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Indian Captivity

FRENCH *and* INDIAN Cruelty;

Exemplified in the

L I F E

And various Vicissitudes of Fortune, of

PETER WILLIAMSON,

A DISBANDED SOLDIER.

1730-1799

CONTAINING

A particular Account of the *Manners, Customs, and Dress*, of the SAVAGES; of their *scalping, burning, and other Barbarities*, committed on the ENGLISH, in NORTH-AMERICA, during his Residence among them: Being at eight Years of Age, *stolen* from his *Parents* and sent to PENNSYLVANIA, where he was sold as a SLAVE: Afterwards married and settled as a *Planter*, till the *Indians* destroy'd his House and every Thing he had, and carried him off a *Captive*; from whom, after several Months Captivity, he made his *Escape*, and serv'd as a *Volunteer and Soldier* in many Expeditions against them.

COMPREHENDING IN THE WHOLE,

A SUMMARY of the Transactions of the several Provinces of PENNSYLVANIA (including PHILADELPHIA), NEW-YORK, NEW-ENGLAND, NEW-JERSEY, &c. &c. From the Commencement of the War in these Parts; particularly, those relative to the *intended* Attack on CROWN POINT and NIAGARA.

And, an accurate and succinct Detail, of the Operations of the FRENCH and ENGLISH Forces, at the Siege of OSWEGO, where the AUTHOR was wounded and taken Prisoner; and being afterwards sent to ENGLAND, was, on his Arrival at Plymouth, discharg'd as *incapable* of FURTHER Service.

Written by H I M S E L F.

Y O R K:

Printed for the AUTHOR, by N. NICKSON, 1757.

And Sold at his Shops in Stonegate, and Coffee-Yard,

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

THE following short Tract is humbly offer'd to the Public, in Hopes of gaining by their generous Contribution in the Sale thereof, a small Matter, to enable me to settle in some Industrious Way, and provide in my old Age against the Malevolence of Fortune; who hitherto, for the Space of twenty-eight Years, hath with her Smiles and Frowns alternately chequer'd my Life. My Situation, after my Arrival in America, was not, I confess, unhappy, 'till the Year 1754, when the Indians began their Depredations in the Province of Pennsylvania; but, since that Time, the Reader will find few happy Minutes to have been in my Possession. Could I be re-instated in the like Circumstances, I enjoyed before, my utmost Wishes would be obtained. Thousands, who have gone to these Parts, have met with more unpleasing Fortune than myself; many (who are not kidnapp'd as I was) being ignorant what Measures to take, on going thither, contract themselves with some Merchant or Factor here, to serve a certain Number of Years in the Plantations, where, when arrived, they often meet with very bad, and I may say, cruel Masters; through whose barbarous Treatment, they are often induced to elope, to avoid Servitude, or (more properly) Slavery under such Tyrants. If this happens, their Case is worse, for they are almost certain of being
taken

taken again, as none are allowed to travel without a Pass, and then, for every Day they have been absent, they must after the Expiration of their Contract, serve a Week, and pay such Sums of Money as the Master shall advertise for taking and bringing them back, or serve a certain Time in Lieu thereof. But, those, who go at their own Expence, find it much more to their Satisfaction and Interest; for as soon as they arrive, they are sure of Employment, particularly Tradesmen in any Branch, at great Wages in all Parts of Pennsylvania, and the other Provinces.

If any go to better their Fortunes, and have Money enough to enable them to live there without Service, they are almost sure, with Industry, to obtain their Ends; for, in whatever Place they first reside, there, have they a Settlement, by the Laws of the several Provinces; and Land may be obtained very cheap, as Thousands of Acres near all our Settlements still lie uncultivated, that with some Trouble, and little Expence, may be made to produce all Sorts of Grain in great Plenty. This they sell to the West-India Merchants, and in Times of Peace, to the French, for Rum, Sugar, Blankets, and Cloathing of all Sorts, which they again exchange with the Indians for Deer-skins, and Furs of all Kinds to great Advantage; and such Trade seldom fails, in a few Years, of gratifying the most avaritious in their Thirst after Wealth.



FRENCH *and* INDIAN Cruelty.

T
 HE Reader is not here to expect a large and useleſs Detail of the Tranſactions of late Years, in that Part of the World, where, ever ſince my Infancy, it has been my Miſfortune to have lived. Was it in my Power indeed, to ſet off with pompous Diction, and embellish with artificial Deſcriptions, what has ſo ingroſſed the Attention of *Europe*, as well as the Scenes of Action for ſome Years paſt, perhaps I might; but, my poor Pen, being wholly unfit for ſuch a Task, and never otherwiſe employed than juſt for my own Affairs and Amuſement, while I had the Pleaſure of living tranquil and undiſturbed; I muſt beg Leave to deſiſt from ſuch an Attempt; and if ſuch is expected from me, claim the Indulgence of that Pardon which is never reſuſed to thoſe incapacitated of performing what may be deſired of them. And, as a plain, impartial, and ſuccinct Narrative of my own Life and various Viciffitudes of Fortune, is all I ſhall aim at, I ſhall herein confine myſelf to plain ſimple Truth, and, in the Dictates, reſulting from an honeſt Heart, give the Reader no other Entertainment than what ſhall be Matter of Fact; and of ſuch Things as have actually happened to me, of

come to my own Knowledge, in the Sphere of Life, in which it has been my Lot to be placed. Not, but I hope, I may be allowed, now and then, to carry on my Narrative from the Informations I may have received of such Things as relate to my Design tho' they have not been done or transacted in my Presence.

It being usual in Narratives like this, to give a short Account of the Author's Birth Education, and juvenile Exploits, the same being look'd upon as a necessary, or at least satisfactory Piece of Information to the curious and inquisitive Reader; I shall, without boasting of a Family I am no way intitled to, or recounting Adventures in my Youth, to which I was intirely a Stranger, in a short Manner, will gratify such Curiosity; not expecting, as I said before, to be admired for that Elegance of Stile and Profusion of Words, so universally made use of in the Details and Histories of those Adventurers, who have of late Years obliged the World with their Anecdotes and Memoirs; and which have had scarce any other Existence than in the Brains of a Bookseller's or Printer's *Garretteer*; who, from fewer Incidents, and less surprizing Matter than will be found in this short Narrative, have been, and are daily enabled, to spin and work out their elaborate Performances to three or four Volumes. That I, like them, publish this for Support, is true, but as I am too sensible, the major Part of Mankind will give much more to a Bookseller, to be in the Fashion, or satisfy their Curiosity, in having or reading a new puff'd-off History or Novel, than to a real Object of Distress, for an
accurate

accurate and faithful Account of a Series of Misfortunes, I have thought it more adviseable to confine myself as to Size and Price, than by making a larger Volume miss that Assistance and Relief, of which I at present am in so great Need.

Know, therefore, that I was born within ten Miles of the Town of *Aberdeen*, in the North of *Scotland*; if not of rich, yet of reputable Parents, who supported me in the best Manner they could, as long as they had the Happiness of having me under their Inspection; but fatally for me; and to their great Grief, as it afterwards proved, I was sent to live with an Aunt at *Aberdeen*, where, at eight Years of Age, playing on the Kay, with others of my Companions, being of a stout robust Constitution, I was taken Notice of by two Fellows belonging to a Vessel in the Harbour, employed (as the Trade then was) by some of the *worthy* Merchants of the Town, in that villainous and execrable Practice, call'd *Kidnapping*; that is, stealing young Children from their Parents and selling them as Slaves in the Plantations abroad. Being mark'd out by those Monsters of Impiety as their Prey, I was easily cajoled on board the Ship by them, where I was no sooner got, than they conducted me between the Decks, to some others they had kidnapped in the same Manner. At that Time, I had no Sense of the Fate that was destin'd for me, and spent the Time in childish Amusements with my fellow Sufferers in the Steerage, being never suffer'd to go upon Deck whilst the Vessel lay in the Harbour; which was 'till such Time as they had got in their Loading, with a Complement

of unhappy Youths for carrying on their wicked Commerce.

In about a Month's Time the Ship set sail for *America*. The Treatment we met with, and the trifling Incidents which happen'd during the Voyage, I hope I may be excus'd from relating, as not being, at that Time, of an Age sufficient to remark any Thing more than what must occur to every one on such an Occasion. However, I cannot forget, that when we arrived on the Coast, we were destin'd for, a hard Gale of Wind sprung up from the S. E. and to the Captain's great Surprize, (he not thinking he was near Land) having been but eleven Weeks on the Passage; about 12 o'Clock at Night the Ship struck on a Sand-bank, off *Cape May*, near the Capes of *De-la-ware*, and to the great Terror and Affright of the whole Ship's Company, in a small Time, was almost full of Water. The Boat was then hoisted out, into which the Captain and his fellow Villains, the Crew, got with some Difficulty, leaving me and my deluded Companions to perish; as they then must naturally conclude inevitable Death to be our Fate. Often in my Distresses and Miseries since, have I wish'd that such had been the Consequence, when in a State of Innocence! but Providence thought proper to reserve me for future Trials of it's Goodness. Thus abandon'd and deserted, without the least Prospect of Relief, but threaten'd every Moment with Death, did these Villains leave us. The Cries, the Shrieks, and Tears of a Parcel of Infants had no Effect on, or caus'd the least Remorse, in the Breasts of these merciless Wretches. Scarce can I say, to which to
give

give the Preference; whether, to such as these, who have had the Opportunity of knowing the Christian Religion, or to the Savages herein after describ'd, who profane not the Gospel, or boast of Humanity; and, if they act in a more brutal and butcherly Manner, yet 'tis to their Enemies, for the Sake of Plunder and the Rewards offer'd them; for their Principles are alike; the Love of sordid Gain is in both the same Motive. The Ship, being on a Sand-bank, which did not give Way to let her sink deeper, we lay in the same deplorable Condition 'till Morning; when, tho' we saw the Land of *Cape May*, at about a Mile's Distance, we knew not what would be our Fate.

The Wind at length abated, and the Captain (unwilling to lose all his Cargo) about 10 o'Clock, sent some of his Crew in a Boat to the Ship's Side to bring us on Shore, where we lay, in a Sort of a Camp, made of the Sails of the Vessel, and such other Things as they could get. The Provisions lasted us 'till we were taken in by a Vessel bound to *Philadelphia*; lying on this Island, as well as I can recollect, near three Weeks. Very little of the Cargo was saved undamaged, and the Vessel, tho' repaired as well as the Hands were able, was never fit for Sea again.

When arrived and landed at *Philadelphia*, the Capital of *Pensylvania*, the Captain had soon People enough who came to buy us. He making the most of his villainous Loading, after his Disaster, sold us at about 16*l.* per Head. - What became of my unhappy Companions, I never knew; but

but it was my Lot to be sold to one of my Countrymen, a *North-Briton*, for the Term of seven Years, who had in his Youth undergone the same Fate as myself; having been kidnapped from *St. Johnstoun* in *Scotland*. As I shall often have Occasion to mention *Philadelphia* during the Course of my Adventures, I shall in this Place give a short and concise Description of the finest City in *America*, and one of the best laid out in the World.

This City would have been a Capital fit for an Empire, had it been built and inhabited according to the Proprietor's Plan. Considering it's late Foundation, 'tis a large City, and most commodiously situated between the *De-la-ware* and *Schuylkill*, two navigable Rivers. The former being two Miles broad, and navigable 300 Miles for small Vessels. It extends in length two Miles from one River to the other. There are eight long Streets two Miles in Length, cut at right Angles by sixteen others, of one Mile in Length, all strait and spacious. The Houses are stately, very numerous, (being near 3000), and still increasing, and all carried on regularly according to the first Plan. It has two Fronts on the Water, one on the East-side facing the *Schuylkill*, and that on the West facing the *De-la-ware*. The *Schuylkill* being navigable 800 Miles above the Falls, the Eastern Part is most populous, where the Ware-houses, some three Stories high, and Wharfs are numerous and convenient. All the Houses have large Orchards and Gardens belonging to them. The Merchants that reside here are numerous and wealthy, many of them keeping their Coaches, &c. In the Centre
of

of the City there is a Space of ten Acres, whereon are built the State-house, Market-house, and School-house. The former is built of Brick, and has a Prison under it. The Streets have their Names from the several Sorts of Timber common in *Pensylvania*; as *Mulberry-street*, *Sassafras-street*, *Chestnut-street*, *Beach-street*, and *Cedar-street*; *Christ's-Church* is the oldest, and has a numerous Congregation; but the major Part of the Inhabitants, being at first Quakers, still continue so, who have several *Meeting-houses*, and may not improperly be called the Church, as by Law establish'd, being the Originals. The Kay is beautiful, and 200 Feet square, to which a Ship of 200 Tons may lay her Broad-side. As the Advantages this City may boast of, has rendered it one of the best trading Towns out of the *British* Empire; so in all probability it will increase in Commerce and Riches, if not prevented by party Faction and religious Feuds, which of late Years have made it suffer considerably. The Assemblies and Courts of Judicature are held here as in all Capitals. The *French* have no City like it in all *America*.

Happy was my Lot in falling into my Countryman's Power, as he was, contrary to many others of his Calling, a humane, worthy, honest Man. Having no Children of his own, and commiserating my unhappy Condition, he took great Care of me 'till I was fit for Business; and about the 12th Year of my Age set me about little Trifles; in which State I continued 'till my 14th Year, when I was more fit for harder Work. During such my idle State, seeing my fellow Servants often

often reading and writing, it incited in me an Inclination to learn, which I intimated to my Master, telling him, I should be very willing to serve a Year longer, than the Contract by which I was bound obliged me, if he would indulge me in going to School; this he readily agreed to, saying, That Winter would be the best Time. It being then Summer, I waited with Impatience for the other Season; but to make some Progress in my Design, I got a Primer and learnt as much from my fellow Servants as I could. At School, where I went every Winter for five Years, I made a tolerable Proficiency, and have ever since been improving myself at leisure Hours. With this good Master, I continued 'till I was seventeen Years old, when he died, and as a Reward for my faithful Service, left me 200*l.* Currency, which was then about 120*l.* Sterling, his best Horse, Saddle, and all his wearing Apparel.

Being now my own Master, having Money in my Pocket, and all other Necessaries, I employed myself in jobbing about the Country, working for any that would employ me, for near seven Years; when thinking I had Money sufficient to follow some better Way of Life, I resolved to settle; but thought one Step necessary thereto, was to be married; for which Purpose, I applied to the Daughter of a substantial Planter, and found my Suit was not unacceptable to her, or her Father, so that Matters were soon concluded upon, and we married. My Father-in-law, in order to establish us in the World, in an easy, if not affluent Manner, made me a Deed of Gift of a Tract of
Land

Land that lay (unhappily for me, as it has since proved) on the Frontiers of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, near the Forks of *De-la-ware*, in *Berks* County, containing about 200 Acres, 30 of which were well cleared and fit for immediate Use, whereon was a good House and Barn. The Place pleasing me well, I settled on it; and though it cost me the major Part of my Money in buying Stock, Household Furniture, and Implements for out-door Work; and happy as I was in a good Wife, yet did my Felicity last me not long: For about the Year 1754, the *Indians*, in the *French* Interest, who had for a long Time before ravaged and destroyed other Parts of *America*, unmolested, I may very properly say, began now to be very troublesome on the Frontiers of our Province, where they generally appeared in small skulking Parties, with yellings, shoutings, and antic Postures, instead of Trumpets and Drums; committing great Devastations. The *Pennsylvanians* little imagined at first, that the *Indians* guilty of such Outrages and Violences were some of those who pretended to be in the *English* Interest; which alas! proved to be too true to many of us: For like the *French* in *Europe*, without Regard to Faith of Treaties, they suddenly break out into furious rapid Outrages and Devastations, but soon retire precipitately, having no Stores or Provisions but what they meet with in their Incurfions; some indeed carry a Bag with Biscuit, or *Indian* Corn therein, but not unless they have a long March to their destin'd Place of Action. And those *French*, who were sent to dispossess us in that Part of the World, being indefatigable in their Duty, and con-

tinually contriving, and using all manner of Ways and Means to win the *Indians* to their Interest, many of whom had been too negligent, and sometimes, I may say, cruelly treated by those who pretended to be their Protectors and Friends, found it no very difficult Matter to get over to their Interest, many who belong'd to those Nations in Amity with us: Especially as the Rewards they gave them were so great; they paying for every Scalp of an *English* Person 15 *l.* Sterling.

