only lately been built, (and) was one of those invasions of their neighbours' territory which the English are in the habit of making in time of peace, and afforded them the greatest possible facilities for attacking Canada at its (very) centre. The Marquis de Vaudreuil entrusted this important undertaking to Brigadier General the Marquis de Montcalm. The force intended for it consisted of six regiments of land troops, a detachment of the regular troops of the colony, several detachments of Militia, and several

bands of Indians. All these troops assembled at Carillon on July 20, where the Sieur de Bourlamaque, Colonel of Infantry, had already made the preliminary arrangements for the march of the army.

The Marquis de Montcalm had arrived there, some time previously. While waiting for the army to be ready to march, he had despatched the Sieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil to hold the head of the Lake St. Sacrament Portage, with a force of Colonial troops, Canadians and Indians. The Sieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil, having taken up his position at his point, sent out three scouting parties. The first, which consisted of six men only, was attacked on Lake St. Sacrament by a number of canoes, containing one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty English. Although the Sieur de St. Ours, lieutenant of colonial troops, who was in command of the party, was wounded at the first volley, they defended themselves so resolutely that they forced the enemy to withdraw.

The second, which was fairly strong, was commanded by the Sieur Marin, another lieutenant, who sent forward eight Indians (to serve) as an advance-guard. These found themselves face to face with forty English. At the very moment of contact they fired on the enemy, killed their officer in command, and put the rest to flight. The Sieur Marin, having rejoined his advance-guard, reduced his detachment to one hundred and fifty picked men. He advanced close to Fort Edward, some leagues distant from Fort George, without being discovered. He first routed a patrol of ten men, and then an ordinary guard of fifty men, and several workmen. He shewed himself in sight of the enemy's camp, who came out to the number of three thousand men and fired on him. He endured it for two hours, and it was only with difficulty that he forced the Indians, who were with him, to retire. In this engagement he killed more than a hundred and fifty men, forty of whom were scalped by the Indians. He, himself, did not lose a single man, and had only two Indians wounded.

The third detachment, commanded by the Sieur Corbière, another colonial officer, remained a whole day in ambush. At nightfall, they saw twenty rafts and two boats on Lake St. Sacrament, containing more than 350 English, under the command of Colonel Parker, 5 captains, and 6 other officers. The Indians who were with him yelled and fired at the same moment. The enemy made but a feeble resistence. Only two rafts got away, the rest were captured or sunk. The Sieur Corbière returned with 161 prisoners. More than 150 English were killed or drowned; in the French detachment, only one Indian was slightly wounded.

In the meantime, the Marquis de Montcalm was making preparations for his march. He distributed the militia into several battalions under the command of officers of the colonial troops, and formed a battalion to act with the land forces out of companies drawn from the said troops. To the Sieur de Villiers, moreover, a captain of colonial troops, and known for several expeditions which he had carried out during this war, he entrusted a force of 300 Canadian volunteers. The army therefore consisted of three Brigades of regular troops, namely, the Queen's Brigade made up of the Queen's, Languedoc, and colonial battalions; the La Sarre Brigade, of the La Sarre and Guyenne battalions; the Royal-Roussillon Brigade, of the Royal-Roussillon and Béarn battalions; of six Brigades of Militia, the three hundred volunteers under Villiers, and of a detachment of artillery and engineers, made up of seven officers and some one hundred and twenty gunners, bombardiers, or labourers. The whole force, however, only amounted to five thousand five hundred combatants, not counting the Indians who numbered about eighteen hundred, as the Marquis de Montcalm had been under the necessity of taking certain detachments from the troops, for garrison and other similar duties.

It was necessary to carry overland and on men's shoulders from Carillon to Lake St. Sacrament, not only the artillery, ammunition, and supplies of all kinds, but also more than four hundred boats and canoes; the task was, however, carried out with so much energy that it was completed during the night of July 31-August 1.

The Marquis de Montcalm had despatched the Chevalier de Lévis (who acted as) Brigadier, on July 30, with a force of two thousand five hundred men, consisting of six Companies of Grenadiers, eight pickets of Villiers Volunteers, about a thousand Canadians, and five hundred Indians (with orders to) march through the woods, in order to safeguard the navigation of the army, to reconnoitre, and cover its landing. In spite of the difficulties and fatigues of such a march, the said officer took up his position, the next evening, at Ganaouské Bay, only four leagues from Fort George.

The army embarked on August 1, and reached the Bay in question at three in the morning of the 2nd. The Chevalier de Lévis, with his detachment, left again at ten o'clock and proceeded to an inlet about a league away from the English fort, and made a reconnaissance of the Fort, the enemy's position, and the best landing-place for the army, which reached the inlet about eleven in the evening, where the whole force bivouacked.

Certain prisoners, captured during the night by the Canadians and Indians, reported that the number of the enemy might amount to three thousand men, five hundred of whom were then in the Fort, and the remainder in an entrenched camp, situated on an elevation two hundred fathoms distant from the Fort, and in a position to reinforce the garrison continuously. They added that, at the signal of a gunshot, all the troops were to fall to arms. As this report coincided with the information which the Chevalier de Lévis had obtained concerning the enemy's position, the Marquis at once gave orders for the army to march in such formation as to receive the enemy, should they advance to meet us, or, should they not come, to invest the place, and even to attack the entrenched camp, should it be deemed possible to do so. The army, therefore, marched at dawn on the 3rd. The advance-guard, under the Chevalier de Lévis, consisted of his force, part of the Militia and all the Indians; the Regiments and the remainder of the Militia followed in column with the Sieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil on the right, the Sieur de Bourlamaque on the left, and the Marquis de Montcalm in the centre. The Sieur de Privat, lieutenant-colonel, with five hundred regulars and a Brigade of Militia, had been left to guard the boats and the artillery. The investment was completed by noon. The Marquis de Montcalm, who had joined the advance-guard, recognizing that he could not attack the enemy's entrenchments without jeopardizing his troops, sent an order to the Sieur de Bourlamaque to besiege the camp with his army, with his left resting on the lake, and his right on some almost inaccessible ravines, and to at once bring up the La Sarre and Royal-Roussillon Brigades. He himself, with the Queen's Brigade, and a Brigade of Militia, passed the night in bivouac in a position to support the camp held by the Chevalier de Lévis and the advance-guard on the road from Fort George to Fort Edward.

The position of the advance-guard, however, being too far from the siege, the boats, and the supplies, it fell back on the morning of the 4th. The Marquis de Montcalm brought back the two Brigades he had with him, to take up a position in the camp. The army intended for the siege, therefore, found itself in position, and consisting of seven battalions of (regular) troops, and two Brigades of Militia. The Chevalier de Lévis, and the Sieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil, with the remainder of the Militia, the volunteers under Villiers, and all the Indians, were instructed to cover the right of the camp, to observe the enemy's movements in the direction of the road to Fort Edward, and to lead them to

believe, by continually moving about, that we still held this (line of) communication. On the afternoon of that same day, the 4th, the trench-depot was laid out. A road was made between this depot and the camp, as well as the fascines, gabions and faggots required for the work of that first night; and an inlet, on which the depot rested, was put in readiness for landing the artillery during the night as it might be needed.

On the night of the 4th-5th, the trench was opened at 350 fathoms from the Fort to be attacked, covering the North-West front. This trench was a kind of first parallel. Two batteries were also begun, communicating with this parallel.

During the day, on the 5th, the day-shift finished the work of the night. We were, however, under the necessity of moving the left of the army camp rather more to the rear, as it was found to be too much exposed to the fire of the Fort.

That same day, the Indians captured a letter from General Webb, written at Fort Edward, and dated at midnight of the 4th. He informed the Commandant of Fort George, that, as soon as the Provincial Militia, to whom he had sent word to join him, should arrive, he would at once advance to attack the French army; but that, should the Militia arrive too late, the Commandant would have to make the best terms possible. This letter decided the Marquis to further hasten the construction of the batteries, and the number of workers was increased.

The left battery was completed on the night of the 5th-6th, and was in readiness to fire at dawn. It consisted of eight guns and a mortar, and commanded the front of attack and the ship anchorage. The communication between the right battery and the parallel was, also, completed, and the battery itself was pushed forward considerably. On the night of the 6th-7th a branch trench was advanced 150 fathoms towards the head of the west bastion, and the right battery was finished. It consisted of eight guns, a mortar, and two howitzers, and fired slantwise on the front of attack and ricochetted into the entrenched camp. It was unmasked at seven in the morning, and, after a double salvo from the two batteries, the Marquis de Montcalm deemed it proper to send the Sieur de Bougainville, one of his aides de camp, to the Commandant of the Fort, with General Webb's letter.

On the night of the 7th-8th, the workmen advanced towards the Fort, by continuing the branch trench, begun the day before, to within 100 fathoms of the ditch. At the end of this trench they opened a cross-cut, for the emplacement of the third battery and as a position for musketry. Towards midnight, the enemy sent out three hundred men from the entrenched camp. The Sieur de Villiers attacked them with a small force of Canadians and Indians, killed 60 of them, took two prisoners, and drove the remainder back to the camp. The night's work had brought us to a swamp of about 50 fathoms across, which was protected from the fire of the Fort by an elevation alongside of it, except for a distance of 10 fathoms, during which we were exposed to the fire of the batteries. Although it was (now) broad daylight, the Marquis de Montcalm ordered this crossing to be made as if it were merely a moat full of water. The sappers worked with so much alacrity that, in spite of the guns and musketry fire of the enemy, it was finished during (the course of) the morning, and a road fit to bear artillery had been made through the swamp. The musketry of the Canadians and Indians, who fired on the embrasures of the Fort, greatly lessened the fire of the enemy throughout the day.

At four in the afternoon, the Indian scouts reported that a large force were marching to the relief of the place by the road from Fort Edward. The Chevalier de Lévis immediately proceeded thither, with the greater part of the Canadians and all the Indians. The Marquis de Montcalm, also, hastened to

join him with the Queen's Brigade and a Brigade of Militia. They were advancing in order of battle in readiness to receive the enemy, the regiments in column on the main road, the Canadians and Indians on the flanks in woods when word was received that the news was false. He therefore ordered the troops to return to their camp. This manoeuvre did not, however, in any way delay the operations of the siege; moreover, the swiftness with which it was carried out, had a very good effect on the minds of the Indians.

On the night of the 8th-9th, we debouched from the swamp by a branch trench serving as a (line of) communication with the second parallel, opened on the crest of the hillock and carried far forward during the night. It was from this parallel that we were to have set out in order to establish the breaching batteries, and surround the Fort, and cut off its communication with the entrenched camp, which had hitherto been open, by prolonging it. The besieged, however, did not give us time to do this, since, at 8 in the morning, they hoisted a white flag.

The Marquis de Montcalm informed Colonel Young (who was) sent by the Commandant to discuss the (conditions of) capitulation that he could not sign until he should have imparted the terms of it to the Indians. This consideration of them, on his part, was due to two motives; he felt that they deserved it by the confidence and submission with which they had lent themselves to the fulfilment of his instructions, and to all the suggestions he had made to them, since the beginning of the campaign; and to a wish to bind them thereby to do nothing at variance with the capitulation which should be arrived at. He accordingly summoned a General Council of all the Indians, without delay. He made known to the Chiefs the conditions on which the English offered to surrender, and those which he had decided to grant them. The Chiefs agreed to all that he should do and promised to comply with it and to keep their young men from any direct or indirect breach of it.

The Marquis de Montcalm, therefore, sent the Sieur de Bougainville immediately after the (close of the) Council to draw up the capitulation with colonel Monro, the Commandant of the Fort and of the entrenched camp. The principal articles were: That the troops, both of the garrison and of the entrenchment, should leave with their belongings and with the honours of war, and should withdraw to Fort Edward.

That in order to safeguard them from the Indians, they should be escorted by a Detachment of French troops, and by the principal officers and interpreters attached to the Indians.

That they must not serve, for 18 months, either against the King, or against his allies.

And that, within three months, all the French, Canadian and Indian prisoners taken on land in North America by the English, since the beginning of the war, were to be brought back to the French forts on the frontier. This capitulation was signed at noon. The garrison left the Fort to join the troops in the entrenched camp, and the Sieur de Bourlamaque at once took possession of the Fort with the troops in the trenches. At the same time, the Marquis de Montcalm sent the guard asked for by Colonel Monro to the entrenched Camp, and gave orders to the officers and interpreters attached to the Indians to remain there until the departure of the English, who numbered some 2264 effectives. In spite, however, of all these precautions, and in spite of the assurances the Indian Chiefs had given him when the capitulation was being discussed, the Indians made trouble in the English camp. The Marquis de Montcalm hastened to the spot with a detachment of his troops. The Indians had already made a good many prisoners and had even carried off some of them. He made them surrender those who were still there, and the Marquis de Vaudreuil had the others sent back. The Marquis de Montcalm caused the Fort to be pulled

down, and everything belonging to it destroyed in compliance with the instructions given him by the Marquis de Vaudreuil. The Camp and Fort were found to contain 23 guns, several of which were 32 pounders, four mortars, a howitzer, 17 swivel-guns, nearly thirty six thousand pounds of powder, a large quantity of bullets, bombs, grenades, cannon balls, with all kinds of artillery supplies and tools. A considerable supply of food was also found, in spite of the fact that the Indians had plundered it.

The French had only 13 men killed and 40 wounded during this siege. Among the latter was the Sieur le Febvre, a Lieutenant of Grenadiers in the Royal-Roussillon Regiment, who was wounded in the hand by the bursting of a bomb. No other officers were killed or wounded. The enemy had 108 men killed, and 250 wounded. The army was, practically, on duty as a whole, night and day, throughout the siege, either in the trenches, in camp or in the woods, making the facines, gabions, and faggots required. Six hundred fathoms of trench were made with spade, axe, and saw, wide enough to allow of two guns to be drawn along it, the fallen trees with which the whole region is encumbered making it impossible for them to pass along the outside of the trench. The success of this undertaking is due, chiefly, to the prudence of the plans made by the Marquis de Montcalm, and to the energy with which he saw to their being carried out. He was ably seconded, in all his operations, by the Chevalier de Lévis, the Sieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil, and the Sieur de Bourlamaque. The special duties connected with artillery and engineering were well performed by the Chevalier de Mercier, who was in command of the artillery, and by the Sieurs Désandrouins and Lotbinière, engineers. The officers and soldiers of the land forces and of the colonial troops, as well as the Militia and their officers shewed every proof of bravery and of goodwill, nor have the Indians ever exhibited so much steadiness and constancy; they asked to take part in the assault with the Grenadiers and eagerly awaited the moment for doing so.

This fresh success, which has spread a general joy throughout the Colony of Canada, has greatly increased the ardour with which the inhabitants endeavour to comply with the measures which the King is good enough to take for the defence of this colony, and to assist the efforts made incessantly by the Marquis de Vaudreuil in regard to all that concerns it.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE VICTORY GAINED BY THE KING'S TROOPS AT CARILLON, JULY 8, 1758

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, being uncertain as to the enemy's movements, deemed it advisable at the beginning of this campaign to divide his forces. It was his intention that the Chevalier de Lévis should undertake a secret expedition with 400 picked men of the regular troops. The remainder were sent, under the command of the Marquis de Montcalm, to defend the Lake St. Sacrament frontier. The Marquis de Montcalm reached Carillon on June 30, where the reports of certain prisoners captured a few days previously, left him no room to doubt but that the enemy had collected an army of 20 to 25000 men near the ruins of Fort William Henry nor that it was their intention to march against him almost immediately.

He at once forwarded this intelligence to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and lost no time in taking up an advanced position which might mislead the enemy, hinder his movements, and give the reinforcements from the colony time to reach him. The Sieur de Bourlamaque was, therefore, instructed to hold the portage at the head of Lake St. Sacrament with three Regiments, namely, the Queen's, Guyenne, and Béarn; the Marquis de Montcalm, with those of La Sarre, Royal-Roussillon, Languedoc, and the First Berry Battalion, held person-

ally the two banks of the La Chûte River, so named because, at this spot, Lake St. Sacrament, contracted by the mountains, pours its boiling waters into the St. Frederic river and into Lake Champlain. The Second Berry Battalion regiment was left to guard and serve the Fort at Carillon.

The Marquis de Montcalm instructed the Sieurs de Pontleroy and Désandrouins, engineer (officers), to reconnoitre and, at the same time, to fix on the position of an entrenched camp to cover the Fort in question, and, as we had very few Canadians and only 15 Indians, he formed two detachments of volunteers from the French Regiments, which he placed under the command of the Sieur Bernard, captain in the Béarn Regiment, and Duprat, captain in that of La Sarre.

On the evening of the 5th our scouts on Lake St. Sacrament sent in word that they had seen a large number of rafts, which proved to be the advance-guard of the enemy's army. The troops in the camps at the Portage and at La Chûte were at once ordered to fall to arms, to bivouac all night, and to clear away their belongings; the volunteers of Duprat were ordered to take up a position on a river known as *la Rivière de Bernès,* which runs between the mountains with which this country is covered, to fall into that of La Chûte. It was possible that the enemy might get round us, behind these mountains, so that it became indispensible to know of it. Three hundred and fifty men, commanded by the Sieur Trépezec, captain in the Béarn Regiment, were ordered to take up a position between the mountains and the left shore of Lake St. Sacrament; the volunteers took up another intermediate position between the bare-topped mountain and the portage camp; measures were also taken to discover any landing which the enemy might make on the right shore of the Lake.

At 4 in the morning, on the 6th, the advance-guard of the enemy's army came in sight of the portage. The Marquis de Montcalm at once sent instructions to the Sieurs de Pontleroy and Désandrouins to make the entrenchments of fallen trees, in front of Fort Carillon, on the ground already decided on, and to the second Berry Battalion to work at them under arms. The enemy began to land about 9 o'clock; the Sieur de Bourlamaque thereupon began to fall back in sight of them with the 3 Battalions of the portage in perfect order. He united with the Marquis de Montcalm, who was awaiting him, in order of battle, on the heights of the right bank of La Chûte, with Royal-Roussillon and the first Berry Battalion. These five Battalions, (thus) reunited, crossed the River, broke down the bridge, and in company with those La Sarre and Languedoc took up a position on the heights near the left bank. This retreat would have been made without the loss of a single man had not the Sieur de Trépezec's Detachment gone astray. Abandoned by the few Indians who acted as their guides, they lost themselves in these forest-covered mountains and after 12 hours walking fell in with an English Column which was making its way towards the La Chûte river. The Detachment lost 6 officers and some 150 soldiers killed or captured; it held out for a long time, but was forced to yield to (superior) numbers. The English, however, sustained a heavy loss in the person of Lord How, camp marshal of their army and colonel of one of the English regiments.

At about 6 in the evening, the Sieur Duprat sent word that the enemy were pushing a force towards the Rivière de Bernès, with pioneers, and that was, evidently, their intention to throw a bridge over it. The Marquis de Montcalm, therefore, sent him word to fall back, and began his own retreat towards the heights of Carillon, which he reached at sunset. That very evening, bodies of the enemy's regular and light troops took up positions on both banks of the La Chûte River, stretching out towards the Rivière de Bernès, and entrenched themselves. The remainder of their army held the landing-place and the portage, where they also entrenched themselves.

On the 7th, the whole French army was engaged in the work of the fortifications (of fallen trees) outlined the day before by the 2nd Berry Battalion. The officers set the example, and the Standards were set up on the works which had been traced out on some heights about 650 fathoms in front of Fort Carillon.

The left rested on an escarpment 80 fathoms away from the La Chûte River, the top of which was surrounded by an abattis; this abattis flanked a gap behind which we intended to place 6 guns to command it, and the river as well.

The right likewise rested on an elevation which was, however, not as steep as that on the left; the plain between it and the river St. Frederic was flanked by a wing of the entrenchment and was to be so by a battery of four guns, which (as it happened) was not completed until the morning after the engagement; moreover the guns of the Fort were trained onto this plain, as well as onto any landing which might be made on the left.

The centre followed the windings of the ground, guarding the summit of the heights, and each part of the forces flanked the other. As a matter of fact, indeed, several were struck slantwise by the enemy, but this was because they did not give us time to raise traverses there. These entrenchments were made of tree-trunks laid one on the other, with overturned trees in front, the cut and pointed branches of which served the purpose of a chevaux de frise. The pickets of our troops who had been detached under the orders of the Chevalier de Lévis reached camp between 6 and 8 in the evening and the Chevalier de Lévis, himself, during the night.

Our volunteers exchanged shots, all day long, with the light troops of the enemy. General Abercromby, himself, with a great part of the Militia, and the remainder of the regular troops, had advanced as far as the La Chûte River. He had sent several rafts across it, and some pontoons mounted with two guns each. These troops erected several entrenchments, during the day, one in front of the other, the nearest of which was barely a cannon-shot from our abattis. We spent the night in bivouac, along the entrenchments.

The drums beat to quarters at dawn on the 8th, so that the troops might know their respective positions for the defence of the entrenchments, according to the plan herewith which was practically that in which the work had been done. The army consisted of the following 8 battalions: the Queen's, La Sarre, Royal-Roussillon, Languedoc, Guyenne, the two of Berry and Béarn; with 450 Canadians or Marines, making in all, 3600 combatants.

The battalions of La Sarre and Languedoc, with two of the pickets which had come in the night before, were stationed on the left of the line; while the volunteers of Bernard and Duprat guarded the opening made towards the La Chûte River.

The centre was held by the First Berry Battalion, the Royal-Roussillon, and by the remainder of the pickets under the Chevalier de Lévis. The Queen's, Béarn, and Guyenne, defended the right and on the level between the escarpment on the right and the river St. Frederic were stationed the Colonial troops and the Canadians, also entrenched behind an abattis. Each battalion, along the whole front of the line, had in rear a company of Grenadiers, and a picket in reserve, both to support their Battalion and to take up a position wherever it might be necessary (to do so). The Chevalier de Lévis was in command of the right, the Sieur de Bourlamaque of the left, and the Marquis de Montcalm kept the centre for himself. This plan once arranged and made known, the troops at once resumed their labours; some busied themselves in finishing off the abattis, while the remainder went on with the construction of the two batteries, mentioned above, and a redoubt, which was to further strengthen the right.

That same morning, Colonel Johnson, with 300 Indians, Chactaws, and Five Nations, and Captain Jacob, with 150 others, reached the English army. Pre-

sently, we saw them and some light troops on a mountain opposite Carillon, on the other side of the La Chûte River. They even poured in a heavy fire which did not, however, interfere with our work, nor did we trouble to return it.

At half-past twelve, noon, the English army advanced towards us. Our Grenadiers Companies, volunteers, and advance-guard fell back in good order, and reentered our line. At the same instant and at the signal agreed on all our troops were at their posts. The first attack was made on our left, by two columns, one of which attempted to turn the entrenchment and found itself under the fire of the La Sarre Regiment, the other directed its efforts against an angle between Languedoc and Berry; the centre, held by Royal-Roussillon, was attacked, almost at the same time by a third column; a fourth attacked the right between Béarn and the Queen's. These different columns were interspersed with their light troops and their best shots, who, sheltered by the trees, poured in a terrific fire on us.

At the beginning of the engagement, several rafts and pontoons coming from La Chûte advanced in sight of Carillon. The courage of the Bernard and Duprat Volunteers, who were supported by the Sieur de Pontharіés at the head of a company of Grenadiers and a picket from the Royal-Roussillon, and several cannon shots, fired from the Fort, compelled them to withdraw.

These various attacks lasted almost the whole afternoon and were almost everywhere (sustained) with great vigour.

The Canadians and Colonial troops, not being attacked, directed their fire on the column which was attacking our right, and which occasionally came within their range. This column, consisting of Grenadiers and of Scottish Highlanders maintained its attack for three hours without falling back or breaking, and several of them were killed within 15 paces of our abattis.

At about 5 o'clock, the column which had vigourously attacked Royal-Roussillon threw itself on the angle defended by the Guyenne Regiment and by the left of the Béarn; the column which had been attacking the right also threw itself on the same point, so that the danger became pressing in that quarter. The Chevalier de Lévis, therefore, proceeded thither with troops from the right, on which the enemy were now only firing; the Marquis de Montcalm hastened up with some of the reserves, and the enemy encountered a resistance which, ultimately, quenched their ardour.

