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AND
LAKE CHAMPLAIN.
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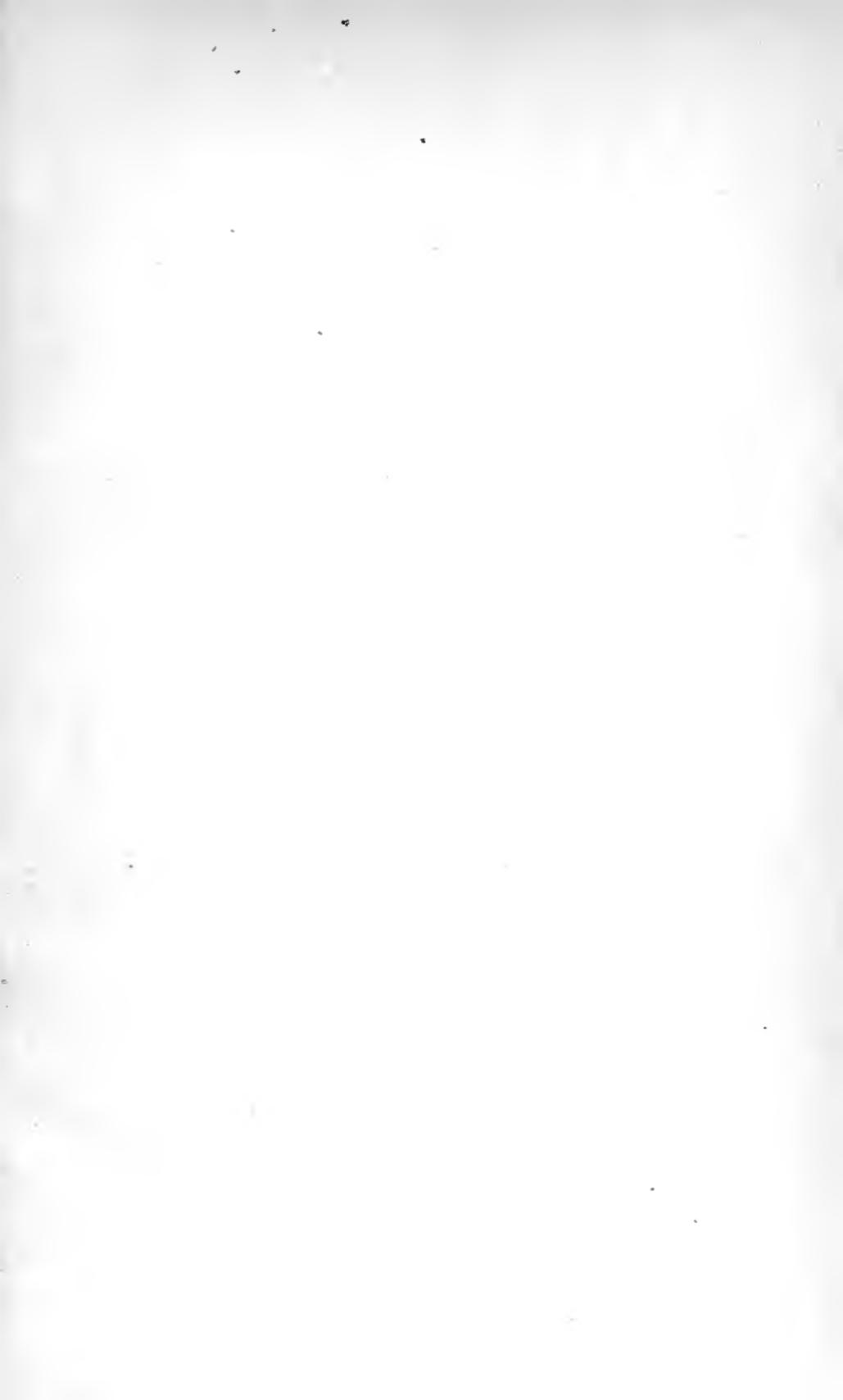
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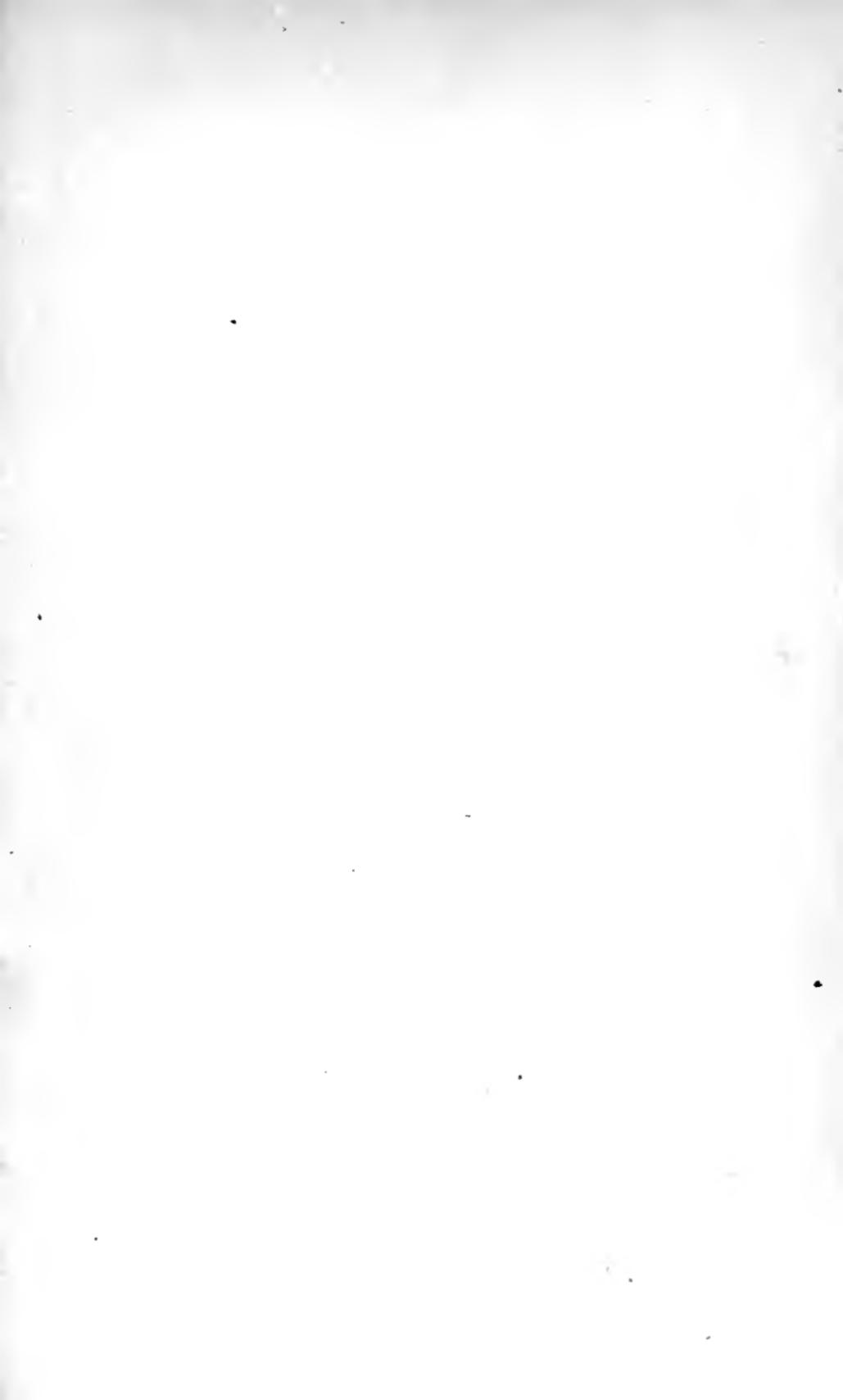
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LAKE GEORGE

AND

U.S.

LAKE CHAMPLAIN,

FROM THEIR

FIRST DISCOVERY TO 1759.

"You are unnecessarily severe, sir. It is not the business of a historian either to explore or make a topographical survey of the country about which he writes. All that you have a right to expect of him is, that he shall faithfully collect together and chronicle all the existing facts."

FOREST ARCADIA.

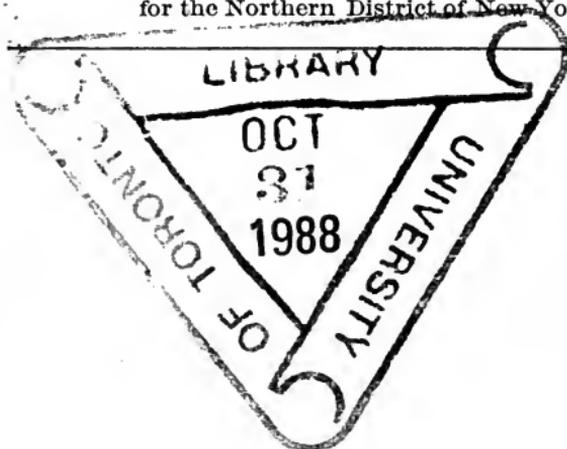


BY B. C. BUTLER.

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INTRODUCTION.

By a careful reading of the French and English official accounts, as they are placed side by side in that marvel of historic wealth, known as the Documentary and Colonial History of New York, we arrive at a proper knowledge of events, which had either been wrongly located, or exaggerated, or obscured. The author has made this the foundation of the following narrative. He also acknowledges his indebtedness to BANCROFT, KIP, BELL, TRUMBULL, HEADLEY, GRAHAM, SPARKS, WATSON, FITCH, VAN COURTLAND, the delightful writer of the life and times of Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON, the eloquent author of Hochalaga—"and the authorities there cited," not omitting the amiable Dr. O'CALLAGHAN ever ready to assist the anxious inquirer after truth. As far as practicable, he has endeavored to give the very language of the time, thereby rendering more life-like the scenes delineated here, than he would have been able to do in any other manner.

To those whose inclinations take them over and through these gate-ways of the country, the guide books furnish accurate and reliable information. The railroad to Fort Edward, and thence the stage-coach, even now being supplanted by the steam-car to Glen's Falls or from Saratoga via the Adirondac or Wilderness railroad

to the romantic hills of Luzerne, thence by coach eleven miles over the Indian trail to the head of the Lake ; these are the routes from the South. On the North, coming from Mt. Mansfield, Stowe, the Green Mountains, Adirondacks, Montreal, the lines of travel converge to Burlington, Rouse's Point, or the inimitable Foquets, on the Plattsburgh battle ground. At either of these points, taking the fine steamers of the Lake Champlain company, the traveler passing "through by daylight" looks upon the scenes replete with historic lore. Cumberland Head, Burlington Bay, Split Rock (Rock Regio), Chimney Point, Crown Point, Mount Defiance and Ticonderoga, furnish each their story of interesting events in early American history.

From the latter place the transition is easy, across the "carrying place," and through the intrenchments of Montcalm, to the limpid Lake George, on which the *Minnehaha*, under the direction of Captain HARRIS, like a shuttlecock, each day faithfully plies its vocation to and from the laughing waters of Carillon, and the grass-grown ruins of Fort William Henry.

The hotels dotted in here and there, like so many icebergs set in a background of emerald, furnish unexceptionable comfort to the sojourner.

Every American, at least once in his life, should visit Lake George and Lake Champlain, and view for himself the scenes made historic by the events imperfectly described in the following pages.

B. C. B.

LUZERNE, June, 1868.

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CHAPTER I.

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE COUNTRY TO 1690—FRENCH CLAIMS—EARLY NAVIGATORS—BRITISH CLAIMS—DE COURCELLES' EXPEDITION—DE TRACEY, LA SALLE, MARQUETTE AND HENNEPIN—AN ATTACK OF THE SENECAS—IRRUPTION OF THE IROQUOIS—ATTACK OF THE MOHAWKS ON CHAMBLAY—DE ST. HELENE—BURNING OF SCHENECTADY—FIRST AMERICAN CONGRESS IN 1690.



HAT eventful memories cluster around thy hoary hills, LAKE GEORGE! They are interwoven with the earliest history of our beloved country, reaching far back to the time when truth vanishes into tradition. Forts William Henry and Carillon, the salients of the two most powerful and most civilized nations of the globe, over whose scarp and counterscarp nature has thrown her protecting mantle of forest and turf—venerable in your ruins, ye stand at either gateway of these classic waters, monuments of a heroic age, and of the wrestlings of giants for the possession of a continent.

Beneath your shadow the bones of thousands lie in unrecognized though honorable dust, while every glen, bay, island and mountain, furnishes some legend which has made their names household words in American homes.

To-day the shores of Horicon furnish fashionable resorts for the refined or the curious, who bask away their summer hours, perhaps careless or ignorant of the great events that once transpired beneath their feet or within their vision. Yet the possession of these places has engaged the attention of kings, cabinets and parliaments. The best blood of two great nations has been freely spent, and millions of treasure expended, for their conquest and defense.

Armies have crossed each other's track upon the ocean, and have pursued strange and varied paths on lake and river, and through forest, to struggle for their possession. Tribes of red men from the far north and the far south, marshaled by civilized genius, have met in hostile array under their walls, and around their base. Rival and foreign flags have waved alternately over their battlements. A thousand bugles have called harmonious echoes from the mountains, while Highlanders from McGregor's clan, Indian chieftains, royal regiments commanded by high-born noblemen, mingled with the sons of the Green Mountain and the Connecticut and New Jersey valleys, have answered to their call. Thy peaceful shore has seen the course of carnage and misery, the butchery of the tomahawk, the wasting of a siege, the wretchedness of woman. It has

witnessed the feast of human flesh, for which these demons had prepared themselves by drink from skulls fresh filled with blood. It has heard the soft voice of the Jesuit priest, as with reverence he elevated the host and performed the most sacred and ancient rites known to the religious world. It has listened to the single prayer offered for the whole people by the venerable chaplain of Massachusetts, while the descendants of the Puritans stood up uncovered. It has seen the simple rites of Indian sacrifice of first fruits to the Great Manitou, while the forest orator harangued his brethren on the blessings of that heaven which cowards could not enter.

Protestant and Catholic, English and French, white and red men, the rifle, the tomahawk, the cannon and scalping knife, the keel boat and canoe, noble and base born, extremes the most opposite, passions the most violent, have met and struggled here for the mastery.

They fought for the possession of a continent reaching from the frozen zone to the tropics—extending from ocean to ocean—and in comparison to which the domain of either power was but “a patch upon the earth’s surface.”

All, all are gone now. From out the ashes a third power has arisen to which the Red Cross of England and the Lily of France are alike

indifferent. From mountain to mountain the American eagle utters the scream of LIBERTY. Love in its purity, friendship in its faithfulness, are reflected from the placid bosom of the lake. The early industry of freemen is upon its borders, and the morning sun-beams, which drink the dew-drops from the flowers on the hill-tops, catch also the sounds which thrill the heart of humanity, and proclaim the tidings of equal freedom for the race.

A proper history of this interesting locality is incomplete without embracing the entire section of country from Nova Scotia around to the Ohio. Such is too comprehensive for this work. It will be limited to an account of what occurred between Chamblay and the Mohawk Valley. Even then the fear is, that it will be too prolix for the reader.

The right of France to the country of the Iroquois, which embraced in part the valleys of Lake Champlain and St. Sacrament, was based on an established maxim existing among European nations, that the first discoverers who planted the arms of their government upon aboriginal soil acquired thereby the property of that country for their respective nation.

In 1504, Normauds discovered the bank of Newfoundland.

In 1523, in virtue of a commission from Francis I, Jean Verazzani took possession of "all the territory between Florida and Hudson's Bay."

In 1534, James Cartier, at the inlet of Gaspé, raised a lofty cross which bore a shield with the French arms and an appropriate inscription. He thence discovered the great river of St. Lawrence, and sailed up its channel till he could discern land on either side.*

In 1535, Gebault and Landonniere, having gone to Florida by authority of Charles IX, "to inhabit and cultivate the country," founded the Carolinas, and built a fort on the May river, which they called Fort Charles—now Charlestown.

In 1603, eleven years before the landing of the Pilgrims, Samuel Champlain was in command of the Canadian colony. In 1609 he discovered Lake Champlain,† Lake St. Sacrament, and, as he says, went as far as the country of the Iroquois.

* Bancroft.

† The Indian name of Lake Champlain is *Canadire Quarante*, "The lake that is the gate of the country." "Kangtare" is the Mohawk name for lake.

Concerning the first encounter of the Indians with the whites, between Lake George and Crown Point, Champlain says :

“I left the rapids of the river of the Iroquois on the 2d of July, 1609. All the savages began carrying their canoes, arms and traps overland, about a league and a half, to avoid the current and force of the rapids. This was quickly effected. They reviewed all their force and found 24 canoes with 60 men. After having completed their review, we continued our journey as far as an island, three leagues long, covered with the finest pines I ever beheld.

“On coming within two or three days’ journey of the enemy’s quarters, we traveled only by night and rested by day. Nevertheless, they never omitted their usual superstitions to ascertain whether their enterprise would be successful, and often asked me whether I had dreamed and seen their enemies. I answered, no ; and encouraged them, and gave them good hopes. Night fell, and we continued our journey until morning, when we withdrew into the picket fort, which they had built, to pass the remainder of the day there. About ten or eleven o’clock I laid down, after having walked some time around our quarters, and, falling asleep, I thought I beheld our enemies, the Iroquois, drowning within sight of us in the lake near a mountain ; and, being desirous to save them, that our savage allies told me that I must let them all perish, as they were good for nothing. On awaking they did not fail, as usual, to ask me if I had any dream. I told them, in fact, what I had dreamed. It gained such credit among them that they no longer doubted but they should meet with success.

“At nightfall we embarked in our canoes to continue our journey, and, as we advanced very softly and noiselessly, we encountered a war party of Iroquois on the 29th of the month, about ten o’clock at night, at the point of a cape

which puts into the lake on the west side. They and we began to shout, each seizing his arms. We withdrew toward the water, and the Iroquois repaired on shore and arranged all their canoés, the one beside the other, and began to hew down trees, with villainous axes, which they sometimes got in war, and others of stone, and fortified themselves very securely.

“Our party, likewise, kept their canoes arranged the one alongside the other, tied to poles so as not to run adrift, in order to fight all together, should need be. We were on the water about an arrow-shot from their barricades. When they were armed and in order, they sent two canoes from the fleet to know if their enemies wished to fight; who answered they “desired nothing else,” but that just then there was not much light, and we must wait for day to distinguish each other, and that they would give us battle at sunrise. This was agreed to by our party. Meanwhile the whole night was spent in dancing and singing, as well on one side as on the other, mingled with an infinitude of insults and other taunts, such as the little courage they had, how powerless their resistance against their arms, and that when day would break, they should experience this to their ruin. Ours, likewise, did not fail in repartee; telling them they should witness the effects of arms they had never seen before, and a multitude of other speeches as is usual at a siege of a town. After the one and the other had sung, danced and parliamented enough, day broke. My companions and I were always concealed, for fear the enemy should see us, preparing our arms the best we could, being, however, separated, each in one of the canoes. After being equipped with light armor, we took each an arquebus and went ashore. I saw the enemy leave their barricade; they were about 200 men, of strong and robust appearance, who were coming slowly toward us, with a gravity and assurance which greatly pleased me, led on by three chiefs.

Ours were marching in similar order, and told me that those who bore three lofty plumes were the chiefs, and that there were but these three, and they were to be recognized by those plumes which were considerably larger than those of their companions, and that I must do all I could to kill them. I promised to do what I could, and that I was very sorry they could not clearly understand me, so as to give them the order and plan of attacking their enemies, as we should indubitably defeat them all; but there was no help for that; that I was very glad to encourage them, and to manifest to them my good will when we should be engaged.

“The moment we landed, they began to run about two hundred paces toward their enemies, who stood firm, and had not yet perceived my companions, who went into the bush with some savages. Ours commenced calling me in a loud voice, and, making way for me, opened in two, and placed me at their head, marching about twenty paces in advance until I was within thirty paces of the enemy.

“The moment they saw me they halted, gazing at me and I at them. When I saw them preparing to shoot at us, I raised my arquebus, and aiming directly at one of the three chiefs, two of them fell to the ground by this shot, and one of their companions received a wound of which he died afterward. I had put four balls in my arquebus. Ours, in witnessing a shot so favorable for them, set up such tremendous shouts that thunder could not have been heard; and yet there was no lack of arrows on one side and the other. The Iroquois were greatly astonished, seeing two men killed so instantaneously, notwithstanding they were provided with arrow-proof armor woven of cotton thread and wood. This frightened them very much. Whilst I was reloading, one of my companions in the bush fired a shot which so astonished them anew, seeing their chiefs slain, that they lost courage, took to flight, and abandoned the field and their fort, hiding themselves in the depths of the

forest, whither pursuing them I killed some others. Our savages also killed several of them, and took ten or twelve prisoners. The rest carried off the wounded. Fifteen or sixteen of ours were wounded by arrows; they were promptly cured.

“After having gained the victory, they amused themselves plundering Indian corn and meal from the enemy; also their arms which they had thrown down in order to run the better. And having feasted, sung and danced, we returned, three hours after, with the prisoners.”

In 1611 and 1612 he ascended the St. Lawrence to Lake Erie, Detroit, and Lake Huron, and for a number of years prosecuted the fur trade at the place where Boston now stands.

Following these were the Jesuit missions, who for forty years built and resided in the five Iroquois cantons until they were “burnt out” by the machinations of the English. They extended west to Niagara, Detroit, and down the Ohio and the Illinois to St. Louis.

The British claim of dominion upon the Champlain valley extended up to the neighborhood of the river St. Lawrence.

It was based,

1. On the title of the Dutch, “from the St. Lawrence to the Delaware river.”

2. On the assertion of that right in the grant of King Charles to the Duke of York, “for all of the lands west of the Connecticut river.”

3. The treaty of the Five Nations with the Governor of New York, by which, in consideration of his protection, they submitted to the sovereignty of the King of Great Britain. All the country to the south of the St. Lawrence was described by French writers as belonging to the Five Nations. Lake Champlain is named "*Mere des Iroquois*," and the lands on the east side of the lake, now Vermont, were called "*Irocoisia*."

4. The treaty of Utrecht, by which the French King expressly recognized the sovereignty of Great Britain over these nations and the lands held by them.

5. The exercise of sovereignty by the patent granted to Rev. Godfrey Dellins,* under the seal of New York, in the year 1696, of lands described in an Indian deed to him, which comprehended a tract extending from Saraghtoga along the Hudson river to "*Regio Rock*,"† twenty miles north of Crown Point, and which grant the legislature afterward abrogated on account of its excessive amount.‡

* Dellins was the first Dutch minister settled in Albany.

† Split rock. This grant, it is claimed, did not extend into Vermont, but up the Hudson River to a point opposite Regio Rock. (*See Historical Magazine, February, 1868.*)

‡ In April, 1750, John Henry Lydius, a citizen of Albany, and his wife Genevieve Masse (a half-breed), made affidavit

The policy of both nations appears to have been to cultivate assiduously the friendship of the dusky tribes. In this the French were the most successful, and their influence extended to the end of Lake Superior, and embraced all of the country between the Hudson's Bay and the Onondaga council fire.

But while Canada was settled, and its government was carried on, as a strictly military colony, the Dutch, and after them the English, were essentially a trading nation. Albany was the great center of Indian trade and barter, and its commerce extended to Montreal and the French Indians, to the great grief of the Mohawks, who always claimed that by this means their implacable enemies, the Algonquins and Adirondacks, found never-failing supplies of powder and lead.

“that he had frequently heard, both from the Mohawk and Caknawaga Indians, during the previous twenty-five years, that the land northward of Saraghtoga, as far as the Rock Rogeo, did and does belong to the Mohawks, which rock is situated ten leagues north of Crown Point—‘Rogeo’ being the name of a Mohawk Indian who was drowned near that rock long before the Christians came among them, from whence the Mohawks called the rock Rogeo.” It was a superstition of the Indians that in passing the rock they should cast a stone or other article toward it for good luck. On Tryon's map it is called “*Point Regiochue.*” B.

The following was the scale of prices in the Indian trade at Montreal and Albany, in 1689 :

The Indian pays for	At Orange.	Montreal.
8 pounds of powder,.....	one beaver.	four beavers.
A gun,.....	two do	five do
40 pounds of lead,.....	one do	three do
Blanket of red cloth,.....	one do	two do
Four shirts,.....	one do	two do
Six pairs of stockings,.....	one do	two do
Six quarts of rum,.....	one do	six do

For the generation previous to the advent of the European race, the Iroquois had waged a merciless war against the Algonquins on the St. Lawrence. The arrival of Champlain with the hitherto unknown fire-arm turned the fortunes of war with the northern tribes.

The Iroquois transferred their jealousy and their enmity against the French allies, with whom they would never make a permanent peace.

Champlain and the succeeding Governors of Canada assisted the northern nations in all their wars, or retained them as allies. It became a great object of the French to get possession of the port of New York. For this purpose cabinet councils were held and numerous plans laid; and it is by reason of the efforts made by the respective nations and their dusky allies, for the purposes of conquest or defense, that the entire

region, from Forts Orange and Schenectady to Cumberland Head, has become the classic ground of America.

On the 9th of January, 1666, an expedition was fitted out at Quebec, under the veteran De Courcelles, with five hundred men, whose object was to proceed to the Mohawk valley and destroy the villages there. They marched on snow-shoes, and each officer and man carried from twenty-five to thirty pounds of biscuit, besides his clothing, arms and ammunition. Sledges drawn by dogs, and carrying supplies, accompanied them. They purposed to give the Indians such a punishment as should induce them to put a stop to their incursions, and live at peace with the French settlements. A more difficult or longer march than that of this little army is scarcely to be met with in history.

In addition to the awkwardness of the snow-shoes, it was necessary to make a journey of over four hundred miles, to cross lakes and rivers, to sleep on the snow in the midst of the forest, and to endure the cold of a rigorous winter.

On the third day out, many had their noses, ears, fingers or knees frozen, and some, wholly overcome by the cold, were carried to the place where they were to pass the night. Still they

pushed on, until, on the 9th of February, they arrived within two miles of Schenectady.

Here a party of sixty fusileers were drawn into an ambuscade of two hundred Mohawks, who at one volley killed a lieutenant and eleven men, and wounded seven others.

The next day the wounded were sent down to Schenectady, where they were hospitably entertained and cared for by the citizens, through the interposition of Corlear, while wine, peas and bread were obtained for the troops. Grateful for such unexpected, if not undeserved hospitality, Governor Courcelles invited Corlear to visit him at Montreal, which invitation was accepted. On his journey thither he was accidentally drowned in Lake Champlain. He was so great a favorite with the Indians that they were accustomed to designate the Governor of New York by the title of "Corlear."

On the twelfth the French camp suddenly broke up, and they fell back to Lake Champlain, closely pursued by the Mohawks, who however only took three prisoners.

In the same year, on the 14th of September, an expedition of six hundred, under the command of M. De Tracey, embarked in three hundred light batteaux and bark canoes, with

two small pieces of artillery. Notwithstanding the care taken to prevent discovery, they found, on their arrival at the Mohawk castles, the villages were abandoned, but were full of grain and provisions. At the last was a triple palisade twenty feet high, and flanked by four bastions, with prodigious quantities of provisions and an abundant supply of water to extinguish fire when necessary. A few old persons and the remains of two or three savages of another tribe whom they had half roasted, were all that were found. After celebrating mass, singing the Te Deum and planting the cross, they fired the palisades, cabins and villages, destroyed the stores of corn, beans and other produce, and returned by the route they came.

Through the influence of the Colonial Government, acting under advice from the Duke of York, peace was made between the French and Indians, which continued with but little interruption for a period of over twenty years. This interval was employed by both the French and English in consolidating their settlements and in prosecuting their trade with the Indians. It was at this time that La Salle, Marquette, Hennepin and other Franciscans, bearing the calumet and cross, discovered the prairies of the Illinois, and ascended and descended the Missis-

sippi. In 1679, La Salle encamped at Niagara, and, amid the fire of artillery and the chanting of the Te Deum, first launched a bark of sixty tons on the placid waters of Lake Erie.*

In 1685, with a colony of two hundred and ten persons, he landed on the lovely Bay of Matagordo, and in the name of Louis XIV, took possession of Texas, carved the royal arms of France upon her stately trees, and by no treaty or public document was her right ever relinquished, except in the general cession of Louisiana to the United States under the Jefferson treaty.

In March, 1684, a band of two hundred Senecas attacked and pillaged a party of fourteen French traders who, in seven canoes, were proceeding down the Illinois river to the fort at St. Louis, with sixteen thousand pounds of merchandise.

In consequence ostensibly of this, an expedition was fitted out at Montreal, under Gov. Denonville, to attack and conquer the Senecas in Western New York. But the real purpose was the protection of the trade of the Western Indians in the Ohio and Illinois country, and also "for the establishment of the religion which

* La Salle's first vessel was named "La Griffin."

will never spread itself except by the destruction of the Iroquois; and of commerce and the [French] King's power over all North America."* In this they were successful, having burned three castles, without suffering much loss, and established the fort at Niagara.

In 1687 an irruption of some sixty Iroquois was made down Lake Champlain into the French settlement of Chamblay, which they destroyed, killing many of the inhabitants and bringing away captives.

In 1689, in the month of August, a force of nine hundred Mohawks landed on the island of Montreal, and nearly destroyed the whole settlement, carrying off one hundred and twenty prisoners, besides killing two hundred, some of whom were bound, roasted alive and devoured. They retained possession of the island till the middle of October.

In the month of February, 1690, war having been declared between England and France, a party of two hundred and ten men, under the command of Lieut. Le Moyne de St. Helene, left Montreal and passed through the lake to attack Fort Orange. The Indians were led by a great Mohawk chief by the name of Kryn,

* Colonial History, vol. iii, page 320.

who had removed from the Mohawk Valley to La Prairie in Canada, in 1674.

Arriving at the place where the road turned off to Schenectady, they, under advice of the Indian scouts, who were familiar with the passes of the whole country, took the latter road, and arrived at the settlement at eleven o'clock at night of the 9th of February. The town was built of an oblong form, with a wall around it, and two gates which the squaws pointed out, and one of which was found wide open. Into this they entered, and, after surrounding the town, gave the war-whoop and rushed on. M. de Mantet, at the head of a detachment, reached a small fort, which, after some resistance, was entered, set on fire, and all who defended it were slain. The sack of the town immediately began, which lasted for two hours, and all who resisted were massacred. The house belonging to the Rev. Peter Tassemaker, of the Dutch Reformed Church, was ordered to be saved, but as it was not known, it was burned, and he was killed. The dwelling of Capt. Joannes Sanders Glen, the mayor of the place, was also saved, in consequence of the good treatment the French had formerly received at his hands; also that of a widow who had six children, to which place M. de Montigny had been carried

when wounded. All the rest, amounting to some eighty well-built and well-furnished houses, were burned. The return march commenced with thirty prisoners and sixty good horses, of which last sixteen reached Montreal, the rest having been killed for food. The loss of the French was twenty-one, of whom but two were killed at the sack of the town. The number of the inhabitants destroyed was sixty men, women and children.

They were pursued to Lake Champlain by Major Peter Schuyler, with about two hundred whites and Indians, who took fifteen French prisoners and carried them off to their castles.

CHAPTER II.

WINTHROP'S EXPEDITION, 1690—CAPTAIN JOHN SCHUYLER'S ATTACK ON CHAMBLAY—MAJOR PETER SCHUYLER'S EXPEDITION—THE DESCENT OF THE FRENCH INTO THE LOWER MOHAWK VALLEY—PURSUIT BY SCHUYLER—BATTLE IN WILTON, SARATOGA COUNTY.



T IRED of these midnight attacks upon defenseless and outlying settlements, with the attendant barbarities of the merciless savage, the colonists began to see the necessity of union, and to enact measures of common defense. On the first day of May, 1690, in the Fort of New York, the FIRST AMERICAN CONGRESS was held.

It was there agreed, that, while Massachusetts should with a fleet attack Quebec, an army should proceed by way of Lake Champlain to the capture of Montreal, and thus the conquest of Canada should be completed.

Hereafter the solitudes of the forest were to be broken by the measured tread of civilized armies, not to cease until the cross of St. George or the banner of St. Louis should wave over the entire continent; nor even then until far down in the ages the bird of freedom, from its lonely eyrie, should witness the birth of a *new nation*,

springing, like Pallas from the head of Jove, armed, full grown, and founded upon the principle of UNIVERSAL EQUALITY FOR THE HUMAN RACE.

The command of the expedition was given to Fitz John Winthrop, of Connecticut, a member of the council of Governor Andros, and who was commissioned to be a major-general for this purpose.

On the 14th of July, General Winthrop set forward from Hartford with some troops, and in seven days, through the almost impassable wilderness, he reached Albany. Two companies, under Captains Johnson and Fitch, had preceded him. He found here, he says, "the design against Canada poorly contrived, and little prosecuted, all things confused and in no readiness or position for marching; yet everybody full of idle projects about it."

The command was composed of 400 troops from New York, three companies of 135 men from Connecticut, thirty River Indians, and 150 Mohawks. What a sorry array compared to the magnificently appointed thousands who, sixty-eight years after, swept through Lake George, under Abercrombie and Lord Howe, and found "glory and a grave" under the battlements of Ticonderoga!

On the 30th the New England troops and the Indians moved up four miles, and encamped upon the flats (Watervliet).

August 1, quartered at Stillwater, "so named because the water passes so slowly as not to be discovered; while above and below, it is disturbed and rageth, as in a great sea, occasioned by rocks and falls therein."

August 2d. The general moved forward to Saraghtoga (Schuylerville), about fifty miles from Albany, where was a block-house and some Dutch soldiers. At this place, he was joined by Mr. Wessels, recorder of Albany, and a company of the principal gentlemen, volunteers from that city. He here got letters from Major Peter Schuyler, the mayor of Albany, who had preceded him with the Dutch troops, to the effect that he was up to the second carrying place (Ft. Miller) making canoes for the army. Thus far "the way had been very good, only four great wading rivers, one of them (the Mohawk) dangerous for both horse and man."

August 4th. Divided the provision, thirty-five cakes of bread to each soldier, besides the pork, and moved up eight miles (to Ft. Miller); the Dutch soldiers carrying up their supplies in their birch canoes, and the Connecticut troops carrying them on horses. Here "the water

passeth so violently, by reason of the great falls and rocks, that canoes cannot pass, so they were forced to carry their provision and canoes on their backs a pretty ways to a passable part of the river."

August 5th. The soldiers marched, with their provisions on horses, about eight miles, to the great carrying place (Ft. Edward), the Dutch having gone up in their canoes.

August 6th. The command marched over the carrying place twelve miles, to the forks on Wood creek (Ft. Ann). The way was up a continual swamp abounding with tall white pine. The New York companies excited the general's admiration at the vigorous manner in which, and without any repining, they carried their canoes and provisions across upon their backs.

August 7th. Having sent thirty horses back to Saratoga for more provision, under command of Ensign Thomilson, the general passed down the creek with two files of musketeers, in bark canoes,* flanked by the Indians marching by the river side, commanded by Capt. Stanton, to the Hautkill (Whitehall), where he encamped

*The nations of the Algonquin family only made their canoes of birch, while the Iroquois made theirs of elm. They bought those of birch from other tribes. *Lafiteau.*

with Major Schuyler and the Mohawk captains, on the north side of Wood creek.

On the 9th of August, information came through Capt. Johnson, who had been sent to Albany some days since to procure additional supplies of provisions, that the Senecas and other Indians, whom he expected to meet at the Isle La Motte, near the north end of Lake Champlain, had not left their country on account of the small-pox breaking out among them. The expression they used was, "that the Great God had stopt their way." The small-pox had also broken out in the army, and seriously reduced the available force.*

In the meantime Major Schuyler had sent forward Capt. Sanders Glen with a scouting party of twenty-eight men and five Indians (the same one who had been spared at the Schenectady massacre), who had proceeded as far as "Ticonderoga,"† where he erected some stone breastworks, and had been since the fifth of August waiting for the expedition to come up.

* It was claimed by the French that, of this expedition, 400 Indians and 200 English died from the small-pox.

† Tsinondrosa, meaning the "tail of the lake," referring to the portion of Lake Champlain south of Ticonderoga; also called by the early Dutch "*Hautkill*."

It was now found that the time was so far spent, the bark would not peel, so no more canoes could be made.

The provisions were also giving out, and it was ascertained from the commissaries at **Albany** that no further considerable supply could be forwarded. It was, therefore, on the 15th, resolved in a council of war to return with the army.

Orders were given to Capt. John Schuyler,* brother of the mayor, to proceed with a party of forty Christians and 120 savages down the lake, and inflict what damage he could on the enemy at La Prairie. The troops then moved back to the head of Wood creek, where Lieut. Hubbell died of the small-pox, and was buried with much ceremony. All the forts down to Saratoga were burnt with the boats and stores.

On the 20th, the army, from which so much was expected, reached Greenbush, within sight of the city, having been absent just three weeks, and shortly after broke up and the men went home. Gen. Winthrop was put under arrest by order of Gov. Leisler for the failure of the enterprise, which, however, could not well be otherwise, considering the want of a commis-

*Grandfather of Col. Philip Schuyler of the Revolution.

sariat, the breaking out of the small-pox, the inadequacy of the transportation, and the "failure to connect" of the remaining parts of the expedition.*

Capt. Schuyler, according to orders, proceeded down the lake. Near the swamps he met Capt. Glen on his return. He enlisted thirteen whites and five savages from this command, and proceeded down to Canaghstone,† killing a couple of elk on their way for food.

On the 15th they encamped a mile beyond Cruyn Punt (Crown Point).

16th. They advanced to Kanordoro (the Narrows), where the first guard was put on, and Barent Wemp named as its officer.

17th. Proceeded to Ogharonde (Windmill Point), where the plans were laid for the attack, and the Indian tribes pledged each other in strings of wampum and with a shake of the hand to stand by each other faithfully.

23d. They reached La Prairie, and discovered the inhabitants in the fields engaged in the harvest. The savages, with a war-cry, fell on them and killed twelve persons and took fifteen men

* The French claimed that the English dare not trust themselves in the elm canoes which the Indians had built.

† The Two Rocks, ten miles below Whitehall.

and four women prisoners. Having burned sixteen houses and destroyed 150 head of cattle, they sought their boats and without loss returned to Albany.

On the 26th they encamped at the "little stone fort," being the first record of any considerable force that had encamped at Ticonderoga.

In the summer of 1691, Major Peter Schuyler, at the head of a party of 260 Christians and Indians, following in the track of his brother above, made a similar descent upon the doomed settlement of La Prairie. From the journal of his expedition, we learn that he marched June 21st, from Albany, twenty-four miles, to Stillwater. On the 24th his command proceeded to Saraghtoga, sixteen miles; and on the 26th, to the first (Fort Miller) and second carrying places (Fort Edward). On the 28th they marched twelve miles to the last carrying place (Fort Ann), and immediately commenced building canoes.

On the 1st of July they made eight canoes, some capable of carrying seven, eight and twelve men.