Terrible and shocking to human Nature, were the Barbarities daily committed by the Savages, and are not to be parallel'd in all the Volumes of History! Scarce did a Day pass, but some unhappy Family or other fell Victims to *French Chicanery* and Savage Cruelty. Terrible, indeed! it proved to me, as well as to many others; I that was now happy in an easy State of Life, blessed with an affectionate and tender Wife, who was possessed of all amiable Qualities to enable me to go thro' this World with that Peace and Serenity of Mind, which every Christian wishes to possess, became on a sudden one of the most unhappy, and deplorable of Mankind; scarce can I sustain the Shock which for ever recoils on me, at thinking on the last Time of seeing that good Woman; the fatal 2d of *October*, 1754; she that Day went from home, to visit some of her Relations; as I staid up later than usual, expecting her Return, none being in the House, besides myself, how great was my Surprise, Terror and Affright, when about 11 o'Clock at Night, I heard the dismal War-cry, or War-whoop of the Savages, which they make
on

on such Occasions, and may be express'd, *Woach, woach, ha, ha, bach, woach*, and to my inexpressible Grief, soon found my House was attack'd by them; I flew to the Chamber-window, and perceived them to be twelve in Number. They making several Attempts to come in, I asked them what they wanted? they gave me no Answer, but continued beating, and trying to get the Door open. Judge then the Condition I must be in, knowing the Cruelty and merciless Disposition of those Savages, should I fall into their Hands. To escape which dreadful Misfortune, having my Gun loaded in my Hand, I threaten'd them with Death, if they should not desist. But how vain and fruitless are the Efforts of one Man against the united Force of so many! and of such merciless, undaunted, and blood-thirsty Monsters as I had here to deal with. One of them that could speak a little *English*, threaten'd me in return, "That if I did not come out, they would burn me alive in the House." Telling me farther, what I unhappily perceived; "That they were no Friends to the *English*, but if I would come out and surrender myself Prisoner, they would not kill me." My Terror and Distraction at hearing this is not to be expressed by Words, nor easily imagin'd by any Person, unless in the same Condition. Little could I depend on the Promises of such Creatures; and yet, if I did not, inevitable Death, by being burnt alive must be my Lot. Distracted as I was in such deplorable Circumstances, I chose to rely on the Uncertainty of their fallacious Promises, rather than meet with certain Death by rejecting them; and accordingly went out of my House, with my Gun in my Hand,

not knowing what I did, or that I had it. Immediately on my Approach they rushed on me, like so many Tygers, and instantly disarmed me. Having me thus in their Power, the merciless Villains bound me to a Tree near the Door; they then went into the House and plundered and destroyed every Thing there was in it, carrying off what Moveables they could; the rest, together with the House, which they set Fire to, was consumed before my Eyes. The Barbarians not satisfied with this, set Fire to my Barn, Stable, and Outhouses, wherein were about 200 Bushels of Wheat, six Cows, four Horses, and five Sheep, which underwent the same Fate, being all intirely consumed to Ashes. During the Conflagration, to describe the Thoughts, the Fears, and Misery that I felt, is utterly impossible, as 'tis even now to mention what I feel at the Remembrance thereof.

Having thus finish'd the execrable Business, about which they came, one of the Monsters came to me with a *Tomahawk** in his Hand, threatening me with the worst of Deaths if I would not willingly go with them, and be contented with their Way of Living. This I seemingly agreed to, promising to do every Thing for them that lay in my Power; trusting to Providence for the Time when I might be deliver'd out of their Hands.

* A *Tomahawk*, is a Kind of Hatchet, made something like our Plasterers Hammers, about two Feet long, Handle and all. To take up the Hatchet (or Tomahawk) among them, is to declare War. They generally use it after firing their Guns, by rushing on their Enemies, and fracturing or cleaving their Sculls with it, and very seldom fail of killing at the first Blow.

Hands. Upon this they untied me, and gave me a great Load to carry on my Back, under which I travelled all that Night with them, full of the most terrible Apprehensions, and oppress'd with the greatest Anxiety of Mind, lest my unhappy Wife should likewise have fallen a Prey to these cruel Monsters. At Day-break, my infernal Masters ordered me to lie down my Load, when tying my Hands again round a Tree with a small Cord, they forced the Blood out at my Fingers Ends. They then kindled a Fire near the Tree whereto I was bound, which fill'd me with the most dreadful Agonies concluding I was going to be made a Sacrifice to their Barbarity.

This Narrative, O Reader! may seem dry and tedious to you: My Miseries and Misfortunes, great as they have been, may be consider'd only as what others have daily met with for Years past; yet, on Reflection, you can't help indulging me in the Recital of them: For to the Unfortunate and Distress'd, recounting our Miseries, is, in some Sort, an Alleviation of them.

Permit me therefore to proceed; not by recounting to you the deplorable Condition I then was in, for that is more than can be described to you, by one who thought of nothing less than being immediately put to Death in the most excruciating Manner these Devils could invent. The Fire being thus made, they for some Time danced round me after their Manner, with various odd Motions and antic Gestures, whooping, hollowing, and crying, in a frightful Manner, as is their Custom. Having
satisfied

satisfied themselves in this Sort of their Mirth, they proceeded in a more tragical Manner; taking the burning Coals and Sticks, flaming with Fire at the Ends, holding them to my Face, Head, Hands, and Feet, with a deal of monstrous Pleasure and Satisfaction; and at the same Time threatening to burn me intirely, if I made the least Noise or cried out: Thus tortur'd as I was, almost to Death, I suffered their brutal Pleasure without being allowed to vent my inexpressible Anguish otherwise than by shedding silent Tears; even which, when these inhuman Tormentors observ'd, with a shocking Pleasure and Alacrity, they would take fresh Coals, and apply near my Eyes, telling me my Face was wet, and that they would dry it for me, which indeed they cruelly did. How I underwent these Tortures I have here faintly described, has been Matter of Wonder to me many Times; but God enabled me to wait with more than common Patience for a Deliverance I daily pray'd for.

Having at length satisfied their brutal Pleasure, they sat down round the Fire, and roasted their Meat, of which they had robb'd my Dwelling. When they had prepared it and satisfied their voracious Appetites, they offer'd some to me; tho' it is easily imagin'd I had but little Appetite to eat after the Tortures and Miseries I had undergone; yet, was I forced to seem pleas'd with what they offer'd me, lest by refusing it, they had again reassum'd their hellish Practices. What I could not eat, I contriv'd to get between the Bark and the Tree, where I was fix'd, they having unbound my Hands till they imagin'd I had eat all they gave

gave me; But, then, they again bound me as before; in which deplorable Condition was I forced to continue all that Day. When the Sun was set, they put out the Fire and cover'd the Ashes with Leaves, as is their usual Custom, that the white People might not discover any Traces or Signs of their having been there.

Thus had these barbarous Wretches finish'd their first diabolical Piece of Work; and shocking as it may seem to the humane *English* Heart, yet what I underwent, was but trifling, in Comparison to the Torments and Miseries which I was afterwards an Eye Witness of being inflicted on others of my unhappy fellow Creatures.

Going from thence along by the River *Susquehanna*, for the Space of six Miles, loaded as I was before, we arrived at a Spot near the *Apalatian* Mountains, or *Blue Hills*, where they hid their Plunder under Logs of Wood.—And, oh, shocking to relate! from thence did these hellish Monsters proceed to a neighbouring House, occupied by one *Jacob Snider* and his unhappy Family, consisting of his Wife, five Children, and a young Man his Servant. They soon got Admittance into the unfortunate Man's House, where they immediately, without the least Remorse, and with more than brutal Cruelty, *scalp'd* † the tender

† Scalping, is taking off the Skin from the Top of the Head; which they perform with a long Knife that they hang round their Neck, and always carry with them. They cut the Skin round as much of the Head as they think proper, sometimes quite

der Parents and the unhappy Children: Nor could the Tears, the Shrieks, or Cries of these unhappy Victims prevent their horrid Massacre: For having thus scalp'd them, and plunder'd the House of every Thing that was moveable, they set Fire to the same, where the poor Creatures met their final Doom amidst the Flames, the hellish Miscreants standing at the Door, or as near the House as the Flames would permit them, rejoicing, and echoing back in their diabolical Manner, the piercing Cries, heart-rending Groans, and parental and affectionate Soothings, which issued from this most horrid Sacrifice of an innocent Family. Sacrifice! I think I may properly call it, to the aggrandizing the Ambition of a King, who wrongly stiles himself *Most Christian*. For, had these Savages been never tempted with the alluring Bait of all-powerful Gold, myself, as well as hundreds of others, might still have lived most happily in our Stations. If Christians Countenance, nay, hire those Wretches, to live in a continual Repetition of Plunder, Rapine, Murder, and Conflagration, in vain, are Missionaries sent, or Sums expended for the Propagation of the Gospel. But, these Sentiments, with many others, must before the End of this Narrative occur to every humane Heart.—Therefore

quite round from the Neck and Forehead, then take it in their Fingers and pluck it off, and often leave the unhappy Creatures so serv'd to die in a most miserable Manner. Some who are not cut too deep in the Temples or Scull, live in horrid Torments many Hours, and sometimes a Day or two after. The Scalps, or Skins thus taken off, they preserve and carry home in Triumph, where they receive, as is said before, a considerable Sum for every one.

fore to proceed; Not contented with what these Infernals had already done, they still continued their inordinate Villainy, in making a general Conflagration of the Barn and Stables, together, with all the Corn, Horses, Cows, and every Thing on the Place.

Thinking the young Man belonging to this unhappy Family, would be of some Service to them, in carrying Part of their hellish-acquir'd Plunder, they spared his Life, and loaded him and myself with what they had here got, and again marched to the *Blue-Hills* where, they stowed their Goods as before. My fellow Sufferer could not long bear the cruel Treatment which we were both obliged to suffer, and complaining bitterly to me, of his being unable to proceed any farther, I endeavour'd to console him, as much as lay in my Power, to bear up under his Afflictions, and wait with Patience, 'till by the Divine Assistance, we should be delivered out of their Clutches; but all in vain, for he still continued his Moans and Tears, which one of the Savages perceiving, as we travell'd on, instantly came up to us, and with his *Tornabawk*, gave him a Blow on the Head, which fell the unhappy Youth to the Ground, where they immediately *scalp'd* and left him. The Suddenness of this Murder, shock'd me to that Degree, that I was in a Manner like a Statue, being quite motionless, expecting my Fate would soon be the same; However, recovering my distracted Thoughts, I dissembled the Uneasiness and Anguish which I felt as well as I could from the Barbarians; but still, such was the Terror I was under, that for some

D

Time

Time, I scarce knew the Days of the Week, or what I did; so that at this Period, Life did, indeed, become a Burthen to me, and I regretted my being saved from my first Persecutors, the Sailors.

The horrid Fact being compleated, they kept on their Course near the Mountains, where they lay skulking four or five Days, rejoicing at the Plunder and Store they had got. When Provisions became scarce, they made their Way towards *Susquehana*; where, still to add to the many Barbarities they had already committed, passing near another House, inhabited by an unhappy old Man, whose Name was *John Adams*, with his Wife and four small Children; and meeting with no Resistance, they immediately *scalp'd* the unhappy Wife, and her four Children, before the good old Man's Eyes. Inhuman and horrid as this was! it did not satiate them; for, when they had murder'd the poor Woman, they acted with her in such a brutal Manner, as Decency, or the Remembrance of the Crime, will not permit me to mention; and this even, before the unhappy Husband; who, not being able to avoid the Sight, and incapable of affording her the least Relief, intreated them to put an End to his miserable Being; but they were as deaf, and regardless to the Tears, Prayers, and Intreaties, of this venerable Sufferer, as they had been to those of the others, and proceeded in their hellish Purpose of burning and destroying his House, Barn, Corn, Hay, Cattle, and every Thing the poor Man, a few Hours before, was Master of. Having saved what they thought proper from the Flames, they gave the old Man, feeble, weak, and in the miserable

rable Condition he then was, as well as myself, Burthens to carry, and loading themselves likewise, with Bread and Meat, pursued their Journey on towards the *Great Swamp*; where, being arrived, they lay for eight or nine Days, sometimes diverting themselves, in exercising the most atrocious and barbarous Cruelties on their unhappy Victim, the old Man: Sometimes they would strip him naked, and paint him all over with various Sorts of Colours, which they extracted, or made from Herbs and Roots: At other Times they'd pluck the white Hairs from his venerable Head, and tauntingly tell him, *He was a Fool for living so long, and that they should shew him Kindness in putting him out of the World*; to all which, the poor Creature could only vent his Sighs, his Tears, his Moans, and Intreaties, that to my affrighted Imagination, were enough to penetrate a Heart of Adamant, and soften the most obdurate Savage. In vain, alas! were all his Tears, for daily, did they tire themselves with the various Means they tried to torment him; sometimes tying him to a Tree, and whipping him, at others, scorching his furrow'd Cheeks, with red-hot Coals, and burning his Legs, quite to the Knees: But the good old Soul, instead of repining, or wickedly arraigning the Divine Justice, like many others, in such Cases; even in the greatest Agonies, incessantly offer'd up his Prayers to the Almighty, with the most fervent Thanksgivings for his former Mercies, and hoping the Flames, then surrounding and burning his aged Limbs, would soon send him to the blissful Mansions of the Just, to be a Partaker of the Blessings there. And, during such his pious Ejaculations, his infer-

nal Plagues would come round him, mitmicking his heart-rending Groans, and piteous Wailings. One Night after he had been thus tormented, whilst he and I were sitting together, condoling each other at the Misfortunes and Miseries we daily suffered, twenty-five other *Indians* arrived, bringing with them twenty Scalps and three Prisoners, who had unhappily fallen into their Hands in *Cannocojigge*, a small Town near the River *Susquebanna*, chiefly inhabited by the *Irish*. These Prisoners gave us some shocking Accounts of the Murders and Devastations committed in their Parts. The various and complicated Actions of these Barbarians would intirely fill a large Volume; but what I have already written, with a few other Instances which I shall select from their Information, will enable the Reader to guess at the horrid Treatment the *English*, and *Indians*, in their Interest, have suffered for Years past. I shall therefore only mention in a brief Manner those that suffer'd near the same Time with myself. This Party, who now join'd us, had it not, I found, in their Power, to begin their Wickedness as soon as those who visited my Habitation; the first of their Tragedies being on the 25th Day of *October*, 1754, when *John Lewis*, with his Wife, and three small Children, fell Sacrifices to their Cruelty, and were miserably scalp'd and murder'd; his House, Barn, and every Thing he possessed, being burnt and destroyed. On the 28th, *Jacob Miller*, with his Wife, and six of his Family, together, with every Thing on his Plantation, underwent the same Fate. The 30th. The House, Mill, Barn, twenty Head of Cattle, two Teams of Horses, and every Thing belonging to

to the unhappy *George Folke*, met with the like Treatment, Himself, Wife, and all his miserable Family, consisting of nine in Number, being inhumanly *scalp'd*, then cut in Pieces, and given to the Swine, which devour'd them. I shall give another Instance of the numberless and unheard-of Barbarities they related of these Savages, and proceed to their own tragical End. In short; one of the substantial Traders, belonging to the Province, having Business that call'd him, some Miles up the Country, fell into the Hands of these Devils, who not only *scalp'd* him, but immediately roasted him, before he was dead; then like *Canibals*, for want of other Food, eat his whole Body, and of his Head, made what they call'd, an *Indian Pudding*.

From these few Instances of savage Cruelty, the deplorable Situation of the defenceless Inhabitants, and what they hourly suffer'd in that Part of the Globe, must strike the utmost Horror to a human Soul, and cause in every Breast the utmost Detestation, not only, against the Authors of such tragic Scenes, but, against those, who thro' Perfidy, Inattention, or pusillanimous and erroneous Principles, suffered these Savages at first, unrepell'd, or even unmolested, to commit such Outrages and incredible Depredations and Murders. For no Torments, no Barbarities that can be exercis'd on the human Sacrifices, they get into their Power, are left untried or omitted.

The three Prisoners that were brought with these additional Forces, constantly repining at their Lot, and almost dead with their excessive hard Treatment,

Treatment, contrived at last to make their Escape ; but being far from their own Settlements, and not knowing the Country, were soon after met by some others of the Tribes, or Nations at War with us, and brought back to their diabolical Masters, who greatly rejoiced at having them again in their infernal Power. The poor Creatures, almost famished for want of Sustenance, having had none during the Time of their Elopement ; were no sooner in the Clutches of the Barbarians, than two of them were tied to a Tree, and a great Fire made round them, where they remained 'till they were terribly scorched and burnt ; when one of the Villians with his *scalping* Knife, ript open their Bellies, took out their Entrails, and burnt them before their Eyes, whilst the others were cutting, piercing, and tearing the Flesh from their Breasts, Hands, Arms, and Legs, with red-hot Irons, 'till they were dead. The third unhappy Victim, was reserved a few Hours longer, to be, if possible, sacrificed in a more cruel Manner ; his Arms were tied close to his Body, and a Hole being dug, deep enough for him to stand upright, he was put therein, and Earth ram'd, and beat in, all round his Body up to his Neck, so that his Head only appear'd above Ground ; they then *scalp'd* him, and there let him remain for three or four Hours, in the greatest Agonies ; after which they made a small Fire near his Head, causing him to suffer the most excruciating Torments imaginable ; whilst the poor Creature could only cry for Mercy in killing him immediately, for his Brains were boiling in his Head : Inexorable to all his Complaints, they continued the Fire, whilst, shocking to behold ! his Eyes gush'd out of their Sockets ; and such
agonizing

agonizing Torments did the unhappy Creature suffer for near two Hours, 'till he was quite dead! They then cut off his Head, and buried it with the other Bodies; my Task being to dig the Graves, which feeble and terrified as I was, the Dread of suffering the same Fate enabled me to do. I shall not here take up the Reader's Time, in vainly attempting to describe what I felt on such an Occasion, but continue my Narrative, as more equal to my Abilities.