The left, meanwhile, was sustaining the fire of the two columns which were trying to break through in this quarter. The Sieur de Bourlamaque had been dangerously wounded here, at about 4 o'clock, and the Sieurs de Senezergues and de Privast, Lieutenant Colonels of La Sarre and Languedoc, made good his absence by giving the best possible orders. The Marquis de Montcalm proceeded thither several times and took care to send reinforcements at all critical moments.

At about 6 o'clock, the two columns on the right quitted the attack on Guyenne, came to make one more attempt against Royal-Roussillon and Berry, and yet one last effort on the left. By seven o'clock, the enemy's army was engaged, exclusively, with its retreat, assisted by the fire of the light troops, which was kept up until night. In leaving the field of battle, they also abandoned their dead and a portion of their wounded.

The darkness of the night, the exhaustion and the small number of our troops, the strength of the enemy which, in spite of their defeat, was still immeasurably greater than ours, the nature of the woods in which we could not, without Indians, act against an army which had 4 or 500, and several entrenchments raised, en échelon, between the field of battle and their camp, all combined to prevent us from following up their retreat. We expected, moreover, that they would try to retaliate, the next day, and we worked all night to protect

ourselves from the neighbouring heights by means of traverses, to strengthen the Canadians' abattis, and to finish the right and left batteries (which had been) begun in the morning.

Our Volunteers having notified the Marquis de Montcalm, on the 9th, that the positions at La Chûte and at the portage seemed to be deserted, he ordered the Chevalier de Lévis to proceed at dawn the next day, with the grenadiers, the volunteers, and the Canadians, and ascertain what had become of the enemy's army.

The Chevalier de Lévis advanced as far as beyond the portage. Everywhere, he found signs of a hurried flight, wounded, provisions, abandoned supplies, remains of burnt rafts and pontoons; incontestable evidences of the great loss which the enemy had sustained, and which we reckoned at 4000 men killed or wounded. To judge, moreover, from reports made by some of them, and by the rapidity of their retreat, it must have been even greater. They lost several officers, the principals (ones being): Lord Howe, the Sieur Spittal, major general, the commander in chief of the New York forces, and various others.

The Indians of the Five Nations remained as onlookers at the rear of the columns, awaiting, evidently, the result of a combat, which to the English must have seemed certain, in order to declare themselves.

The paper which we hold, published in their colony for the raising and maintenance of this army, speaks of the general invasion of "Canada," and the same expression occurs in all the commissions of their Militia officers. We must do them the justice (to say) that they attacked us with the greatest determination, it is not common for an assault on entrenchments to be maintained for seven hours on end, almost without any relaxation. This victory is due to the excellent arrangements of our general before and during the engagement, and to the extreme bravery of our troops. All the officers of the army behaved in such a way as to deserve the special praise of each of them. We had about 350 men killed or wounded, including 38 officers.

List of Officers killed or wounded in the fight of July 8

M. de Bourlamaque, colonel, dangerously wounded.

M. de Bougainville, assistant camp marshall, shot in the head.

Queen's: The Sieurs Dodin, lieutenant, killed; d'Hébécourt, captain, Le Comte captain, Massias, lieutenant, Floide, lieutenant, wounded.

La Sarre: The Sieurs Chevalier de Moran, captain, Chevalier Dumesnil, captain aide-major, Champredon, captain, killed; de Beauclair, captain, and Forset, lieutenant, wounded.

Languedoc: The Sieurs de Fréville, captain, Chevalier Parfouru, lieutenant, killed; Basserode, captain, Marillac captain, Douglas, captain, Blanchart, lieutenant, Courcy, lieutenant, wounded; the Chevalier d'Arennes, sub-lieutenant of Grenadiers, loss of an arm.

Guyenne: The Sieurs Patris, captain, St. Vincent, captain, killed; La Bretêche, captain, Restauran, lieutenant, wounded.

Royal-Roussillon The Sieur Ducoin, captain, killed.

Béarn: The Sieurs Pons, lieutenant, Douay, lieutenant, killed; Malartic, aide-major, Montgay, captain, Kergus, captain, wounded.

Berry: The Sieurs La Brême, captain, D'Aymerie, sub-lieutenant of Grenadiers, killed; Châteauneuf, captain, Carlan, captain, Charmont, lieutenant of the 2nd (battalion), wounded.

Colony: The Sieurs de Nigon, lieutenant, de Langis-Montegron, lieutenant, wounded.

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APPENDIX B

FIRST JOURNAL OF SIMON FRASER FROM APRIL 12TH TO JULY 18TH, 1806

[NOTE: This journal relates the first exploration of the Fraser River by Simon Fraser. It is reproduced from a collated copy in the Public Archives of Canada, transcribed from the copy listed as *No. 16, Series C, Bancroft Collection, Pacific Coast Mss.* in the University of California, at Berkley, Cal. It has been impossible to locate the original. The Bancroft copy, apparently the source of all other copies, does not mention anything about it.

Moreover, the manuscript is incomplete. What is published here is only the continuation of a first part apparently lost, for the text begins as follows: *Saturday, 12th April 1806 (Continued).* Fortunately, the missing part is not essential to the narrative and does not impair its historical importance.

Now the reader must be warned beforehand that the manuscript is a very defective piece of composition. Speaking of his *Journal,* Fraser himself says: "It is exceedingly ill-wrote, worse worded, and not well spelt." To such defects of the original must be added numerous mistakes apparently due to careless copying. But as it is practically impossible, most of the time, to distinguish between Fraser's faulty writing and the copyist's errors, the rule has been adhered to, except in a few unmistakable cases, to follow the Bancroft text as faithfully as possible, with all its defects.]

Saturday 12th April 1806 (Continued).

but as it is here now we will find use for it. We cannot be too well stocked with provisions. About mid-night sent off three men to return to Dunvegan, as it shows to much to walk the whole day they will march in the night. gave them as provisions 94# fresh meat.

Sunday 13th April, 1806.

Fine mild weather. Mr. S. and I having wrote Mr. McLeod, after dark when it began to frease sent off two men with the letters, gave them 160# fresh meat on account of their having had twelve days that Mr. S. had to bring up himself and baggage. The other two men Bazil and Gervais Rivard remain here, they being intended for the expedition, and were hired for that purpose below that is if there was not a sufficient number otherwise hired at this place if these were they were to go down. but there are only three as yet hired so we will have occasion for them, and they were sent to the Little Head to bring home whatever he may have.

Monday 14.

Brissere arrived from the Little Head and etc. he brought two Coté de Bouff full of powrded meat and says the Indians killed 14 cows and are bussy reducing them into Pd. meat, and that the Little Head asks some tobacco Beyson sprained his hand so much that he is not able to make use of it. La Londe arrived from the Beaver Lake and that La Rammee got there only yesterday.

Tuesday 15th.

Made up five bales goods to be sent over the Portage immediately on the snow. Fine weather.

Wednesday 16th.

Fine mild weather early in the morning Beysen and La Londe were sent to the upper end of the Portage, the latter had a piece and the former about one half on account of his having the road to beat and a sore hand besides. After this trip each man will be able to take two pieces. About 9 A. M. Mr. John McKinver arrived from the Meadow Indians, after an absence of seventy odd days. he informs us of his having starved much at different times, he accompanied the Indians far off in search of Beaver but though they saw many Beaver Lodges they killed but few on account of the depth of snow which is from five to six feet deep in the Beaver country. They saw no large animals of any kind no not even a track during their long and intricate route until within two days march of the upper end of the Portage at the place they returned the Indians showed him the place where Trout Lake was and told him it was only three encampments distant from there but he could get no one to accompany him there. The distance these Indians have to go in search of Beaver and the misery they endure to go there and from there to come here proves this plan to be of little use. Could it be done it would certainly be more proper to send them all to Trout Lake where Beaver is near the Fort and it is certain they will never work well until they have an establishment formed in the Beaver country. Mr McKenver saw some of the Indians of Trout Lake who had made pretty good hunts and were on their return to Mr. McDougall's He says that some of them are coming down here but I believe this is a mistake. It is likewise reported that some of the Big men (Trout Lake Indians) killed one of Carriers last fall on the latters land which if true may be of some detrement to our expedition. Aryanton who accompanied our hunters without leave when they went off the 29th of last month to join their relatives returned with Mr Mckinver and brought a slave woman, who followed him of her own accord, with her in order to prevent the Beaver Indians from taking a footing or those of this place and to prevent others from coming for women. she was taken from him as well as his gun, blanket, axe, Dog, bow, and arrows and etc. and sent off in that defenseless manner to the Little Head. however he did not go without some reluctance and Mr. Stuart conducting him out of the house and down the hill with a kick. The woman cried most bittterly after his departure and we kept a strict watch over her that she may not escape and go after him. It is really surprising the attachment these women have to the Beaver Indians with whom they are little better than slaves for my own part I cannot account for it unless it be that they are well fed for in every other respect they are certainly much better off with their own relations who never ill-use them and with whom they are mistress of every thing and yet their scarcely one among them that would not rather go with the Beaver Indians. Late this evening Gagmen and Saucur the two men who were for bark arrived and brought only two small rolls scarcely worth anything. they say they spoiled upwards of twenty, good bark on account of its not seasoning well but it is most probable that they do not know how to season it properly it being their first experience.

Thursday 17th.

Early this morning Gaymon went over to the other end of the Portage with one piece and Bisson arrived. and La Londe remained there making a cache. It was Masi de dents de Beghe that killed this Indian but it was of no detrement at all to us. I have seen his bones which is well essected, The Carriers are naturally mild but subject to gusts of passion which often prove fatal to one or the other. one brother thinks nothing of killing another and the others seldom interfere. Got a *Grille* made to day to dry the split meat that is in the slangard. In the evening gave Saucier two pieces to take over the Portage that he may start in the night it being then the roads are best. Buysen goes with him to meet the Indians whom we expect will soon arive to get what provisions they may have at the other end of the Portage as it will save them the trouble of sending it over again.

Friday 18th.

In the course of last night the slave woman deserted and appears to have gone before her relations. about 10 o'clock A. M. Basile and Guvais Revard who were at the Little Head arrived. They brought the value of 6 skins Pounded meat 5 ditto dried meat, 4 of grease, and say they left the Indians at La Malices River on their way here. much about the same time Farcier arrived from the Beaver Lake and says they caught only one white fish and that this is the third day since they ate anything. he returned immediately with 30# of fresh meat for La Ramme with orders to be back tomorrow. In the morning La Londe came over from the other end of the Portage and returned immediately with two pieces. In the evening the two, Guvais Lagard and Gagmen went off likewise with each two pieces except the latter who had only one on account of his having one of the pieces he got yesterday morning near this end, and that he is to take in passing which will form the same load with the others. Sent word to Buysen to come home in order to be sent to the Little Head wtih orders to make him hunt.

Saturday 19th.

After breakfast sent Mr. McKenver to look for the Meadow Indians as we apprehend they will not come to the house time enough and besides the woman that deserted might tell them a parcel of stories and frighten them off. The men who went over yesterday returned today excepting Lagarde whom Mr. Kinver took with him to the Indians.

Sunday 20th

Early this morning the two Guvais La Lerde and Saucier went off with two pieces each and Gagmon remained here to wait for Mr. S. and myself. Sent Beyson to the Little Heads, and etc., to see what they are doing. and make them hunt. he had a foot of tobacco for Little Head. About noon Fercier arrived from the Beaver Lake and brought a white fish which is all he says they caught. At the same time a boy came from the Little Heads to advertise us of their having killed six Biche's two of which are not in *cache*. Sent Fercier, whom I repremanded for remaining so long at the Beaver Lake, to arrange them as La Pistole who was there is gone farther on for two small Red Deer (alias Biche)

Monday 21st.

The men who went over with pieces returned today. In the morning Buyson and La Pistole arrived with the two Red Deer which weighed 300♯, and soon after just as we were at breakfast Little Head, Raquith Relivee' etc. arrived. The former being requested to come here was well received, but the others who came without permission were treated in a harsh manner, and Mr. Stuart having previously asked my permission which was readily granted to the force of argument added another kind of logic which soon cleared the house and they took to their heels accompanied by the Little Heads women. At Dunvegan they were forbid to come here and they promised not to come, but they did not keep to it, it was but right to punish them for their disobedience and it was more proper to be done by Mr. Stuart, who had a principal hand in settling them below than any other. Farcier arrived after putting the two Red Deer last killed in *cache*. he brought home the Rump of one which weighed 60♯. Sent La Pistole and Arganton who got his bow and arrows and a gun lent him to go beyond the Grand Fourche to look for two cows that were put in cache about the middle of January and could not be found since on account of the road having filled up with snow. Got five Bags Pemmecan made of 90♯ each. The Indians being a little composed and returned about sun set. the Little Head began to drink. he and his followers since here about gave 220♯ Pounded meat 80♯ Grease, and about 90♯ Dried meat part payment of which they are now drinking. Authorized Bayson, Bazil and Gagman' to go for bark to morrow, Guevais and Sauier for the two Red Deer that were last put in cache. La Garde and Farcier to take pieces over the Portage, the former got two pieces and the latter only one and that same he will take over on his back.

Tuesday 22nd, April.

Fine weather. The Little Head and followers went off towards the Beaver Lake, he misbehaved last night for which he was much ashamed to day, and did not dare come into the house. The people for bark were off early. gave them 63 of fresh meat. La londe was sent off with two pieces with orders to remain at the other end of the Portage and take care of the property there. Saucier and Guvais arrived in the evening with 450♯ fresh meat. In the forenoon four Meadow Indians arrived from a band that is near at hand. They say they have no Beaver and brought only the value of a skin of fresh meat each, which they traded for ammunition. They kill plenty of animals that is Moase and Red Deer by chasing them with their dogs when the crust.

Wednesday 23rd April.

Fine weather. Menard arrived with four young men from the chiefs band they brought 22 Beaver skins, 2 carcassause and six Pechause belonging to the chief which are well dressed, traded the value of two skins. These Indians are not Meadow Indians but of another tribe and the relations of the chief who always sides with the Meadow Indians and who has much authority over them. We attempted to get some information concerning their country but they seemed rather stupid and not much inclined to satisfy our desires which perhaps is not a little owing to the little knowledge we have of their language for our interpreters are none

of the best. however we understood that Finlays branch does not terminate in chutes and Rapids as reported but with the intervening of some Portages that it is navigable to its source and from thence there is a Portage about half the length of this, a large Lake called Bear Lake where the Salmon comes up, and from there is a River that falls into another much larger (according to their Report than over the Peace River) that glides in northwest direction. In that Lake they say there are plenty of fish and that the salmon are unnumerable with plenty of Bears and animals of the fur kind there about, but no large animals of any kind. It is from that quarter they get their Iron works and ornaments but they represent the navigation beyond that Lake as unpracticable and say there are no other Indians excepting a few of their relations that never saw white people there about and to get Iron works they must go far beyond it, which they perform in long journeys on foot. we cannot imagine what River this is by their description and the course it runs it cannot be the Columbia, and I know of no other excepting Cooks, but whatever River it is and wherever they get these, their Iron works and ornaments are such as I have seen with the Carriers. Indeed the Indians of Nakazleh talk of Bear Lake and their account of River that flows from it is conformable with that of the Meadow Indians. Sent of Menard immediately to another band of Indians who have killed 30 Moose Deer to prevent their throwing away any of the meat and make them pound and dry it. gave him six M. Powder and forty balls to trade. In the afternoon an elderly man arrived and advertised us that he killed an animal in the Stony Islands above the house. gave him six measures of ammunition as payment and he went off immediately. Saucier and Gervais was busy all day cutting and splitting Canoe wood and after sun set they were sent off to the animal, to prevent its being ate in the course of the night, they will be back with the meat early in the morning. In the forenoon Le Gerde' and Fercier arrived from the upper end of the Portage and returned immediately with two pieces each.

Thursday 24th April.

Fine weather. Saucier and Guvais arrived early with 454‡ and the skin. I did not imagine the Moose Deer to be so good at this time of the year as it is it being really fat. La Pestole and Arjanton arrived and say they could not cross the Grand River to go in search of the cows on account of it being over flown and the Ice Broke. Arjanton killed a Biche a short distance this side and La Pistole put it in a cache. La Rammeé who had been at the Beaver Lake since the 11th Inst. arrived and says he caught no fish not knowing where the fishery is, but the Little Head who he met going there told him that he would show him where the Indians used to fish. The Little Head sent word several times since his departure to be excused but word was always sent him that if he wished to be excused to come and excuse himself personally. Saucier and Guvais were employed about Canoe wood. got a log sawed to make tables for the *presse*

Friday 24th Apl.

Early in the morning Saucier and La Rammeé were sent to the Beaver Lake to ascertain whether fish can be caught or not. Saucier being a good fisherman and not lazy, I am in hopes of his being successful. Bot he and La garde were both lately hired for the expedition across the mountains.

The men who were for bark arrived and brought only 22 fathoms which is not very good. the two men that were at the other side of the Portage with pieces arrived also. Mr. Stuart made a Gabril and they represent is as different from the Columbia but say it is from that quarter they get most part of their goods and the only place from where they get guns and ammunition from Nakasleh there is a water communication with the exception of three Portages and they positively affirm that white people came there in course of the summer, but as they came on discovery that they had little goods. I have seen a pistol brass mounted with powder and ball which they say they had from them.

Saturday 26th April.

This morning four men went for meat and two for more bark and Guvais' who remained here worked at canoe wood. In the morning the Little Head arrived, but did not come in the house, but remained lurking about and as there was little notice taken of him he went off without saying a word to anyone.

Sunday 27th April.

Both the men that went for meat and bark arrived the former brought 770# meat and the latter 20 fathoms bark, but not all good. a little before sun set sent off four men to cross the Portage with seven pieces in sundry articles our own baggage included. The road begin now to be bad and I believe this will be the last trip with trains, indeed we have very few articles more to be sent over, which can't be sent until we decamp ourselves. Some time after dark Mr. A. M. Gillivray and Gauselin arrived from Dunvegan and brought letters from Messrs. McLeod, and I. M. Gillivray of Slave Lake which bring good news from all quarters. Mr. A. M. Gillevray is come up to take charge of this place during the summer. It appears that J. B. La Fleur who promised Mr. Stuart to accompany him across the mountains could not be sent off on any condition. Mallatise would not come either. Mr. McLeod did all he could to prevail on either the one or the other to come but nothing short of violence would do. Mr. McLeod writes that had Mallatisse consented to come that he would hire Cardenal for Fort, but now that he will go to Montreal and that Mallatisse will return there.

Monday 28th April.

This has been the warmest day we have had yet this season. Sent Beyson to look for a birch tree of good bark that was seen last summer by Le Lo Moilen but he did not find it. Bazile, Gagnion and Gauselin put up the press and pulled roals to make two bundles of wattape.

Tuesday 29th April.

Fine weather. Buyson gathered some gum, Basile, Ganion and Gauselin made bars wedges and masses for the press and putting up wherewith to make two bundles of wattape.

Wednesday 30th April.

Still fine weather sent Mr. McKenver to remain with La Londe at the other side of the Portage and take care of the property there. We do not suspect there is any danger while there is a man there. But as Mr. McKenver has nothing to do, and it would be unpardonable if any thing should go wrong while there are so many of us here, I cannot leave this place myself. It is true Mr. Stuart would willingly go and prepare everything for embarking but there being no canoe maker here it falls to his lot to supply the place of one. The four men that went over last returned. In the afternoon Saucier arrived from the Beaver Lake starving and says they caught no fish though they changed places several times. He met the Little Head on his way there, and says he asked for tobacco and ammunition.

Thursday May 1st.

Cold and cloudy weather. Mr. S. began the Canoe and the large seams were sound. Bark is bad.

Friday May 2nd.

Still more cold. opened the canoe and sewed the Paiynes. In the morning La Londe who arrived last night was sent over again to remain with Mr. McKniver at the other side of the Portage. while there he has orders to gather gum and return here on the 5th.

Saturday May 3rd.

Cold with successive showers of snow, sleet and rain. however in the afternoon it cleared up and though still cold, Mr. Stuart put the verangues into the canoe, one half of the verangues were broke he was therefore obliged to make others to replace them. three young men arrived from the chiefs band. they brought the value of six skins in sundry pieces and one in meat which they traded and went off immediately. They informed us that the other band of which mention is made before does not intend to come to the Fort for which reason Beyson was sent off with them to the chiefs band and there get Indians to guide him to the different bands with instructions not to return until he brings all the Indians with him.

Sunday 4th May.

Weather rather more mild, early in the morning sent Saucier and Farcier to the Beaver Lake to tell La Rammee and the Little Head to come to the Fort. Sent particular orders to La Rammeé to bring Little Head to head-quarters and told the others to take the nets out of the water and bring all the fishing tackles here it being useless to keep people there any longer. two men have been employed there since the 11th of last month to no purpose. The chief and band arrived in a starving condition. They are poor devils, quite emaciated and paid only 66 skins Beaver Credit and traded on Aryenal skin and the value of five skins sundry furs, most part of which furs they brought are very ill dryed, for which they got a severe repremand. We endeavored to get some information concerning their lands but they do not seem willing to communicate any, indeed our

Interpreters are not well versed in repeating what they say. therefore all we could learn from is that they know no better place than this, and that if it is thrown away that there is no better place beyond it that they can go to make up 10 packs, but the furs are so hard and ill dryed that the Packs cannot be well made.

Monday 5th May.

Got five of the Packs yesterday untied and remade them again, and after all they are so well as could wish. In the morning La Londe arrived from the other end of the Portage, and soon after the ice moved and broke up in some places but it soon stopped again and the water rose upwards of 10 feet since yesterday. The ice is amazing strong and thick. Gagnon gummed the canoe inside and Mr. Stuart attempted to *band* it but was obliged to leave it on account of it being to cold.

Tuesday 6th May.

Weather still cold with a strong northerly wind. Gagnon and Gauselen were busyly employed mending the old canoe, and the others employed about canoe wood At noon La Ramme, Saucier, and Fercier arrived from the Beaver Lake and as they caught no fish brought all the fishing tackles. The Lake is still covered with ice and snow. even the borders is not disolved. They could not persuade the Little Head to come to the Fort. he told them as he was taken no notice of last time he was here that he was in doubt whether he would come or not. By what we could learn from the Indians at different times an establishment would be well placed on the big river that falls into the main branch of the Peace River, about half way between this and the Beaver River. This River at its confluence with the Peace River is large an appears to contain a large quantity of water and the Indians say it is navigable a considerable way up, and that Beaver, Bears, and large animals of all kinds are amazing numerous. it is thereabout is what may be properly called the Meadow Indians or as they call themselves *Les Gens du large* lands. But it is then likewise they are most subject to be killed by the Beaver Indians of both forks and Fort Vermillion and on that account they seldom now remain there but nine tenths of the year But out in the mountains where there is neither Beaver nor anything else but Badgers and where they under go great misery, according to their reports there is but a very short distance from that River to a branch of McKenzies River that the *Nakanés* inhabit with whom they have ofter intercourse. most every one of them told us if there was a Fort on the Banks of that Big River and if the Beaver Indians could be prevented from killing them that they would make excellent hunts and that it was the only good place they knew.

Wednesday 7th, May.

Cold weather, sent Bazille, Gauselin and Saucier to look for and rase more bark in case we should be in want of another canoe. everything is got ready. Should there come more than twenty Packs from Trout Lake, with these of this place one canoe cannot embark all. Gagman and La Ramme mended the old canoe, and the others gathered 32# gum. and pulled up some roots which the women made into Wattape. more Indians arrived and brought a few furs and etc. In the afternoon sent Lalonde to the other end of the Portage to remain with Mr. McKenver, and make poles, paddles and etc.

Thursday 8th May.

Last night it snowed a little but the weather cleared up this morning, and though we had some showers of rain in the course of the day Mr. Stewart tryed again to hard the Canoe but was obliged to give up on account of it being to cold. In the forenoon Beyson arrived with a couple of Indians and all the band he went for about thirty men will be here to-morrow. Menard is with them. sent Gagnon and Fercier to the Beaver Lake once more to tell the Little Head to come to the Fort.