July 9th came Gerrard Luykosse and Herman Vedder, from a party of eighty Mohawks, at a lake right over Saraghtoga (Saratoga lake*),

* The name of Saratoga lake was "*Kayaderoga*."

who went by the way of Lake St. Sacrament, and promised to meet us in six days at "Chinandroga" (Ticonderoga).

14th. We removed to the Falls (Whitehall), distant sixteen miles, and then encamped.

16th. Moved from the Falls, and pitched our tents in the narrows of the drowned lands, twelve miles distant.

17th. Advanced to Chinanderoga, and two hours after met the Mohauques, eighty in number; after which we fell to making canoes, the Christians having broken two of theirs coming over the falls.*

19th. Advanced to Crowne Point, twenty miles. Here the Mohawks presented the major with a bundle of ninety-two sticks, to indicate their number; likewise the river Indians (Schagticokes), sixty-six sticks.

On the 1st of August, having reached the La Prairie at the break of day, "they said their prayers," and marched over a corn field and along the water side till they came to a wind-mill, when, as they approached, the miller fired and killed an Indian, when one of the whites fired and killed the miller as he was attempting

* This is the first record we have of a war party going through Lake George.

a second shot, so that his body hung half in and half out of the window. As they moved toward the fort, they were met by a party of militia, whom they easily repulsed, and who retreated into the fort with considerable loss. The regulars, under the command of St. Cirque, a veteran captain, here made an attack, but were received with a sharp fire, which resulted in the loss of the commandant and several other officers.

Schuyler then fell back one hundred and fifty yards, into a ditch, which formed a sort of ambuscade, into which the French rushed, but were repulsed with considerable loss. Meanwhile M. Valrenne, with a detachment of one hundred and twenty men, had interposed between Schuyler and the boats. Two large trees which had fallen down, served him for a breastwork. But Schuyler, forming his men, told them that there was no choice but to fight or die, and rushed on. They received the first volley, which killed and wounded the most that were lost in the expedition. In a short time the enemy retreated, and they reached the canoes and embarked, reaching Albany on the 9th, with a loss of twenty-one killed and twenty-five wounded.

The perpetual alarms which the inhabitants of Lower Canada suffered in these various



attacks, who, being taken alive, were tortured, roasted and eaten by the barbarians, or had their houses, cattle and crops destroyed, determined Count De Frontenac, now Governor of Canada, to strike such a blow upon the Mohawks as should compel them to sue for peace. Accordingly, in the month of January, 1693, he despatched from Montreal a force of six hundred and twenty-five men, including two hundred Indians, under the command of De Manteth, with orders to proceed and destroy the Mohawk castles, and commit as great ravages as possible around Fort Orange—Albany. The party, like the expedition of 1666, were provided with trains, provisions, ammunition, in short every thing necessary for so long a journey on snow-shoes, through woods and over the frozen lakes and rivers. They were accompanied by twenty-five officers, some of whom, being the seniors of the commandant, accompanied the expedition as volunteers. They crossed over the carrying place at Ticonderoga, and glided over the now silent and ice-bound waters of Lake St. Sacrament to its head. Then passing the base of the Luzerne range, they crossed the Hudson river near the Little Bay above Glen's Falls, and thence moved in the shadow of the Palmerton mountain, and

over the Greenfield hills and the Kayaderosseras range, till, on the 8th of February, they came in sight of the first of the Mohawk castles, situate near Tribes' Hill. The first of them, in which were but five men and several women and children, was easily taken, as also a second one near by, where were still a lesser number. Marching on, they arrived, on the night of the 18th, at Tionderosa (Fort Hunter), where the third castle was, and within which, but unsuspecting of the proximity of their implacable foes, was a party of forty warriors, who were having dances and singing war songs, being about to join a party organizing at Oneida. The noise having ceased, the gates of the fort were easily entered, and it was captured with the loss of but one Frenchman. Some twenty or thirty of the Mohawks, besides several women, were killed in the first assault and subsequent intoxication of the French Indians. Finally, the fort, carbines, provisions and what could not be removed, were destroyed, and the party returned to the first castle. The number of prisoners amounted to three hundred, including over one hundred who were able to bear arms. On the 22d, the last of the castles having been destroyed, including the provisions and clothing stored therein, the expedition retraced their

steps. It was the intention of the French commander to push on to Schenectady and Albany, but they were overruled by the Indian chiefs, who represented that the number of prisoners they had, would prevent them from making any further advances. Meanwhile, by the escape of a young Dutchman named Van Epps, who three years before had been taken a prisoner at the Schenectady massacre, on the first evening of the arrival of the French at the Mohawk fort information came to the English of the movements of the enemy. The whole country was alarmed. The same night, Lieut. John Schuyler and fifty-five horse marched from Albany to Schenectady. These were quickly followed by Major Peter Schuyler, who sent out scouts to watch the enemy's movements. On Saturday information was brought that the Mohawk castle at Tionderosa had been fired, which news being brought forward to Albany, Major Ingoldsbey sent forward a detachment of two hundred men under Captains Matthews, Killian Van Rensselaer and others, who reported to Major Schuyler about two o'clock p. m. The next day, Monday, he crossed the river and started in pursuit of the enemy with two hundred and seventy-three men, and marched twelve miles and encamped. At one o'clock

the next morning he broke camp and marched till six A. M., when he had advice that the Canadians were eight miles distant. Lieut. Van Slyck and two Indians were sent out to reconnoitre, who, on their return, reported that the enemy had broken up their camp and were on their return homeward. At four o'clock P. M. the command marched to the place where the invaders had lain the night before, near Tribes' Hill.

On Tuesday, the 15th, they received a re-enforcement of 270 Mohawks, who had come down from the upper country, and the united command marched about ten miles (to near Galway) and sent spies to discover the enemy. Thursday, the 17th, marched in the morning to the place where the enemy had previously encamped (near Greenfield Centre). Two miles further on, they learned through a christian boy, a son of Arnout, the interpreter, that the French were within three miles. They marched forward and encamped within a mile of the enemy, and where the French had built a fort, Indian fashion (near Stiles in Wilton), and preparations had evidently been made to give them a warm reception. The officers were all ordered to their posts, and the troops immediately proceeded to fortify; which the French perceiving, with loud huzzas, imme-

diately sallied out of their entrenchments, and attacked them. They were beaten back into their fort, with a loss of eight men, when the English troops proceeded to continue their work at their abattis. At this the French sallied out again, but were once more forced back, with some loss. A third time they attacked the works, but again without success, and with a loss in all of thirty-three killed, and twenty-six wounded, among the former of whom was the commandant and four other officers. As soon as the engagement was over, Major Schuyler sent back for provisions, the men having had nothing to eat for two days. The next day, Saturday, there was a storm of snow and wind, which covered up their tracks, and prevented any movement; but, at ten o'clock A. M., the enemy broke up their camp and marched till evening. Major Schuyler detached sixty men and some Indians to follow them, which he was unable to do with the main body, by reason of the lack of supplies. The next day, Sunday, Capt. Simms arrived with a re-enforcement of eighty men and provisions, which were immediately distributed; those first served being ordered to the pursuit, with five biscuits per man. About four o'clock the men under command of Capt. Peter Mathews and Lieut. Schuyler came up

within a mile of the enemy, when the orders were given to fall upon their rear, but the Indians halted and refused to go forward, because they had information that, if they made the attack, the French would kill all their women and children, whom they had prisoners. After an hour had been thus wasted, the rest of the men got up, and the march was resumed, with the expectation of overtaking the enemy at the river side; but a flake of ice, having lodged in the river, formed a bridge, while all was open above and below, across which the invaders passed in safety. The French marched in good order, the wounded and prisoners being in the center, and the picked troops in the rear. They arrived at Lake St. Sacrament on the 22d. The ice here was found to be all rotten, and the men in some places sank up to the waist. The Indians separated from the French to strike across to Lake Champlain. The prisoners, except about fifty, escaped. Two days after, having reached their depot of provisions, they found them entirely spoiled by the rain. Famine stared them in the face, and they even boiled the extra moccasins for food. They were four or five days without supplies, and two or three died. Messengers were sent to Montreal for assistance, and 150 men, with provisions on their backs, went to

their assistance. Finally, on the 9th of March, they reached Montreal, having thrown away arms and blankets, and so wasted by fatigue and exposure as to be scarcely recognized. The pursuit by Major Schuyler was only carried to the river; the aversion of the Indians to fall upon the enemy, as above stated, the want of provisions, and their shoes quite worn out, were the reasons given for their turning back, which they did the next day, arriving in Schenectady the day after.

While these movements were in progress on the frontier, an express from Col. Beekman, of Ulster county, had communicated to Gov. Fletcher, at New York, the news of the attack on the Mohawk castles, which reached him about eleven o'clock on the night of the 12th inst. Fletcher was a soldier by profession, and, without delay, sent orders to Col. Courtland, of Kings, and Col. Wilton, of Queens counties, to be forthwith ready with their regiments to embark at the ferry. At eight o'clock the next morning, the city regiment being under arms, His Excellency, on horseback, demanded who were willing to follow him to the frontier against the enemy. They unanimously threw up their hats, upon which 150 picked men were detached under the command of three captains. The

next day, Tuesday, eight sloops with provisions and ammunition were made ready, and at four o'clock the troops embarked with the Governor and staff. The wind being favorable, they reached Albany at nine o'clock on Friday, when they immediately pressed forward to Schenectady. The storm of Saturday, which prevented Major Schuyler from moving out of his camp, as above stated, also prevented the party from crossing the Mohawk river. On Sunday, the ice resettling, enabled them to cross over on foot, when two hours after the river was open again.

On Monday a further detachment marched over with thirteen horses loaded with supplies, and at two o'clock p. m. Capt. Stillwell arrived with fifty men from Kings county, making in all 208 men, besides the guides. Tuesday an express from Major Schuyler announced his approach; whereupon the troops were recalled, and the Governor the next day returned to Albany. In consideration of this rapid movement of Gov. Fletcher for their relief, on the 25th of February a great council of the five nations was held at Albany, at which the hearth-fire was uncovered, Sadekanaktie, Sachem of the Onondagas being the speaker. Gov. Fletcher was christened "Brother Cajenguirage," a word

signifying "Lord of the Great Swift Arrow," because of his speedy arrival with so many men to the relief of their Waguas' castles; which name he bore with them forever after.*

*Doc. iv, 16; ix, 549. This account seems to have been almost entirely overlooked. The difference of time in the French and English accounts is accounted for by the one using old style and the other new style. Reconciling them, and taking Burr's atlas and a pair of dividers, the distances are easily ascertained. B.

CHAPTER III.

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR—NICHOLSON'S EXPEDITIONS—FORT INGOLDSBY, FORT NICHOLSON—HENDRICK—FORT ST. FREDERICK BUILT—CAPTURE OF SARAGHTOGA—FORT CLINTON, LA CORNE'S EXPEDITION AND BATTLE AT FORT CLINTON—TWENTY-SEVEN PETTY PARTIES—WILLIAM JOHNSON'S EXPEDITION TO LAKE ST. SACRAMENT—FORT CLINTON BURNED—PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

1709.



THE peace of Ryswick had been declared in 1695. After a lapse of fourteen years, the war between England and France, known as Queen Anne's war, broke out, which speedily extended to the colonies, each bent on the extermination of the other. Ingoldsby, who, with the rank of major, had come to this country as commandant of Her Majesty's four companies of regulars, was now lieutenant-governor. Peter (now Col.) Schuyler, was of the executive council, and also one of the commissioners of Indian affairs. He was called by the Indians *Quidar*, because they could not pronounce his given name. His brother John, who had led the incursion against Chamblay, had been advanced to the grade of lieutenant-colonel.

Again, a joint expedition was proposed for the conquest of Canada. Five regiments of regulars, with proper supplies, were to come to Boston, there to be joined with 1,200 provincials, who were to proceed by sea to Quebec, while the troops were to rendezvous at Albany for the attack on Montreal. The forces for this latter route were placed under the command of Col. Vetch, a nephew of Peter Schuyler and Gen. Nicholson. The last was tendered the command by Gov. Ingoldsby, May 21, 1709.

On the 19th, the council gave orders that "there be sent up forthwith to Albany, a sufficient quantity of stores, provisions and all other things necessary for six hundred men, together with carpenters and materials necessary for building store-houses and boats, and making canoes,"* etc.

The first portion of the expedition, comprising 300 men, with the pioneers and artificers, moved out from Albany about the first of June, under the command of Col. Schuyler, and proceeded up the river to Stillwater, where they built a stockade for provisions, which they named Fort Ingoldsby. They also established stockade forts at Saraghtoga, below the Batten-

* Journal of the Legislative Council of New York.

kill, and at the second carrying place,* and built a road up the east side of the river to the great carrying place. Here they established a post which was called Fort Nicholson, and then proceeded up to the fork of the Wood creek (Fort Ann), where they constructed a hundred bark canoes, and a hundred and ten bateaux, which would hold from six to ten men each. They also built a redoubt and afterward a stockaded fort, which was named Fort Schuyler.† Lieutenant-Colonel John Schuyler was in command of the place.

The number of men was finally increased to eleven hundred and fifty. Fort Nicholson was garrisoned by four hundred and fifty men, including seven companies of "regulars in scarlet uniform from old England." At the fortified house at the next falls below (Fort Miller), were forty men; and at Stillwater, where La Fleuer lived, were seventy men.

Meanwhile, De Vaudreuil had moved up from Montreal to Chamblay with 1,600 troops, to watch the motions of the invaders. The expedition, however, was simply auxiliary to

*Fort Miller Falls.

† Doc. ix, 837, 839.. When it received the name of "FORT ANN" does not appear. B.

the fleet. As the latter failed, nothing further came of the invasion, and the summer passed away in idleness.

About the first of October, Lt. Barent Staats, a nephew of Col. Schuyler, was captured near Fort Nicholson, and was detained by the enemy till the winter, when he was exchanged.

In November the army retired, having first burned the fort, canoes and bateaux, and also all the forts above Saraghtoga.

In the winter season, Col. Schuyler, with five Sachems, including King Hendrick and Gen. Nicholson, went to England to devise a plan for another expedition for the conquest of the French colonies. In London the Indians were clothed in a gay and showy dress, designed by the costumers of Her Majesty's theatre, being a suit of English small clothes of black, with scarlet ingrain mantles of cloth, edged with gold for their blankets. In this they were conducted in state, in coaches, to an audience with Queen Anne; and, giving her belts of wampum, avowed their readiness to take up the hatchet and aid in the reduction of Canada.

In 1711 a second army was fitted out in a similar manner to the last, and with the same purpose. Those for the Albany expedition were organized into three regiments, as follows:

Col. Ingoldsby, regulars ; Col. Schuyler, New York troops ; Col. Whiting, Connecticut troops ; the whole consisting of fifteen hundred men, under command of Lieut.-Gen. Nicholson. They left Albany on the 24th of August, on which day also the Five Nations, to the number of six hundred and sixty had an interview with the Governor. Gen. Nicholson here presented them with a picture of King Hendrick and the other sachems who had now returned from England. The Governor desired that they should hang on the kettle of war, and presented them with five oxen and a barrel of beer for each of the nations. The Indians replied, desiring that the kettle might not be upset nor turned upside down, but remain boiling (meaning that the war may continue), "until, if God please to bless, we wholly reduce and subdue Canada, when we will upset and turn the kettle upside down, and what is boiled in it (meaning the prisoners) will be at the disposal of *Annadagarriax*" (Gen Nicholson).

On the 28th of August the troops were all on their march beyond Albany. They proceeded as far as Wood creek, to the spot where the fort was which was destroyed the year before, and was called Fort Ann. The batteaux were mainly prepared in Albany and below, and

were transported across the carrying place. The way was three feet four inches wide, French measure.*

Shortly after, intelligence was received that Her Majesty's fleet had been shattered by storms in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with a loss of over a thousand troops, and, owing to the ignorance of the pilots, it was deemed advisable to abandon the expedition, whereupon the troops were ordered back and were disbanded. Thus the third attempt at the conquest of Canada proved abortive, and shortly after, in 1713, the declaration of peace, known as the peace of Utrecht, between England and France, put a stop to further incursions, and closed the series of universal wars for the balance of power.

In 1731, in the midst of profound peace, M. de Beauharnois conceived the plan of fortifying a point on Lake Champlain known as "*Point au Chevelure*" † or Crown Point. It was described as at the head of Lake Champlain, about half way from Chamblay to Orange

* Holmes' American Annals, and the authorities there cited, state that Nicholson went to Lake St. Sacrament, but there does not appear to be any foundation for the assertion.

B.

† So named in 1689. B.

(Albany). "It is a small strait, separating the lake from the '*Grand Marais*,' at the head of which is a place called the Little Fall of the *River du Chicot* (Whitehall). When in possession of *Point de la Couronne*, the road will be blocked on the English, should they wish to pass over our territory, and we will be in a position to fall upon them when they least expect it. Beyond a doubt the King of England has granted Lake Champlain to the children of Lieut. Peter Schuyler, a well known citizen of Orange. Therefore we must anticipate the establishment they may found at Crown Point."

Their fears in the latter case were a mere pretense, as the patent granted to the children of Schuyler only extended from Saraghtoga patent up to Wood creek.*

On the above representations, however, His Majesty, Louis XV, directed the fort to be built, which was accordingly done, and a garrison of twenty men was placed within it for its protection. It was first a small wooden fort, which in successive years was enlarged and strengthened, until, in 1755, it was capable of

* Fort Edward.

holding five hundred or six hundred men. It was known as Fort St. Frederick.*

The following appears to have been its early armament: Two iron cannon, six-pounders; seventeen iron cannon, four-pounders; twenty-three brass cannon, two-pounders; one iron cannon, two-pounder; one mortar; eighteen iron swivels; twenty-five iron shells.

The provincials looked with alarm at this menacing demonstration sixty miles within their

* The French name of Crown Point, Fort St. Frederick, is derived from the French Secretary of State, Frederick Maurepas, in whose hands the direction and management of the Court of Admiralty was at the time of its erection. It is to be observed that the government of Canada is subject to the Court of Admiralty, and the Governor-General is always chosen by this court. As most of the places in Canada bear the name of saints, custom has made it necessary to prefix the word to the name of this fortress. It is built on a rock consisting of black lime slates as aforesaid. It is nearly quadrangular, has high, thick walls made of the same limestone, of which there is a quarry about half a mile distant. On the eastern part of the fort is a high tower, which is proof against bombshells, and is well served with cannon from the bottom almost to the very top, and the Governor, Mr. Lusignan, lives in the tower. In the terreplein is a well-built little church, and houses of stone, for the officers and soldiers. There are sharp rocks on all sides toward the land, beyond a cannon-shot from the fort, but among them are some which are as high as the walls of the fort, and very near them. *Kalm's Travels*, 1748.

border, and made the most energetic protests, both at home and to the Lords of Trade, against its continuance. The Earl of Waldegrave, the British Ambassador, made his objection against a continuance of the fort, as in absolute opposition to article XV of the treaty of Utrecht, but no further effort was made for its removal or reduction.

In 1744 war was again declared between the English and French.

In the month of November, 1745, an expedition was fitted out at Montreal, under the command of M. Marin, comprising three hundred Frenchman and as many Indians. Their object was to attack and capture the settlements on the Connecticut, but on their arrival at Fort St. Frederick this purpose was changed, and they went down to Saraghtoga,* which settlement they attacked on the night of the 16th and 17th, plundered and burned about twenty houses, together with the fort. In this affair some thirty persons were killed and scalped, and about sixty were taken prisoners. Only one family escaped destruction, by flight, who, as they looked back, saw the fort in flames.

* Doc. x, pp. 38 and 39.

In the spring of 1746 the English proceeded to rebuild the fort, for the construction of which the Assembly had voted one hundred and fifty pounds. The location was, however, changed to accommodate some wheat fields which were then growing, and to preserve which was the object of its construction.* The name given to the new work was Fort Clinton.

1746, Aug. 29. M. de Repentigny, who, with a party of twenty-six Abnekas, was scouting near by, made an attack upon a party of twenty soldiers who were escorting a cart loaded with clay to build a chimney, and killed four men at the gate of the fort (who were scalped by the Indians), and took four prisoners.†

October 24. The same officer, being on the road between Albany and Saraghtoga, attacked the ordnance and provision train which was then moving up to the latter place, and killed two men and upset the wagon.‡

July 16. De Mery, and a detachment of four hundred and fifty Canadians and savages, came to South Bay, and were employed scouting and working on the *river au Chicot* (Wood

* Doc. vi, 630. Called by the French *Sarastean*.

† Doc. x, 35.

‡ Doc. x, 75.

Creek), where they felled the trees on both sides to render its navigation impracticable.

The commandant at Fort St. Frederick was M. de Celeron.

1747, June 11. An expedition started from Fort St. Frederick, at midnight, for Saraghtoga, to destroy Fort Clinton.* It was under the command of La Corne St. Luc, and comprised twenty Frenchmen and two hundred Indians.

June 14. Arrived at the Orange (Hudson) river, which they crossed and came down the west side.

June 16. The Indians proposed to form an ambuscade on a little island in front of the fort, in order to try and "break somebody's head," but La Corne told them they must go to the fort. The same day, De Carquille reported that some forty or fifty Englishmen were fishing

* Fort Clinton was one hundred and fifty feet long, by one hundred feet wide, with six wooden redoubts for barracks. It was situated on a hill south of the Battenkill, in the present town of Easton, and nearly opposite the present bridge across the river at Schuylerville, as appears by a manuscript map of the province, by Cadwallader Colden. Doc. ix, p. 79. It was armed with twelve cannons, being six, twelve and eighteen pounders, and was built twice the size of the old fort. One hundred bateaux had been built here as well as six hundred at Albany for the second Nicholson expedition.

in the Battenkill; whereupon La Corne offered his double-barrel gun to the first man who should bring in a prisoner, and told them that after the first volley he should charge the fort, ax in hand. The same day, and the next, the French crossed the river. The next day he sent twenty men on the road to Orange, who returned under the supposition that they were discovered. The Indians now assembled around the officers, and said they must retreat, but these gentlemen told them "it was not the custom of the French to retire without fighting, when so near the enemy, and they were able to defend themselves against this number of men if they should be attacked." The young braves of the Soult, Nepissings, Northern Iroquois and Hurons said they would not desert them. Six scouts were then sent out to the appointed place to lie in ambush, and to pass the night within eight paces of the fort, with directions to fire on those who, the next morning, should come out of the fort, and try and take a scalp, when if they were attacked they should retreat, pretending to be wounded. This was accordingly done.

On the morning of the 18th, at the break of day, two Englishmen came outside the gate, and were fired on, when the scouts withdrew. A

hundred and twenty of the English, headed by their officers, then came out of the fort, and, having formed in order, marched toward the French, making a wheel so as to get near them. They halted at the spot which the scouts had abandoned, and where they had left a musket and tomahawk. At this, La Corne gave the signal for the French, who were in ambush, to rise and fire, which was accordingly done, and the English fired back, and also opened with cannon and grape from the fort. The Indians, however, rushed on, tomahawk in hand, and routed the English, who had scarcely time to shut their gates. Some threw themselves into the river and were killed by blows of the hatchet and by gunshots. Forty-five prisoners were taken and twenty-eight scalps, besides those who were drowned.

In addition to the expeditions here mentioned, were a large number, twenty-seven in all, of petty excursions, comprising from ten to fifty men each, who were fitted out at Montreal, to take the route of Fort St. Frederick, and commit what depredations they could on the English settlements. Their object was to harass, murder, scalp, burn and pillage, and this was what they called war. They required but little supplies. They passed easily through the woods by night

and by day. Their hunting life made them familiar with every mountain pass, and the neighboring thicket or stream furnished the necessary provisions. They privately approached the settlements, lay in wait for their opportunity, killed or took prisoners, and were off again with such rapidity that pursuit was impossible.

No wonder the exposed inhabitants looked with dismay upon this fort, as a terrible and perpetual menace, and taxed themselves heavily for its reduction. In New York alone, the amount expended in one year was seventy thousand pounds.

The following partial account, applicable solely to the locality we are attempting to describe, conveys an idea of the zeal and energy with which the French authorities pursued this atrocious system of warfare.

March 29, 1746. A party set out, consisting of fourteen Indians, belonging to the lake of the two mountains (on the river St. Lawrence), who have been in the country, near Albany, and returned with some prisoners and scalps.

26th. A party of thirty-five warriors belonging to the Sault set out. They have been in the neighborhood of Orange, have made some prisoners and taken some scalps.

27th. A party set out consisting of six warriors, who struck a blow in the neighborhood of Albany.

May 7. Six Nepissings started to strike a blow near Boston, and returned with some scalps.

10th. Gationonde, an Iroquois, who had been settled at the lake for two or three years, left with five Indians of that village and Lieut. St. Blein, to strike a blow in the neighborhood of Orange. They brought in one prisoner. Gationonde, the leader, was killed and scalped by the Indians on the field of battle.

12th. Ten Indians of the Soult set out toward Boston, and returned with some scalps.

22d. Nineteen warriors of the Soult St. Louis have been equipped. They have been made to strike a blow in the direction of Albany.

24th. A party of eight Abenakis has been fitted out, who have been in the direction of Corlac,* and have returned with some prisoners and scalps.

27th. Equipped a party of eight warriors of Soult, who struck a blow near Albany, and brought back six scalps.

28th. A party of twelve Nepissings made an attack in the neighborhood of Boston, and

* Schenectady.

brought away four scalps and one prisoner, whom they killed on the road, as he became furious and refused to march.

A party of Abenakis struck a blow near Albany and Corlac, and returned with some scalps.

June 2. Equipped twenty-five warriors, who returned from the neighborhood of Albany with some scalps.

3d. Equipped a party of eighteen Nepissings, who struck a blow at Albany and Corlac.

19th. Equipped a party of twenty-five Indians of the Soult, who struck a blow near Orange. One or two of these Indians were wounded. They brought away some scalps.

20th. Equipped a party of nineteen warriors of the Soult, who went to Orange to strike a blow.

21st. Equipped a party of twenty-seven of the same village, to go to Albany. Sieur De Carquville, an officer, was of this party, which has brought in a prisoner that was on the scout to Saristean,* and some scalps.

August 10. Chevalier De Repentigny arrived at Quebec, and reported that he had made an attack near Corlac, and took eleven prisoners and twenty-five scalps.

* Saraghtoga.

Meanwhile the provincials are not idle. On the 4th of August Col. Johnson had sent out two parties of the Six Nations to Canada, who made an attack on Chamblay, but fell into an ambuscade, and were most of them killed or captured, but not till after they had inflicted serious damage upon the Canadians. He also sent a party of twelve men on a scout to Crown Point.

On the 19th he writes to Gov. Clinton that one of his parties, on their return from the latter place, had reported that they lay two days in sight of the enemy on Lake St. Sacrament, who, to the number of between five hundred and six hundred men, were encamped upon an island.*

This was doubtless a part of the force under the command of Sieur de Regaud de Vaudreuil, a part of whose command, under La Corne, had been engaged in the affair at Saraghtoga. His head quarters were at South Bay. His orders were to protect Fort St. Frederick, which he could only do by having a part of his force at the latter place, and part on Lake St. Sacrament.†

* Long Island.

† Doc. x, 114, 132, 148.

Aug. 28. Johnson writes that he is about setting off for Lake St. Sacrament, with four hundred Christians volunteers, and as many more Indians, and expected to be absent for twelve days. It is possible they took the short route *via* Fish House and Luzerne to the lake.

It is of this party that Sieur Villiers speaks, on his return from Saraghtoga in the month of November. He says that he sent out a scout to the portage of the lake, and there discovered a large abandoned camping ground. Judging by the size of the cabins and fires, thinks there might have been six hundred men, who were on their return toward Corlac. The force might have been there a month ago.

On the 9th of December Governor Clinton reported that he had been able to raise twenty companies in all for the coming expedition against Crown Point in the next year. They consisted of about 1,000 men, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Roberts; Mr. Gooch, Lieut.-Governor of Virginia, having declined the command.

In the fall of 1747 Fort Clinton at Saraghtoga was burned, and the guns and stores removed, by orders of Gov. Clinton. The avowed reason was, that the Assembly did not furnish enough troops and supplies to protect it from the attacks of the French and Indians.

May 1, 1748. Hortel Baubassin, in command of a scouting party of fourteen, reported that he had destroyed, in the neighborhood of Orange (Albany), thirty houses, three small forts (stockades), and one mill.

The preliminaries of a peace between the high contracting powers were signed at Aix-La-Chapelle, in April of the same year. The publication of this news caused a cessation of hostilities throughout the colonies. Again the hatchet was buried. The pioneer looked out from his cabin upon the green crops, and the hospitable smoke ascended from the deserted chimney. But not for long. Providence had decreed that this whole continent should be under the dominion of the Saxon, though blood ran in rivulets to attain that end.

CHAPTER IV.

BOUNDARIES UNSETTLED — HISTORICAL QUESTION — MR. WASHINGTON,
HIS INTERVIEW WITH ST. PIERRE — TANACHIRASEN — BATTLE OF
THE GREAT MEADOWS — THE CONGRESS OF 1754 — COUNCIL WITH THE
FIVE NATIONS.

1754.

HE boundaries between Canada and the provinces were not arranged by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The possession of Crown Point having been passed without dispute, by the English commissioners, for the settlement of the terms of peace, this was construed by the French into an acquiescence in their claim of title to the valley of Lake Champlain.

The jurisdiction also of the entire territory west of the Alleghanies was left undetermined, and the question here occurs of historical interest as to the right which either nation had to the country in dispute. England vested her claim on her Indian treaties with the Six Nations, who pretended that at some remote period they had conquered all the region west of the mountains, as far as the Mississippi river, and on the strength of this assumption, they made treaties

with the English, ceding to them the lands within this space, and confirming their title, according to such forms as were prepared for them. Unfortunately for the validity of their title, these lands were possessed by other Indian tribes dwelling there, and whose ancestors, from time immemorial, had also occupied them. These declared themselves the only rightful owners, and denied that the Six Nations had any authority or foundation of a claim over them.

The French insisted as well upon the right of occupancy as that of discovery. Settlements had been made, they said, south of Lake Michigan and on the Illinois river, years before any Englishman had set his foot westward of the great mountains; and the respective treaties between the countries had repeatedly recognized the title of France to all her actual possessions in America. So far the position was tenable; but the French went a step further. They maintained it to be an axiom in the law of nations that the discovery of a river gave the explorer a right to all the country watered by the streams flowing into it. Hence, the passing of La Salle through the great lakes and down the Mississippi in a canoe, gave to France a title to the immense country bounded by the

Alleghanies on one side, and the Rocky Mountains on the other. Such a hypothesis may be gravely advanced or ingeniously defended, but its fallacy is too obvious to be pointed out. The truth is, neither of the contending parties had any just claims to these lands. They were both intruders, and it was not strange that the native occupants should look with astonishment at the singular spectacle of two nations in distant parts of the world, unknown to them except as traders for skins, entering into a quarrel about the right of seizing upon their property.*

The claims of the Aborigines did not affect the movements of either party; each hurried to possess itself, in advance, of as much territory as possible. The French proceeded to build forts and establish settlements at Oswegatchie,† Toronto, La Boeuf on French creek in Pennsylvania, and Duquesne.‡ At the latter place they drove out the English traders who had already settled there, and proceeded to finish the fort which had been commenced by the Ohio company.

* Sparks.

† Ogdensburgh.

‡ Now Pittsburgh.

Gov. Dinwiddie, through Mr. George Washington, complained of these encroachments, but to no purpose. Washington set out from Williamsburgh, the capital of Virginia, on the last day of October, 1753. The distance was about five hundred and sixty miles, in great part over rugged mountains, and over half the way through the heart of a wilderness, where there were no traces of civilization. He was accompanied by eight persons, among whom was Tenacharison, a sachem of the Delawares, known as the Half King. The party was forty-one days upon their journey. The commandant of the fort was M. de St. Pierre, a Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, and a polite and courteous officer.*

The Governor's letter asserted that the lands on the Ohio belonged to the British Crown; expressed surprise at the French encroachments; demanded by whose authority an armed force had crossed the lakes, and urged a speedy departure.

St. Pierre replied, in the style of a soldier, that it did not belong to him to discuss treaties, referred him to the Marquis Duquesne, Governor of Canada, by whose orders he was acting,

* St. Pierre served under Deskau, and was killed at the battle of Lake George.

and that the summons to retire could not be complied with.*

After a stay of two days, Washington started on his return, provided by St. Pierre with a canoe, which was plentifully stocked with provisions, liquors, and every other supply the fort could afford. With this they proceeded to Venango, one hundred and thirty miles, and performed the rest of the journey home by land.

On the 27th of May, 1754, at the Great Meadows, in the valley of the Kanawha, Col. Washington, aided by the Mingo chiefs, made

* The following is an extract of the speech made by Tancharison to the French commander: "Fathers, both you and the English are white. We live in a country between. Therefore the land belongs to neither the one nor the other, but the Great Being above allowed it to be a place of residence for us. So, fathers, I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our brothers the English, for I mean to keep you both at arm's length. I lay this down as a trial for both, and whichever has the greater regard for it, to that side we will stand and make equal sharers with us." These are the sentiments of a patriot and a hero. But this high-minded savage was not aware that, so far as his race was concerned, there was no difference between his professed friends and open enemies. He had never studied in the school of politics, which finds in the laws of nations an excuse for rapacity and injustice, nor learned that it was the prerogative of civilization to prey upon the ignorant and the defenseless.
Sparks.

an attack upon a French force under the command of De Joumonville. Perceiving the French approach, "Fire," said Washington, and with his own musket gave the example. That word of command kindled the world into a flame. It was the signal for the first great war of revolution. There in the western forest began the battle which was to banish from the soil and neighborhood of our republic the institutions of the middle age, and to inflict on them fatal wounds throughout the continent of Europe. In repelling France from the basin of the Ohio, Washington broke the repose of mankind, and waked a struggle which could admit only of a truce till the ancient bulwarks of Catholic legitimacy were thrown down.*

On the 19th of June, there assembled, at the court-house in Albany, the memorable congress of commissioners from every colony north of the Potomac. The most illustrious names of that day are found among its annals. DeLancy, the Lieutenant-Governor of New York; Hutchinson, the historian, of Massachusetts; the patriot Hopkins, of Rhode Island; Tasker, of Maryland; the liberal Smith of New York; William Johnson lately appointed one of the government

* Bancroft.

councilors, and Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania, who had already "projected" a plan of a Constitution for a perpetual confederacy of the continent, and had brought the heads of it with him. They met to concert measures of defense against the incursions of the French on the north, and to treat with the Six Nations and the tribes in their alliance.

For nearly a quarter of a century *Crown Point*, built far within the English territories, on ground ceded by the Six Nations to the Crown, was a standing nuisance to the colonies, repressing all settlements in that direction, and threatening devastation and ruin to every inhabitant north of Albany.

The reasons for the appointment of the convention at the above city, are set forth in a communication from Gov. DeLancy to the Board of Trade, of the 24th of December, 1753. "Here was the usual place of holding general conferences with the Indians. Here they had had a fire burning since the earliest settlement of this country. It was situated in the highest part of the Hudson river, navigable for vessels of any considerable burden, and through which all intercourse between Schenectady, a town sixteen miles westward, and the western settlements, is carried on with New York. Again,

the Indians, by coming down to Albany upon their public business, contract habitudes and acquire friendships with some of the inhabitants, and a kind of rights of hospitality; and, if treated with any sort of civility, will always be ready and willing to protect and defend the place."

During the discussion of the federative compact, the representatives of the red men assembled to the number of one hundred and fifty. The Six Nations comprised the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Senecas, Tuscaroras and Cayugas. They occupied the lands lying between the Rock Regiochne and the Potomac river, and claimed those extending westward for an indefinite distance, but so as to include the Ohio valley. Persons wishing lands usually purchased them from the Indians, and then took out a patent for them from the Crown. The main bodies of the tribes resided along the valley of the Mohawk, and extended west to Lake Erie. By their friendships and good will the western side of the settlements of Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland and Virginia, were protected from the incursions of the French or hostile Indians. While, therefore, at all times, it was necessary to propitiate their good will, it was particularly desirable to now cultivate with them

a good understanding, by reason of the contemplated and simultaneous attacks to be made upon the French forts at Duquesne, Niagara and Crown Point. Nothing can exceed the decorum with which the Indian public councils were conducted. Their assemblies were composed of men, women and children. The business was arranged by two or three sachems, selected for their abilities. They usually formed in a semicircle, the old men and the sachems in the front rank, the warriors in the next rank, and the women and children last. It was the business of the women to take exact notice of what passed, imprint it in their memories—for they had no writing—and communicate it to their children. They were the records of the council, and they preserved the traditions of the stipulations in their treaties for a hundred years back, which were always found to be exact. “All being seated and in order, he that would speak rises, the rest observing a profound silence. When he has expressed a point, one or more strings of wampum are given in order to enforce the memory. When he expresses another point, another string, or perhaps a belt is given, depending upon its importance, and so on until the discourse is finished. A day or more is then taken for the consideration of the address, when

the answer is prepared and delivered in the same manner.”* The first audience seems to have been granted to a deputation of the Stockbridge or River Indians, who had not been invited, and with whom it was at first uncertain whether an audience should be granted or not. Their complaints related to the sad effects arising from the sale of rum in their respective countries, and the systematic overreaching of the whites in relation to the sales of their lands. The Governor, in reply, promised to see the laws in relation to the traffic in liquor enforced, and to examine into the alleged frauds in regard to the sales of their lands. The next audience was given to a deputation of the lower castle of the Mohawks, who stated, through Canadagara, their speaker, that they came by God’s will and His Honor’s order; that this was their old meeting place, where they expected a redress of their grievances, that so they might part good friends.

They then went on to specify that a large tract of land called the Kayaderosseras, had been taken up, commencing at the Halfmoon, and so up along the Hudson river to the Third Fall, thence to the Cacknowaga or Canada

* Franklin.

creek, which, upon inquiry among their old men, they could not find was ever sold.* The Governor replied it was agreeable to justice to hear both parties before a judgment was given, and he would send for the patentees or persons claiming the land, and hear what they had to say, when justice should be done. On the 22d of July the Governor wrote to the Board of Trade that he had sent for some of the owners of the Kayaderosseras patent, who produced an Indian deed and a patent granted in November, 1708, but the bounds seemed to be larger than the Indian deed.

All this was preliminary to the great council of the sachems of the Six Nations, who were received the next day. After some preliminaries, the Lieut.-Governor stated that the French, while professing to be in perfect friendship, were making continual encroachments in the most insulting manner, both to the north and west. "Your fathers," he said, "by their valor, above one hundred years ago, made a conquest of the country, which they afterward, of their own accord, put under the protection of the

* On Montrose's map, date 1775, the creek is spelled "Canidadrosseras" and "Coniaderosseras," also spelled "Cayaderossera." Vol. xxxii, Land Papers.