A great Snow now falling, the Barbarians were a little fearful, lest the white People should by their Traces, find out their skulking Retreats, which obliged them to make the best of their Way to their Winter-Quarters, about 200 Miles farther from any Plantations or Inhabitants; where, after a long and painful Journey, being almost starved, I arrived with this infernal Crew. The Place where we were to rest, in their Tongue, is called, *Alamingo*. There I found a Number of *Wigwams**, full of their Women and Children. Dancing, singing, and shooting, were their general Amusements. And in all their Festivals and Dances, they relate what Successes they have had, and what Damages they have sustained in their Expeditions: In which I now unhappily became Part of their Theme. The Severity of the Cold increasing, they stript me of my Cloaths for their own Use, and gave me such

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* Wigwams, are the Names they give their Houses, which are no more than little Huts, made with three or four fork'd Stakes, drove into the Ground, and cover'd with Deer or other Skins; or for want of them, with large Leaves and Earth.

as they usually wore themselves, being a Piece of Blanket, and a Pair of *Mogganes*, or Shoes, with a Yard of coarse Cloth, to put round me instead of Breeches. To describe their Dress and Manner of living may not be altogether unacceptable to some of my Readers, but as the Size of this Book will not permit me to be so particular as I might otherwise be, I shall just observe,

That they in general, wear a white Blanket, which in War-time they paint with various Figures; but particularly the Leaves of Trees, in order to deceive their Enemies when in the Woods. Their *Mogganes* are made of Deer Skins, and the best Sort have them bound round the Edges with little Beads and Ribbands. On their Legs they wear Pieces of blue Cloth for Stockings, something like our Soldiers Spatter-dashes; they reach higher than their Knees, but not lower than their Ancles; they esteem them very easy to run in. Breeches they never wear, but instead thereof, two Pieces of Linen, one before and another behind. The better Sort have Shirts of the finest Linen they can get, and to those some wear Ruffles; but these they never put on till they have painted them of various Colours, which they get from the *Pecone* Root, and Bark of Trees, and never pull them off to wash, but wear them, till they fall in Pieces. They are very proud, and take great delight in wearing Trinkets; such as Silver Plates round their Wrists and Necks, with several Strings of *Wampum* (which is made of Cotton, interwove with Pebbles, Cockle-Shells, &c.) down their Breasts; and from their Ears and Noses they have
Rings

Rings and Beads, which hang dangling an Inch or two. The Men have no Beards, to prevent which, they use certain Instruments and Tricks as soon as it begins to grow. The Hair of their Heads is managed differently, some pluck out and destroy all, except a Lock hanging from the Crown of the Head, which they interweave with Wampum and Feathers of various Colours. The Women wear it very long, twisted down their Backs, with Beads, Feathers, and Wampum; and on their Heads most of them wear little Coronets of Brass or Copper; round their Middle they wear a Blanket instead of a Petticoat. The Females are very chaste and constant to their Husbands; and if any young Maiden should happen to have a Child before Marriage, she is never esteemed afterwards. As for their Food, they get it chiefly by hunting and shooting, and boil, broil, or roast all the Meat they eat. Their Standing-dish consists of *Indian-Corn* soak'd, then bruis'd and boil'd over a gentle Fire, for ten or twelve Hours. Their Bread is likewise made of this; wild Oats or Sunflower Seeds. Set Meals they never regard, but eat when they are hungry. Their Gun, Tomahawk, scalping Knife, Powder and Shot, are all they have to carry with them in Time of War; Bows and Arrows being seldom used by them. They generally in War decline open Engagements; Bush-fighting or skulking is their Discipline; and they are brave when engaged, having great Fortitude in enduring Tortures and Death. No People have a greater Love of Liberty, or Affection to their Relations; but they are the most implacably vindictive People upon the Earth, for they revenge

the Death of any Relation, or great Affront, whenever Occasion presents, let the Distance of Time or Place be never so remote: To all which I may add, what the Reader has already observed, that they are inhumanly cruel. But, some *other* Nations might be more happy, if, in some Instances, they copied them, and made *wise Conduct, Courage, and personal Strength*, the *chief* Recommendations for War-Captains, or *Werowances*, as they call them. In Times of Peace, they visit the Plantations inhabited by the Whites, to whom, they sell Baskets, Ladles, Spoons, and other such Trifles, which they are very expert in making. When Night comes, if admitted into any House, they beg Leave to lie down by the Fire-side, chusing that Place rather than any other, which is seldom refused them, if sober, for then they are very honest; but if drunk, are very dangerous and troublesome, if People enough are not in the House to quell them. Nor would they at any Times be guilty of such barbarous Depredations as they are, did not those *calling* themselves Christians, intice them thereto with strong Liquors, which they are vastly fond of; as well as by the pecuniary Rewards which they give for the Scalps. If Ambition cannot be gratified, or Superiority obtained, otherwise than by the Deaths of Thousands; would it not, in those who seek such airy Phantoms, and are so inordinately fond of their fellow Creatures Lives, favour a little more of Humanity, to have them kill'd instantly, and, (if they must have Proofs of Murder) scalp'd afterwards? than by allowing and encouraging such merciless Treatment, render themselves as obnoxious, cruel, and barbarous, to a human

Mind, as the very Savages themselves. However, they sometimes suffer by their Plots and Chicanery lain for the Destruction of others; it often happening that the Traders or Emiffaries sent to allure them to the Execution of their Schemes, rightly fall Victims themselves; for, as they always carry with them Horse-loads of Rum, which the *Indians* are fond of, they soon get drunk, quarrelsome, and wicked, and, in their Fury, often kill and destroy their Tempters. A just Reward for their wicked Designs! Nay, it has such an Effect on them, that when so intoxicated, they even burn and consume all their own Effects, beating, wounding, and sometimes killing their Wives and Children: But, in Disputes among themselves, when sober, they are very tenacious of Decorum, never allowing more than one to speak at a time. Profane Swearing they know not in their own Language how to express, but are very fond of the *French* and *English* Oaths.

The old People, who are by Age and Infirmities render'd incapable of being serviceable to the Community, they put out of the World in a barbarous and extraordinary Manner; an Instance of which, I had, whilst among them, an Opportunity of seeing practiced on an old *Indian*. He being, thro' Age, feeble and weak, and his Eyes failing him, so that he was unable to get his Living either by hunting or shooting; he was summon'd to appear before several of the Leading-ones, who were to be his Judges. Before whom being come, and having nothing to say for himself, (as how indeed could he prove himself to be young,) they very

formally, and with a seeming Degree of Compassion, pass'd Sentence on him to be put to Death. This was soon after executed on him in the following Manner: He was tied naked to a Tree, and a Boy who was to be his Executioner, stood ready with a Tomahawk in his Hands, to beat his Brains out: But when the young Monster came to inflict the Sentence, he was so short of Stature that he could not lift the Tomahawk high enough; upon which, he was held up by some others, (a great Concourse being present;) and then, tho' the young Devil laid on with the utmost of his Strength, he was not for some time able to fracture the old Man's Scull, so that it was near an Hour before he was dead. Thus are they from their Youth inur'd to Barbarity!

When they found no Remains of Life in him, they put him into a Hole dug in the Ground for that Purpose, in which he stood upright. Into his left Hand they put an old Gun, and hung a small Powder-Horn and Shot-Bag about his Shoulders, and a String of Wampum round his Neck; and into his right Hand, a little Silk-Purse with a Bit of Money in it; then fill'd the Hole round, and cover'd him over with Earth. This I found to be the usual Manner of treating the old of both Sexes; only that the Women are kill'd by young Girls, and put into the Ground with nothing but a Ladle in one Hand, and a wooden Dish in the other.

They are very strict in punishing Offenders, especially such as commit Crimes against any of the Royal Families. They never hang any; but these
sentenced

sentenced to Death are generally bound to a Stake, and a great Fire made round them; but not so near as to burn them immediately, for they sometimes remain roasting in the Middle of the Flames for two or three Days before they are dead.

After this long Digression, it is time to return to the Detail of my own Affairs.—At *Alamingo* was I kept near two Months, 'till the Snow was off the Ground. A long Time to be amongst such Creatures, and naked as I almost was! Whatever Thoughts I might have of making my Escape, to carry them into Execution was impracticable, being so far from any Plantations or White-People, and the severe Weather rendering my Limbs in a manner quite stiff and motionless: However, I contrived to defend myself against the Inclemency of the Weather as well as I could, by making myself a little Wigwam, with the Bark of the Trees, covering the same with Earth, which made it resemble a Cave: And to prevent the ill Effects of the Cold which penetrated into it, I was forc'd to keep a good Fire always near the Door.

Thus did I for near two Months endure such Hardships of Cold and Hunger as had hitherto been unknown to me. My Liberty of going about, was, indeed, more than I could have expected, but they well knew the Impracticability of my eloping from them. Seeing me outwardly easy and submissive, they would sometimes give me a little Meat, but my chief Food was *Indian-Corn*, dress'd as I have above described. Notwithstanding such their Civility, the Time pass'd so tediously

ously on, that I almost began to despair of ever regaining my Liberty, or seeing my few Relations again; which, with the Anxiety and Pain I suffer'd on account of my dear Wife, often gave me inexpressible Concern.

At length, the Time arriv'd, when they were preparing themselves for another Expedition against the Planters and White-People; but before they set out, they were join'd by many other *Indians*, from Fort *Du Quesne*, well stor'd with Powder and Ball they had receiv'd of the *French*.

As soon as the Snow was quite gone, and no Traces of their vile Footsteps could be perceiv'd, they set forth on their Journey towards the back Parts of the Province of *Pensylvania*; all leaving their Wives and Children behind in their Wigwams. They were now a terrible and formidable Body, amounting to near 150! My Duty was to carry what they thought proper to load me with, but they never intrusted me with a Gun. We marched on several Days without any Thing particular occurring, almost famish'd for want of Provisions; for my Part, I had nothing but a few Stalks of *Indian-Corn*, which I was glad to eat dry: Nor, did the *Indians* themselves fare much better, for as we drew near the Plantations they were afraid to kill any Game, lest the Noise of their Guns should alarm the Inhabitants.

When we again arrived at the *Blue Hills*, about 30 Miles from *Cannocojigge*, the *Irish* Settlement before-mentioned, we encamp'd for three Days,

tho' God knows we had neither Tents, nor any Thing else to defend us from the Inclemency of the Air, having nothing to lie on by Night but the Grass. Their usual Method of lodging, pitching, or encamping, by Night, being in Parcels of ten or twelve Men to a Fire, where they lie upon the Grass or Brush, wrapt up in a Blanket, with their Feet to the Fire.

During our Stay here, a sort of Council of War was held, when it was agreed to divide themselves into Companies of about twenty Men each; after which, every Captain marched with his Party where he thought proper. I still belonged to my old Masters, but was left behind on the Mountains with ten *Indians*, to stay 'till the rest should return; not thinking it proper to carry me nearer to *Cannocojigge*, or the other Plantations.

Here, being left, I began to meditate on my Escape, and tho' I knew the Country round extremely well, having been often thereabouts, with my Companions hunting Deer, Pole-Cats and other Beasts; yet, was I, very cautious of giving the least Suspicions of such my Intentions. However, the third Day after the grand Body had left us, my Companions, or Keepers, thought proper to visit the Mountains, in search of Game for their Subsistence, leaving me bound in such a Manner that I could not escape: At Night when they returned, having unbound me, we all sat down together to Supper on what they had killed and soon after (being greatly fatigued, with their Day's Excursion) they composed themselves to Rest, as usual. Observing them to be in
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that somniferous State, I tried various Ways to see whether it was a Scheme to prove my Intentions or not, but after making a Noise and walking about, sometimes touching them with my Feet, I found there was no Fallacy. My Heart then exulted with Joy at seeing a Time come that I might in all probability be delivered from my Captivity: But this Joy was soon damp'd by the Dread of being discovered by them, or taken by any other stragling Parties. To prevent which, I resolv'd, if possible, to get one of their Guns, and if discovered, to die in my Defence, rather than be taken: For that Purpose, I made various Efforts to get one from under their Heads, (where they always secured them), but in vain. Frustrated in this my first Essay towards regaining my Liberty, I dreaded the Thoughts of carrying my Design into Execution: Yet, after a little Consideration, and trusting myself to the Divine Protection, I set forwards naked and defenceless as I was. A rash and dangerous Enterprize! Such was my Terror however, that in going from them, I halted, and paus'd every four or five Yards, looking fearfully towards the Spot where I had left them lest they should awake and miss me; but when I was 200 Yards from them, I mended my Pace, and made as much haste as I possibly could to the Foot of the Mountains; when on a sudden, I was struck with the greatest Terror and Amaze, at hearing the Wood-cry, as 'tis call'd, and may be expressed *Jo-hau! Jo-hau!* which the Savages I had left were making, accompanied with the most hideous Cries and Howlings they could utter. The bellowing of Lyons, the Shrieks of Hyænas, or the roaring of Tygers, would have been

Mufic to my Ears, in Comparifon to the Sounds that then faluted them. They having now miffed their Charge, I concluded that they would foon feparate themfelves and hie in Queft of me. The more my Terror increafed the fafter did I push on, and fcarce knowing where I trod, drove thro' the Woods with the utmoft Precipitation, fometimes falling and bruifing myfelf, cutting my Feet and Legs againft the Stones, in a miferable Manner; but tho' faint and maim'd, as I was, I continued my Flight 'till Break of Day, when, without having any Thing to fuftain Nature, but a little Corn left, I crept into a hollow Tree, in which I lay very fnug, and returned my Prayers and Thanks to the Divine Being, that had thus far favour'd my Efcape. But my Repofe was in a few Hours deftroyed, at hearing the Voices of the Savages near the Place where I was hid, threatening and talking how they would ufe me, if they got me again; that I was before too fenfible of, to have the leaft Reft, either in Body or Mind fince I had left them. However, they at laft left the Spot, where I heard them, and I remained in my circular Afylum all that Day without further Moleftation.

At Night, I ventured forwards again, frighten'd, and trembling at every Bush I pafs'd, thinking each Twig that touched me to be a Savage. The third Day I concealed myfelf in the like Manner, and at Night I travelled on in the fame deplorable Condition, keeping off the main Road, ufed by the *Indians*, as much as poffible, which made my Journey many Miles longer, and more painful and irkfome than I can exprefs. But how fhall I de-

scribe the Fear, Terror, and Shock, that I felt on the fourth Night, when, by the rustling I made among the Leaves, a Party of *Indians*, that lay round a small Fire, which I did not perceive, started from the Ground, and seizing their Arms, run from the Fire, amongst the Woods. Whether to move forwards, or rest where I was, I knew not, so distracted was my Imagination. In this melancholy State revolving in my Thoughts the now inevitable Fate I thought waited on me, to my great Consternation and Joy, I was relieved by a Parcel of Swine that made towards the Place I guess'd the Savages to be; who, on seeing the Hogs, conjectur'd that their Alarm had been occasion'd by them, and very merrily returned to the Fire and lay down to sleep, as before. As soon as I perceiv'd my Enemies so dispos'd of, with more cautious Step and silent Tread, I pursued my Course, sweating (tho' Winter, and severely cold) with the Fear I had been just relieved from. Bruis'd, cut, mangled, and terrified as I was, I still, thro' the Divine Assistance, was enabled to pursue my Journey 'till Break of Day, when thinking myself far off from any of the Mifcreants, I so much dreaded, I lay down under a great Log, and slept undisturbed, 'till about Noon, when, getting up, I reached the Summit of a great Hill, with some Difficulty, and looking out if I could spy any Habitations of white People, to my unutterable Joy I saw some, which I guessed to be about ten Miles distance.

This Pleasure was in some Measure abated, by not being able to get among them that Night. Therefore, when Evening approached, I again re-

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commended myself to the Almighty, and compos'd my wearied mangled Limbs to Rest. In the Morning, as soon as I awoke, I continued my Journey towards the nearest clear'd Lands, I had seen the Day before, and about four o'Clock in the Afternoon, arrived at the House of *John Bell*, an old Acquaintance, where, knocking at the Door, his Wife, who opened it, seeing me in such a frightful Condition, flew from me like Lightning, screaming into the House. This alarm'd the whole Family, who immediately fled to their Arms, and I was soon accosted by the Master with his Gun in his Hand. But on my assuring him of my Innocence, as to any wicked Intentions, and making myself known, (for he before took me to be an *Indian*) he immediately care's'd me, as did all his Family, with a deal of Friendship at finding me alive; they having all been informed of my being murdered by the Savages some Months before. No longer now able to support my fatigued and worn out Spirits, I fainted and fell to the Ground. From which State having recovered me, and perceiving the weak and famish'd Condition I then was in, they soon gave me some Refreshment, but let me partake of it very sparingly, fearing the ill Effects, too much at once would have on me. They for two Days and Nights very affectionately supplied me with all Necessaries, and carefully attended me 'till my Spirits and Limbs were pretty well recruited, and I thought myself able to ride, when I borrowed of these good People (whose Kindness merits my most grateful Returns) a Horse and some Cloaths, and set forward for my Father-in-law's House in *Chester County*, about 140 Miles from
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thence

thence, where I arrived on the 4th Day of *January*, 1755, but scarce one of the Family could credit their Eyes, believing with the People I had lately left, that I had fallen a Prey to the *Indians*.

Great was the Joy and Satisfaction wherewith I was received and embraced by the whole Family ; but oh, what was my Anguish and Trouble, when on inquiring for my dear Wife, I found she had been dead two Months! This fatal News, as every humane Reader must imagine, greatly lessened the Joy and Rapture I otherwise should have felt at my Deliverance, from the dreadful State and Company I had been in.

The News of my happy Arrival at my Father-in-law's House, after so long and strange an Absence, was soon spread round the neighbouring Plantations by the country People, who continually visited me, being very desirous of hearing, and eagerly inquiring an Account of my Treatment, and Manner of living among the *Indians*. In all which I satisfied them. Soon after this, my Arrival, I was sent for by his Excellency Mr. *Morris*, the Governor, who examined me very particularly, as to all Incidents relating to my Captivity, and especially, in regard to the *Indians*, who had first taken me away, whether they were *French* or *English* Parties? I assur'd his Excellency, they were of those, who profess'd themselves to be Friends of the latter ; and informed him of the many barbarous and inhuman Actions, I had been Witness to among them, on the Frontiers of the Province ; and also, that they were daily increasing by others

others of our pretended Friends joining them; that they were all well supplied by the *French* with Arms and Ammunition, and greatly encouraged by them in their continual Excursions and Barbarities, not only, in having extraordinary Premiums for such Scalps as they should take and carry home with them at their Return, but great Presents of all Kinds, besides Rum, Powder, Ball, &c. before they sallied forth. Having satisfied his Excellency in such Particulars as he requested, the same being put into writing, I swore to the Contents thereof; as may be seen, by those who doubt of my Veracity, in the public Papers of that Time, as well in *England* as in *Philadelphia*. Having done with me, Mr. *Morris* gave me three Guineas, and sent the Affidavit to the Assembly, who were then indolently sitting in the State-house at *Philadelphia*, little regarding, nay even discrediting the various Accounts of the Incurfions and Depredations of the Savages. Whether such Indolence proceeded from the pacific Principles profess'd by those who are called Quakers, (and mostly constitute that Assembly) to be Part of their Religion, or from any other sinister Motive, it behoves not me to hint at, or conjecture.