Friday May 9th

The weather the same as yesterday. Menard and the Indians arrived. They had a few skins Beaver Credit and traded 30 with the value of 80 skins dried provisions and twenty on Aryenal skins. This is the band of Indians that were attacked last summer by the Fort Ver million Indians and They did not see the Fort since they were at the Beaver River two years ago consequently they never saw this place before. last winter they went down within two or three days march of Beaver River but were not at the Fort. I repremanded them severely for not coming here last Fall and asked them the cause of not making a better, to which they replied that they had made a few furs but that they lost all when attacked by the Beaver Indians and that ever since they generally kept in their lurking holes in the mountains and that they wished to come and see white people in the Fall but did not know where to find them, their being none at Beaver and being told that this place was abandoned in the Spring and transferred to Finlays branch they went there but found no one in consequence of which they thought the white People had abandoned the country and then returned to their lands where they were found in the month of March by Indians that had been out on purpose to look for them in the month of February who informed them of there being a Fort here. One of them an old man that calls himself Chief has a Billet from Chattelen for seventeen skins to be paid here. Mr. Rocheplave last Spring delivered a gun to Le Malice to be given him as payment but La Malice took the lock of the gun to mend that of his own and it remains here useless therefore I did not pay the Indians but told him to get payment from those to whom he gave the furs, If ever he will be paid. La Malice of course will pay the gun. The people who were for bark arrived with three Rolls. In the evening called the Indians to the door to know how many there are of them which we found to be forty four men, thirty women and seventy nine boys, girls and children and their is another band near at hand not yet arrived and there are several gone to work at Beaver, which will form in all of these seen here about 60 men, 40 women and upwards of 100 boys, girls and children. formerly they say they were much more numerous but the Beaver Indians war excursions continually deminished them and the greatest loss generally fall to the share of the women which added to the number the Beaver and Rocky Mountain Indians continually took from them may account for the unequal proportion there is between the men and women.

Saturday, May 10th.

Weather still cold. I am really concerned about the backwardness of the season. the River is yet chock full of ice, and people continually crossing upon it. made up 560# pounded meat, 76# grease, and 120# dried meat,

into bundles to be sent over the Portage to morrow. Another pack was made and the small canoe gummed. Gave the Babith and another Indian each 8 balls and as many shots of powder to go a hunting. they returned in the evening after having killed a Red Deer and wounding several others.

Sunday May 11th.

The weather cloudy but rather more warm than usual. In the morning sent Bazile and Gauselin to rise more bark what there is here already not being of a good quality and in the evening they returned with 10 fathoms semmingly pretty good two men and three boys were for and brought the Red Deer that was killed yesterday, the meat weighed 280℔. Minard and Saucier, the latter of which is sick was sent over the Portage with the pieces that were made up yesterday. they had 13 young men with them to help them to carry the pieces. The Indians that were on this side of the River arrived. they brought only 21 skins furs and the value of 6 in provisions. At noon Mr. McKinven arrived from the other end and says the River is clear of ice above the Portage. Gagnon and Fercier accompanied by a slave boy from the Little Head likewise arrived they say they could not prevail on the Little Head to come but that he promised to be here in five nights. Buyson was employed making verangues for a small canoe and Mr. Stuart banded the large one but did not render all the verangues. Gave the Indian boy 4 measures ammunition and 1½ foot tobacco to take to the Little Head with orders to be here in three nights and told him likewise that a French man would accompany to morrow morning.

Sunday May 11th cont.

Gave 4 measures ammunition with as many young men to go a hunting to morrow.

Monday May 12th.

This morning Mr. McKenver went to the other end of the Portage to get the men there to split and prepare canoe wood in case of our being obliged to make one there. The Little Head's slave boy went off early. he slept in the lodges and some say he sent off with out coming into the house but other say that he went into where the man that was to accompany him was but the lazy fellow was still asleep and did not see him. One of the Meadow Indians says that the Little Head had said that he would not come here until we would be off for above and all the other for below which corresponds with the young man's going off without a frenchman, for which reason Mr. McGillivray and Beyson guided by an Indian with positive orders to bring the Little Head and all those that are with him here. Bazile and Gauselin were for and brought more bark. In the afternoon Menard and the young men that went over the Portage with him yesterday returned. Gave each of the Indians the value of two skins for their pains which will render them ready and willing to obey another time. The Pouces Coupés Comrade one of the young men that were hunting brought the value of 2 skins fresh meat. the others killed nothing. They are to much afraid to do anything. They have alarms every moment and pretend to see enemies daily. They will not stir from here until Little Head arrives that he as well as us may assure them of the peaceable intentions of the Beaver Indians. People are still crossing upon the ice and snow shoes are made use of in the woods.

Tuesday 13th May.

In the morning Bazile, Menard and Gauselin were sent over to the other end of the Portage to remain there some time, and work at canoe wood. they brought over three rolls of bark and a few old puteles.

Wednesday May 14th.

In the evening Mr. McGillivray and Beyson arrived from the Beaver Lake and informed that Little Head was coming by another route and soon after he made his appearance, accompanied by his brother but left his women with the Raquette Relevéi &c, beyond the Beaver lake which renders it of no service of their coming to the Fort themselves, and it was purposely to bring all that Mr. McGilvray was sent there. The Raquette Relevei and etc, we intended to send down in canoe to Dunvegan, according to Mr. McLeod's desire and the Little Head was to accompany us in the quality of hunter across the Mountains but now I am afraid that neither the one or the other can take place. The Indians had a Beaver Robe and about a dozen skins but as they told Mr. McGillvray that they would come here themselves it was not taken from them. In the morning although the ice was very bad the Sauteau crossed when it was at the risk of her life to go after Bazile to the other end of the Portage. She is more like fury than a woman. Towards the evening P. Dallaise arrived from Trout Lake with a letter from Mr. McDougall, he left that place the 5th Inst. but was detained a long time along the road by the ice, and had a narrow escape, a bank of ice having fallen into his old Peni canoe and broke it, and from there about a days' march he came on foot, and says the ice was not yet broke in many places beyond the Portage. D'Allaise says that when he came off the canoe was not finished but the Packs, 13 in number were made, and Mr. McDougall writes that he went to the Carriers land and saw about fifty men on the borders of about 3½ days march from Trout Lake, but the distance was long and intricate by water. The above Lake he says empties its waters into the Columbia by a small River which is reported to be navigable. Fish abounds in the Lake at certain seasons of the year and animals of the fur kind are plenty, but large animals are scarce. The natives resemble the Tsimpsians in their language and manners.

Thursday May 15th

Fine weather the ice broke in the course of the night and drifted all this day. In the evening sent off a small canoe with the news to Dunvegan, and Mr. McKenven who just arrived from the other end of the Portage, embarked in it as he wished to see Mr. McLeod before he leaves Dunvegan, and Beyson and an Indian goes down to return immediately with a small assortment of trading goods for this place. that the Indians may be supplied with Iron works, Guns and ammunition to be off early in the month of August to work the Beaver. (They promised to make a good spring hunt and to be all here about the beginning of that month,) La Rammée and his spouse likewise embarked he being a free man I though it necessary to send him off this first opportunity in order to settle with Mr. McLeod before he leaves Dunvegan. After their departure Mr. Stuart finished the large canoe, and at dusk the Little Head begged to be allowed to drink a

little with a few of the slave Indians, who have some argenal skins to trade and himself will drink part payment of the provisions that are due to him. he seems very willing to accompany us across the Mountains, but I have no great confidence in him and do not understand his having his family beyond the Beaver Lake and he seems to submissive and cringing which makes me thinks that he disembles.

Friday May 16th

The sun shone all day but the weather was rather cold. In the morning the Little Head went away and promised to be back with his family in four nights. Sent a man with him in order to return to-morrow with some meat and a few furs the Indians have. The slave Indians traded several Aregenal skins for ammunition after which they all decamped excepting the Babilliard and a couple of young men that remained with him to hunt for the Fort during the summer. Gave them very few credits as they seldom ever pay it is a bad custom to give them out many debts. made up another Pack and got the canoe gummed.

Saturday May 17th.

It began to rain in the course of the night last past and did not cease all the day. In the forenoon La Malice and Wananshish arrived from the other end of the Portage. They arrived there late last night with one man St. Pierre in a large canoe loaded with 14 Packs from Trout Lake, all is well there excepting that they live but very poorly. The Indians told me last Fall there was excellent fishery there in the Spring of the year, but very few are caught as yet. Sent La Malice and D'Allaise back to the other end of the Portage with as many Indians as we could muster to bring all the Packs over in one trip tomorrow, two men, Bazile and D'Allain are to remain at the other end of the Portage to mend the old canoe there that is to say if they can be dispensed with. Hired Wananshish for the term of six years at the rate of 300 livres per annum. N. B. When La Malice was here in the month of February I told him not to allow any of the women at Trout Lake to embark in the Spring, but D'Allain brought his with him and La Malice himself in course of the winter debauched the woman Blas had and afterwards prevailed on Mr. McDougall to sell her to him for 300 livres and she accompanied him here but Mr. McDougall nor any other had any such power from me and I intend that La Malice will not keep her at least at such a cheap rate. this does not please La Malice and he refuses to accompany us across the Mountains alledging that by his agreement that he is not obliged to go there or even to winter in any part of the Peace River, and as I had not his engagement I was obliged to take him on his word and told him that though much in want of him that I would not oblige him to go since he said it was contrary to his agreement but that he was answerable for the consequences.

Sunday 18th May.

Fine weather. This morning La Pistole who was sent off with Little Head the day before yesterday arrived almost out of his senses, saying that the day he went off that he followed the Little Head until he got to where there

was to much snow for him to keep up with him and as the Indians had snow shoes they soon left him out of sight and in endeavoring to follow them in their tracks their being no snow in some places he lost himself, and had it not been for a slave boy who met him as he was a hunting, he would not be able to find his was here. I do not vouch for the truth of this story, however it is certain that the Little Head left him purposely in order to have it more in his power to absent himself and not come to the Fort. until after our departure for above though he promised faithfully to be back in three or four days which promise I am sure was only to get rid of us with a good grace. In the evening the people arrived with all the Packs, six frenchmen and eight Indians, gave each of the latter the value of two skins each ammunition for bringing over each a pack. The Packs were all so ill made and tied with such small cords that we were obliged to set the people immediately about untying them in order to be made over again but it being late they only made one up.

Monday May 19th.

Cloudy weather and several showers of rain fell in course of the day. Early in the morning set all hands about the Packs and they were finished in the afternoon. The furs are really fine. They were chiefly killed in the proper season and many of them are superior to any I have seen in Athabasca being quite black and being well dryed excepting that they are not all stretched in the proper shape. D'Allain arrived from the other end of the Portage early but as he goes out, hired Menard to accompany us in his place. D'Allain was willing to go and would be a useful man but he made some objections on account of his not being allowed to take his woman with him, another consideration that induced me to part with him is that there is not any other person here with whom I can trust the canoe that goes down. its load consists of 28 Packs. St. Pierre that was here as *boute de canot* above was reduced to a middleman and made to turn off the woman that La Malice allowed him to take last winter at Trout Lake. Previous to these arrangements I spoke again to La Malice and told him that I was particularly in want of him, and told him to tell in few words what he intended to do. he said he knew himself what he was obliged to do, but that I did not but if he expected the woman he had would accompany him whether he went up or down that he would be mistaken to which he replied that the woman was sold him and that he considered her as his property that he was not obliged by his engagement to come to any part of the Peace River and much less to go farther but if allowed to keep the woman that he was willing to follow where ever I would lead. I told him that however I might be in want of him that I would not embark the best man in Athabasca on such conditions that however I might acceed it as a favor that I would not oblige myself and that he had only one choice of two to make either, to accompany me or go to Montreal, after some reflection he preferred the former and told me he would go *par plaisir* but not *par obligation* and he immediately aranged himself to be off to the other end of the Portage, but previous to his departure, I called him in and told him though I would not oblige myself to embark his woman that now since he was ready to go without I would grant him permission to take her but not as his property however that he might keep her as long as he would remain in that quarter and behaved well provided she was willing to remain with him, after which they both went off to-gether.

Tuesday 20th May.

Early in the morning took an account of all the property remaining at this place (R. M. P.) and closed the transactions of the year, and after I had finished writing my public and private letters we settled the canoe for below to be off at five men, and Mr. Stuart and I crossed the River with them after which they departed at 3 P. M. Previous to our departure all the people that goes above with us crossed the River with the large canoe previous to its being loaded, as there are no other large canoe at the Fort to cross after it is off, Mr. A. M. Gillervray who has the Fort in charge remains with only Beyson's family until the return of Beyson from Dunvegan which I expect will be very soon. It was ten oclock at night when we got to the upper end of the Portage, the road is amazing bad and the Portage is at least 14 or 15 miles long.

Wednesday May 21st.

Fine weather. Weakened all hand early to purpose the canoes and everything else to be off in the afternoon. But on account of one of the canoes the one from Trout Lake being small and our having a quantity of fresh meat over, enough to conduct us to Finlay's branch we could not embark all on board the two canoes withouut being too heavily loaded therefore set La Malice and two others to arrange another canoe that remained here since last summer. La Malice appears to slur it so that we will set off from here with three men & canoe. about sun set Mr. Stuart and I took our departure with two canoes, and encamped at the first point. La Malice will follow tomorrow as soon as the canoe will be arranged, Mr. Stuart canoe made a great deal of water and is so rood and ill made that they were every moment in danger of over setting it, for which reason we will be obliged to pass a couple of days at this place to arrange it. It is the worst made that ever I saw and is more like a trough than a canoe, and I am surprised how Mr. McDougall who was present would allow such a one to be made. It would be more easy to make a new one than to arrange it. Mr. Stuart takes the courses and charts of the River.

Thursday 22nd May.

Fine weather early in the morning. part of the people were sent for wood to make verangues, while the others took all the wood out of the canoe and gummed it properly in side. the bars were likewise taken out and others were long, put in their place after which it was sebarded with verangues not so round as the other that were before which with properly gummed it outside kept all hands bussy all day so that we could not be off until 7 P.M. however as we marched late we came to our first encampment of last Fall where we put for the night. distance about 7 miles. notwithstanding all possible pains were taken to gum and arrange Mr. Stuart's canoe it still leaks so much water that several things got wet. This is the new canoe that La Malice made at Trout Lake. it is not only ill made but the bark is very bad. I have the canoe I came off with from Lac la Pluie last summer which is not much better than the other. It was a good canoe but got much spoiled last Fall in the ice at Trout Lake and afterwards going down to the Portage and I could not get it renewed this spring for the want of a canoe maker. Indeed Mr. Stuart would have made it but it was at the upper end of the Portage and he had too much to do at the Fort to leave it for such a time as would be required to renew the canoe.

Friday, May 23rd.

Fine warm weather. we were obliged to gum both canoes this morning, before we set off having arrived too late last night to perform that operation. a strong head wind all day. At noon we were obliged to put ashore to gum the canoes being so leaky that we could not prevent the property from getting wet. here we lost four hours and yet we were obliged to put ashore and encamp about an hour before sunset to gum again in order to be off early in the morning. Little Gervais who steers Mr. Stuart's canoe is not able to keep it straight. indeed the want of a steerman will greatly retard our progress up this strong current. The water was rather low when we left the Portage but is now rising faster, however though we seldom make use of the paddles the bottom being good it is good going by the pole.

Saturday 24th May.

We set off early but gummed both the canoes in course of the day. In the afternoon La Malice overtook us and we encamped all together. he has been pretty expeditious. The computed distance of this day is only 12 miles. The canoes are so very bad, and so poorly manned, one of them having a middleman to steer it that we cannot advance much.

Sunday May 25th.

Set off early, and soon after came to the foot of the strongest Rapid we saw yet. the canoes were towed up with the line but one of them struck upon a stem which broke a small hole in the bottom and it took us near an hour to repair it. afterwards we gummed the three canoes which operation took upwards of two hours. we came to and encamped at a little River that falls into the main on the right side and gummed all the canoes again.

Monday May 26th.

Fine weather. the sun was up when we left our encampment and shortly after we came to a strong Rapid. Mr. Knight? mentions his being obliged to make a Portage of 400 yards to pass it, but if so the water must have been considerable lower than at present for we found a fine passage along shore on the right and had the water been higher it would have been still better we towed up the canoes with the line but one of them got a little damaged which took but a short time to repair, but we were afterwards obliged to gum which made us lose a considerable time. At one of my encampments of last Fall I was surprised to find upwards of a foot of snow, in the place of my Tent. The mountains are all covered with snow, but is chiefly disolved near the banks of the River, and it is not a little curious at this late period of the season to see snow drifting on the top of the mountains which are of no great height, while we are scorching with heat on the banks of the River. We encamped about sunset and gummed all the canoes.

Monday 26th May, Cont.

They are so very bad that though we had upwards of a keg on leaving the Portage that we soon get out of gum and are now obliged to gather for daly use. Here we over took a band of Meadow Indians who are on their

way to the Beaver Country beyond Finlays branch. La Malice killed a Rein Deer that was crossing the River for this we may thank one of the Indians dogs that chased it and brought it to the River side. Previous to our arrival at the Indians we were greatly amused looking at some of the Indians running after the wild sheep which they call *As-pah*. They are really expert, indeed running full speed among the perpendicular rocks which had I not ocular demonstration I could never believe to have been trained by any creature either of the human or brute creation for the rocks appeared to us which perhaps might be exagerated a little from the distance to be as steep as a wall and yet while in pursuit of the sheep they bounded from one to another with the swiftness of a Roe, and at last killed two in their snares, one of which we traded for ammunition merely for a rarity. They have great resemblance to the European sheep the wool is almost as fine perfectly white, and upwards of six inches long and when fat the Indians represent the flesh as excellent eating. at present that it is meagre it is rather tuff and has a strong musk taste and smell.

Tuesday 27th.

Fine warm weather the water rises very fast. Indeed it has risen upwards of three feet since we left the Portage and though the current is amazing strong it is exceedingly good going as yet. We came to and encamped at the last Rapid which is about 2 miles below the Forks on Finlays branch. La Malice who was before us attempted to ascend this Rapid with the pole but Mr. Stuart who was the nearest to him called to him to desist and I gave him a set down for risking the property so much where it was necessary. It was really difficult to come up this Rapid and we were obliged to take out the load and carry it over a rocky point of 400 yards and the canoes was taken up light, had the water been lower we could have gone up easyly loaded. and had it been higher we could effect the same thing by a safe passage along the right shore that at present contains only water enough to take up the canoes light. La Malice who was first up left his canoe with only the bow of it on shore and while he was bussy at the lower end it went off and ran down the Rapid. it received however no injury and they went for it with another canoe. I was much displeased with La Malice on this occasion and as well as his attempting to go up with a full load and threatened him severely if he was not more careful in the future. It was after dark before everything was carried to the upper end of the Portage of course the canoes could not be gummed which will make us go off late tomorrow. Several of the Indians followed us until within a short distance of our encampment we march to day by Mr. Stuarts calculation 19 miles which is the greatest distance we have done yet in a day. At this place he lost his book of memorandum, having wrapped it up in his cloak and left it on the rock while he went to help the people that were taken up the canoes. the line got entangled in the cloak with out anyone perceiving it and on the men's pulling it the cloak with the contents flew into the River, the cloak was saved but the memorandum perished and the campass was near sharing the same fate.

Wednesday May 28th.

Still fine weather. it was 9 oclock before the canoes could be prepared to be off. In the morning Pouce Coupe's comrade came to us with a couple of Indians that never saw white people before. they are exceedingly well clothed in leather and though they never were at the Fort, they have guns

which they got from their relations. they are the relations of the Meadow chief but of a different family. They gave us some information about their lands. What information we got from these Indians is chiefly about Finlay's branch and the country beyond it, which is conformable to what we have heard from the other Indians at the Portage. The only additional information we got from them is that there is an immense number of Beaver all along Finlay's branch and the River that falls into it and that there are a few camibance about what they call the Bear Lake. They seem to be well acquainted with the Carriers with whom they live in amity and from whom I imagine they got the most part of their Iron works and ornaments at least they are of the same kind. They desired us to be on our guard and beware of the At-Tah which is the name both them and the big men gives the Atnah tribe whom they represent as more treacherous than realy wicked and would likely if not aware shoot their arrows at us. By what we could understand from these Indians as well as the others whom we saw at the Portage, nothing can be more erroneous than what Sir A. M. K. reports that it was the near branch of the Peace River he followed. The Indians consider the western branch always as the main. it is more than twice as large as the eastern branch and does not terminate so soon, on the contrary the source of the east branch is comparatively near at hand of which I will take notice afterwards but he seems to have been ambitious of having traced the Peace River to its source as well as Confluence. This is not the only mistake he seems to have committed, whether designedly or not I cannot say but this I can affirm that from the Portage to Fenleys branch and which I contend to be the main branch of the Peace River we had few of the difficultees he mentions to have encountered. The navigation is not only safe but as easy as in the lower part of the Peace River and I have often had more difficulty during the high water coming up there with three men than here. The distance does not appear to be much above ninety or a hundred miles at most and a canoe well manned might have performed it in three days as the water is now in the long days and had our canoes been any wise good even with three men we would have performed it in five, and as for the water, and I am sure we have been as much in it as him, we have not felt it more cold than in other parts of the country which makes me inclined to believe that he has exagerated all along, but then he was the first that passed and it was pardonable in him and I have not the least desire to detract from his merits. his perserverance was commendable and he succeeded where perhaps many others would have failed.

We traded with the Indians that came with Pouce Coupés Comrade, and made them a present of 10 balls and a little powder. We informed them of their being a Fort established at Trout Lake to which place they promised to go in the course of the summer it being nearer their lands and was out of reach of their enemies the Beaver Indians than the Portage. We left the main branch on the west and entered the other on the east at 11.

A. M. which is overflown and the current was so very strong that it was with much difficulty we could advance. No use can be made of the Poles on account of the depth of the water excepting some times against the banks and drift wood and the current runs with such velocity that it cannot be steamed with three paddles, and not easily with four for we often help them ourselves and the banks are so thickly interwoven with trees and shrubs that it is seldom they can be approached so that there is no method left except that of going up by pulling the branches, and the canoe are in continual danger of being broke to pieces by the drift wood. Killed a swan in the course of the day and encamped late, having finished the remainder of our fresh meat gave all hands where with to sup of dried meat. The men are very much fatigued and some of them are very near given up.

Thursday, May 29th.

Fine weather the water still rising and wood continually drifting down the River. My canoe was very near being cut in two, two of B. Revard's dogs were lost, they not being able to follow the canoe, we saw several Beaver in the course of the day and came to and encamped at sun set upon a bank of gravel opposite my first encampment last Fall in this River which I consider as a good day. indeed the current was less strong than yesterday, as the men force much in this River we allow them to make three meals a day and as they eat all together out of the same bag of Pemecan we put ashore for that purpose and afterwards it is laid aside and not touched until next meal. this we find to be the best saving way and the men are better off and better pleased than if they ate a little at every Pipe.

Friday May 30th.

Fine weather we set of at half past 4 A. M. but at the second Pipe a stump seen through my Canoe which obliged us to put ashore and we lost two hours to repair and gum it. In the forenoon Mr. Stuarts canoe made so much water that they were obliged to put ashore to gum which operation took up two hours during that interval Mr. Stuart had an observation for Latitude, we encountered more misery to day than any day yet and were obliged to cut several logs and embarass to open a Passage. my canoe through the awkwardness of the Bouttes was very much endangered and every soul on board near perishing. In the afternoon we passed a strong Rapid at a point which gave us much trouble to ascend on account of the Rocks being perpendicular, and no better for the poles we were obliged to send down the line by tying a stick to it which was caught by the man in the bow of the canoe in which manner all the canoes were towed up one after the other with a half load, and the rest of the loads were carried over a Rocky point off about 200 yards. encamped about 1½ miles above the Rapid on an Island. the computed distance of this day is only 8½ miles, and yet all hands worked hard all day.

Saturday May 31st.

Fine weather but rather cold. In the morning at the second pipe my canoe broke upon a stump and it required two hours to mend and gum it. and before noon the same accident happened to Mr. Stuart's and it took up three hours to repair it. We encamped at sun set upon a high bank about 5 miles below the Prairie, this days progress was only 11 miles.

Sunday June 1st.