King of Great Britain. The French are endeavoring to possess themselves of this whole country, although they have made the most express treaties with the English to the contrary. Brethren, it appears to us that these measures of the French must necessarily soon interrupt and destroy all trade and intercourse with the English and the several Indian nations on the continent. We want to know whether these things appear to you in the same light as they do to us, or whether the French building forts and taking possession of your country be done with your consent and approbation. Brethren, open your hearts to us; deal with us as brethren; we are ready to consult with you how to scatter these clouds that hang over us. This is a matter of so great weight that we think it best to defer mentioning any other affairs till you have considered this, lest they should take away part of that attention which is necessary on so extraordinary an occasion." [Gives a belt.]

But it seems that the Six Nations had some other grievances to be settled before they would enter upon the main business which the Governor and commissioners had so much at heart. "Last summer," says Hendrick, their speaker, "we of Canajoharie [the upper castle of the

Mohawks] went down to New York to make our complaints, and we then thought the covenant claim was broken, because we were neglected; and when you neglect business, the French take advantage of it, for they are never quiet. It seemed to us that the Governor had turned his back upon the Five Nations, as if they were no more; whereas the French are doing all in their power to draw us over to them. We blamed the Governor last summer for this neglect, while the French were drawing the Five Nations away to Oswagatchie, which might have been prevented if proper use had been made of that warning, but now we are afraid it is too late. In former times Col. Schuyler used frequently to come among us, and by this means we were kept together. Brother, we, the Mohawks, are in difficult circumstances, and are blamed for things we don't deserve. There are some of our people who have large ears, and talk a little broken English and Dutch, so that they sometimes hear what is said by the Christian settlers near them, and by this means we came to understand that we are looked upon to be a proud nation, and therefore stayed behind."

The Governor made a fitting reply, cautioning them not to hearken to common reports,

“but to open their hearts to each other, and so remove any jealousies that may exist among us.”

On Tuesday, July 2d, in the presence of the several Governors and councilors, the answer of the Six Nations was made to the general speech of the Governor. All being seated, Abraham, a sachem of the upper castle, arose and said: “Brethren, you, the Governor of New York and the other Governors, are you ready to hear us?” The Governor replied they were ready. Then Hendrick rose up and spoke as follows: “Brother Corlear and brothers: Saturday last you told us that you came here by orders of the great King, our common father, and in his name to renew the ancient chain and friendship between this and the other governments on the continent and the six united nations. We rejoice that by the King’s orders we are all met here this day, and are glad to see each other face to face. Brethren, we thank you in the most hearty manner for your condolence to us. We also condole all your friends and relatives who have died since our last meeting here.” [Gave them strings of wampum.] “Brethren, we return you [holding up the chain belt given by His Honor] all our grateful acknowledgments for renewing and brightening the covenant chain. We will take it to Onondaga, where

our council fire always burns, and keep it so securely that neither thunder nor lightning shall break it. There we will consult over it, and as we have lately added two links to it [referring to two more nations who had joined their league], so we will use our endeavors to add as many more links to it as lies in our power. We now solemnly renew and brighten the covenant chain with our brethren here present, and with all our other absent brethren on the continent. Brethren, as to the account you have heard of our being dispersed from each other, 'tis very true. You have asked us the reason. The reason is, your neglecting us for these three years past." [Then taking a stick and throwing it behind him.] "You have thus thrown us behind your back and disregarded us; whereas the French are a subtle and vigilant people, ever using their endeavors to induce and bring our people over to them." [Gave a belt.] "As to the encroachments of the French, we have made a strict inquiry among all our people, and we cannot find that either any sale has been made or leave been given; but the French have gone thither and built their forts and occupied the land without our consent or approbation. Brethren, the Governor of Virginia and the Governor of Canada are both

quarreling about lands which belong to us, and such a quarrel as this may end in our destruction. Brethren, it is true, as you told us, that the cloud hangs heavy over us, and 'tis not very pleasant to look up; but we give you this belt to clear away all clouds, that we may live in bright sunshine and keep together in strict union and friendship." [Gave a belt.]

"Brethren, this is the ancient place of treaty, where the fire of friendship always used to burn, and 'tis now three years since we have been called to any public treaty here. 'Tis true there are commissioners here, but they have never invited us to smoke with them, but the Indians of Canada come frequently and smoke here, which is for the sake of their beaver; but we hate them [meaning the French Indians]; we have not as yet confirmed the peace with them. 'Tis your fault, brethren, that we are not strengthened by conquest, for we would have gone and taken Crown Point, but you hindered us. We had concluded to go and take it, but we were told it was too late, and that the ice would not bear us. Instead of this, you burned your own fort at Saraghtoga, and ran away from it, which was a shame and a scandal to you. Look about your country and see. You have no fortifications about you; no, not even in this

city. 'Tis but one step from Canada hither, and the French may easily come and turn you out of your doors. Brethren, you were desirous that we should open our minds and our hearts to you. Look at the French. They are men; they are fortifying everywhere; but, we are ashamed to say it, you are like women, bare and open, without any fortifications."

Here Hendrick ended his speech, when the sachem Abraham arose and stated that when Col. Johnson had laid down the management of Indian affairs it had caused them a great uneasiness. They desired that he be re-instated, for they all lived happy under his management. "We love him and he us; and he has always been our good and trusty friend. Brethren, I forgot something. We think our request about Col. Johnson, which Gov. Clinton promised to carry to the King, our father, is drowned in the sea."

To this the Governor the next day replied to the effect that it gave the commissioners great pleasure to see them so ready to renew and brighten the ancient chain of friendship. They were sorry any neglect had been shown them, and hoped nothing of the kind would happen hereafter. They were glad they gave no countenance to the French, and were surprised to hear that the Governor of Virginia and Canada

were fighting about lands belonging to them. Here Mr. Wiesar, agent for Virginia and Pennsylvania, made satisfactory explanations to the effect that the road they had complained of had been traveled by the traders to Ohio for thirty years, when the Governor said :

“Brethren, you told us we were open and defenseless. We are consulting how far it will be necessary to fortify our frontier, at the same time we expect you to take care to keep your people from going over to the French.”

The rejoinder of the Six Nations was spoken by Hendrick, on the fifth of July. After expressing his pleasure at the mutual and satisfactory arrangements of their respective differences, he said :

“Brethren, we put you in mind from our former speech, of the defenseless state of your frontiers, particularly of this city, of Schenectady, and of the country of the Five Nations. You told us yesterday you were consulting about securing both. We beg you will resolve upon something speedily. You are not safe from danger one day. The French have their hatchet in their hands both at Ohio and in two places in New England. We don't know but this very night they may attack us. Since Col. Johnson has been in this city there has been a

French Indian at his house, who took measure of the wall around it, and made very narrow observations on every thing thereabouts. We think Col. Johnson in very great danger, because the French will take more than ordinary pains to kill him or to take him prisoner, both on account of his great interest among us and because he is one of our sachems." [Upon this they gave four strings of wampum.]

"Brethren, there is an affair about which our hearts tremble and our minds are deeply concerned. We refer to the selling of rum in our castles. It destroys many, both of our old and young people. We are in great fears about this rum. It may cause murder on both sides. We, the Mohawks of both castles, request that the people who are settled round about us may not be suffered to sell our people rum. It keeps them all poor, and makes them idle and wicked. If they have any money or goods they lay all out in rum. It destroys virtue and the progress of religion among us. We now have a friendly request to make to the Governors here present, that they will help us build a church at Canajoharie, and that we may have a bell in it, which, together with the putting a stop to the sale of rum, will tend to make us religious and to lead to better lives than we do now."

The Governor promised satisfaction, and then stated, before he covered up the fire, that he had ordered thirty wagons to carry up the presents to Schenectady, also some provisions for the journey, with which the conference, so far as regarded the Indians, broke up.

After some weeks of deliberation the "Plan of Union" was completed. It was not satisfactory, however, either to the Crown or to the people. It was reserved for another day and place — twenty-two years after, at Independence Hall, in Philadelphia, on the fourth day of July, 1776 — to complete those "Articles of Confederation," which formed THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

CHAPTER V.

COL. WM. JOHNSON APPOINTED TO THE COMMAND OF THE TROOPS — THE GREAT COUNCIL WITH THE INDIANS — KAGHSWUGHTIONA, ALIAS RED HEAD — CONOCHQUIESIE — LYDIUS.

1755.



ON the 16th of April, 1755, a commission was issued to Col. Wm. Johnson, appointing him a major-general. It recited that the governments of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New York, had raised, respectively, a body of men, amounting in all to about four thousand, to be employed "in an attempt to erect a strong fortress upon an eminence near the French fort at Crown Point, and for removing the encroachments of the French upon His Majesty's lands in that quarter."

The quota to be raised by the respective colonies was as follows: New Hampshire, six hundred; Connecticut, one thousand; Rhode Island, four hundred; New York, eight hundred; Massachusetts, twelve hundred. The expenses for the expedition were £20,000, which appear to have been furnished by the British

government on the credit of Gov. Braddock, to be assessed on the colonies in about the above proportion.

The appointment of Johnson to the command of the expedition was in consequence of a council of Governors held at Alexandria, in Virginia, April 14th, of the same year. This meeting was presided over by Gen. Edward Braddock, Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's forces in North America.

This council expressed their approbation of the attack proposed to be made by the General upon Crown Point and Niagara, as being "undoubted encroachments made by the French upon His Majesty's dominions," and gave it as their unanimous opinion that Col. Johnson was the "properest person to have the command of the expedition to Crown Point."

Gen. Johnson proceeded to make adequate preparations for the campaign.

On the 29th of May, he writes to Gov. De Lancy that "the six eighteen-pounders and the four field pieces are too few for the number of troops destined for this service," and requests four more of each kind; also a quartermaster and an engineer for the artillery.

June 18. Mr. George Banyar, colonial secretary, on behalf of the Governor, reports that he

would have the carriages for the ten heavy guns made in New York, while Johnson should have the carriages for the brass field-pieces made at Albany. "Capt. Eyre, being on the spot, will give the proper directions to the workmen. If you have not sponges, saddles, etc., mention what is wanted, and we will endeavor to have them sent with the other things. If there be not enough ball, send down one of the shot that is a pattern. The ten large bateaux for the cannon must be made at Albany. The carriages we saw at Alexandria had apartments in them for powder and shot, which I think very necessary, as the guns may be used on the march. Those made at Albany were done by Garret Lansing, and Mr. Dies desires me to caution you against making them too heavy."

The artillery train appears to have been a source of equally anxious care on the part of the provincial authorities. On the 5th of July the assembly ordered the sum of nine hundred and forty-four pounds to be paid toward the train, in addition to two thousand pounds previously advanced for the same. One thousand pounds was also advanced on the security of part of the provisions allowed by the colony of Pennsylvania. Gov. Shirley also furnished fifty-

one hundred and fifty-two pounds for the same service, which completed the whole estimate for the train of artillery.*

The ammunition for the same not being sufficient, fifty-two barrels of powder additional were taken from the Niagara expedition, and placed at the disposal of the commander. An allowance was proposed to be made to Gen. Johnson of but £25 for his personal expenses, which he claimed was not enough.

“I am far from intending or desiring,” writes Johnson, “a support for a vain or useless ostentation, but the council will, I presume, think it necessary that I sustain the honor conferred upon me with a decent dignity. The troops

* The subsequent history of Johnson's park of artillery possesses some points of public interest. It was turned over to the victorious French troops at the disastrous surrender of Monroe to Montcalm; abandoned to the English at the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point by Lord Amherst; subsequently captured by Cols. Ethan Allen and Arnold, in 1775, “in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress.” Finally, in the dead of winter, in 1776, under Gen. Henry Knox, commander of artillery during the Revolution, through the woods on long trains of sledges drawn by oxen, fifty pieces were transported to Boston. There it did good service in the siege and bombardment of that place, until the city was evacuated by the British troops.

will naturally expect to see it, the officers to feel it. Neither my policy nor my spirit will allow me to disgrace the character I am placed in. The province of New Jersey have agreed to give Col. Peter Schuyler, who commands but five hundred men, three hundred pounds currency for his table. Is not a secretary, are not aids-de-camp necessary about me? Is there to be no establishment for them? They must always be of my table."

In consequence of these representations, an allowance of fifty pounds per month was made to Gen. Johnson for his table, and four hundred and fifty-seven pounds for the service of the Indians.

On his return from Albany, Gen. Johnson sent messages, with belts and wampum, through the several Indian nations, acquainting them with his appointment, and calling for a grand council, to be held at his house (Fort Johnson), for which vast preparations had been made.

The conference was opened with due solemnity and the observance of all the ancient forms, at Mount Johnson, June 21. The nations represented were the Senecas, Cayugas, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, Tiedrigoes, Schnadarihroes, Delawares and Mohawks. In all there were eleven hundred, men, women and children,

being a greater number than were ever assembled before at any public meeting.*

The representative white men present were Hon. William Johnson, the Rev. Mr. Ogilvie, the Indian missionary (afterward transferred to Trinity Church, New York), Peter Wraxall, secretary for Indian affairs; four interpreters; Mr. Ferrall, Capt. Stoddert, Capt. Butler and John Henry Lydius, who was in the interest of Gov. Shirley, and appeared by accident here, as he was on his way to Oswego.

The speeches had previously been written out and translated into Indian by Daniel Claus, a German gentleman of education, who had lived for some time with the upper Mohawks, assisted by the other interpreters, and by them read to two eminent sachems of the Onondaga and Oneida tribes.

At the appointed hour all were seated and the tribes arranged in order in the open air. The address was first made by Johnson in English. This was repeated in a low tone, paragraph by paragraph, by Claus, the interpreter, and was then spoken by the Onondaga sachem,

* The General was distressed where to get food for such numbers, as they "destroyed every green thing upon his estate, and all his meadows."

Kaghswughtiona ("Red Head"), to the whole body of Indians, with their consent and approbation.

"Brethren of the confederate nation here present: With this string of wampum I wipe away all tears from your eyes and clear your throats, that we may cheerfully look one another in the face, and that you may, at this meeting, attend and speak without constraint." [Gave a string of wampum.]

He then stated that he had lately attended a great meeting of the Governors of the States, with Gen. Braddock (a great warrior), where many things were considered and agreed upon, among which were some concerning the welfare and interests of his brethren, the Indians, and regarded more particularly the insults and encroachments of the French. He then proceeded :

"Brethren, the tree which you have so often and so earnestly desired might be again set up, is now raised and fixed in the earth by so powerful a hand that its roots will take a firm and deep footing, and its branches be a comfortable and extensive shade for you and all your allies to take shelter under it. I do, brethren, at the same time, remove the embers which remained at Albany, and rekindle the fire of council and

friendship at this place; and this fire I shall make of such wood as will give the clearest light and greatest warmth, and I hope it will prove comfortable and useful to all such as will come and light their pipes at it, and dazzle and scorch all those who are or may be enemies to it. I expect, brethren, that you will, on your parts, increase the luster and benefits of this fire by keeping it dressed up and tending it with such diligent zeal as may render it not only a blessing to yourselves but to your posterity. Brethren, with this string of wampum I make this council room clean and free from every thing offensive, and I hope that you will take care that no snake may creep in among us, or any thing which may obstruct our harmony.” [Gave a string of wampum.]

He also informed them that he had been appointed superintendent of Indian affairs, and then advised them to cast away all discord, jealousies and misunderstandings. “Consult together,” he said, “with that love and confidence which becomes brethren. Let your *general* interest be the desire of every man among you. Unity among brethren is the best and surest defense against every enemy. Brothers joined together are like a great bundle of sticks which cannot be broke whilst they are bound

together, but when separated from each other a child may break them." [Here a bundle of sticks, bound together, were delivered by Col. Johnson to the sachem, Red Head, who, with a very lively action and in an animated manner, exemplified the metaphor, and gave the bundle of sticks to a sachem on the front bench. Upon this, a universal shout of applause was given by the Indians.] "So will it be with you. If you keep in union you will be strong, but if divided, you will easily be destroyed. To fix in your hearts and to render this advice, which I have given you, effectual, I strengthen it with this belt of wampum." [Gave a belt.]

The General then informed them he had done for this time, but would give them another speech the day after to-morrow, when affairs of the greatest importance would be opened to them.

On the morning of the 23d a council of the sachems was held to consider of the reply, and Hendrick was nominated for their speaker, but he declined the honor in favor of "Red Head," which was at last agreed to. The latter had been much under French influence, but had been won over by Col. Johnson.

In the afternoon, the assembly being convened as before, Hendrick, the Mohawk sachem, first rose up and said :

“Brother Wariaghejaghe [Col. Johnson’s Indian name]: The confederate nations are now ready to make their reply to your speech to them on last Saturday. Are you prepared to hear what we have to say?” Col. Johnson told them that he was. Hendrick then said:

“Brother sachems and you warriors, my children: According to the customs of our forefathers on these occasions, the speaker was chosen from the Mohawks, Senecas or Onondagas, they being the elder brothers of the confederacy. Nor was any preference given to either of the three, as from whichever of them a speaker was chosen, there was no fear but every thing would be regularly conducted. You warriors and young men take notice and remember this custom. Brother Kagswughtiona [Red Head], of Onondaga, is chosen for our speaker at this meeting.”

Kagswughtiona then rose up and said as follows:

“Brother Wariaghejaghe: We, the confederate nations now assembled, do, by this string of wampum, return you our brotherly thanks for the ceremony of wiping our tears, etc. We do the same to you for every cause of grief you may have had, and we also clear your throat and heart that you may speak to us with an uncon-

strained freedom. We condole with our brethren, the English, for all the blood which has been spilled by the French and all other enemies." [Gave a string of wampum.]

He then thanked him for the relation given of the journey to Virginia, and of what passed at the council there, and then said: "We are also rejoiced to see the tree replanted, and that in so strong a manner. We hope it will be nourished by refreshing streams, that it may grow up as high as the heavens, and be proof against every envious wind; that its branches may be large enough and numerous enough to afford sufficient shelter for us and all our brethren to come and consult under it, and that our children's children may bless the hand that planted it. Brother, we have been long in darkness, and we are extremely obliged to the King for now restoring us to that clear and comfortable light, which in old times cheered our fathers, by appointing you to the sole management of our affairs, whom we look upon as our own flesh and blood. You, last year, made up the fire at Onondaga, of such wood as will never burn out. As to the fire at Albany, it was so low and bad that we could not find even a spark to light a pipe at it. But here we have a fire that will never be extinguished. This

fire, as well as that at Onondaga, we will cherish, and all other fires we thus kick away [here the speaker kicked with his foot], as unnatural and hateful to us." [Gave a belt, and the Indians gave a shout.] "Brother, we thank you for renewing our ancient forms. You have records of these things, and we thank you for putting us in mind of them by cleaning this council place, and we assure you we will endeavor to keep it clean and free from every thing hurtful. We also thank you for advising us to be sincerely and affectionately united together, in so expressive a manner as you did by the bundle of sticks. It hath warmed our hearts, and we are sensible that if divided we shall be like this single stick, easily destroyed, and we are determined to support that strict union which rendered our forefathers formidable and happy." [Gave a belt of wampum.]

Col. Johnson here expressed his thanks for their affectionate answer, and having given notice that he desired their attendance the next day, and that two cannon would be fired as a signal, the assembly broke up.

The same formalities were observed the following day, when Col. Johnson spoke as follows:

"Brethren, sachems and warriors of the confederate nations: With this string of wampum

I pick your ears, and desire your serious attention. Behold, brethren, these great books [four folio volumes of the records of Indian affairs, which lay upon the table]. They are records of the many solemn treaties and transactions which have passed between your forefathers and your brethren, the English, also between many of you here present and us, your brethren, now living. They testify that it is now almost a hundred years since your forefathers and ours became known to each other. That upon our first acquaintance we shook hands, and finding we should be useful to one another, entered into a covenant of brotherly love and mutual friendship; and though at first we were only tied by a rope, yet lest this rope should grow rotten and break, we tied ourselves together by an iron chain; lest time and accident might rust and destroy this chain of iron, we afterward made one of silver, the strength and brightness of which would be subject to no decay. The ends of this silver chain are fixed in the immovable mountains, in so firm a manner that the hands of no mortal enemy might be able to move it. By keeping it bright and unbroken we have never spilled in anger one another's blood to this day. From the beginning to this time, we have almost every year strengthened and

brightened this covenant chain in the most public and solemn manner. You know that we became as one body, one blood and one people, the same king our common father; that your enemies were ours, and whom you took into your alliance and allowed to take into their hands this covenant chain as brethren, they have become so to us. Brethren, you also know that from the beginning the French were your declared and most cruel enemies."

The Colonel then proceeded to detail their endeavors to burn the settlements; their supplying their enemies with ammunition; their spoiling the hunting grounds by building stockades; their pretended peace when war was in their hearts; their treachery in obtaining leave to found trading houses, when they immediately built forts; until finally, when six years ago they sent a body of armed men to cut off the brethren at the Ohio, which they would in all probability have succeeded in, had not Johnson prevented it by giving the Indians timely notice of their danger.

"And now, my brethren," he continued, "I ask you, and I desire every man present to ask himself, the question, Who have been—who are the friends and brethren of the five confederate nations and their allies? the English or the

French? Whatever the reports the French may artfully spread among you, to alarm or excite jealousies in you against the English, believe me they are false and raised only to ruin and enslave you and establish their own power. I call that Almighty Spirit above to witness, who made us all and knows our hearts, which created the sun which shines upon us, and in whose hands are the thunder and the lightning, that we, your brethren, have no ill designs whatever against you. If you will continue to be dutiful and faithful children to the King, and enter into no engagements with the French against your brethren the English—if you will do this with sincerity, I am ready with this belt to renew and make more strong and bright than ever the covenant chain of love and friendship, that our friends or enemies shall be yours, and that your friends or enemies shall be ours.” [Here the union belt was given.] “*Stand by your brethren, the English.* They have, indeed, been long asleep, but now they are thoroughly awake. They are slow to spill blood, but when they begin they are like an angry wolf, and the French will fly before them like deer. Now is your time to choose. I am ordered to go myself, with great guns and other implements of war, to drive the French from their encroach-

ments on your hunting grounds in this province. If you will be dutiful to the King, if you will be faithful to your brethren, if you will treat me as your brother, *go with me*. MY WAR KETTLE IS ON THE FIRE; MY CANOE IS READY TO PUT INTO THE WATER; MY GUN IS LOADED; MY SWORD IS BY MY SIDE, AND MY AX IS SHARPENED. By this large belt, therefore, I call you to rise up like honest and brave men, and join your brethren against our common enemy; and by it I confirm the assurances I have given you." [Here he gave a war belt to Abraham, a brother of Hendrick, a sachem of the upper Mohawk castle.]

The next day Johnson gave them the speech sent to them by Gen. Braddock.

On the 29th of June the sachems were prepared with their reply, which was delivered by "Red Head," stating that they accepted his terms, and that a certain number of the braves would go from each castle; but as they left their families unprepared for this event, they were desirous their young men should first go home and settle their affairs properly.

Johnson replied, stating his satisfaction at this determination. In the evening the war kettle was put on, and the war dance was performed. Col. Johnson began it, and the

speakers, sachems and warriors joined in the solemn ceremony.

A number of days more were consumed at this celebrated conference.

On the first of July, the presents being set out in the middle of the yard, Gen. Johnson again addressed the Indians to the effect, that as they had engaged themselves to assist their brethren in the undertakings now on foot against their enemies, the French, he hoped they would fulfill their engagements like honest men; that some of their young men should go down and join Gen. Braddock; that Gov. Shirley was going with an army to Oswego and Niagara, and he desired they should give him their presence and assistance in his undertakings; that he would shortly march with the forces under his command to Crown Point, and he desired they would have some warriors from each nation to attend to his directions.

The reply was again given by Red Head, who seemed to have been the chief orator for this occasion, in which he promised that they would persist in their engagements; that the Half King had already joined Gen. Braddock with several of their people; that where Johnson went they were ready to follow, and there would be people to join and aid Gov. Shirley.

He then took in his hands a large belt of wampum, with a smaller one tied to it, and said:

“Brother: As every thing has gone in a friendly way between us at this meeting, and we are now united together in the most intimate manner, let us not have the devil to join with us, and that is *the rum*. We desire you will stop up the bung, and let none come to be sold to our people. Let us be content with the drink which God gives us from the heavens. Rum is not necessary for our lives, but, on the contrary, is the occasion of our losing them. We have never any difference but through this cursed liquor.

“Brother, we must correct you a little. You desire us to unite and to live together, and to draw all our allies near us; but we shall have no land left, either for ourselves or for them. When your people buy a small piece of land from us, by stealing they make it large. Sometimes it is bought of two men who are not the proper owners of it.” * * *

Conochquiesie, the Oneida sachem, then rose up and said:

“Brother, you promised us that you would keep this fire-place clean from all filth, and that no snake should come into this council room. That man sitting there (pointing to Col. Lydius)

is a devil and has stolen our lands. He takes Indians slyly by the blanket, one at a time, and when they are drunk, puts some money into their bosoms, and persuades them to sign deeds for our lands upon the Susquehanna which we will not ratify, nor suffer the lands to be settled."

In his rejoinder Gen. Johnson said: "That if the coming of Lydius was any offense to the Indians, he was sorry for it. Lydius came to Mount Johnson of his own accord, and without any invitation from him. If Col. Lydius has done as you represent, which I am afraid is in a great measure true, I think he is very faulty—and nobody should attempt to settle lands on such unfair purchases."

The General having further wished them a safe return to their homes, the Conference—the most celebrated in Indian history—broke up, having been in session fourteen days.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EXPEDITION TO LAKE GEORGE—COMPOSITION OF THE REGIMENTS—FORT HARDY—FORT MILLER—COUNCIL OF WAR—FORT LYMAN—ARRIVAL AT LAKE ST. SACRAMENT—NAME CHANGED TO LAKE GEORGE—DEISKAU—BATTLE OF LAKE GEORGE—BLOODY POND—THE CAPTURE OF CROWN POINT POSTPONED.



ALBANY was selected as the place of rendezvous for the troops destined for the Crown Point expedition, who began to assemble about the last of June. It was composed of the following regiments :

First Connecticut—Major-General Phineas Lyman, Lieut.-Col. John Pitkin, Major Robert Denniston.

Second Connecticut—Col. Eleazur Goodrich, Lieut.-Col. Nathan Whiting, Major Eleazur Fitch.

First Massachusetts—Col. Timothy Ruggles, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Gilbert, Major Jonathan White.

Second Massachusetts—Col. Moses Titcomb, Lieut.-Col. Jonathan Bagley, Major Ebin Nichols.

Third Massachusetts—Col. Ephriam Williams, Lieut.-Col. Seth Pomeroy, Major Noah Ashley.

First Rhode Island—Col. Wm. Cockroft, Lieut.-Col. Edward Cole, Major Robert House.

To these were added, on their arrival at Fort Edward, Col. Joshua Blanchard's regiment of New Hampshire.

In addition to the above regiments were the following companies:

Capt. Phil John Schuyler, Albany, 87 men.

Capt. Edmond Mathews, Albany, 97 men.

Capt. Isaac Corser, Westchester, 95 men.

Capt. Peter Vandenburgh, Dutchess, 78 men.

Capt. Wm. McGinness, Schenectady, 89 men.

Capt. Samuel Dimock, Seabrook, Ct., 97 men.

Capt. John Slap, Durham, Ct., 97 men.

Capt. Street Hall, Wallingford, Ct., 97 men.

These companies were organized into the New York regiment, which was placed under the command of Major Fitch, of Connecticut.

About the first of August Gen. Lyman moved up the river with the advance, building store-houses and opening the road. At Saraghtoga he constructed a block-house, to which he gave the name of Fort Hardy, in honor of the New Governor of New York. This fort was located on the north side of Fish creek, on the west side

of the river. It was protected on two sides, by the creek and river, and on the remaining sides by a deep ditch, which was crossed by a draw-bridge. Store-houses were also erected at the second carrying place, to which the name of Fort Miller was given. They were on the west side of the stream, and were built upon the flat at the head of the falls. This flat is protected on three sides, by the river, which curves around it in a horseshoe form, and one-third of the remaining side by a narrow bay. To complete these natural defenses a parapet of timber and earth, with a fence in front of it, was extended across the neck of land from the head of the bay to the river bank.

The road was continued up the west side of the river to the great carrying place and there on the site of Fort Nicholson, and subsequently of the fortified house of Lydius,* a large and

* John Henry Lydius was a man of extensive acquirements and prominence. He was a son of John Lydius, the second Dutch Reformed minister of Albany, who succeeded Godfrey Dellius in his ministrations of the Holland church, and from whom Lydius street (now Madison avenue) was named. He died March 1, 1709.

John Henry, the merchant and Indian trader, was born 1693. From 1725 to 1730 he resided at Montreal, and married Genevieve Masse, a half breed. While here he carried on a trade and clandestine correspondence with Boston.

expensive fort was laid out, which was called Fort Lyman. It was built under the direction of Capt. Eyre, who kept three hundred men constantly at work upon them. until the army marched to Lake St. Sacrament. It was fifteen hundred and sixty feet in circumference and of an irregular quadrangular form. Two of its sides were protected by Fort Edward Creek and the river. Its ramparts were sixteen feet high and twenty-two feet thick, which were guarded

It is not true, as has been stated, that he abjured his religion. On the contrary, he was tried for heresy and tampering with the Indians. It was shown that he received the Indians at his house, painted them, telling them that thus they should go to war. He also represented that the Catholic mysteries which the missionaries were announcing to them, were pure impositions, which they ought not to believe. He had objected to have his child baptized, and secretly had exhorted an Englishman, at the point of death, to persist in his heretical opinions, had assisted at his interment, and performed the ceremonies according to the manner of English ministers. In consequence of this he was tried by a court-martial, and was condemned to pay a fine of three thousand livres and be banished the colony forever.

In 1744, on the 20th of February, Beaubassin visited Lydius at his fortified house, at the great carrying place (Fort Edward), and slept there. Lydius then stated to him that in the spring two Englishmen intended to build a grist and a saw mill at the Little Fall (Whitehall), for the purpose of locating a company of Scotchmen (Capt. Laughlin's emigrants).

by six cannon. Lient.-Colonel Bagley built a bridge across the creek, which was known as Bagley's bridge. The fort contained magazine, barracks, store-house and hospital, in addition to which large store-houses and barracks were reared on the island opposite, in the river. It took several years to complete the fort, which, when finished, was named Fort Edward, in honor of the Duke of York, brother of George the Third.

In November, 1745, Lydius' house was plundered and burned by the Indians, under M. Marin, on their way to the capture of Saraghtoga. His son was taken prisoner. The same winter Lydius went to Boston to represent to Gov. Shirley the necessity of taking Fort St. Frederick.

In 1750 he was a citizen of Albany, and engaged in perfecting the exchange of prisoners between the two nations. He excited the jealousy of Sir Wm. Johnson, who at one time considered him a dangerous man, and charged that he had sent a packet of letters to Canada, with an account of a skirmish which the Indians had had with the Albanians. Still he was recommended by Johnson, on his resignation as superintendent of Indian affairs, in 1757, as the most proper person to be appointed in his place. Lydius stood high in the confidence of Gov. Shirley, who was in the habit of intrusting to him his negotiations with the Indians. He effected the purchase whereby Connecticut became possessed of the valley of the Wyoming. He owned extensive tracts in, and settled the town of Durham, county of Charlotte. He removed to England, 1776, and died near Kensington, 1791, aged ninety-eight years. B.

On the 8th of August Gen. Johnson left Albany with the stores and artillery. He was also accompanied by Hendrick with fifty Mohawk warriors. He reached the great carrying place on the 14th, and was there joined by two hundred more braves. Here information was received that the French were concentrating a force of at least 6,000 men at Fort St. Frederick, that they intended also to fortify at Ticonderoga, and if the army marched by the way of Wood creek, they would attack from South Bay. These reports from the Indians were confirmed by Lieuts. Adams, Butler and Stevens, who each commanded an Indian company.

A scouting party of forty soldiers and three Indians, having been sent out to reconnoiter, Johnson laid before a council of war the above information, and, at the same time, desired their opinion in regard to re-enforcements, also which way toward Crown Point the road should be opened, and the number of men necessary for that work.

The council unanimously decided that there was great urgency for re-enforcements, that the road to Lake St. Sacrament was the most eligible route, and that two thousand men and half the artillery and military stores, were the number that would be safe and sufficient to carry on

that work and build a place of arms and magazines. The whole number of troops fit for duty was 2,932.

The same day, August 24, Gen. Johnson inclosed to Gov. Delancey the minutes of the council of war, and stated that he had sent an express to Col. Blanchard to join him with all possible dispatch; that he had many natural obstacles to expect; that the French would probably outnumber him, but he would take post and fortify himself in some advantageous place this side of Crown Point, probably at Ticonderoga; that they were greatly superior in Indians, and, all circumstances considered, very strong and speedy re-enforcements were necessary to the acquisition of Crown Point.

The country, however, was already alive to the emergency. The New York Assembly had already resolved to raise 400, Connecticut 500, and Massachusetts 2,000, additional troops for this expedition.

Aug. 25. Johnson moved out with the first division of fifteen hundred men, besides the Indians. The troops reached the lake on the evening of the 28th, and immediately went into camp on its border,* their flanks being protected

* West of Fort George.

by a thickly wooded swamp, "where," he writes, "no house was ever before built, nor a rod of land cleared; and the lake which the French call *St. Sacrament*,* I have given the name of LAKE GEORGE,† not only in honor of His Majesty, but to assert his undoubted dominion here."

The plan of the General was, after building the fort, to cause the bateaux, about six hundred in number, to be brought up from Fort Lyman, and proceeding to Ticonderoga, there await re-enforcements, and then proceed to the attack on Crown Point.

Sept. 3d. Gen. Lyman arrived, bringing up with him the rest of the troops and the heavy artillery. He left Col. Blanchard in command of the fort, with the New Hampshire Rangers and five companies of the New York regiment.

* Literally "Lake of the Blessed Sacrament," which name it obtained in 1646, from Father Joques, the Jesuit, who, on his way to the Iroquois country, passed through it on the festival of Corpus Christi.

† The ancient Iroquois name of Lake George is Andia-tirocte—"There the lake shuts itself." *Ils arriverant, la Veille du S. Sacrament au bout* du lac qui est joint au grand lac de Champlain. Les Iroquois le nomment ANDIA-TIROCTE comme que disact la on le lac se feme. La Pere le nomma le lac du S. Sacrament.*

* *Bout*—The extremity as opposed to the other end.

In the month of March, 1755, a commission was issued by Louis XI to the Baron de Dieskau,* appointing him to the command of the French troops in Canada, and giving him six battalions of 3,000 regulars, in addition to the troops already there. M. de Vaudreuil, a Canadian by birth, and lately Governor of Louisiana, was appointed Governor of Canada, to succeed Duquesne, and accompanied Dieskau.

May 3d. They embarked at Brest in a fleet of fourteen ships and two frigates, and reached Quebec on the 26th of June, with the loss of two vessels, which were captured by the English cruisers off Newfoundland.

On the 16th of August Dieskau moved up to Fort St. Frederick. His army for this purpose consisted of the regiments of La Reine and Languedock, amounting to 720 regulars, 1,500 Canadians and 760 Indians, in all 3,000 men.

Sept. 3d. The Baron moved down to Carillon (Ticonderoga), for the purpose of building a fort and occupying that important pass. On information received here from a prisoner, it was resolved "to turn the defensive into the offensive," and attack and overwhelm the camp at Fort Lyman.

* A lieutenant-colonel of cavalry under the celebrated Marshal Saxe.

In consequence of this, there were ordered out a detachment of 216 regulars, 600 Canadians and all the Indians, making a force of 1,500 men. By advice of the Indians, they resolved to go up Lake Champlain rather than by Lake St. Sacrament. The first night they encamped at the Two Rocks, and September 5th moved to the head of South Bay.

6th. They left the bateaux under a guard of one hundred and twenty men, and marched three leagues toward Fort Lyman, the detachment carrying eight days' provisions on their backs.

7th. Marched six leagues through the woods, and encamped within a league of the fort, intending to attack and carry the place the next morning, by a "*coup de main*." Thereupon the commander called together the Indian chiefs, to explain to them his plan, and to assign to them their positions. After a delay of an hour or two, the chiefs returned to the Marshal, and stated that the Iroquois of the *Sault*, to the number of 300, had refused to join in the attack, and as they were the oldest, the rest of the Indians would be obliged to follow their example. They had resolved "*not to act against the English on their own territory, but if the General would lead them against the*

English camp at St. Sacrament, which was undoubtedly on French soil," they would follow him there.*

In consequence of this determination, the General changed his plans, and the next morning at day-break moved toward Lake St. Sacrament, on the road which Johnson had built. The troops marched in three columns, the Canadians on the right, Indians on the left, and the regulars in the center. After a march of some hours a prisoner was brought in, who stated that Gen. Johnson had been informed of the march against Fort Lyman, and had detached 1,000 men from his camp to re-enforce that place. Upon this information, Dieskau ordered the Indians and Canadians to move about three hundred paces in front, there to lie flat on the ground, so as not to be discovered, and not to make the slightest noise or discharge a gun until the French column had first fired, then to rise suddenly so as to take the English on both flanks. The center column having come to a

* Rev. Courtlandt Van Rensselaer, in his historical discourse on the battle of Lake George, states that the reason why the Indians refused to go on with the attack, was on account of their dread of cannon. But the above is from the official return.

halt, the plan of attack took the form of a *cul de sac*; and, had the orders been obeyed, there

Indians.

Canadians.

French.

is not a doubt but the whole of the English detachment would have been captured. Unfortunately, some of the Iroquois, more curious than the others, rose up, and, perceiving that the English were accompanied by a party of Mohawks, notified the rest, whereupon the Iroquois fired their guns in the air, as a warning that there was an ambuscade.

Turning to the movements of the provincials, we find that Sunday evening, September 7th, the English scouts discovered the roads which the French had made about South Bay, and gave information of their movements. One Adams, a wagoner, volunteered to ride express with Johnson's orders to Col. Blanchard, directing him to withdraw all his troops into the walls. The wagoner was captured by the French Indians, and his dispatches carried to their commander.

On the morning of the 8th a council of war was called, in consequence of which one thousand men* were detached, under the command of Col. Williams and Lieut.-Col. Whiting, with two hundred Indians, led by Hendrick and Capts. Farrell, Stoddard and McKinnis. They marched between eight and nine o'clock.

Meanwhile Johnson ordered a rude breast-work to be constructed of felled trees and the wagons and bateaux. He also hauled the cannon around from the lake, and placed them in position pointed toward the river road.† The command of Col. Williams marched in two divisions, the first led by himself, the second under Lieut.-Col. Whiting. They proceeded to Rocky Brook, about two miles, where Williams halted until the other division came up, when the

* It was at this council, first proposed to send five hundred men. Hendrick, when he was asked his opinion in regard to the number to be sent out, is said to have presented an arrow to Gen. Johnson, which he desired him to break, which was of course easily done. Then he offered a bundle of arrows, with a similar request, which the general was unable to do. "If," says Hendrick "you propose to have them slaughtered they are too many, if to succeed, they are too few.

