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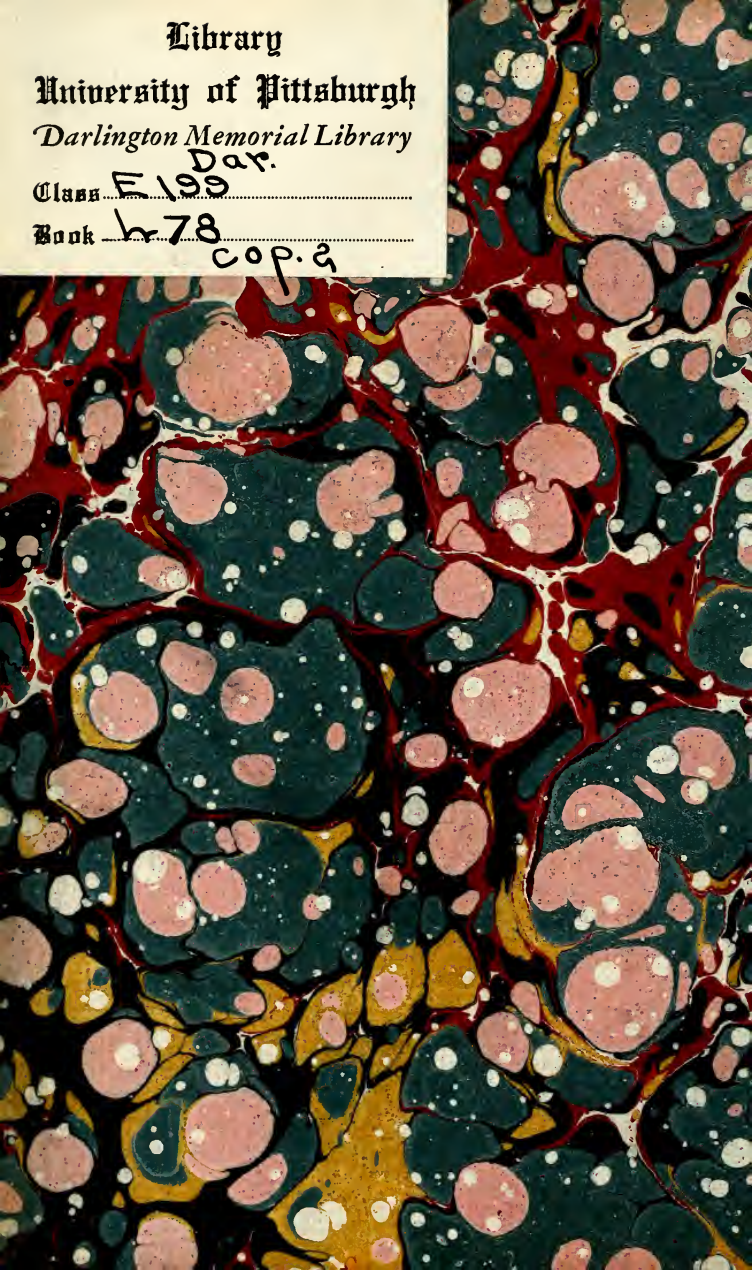
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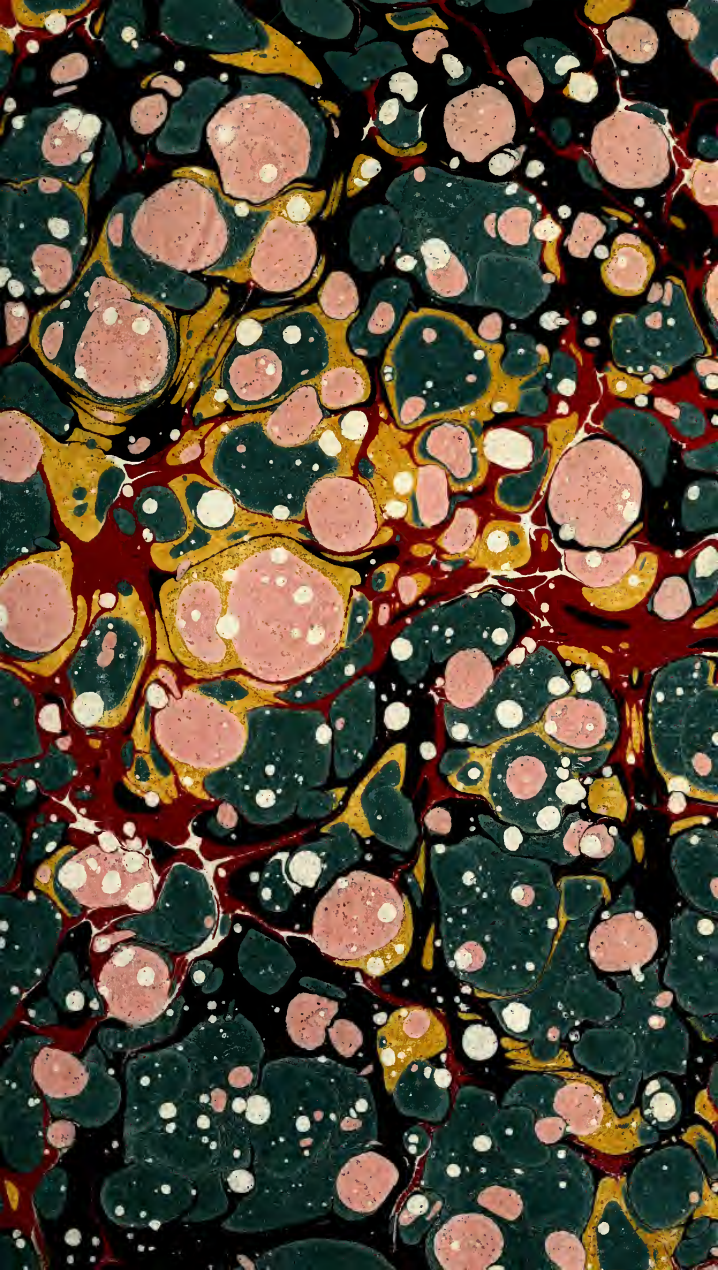
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Explanation

- 1 The River Onondago
- 2 Lake Ontario

A South View of

Livingston's William 1723-1790
A

R E V I E W
O F T H E
M I L I T A R Y O P E R A T I O N S
I N
N O R T H A M E R I C A ;
F R O M

The Commencement of the FRENCH HOSTILITIES on the Frontiers of Virginia in 1753, to the Surrender of Oswego, on the 14th of August, 1756.

I N T E R S P E R S E D

With various Observations, Characters, and Anecdotes; necessary to give Light into the Conduct of American Transactions in general; and more especially into the political Management of Affairs in NEW YORK.

In a LETTER to a Nobleman.

To which are added,

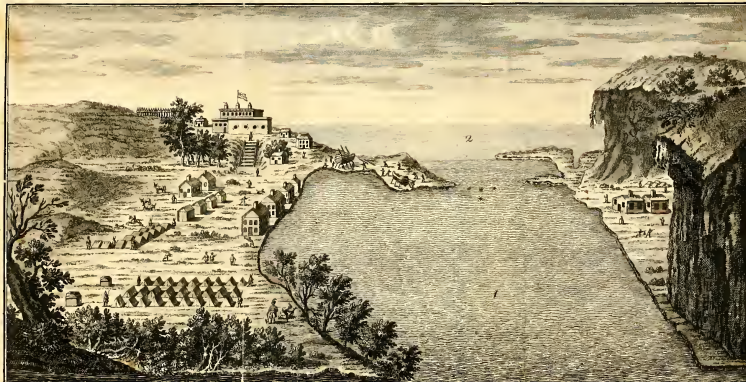
Colonel *Washington's* Journal of his Expedition to the *Ohio*, in 1754, and several LETTERS and other Papers of Consequence, found in the Cabinet of Major General *Braddock*, after his Defeat near Fort *Duquesne*; and since published by the *French* Court.

None of these Papers are contained in the *English* Edition.

D U B L I N :

Printed for P. WILSON, and J. EXSHAW, in *Dame-Street*,

M, DCC, LVII.



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1 The River Onondago
2 Lake Ontario

A South View of OSWEGO, on Lake Ontario, in North America.

Livingston's William 1723-1790
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E. S. K.
17/18/52

A
R E V I E W
 OF THE
MILITARY OPERATIONS
 IN
NORTH AMERICA, &c.

My LORD,

I ESTEEM myself highly honour-^{Introduc-}
 ed, when you request of me, a full ^{tion.}
 account of the rise, progress, and
 present state, of the military operations
 in North America, with a just delineation
 of the characters of the principal
 agents in our political affairs. Indeed,
 my Lord, you impose a task that will
 require a Volume, rather than a Letter.
 As your Lordship's desire, however,
 shall always carry with me the force of
 a command, I will engage in it with
 the utmost chearfulness. Forgive me,
 A my

my Lord, for saying I have a still stronger motive for composing these sheets, than a mere compliance with your Lordship's request; to which I would ever pay the profoundest regard. When I reflect upon your eminent station — your excelling abilities — your warm and active zeal, for the interest and welfare of the British colonies; I am prompted by an unfeigned desire of serving my country, and setting before your Lordship's eyes TRUTH, in her plain and undisguised habiliments: I would strip her of all that delusive colouring, with which she hath been artfully varnished, by letter-writers from this part of the world; either to subserve some mean sinister party design, or to promote the views of some aspiring and ambitious minds. Candour and integrity shall therefore guide my pen; and amidst the variety with which it is my purpose to present your Lordship, it shall be my sacred endeavour, to the best of my knowledge, to attach myself to the strictest—the most impartial verity.

American colonies too long neglected, tho' of general Importance.

THE American colonies, I speak it with submission, my Lord, were too long neglected by their mother country, tho' loudly demanding her patronage and assistance. Those, on the continent,

ment, require her peculiar notice: They may be made an inexhaustible magazine of wealth; and if suffered to fall into the hands of the French, such will be the accession to their already extended commerce and marine strength, that Great Britain must not only lose her former lustre, but, dreadful even in thought! cease to be any longer an independent power. Nay, should every other scheme fail, the success of this will inevitably accomplish the long-projected design of that aspiring nation, for setting up an Universal Monarchy: for, if France rule the ocean, her resources will enable her to subject all Europe to her despotic sway. But it is unnecessary to offer any arguments in support of a proposition, of which the Public seems to remain no longer insensible. Happy for us, had these sentiments prevailed earlier, and been more frequently inculcated!

THE importance of the colonies, my Lord, was too little considered, till the commencement of the last war. The reduction of Cape Breton by the people of New England, was an acquisition so unexpected and fortunate, that America became, on that remarkable event, a more general topic of conversation. Mr. Shirley, the governor of the Massachusetts

More considered, on the reduction of Louisbourg.

fachufets Bay, was the principal projector of that glorious enterprize: An enterprize, which reduced to the obedience of his Britannic Majesty, the DUNKIRK of North America. Of such consequence to the French, was the possession of that important key to their American settlements, that its restitution was, in reality, the purchase of the last general Peace in Europe.

Character
of Gov.
Shirley.

OF all our plantation Governors, my Lord, Mr. Shirley is most distinguished for his singular abilities. He was born in England, and bred up to the Law, at one of the Inns of Court. In that profession he afterwards practised, for several years, in the Massachusetts Bay: and, in 1741, was advanced by his Majesty to the supreme command of that colony. He is a Gentleman of great political sagacity, deep penetration, and indefatigable industry. With respect to the wisdom and equity of his administration, he can boast the universal suffrage of a wise, free, jealous, and moral people. Tho' not bred to arms, he is eminently possessed of these important military virtues—An extent of capacity to form and execute great designs;—profound secrecy;—love of regularity and discipline;—a frugal and laborious manner of living; with the art

art of conciliating the affections;—a talent which Hannibal admired in Pyrrhus, above all the rest of his martial accomplishments. In the first of these great qualities, Mr. Shirley is universally acknowledged to shine: and it is, in reality, more estimable, than all other military endowments without it; consisting, to use the words of that discerning historian Mr. Rollin, “ in having great views; in forming plans at a distance; in proposing a design, from which the author never departs; in concerting all the measures necessary for its success; in knowing how to seize the favourable moments of occasion, which are rapid in their course, and never return; to make even sudden and unforeseen accidents subservient to a plan; in a word, to be upon the watch against every thing, without being perplexed and disconcerted by any event.”

But whether it arises from his being so far advanced in years, or from his constitutional disposition and make, he has not, in my opinion, that activity and alertness so conducive to warlike expedition; and on which the success of an enterprize frequently depends. This was one of the characteristics of Braddock; a commander, vigorous in exe-

cuting, as Mr. Shirley, judicious in contriving a plan—*sed non omnia possumus omnes*—and 'tis easier, my Lord, to find active hands, than able heads. No

His attention to colonial affairs.

man perhaps in the nation, has bestowed more attention, upon the state of the colonies in general: and having their interest sincerely at heart, he has

been perpetually concerting expedients, advancive of their prosperity, and to check the views of an all-grasping Monarch. Upon the reduction of Louisburgh, he earnestly recommended to his Majesty's ministers, the demolition of that fortress, and an expedition against the French settlements in Canada. The reasons why he succeeded in neither of these proposals, I cannot

take upon me to assign. His Majesty, however, sensible of his services, gave him a regiment in 1746; and upon the conclusion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, sent him as one of the British commissaries to Paris, for settling the controverted limits between the two Crowns in America. Amidst all the splendors and delicacies of Versailles, he forgot neither OUR interest, nor HIS duty. As a proof of his integrity and diligence, during that fruitless embassy, one need only peruse these judicious and laborious memorials, in support of

his

his Majesty's right to Nova Scotia, which were principally framed by him; and lately published by order of the Lords of Trade, as a full exhibit of our title to that part of America. When no satisfaction could, in this way, be obtained from the Court of France; which was artfully endeavouring to spin out the negotiation, and at the same time fortifying the places in question, as well as making new acquisitions; the British commissaries retired from the French Court, and Mr. Shirley resumed his government in New England in August 1753.