The weather was rather cold in the morning, but afterwards exceeding warm. Indeed I never saw such a changeable climate. At one moment we are shivering with cold, and the next scorching with heat. The water begins to lower and there is but very little wood drifting, but we had the worst going of any day as yet owing to the strength of the current, the depth of the water and the badness of the canoes. In the forenoon La Malice broke his canoe and put ashore to mend it, with the intention of being off immediately, but as soon as the canoe was taken out of the water St. Pierre fainted and remained speechless upward of an hour which enduced La Malice to band his canoe thinking to have done before St. Pierre recovered, which

made us lose upwards of three hours, My canoe was also gummed and I can say with truth it was much in want of it. Stuart was ahead at the time and we overtook him at the Prairie waiting for us. we came to an encampment after sun set about 2 miles below River au nation. The computed distance of today is only 10 miles which to me appeared very long.

Monday June 2nd.

Fine day. Exceedingly bad going until we passed the River au Nation which is a fine navigable River on the right and so called because the upper part of it is inhabited by some of the big men though of a different family from those at Trout Lake, after which the current slackened a little. Here we left one of the canoes and separated its load on the other two on account of all the men being nearly exhausted with fatigue and especially La Garde who steered my canoe since the 26th of last month, has such a sore wrist that he is no more able to. La Malice who served in that capacity since the Portage undertakes to steer it to Trout Lake, and I expect to go on better by having all hands on board the two canoes hitherto we were not able to embark all in the two canoes but now that all the fresh meat and three pieces of the dried provisions are consumed we will not be much embarassed. Indeed it is not the load entirely that prevented us leaving a canoe sooner but considering the crazy state they are in it would be risking our own lives and the property to attempt to load them anywise to come up such strong and rapidious current, chiefly by the branches, we came to and encamped opposite a small Island at the distance of 11 miles from our encampment of last night. In the evening the weather was cloudy and all appearances of rain and before we went to bed it began a small drizzling rain, which continued the most part of the night.

Tuesday 3rd June.

It rained in the morning which prevented our setting off until half past 7 A. M. Indeed it did not displease me to have a pretext to indulge the people with a little rest, which they stood much in need of. Several showers fell through the day. At 1 P. M. we put ashore to gum, at my third encampment of last where we took up two hours. We encamped a little before sun set on account of my canoe being broke in the side having struck against an embaras. both canoe have become so heavy and shattered that they cannot be taken out of the water by less than 4 men. to-day's distance is 11½ miles.

Wednesday 4th June.

Several showers of rain and hail fell in course of the day. All hands were bussy engaged about three hours gumming Mr. Stuart's canoe which leaked so much that the pieces could not be kept from getting wet. Encamped within an hour of sun set. distance 15 miles.

Thursday 5th.

Several showers of rain and hail, notwithstanding we set off early, but about 8 A. M. as our progress was very slow and the current so amazing strong we unloaded each of the canoes of nine pieces in order to go more expedi-

tiously and get to the entrance of the small River to day and to send down a canoe immediately on our arrival, we encamped at 6 P. M. about 2 miles up the River that leads to Trout Lake. Notwithstanding the River that leads to this place, Trout Lake is a considerable large and navigable River in all seasons. it does not appear to have been noticed by Sir A. M. K. as he used to indulge himself sometimes with a little sleep, likely he did not see it and I can account for many other omissions in no other manner than his being asleep at the time he pretends to have been very exact, but was qualified to make observations and inclined to find fault with him I could prove that he seldom or ever paid the attention he pretends to have done, and that many of his remarks were not made by himself but communicated by his men. It is certainly difficult to stream the current of the east branch during the high water, but not near so much as he makes it. There is scarcely a point in it but a canoe with six paddles would go up with ease and if we had so much difficulty it is not so much owing to the difficulty of the navigation itself as the badness of the canoes and the awkwardness of the Bouts, particularly steermen. a canoe well manned might come from Fenlay's branch to the entrance of the River that leads to Trout Lake the fifth day with ease. on our entering the east branch there was a very perceptable change in the climate and the vegetation was far advanced whereas as below Finlays branch the trees did not begin to bud. I suppose owing to the vicinity of the Mountains but along this River they are at a great distance and often out of sight. The banks of the River and the country in general appears to be low and in every place marshy, and there is a great deal of Beaver marks all along, and we saw the tracks of large animals in way places, as likewise observed some jays of a sky color but no other birds that are not common in the Peace River. we likewise saw a vast quantity of the Canadian balsom trees all along, the first we perceived was at Finlay's branch and in the vicinity of Trout Lake which is small but which has a water communication with others more large beyond in a southern direction, there is plenty of hemlock and some of the serven tree, but with the exception of the *Bois picant* we saw no other tree or shrubs except such as are common in the Peace River. The Elder however is more large there being some of four feet in circumference.

The distance from our last encampment to the little River is computed at 15 miles.

Friday June 6th.

It rained all last night and this morning which prevented our setting off until 8 A. M. We left all the provisions and many other things in cache, and Mr. Stuart and I embarked in one canoe, with four common men and La Malice with only the goods that will be necessary to be left at Trout Lake and such of our other things as will be required. The reason of our leaving the remainder of the goods in cache is that we are to return as soon as we can get two canoe made, the Eastern branch being our route to the Carriers, and it has become a work of necessarly, to get new canoes made the old ones being so much worn and shattered as not to be able to proceed farther. The small river is still more hard to ascend than the other, the current being much more strong. on crossing the small Lake which is upwards of two miles long we perceived an Indian canoe near the east shore but it blew to hard for them to come to us and we were in to much hurry to go to them. from there we found several lines set along the

River which had been set in the morning. we visited them all and took two trouts which made an excellent supper. we encamped upon a bank of gravel about two miles below the Fort, but Mr. Stuart's compass having got wet, it is out of order and he does not take the courses but the distance from the cache to our encampment may be about 20 miles, if the Small Lake is upwards of 2 miles.

Saturday 7th June.

We set off at sun rise but afterwards put ashore to dry ourselves and prepare our arms, and while we were on shore the Montagne de boutte and Little Heads in Tabot Tho' came up with us in two Pine canoes with their families. it was them we saw yesterday in crossing the Little Lake. They informed us that Mr. McDougall was at the house alone with only an Indian and that Blias was gone to the Carp Lake but that he was expected back to day. We arrived at the house between 10 and 11 A. M. Mr. McDougall has been anxiously waiting for us these several days. he informed us that several of the Carriers are daily expected here, and that all the Indians of this place are at the Carp Lake where there are immense numbers of fish of the Carp kind and that there is no fish caught in this Lake excepting a very few carp on account of the water being to high notwithstanding which we are determined to feed all hands with fish while we remain here making canoes, and for that purpose began immediately to prepare the nets, Mr. Stuart being the most expert hand mending he mended them all and Saucier and the others set six and the Indians set some also. Sent La Garde with an Indian in a Pine canoe to the cache near the confluence of the River to tell the people that are there what pieces they are to bring up. The Indian is to come up with the people in the large canoe tomorrow and La Garde is to remain there to take care of the pieces and that he may not touch the provisions he had the value of 4 measures ammunition to hunt for himself, there being plenty of Gibier there about. Sent likewise Mr. McDougall and Wananshish to the Carp Lake to desire the *Big Men* Indians of this place to come here with loads of fish and to conduct the carriers here should they have arrived there. The old Barbun arrived soon after ourselves he brought a few furs and Carpe.

Sunday 8th June.

Fine weather, Bazile, Saucier, and Gagnon employed splitting and bringing Canoe wood here and Mr. Stuart and La Malice began to make verangues. In the evening the four men from below arrived with the pieces they were ordered to bring and soon after Mr McDougall and Blias arrived accompanied by six Carriers, three of which never saw the Fort before, three big men came also loaded with fish.

Monday 9th June.

Weather the same as yesterday, Sent Bazile and St. Pierre to rise bark for two Canoes, Blias, Guvais and La Londe to split and bring Canoe wood and Gagnon and Minard gum which Saucier was employed about the nets but the meshes being to large there are but few fish caught in them. however the Indians take a good many in their willow nets which they share

with us. The remainder of the big men arrived they brought a few furs and between six and seven hundred dried carpe and a few Roes. two of the Carriers paid 21 skins Credit as part payment of what they had from Mr. McDougall at the beaver River and the others that did not owe traded about a dozen skins, and in the afternoon they all excepting one whom we keep as guide went off. they are to return immediately, the distance across land being comparatively short and meet us with provisions at the Fork of the River that leads to their Lake. We endeavoured to get some information concerning their country and a chart of it, but they are no wise communicative or intelligent. Mr. McDougall was bussily engaged settling the Indians to be off to morrow, that they may go to Carp Lake to dry and bring us more fish.

Thursday 10th June.

Still fine weather all hands employed as yesterday. We took only 20 fish in some nets but the Montagne de bout brought us 52, spoke to him and the Little Heads brother in law to accompany us to the Carriers in the capacity of interpreters, guides hunters etc. The latter is not much inclined to go but the former is ready and willing. all the Indians went off. most part of them go the Carp Lake with orders to be back in five nights with fish. The old Barbin and band are to go towards the Lakes of the height of land where they promise to make provisions and wait for us upon the road where we expect to find them in fifteen days hence. The Little Head brother-in-law- and Montagne de bouth fish here abouts. The water is so high that they cannot kill Beaver with Bows and arrows or spears, and we are so scarce of ammunition that we cannot afford to give them any. The Carriers *Ran Chuse* who remained there to accompany us to the Columbia asked leave to go to the Carp Lake for two nights which was granted and he left his axe and bag as a pledge for his returning.

Wednesday 11th June.

Notwithstanding several showers of rain fell the weather was fine and warm, only 13 fish in 7 nets. The men finished splitting canoe wood and brought the remainder here. at dusk Bazile and St. Pierre with 40 odd fathoms of bark and birch to make small verangues arrived. Bazile says there are a great many birch trees, but that the birch of most every one of them is bad.

Thursday June 12th.

Several small showers of rain fell in course of the day. Sent Bazile and Blais to procure more bark their not being a sufficient of what they brought yesterday good to make two Canoes. All wood is nearly finished, and to morrow we will begin to make one. The woman that St. Pierre had last winter and which he was made to return at the Portage accompanied the Barbue her father.

Friday 13th June.

Fine weather. As it was late before everything was ready to begin the Canoe we only had the bottom and fixed the maitres and entraves. caught only 7 carp in as many nets. The meshes are so very large and the fish so small that they all pass through the nets. Saucier who is the fisherman went to set a couple of nets at the entrance of a small river at about 2 miles of in the Lake.

Saturday 14th June.

Fine weather all hands were busyly engaged at the Canoe but it goes on but slow, Mr. Stuart being the only one that can fix anything. *Ran Chuse* arrived from the Carp Lake and brought a small load of dried fish. he says that while he was there more Carriers arrived from their lands but as they have no furs do not intend to come here. at sun set Bazile arrived and brought four or five small Rolls of bark which is very bad. Saucier came with him and brought only 3 trout and 10 Carp which is all he took in all the nets. Blias is gone to the other end of the Lake, having sent him in quest of Montagne de bouth whom we apprehand has disobeyed, and deserted, as he came not these three days with fish.

Sunday June 15th.

Fine weather. early in the morning Blias arrived. he met the Montagne de bouth on his way here, so that he had no intention of absenting himself. Took the Canoe off the bed and after putting the timber into it we began the other. 16 fish.

Monday June 16th.

Still fine weather Sowed the large seams of the Canoe, and afterwards opened it, and sowed the Bass and part of the *Paigneis*. Saucier caught 36 fish in seven nets.

Tuesday 17th June.

Still fine weather. finished sewing the Canoe, and put the timber into it. La Malice who is sick kept his bed the most part of the day. he has been complaining for some time, and is under a course of medicine, ever since his arrival. So that he has done little or nothing. Saucier took 25 fish and the Montagne de bouth gave us 16.

Wednesday, 18th June.

Though the sun shone at intervals it blew a strong northerly wind and the weather was cold. Sewed the small seams of the first canoe and gummed it inside, but in attempting to band it, it broke and could not be mended for want of bark. A little before sunset the Little Head's brother in law and Montagne de bout arrived. The former was severely repremanded for his behavior and not being willing to accompany us to the Carriers. There was only 11 Carps taken today in all the nets.

Thursday 19th June.

Very cold weather nothing could be done to the canoes. Sent Bazile, Guvais and St. Pierre for bark to mend the Canoe that is broke, early this morning Blias and Wanenshish went to Carp Lake to make all the Indians come to the house with fish. we also perceived that the Little Head's brother-in-law decamped, he went off early we suppose, that he might not be compelled to go with us to the Carriers. Only 18 fish in all the nets.

Friday 20th June.

The weather was cold with showers of rain at intervals. Mr. S. Mended the Canoe that was broke and La Malice began to band the other but he not doing it to Mr. Stuarts liking he disisted. Bazile and Gervais fell down from a tree yesterday as he was rising bark and hurt himself. he has the Preveties much swoolen. he has been unwell and complained of a pain in the back ever since we came of from the Portage which probably proceeds from his having fallen in the Portage the first trip he made with pieces on the snow with trains.

Sat. 21st June.

In the forenoon Blas and Wanashish with all the Indians, (excepting two) loaded with a few dried carp each amongst them all they all 300 or 400 arrived. The Little Heads brother in law came back with them and as he is the most capable Indian to accompany us I told him that he should absolutely go, and in the evening all the others went off excepting the Montagne de bouth who goes also. But previous to their departure I employed the Mosie de dents de Biche, seemingly the best hunter and who I would take with us in place of Tabah Tha', had not his woman been sick he hunts for Mr. McDougall during the summer. finished banding the Canoes and scraped them. They are realy fine Canoes being large and seemingly the most solid I have seen yet, but then the bark is none of the best.

Sunday 22nd.

Fine weather until 2 P. M. when it began to rain which continued for the remainder of the day. before the Canoes were dry and *liehes* put upon one of them it was late so that the last of them was gummed wet. In the morning a young man arrived with some fish and asked leave to accompany us to the Carriers which was allow him on accaunt of the others wishing to have him with them. About 5 P. M. the Little Heads brother-in-law, Le Montagne de bouth and the young man went ahead in a small Pine Canoe to shoot Beaver, and left their women and children to embark with us in the large Canoes but it was almost dusk before the people were done gumming the Canoes, so we could not go off.

Monday 23rd June.

Bad weather. it rained all the forenoon, and as Mr Stuart had some work of our own to do we did not set off till the afternoon. came to an encampment at the *Cache* where we found La Garde who says that he lived well upon his own hunt all the time he has been here and the dried provisions do not appear to have been touched. I left the Post of Trout Lake in charge of Mr. James McDougall with only one man, Saucier to pass the summer with him but the man embarked with us to return from the cache with some Iron works that the Indians may be supplied early in the Fall with the necessary articles to kill Beaver so at present he remains all alone spoke to and enquired of Bazil Guvais who appears still to be sick. if he was able to continue with us and if not that he would remain here and that Saucier would take his place. he told me that he was not very able

but that he would continue and do his best but that he feared should he continue and become entirely disabled that he would be reproached, in answer to which I told him that it would be very difficult for us to go up the current with only three men, and that this was the time for him to determine while we had another man to replace him, but he seemed desirous of continuing from which I confer that he is not much hurt though La Malice told me that he was more so than he pretended to be, however such as he was that he would be better than any other we had so we went to bed without determining whether he would go or remain. The Little Heads brother-in-law killed a Beaver which he gave us.

Tuesday 24th June.

Fine weather. Gave out the loading in the morning, which including the provisions with the mens and our own things is upwards of 20 pieces each, after which I enquired of Bazil again if he was able and willing to accompany us to which he replied that he was not very able but that he was willing and desirous to continue on but that I might do as I thought best. I told him therefore that he might continue the after man, Saucier being both weak and sickly and scarcely able to preform the duty of a middleman, much less that of a bouth and Bazil is hired foreman I thought it best to put him, thinking it would be soon well. so we pushed off down the current until we could come to the main river and then I steered up a strong and rapidous stream. The water has lowered greatly since we passed here the 6th Inst. just as we left the little River and entered the large my Canoe struck on a bank of gravel and gave such a jerk that the foreman fell and hurt his side against the *maitre*. we only came on about two miles when we put ashore to breakfast, and in order to be more saving of the provisions we weighed the Pemican and allowed 3 lb. In the mean time one of the Canoes was taken out of the water to be gummed and when they were near done, La Malice came and informed us that Bazile was entirely disabled. This surprise and vexed me to see him in such a condition. he ought to have told us in the morning of his being so far gone, he seemed so desirous of accompanying us that instead of being worse I conferred that he was not really so ill as he pretended to be otherwise I would certainly have taken Saucier at once. Immediately ordered six men in one of the Canoes to take Bazile with his wife and baggage to where we left Saucier making a Pine canoe to return to Mr. McDougalls, and there leave him and take Saucier in his place. They were not absent two hours on this errand. On this occasion we lost six hours on shore gumming, sending back Bazile and bringing Saucier, melting grease that was in bags and putting it into kegs. The Carrier and the young man are a head in a small canoe and Tabah Tha and Montagne de bout with their families are on board our canoes. came to and encamped late opposite a high sandy bank. Tahah Tha killed a Beaver and the Montagne caught a fine trouth both of which they gave us. had fine weather going all day and could use either Paddles or Poles, the bottom being good as we chose.

Wednesday 25th June.

Fine weather. we set off early and came on well all day without loosing any time accepting an hour and a half that was required to weigh the provisions for the People and allowing them time to eat which they do on shore and another at noon that Mr. Stuart took to observe. we came to and encamped a little before sun set near a small Lake that the Indians said

abounded with Beaver. they went a hunting but had no success. But they killed one before we encamped. La Malice paddled only at intervals, to day he being unwell and in the evening he declared himself disabled and told Mr. Stuart that he was afraid that he was enruptured but by the medicine he takes (for I never heard of a syringe being used for a rupture) it appears to me that it is the ——— disease. but whatever it is he appears to suffer very much and is quite disabled. It is really vexing that he did not inform us of being unwell before he left Trout Lake. as would have been left there rather than be burdened with him along the voyage. our situation is realy critical with the set of awkward men we have, there not being even a good bouth and all the bad places are yet to be passed. we could not provide ourselves with better men there being none of that description at the Portage excepting one, namely Grandbois whom I sent down to Dunvegan with letters the beginning of April and he remained there. here we overtook the Carrier and the young man who were ahead. we will be obliged to embark them having sent their Canoe against a stump. it is quite broke and cannot be used any more.

Thursday 26th June.

The Indians had left some of their paddles at the Lake where they were last night looking for Beaver, and as they were obliged to go for them this morning it was half past four when we embarked. The current was very strong most part of the day and the water rises a little, we encamped a little before sun set.

Friday 27th June.

We set off at an early hour this morning and breakfasted at a considerable large River that flows into the main on the left side. It is better than one half as wide as the one we navigated. after passing this River the current slackened and we went on well but was obliged to put ashore on account of La Malice where we lost four hours. As he could not sleep for several nights past last night Mr. Stuart gave him 30 drops laudnum and he complains of being worse since on which account we gave him a vomit. we were not far gone from this place when we came to a strong current and rapidous place of about 3 miles long but above the current was slack and we came on with great expeditious including the Indian women and all there being seven or eight Paddles in each Canoe, and a little before sun set we found four young men of the Barbins band exactly where Sir A. M. K. found the first Indians upon his expedition in 1793. here we formed our encampment for the night. These young men informed us that they separated from the old Barbin some time ago but that he is waiting for us about half a days march farther on. They likewise told us that they killed a bear this morning, the meat of which is yet to the fire and as their Lodges are near they were going for it early tomorrow. Our hunters Killed a Beaver and a couple of Outards. La Malice seems very weak and often delerious and yet he eats as well as the others.

Saturady 28th June.

The young men brought the meat of the Bear early, and as it was cut up for to dry by the women it was worth but two skins. two of the young men embarked with us to accompany us to the old Barbun and it was past five when we set off. We did not continue more than a third of a mile when

we passed a River half as long as this that flows in upon the left. The current was very slack and about noon we came to a River that flows in upon the left as large as the one we navigated. There we found the old Barbun in the very identical spot he was found by Mr. Finlay in the summer of 1797. he has been here several days waiting our arrival and has four strangers with him, relations of his that never saw white people before. The old fellow went for them to the Lakes of the height of land, so we can say with justice that he is the author of our seeing them at present. They examined us with great admiration and attention and seemed quite pleased at meeting us. They say that ever since Mr. Finlay has been in this quarter that they kept hereabouts in hopes of seeing white people. As they promised to go to Trout Lake in course of the summer and kill plenty of Beaver to take with them, gave them a few articles on credit. Traded two small Pine Canoes from the old Barbue to send our hunters a head to kill Beaver there being a vast number from here to the height of land. we got not other provisions than a few small fish from these Indians. soon after our arrival at the Indians a heavy shower of hail fell followed by the rain which continued the remainder of the day which nevertheless did not prevent our setting off as soon as we had done with the Indians. It was 5 P. M. when we left the Indians and we were accompanied by an elderly man one of the strangers and his sons who returns to his wife and children which he left at the height of land, we were not above half an hour gone when La Malice jumped on shore we being near the bank and fell down speechless. this obliged us to put ashore and pitch our tents for the night in an abominable bad place and no wood to make a fire. As it rained we had much trouble to clear a place and unload the canoes, and after that was effected Mr. Stuart returned to the place where we left the Indians with six men and all the nets in order to set them in case we should be obliged to remain here tomorrow on account of La Malice. By all appearances if he is really as bad as he pretends he will not live long. we are all really ill of, in regard to the men Saucier is sick Gagnon complains of his side, Blias of having a pain, and a lump upon his stomach and Guvais is not well and La Londe is not able to steer his canoe. Our hunters being ahead and not knowing that we remain here sent three men for them in case they might be displeased at their women being here without themselves. They all returned before dark and Mr. S. came back with an Indian after he had prepared all the nets and left the men there to set and care of them with orders to be here early in the morning.

Sunday 29th June.

Rainy weather. the men were back early with the nets but no fish however it was past 7 A. M. before La Malice was ready to be off. About noon we were obliged to put ashore and light a fire to warm La Malice and cook for him. he will not eat nothing but cakes and pemican boild up with flour and sweetened with sugar. This made us lose a couple of hours. We encamped about sun set in a bad place and yet a better place could not be found on account of the country being low and marshy and over flowed with water.

Monday 30th June.

Bad rainy weather, notwithstanding which we set off early and soon passed a considerable River that flows in from the left close to the place called by Sir. A. M. K. the Beaver Lodge. About half a mile farther on we

passed another River on the right and then put ashore to cook for La Malice. Soon after we left the main branch on the left and entered another small River on the right, the waters of which are very clear and deep. (Sir A. M. K. represents this River as terminating in the mountains near hand but if the Indians be allowed to know better than him it is not so for they say that it is navigable much farther and terminates in a small Lake where the *sinew en baulenne*. In many place this side of Trout Lake the River is shallow and in the Fall I am of opinion that canoes would not easily pass. This River I cannot understand which hath its source. In its present state it is at last fifty yards under and the one we entered is twenty yards. All the large River that falls in from the left this side of Trout Lake the Indians represent as navigable for their canoes for a considerable distance and say that they terminate in small Lakes not far from one another near the sources of the different branches of the Sineu River, where Large animals are very numerous indeed they represent them as plenty at the distance of less than two days march from this place, and if so it would be an excellent station for a fort but of this here after.) The entrance of the first Lake was stopped with drift wood, but at the expense of some time and trouble we opened a passage into the Lake and advanced about a mile and a half where we found the strange Indian all ready mentioned with his family and also *Kanchuse* the Carrier who came ahead with him yesterday. The former seems very intelligent and communicative he gave us a great deal of information concerning this part of the Country and drew us a chart of it at which he seemed very expert, but off all that he told us the only thing worth mentioning is that had been at Trout Lake. he said he would have shown us a more safe and shorter way to the Columbia by which he said we would have been at the Carriers land ere now and that there was a Portage of a mile and one half at most from one of the Lakes beyond Trout Lake into a fine navigable River and no Rapids that flows into the Columbia. he gave us a few fresh and a good many dried white fish and a little Bears fat likewise two drysed and one green Aryenal skins for which he got goods we asked him to accompany us with his family to the next Lake in order to show us the best fishing place and set his own nets also. he immediately consented and some of his children embarked on board our canoes which himself and family soon followed in their small canoes. We continued to the extremety of the Lake about three miles and there unloaded at the height of land which is one of the finest Portages I ever saw between six and seven hundred yards long and perhaps the shortest interval of any between the waters that descend into the northern and southern oceans. on entering the next Lake which is about three miles long we began to glide with the current and had much trouble in trying to force our way out of it to the next Portage on account of the drift wood. here we unloaded and the Canoes and baggage here same as in the last Portage the distance is 160 yards to another Lake not quite so large as the last one and here we formed our encampment for the night.