However, on receiving this Intelligence from his Excellency, they immediately sent for me. When I arrived, I was conducted into the Lower-house, where the Assembly then sat, and was there interrogated by the Speaker, very particularly as to all I had before given the Governor an Account of; this my first Examination lasted three Hours. The next Day, I underwent a Second, for about an Hour and a Half, when I was courteously dismissed, with a Pro-

a Promise (never thought on afterwards) that all proper Methods should be taken, not only to accommodate and reimburse all those who had suffered by the Savages; but to prevent them from committing the like Hostilities for the future. How well the latter Part of their Promise has been completed, the whole World are as sensible of, as I am of the Non-performance of the former.

Now return'd, and once more at Liberty to pursue my own Inclinations, I was persuaded by my Father-in-law and Friends to follow some Employment or other; but the Plantation, from whence I was taken, tho' an exceeding good one, could not tempt me to settle on it again. What my Fate would have been if I had, may easily be conceived. And there being at this time (as the Assembly, too late for many of us found) a Necessity for raising Men to check those Barbarians in their ravaging Depredations, I insisted myself as one, with the greatest Alacrity and most determined Resolution, to exert the utmost of my Power, in being revenged on the hellish Authors of my Ruin. General *Sh-rly*, a Gentleman of the *Law*, was the weak Instrument pitch'd upon to direct the Operations of War in that Part of the World; a Man as unfitly qualified for such an Undertaking as ever the Legislature could employ. A Man never bred or inured to the Hardships of War; and never in the least acquainted with the Arts and Designs of military Discipline: True, it is, indeed, that he resided and practiced *Law* in *New-England* for some Years, and in 1741, succeeded Mr. *Belcher* as Governor-General of *New-York, Massachuset's-Bay*

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and *New-Hampshire*; in which Post he continued 'till 1748; when, being still in the good Graces of his first Patrons at home, (for some Reasons not here to be mention'd) he was supposed as being a *Lawyer*, to have a good deal of Chicane and Art in his Composition: He was accordingly sent to the Court of *France*, in order to settle the Boundaries of *Arcadia*, or *Nova-Scotia*, and at a great Charge, tho' to little Purpose, there kept for some Years; for how weak the Artifice, Elocution and Penetration, of an *English Lawyer*, proved against *French* Perfidy, specious Promises, and more deep laid Stratagemis; that long tedious and expensive Negotiation, and the disastrous Consequences attending the same, have been too fatally experienced by Thousands of *Europe* as well as *America*. But, I may, perhaps, by some, be thought to venture too far out of my Sphere, and that the hidden Secrets of Cabinets are impervious to, and ought not to be descanted on, by vulgar Minds. I shall go on therefore, with my own Affairs.

Into a Regiment; immediately under the Command of this *experienced* General, and in his Son, Capt. *Sh-rL-y's* Company, was it my Lot to be placed for three Years. This Regiment was intended for the Frontiers, to destroy the Forts erected by the *French*, as soon as it should be completely furnished with Arms, &c. at *Boston*, in *New-England*, where it was ordered for that Purpose. Being then very weak and infirm in Body, tho' possessed of my usual Resolution, it was thought adviseable to leave me for two Months in Winter-quarters. At the End of which, being pretty well recruited

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in Strength, I fet out for *Boston*, to join the Regiment with ſome others, likewise left behind; and after croſſing the River *De-la-ware*, we arrived at *New-Jerſey*, and from thence proceeded thro' the ſame by *New-York*, *Middletowne*, *Mendon*, in *Connecticut* to *Boston*, where we arrived about the End of *March*, and found the Regiment ready to receive us.

Boston, being the Capital of *New-England*, and the biggeſt City in *America*, except two or three on the *Spaniſh* Continent, I ſhall here ſubjoin a ſhort Account of it.

'Tis pleaſantly ſituated, and about four Miles in compaſs, at the Bottom of *Maſſachuſet's Bay*, into which there is but one common and ſafe Paſſage, and not very broad, there being ſcarce room for three Ships to come in a-breast; but once in, there's room for the Anchorage of 500 Sail. It's guarded by ſeveral Rocks, and above a Dozen Iſlands; the moſt remarkable of theſe Iſlands is *Caſtle-Iſland*, which ſtands about a League from the Town, and ſo ſituated, that no Ship of Burthen can approach the Town, without the Hazard of being ſhatter'd in Pieces by it's Cannon. It's now call'd, *Fort-William*, and mounted with 100 Pieces of Ordnance; 200 more which were given to the Province by Queen *Anne*, are placed on a Plat-form, ſo as to take a Ship fore and aft, before ſhe can bring about her Broadſides to bear againſt the Caſtle. Some of theſe Cannon are 42 Pounders; 500 able Men are exempted from all military Duty in Times of War, to be ready at an Hour's Warning to attend

tend the Service of the Castle, upon a Signal of the Approach of an Enemy, which there seems to be no great Danger of at *Boston*; where, in 24 Hours time, 10,000 effective Men, well arm'd, might be ready for their Defence. According to a Computation of the Collectors of the *Light-house*, it appear'd that there were 24,000 Tons of Shipping clear'd annually.

The Pier is at the Bottom of the Bay 2000 Feet long, and runs so far into the Bay, that Ships of the greatest Burthen may unload without the Help of Boats or Lighters. At the upper End of the chief Street in the Town, which comes down to the Head of the Pier, is the *Town-house*, or *Exchange* a fine Building, containing, besides the Walk for Merchants, the *Council-chamber*, the *House of Commons*, and a spacious Room for the Courts of *Justice*. The *Exchange* is surrounded with Bookseller's Shops that have a good Trade: Here being five Printing-houses, and the Presses generally full of Work, which is in a great measure owing to the Colleges and Schools in *New-England*; whereas at *New-York* there are but two or three little Bookseller's Shops, and none at all in *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Carolina*, *Barbadoes*, and the *Sugar Islands*.

The Town lies in the Form of an Half-Moon round the Harbour, and consisting of about 4000 Houses, must make an agreeable Prospect; the surrounding Shore being high, the Streets long, and the Buildings beautiful. The Pavement is kept in so good Order, that to gallop an Horse on

it is 3*s.* 4*d.* Forfeit. The Number of Inhabitants is computed at about 24,000.

There are eight Churches, the Chief of which is call'd the *Church-of-England-Church*; besides the *Baptist Meeting*, and the *Quaker's Meeting*.

The Conversation in this Town is as polite as in most of the Cities and Towns in *England*. A Gentleman of *London* would fancy himself at home at *Boston*, when he observes the Number of People, their Furniture, their Tables, and Dress, which, perhaps, is as splendid and showy as that of most Tradesmen in *London*.

In this City, learning military Discipline, and waiting for an Opportunity of carrying our Schemes into Execution, we lay 'till the 1st of *July*; during all which Time great Outrages and Devastations were committed by the Savages in the back Parts of the Province. One Instance of which in particular I shall relate, as being concern'd in rewarding according to Desert, the wicked Authors thereof.

Joseph Long, Esq; a Gentleman of large Fortune in these Parts, who had in his Time been a great Warrior among the *Indians*, and frequently join'd in Expeditions with those in our Interest against the others. His many Exploits and great Influence among several of the Nations were too well known, to pass unreveuged by the Savages against whom he had exerted his Abilities. Accordingly in *April* 1756, a Body of them came
down

down on his Plantation, about 30 Miles from *Boston*, and skulking in the Woods for some Time, at last seiz'd an Opportunity to attack his Houſe, in which, unhappily proving ſucceſſful, they ſcalp'd, mangled, and cut to Pieces, the unfortunate Gentleman, his Wife, and nine Servants, and then made a general Conflagration of his Houſes, Barns, Cattle, and every Thing he poſſeſs'd, with the mangled Bodies; all ſuffer'd together in one great Blaze! But his more unfortunate Son and Daughter were made Priſoners, and carried off by them, to be reſerv'd for greater Tortures. Alarm'd and terrified at this inhuman Butchery, the Neighbourhood, as well as the People of *Boston*, quickly aſſembled themſelves, to think of proper Meaſures to be reveng'd on theſe execrable Monſters. Among the firſt of thoſe who offer'd themſelves to go againſt the Savages, was *James Crawford*, Eſq; who was then at *Boston*, and heard of this Tragedy; he was a young Gentleman who had for ſome Years paid his Addreſſes to Miſs *Long*, and was in a very little Time to have been married to her. Distracted, raving, and ſhock'd, as he was, he loſt no Time, but inſtantly rais'd 100 reſolute and bold young Fellows to go in Queſt of the Villains. As I had been ſo long among them, and pretty well acquainted with their Manners and Cuſtoms, and particularly their ſkulking Places in the Woods, I was recommended to him as one proper for his Expedition; he immediately applied to my Officers and got Liberty for me. Never did I go on any Enterprize with Half that Alacrity and Chearfulneſs I now went with this Party. My Wrongs and Sufferings were too recent in my Memory, to ſuffer

me to hesitate a Moment in taking an Opportunity of being revenged to the utmost of my Power.

Being quickly armed and provided, we hastened forwards for Mr. *Long's* Plantation on the 29th, and after travelling the most remote and intricate Paths through the Woods, arrived there the 2d of *May*, dubious of our Success, and almost despairing of meeting with the Savages, as we had heard or could discover nothing of them in our March. In the Afternoon some of our Men being sent to the Top of a Hill to look out for them, soon perceiv'd a great Smoak in a Part of the low Grounds. This we immediately and rightly conjectured to proceed from a Fire made by them. We accordingly put ourselves into regular Order, and march'd forwards, resolv'd, let their Number have been what it might, to give them Battle.

Arriving within a Mile of the Place, Captain *Crawford*, whose Anxiety and Pain made him quicker sighted than any of the rest, soon perceiv'd them, and guess'd their Number to be about 50. Upon this we halted, and secreted ourselves as well as we could 'till twelve o'Clock at Night. At which Time, supposing them to be at rest, we divided our Men into two Divisions, 50 in each, and march'd on; when, coming within twenty Yards of them, the Captain fired his Gun, which was immediately follow'd by both Divisions in Succession, who instantly rushing on them with Bayonets fix'd, kill'd every Man of them.

Great as our Joy was, and flush'd with Success as we were, at this sudden Victory, no Heart among us but was ready to burst at the Sight of the unhappy young Lady. What must the Thoughts, Torments, and Sensations, of our brave Captain then be, if even we, who knew her not, were so sensibly affected! For, oh! what Breast, tho' of the brutal savage Race we had just destroy'd, could, without feeling the most exquisite Grief and Pain, behold in such infernal Power, a Lady in the Bloom of Youth, bless'd with every Female Accomplishment that could set off the most exquisite Beauty! Beauty, which render'd her the Envy of her own Sex, and the Delight of ours, enduring the Severity of a windy, rainy Night! Behold one nurtur'd in the most tender Manner, and by the most indulgent Parents, quite naked, and in the open Woods, encircling with her Alabaster Arms and Hands a cold rough Tree, whereto she was bound with Cords so straitly pull'd, that the Blood trickled from her Fingers Ends! Her lovely tender Body, and delicate Limbs, cut, bruise'd, and torn with Stones and Boughs of Trees as she had been dragg'd along, and all besmear'd with Blood! What Heart can even now, unmoved, think of her Distress, in such a deplorable Condition? having no Creature with the least Sensations of Humanity near to succour or relieve her, or even pity or regard her flowing Tears and lamentable Wailings!

The very Remembrance of the Sight, has at this Instant such an Effect upon me, that I almost want Words to go on.—Such then was the Condition in which we found this wretched Fair, but faint and speechless,

speechless with the Shock our firing had given her tender Frame. The Captain for a long Time could do nothing but gaze upon, and clasp her to his Bosom, crying, raving, and tearing his Hair, like one bereft of his Senses; nor did he for some time perceive the lifeless Condition she was in, 'till one of the Men had untied her lovely mangled Arms, and she fell to the Ground. Finding among the Villain's Plunder the unhappy Lady's Cloaths, he gently put some of them about her; and after various Trials and much Time spent, recovered her dissipated Spirits, the Re-possession of which she first manifested by eagerly fixing her Eyes on her dear Deliverer, and smiling with the most complaisant Joy, blessed the Almighty and him for her miraculous Deliverance.

During this pleasing, painful Interview, our Men were busily employed in cutting, hacking, and scalping the dead *Indians*; and so desirous was every Man to have a Share in reaking his Revenge on them, that Disputes happened among ourselves who should be the Instruments of further shewing it on their lifeless Trunks, there not being enough for every Man to have one wherewith to satiate himself: The Captain observing the Animosity between us, on this Occasion, ordered, that the two Divisions should cast Lots for this bloody, tho' agreeable Piece of Work; which being accordingly done, the Party, whose Lot it was to be excluded from this Business, stood by with half-pleas'd Countenances, looking on the rest; who with the utmost Chearfulness and Activity pursued their Revenge in scalping, and otherwise treating their
dead

dead Bodies as the most inveterate Hatred and Detestation could suggest.

The Work being done, we thought of steering homewards triumphant with the 50 Scalps; but how to get the Lady forwards, who was in such a Condition, as rendered her incapable of walking further, gave us some Pain, and retarded us a little, 'till we made a Sort of Carriage to seat her on; and then, with the greatest Readiness, we took our Turns, four at a Time, and carried her along. This, in some Measure, made the Captain chearful, who all the Way endeavoured to comfort and revive his desponding afflicted Mistress: But alas! in vain; for the Miseries she had lately felt, and the terrible Fate of her poor Brother, of whom, I doubt not, but the tender-hearted Reader is anxious to hear, rendered even her most pleasing Thoughts, notwithstanding his soothing Words, corroding and insufferable.

The Account she gave of their disastrous Fate and dire Catastrophe, besides what I have already mentioned, was, That the Savages had no sooner seen all consumed, but they hurried off with her and her Brother, pushing, and sometimes dragging them on, for four or five Miles, when they stopt; and stripping her naked, treated her in a shocking Manner, whilst others were stripping and cruelly whipping her unhappy Brother. After which, they in the same Manner pursued their Journey, regardless of the Tears, Prayers, or Entreaties of this wretched Pair; but, with the most infernal Pleasure, laughed and rejoiced at the Calamities and Distresses they

they had brought them to, and saw them suffer, 'till they arrived at the Place we found them; where, they had that Day butchered her beloved Brother in the following execrable and cruel Manner: They first scalp'd him alive, and after mocking his agonizing Groans and Torments, for some Hours, ripped open his Belly, into which they put Splinters, and Chips of Pine-Trees, and set Fire thereto; the same (on account of the Turpentine wherewith these Trees abound) burnt with great Quickness and Fury for a little Time, during which, he remained in a Manner alive, as she could sometimes perceive him to move his Head, and groan. They then piled a great Quantity of Wood all round his Body, and most inhumanly consumed it to Ashes.

Thus did these Barbarians put an End to the Being of this unhappy young Gentleman, who was only 22 Years of Age when he met his calamitous Fate. She continued her Relation, by acquainting us, That the next Day, was to have seen her perish in the like Manner, after suffering worse, than even such a terrible Death, the satisfying these diabolical Miscreants in their brutal Lust. But it pleased the Almighty to permit us to rescue her, and entirely extirpate this Crew of Devils!

Marching easily on her Account, we returned to the Captain's Plantation the 6th of *May*, where, as well as at *Boston*, we were joyfully received, and rewarded handsomely for the Scalps of those Savages we had brought with us. Mr. *Crawford* and Miss *Long*, were soon after married, and in Gratitude to the Services we had done them, the whole Party

Party were invited to the Wedding, and nobly entertained, but no riotous or noisy Mirth was allowed, the young Lady, as we may well imagine, being still under great Affliction, and in a weak State of Health.

Nothing further material, that I now remember, happened during my Stay at *Boston*; to proceed therefore, with the Continuation of our intended Expedition.

On the 1st of *July* the Regiment began their March for *Oswego*. The 21st we arrived at *Albany*, in *New-York*, thro' *Cambridge*, *Northampton*, and *Hadfield*, in *New-England*. From thence, marching about twenty Miles farther, we incamp'd near the Mouth of the *Mohawk* River, by a Town called *Schenectady*, not far from the *Endless-Mountains*. Here did we lye some Time, 'till *Batteaux* (a Sort of flat-bottom'd Boats, very small, and sharp at both Ends) could be got to carry our Stores and Provisions to *Oswego*; each of which, would contain about six Barrels of Pork, or in Proportion thereto. Two Men belonged to every *Batteau*, who made use of strong scutting Poles, with Iron at the Ends, to prevent their being too soon destroyed by the Stones in the River (one of the Sources of the *Ohio*) which abounded with many, and large ones, and in some Places was so shallow, that the Men were forced to wade and drag their *Batteaux* after them. Which, together, with some Cataracts, or great Falls of Water, rendered this Duty very hard and fatiguing, not being able to travel more than seven or eight English Miles a

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Day, 'till they came to the *Great-Carrying Place* at *Wood's Creek*, where the Provisions and Batteaux were taken out, and carried about four Miles, to *Alliganey*, or *Ohio* great River, that ran quite to *Oswego*, to which Place, General *Shrley* got with Part of the Forces on the 8th of *August*; but Colonel *Mercer* with the Remainder, did not arrive 'till the 31st. Here we found Colonel *Schuyler* with his Regiment of *New-Jersey* Provincials, who had arrived there some time before. A short Description of a Place, which has afforded so much Occasion for Animadversion, may not here be altogether disagreeable to those unacquainted with our Settlements in that Part of the World.