THE French, jealous of the growth of the English colonies, were now meditating all possible arts to distress them, and extend the limits of their own frontier. The marquis Du Quesne, an enterprising genius, was at this time invested with the supreme command of New France. Our provinces were quickly alarmed by the French settlements, which he this year began on the banks of the Ohio. Virginia, appearing more immediately concerned, Mr. Dinwiddie * wrote, on the 31st of October, to the commandant of the French Forces there, complaining of

1753.
The French encroach on Virginia.
Message to the commandant.

* Lieutenant Governor of Virginia.

1753. fundry late hostilities, and desiring to know, by what authority an armed force had marched from Canada, and invaded a territory indubitably the right of his Britannic Majesty. Major Washington, a gentleman of whom I shall have occasion in the sequel to make honourable mention, was the bearer of this letter. He returned with an answer from Mons. Legardeur De St. Pierre, dated at the fort on Beef River, 15 December, 1753; of which the following is an exact translation:

It is answered.

“ As I have the honour to command
 “ here in chief, Mr. Washington delivered me the letter, which you directed to the commandant of the
 “ French troops. I should have been pleased if you had given him orders, or if he himself had been disposed, to visit Canada and our general; to whom, rather than to me, it properly appertains to demonstrate the reality of the King my master’s rights to lands situated along the Ohio, and to dispute the pretensions of the King of Great Britain in that respect.

“ I shall immediately forward your letter to Mons. Le Marquis Du Quesne. His answer will be a law to me: and if he directs me to communicate

“ municate it to you, I assure you, Sir, 1753.
 “ I shall neglect nothing that may be
 “ necessary to convey it to you with
 “ expedition.

“ As to the requisition you make
 “ (that I retire with the troops under
 “ my command) I cannot believe my-
 “ self under any obligation to submit
 “ to it. I am here, in virtue of my ge-
 “ neral's orders; and I beg, Sir, you
 “ would not doubt a moment of my
 “ fixed resolution to conform to them,
 “ with all the exactitude and steadiness
 “ that might be expected from a better
 “ officer.

“ I do not know that, in the course
 “ of this campaign, any thing has pass-
 “ ed that can be esteemed an act of
 “ hostility, or contrary to the treaties
 “ subsisting between the two Crowns;
 “ the continuation of which is as in-
 “ teresting and pleasing to us, as it can
 “ be to the English. If it had been
 “ agreeable to you, Sir, in this respect,
 “ to have made a particular detail of
 “ the facts which occasion your com-
 “ plaint, I should have had the honour
 “ of answering you in the most expli-
 “ cit manner; and I am persuaded you
 “ would have had reason to be satisfied.

“ I have taken particular care to re-
 “ ceive Mr. Washington, with all the
 “ distinction

1753. “ distinction suitable to your dignity,
 “ and to his quality and great merit.
 “ I flatter myself that he will do me
 “ this justice, and join with me in tes-
 “ tifying the profound respect with
 “ which I am,

“ S I R,

“ Your most humble and

“ most obedient servant,

“ Legardeur De St. Pierre.

1754. Virginians apply for aid to the colonies. ON the receipt of this resolute answer, Mr. Dinwiddie made instant complaint to the Court of Great Britain; and by alarming speeches laboured to rouse the Virginians into a vigorous opposition. He wrote also to the neighbouring governors, importuning the aid of the other colonies, for repelling the invasion, and erecting a fort at the confluence of the Ohio and Monangahela. An immediate junction in such measures became absolutely requisite for our common security. But the colonies, alas! were sunk into a profound lethargy; and, resigned to stupidity and slumbering, appeared insensible of the threatening danger. They contemned the power of Canada; confided in the number of their inhabitants; inattentive were they to the inconveniencies of an endless frontier; and in short intirely unacquainted with

with the situation of the inland coun- ^{1754.}
 try. The waters of the Ohio, before
 this period, were scarce known, save
 to a few Indian traders; and the gene-
 rality deemed those French settlements
 too remote to be the object of dread,
 and a matter of insignificant moment.

Accordingly, when application was
 made for succours to Virginia, confor-
 mable to directions from the ministry,
 some of our provincial assemblies, par-
 ticularly those of Pennsylvania * and
 New York †, seemed even to question
 his Majesty's title to the lands usurped
 by the French. Others, to avoid their

But they
 generally
 excused
 them-
 selves.

* “ You would not admit, that the French
 “ encroachments and fortifications on the O-
 “ hio were within our limits, or his Majesty's
 “ dominions, thereby seeking an excuse to a-
 “ void doing what was required of you.”

Gov. Morris's message to the assembly
 of Pennsylvania, 22 Nov. 1755.

† “ It appears, by other papers your ho-
 “ nour has been pleased to communicate to
 “ us, that the French have built a fort at a
 “ place called the French Creek, at a consi-
 “ derable distance from the river Ohio, which
 “ may, but does not by any evidence or in-
 “ formation appear to us to be an invasion of
 “ any of his Majesty's colonies.”

Address of the general assembly to Lieut.
 Gov. De Lancey, 23 April, 1754.

share

1754. share in the burden, framed the most trifling excuses. New York, however, voted 5000 l. currency in aid of Virginia; which, considering her own situation, and approaching distress, was no ungenerous contribution.

Forces
raised un-
der Col.
Washing-
ton.

THE Virginians nevertheless proceeded in their resolution of marching a body of troops to the protection of their frontiers: and passed an act in February 1754, for raising 10,000 l. and 300 men. The command was given to Col. Washington, a young gentleman of great bravery and distinguished merit. By his Majesty's direction, two of the regular independent companies of foot at New York, were ordered to the frontier of that dominion. They embarked for Virginia on board the Centaur man of war; which unfortunately did not sail from thence till the middle of June, and carried the money before mentioned to the assistance of that colony.

Who had
a success-
ful skir-
mish with
the enemy.

COL. WASHINGTON began his march, at the head of his little army, about the 1st of May *. On the 28th he had a skirmish with the enemy, of whom

* For a more circumstantial account of this expedition, see Col. Washington's Journal, which is annexed to this *Dublin* edition by way of Appendix.

ten were slain, and about twenty made prisoners. But this public-spirited officer soon experienced a reverse of fortune. ^{1754.} Waiting for further reinforcements, he was alarmed with an account, that 900 French and 200 Indians were advancing from the Ohio; who accordingly in two days after * came up, and an engagement immediately ensued. Our troops were but a handful compared to the number of the enemy, consisting only of about three hundred effective men. After a vigorous resistance for three hours, in which it was said near two hundred of the French and their Indian allies were slain; Col. Washington, observing the great superiority of the enemy, who now began to hemm him in on all quarters, found himself under an absolute necessity of submitting to the disagreeable terms that were offered him †.

But was afterwards subdued by numbers.

IN

* The third of July.

† The terms of capitulation granted by Mons. De Villier, captain and commander of the infantry of his Most Christian Majesty, to those English troops actually in *Fort Necessity*, which is built on the land of the king's dominions.

As our intentions have never been to trouble the peace and harmony which reigns between the two princes in amity, but only to revenge

1754. IN this action we had thirty killed
and fifty wounded. The French were
observed

revenge the assassination which has been done on one of our officers, bearer of a station, as appears by his writings; as also to hinder any establishment on the lands in the dominions of the king my master; upon these considerations, we are willing to grant protection and favour to all the English that are in the said fort, upon the conditions hereafter mentioned.

ARTICLE I.

We grant the English commander, to retire with all his garrison, and to return peaceably into his own country; and promise to hinder his receiving any insults from us French, and to restrain, as much as shall be in our power, the savages that are with us.

ARTICLE II.

That the English be permitted to march out, and carry every thing with them, except the artillery, which we keep.

ARTICLE III.

That we will allow the English all the honours of war; and that they shall march out with drums beating, and with a swivel gun; — that we are willing to shew that we treat them as friends.

ARTICLE IV. —

That as soon as the articles are signed by both parties, they strike the English colours.

ARTICLE V.

That to-morrow, at break of day, a detachment of the French shall make the garrison file off, and take possession of the fort:
And

observed to be assisted by a considerable number of Indians, who had been long in the English alliance: Not a few of them were known to be Delawares, Shawanese, and of the Six Nations *. On the surrender of our camp, they fell at once to pillaging the baggage and provisions; and not content with this, they afterwards shot some of the

1754.
Consequences of this defeat.

And as the English have a few horses or oxen, they are free to hide their effects, and come and search for them when they have met their horses: And that they may for this end have guardians, in what manner they please, upon condition that they will give their word of honour, not to work upon any building in this place, or in any part this side the mountains, during a year, to be accounted from this day. And as the English have now in their power an officer, two cadets, and most of the prisoners made in the assassination of *Sieur Desamouville*, that they promise to send them back to the *Fort De Du Quesne*, situate on the *Fine River*: And for the security of this article, as well as this treaty, *Messrs. Jacob Van Bracham* and *Robert Stobo*, both captains, shall be put as hostages, till the arrival of the *Canadians* and *French* above-mentioned. We oblige ourselves, on our side, to give an escort to return in safety these two officers; a duplicate being made upon or of the post of our blockade. July 3, 1754.

* They are called *Mingoes* by the southern Indians.

horses

1754. horses and cattle, and scalped two of the wounded *.

AGAINST this conduct, Col. Washington remonstrated, but all his arguments made but little impression upon them. The Canadians delight in blood; and in barbarity exceed, if possible, the very savages themselves. Thus the French remained masters of the field; the Indians were riveted in their defection; his Majesty's arms unsuccessful; and our frontiers exposed, through the ill-timed parsimony of the provinces. The enemy, on the other hand, wisely improved the present advantage, and erected forts, to secure to themselves the quiet possession of that fertile country. How evident then was the necessity of uniting the power of the British colonies! The expediency of a plan for that purpose had been before considered. Some measures seemed also absolutely requisite for supporting our Indian interest, and preventing their total declension.

* Among other infractions of the capitulation, the destruction of the doctor's box ought not to be forgotten; by which means our wounded were barbarously distressed.

See Col. Innés's letter of 12 July, 1754.

ACCORD--

ACCORDINGLY, agreeable to his Majesty's orders, the 14th of June was appointed for a grand congress of commissioners from the several provinces, to be held at Albany, as well to treat with the Six Nations, as to concert a scheme for a general union of the British colonies. Messengers had been dispatched to the Indian castles * to request their attendance; but they did not arrive till the latter end of the month; and the Mohawks, who live but 40 miles distance, came in last. This occasioned various speculations: some imputed it to fear; lest the French, in their absence, should fall upon their countries: Others to art, — imagining that by exciting our jealousy of their wavering disposition, at so critical a juncture, the more liberal would be the presents made them by the several governments. Not a few thought it an artifice of Mr. Johnson's, who expected to rise into importance, from the reputation of a mighty influence over the Indians, kept them from a punctual attendance; being very confident of a public request to himself from the commissioners, to go up, and hasten their progress. There

1754.

Grand
congress
held at Al-
bany.

Indians
delay at-
tendance,
and the
reasons.

* The Indians call their villages, which are only surrounded with pallifades, castles.

1754. was the highest evidence of the like piece of policy at an Indian treaty, during Mr. Clinton's administration. The Indians however at length arrived, tho' fewer in number than was expected, or had been usual on those solemn occasions. Hendrick, a noted Mohawk sachem *, apologized for the delay of that canton, in a speech to this effect: " There was (said he) an interview last fall, between Col. Johnson and the Six Nations, at Onondaga. Our brethren of the other nations reported, that his speech to us was concerted by the Mohawks: We therefore come last, to prevent any ground for the repetition of such slanders, with regard to the address now to be made us by your honour."

Commissioners,
and how
ranked.

THE congress having been opened on the 18th of June, were ready to treat with the Six Nations; and on the 29th, after settling disputes between the commissioners concerning rank and precedence, Mr. De Lancey, the Lieutenant Governor of New York, addressed himself in a speech to the Indians.—On his right hand, were Mess.

* A sachem is a warrior, and a man of an established reputation for his wisdom and bravery, among the Indians.

Murray

Murray and Johnson, two of the council of New York; next to them, Mess. Wells, Hutchinson, Chandler, Partridge, and Worthington, commissioners from the Massachusetts Bay: Then the gentlemen from New Hampshire, Mess. Wyburn, Atkinson, Ware, and Sherburn: And last on that side, Mess. Hopkins and Howard, commissioners of Rhode-Island. On his left, were seated Mess. Chambers and Smith, two other of his Majesty's council for New York: Then the Connecticut commissioners, Lieutenant Governor Pitkin, Major Walcot, and Col. Williams: After them Mess. Penn, Peters, Norris, and Franklin from Pennsylvania: and last of all, Col. Tasker and Major Barnes, from Maryland.

THE treaty was conducted with great solemnity. The Indians appeared well pleased with the presents from the several governments; which, compared to former donations, amounted to an immense value: But in their answer, recriminated upon us the desertion of our fort * Saraghtoga the last war; la-

* Upon the disbanding of the forces raised for the Canada expedition in 1746, and the assembly's disinclination to garrison it, the fort, by order of Mr. Clinton, was burnt and abandoned.

1754. mented the defenceless condition of our frontier city of Albany; and extolled the better conduct of the French, in fortifying and maintaining their garriſons.