Tuesday July 1st.

Very rainy bad weather notwithstanding all the nets were set. La Malice walked over both the Portages though we offered to carry him. he is very troublesome in his sickness and called Mr. Stuart to his tent to tell him his mind as he said and enquired if either of us owned him a grudge. This he asked he said because while at the Portage we disregarded him and now considered him now no more than a dog. Mr. Stuart told him that if either

of us owned him a grudge or had any thing to say to him that we would not wait his being in his present weak condition to do it and that if he had been in better health, since he began the subject himself he would perhaps tell him his opinion of himself and sickness. This assertion of his, La Malice is entirely false. we have been attentive and kind to him. nothing is more certain than that from the time he declared himself sick he was as well attended and taken care of as if it was one of ourselves and notwithstanding his complaints he used more than one half of the medicine (god knows good or bad) we possessed and destroyel more flour and sugar than both of us did since we left the Portage, and yet he threatens to remain upon the beech and not embark alledging that by agreement he is not obliged to voyage in this part of the country and not well taken care of. when we prepared to leave him here with a bag of Pemican exclusive of the other provisions we had, and a man to conduct him down to Trout Lake not one of them would consent to remain unless absolutely compelled, and as he is brutish and appears as if inclined to commit suicide we did not think it right to compel a man to remain with him, so we will be obliged to take him with us, and attend to him the best way we can and yet I must owe hat he is no very deserving but it is a duty incumbent on one christian to help another in distress and we will continue to take care of him more for our own sake than his. I recollect when St Pierre fell in a fit the 1st inst. he was abbanded by La Malice and scarcely drawn out of the water, and when I afterwards repremanded him for his apparent disregard of his duty as a christian even if he was indifferent to the feelings of humanity he told me laughing that as he thought he was dying he left him to die alone and set about mending his canoe but now it is his turn to suffer and he complains. he even said he would not embark unless we waited here a couple of days for him to see if he would get better and that he was not obliged to voyage along any part of the Peace River, much less upon the waters that decend to the Pacific Ocean but then he appears sometimes to be delireous and does not seem to know what he says so in his present situation we must put up with him. it would be both ungenerous and inhuman to abbandon him. took up the nets that were set last night but no fish in them I suppose owing to their being carelessly set late last night by the men. Mr. Stuart arranged them all properly and set them again. The Indians took a few white fish of a good size in their nets.

Wednesday 2nd July.

Weather same as yesterday. visited the nets in the morning and took some Trout and some white fish which were excellent. indeed the trout were of five different kinds some of which I had never seen before and the best I ever ate. on account of La Malice and the badness of the weather we did not set off until late in the afternoon. and before our departure we held a consultation about what we would do with La Malice, as he appears very weak at times and as he may make us lose much time we are at a loss whether to leave him here with a man to conduct him to Trout Lake when he gets better or take him with us, but it was the general opinion to take him with us, so we pushed off and after passing the Lake which is not quite three miles long we entered a small River between fifteen and twenty yards wide the current of which ran with great velocity, the passage from the Lake to the River being choaked up with driftwood. we had some trouble to clear our way. near the entrance of the River we passed a couple of Beaver dams and soon got to a large tree that laid across the River and it

was with great difficulty that we prevented the canoes from running against it, but we soon cut the tree and continued at the risk of breaking the canoes and we did not proceed far when they were so much hurt and leaked so much that we were obliged to put ashore and encamp. all hands were wet to the skin especially Mr. Stuart and myself being obliged to sit before the Canoes and visit the shore in case the channel might be stopped, and it rained so hard that all our baggage is wet by the rain as well as the leakage of the canoes.

Thursday July 3rd.

Rained constantly until noon and for the remainer of the day at intervals. Mr. Stuart set off with six and 11 Pieces in one canoe to examine the River as far as the Little Lake. They returned late after having encountered many obstacles and broke a large hole in the canoe which required a considerable time to repair. our progress will be very slow now, as we will be continuously compelled to put the people of both canoes in one on account of the current and Rapids being to strong to be managed by four men and none of them adroit. The navigation of this River is very dangerous on account of it being narrow, the current running so swift and many trees and *embaras* laid across.

Friday July 4th.

We set off early with both canoes as they were but lightly loaded and continued for about one and one half miles where we got to the head of a long and strong Rapid where we put some pieces on shore to be carried to the lower end, and the canoes were continued one after another by six men and one of ourselves and though they were but slightly loaded it was with much difficulty they were run down, and through the awkwardness of the men mine was run against a large *embaras* in the middle of the River which broke the bow and smashed all the pieces to the second bar, fortunately there was not much water in the River and the channel was narrow. All hands jumped out and pulled the wreck on shore before it had time to fill and sink. we lost most part of the day to mend it, and after all the etraves being broken to pieces and no wood to work at to make another or a sufficient quantity of bark it could not be put so well as it was before. This labor always falls to Mr. Stuart's lot there being no other person that can do it. While some of the people were employed about the canoe I sent five men down with the other canoe and seven pieces to the little Lake and they returned in the evening and my canoe being mended we went down with both and arrived after sun set. The Indians came down on foot through the woods and set their nets. we set one of ours also. N.B. Yesterday the goods were aired a little but could not be dried properly on account of the rain that fell at intervals.

Saturday July 5th.

The weather was cloudy both today and yesterday. at an early hour this morning I started with six men and twelve pieces but soon put five of them on the shore and continued with the remainder for about 3 miles and there left them and returned with the Canoe. This distance is a continual rapid we carried across an *Embaras* and cut several trees that were fallen across

the River. during my absence Mr. Stuart got all the property dried which it was in need of, and he returned down with another half load and will return in the morning. sent all the Indians down on foot in order to lighten our canoes There was no fish caught at this place excepting a few jut the Indians caught in their nets and we saw no Beaver along the River. But a carribue crossed the Lake which nevertheless escaped. La Malice seems to be better than he was for some time past likely he will be well when we get out of the River. he begins to find fault with the men and has strength to quarrel and beat his *lady*. I cannot comprehend his sickness. he has always had a good appetite and complains only of a severe pain in his bowels and *privates*.

Sunday July 6th.

Cloudy weather with some rain. Mr. Stuart returned at 8 A. M. The water rises fast for the pieces I left yesterday near hand were found by Mr. Stuart almost in the water though they were upward of a foot and a half above the level when I left them on my return here and the interval was not above 3 hours. We continued with both canoes until the place where the pieces were left yesterday, and from there Mr. Stuart continued with one canoe six men and twelve pieces for about a mile and a half where they were obliged to unload and carry over a point of 200 yards there they left their load and returned here. on their way down they had many trees and embaras to cut and in performing that, one of the men dropped a large axe and was near drowning himself besides. as soon as they returned we set off with both canoes but mine broke against an embaras about ⅓ of a mile above the Portage which obliged us to unload and take down the canoe light this caused us a considerable delay as all the Pieces were carried from this place to the Portage where we formed our encampment for the night. The Indians are ahead we did not see them since yesterday. Mr. Stuart and I went down the River for about a mile and a half to examine what difficulties we would have to encounter to morrow. we had such bad walking that it was past eleven oclock when we came back to the tents.

Monday 7th July.

Rained all day notwithstanding which we started early with one canoe and a half load and went down for about two miles where we unloaded where an embaras in the middle of the River and from thence returned to our encampment and there went off with both canoes but were obliged the canoes and load over the embaras which was a difficulty job on account of its height tho' not much more than 30 pieces. from this we got down about a mile and a half in the usual way (of sending a Canoe ahead to examine, lightly loaded with six men and one of ourselves and afterwards bringing down both together with the remainder of the loads.) to a succession of falls and Rapids where we were obliged to open a road wide enough to admit of the canoes and baggage being carried over a point of 800 yards which was completed by the conclusion of the day and the pieces carried better than half way. I went down about a mile on foot and as far as I could see it was a succession of falls and rapids. gave all hands a draw to cheer up their spirits after their violent exertion during the whole day. all hands worked hard and Mr. Stuart and my share of the labor is the most

difficult as we not only work in the canoes same as the others but are obliged either one or the other to examine the River on foot before we risk the canoes so that as soon as we arrive with the canoe at the place we we return from on foot we embark again to examine further on. *Konchuse* arrived from the large River where we left the other Indians making small canoes, to kill Beaver of which he says there are many. He likewise says the distance from there to the large River is not great but bad walking.

Tuesday July 8th.

Still raining all day same as yesterday. at 11 o'clock Mr. Stuart went off with *Kenchuse* to determine the distance and the best road from here to the large River, and returned at sun set after having been at the said River cold wet and hungry having walked most part of the time in water up to the knees. he says the distance is not great but that there is a steep hill to ascend and that it would be difficult to carry over it and more so to the remainder of the distance sometimes in water up to the middle. They did not see any vistages of the Knights road or see the hunters that are ahead. They seem to have gone down the River and in tracing their Road Mr. Stuart and Kenchuse lost themselves but in coming back they traced the River a long piece and is of opinion that the lower part will be less difficult than the past. Mr Stuart has his hands much swollen the effects of his violent exertions and being generally wet since in this River or else his having passed amongst poisonous weeds. at noon I began with two men to open the road about a mile farther down and the other six men carried both canoes over the road that was opened last night and ran them down one after another a long and dangerous Rapid with five pieces in each. This laborious task of carrying and running down the canoes, and opening the road. all hands began to carry and took all the baggage to the end of the road by sunset excepting La Malice who is yet at the other end of the Portage but there are six men gone to stop there and will be here early tomorrow with him. The people are more fatigued to day than any day yet on account of the Road being so bad, and the canoes have become so weighty that two men cannot carry them a hundred yards without being relieved. gave all hands a draw and I believe it is the first time that Mr Stuart and myself could relish a glass of high wines.

Wednesday 9th July.

It was late before the canoes was brought over the Portage and the canoes gummed after which we set off with one canoe six men and twelve pieces and continued for a mile and a quarter where we were stopped by fallen trees and *embaras* which rendered it necessary to unload and open a road to carry the canoes and baggage over a low point of 190 yards, after which we returned for the remainder of the baggage and continued on in the same manner until night alternately by land and water. The canoes were broke and spoiled greatly this day. we met the Montagne de-bouth coming before us from the large River, and says that they have made pine canoes and have killed five Beaver. This place we suppose to be the low spot where Sir A. M. K. carried across the neck of land to the Large River, he was mis-informed in saying it terminated in various branches, Mr. Stuart who was down yesterday at the Large River traced this River for some time and afterwards crossed it in many places is of opinoin that we will be able

to get to its confluence with the canoes and the Montagne de bauttes account of it agrees with his therefore we intend to continue by water as far as we can, all the goods are entirely wet and the provisions are spoiling. when we arrived at this place the canoes were no more able to float, their bottoms being entirely hashed, and after getting bark and gathering some gum we patched them up for the present. The weather was cloudy all day and towards the evening it rained.

Thursday 10th July.

Fine weather. after the canoes were gummed a little we continued on and had better going than we had reason to expect. The River (right branch) is narrow, but plenty of water to bear the canoes and the current is not strong which enabled us to continue on with both canoes with their full loads on. At 10 A. M. we arrived at the Large River opposite an Island without encountering any other difficulty than cutting several trees that laid across the channel and we were most happy at having exempted the long and bad carrying place and seeing ourselves once more on the banks of a fine and navigable River.

This is a fine River and not unlike the Athabasca but not so large and the Indian we left at the (height or point of land informed us that the uper end of it was the most ordinary residence of the *Says-Thaw Dennehs* (Bawcanne Indians) which corroberates with what the Carriers tell us of these Indians, they being enemies, when they go a hunting in that quarter, I have seen one that was wounded last summer and his brother was killed, which is likely the same that was mentioned by one of the Bancanne Indians last winter at Dunvegan as being killed here. All accounts agree that large animals as well as those of the fur kind are in great abundance particularly towards the upper end, could this be relied upon and that the Bancanne Indians are really there-abouts an establishment is my opinion would be well placed at the point of land. There is excellent fish in the three Lakes and in two of them Salmon abounds in its season and by all accounts animals are not far off, indeed of this we had ocular demonstration ourselves so that people would live well there a no immaterial object in this quarter and the Baucanne Indians would be much more easily got to come there than to any part of the Peace River on account of their being afraid of the Beaver Indians, and the Big men, though they seldom meet they live in amity. Sir A. M. K. seems to have examined the bad River with attention, for as far as he went down in Peace he describes it with great exactness. It is certainly well named and a most dangerous place being much intersected with large stones, fallen trees and *embaras,* and the current runs with such velocity, that a canoe though light cannot be stopped with poles and it is with great difficulty it can be done by laying hold of the branches, and even that way we often drifted 100 and sometimes 200 yards from the time we began to hold the branches before we could bring to. near its confluence it divides into three branches all of which I suppose to be navigable but the one to the right is the best route, we were anxiously looking for cedar and maple along the banks of the River but to no effect, I walked myself except in very few places from one end to the other, but saw no appearances of either. neither did any of the others. Hemlock and the Suven tree we saw in great plenty but of a lesser size than those of Trout Lake and the Lakes of the Heights of land which is about one third more large than he makes them. we saw Plum of small growth and between that place and Trout Lake Elder of upwards of four

feet in circumference.) La Montagne de bautte and Buelluraess waited for us at the entrance of the River and we continued down to where Taba T'ha was waiting for us and there put ashore to dry the property and repair the many injuries the canoes had received coming down the bad River. sent four men to procure gum and bark and the others were employed spreading out everything that was wet. Those who were for bark and gum soon returned with a sufficient quantity of both and all hands set about mending and gumming the canoes. The hunters brought us five Beaver which afforded all hands a hearty meal and La Malice who was walking about arrived to late to get the share he wished, we had given three to the men and the best part of another was cooking for ourselves, so their remained only one for him. he says he feels but little pain now but that he is still weak. Before the canoes were prepared and everything prepared it was past 5 P. M. but the current is so very swift that we ran 21 miles before night Tabah T'ha killed a Beaver and the others missed several shots on that sagacious animal which is plentiful along this River and it is not destitute of large animals for we saw several Moose and Red Deer tracts with that of the Carribaux also.

Friday July 11th.

Fine weather we set off early and came on with great expedition and before we entered the great Fork passed several Rapids but the current is slack in many places. The banks of the River is well stocked with wood and we saw Hemlock and cedar of a large size with some small plum. At sunset we got to the River. (This River is not mentioned by Sir A. M. K. which surprises me not a little, it being full insight and a fine large River and in the state we saw it equal in size to that of the Athabasca River and forms what Mr McDougall in his journal of last spring calls the great Fork. it flows in from the right, and as far as I can judge about 10 or 12 miles above the first Portage. Sir A. M. K. appears to have been very inaccurate in the courses or there must have been a vast difference in the compass he make use of and the one we had which is old and perhaps not very good, as for the distances I say nothing it is difficult to determine by sight, but the course of the river is different and aught to agree at least the difference.) that leads to the Carriers Lake where Mr McDougall was last spring and then formed our encampment on a sandy bank and no wood which with the rain that fell towards the night and continued until the morning rendered our situation not very pleasant. Mr. Stuart took the course of the River and minute remarks of everything.

Saturday July 12th.

Rained at intervals. set off early but the current is so strong and the canoes so leaky that we cannot advance much. In the forenoon having seen old tracts of Red Deer and as the Indians by walking (for they left their canoes this morning) will be able to gain much time on the canoes put them on shore in order to hunt. they only crossed a couple of points when they came to us and said that they had seen no fresh tracts. In the afternoon we gummed the canoes and lost nearly two hours performing that, and mending a hole that broke in the bottom of my canoe. Indeed my forman is so awkward that the canoe is almost continually aground or runs against stumps. Here the Indians went off with their women and children

being in hopes of finding natives along the River near hand. We continued on until after sun set, and encamped on the left shore opposite a high bank of clay. after unloading the canoes sent four men with one of them to cross the Indians who had embarked on the right shore. yesterday we finished the remainder of our Pemican and today broke open the Pounded meat which we ate without greese. our progress is very slow having made only 9 miles today. The River is entirely over flown, no use can be made of the poles and the current is too strong to be steered by the paddles and we make more use of the branches than of both.

Sunday July 13th.

Rained at intervals, and at half-past four we were upon the water, and soon passed several temporary posts erected for the summer. yesterday we passed some likewise and our guide *Kenchuse* is in momentary expectations of seeing some of his countrymen. about noon we went a little out of our way in a small in hopes of seeing, strangers but there was not even any fresh vestiges, but we saw ought not to be great. The banks of the River is beautiful, in many places resembling that of the River Lac la Plui, and the *Liard* is the most stupendous I ever say, as for any other wood or anything else remarkable aw saw none that is not already mentioned. The narrow Gut where Rocks Sir A. M. K. compares to a stupendous pile of gothic churches we examined with attention but according to our ideas find no resemblance. There are steep rocks and in some places almost perpendicular of a course and apparently hard kind of stone. we entered the River by which the Indian whom we saw at the Height of Lands informed us there was a more short and safer passage into the Columbia at its confluence. it is about eighty or ninety yards wide and by what we can judge from the short distance we went up a fine navigable River with a moderate current which I may say is the only one of that description I have seen in this quarter, for all the Rivers in the vicinity of the Mountains run with great velocity. This River likewise flows in from the right.

Two old Pine canoes which seem to have been left there in the spring. Here all the Indians (Barbueller excepted who was kept to paddle) debarked to go to another Lake in search of Indians, and we continued our route for about two miles when we put ashore to gather gum at a place that seemed to be much frequented by the natives. about 4 P.M. as we were advancing inside of an Island we saw two Cubs in a tree and immediately pulled ashore to fire upon them but before we could get to them they were off and La Garde and Barbuellei who were the first on shore pursued them. The latter soon met the mother and fired upon her to no effect and she pursued him in her turn but he being near the water he jumped in and she after him but soon left him and as La Garde was advancing another Bear suddenly rushed upon him and tore him in a shocking manner, had not the dogs passed there at that critical moment he would have been torn to pieces. The Bear left him to defend herself against the dogs and during the interval he ran off and jumped into the River and from thence it was with much difficulty he could walk to the canoe. he received nine or ten bad wounds and we encamped early to dress them. we are really unfortunate in regard to the men. One of the canoes will be now obliged to continue with three and no great help can be expected. The Indians (except the Montagne de bautte who returned to encamp with us on account of having his son on board the canoe) are ahead.

Monday 14th July.

It was rather late before we set off on account of our having La Garde wounds to dress before our departure. At 9 A. M. we came to an Indian house that was situated on the end of an Island and opposite on the right shore there were two tombs neatly erected. There we breakfasted and from thence soon got to a long Rapid where we were obliged to unload and carry one half of the loads and put the people of both canoes upon to take them up one after another, which nearly occupied the remainder of the day and by the time that the canoes were gummed and ready to be off the sun was near set. however we set off and encamped about two miles above the Rapid. As Tabah T'ha and his wife were walking along the banks of the River they surprised a large grizzly bear and her two cubs. The Indian fired upon the mother and wounded her in revenge of which she jumped upon his wife but she instantly laid down flat upon the ground and did not stir in consequence of the bear deserted and ran after her husband who likewise fortunately escaped unhurt and killed one of the young which he brought to the canoe. he was immediately sent back with the other Indians in search of the one he wounded which they found and killed with seven shots and brought the meat to the canoe which made all hands a couple of good meals.

Tuesday July 15th.

Several shows of rain fell in the course of the day, at an early hour that morning we pushed off against a strong current. In the forenoon going up a long steep bank my foreman negligently pushed out the brow of the canoe which made it wheel round and brake the bow against the other canoe that was inside which caused a delay of three hours to mend and for want of having the necessary materials it was but imperfectly done after all. *Kanchuse* and Tabah T'ha who walked on shore saw some fresh vestiges of Indians and the former saw a dog crossing the River. we encamped a little before sunset upon the right shore. The canoes are becoming so leaky that a man is almost constantly employed to keep clear of water. distance about 12 miles.

Wednesday 16th July.

We set off early but the canoes took as much water as ever though they were gummed last night which obliged us to put ashore at 11 A. m. to perform the same operation and mend the bow of the one that was broke yesterday. In the meantime everything that was wet was spread out to dry and before everything was dry and the canoes ready to be off it was 5 P. M. at which time we pushed off and continued on for 3 miles without much current when we got to the foot of a strong Rapid of two miles long and which we ascended by pulling the branches and were obliged to cut several trees that laid across our way. It was past 9 A. M. when we got to the upper and where the Indians had arrived and had kindled a fire both for themselves and us. as the people were taken one of the canoes out of the water the stem got into the current and filled instantly with water and it was very near breaking before it could be emptied and taken up the hill which was high and steep.

Thursday July 17th.

Having arived last night to late to gum the the canoes we were under the necessity of performing that operation this morning before we set off and it was 7 A. M. before we took our departure and we did not advance above two miles when we got to the foot of a cascade and long Rapid where our guide *Kenchuse* a dammed blockhead that never passed before I believe, informed us that it was fine going on the left shore, accordingly we traversed and went up but a very short distance when we were obliged to stop and mend the bow of my canoe which got such a thump upon a tree that shattered it so much that it could continue no longer upon the water in the state it was in. here we dried again and though all hands were bussy we lost seven hours on shore, after which we continued on and by the assistance of the line and pulling by the branches went up several strong and dangerous points for the distance of better than a mile to a strong Point under a perpendicular rock where we were at a stand and no possibility of ascending it there being no bottom for the poles & no possibility of employing the line and there were no branches to pull be, neither could a Portage be made on account of the perpendicular rocks and to attempt crossing to the other side would be little short of madness for the canoes would have been smashed to pieces against the large cascades and stones that were in the way. In this critical situation we had no other recourse than to return down by the way we came which was soon effected by drifting down a long shore and laying hold of the branches to prevent it going to fast and we crossed over to the right shore at the same place we left in the morning where we unloaded and carried the canoes and baggage up a very steep bank which was with difficulty effected and then we worked a while making a road.

Friday July 18th.

Early in the morning the men cut a road of 300 yards in length wide enough to carry the canoes which they brought with all the baggage to the upper end. from thence they set off with only one canoe on account of the current being strong and several Rapids to pass which they could not ascend with less than six men and continued for a mile and a half. In the above distance they carried the canoe and loading over a point of about twice the length of the canoe and from the upper end of the Rapid returned for the other canoe which was effected at 1 P. M. from thence we continued up a strong and constant current where we made a small Portage and soon got to a high point of perpendicular rock where we had much trouble to pass and fix line. here all hands excepting one man that was taken care of the other was put to one canoe but as they were hauling it up the last cascade it wheeled round and the foreman was obliged to cut the line and they went down to the foot of the Rapid before they could bring to. as this happened through the awkwardness of the people made them unload everything and bring it up a very steep hill rather than risk anything in the canoe. we made a pretty long Portage rather than risk anything in the canoe. we encamped upon a beautiful hill. the canoes were left on the water all tied, it being too late to take them up the Rapid and impossible to take them up the hill on account of the steepness. The Indians are ahead but about sun set the Montagne de bautte came before us to get provisions for himself and family. Instead of feeding us we have been obliged to provide for them and as yet they have been of no manner of use to us and I am almost sorry for taking them.

APPENDIX C

LETTERS FROM THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

FROM AUGUST 1ST, 1806, TO FEBRUARY 10TH, 1807
BY SIMON FRASER

[NOTE: The following letters of Simon Fraser form the sequence to his *First Journal.* They really constitute his report of his exploration and consequently find an obvious place here, after the *Journal* itself.

They are printed from a collated copy of the Public Archives, being a transcription of a copy listed as *No. 18, Series C, Bancroft Collection, Pacific Coast Mss.*, in the University of California, at Berkeley, Cal. The whereabouts of the original, if still in existence, is not known.

The letters are reproduced as faithfully as possible with their defects and faults.]