Oswego is situated N. Lat. 43 Deg. 20 Min. near the Mouth of the River *Onondaga*, on the South-side of the Lake *Ontario*, or *Cataraque*. There was generally a Fort and constant Garrison of regular Troops kept before our Arrival. In the proper Seasons, a Fair for the *Indian* Trade is kept here: *Indians* of above twenty different Nations have been observed here at a Time. The greatest Part of the Trade between *Canada* and the *Indians*, of the *Great Lakes*, and some Parts of the *Mississipi*, pass near this Fort; the nearest and safest Way of carrying Goods upon this Lake being along the South-side of it. The Distance from *Albany* to *Oswego* Fort is about 300 Miles West; to render which March more comfortable, we met with many good Farms and Settlements in the Way. The *Outawaes*, a Great and powerful Nation, living upon the *Outawa* River, which joins the *Catarique* River, (the Out-let of the Great Lakes)

Lakes) deal considerably with the *New-York* trading Houses here.

The different Nations trading to *Oswego* are distinguishable by the Variety and different Fashions of their Canoes; the very remote *Indians* are cloathed in Skins of various Sorts, and have all Fire-arms: Some come from so far North at *Port-Nelson*, in *Hudson's Bay*, N. Lat. 57 Deg. And some from the *Chirakees*, West of *South-Carolina*, in N. Lat. 32 Deg. This seems indeed to be a vast Extent of In-land Water-carriage, but it is only for Canoes, and the smallest of Craft.

Nor will it in this Place be improper to give some Account of our Friends in those Parts, whom we call the *Mohawks*, viz. The *Iroquois*, commonly called the *Mohawks*; the *Oneiadaes*, the *Onondagues*, the *Cayugaes*, and the *Senekeas*. In all Accounts they are lately call'd the *six Nations* of the *New-York*, friendly-*Indians*; the *Tuscararoes*, Straglers from the old *Tuscararoes* of *North-Carolina*, lately are reckoned as the sixth.—I shall here reckon them as I have been informed they were formerly. 1. The *Mohawks*; they live upon the *Mohawk's* or *Schenectady* River, and head, or lye North of *New-York*, *Pensy'vania*, *Maryland* and some Part of *Virginia*; having a Castle or Village, Westward from *Albany* forty Miles, and another sixty-five Miles West, and about 160 sensible Men. 2. The *Oneiadaes*, about eighty Miles from the *Mohawk's* second Village, consisting of near 200 fighting Men. 3. The *Onondagues*, about twenty-five Miles further, (the famous

famous *Oswego* trading Place on the *Lake Ontario*, is in their Country) consist of about 250 Men. 4: The *Cayugaes*, about seventy Miles further, of about 130 Men; and 5. The *Senekeas*, who reach a great Way down the River *Susquehana*, consist of about 700 marching, fighting Men: So that the fighting Men of the five or six Nations of *Mohawks*, may be reckon'd at 1500 Men, and extend from *Albany*, West 400 Miles, lying in about thirty Tribes or Governments. Besides these, there is settled above *Montreal*, which lies N. E. of *Oswego*, a Tribe of scoundrel Run-aways from the *Mohawks*; they are call'd *Kabnuages*, consisting of about eighty Men.—This short Account of these Nations, I think it necessary to make the *English* Reader acquainted with, as I may have Occasion to mention Things concerning some of them.

Being now at *Oswego*, the principal Object that gave at that Time any Concern to the *Americans*, I shall, before I continue my own Account, give a short Recital of what had been done in these Parts, in regard to the Defence and Preservation of the Fort and the Colonies thereabouts, before I came, upon such Authorities as I got from those who had been long at *Oswego*, and I can well depend upon for Truth.

General *Sk-r-l-y*, in 1754, having erected two new Forts on the River *Onondaga*, it seem'd probable, that he intended to winter at *Oswego* with his Army, that he might the more readily proceed to Action in the ensuing Spring. What produced his Inactivity afterwards, and how it was, that Fort

Oswego

Oswego was not taken by the *French* in the Spring of 1755, are Things my Penetration will not enable me to discuss. But, *Oswego* is now lost, and would have been so in the Spring of 1755, if more important Affairs had not made the *French* neglect it. At this Time the Garrison of *Oswego* consisted only of 100 Men, under Captain *King*. The old Fort being their only Protection, which mounted only eight four Pounders, was incapable of Defence, because it was commanded by an Eminence directly cross a narrow River, the Banks of which were covered with thick Wood.

In *May*, 1755, *Oswego* being in this Condition, and thus garrison'd; thirty *French* Batteaux were seen to pass, and two Days after 11 more; each Batteau (being much larger than ours) containing 15 Men; so that this Fleet consisted of near 600 Men: A Force, which with a single Mortar, might soon have taken Possession of the Place.

A Resolution was now taken to make the Fort larger, and erect some new ones; to build Vessels upon the Lake; to encrease the Garrison; and provide every Thing necessary to annoy the Enemy, so as they might render the Place tenable. Captain *Broadstreet* arriving on the 27th of *May* at the Fort with two Companies, some small Swivel Guns and the first Parcel of Workmen, made some imagine that a Stop would be put to the *French* in their carrying Men in Sight of the Garrison; yet, they still permitted 11 more *French* Batteaux to pass by, tho' we were then superior to them in these Boats, or at least in Number. The Reason

our Forces *could not* attack them, was, because, they were four Miles in the Offing, on board large Vessels in which the Soldiers could stand to fire without being overfet; and our Batteaux in which we must have attack'd them were so small that they would contain only six Men each, and so ticklish, that the inadvertent Motion of one Man would overfet them. No Care, however, was taken to provide larger Boats against another Emergency of the same Kind. At *Oswego*, indeed, it was impracticable for want of *Iron-work*; such being the provident Forecast of those who had the Management of Affairs, that tho' there were Smiths enough; yet, there was, at this Place, but *one* Pair of Bellows; so that the first Accident that should happen to that necessary Instrument, would stop all the Operations of the Forge at once.

The Beginning of *June*, the Ship-Carpenters arrived from *Boston*, and on the 28th of the same Month, the first Vessel we ever had on the *Lake Ontario*, was launched and fitted out: She was a Schooner 40 Feet in the Keel, had 14 Oars, and 12 Swivel Guns. This Vessel, and 320 Men, was all the Force we had at *Oswego* at the Beginning of *July*, and was victualled at the Expence of the Province of *New-York*. Happy, indeed, it was, that the Colony Provisions were there; for so little Care had been taken to get the King's Provisions sent up, that, when we arrived, we must have perish'd with Famine, had we not found a Supply which we had little Reason to expect.

About the Middle of *July*, an Attack was again expected, when we (the Forces under General *Sb-r-l-y*) were still near 300 Miles distant. And, if the Attack had then been made, with the Force the Enemy was known to have had at hand, it must, for the Reason I have just before given, have fallen into their Possession.

Such was the State of *Oswego*, when we arrived there: Where we had been but a small Time, before Provisions began to be very scarce; and the King's Allowance being still delay'd, the provincial Stores were soon exhausted, and we were in Danger of being soon famished, being on less than Half-Allowance. The Men being likewise worn out and fatigued with the long March they had suffered, and being without Rum (or allowed none at least), and other proper Nutriment, many fell sick of the Flux, and died; so that our Regiment was greatly reduced in six Weeks time: A Party that we left at the important Carrying-place, at *Wood's Creek*, being absolutely oblig'd to desert it for Want of Necessaries.

Sickness, Death, and Desertion, had, at length, so far reduc'd us, that we had scarce Men enough to perform Duty, and protect those who were daily at work. The *Indians* keeping a strict look-out, render'd every one who pass'd the Out-guards or Centinels, in Danger of being scalp'd or murder'd. To prevent Consequences like these, a Captain's Guard of sixty Men, with two Lieutenants, two Serjeants, two Corporals, and one Drum, besides two Flank-guards of a Serjeant, Corporal, and
twelve

twelve Men, in each, were daily mounted, and did Duty as well as able. Scouting-Parties were likewise sent out every Day: But the Sickness still continuing, and having 300 Men at work, we were oblig'd to lessen our Guards, 'till General *Pepperell's* Regiment join'd us.

A little Diligence being now made use of, about the Middle of *September*, four other Vessels were got ready, viz. A deck'd Sloop of eight Guns, four Pounders, and 30 Sivals; a deck'd Schooner, eight Guns, four Pounders, and twenty-eight Swivels; one undeck'd Schooner, of fourteen Swivels and fourteen Oars, and another of twelve Swivels and fourteen Oars; about 150 Tons each.

On the 24th of *October*, with this Armament, and a considerable Number of Batteaux, which were too small to live upon the Lake in moderate Weather, we were preparing to attack *Niagara*; tho' (notwithstanding we had taken all the Provisions we could find in *Oswego*, and had left the Garrison behind, with scarce enough for three Days) the Fleet had not Provisions sufficient on board to carry them within Sight of the Enemy, and Supplies were not to be got within 300 Miles of the Place we were going against. However, the impracticability of succeeding in an Expedition undertaken without Victuals, was discovered time enough to prevent our March, or Embarkation, or whatever it may be call'd; but not before nine Batteaux laden with Officers Baggage, were sent forwards, four Men in each Batteau; in one of which it was my Lot to be. The Men being
weak,

weak and low in Spirits, with continual harrassing and low feeding, render'd our Progress very tedious and difficult. Add to this, the Places we had to pass and ascend; for, in many Parts, the *Cataracts*, or *Falls* of Water, which descended near the Head of the River *Onondaga* (in some Places near 100 Feet perpendicular), render'd it almost impossible for us to proceed; for the Current running from the Bottom, was so rapid, that the Efforts of twenty or thirty Men were sometimes required to drag the Boats along, and especially to get them up the Hills or *Cataracts*, which we were forced to do with Ropes: Sometimes, when with great Labour and Difficulty, we had got them up, we carried them by Land near a Quarter of a Mile, before we came to any Water. In short, we found four Men to a *Batteau* insufficient; for the Men belonging to one *Batteau*, were so fatigued and worn out, that they could not manage her, so that she lay behind almost a League.

The Captain that was with us, observing this, as soon as we had got the others over the most difficult Falls, order'd two besides myself to go and help her forwards: Accordingly I got into her, in order to steer her, whilst my two Comrades and her own Crew dragged her along. When we got to any *Cataracts*, I remained in her to fasten the Ropes and keep all safe, while they hauled her up; but drawing her to the Summit of the last *Cataract*, the Ropes gave way, and down she fell into a very rapid and boist'rous Stream; where, not being able by myself to work her, she stove to Pieces on a small Rock, on which, some Part of her re-

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maining till Morning, I miraculously fav'd myself. Never, was my Life in greater Danger than in this Situation; the Night being quite dark, and no Assistance to be obtain'd from any of my Comrades; tho' many of them, as I afterwards learn'd, made diligent Search for me; but the Fall of the Waters render'd the Noise that they, as well as myself made, to be heard by one another, quite ineffectual.

In the Morning they indeed found me, but in a wretched Condition, quite benumb'd, and almost dead with the Cold, having nothing on but my Shirt

After various Efforts, having, with great Difficulty, got me up, they used all proper Means to recover my worn-out Spirits: But the Fire had a fatal Effect to what they intended, for my Flesh swelled all over my Body and Limbs, and caused such a Deprivation of my Senses, that I fainted, and was thought by all to be dead. However, after some Time, they pretty well recover'd my scatter'd Senses and fatigued Body; and, with proper Care, conducted me, with some others (who were weak and ill of the Flux), to *Albany*, where the Hospital received our poor, debilitated Bodies.

The rest, not able to proceed, or being countermanded, bent their Course back again to *Oswego*: Where, a friendly Storm preventing an Embarkation, when a Stock of Provisions was got together (sufficient to prevent them from eating one another,

another. during the *first twelve Days*), all Thoughts of attacking *Niagara* were laid aside.

Thus ended this formidable Campaign. The Vessels that we had built (as I afterwards learn'd) were unrigged and laid up, without having been put to any Use; while a *French Vessel* was cruising on the *Lake*, and carrying Supplies to *Niagara*, without Interruption; five others as large as ours, being also ready to launch at *Frontenac*, which lies across the *Lake Ontario*, North of *Oswego*.

The General, whatever Appearances might have led others, as well as myself, to think otherwise; soon indicated his Intention of not wintering at *Oswego*; for, he left the Place before the additional Works were compleated, and the Garrison, by insensible Degrees, decreased to 1100 Men; still living in perpetual Terror, on the Brink of Famine, and become mutinous for Want of their Pay; which, in the *Hurry of military Business*, during a Year that was crowded with great Events, had been forgotten; for, from my first enlistment, to the Time I was laid up at *Albany*, I never had received above six Weeks Pay.

A little, indeed, may be offered in Vindication of the General and his numberless Delays, viz. That it took some Time to raise the two Regiments, which were in *British Pay*, as the Name of enlisting for Life, is somewhat forbidding to the *Americans*: (a few of whom, as well as myself, made our agreement for three Years; but after that Time, I doubt, we must have depended on his Pleasure for

our being discharg'd, according to our Contract, had it not fallen out otherwise). The unusual Dryness of the Summer which rendered the Rivers down to *Oswego* in some Places impassable, or very difficult for the Batteaux to proceed; and it was whisper'd, that a Gentleman, lately in an eminent Station in *New-York*, did all in his Power to hinder the Undertaking, from a Pique to the General. By these Disadvantages, he was detained at *Albany*, 'till *August*, and even when he did reach *Oswego*, he found himself put to no little Difficulty to maintain his Ground, for want of Provisions; and the Men being so reduced, more than once, to short Allowance, as you have seen, became troubled with the Flux, and had not any Thing necessary, not even Rum sufficient for the *common* Men, to prevent the fatal Effects of that Disorder.

In this Manner, the Summer was spent on our Side; and the Reason why the *French* did not this Year take *Oswego*, when they might, with so little Trouble, was, as many besides myself conjectured, that they thought it more their Interest to pursue their Projects on the *Ohio*, and preserve the Friendship of the considerable *Indians*; which, an Attack upon *Oswego*, at that Time, would have destroyed.

How far they succeeded in such their Projects, and the Reasons of their Successes, a little Animadversion on our own Transactions will let us into the Light of. For as Appearances on our Side, were very favourable in the Spring; General *Braddock's* Defeat greatly increas'd the Gloom which sat on the Countenances of the *Americans*.

Great Things being expected from him, he arrived early, and Fort *Duquesne*, seemed to be ours, if we did but go and demand it. The Attacks designed against *Niagara* and Fort *Frederick*, at *Crown-Point*, were planned in the Winter, and the Troops employed against the *French* in *Nova-Scotia*, embark'd at *Boston* in *April*. Let us view the Events besides those already mentioned. General *Braddock* was ready to march in *April*; but thro' Ignorance, or Neglect, or a Misunderstanding with the Governor of *Virginia*; had neither fresh Provisions, Horses or Waggon's provided; and so late as the Latter-end of *May*, it was necessary to apply to *Pensylvania*, for the most Part of those. This Neglect, created a most pernicious Diffidence and Discredit of the *Americans*, in the Mind of the General, and prevented their Usefulness where their Advice was wanted, and produced very bad Effects. He was a Man (as 'tis now too well known and believ'd) by no Means, of quick Apprehension, and could not conceive that such People could instruct him; and his young Counsellors prejudiced him still more, so as to slight his Officers, and what was worse, his Enemy; as it was treated as an Absurdity to suppose the *Indians* would ever attack Regulars: And, of Course, no Care was taken to instruct the Men to resist their peculiar Manner of fighting. Had this Circumstance been attended to, I am fully persuaded, 400 *Indians*, about the Number that defeated him, would have given him very little Annoyance: Sure, I am, 400 of our People rightly managed, would have made no Difficulty of driving before them that Handful, to whom he owed his Defeat and Death.

The Undertaking of the Eastern Provinces to reduce the Fort at *Crown-Point*, met that Fate, which the jarring Countels of a divided People commonly meet with; for tho' the Plan was concerted in the Winter of 1754, it was *August* before these petty Governments could bring together their Troops. In short, it must be own'd by all, that Delays were the Banes of our Undertakings, except in the Bay of *Fundi*, in *Nova-Scotia*, where Secrecy and Expedition were rewarded with Success, and that Province reduced.

The General continued inactive, from the Time he left *Oswego*, to *March*, 1756, when he was about to resume the Execution of his Scheme to attack *Frontenac* and *Niagara*. What would have been the Issue of this Project, neither myself, nor any other Person, can now pretend to say; for just at this Crisis he received Orders from *England*, to attempt nothing, 'till Lord *Loudon* should arrive, which was said should be early in the Spring. However, his Lordship did not get there 'till the Middle of *July*, so that by this Delay, Time was given to the Marquis de *Montcalm* (Major-General *Dieskau's* Successor) to arrive from *France* at *Canada* with 3000 regular Forces, and take the Field before us.