THE Indians being diſmiſſed, the conferences were continued till the 11th of July. The commiſſioners were, both for abilities and fortune, ſome of the moſt conſiderable men in North America. The ſpeakers however were not many; but of thoſe who ſpoke, ſome delivered themſelves with ſingular energy and eloquence. All were inflamed with a patriot-ſpirit, and the debates were nervous and pathetic. This aſſembly, my Lord, might very properly be compared to one of the antient Greek conventions, for ſupporting their expiring liberty againſt the power of the Perſian empire, or that LEWIS of Greece, Philip of Macedon. In the concluſion, a plan was concerted for a general union of the Britiſh colonies, and creating a common fund to defray all military expences; and a representation of their preſent ſtate drawn up; which were agreed to be laid before the King's miniſters. Some of the governments have nevertheleſs declared themſelves averſe to this ſcheme; tho' approved at the time by every member of the congreſs,

Plan of a
union.

Approved
by all, ex-
cept De
Lancey.

congress, except Mr. De Lancey. Un- 1754.
 accountable was the conduct of this gentleman to several of the provincial deputies. But those who were best acquainted with his character and love of sway, ascribed his aversion from the plan, to an apprehension, that should the same take place, the supreme officer, who agreeably to it was to preside in the grand council of deputies from the respective colonies, would most probably be the governor of the Massachusetts Bay: An apprehension, which repressed his own aspiring views; and, it was imagined, stung him with unspeakable chagrin.

As the Lieutenant Governor will appear, in the course of this letter, to bear a principal part in all our transactions, it will be necessary, before I proceed any farther, to present your Lordship with his picture at full length. Without an intimate knowledge of that gentleman's history and genius, it will be impossible to comprehend his conduct, or trace his actions to their genuine source.

HE is the eldest branch of one of the first families in the province. His father, a French refugee, a gentleman of distinguished rank in this city, and who here acquired a large fortune, sent him

1754. him for his education to the University of Cambridge. He was a youth of prompt parts, and made a considerable progress in learning, especially in the classics. In the year 1719 he was, by Governor Montgomery's recommendation, created one of his Majesty's Council of New York; but never engaged the public attention, till the time of Mr. Cosby. He became then very famous. With this governor he took part in most of all his measures — measures extremely arbitrary, and productive of an administration odious and turbulent. Cosby, in return for his ministerial services, loaded him with favours. Deposing Chief justice Morris (the main obstacle to his perilous projects) he raised him to the first seat on the bench *. But though his excellency had the disposition of offices, he could by no means delegate the affections of the people. Accordingly, our politician was equally honoured and despised. He enjoyed the smiles of the governor, which loaded him with the curses of the people; was caressed by the former,

* Mr. DeLancy was not educated to the law; but having spent some time, after his return from England, in the study of that science, Gov. Montgomery appointed him second judge of the supreme Court of Judicature.

and by the latter abhorred. Cosby 1754. leaving a successor capable of governing without a prompter, the chief justice found it necessary to deface the memory of his former conduct, by cultivating the arts of popularity. Mr. Clarke, who succeeded †, being perfectly master of our constitution, a gentleman of experience and penetration, and intimately acquainted with the temper of the people, in a short time reconciled all parties ; and by restoring the public tranquillity, rendered Mr. De Lancey's plodding abilities utterly useless. Hence he was at full leisure to court the populace. Suddenly he became transformed into a patriot ; and, strange to relate ! without a single act of patriotism. His uncommon vivacity, with the semblance of affability and ease ; his adroitness at a jest, with a shew of condescension to his inferiors, wonderfully facilitated his progress. These plausible arts, together with his influence as Chief Justice, and a vast personal estate at use, all conspired to secure his popular triumph. To establish such an undue power, and amazing influence, would, in a Grecian commonwealth, have exposed a man of less ambition and better principles to the

† In March 1736.

1754. ostracism. Mr. Clarke being superseded by Governor Clinton *, Mr. De Lancy was presented with a fresh opportunity for the exhibition of his political genius. Mr. Clinton, a gentleman of but indifferent parts, wholly resigned himself into his hands. Contenting himself with the title and salary of Governor, he left the sole direction of affairs to his minister, who, by virtue of his late acquired omnipotence with the assembly, carried all his points, and even endeared him to the people. This intimacy subsisted no longer than it was found conducive to his designs. Having obtained from Mr. Clinton a new commission for his office of Chief Justice *during good behaviour*; and flattering himself with the hopes of another, appointing him Lieut. Governor, through the interest of his friends in England, he cared not how soon his excellency abdicated the province, nor how tempestuous he rendered his administration; and was therefore prepared for an open rupture. He no sooner thought himself capable of acting independently of the governor, than, like Sixtus Quintus, who threw aside his crutches the moment of his exaltation to the popedom, he put off all that humble

* Clinton arrived as Governor, 22 Sept. 1743. devotion,

devotion, by which he had so fatally ^{1754.} deceived his too credulous master, and openly set himself at defiance against him. Now he began to dictate, rather than advise: and instead of Sejanus, chose to be Tiberius himself. Dining one day with Mr. Clinton, and insisting upon some favourite point with great imperiousness, the Governor, who had hitherto very cordially suffered himself to be led, refused on this occasion to be driven. The Chief Justice then arose and left him; declaring, with an oath, he would make his administration uneasy for the future: His Excellency replied, he might do his worst. Thus they parted; nor were ever afterwards reconciled. This breach gave rise to the contentions, which so unhappily imbroiled our provincial affairs, during the remainder of his administration. The assembly were instantly inflamed. He who before had been able to make them connive at very unjustifiable steps, could at once stir up an opposition to the most unexceptionable measures. Remonstrances, warm and virulent, were now drawn up; unworthy their own dignity to offer, and replete with the grossest language to his Majesty's representative. Thus was formed against Mr. Clinton a powerful

1754. party, which ceased not, while he continued at the helm, to harass and perplex him. To such an exorbitant length did they carry their opposition, as to throw off the restraint of humanity: They had even recourse to force and violence. Nay, a partisan of the Chief Justice, in defiance of the sacred rights of the magistracy and the law --- to shew his resentment against Mr. Clinton and his adherents --- assaulted the mayor; whipped the sheriff; damned the Governor; and stabbed his physician. My Lord, we became the sport and contempt of our neighbours; and it is beyond contradiction, that Mr. De Lancey, by blowing up the coals of contention, did the province more injury, than he will ever be able to repair. Nor is there any reason to doubt, that the enormous power of this gentleman, and the ferment raised against Mr. Clinton, occasioned the 39th article of the king's instructions to Sir Danvers Osborn; which appears purposely calculated to render our future Governors independent on his influence over the assembly: For a law indefinite, making provision for the salary allowed by the King to his Governors, and competent salaries to all judges, justices, and other necessary officers and ministers

nisters and government --- such a law, 1754. I say, would effectually render a Governor independent of the assembly, and consequently of any undue influence in it. Nor without such independence, or an abridgement of Mr. De Lancey's power, by reducing him to his primitive private station, do I see any probability of the extinction of that party-spirit, which hath so long disturbed the tranquillity, and injured the public weal of the colony. Mr. Clinton being superseded by Sir Danvers Osborn *, a gentleman of a most amiable moral character, retired into the Country; from whence he proposed to embark for Great Britain. The Chief Justice notwithstanding his long declared enmity, and unwearied industry to embarrass his administration, had now --- the humility, shall I call it? --- to dispatch a messenger to him with a design if possible to procure an accommodation --- in order to secure his favour in England, when he could no longer distress him in America. It were difficult to determine, whether this required a higher degree of assurance or servility. But it is no uncommon

* Sir Danvers Osborn arrived at New York the 7th of October, 1753.

1754. thing, to behold the same person fastidious and fawning, supercilious and sycophantic. Mr. Clinton, far from an implacable enemy, began to be softened; when his lady (who if born among the Scythians, had been the Thalestris of antiquity) unravelling the secret, frustrated at once all expectations of a composition; and gave the plenipotentiary such a volley of invective against his constituent, as rendered all future overtures intirely hopeles.

His appointment to the government, and system of politics. ON the death of Sir Danvers Osborn†, equally unexpected and deplored, Mr. De Lancey published the commission he had just received, appointing him Lieutenant Governor. He was now to act a part intirely new, and demanding the full exertion of his political dexterity. In the first place, he had to convince the ministry of his utmost efforts to carry the King's instructions in the house of representatives: And in the next, in order to preserve his popularity with the assembly, and not in the most flagrant manner counteract his avowed principles, he was to satisfy them, that in reality he by no means expected their compli-

† This happened on the 12th of October, 1753.

ance with them. To execute the former part of this plan --- in his speech of the 31st of October, 1753, to the council and general assembly, he says, --- “ You will perceive by the 39th article of his Majesty’s instructions to Sir Danvers Osborn, (copies of which I shall herewith deliver you *) how highly his Majesty is displeas’d at the neglect of, and contempt shewn to, his royal commission and instructions, by your passing laws of so extraordinary a nature, and by such your unwarrantable proceedings, particularly set forth in this instruction : Hence also his Majesty’s royal pleasure as to these matters will appear, and what he expects from you. On this head, I must observe to you, that by our excellent constitution the executive power is lodged in the

1754.

His speech
to the
council
and assembly.

* The 39th instruction was published in one of our news-papers; and reprinted in England. The publication of it was thought to have been intended to excite the popular clamour: and it occasioned the resentment of the ministry. It is worth remarking, that copies of several other instructions were expressly ordered by his Majesty to be laid before the assembly; but no such directions were given with respect to this.

1754. “ crown: That all government is found-
 “ ded on a confidence, that every per-
 “ son will discharge the duty of his sta-
 “ tion; and if there should be any a-
 “ buse of power, that the legal and re-
 “ gular course is, to make application to
 “ his Majesty, who having a paternal
 “ tendernefs for all his subjects, is al-
 “ ways ready to hear and redress their
 “ grievances:” and then addressing
 himself to the assembly in particular —
 “ I must earnestly press it upon you,
 “ that in preparing your bill for the
 “ support of government, and other
 “ public services, you pay a due regard
 “ to his Majesty’s pleasure signified in
 “ his instructions; and frame them in
 “ such a manner, as when laid before
 “ me for my assent, I may give it con-
 “ sistent with my duty to his Majesty.”
 What think you my Lord? could your
 favourite Garrick have personated Rich-
 ard the Third in a livelier manner, than
 this gentleman the *real* advocate for
 the royal instruction? — Could the man,
 who, but a day or two before, had in-
 trigued with the members how to elude
 that very instruction, preserve his gra-
 vity, while acting such a tragi-comi-
 cal farce? — for that, my Lord, was
 the method in which he performed the
 second part of his plan. As his Ma-
 jefty’s

jefty's representative, he was obliged ^{1754.} to urge their compliance with seeming sincerity and warmth — but as James Delancey, Esq; their old friend and best adviser, it was his real sentiment, that never ought they to submit.

MATTERS being thus previously adjusted, the assembly in their address studiously avoid a categorical answer with respect to the indefinite support: But to gratify his honour, and blacken the memory of Mr. Clinton, that he might not prejudice him in England, they make use of this memorable evasion — “ On reading the 39th article
 “ of his Majesty's instructions to Sir ^{Assembly's eva-}
 “ Danvers Osborn, your honour's im- ^{five an-}
 “ mediate predecessor, we are extremely ^{swer.}
 “ surprized to find, that the public
 “ transactions of this colony have been
 “ so maliciously misrepresented to our
 “ most gracious Sovereign. We can,
 “ Sir, with truth and justice affirm, that
 “ his Majesty has not in his dominions
 “ a people more firmly, and that from
 “ principles of real affection, devoted
 “ to his person, family, and govern-
 “ ment, than the inhabitants of this
 “ colony. And we are greatly at a loss
 “ to discover in what instances, the peace

1754. “ and tranquillity of the colony have
 “ been disturbed, or wherein order and
 “ government have been subverted. If
 “ the course of justice has been ob-
 “ structed, or in any case perverted,
 “ it has been by the direction, or
 “ through the means, of Mr. Clinton
 “ late Governor of this province, who
 “ sent peremptory orders to the judges,
 “ clerk, and sheriff of Dutchess Coun-
 “ ty, to stay process, and stop the pro-
 “ ceedings in several cases of private
 “ property, depending in that court;
 “ and who did, in other counties,
 “ commissionate judges and justices of
 “ known ill characters, and extreme
 “ ignorance: One stood even presented
 “ for perjury in the supreme court of
 “ this province, whom he *rewarded*
 “ with the office of assistant judge; and
 “ others were so shamefully ignorant
 “ and illiterate, as to be unable to
 “ write their own names. From whence
 “ we greatly fear, that justice has in
 “ many cases been partially, or very
 “ unduly administered.”

Observati-
 ons on this
 address.

I SHALL not trouble your Lordship
 with a vindication of Mr. Clinton; but
 only observe—that the suits commenced
 in Dutchess County were by deserters a-
 gainst

gainst their captains *; that the governor, who was no lawyer, assured the house, his letters to the justices were written unadvisedly, and with precipitation; and that if any man was injured, he would readily compensate his damages. And as to the charge of appointing ignorant justices, it lies with equal truth against all our governors, (Mr. De Lancey himself not excepted) who, to influence elections, have gone into an unjustifiable practice of intrusting blank commissions with certain favourites in the respective counties, empowered to place and displace civil and military officers at their pleasure. These election-jobbers are generally the court members in an assembly: And decency, my Lord, should have induced them to stifle the ridiculous assertion, that Mr. Clinton *rewarded* a man for being perjured; as well as the more pertinent invective against the dangerous usage just mentioned, for corrupting the house of representatives. — But to disgrace Mr. Clinton was expedient to the Lieut. Governor; and hence this attack upon the former.

1754.

* Captains of the levies raised for the Canada expedition in 1746.