† This and the action which followed was on the site of Fort George, and between that and the site of Fort Wm. Henry.

entire column moved on, preceded by the Indians, led by Hendrick, who was riding on one of Gen. Johnson's horses. Unsuspecting of the proximity of the enemy, they press forward and enter the fatal defile, the Canadians and Indians being concealed on either side by thickets, trees and rocks. Suddenly they were stopped by the discharge of musketry and the terrific war-whoop. The fire was immediately returned, and Williams ordered his men to spread out upon the hill on their right. Here, however, they were met by the French Indians, who all, except the Iroquois, poured a volley into them. Col. Williams was, early in the action, shot through the head.* Hendrick had his horse shot under him. Being unwieldy, he was not able to disengage himself, and was stabbed with a bayonet.

* Col. Ephraim Williams was a prominent actor in the scenes we commemorate. In the former war of 1744, he commanded the line of forts on the western side of the Connecticut river, and resided principally at Fort Massachusetts, which was about three miles east of what is now Williamstown. In passing through Albany, on his way to the seat of war, he made his will on the 22d of July. After giving certain legacies to his relatives, he bequeathed the remainder of his property to the founding of a free school on the western frontiers of Massachusetts, at a place which received the name of Williamstown in honor of the donor. In 1790 the

MENT

& Indians,
& Provincials,
s.





Dieskau having ordered a general attack, the English were doubled up like a pack of cards, and hastily retreated. As the firing approached nearer the camp, Johnson beat to arms, and detached Lieut.-Col. Cole, with 300 men, to cover the retreat. About ten o'clock the troops came in in bodies. The breastwork was manned by the whole army, and a field-piece advantageously posted on the left flank on the rocky eminence. The following is Gen. Johnson's own description of the battle:

“About half after eleven the enemy appeared in sight, and marched along the road in very regular order, directly upon our center. They made a small halt about 150 yards from our breastwork, when the regular troops (whom we judged to be such by their bright and fixed bayonets) made the grand and center attack.

sum had accumulated to nearly \$20,000, \$6,000 of which was used, with a similar amount from other sources, in erecting a large building for the academy. In 1793 the academy was chartered by the State as a college, and was called Williams' College. It was a great thought in the mind of Williams to establish an institution of learning. His fame rests upon a more enduring rock than the reconnoitering stone of a military officer, and his monument is seen, not merely by glances in a mountain ravine, but on the highway of nations, and in the heathen as well as the civilized world. *Van Rensselaer.*

The Canadians and Indians squatted and dispersed upon our flanks. The enemy's fire we received first from the regulars, in platoons, but it did no great execution, being at too great a distance, and our men defended by the breastwork. Our artillery then began to play upon them, and was served under the direction of Capt. Eyre during the whole engagement, in a manner very creditable to him and those concerned in its management. The engagement now became general. The regulars kept their ground and order for some time with great resolution, but the warm and constant fire from our artillery and troops put them into disorder. Their fire became more scattered and unequal, and on our left became very faint. They moved then to the right of our encampment, and attacked Col. Ruggles', Col. Williams' and Col. Titcomb's regiments, where they maintained a warm fire for near an hour. The three regiments on the right supported the attack very resolutely, and kept up a strong and constant fire upon the enemy. About four o'clock our men and Indians jumped over the breastwork, pursued the enemy, slaughtered numbers, and took several prisoners, among whom was Gen. Dieskau, who was brought to my tent about six o'clock, just as I was having a wound dressed.

The engagement and pursuit ended about seven o'clock."

The capture of Baron Dieskau is thus described by himself:

"In moving toward the left so as to make signs to the Indians to advance, I approached unconsciously so close to the intrenchment that I received, in a moment, three balls in my legs, and one across my right knee, which precipitated me near a tree, behind which I crawled with the assistance of Chevalier de Montreuil, who had followed me. As this gentleman was the next to me in rank, and was unwilling to leave me, I ordered him, in the King's name, to go and assume the command, and, should he see its necessity, to make the best retreat he could, but to send me some men to remove me. Shortly afterward came two Canadians from him, one of whom was killed outright and fell on my legs, to my great embarrassment; and as the other could not remove me by himself, I told him to bring me some more men; but soon after I heard the retreat beaten, without seeing any thing, being seated on ground somewhat low, with my back leaning against a tree. Having remained in that situation about half an hour, I saw one of the enemy's soldiers within ten or twelve paces of me, taking aim at me, behind a tree. I made signs to him with my hand not to fire, but he did not fail to do so. The shot traversed both my hips. Leaping on me at the same time, he said (in very good French), 'Surrender!' I said to him, 'You rascal, why did you fire at me? You see a man lying on the ground bathed in his blood, and you fire, eh?' He answered, 'How did I know but you had a pistol? I prefer to kill the devil than that the devil kill me.' 'You are a Frenchman, then?' I asked. 'Yes,' he replied, 'tis more than ten years since I left Canada.' Whereupon divers others fell on me, and stripped me. I told them to carry me to

their general, which they did. On learning who I was, he had me laid on his bed, and sent for surgeons to dress my wounds, and, though wounded himself, he refused all attendance until mine were dressed.

“Several Indians entered his tent soon after, who regarded me with a furious look, and spoke to him a long time, and with much vehemence. When they had departed, I observed, ‘Those fellows have been regarding me with a look not indicative of much compassion.’ ‘Any thing else but that,’ he answered, ‘for they wished to oblige me to deliver you into their hands, in order to burn you, in revenge for the death of their comrades and of the three chiefs who have been slain in the battle, and threaten to abandon me if I do not give you up. Feel no uneasiness; you are safe with me.’

“The same Indians returned, some time after, to the tent. The conversation appeared to me animated at first, and became more moderate at the close, when, smiling, they took my hand in token of friendship, and retired. Gen. Johnson afterward told me that he had made my peace with them, and that they had abandoned all their pretensions. I observed, that as he was wounded himself, I was afraid I incommoded him, and requested him to have me removed elsewhere. ‘I dare not,’ he answered, ‘for were I to do so, the Indians would massacre you. They must have time to sleep.’ Toward eleven o’clock at night, I was removed, under an escort of a captain and fifty men, to the tent of a colonel, where I passed the night. The guard had orders not to suffer any Indians to approach me. Nevertheless, one of them came next morning near the tent, and the sentinel, seeing that he was not armed, allowed him to enter, but the moment he was in, he drew a naked sword from under a sort of cloak he wore, and approached to stab me, whereupon the colonel, in whose tent I was, threw himself between us, disarmed the Indian, and put him out.

"I remained nine days in the English camp, and Gen. Johnson, having caused a litter to be made, had me removed to his house at Orange,* and at the end of four weeks to New York, where I fell into the hands of very bad surgeons.

"This is all I can tell you about my unfortunate expedition, which has been unlucky, not for me alone, the English having lost a much greater number of men than I, without gaining an inch of territory."

Shortly after the commencement of the action Gen. Johnson received a painful wound, which obliged him to retire to his tent, when the command devolved on Gen. Lyman, who behaved with distinguished bravery.

The misfortunes of the French were not over. Col. Blanchard, at Fort Lyman, having heard the firing, dispatched a party of two hundred and fifty men of the New Hampshire and New York regiments, under Capt. Maginness of Schenectady, with orders to proceed to the assistance of the General. Having arrived to where the action took place in the morning, they discovered the enemy's baggage lying in the road, and at some distance, on the top of a hill, five or six men keeping a lookout. They got between the baggage and the men, and, advancing up the road, discovered a party of

* Albany.

Canadians and Indians to the number of three hundred, sitting by Rocky Brook and the marshy pond refreshing themselves from their packs. They attacked and defeated them, killed numbers and put the rest to flight.

The number that fell at this engagement was so great that the brook issuing from the water was the next morning observed to be discolored with blood. Hence the name of Bloody Pond was given to the pool.

Thus closed the battle of Lake George, comprising three engagements in one day. The French loss was about four hundred men. It included La Gardeur de St. Pierre, the same who had defeated Washington the previous year on the Ohio. That of the provincials was two hundred and sixty-two, besides officers, and thirty-eight allied Indians. Among the losses, in addition to Col. Williams and the great Hendrick, was Col. Titcomb, Major Ashley, Capts. Keys, Porter, Ingersoll and twelve other officers. The brave Capt. Maginness died two days after, of his wounds, in camp.

The result of this action, being in glorious contrast to the disasters elsewhere, caused great rejoicing among the English. It was the event of the campaign of 1755. "Solitary in the honor of its military triumph, and shining

out bright as Mars from the clouds of night.”* The House of Lords made an elegant address. Parliament voted a gratuity of five thousand pounds to Gen. Johnson, who was also made a baronet. The Governor appointed Thursday, the second day of October, as a day of thanksgiving for the defeat of the enemy.

Two days after, the General received a deputation from the Six Nations, who informed him that pursuant to their custom after an engagement, they now intended to return to their homes, as their loss was very considerable, both in numbers and in the personal consequence of the slain.†

* Rev. C. Van Rensselaer.

† Rev. Mr. Hartwick, missionary to the Mohawks, writing to them under date of Jan. 15, 1756, in regard to the death of the great Hendrick, says: “Let it be to your comfort that he died in a good cause as a faithful ally and a brave captain, and sleepeth on the bed of honor, where his name will be a good savior as long as a free Englishman and a faithful Mohawk remains; and as he hath been your brother, your father and your captain, it is your duty to be a guard to the bed whereon he sleepeth, that no perfidious Frenchman may disturb the rest of his bones and ashes; and if the French and their slaves will not rest satisfied with the little revenge you have taken from them, and desist from their encroachments and cruel ravages, and restore what they have unjustly taken, then stand up for your and your brethren’s rights, and revenge the dear blood so unjustly spilled.”

On the 16th of September Gen. Johnson writes to Gov. Hardy that the expedition "was likely to be distressed for the want of wagons. Most of the wagoners taken into the service have deserted, the horses are quite jaded, and some few killed by the enemy, while several have ran away. Most of the provisions are at Albany, a great part of the ammunition at the lower camp (Fort Lyman), and all the boats, except about 120. We have only sixty wagons, and had not two days' allowance of bread when they arrived. To bring up a sufficiency of provisions will require 500 wagons at least."

Meanwhile the breastwork was strengthened, and carried quite around the camp; the ground cleared, and a picketed fort built, which Col. Williams had in charge till the visit of the enemy put an end to his life. Flat bottom boats were also built for the transport of the artillery and stores.

Johnson has been blamed for "not moving directly upon the enemy's works;" but the reasons why he did not proceed must be obvious to every military (or unmilitary) mind. 1. The French outnumbered him at St. Frederick. 2. They occupied and were fortifying the pass at Carillon. 3. He had neither provisions, ammunition or transportation.

By the time the re-enforcements and supplies had come up, the council of war, considering the advanced period of the year, decided that it was not advisable to proceed further this season.

Sept. 10th. The General ordered up Col. Blanchard, with his regiment, from Fort Lyman,* in which were Capt. Robert Rogers, John Stark and others of revolutionary fame.

After the fort was constructed, which was named William Henry,† the troops, except six hundred who remained in garrison at the two places, were withdrawn to Albany and disbanded.

* Dr. Fitch states, on the authority of Timothy Eddy, that Catharine, daughter of John Henry Lydius (referred to at page 109, *ante*), was born at Fort Edward, about 1744, and was the first child born of civilized parents in Washington county. She married Henry Cuyler, and died about 1818, at Greenbush.

† It was named in honor of the Duke of Cumberland, brother to George III.

References to Samuel Blodgett's map of the
SECOND ENGAGEMENT.

6. Canadians and Indians.
7. French regulars attacking the center.
8. The road.
9. Provincials in action posted in front.
10. The trees felled for the breastworks.
11. Cannon.
12. A cannon posted "advantageously" on the eminence.
13. Place where Dieskau fell.
- 14, 15. Canadians' attack.
16. The man that shot Dieskau.
17. Reserves.
18. Woods and swamp.
19. Morass.
20. Cannon defending the flank.
21. Baggage wagons.
- 22, 23, 24. Stores and ammunition.
25. Mortars.
26. Road to the lake.
- 27, 28, 29. Store-houses.
30. Mohawks.
31. Gen. Johnson's tent.
32. Lyman's regiment.
33. Col. Harris' company.
34. Col. Cockroft.
35. Col. Williams.
36. Col. Ruggles.
37. Col. Titcomb.
38. Col. Guttridge.
39. Officers.

The map, besides being very unique, possesses great historical value. Blodgett appears to have been a sutler for the rangers. His name occurs three years after.

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CHAPTER VII.

WINSLOW'S EXPEDITION—BUILT A FORT AT STILLWATER—JOURNAL OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE SCOUTS—ROGERS—PUTNAM—SYMS—DOOLITTLE—ROGERS' SKIRMISH WITH THE FRENCH PICKET—HENDRICK AND NICHLAS—CAPT. ANGELL—CAPT. CONNER—THODAY—THOMPSON—PUTNAM AND SCHUYLER—FALES—ROGERS' WINTER EXCURSION—HIS NAVAL ENGAGEMENT ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN—DE LA COLUMBIERE—TICONDEROGA, FORT BUILT—ROGERS' AND STARK'S WINTER EXPEDITION TO CROWN POINT—FRENCH WINTER EXPEDITION AGAINST WM. HENRY—CAPTURE OF A TRAIN AT HALFWAY BROOK—PURSUIT BY ROGERS.

1756.



IN the summer of 1756, six thousand troops were collected under Col. Seth Winslow, who commanded the expedition which the previous year had reduced Acadia.* At Stillwater he built a stockade known as Fort Winslow, which served as a depot for supplies.† He advanced with his

* Beausley Glazier was made the adjutant-general of the forces, and Col. Eleazar Fitch the third in command.

† The fort was on the elevated ground at the north end of the village, about where the Presbyterian church now stands, and on the flat below this, a few rods from the river, were the store-houses, two long buildings, which were kept in good repair and continued to be used for the public service through the revolutionary war. *Dickinson.*

army as far as Fort Edward and Lake George, but his orders did not permit him to go further, and the tide of war swept over other portions of the continent.

The two nations having now each a fort upon either extremity of Lake George, and but thirty miles apart, the same became a scene of petty warfare, that has clothed every pass, island, river and bay with some tradition of hair-breadth escape, heroic endurance or startling incident.

1. From the journals of the New Hampshire scouts we learn that as early as September 24, 1755, Capt. Robert Rogers commenced his famous partisan career, by setting forward with two men to reconnoiter Fort St. Frederick, the new works at Carillon, and the army there. He returned on the 25th.

2. September 27, P. M. He set forward again in a birch canoe, with five men, to reconnoiter the encampment at "Tirondarogue;" past sundry Indian fires (their spies) by the side of the lake; put ashore seven miles from the carrying place and went forward on foot; about ten A. M. they came in view of an encampment, on the lake, of about one thousand men; "we crawled through their guards to within about thirty or forty rods of the encampment; there was no fort or artillery there; we retired and went about a mile

and a half further and discovered their grand encampment; crept through their guards to within about sixty rods; found a fort building there and cannon mounted; by the appearance of the tents we judged there might be three thousand troops; the situation commands the passage at the carrying place and also up and down Lake Champlain; on our return waylaid a canoe with one Frenchman and nine Indians; disabled six and chased the remaining four."

3. October 7th. Went out with a party of fifty men, including Capt. Israel Putnam; saw twenty-three of the enemy and made a decoy for them, of one canoe, but they would not follow it; returned on the 11th.

4. Oct. 13th. Capt. Syms went out with fifty men, about three miles on the west side of the lake. Toward evening he posted a sentry, who was shot and scalped, and a hatchet left in his head. The enemy were probably four or five Indians. Capt. Syms ordered all to arms, and proceeded to the place, when, to his astonishment, he had but fifteen men with him. On looking back, they cried, "For God's sake call us together, or we shall be cut off," upon which "I ordered them to spread out in the form of a half moon in order to discover the enemy. I was deserted by all but five or six men except

the lieutenant. On my return to camp we found the men in great distress, tying up their packs, upon which I doubled the guard, and ordered all to stand their ground, upon their peril. I could prevail upon but thirteen men to proceed further, and therefore judged best to return. I now stand ready upon all orders to pursue your commands to a tittle on my part, provided I can have such materials as are fit for the purpose; and whenever I fail, let me be stigmatized.”*

5. Lieut. Jelles Fonda, with a sergeant and twelve men, having orders to go forward on the scout, came upon a party commanded by Lieut. Van Schaick, and on asking the reason why he returned so soon, or why they had not proceeded, stated that one of their men was sick and unfit to proceed. He then came up with the party above, commanded by Capt. Syms. He gave them orders to march forward, which they all, excepting two, refused to do. He then directed his own party to take their blankets and provisions and go forward, which they refused to give up except to their own officers.

Fonda says: “I then called and said, ‘All you that are cowards come and I will take your

* Syms' report to Gen. Johnson.



names down;’ and they came so thick that I could see but ten or twelve left of the whole party, who were mostly New Yorkers. I then asked the commander what he would do, or whether he understood me that he was to go forward. He said he believed he would come back, so we returned to the camp.”

6. October 14. Capt. Rogers and four men embarked in a birch canoe, sailed twenty-five miles, landed on the west side of the lake, then traveled by land, and on the 18th arrived on the mountain on the west side of Fort St. Frederick, lay there that night and the next day, and observed the enemy’s motions. In the evening I went down to the houses that were built upon the lake, and went into a barn filled with wheat, and proceeded with one man to make further discoveries; ambushed within sixty rods of the fort until about ten o’clock; judged the number in the fort to be about five hundred; at length a Frenchman came out without his gun and came within fifteen rods of us when I, with another man, ran up to him to capture him; he refused to surrender, so we killed him, and took off his scalp, within plain sight of the fort, and then ran and made our escape; the same night came in sight of “Tianarago,” and upon a mountain in plain sight of their fort, we saw

large encampments and judged there were two thousand men; got to our canoes about eight o'clock in the morning and found all safe and well.

7. October 24. Capt. Doolittle went out to Carillon and found that the advance or flying camp of the French, comprising about one hundred men, was on the west side of the lake, below the narrows.

8. October 26. Capt. Reed passed over to South Bay, but made no discovery.

ROGERS' SKIRMISH.

9. October 29. Pursuant to orders, went down the lake with the party ordered to me, and on the thirty-first discovered their fires situated on a point of land on the west side of the lake,* upon which we landed, on the same side, about a mile and a half distant from their encampment, and the next morning sent out scouts for further discovery; in the evening Capt. Fletcher, one of the scouts, returned and reported that there were four tents and sundry small fires on the said point; I then took a bateau, with five men, and went down within twenty-five rods of their fires and discovered a small fort with several log camps within it, which I judged to con-

* Probably at Friend's Point, in Hayne.

tain about a quarter of an acre. The next morning Capt. Putnam returned and gave pretty much the same account; for a more critical examination of the enemy's proceedings he went forward until he was so nigh that he was fired upon by a sentry within a rod of him; but, unfortunately, Putnam, upon preparing to fire back, fell into a clay pit and wet his gun; hearing the enemy close upon his heels, he made the best retreat he was able, and luckily escaped safe to our party; soon after there was a discovery made of two Frenchmen upon a hill a small distance off, which overlooked our ambush, who called to us, but in a few minutes they retreated. Two canoes then appeared and went by us, and lay in the middle of the lake, about forty rods distant from each other; so that finding there was a party coming by land, I lay between two fires; on this, I ordered two bateaux into the water, put Lieut. Grant, with six men, in one and I went with six men in the other; we put them to rout, and surprised them so that they made for the shore where Capt. Putnam, with the rest of our party, lay. He was prepared for them and shot and killed the cockswain, and by our wall pieces, we killed divers of them; but upon Putnam's firing into the boats, the enemy that was upon his back fired upon him, and he

had but just time to shove his bateau into the water and get into it before the enemy were upon the water's edge and opened a brisk fire upon him; shot through his blanket in several places, and through the bateau. We pursued their canoes to within about eighty rods of their fires; discovered a number of men within forty rods of us on the shore, on each side, gave them each a broadside which sent them into the bushes, and gave us a clear passage homeward. Had one wounded after an engagement which lasted two hours.

10. Nov. 2. Hendrick and Nicklas, two Mohawks, went upon a scout toward Crown Point and Carillon, but made no fresh discoveries; returned on the 11th.

11. Nov. 3. Capt. Angell put out from the camp, and about seven miles out saw a fire on the east side of the lake, on a neck of lowland. About fourteen miles, on the west shore, saw another fire, which he passed at two or three miles distant. The wind blew fresh, and it rained and was very dark. Landed and went on to a very high mountain; saw no smoke, only at a great distance, toward Carillon, and returned.

12. Nov. 5. James Conner, with five men, went out to discover the position of the enemy's

advanced camp. Lay at the mouth of the Narrows that night. All next day lay still till evening, about seven o'clock, then went on, and about ten o'clock came in between two of their flank fires, and saw them relieving their guard. A breastwork was around their encampment, with pickets, and several log-houses; judged it might contain 150 men. Joined the other men at the bateau; lay still till about twelve o'clock at night, then set off; at three o'clock in the morning struck up a little fire upon a small island about twenty miles from home; half an hour afterward heard a whooping of Indians on the west side of the lake; kept a strict watch till morning, and then returned home.

13. Nov. 8. Michael Thoday* was sent out on a scout to South Bay and the falls of Wood creek (Whitehall). Discovered four Indians and three Frenchmen by the rise of smoke from a little hut on a side-hill; lay in ambush; shortly the sentry discovered four of them coming within a rod or two of him, but having a great cold he was seized with a fit of coughing, although he put his hand to his mouth; upon

* Thoday's name appears as a mustering officer in Abercrombie's expedition, in 1758.

which, thinking he was discovered, he fired upon them; one dropped and screamed out bitterly. The party then returned.

14. Nov. 13. Sergeant Thompson, of the Rhode Island regiment, with four men, went down the lake at seven o'clock in the evening. Landed on an island about eight miles off; struck up a fire and had supper, when Conner joined them, and they set off to a small island* about a mile this side of the Narrows; went ashore and reconnoitered; then went around the island twice in a bateau, by which time it was sunrise, and immediately a large white flag was hoisted on a point of the main-land on the east side of the lake, supposed to be a signal of the enemy.

15. 15th. Capt. Israel Putnam and Stephen Schuyler passed over to South Bay; went down the lake; saw a large body of ducks and geese, but no enemy.

16. 17th. Capt. Fales, with a party, went down the wagon road about three miles, turned to the east and north, and returned to the camp.

17. Jan. 29, 1756. Capt. Robert Rogers set out with a party of fifty men on snow-shoes, to look into Fort St. Frederick. The first day

* Possibly Dome island.

they marched eighteen miles, and so proceeded till February 2d, when they "clambered up a great mountain west of Crown Point, and gave it the name of *Mt. Ogden*. Took a particular view of the fort and redoubts, and in the evening came down; marched through a small village to about half a mile of the fort to the southward; then lay in ambush till nine o'clock in the morning, when a Frenchman came along, whom we captured. Two more came along, but discovering our ambush, made their escape. So, being discovered, we immediately set fire to the barns and houses, where there was an abundance of wheat and other grains. We killed their cattle, horses and hogs, in number about fifty, and about eleven o'clock of the 5th of February, set out homeward."

18. June 20. Pursuant to an order from Major-General Shirley, Capt. Rogers set out with a party of fifty men, in five whale-boats, and proceeded down Lake George about twenty-five miles, then landed* and took their boats six miles over a mountain to South Bay, where they arrived July 3d, and passed down Lake Champlain to within six miles of Ticonderoga. July 4th, in the evening, they set out again, and

* At Bosom Bay.

passed by Ticonderoga, although they went so near as to hear the sentry's watchword. Judged the number of the enemy to be about two thousand; "hailed up at daylight five miles from the fort; lay quiet all day. 6th. Saw near a hundred boats pass, seven of which came near us, and asked to land at the point where we lay, but their officer went further on, and landed about twenty-five rods from us, and dined in our view. About nine o'clock P. M. set out again; passed the fort at Crown Point about ten miles, and hauled up the boats at break of day. 7th. Set out again; proceeded fifteen miles further down, and went ashore upon a point upon the east side (Otter creek), and sent a party further down the lake for discovery. About three o'clock two lighters came up the lake, who we found intended to land where we were. We fired upon the vessels, and offered them quarter if they would come ashore, but instead they put off in their boats to the opposite side, but we intercepted them, and found twelve men, three of which were killed and two wounded. One of the wounded could not march, therefore put an end to him to prevent discovery. As soon as the prisoners were secure, we employed ourselves in sinking and destroying vessels and cargoes, which were chiefly

wheat, flour, rice, wine, and brandy, except some few casks of the wine and brandy, which we hid in very secure places, with our whale-boats, at some distance on the opposite shore. On the morning of the 8th we set forward on our return, and pursued our march till the 12th, when we arrived on the west side of Lake George, about twenty-five miles from the fort. Here we sent Lieut. Rogers for bateaux and provisions to carry us in by water."

Meanwhile the French were not idle, and up to the close of June had brought in seventy-five prisoners and forty-five scalps, two of whom were officers.

19. At the end of July, a Canadian officer on a scout, near Fort Wm. Henry, met two English bateaux with thirty-five men; killed thirty and captured five.

20. Aug. 6. Capt. De la Columbiere, at the head of sixty men, stopped sixteen English horsemen, on the road near Lake George; killed nine; took seven prisoners; and brought horses and plunder to Carillon.

During the year the French, under the direction of their chief engineer, M. de Lotbiniere, completed their fortress at Ticonderoga; although it was claimed that it was improperly located and faulty in construction.

In October Winslow retired from Fort Edward, and the troops, except what were required for garrison duty, were disbanded. De Levi also withdrew his outposts from Lake George, and broke up his encampment at Carillon, not, however, before the snow was a foot deep, and retired to Montreal.

21. January 21, 1757. Major Rogers, with Lieut. Stark, of Blanchard's regiment, set out on a reconnoissance and for the purpose of taking some prisoners at Crown Point or Ticonderoga. At a place since known as Putnam's Creek, on Lake Champlain, they ambushed a merry-making party who were convoying some provisions from St. Frederick to Carillon; seven of the sledges were captured, with twice the number of horses. The news was borne down to M. de Lusignan, the commandant at Carillon, who swiftly sent out an avenging party of two hundred and fifty men to intercept them; they overtook the intruders about three o'clock, who retired to a rising ground; they received the first fire when not twenty feet from the enemy; Rogers was wounded on the wrist and also on the head, and the command devolved on Stark, who kept up a steady fire from two o'clock until sunset. While encouraging his men a bullet struck the lock of his gun and shattered it in pieces.

Springing forward on a reeling Frenchman, he wrenched his piece from his dying grasp and resumed the fight.* Thus they stood, in snow four feet deep, until, in the cold of that January night, the French withdrew with a loss of eleven killed and twenty-six wounded.† The provincials now retired, with a loss of forty-two killed and missing. All night they marched through the woods to the borders of Lake George. Here, leaving the command, Stark, with two companions on snow-shoes, pushed forward to William Henry. Having obtained sleds for the wounded, and refreshments, he without delay set out for his companions, reaching their bivouac the next morning, having traversed to and from, a distance of forty miles. Finally he drew a loaded sled back to the fort. He thus stood out three days and two nights of excessive toil, four hours of which was in the excitement of battle, thereby presenting such a case of heroism and physical endurance as has been rarely equaled.

19. In the month of February an expedition was fitted out at Montreal for an attack on Fort

* Headley.

† This battle is said to have been fought near the residence of M. B. Townsend, in Crown Point.

William Henry. It was composed of five companies of picked men, from the regiments of regulars, three hundred of the Colonial troops, six hundred and fifty militia and three hundred Indians; the whole comprising fifteen hundred men, under the command of Regand De Vaudreuil, brother of the Governor-General of Canada; they marched in four divisions and rendezvoused at Carillon.

March 15. The entire body of troops moved out "on snow-shoes, carrying their provisions on sleds, drawn by dogs, and sleeping in the snow upon a bear skin, under a simple sail to keep off the wind."* On the 17th, at seven o'clock in the evening, they arrived within a league of William Henry.† Captain Poullan-
ing, with two other officers, was dispatched to reconnoiter the fort, from a hill by which it is commanded.‡

* Montcalm to Argenson, Doc. x, 547.

† Probably Rattlesnake Hill. ED.

‡ While going his rounds, on the evening of the sixteenth, Capt. Stark overheard a squad of his men, who were of the Scotch-Irish race, planning a celebration in honor of St. Patrick, for the next night. He afterward said he had then no presentiment of approaching danger, but disliked these wild Irish demonstrations. He therefore called for the ranger sutler, Samuel Blodgett, and gave him directions to

On the 19th Vaudreuil set fire to some of the bateaux.

deliver the rangers their regular rations of grog until the evening of the seventeenth, and after that no more without a written order from himself. On that evening he retired to his quarters, directing his orderly-sergeant to say to all applicants for written orders, that he was confined to his bunk with a lame right hand, and would not be disturbed. The Irish troops (regulars) secured an extra supply of rum on the night of the sixteenth, and commenced their carousal, which they carried on with unabated vigor through the night and during the ensuing day in honor of St. Patrick and his wife Sheelah. They drank so freely that the officer of the day could find none of them fit for duty as sentinels, and the rangers who were sober supplied their places. The rangers, seeing the Irish thus enjoying themselves, desired the same privilege. The sutler informed them of his orders, and the captain's quarters were beset to obtain a written order. The sergeant refused to disturb his officer, as he was confined with a painfully lame right hand, and could not write. The soldiers felt somewhat cross, but bore their disappointment like philosophers. At two o'clock on the morning of the eighteenth, a ranger sentinel on the ramparts, observed a light upon the lake, and soon afterward became aware that a large force was advancing in the direction of the fortress. Notice was at once conveyed to the ranger captain. The lame hand was instantly restored to health, and he was among his soldiers. The commander of the fort was quietly notified, and the rangers silently mustered. The near approach of danger dissipated the fumes of liquor from the brains of the regulars, and the garrison was soon in condition for a rigorous defense.

Caleb Stark.

20th. He invested the fort and detached a party of Indians on the road leading to Fort Edward to cut off the communication. On the nights of the 20th and 21st they burnt all there was outside the ramparts, consisting of three hundred bateaux, four sloops of ten and sixteen guns, two long boats of fifty oars, a saw-mill, a large pile of building timber, three hundred cords of fire-wood, two magazines full of provisions, including four hundred barrels of flour, military stores and effects, and a small stockade with a dozen houses, which served as a hospital.* They retired with a loss of five killed and two wounded. The fort at the time was under the command of Lieut.-Col. Eyre, "engineer in ordinary," who built the same.

July 21. Chevalier La Corne and M. Contrevoir took their departure from Carillon, at the head of a flying camp of 500 Canadians and 200 Indians, and moved up to South Bay to observe the motions of the English troops between Fort Edward and Lake George. At Half-way brook they fell upon a train of wagons, under convoy of a body of troops, who

* The remains of one of the schooners can now be seen on a still day, at the north-east of Fort William Henry, in about twenty feet of water.

were transporting supplies, for Winslow's army, to Fort William Henry. The soldiers made but little resistance, the train was plundered, and the marauders escaped with their booty down toward Ticonderoga. Capts. Rogers and Putnam, with a hundred men and twenty-five small cannon, were immediately dispatched to intercept them. Proceeding down the lake, they hastened overland to the Two Rocks, about eight miles below. Here, while concealed, they espied the bateaux, laden with plunder and unsuspecting of danger, approaching them. On reaching the Narrows the rangers poured into them a well-directed fire, by which many of the boatmen were killed and some of the boats were sunk, but, driven by the south wind, the remainder swept through the passage, and escaped to Carillon with the intelligence of the disaster. The rangers now hastened back to their boats, reaching them at the close of the day. The next morning they embarked, and at Sabbath-day point discovered the French and Indians eagerly approaching them, and anticipating an easy victory. No resistance was offered until the enemy was within pistol shot, when from the cannon and muskets was sent forth such a shower of balls as threw them into confusion. Men were seen dropping overboard

from the enemy's boats, and of twenty Indians in one, only five remained. They soon drew back, and the rangers passed on without further molestation, with a loss of one man killed and two wounded.

22. A considerable detachment of Canadians and Indians, under Capt. De la Pierre, caused the provincials to abandon some of the islands in Lake George where they had established themselves.

23. Lieut. Marin, having been detached with one hundred men to reconnoiter the camp at Fort William Henry, captured and killed a party of fifty-two men and three officers, only one of whom escaped.

CHAPTER VIII.

MONTCALM'S EXPEDITION—COMPOSITION OF HIS ARMY—SCOUTING PARTY OF ST. OURS—MARIN SENT TO FORT EDWARD—NAVAL VICTORY OVER COL. PARKER—THE MARCH AND SAIL TO FORT WM. HENRY—INCIDENT—THE SEIGE—INDIAN BURIAL—THE SURRENDER—THE MASSACRE—THE PRISONERS—SENT HOME—FORT DISMANTLED AND DESTROYED—MONTCALM RETIRES TO CARILLON.



HE commission to the Marquis de Montcalm, appointing him to the command of the troops in Canada, which became vacant by the capture of the Baron Deiskau, was issued March 1, 1756.*

He was accompanied by the Chevalier de Levi, brigadier-general, and Col. Sieur Boulimaque ;

* Louis Joseph Marquis de Montcalm, was born at the Chateau of Candiac, near Nianus, 1712. At the age of fourteen he commenced his military career. He became colonel in 1745. Received three wounds in the battle of Placensia, in Italy, June 16, 1746, and two at Piedmont, 1747, in which year he was appointed brigadier. In 1756 he was appointed major-general, commander of the order of St. Louis in 1757, lieutenant-general in 1758, and was mortally wounded before Quebec, September 13, 1759. His remains were interred, by torch-light, in the church of the Ursuline convent. It is said he was buried in a hole made by a shell—"a fit tomb for a warrior who died on the field of honor."

also by two additional regiments, which arrived at Quebec by three ships of war, and three frigates, on the 12th of May.

August 10th. Montcalm invested Oswego. In his train of artillery were six brass pieces, captured from Gen. Braddock. Col. Mercer, the commander of the fort, was killed on the thirteenth, and the next day the garrison surrendered. Hardly had the fort capitulated, when the French Indians, exasperated by the loss of some of their braves, uttered their terrific war-cry, and with the tomahawk and knife were about to fall upon the unarmed prisoners. The massacre that would have ensued was, however, prevented by the prompt action of Montcalm, who ordered out a file of men and commanded them to fire upon his red allies. Six of the savages fell dead upon the spot, and the remainder, uttering threats of vengeance, sulkily put up their knives, and skulked back to their quarters.* The fortresses were leveled to the ground, and Oswego was left a solitude, unbroken, save by the hooting of the owl or the scream of the panther. Returning triumphant, Montcalm lost no time in arranging for the expedition against Fort William Henry. At Montreal he held a

* Stone's Life of Sir Wm. Johnson, ii, 23.

council of Indian tribes, gathered from Nova Scotia to Lake Superior, mingling in their dances and chanting their war-song. July 12th He proceeded up Lake Champlain to Fort Carillon, accompanied by warriors of the following tribes :

Abenakis,	Algonkins,
Amelecites,	Ayetois,
Folles,	Foxes,
Hurons,	Iroquois of the Soult.
Loups,	Micmaes,
Mirames,	Nepissings,
Ottawas,	Ouillas,
Puans,	Poutouatomes,
Sacs,	Santanes.

In all they numbered 1,806.

As they traversed the lake, their dexterity in fishing furnished an interesting spectacle. Standing up in the bow of the canoe, with spear in hand, they darted it with wonderful address, and struck the large sturgeons [muscalonges—Ed.] without their little skiff (which the least irregular motion would have overturned) appearing to lean in the slightest degree either to the right or the left. Yet, useful as the fishing was, it was not necessary to suspend the march to favor it. The fisherman alone laid aside his paddle, and in return was charged to provide

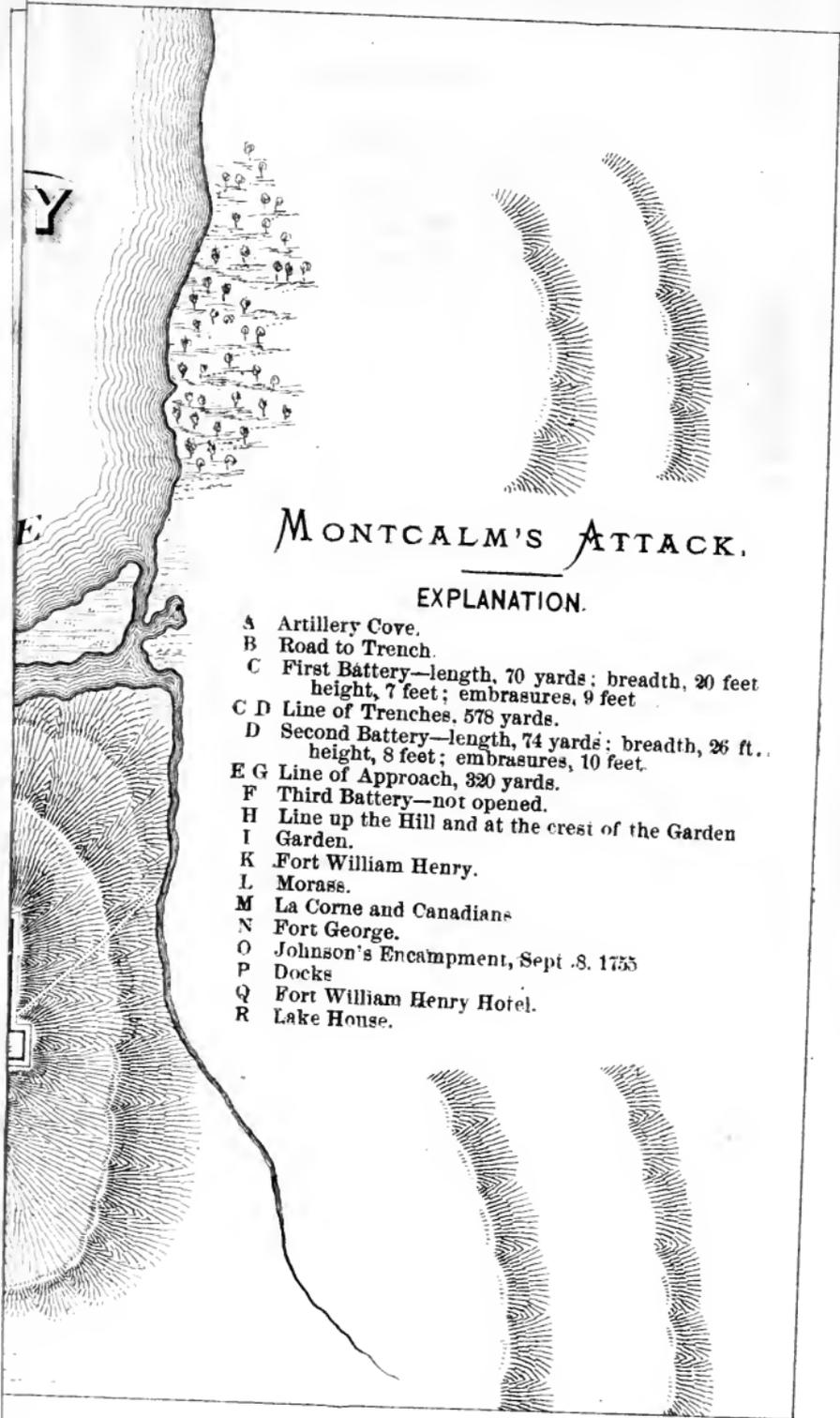
for the subsistence of all the others, an office in whose duties he fully succeeded.*

After being six days on the route, they reached Fort Carillon. But scarcely had they begun to distinguish the summit of the fortifications, when the Indians arranged themselves in order of battle, each tribe under its own ensign. Two hundred canoes, thus formed in beautiful order, furnished a spectacle which caused even the French officers to hasten to the banks, judging it not unworthy of their curiosity.