But to return from this Digression to other Transactions. When I was pretty well recovered again, I embark'd on board a Vessel from *Albany* for *New-York*; where, when I arrived, I found to my Sorrow, my Captain, Mr. *Sh-rl-y*, the General's Son, had been dead for some Time; he was a very
pro-

promising, worthy, young Gentleman, and universally regretted. His Company was given to Major *James Kinnair*, who ordered, that none of his Men should go out on the recruiting Parties, as was at first intended by his Predecessor; but, that the private Men should either return to *Oswego*, or do Duty in the Fort at *New-York*. Not liking my Station here, I entreated the General, who was now arrived, for a Furlow, to see my Friends in *Pensylvania*, which, he having then no great Occasion for me, at *New-York*, granted for three Months.

As I have here mentioned *New-York*, and before given a Short Account of the two Cities, *Philadelphia* and *Boston*, it would be a Disrespect to this elegant one, not to take Notice of it, as well as in some Measure debarring the Reader from such Information as may not be disagreeable; but not being of that Note or Consequence with the others, I shall briefly observe; that

New-York is a very fine City, and the Capital of the Province of that Name; it contains about 3000 Houses, and near 9000 Inhabitants. The Houses are all well built, and the meanest of them said to be worth 100 *l.* which cannot be said of the City of the same Name, nor of any other in *England*. Their Conversation is polite, and their Furniture, Dress, and Manner of Living, quite elegant. In Drinking and Gallantry they exceed any City in *America*,

The Great Church is a very handsome Edifice, and built in 1695. Here are also a *Dutch* Church, a *French* Church, and a *Lutheran* Church. The Inhabitants of *Dutch* Extraction, make a considerable Part of the Town, and most of them speak *English*.

Having obtained my Furlow, I immediately set out for *Pensylvania*, and arriving at *Philadelphia*, found the Consternation and Terror of the Inhabitants was greatly increased to what it was when I left them. They had made several Treaties of Friendship with the *Indians*, who, when well supplied with Arms, Ammunition, Cloaths, and other Necessaries, thro' the pacific Measures, and defenceless State of the *Philadelphians*, soon revolted to the *French*, and committed great Outrages on the back Parts of the Province, destroying and massacring Men, Women, and Children, and every Thing that unhappily lay in their Way. A few Instances of which, together, with the Behaviour of the *Philadelphians* on these Occasions, I shall here present the Reader with, who, of whatever Sect or Profession, I am well assured, must condemn the pacific Disposition and private Factions that then reign'd, not only in the Assembly, but among the Magistrates themselves; who were a long Time, before they could agree on proper Petitions, to rouse the indolent Assembly from the lethargic and inactive Condition they absolutely remained in.

For about the Middle of *October*, a large Body of *Indians*, chiefly *Shawonese*, *De-la-wares*, &c.
fell

fell upon this Province, from several Quarters, almost at the same Instant, murdering, burning, and laying Waste all where ever they came; so that in the five Counties of *Cumberland, York, Lancaster, Berks,* and *Northampton*, which compose more than Half the Province, nothing but Scenes of Distraction and Desolation were to be seen.

The Damages which these Counties had sustained by the Desertion of Plantations, is not to be reckon'd up; nor are the Miseries of the poor Inhabitants to be described; many of whom, tho' escaping with Life, were, without a Moment's Warning driven from those Habitations where they enjoyed every Necessary of Life, and were then exposed to all the Severity of an hard Winter; and obliged to solicit their very Bread at the cold Hand of Charity, or perish with Hunger under the inclement Air.

To these Barbarities I have already mentioned, I can't pass over the following, as introductory Causes, of the *Philadelphians* at last withstanding the Outrages of the Barbarians.

At *Gnadenbitten*, a small *Moravian* Settlement, in *Northampton* County, the poor, unhappy Sufferers, were sitting round their peaceful Supper, when the inhuman Murderers, muffled in the Shades of Night, dark and horrid as the infernal Purposes of their diabolic Souls, stole upon them, butcher'd them, scalp'd them, and consum'd their Bodies, together, with their Horses, their Stock, and upwards of sixty Head of fat Cattle,

(intended for the Subsistence of the Brethren at *Bethlehem*) all in one general Flame; so that next Morning furnished only a melancholy Spectacle of their mingled Ashes.

At the *Great Cove* in *Cumberland* at *Tulpehocken*, in *Berks*, and in several other Places, their Barbarities were still greater, if possible. Men, Women, Children, and Brute-beasts, shared one common Destruction; and where they were not burnt to Ashes, their mangled Limbs were found promiscuously strew'd upon the Ground, those appertaining to the human Form, scarce to be distinguished from the Brute!

But of all the Instances of the Barbarities I heard of, in these Parts, I could not help being most affected with the following.—One Family, consisting of the Husband, his Wife and a Child, only a few Hours old, were all found murder'd, and scalp'd in this Manner: The Mother stretch'd on the Bed, with her new-born Child, horribly mangled, and put under her Head for a Pillow, while the Husband lay on the Ground, hard-by, with his Body ript up, and his Bowels laid open.

In another Place, a Woman with her sucking Child, finding that she had fallen into the Hands of the Enemy, fell flat on her Face, prompted by the strong Call of Nature, to cover and shelter her innocent Child with her own Body. The accursed Savage rush'd from his lurking Place, struck her in the Head with his Tomahawk, tore off her Scalp, and scour'd back into the Woods, without observing

observing the Child, being apprehensive that he was discovered. The Child was found sometime afterwards under the Body of it's Mother, and was then alive.

Many of their young Women were carried by the Savages into Captivity, reserved, perhaps, for a worse Fate, than those who suffered Death in all it's horrid Shapes; and no Wonder, since they were reserved by Savages, whose tender Mercies, might be accounted more cruel than their very Cruelty itself.

Yet, even during all this Time, this Province (had Things been properly ordered) need but, in Comparison to her Strength, have lifted her Foot, and crush'd all the *French* Force on their Borders; but unused to such Undertakings, and bound by *non-resisting* Principles from exerting her Strength, and involv'd in Disputes with the Proprietaries, they stood still; vainly hoping the *French* would be so moderate, as to be content with their Victory, over *Braddock*, or at least confine their Attacks to *Virginia*: But they then saw, and felt all this was Delusion, and the Barbarities of the *Indian* Parties headed by *French* Officers: Notwithstanding all which, they continued in domestic Debates, without a Soldier in Pay, or a Penny in the Treasury. In short, if the Enemy had then had, but 1500 Men at the *Ohio*, and would have attempted it, no Rashness could have been perceived in their marching down to the City of *Philadelphia*.

Thus stood our Affairs on the Side of the *Ohio*, when an old Captain of the Warriors, in the Interest of the *Philadelphians*, and their ever faithful Friend, whose Name was *Scarrooyda*, alias *Mono-katcathy*, on the first Notice of these Misfortunes, came hastening to *Philadelphia*, together, with Col. *Weiser*, the provincial Interpreter, and two other *Indian-Chiefs*. *Scarrooyda* immediately demanded an Audience of the Assembly, who were then sitting, to whom he spoke in a very affecting Manner. His Speeches being printed, and sold about *Philadelphia*, I procur'd one of them, which was as follows.

Brethren,

“ We are once more come among you, and sincerely condole with you on Account of the late
 “ Bloodshed, and the awful Cloud that hangs over
 “ you, and over us. Brethren, you may be undoubtedly assured, that these horrid Actions
 “ were committed by none of those Nations that
 “ have any Fellowship with us, but by certain
 “ false-hearted and treacherous Brethren. It grieves
 “ us more than all our other Misfortunes, that any
 “ of our good Friends, the *English*, should suspect
 “ us of having false Hearts.

Brethren,

“ If you were not an infatuated People, we are
 “ 300 Warriors, firm to your Interest; and, if you
 “ are so unjust to us, as to retain any Doubts of
 “ our Sincerity, we offer to put our Wives, our
 “ Children, and all we have into your Hands to
 “ deal

“ deal with them as seemeth good to you, if we
 “ are found in the least to swerve from you. But,
 “ Brethren, you must support and assist us, for we
 “ are not able to fight alone against the powerful
 “ Nations who are coming against you; and you
 “ must this Moment resolve, and give us an expli-
 “ cit Answer what you will do: For, these Nati-
 “ ons have sent to desire us, as old Friends, either
 “ to join them, or get out of their Way and shift
 “ for ourselves. Alas! Brethren, we are sorry to
 “ leave you! We remember the many Tokens of
 “ your Friendship to us; But, what shall we do?
 “ We cannot stand alone, and you will not stand
 “ with us!—

Brethren,

“ The Time is precious. While we are here
 “ consulting with you, we know not what may be
 “ the Fate of our Brethren at Home. We do
 “ therefore, once more invite, and request you to
 “ act like Men, and be no longer as Women, pur-
 “ suing weak Measures, that render your Names
 “ despicable. If you will put the Hatchet * into
 “ our Hands, and send out a Number of your
 “ young Men in Conjunction with our Warriors,
 “ and provide the necessary Arms, Ammunition
 “ and Provisions, and likewise build some strong
 “ Houses for the Protection of our old Men, Wo-
 “ men, and Children, while we are absent in War,
 “ we shall soon wipe the Tears from your Eyes,
 “ and make these false-hearted Brethren repent
 “ their Treachery and Baseness, towards you, and
 “ towards us.

“ But

* See the Note under Tomahawk, Page 12.

“ But, we must at the same Time, solemnly assure you, that if you delay any longer to act in Conjunction with us, or think, to put us off, as usual, with uncertain Hopes, you must not expect to see our Faces under this Roof any more. We must shift for our own Safety, and leave you to the Mercy of your Enemies, as an infatuated People, upon whom we can have no longer Dependance.”

The Tears stood in the old Man's Eyes, while he deliver'd this last Part; and no Wonder, since the very Being of his Nation depended upon their joining the Enemy, or our enabling them immediately to make Head against them.

It was some Time, however, before the Assembly could be brought to consent to any vigorous Measures for their own Defence. The back Inhabitants lost all Patience at their Conduct. 'Till at length the Governor exerted his utmost Power, and procured the Militia and Money Bills to pass. By Virtue of the former, the Freemen of the Province were enabled to form themselves into Companies, and each Company by a Majority of Votes, by Way of Ballot, to chuse its own Officers; *viz.* a Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign; who, if approv'd of, were to be commission'd by the Governor. So that the *Philadelphians* were at last permitted to rise and arm themselves in their own Defence. They accordingly form'd themselves into Companies; the Governor signing to all Gentlemen qualified, who had been regularly ballotted, Commissions for that Purpose.

Captain

Captain *Davis*, was one of the first who had a Company; and, being desirous of my Service, in order to instruct the Irregulars in their Discipline, obtain'd from the Governor, a Certificate to indemnify me from any Punishment which might be adjudg'd by the Regiment to which I already belong'd; for, without that, I had not gone. Our Company, which consisted of 100 Men, was not compleated 'till the 24th of *December*, 1755; when, losing no Time, we next Morning march'd from *Philadelphia* in high Spirits; resolving to shew as little Quarter to the Savages, as they had to many of us.

Colonel *Armstrong* had been more expeditious; for he had raised 280 provincial Irregulars, and marched a little Time before against the *Ohio Morians*; but, of him, more hereafter.

We arriv'd the 26th of *December*, at *Bethlehem*, in the Forks of the River *De-la-ware*; where, being kindly received by the *Moravians*, we load'd six Waggon's with Provisions, and proceeded on to the *Apalatian Mountains*, or *Blue Hills*, to a Town call'd *Kennortonhead*, which the *Moravians* had deserted on account of the *Indians*. Fifty of our Men, of whom I made one, were order'd before the rest, to see whether the Town was destroyed or not. Disposing them to the best Advantage, we march'd on, 'till we came within five Miles of the Place, which we found standing intire.

Having a very uneven, rugged Road to get to it, and not above four Men able to go a-breast, we were on a sudden alarm'd, by the firing of the Flank-guards, which were a little in the Rear of our Van. The Savages briskly returned their Fire, and kill'd the Ensign and ten of the Men, and wounded several others.

Finding this, I being Chief in command (having acted as Lieutenant, and received Pay as such from my first Entrance, for my Trouble and Duty in learning the Company), order'd the Men to march on with all Expedition to the Town, and all the Way to keep a running Fire on the Enemy, as they had fallen on our Rear.

We should have got there in very good Order, had it not been for a River we had to cross, and the Weather being so excessive cold, our Cloaths froze to our Bodies as soon as we got out of the Water. However, with great Difficulty we reach'd the Town, and got into the Church, with the Loss of twenty-seven Men. There we made as good Preparations for our Defence as possibly we could, making a great Fire of the Benches, Seats, and what we could find therein, to dry our Cloaths; not esteeming it the least Sacrilege or Crime, upon such an Emergency.

The *Indians* soon follow'd us into the Town, and surrounding us, tried all Methods to burn the Church; but our continual Firing kept them off for about six Hours, 'till our Powder and Ball were all expended. In the Night they set several Houses
on

on fire; and, we dreading the Consequences of being detained there, resolv'd to make one bold Effort, and push ourselves through the Savages Forces, which was accordingly done with the most undaunted Courage. The Enemy fir'd continually on us during our Retreat, and kill'd many of our Men, but in their Confusion many of themselves as well; it being so very dark that we were not well able to discern our own Party; so that only five of us kept together and got into the Woods; the rest, whom we left behind, I doubt fell Sacrifices to the Savages.

The Night being so excessive cold, and having but few Cloaths with us out of the Church, two of my Comrades froze to death, before we could reach any inhabited Place. In short, we did not get any Relief till four o'Clock in the Morning, when we arrived at an House that lay in the Gap of the *Blue Hills*; were our Captain had arrived with the Remainder of the Men and Waggon the Day before.

The Captain enquiring our Success, I gave him the melancholy Detail of our unfortunate Expedition: Upon which, an Express was immediately sent to the Governor, with the Account; who ordered 1600 Men to march the next Morning for the same Place, under the Command of General *Franklin*, not only to bury the Dead and build a Fort there, but to extirpate the Savages who infested these Parts, and were too powerful for our small Number under Captain *Davis*.

The Remainder of our little Party were now building a Fort at the Place where we lay, for our Defence, 'till more Assistance should arrive; for we were under continual Apprehensions of the *Indians* pursuing and attacking us again.

On the 9th of *January*, 1756, we were reinforced by General *Franklin* and his Body; and the next Day set out again for *Kennorton-Head*; where, when we arriv'd, to our great Consternation, we found little Occasion to bury our unhappy Comrades, the Swine (which in that Country are vastly numerous in the Woods) having devour'd their Bodies, and nothing but Bones strewed up and down were to be seen. We there built a Fort in the Place where the old Church had stood, and gave it the Name of Fort *Allen*; this was finish'd in six Days, and in so good a Manner, that 100 Men would make great Resistance against a much greater Number of *Indians*.

On the 18th, 1400 of us were ordered about fifteen Miles distant from thence, on the Frontiers of the Province; where we built another Fort call'd, *Fort-Norris*. In our Way thither, we found six Men scalp'd and murder'd in a most cruel Manner. By what we could discern, they had made a vigorous Defence, the Barrels and Stocks of their Guns, being broke in Pieces, and themselves cut and mangled in a terrible Manner.

From thence, we were order'd to march towards a Place call'd, The *Minnisinkes*, but this Journey proved longer than we were aware of. The *Indians* commit-

committing great Outrages in these Parts, having burnt and destroyed all the Houses, &c. in our Way: These Tragic-Actions caused us to divide ourselves into several Parties who were ordered divers Ways, to cut off as many of these Savages as possible.

The Day after this Scheme was put into Execution, we met with a small Party, which we put to the Rout, killing fourteen of them. We then made all possible Dispatch to save some Houses we saw on Fire, but on our nearer Approach, found our Endeavours in vain: *John Swisher*, and his Family, having been before scalp'd, and burnt to Ashes in his own House. On the following Night, the House of *James Wallis* underwent the same Fate; himself, Wife, seven Children, and the rest of his Family, being scalp'd and burnt therein. The Houses and Families of *Philip Green* and *Abraham Nairn*, suffered in the like Manner. Nor did the Cruelty of these Barbarians stop here, but attack'd the Dwelling-house of *George Hunter*, Esq; a Gentleman of considerable Worth, and a Justice of the Peace, who made a brave Resistance, and rather than fall into the Hands of these Miscreants, chose to meet Death in the Flames; which he, his Wife, and all his Household consisting of sixteen in Number, did with the utmost Bravery, before any Assistance could be received from our General, who had dispatched 500 of us for that Purpose, on an Express being sent to him that Morning.

From thence we march'd to the *Minisinkes*, and built *Fort-Morris*. On the 9th of *March* we set out with 1000 Men to the Head of the *Minisinkes*, and built another Fort, which we named *Franklin*, in honour of our General. All which Forts we garrison'd with as many Men as we could possibly spare.

After this, we were daily employed in scouring the Woods from Fort to Fort, of these noxious Creatures, the *Indians*, and in getting as much of the Corn together as we could find, to prevent the Savages from having any Benefit therefrom.

Notwithstanding our Vigilance, these Villains on the 15th attack'd the House of *James Graham*, but by Providence, he with his Wife, who had just laid in, and her young Infant in her Arms, (with nothing about her but her Shift) made their Escape to *Fort-Allen*, about fifteen Miles distant. The Child perish'd by the Way, and it was Matter of Wonder to the whole Garrison to find either of them alive; indeed, they were in a deplorable Condition, and we imagined they would expire every Moment. The Wife, however, to our great Astonishment, recover'd, but the Husband did not survive above six Hours after their Arrival.

The House of *Isaac Cook* suffer'd by the Flames, himself, his Wife, and eight Children, being scalp'd and burnt in it.