1754. UPON his honour's advancement to the government, the preſs laboured with addreſſes; and the incenſe offered upon the occaſion, might have perfumed the whole temple of Delphos. It was not enough, that, agreeable to ancient uſage, he was preſented with the compliments of public bodies alone. It was neceſſary, from the number of addreſſes, to diſplay his extenſive influence, and the univerſal joy — thereby, if poſſible, to lay the foundation of his continuance in the adminiſtration. Accordingly, the very militia officers and ſuperviſors of Queen's County (a motley aſſemblage!) were made to groan out their aspirations for this auſpicious event — “ Oh! — that his gracious Ma-
 jeſty would be pleaſed to confirm
 “ and fix you, for a long time, in this
 “ exalted ſtation.” Never have I ſeen an inſignificant interjection more inſignificantly employed. To ſo extravagant a pitch, my Lord, did this exuberant ardor arrive, that we at length found him clothed with an incommuni- cable attribute of the Deity himſelf — even his immutable moral rectitude. “ Theſe things in you, (ſay they) are
 “ not ſo properly called virtues, as NA-
 “ TURAL ENDOWMENTS. You will not,
 “ you CANNOT act otherwiſe than you
 do.”

“ do.” With *such fustian* can some men be regaled : and by *such fustian* is oftentimes a whole nation deluded. 1754.

To proceed in the character of this remarkable American—He is a person of quick apprehension, and extensive acquaintance with the law ; which he acquired with incredible application, to obliterate the indifferent figure he made, when first elevated to the chief seat on the bench, to serve the purposes of Governor Cosby. Without the talents, he has all the ambition of a Ripperda. His thirst after popularity, which in him is a mere engine of state, hath almost banished all public spirit ; and the triumphs of power occasioned the exile of common sense. Apprehensive of the diminution of his own lustre, his jealousy will not admit a competitor ; but sets him at mortal odds with a rising independent spirit, lest it be rewarded with popular favour, and thence result into popular interest—in derogation of his own sovereign influence. Hence, whoever would accomplish a patriot measure, must either obtain his leave ; and then he arrogates to himself the merit due to its author ; or carry it by mere stratagem, without which he may be sure of a disappointment. In the latter case, he has generally

1754. rally address enough to be revenged on the projector, by rendering both him and his project universally odious. Some among us see these arts; many suspect them; few dare mention them; and fewer still oppose them. Thus a people, who would by no means be forcibly deprived of their liberties, pass into voluntary bondage: and they who would scorn a vassalage to the greatest monarch, become dupes to a dictator of their own creation.

and universal influence.

OF all provincial affairs he is the uncontrouled director. As chief justice, great is his interest in the counties: with that interest he commands elections: with his sway in elections he rules the assembly: and with his sovereignty over the house controuls a governor. His influence with the members of the assembly being the main source of his exorbitant power, never will he serve the Crown at the risque of a dissention with the house. He will only stand by a governor while at his devotion, and standing fair with the people; but in case of a rupture, instantly sacrifice prerogative on the altar of popularity. His own interest is his idol, and every thing else made subservient to procure it veneration and esteem. The men who are his greatest tools, are generally
by

by himself the most despised; and sometimes treated with despite and insult. If they discover the least freedom of resentment (which few of them dare discover), he can with a smile, or a joke, or a promise, or a bottle, at once dissipate the struggling resolution, and reduce them to their primitive obsequiousness. By hints — by threats and blandishments — by emissaries — by dark insinuations and private cabals, he is able to render any measure hateful or popular — to put down, or raise up, whom, when, and what he pleases. Nay, my Lord, I will venture to affirm — and every man in the province must bear me testimony — that while his influence continues to be supported with his office of chief justice, no operation, in which this colony is concerned, can promise success, should this monopolizer of power be determined to obstruct it.

SHOULD it now be inquired, Must not a man so extremely popular be necessarily possessed of eminent virtue, and warmly devoted to the weal of the people, who thus cordially resound his fame, submit to his controul, and agree to adorn his triumph? The question can only come from a novice in history, and a stranger to mankind. In the judgment of your Lordship, who

is

1754. is deeply read in both, I am confident that popularity is no indication of merit. With the deluded multitude the best men are often unpopular — the most pernicious, extolled and adored. The people are ever ready to be bewitched, cheated, and enslaved by a powerful crafty seducer: and, what is worse, ever ready to sacrifice whoever would disabuse and release them. The same people who could without emotion behold a Sidney bleeding in defence of public liberty, could commit a riot in rescuing a Sacheverel for preaching sedition, and subverting the nation. Your Lordship remembers that Massanello, in the short space of ten days, was a poor fisherman, — a popular incendiary, — a sovereign viceroy, — stripped of his honours, — treated like a malefactor, — knocked on the head, — and thrown into a ditch. Who, in fine, was more popular than the pestilent Clodius, except, perhaps, the more pestilent Catiline? 'Twas therefore well observed by the Protector Cromwell, that the very men who followed him with acclamations and torrents of flattery, would with the same demonstrations of joy accompany him to the gallows.

THUS,

THUS, my Lord, I have presented you with a faithful portrait of the Lieut. Governor of New York, who is to bear no small share in the public affairs, of which I have the honour to transmit your Lordship an account—a portrait, under which there had been no need of fixing a name to direct to the original, those who have the least knowledge of that gentleman's character. 1754.

WHILE these things were transacting at Albany, Mr. Pownal, brother to John Pownal, Esq; one of the secretaries to the Board of Trade, was upon the spot. This gentleman came over to America with Sir Danvers Osborn, in quality of his private secretary; though it was imagined by many, he was designed to be an assistant to him in the exercise of the government. He is something of a scholar, but a confused reasoner; and in his stile perplexed; and in that usefulest of all sciences, the knowledge of mankind, he is a mere novitiate: without the latter, your Lordship knows that other acquirements are comparatively of small account, in the management of public business. To be only learned, is frequently to be vain, ostentatious, and obstinate; such a one, in a word, as Tertullian describes the most learned among the heathens,

Character
of Mr.
Thomas
Pownal.

1754. thens, “ an animal of glory.” This gentleman is fond of being considered *in an important light*. Insatiable of praise, he can not only hear himself flattered; but, what is more unaccountable in a man of tolerable sense, can flatter himself. He is a person of uncommon application, and a good memory. By dint of industry, and an access to the papers in the Plantation Board Office, he has acquired some knowledge of American affairs: but so keen is his appetite for promotion, that he cannot brook the thoughts of a gradual advancement. He is for galloping into preferment: and so intent on the contemplation of his future grandeur, as to lose all patience in earning it. Being more skilled in books than men, he is very abrupt in giving a scholastic turn to conversation, in order to display his erudition. Ever ready to contradict; himself impatient of contradiction. But wonderful is his knack at pluming himself with the schemes and inventions of others; and, with the daw in the fable, shining in a borrowed dress: a remarkable instance of which I shall give your Lordship in the following anecdote; as characteristic of a person, who will appear to have had
some

some considerable influence in the course of American transactions. During the sitting of the congress, it was scarce possible to prevent part of their sentiments from transpiring. The scheme of a naval armament on Lake Ontario, projected by Lieut. Governor Clarke, before the late war, submitted to the then ministry, and now strongly recommended by the commissioners of the Massachusetts Bay, by some means or other happened to be hinted without doors. Mr. Pownal, intent upon rising into significance among the colonies, chose not to slip so favourable an opportunity of distinguishing himself, as he could now lay hold of, from these whispered intelligences. He accordingly drew up some loose indigested proposals, with respect to American affairs. Among other trite sentiments, he urged this scheme as a new unthought of measure, absolutely requisite to secure the command, and preserve the furr-trade of those inland seas. This he delivered to some of the members of the congress to be communicated, and afterwards transmitted a copy to England; challenging to himself the sole merit of being the original author

1754.

Anecdotes
respecting
a piece he
published.

1754. author of so useful and necessary an expedient*.

Shirley erects forts on Kennebec. WHILE the congress was held at Albany, Governor Shirley, ever jealous of French machinations, proceeded, at the head of about one thousand men, to the river Kennebec; and erected forts, at convenient distances, to stop the progress of the French in that quarter; to secure the possession of that country with the friendship of the eastern Indians.

THE remainder of this year was principally spent in repeated representations to the ministry, respecting the dangerous situation of the English colonies; and the absolute necessity of a powerful assistance from Great Britain, to defeat the ambitious designs of the Court of France.

* Mr. Pownal had this Piece published in New York in Feb. 1756. It contained an introduction, declaring, that copies of it were sent by the ministry to the respective governors of the colonies: and in the spring following, it was republished, with great ostentation, in the English magazines. With respect to those parts of it, wherein he talks of Indian affairs, the sentiments seem to be unintelligible by a North-American understanding.

ON the welcome intelligence of the ^{1755.} success of these representations, and while forces were expected from England; the two regiments of Shirley and Pepperel were ordered to be re-established, and recruits were raising thro' the several governments, to form an army for dispossessing the French from their late encroachments.

THE general assembly of the Massachusetts Bay being convened, and the members sworn to secrecy; Mr. Shirley communicated to them a design of attacking Fort St. Frederic at Crown Point, the ensuing spring; and his intention to appoint Col. Johnson to the command of that expedition. The scheme being approved by the council and representatives of that province, and the quotas settled, commissioners were charged to the neighbouring governments, to solicit their concurrence and aid, in the prosecution of this enterprize.

WHILE these matters were in agitation, Mr. Pownal was at Boston, intending to sail from thence to England. He now thought fit to change his resolution; and Governor Shirley honoured him with the embassy to New York, for which place he set out the beginning of March. Some gentlemen of the council

1755. cil and assembly were commissioned, on the like errand, to the other colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, &c.

De Lancey endeavours to obstruct the concurrence of New York.

MR. POWNAL'S prospects of success at New York were at first not very encouraging. De Lancey, jealous of Shirley's rising reputation, appeared, with regard to the expedition recommended, extremely phlegmatic: and tho' artful enough to abstain from an open opposition, he made use of Mr. Chambers as his tool in council, to obstruct the concurrence of the legislature. At this time great animosities were prevailing in the province, occasioned by a charter just before granted by Mr. De Lancey, constituting a college for the education of youth, upon a foundation which happened to enkindle the general disgust. The majority of the house, apprehending the loss of their seats on a future election, should they afford it the least assistance, found themselves obliged rather to countenance the popular resentment. A gentleman of distinction, with whom Mr. Pownal advised on the subject of his commission, thought it a prudent step to open his message in part, to those members of the assembly, who, on the above-mentioned account, were then in the opposition. Several of the leading men were secured

secured by this method: and when the house met, such a disposition appeared to join in the scheme proposed, that it was beyond Mr. De Lancey's power to obstruct it. Out of pique however to Mr. Shirley, to whom this expedition was solely committed, he prevailed upon them to suspend the execution of their vote, until General Braddock's approbation was obtained: and by this artifice occasioned a considerable delay in the operations.

GENERAL BRADDOCK, being now arrived in Virginia, sent expresses to the several Governors to meet him, in order to a consultation on the business of the approaching campaign.—This convention was opened on the 14th of April*, at Alexandria in Virginia. Here it appeared, that thro' misrepresentations from Virginia, the

* It was at first proposed to have been held at Annapolis in Maryland. Mr. Shirley, who thro' the multiplicity of his affairs did not arrive there till April, has been charged with delaying Braddock's march near three weeks; tho' it is notorious, *that* delay was occasioned by the failure of the Virginia contract for the necessary supplies. The general was afterwards obliged to enter into a new one with gentlemen in Pennsylvania; which was not compleated till the 27th of May, near six weeks from the conclusion of the congress.

general

1755.

But in
vain.

Braddock
convenes
the gover-
nors, and
settles the
operati-
ons.

1755. general was enjoined to proceed immediately to Fort Du Quesne. Those who were well acquainted with the country, could not help observing, that a march from Potowmac, across the Allegheny mountains, must be attended with incredible difficulty, hazard, and expence—that the vicinity of New York to Canada—its fort of Oswego on Lake Ontario—together with the advantages of water carriage—rendered that province by far the fittest theatre of action. Braddock's orders were nevertheless positive.—For the preservation therefore of Oswego, and the reduction of Niagara, it was at length agreed, that Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments should proceed to Lake Ontario,—while General Braddock attacked Fort Du Quesne—and the provincial troops, commanded by General Johnson, marched to invest Crown Point.

Shirley returns to Boston, to prepare for the Northern Expeditions.

THESE resolutions being taken, Mr. Shirley began his journey to Boston, to prepare for the expedition under his immediate command; to forward that under Col. Johnson; and to quicken the departure of the New England troops, now assembled by his Majesty's directions, for reducing the French settlements in Nova Scotia. On his way, he spent some time in conference with

with Col. Schuyler, a gentleman of fortune and courage, who, out of disinterested love to his country, was engaged to head a regiment of 500 men, raised and maintained by the province of New Jersey. In New York, he was retarded a few days to consult with General Johnson, and remove some objections made by Mr. De Lancey to the form of his commission: * and in Connecticut, to hasten the assembling the troops of that colony †.

1755.

THE

* Mr. Johnson had his commission from the governors of the provinces, which furnished the troops under his command; the draft of which was settled at Alexandria. The Lieut. Governor of New York now thought proper to repeat those very objections, which had been there over-ruled. This unaccountable conduct gave Mr. Johnson great uneasiness, who could not obtain Mr. De Lancey's commission, till proper notice was taken by General Shirley of so manifest an obstruction to the operations of the campaign.