In addition to the Indians, the Royal army was composed as follows: Regulars, seven regiments, 3,081; militia (Canadians), 2,946; artillery, 188; total, 6,215. Deducting the sick, the non-effective, and the garrisons left behind, the effective force amounted to 5,500 men; adding the Indians, 1,806, made the whole force 7,306.

July 21st. A Canadian officer, M. de St. Ours, who was scouting on Lake George in a canoe, with ten men, in doubling a point of land was ambushed by two English boats near Harbour island, south of Sabbath-day point. He gained the island, where the English eagerly pursued him, but he made so vigorous a defense that he was allowed to embark and

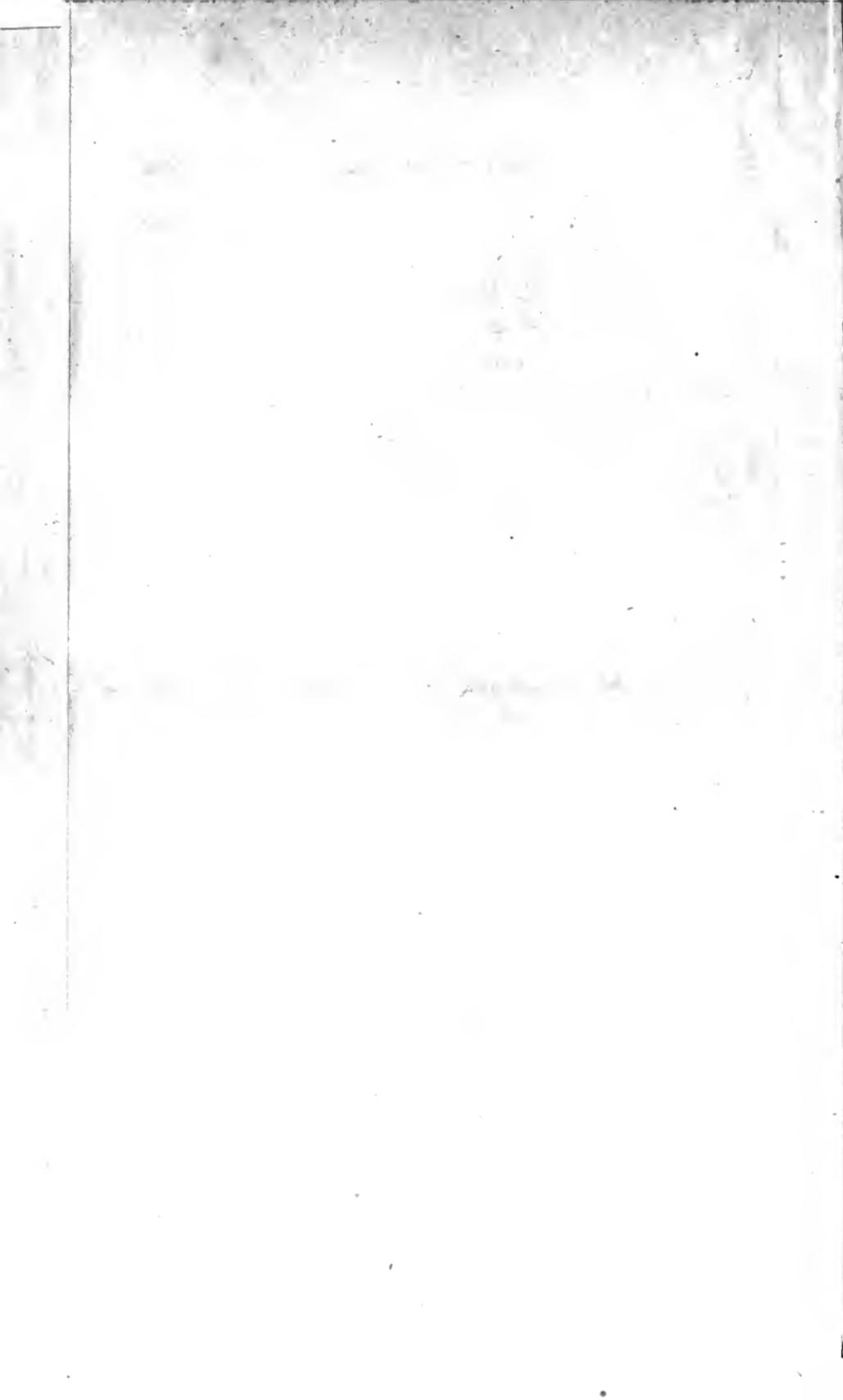
* Jesuit Missions, by Bishop Kip.



MONTCALM'S ATTACK.

EXPLANATION.

- A Artillery Cove.
- B Road to Trench.
- C First Battery—length, 70 yards; breadth, 20 feet
height, 7 feet; embrasures, 9 feet
- C D Line of Trenches, 578 yards.
- D Second Battery—length, 74 yards; breadth, 26 ft.,
height, 8 feet; embrasures, 10 feet.
- E G Line of Approach, 320 yards.
- F Third Battery—not opened.
- H Line up the Hill and at the crest of the Garden
- I Garden.
- K Fort William Henry.
- L Morass.
- M La Corne and Canadians
- N Fort George.
- O Johnson's Encampment, Sept .8. 1755
- P Docks
- Q Fort William Henry Hotel.
- R Lake House.





quietly regain his camp, with a loss of one killed and three men wounded.*

On the 23d, M. Marin, a celebrated partisan, made a bold dash at Fort Edward. He arrived in the morning, and first cut off a patrol of ten men, who were all killed. The party then came up with the guard of fifty men, whom they swept away like a wafer. He then advanced boldly up to the fort; but the English army then formed in line of battle, to the extent of two thousand men, and, marching out of their intrenchments, advanced to the borders of the woods where Marin was in ambush, who retired in good order, losing but a single man. He returned with thirty-two scalps. "He was unwilling to amuse himself making prisoners, and so brought in but one."

The following statement is made by Dr. Fitch, who refers to Dr. Silliman :

John, son of Cybrant Quackenboss of Albany, was impressed, with his team and wagon, to convey a load of provisions to Lake George. He was captured by a formidable party of Indians, who previously had waylaid sixteen others. The prisoners were taken to where the village park in Sandy Hill is now situated, but which was then a secluded spot in the woods. Here they were securely tied and seated upon the trunk of a fallen tree, with two or three Indians left to guard them; Quackenboss being at one end, and a

* Jesuits in America—Father Roubard. *Kip.*

soldier named McGinness being next to him. One of the savages now went to the opposite end of the log, and deliberately sank his tomahawk into the head of the man there seated. The victim fell to the earth, and the next man shared his fate, and so in succession the rest, until it came the turn of McGinness. He, with the suddenness of a panther, threw himself from the log, in an endeavor to break his bonds—but in vain. Instantly, on every side, a dozen tomahawks were uplifted; but the poor fellow, lying upon his back and spinning around like a top, thrust his murderer off with his feet, till, hacked and mangled, his efforts became more feeble, when a blow was aimed at his head, and all was over. The teamster now only remained. Already the fatal hatchet was raised for the last and final stroke, when the arm by which it was wielded was suddenly caught aside by a squaw, who exclaimed: "You shan't kill him. He's no fighter. He's my dog." He was unbound and taken in charge by his Indian mistress, and the party started off for Canada. He was shortly after purchased from the Indians and brought to Montreal. Desiring to communicate with his family, he gave a letter in charge of a trusty Indian, who brought it as near Fort Edward as he dare venture, and here, making a slit in the bark of a tree beside a frequented path, inserted the end of the letter therein. It was speedily discovered and forwarded to its destination.

From his nephew, Jacob Quackenboss, Schaghticoke.

25th. Lieut. Corbierie, with a force of fifty Canadians and three hundred Ottawas, lay in ambush, above Sabbath-day point, all day and all night. At break of day they discovered a body of three hundred English in twenty-two barges, who had left Fort William Henry the night before. They were under the direction

of Col. John Parker and eleven officers. Parker had succeeded Col. Schuyler in command of the New Jersey regiment, Schuyler having been taken prisoner at the Oswego surrender. The engagement was commenced with great resolution on both sides, but the French and Indians, being in their frail canoes, could have no reasonable hope of victory except by boarding; but the English no sooner saw them at hand, than terror caused them even to drop their arms. "It ceased to be a conflict, and became only a flight." In an instant they were seen pulling in the greatest haste for the bank, while some, to reach there sooner, threw themselves into the water for the purpose of swimming; but all in vain.* The speed of the rowers could not in any way approach the swiftness of a bark canoe. The latter sails, or rather flies, over the water with the velocity of the arrow. The English were, therefore, almost immediately overtaken. In the first heat of the conflict all were massacred without mercy. Those who had gained the woods had no better fate. The woods are the natural home of the Indian, and they can run there with the swiftness of the deer. At length

* Doc. x, page 591.

the Ottawas thought of making prisoners. The number amounted to one hundred and fifty-seven, while one hundred and thirty-one had been killed—twelve only escaped. On the French side the losses were nothing, only one Indian being slightly wounded. At night the Indians, having freely partaken of ardent spirits, celebrated their victory with one of those ferocious orgies at which the heart of humanity sickens.*

* My tent had been placed in the middle of the encampment of the Ottawas. The first object which presented itself to my eyes on arriving there, was a large fire, while the wooden spits fixed in the earth gave signs of a feast. Indeed, there was one taking place. But, O, heaven, what a feast! The remains of the body of an Englishman was there, the skin stripped off, and more than one-half the flesh gone. A moment after I perceived these inhuman beings eat with famishing avidity of this human flesh. I saw them taking up this detestable broth in large spoons, and apparently without being able to satisfy themselves with it. They informed me that they had prepared themselves for this feast by drinking from skulls filled with human blood, while their smeared faces and stained lips gave evidence of the truth of the story. What rendered it more sad was, that they had placed very near them some ten Englishmen to be spectators of their infamous repast. I thought by making some mild representation to these inhuman monsters I might gain some hold upon them. But I was only flattering myself. A young man with a resolute air took up the conversation, and said to me, in bad French: "You have French taste; I have Indian; this food is good for me." He accompanied his remarks by the offer which he made me of

The campaign having thus opened auspiciously for the French, no time was lost in embarking the provisions and artillery. The distribution of the army was as follows: Rigaud, the same who had led the expedition of the winter before against William Henry, occupied the head of the carrying place with the battalion of the marine, the militia and the Indians. The regulars were at the Water Fall, in command of Chevalier De Levi, and two battalions were still at Carillon with Bourlemaque. Montcalm was at the head of the carrying place, superintending the transportation. The artillery, the munitions of all descriptions, provisions to victual

a piece of the broiled Englishman. I could make no reply to this argument, which was so worthy of a savage, and it may easily be imagined with what horror I turned from the scene. * * As I approached the English prisoners, one of their number, by whose military decorations I recognized an officer, arrested my attention. My purpose was immediately formed to purchase him, and thus to secure for him both his liberty and his life. With this view I approached an aged Ottawa, believing, that the chill of age having moderated his ferocity, I should find him more favorable to my designs. I extended to him my hand, saluting him politely, in the hope of gaining him to me by kindness of manner. But it was not a man with whom I was dealing. It was something worse than a ferocious beast, who was not to be softened by these caresses. "No" said he, in a thundering and menacing tone, "No, I do not at all wish your

the army for a month, two hundred and fifty bateaux and two hundred canoes, were brought over by men's labor, without either oxen or horses, and in the last days entire brigades, headed by their lieutenant-colonels, relieved each other at this work. As the number of boats was not sufficient for the passage of the entire army, and besides it was necessary that the forest, as well as the landing, should be reconnoitered, the Marquis arranged to move a body of two thousand troops and a portion of the Indians by land, in command of De Levi, and under the guidance of Kanactagon, a celebrated Iroquois hunter. Their orders were to march two days

favours. Begone." I did not think it necessary to wait till he should repeat a compliment of this kind. I obeyed him.
* * * Next morning on awakening I supposed that no vestige of the repast of the previous evening would remain about my tent. I flattered myself that, the fumes of their liquor being dissipated, and the excitement inseparable to action having passed off, their spirits would have become more settled, and their hearts more human. But I was acquainted with neither the genius nor the taste of the Ottawas. It was through choice, through delicacy, through daintiness, that they nourished themselves with human flesh. Since the earliest dawn they had done nothing but recommence their execrable cookery, and now were waiting with anxiety for the desired moment when they should be able to glut their more than canine appetite by devouring the sad relics of the body of their enemy. *Roubard.*

in advance of the remainder of the army, in order to arrive simultaneously at the bay of Ganouskie.*

27th. Montcalm held a general council of the Indians, at which the nations took their places according to their rank, when he presented to them, in the King's name, the great union belt of six thousand beads, to bind all the tribes to each other and to him, so that they might act together, and not quit him until the close of the expedition.

29th. De Levi moved off with his division at night, and encamped about half a league beyond the portage, at a place called the "Burnt Camp," on the western shore of Lake George. This detachment was composed of twelve companies of regulars; two of the marine, La Corne's, Vassaur's, and Repentigny's and Villieur's regiments of Canadians, and six hundred Indians. On the 30th, in the morning, the detachment left the Burnt Camp without tents, kettles or equipage, Villieur's volunteers and some Indians forming the vanguard, the regulars in the center and the Canadians and the rest of the Indians marching as flankers. The same day the brigades of La Reine and La Sarre occupied the Burnt Camp,

* North-west bay.

while the troops under Bourlemaque encamped at the head of the Portage.

On Sunday the 31st, the Indians who were to go by water set out at night, under command of St. Luc, accompanied by Marin, Neverville, Langlade, Laplante and Herbin, and moved to a point above "*Isle a la Barque*,"* where they landed and encamped. There they saw the proofs of the naval victory they had gained over Parker, in the abandoned English boats, which, after having for a long time been the sport of the winds and waves, had at last been thrown upon the shore, and also in the great number of the bodies of the English extended on the banks or scattered through the woods, some cut to pieces and all mutilated in the most frightful manner. The place assigned for the camp was the side of a hill covered with brambles and the haunt of a prodigious number of rattlesnakes, which the Indians hunted out and caught.

August 1. At two o'clock P. M., the army embarked in two hundred and fifty bateaux and set sail in the following order: A pontoon, consisting of two boats united together by a platform, and mounted with a twelve-pounder, the

* Odell Island, near Sabbath-day Point.

regulars, the militia, the artillery, with a brigade of Royal Rousillon as an escort, the provisions, manned by the Gaspé brigade, the field hospital, and lastly the rear guard. The guard left at Carillon comprised two hundred men, under the orders of Captain Dalquier, of the grenadiers, fifty men in possession of a redoubt at the falls, erected in the middle of the rapid, and a hundred and fifty men at the head of the carrying place where there was a supply of provisions. Halted at five o'clock, at the point where the Indians had encamped. These last who lay waiting now took the lead, and the four hundred boats, covering the waters from shore to shore, swept majestically up the lake, until, perceiving upon the mountain the three fires placed in the form of a triangle, which De Levi had lit as a signal, at three o'clock A. M. they landed at Ganouskie Bay,* to the left of the land detachment, and proceeded to cook their breakfast. The Chevalier had arrived at four o'clock of the afternoon previous, after a march which the excessive heat, the continual mountains, the fallen trees, and the necessity of carrying every thing on the shoulders, had rendered fatiguing even to the Indians. At ten o'clock

* Bolton Landing.

A. M. De Levi resumed his march and proceeded about three leagues to Great Sandy Bay,* and went immediately to reconnoiter the environs of the fort, its position and the proper place to land the artillery. Toward noon the army re-embarked and proceeded leisurely, to enable the pontoons with the artillery to keep up. At evening they reached the same bay where the land troops had arrived, but hidden by a point of land from the view of the English fort. A little incident which occurred here was the prelude of the siege; about eight o'clock two boats sent out from the fort appeared on the lake, and sailed along with an easy assurance and tranquillity which little betokened the scent of danger. The news was at once imparted to the Indians, and the preparations to receive them were made with promptness and in admirable silence. One of the barges had a tent stretched over it which formed a kind of dark object in the air, easily discovered by the light of the stars. Curious to investigate what it could be, the English steered directly toward this spot. Slight chance of escape had they, as to choose that course was to rush on death. At this juncture

* Beyond the old Caldwell Manor House, now known as Shaw's Bay.

a sheep, in a provision boat, happened to bleat, and disclosed the ambush. Immediately the English boats turned about and made toward the opposite shore, using their oars to the utmost to save themselves by means of the darkness and the woods. This maneuver was immediately seen. Twelve hundred savages were at once in motion and flew to the pursuit, with cries equally frightful by their continuance as by their numbers; nevertheless, both sides seemed to be backward, as not a single shot was discharged. The pursuers, not having had time to form, feared to draw the fire upon themselves, besides they wished to take prisoners. The fugitives employed their arms more usefully in accelerating their flight. They had almost reached the opposite shore when the Indians, who perceived that their prey was escaping, fired, and the English, pressed almost too close by the foremost canoes, were obliged to return it. Then followed a fearful silence, succeeding to all this uproar. The affair terminated in a chief of the Nepistingue tribe being killed, and one other wounded. Three Englishmen were taken prisoners, with their boats, the rest were scattered through the woods.

Gen. Webb* was now in command of the English forces in Northern New York, with his head-quarters at Fort Edward. He visited Lake George the last of July, under the escort of Major Israel Putnam, with two hundred men. July 31st. Putnam, with eighteen men, in three boats, went down the lake on a reconnoissance, but had only proceeded twelve miles when he discovered an advanced party of the enemy encamped upon an island, when he withdrew. The next morning Webb returned to

* Lieut.-General (Heaven save the mark!) Daniel Webb was ensign of the Cold Stream Guards. He succeeded Col. Dunbar in the command of the Forty-eighth Foot, after Dunbar was superseded for his cowardice at Braddock's defeat, and arrived at New York from England, 7th June, 1756, to relieve Gen. Shirley. In succeeding to Dunbar's regiment, he also inherited that officer's disposition to take to flight at the appearance of danger, for, being dispatched, in 1756, with a considerable force to the relief of Oswego, as soon as he got to the carrying place, now Rome, he became so alarmed at hearing of the fall of the place he was sent to relieve, that he filled Wood creek with trees to prevent the approach of an invisible enemy. Strange that he should be again put in any position of responsibility; yet next year he was in command of the northern frontier, and shamefully abandoned Col. Monroe at Fort William Henry, though at the head of 4,000 men. In consequence he was ordered home, but in some inexplicable way he was protected from censure. Doc. x, page 574.

Fort Edward with his escort, and dispatched Col. Monroe with his regiment to re-enforce and command the garrison, of whom four hundred and fifty were in the fort, and the remainder, seventeen hundred, were posted in the intrenched camp, which, for all practical purposes, was much the better fort of the two. Webb also immediately sent expresses to the several Governors, with a requisition to call out the militia. The order was promptly obeyed. All the New York militia north of the Highlands were immediately put in motion. In Connecticut every fourth man was drafted. In New Jersey four thousand were assembled; and in every direction troops were organizing and marching toward Fort Edward, but, alas, too late to be of any avail.*

Sir William Johnson was holding an important council with the Cherokees at his house when the news arrived of the approach of Montcalm. He abruptly broke up the conference, and hastily collecting what militia and Indians he could, started, and arrived two days after at Fort Edward. On the 8th he obtained from Webb permission to march to the aid of the beleaguered garrison. Putnam and his rangers, and most of the provincial regiments,

* Fitch.

promptly volunteered; but they had scarcely begun their march when the order was countermanded, and they were ordered back to their posts.*

The French troops having all landed at Great Sandy Bay, except the St. Ours brigade attached to the artillery, and those detailed to guard the bateaux and provisions, all under the command of Lieut.-Col. Privat, they arranged themselves in order of battle.

At two o'clock A. M., August 3d, the English who had had their camp to the left of the fort, broke up and retired into the intrenchments on the right, on the site of Fort George. The same day, at dawn, the French army moved in three columns. De Levi led the advance with his detachment and the Indians, Montcalm with the brigades followed in column by regiments. Rigund was on the right with the Canadians, and Bourlemaque on the left. Sheltered by the woods De Levi was enabled to pass the fort unmolested, and at ten o'clock A. M. took up a position on the road leading to Fort Edward. The Royal Rousillon Brigade was posted on the crest† of a ravine, which is opposite the fort,

* Stone's Life of Johnson.

† To the left of the plank-road, on the north side of the ravine, opposite and north of the court-house.

where it remained an hour in order of battle, and received orders to join the army on a plateau* beyond some heights to the left of the fort, where all the troops remained until five o'clock in the evening, during which time the fort was reconnoitered as well as the intrenched camp, which appeared too strong to be captured by an assault. The Indians were intrusted with the duty of protecting the right, which extended as far as the French mountain, and also of sending out scouts on to the Fort Edward road. They kept up a sharp fire on the fort, repelled several sorties, killed a hundred cattle, and one hundred and fifty sheep, which belonged to the commissariat of the fort, and also captured forty oxen, and twenty horses, which were taken into the French camp. The camp was laid out by Bourlemaque, on the ground occupied in the morning by the Royal Rousillon brigade, the left resting on the cove,† where the artillery was to land, and the right extending over toward the mountain. A guard of fifty men were then ordered to be posted in the cove, with instructions to light fires at night-fall, to serve as beacons for the artillery bateaux.

* Near where the Luzerne road turns off.

† Behind the court-house.

Montcalm bivouacked with the rest of the army on the Fort Edward road. In the evening the scouts reported that a body of troops had left Fort Edward* and were coming by the mountains. Meanwhile the English were vigorously at work fortifying the intrenched camp.

August 4. In the morning the brigade of La Reine came to encamp on the right of the Royal Rousillon, while two brigades of militia took their posts immediately in their rear.

Montcalm having arrived at the camp early in the morning, went to reconnoiter the fort with Bourlemaque and the officers of the artillery, to decide where the first battery should be set up. At noon, De Levi was directed to call in his detachment, and to occupy the heights on the right, but at some distance from the camp, with the militia and Indians, and to have scouts continually on the Fort Edward road. Tools were distributed and orders issued for the construction of fascines and gabions. It was also judged best to bring the artillery, as it might be wanted, and unload it at night, in the little cove above named. The command of the siege was given to Bourlemaque. His detail for this purpose consisted of seven regiments, and the St.

* Sir Wm. Johnson's command, afterward recalled.

Ours and Gaspé brigades. De Levi, with the five remaining Canadian regiments, and the Indians, had the duty of protecting the right of the camp and the Fort Edward road. These arrangements being perfected, Montcalm dispatched a summons to Col. Monroe, in the following terms :

“Sir: I have arrived with sufficient force to take the place which you hold, and to cut off all succor which can reach you from any quarter. I number in my train a crowd of Indian tribes, whom the least effusion of blood will enrage to an extent that will forever prevent them from entertaining any sentiments of moderation or clemency. The love of humanity has, therefore, induced me to summon you to surrender, at a time when it will not be impossible for me to induce them to agree to a capitulation, honorable to you and useful to all.

“I have the honor to be, etc.,

“MONTCALM.”

The bearer of this was M. Fontebrane, aide-camp of De Levi. He was received at the fort with politeness. The following answer was returned :

“Monsieur: I am obliged to you for the courteous offer you have made. I cannot accept it. I have little fear of your Indian

forces, and I have under my orders soldiers who are determined, like myself, to die or conquer.

“I am, etc.,

“Col. GEORGE MONROE,

“*Com., etc.*”

This answer was followed by a general discharge of the artillery from the fort.

While these preliminaries were taking place, the Nepistingue tribe proceeded with the funeral rites of their chief, who had been killed at the boat attack on the first evening of their arrival. These rites were celebrated with savage pomp and splendor. The dead body was arrayed in all its ornaments, collars of porcelain, silver bracelets, pendants for the ears and for the nose, and magnificent apparel were lavished upon him. Paint and vermilion gave the countenance an air of life. They had not been forgetful of any of the decorations of the warrior. A neck-piece, bound with a red ribbon, hung negligently upon his breast, his gun rested upon his arm, the tomahawk at his belt, the pipe in his mouth, his lance in his hand, and the kettle filled with provisions at his side. Clothed in this warlike array, they seated him on an eminence covered with grass, which served him for his bed of state. The Indians, ranged in a circle around the dead body, regarded it for

some moments in a solemn silence, indicative of grief. This was broken by the orator, who pronounced the funeral oration for the dead. Then succeeded the chants and dances to the sound of a tabor hung around with little bells. In all this there was an indescribable air of sadness, which agreed well with the melancholy ceremonial. At length the funeral rites were ended by the interment of the dead, with whom they took care to bury a supply of provisions, for fear, without doubt, that for want of nourishment he might die a second time.*

At eight o'clock P. M., Bourlemaque proceeded with 450 workmen, supported by a guard of 300 regulars, to open the first parallel within 700 yards of the fort. They also commenced two batteries, and built a piece of road from the *cove* to the "tail of the trench," on which to move up the guns. The artillery consisted of thirty-two pieces. Twelve guns were brought around that night, and as they passed the point of land which brought them in sight of the fort, they took care to salute the same by a general discharge. The work rapidly advanced through the obstacles presented by the soil, the trunks of trees and abatis, which

* Jesuit Missions.

required the employment of the ax and saw, and by day-break the men were entirely hidden, except at the right battery where the work had been slower. The left battery was 480 feet from the tail of the trench, and the second battery 600 feet from the first.

During the day the English fired a great deal of shell and shot. A soldier of the Royal Rouillon, who was on duty, was killed; and at night-fall they lighted large fires at the intrenched camp, where they continued industriously at work.

Aug. 5. At day-break the working party was dismissed, and a force of 200 men put on, who perfected the trench. The shell and shot from the fort reaching into the French camp, the brigades were moved 400 paces to the rear.*

On this day Gen. Webb had sent out from Fort Edward three couriers, with information for Col. Monroe. The first was killed, the second captured, the third saved himself by his swiftness in running. The Indians brought in the prisoner, and a vest, in the pocket of which was a hollow musket ball, containing a letter to Col. Monroe. It announced, in substance, that he would advance to give battle to the French

* To the grounds of the Caldwell Manor House.

army as soon as the provincial militia arrived; that, considering the position of Fort Edward, he could not march to the relief of Col. Monroe, to extricate him, nor forward to him any re-enforcements until the expected arrival of the militia, to whom he had sent orders to join him forthwith; but should they arrive too late to enable him to advance and engage the French army, the commandant should look to obtaining the best conditions possible.*

Aug. 6. The first or left battery, consisting of eight pieces, of which three were eighteen-pounders and one nine-inch mortar, was unmasked, and discharged several rounds consecutively, afterward it fired every two minutes. It was replied to with spirit from the fort.

* In De Lancey's address to the Colonial Assembly, dated Sept. 2, 1757, occurs the following remark: "The troops above the Highlands had already marched in consequence of my orders, and many had proceeded to Fort Edward; but after a short stay Gen. Webb informed me that all the militia, except those of the county of Albany, had deserted in a mutinous manner. I did all I could to stop them, but with little success. This step, whether arising from cowardice or disgust, or whatever other motive, deserves a very severe animadversion, more especially as it was taken at a time when the enemy were still at Fort William Henry, only fourteen miles distant from Fort Edward, the most advanced post we had in that quarter of the country."

The guard was relieved at four o'clock P. M., by three companies of grenadiers, and at seven o'clock three hundred night workmen came on, who perfected the parallel, finished the second or royal battery, which consisted of two eighteen, five twelve, one eight, two seven inch howitzers, and a six-inch mortar, and proceeded to run a trench from the parallel, three hundred yards in length, directly toward the garden of the fort. This battery threw shot in an acute angle with the front of attack, and swept the intrenched camp with a ricochet fire. It was not possible for the English to stir out without danger. An Englishwoman determined to go and gather some vegetables in the garden contiguous to the trench. She was shot down on the spot by an Indian concealed in a square of cabbages. Having no means of recovering the body, the conqueror, always concealed, remained sentinel throughout the day, and at night took away with him the scalp.*

The Indians were delighted with the noise of the great guns and the prodigious echoes which were made by the mountains. They were always about the artillerymen, whose dexterity they much admired. But their admiration was

*Roubard.

neither idle nor without its use. Some even determined to become gunners. One, after having sighted the cannon, found that the shot struck the very angle of the fort which had been assigned to him as a mark. But he declined to repeat the experiment, because, having reached, in his attempt, that degree of perfection to which he aspired, he did not wish to hazard his reputation in a second trial. But their chief cause of astonishment was the covered* ways. They examined, with the most eager curiosity, the manner in which the French grenadiers labored to perfect those works. Instructed by seeing, they shortly began to exercise their own hands in the practice. They might be seen, with pick-axes, marking out a branch of the trench, toward the portion of the fort which was assigned to them to be attacked. They pushed them so far forward that they were shortly within musket shot.

De Villieurs profited by these advances to attack the outposts. The action was warm, but the English were driven back.

*"Covert," *hidden*. The earth is thrown up toward the enemy, to hide the view, and for protection from the cannon. B.

On the night of the 7th, the workmen continued the trench to within six hundred feet of the fort. There a third battery was commenced. The guard was composed of three companies of grenadiers and seven pickets. At midnight, two deserters fell among the Indian pickets, who had been posted on their bellies, in the garden in front of their workmen. The night's work brought the trench to a swamp, about a hundred yards wide, bordered on the south by an acclivity, which, except about sixty feet, sheltered it from the batteries of the place. In broad daylight the sappers applied themselves to this, with so much activity, that before night a road of round sticks and hurdles was made, capable of bearing artillery. At nine o'clock A. M., after a double salute from the batteries, Montcalm sent to Monroe, through his aid De Bougainville, the letter of Gen. Webb, which had been intercepted two days before, as its perusal, when the works were so far advanced, might induce him to surrender. At three o'clock the English made a sortie, with 500 men, to open the Fort Edward road. De Villieurs marched against them, with the Canadians and Indians, who repulsed and drove them back into the intrenched camp, with a loss, on the English side, of a number killed, and four prisoners.

8th. The working party were relieved at day-break, by three hundred other men, who proceeded to finish the new battery, and construct a road through the slope that leads into the gardens. At three o'clock the English turned out, under arms, to repel a supposed attack. The scouts reported to Montcalm that relief was approaching from the southern road. He immediately dispatched three companies of grenadiers to De Levi, and followed with two brigades. Bourlemaque ordered two guns to bear on the garden and plateau, and to fire, at an elevation, over the fort, into the intrenched camp, where the troops were observed in line of battle. The relief proved to be a false report, and at five P. M. the troops returned to camp. At seven o'clock the guard of the trench were relieved, and at eight arrived a party of 550 working men, 100 for the battery, and the remainder for the bridge, and to take post on the exterior crest of the ravine in the garden. Here they opened a parallel, which was designed for the fourth battery, and, also; by its prolongation, to surround the fort and cut it off from the intrenched camp. The fire from the fort, that night, was brisk, and resulted in two being wounded. At day-break the parallel was sufficiently complete to afford a secure lodgment for the men.

Seeing the works so far advanced, on the morning of the 9th, Col. Monroe hoisted the white flag, and 8 A. M. sent Lieut.-Colonel John Young* to negotiate the articles of capitulation. Montcalm, having agreed with him upon the principal terms, refused to proceed further until he could have a general council of the Indian chiefs, which he forthwith called, and to whom he explained the conditions whereon the English were offering to surrender, and the terms he was resolved to grant them, and demanded of them their consent, and also whether they could answer for their young men not violating the terms. The chiefs unanimously assured him that they approved of all he would do, and would prevent their young men from committing any disorder.

The following were the articles of capitulation :

1. The garrison of Fort William Henry shall march out with their *arms* and their baggage; they shall proceed to Fort Edward, escorted by a detachment of French and some officers

* Col. Young was major in the Royal Americans. On the reduction of Fort William Henry he was shamefully stripped and plundered by the Indians; and it is a curious fact that he afterward recognized and recovered some of his property, in 1759, on the reduction of Quebec

and interpreters attached to the Indians, and march at an early hour on the morning of the 10th. They shall not serve again in eighteen months.

2. The gate of the fort to be delivered up to the troops at the signing of the capitulation, and the intrenched camp the next day on the departure of the British troops.

3. All the artillery, stores and provisions to be given up, and an inventory taken. The sick and wounded who cannot be moved, to be under the protection of the Marquis de Montcalm. Provisions to be issued for two days only.

As a further token of esteem, on account of their honorable defense, Monroe was granted one field-piece, a six-pounder.

Montcalm also directed Bourgainville, his aid, who conducted the capitulation, to have all the wine, brandy, rum and other intoxicating liquors in the public stores of the fort, spilled, which was accordingly done before the evacuation.

At 12 o'clock m. the English troops, arrayed in beautiful order, marched out of the fort with their knapsacks and effects, to go over to the intrenched camp, while the French regiments of the trenches, under Bourlemaque, advanced in battle array to take possession. At the same

hour a cloud seemed passing over their heads, and looking upward they discovered that they stood beneath the wide folds of the standard of France.

As the troops left the parade, they passed by the French army, who stood to their arms, attentive but silent observers of the proceedings of the vanquished, failing in none of the stipulated honors, and offering no taunt or insult, in their success, to their less fortunate foes.*

The march and ceremony were not marked by any contravention of the laws of nations.

Montcalm sent, according to the agreement, a detachment of three hundred troops,† under command of a lieutenant-colonel, to the intrenched camp for their protection. He also ordered the officers and interpreters attached to the Indians to remain until the departure of the English.

Bourlemaque took possession of the fort with his division, and stationed guards upon the powder magazines and the provision stores; the remainder was given up to pillage. The Indians made no delay. During the military ceremony which accompanied the taking possession,

* Cooper. † Doc. x, p. 615.

they had penetrated into the fort, in crowds, through the embrasures, for the purpose of pillage. But they did not confine themselves to this. There were still remaining in the casemates some sick persons, whose condition did not allow them to follow their countrymen in their honorable retreat. These were, therefore, their first victims on whom they threw themselves without pity, and sacrificed to their blood-thirstiness.*

The Indians then proceeded to the intrenched camp, and, notwithstanding all the precautions of those who guarded the same, got in, and wished to pillage the chests of the officers. The latter opposed this proceeding, and a serious disorder was threatened. Montcalm proceeded to the intrenchment, and found some of the Indians drunk with rum obtained from the officers. He "had recourse to prayers, menaces, caresses, councils with the chiefs, and interfer-

* Roubard further says: "I was a witness of this spectacle. I saw one of these barbarians come forth from the casemates, which nothing but the most insatiate avidity for blood could have induced him to enter, for the infected atmosphere which exhaled from it was unsupportable. He carried in his hand a human head, from whence streams of blood were flowing, and which he paraded forth as if it had been the most valuable prize he had been able to seize."

ence of the officers and interpreters, who possessed some authority over these barbarians, to stop and restrain them.”*

The disorderly conduct being abated, Montcalm, at nine o'clock at night, returned to his quarters. This was, however, only a slight introduction of the tragedy of the morrow. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of Montcalm, the English furnished the Indians with rum (on which, during the night, several of them got drunk), on the supposition that by such a course they would render these savages more favorable to them. But they might as well have undertaken to tame the famished wild beast. Early in the morning they began to assemble about the intrenchments, demanding of the English, goods, provisions, in a word, whatever their greedy eyes perceived. These demands were made in a tone which announced that a thrust of the spear would be the price of a refusal. The English entertained for these Indians an inconceivable terror. They undressed and stripped themselves almost to nothing, to purchase their lives at the hands of these inhuman monsters. But this compliance, which should have softened the savage heart, only ren-

* Doc. x, 633.

dered them more exacting. The same terror determined the English to set out before the escort was ready.

The Abnekas of Panouske, in Acadia, claimed to have experienced from the English some ill-treatment, whereby, under the pretense of making a treaty, certain of their chiefs had been inveigled into a fort and slain. They seized this occasion to retaliate. The long column of English had scarcely filed out from their intrenchments to the number of two thousand two hundred, and were approaching the vista cut through the trees where the road to Fort Edward entered the forest, when the Indians uttered their dread war-whoop, and "woe be to those who closed the march, or to the stragglers whom illness or any other reason separated ever so little from the main body. They were as good as dead, and their lifeless bodies soon strewed the ground and covered the circuit of the intrenchments."*

The English troops, in place of meeting them with resolution, and defending themselves with their arms, were seized with a sudden panic, and fled helter-skelter toward the woods or toward the French tents, then to the fort, then to any

* Roubard.

place which promised them an asylum, throwing away their guns, equipments and baggage. The great number of women which accompanied the garrison increased its terror.* This butchery, which, at first, was only the work of some few savages, became the signal, which transformed them into so many ferocious beasts. They discharged, right and left, heavy blows with their hatchets, on all those who came within their reach. The massacre was, however, not of any duration, nor by any means so considerable as so much fury would have seemed to give reason to. It amounted to about forty or fifty men.

The French, meanwhile, were not idle. The detachment of three hundred, appointed to protect their retreat, arrived, and hastily arranged themselves in order of battle. The Chevalier De Levi ran in every direction, to where the tumult was the thickest, to endeavor to arrest it, and periled his life, at the hands of the savage arms raised to strike at him. The French and Canadian officers imitated his example, with a zeal worthy of the humanity of a civilized nation. But of what avail were three hundred men, and a few officers, against fifteen hundred infuriated savages, who could

* Doc. x, 633.

not, or would not, distinguish them from the English? One of the sergeants, who had opposed himself to their violence, was struck to the earth by a spear. A French officer, as a reward of the same zeal, received a severe wound, which brought him to the borders of the grave. Besides, in the moment of alarm, one knew scarcely where to turn, and the very measures which seemed to be most dictated by prudence, ended in disastrous results. Montcalm, whose camp was at a distance from the spot, did not hear at first of what was going forward. At the news of the occurrence he speedily repaired to the spot, and, after trying prayers, menaces, and promises, he at last resorted to force. He wrested the nephew of Col. Young, with violence, from the hands of the Indians, but his deliverance cost the lives of a number of prisoners, whom the Indians massacred for fear of a similar rescue.* The

* A French officer informed Father Roubard that a Huron had at that time an infant six months old, whose death was certain if he did not hasten to its relief. The good father hastened to the cabin of the savage, and after considerable entreaty the latter was induced to give up the child, on condition that he should receive back a scalp of an enemy. "Departing with haste," says Roubard, "to the camp of the Abnakis, I demanded of the first person I met whether he

Indians then proceeded to take prisoners, and the disorder was on the increase, when some one happily thought of ordering the English to increase their speed, which was done. The Indians, satisfied with their prizes, began to retire, the remaining few were easily dispersed, and the English, without further interruption, continued their march to Fort Edward.