Tedious and shocking would it be to enumerate Half the Murders, Conflagrations, and Outrages, committed by these hellish Infidels. Let it suffice therefore, that from the Year 1753, when they first began their Barbarities, they had murder'd, burnt, scalp'd, and destroy'd, above 3500 Souls; above 1000 whereof, were unhappy Inhabitants of the Western Parts of *Philadelphia*. Men, Women, and Children, fell alike a Prey to these Savages: No Regard being had by them to the tender Entreaties of an affectionate Parent for a beloved Child, or the Infant's Prayers, in Behalf of his aged Father and Mother. Such are the miserable Calamities attendant on Schemes for gratifying the Ambition of a *tyrannic* Monarch, like *France*, or the weak Contrivances and indolent Measures, of blundering Ministers and Negotiators —.

The Time of my Furlow at length expiring, I prepared to set out for my Regiment. Having a recommendatory Letter from General *Franklin* to Major *Kinnair*, as to my Services, I marched forward for *New-York*: Where being arrived, I waited on the Major; and, after giving him an Account of all our Transactions, and the Hardships and Labours we had gone through, I was dismiss'd.

After some Stay there, I was ordered to proceed on my March for *Oswego* once more. But, before I go further with my own Affairs, I shall just recount the Result of those Provincials, who went, as I mention'd before, to quell the Savages, under the Command of Colonel *Armstrong*.

He having under his Command 280 Provincials, destin'd against the *Ohio Morians*, against whom nothing had been attempted, notwithstanding their frequent Incurfions and Murders, penetrated 140 Miles through the Woods, from Fort *Shirley*, on *Juniata* River, to *Kittanning*, an *Indian* Town on the *Ohio*, about twenty-five Miles above Fort *Du Quesne*, belonging to the *French*. He soon join'd the advanc'd Party at the *Beaver-dams*; and, on the fourth Evening after, being within fix Miles of *Kittanning*, the Scouts discover'd a Fire in the Road, and reported that there were but three or four *Indians* at it. At that Time, it was not thought proper to attempt surprizing these *Indians*, lest, if one should escape, the Town might be alarm'd: Lieutenant *Hogg*, therefore, with twelve Men, was left to watch them, with Orders not to fall upon them 'till Day-break; and our Forces turn'd out of the Path, to pass their Fire, without disturbing them.

About three in the Morning, having been guided by the *whooping* of the *Indian* Warriors, at a Dance in the Town, they reach'd the River at about 100 Perches below it. As soon as Day appeared, the Attack began; Captain *Jacobs*, Chief of the *Indians*, gave the *War-whoop*, and defended his House bravely through the Loop-holes in the Logs. The *Indians* generally refusing Quarter, Colonel *Armstrong* ordered their Houses to be set on Fire, which was done by the Officers and Soldiers with great Alacrity. On this, some burst out of the Houses, and attempted to reach the River, but were instantly shot down. Captain *Jacobs*, in
getting

getting out of a Window, was shot and scalp'd, as were also his *Squaw*, and a Lad they call'd the King's Son. The *Indians* had a Number of spare Arms in their Houses loaded, which went off in quick Succession, as the Fire came to them; and Quantities of Gun-powder, which had been stor'd in every House, blew up from time to time, throwing their Bodies into the Air.

Eleven *English* Prisoners were releas'd, who inform'd the Colonel, that, that very Day, two *Batteaux* of *Frenchmen*, with a large Party of *Delaware* and *French Indians*, were to have join'd Captain *Jacobs*, to march and take *Fort Shirley*; and that twenty-four Warriors had set out before them the preceding Evening; which proved to be the Party that had kindled the Fire the preceding Night; for our People returning, found Lieutenant *Hogg* wounded in three Places; and learn'd, that he had attack'd the supposed Party of three or four at the Fire, but found them too strong for him. He kill'd three of them, however, at the first Fire, and fought them an Hour; when, having lost three of his Men, the rest as he lay wounded, abandon'd him and fled, the Enemy pursuing. Lieutenant *Hogg* died soon after of his Wounds.

Enough of these two Expeditions has been said; nor, can I well tell which of the two was most successful, both losing more of their own Men than they kill'd of the Enemy.

A little Retrospection again on the Actions and Behaviour of the *Philadelphians*, and the other Provinces

Provinces and Places in Conjunction with them, may here be something necessary: For, when I arriv'd at *Philadelphia*, I found, that however melancholy their Situation had been of late, this good Effect had been obtain'd, that the most *prejudiced* and *ignorant* Individual was *feelingly* convinced of the Necessity of vigorous Measures; and, besides national and public Views, then, the more prevailing ones of Revenge and *Self-Interest* gave a Spur to their Counsels. They were accordingly raising Men with the utmost Expedition; and had, before the End of the Summer, a considerable Number, though not equal to what they could furnish, having at least 45,000 Men in *Pensylvania* able to fight.

And, pursuant to Agreement, some Months before, the four Governments of *New-England*, in Conjunction with *New-York* (which last furnished 1300) had now assembled 8000 Men (for the Attack of Fort *Frederic*) at *Albany*, 150 Miles N. of *New-York*, and about 130 from *Crown-Point*, under the Command of General *Winslow*. But many People dreading the Cruelty of the *French*, were not so very eager to join them, this Year as the last; an Impress therefore of Part of the Militia, was order'd in *New-York* Government. To prevent which, Subscriptions were set on foot, to engage Volunteers by high Bounties; so loath were they, that some got nine or twelve Pounds Sterling to enlist.

The 44th, 48th, 50th, and 51st Regiments of *Great Britain* were destin'd for the Campaign on the Great Lake *Ontario*, and mostly march'd for
Oswego,

Oswego, thence to be carried over in 200 great Whale-boats, which were then at the Lake, and were built at *Schenectady* on *Mohawk's* River, and were long round and light; as the *Batteaux*, being flat-bottom'd and small, would not answer the Navigation of the Lake, where the Waves were often very high. They were then, alas! intended to attack *Fort Frontenac*, mentioned before, and the other *French* Forts on the Lake. Upwards of 2000 *Batteau-Men* were employed to navigate the *Batteaux*, each a Ton Burthen, laden with Provisions and Stores from *Albany* up the *Mohawk's* River, then thro' *Oneyda* Lake and River, down to *Oswego*. There were likewise 300 Sailors hir'd and gone up from *New-York* (as I found, when I arrived there) to navigate the four arm'd Ships on the Lake, built there, as I have before-mention'd, the last Year, for the King's Service, and two others were then building; Smiths, Carpenters, and other Artificers, having gone there for that Purpose some Weeks before. Such were the Preparations and Armaments for this Campaign, but how fruitless, to our great Disgrace, were soon known all over the World!

I shall not trouble the Reader with a long Account, of a long March I had to take from *New-York* to *Oswego*, to join my Regiment, suffice it therefore, that I arrived there about the middle of *July*; but in my March thither with some Recruits, we join'd Colonel *Broadstreet*, at *Albany*, and on the 6th of *May*, at the *Great Carrying Place*, had a Skirmish with the *French* and *Indians*, where in several were kill'd and wounded on both sides; of
the

the latter I made one. Receiving a Shot through my Left-hand, which intirely ditabled my third and fourth Fingers; and having no Hospital, or any Conveniencies for the Sick there, I was after having my Hand dressed in a wretched Manner, sent with the next Batteaux to *Albany* to get it cur'd.

As soon as I was well, I set forwards for *Oswego*. And, when arrived there, I began to make what Observations I could, as to the Alterations that had been made since my Departure in the Month of *October*, preceding. The Works of *Oswego*, at this Time, consisted of three Forts, viz. The *Old Fort*, built many Years before, whose chief Strength was a weak Stone-wall, about two Feet thick, so ill cemented, that it could not resist the Force of a four Pound Ball, and situated on the East-side of the Harbour; the two other Forts call'd, *Fort-Ontario* and *Fort-George*, (or *Fort-Rascal* a Name given the latter by the Soldiers, in Honour to Lieutenant *F-tz-s-m-ds*, the commanding Officer at the building of it) were each of them at the Distance of about 450 Yards from the *Old Fort*, and situated on two Eminences, which commanded it; both these, as I have already observed, were begun to be built last Year upon Plans, which made them defensible against Musquetry, and Cannon, of three or four Pound Ball only; the Time not allowing Works of a stronger Nature to be then undertaken.

For our Defence against large Cannon, we entirely depended on a superior naval Force upon the Lake, which might have put it in our Power to prevent the *French* from bringing heavy Artillery
against

against the Place, as that could only be done by Water-carriage.

A Day or two after being at *Oswego*, the Fort was alarm'd by hearing a Firing; when on dispatching proper Scouts, it was found to be the *French* and *Indians* engaging the Batteau-Men and Sailors convoying the Provisions to *Oswego*, from one River to another. On this a Detachment of 500 Men were ordered out in Pursuit of them, whereof I was one. We had a narrow Pass in the Woods to go thro', where we were attack'd by a great Number of *Indians*, when a desperate Fight began on both Sides, that lasted above two Hours. However, at last we gain'd a compleat Victory, and put them intirely to the Rout, killing fourteen of them, and wounding above forty. On our Side we had but two Men kill'd and six wounded. Many more would have been kill'd of both Parties had it not been for the Thickness of the Woods.

I cannot here omit recounting a most singular Transaction that happen'd during this my second Time of being there, which, tho' scarce credible, is absolutely true, and can be testified by Hundreds, who knew, and have often seen the Man. In short, One of the 50th Regiment, an *Irishman*, being placed as Centinel over the Rum which had arrived, and being curious to know its Goodness, pierced the Cask, and drank till he was quite intoxicated; when, not knowing what he did, he rambled from his Post, and fell asleep a good way from the Garrison. An *Indian* scouling that Way for Prey, (as is conjectur'd) met him, and made free

with his Scalp, which he pluck'd and carried off. The Serjeant in the Morning, finding him prostrate on his Face, and seeing his Scalp off, imagin'd him to be dead; but on his nearer Approach, and raising him from the Ground, the Fellow awaked from the sound Sleep he had been in, and ask'd the Serjeant what he wanted. The Serjeant quite surpris'd at the strange Behaviour of the Fellow, interrogated him, how he came there in that Condition? He replied, *He could not tell; but that he got very drunk; and rambled he knew not whither.* The Serjeant advis'd him to prepare for Death, not having many Hours to live, as he had lost his Scalp. *Arrah, my Dear, now* (cries he), *and are you joking me?* for he really knew nothing of his being serv'd in the Manner he was, and would not believe any Accident had happened to him, 'till seeing his Cloaths bloody, he felt his Head, and found it to be too true, as well as having a Cut from his Mouth to his Ear. He was immediately carried before the Governor, who asking him, how he came to leave his Post? He replied, *That being very thirsty, he had broached a Cask of Rum, and drank about a Pint, which made him drunk; but if his Honour would forgive him, he'd never be guilty of the like again.* The Governor told him, it was very probable he never would, as he was now no better than a dead Man. However, the Surgeons dress'd his Head there, as well as they could, and then sent him in a Batteau to *Albany*, where he was perfectly cured; and, to the great Surprise of every Body, was living when I left the Country. - This, though so extraordinary and unparalell'd an Affair, I ayer to be true; ha-

ving several Times seen the Man after this Accident happened to him. How his Life was preserved seems a Miracle, as no Instance of the like was ever known.

I had forgot to mention, that, before I left *Albany* the last Time, upon Colonel *Broadstreet's* arrival there, in his Way to *Oswego*, with the Provisions and Forces, consisting of about 500 Whale-boats and Batteaux, intended for the Campaign on the Great Lake *Ontario*, mention'd before; I join'd his Corps and proceeded on with the Batteaux, &c.

Going up the River *Onondaga* towards *Oswego*, the Batteau-Men were on the 29th of *June*, attacked near the *Falls*, about nine Miles from *Oswego*, by 500 *French* and *Indians*, who kill'd and wounded seventy-four of our Men, before we could get on Shore, which, as soon as we did, the *French* were routed, with the Loss of 130 Men kill'd, and several wounded, whom we took Prisoners.

Had we known of their lying in Ambush, or of their Intent to attack us, the Victory would have been much more complete on our Side, as the Troops, Colonel *Broadstreet* commanded, were regular, well disciplin'd and in tolerable Health, whereas the *French*, by a long Passage at Sea, and living hard after their Arrival at *Canada*, were much harrass'd and fatigued.

However, we got all safe to *Oswego* with the Batteaux and Provisions, together, with Rigging and Stores for the large Vessels, excepting twenty-four

four Cannon, six Pounders, that were then at the *Great Carrying Place*; which Colonel *Broadstreet* was to bring with him, upon his next Passage, from *Schenectady*; to which Place, as soon as he had delivered to the Quarter-master all the Stores he had under his Care, he was ordered to return with the *Batteaux* and Men to receive the Orders of Major-General *Ambercrombie*. In his Return from *Schenectady*, 'twas expected that *Halket's* and *Dunbar's* Regiments would have come with him, in order to take *Fort Frontenac*, and the other *French* Forts on the *Lake Ontario*. But alas! as Schemes for building Castles in the Air, always prove abortive, for want of proper Architecture and Foundation, so did this Scheme of ours, for want of a due Knowledge of our own Situation!

On the Arrival of these Forces, a new Brigantine and Sloop were fitted out; and about the same Time a large Snow was also launch'd and rigged, and only waited for her Guns and some running Rigging, which they expected every Day by Colonel *Broadstreet*; and had he returned in Time with the Cannon and *Batteau-Men* under his Command, the *French* would not have dared to have appeared on the *Lake*; but Colonel *Broadstreet* happened to be detained with the *Batteaux* at *Schenectady* for above a Month waiting for the forty-fourth Regiment.

Before I relate the Attack on *Oswego*, I shall review a little what the *French* were doing during these our dilatory, pompous Proceedings.

The Marquis de *Vaudreuil*, Governor and Lieutenant-General of *New-France*, whilst he provided for the Security of the Frontiers of *Canada*, was principally attentive to the Lakes. Being inform'd that we were making vast Preparations at *Oswego* for attacking *Niagara* and *Frontenac*, he took and raz'd in the Month of *March*, the Fort where we had formed our principal Magazine, and in *June* following, destroyed, on the River of *Chonegan* or *Oswego*, some of our Vessels, and made some Prisoners. The Success of these two Expeditions encouraged him to act offensively and to attack us at *Oswego*. This Settlement they pretended, and still insist on, to be an Incroachment, or Invasion, which we had made in a time of profound Peace, and against which, they said, they had continually remonstranced, during our blundering, negotiating *Lawyer's* Residence at *France*. It was at first, say they, only a fortified Magazine; but in order to avail themselves of it's advantageous Situation in the Centre almost of the *French* Colonies, the *English* added from Time to Time several new Works, and made it consist of three Forts as above described.

The Troops designed for this Expedition by the *French* amounted to near 5000 Men, 1300 of which were Regulars. To prevent his Design being discover'd, M. de *Vaudreuil* pretended, in order the better to deceive us, who had so long before been blind, that he was providing only for the Security of *Niagara* and *Frontenac*. The Marquis de *Montcalm*, who commanded on this Occasion, arrived the 29th of *July* at Fort *Frontenac*;
and

and having given the necessary Directions for securing his Retreat, in case it should have been rendered inevitable, by a superior Force; sent out two Vessels, one of twelve, and the other of sixteen Guns, to cruize off *Oswego*, and posted a Chain of *Canadians* and *Indians* on the Road between *Oswego* and *Albany*, to intercept our Couriers. All the Forces, and the Vessels, with the Artillery and Stores, being arrived in the Bay of *Nixoure*, the Place of general Rendezvous, the Marquis de *Montcalm* ordered his advanc'd Guard to proceed to a Creek call'd, *Anse aux Cabannes*, three Leagues from *Oswego*. But,—

To carry on this Account the more accurate and intelligible to the Reader, I shall recite the Actions of the *French* and ourselves together, as a more clear and succinct Manner, of making those unacquainted with the Art of War more sensible of this important Affair.

Colonel *Mercer*, who was then commanding Officer of the Garrison at *Oswego*, having on the 6th of *August*, Intelligence of a large Encampment of *French* and *Indians*, about twelve Miles off, dispatch'd one of the Schooners, with an account of it to Captain *Bradley*, who was then on a Cruize with the large Brigantine and two Sloops; at the same Time, desiring him to cruize as far to the Eastward as he could, and to endeavour to prevent the Approach of the *French* on the Lake; but meeting the next Day with a most violent Gale of Wind, the large Brigantine was drove on Shore near *Oswego* in attempting to get into the Harbour; of which

which Misfortune, the *Indians* immediately gave *M. de Montcalm*, the *French* General, Notice, who took that Opportunity of transporting his heavy Cannon to within about a Mile and a Half of the Fort, which he could not otherwise have done.

For on the 10th, the first Division of the *French* being arrived at *Anse aux Cabannes*, at two o'Clock in the Morning; the Van-guard proceeded at four in the Afternoon, by Land, across Woods to another Creek within Half a League of *Oswego*, in order to favour the Debarkation. At Mid-night their first Division repair'd to this Creek, and there erected a Battery on the *Lake Ontario*.

Colonel *Mercer*, in the Morning of the 10th, on some Canoes being seen to the Eastward, sent out the small Schooner to make Discovery of what they were; she was scarce Half a Mile from the Fort, before she discovered a very large Encampment, close under the opposite Point, being the first Division of the *French* Troops above-mentioned. On this, the two Sloops (the large Brigantine being still on Shore) were sent out with Orders, if possible, to annoy the Enemy; but this was to no Purpose; the Enemy's Cannon being large and well pointed, hull'd the Vessels almost every Shot, while their's fell short of the Shore.