† Connecticut had voted one thousand men for the Crown Point expedition, and given assurances of 500 more, if the service so required. New York was to supply 800; but thro' the delay occasioned by the suspending clause above-mentioned in the vote of our assembly, Mr. De Lancey's brother was sent into Connecticut, to obtain leave for recruiting

1755. THE necessary dispatches being given
 to the expedition to Nova Scotia under
 Col. Winslow, Mr. Shirley, upon the
 arrival of the paymaster for the nor-
 thern district, returned to New York;
 and on the 4th of July failed for Alba-
 ny, his own regiment having passed by
 for that place, in twenty-one transports,
 a few days before.

and fails
 for Alba-
 ny.

ing the quota we were to furnish, in that colony; as men might there be raised more speedily than in the province of New York. Mr. Shirley being at Hertford, during this application, was told by Governor Fitch, that if Connecticut complied, they should consider themselves disengaged from the assurances given of 500 more than their own quota, did the service demand it. This, with Mr. Oliver De Lancey's declaration—that if himself should accept the command of the New York regiment, he could in ten days raise the whole number in this province, induced Mr. Shirley to oppose the application; it appearing to him not improbable, that the service might afterwards require the reinforcement offered. In consequence of which, only 300 recruits were furnished New York from thence.—A lucky incident for Mr. Shirley's adversaries to incense the people of New York against him; to which purpose it was industriously applied; tho' his conduct in that affair was prudent and rational; and tho' by repeated letters to Lieut. Governor De Lancey, he took pains to remove any misunderstanding at a juncture so unseasonable.

ABOUT this time, the colonies were filled with universal joy, on the agreeable news that the New England troops were become masters of Beau-sejour and Bay Verte, on the isthmus of Nova Scotia; whereby a new province was added to the British empire in America: and that a strong fleet, under Admiral Boscawen, lay before Louisburgh, to intercept the French supplies; and which had also seized two of their capital ships, the Lys and Alcide, and sent them into Halifax.

1755.

Nova Scotia reduced.

GENERAL BRADDOCK was now on his march towards the Ohio, at the head of about 2200 men, in order to invest Fort Du Quesne, and drive the French from their encroachments on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania. From Fort Cumberland to Fort Du Quesne, the distance is not less than 130 miles. Mr. Braddock began his march from the former on the 10th of June; leaving the garrison under the command of Col. Innes. Innumerable were the difficulties he had to surmount, in a country rugged, pathless, and unknown, across the Allegheny mountains, thro' unfrequented woods, and dangerous defiles. From the little meadows the army proceeded in two divisions. At the head of the first, consisting of 1400

1755. men, was the general himself, with the greatest part of the ammunition and artillery. The second, with the provisions, stores, and heavy baggage, was led by Col. Dunbar. Never was man more confident of success, than this brave, tho' unfortunate officer. Being advised at the great meadows, that the enemy expected a reinforcement of 500 regular troops, he pushed on by forced marches, with so much dispatch, that he fatigued the soldiers, weakened his horses, and left his second division near 40 miles in the rear. The enemy being not more than 200 strong at their fort on the Ohio, gave no obstruction to the march of our forces, till the memorable 9th of July—a day never to be forgotten in the annals of North America. About noon our troops passed the Monagahela, and were then within seven miles of Fort Du Quesne.—Unapprehensive of the approach of an enemy, at once was the alarm given, by a quick and heavy fire upon the vanguard, under Lieut. Col. Gage. Immediately the main body, in good order and high spirits, advanced to sustain them. Orders were then given to halt, and form into battalia. At this juncture the van falling back upon them, in great confusion, a general

general panic seized the whole body of the soldiery; and all attempts to rally them proved utterly ineffectual. The general and all the officers exerted their utmost activity, to recover them from the universal surprize and disorder: but equally deaf were they to intreaties and commands. During this scene of confusion, they expended their ammunition in the wildest and most unmeaning fire. Some discharging their pieces on our own parties, who were advanced from the main body for the recovery of the cannon. After three hours spent in this melancholy situation, enduring a terrible slaughter, from (it may be said) an *invisible* foe, orders were given to sound a retreat, that the men might be brought to cover the waggons. These they surrounded but a short space of time: for the enemy's fire being again warmly renewed from the front and left flank, the whole army took to immediate flight; leaving behind them all the artillery, provisions, ammunition, baggage, military chest, together with the general's cabinet, containing his instructions and other papers of consequence *. So great

1755.

* Several of these papers being since published

1755. great was the consternation of the soldiers, that it was impossible to stop their career, flying with the utmost precipitation three miles from the field of action; where only one hundred began to make a more orderly retreat.

WHAT was the strength of the enemy, has hitherto remained to us uncertain. According to Indian accounts, they exceeded not 400, chiefly Indians: and whether any were slain, is still to be doubted, for few were seen by our men, being covered by stumps and fallen trees. Great indeed was the destruction on our side.—Numbers of officers sacrificed their lives thro' singular bravery. Extremely unfortunate was the whole staff. The general, after having five horses shot under him, received a wound in his lungs thro' his right arm, of which he died in four days. His secretary, eldest son of Major General Shirley, a gentleman of great accomplishments, by a shot thro' the head, was killed upon the spot. Mr. Orme and Capt. Morris, aid-de-camps, were both wounded. Of the 44th regiment, Sir Peter Halket, Colonel, was slain, with several other of-

lished by the *French* court, are annexed, by way of APPENDIX, to this *Dublin* edition.

ficers;

ficers; and Lieut. Col. Gage wounded. 1755.
 Lieut. Col. Burton, of the 48th regi-
 ment, was among the wounded; and
 many gallant officers perished in the
 field. Our whole loss was about seven
 hundred killed and wounded.

To what causes this unhappy cata-
 strophe is to be ascribed, has been mat-
 ter of much inquiry and animated de-
 bate. The officers charged the de-
 feat to the cowardice of the men: but,
 in a representation they made to Mr.
 Shirley, by order of the Crown, they,
 in some measure, apologize for their be-
 haviour—alleging, that they were har-
 rassed by duties unequal to their num-
 bers, and dispirited thro' want of pro-
 visions: That time was not allowed
 them to dress their food: That their
 water (the only liquor too they had)
 was both scarce and of a bad quality:
 In fine, that the provincials had dis-
 heartened them, by repeated suggesti-
 ons of their fears of a defeat, should
 they be attacked by Indians; in which
 case the European method of fighting
 would be intirely unavailing. But, my
 Lord, however censurable the conduct
 of the soldiery may be thought, Mr.
 Braddock, too sanguine in his prospects,
 was generally blamed for neglecting to
 cultivate the friendship of the Indians,
 who

1755. who offered their assistance; and who, it is certain, had a number of them preceded the army, would have seasonably discovered the enemy's ambuscade. The Virginian rangers also, instead of being made to serve as regulars in the ranks with the English troops, should have been employed as out-scouts. But this step, so necessary to guard against surprize, was too unhappily omitted; the whole army, according to the representation above mentioned, following only *three or four guides*.

Dunbar
retreats
precipitately
to
Fort Cumberland.

WHEN the routed party joined the second division, forty miles short of the place of action, the terror diffused itself thro' the whole army. Your Lordship might naturally expect to hear, that Col. Dunbar then intrenched himself, and called on the neighbouring colonies for immediate reinforcements;—as by such a step the enemy might have been detained at Fort Du Quesne, prevented from ravaging the frontiers, or throwing succours into Niagara. But alas! my Lord, an infatuation seemed to accompany all our measures on the southern quarter. Fearful of an unpursuing foe, all the ammunition, and so much of the provisions were destroyed, for accelerating their flight, that

Dunbar

Dunbar was actually obliged to send for ^{1755.} thirty horse-loads of the latter, before he reached Fort Cumberland—where he arrived a very few days after, with the shattered remains of the English troops.

ON Mr. Braddock's unhappy catastrophe, the command of his Majesty's forces in North America devolved upon Major General Shirley. ^{Major G. Shirley assumes the command.} I before acquainted your Lordship of his return to New York, and departure from thence to Albany, where he arrived the beginning of July.

ALBANY, my Lord, was the grand theatre of all the preparations for the northern expedition against Fort St. Frederic, as well as that to the westward for the reduction of Niagara. The general, on his arrival there, found not the former in the forwardness he had reason to expect. The provincials discontented with the inactivity of a long encampment, Major General Lyman was obliged to make short marches, to prevent their disbanding; and the general was therefore detained awhile in that city, to hinder so fatal an event. ^{Is detained at Albany.} His own troops in the mean time were filing off, in different divisions, from Schenectady, towards Oswego.

1755. Route to Oswego. OSWEGO, along the accustomed route, is computed to be about 300 miles west from Albany. The first sixteen, to the village of Schenectady, is land carriage, in a good waggon road. From thence to the Little Falls, in the Mohawk River, at sixty-five miles distance, the battoes * are set against a rapid stream; which too, in dry seasons, is so shallow, that the men are frequently obliged to turn out, and draw their craft over the rifts with inconceivable labour. At the Little Falls, the portage exceeds not a mile: the ground being marshy will admit of no wheel-carriage, and therefore the Germans who reside here, transport the battoes in sleds, which they keep for that purpose. The same conveyance is used at the Great Carrying-Place, sixty miles beyond the Little Falls; all the way to which the current is still adverse, and extremely swift. The portage here is longer or shorter, according to the dryness or wetness of the seasons. In the last summer months,

* A battoe is a light flat-bottomed boat, widest in the middle, and at each end sharp pointed, of about 1500 weight burden, and managed by two men, with paddles and setting poles.

when

when rains are not frequent, it is usually six or eight miles across. Taking water again, we enter a narrow rivulet, called the Wood-creek, which leads into the Oneida Lake, distant forty miles. This stream, tho' favourable, being shallow, and its banks covered with thick woods, was at this time much obstructed with old logs and fallen trees. The Oneida Lake stretches from east to west about thirty miles, and in calm weather is passed with great facility. At its western extremity opens the Onondaga River, leading down to Oswego, situated at its entrance on the south side of the Lake Ontario. Extremely difficult and hazardous is the passage thro' this river, as it abounds with rifts and rocks; and the current flowing with surprising rapidity. The principal obstruction is twelve miles short of Oswego, and is a fall of about eleven feet perpendicular. The portage here is by land, not exceeding forty yards, before they launch for the last time.

YOUR LORDSHIP, from this account, will readily conceive, that thro' such a long amphibious march an army must proceed with prodigious risque and fatigue; and the battoes be necessarily conducted by persons skilled in

1755. the navigation, and enured to hardships. For this service General Shirley had engaged all the young men in the county of Albany, who formerly had been employed in the Indian trade at Oswego: and a vast number of battoes were prepared for the conveyance of the troops, stores, and provisions.

OSWEGO was formerly garrisoned by twenty-five men; but on the commencement of our present disputes, the number was augmented to fifty. Early this spring fifty more were ordered up: and about the latter end of May, Capt. Bradstreet arrived there with 200, besides workmen to be employed in the naval preparations, pursuant to the scheme concerted in the congress of commissioners at Albany the last summer.

Troops proceed to that garrison. COL. SCHUYLER'S New Jersey regiment embarked in two divisions from Schenectady, the beginning of July. Shirley's and Pepperell's were preparing to follow, when the melancholy news of Gen. Braddock's defeat reached that place. This struck a general damp on the spirits of the soldiers, and many deserted. Great numbers of the battoe-men dispersed themselves into the country, and fled to their respective habitations. To engage the return of

of above half the fugitives, equally in- 1755.
 effectual were threats or promises, re-
 wards or punishments. The general,
 however, sensible of the importance of
 the service, pursued his march in spite
 of every vexatious disappointment. As
 he passed their country, he called upon
 the Indians of the Six Nations, at some
 of their castles; and sent embassadors
 to the rest, pressing them to join him,
 with assurances of his protection. But
 they seemed in general greatly disin-
 clined to our western operations. In-
 dian affairs had been too long neglected
 by the province of New York, to which
 the principal management of them has
 always been committed. Neither the
 sums allotted for presents to those sa-
 vages, were always by our governors
 fairly expended; nor the presents them-
 selves honestly distributed. And partly
 thro' repeated frauds, and the omission
 of proper measures to conciliate their
 favour, our interest with them amount-
 ed to little more than a bare neutra-
 lity. Mr. Johnson nevertheless pre-
 tending a mighty influence over them,
 was intrusted with 5000l. sterling, in
 order to engage their assistance for the
 general benefit of his Majesty's service.
 For this purpose he held a congress with
 some of their principal sachems at
 Mount-

Six Na-
 tions a-
 verse to
 the Nia-
 gara expe-
 dition, and
 why.

Johnson
 holds a
 confer-
 ence with
 them.

1755. Mount-Johnson *, soon after his return from Alexandria.

Anecdote
of Johnson
and Shir-
ley.

YOUR LORDSHIP is pleased to insist upon my “ descending into a detail “ of every transaction, how minute “ soever, that can give any light into “ the more secret springs of our political action.” I shall therefore acquaint your Lordship, that upon the general’s arrival at Albany, Mr. Johnson laid before him a copy of the minutes of his late treaty with the Indians. These minutes, it seems, contained some unhandsome reflections upon his excellency; insinuating, that to treat separately with them, he had employed one Lydius, a person of not the most unexceptionable character, either for loyalty or integrity. The single reason upon which the surmise could be founded was this. Lydius, who formerly lived near Lake George, and whose Indian acquaintance was very extensive, had offered the general his assistance, in procuring the junction of a number of them, on the designed expeditions. Upon which he wrote to Mr. Johnson, intimating the pleasure it would give

* Sir William Johnson’s own seat, near the lower Mohawk castle, about 36 miles from Albany.

him,

him, if he could make any use of this man in his Majesty's service. On delivering those minutes into the general's hands, Johnson, sensible of the insinuation, told him, he intirely disapproved the reflection they seemed to contain, and appeared ashamed of its insertion. Having perused the paper, Shirley could not avoid complaining of the ill usage; while the other with solemn vows protested, he was not privy to it, and importuned him to return the minutes, that he might erase the obnoxious passage. The former confided in the sincerity of his protestations, but soon after had abundant reason to distrust his integrity.