Early in August 1806.

Gentlemen

Being this far advanced on my voyage I think it my duty to inform you about my situation and progress before I go further off, being scarce of paper to write you separately is the cause of my doing it conjunctly, otherwise it would be my greatest pleasure writing to my friends, Separately from these Regions, as no other opportunity will offer until late in the winter—therefore knowing it to be a satisfaction to you Gentlemen to hear where we are and what we are doing I take this opportunity of addressing you these few lines. But as the circumstances of the voyage, with a detail of the misery and vexation I have had, would be no wise agreeable or amusing to you, I will pass it over in silence, and observe only that all the Rivers and waters were very high wherever we passed, and the distance much greater than I expected by Mr. Stuarts computation there are upwards of six hundred miles between this place and Rocky Mountain Portage by water, but comparatively short across land, the navigation is very bad and dangerous, extraordinary so when the water is high as it was when we passed—when we arrived at Trout Lake our canoes were so shatttered and spoiled that it was not possible to proceed any further with them, which obliged us to make new canoes there. But this aparent misfortune at the time has since proved a fortunate circumstance for we lived upon fish without touching our dried provisions all the time we were there, and had we arrived here any time sooner we would have certainly starved, and even at this late period the water is so high in the Lake that there are no fish caught, and it is with difficulty that we procure dried small fish from the Natives which they take in small Lakes and Riviers, where we would starve on account of our nets being too large. During our stay at Trout Lake a few carriers arrived from this place, whose accounts agreed with Mr. McDougal's and enticed us to come here as the most proper place for forming establishments though much more time required to come to it than to go down to the west Road River—before our arrival at the height of land, we found a small band of Indians that had never seen white people before, they seemed quite peaceable and industrious—They informed us of another Road that lead into the Columbia, which is much shorter and more safe than the one we came by—it falls in a little below the Knights first encampment on the Columbia, it is a fine navigable River, which no great current and report says that there is only a carrying place of about a couple of miles at most, from

the other Lakes beyond Trout Lake to fall into it, and Mr. McDougal has now directions to ascertain the truth of it which if exact, will, not only shorten the passage, but render it perfectly safe, as it will be the means of avoiding the Bad River—we left the Columbia on the 11th ulto and entered this river which at its confluence is half as large as the former, with a strong steady current and many Rapids and several carrying places.—it seems to be well inhabited having seen several houses on its Banks. But it not being the salmon time we saw none of the Natives until the Forks, better than half way up, where we saw about 30 men, who had Beaver Cat and Badger Robes for coverings—and a couple had blankets of cloth. we left the left Forks which is the passage to another considerable Lake called Natley, and entered the one to the Right and around at this place the 26th it is a fine large Lake. But since we arrived here, my ideas are far short of what Mr. McDougalls account of it would lead to expect. in the Spring of the year when he was here, everything had a flourishing appearance—there were plenty of fish and fowl, and some meat and they told him that Beaver were plenty likewise. Since our arrivel here we have seen upwards of 50 men—all in a starving state, notwithstanding they affirm Beaver to be plentiful at some distance from the Lake But there are none as far as I can learn near the Borders. they say that there are large Sturgion in the Lake, But that they are not possessed of the means of catching them. we caught a small one in one of our nets which convinces me of their being large ones. that there are plenty of white fish unconu some trout Carp, Jub, etc, in the fall of the year. of all this we saw but very few as yet. the character that I can give of them is that they are a large Indolent thievish set of vagabonds, of a mild disposition, they are amazing fond of goods which circumstance might lead to immagine that they work well to get what they seem to be so fond of, But then they are independent of us, as they get their necessaries from their neighbors who trade with the Natives of the sea coast.(1). We are now busy building, and as soon as the salmon comes up and we can collect a few, which I suppose will be between the 20th and 25th of this month, I propose to continue my route down to the Borders of the Atnah tribes Lands accompanied by Mr. Stuart in one canoe, six men and if we can find a place to winter there abouts I will remain and Mr. Stuart (2) come back to winter at this place—if not we will both come back and one of us go and establish a Post at the other Lake which opposite to this to the westward; La malice is the Bearer of this who I send down to meet the canoes which probably will be at Fort Chepewean, in order to conduct them up to Trout Lake, and from thence we will be able to get the goods taken across land to this place in the course of the Fall and Winter. The distance is too great by the route we came to attempt bringing canoes in that way this Fall. This have I informed you Gentlemen of our occurrences since the Portage with the plan and intentions for the ensuing part of the summer, whether they meet with your approbation or not I cannot say, But this I know that no possible exertions of ours have been wanting we have established the Post beyond the mountains and will establish another in the most convenient place we can find before the Fall, where people can live, and this I believe was all that were expected this summer. To form establishments this summer certainly depends upon us—but to render them productive, will depend upon the attention you Gentlemen will pay them. We had but few trading goods on leaving the

(1) In a westward direction called notleh at any rate it will be of service going down to the Atnaps if it was only to make ourselves known to the Natives in order to open a communication and facilitate our establishing there next summer, and it is very probably that we will trade some furs upon the way.

(2) upon whom I cannot bestow to many encomiums for his exertions industry and perseverance I assure you Gentlemen he is highly interested for the Company's interests. I would often have found myself at a loss without him—and if we can find a place to winter thereabouts I will remain.

Portage, and the few of you can immagine what it costs to feed the people in this quarter. there are none of you but know that exploring new countries and seeing strange Indians is expensive, was it only to procure a welcome reception, as we are at present we have scarcely a sufficient aportionment of goods to feed all hands during the winter, this you will naturally immagine to be poor encouragement for you to send goods. But this I must inform you that if no goods comes this fall to Trout Lake it will be the retardment of another year for both establishing further on and making any at this place. The order that I sent to Mr. A. N. McL. last spring would be required to prove anywise beneficial. I cannot form any ideas of what returns will be made in this quarter for this year. I immagine that they will be no wise considerable. But notwithstanding I think they will be worth the pursuit, as the Indians are numerous and the country not destitute of beaver. a little from each would make considerable returns. Provisions are another object of consideration, for want of which the people will always be ill of, for sending out the returns, and I see no means of procuring any, excepting dried salmon which is but poor stuff, and it is a doubt to me if a sufficiency of that same can be procured. But many difficulties occur in forming new establishments that can be easily avoided afterwards. I need not inform you Gentlemen that if it is your intention to establish further on, or keep up what is already established, that proper people will be required for that purpose being appointed myself by the concern I cannot insist on leaving it next summer; though I would wish to go down to Canada. But Mr Stuart consented only to come for one year and even supposing both of us which is not probable—to keep up two Posts and explore further on; more clerks will be required, But I am fully persuaded that you have considered all this yourselves, and will provide accordingly therefore I beg leave to remain

Gentlemen with respect and esteem

Your very Obt. Humble Servant.

Gentlemen Proprietors of N. W. Company.

Mr. McDougall,

Sturgion Lake 6th August 1806.

No doubt you expected to hear from us long ago, But we took more time to perform the voyage than we expected, the distance is great, and the road is difficult, our progress was much retarded on account of having some of the people continually disabled or sick, so that we only arrived here the 26th Ultimo. We found old Barbue the 6th day after our departure from your Post. At the same place where Mr. Finlay returned from in 1797—with four strange Indians that he went for the Height of Land to await our arrival on purpose, that we might see them *en passant,* as he had instructions for this before he left the Fort, he was very proud of his behavior, which indeed might have been better had he made some provisions; one of the strangers an elderly man informed us of there being another passage much shorter and safer that leads into the Columbia, by the way of Trout Lake and Lac des mont,—he said that there is only one Portage of about a mile or two to pass to get a small river that empties into the Columbia a little below the Knights first encampment in that River—I hope you will be able to ascertain the truth of this and send Bazil with an Indian to visit the River and Portage, to know whether it is practicable or not, should the navigation be anywise good, the canoe or canoes will come in that way this fall. I will depend for your sending them before the canoes arrives—if they cannot pass that way, you will send the people off across land imme-

diately upon their arrival with as they can carry of the most necessary articles for the trade—to carry this in execution you will require to provide provisions, the big men I should immagine are off to kill animals and when the Trout begins to be plenty you can a quantity of it dried. Lamalice the bearer of this I send him down to meet the canoes and to bring them up—Detain him as little as possible—at the Fork of this River having put the little heads brother-in-law and Montaigne de Boute ashore to walk (on account of there being Rapids to go up) in order to lighten the canoes they disappeared and we heard nothing of them since this was on the 22nd of last month, and I suppose you saw them ere now, indeed they were of no service to us in the voyage, but they would have been of use here to kill Beaver etc. in coarse of the voyage they got a good deal of goods from us in expectation that they would behave well—an account of which you will receive with this, and they must pay every article of it on account of their bad behavior, and get nothing else until all their debts are paid or else to strip them of everything they have, please send back the news immediately by the Big carrier and if you could send a hunter with him he would be very acceptable. Mr. Stuart and I will be off about the 25th of this month to go down to the Atnah nation. we are in a starving state at present so that we cannot think of going any further until we collect a few salmon for our voyage which we expect daily. I beg leave to refer you to Lamalice for the news of this place he has always been sick since I left you and of no manner of service to us but a great burden we have at present only a little better than a pack of furs and expectations we have none, which I hope is not the case with you. Having nothing more to say at present I remain Dr. McD. your friend and well wisher

S. FRASER.

Early in August 1806.

Gentlemen Clerks of the Peace River.

As we are now forming a station across the mountains it is with pleasure I address you this short epistle before we go further off down the Columbia we are here upon the Borders of a spacious large Lake on the Carriers Lands Building; we arrived here only the 26th ult°, and we propose to continue our route as soon as we can collect a few provisions, but then we have nothing to expect but dry salmon which is bad stuff; there are no large animals except Carruban which is too shy for us, tho there are plenty fish in the Lake at certain seasons of the year there are none caught at present on account of the water being too high, so it is with difficulty that we procure dry carp and Roes, which the Indians catch in small Lakes. But now berries begin to be ripe and the salmon is daily expected so we will soon be better off—the Natives are numerous, we saw upwards of 30 men already and by all accounts we will see great numbers of them before long as they all flock upon the Banks of the River in the salmon time, of which they lay up great stores for the winter, it being their principle food. Lamalice is the bearer of this who is sent down to return with any canoes that will be for this quarter. I expect he will get to Athabasca about the same time with the canoes from Lac la Pluie, if not and should he meet canoes coming up for the Trout Lake or this place, he will return from where he will meet them in order to conduct them to this country, in that case please Gentlemen to give the canoes a sufficiency of provisions, and any other needed assistance they may require. I hope you will not detain this man anywhere along the road which will much oblige your friend and very humble servant

SIMON FRASER.

Naugh-al-chun 31st Aug. 1806.

Dear McDougall

I received your letter of the 11th of August on the 14th inst. by Kunsusse —and return you the following answer, which no doubt will surprise you that I write to you at this late period from this place, But I have the mortification to inform you that we are yet in the same situation in regard to provisions as we were when you heard from me last. We have subsisted chiefly upon berries since that time, tho we have always had seven nets in the water and properly attended, they produced nothing excepting a few carp and unconnu, and of that same but seldom. Cowa gave us about a dozen Beaver and a few Rabids and having been in daily expectation of the salmon arriving, naturally led us to expect be able to procure a sufficency of that fish for our voyage—But now the season is so advanced and no salmon arrived that I dont expect any this year, and the Indians say it does not come up every year.

At all events I have come to the determination to be off from this place, the day after tomorrow; in order to establish another Post. God knows where —Mr. Stuart left this place the 28th with a man and wacca to go to Matleh, (the Lake on the other side of the mountains in a western direction from this) and he goes down that way and to meet me at the Fork of the river from thence he will come up to this place and I am to continue further on; until Mr. Stuarts arrival which will be in about 5 days after my departure. Blais and another man remains in charge of this post. I am glad to hear of your being in good health, and being so well off in provisions and your being in hopes to lay up a good stock for the winter, as you are in such a fair way of making plenty of provisions, I have not the least doubt but what you will be able to furnish the people that will come to this place with a sufficency for the voyage. I am happy you are pleased with Maria des dent de Biche, as hunter. it seems I am a good choice when I employed him to seve you as such, indeed had not his wife been sick I would have asked him to accompany me to this place and left the little heads brother-in-law who seems so fond of you,—But as charity ought to begin at home, it is a very just that I should be without a hunter—you say that our hunters made their appearance on the 3rd inst. and as they told you that they gave us the slip; that you turned them out of your house and sent them a hunting; without give them any thing. indeed they could not be much in want of anything, otherwise I should imagine that you would have given them something, on account of their being particular favorites. the reason they gave for deserting seems to be all very plausible to you, but it is far from appearing in that light to me; you say you cannot think what enticed me to load them with such debts and throw away goods to no purpose in such a short time, to satisfy your curiosity in this you have only to look back at the enormous debt you gave out to the meadow and Indians and Big men without any prospect of their paying the fourth part of them. Prav why should you find it hard not to give those two Indians anything? and punish them as they deserve, in order to prevent them from misbehaving another time; whatever goods that I squandered with them, would have been well bestowed had they not deserted and only hunted Beaver for us. But had their presence been of essential service to us in getting a footing in the country we certainly would have been more upon our guard. what a childish excuse to say that you could not get Canoe Bark Risen on account of it being passed the time when Bazil was able to go. I am sure you know that Bark can be risen at all times, especially in the months of May, June, July and August, as Lamalice say that there are no communications by water and that the road is bad even by land the way he passed to go to your fort, by which account I should imagine that the goods could not be got across until the 1st Ice. But at all events it must be tried, and if possible I

expect Lamalice will come in with one Canoe (if he has provisions for 14 days) by the middle road which I hope you will ascertain the truth of the Indian report above.

Inclosed is a list of the goods I expect from L. L. P. the contents of the second column is what you are to keep at Trout Lake, if the order is complete, if not you will keep only in proportion to that you will send here—please make my compliments to Lamalice, Bazil etc,—should not Lamalice be able to come in by the middle road you cannot be at a loss for getting a guide to come by land.—I will expect to hear from you about the latter end of next month, therefore I conclude My Dr James.

Yours as usual

S. FRASER.

NAUKAZELEH 29th Sept. 1806.

My Dear Stuart

I received you kind favour of the 21st late at night as Attouyey was anxious to be off. I did not wish to force his inclination. I wrote you by him but the letter was brought back to me with yours, his reason for returning was to wait a few days until the snow should melt in the mountains. But in spite of me he went off the 25th unknown to me. Soon after your departure from here I gave a corduroy Jacket and some other trifles which he immediately lost at play—the 26th L'homme de la Fourche who was kept prisoner at the village since the middle of the summer was allowed to depart by leaving his wife here, so I am now entirely deprived of the means of understanding the Indians. as yet they are all very quiet and noways troublesome. I am sorry to hear of the Indians of your place having been so troublesome and rogish in our absence they imposed greatly on the men to be sure. I certainly approve of the method you took to punish them and to restore the articles they had stolen, they are a thievish forward inconsiderate set of vagabonds, of course they require to be kept at a proper distance, it seems to me that Blais is becoming useless and is not deserving of the least indulgence. what plausible reason can he give for not arranging the hangard before you got there, and not having attended the nets properly—the nets had maitres enough and no stones nor floats were tied with maitres when I came away. any articles that were wanting of the goods when you got there, you have only to send to me an account of it and probably I may account for it. I left a pint of shot good measure—I have been informed that the Indians have your axe, and that they intend to return it. I have not been more fortunate than yourself in the nets, the long one is rotten and the small one not much better, they produced about the same number of fish with yours until the 20th since then they took from 15 to 40 pieces. soon after your departure there was a sturgeon caught in them which was pretty big the head weighed 50 odd pounds and the body was amazing large, but now we are obliged to give up setting the nets as the salmon breaks them to pieces, it was the constant employ of one man to keep them in order. It is only since the 20th that the Indians began to gather fish, until then they only took for daily consumption, but now they have thousands of them drying. I have not as yet traded many but I must soon begin and the few goods I have will all go. I am a loss how to pay them, the Indians dont seem to value goods much, they are not half so fond of goods as those of Naucauseleh—and what is worse I am afraid that they will not make any furs —Mr. McDougall's letter surprised me not a little, after he having been in such high spirits and having such expectations for making provisions, now asking for 5 or 6 measures powder to receive the canoes. he says he lives well and that his hunter behaves well, of course alls well; as he thinks only for the moment—I

allow that his situation is highly disagreeable, on account of Bazil being sick, we may say that we have been unfortunate all along. Since the spring, our people being sick ever since the 13th. St. Pierre has been sick and now he only just begins to walk about. Saucer was a long time unwell. La lande is sick since the 24th, therefore you see that the work could not advance much. The hangard is not yet finished, the wood is scarce and far off, and almost all tremble, it will be late before I can get a house made as the most of the men must be employed about curing fish—I am loth at present to part with any of the men but if you have sent him a man you have only to send back the new immediately with an Indian that speaks B^r Indian and I will immediately send you another to replace him, should you be in want of powder I will send you some—there are no Indians here that know how to fire off a gun, and but very few Gibin. I assure you I am tired of living on fish and I feel quite dull and lonesome since you left me, nothing goes on to my likeing I hate the place and the Indians—I will expect to hear from you again before you go to Trout Lake —The greatest curiosity I saw on my voyage to the other end of the Lake was spoons and a metal pots, there are difference between them and those of this place. I beg of you to get the little heads brother-in-law sent to me, should it be possible to undertake coming in by the new road, send some body with the news, that fish may be sent before them. All the muskets that the Indians of your place have, they got by the way of the Trembler, which I imagine to be by Cooks River—I am Dear friend

Yours sincerely

S. FRASER.

The Indians have given us several confused accounts of your being in a starving state. Should you not be able to procure nets for Mr. McDougall I will send him over a couple.

NATLEH 30th Sept. 1806.

Dear McDougall

I received your favour on the 22nd and was sorry to hear of Bazil's being so sick and your situation so disagreeable, nothing very particular occurred to me since I wrote you last—after my departure from Naukazeleh I met Mr. Stuart according to appointment at the Fork and as we were still in a starving condition at that time and the Indians only just begun to spear a few salmon, it was not in my power to continue downwards therefore there was no alternate but to come up to this place, where we were well received as they gave us plenty of dried salmon and encouragement that they would make plenty furs when the salmon time would be over, so took up my station here, and Mr. Stuart returned to Nakazleh, with one man, and I have five here, St. Pierre has been sick ever since the 13th, and La londe has been since the 24th, indeed every one of them has been more or less so—I have not been able to get a house made as yet the people are employed arranging fish and making a hangard so my Dear Sir it is not possible for me to spare a man at present. indeed the people from Lac la Pluie will be nearly as soon there now as man could be sent from here, and you will see Mr. Stuart over about the 15th of next month. he wrote me that he sent you over some powder, and no doubt he can procure you a few nets.

I have nothing particular to tell you, Mr. Stuart will give you all the news. I hope you will stretch all your invention to furnish the people with provisions when they arrive and forward the goods to this place etc—Settle the Indians in the manner you think they will work best, and try and send me the little-

heads brother-in-law, he will serve here in the double capacity of hunter and interpreter. will you be able to send me over some green skins for windows and Babich and plenty pack cords, dressed skins and etc. the Indians of this place are naturally lazy. I am at my wits end to fall upon a proper method to make them work. I think yours are of a different desposition and that they will work well.

S. FRASER.

NAKAZELEH 21st Dec. 1806.

Gentlemen

As we are obliged to send two men to Mr. McDougall's at Trout Lake, with a little power to enable him to live—it gives me an opportunity of addressing you these few lines merily to inform you of our situation. Tho I have nothing pleasing to communicate, it cannot displease you to hear of our being still safe, notwithstanding our not receiving any news or assistance from your quarter—I wrote you pretty fully last August about our plans and intentions. I was then in expectation of going further down the River Columbia, and nothing but the entire want of provisions prevented my attempting it. I remained here until the beginning of September awaiting the arrival of the salmon, but as none arrived I sent Mr. Stuart with two men across land to the Lake called Natleh to see what kind of place it was and I started myself on the 3rd of September to meet him at the Fork of this River where we joined and as the accounts Mr. Stuart gave were as favourable as could be expected I determined to go there and build—Indeed there was no alternative left, as it would have been little short of madness to attempt going down the Columbia in a starving state without an ounce of any kind of provisions.

S. FRASER.

MAKASLEH 21st Dec. 1806.

Mr. James McDougall

I received yours of the 30th of October on the 12th inst. at Natleh, and I arrived here on the 18th, had it not been for the disappointment of the conveyance of letters on account of the quantity of snow in the mountains you would have received the news from us long before now—I certainly was highly disappointed and vexed that no canoes arrived to this quarter which is a considerable loss to the company and a severe blow to our discoveries. this is the first opportunity I had of sending you a man and powder, but with this you will receive St. Pierre and 3 quarts of good powder. I think that it would be a very good plan to go inland to make the Indians work but then you cannot leave the house without some person to take care of it on account of the property. in regard to Indians settle with them according to your own best judgment. I have not the least doubt but what you will exert yourself to make them work beaver until the beginning of February and after that to employ the best hunters to make provisions. I am thoroughly convinced that your returns will fall short of your expectations but that is a misfortune that cannot be helped, but then I entreat you to be particular in making the Indians dress these furs properly, the little heads brother-in-law arrived at Natleh on the 12th, conducted by two men. I dont know yet whether he will be of any service or not. The Montaigne de Buth behaves well with Mr. Stuart. two men that Mr. Stuart sent to Forests for fish brought the news that three of the Big men were around there. send back Gerves immediately with the news as we intend

to send the news after his return to the Peace River. should an opportunity offer forward the General letter to the Peace River, Kunchusse promises to be back in six nights, should you see any possibility of getting any goods brought up in the course of the Summer, please write accordingly, having nothing more to say upon this subject I must here wish you joy as I understand that you have entered upon the matrimonial state. I am glad to hear that the children are all well taken care of. I assure you that I am nowise concerned about them as they are under your protection, the only thing I fear is that you are starving, but I hope it is the contrary with you, so I conclude my Dr James,

Yours sincerely

SIMON FRASER.

NATLEH 21st Jany. 1807.

My Dear McDougall

Yours received this afternoon per the two men from your quarter, whom to be sure took much time, this being their fifth day from Nakazleh indeed half of 22 salmon ought to have been enough for them as the voyage can easily be performed in two days, three at most, allowing the road to be bad, regarding what you say about the woman that Bugni has, I am noways apprehensive that the company can put their resolve in execution. But then it was wrong of you to have given him leave to take her, you knew full well that she was taken from St. Pierre last Spring, merely to give up the custom of taking any more women from the Indians, and he was promised that no other Frenchman would get her. Your commerce between Blais and Lamalice last Spring ought to have been a sufficient warning, not to meddle yourself any more about women. Your conduct at Trout Lake is highly blamable and your character as a Trader much blasted which you can only recover but by your future assiduity and attention to your business, which I would be most happy at and will befriend you as much as lays in my power. I am pleased you own your fault and seem sorry for it, and promise to do better for the future, the Company probably will blow us both as they will be highly disappointed in their expectations regarding this country. we are highly unfortunate everything has been against us since last Spring, and nothing was of so much detriment as the Canoes arriving so very late in the Fall. We had such a severe spell of bad weather it is so to say it was so very cold for several days after my arrival here that that I could not make the Indians of your place set off to return until the 25th, when the first band went away and Q'ua and Le Gourmand, having been upon a visit to Stuta the latter did not come back until of late, but both of them started off yesterday straight across by the winter Road, they said they would have gone round by the way of scycuss but that they were too ill clothed and would starve before they could get to where there are beaver, but they promised me that they will work well until the Spring, but I put no faith in what they say.