They arrived there at first to the number of three or four hundred, and for two or three days parties straggled in, being guided by the sound of the cannon, which were fired at intervals for that purpose. Many of the English had found safety in the fort or in the tents of

had any scalps, and if he wished to do a favor to gratify me. He untied his pouch, and gave me my choice. I carried it off in triumph, followed by a crowd of French and Canadians, and in a moment had rejoined my Huron. See, said I, your payment. You are right, he replied; it is, indeed, an English scalp, for it is red. I immediately took the unfortunate little being in my hands, and, as it was almost naked, I wrapped it in my robe, but my hands being unaccustomed to this business, the poor infant uttered its cries, which taught me my own awkwardness as well as its sufferings. I arrived at the fort, and at the sound of its feeble cries all the women ran toward me, each one flattering herself with the hope of recovering the object of her maternal tenderness. They eagerly examined it, but neither the eyes nor the heart of any one recognized their child.

the French. The same day Montcalm made the Indians surrender about four hundred prisoners. The majority of the nations gave them up to him with the greatest respect and the most ample apologies on the part of the chiefs, stating they had no sense, etc. The wounded were sent to Carillon. He further sent a message to Vaudreuil, at Montreal, that the nations who were unwilling to surrender the English to him, had gone away, contrary to usage, without taking leave, and carrying their prisoners with them.

Montcalm detained the men and officers for three days. On the 14th he dispatched Lieut. Wm. Hamilton, under the escort of thirty

They therefore retired again to one side to give free course to their lamentations and complaints. Proceeding to the camp, a shrill and animated cry suddenly struck my ears. Was it of grief, or was it of joy? It was all this, and much more, for it was that of the mother, who, from a distance, had recognized her child, so keen are the eyes of maternal love. She ran with a precipitation which showed that this was indeed her child. She snatched it with an eagerness which seemed as if she feared that some one might a second time deprive her of it. It is easy to imagine to what transports of joy she abandoned herself, particularly when she was assured of the life and freedom of her husband, to whom she thought that she had bid a final adieu. Nothing was wanting to complete their happiness but their reunion, and this I thought should be the perfection of my work."

grenadiers, commanded by Lieut. Sauvonnier, of the La Sarre regiment, accompanied by La Corne, Lieut. Marin and two interpreters, with a couple of letters to Gen. Webb and Lord Loudon.

The following day, 15th, the English and all the officers recovered from the Indians set out, escorted by 250 men under the command of Captain Poulharies of the Ronsillon grenadiers, who delivered them up to a similar detachment sent for that purpose from Fort Edward at Half-way brook; these troops took with them the cannon which had been allowed to Monroe by the articles of capitulation.

Meanwhile De Levi had removed his camp from the hill-side around to the front of the intrenched camp on the Fort Edward road. He had the brigade of La Reine, four brigades of Canadians and the independent companies. With the remainder of the army Montcalm proceeded to demolish the fort and to remove the stores. These included seventeen cannon, of which eight were brass, seventeen swivels, 35,835 lbs. powder, 2,522 shot, 1,400 lbs. balls, 6 chests of fire-works, grape-shot of various caliber, and 3,000 barrels of flour and pork.

A thousand men were employed in transporting these immense stores of provisions and war

materials to the boats, and twelve hundred were engaged in destroying the fort. The Indians had all disappeared. The fort was entirely demolished and even the ruins were consumed by fire. It was only during the burning that the greatness of the English loss became evident. The casemates and the subterranean passages were found to be filled with dead bodies, which, for several days, furnished new aliment for the flames. The French loss was twenty-one killed and about twenty-five wounded. The English lost between three and four hundred.

Montcalm, not having boats enough for the entire army, on the 16th ordered the Rousillon and Bevu regiments to encamp on Fourteen Mile island, and left at noon with the rest of the troops. As they left the shore Putnam, who, with his rangers, had been appointed to watch the enemy's movements, approached the scene of slaughter. Not a living thing stood on the plain. The flash of French bayonets was seen for a moment in the distance, and then silence and solitude fell upon the forest.*

* About five years ago, in excavating the foundation of Dr. Cromwell's dwelling, on the plank-road, and upon what was the garden of the fort, thirty-six skulls and other debris were exhumed. They were principally women and children.

CHAPTER IX.

ABERCROMBIE'S EXPEDITION — DE HABECOURT — ROGERS — OUTELAS —
NEW YORK REGIMENT — DISTINGUISHED OFFICERS — LORD HOWE —
COMPOSITION OF THE ARMY — APPEARANCE ON LAKE GEORGE —
ARRANGEMENTS OF MONTCALM — THE LANDING — LORD HOWE
KILLED — THE BATTLE — THE RETREAT.

N July, 1757, William Pitt became Prime Minister of England. He “knew himself to be called, neither by the King, nor yet by the aristocracy, but by the voice of the people.”*

In December, 1757, he obtained the King's order that every provincial officer, of a grade below that of a colonel, should have equal rank with the British, according to the date of their commission. This proceeding removed a ground of complaint, which had always caused bad blood between the officers of the respective corps. He abandoned the idea of raising money, by the absurd mode of taxation, in the Colonies, and which had been a favorite hobby with his predecessors; and, in a circular letter, dated December 30th, boldly invited them to raise as

* Bancroft.

many men as possible, at the same time providing for their arms, equipments, ammunition, provisions, and artillery, and promised that the King should strongly recommend to Parliament to grant to them a proper compensation.* The colonies reposed undoubted confidence in the upright designs of Pitt. His respect for their rights, joined to the prospect of making a final conquest of Canada, roused in them the most fervid zeal.

Great suffering existed at this time in Canada. They were nearly cut off from supplies from France. A famine existed, and the troops were farmed out, at the rate of a soldier to each family. Fifteen hundred horses were purchased, distributed, and killed for subsistence. In the month of January, Major Robert Rogers came roving into the neighborhood of Carillon, with a detachment of seventy men. The artillery opened upon him and drove him away. In his retreat, he burned a pile of timber and charcoal, took a wood-cutter prisoner, and killed eighteen oxen or cows, which were found in the woods, and served to subsist the garrison. Rogers affixed a note to the horn of one of the oxen, in the following words :

* Pitt's letter to the governors. Doc. vii, 340.

"Sir: I am obliged to you for the repose you have allowed me to take. I thank you for the fresh meat you have sent me. I shall take care of my prisoners. Present my compliments to the Marquis de Montcalm.

"(Signed) ROBERT ROGERS." (Doc. x, 837.)

Feb. 28. Sieur Montignon returned from a reconnoissance to Fort Lydius, with twenty-three English scalps, and five prisoners.*

March 13. Capt. De Hebecourt, of the regiment of La Reine, in command of Carillon, dispatched a party of two hundred men, under

* General Lyman succeeded Webb in the command of Fort Edward. Capt. Little was posted upon a tongue of land, with a file of soldiers, to protect a hundred and fifty workmen who were obtaining timber for the use of the fort. Early one morning the sentinel discovered what he supposed was a flock of birds, flying toward him from the morass, but he soon discovered the true genus of these feathered messengers, as an arrow struck in a tree at his side. The alarm was instantly given, and the workmen fled toward the fort, the Indians pursuing and firing upon them; Capt. Little's party now opened their fire upon the Indians, who, turning, attacked him in such overwhelming numbers that his situation became critical in the extreme. Major Putnam and his rangers were stationed, at this time, on an island in the river, when learning the jeopardy of Capt. Little and his party, he promptly leaped into the water, waded ashore and hastened to the relief of his comrade. As they passed the fort Gen. Lyman hailed them and ordered them to stop, but "they could not see it." They swept through the swamp, with a shout, and put the assailants to flight.

Fitch and Headley.

Durantaye and Sieur de Langy, to make an attack on Rogers, who, with a party of the same number, was scouting in the neighborhood of the fort. Rogers was surprised, and utterly defeated. The Indians brought back one hundred and forty-four scalps, and some prisoners, among the latter, of whom were two officers, captain, afterward Major-General Henry Pringle, and Lieut. Roche.* Rogers retired with fifteen men and two officers. Three days afterward the two officers, having wandered about in a vain attempt to escape, came in and surrendered themselves to the French.

Rogers himself escaped by approaching Bald mountain, at the place since called *Rogers' slide*, then reversing his snow-shoes, and taking a back track for some distance, he swung himself by a convenient branch into a defile and found his way thence down into the lake. The Indians, following his tracks, approached the slide, and were awe-struck at the apparent feat of sliding down five or six hundred feet into the lake, and gave up the pursuit.

June 2. Sieur Outelas, marching from Carillon to Fort Edward, at the head of twenty-nine Nepissings, and Algonquins, discovered a party

* Doc. x, 713.

of English, Loups and Mohawks. They “uttered the cry of attack, and buried the hatchet to the left in the enemy, who, intimidated by the quickness of the attack, took to their heels. Four were killed and six taken prisoners.” *

Three great expeditions were this year formed for the conquest of Canada. One, led by Lord Amherst and James Wolfe, was intrusted with the siege and capture of Louisburg, which commanded the entrance into the St. Lawrence. Another, for the conquest of the Ohio Valley, was intrusted to General John Forbes.† The third, against Crown Point and Ticonderoga, ‡

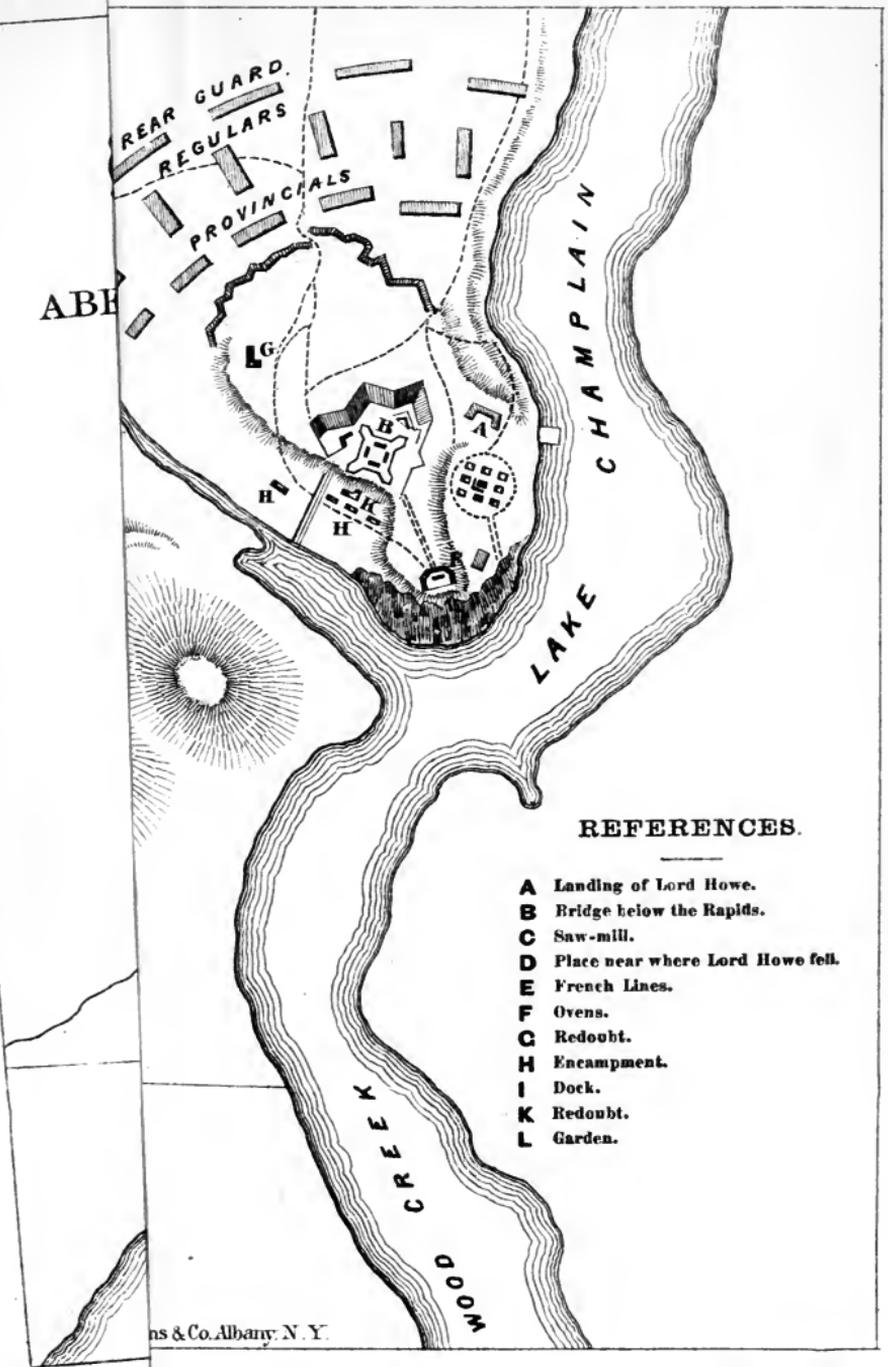
* Col. Haviland being in command at Fort Edward, the barracks, situated at the north-east bastion, accidentally caught fire. The magazine, containing three hundred barrels of powder, stood but twelve feet distant, to save which the colonel ordered the cannon to play upon it, but without much effect. Putnam, who was still at the island, hurried across, and formed a line of soldiers, and, springing on to the roof, emptied buckets of water upon the barracks, one after the other, as they were passed up to him, until the fire was subdued.

† Gen. Forbes reduced Fort Duquesne in 1758. He died Sunday, March 11, 1759, at Philadelphia. Dudley Bean states that Howe was a grandson of George I. But it does not appear by what authority. *Knickerbocker Magazine* for 1850.

‡ Variously spelled as follows :

Tianarago,

Tiandrogo,

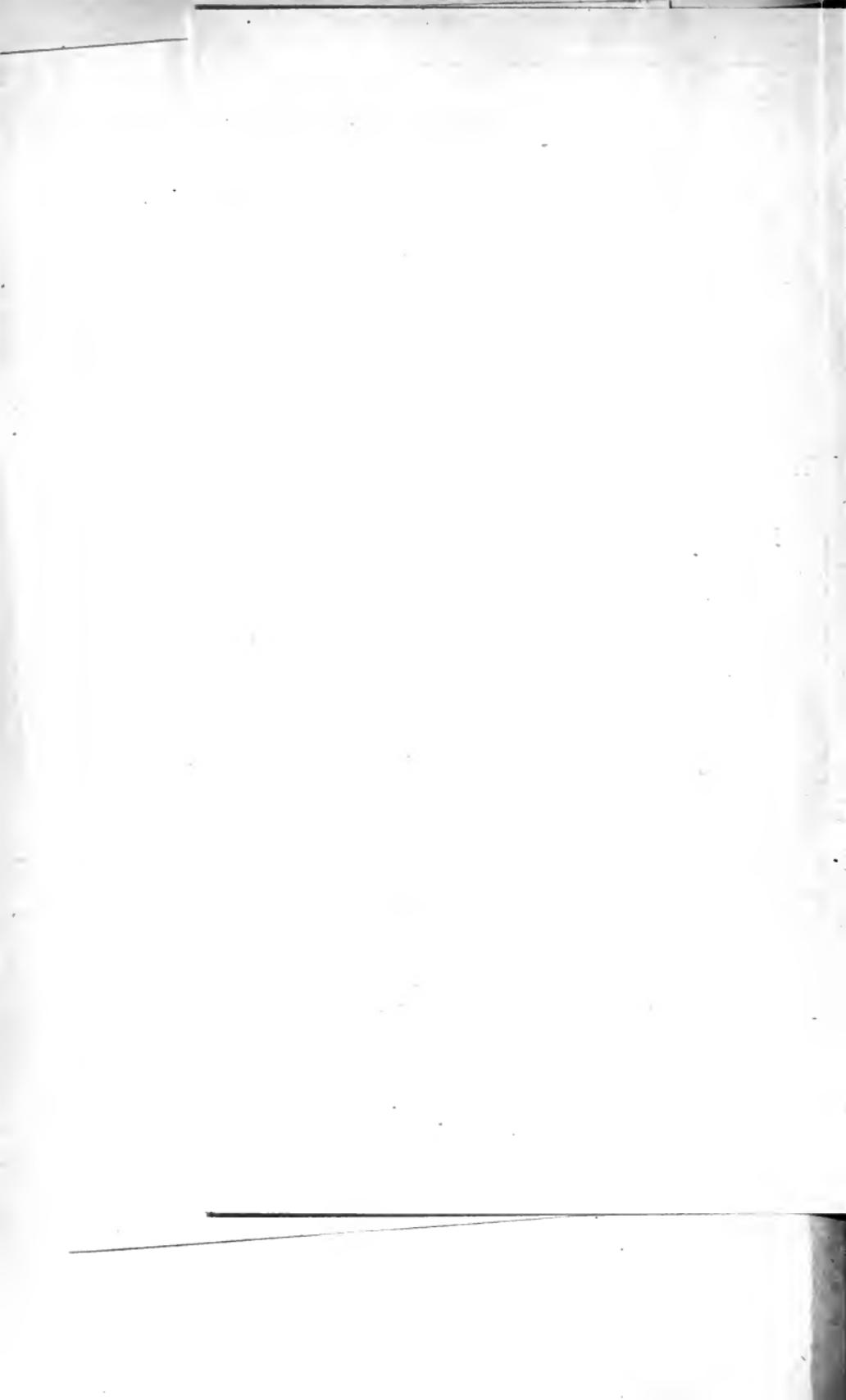


REFERENCES.

- A** Landing of Lord Howe.
- B** Bridge below the Rapids.
- C** Saw-mill.
- D** Place near where Lord Howe fell.
- E** French Lines.
- F** Ovens.
- G** Redoubt.
- H** Encampment.
- I** Dock.
- K** Redoubt.
- L** Garden.

ns & Co. Albany, N. Y.





was given to Major-General James Abercrombie, a Scotchman, while the second in command was Lord George Augustus Viscount Howe.

The orders came to rendezvous at Albany, May 1. On the 9th of March Gen. Abercrombie dined with Governor De Lancey, on his way to town from the latter place. 14th. An embargo was levied on all ships and vessels above fifty tons, in order that they could be used for the service. 15th. The assembly voted two thousand six hundred and eighty men for the expedition, besides those who had gone privateering, the bateau men and the wagoners who were impressed to convey up the provisions and stores. Oliver De Lancey, brother of the Governor, accepted the command, with the rank of colonel.

The New York troops seem to have been organized into a single regiment. The following is a partial list of the officers:

Lieut.-Colonel Leroux.

Captain John Peter Smith,	134 men.
“ Ebenezer Seeley,	102 “
“ John Verplanck,	98 “

Tianderogue,
Atianerogue,
Atenderago,
Tionduroque,

Tiantiroga,
Tionderoge,
Tiondorogo,
Tiyonduroga,

Tyconderogue.



Capt.	Jonathan Fowler,	123	men
"	Thomas Arrowsmith,.....	67	"
"	Reuben Lockwood,.....	103	"
"	Stephen Nottingham,	100	"
"	John McIvers,	100	"
"	Petrus Stuyvesant,.....	95	"
"	Thomas Williams,		
"	Richard Hulet,.....	74	"
"	Jonathan Ogden,.....		
"	Guy Johnson,		
"	W. Heathcoat De Lancey,.....		

Capt. Joseph Crane, Wright, Stillwell, Van Pelt, Suydam, Brewerton.

Ten pounds bounty was voted to each volunteer.*

22d. General Abercrombie, by letter to the Governor, apprehending that the army would be short of provisions, caused to be impressed, secured, and delivered to the contractors all the provisions they could find, they paying a reasonable price for the same. The ships, with the ordnance, arms, tents, and stores, sailed for New York, from Spithead, the first of

* The troops received also clothing, to wit: hat, coat, pair buckskin breeches, two shirts, two pair stockings, two pair shoes, one blanket, also each company had tents, and the following rates of pay per day: To sergeants one shilling and eight pence; corporals and drummers one shilling and sixpence; privates one shilling and three pence. The officers had twenty shillings for each man they enlisted. *De Lancey's Proclamation (unpublished), March 25, 1758.*

April. The taxes levied for this year were equal to one hundred and thirty pounds out of every two hundred pounds income.

The interest in this campaign was universal, and absorbed all the talent of the colonies. Among the important names who appear in the Ticonderoga expedition are Thomas Gage, already distinguished by his services on the Monongahela, in Braddock's disastrous campaign, and at Lake George, in 1755, who now was raised to the rank of colonel, and who, seventeen years after, as Governor of Massachusetts and general-in-chief, commanded the British troops at Boston and Bunker Hill; the daring David Worster, afterward a major-general of the Revolution, he who received his death-wound while fighting the British force on Ridgefield hill; William, the son of Benjamin Franklin, then not twenty-seven years old, subsequently governor of New Jersey; Rogers and Stark, who commanded the rangers, five hundred strong, each with a fire-lock and hatchet under his right arm, a powder-horn, and a leather bag of bullets at his waist, and to every officer a pocket compass, as their guide through the forest;* Israel Putnam, now lieutenant-colonel

* Bancroft.

of one of the Connecticut regiments ; Captain Schuyler (the Philip Schuyler of the Revolution), who was the aid-de-camp and right arm of Gen. Howe, and now, in the commissary department, was engaged in forwarding the bateaux and supplies ; Lieut.-Col. Bradstreet, famous for his gallantry in this expedition, and in the subsequent advance on, and capture of, Fort Frontenac, with forty cannon and a vast quantity of stores ; Duncan Campbell, a true Rob Roy ;* Capt. Philip Skeene,† of the Enniskellen regi-

* In the burying-ground of Fort Edward, Major Campbell was buried, and his inscription may still be seen on a red sandstone slab, as follows :

“ Here Lyes the Body of Duncan Campbell, of Invershaw, Esq., Major to the old Highland Regt., Aged 55 years. Who died the 17th July, 1758, of the Wounds he Received in The Attack of The Retrenchment of Ticonderoga or Carillon the 8th July, 1758.”

† In March, 1765, Skeene obtained a patent for the township of Skeenesborough. In 1770 he established his residence there, now Whitehall, built mills and forges, and opened the road to Bennington. In his obituary notice he is styled formerly lieutenant-governor of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and surveyor of his Majesty's woods and forests bordering on Lake Champlain. The buildings of Skeene were of a very substantial kind. His house, situate on William street, Whitehall, was of stone, thirty by forty feet, and two and a half stories high. His barn, some distance south, was also of stone, one hundred and thirty feet

ment, who projected the settlement at Wood creek and South Bay, and settled about thirty families there ; John Campbell, who commanded the British forces in West Florida, and by whom Pensacola was, in 1781, surrendered to the Spaniards ; Charles Lee, appointed by Congress, major-general in the Continental army ; Capt. James Marsh, who served on the British side, through the Revolutionary war, and died a lieutenant-general in 1804 ; Capt. Richard Mather, of the Royal American battalion ; Capt. Garin Cockran ; Major John Rutherford,* of the Royal Americans, a member of the German privy council, and who had served in Sir Peter Hackett's brigade, in Braddock's campaign ; Capt. Joseph Schlosser, who afterward commanded "Old Fort Schlosser," at Niagara ; Col. Henry Babcock,† a captain in the battle of Lake George, in 1755 ; Capt. John Whiting, afterward lieutenant-colonel of the Rhode

long. The doorway was arched, and the keystone is still preserved in the wall of the Baptist Church. It bears the letters P. K. S., and the date 1770.

* Major Rutherford was killed at the first attack on Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758.

† Col. Babcock afterward entered holy orders, and was engaged in founding a school for the education of the Mohawk Indians.

Island regiment; Major William Eyre, who built Fort William Henry, and afterward was appointed chief-engineer of the army, and laid out a new fort at Ticonderoga; Lient.-Col. William Haviland, of the Inniskilling foot, who became a major-general in the army, and served with distinction at the reduction of Havana. As the troops arrived at Albany they went into camp just below the city.*

Lord Howe was the soul of the army, and possessed extraordinary powers of application. His hair, of the fashion of the courtiers of George II, was long and abundant. He had it

* May 27. Gen. Abercrombie wrote to Gov. De Lancey, that a sentinel on duty at Albany had challenged one Burgen Hassen. On the second challenge, Hassen replied, "fire, and be damned," whereupon the sentry had fired and killed him. The coroner's inquest had found the fact to be murder by the sentry. He desired the Governor would order the civil magistrate to deliver over the prisoner to the military authorities, to be tried by court-martial, that His Majesty might not be deprived of the services of the man and those who must attend as witnesses in the ordinary course of law. It appeared to the council that the jury did not clearly understand the case, and that the people in general thought the deceased drew the punishment upon himself. They advised the Governor to order the coroner to transmit the examinations of the witnesses, upon oath, to the intent that the prisoner may be admitted to bail, if bailable by law. *Manuscript Proceedings of Council.*

cut short. He also wore a short coat, and he obliged his regiment to follow his example. He forbade all displays of gold and scarlet among both officers and men. He had the muskets of his regiment shortened, and the barrels blackened, that they should not glisten in the sun, and, to prevent the sting of mosquitoes, he made them all wear canvas leggins. He mixed ginger with their water to prevent them from having the ague. His quarters were usually in the camp with his men, instead of in town at the houses of the hospitable Albanians. Always courteous and amiable, he respected the opinions and habits of those who had been differently brought up. To the arrogant and presumptuous unfledged officer of European birth, he used to present the weapons of ridicule. "Knowledge and respect," said his lordship, "for the varied manners and opinions of others, will harmonize our great army, and will make it invincible: Any gentleman officer will find his equal in every regiment of the Americans. I know them well. Beware how you underestimate their abilities and feelings, civil, social and military."*

* Dudley Bean. Letter from camp. *Boston News Letter*, June 22, 1758.

The British regiments numbered the following :

27th, Inniskilling foot, Lord Blakeney.

42d, Highlanders, originally "*The Black Watch*," Lord John Murray.*

44th, General Lord Abercrombie.

46th, Lieutenant-General Thomas Murray.

55th, Lord Viscount Howe.

60th, Royal Americans.†

80th, Colonel Thomas Gage.

Among the Provincial regiments were :

New York, Colonel Oliver De Lancey.

Rhode Island, Colonel Henry Babcock.

* In the Black Watch, among the subordinate officers, appear the names of Graham, Campbell, McNeil, Graeme, Stewart, Murray and Sterling. When Rob Roy was outlawed, the name of McGregor was forbidden and that of Campbell was substituted. The Highland clans had their counselors, bards and songsters, who clothed their deeds with poetry and sang the songs of the departed. The losses of this regiment at the battle of Ticonderoga, were six hundred and forty-seven killed and wounded, including Major Duncan Campbell, and all but two officers. Three days after, when, at Fort Edward, the green sod was being placed over the graves of the Major, and Captain John Campbell, one, looking at the sad countenances of the others, who were performing these rites, at length said: "Who is our counselor now, and who will perform our dirges?" *Bean.*

† The 60th Royal Americans was composed of four battalions. The commander-in-chief of the forces in America,

1st New Jersey, Colonel Johnston.

2d New Jersey, Colonel Partridge.

1st Connecticut, Colonel Fitch.

2d Connecticut, Colonel David Wooster.

3d Connecticut, Colonel Phineas Lyman.

Massachusetts, Colonel Preble.

Five hundred Mohawks, Colonel Sir William Johnson.

General Abercrombie arrived in the city the first of June, and the army, then numbering thirteen thousand men, all in high spirits and in tolerable discipline, presented a show of military grandeur, such as Albany has never seen before or since. Boats and canoes, ammunition and supplies, were hurried forward to Fort Edward in the charge of teamsters and boatmen hired and impressed from all parts of the country.

was usually the colonel *ex officio* of the regiment. Lord Viscount Howe was colonel commandant, Feb. 25, 1757, and was transferred to the 55th as colonel, Sept. 26, 1757. At this time it had the following officers:

Colonel Commandant—Robert Monckton.

Lieutenant-Colonels—Henry Boquet, Frederick Haldiman, St. John St. Clair, John Young.

Majors—James Robertson, John Rutherford, Augustus Prevost, John Tullikens.

The 2d and 4th battalions were with this expedition.

On the 5th, Lord Howe moved forward with one-half of the army, arriving at Fort Edward on the 8th.*

The second division, under the commander-in-chief, followed, and extended, with their trains, according to a writer of that day, a distance of seventeen miles.

Rogers, with fifty men, and boats in wagons, pushed forward to make a reconnoissance of the fort at Ticonderoga, and the force therein. Returning without delay to report, he found

* Aunt Schuyler, as this amiable young officer familiarly styled his maternal friend, had a high esteem for him, and the greatest hope that he would, at some future time, redress the evils that had formerly impeded the service. In the morning Lord Howe proposed setting out very early, but when he arose he was astonished to find Madame Schuyler waiting and breakfast ready. He smiled, and said he would not disappoint her, as it was hard to say when he would again dine with a lady. Impressed with an unaccountable degree of concern about the fate of the enterprise in which he was embarked, she again repeated her counsels and her caution, and, when he was about to depart, embraced him with the affection of a mother, and shed many tears, a weakness she did not often give way to. A few days after, in the afternoon, a man was seen coming on horseback from the north, galloping violently, without his hat. Pedram ran eagerly to inquire, well knowing he rode express. The man galloped on, crying out that Lord Howe was killed. Shrieks and sobs of anguish re-echoed from every part of the house. *Letters of an American Lady, vol. ii, p. 273.*

Lord Howe encamped at the Half-way brook. June 22 they arrived at the lake; Rogers encamping with his rangers on the slope of the hill occupied formerly by De Levi, near the Hendrick Spring, and Lord Howe on the rocky eminence known as Fort George.

“Putnam was here detached with fifty rangers to scout along Wood creek and South Bay. He proceeded down the creek to “Fiddler’s Elbow,” about a mile below Whitehall, where high rocks jut into the stream, and, compressing it into narrow limits, make a short and sudden curve. On this he erected a stone breastwork, about thirty feet long, and concealed its front by pine trees, so placed as to present the appearance of a natural growth of forest. On the fourth day, at evening, a body of men from Carillon, in boats, commanded by M. Marin, was seen entering the mouth of the creek. The moon was at its full, and shed its clear, yellow light upon every movement of the enemy. In the dead silence was heard the murmur of voices, and even the ripples that broke around the barges. Continuing to advance, some of the boats had already passed the parapet, when a soldier’s musket, accidentally striking a stone, gave a ring so audible, in the stillness of the evening, that the leading canoes stopped. The others coming up, they lay upon their oars at the base of the cliff—five hundred men crowded together, their upturned faces distinctly seen by the light of the evening. They gazed intently at the parapet, upon the apex of which, like a bird of prey in his eyrie, Putnam was watching his victims. The low “*O’wish*” of the Indian stole over the water. A moment more, and the word “Fire!” broke upon their ears in startling clearness from the lips of the provincial commander. At once the flash of musketry gleamed from the bushes, and a

shower of balls sent death into the mass beneath. All was confusion; and while some moved out from the thickest of the crowd, others replied by a volley of bullets, which cut through the trees and struck harmlessly against the rocks. The fight, such as it was, was continued during the entire night. The French detached a body of men to effect a landing and charge upon the rear of the provincials. Lieut. Robert Durkee, with a detail of twelve men, was sent to oppose them in this design, in which he succeeded. In the morning, his ammunition being exhausted, Putnam retreated, leaving two wounded soldiers. As he was falling back, the commander was met by a party who had come out to his assistance. Before they could be recognized, they received a volley, which, however, was harmless. "Friends or foes," says Putnam, "you deserve to perish for doing so little execution." Lieut Durkee was shot in the thigh at the massacre at Wyoming, 1780."

June 28th brought to Lake George the remainder of the army with Abercrombie, whose white tents, defined with military precision over the hills and on the rising plains, extended from the water's edge, and half encircling it quite around the west side and outside the lines of Montcalm, beyond the artillery cove.* The encampment formed a scene of grandeur and display which had never been equalled in the New World. But not the brilliant appearance of military

*To and including the plateau of the Caldwell Manor House.

equipage or the extent of the camp, which will lead captive the imagination, formed the most extraordinary characteristic of the drama ; it was the marked individuality which characterized the whole. There were the courtiers of a great kingdom, the high-born noblemen of a race who had possessed their domain for a thousand years, the red chiefs of North American wilds, the grenadiers who had grown brown in the service of the east, their different corps ; their widely extended fame ; all these, with the regulars from the North American colonies, and the inimitable rangers—who could doubt their success ? It was a regalia, a regatta party of all nations costumed in the various colors of military pomp, of royal courts, of clans, provinces and the forest ; and the lake, calm and still, faithfully reflected back the beauty of the scene.

Such was the appearance of the encampment on the evening of the fourth day of July, 1758. At daylight on the morning of Sunday, the fifth, according to the order, the tents were struck and the army in vast columns converged to three points for the embarkation, two on the beach in front of Fort George and William Henry, and the third from the temporary dock on the west side.

The center division was formed of the grenadiers and highlanders. The wings were composed of the provincials, led by Colonel Gage on the right, and on the left by Major Rogers. The army comprised 6,350 regulars and 9,000 provincials.

The fleet consisted of nine hundred bateaux, one hundred and thirty-five whale-boats, numerous rafts carrying the artillery, and two huge castles, highly decorated, each with two mounted cannon, and from which the English flag towered the highest.* The parallel columns now moving extended from shore to shore, and covered the lake for six miles and a half. In the narrows and passing the islands, they defiled, forming subdivisions. "Leaving these, they reformed, moving in stately procession down the beautiful lake, bright with banners, cheered by martial music, beaming with hope and pride, though with no witness but the wilderness." †

Twenty-five miles brought them past where the mountains "step down to the water's edge," and at a place already famous in partisan legend, but henceforth to be known as SABBATH-DAY POINT, in the picturesque loveliness of the forest, enhanced "by the richest hues of even-

* Bean. † Bancroft.

ing light," at five o'clock they landed. Here was the scene of the unfortunate defeat of Col. Parker last year, whose melancholy remains, both on land and shore, were still visible.

Lord Howe, reclining on a bear-skin in the tent of his friend Stark, questioned him closely as to the position of Ticonderoga and the fittest modes of attack. Lighting immense fires they favored the belief that they would remain all night, but at ten o'clock the artillery and rear brigades having come up, they moved on to the landing place, which they reached early in the morning.

Montcalm had arrived at Carillon, or Ticonderoga, on the 30th June.

July 1. At day-break he dispatched Bourlamaque, with three regiments, to occupy the head of the portage, and proceeded himself, with four others, to the falls, on both sides of which he encamped, leaving the third battalion of Berri, to guard the fort.

July 2. At five o'clock A. M., two musket shots were heard, which caused the regiments to stand to arms, when word came from the captain of the guard, that having "discovered a feather," he had promptly retired behind a tree, which saved him from a shot that was fired by a hostile Indian, who was ready to

pounce upon him, tomahawk in hand. He returned the fire, which the Indian evaded by falling on the ground, and fled, when the officer called out *Amoi Volontaires.*"

5th. Sunday, service as usual. At two o'clock P. M. saw a white flag on the Black Mountain* hoisted and lowered, which was a signal that barges were upon the lake. De Langy's detachment of one hundred and seventy-eight volunteers returned, reporting that they had been up as far as Ganouskie Bay and been chased by sixty barges. Capt. De Trepezec, of the Bearn regiment, with a detachment of three hundred men, was immediately sent off to Bald Mountain, to observe the movements of the English and to oppose their landing. At day-light the English barges were observed coming forward in order, and appearing in search of a place for landing. At eight o'clock, Bourlemaque gave orders to have the tents struck. He remained with the rear guard, fired at the barges as they approached, and withdrew. Arriving at the falls, he was posted on the right of the La Sarre brigade, at the foot of the heights. The Rousillons were withdrawn from

* The Indian name for Bald Mountain was, Tekagh-weanga-ra-neghton.

the right bank, and the bridges broken up. At four o'clock several shots were heard, which proved to be fired at De Treppezec, who a few minutes afterward arrived, with some soldiers mortally wounded. He lost his way, through the fault of his guide. After defending himself for some time, fifty or sixty of his men escaped, the rest were either killed or captured. On landing, the English army formed and marched in four columns, preceded by the rangers, who were ordered to take post on the north mountain. The right column of the center division, commanded by Lord Howe, having advanced to Trout brook, fell in with De Treppezec, as above stated. In his column were Cols. Lyman, Fitch and De Lancey, who formed the front, and received the first fire. Capt. Burbank, with one hundred and fifty men, was ordered to remain at Rogers' first position, while the latter, with the remainder of the force, fell upon the enemy's left—the river covering the right. Rallying from their bewilderment, and desperate from their position, hemmed in on all sides, the fire of the French and Indians was severe, and the action became general. The ground was uneven, and densely covered with thick and tangled underbrush, so that there was but little form or order to the battle. Rushing

forward, Lord Howe saw the very musket aimed at him, and within twenty feet of him, which a moment more he would have stricken down, but which discharged the fatal messenger by which he was instantly killed. Colonel Delancey was within fifteen feet of him, and leaping forward, with others who had watched him, the pride of the army fell into the arms of those who had loved him. "He is dead," said Delancey, "onward and avenge his death." The provincials and rangers fought with renewed earnestness.

The French would make no formal surrender, but being overpowered and pressed in every direction by the vastly outnumbering English, were slain in parties of two or three in their ambuscades or behind trees. Two hundred were killed, one hundred and forty-eight made prisoners, and about seventy-five escaped. These were forwarded to New York, under the charge of Capt. Jeremiah Richards, of the Massachusetts forces.* The loss of the Eng-

* Headley says: "The prisoners were placed on a little isle, since called Prisoner's island, which is connected to the mainland by a ledge rising to within eighteen inches of the surface. This was, of course, unknown to the English; but in the night the prisoners walked off. As Montcalm dryly remarked, 'they took French leave.'" But, *per contra*: In

lish, including Lord Howe* and those severely wounded, was twenty-two. So closed the events of the day, and the army that night rested on the battle-ground.