THE general had applied to one Staats, who resided near Albany, and had a considerable interest with the Indians of Stockbridge*. He proposed to him his raising a company of them, as a guard to the battoes in their passage to Oswego. Privately was this man intimidated from the undertaking: and Mr. Johnson, to induce him to break thro' his promises, offered him

* Stockbridge, by the Indians called Houtatonuc, lies upon the western confines of the Massachusetts Bay, in the eastern parts of the province of New York.

1755. a captain's commission, could he engage an Indian company to proceed on the expedition under his own direction.

Faction
formed
against the
general,
and occa-
sion of it.

YOUR LORDSHIP, being already informed of this gentleman's appointment to the command of the provincial army, by the interest of General Shirley, will scarce have patience at the recital of a conduct so astonishing and ungrateful. The secret, my Lord, was this. — Mr. Johnson was never distinguished for his sense or penetration. He had now for his aid-de-camp Capt. Wraxal, a man of art and genius, who a few years before had been appointed secretary for Indian affairs, and clerk of the city, and county of Albany. Governor Clinton had granted a commission for the latter of those offices, before the date of Wraxal's sign manual. A suit was therefore commenced, and is still depending between him, and the person in possession of the office, suspended on the determination of a point of law. Upon this account Wraxal became an humble dependant on Lieut. Governor De Lancey, before whom, unless superseded in the chief command, the case must be determined upon a writ of error: The latter, who had been a declared enemy to Johnson, throughout

throughout the whole of Clinton's administration, and had even prevented the assembly from discharging a very equitable demand he had against the province for services and disbursements, now determined to fall in with, and set him up, in competition with Shirley. Wralax's post and dependence afforded a fine opportunity for the purpose; and so Johnson became strongly attached to the Lieut. Governor. Your Lordship will no longer wonder at his procuring all the Indians he could prevail upon, to join the provincial troops under his own command; or at his attempts to excite others to embarrass and obstruct the general's designs upon the Lake Ontario. In support of a charge so heavy as this, I think it incumbent upon me to assign the following instances: 1. Not an Indian joined General Shirley at Schenectady, agreeably to Mr. Johnson's positive assurances. 2. Nor at either of the castles in the five cantons, as he passed thro' them to Oswego; but, on the contrary: 3. One Bant, an Onondaga (three of whose sons were in Johnson's army) at the head of several other Indians, declared to Mr. Shirley at Oswego, that it was a place of trade and peace — that there should be no war there — and that he should

1755.
Evil effects
of it.
not

1755. not disturb the French; adding, that he was going with the like message to Canada. The general having convinced him, that the expulsion of the French from their encroachments must redound to the advantage of the Six Nations; he asserted, that Mr. Johnson had sent them upon this embassy to Canada. Tho' this appeared utterly incredible, 'tis nevertheless certain, 4, several other Indians arrived from the Onondaga castle, with a belt declaring it to have been sent them by Mr. Johnson, with his request, that not a man of them would join the King's troops, under the command of General Shirley. 5. Others also, from the Seneca, Oneida and Cayuga cantons concurred in the like reports; particularly one Redhead, an Indian of great Fame, and a speaker at the late congress at Mount-Johnson, came to Oswego, in his way to Oswagatic or la Gallette, and desired the cessation of all military designs; affirming, that with the same request he was going to the French.

It was with difficulty, my Lord, these Indians were reconciled to our attempts, detained at Oswego, and therefore prevented from communicating our operations to the enemy. The general, from these instances, became more and more suspicious,

fuspicious, that the faction at New York were endeavouring to embarafs and impede his meafures. What farther confirmed his fufpicions, that the Lieut. Governor of New York, with that view, made Mr. Johnson his instrument, was a letter, which after his arrival at Oswego he received from the latter, where in he juftified that very afperſion before difavowed, contained in the minutes above recounted. 1755.

MY LORD, we will now leave Mr. Shirley at Oswego, and purſue the courſe of tranſactions, as well at New York, as in the ſouthern colonies.

DUNBAR, having reached Fort Cum-Dunbarberland, diſpatched an Indian expreſs to General Shirley, with an account of the defeat, and the neceſſary returns reſpecting the troops under his command; acquainting him, moreover, with his intention of marching to Philadelphia, and his hopes of meeting his orders at Shippensburgh. About the ſame time Mr. Dinwiddie wrote to Dunbar, propoſing a ſecond attempt on Fort Du Queſne. But a council being thereupon held, the members of which were Col. Dunbar, Lieut. Col. Gage, Governor Sharpe, Major Chapman, Major Sparke, and Sir John St. Clair, it

1755. it was unanimously conceived, that Mr. Dinwiddie's scheme was impracticable. The very next day, being the second of August, Dunbar began his march towards Philadelphia, with 1600 men, four six-pounders, and as many colorns; leaving behind him the Virginia and Maryland companies, and about 400 wounded. At this sudden departure of the forces, the Virginians were extremely disobliged, as not only exposing their frontiers, and occasioning the daily desertion of their provincials; but because the enemy, in flying parties, penetrated into the province, and on many of the inhabitants committed robberies and murder. What judgment ought to be formed of this retreat, I leave your Lordship to determine. Certainly those southern colonies ought to have strengthened General Braddock with a large body of provincial forces, which had doubtless prevented all that effusion of blood and treasure — the fatal consequence of their ill judged parsimony! Upon the advices received from Dunbar, Mr. Shirley gave orders for renewing the attempt, if the southern colonies would readily afford him a competent reinforcement.

Frontiers
of Virgi-
nia left ex-
posed.

Another
attempt
on Fort Du
Quesne
proposed.

GOVERNOR

GOVERNOR MORRIS having convened ^{1755.} the Pennsylvania assembly, informed them of the retreat of our army, and in a well-drawn pathetic speech, pressed them to the most vigorous measures for the defence of their borders. They proceeded so far as to vote for raising 50,000 l. but offering a bill for taxing the proprietary-estate, an immediate rupture ensued, of which your Lordship is long since acquainted, by the ample accounts in sundry late pamphlets on that and similar subjects. As to Virginia—now equally open to the irruptions of the enemy, four companies of rangers were ordered out, and the assembly voted 40,000 l. for furnishing a thousand men for the frontier defence. About the same time, met the council and assembly of New Jersey, and the latter voted 30,000 l. for the public service : but as the house proposed to prolong the currency of the bills for nine years, to which Mr. Belcher, who never swerves from his instructions, not being able to assent, 15,000 l. only was raised, and its use restricted to keeping on foot her regiment at Oswego, commanded by Col. Schuyler. At New York, the house of representatives assembled on the 5th of August, and set out with a generous spirit. Agreeable

But Pennsylvania withholds her Aid.

Virginia provides for her frontier Defence

New Jersey only continues her regiment in pay.

1755. to the request of the Massachusetts Bay government, always foremost in military affairs, they resolved to reinforce the provincial army, destined for Crown Point, with 400 men. The bill was actually passed the house for that purpose; and the council had determined to conceal from their knowledge, the contents of a second letter from Gen. Shirley to Col. Dunbar, of the 7th of August, in which he ordered him to proceed with his troops to Albany, for the protection of that important post, in case the colony forces should meet with a repulse. By this bill the assembly proposed to invest the respective captains of the city militia with an arbitrary power to draught men for the service. The design of this extraordinary project was suspected to serve a particular purpose, on a new election of representatives, which, according to custom, it was thought would immediately ensue the arrival of Sir Charles Hardy, who was soon expected with a commission for the chief command of this province. It certainly was a favourite bill; for, contrary to precedent, the Lieut. Governor came to the council board *, and pressed them to pass it: but

* Before the administration of Governor Cosby, it was customary for the governors to be

but when he perceived an amendment preparing for a ballot of the recruits in New York, as well as in the other counties, he immediately laid the general's letter to Dunbar before the house — in consequence of which, the design of a reinforcement instantly dropped, and the assembly adjourned the next day. 1755.

AFTER what I have already recounted, your Lordship will not, I presume, be at all surprized, to find Mr. De Lancey leaving no device untried, to maintain the sole direction of the assembly. He knew that on his interest with the representatives depended his credit with the ministry; and that with the expiration of his power, to carry certain points of prerogative, would also expire their opinion of his importance. His agents in England, to support their patron, had hitherto amused a certain noble Lord with many specious promises. They had represented his capacity to serve the Crown in very magnificent terms; nor forgot his readiness to procure, whenever an opportunity

be present in the council, even when sitting in their legislative capacity. But since that period, they have not openly interposed in the consultations of that branch of the legislature.

presented,

1755. presented, the obedience of the house to some favourite instructions. Hence it is evident, that the loss of his ascendancy over that branch of the legislature, must naturally terminate in the extinction of his grandeur derived from the Crown.

WHILE he held the reins of government, assumed on Sir Danvers Osborne's decease, the ministry had none to inspect his conduct, or trace him thro' the mazy labyrinth of his politics. From himself came all their intelligence, and hence undoubtedly none in his own disfavour. During these golden days of security and repose, he resigned himself to pleasure, and indulged his natural disposition to voluptuousness and ease. The province, the mean while, was principally governed by his secretary; who, like a second Atlas, bore the chief burden of the state. Thus negligent

His popularity declines. of his politics, his popularity began to suffer a manifest declension. It was moreover notably abridged by his passing the charter before-mentioned, repugnant, by his own confession, to the dictates of his judgment. By this step he incurred such general umbrage, that the very members of the assembly could not be wrought upon to confirm it. Nay, so disgustful to the people was this charter, that

that a majority of the most reputable inhabitants united against it in a petition to the house. Civil liberty, and by some, even the rights of conscience were imagined to be in danger; and the opposition being, as it were, *pro aris & focis*, was extremely animated. The Lieut. Governor became now apprehensive of the consequence. He stood upon the point of resigning his command to a successor hourly expected; and, without regaining his seat as chief justice, his popularity appeared descending from its meridian: nor, in case of a dissolution was he insensible his authority with the house must suffer a total eclipse. Your Lordship cannot therefore but observe, of what moment it was, to secure the friendship of the next governor. Permit me to mention the arts, whereby it was accomplished.

Sir CHARLES HARDY arrived in our harbour on the 2d of September 1755. The council immediately convened themselves for his reception. In the midst of their consultations, Mr. Oliver De Lancey, without leave of the board, bolts into the chamber, and modestly interposes his advice, to send a message to Sir Charles, requesting his continuance in the ship, till the next morning. The reason assigned was, to gain time for

1755.

He secures
the ear of
his suc-
cessor;

1755. for drawing out the militia, to receive his excellency at landing, with the formality and honour due to his rank. But the true secret was, to gain an opportunity for the Lieut. Governor, and a select juncto, to pass the evening with him, in order to conciliate his graces, and give him early impressions in favour of their party. The next day, the governor published his commission; and was, by Mr. De Lancey, invited to a public entertainment. In the evening they conducted him to the common, to hear the acclamations of the people; and on every occasion, followed him with servile court and adulation. To impress a high sense of his predecessor's popularity, they spared no pains. For this purpose also they intrigued with the assembly, and city corporation, two elective bodies, and thence under his influence. Of the latter, Mr. Oliver De Lancey, as alderman, was a member; and, with true fraternal affection, stimulated the board to insert in their address a compliment to his brother. A modest motion, my Lord! and so vehemently urged, that it was carried, tho' not without some opposition. The burden of that momentous passage, without which the whole had been jejune and insipid, was discharged in these terms

and procure
eulogiums on
his own
administration.

terms—" We have the greatest reason 1755.
 " to expect the continuation of that
 " wise and happy administration, we
 " have been blessed with some time
 " past." Still greater was Mr. De
 Lancey's interest in the assembly, as I
 have already had the honour to acquaint
 your Lordship. But one gentleman in
 that house, opposed the flattery of their
 address. He is a man of an affluent
 independent fortune, a bold unshack-
 led spirit, and of strong natural parts.
 The address was calculated to secure
 De Lancey's power both with governor
 and people: the former, by displaying
 to Sir Charles his formidable interest in
 that house; the latter, by preventing a
 dissolution, than which nothing was the
 object of greater dread. " It has, Sir,
 " (these are the expressions) been usual
 " in this colony, at the accession of a
 " new governor, to give the people an
 " opportunity of a new election of re-
 " presentatives. If your excellency
 " conceives, that such a measure, in
 " the present state of affairs, will be
 " consistent with his Majesty's service,
 " and the security of this his loyal co-
 " lony, it will be agreeable to us, and
 " to the people we have the honour to
 " represent.

1755.

“ THE importance of the business
 “ under our consideration, and the dif-
 “ patch necessary to accomplish it,
 “ will plead our excuse to your excel-
 “ lency, for not being earlier in this ad-
 “ dress.

“ AND here, Sir, we should have
 “ ended, were we not in justice bound
 “ to pay some acknowledgement to the
 “ administration of your excellency’s
 “ predecessor, the Lieut. Governor;
 “ whose upright intentions, as far as
 “ we had opportunities of discovering
 “ them, ever tended to his Majesty’s
 “ honour and service, and the welfare
 “ and prosperity of this colony.”

MR. DE LANCEY is one of the most fortunate of men. While the people impatiently expected a dissolution, an express arrived on the 12th of September, with a confused, but alarming account of an action at Lake George. This rendered it necessary for Sir Charles Hardy, immediately to proceed to Albany. Thither the Lieut. Governor accompanied him, and had thereby a fair opportunity to ingross and cajole him. I shall suspend the relation of his success, till I have laid before your Lordship the progress of the provincial army, and their repulse of the French.