Those big men must be severely treated to break them of the custom of coming to the Carriers. The Powders band has behaved and worked pretty well, I heard that there were two Indians who never saw the Fort in that band. Mr. Stuart apprehends that Barbae any many others will not go to the Fort until *en canoe*. Maitres will answer as well as a codline for a cordeau and Mr. Stuart can send you plenty works. I received the Play Book you sent, which will answer very well with the Plaything I brought before. The Tea-kettle I could not have done without. Your journal of last winter at the Portage and Trout Lakes, as well as the one of last summer and this winter you must get them brought over to copy, which must be sent to the Peace River by next

opportunity, which I expect will be in the latter end of March, as the Company request. Saucer and Gagnon are to be the bearers of this who start tomorrow morning to take each a load of fish to Mr Stuart's and in the mean time to get their equipments and they will bring back a load when they return those that came from there say that they lost their way in in several places, if true these that go there must have a guide, and I have no doubt but what you can secure one of those beggars that go over from here for that purpose. Expidition is required, the season is pretty far advanced and much to be done yet. I send my journal over to Mr Stuart to copy and it must be done in order to send it down by the next opportunity that it may go out to head-quarters in the light canoe, besides I have another plan in view, that is if it could be done with care, to get all the goods that will be required for going down the Columbia in the Spring, as well as whatever will be necessary for your Post for the Summer Trade, brought over from Trout Lake upon the snow, as I fear much time would be lost by going there by the New Road in the Spring. I dont know which would be most advantageous, to get the pieces brought over in the winter or go for them in the Spring en canoe. at all events bark must be had, to make a canoe at Nakazleh, as I expect Mr McLeod will send us a canoe maker, and I have been informed that there are plenty good bark very near your place, which is absolutely necessary you should ascertain as soon as possible, here we know where there is where with to make a canoe. I cannot think of anything else so I conclude. My Dear McDougall all as usual

Your well wisher

SIMON FRASER

Mr. J McDougall—N.B. Anything that the children are in want of and that can be had please give it to them and charge the same to my account. Saucer will deliver you the handsaw.

NATLEH 1st February 1807.

My Dear friend

Yours of the 19th of January I received only this morning, so you see they took much more time than they ought, so I am sure you will be getting out of patience before you receive this—It is with the greatest pleasure that I always receive letters from you. they contain much useful information and instruction, tho' the subject of your last cannot be agreeable it is satisfactory knowing how matters stood at Trout Lake upon your arrival there, which you have written in a copious and lively manner, notwithstanding your mind being obscured in thought you wrote with care.

I sympathize with you my friend under your present affliction for the loss of Mr. R. Stuart your late dearest of brothers, and hope he has only left this world of trouble and vexation to go to ever lasting bliss, we cannot shun that Power which Rules our fate therefore it should be our only consolation to be prepared for our last and awful end. It is a true observation of yours that when the head fails the body soon goes to wreck, which has been the decay of Trout Lake since last November. that business is so intricate that a person cannot easily see into it, however it seems that Lamalice had an ascendency over Mr. McDougall but then I am sure that he can change both his palate and his manners to the will of his master and his interest, it seems then that the debt he was said to have made at the Portage was only put in effect at Trout Lake, while Mr McDougall was at the Indians. I imagine when you take account of Dry

goods that you will find they suffered less or more like the stores, had Lamalice behaved honestly he would have come to Nakazleh, it was our last directions to him when he started from Nakazleh in the summer that he was to come and winter there and if any person a long the Road wishes to detain him not to mind them unless absolutely kept. Mr. McDougall owns that he gave Bugné leave to take the woman that St. Pierre had last winter, this was like the rest of his conduct he knew full well that she was taken from St. Pierre merely to give up the custom of taking any more women from the Indians, and thus St. Pierre was promised that no other Frenchman would get her. I received my order (the coat and trousers are amazing large) my equipment also which is extremely bad and the trousers so small that I cannot put them on much less make use of them, and tho' you were pleased to send me your Capot instead of mine, it is also too small for me. I owe the equipment to be Chilipe, but then I should rather think that it is the fault of those who put it up at La Place than the Companys—upon the note you mentioned a pair of Corduroy trousers which I did not receive and received a hawky there is no mention of—I also received the small axe and ten pounds of sugar and some tea, with which I will content myself at present—a good net cannot be had for a small axe. I traded one of small mashes which appears for an half axe. I only get 50 salmon for a small axe. today I sent off Saucer and Gagnon with 200 salmon for you and Co. as provisions for themselves, but I am afraid they will take much time to go there on account of the road being sloped or filled up with snow between Naukazeleh and your place, all the salmon that is here has been picked and the best sent over before, therefore I beg of you not to complain of what I send now and indeed to be free with you don't expect you will have occasion to eat salmon yourself as you are a good economist you will provide something better—and hope your returns will prove better than you expect. the Powder and Trusies bands will give you better than five Packs, as I am informed that they have made a pretty good hunt—yes my dear friend I have once more entered upon the matrimonial state and you would have a hearty laugh if you heard of our courtship, this I will inform you of if you have not heard of it already but I defer it at present having something else to say and I expect to have the pleasure of seeing you before the embarkation as you expressed a wish of coming to take the longitude of this place and if you can settle your Post in such a manner that it will not suffer by your absence I will expect you by the return of the express from the Peace River—I now inform you of a plan I have in view for the summer expedition which is this, to get all the goods required at least possible upon the ice, by going round by the new road, when the navigation is open would cause the loss of much time and I expect that the ice will break up in the River nearly a month before the Lakes of the mountains, Probably a canoe would take more time than we think by that route, and guides would be wanted as well as a canoe at Trout Lake, but by starting from Nak, the canoe that will be made in the western division will both answer for going down. but then perhaps the one canoe that would go up would bring everything from Trout Lake to the Confluence of this River, where the other canoe and and provisions that may be procured in this quarter will be left in *cache*. I leave it to your judgment to determine which plan would be the best. I think to get the goods over immediately would be the most expeditious, ten pieces good exclusive of provisions will answer for going below, viz, 3 Bales, ½ Bale Kettles ½ case Guns, 1 Case of Iron, ½ Roles Tobacco, 1 Keg of Powder, 1 Bag Ball, 1 Big Shot, 1 Cassette and ½ Keg of high wines and I doubt if this same can be spared. Trout Lake must not be left destitute for the summer and something will be required for Nakazleh —I have not the list of what came there in the Fall, nor do I know what is there now, but then if you think this a good plan you know what would be necessary and that can be spared for the three bales and the Cassette the sooner it would be sent over the better before my other work is begun, besides the above articles

a supply will be wanted for Nakazleh, this can be done and to that end every man than can be mustered ought to be sent over with a load, all could be brought over in one trip each man. Can provisions be had and what quantity, perhaps it would be more easy and sure getting provisions by going there in a Canoe, supposing a few furs would be had at the lower houses, they cannot go out this year. I will send over the few furs that are here immediately with fish to Nak., to be in readings to send over all the furs that are there and to bring across any goods that we may want, with this I send you over my Journal, since the 5th April except from the time we arrived at Nakazleh until the 20th August, which I expect you will be able to bring up. it is exceedingly ill wrote worse worded and not well spelt. But then I know you can make a good Journal of it, if you expunge some parts and add to others and make it out in a manner you thing most proper, it will make a way with a good deal of your time and paper but I think it necessary to send it to headquarters in the light canoe as it will give our Gentlemen a good deal of information about this country, you will also receive the two letters you sent me by Blais. I would keep them to copy but I heard you say that you could make up a good journal from your letters, but then you will send them back in the Spring; Your last letter I will copy and send it over another time with this I enclose what I have of the man's accounts.

Please send over Mr McDougall's Journal of last winter at the Portage and Trout Lake etc., of last summer and this winter to be copied by himself there are some of them I did not see as yet and it would be necessary for you to look over them and point out anything that is necessary to be in them, all this will be given you much trouble and work, but then it will be service to the company and some credit to ourselves to have the Journals in better order; was I possessed of your abilities I would willingly undertake doing all myself. I will send over more of my Journal by next conveyance, I have succeeded in sending back Que le Gourmand and several others of the Indians of Nakazleh, and many of the stragglers that were here dispersed as they have ate up all the salmon these of this place. Indeed they now go to trade to Stula, so I apprehend not being able to procure any for the summer, had I men here I would go and trade there also, as I cannot think of anything more at present I conclude my dear Stuart

Your friend and sevt.
whilst

SIMON FRASER

Mr. John Stuart—

P.S. I will be in want of a few small kettles at this place therefore you can send one half Bale which will serve for both these places, and some common cloth and Motton if any will remain after the men have all their Equipments. we have found Birch here but tho' the Bark is not very good we can get enough to make a canoe.

I will send you herbe by next opportunity I have none now dried but then you ought to have sent me a token of tobacco first as for a calumet you have purre enough to make one. Do you know one thing I have a secret to tell you, guess what it is, I believe you cannot therefore I must give you a hint of it, that is, I would thank you, for some of that medicine you made use of last winter with directions how to take it, as I have a small touch of comereddle,

Yours Sincerely

S. F.....

I will depend upon you for cords to tie our salmon, leather babiche and etc, if you send people with pieces, they will return from Nakazleh. Mr. McDougall's hunters does nothing he had no had no person to send to the Powder band this trip. I send over 100 beavers, it is bad weather continually snowing which will cause the people to take much time to perform any voyage. I am positively informed that the Nascudenus have horses that they got from the east, many of the Nalleans are in mourning for the deaths of some of their eminent men we have had some broils with them, nothing spoils Indians so much as the men having intercourse with them.

Yours and etc

S. F.....

NATTEH 10th Feby. 1807.

Dr. McDougall

I received your favour yesterday forenoon, and indeed it was high time for the bearers to return their 9th day. the voyage might easily be performed in 5 days at about a couple hours sun. Maka and Minard started in the morning and the other two men will be off in the afternoon, with each a load of salmon for the purpose of conducting the furs to Trout Lake as soon as possible but the people that I send over at present must all return that I may go and trade salmon at Stula after which they will be employed to convey the first to Trout Lake—Should any person arrive from Mr. Stuart's before that time you can send them back with a pack each—particular care must be taken that the Furs be well envelloped and that the rats or mice does not cut them in the stores—It is very proper that the men should be prevented from trading with the Indians and don't allow any of them to trade without permission.

The Gouremand that says that I gave the goods for so very little in return, ask him what he got from me. The day before he went away he asked me for something of every article I was possessed of. but I refused him everything, they are sweat mouths, thieves lyers and in short have every bad quality, therefore you have no occasion to believe them, as they are a lazy set of vagabonds. Qua owes 8 skins from this place, Le Trailuns 3 do, and his big brother 6 do, and De La Vielle, Naschaes mother 5½ do.

Almost all the Nattians are gone over to Stula to a grand feast to burn and en—a couple of chiefs that died of late—when they return from there they will go to the mountains to kill Carriboes.

Please tell Bannorn that it was his mother fault that I bet L—as she wished to prevent her from accompanying me, that if she come with me, that she had medicine which she got from her sister and she could make her die. I will expect the men back on the 16th early.

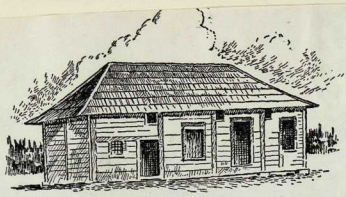
I am Dr. McDougall

Yours sincerely

SIMON FRASER

Mr. J. McDougall

Indian Story of Simon Fraser. B.C. News Stories. 1926. No 1



The Last Remaining Building of the Fort

THE FORT PHARMACY

FORT LANGLEY, B. C. Sep. 16. 27.

R.L.Reid Esq.
1333 Pacific Ave,
Vancouver. B.C.

Dear Mr Reid,

I trust that you did not think that I had forgotten your request about the query as to Sir Fraser and his second trip to Fraser River.

I have been so very busy since I came here at the beginning of July, and started in business, that I have not had a moment to give to the matter until lately.

I had to learn much about business that the hospital did not teach me, and besides there was the photography which is an important part of the business out here, and in the summer takes up a great deal of the time.

Then there was the finishing of the pamphlet on Fort Langley, which made further inroads upon my spare time, so that you must excuse me.

As to the matter of the suggested second trip, I would remind you of our conversation at your house in December 1924, when we discussed the question of Fraser having made a trip to Burrard Inlet. You would not accept the suggestion, nor would Judge Howay, when we talked about it. Yet the two points are bound up together, and I have made many enquiries since then to try and ascertain what truth there is in the matter.

You don't say who your informant is so I don't know whether we are overlapping in our investigation. However, here is all that I can tell you.

Mr P.A.O'Farrell wrote in the Bulletin that Fraser made a trip to Burrard Inlet. I questioned him as to where he got the note. He said that Sir Richard McBride told him. After a lot of corres-

correspondence, I found that Sir Richard got it from Miss Harriett Fraser, daughter to Simon. The Hon. Mr Fraser, Deputy Minister of Archives at Toronto wrote to me to say that there was no doubt at all that Simon Fraser told his family that he had made the trip to Burrard Inlet. When there was no evidence to show, but he certainly said that he had done it.

On March 12. 1925 Jason Allard told me that there was a legend among the Indians that Fraser had made two trips to the river and that he had made the trip to the inlet.

I later asked Chief Billy Sepass of Sardis, who I thought had told Jason this, but he denied knowing about it.

However today I have had a letter from Jason where he says:

"Re Simon Fraser. I was present when old Joe, an elder brother of Chief Casimir, was telling Mr Otway Wilkie of the B.C. Police the story of Simon Fraser's two trips to the coast. I translated the Indian into the English language and it was rather an interesting story.

It is only a month or two ago that I had the pleasure of visiting Mr Wilkie and strange to say, he reminded me of old Joe's story and he still remembers every detail. So in that case, Willie being a younger man, and his memory good, He will no doubt throw more light on the subject than I.

Old Joe made it very clear that Fraser made his second journey to the coast.

Trusting that you are in the enjoyment of good health etc.

Jason Allard."

I am writing to Wilkie, but no doubt you will make a point of seeing him for yourself. I am so very busy still and am tied here, so that I can do but little now. Still, my interest in these matters is none the less, and anything that I can do I will.

I will try and see the local Indians soon, but there are none now with long memories.

With kind regards,
I am,
Yours sincerely

George Nelson

The Last Remaining Building of the Fort

THE FORT PHARMACY

FORT LANGLEY, B. C. Oct. 17.37.

R.L.Reid Esq.
1333 pacific Ave.
Vancouver.BC.

Dear Mr Reid,

I have recently read your paper on the Whatcom Trails in the W.H.Q. and am glad that it is on record there, for it is on great interest and value.

I am writing to ask of you have had any further information about the rumour that ~~Fraser~~ Fraser made two trips down the river, about which I wrote you such a very untidy letter.

I have not yet heard from Otway Wilkie, although I was too busy to write to him at that time. No doubt I shall hear when the Assizes are over at Vancouver. Perhaps you may have had some conversation with him yourself however.

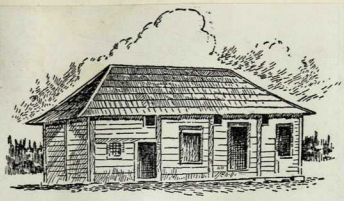
I have heard again from Jason Allard who says that he met Wilkie lately again, and the latter told him that Old Joe, brother to the late chief Casimir told them that Fraser made the second trip two years after the first. In other words, he must have come down again in 1810. Is there anythigg in the records of the N.W.Co that could substantiate or contradict this? The family history of Fraser ought to show some record, but in 1810 he was still with the fur company.

With kind regards,

I am,

Sincerely yours

Denys Nelson



The Last Remaining Building of the Fort

THE FORT PHARMACY

FORT LANGLEY, B. C.

Oct. 21.27.

Dear Mr Reid,

You will wonder whether I shall ever cease writing now that I have got started. However the subject that you raised is one that has interested me ever since I got to know that there was a rumour that Fraser had made a trip to Burrard Inlet, and we had our argument about it at your house.

I was not able to ascertain anything to substantiate it at that time, and pressure of other work has made me drop it for some time. Now that you have brought the question up, and I have had a little leisure to think things over, I have done what I could to elucidate the matter.

I am afraid that perhaps we have both seen the same person, but Mr Otway Wilkie has now writtem to me to say that Jason was quite correct, in saying that Old Joe, brother to Chief Casimer had told them the story how Fraser made two trips to this part of the world. On the second occasion he went through to the sea, and no doubt that was when he went to Burrard Inlet. As I said before, the Hon Mr Fraser at Toronto is quite positive that Fraser told his family that he did go.

Wilkie says that he has substantiated Old Joe's story through the Chilliwack Indians, ~~and~~ their "two snows" after his first trip, he made another. Can you ascertain the truth of this? It will be most interestting if true.

Yours faithfully

Denys Nelson

(Denys Nelson).

THE FORT PHARMACY

FORT LANGLEY, B. C.

Oct. 26. 27.

Dear Mr Reid.

It is as I had feared. We both got our information from the same source, and therefore it cannot be considered worth any more than a rumour. I feel that there is evidence that some body came down the Fraser not long after Simon did so in 1808, but who that person was there is at present no evidence to show.

I spent part of last Sunday with Judge Howay, who looked up what Harmon has to say about the whereabouts of Fraser in 1809, 10. and 11.

I gather that when he returned from the journey, he crossed the Rocky Mts and headed for Rainey river. He was in that direction in 1809 and there is no reference to his having come back west at all. Harmon was sent to Fort st James to assist or relieve Stuart in 1810, and gives an account of all who passed Fort Edmonton up to the time of his departure for New Caledonia. Fraser is not mentioned, so that, I gather the inference is that he was east of the Rockies in 1809 and 1810. Morice states that in 1811 Fraser was appointed to the charge of the Red River, and therefore can hardly be supposed to be gadding about west of the Rockies at that date.

Also, I gather, it would have been impossible for anyone to have made such a trip as this without Harmon being aware of it, or without their passing by his place.

If I have gathered these facts correctly, there would seem to be no possibility of Fraser having made the second trip as suggested by Old Joe.

I wonder whether he could have referred to Stuart, who was at Fort St James in 1810, I suppose, and might have made a trip without any one else being aware thereof since he would not come in contact with any one else.

What else can I do for you?

Yours sincerely

Demp Keen

APPENDIX D

MINUTE OF THE 30 APRIL, 1836

[NOTE: The present document is reproduced from the original acquired this year by the Canadian Archives. It is a manuscript of folio size, consisting of 22 pages (10 + B12), which, on its cover, bears the title: *Minute of the 30 April 1836*, with the following mention at the end: *Colonial Department, 30th April 1836*.

To establish the origin of the document, it will suffice to quote here a paragraph from *A Minute on the State of Affairs in Lower Canada in November 1836*, published in the *Report of the Public Archives for the year 1923*, p. 214:

"On the 30th of April last, Lord Glenelg transmitted to each of his colleagues a printed volume, containing a rapid historical *précis* of the Political Affairs of Lower Canada, from the conquest of the Canadian Provinces down to that period. To this *précis* was subjoined an Appendix of illustrative documents. It may be fit to notice, incidentally, that as the greater part of that volume was not printed for the purpose, but was put together by the sacrifice of numerous copies of Parliamentary and other Returns from which they were detached, so it is scarcely practicable now to supply any additional copies."

It is evident that Glenelg's *précis* is the minute printed below. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to find the *Appendices* mentioned above, as well as in the first paragraph of the published *Minute*.]

In the voluminous Appendices which accompany this Minute will be found such information as it has seemed necessary to bring together, in order to throw a clear light upon the questions connected with British North America at present awaiting the decision of His Majesty's Government.

In the following pages an acquaintance with the contents of those Appendices is presupposed; and on that supposition an attempt will be made first, to state, and then as briefly as may be, to consider, the various questions in which this protracted controversy has at length issued. That Statement will however be prefaced by a few general remarks, some of which may indeed be thought too obvious to require a formal announcement. They may perhaps however tend to supersede or to abridge discussions which in the sequel might otherwise be unavoidable.

The ultimate objects of the Policy of the British Government in relation to the North American Provinces, are few and simple. Every end which is really desirable would be fully accomplished, if adequate security could be taken for maintaining the connexion between the two Countries as Members of the same Monarchy—if the outlet for poor emigrants could be kept open—and if those Commercial interests which may be supposed to depend upon the Colonial character of the Canadas, of New Brunswick, and of Nova Scotia, could be protected.

In pursuing these objects, no measure could be prudently taken with a view to it's effect upon a single Province only. The interests of the whole are so complicated with each other, that for any such purpose they must be regarded as one great Community.

No settlement of the existing controversies is fit to be adopted which would provide nothing better than a momentary respite from existing embarrassments. A short truce which had no tendency to bring about an abiding pacification, would rather exasperate than cure the disorder.

The population of British North America is not less than 1,200,000 souls. They are already assuming a distinct National character; and the day cannot be very remote when an Independence, first real, and then avowed, will take the

place of the present subjection of these Provinces to the British Crown. The tendency to this result might easily be proved, if proof were necessary. But for the present purpose the existence of that tendency is assumed, with a view to the remark that the event is one from which it would be equally unwise and useless to avert our thoughts. A forecasting Policy would appear to suggest that provision should be deliberately, though of course unavoidably, made for the peaceful and honorable abdication of a power, which ere long it will be impossible to retain, and for raising up on the North American Continent a counterpoise to the United States.

In a paper which has been drawn up on this occasion, another general principle is stated in the following terms:—"The British Colonies in North America are fast rising into considerable States, and already are far too powerful to be governed upon any principle but that of deference for the wishes and opinions of the great Body of the inhabitants. The authority of the Mother Country rests altogether upon the respect and voluntary obedience of her Colonial subjects."

Finally, the present is an occasion in which inaction is probably the most hazardous policy which could be pursued. To do nothing is indeed easy; but to determine that nothing shall be done, is impossible. In such a current there is no resting on the Oars. If it's force can neither be stemmed nor directed, it will infallibly hurry every thing before it.

Such are the more general views, of which the truth is taken for granted in the following pages. They will be seen to have a direct bearing upon the questions which are now to be considered.

It is first to be considered, by what means provision can be made for the debt due to the King's Officers in Lower Canada, and for the future charge of Governing that Province.

Lord Gosford and his colleagues concur in recommending the repeal or suspension of the Statute 1st and 2nd Wm IV ch: 23. That Act transferred to the Assembly the appropriation of the Parliamentary Duties of 1774. If it should be repealed, the Lords of the Treasury would have at their disposal an income of about £31,000, which added to the present Hereditary Revenue, would provide about £54,000 per annum, applicable under Treasury Warrants to the charge of the Civil Establishment of Lower Canada. It would more than defray the whole of that charge. As far therefore as the immediate Financial difficulties of the Crown are concerned, the remedy would be effectual and complete. What new difficulties it would create remains however to be considered.

First,—it is a circumstance worthy of careful notice that hitherto the British Legislature have been no parties to the Canadian controversy. The House of Commons has even anxiously abstained from an engagement in it. The Committees of 1828 and of 1834 dissuaded any Parliamentary interference, and advised that the subject should be referred exclusively to the conduct of the Executive Government. This kind of neutrality of Parliament has been dictated by much apparent wisdom. It has left open a resource to which resort might be had upon any extreme emergency. It has given to the contest an administrative rather than a National character. It leaves the door of hope open, and raises a barrier against those precipitate movements to which in the excitement of local dissentions men might otherwise be hurried. The reverence with which the House of Commons, especially in it's reformed character, is even yet regarded in British North America, is a spell not to be broken except at the bidding of inevitable necessity.

To invoke the aid of Parliament in vain, would be ruinous to the object in view. To invoke it successfully, would be to commit the Legislature to a strife from which, when once engaged in it, they could scarcely retreat at all, and could

certainly not retreat except with a complete triumph, or with signal disgrace. Any Minister who should apply to Parliament for support, would have given to the whole controversy a new critical and irretrievable character, whatever might be the result of his application.

Suppose however the Statute 1st & 2nd Wm to be repealed. What are the consequences to be anticipated? This question is proposed and answered by the Commissioners collectively, and by Sir George Gipps—separately. The following are extracts from the joint Report.

"So great indeed will be the powers, remaining to the Assembly, that doubts have been suggested whether the alteration of the 1st & 2nd Wm IV Cap: 23, though it may abate the immediate difficulties of the Province, will be of any permanent avail. In this point of view it is observed that the Assembly may continue it's war upon the Co-ordinate branches of the Legislature with more violence than ever; that the resumption of the Duties under the 14th Geo: III, C. 88, will only restore the Government to the same position in which it maintained an unsuccessful conflict with the Assembly in former years; and therefore that it would be better at once to advance a step further, and suspend the Constitutional Act of 1791 for a limited number of years."