This Day and the next, the Enemy were employed in making Gabions, Fascions, and Fascines, and in cutting a Road cross the Woods, from the Place of landing, to the Place where the

Trenches were to be opened: And, the second Division of the Enemy arriving on the 11th, in the Morning, with the Artillery and Provisions, the same were immediately landed without any Opposition. Though Dispositions were made for opening the Trenches on the 10th at Night, it was Midnight before they could begin the Trench, which was rather a Parallel, of about 100 *Toises* * in Front, and opened at the Distance of 90 *Toises* from the Foss of Fort *Ontario*, in Ground embarrassed with Trunks of Trees.

About five in the Morning, of the 11th, this Parallel was finished, and the Workmen began to erect the Batteries. Thus was the Place invested by about 5000 Men and thirty-two Pieces of Cannon, from twelve to eighteen Pounders, besides several large Brass Mortars and *Hoyets*. (among which Artillery, was Part of General *Braddock's*) About Noon, they began the Attack of Fort *Ontario*, with small Arms, which was briskly return'd. All this Day the Garrison was employed on the West-side of the River in repairing the Batteries on the South-side of the *Old Fort*.

The next Morning, (the 12th), at Day-break, a large Number of *French* Batteaux were discovered on the Lake, in their Way to join the Enemy's Camp; on which, Colonel *Mercier* ordered the two Sloops to be again sent out, with Directions to get between the Batteaux and the Camp, but before
our

* A *Toise* is a French Measure, and contains about two Fathom or six Feet in Length.

but Vessels came up, the Batteaux had secured themselves under the Fire of their Cannon.

In the Evening a Detachment was made of 100 Men of the 50th (General *Pepperell's*) Regiment, and 126 of the *New-Jersey* Provincials, under the Command of Col. *Schuyler* to take Possession of the Fort on the Hill, to the Westward of the *Old Fort*, and under the Direction of the Engineer, Mr. *Mackler*, were to put it into the best State of Defence they could; in which Work, they were employed all the following Night.

The Enemy on the East-side continued their Approaches to Fort *Ontario*, but with their utmost Efforts for a long Time they could not bring their Cannon to bear on it. However, drawing their Cannon with great Expedition, next Morning, (the 13th), about Ten o'Clock, to a Battery erected within sixty Yards from it; they play'd them very hotly on the Garrison, notwithstanding the constant Fire kept on them, and the Loss of their principal Engineer, who was kill'd in the Trenches. A Council of War, was immediately held by the Officers of General *Pepperell's* Regiment, who observing the Mortars were beginning to play, concluded it most advisable to quit Fort *Ontario*, and join Col. *Schuyler's* Regiment at Fort *George*, (or Fort *Rascal*); and an Account of this latter Battery being sent to Col. *Mercer* by the Commandant of the Enemy, ordering him to evacuate the Fort, they accordingly did, about Three in the Afternoon, destroying the Cannon. Ammunition, and Provisions therein, and managed their Retreat so as to

pass the River, and join the Troops at the West-side without the Loss of a Man. These Troops being about 370, were immediately ordered to join Col. *Schuyler*, which they accordingly did, and were employ'd all the following Night in completing the Works of that Fort.

M. *Montcalm* immediately took Possession of Fort *Ontario*, and ordered the Communication of the Parallel to be continued to the Banks of the River, where, in the beginning of the Night, they began a Grand-battery, plac'd in such a Manner, that it could not only batter Fort *Oswego*, and the Way from thence to Fort *George*, but also the Intrenchment of *Oswego*.

In the Morning, of the 13th, the large Brigantine being off the Rocks and repaired, a Detachment of eighty Men of the Garrison was put on board her and the two Sloops, in order to go out immediately, but the Wind continuing to blow directly into the Harbour, render'd it impossible for them to get out before the Place was surrendered. This Night, as well as the Night before, Parties of the Enemy's Irregulars made several Attempts to surprize the advanc'd Guards and Centinels on the West-side of the River, but did not succeed in any of them.

The Enemy were employed this Night in bringing up their Cannon and raising a Battery. On our Side, we kept a constant Fire of Cannon and Shells from the *Old Fort*, and Works about it. The Cannon which most annoyed the Enemy, were

were four Pieces, which we revers'd on the Platform of an earthen Work, which surrounded the *Old Fort*, and which was intirely enfiladed by the Enemy's Battery on the opposite Shore: In this Situation without the least Cover, the Train, assisted by a Detachment of fifty of *Sh-rl-y's* Regiment behaved remarkably well.

At Day-break, on the 14th, we renewed our Fire on that Part of the opposite Shore, where we had the Evening before, observed the Enemy at Work in raising the Battery.

The Enemy in three Columns, consisting of 2500 *Canadians* and Savages, crossed the River, some by swimming, and others by wading, with the Water up to their Middles, in order to invest and attack the old Fort. This bold Action, by which they intirely cut off the Communication of the two Forts; the Celerity with which the Works were carried on, in Ground that we thought impracticable; a continual Return of our Fire from a Battery of ten Cannon, twelve Pounders; and their preparing a Battery of Mortars and Hoyets, made Colonel *Mercer* think it adviseable (he not knowing their Numbers) to order Colonel *Schuyler*, with 500 Men to oppose them, which would accordingly have been carried into Execution, and consequently every Man of the 500 cut off, had not Colonel *Mercer* been kill'd by a Cannon-Ball a few Minutes after.

About ten o'Clock, the Enemy's Battery were ready to play; at which Time, all our Places of
Defence

Defence were either enfiladed, or ruined by the constant Fire of their Cannon; Fort *Rascal* or *George*, in particular, having at that Time no Guns, and scarce in a Condition to defend itself against small Arms; with 2500 Irregulars on our Backs, ready to storm us on that Side, and 2000 of their Regulars as ready to land in our Front, under the Fire of their Cannon. Whereas,

Fort *Rascal* might have been made a very defensible Fortrefs, lying on a Hill, and the Ascent to it so steep, that had an Enemy been ever so numerous, they must have suffered greatly in an Attempt to Storm it. Why it was not in a better State, it becomes not me to say, but Matters were so.

And in this Situation we were, when Colonel *Littlehales*; who succeeded Colonel *Mercer* in the Command, called a Council of War, who were, with the Engineers, unanimously of Opinion, that the Works were no longer tenable; and that it was by no Means prudent to risque a Storm with such unequal Numbers.

The Chamade was accordingly ordered to be beat, and the Firing ceas'd on both Sides; yet the *French* were not idle, but improved this Opportunity to bring up more Cannon, and advance the main Body of their Troops within Musquet-shot of the Garrison, and prepared every Thing for a Storm. Two Officers were sent to the *French* General, to know what Terms he would give; the Marquis de *Montcalm* made answer, That they
might

might expect whatever Terms were consistent with the Service of His *Most Christian* Majesty: He accordingly agreed to the following:

Article I. " The Garrison shall surrender Prisoners of War, and shall be conducted from hence to *Montreal*, where they shall be treated with Humanity, and every one shall have Treatment agreeable to their respective Ranks, according to the Custom of War.

II. " Officers, and Soldiers, and Individuals, shall have their Baggage and Cloaths, and they shall be allowed to carry them along with them.

III. " They shall remain Prisoners of War until they are exchanged."

Given at the Camp before OSWEGO,

August 14, 1756.

MONTREAL,

By Virtue of this Capitulation, the Garrison surrendered Prisoners of War, and the *French* immediately took Possession of *Oswego* and *Fort George*, which they intirely destroyed, agreeable to their Orders, after removing the Artillery, Warlike-Stores, and Provisions,

But, to describe the Plunder, Havock, and Devastation, made by the *French*, as well as the *Savages*, who rush'd in by Thousands, is impossible. For notwithstanding the *Christian* Promise made by the General of His *Most Christian* Majesty, they all

all behav'd more like infernal Beings, than Creatures in human Shapes. In short, not contented with surrendering upon the above Terms, they scalp'd and kill'd all the Sick and wounded in the Hospitals; mangling, butchering, cutting, and chopping off their Heads, Arms, Legs, &c. with Spades, Hatchets, and other such diabolical Instruments; treating the whole Garrison with the utmost Cruelty, notwithstanding the repeated Intercessions of the defenceless Sick and Wounded for Mercy; which were, indeed, piteous enough to have soften'd any Heart possessed of the minutest Particle of Humanity!

Here, I cannot help observing, that, notwithstanding what has been said of the Behaviour of the Officers of these (the 50th and 51st) Regiments, I must, with the greatest Truth, give them the Characters of brave, but, I wish I could say, experienced, Men; every one of them, that I had an Opportunity of observing, during the Siege, behaving with the utmost Courage and Intrepidity. Nor, in this Place, can I omit particularly naming Captain *James Campbell*, and Ensigns *Evern* and *Hickes*, who assisted with the greatest Spirit and Alacrity, the private Men at the great Guns. But, for such an Handful of Men as our Garrisons then consisted of, and the Works being of such a weak and defenceless Nature, to have made a longer Defence, or have caus'd the Enemy to raise the Siege, would have been such an Instance, as *England*, for many Years, never hath experienced; and, I am afraid, will be many more, before it will, for Reasons that are too obvious.

The Quantity of Stores and Ammunition we then had in the three Forts, is almost incredible. But of what Avail are Powder and Ball, if Walls and Ramparts are Defenceless, and Men insufficient to make Use of them. In short, the *French*, by taking this Place, made themselves Masters of the following Things; all which were immediately sent to *Frontenac*, viz. Seven Pieces of Brass Cannon, nineteen, fourteen, and twelve Pounders; Forty-eight Iron Cannon, of nine, six, five, three, and two Pounders; a Brass Mortar of nine Inches four-twelfths, and thirteen others of six and three Inches; forty-seven Swivel Guns; 23,000 *lb.* of Gun-powder; 8000 *lb.* of Lead and Musquet-balls; two Thousand nine Hundred and fifty Cannon-balls; one Hundred and fifty Bombs, of nine Inches, and three Hundred more, of six Inches Diameter; one Thousand four Hundred and seventy-six Grenadoes; one Thousand and seventy Musquets; a Vessel pierc'd for eighteen Guns; the Brigantine of sixteen, a Goeletta of ten, a Batteau of ten, (the Sloops already mention'd) another of eight Guns, a Skiff of eighteen Swivels, and another burnt upon the Stocks; seven Hundred and four Barrels of Biscuit, one Thousand three Hundred and eighty-six Firkins of Bacon and Beef; seven Hundred and twelve Firkins of Meal; thirty-two live Oxen; fifteen Hogs, and a large Sum of Money in the military Chest, amounting, as the *French* said, to eighteen Thousand five Hundred and ninety-four Liyres.

On the 16th, they began to remove us; the Officers were first sent in Batteaux, and two Hundred

Soldiers a Day afterwards, 'till the whole were gone; being carried first to *Montreal* and from thence to *Quebec*. Our Duty in the Batteaux, 'till we reached the first Place, was very hard and slavish: And, during the Time we were upon the Lake, or River, *St. Laurence*, it appeared to me, very easy and feasible, for *Commodore Bradley*, (had he thought proper) to have destroy'd all the Enemy's Batteaux, and have prevented them from ever landing their Cannon, within forty Miles of the Fort. But he knew his own Reasons for omitting this Piece of Service best.

Our Party arriving at *Montreal*, in *Canada*, on the 28th; we were that Night secured in the Fort, as were the rest as they came in. The *French* used various Means to win some of our Troops over to their Interest, or at least to do their Work in the Fields, which many refused, among whom was myself; who were then conducted on board a Ship and sent to *Quebec*; where, on arriving the 5th of *September*, we were lodged in a Jail, and kept for the Space of one Month.

During this our Captivity, many of our Men, rather than lye in Prison, went out to work and assist the *French* in getting in their Harvest; they having then, scarce any People left in that Country, but old Men, Women, and Children, so that the Corn was continually falling into the Stubble for Want of Hands to reap it: But, those who did go out, in two or three Days, chose Confinement again, rather than Liberty on such Terms, being almost starv'd, having nothing in the Country

try to live on but dry Bread, whereas, we in the Prison, were each of us allowed two Pounds of Bread, and Half a Pound of Meat a Day, and otherwise treated with a good deal of Humanity.

Eighteen Soldiers, were all the Guard they had to place over us, who being greatly fatigued with hard Duty, and dreading our rising on them, (which had we had any Arms, we might easily have done, and ravaged the Country round, as it was then entirely Defenceless) and the Town's-People themselves fearing the Consequences of having such a Number of Men in a Place where Provisions were at that Time very scarce and dear, they thought sending us away, the most eligible Way of keeping themselves from Famine, and accordingly put five Hundred of us on board a Vessel for *England*.

But, before I continue the Account of our Voyage home to our native Country, I shall just make a short Retrospection on the Consequences which attended the Loss of *Oswego*, as appeared to us and the rest of the People at *Quebec*, who knew that Part of *America*, to which, this important Place was a Safeguard.

As soon as *Oswego* was taken, our only Communication from the *Mohawk's* River, to the Lake *Oneida*, was stopp'd up, by filling the Place at *Wood's Creek* with great Logs and Trees for many Miles together. A few Days afterwards, the Forts at the *Great Carrying Place*, and then our most advanced Post into the Country of the *Six Nations*,

which I have before given a short Account of, (and where there were at that Time above three Thousand Men, including one Thousand two Hundred Batteau-Men; and which still gave the *Six Nations* some Hopes that we would defend their Country against the *French*) were abandoned and destroyed, and the Troops, which were under the Command of General *Webb*, retreated to *Burnet's Field*, and left the Country and the *Six Nations* to the Mercy of the Enemy.

The *French*, immediately after the taking of *Oswego*, demolish'd (as is said before) all the Works there, and return'd with their Prisoners and Booty to *Trinouderogæ*, to oppose our provincial Army under the Command of General *Winslow*, who had shamefully been kept, in Expectation of the dilatory Arrival of Lord *Loudon*, from attacking *Crown-Point*, while the Enemy were weak, and it was easily in our Power to have beat them.

The Consequences of the Destruction of our Forts at the *Great Carrying Place*, and General *Webb's* retreating to *Burnet's Field*, is now, Alas! too apparent to every one acquainted with *American* Affairs. The *Indians* of the *Six Nations*, undoubtedly, look'd upon it as abandoning them and their Country to the *French*; for they plainly saw that we had no strong Hold near them, and that (by the Place at *Wood's Creek*, being stopp'd up), we could not, if we would, afford them any Assistance at *Onondaga*, *Cayuga*, and in the *Senekea's* Country, which were their chief Castles: That, the Forts begun by us in those Countries, were left unfinish'd.

unfinish'd, and therefore could be of no Use to them; and which, if we had kept the *Carrying Place*, we might have finish'd, and given them still Hopes of our being able to defend.

But, despairing of our being further serviceable to them, those *Iroquois*, who were before our Friends, and some of the others, have indeed deserted us, and the Consequence of such their Junction with the *French*, has begun already to be felt by us, in the Loss of *Fort-George* on *Lake Sacrament*.

The fine Country on the *Mohawk's-River*, down to *Albany*, was by this Step left open to the Ravages of the Enemy, and an easy Passage open'd to the *French* and their *Indians*, into the Provinces of *Pensylvania* and *New-Jersey*, by the Way of *Susquebanna* and *De-la-ware* Rivers, which were before cover'd by our Settlements on the *Mohawk's* River, and the *Six Nations*. To conclude, it left the *French* without the least Fear of our being able to give them the least Interruption in their Passage thro' *Lake Ontario* and *Lake Erie*, to the Frontiers of *PENNSYLVANIA*, *MARYLAND*, *VIRGINIA*, and *all* the *southern* Country.

Whether these my Animadversions are true, or not, What has been since transacted in these Parts and the present Campaign there, will evince.—I shall therefore return to our Embarkation at *Quebec*.

Five Hundred of us, being to be sent to *England*, we were put on board *La Renommé*, a *French* Pacquet-boat, Capt. *Dennis Vitree*, Commander: We sailed under a Flag of Truce, and tho' the *French* behaved with a good deal of Politeness, yet were we almost starved for want of Provisions. One Biscuit and two Ounces of Pork a Day, being all our Allowance, and half-dead with Cold, having but few Cloaths, and the Vessel being so small, that the major Part of us were obliged to be upon Deck in all Weathers. After a Passage of six Weeks, we at last, to our great Joy, arrived at *Plymouth* on the 6th of *November*, 1756. But there our Troubles und Hardships were not as we expected, put a Period to for some Time; for Scruples arising to the Commissaries and Admiral there about taking us on Shore, as there was no Cartel agreed on between the *French* and *English*, we were still confin'd on board, 'till the Determination of the Lords of the Admiralty should be known; lying there in a miserable Condition seven or eight Days, before we received Orders to disembark, which, when we were permitted to do, being order'd from thence, in different Parties to *Totnes*, *Kingsbridge*, *Newton-Busbel* and *Newton-Abbot*, in *Devonshire*, I was happy in being quarter'd at *Kingsbridge*, where I met with such Civility and Entertainment, as I had for a long Time been a Stranger to.

In about four Months, we were again order'd to *Plymouth-Dock*, to be draughted into other Regiments; where, on being inspected, I was on Ac-

count of the Wound I had receiv'd in my Hand discharg'd as *incapable* of further Service.

For want of a Certificate from my *Colonel*, or some other *necessary Qualifications* I am ignorant of, I could not get any Provision made for me, by Pension, or otherwise. Indeed, as a *Reward* for my Sufferings and Services, I had the Favour of a *PASS* allowed, and the *Sum* of SIX SHILLINGS paid, to carry me to *Aberdeen*, about *eight Hundred Miles ONLY*, from the Place whereat I was DISCHARG'D.

F I N I S.





Deacidified using the Bookkeeper process.
Neutralizing agent: Magnesium Oxide
Treatment Date: Jan. 2003

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