MAJOR

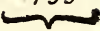
MAJOR GEN. LYMAN, being ad-^{1755.}
 vanced with the troops to the Carrying-
 Place, about 60 miles from Albany, was
 waiting the arrival of General Johnson,
 who set out from thence on the 8th of
 August, with the train of artillery.
 Lyman had begun a fort at the landing,
 on the east side of Hudson's River, now Lyman builds a
 fort at the
 Carrying-
 Place.
 called Fort Edward. About the latter
 end of the month, Gen. Johnson, with
 the main body, moved forward 14 miles
 more northerly, and pitched his camp
 at the south end of Lake George, be-
 fore called St. Sacrament. By some In-
 dians, who had been sent as scouts,
 he received the following advices:—
 That they had discovered a party of
 French and Indians at Tinonderoge, si-
 tuate on the isthmus between the north
 end of Lake George, and the southern
 part of Lake Champlain, 15 miles on
 this side Crown Point; but that no works
 were there thrown up. To have se-
 cured this pass, which commanded the
 route to Crown Point thro' the Lake,
 had been a measure extremely advise-
 able. Mr. Johnson, informed of its
 importance, on the 1st of September
 wrote to Gen. Shirley, that he was im-
 patient to get up his battoes; propo-
 sing then to proceed with part of the
 troops, and seize upon that pass. The

1755. French however took advantage of the delay, and cut out work enough for him at his own camp.

OF the troops which failed from Brest in the spring, amounting to about 3000, your Lordship knows, eight companies were taken with the Lys and Alcide men of war, who fell in with our fleet commanded by Admiral Boscawen. One thousand were landed at Louisburgh; and the residue arrived at Québec, with Monf. de Vandreuil governor-general of Canada, and Baron Dieskau, commander of the forces. The French Court, well apprised of the singular consequence of Oswego, had determined to reduce it. Such being the baron's instructions, he immediately proceeded to Montreal; from whence he detached 700 of his troops up the river, intending himself speedily to join them with the remainder. Just before he had made the necessary preparations, Montreal was alarmed with the news of our forming a numerous army near Lake St. Sacrament, for the reduction of Fort Frederic, and perhaps to penetrate into the heart of Canada. Whereupon a grand council being held, the baron was importuned to proceed thro' Lake Champlain, for the defence of

Dieskau designs to reduce Oswego;

but is diverted.

of that fortress: nor was he without ^{1755.} great difficulty prevailed upon to alter  his intended route.

DIESKAU, having in vain waited the coming up of our army, at length resolved himself to advance towards them; and if he proved victorious, to desolate our northern settlements, lay the towns of Albany and Schenectady in ashes, and cut off all communication with Oswego. A dreadful resolution, my Lord! And had he succeeded—I tremble at the thought—had he succeeded. But the Supreme Disposer of events had not yet devoted us to ruin; and therefore, like the counsels of Achitophel, blasted the sanguinary purpose.—

He marches to attack G. Johnson.

FOR the execution of this design, he embarked at Fort St. Frederic with 2000 men in battoes, and landed at the South Bay*. Of this movement, Gen. Johnson had not the least intimation, 'till his scouts discovered their actual departure from the South Bay towards Fort Edward. By an English prisoner, the baron was told that the fort was defenceless, and our camp at the Lake, when he left it a few days before, without lines, and destitute of cannon.

* About 16 miles from the English encampment.

1755. Having approached within two miles of Fort Edward, he opened his design to his troops, consisting of 600 militia, as many Indians, and 200 regulars. To animate his irregulars, who seemed disinclined to the attack proposed, he assured them, that inevitable must be their success—"that on reducing this fort, the English camp must necessarily be abandoned, and their army disperse in great disorder—that this would enable them to subdue Albany; and by starving the garrison of Oswego, superadd to their conquest the absolute dominion of Ontario." With whatever intrepidity this harangue inspired his European troops, the Canadians and savages, fearful of our cannon, were utterly averse to the scheme; but declared their willingness to surprise our camp, where they expected nothing beyond musquetry*. Thus disappointed in his principal design, he changed his route, and began to move against the main body at the Lake. Gen. Johnson, on the information of his scouts, had dispatched separate mes-

His irregulars averse to the attack of Fort Edward.

He moves against our camp ;

* Our artillery was got up to the camp, from Fort Edward, but a day or two before the action, of which the French had no intelligence.

sengers

sengers to Fort Edward, with advice of the enemy's approach towards that garrison; of which, one was unfortunately intercepted; the rest who got back, reported, that they had descried the enemy about four miles to the northward of the fort. Instead of any attempt to discover the strength of the guard left with their battoes at the South Bay, which might easily have been cut off, a council of war resolved the next morning to detach 1000 men, with some Indians, to fall upon, or, as Mr. Johnson expresses it in his letter to the several governors, "to *catch* the enemy in their retreat." On this service commanded Col. Williams, a brave officer, who met the baron within four miles of our camp. 1755.

THE English, my Lord, were encamped on the banks of Lake George, being covered on either side by a low thick-wooded swamp. After the march of the detachment, Gen. Johnson drew up the cannon, then at 500 yards distance from the front. Trees were also felled to form some sort of breast-work: and this was all his cover against an attack; having hitherto strangely delayed the proper retrenchments.

1755. ABOUT an hour after Williams's departure, a heavy fire was heard; which evidently approaching, Gen. Johnson judged rightly, that our detachment was retreating: for the French were superior in number, amounting to about 1800. Upon this he sent out a reinforcement to support them; which was very judiciously conducted on the death of Williams, by Lieut. Colonel Whiting, a Connecticut officer, who gained much applause at the reduction of Louisburgh. Gen. Johnson informs the governors, " That about half an hour after eleven the enemy appeared in sight, and marched along the road in very regular order, directly upon our center: That they made a small halt, about 150 yards from the breast-work, when the regular troops made the grand and center attack; while the Canadians and Indians squatted and dispersed on our flanks." This halt was the baron's capital error: for, amidst the consternation at the camp, had he closely followed up the detachment, he had easily forced their lines, and gained a complete victory. But by continuing for some time a platoon fire, with little execution at that distance, our men recovered their spirits. As soon as the artillery began to play,

Dieskau

Diefkau and his regulars found themselves totally deserted by the militia and savages, who all skulked into the swamps, took to trees, and maintained a scattered fire upon our flanks for some time, with variable and intermitting briskness. Having now no command of any part of his army, except his handful of regulars, the baron thought proper to retire; which he did in very great disorder. A party from the camp followed him, fell upon his rear, dispersed the remaining foldiers about him, and being himself wounded in the leg, was found resting on a stump, utterly abandoned and destitute of succour. Feeling for his watch, to surrender it, one of our men, suspecting him in search of a pistol, poured a charge thro' his hips; of which wound he is not yet recovered. Upon his retreat, the militia and Indians retired in small parties: and as the English neglected to continue the pursuit, they halted about four miles from the camp, at the very place where the engagement happened in the morning. Opening their packs for refreshment, they here entered into a consultation, respecting a second attack. Why the enemy was not pursued, when their retreat became general, no tolerable reason has ever

1755.

He is defeated,
and taken
prisoner.

1755. yet been assigned; and Mr. Johnson, in his letter, seems very artfully to evade it. Nothing however could be more fortunate than the gallant behaviour of a party consisting of about 200, led by Capt. M' Ginnes, who had been detached from Fort Edward, to the assistance of the main body. They fell upon the French in the evening, put an end to their consultations, and gave them a total overthrow. M' Ginnes died of the wounds he received in this rencounter, having signalized himself by a spirit and conduct that would have done honour to a more experienced officer.

Remark on Wraxal's imagination. MR. WRAXAL, in his letter to the Lieut. Governor of New York, told him, he stood so near Gen. Johnson, when the latter received his wound, that "he thought he saw the ball enter:" which curious piece of intelligence was obliterated before its publication. I only mention this circumstance to convince your Lordship, that the most intrepid soldier hath not always the same presence of mind.

The enemy not pursued. IF the dusk of the evening was too far advanced, before the repulse at the Lake, for an immediate pursuit (which by the way could not be the case, since M' Ginnes's encounter was subsequent) yet the neglect of it the next day admits

mits of no colourable apology. Mr. ^{1755.} Lyman urged it with great warmth; but the general, with most of the field officers, are accused of an equal disinclination. Mr. Johnson, to judge by his letter, seemed well satisfied with his escape, and determined with this action to close the present campaign. It was probably to avoid the prosecution of the expedition, that he transmitted no account of the battle to General Shirley; contenting himself with requesting Lieut. Governor Phipps to send a copy of his letter from Boston, tho' his own situation was 200 miles nigher to Oswego. The gentleman at Albany, to whom his dispatches were intrusted, suspecting their contents, and conceiving their communication to the general absolutely necessary for his Majesty's service, broke open the letter to Governor Phipps, and sent an express with a copy to Oswego.

THE Indians, during the whole of the engagement, some of the Mohawks only excepted, retired from the camp, waiting the event of the conflict at a convenient distance. Nor indeed was their assistance expected, by those who knew their boasted fidelity was a mere delusion, and Mr. Johnson's so much magnified influence, what it has since appeared to all men, the grossest imposture. They even declared before their march,

The Indians joined not in the action :

1755. march, they intended not to engage, but to be witnesses of the gallantry of our troops. And had Dieskau won the day, equally ready had they been to scalp their brethren the English; as now they appeared to exercise their brutal dexterity on the French. Moreover, they came in a body to Albany, immediately after the battle, on pretence of celebrating the success of our arms, and to condole with the Widows of those who fell in the action. This, says one of Mr. Johnson's encomiasts, is their custom; subjoining prophetically, that they were in a fortnight after their departure to return to the camp. The savages, My Lord, observe no such custom, save on the conclusion of an enterprize; whereas this was scarcely commenced: and as to their return, 'tis notorious they never did. Besides, had the general the real interest pretended, would he not, for once, have induced them to postpone their triumphant festivity, and untimely condolence, when their presence at the camp, would they really fight, was of indispensable necessity; and himself in expectation of a second attack; nor, by the strain of his letter, exempt from a little perturbation of mind? To render the lustre of this gentleman's character still more refulgent, by preventing

and left
our army
after it.

Major
Gen. Ly-
man mali-
ciously
charged
with cow-
ardice.

preventing any one's sharing with him the glory of the day, a junto combined at the camp, and framed a letter *, impeaching Mr. Lyman, the second in command, of dastardly carriage, which they procured one Cole, a fellow of no reputation, to sign, and convey to the press. A notable instance of the amazing latitude to which an invidious spirit is capable of proceeding: So true is the poet's observation,

1755.

—— Men that make
 Envy and crooked malice nourishment,
 Dare bite the best —— SHAKESP.

For, in reality, no man, my Lord, behaved with more magnanimity, than the unfortunate object of their jealousy: and from his superior merit actually arose their malignity, as he thence rivalled their deified idol. The reason why this much-injured officer deferred his vindication, was not only the disgraceful name of his Calumniator, but because he expected that justice from the public; who accordingly, in testimony of his merit, vested him, the next campaign, with the same impor-

* —Minds that will mount into superior state,
 Climb mischief's ladder—

RICHARD'S Messalina.

tant

1755. tant post. But numbers of witnesses —
 eye-witnesses, utterly impartial, and not
 belonging to the camp, are ready to
 depose, that by them he was seen fight-
 ing like a lion, and exposing his life in
 the hottest of the battle: not to men-
 tion a gentleman * of undoubted vera-
 city, to whom Gen. Johnson, two days
 after the action, frankly acknowledged
 in his tent, that to Lyman was chiefly
 to be ascribed the honour of the
 victory.

Remarks
 on John-
 son's rea-
 sons for
 not pursu-
 ing the
 enemy, or
 prosecut-
 ing his ex-
 pedition.

I SHALL now, my Lord, take the
 liberty to make a few remarks on Mr.
 Johnson's letter † to the governors; and
 examine the reasons assigned against
 pursuing his advantage, as well as those
 alledged for not prosecuting the expe-
 dition. The repulse of the French de-
 livered us from such unspeakable cala-
 mity, naturally to be apprehended from
 the enemy's success, that we have in-
 finite reason to thank the GOD OF
 ARMIES, for thus remarkably rescuing
 us from the jaws of perdition. Nor
 ought we to mention either our officers
 or men, who generally behaved as well
 as could be expected, without a suitable

* Col. John Rensalair, of Albany.

† *Vide* Johnson's letter, which is added to
 this Dublin Edition by way of Appendix.

tribute of gratitude. But the general's own letter will enable me to convince your Lordship, that the magnificent trophies erected to his fame, sprung wholly from the New York cabal; whose services, when encircled with his laurels, he was ever after to acknowledge and retaliate

1755.

--- sana redimitus tempora lauro

--- veterem Anchisem agnoscit amicum.

By this letter he appears so conscious of deserving reprehension, rather than applause, that the latter part of his epistle is apparently calculated to divert all inquiry into the true reason of his not pursuing the enemy, and breaking up the campaign, without paying a visit to Crown Point. "Our men, says he, have suffered so much fatigue for three days past, and are constantly standing upon their arms by day, half the whole upon guard by night, and the rest lie down armed and accoutred; that both officers and men are almost worn-out." I can't help thinking, that had the general begun his breast-work more seasonably, and not waited for intelligence of the enemy's advancing, before he ordered up his cannon, his men had been less fatigued by

1755. by this redoubtable action. But lest the world should remain in the dark about the real grounds of his apprehension, he proceeds --- “ The enemy may rally; and we judge they have considerable reinforcements near at hand.”