In his Separate Minute, Sir George Gipps has made the following remarks on this subject:

"The Assembly, even when deprived of the Revenues of the 14th Geo: III, will retain its control over funds nearly twice as great as those in the hands of the Executive; and although the House may not have power to dispose of them at its discretion, it will, at any rate, be able to lock them up, and especially to prevent the application of them to any purpose favourable to the Government, or to the interests of the British party. It may also refuse to pay Bills required by the commercial Interest;—such for instance as Bills for the renewal of the Charters of the Quebec and Montreal Banks, both of which will expire in July 1837. When I consider therefore, the bitter hostility, or rather fury, with which the Assembly will be animated against the British Government and against British interests; the invectives which, under the direction of it's practise leaders, it will pour forth against England; the power it will propel of spreading disaffection within the Province and inviting interference from without, I am at a loss to imagine how the Government can be carried on with advantage; and I cannot help fearing that we shall ultimately be driven to abandon the country, with all the shame of failure upon us, or to maintain it at a cost infinitely beyond it's value.

"It may be said, on the other hand, that I have drawn an exaggerated picture of the difficulties which the Government will have to encounter,—that these difficulties will be found to melt away under a firm yet liberal and impartial administration,—or that a sense of patriotism, or even of self interest, will lead parties to act in harmony; and this more especially, should the sense of Parliament against their recent proceedings be unequivocally pronounced:—all this may, I admit, (and sincerely do I hope it,) come to pass, under a wise and firm administration. But nevertheless, I cannot but feel an apprehension that it will be otherwise, and entertaining such a feeling, I think it right to express it."

Such are the results which the Commissioners anticipate from the adoption of their own advice. They have however done less than justice to the subject. The truth of that assertion may be readily established.

The Reports, whether joint or separate, scarcely allude to the effect which this Repeal would produce in the adjacent Provinces. Yet who can doubt what that effect would be. The temper of Upper Canada is scarcely less excited than that of the Lower Province. The Cession of the Revenues of 1774 was made to them both at the same moment and by the Statute which it is now proposed

to repeal. If the Lower Canadians resented that repeal as an immediate injury, the inhabitants of the Upper Province would not less strongly resent it as an implied and injurious menace. The principle would apply equally to both, though, for the moment, the effect might be confined to one. Throughout British North America it would be represented perhaps with truth, but doubtless with plausibility and success, as a violation of the solemn pledges of 1778 and 1791, and as a disregard of the principles laid down by the Canada Committee of 1828, and afterwards affirmed by Sir George Murray, by Lord Ripon, and by Lord Glenelg. The charge of broken faith would be echoed from every part of the North American Continent. The proof would be short, simple, and intelligible. The refutation must be long and unavoidably obscure. If we disarmed the popular Leaders of some financial authority, we should increase in a ten fold proportion their moral influence.

But even the Financial weapons of offence which they hold at present in their hands would not be wrested from them. In years of transquillity, the annual expenditure of Lower Canada falls but little short of £180,000. Even after the repeal of the 1st & 2nd Wm IV, it would yet be in the power of the Assembly to stop more than two thirds of the whole annual Supplies. It is true that the blow would be directed—not against the King's Officers—but at their own Constituents. They would suspend all Public works: They would leave the roads bridges and canals without repair: The Light-houses would be shut up, the Quarantine Establishments abandoned, and all the Parochial Schools closed: The Country would be placed under a kind of interdict. Public fury would be directed—not against Mr. Papineau and his friends as the immediate authors, but against the British Government as the promoters, of these public calamities. What better could the inveterate enemies of that Government desire?

It is not difficult to trace out the further course of these hostilities. The Assemblies would denounce as an Enemy to his country every man who issued or received money under the proposed Act of Parliament: They would proceed against such Officers by Commitment for contempt of their House: They would refuse to pass any Bills or to transact any business until they had obtained the most ample reparation. In short, they would urge the quarrel to a point in which Parliament would be reduced to choose between retracing their measures, or suspending the Constitution of 1791 altogether;—that is, between intolerable humiliation and Civil War.

Now what are the Counsels which, in the anticipation of such results as these, the Commissionery have given? "We know not" they say "whether we may venture to expect it, but it is *proper to hope* that the reasoning may be mistaken which assumes that the Assembly will push to further extremities a desperate contest with the Imperial power. By the measure under consideration it would for the first time learn that the Mother Country may exercise another office besides that of yielding; and that when there has been every recent mark of respect and concession on the one hand, it may be prudent to meet it with some forbearance on the other. If this should not be the issue, but on the contrary the assembly should drive the Mother Country to either renewed efforts of control or else the abandonment of every part of the Constitution which the third Branch of the Legislature may invade, *it will be time enough* to determine upon the measures required by such an emergency when their necessity shall be proved by the event, and not upon it's mere apprehension.

Surely this is a very unsatisfactory solution of a difficulty so plainly foreseen, and so formidable when it shall arrive. It will then, it is said, be *time enough* to determine upon the measures required. No doubt if a particular course of action be plainly inevitable, it is best not to enfeeble the mind by too close a contemplation of the dangers which may possibly arise. But if it be possible to decline the path which will involve us in them, or if we can distinctly perceive

that they must be encountered, it is any thing but wisdom or true courage to avert the eye from their approach, in the hope that in the very moment of peril some scheme may suggest itself for escaping unhurt. If by repealing the Statute 1st & 2nd Wm IV there is a moral certainty that the Canadian Assembly will be provoked to a desperate use of it's remaining powers of hostile action, and that in this effort they will be supported by British North America and encouraged by the people of the United States; what would it be but suicidal temerity to plunge into such a scene of difficulties in the vague belief that something will turn up for our rescue.

But the repeal of the Statute in question is not the only scheme suggested by the Commissioners. Sir George Gipps and Sir Charles Grey have each in his separate Minute proposed an application to Parliament for a vote of money. Sir George Gipps however passes from that suggestion with the remark that it is probably impracticable. I understand him to doubt the willingness of the House of Commons to make such an advance. Sir Charles Grey refers to the same scheme merely as a resource to be substituted for the other plan, in the event of any unexpected objection to it.

Waving the question how far the House of Commons might be disposed to vote the money, the other objections to this mode of proceeding are far from inconsiderable.

In the first place, it would commit Parliament to the controversy with the Colonies,—a result to be deprecated, for the reasons already noticed.

Next, although free from those imputations of breach of National faith by which the other scheme would be assailed, it would provoke a resentment and resistance scarcely less bitter and obstinate. The purse of Great Britain is a sharper weapon than her sword, and the use of it to defeat what the Assembly regards and asserts as a Constitutional right, would be regarded throughout the Provinces as an injury the more intolerable because so apparently easy of perpetration, and to the continuance of which they at least would think that there was no assignable limit. Nor can it be denied that such an intervention, unless employed most cautiously and infrequently, would reduce the powers of the Assembly to an empty boast.

The whole annual expenditure of the Province might be borne by this Country with no perceptible addition to our burthens; and however well *we* may be convinced that the danger is imaginary, they would really think, and plausibly represent it to be our purpose to overwhelm with our money, privileges otherwise unassailable.

In fact however it is not to be doubted that an annual Estimate for Canada, or even a second vote for that service, would not be adopted by the House of Commons, and could not be recommended to them. This plan therefore, while it meets the evil of the moment, leaves the future unprovided for, and with the next Session of the Assembly, would infallibly arrive the day of revenge for our having rescued their victims from their grasp.

To either of the methods already suggested there is yet a further objection of great apparent force. It would seem impossible to invoke the interposition of Parliament except upon a full explanation of the policy which the Government intended to pursue towards the North American Provinces. The Legislature could hardly be expected or asked to commit themselves as parties to a contest of which the principles and the objects should not be disclosed to them. Is it practicable for the Government now to make that disclosure.

In June 1835 a Commission was sent to Lower Canada superseding the plan of the former Administration which had designed rather to act at once, than to await further intelligence. The necessity of additional information was asserted in the strongest terms. That information has not yet arrived. With what consistency or dignity could a resolution be taken and announced now upon the

main subjects of that enquiry. To avow the purpose to concede under such circumstances, would be to acknowledge the irresistible power of the Assembly. To announce a purpose to resist, would be to prejudge the results of the investigation. To say that there was no fixed purpose whatever, would be to raise a great if not insuperable obstacle to the success of the application for money. Is there any distinct and sure escape from this dilemma?

To avoid the necessity of applying to Parliament and of unfolding purposes still immature, it has been suggested that the Government might raise Funds adequate to the existing emergency by the Sale or Mortgage of Land in Canada. It is not probable that the Treasury would have any real difficulty in effecting such a Loan, because the Lender would well understand that in case of need Parliament would protect him from Loss. The Government might announce to Parliament that such a transaction had taken place and might justify it on the ground of their disinclination to make the Legislature Parties to the contest unless as a last and inevitable resource, especially at a moment when they were unavoidably unprepared to give those explanations to which the two Houses would be entitled if asked to contribute in any manner to the promotion of the policy of the Ministers of the Crown.

To this suggestion it is understood however that those best qualified to judge entertain objections so insuperable, that the further discussion of the plan in this place would be superfluous.

Then however arises the question whether it be really indispensable to provide at all for the payment of the remaining Arrears before the arrival of the Commissioners Report upon the main subjects of their enquiry, and before the decision either to resist or to concede shall have been finally adopted. After a review of all the information which the Commissioners shall collect, and of all the Councils which they may offer, if it be possible yet to retain the conduct of these affairs in the hands of the Government without invoking Parliamentary interference, the advantage of that course of proceeding would seem indisputable.

The objections to leaving matters in their present state are, first, that in contemplation of the emergency which has arisen, the Government pledged themselves by Lord Glenelg's Instructions to Lord Gosford to apply to Parliament, and to do what might in them lie for the relief of the Public Officers, and secondly that to leave those Officers in a state of want and suffering would be at once unjust to them, and disgraceful to the Royal Authority.

It is answered that the case which has occurred is not exactly that in contemplation of which the pledge was given, because the Assembly did vote part of the Supplies, which were lost by a subsequent decision of the Council. If the six months supply Bill had passed both Houses, it may be doubted whether the Public Officers would have been entitled to ask the immediate interposition of the Government to procure for them the Balance. Does that right accrue to them because the Grant of the Assembly has been defeated by the opposition of the Council? Is not the dignity of the Crown sufficiently saved by the partial though in the result ineffectual acquiescence of the Assembly in the King's demands?

These questions are proposed merely for consideration without any attempt to solve them.

The question however must be considered on the supposition that there is no escape from the necessity of applying to Parliament for pecuniary assistance, and that such an application would involve the additional necessity of disclosing without further delay the opinions and purposes of the Ministers of the Crown upon the proposed changes in the constitution of the Legislative and Executive Councils. With a view to this result it is necessary to enquire first whether any change ought to be made in the constitution of the Legislative

Councils throughout British North America, and if so, what is the principle upon which any such alteration ought to proceed? the subordinate details may be reserved for future consideration.

It ought then to be clearly understood that so far as respects the Legislative Council, the Canadian Constitution is a mere experiment for which no precedent can be found in any other Dependency of the British Crown. Throughout the British Colonies as now existing, there is not to be found, nor does the History of the United States before the Revolution supply an example of a Legislative Body of which the Members held their Offices for Life on the nomination of the Crown, or were confined exclusively to Legislative duties. In all other Colonies the Councillors have been either elected by the People or appointed during the pleasure of the King and they have been not so much a separate Estate dividing with the Assembly the power of Legislation, as an Executive Council for the advice and assistance of the Governor in the Administration of Public Affairs, without whose previous concurrence he could not assent to any Bill passed by the Representatives of the people. According to the original design and early practice of the Colonies, all Laws originated with the Assemblies, and were then accepted or rejected by the Governor in Council, the King reserving to himself an ultimate veto. In later times the Governor has by a tacit encroachment been excluded from the Council when meeting in the old Colonies on Legislative Business. And even to this day he not rarely consults with the Council in their Executive capacity whether he shall or shall not assent to acts which they have passed in their Legislative character.

In the Year 1791 this ancient Colonial polity had fallen into that disfavor so naturally resulting from the events of the American War, and Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville yielding perhaps rather to the excitement of that day, than to the guidance of their own judgment, projected the creation in Canada of an Hereditary Aristocracy of which the nucleus was to be formed out of a distinct Legislative Council holding their Offices for Life on the nomination of the Crown, and susceptible in that character of Titles of Honor, which when preferred were to descend like English Peerages to the Eldest Sons, and to give to him a Seat in the Legislature. Thus it was supposed that a sort of Image or Antitype of the British Constitution would be established on an American Continent, operating as a sort of counterpoise to the Republicanism of the United States, and creating a moral obstacle to the Union of the Canadas with it. The King and His Cabinet were to be represented by the Governor and the Executive Council, ——the House of Lords and Commons by the Legislative Council and the Assembly.

It is no presumption at this distance of time and with the advantage of having witnessed the result of the experiment, to say that the policy pursued by Mr. Pitt in this instance, rested upon no solid basis whatever, but upon an analogy altogether illusory and superficial. Mr. Fox distinctly foresaw and as distinctly pointed out the objections to this scheme. But partly the Anti-gallican spirit of those times, and partly the Dramatic interest of the occurrence which distinguished the Debate on the Quebec Bill, overbore all other considerations; and Parliament resolved to attempt the transplantation to the Soil of America of the British Constitution in what was then thought an almost perfect epitome of the original.

Many Years elapsed during which the experiment was not subjected to a real trial. From 1793 when the Canadian Assemblies began to act until 1815 when the second War with the United States was brought to its close, the French Canadians submitted in the spirit of their Ancestors to the rule of their Governors with almost servile acquiescence, dissatisfied only when the Governor did not make striking and vigorous use of his powers. The English Inhabitants in either Canada were few and widely dispersed, and sympathized strongly in

the varying fortunes of the Mother Country. On the Invasion of the Americans they displayed even a passionate spirit of loyalty and bore without repining the brunt of a contest in the grounds of which they had not the most remote interest. But the return of peace bringing with it wealth and many new Inhabitants, and a comparatively concentrated population rapidly dispelled the previous calm, and the several branches of the Provincial Constitution called their hitherto dormant powers into active exercise. It was then immediately discovered that the different parts of the Political Machine were wholly unfit to work together. The Governor regarded with aversion and not seldom with contempt a Body of Executive Councillors who having no function but that of controlling his will by unwelcome advice, were continually left for many months together in a state of utter inaction and insignificance. They met to perform a few formal duties. Occasionally they were called together to relieve the Governor from some fatiguing investigation for some dangerous responsibility, but otherwise he acted alone and without reference to them for advice.

The Legislative Councillors again, were speedily taught that they had been summoned by the King to an invidious superiority over their fellow Colonists without acquiring any one of those resources on which the authority of the Peers of Great Britain reposes. They were sustained in the exercise of their Office by a solitary Act of Parliament, and by nothing more. They found themselves a mere oligarchy of Yesterday, taking the place and asserting the privileges of an Hereditary Aristocracy. They could appeal to no ancient prepossessions, to no traditionary fame, and to no prescriptive rights. They had not even the ressource of wealth or Family connexions, or personad endowments in any superiority to other Gentlemen of their own Class in Society. Power never was, or could be presented in a more bare, unprotected, and invidious form.

The consequence was such as Mr. Fox had foreseen. The Representatives of the People assailed the Nominees of the Crown with the utmost possible animosity, and advantage. The Council defended themselves by lofty assertions of their own rights, and by courting the alliance of the local and the European Government. In the struggle which ensued the Assembly plunged into many reckless measures assured that they would be counteracted by the Council, and would have no immediate practical consequence but that of increasing the unpopularity of their opponents. The Council rejected such Bills, and heated by the dispute, advanced far beyond the limits which moderation and foresight would have prescribed. The extent to which this conflict was carried, may be illustrated by the fact, that in about 10 Years the Council of Upper Canada defeated very nearly 400 Bills sent up to them by the Assembly. The necessity of some fundamental change in such a system as this, would scarcely seem to demand any formal proof. If such proof were wanting it might be found in the fact that the settled state of Public opinion in each of the Provinces demands such a change, and that demand is in truth irresistible. Where however it may be said is the proof that such is the state of Public opinion? The English Inhabitants of Lower Canada are so far from demanding an Elective Council that they are ready to rise in arms to prevent it, and in the Upper Province there is conclusive proof of the existence of a very large Body of Persons who within the last 4 years have assured the King of their perfect contentment with the existing Institutions of their Country.

Now in every attempt to estimate the state of public opinion, it is reasonable to lay out of account that great mass of People,—the large numerical majority of all Societies who from various motives take no real interest in public affairs, but are passive spectators, rather than active Agents. An Assembly elected by a suffrage almost universal in a Country where great poverty is unknown, cannot but afford a tolerably correct criterion of the views of the more active and

intelligent of their Constituents upon the great questions of Local policy. In Upper Canada Public opinion as ascertained by this test is decidedly in favor of the change.

In Lower Canada the Democratic feelings and principles of the English Inhabitants are such as to have excited the apprehension of the Commissioners and of their Secretary that they would not scruple to throw off their allegiance and to invoke the support of the United States if the Crown should disregard their wishes. But the immediate object of those wishes being to depress their French Antagonists, they are fighting for the moment under Monarchical colours, not from superior attachment to that cause, but the reverse. Once in possession of the power they seek, and no reasonable doubt exists that they would raise the very Standard against which they are now contending.

The policy of the Government or rather the necessity forced upon them by the state of public feeling in both Provinces seems therefore to be that of introducing some change into the Constitution of the Legislative Council by which it may be brought into that degree of harmony with the Assembly, which is indispensable to combined action and tranquil Government. This may be accomplished by changes either in the composition of the Assembly, or in that of the Council, or in both.

To alter the composition of the Assembly in the Upper Province is neither possible nor desirable. It is beyond doubt a fair representation of the People at large. But in Lower Canada there is every reason to believe the contrary. In the Upper Province therefore the Constitution of the Council only should undergo a change. In the Lower each House should be to a certain extent remodelled simultaneously. By no other method could the different branches of the respective Legislatures be brought into concert and enabled to act together.

Then arises the question upon what principle the proposed changes should be made. The Assembly have hitherto shrunk from advancing beyond the general statement that the Council must be elective. But M Morin, their Agent before the Committee of 1834, explained their views on this matter. He declared that the Councillors should be chosen by the same constituents as the House of Assembly, and that there was no necessity for any qualification at all, altho' the House was willing, in deference to European prejudices, to allow that no person should be eligible who had not an Estate in Land of at least £300 per annum.

Now it is scarcely necessary to show that this project is at the least as crude and as ill-digested as that which it would supersede. It proposes in effect that there should be two Houses of Assembly, differing only in this,—that one of them would have the exclusive power of the purse. From such an arrangement nothing could result but that the Council would become contemptible and noxious to the highest degree. All men of weight and ability, with influence enough to be chosen at all, would be candidates for Seats in the Assembly. Places in the Council would be obtained and sought only by a subordinate and inferior order of persons. The Council must either submit to act a secondary part, and to subscribe to every resolution of the other House, or they must enter into a race of popularity with it. Each Body would vie with the other in the extravagance of their Biddings for popular applause. Each would vindicate it's claim to favor by hostility against the only opponent to be found, that is the remote British Government, or the Governor himself. The ceaseless collision between the Executive and Legislative authorities could issue in nothing but the speedy establishment of a Republic,—first in substance, and then in name.

Is it then possible to find some safe middle point between the present system and this extreme remedy? That question will be most conveniently answered by a quotation from the paper to which reference has been already made.

" It seems to be necessary in the first place to enable the two Houses of the Provincial Parliament to work together without clashing: and in the next to discover some safe and legitimate mode of gratifying the ambition of those who have the leading influence in the Assembly. With respect to the Legislative Council, the objects to be sought in any alteration of it's composition should be, first to give it a greater hold upon public opinion, so as to render it's support, when given to the Crown, of more real value than it now is: Second,—To make it upon the whole sympathize with the majority of the Assembly; since, unless there is a general accordance of views between the two Branches of the Legislature it is impossible that the important office entrusted to them should be satisfactorily performed. Third, To provide however that the Council, while in the main agreeing with the majority of the Assembly, should principally represent the views of the most moderate Members of that Majority, and should contain within itself so large a proportion of persons of opposite sentiments, that the refusal of even a very few of the prevailing party to concur in any measure proposed to it should render it impossible for that measure to pass. It is only by a Body answering this description that a really effectual control can be preserved over the representative branch of the Legislature: if the Council should be directly opposed to the Assembly, there must be a collision, which could only end in the overthrow of the weaker authority: if it were a mere echo of the Lower House, the object of the Institution would not be attained; but if it could be made generally to agree with the more popular Body, while yet it had a character of greater steadiness and moderation it might exercise most beneficially a check, which from being only occasionally called into operation would, when really wanted, be the more powerful.

"A plan for the creation of a Body of this sort is submitted in a separate paper, but it is of course proposed not for adoption without much further enquiry, but as being calculated to enable the Governor, or the Commissioners in the Colony, to ascertain how such a scheme would probably be received.

"To an alteration of the composition of the Legislative Council founded upon these principles there would seem to be no valid objection."

Supposing the question respecting the changes in the Legislative Council to be thus adjusted;—it would next remain to consider whether a simultaneous change in the constituency of the Assembly of Lower Canada must not accompany it. Perhaps it may not unreasonably be expected that by thus yielding something to the demands of the English Inhabitants, and by giving to them greater authority in the Local Legislature, their opposition to the projected change in the Legislative Council might be neutralized, or greatly modified, and that by thus balancing the two parties against each other, upon a principle perfectly just in itself, the Government of both might become comparatively easy. No other solution of the problem of reconciling each to the projected innovation could probably be devised.

It remains to enquire in what manner the question respecting the Executive Councils is to be met. Upon that subject the following remarks are extracted from the paper which has been already repeatedly quoted.

"With respect to the Executive Council, without much fuller information it is impossible to say to what extent concession ought to be made; but in Lower Canada at least this is a demand much more recently put forward, and to which much less importance seems to be attached than to the change in the character of the Legislative Council; and it would probably be sufficient to render the Members of this body liable to impeachment for misconduct before the Legislative Council; while perhaps it might also be advisable to adopt Sir C Grey's suggestion of increasing considerably the number of persons belonging to it, giving at the same time to the Governor the discretionary power of summoning

to it's Meetings only those individuals whose advice he should according to the circumstances of each occasion consider likely to be of service to him. With this change it would probably at the same time be necessary to give to some of the Leaders of the Popular Party offices in the Public Service. Sir G Gipps has justly remarked that the use of the patronage of the Government as a means of influencing those who have most power in the Assembly has been too much neglected.

"Having thus sketched the concessions which might, it is conceived, with propriety be made, it remains to state the grounds upon which they are recommended, and the mode in which it is intended that they should be carried into effect, which will involve a general description of the line of policy considered to be best adapted to the present critical position of this important Colony. These concessions are recommended, because as has already been observed there is an absolute necessity of restoring harmony between the Legislative and Executive Government, and because looking to the history of the last few years there seems not the slightest room for hoping that less would be accepted, either by the existing Assembly, or by any other by which it might be succeeded."

There are many questions as to the mode of effecting any resolutions which may be taken, which however important in themselves may yet be conveniently postponed for the present. The Enquiries to which the preceding remarks may serve to call the attention of His Majesty's Government are the following:

First. Is it fit that application should be made to Parliament for the repeal or suspension of the Statute 1st & 2nd Wm IV Ch: 23.

Second. Is it fit that application should be made to Parliament for an advance of money to defray the existing arrears of the Public Officers in Lower Canada.

Third. Is it fit that the funds required for that purpose should be raised by the Sale or Mortgage of the Crown Lands of the Province.

Fourth. Is it necessary or desirable that Funds should be raised at all for the immediate payment of those Officers.

Fifth. Is it fit that a change should be made in the Constitution of the Legislative Councils in the British North American Provinces or of any of them.

Sixth. If so, ought that change to be effected upon the general principles already mentioned, or upon any other principles.

Seventh. Ought any change to be made in the Constituency of the Assembly of Lower Canada, having for it's object to redress the inequality which at present exists in favor of the French inhabitants.

Eighth. Ought any change to be effected in the Constitution of the Executive Councils in British North America, and if so, should it be made upon the principles suggested in the preceding Minute.

Colonial Department

30th April 1836.