7th. The next day, the troops, having been greatly fatigued, by being one night on the water, the next day constantly on foot, and the next night under arms, added to their want of provision, returned to the landing place. About eleven o'clock A. M., Lieut.-Col. Bradstreet, with the Forty-fourth regiment, the first battalion of Royal Americans, the bateau men, the rangers, and provincials, set out to take possession of the saw-mill, within two miles of the

the manuscript council minutes for 1758, page 219, is the account of Capt. Richards attending and acquainting the council that he had brought down under his care one hundred and twenty-five French prisoners, seven of whom are officers. Whereupon * * ordered that the prisoners do proceed to Brockhaven, in Suffolk county, there to be delivered to George Muirson, Esq., high sheriff of that county, who is hereby directed to receive them and to distribute them in proper places, having particular regard to place the Canadians in places where they will be least liable to make their escape.

* "He was," said Abercrombie, "very deservedly and universally respected and beloved throughout the whole army. It is easy to conceive the grief and consternation his untimely fall occasioned. I cannot help owning that I felt it most heavily, and lament him as sincerely."

fort, which was soon effected, as the French had retired the day before. Bradstreet laid down a new bridge, and the army marched that night, and took up their quarters there. The French had already proceeded to build an abatis, covering the whole of the ground between the falls and the reserved timber on Lake Champlain. At five o'clock in the evening, "the ground was equally divided between each wheelbarrow, and made one hundred and twenty-seven paces for each." In the evening, the troops under De Levi, which were designed for an attack on the German flats, but had been recalled, arrived and encamped in the rear of the three brigades.

8th. At five o'clock A. M., each battalion was set to work to strengthen the abatis, one hundred and fifty paces in front of which the pickets were posted, to protect the workmen. The same morning Abercrombie sent out Col. Clark, the chief-engineer, across the river, to make a reconnoissance, from Mount Defiance. Upon his return he gave a favorable report of the practicability of carrying the works by storm. The reports of the prisoners, having also given information of the expected re-enforcements, under De Levi, who, as before stated, had already arrived, an assault was ordered that very day.

Ticonderoga is the part which includes the military grounds, just as they now appear, extending from the point of land made by the confluence of the waters back on the shores of each, for one mile, and here the first wall of the fort — the old French lines, as they are called — extend across from water to water, three-fourths of a mile. In this triangular formation, within their strong intrenchment, lay the entire French army. Had Colonel Clark ordered a road built up to, and a battery placed on, Mount Defiance, as Burgoyne afterward did, he would have commanded the place and they would have been obliged to retreat, without the power to strike a blow. But this was not to be. De Levi had charge of the defenses of the right, with the regiments of La Reine, Bearn and Gayenne; Bourlemaque of the left, with the battalions of La Sarre and Lauguedock; while Montcalm retained the center,* with the battalions of Berry and Rousillon. In all, the French force was 3,250 men. Each battalion had a reserve of pickets and grenadiers stationed

* The spot where Montcalm stood is plainly identified about ninety yards north of the traveled road and a few rods in rear of the old lines. Montcalm had his coat off during the entire action.

behind it. The right and left rested on a ravine, protected each by a battery. The center following the sinuosities of the ground and keeping on the summit of the heights, flanked the wings reciprocally. For additional defenses the oak trees were felled in front of the lines for a hundred yards, their branches sharpened and pointed outward.

Experience has shown a work of this kind, when defended by resolute men, to be in fact impregnable.

On the morning of this day, Colonel Sir William Johnson joined the English army with five hundred Indians from the Six Nations, who took post on Mount Defiance, silent spectators of the extraordinary fight that was about to take place.

The orders of Abercrombie provided for the rangers, the light infantry, and the right wing of the provincials to march immediately and post themselves in a line out of cannon-shot of the intrenchment; their right "extending to Lake George and their left resting on Lake Champlain." These were supported by the six regiments of Massachusetts and the first battalion of the New York regiment. The grenadiers were to form in their rear, and they in turn to be supported by the battalions of the

Connecticut and New Jersey regiments. The whole were ordered to move up briskly, and not to deliver their fire until they were within the enemy's breastworks.

Two rafts were constructed, each to receive two six-pounders, which descended the river, and took the intrenchment in the rear. Three pieces of artillery were brought to bear upon these from the fort, aided by Barnard's and Duprat's sharpshooters, which sank one of the rafts and a pontoon, and drove back some twenty barges which had advanced to support them.

At one o'clock, when the midday sun poured down its hottest rays upon the scene of strife, Abercrombie gave the fatal order to attack.* On the left were Rogers' rangers, in the center the bateaux men of Colonel Bradstreet, and on the right Colonel Gage's light infantry.

These marched up, and, having received the fire from the works, they moved aside and the regular battalions came to the front. These again were sustained by the 42d Highlanders, then in the height of deserved reputation gained at Fontenoy and elsewhere, and the 55th, now commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Prideaux. With steady step the intrepid columns pressed

* Abercrombie's dispatch. Warburton, ii, p. 92.

on through the heavy swamps and tangled under-wood, their ranks now shattered by the deliberate fire of the French, now broken by the uneven ground; they passed into the fallen timber and endeavored to force themselves through the impenetrable abatis. The French artillery played upon the center. Still, with thinned but unbroken column, they pushed, unfaltering, through the one hundred yards of fallen trees. The Highlanders, who should have been in reserve, rushed to the front; active, impetuous, they reached the trenches at the parapet, which were here found to be twenty feet wide. Captain John Campbell and a few of the Rob-Roys forced their way over the breastwork, but were instantly dispatched by the bayonet. "Fresh troops pressed on, rivaling the courage and sharing the fate of those who had led the way. For nearly four hours, like the succeeding waves of an ebb tide, they attacked again and again, each time losing somewhat of their vantage ground; now fiercely rushing on, unflinchingly enduring the murderous fire, then sullenly falling back to reform their broken ranks for a fresh effort. It was vain at last, as it was at first, the physical difficulties were impassable; and upon that rude barrier, which the simplest maneuver would

have avoided, or one hour of well plied artillery would have swept away, the flower of British chivalry was crushed and broken.*

An accident at last arrested this melancholy carnage. A British column, having lost their way and become bewildered in the forest, when they finally emerged upon the open ground, perceived a fire close in their front, and, as they supposed, from the French intrenchments. Promptly they poured in a volley upon the supposed enemy. But when the breeze from the lake lifted up the smoke, they saw, to their confusion, that their shots had fallen with fatal precision among their own brethren.

At five o'clock the columns concentrated themselves upon the angle defended by the battalion of Guyenne, so that the danger became imminent there. De Levi hastened thither with some troops from the right, and Montcalm, also, with part of the reserve.

At six o'clock both columns turned upon the right against the battalions of Rousillon and Berry, and, being again repulsed, made a parting charge on the left. "The fire on the one side and the other, was like that at the battle of Parma."

* Warburton's Conquest of Canada, ii, 94.

At seven o'clock the English, covered by the fire of the rangers and provincials, retreated, abandoning, with the field of battle, the dead and a large portion of their wounded. The slaughter, which had been almost uninterruptedly carried on for five hours, now ceased, the fortunes of the day were decided, and a mass of human bodies, dying and dead, covered the ground even far beyond the lines and strong battlements of the enemy. The number killed and wounded was 1,942, of which 1,608 were regulars, and 334 were provincials. The loss of the enemy proved to be 380.

The English regiments retired successively. Most of their officers had been struck down. There was no one to command, Abercrombie being two miles to the rear at the saw-mills. As they fell back, their disorder became irretrievable, and those who had been foremost in the assault, were soon the first in the disgraceful flight. Highlanders, rangers, provincials and grenadiers scarce looked behind them in their terror, when no man pursued.

The fugitives rallied at the saw-mill around the rear guard which were posted at the headquarters. But before confidence was restored, an extraordinary command of Abercrombie, to fall back to the landing, increased the panic.

The troops, breaking from all order and control, crowded toward the boats. Fortunately Bradstreet, who seems always to have been in the right place, still had a small force, which, like himself, were not shaken by the panic. He threw himself with prompt decision before the landing place, and would not suffer a man to embark. After awhile regularity was restored, and the troops held their ground for the night. On the morning of the 9th, orders were issued to re-embark the army, notwithstanding that it contained still 12,000 fighting men and several good intrenched camps. The army reached Fort William Henry in the evening, having been absent five days. The wounded officers and men were sent to Fort Edward and Albany.

At the time of his death Lord Howe was thirty-four years old. Massachusetts Bay voted £250 for a monument to his memory, which was placed in Westminster Abbey, and bears the following inscription :

“The province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, by an order of the great and general court, bearing date February 1, 1759, caused this monument to be erected to the memory of George Lord Viscount Howe, Brigadier-General of his Majesty’s forces in North America, who was slain July 6, 1758, on his march to Ticonderoga, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, in testimony of the sense they had of his services and military virtues, and of the affection their officers and soldiers bore to his command. He lived

respected and beloved. The public regretted his loss ; to his family it is irreparable."

His body was conveyed back through Lake George in the midst of the army of which he had been the pride and the idol. Under the charge of his friend and companion, Capt. Philip Schuyler, the remains were forwarded to Fort Edward, thence taken to Albany, and found a temporary resting place in the vault of the sorrowing family who mourned him as one of their own. Subsequently, with all the pomp of military display, to the tolling of the bells, the discharge of minute guns, and the playing of a dirge, in the presence of thousands, the relics were borne in state to the "English Church." There, with solemn Episcopal rites, and to the singing of a requiem, the coffin, wrapped in a prepared canvas, disappeared from public view, and was placed in a vault under the chancel, marked with the heraldic insignia of his family.

Forty-four years glided away. Two generations of men had succeeded. Those ideas which the imaginations of the great Franklin and other fathers, near this spot—"glancing from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven"—had bodied forth as the forms of things divine, were called into shapes ; and the airy nothings

found a local habitation and a name. The "Albany plan of union" had assumed a reality, revised and enlarged, as the basis of one of the most powerful nations on the globe. A new and stately house of worship had been erected to take the place of the low-browed church in the street. In the presence of those to most of whom the events chronicled in these pages had become a matter of tradition, the vault was opened. The decayed coffin of rich mahogany was revealed that contained the ashes of the gallant dead, enshrouded in habiliments of gorgeous silk. The hair, dressed in the fashion of the age, was found to have grown several inches; the ribbon that bound it was yet black and glossy. All, on exposure, shrank into dust. The remains, inclosed in a new chest, were reverently placed along the north wall of the modern edifice. Twenty-four others, who, in a former age, had, either from their social position or the sanctity of their lives, been deemed worthy to be buried under the former church, were also removed, and their bones placed side by side near the foundation.

Fifty-seven years had elapsed, and again in March, 1859, the "SPIRIT OF THE AGE" swept over, and touched the place with its magic wand of improvement. Under its inspiration the now

venerable stone building disappeared, its place to be taken by the beautiful gothic St. Peter's, which now occupies the ground.

Again the sacred remains, inclosed by a double coffin, were revealed to view, and still the two pieces of ribbon which bound his hair together were preserved. Once more the coffin was inclosed by another, and, by the new generation, carefully and reverently, near the southwest corner of the new church, was placed in a prepared receptacle, there to remain until, at the bugle call at the LAST REVELLE, his bones will start, and his soul will answer to the FINAL MUSTER.*

* Chancellor Kent's Historical discourse. Agricultural Transactions, 1852. Winslow C. Watson. Albany Evening Journal, April, 1859. Letter of Mrs. Cochran. Lossing.

No monument marks the spot where Lord Howe fell, or where his remains are deposited. The records of St. Peter's contain no mention of the spot. Would it not be appropriate that at least a tablet should be placed within the tower of the church to commemorate the deceased? The esteemed author of the "centennial address" suggests, among others, a monument to Hendrick, the Mohawk chieftain, but he strangely omits the mention of one to the memory of him with whom his family were on such intimate terms of friendship. To raise a monument to the representative of the wild Indian, and omit to do similar honor to the heroic chivalrous leader of the Anglo-Saxon, seems like raising Caliban to the throne of Prospero, the rightful heir. B.

CHAPTER X.

FRONTENAC TAKEN — AMBUSH AT THE FOUR-MILE POST — AMBUSH AT HALF-WAY BROOK — ROGERS' AND PUTNAM'S BATTLE — PUTNAM TAKEN PRISONER — AMHERST IN COMMAND — CAMPAIGN OF 1759 — HALF THE ARMY AT LAKE GEORGE — THEY MOVE ON TO CARILLON — FORT FREDERICK ABANDONED — CONCLUSION.



BERCROMBIE, with "his now useless" army, proceeded to fortify himself at Lake George.* His intrenchments extended from the south side of the rocky eminence on a general course about north fifty degrees west, until they struck the ravine, under Rattlesnake hill, near the Garrison mill, and included the lines known as Fort Gage. He also occupied Diamond and Long islands, with a guard of four hundred men each, and built a sloop of war carrying sixteen guns. The dashing Col. Bradstreet was detached, with a force of two thousand seven hundred men,

* Bancroft says: "He sent artillery and ammunition to Albany for safety. But, *per contra*, they intrenched on the ruins of Fort William Henry, retaining all their artillery and ammunition." Doc. x, 819.

"Since the 8th July, Abercrombie has spent the time in fortifying himself, and threatening Carillon with a second visit." *Montcalm, 21st Sept., 1758.*

against Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario, in which enterprise he was eminently successful, and after razing the fortress and destroying the vessels and such stores as could not be brought off, he returned to Lake George.

The French were never idle. July 16th, a party of twenty soldiers and three officers were ambushed by a detachment of Canadians and Indians. "The impatience of the Indians prevented the detachment destroying a party of three hundred English, who had taken refuge *in a small stockaded fort, lately erected to serve as a depot, on the Fort Edward road.*"*

July 30. A train of fifty-four wagons, each of which was drawn by two yoke of oxen, was leisurely proceeding over the road to Lake George, escorted by a lieutenant and forty men. The wagons were loaded with flour, pork,

*I am inclined to think that this fort is the one located on Isaac Smith's farm, about one-fourth of a mile below Brown's Half-way house. The last of the pickets was visible in 1845; but the ground has since been industriously plowed over, and is now nearly obliterated. There were two forts, one here, and the other at the seven-mile post, which was at the Half-way brook. The latter was built, by Col. Grant, the year following, as will be seen. I find the following French references: August 1. A deserter reports that they have seven hundred men at the Half-way depot. Doc. x, 850. September 29. An English deserter reports he left six thou-

liquors, effects, merchandise, and some baggage belonging to Gen. Abercrombie, among which was his music. They were also accompanied by sutlers, traders, women and children. Near Half-way brook they were attacked by M. de La Corne, commanding a body of four hundred Canadians and Indians, who killed the oxen, two hundred and thirty in number, knocked in the liquor barrels, and pillaged and burnt the wagons. La Corne secured one hundred and ten scalps, and took, including the officers, eighty-four prisoners, of whom twelve were women or girls.* On the receipt of the news of this attack Abercrombie sent out a detachment of five hundred men, commanded by Majors Rogers and Putnam, to intercept the French at South Bay. But they were too late, and La Corne reached Carillon in safety. Rogers

sand at Fort George, eight hundred in the Entrepot Fort, and one thousand five hundred at Fort Edward. Doc. x, 855. It was intended doubtless to prevent a repetition of the scenes of Johnson's campaign of 1755, of which Abercrombie would be likely to entertain a wholesome dread. It protected the entrance to the Bloody defile, and would certainly prevent any large body from planting an ambuscade. It is curious that Tryon's map locates this as Fort Amherst. But this is, of course, a mistake. The latter was the fort at Half-way brook. (See page .)

* Bancroft, Doc. x, 818.

was on the point of returning, when he received advice that M. Marin was on his way from Carillon with a detachment of five hundred men, and was ordered to scout down toward Fort Edward. The divisions, which had become separated, one having gone over to Wood creek, were now ordered to reunite, and measures were concerted to withdraw as directed. The command moved in three columns; two led by Rogers and Putnam, respectively, and the third by Capt. Dalyell. At evening they encamped on Clear river, about a mile west of Fort Ann. The next morning Rogers amused himself by firing at a mark with one of his officers.

At this time Marin was but a mile and a half distant, and by means of the firing was enabled to place himself in an ambuscade for them. The engagement took place about seven o'clock A. M., Aug. 8th. Marin put in two volleys, which caused the provincials to waver. Putnam halted and returned the fire. Dalyell's detachment came up and supported him. Rogers made a detour toward Wood creek, in order, as he said, to prevent the enemy from passing in that direction and falling upon their rear. The men, scattered behind trees, maintained their ground, there being little distinction between officers and privates.

As Putnam thus stood fighting, a powerful Indian, tomahawk in hand, sprung upon him. His musket, held to the very breast of the savage, missed fire. The latter immediately bound him to a tree, and left him there, to mingle again in the fight. A young brave passing by, took deliberate aim, and hurled his tomahawk directly, to appearance, at the head of the captive. It barely missed its mark, and stuck in the tree, the handle quivering in the face of the prisoner. A second and third time he repeated the experiment, till it became apparent he was merely amusing himself at the expense of the captive, and did not intend to hit him. At length he retired.

The engagement continued for about one hour, when the Americans proved victorious, and Marin withdrew, taking with him some prisoners, including Putnam, whose hands were tied, his shoes and stockings taken off, and his back loaded down with the packs of the Indians. At night they stripped him, bound him to a tree, and prepared to roast him; but a shower extinguished the fire. At length the flames caught and began to wreath and crackle and shoot up their spiral folds around him, while the Indians danced and sung and filled the forest with their discordant yells. At that

moment the commander, who had just arrived, seeing the entertainment to which his savage allies had invited themselves, dashed in, and, scattering the fire-brands, released the victim.*

Marin returned to Carillon with his prisoners, who were forwarded to Montreal, and the succeeding winter, through the agency of Col. Schuyler, of the New Jersey regiment, Major Putnam was exchanged.

The news of the disaster at Carillon soon reached Lord Amherst, now the conqueror of Louisburg. He immediately, without orders, embarked with four regiments, and a battalion of the Royal Americans, for Boston. They landed in September, and at once marched through the woods to Albany. Amherst hastened to Lake George, where he arrived on the fifth. On the third of November, Abercrombie was recalled and returned to England, and Lord Amherst was appointed commander-in-chief in his place. The season was too far advanced for offensive operations. The intrenchments were therefore abandoned, the barges conveyed to Fort Edward, and sent down the river, the sloops scuttled and sunk, some of the guns buried, and the army retired into winter quar-

* Bancroft ; Fitch ; Headley.

ters, at Albany, Schenectady, New York, and Virginia. Eight hundred men were left at the lake, fifteen hundred at Fort Edward, and one hundred and fifty men at Fort Miller.*

The seventh army for the conquest of Canada commenced assembling at Albany, for the final movement, on the first of March, 1759. It was composed of the 1st, 17th, 27th (Inniskillings), 42d, 55th, 77th and 80th regulars, and the provincial regiments of Schuyler, Lyman, Ruggles, Whiting, Worcester, Fitch, Babcock, Lovewell, and Willard, and a detachment of artillery under the command of Major Ord. Four hundred bateaux awaited the troops at Half-moon (Waterford).

May 29th. A detachment, under command of Major West, composed of regulars, light-infantry, provincials and rangers, moved up and took post on the road from Fort Edward to Lake George, and there constructed a small stockaded

* While lying in his canoe, near this place, Putnam found himself suddenly surrounded by a party of Indians. There was no outlet of escape from being shot, except by "shooting the rapids." To attempt this seemed certain death, yet he boldly turned, and, to the amazement of the savages, as they saw his boat whirled amid the foaming eddies and the rocks, he steered his frail craft safely through.

fort, with two bastions and a moat.* The movement of the army had already commenced. The advance was under the command of Col. Haviland. June 1. The Highlanders moved up to Half-moon, and took charge of the artillery, which, with the supplies, went up by water, and on the sixth they went into camp at Fort Edward. Gen. Gage remained at Albany, to bring up the heavy stores. As the troops arrived at Fort Edward they were placed in camp in the positions assigned to them in order of battle, the first and second brigades being in the center, the grenadiers and light-infantry from right to left, according to seniority, and the flanks composed of the provincials.

All sutlers who had passes and were not attached to regiments, were encamped on the ground in the center of the army, and a market was kept there for selling whatever they might bring for the use of the army.

Colonel Haviland remained at his camp, opposite Fort Miller.

14th. The Highlanders, with a detachment of 500 provincials under Lieut.-Col. Paysan, and two six-pounders, the whole commanded by

* Knox's Journal. This was probably at the four-mile post below Brown's.

Col. Grant, moved out to Half-way brook, and built a stockade there, known as Fort Amherst. Captain Stark, with a company of rangers from the four-mile post, and a company of Indians, was ordered to join them.*

The same day the General was pleased to approve the following sentences of court-martial: Andrew Yates, 1,000 lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails; John Halfworth, 500 lashes; Thomas Smith, 1,000 lashes; Samuel Pearce, 1,000 lashes. "Smith is to receive his in the following manner: at 12 m. he is to be marched by a provost to the right of the line, and is to receive 100 lashes at the head of each regiment. A mate of the hospital will attend to the punishment."

15th. The 55th regiment, together with fifteen pieces of the royal artillery, moved up this day to the seven-mile post, and reported to Col. Grant.

18th. The first battalion of the Massachusetts moved up to Half-way brook, taking with them a large convoy of provisions, bateaux and stores.

19th. The Royal, with the New Jersey regiment and Connecticut troops, marched to the

* Wilson's Orderly Book, p. 24. Knox.

seven-mile post under the command of Colonel Forster. Thence they proceeded, with the addition of two field-pieces, a company of rangers and some Indians, and took post about three miles this side of Lake George, where the Colonel proceeded to clear the ground, throw up an intrenchment and fortify it with the trees that were felled.* Eight hundred men were detailed for mending the roads.

21st. This day the stockade at the seven-mile post was finished. Lieut.-Col. Paysan remained in command, with 1,000 provincials and seven field-pieces. Provisions, bateaux and whale-boats continued to arrive at this point, which the Colonel was very alert in forwarding to the lake. The weather was intolerably hot, and the teams could scarcely perform their duty. The same day Gen. Amherst moved up with the bulk of the army to the lake, and encamped on its woody banks. The next day he traced out the plan of Fort George.

27th. Some boats of the enemy appeared on the lake near Diamond island, and attempted to surprise a couple of officers who were fishing there, but did not succeed.

* Knox.

July 1. The sloop of war Halifax, which was scuttled last year, was raised. The troops were employed in constructing the stone fortress,* “which is of an irregular form, situated upon a rock; has one front to the lake, and a large morass on the other sides. A casemate is to be built sufficient for 400 men, and there is plenty of good limestone and brick-clay on the spot.” Sixteen men of the New Jersey regiment went, without leave, on the west side of the camp, to cut spruce. About a mile out they were attacked by a party of Canadians and Indians, who killed and wounded eleven of them; the rest escaped.

4th. The engineers made great progress with the fort, having obtained a new supply of bricklayers and masons. A number of men were employed in making brick and lime. The men were daily, at 5 A. M., practiced at target firing, and “the camp was not to be alarmed at the firing here or at the four-mile post, where they will fire at the same hour.”

6th. Capt. Loring, of the navy, in addition to raising and rigging the sloop Halifax, also built a raft to carry nine twelve-pounders.

* Fort George. The fort was never finished.

21. Lord Amherst embarked with the troops. The force consisted of six battalions of regulars, numbering, officers included, 5,743 men, nine regiments of provincials, comprising 5,279 men, and 111 of the royal artillery, with fifty-four pieces of ordnance of various kinds, in all numbering 11,133. For the last time a great army passed through the lake, and on the following day they landed near the spot where Abercrombie had disembarked the year before.

The French troops at Carillon numbered two thousand three hundred men, under the command of Bourlemaque. Montcalm had withdrawn the flower of the army to the defense of Quebec. He met the English near the landing, and skirmished up to the intrenchments. Amherst pressed on and took up a position at the saw-mill. The troops lay upon their arms that night. The same night Bourlemaque abandoned the fort, with the largest part of his army, and took a position about ten miles down Lake Champlain, leaving Hebecourt and four hundred men, with orders to blow up the fort, and retire as soon as the English had established their first batteries.

23d. The grenadiers, perceiving the intrenchments to be deserted, immediately occupied them. In the center of the works the French had erected

a lofty cross, in celebration of the victory of the year before. On the cross was affixed a plate of brass, with the following inscription :

“ *Pone principes eorum sicut Oreb et Zeber et Zalmunna.*”*

The French received them with a shower of shot and shell, and at night made a sudden attack upon the trenches, killing and wounding sixteen, and caused such confusion that in the darkness of the night the British troops fired upon each other. Col. Townshend, deputy adjutant-general, a young and gallant officer, the Lord Howe of the army, was struck down by a cannon-shot.

26th. The English approaches having been advanced within six hundred yards of the fort, and the batteries finished, Hebecourt retired with the French, from the contested walls of Carillon, having left every gun loaded and pointed, several mines charged for the destruction of the defenses, and a lighted fuse communicating with the well stored powder magazine, which shortly blew up, with a tremendous explosion. The wooden barracks, the stores, and other combustible matter were burned. At daylight the next morning, a sergeant succeeded in striking the French flag, and raising that of England

* See Judges vii, 25, also, viii, 12, and Ps. lxxxiii, 11.

in its place, which for the first time now waved over this gloomy fortress. Soon after a detachment was sent in to extinguish the flames, which was speedily accomplished. Lord Amherst set to work at once to repair the fort, which was comparatively uninjured. Most of the ramparts, the covered way, and the walls of the buildings remained.* He devoted himself to leveling his own siege works and completing the road from the shore. The loss of the British, in the seige, was seventy-six killed and wounded. The French leisurely retired to Fort St. Frederick.

“Peace, peace, my Lord,” writes Doriel. “No matter at what sacrifice, as regards boundaries. ’Twill be so much gained, if the people will only work well when it is concluded.” But it was not to be. There was to be no peace until the whole French government in America had surrendered to the Anglo-Saxon.

Around Fort St. Frederick, which for twenty-eight years had been a menace and a challenge to the English colonies, as far as the eye could

* Mr. Watson speaks of this venerable fortress as “without assimilation to any thing in America, and exhibiting the appearance of an ancient castle of Europe, enveloped in the mist of ages, and surrounded with the associations of centuries.”

extend, a rich and beautiful country met the view. The verdant turf, and wheat growing fields, extended from the water's edge back to the base of the mountains, and a population of fifteen hundred people found shelter around the fort. A town was already built. They had their fruit trees, their gardens and their vineyards. An avenue swept in a wide curvature around the margin of the Lake, beyond which lay the principal street, extending into the country. The cellars were excavated from the solid rock, and their compact arrangement, and the narrowness of the avenue, find their counterpart in many an ancient village in Canada. The sidewalks formed of flagging, the stones smooth and worn, still attest the generation who once thronged them in the busy scenes of life. Asparagus, shrubs, and the celebrated Adirondack grape flourished here. A church stood within the ramparts, and several stores furnished the convenient mart for commerce and the profitable exchange of civilized products for peltries. The ambitious politicians of the day dreamed of the time, subsequently attempted under Amherst and Skeene, when a new province might be founded, extending from St. Lawrence and the Connecticut, embracing the Green Mountains and the Champlain valley, with Crown Point as

its capital. The seignories of Aliania and Hocquart had been already laid out and surveyed, the first extending down to Carillon, the latter covering the fertile valley of Otter creek. Had this event occurred, Northern New York would not now exhibit a vast expanse of uncultivated and unreclaimed wilderness.

Regiochne* was the recognized boundary between the Mohawk hunting grounds and those conceded to the St. Lawrence Indians. Had the French confined themselves to the country above this well established point, it is evident that the boundary line of New York and Canada would have been the parallel of latitude extending through from this point to Wells river, on the Connecticut; and on the west to the Thousand Isles, opposite to Frontenac; and at this day the magnificent province of Canada would doubtless have been preserved as the most illustrious jewel of the French empire. But imbecility ruled the hour; and from the time when the order was given for an army of occupation to possess Fort St. Frederick, the doom of Canada was sealed.

Deep was the sorrow of the Canadians when they abandoned forever that lovely land, adorned

* Doc. vii, 576.

by their taste and industry, rescued by them from the dominion of the wolf and the bear, strengthened by their skill and toil, defended by their best blood, and endeared to their gallant hearts by memories of glorious victories. But it was impossible to resist the overwhelming advancing force. Their barges were therefore loaded, and the mournful procession moved down the lake into the narrows, until, in rounding Regio Rock, for the last time and forever, their country disappeared from their view. The French retired to Isle au Noix, where, with one hundred pieces of cannon, thirty-five hundred men, and four armed vessels, commanded by naval officers and a picked crew, they presented an impregnable front on the very threshold of Canada.

Meanwhile Major Rogers was sent forward with two hundred rangers, to feel of the enemy and seize upon some safe position, which he was to hold until relieved by the advancing army.

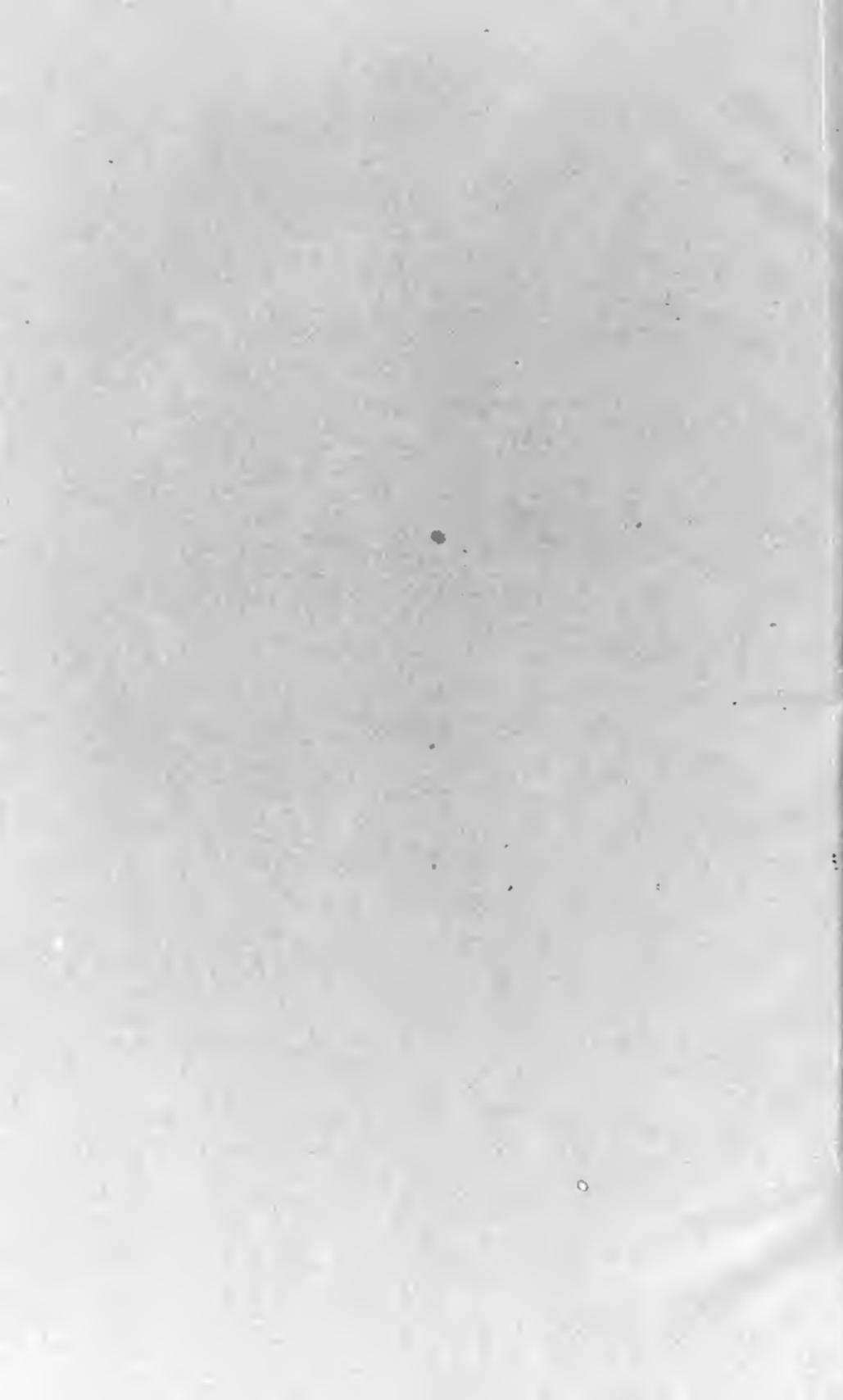
August 4. Lord Amherst arrived and took possession of Fort St. Frederick with its guns, stores and intrenching tools. A portion of the works had been blown up three days before by the retreating French. After encamping his troops, he proceeded, in accordance with his

instructions from Pitt, to trace out and build a new fort, to be in future time known as CROWN POINT, "which, from its situation and strength, will most effectually cover the whole country, and insure its quiet and peaceable possession." Although never completed, this fort is said to have cost the English government more than two millions of pounds sterling. The ramparts were about twenty-five feet thick and nearly the same in height, and were built of solid masonry. The curtains varied in length, from fifty-two to one hundred yards; and the whole circuit, measuring around the ramparts and including the bastions, was eight hundred and fifty-three yards. A broad ditch surrounded the work. On the north was a gate, and from the north-east bastion a covered way leading to the water.

But the glory of Crown Point is departed. The cattle ruminant in its bastion, sheep feed upon its walls, and the wild grape may be plucked from the ruins of its magazine.

"There is given,
Unto the things of earth which TIME hath bent,
A spirit's feeling, and, where he hath leant
His hand, but broke his scythe, there is a power
And magic in the ruined battlement,
For which the palace of the present hour,
Must yield its pomp, and wait till ages are its dower."





1868. LAKE GEORGE. 1868.

FORT WILLIAM HENRY HOTEL

IS OPEN FOR THE RECEPTION OF GUESTS.

This Hotel is situated on the site of Fort William Henry, adjoining Fort George and the old French Burying and Battle Grounds. The House is furnished in a style not surpassed by any City Hotel.

The building is 337 feet in length, with rear wing of 250 feet.

The Rooms are airy, large, and in

Suites or Private Parlors, as may be desired.

Water is carried to every part of the House, which is supplied with

COLD AND WARM BATHS.

The Public Parlor is 78 by 42 feet, fronting on the Lake, brilliantly lighted with gas made on the premises.

A Celebrated Band is Engaged for the Season.

Lake George is celebrated for its fine Trout, Oswego Bass, Pickerel and other fish, which are served up daily at this Hotel.

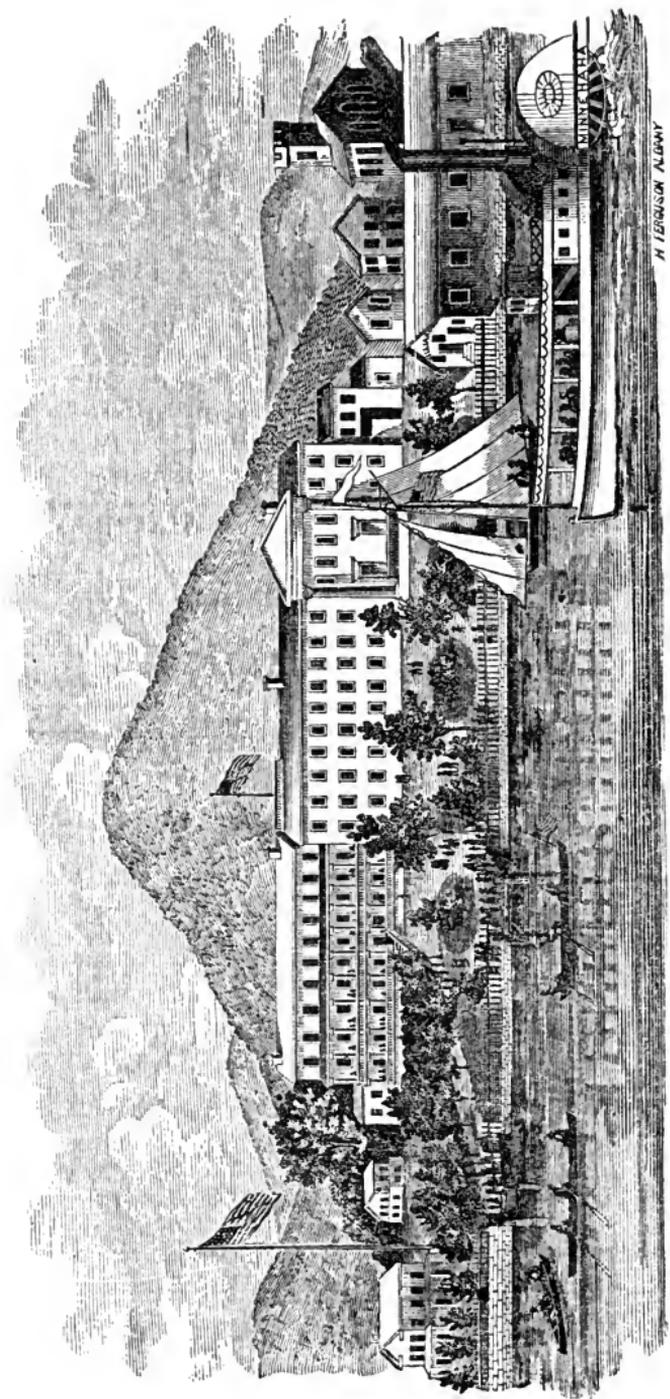
A LIVERY STABLE IS CONNECTED WITH THE HOTEL,

together with an abundance of stable and barn room.

Persons wishing to bring their horses and carriages can have private stables and carriage houses. The drives on the lake shore and through the surrounding country are unsurpassed.

Telegraph in the Hotel connecting with all lines through the State.

DANIEL GALE, Proprietor.



LAKE HOUSE, LAKE GEORGE.

H. J. ROCKWELL, Proprietor.

LAKE GEORGE.

LAKE HOUSE



AS A SUMMER RESORT FOR

Families, Pleasure Seekers and Sportsmen,

NO PLACE WILL COMPARE WITH

LAKE GEORGE!

For its magnificent scenery, the purity of its water, its cool, invigorating air, and its superb Hunting and Fishing Grounds.

THE LAKE HOUSE

Contains over One Hundred Rooms and Private Parlors, It has been put in complete order for the Summer, and the guest will find here every comfort.

THE STEAMER MINNE-HA-HA

Leaves the Lake House Dock every morning at 8 o'clock, for Ticonderoga.

Stages leave the Lake House each day, connecting at Moreau Station with trains for Saratoga, Troy, Albany, New York and Boston. The House is constantly supplied with

Brook Trout, Venison and Birds in their Season,

And the proprietor will be at all times prepared to furnish

GAME DINNERS AND SUPPERS TO PARTIES.

GAME DINNERS AT TABLE D'HOTE ON SUNDAYS.

Board per Week, \$14 to \$17.50.

HIRAM J. ROCKWELL,

Proprietor.

GLENS FALLS, LAKE GEORGE AND CHESTER
STAGE COMPANY.

New Coaches and Equipments, Fast Horses.

LAKE GEORGE PASSENGERS

Who take this route will leave the Railroad at

MOREAU STATION,

And passing over the Plankroad, will witness the exquisite river
scenery of

GLENS FALLS,

So graphically described in Cooper's "Last of the Mohicans;"
The scenes of the Border Conflicts in the

Old French War,

And across the battle ground of

DIESKAU AND SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

The Stages connect with the three trains going North, and the
Mid-day and Evening trains going South.

The morning line also runs to

WARRENSBURGH, CHESTER, POTTERSVILLE, SCHROON LAKE.

From which places good Liveries are always in readiness
to carry passengers to the

**ADIRONDACKS, LONG LAKE, RAQUETTE LAKE AND
MOUNT TAHAWAS.**

E. PUTNAM, Superintendent.

LAKE GEORGE.

THE STEAMER

“MINNE-HA-HA,”

Capt. E. S. HARRIS,

MAKES DAILY TRIPS THROUGH THE LAKE,

connecting with the boats on

Lake Champlain for Montreal, Quebec, Niagara,
White and Franconia Mountains,
Mount Mansfield,

and the Railway to

SARATOGA, TROY, ALBANY and NEW YORK.

THE

“MINNE-HA-HA”

Leaves her dock, at Caldwell, every morning, Sundays excepted,
at 7½ o'clock—steams down the Lake among the islands,
and through to Ticonderoga, connecting with

LAKE CHAMPLAIN STEAMERS

GOING NORTH AND SOUTH,

Returning in the afternoon upon the arrival of the Lake Champlain Steamers, arriving at her dock at the Fort William Henry Hotel at 6 o'clock, P. M.

Passengers by the HUDSON RIVER and HARLEM RAILROADS (four trains daily), and by the DAY BOATS, arrive at the Lake in time for Tea same day; by the HUDSON RIVER STEAMERS (night boats,) in time for Dinner next day.

LAKE GEORGE.

Mohican House,

BOLTON.

This well known House is situated on

GANOUSKIE OR NORTHWEST BAY,

TEN MILES FROM CALDWELL.

Affords Accommodation for Sixty People.

Situate opposite the

Fine Fishing Grounds,

And its location is the most delightful upon the Lake.

S. W. CLEMANS,

Proprietor.

LAKE GEORGE.

THE

FT. TICONDEROGA HOUSE,

AT

TICONDEROGA

HAS RECENTLY BEEN REFITTED,

AND IS

NOW OPEN

For the Reception of Guests.

R. C. JENKINS, Proprietor,

LAKE GEORGE.

BROWN'S HALF-WAY HOUSE.

Visitors at

LAKE GEORGE,

By driving down to

BROWN'S,

FOUR MILES ON THE PLANKROAD,

Will pass the battle ground of

**Gen's Johnson and Dieskau, Bloody Pond, and
Rocky Brook,**

The place of the ambushade and death of

COL. WILLIAMS AND KING HENDRICK, IN SEPT., 1755.

They can also visit the place of the

STOCKADE AT THE FOUR MILE POST,

Built by Abercrombie, in 1758,

And the scene of an Engagement and Capture

BY THE FRENCH AND INDIANS IN THE SAME YEAR,

The works of the

ALBANY PEAT COMPANY,

In successful operation, can also be seen; and by driving to the

Corning Ore Bed,

About a mile distant, persons may witness the interesting
process of

SINKING A SHAFT.

Refreshments of all kinds at the Hotel, and dinners for parties gotten up at very short notice.

GEORGE BROWN, Proprietor.

NORTHERN NEW YORK.

FOR SALE!

MERRITT & SWEET'S

MAP OF THE

GREAT WILDERNESS

OF

NORTHERN NEW YORK.

Engraved on Stone in the Finest Style,

AND PRINTED FOR CONVENIENCE IN THIRTY-SIX SECTIONS.

Together with a Leather Case for holding the same.

PRICE \$6.00.

Also in preparation a new and

TRIGONOMETRICAL MAP OF LAKE GEORGE.

WEED, PARSONS & CO.,

ALBANY, N. Y.

PLATTSBURGH, NEW YORK.

FOUQUET'S HOTEL.

This Hotel is particularly desirable for a Summer Resort.
Situating upon the banks of

LAKE CHAMPLAIN,

Its broad piazzas offer beautiful views of

CUMBERLAND BAY,

Celebrated as the scene of the

Naval Engagement of 1814,

While from the Promenade on the roof a fine view can be obtained,
including the village, the surrounding country, and in the distance the

GREEN MOUNTAINS AND THE ADIRONDACKS,

Which together with the pure water, the beautiful Flower, Pleasure
and Croquet Grounds; the pleasant drives; the spacious and well
ventilated rooms, offer attractions to the seeker after health and pleasure
that cannot be surpassed.

A new and spacious

LIVERY STABLE

In connection with the Hotel, affords ample accommodations to persons
wishing to bring with them their horses and carriages.

A STEAM FERRY

Will make daily trips between PLATTSBURGH and ST. ALBANS BAY,
passing between NORTH and SOUTH HERO ISLANDS, and touching at
the best fishing localities there are to be found on LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

Sportsmen

En-route for the ADIRONDACKS will find private conveyances at
PLATTSBURGH to take them to PAUL SMITH'S, MILOTE BAKER'S, MARTIN'S,
VIRGIL BARTLETT'S and other forest resorts, at as low rates as
are offered on any other route.

D. L. FOUQUET & SON,

Proprietors.

LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

LAKE CHAMPLAIN

STEAMERS.

ADIRONDACK,	- - -	Capt. Wm. H. Flagg.
CANADA,	- - - - -	Capt. Wm. Anderson.
UNITED STATES,	- -	Capt. J. C. Babbitt.
MONTREAL,	- - - -	Capt. Henry Mayo.

Make close connections for

LAKE GEORGE,

Mount Mansfield, White and Franconia Mountains,
Montreal, Ogdensburgh, Quebec,

SARANAC AND CHAZY LAKES,

ADIRONDACK MOUNTAINS,

AND THE

NORTH WOODS.

The day boat enables the tourist to see Plattsburgh, Cumberland Bay—the scene of McDonough's victory in 1814—Burlington, Regio Rock (Split Rock), Kanondoro (the Narrows), Og-haronde (Windmill Point), Point au Chevalure (Crown Point), Carillon (Ticonderoga), Mt. Defiance, Canaghsione, (The Two Rocks), Putnam's Rock (Fiddler's Elbow), places renowned in American History. Connects at

WHITEHALL

with Morning and Evening Trains on the Great Southern and Western route for all parts.

O. C. MITCHELL, Supt.,

BURLINGTON, VT.

ADIRONDACK RAILWAY.

Strangers should not leave Saratoga before they have taken a trip on the Adirondack Railway to

LUZERNE,

A DISTANCE OF TWENTY MILES,

And view for themselves its romantic scenery including the

Kayaderoseras Mountain, the "Potash," Constitution Hill, Phelps Bay, the Sacandaga Rapids, the High Bridge, 100 feet above the water, Jessup's Little Falls, and the romantic

LAKE OF LUZERNE.

EXCURSION TRAINS

Leave SARATOGA SPRINGS daily at 10 o'clock, A. M. and 7.30 P. M. Returning, leave LUZERNE daily at 6 o'clock A. M. and 3 o'clock P. M., connecting with trains North and South on the Rensselaer and Saratoga Railroad.

THE ADIRONDACK EXPRESS

Runs daily between SARATOGA and intermediate places to LUZERNE.

S. M. SEYMOUR, Superintendent.

LUZERNE, NEW YORK.

ROCKWELL'S HOTEL.

This Hotel is situated among the rugged hills of

NORTHERN NEW YORK.

It has accommodations for about one hundred people.

FISH AND GAME DINNERS

May be relied on at all times in their season.

FINE FISHING AND BOATING,

ON THE

HUDSON AND SACANDAGA RIVERS,

and on the celebrated

LAKE OF LUZERNE.

Only twenty miles from SARATOGA SPRINGS and ten miles
from LAKE GEORGE.

GEORGE H. ROCKWELL,

JUNE, 1868.

Proprietor.

**

PEOPLE'S LINE OF STEAMERS,

BETWEEN

NEW YORK AND ALBANY.

Leaves Pier, foot of Canal Street, New York, Daily,
except Sundays, at 6 o'clock P. M.

STEAMER DREW,

Captain S. R. Roe,

Leaves Albany, Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

STEAMER ST. JOHN,

Captain W. H. Christopher,

Leaves Albany, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, at
8 o'clock P. M.

Close Connections made with the Rensselaer and Saratoga Railroad at Albany, to and from Saratoga, Lake George, Luzerne, White Mountains and Adirondacks.

BAGGAGE CHECKED THROUGH, PASSENGERS CARRIED TO BOATS FREE.

J. W. HARCOURT, Agent.

SARATOGA SPRINGS.

THE

CLARENDON HOTEL

IS NOW

OPEN FOR THE SEASON.

No pains have been spared to make this well known Hotel perfect in every respect.

CHARLES E. LELAND,

Proprietor.

WASHINGTON SPRING.

The "WASHINGTON SPRING," situated in the grounds of the "CLARENDON HOTEL," has for more than sixty (60) years occupied a prominent place among the celebrated waters of SARATOGA.

It can be used at all hours of the day, by all classes of invalids, while to those who are in perfect health, it is a delightful and invigorating beverage.

Put up in Pint Bottles only, and carefully packed in cases of four dozen each for shipping.

CHARLES E. LELAND,

Proprietor.

SARATOGA SPRINGS.

**AMERICAN HOTEL,
BROADWAY.**

The undersigned has spared no pains or expense
to make the

**AMERICAN
A FIRST CLASS HOUSE,**

worthy of a continued and increased patronage.

IT IS OPEN ALL THE YEAR.

THE AMERICAN

**Is one of the most convenient and centrally located
Hotels at Saratoga.**

It is only a few rods from the depot, directly opposite the
Post Office, and but a few moments walk from all the

CELEBRATED MINERAL FOUNTAINS

of this great watering place.

A liberal share of patronage is most respectfully
solicited.

W. H. McCAFFREY, Proprietor.

SARATOGA SPRINGS.

CONGRESS HALL,

Erected on the site of the Old Congress Hall,
Adjoining Congress Spring,

AT A COST OF FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS,

AND

COVERING OVER THREE ACRES OF GROUND,

IS NOW OPEN.

The front is 400 × 48 feet, five stories high, with French roof. The building is divided into seven fire proof compartments, and has been erected in the most thorough and substantial manner.

THE WINGS ARE 230 BY 50 FEET.

It contains 600 Rooms, each furnished with Bells, Gas and Water.

ONE HUNDRED PRIVATE PARLORS.

The Dining Room is 212 by 50 feet.

The Public Parlors, Reading and Reception Rooms and Offices, are on a scale unsurpassed, it is believed, in this country.

H. H. HATHORN, Proprietor.

*

TROY, N. Y.

TROY HOUSE.

Guests conveyed to and from the Cars and
Steamboats free of charge.

C. H. JONES,

Proprietor.

STANWIX HALL.

ALBANY, N. Y.,

DELAVAN PECK,

Proprietor.

HUDSON RIVER & HARLEM RAILROADS

FROM

NEW YORK.

8 o'clock Express Train

via

HUDSON RIVER RAILROAD,

Connects at TROY with mid-day trains for

SARATOGA, Ft. EDWARD AND LAKE GEORGE.

11 o'clock Express via Harlem and **11:30** Express via Hudson River Railroad, connect at TROY with evening trains for

Saratoga, Whitehall, Lake George and Steamers
on Lake Champlain to

MONTREAL.

3:45 via Hudson River, connects at TROY with Sleeping Car for Montreal.

6:30 P. M. and **11** P. M., via Hudson River, with Sleeping Car attached, connect at TROY with morning trains for Saratoga, Lake George and Lake Champlain.

FROM TROY TO NEW YORK.

9:15 A. M., **11:30** A. M., **3:45** P. M. via Hudson River Railroad.
4:15 P. M., via Harlem. **9:15** P. M., with Sleeping Car attached.

I. M. TOUCEY,

Supt. Hudson R. R. R.

J. C. BUCKHOUT,

Supt. Harlem R. R.

ALBANY, N. Y.

DELANVAN HOUSE,

OPEN ALL THE YEAR ROUND!

HAS 350 ROOMS,

INCLUDING TWENTY PRIVATE PARLORS!

Families or parties traveling for pleasure, will always
find here the conveniences and comforts of a

FIRST CLASS HOTEL.

Meals at all hours on arrival of the
Trains or Boats.

CHAS. E. LELAND,

Proprietor.

ALBANY.

BOOKS,

IN THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS OF

LITERATURE,

for

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

LIBRARIES.

Theological and Sunday School Publications.

SCHOOL BOOKS, STATIONERY, BLANK BOOKS.

STEREOSCOPES AND VIEWS,

Chromo-Lithographs, &c.,

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL.

S. R. GRAY,

38 State Street, Albany, N. Y.

ALBANY, N. Y.

To parties about visiting the Adirondacks and all persons desiring Fine Groceries,

JOSEPH J. PRICE,

No. 75 State Street,

Offers, put up in parcels to suit and carefully packed,

**Turkish, Mocha and Java Coffee, Bacon
and Smoked Tongues, English and
American Pickles and Sauces.**

The finest grades of

GREEN AND BLACK TEAS,

CHOICE

FAMILY GROCERIES,

Cincinnati Sugar Cured Hams,

BRANDENBURGH'S SALAD OIL.

The finest Imported

Preserves and Jellies in Glass.

Orders sent by Express, C. O. D., carefully attended to, and prices very reasonable. Also

FINEST BRANDIES, WINES, WHISKIES, SCOTCH AND ENGLISH ALE,

And the best brands of

IMPORTED AND DOMESTIC CIGARS.

ALBANY, N. Y.

TWEDDLE HALL
MUSIC STORE,

85 State Street,

NEXT DOOR TO HALL ENTRANCE.

J. COLLIER & SON,
MUSIC PUBLISHERS,

Wholesale and Retail Dealers in

SHEET MUSIC, MUSIC BOOKS,

And every variety of

MUSICAL MERCHANDISE.

Chickering & Sons'

Grand, Square, and Upright Piano Fortes,
also Manhattan Co., Emerson,
and other Boston and
New York Makers.

Sole Agents for

GEO. A. PRINCE & CO., TAYLOR & FARLEY, AND THE FAMOUS
EXCELSIOR ORGANS AND MELODEONS.

PARTICULAR attention given to Renting of Pianos, Organs and
Melodeons.

PIANOS Tuned and Repaired. Piano Stools and Cloths constantly
on hand. Music sent by mail free of postage. All goods warranted
as represented, at prices which defy competition.

RENSSELAER AND SARATOGA RAILROAD.

Great Northern and Southern Route

CONNECTS WITH ALL LINES AND POINTS.

TRAINS GOING NORTH.

Leave Albany,.....	7.10 a. m.,	12.50 p. m.,	5.10 p. m.
Schen'tady,	7.30 " "	4.20 "
Troy,.....	7.30 "	1.10 "	5.20 "
Saratoga,...	9.10 "	2.50 "	7.10 "
Ft. Edward,	9.53 "	3.40 "	8.00 "
Arrive Whitehall, .	11.22 " "	9.53 "

TRAINS GOING SOUTH.

Leave Whitehall,..	6.00 a. m.,	4.08 p. m.
Ft. Edward,	7.13 "	1.10 p. m.,	5.00 "
Saratoga,...	8.10 "	2.05 "	5.50 "
Arrive Troy,.....	9.40 "	3.40 "	7.30 "
Schen'tady,.	9.55 "	3.55 "	7.40 "

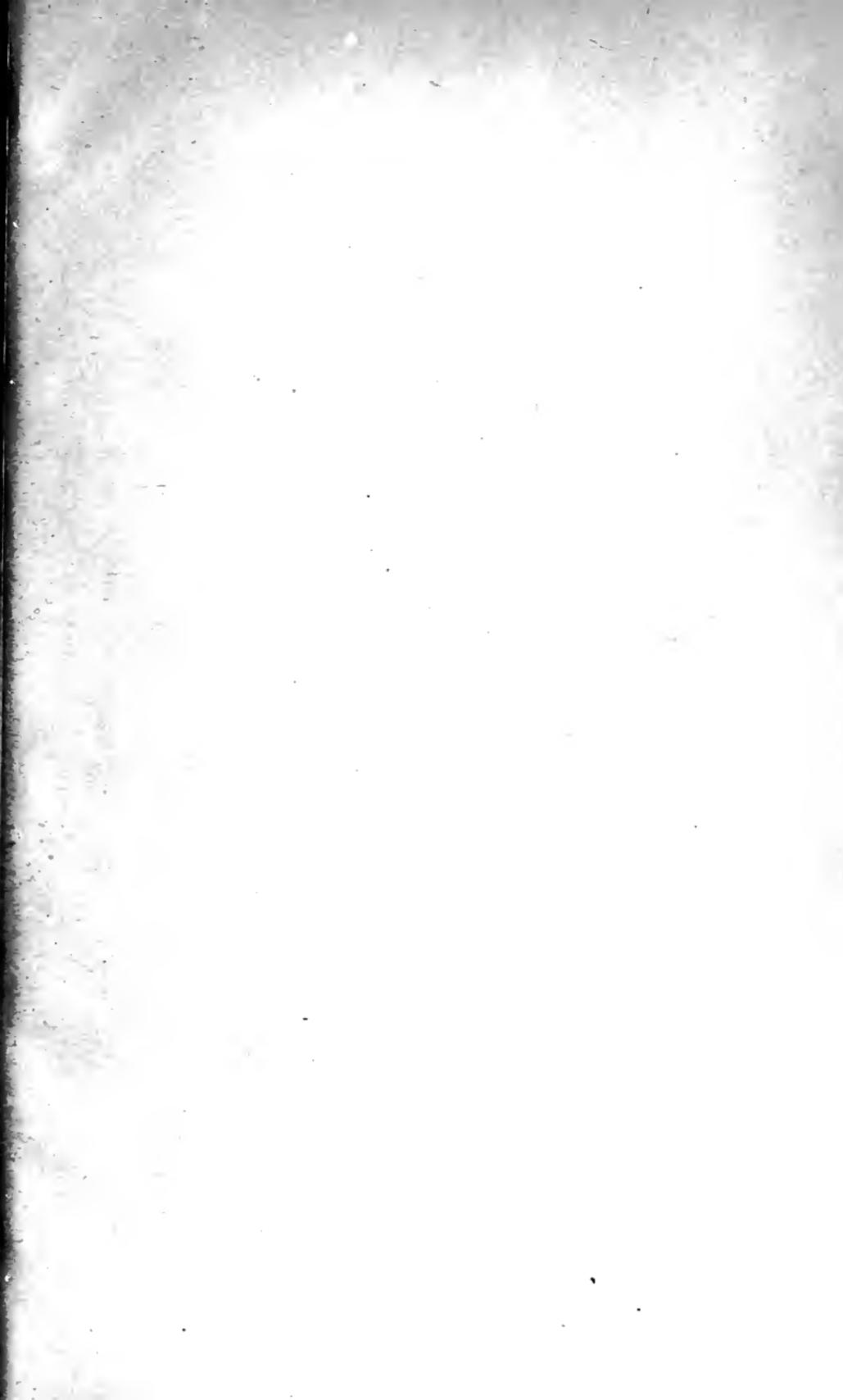
MORNING AND EVENING TRAINS

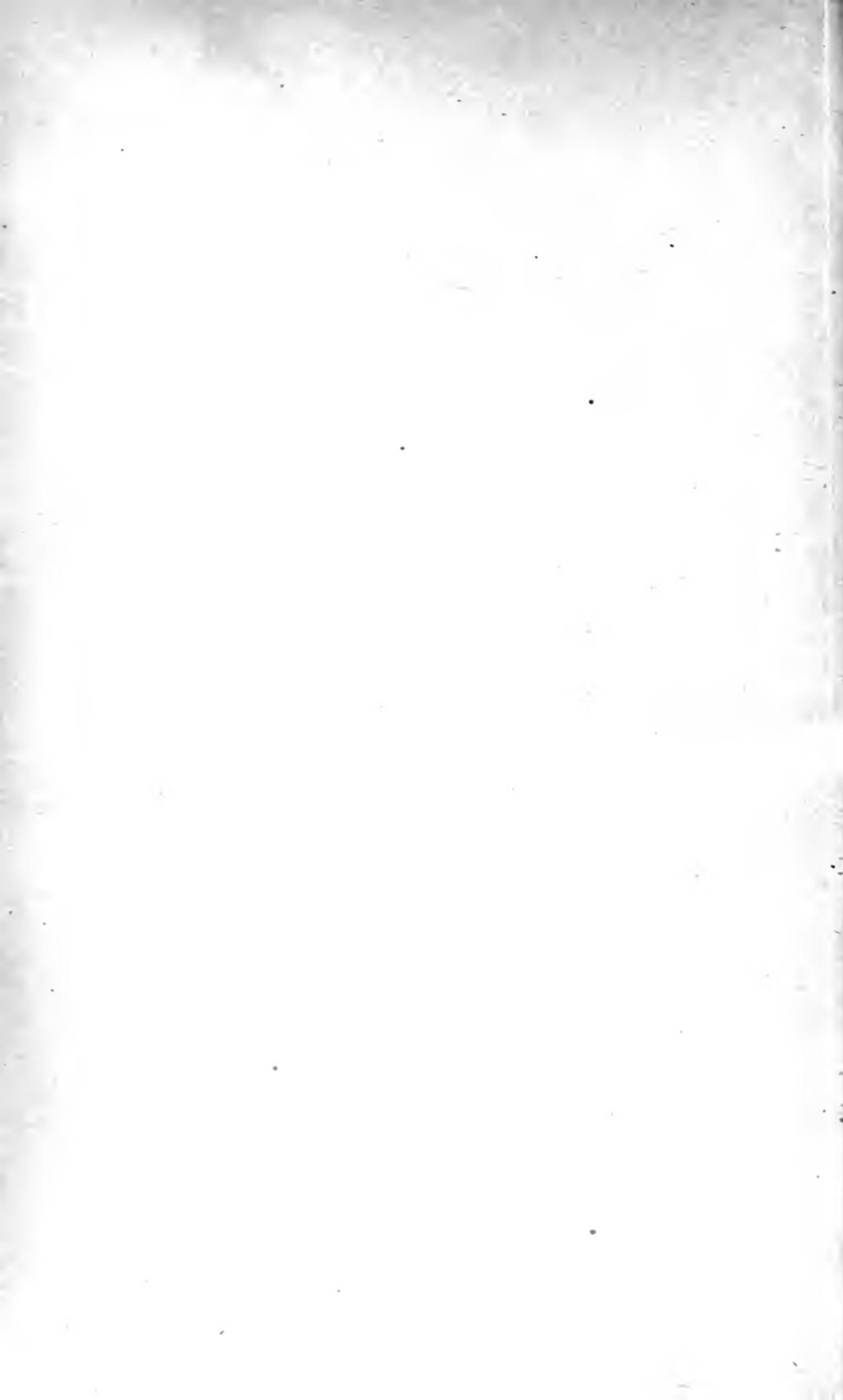
Connect at Saratoga with Adirondack Railroad, at Moreau and Fort Edward with stages for Lake George, and at Whitehall with steamers on Lake Champlain.

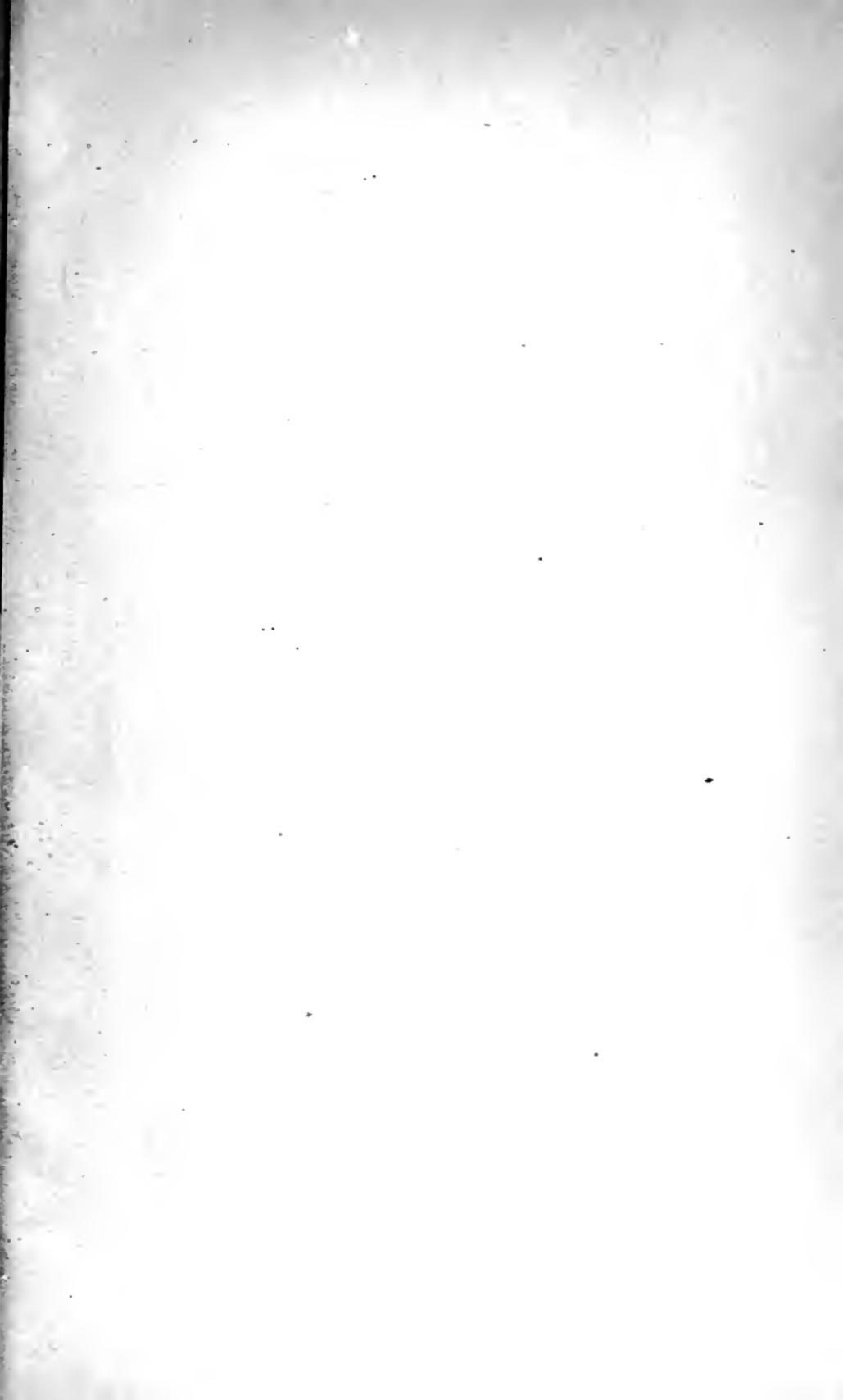
I. V. BAKER,

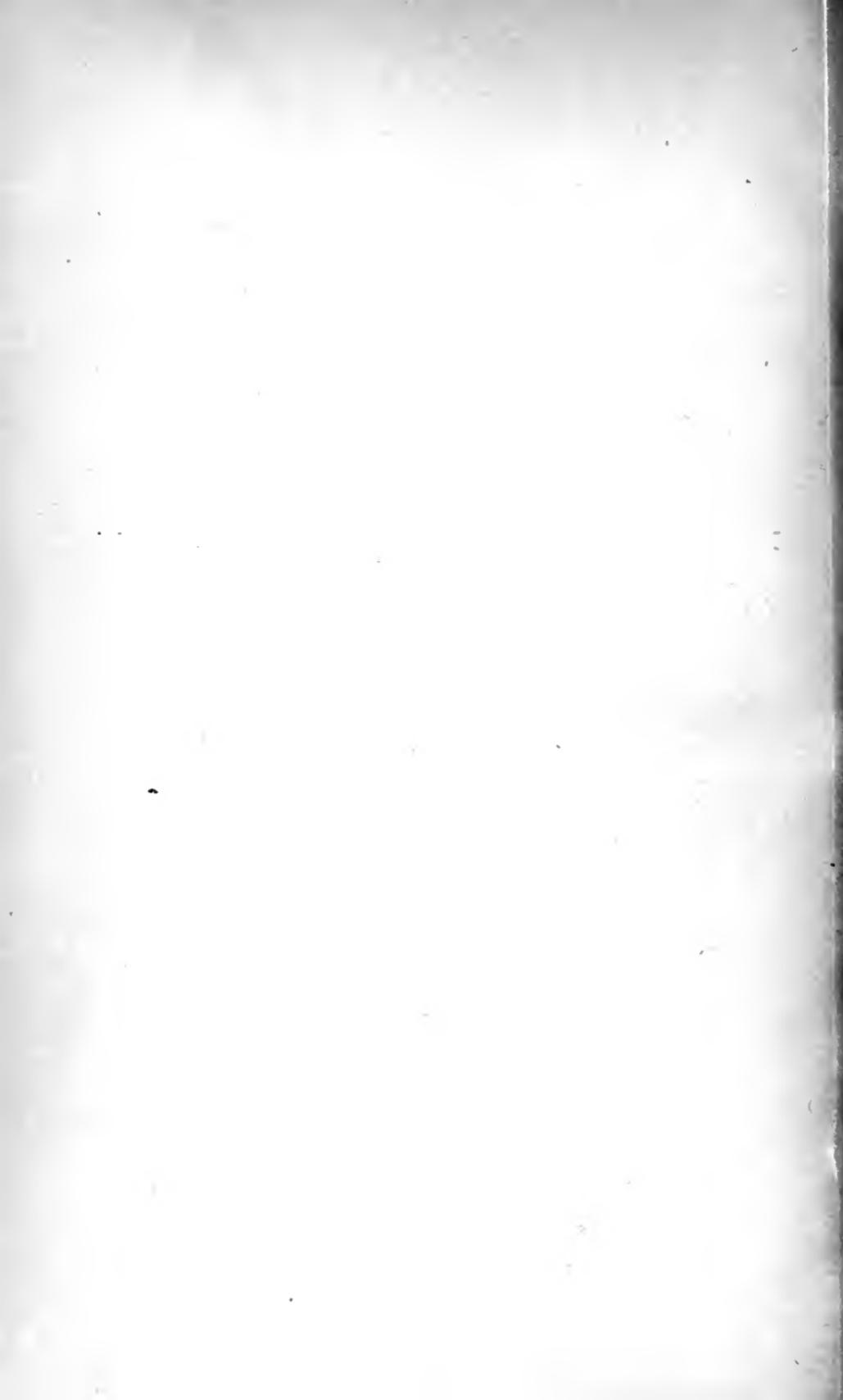
Superintendent.



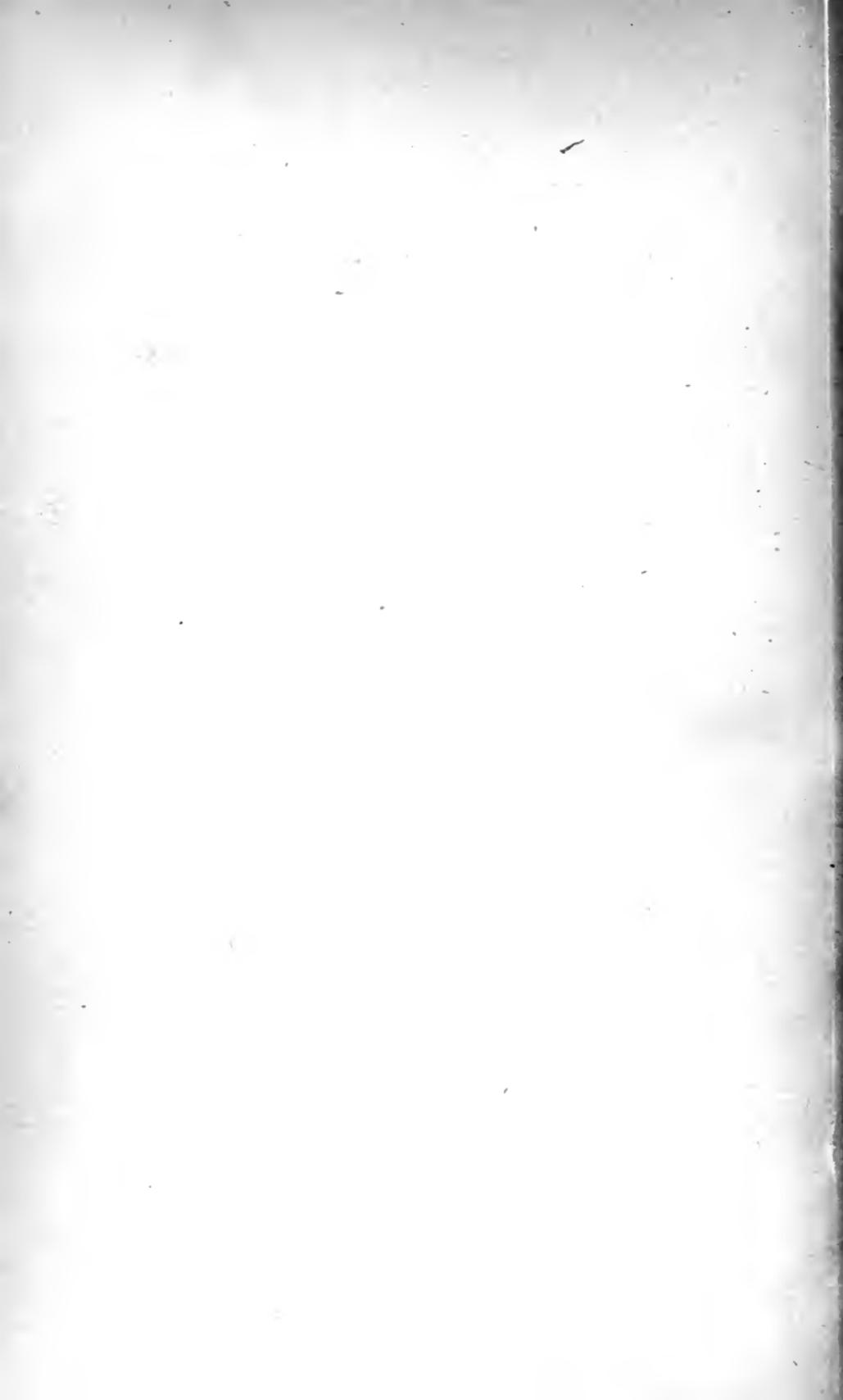


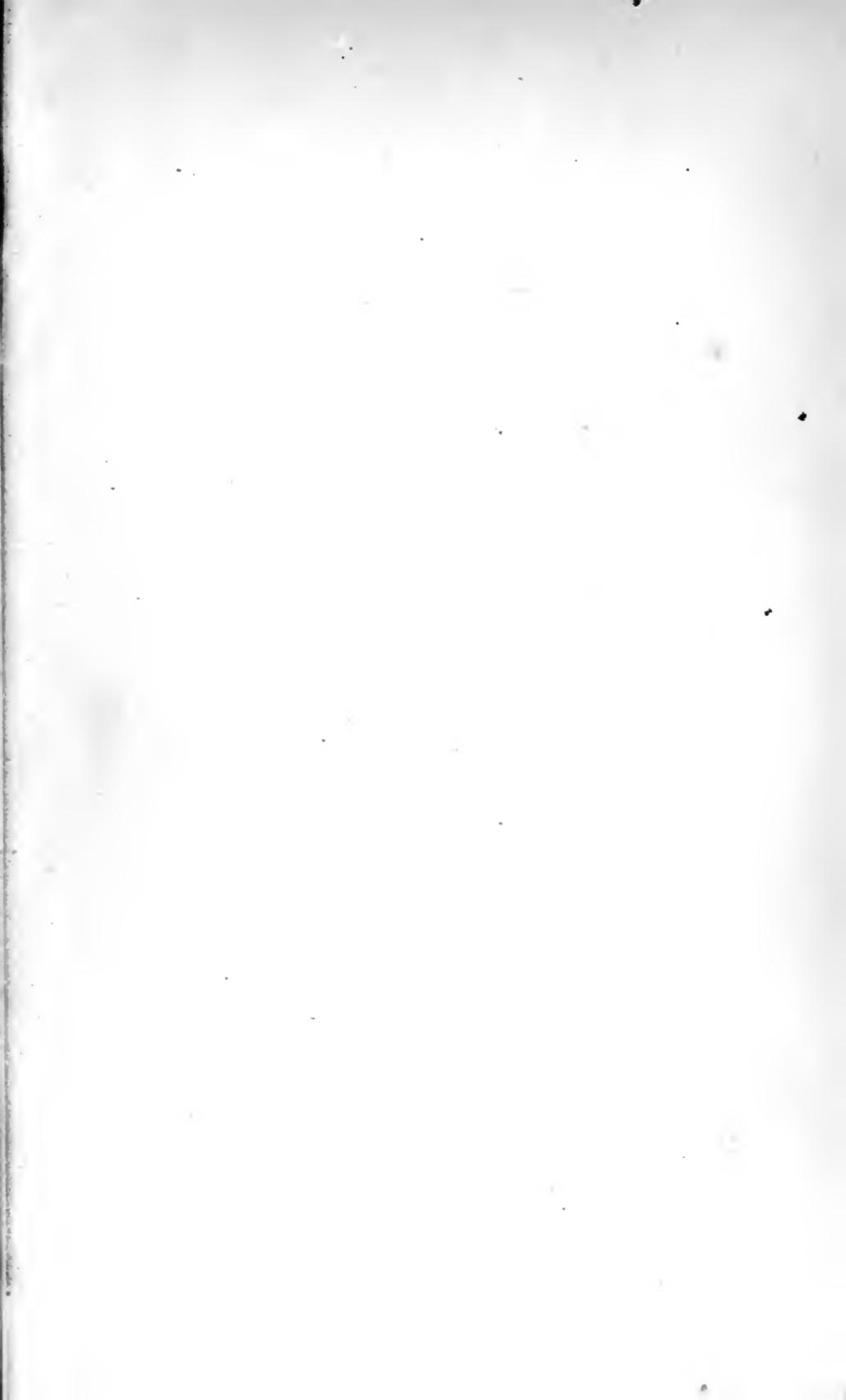


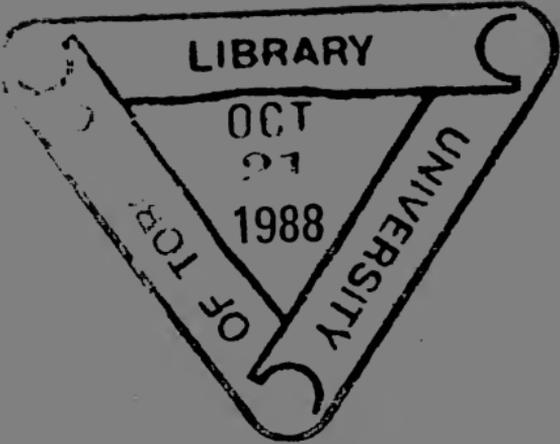












CAT. D. SLIP

DONOR

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