I question, my Lord, whether the whole circle of history affords a single instance of an army’s rallying, after the slaughter of 1000 men (his own computation) out of about 1800, the whole force of the enemy. And whence he conjectured they had any reinforcement so near at hand, as not to be able to join their routed detachment, still remains one of those arcana of state, which, by common understandings, is not to be fathomed: or, if the French consisted of 200 grenadiers, 800 Canadians, and 700 Indians (the baron’s account to the general) so great a slaughter as is pretended by the letter, with the loss of the greatest part of the principal officers, and *Monf. St. Pierre*, who had the chief command and influence over the Indians, must have reduced them to less than 800. From these, one would have imagined, there was no danger of a second attack. Far more probable was it, that for so momentous an enterprize as the reduction of the forts before-mentioned, the French had mustered

tered all the forces they could spare from Crown Point and Tinonderoge, ^{1755.} where many of the regular troops were posted; especially, as they went unfurnished with cannon. - Add to this, that our army was now flushed with victory; the enemy, on the contrary, disconcerted; and, according to his account, most of their principal officers, and many of their men, slain; the Indians too, by the death of St. Pierre, probably wavering and dissipated. This, if such were the facts, was a glorious opportunity to dispossess them of Tinonderoge. But the longer they were suffered to fortify, the more arduous the task to dislodge them, and the greater the loss of our present advantage, resulting from their defeat and our success. Besides was there any probability of their return the next day, to re-assault the camp with musquetry, when the effects of our cannon (admitting them to have done the pretended execution *) was still so recent in their memories; and to the Indians, even

* The cannon were so ill-served, and highly elevated, that they did, beyond all controversy, no execution at all; none of the dead being observed to have been killed by cannon-shot: but amongst the tops of the trees, 30 and 40 feet high, they made great and useless havock.
the

1755. the first time, so visibly tremendous? But the cautious general subjoins ---
 “ We don’t think it either prudent or
 “ safe to be sending out parties in search
 “ of the dead.” I agree, it had been
 more for his Majesty’s service to have
 dispatched them in pursuit of the *living*.
 After a short paragraph concerning the
 wounded, his panic returns --- “ I think
 “ we may expect very shortly a more
 “ formidable attack.” More formida-
 ble than what? Why, than that of their
 regulars firing at a distance, and the
 Canadians and Indians running away ---
 “ and that the enemy will then come
 “ with artillery.” I wonder whether
 this gentleman expected to reduce Crown
 Point without being exposed to the French
 artillery. But whence this surmise of
 a more formidable attack, he thinks
 not proper to communicate. It was
 well known, the whole force sent from
 France amounted to about 3000: —
 that of these, admiral Boscawen took
 eight companies, and 1000 were in
 garrison at Louisburgh. Admitting
 therefore that all the rest arrived at
 Quebec, without any loss, (a favoura-
 ble concession) the utmost amount that
 reached Canada was about 1700; of
 which 500 were at Cadaraqui: so that,
 without

without any allowance for those killed at the camp, or in the mock pursuit which ensued, the whole number of regulars that arrived with Dieskau, and could come against him, but little exceeded 1100. The gentleman proceeds — “ The late Col. Williams had the ground cleared for building a stockaded fort: our men are so harassed, and obliged to be upon watchful duty, that I think it would be both unseasonable, and, I fear, in vain, to set them at work upon the designed fort. I design to order the New Hampshire regiment up here to reinforce us; and I hope some of the designed reinforcements will be with us in a few days. When these fresh troops arrive, I shall ” — I dare say your Lordship expects at least the demolition of Fort St. Frederic: nothing like it — “ I shall immediately set about building a fort.” Still the strongest symptoms of terror and alarm: for, 'tis evident from this passage, he had now laid aside all thoughts of prosecuting the expedition, should even succours arrive, and in greater numbers than were necessary. All his puissant purposes terminated now, “ in setting about building a fort.” And if indeed he thought Crown Point impregnable

1755.

1755. pregnable by the army then under his command, above 4000 strong, he must necessarily conclude it would be found so the next year, by double the number: and if then attempted thro' another route, his grand fortress at the end of the Lake was absolutely useless. Nor would it prove any defence to the country between Lake George and Hudson's River, while the French could penetrate it by two other more usual passages, the South-Bay and Wood-Creek; thro' the former of which they had actually marched to his camp. And as to their formidable attack with artillery, whence could they bring it, but from Crown Point? And if they learnt he intended, in the present campaign, nothing beyond building a stockaded fort, that very intelligence was sufficient to induce them to attack the camp with cannon; against which, I am confident, his fort would make but a very indifferent resistance. But, in reality, 'twas most probable they would exert their efforts in strengthening Crown Point and Tinonderoge; the reduction of which, for not improving our success at the camp, will cost us a vast addition of blood and treasure.

THUS,

THUS, my Lord, ended this expensive expedition in erecting a wooden fort; faulted by Mr. Montresor*, and, I dare say, derided by the enemy. So that if ever any man obtained laurels without earning them, it was this fortunate general; who, by the splendid representations of his secretary, and the sovereign decree of his patron, is exalted into an eminent hero. To the panegyric pen of Mr. Wraxal, and the — sic volo, sic jubeo — of Lieut. Gov. De Lancey, is to be ascribed that mighty renown, which echoed thro' the colonies, reverberated to Europe, and elevated a raw unexperienced youth into a kind of second Marlborough —

1755.

Reflections on the fortune and conduct of this general.

Fortunate puer, tu nunc eris alter ab illo.

So capricious is fortune, and so fond of sporting with human affairs. The emperor Severus (I think it is Herodian tells the story) when obliged to raise the siege of Atras, the only attempt in which he had ever been baffled, thought himself conquered because he did not conquer: but our hero, it seems, is a

* Chief engineer.

conqueror,

1755. conqueror, because he was not conquered. When a general finds himself attacked in his camp, a very quaker methinks, would forget his principles, and follow, in spite of Barclay and the meeting, the powerful dictates of nature's incentive to self-defence. And did the valour of our warrior carry him an inch farther? Did he pursue an enemy, who by flying, with the loss of about 30 men, exhibited a full proof of a most extraordinary pusillanimity? Or, if his wound (which, considering it was made by a ball visible in its flight to his aid-de-camp, must have been very capacious) rendered his personal pursuit impracticable; were any orders given to improve the fortune of the day, and destroy a fugitive army? Was not, on the contrary, the noble ardor of those who offered to pursue, by positive orders, repressed; and a poltroon adversary suffered to escape, whose recent cowardice promised a general slaughter, and who, in their present panic, had fallen a sacrifice to our victorious arms?

Why this action was so greatly exaggerated.

THESE are facts of incontestible notoriety: and if your Lordship demands, whence then the accounts that six or eight hundred, nay a thousand, fell before the camp (when, in reality, the enemy lost not above two hundred in all

all the three engagements, which is less than our own loss) there is no other way of accounting for these glaring misrepresentations, than that it suited our present system of politics to have this action exaggerated and magnified. It was necessary to exalt Johnson, in order to depress Shirley, and they who had represented the expedition against Crown Point of such prodigious importance, thought it adviseable to render every thing important that was transacted in that expedition. Every man among us knew it to be an imposition; and yet ran the risque of having his head broke for offering to doubt it. It was notorious, not above 30 of the enemy were found slain at the camp; and that the rest of the dead could neither fly into the air, nor dive into the earth. Where then was the remainder? To anticipate the question, lest any one should have effrontery enough to start it — they were carried off by a flying enemy, who took to their heels to save their own lives; and yet were so anxious about their dead, as to carry them all along. Such manifest contradictions are we obliged to believe!

NAY, to excuse this favourite general; the blame of not following his advantage,

1755. vantage, has been thrown on Mr. Shirley, and attributed to his positive directions. Besides the absurdity of the accusation, that he could be accessory to an omission of this nature, it was absolutely impossible for him to know whether the enemy would at all risk an attack. Your Lordship will consider, the general was then at least 365 miles from the place of action, nor advised of it till nine days after it happened. But when he received the intelligence, so far from directing to the inactivity of a merely defensive conduct, that he dispatched repeated expresses to Mr. Johnson, urging him in the most pressing terms, to pursue the advantage already obtained ; and if unable to proceed in person, to commit the charge of the troops to Major Gen. Lyman : or, if he found it impracticable to invest Crown Point that season, at least to make himself master, if possible, of the enemy's advanced post at Tinonderoge. — But all was ineffectual: the laurel being already acquired, fortune was not again to be put to a desperate venture.

WE will now, if your Lordship pleases, return to Oswego, where General Shirley arrived the 21st of August, and

and take a view of the course of his proceedings in that quarter. 1755.

YOUR LORDSHIP may remember, that the troops marched from Schenectady, with scarce half the number of battoemen, which contracted for the service; and these by frequent desertions gradually decreased. Hence the transportation of provisions, thro' this long tract of country, was so much impeded, that until the latter end of September, it was impossible, upon that account, to move from Oswego.

THE general however had, in the mean time, made all the necessary preparations for the expedition to Niagara: and as the arrival of a large convoy with provisions was then hourly expected, he held a council of war at his camp on the 18th of September; at which were present

His Excellency the GENERAL,
Lieut. Col. Ellison,
Lieut. Col. Mercer,
Col. Schuyler,
Capt. Patten,
Major Littlehales,
Major Bradstreet, Adj. Gen.
Capt. Barford,
Capt. Broadley, Com. of the ves-
sels on the Lake.

E

THE

1755. THE general informed this council, that thro' the great desertion of battoemen, the scarcity of waggons on the Mohawk River, and the desertion of sledgemen at the Great Carrying-Place, the conveyance of provisions and other stores had been so much retarded, that there had not been at any time since his arrival, a sufficient quantity of dry provisions to enable him to go upon action: but as a large supply would probably very soon arrive, he was determined to proceed immediately. He thought proper to inform them of his intelligence concerning the situation and strength of the enemy — which was to this purpose. — That before he left the Oneida Carrying-Place, two trusty Indians, with as many Albany traders, were sent as spies to Niagara; who, after fourteen days absence, returned with an account — That the Indians had been two days in the French fort there, which was built partly of stone, but principally of logs, being in a weak and ruinous condition — that the garrison consisted of about 60 French and 100 Indians, who said they had for some time expected 900 Indians and a quantity of stores from Canada; but were apprehensive their vessels were taken — that letters came

The general represents the state of affairs, and informs the council of his intelligence.

came in frequently from Fort Du Quefne, 1755. whence alfo they expected a considerable reinforcement. The fpies added, that the Indians were difguffed at the divifion of the fpoils, on the defeat of General Braddock, and that the French had loft 30 men in that engagement—that they faw many Englifh fcalps, with a large quantity of cloaths and furniture—that the French had there 70 or 80 large battoes, with which they intended to meet and board our veffels: and this article was confirmed by another Indian, who fet out after the fpies, and meeting one of our row-gallies, cautioned the commander againft a nearer approach to Niagara.

HIS EXCELLENCY alfo informed the council, that an Indian fpy had been with the Outawawas, who affifted the French in the action at Monongahela—that they had declared their inclination to lay down the hatchet; and that others more westerly gave the like intimations; which had induced him to difpatch four meffengers with belts of wampum, to invite them into our alliance, or at leaft to engage their neutrality.

UPON the general's arrival at Ofwego, he thought it neceffary to procure intelligence from Frontenac; and for that purpofe fent out a party of white men

1755. and Indians, who returned about the 8th of September, with information—that they landed upon an island, about six furlongs from the fort, from whence they had a full view of it—that it was built in a bay, near the edge of the water, and surrounded by a stone wall; the land behind it cleared and rising in a gradual acclivity—that two vessels of about 40 tons each, lay moored in the harbour, unrigged, and without guns—that at the east end of the fort there was a regular encampment, and six marquis tents; from the extent of which they imagined it contained about 3 or 400 men.—Upon the side of the bay, opposite the fort, the land projected about half a mile: between this and the island they were upon, was another little island, about three quarters of a mile from the fort, inhabited by about twenty Indian families. The spies added, that there were several other adjacent islands; but they discovered no battoes. His excellency farther acquainted the council, that an Indian who came to Oswego about the time of his arrival, and had left Frontenac nine days before, declared there were 30 French within the fort; a considerable quantity of powder, and many guns mounted on the surrounding wall, which was about six feet thick; and

and the encampment without consisted of 600 soldiers. The information of Redhead, to the same effect, was also laid before the council, with the addition—that there were two encampments, one of Canadians, and the other of regulars, in a hollow, undiscoverable from the island; and that he was told, by the commandant, of a much larger number of troops expected with the general, lately arrived from France; when they proposed to invest Oswego. Gen. Johnson's letter of the 1st of September, signifying, that his scouts informed him of the departure 300 canoes to Frontenac, was also considered: and from these articles of intelligence—the account of the arrival of the French troops—the suspension of all intercourse between Frontenac and Niagara—and their lying still so long at the former; his excellency observed, it was not improbable their design might be to make a descent on Oswego, if the whole force proceeded on the expedition to Niagara, which was about 150 miles to the westward; and from whence, at that advanced season, they could not return in less than 30 days. That this was the more probable, as Oswego was of the greatest importance for securing the frontiers of the western colonies, maintain-

1755. ing the British dominion over the great lakes, and the country beyond the Appalachian mountains. He also took notice of the defenceless state of Oswego, which would render it necessary to leave a strong garrison there: that the number of effectives at that time in the three regiments and independent companies, including serjeants and corporals, amounted to 1376; and that the irregulars, who were Albany men and Indians, procured by his own emissaries, consisted only of 120. For the better security of the place, the general had ordered to be built, with all possible dispatch, a strong wooden fort, capable of mounting cannon, with picquets and a ditch, on a high point, commanding the old fort on the east side of the river. This he observed was already begun, and would soon be compleated: and that for the proposed enterprize, he had built and equipped a sloop and schooner of sixty tons each, two row-gallies, each of twenty tons, with eight whale-boats, each capable of carrying sixteen men. He then informed them of his intention to embark for Niagara, as soon as the expected convoy arrived, with 600 regulars, including gunners and matrosses, besides the Albany and Indian irregulars, one 18 pounder, four 12 pounders,

pounders, a ten-inch mortar, a seven-inch hoyet, two royals, and five small swivel-hoyets, the vessels, whale-boats, and a competent number of battoes; leaving behind him 700 effectives, two 12 pounders, ten 6 pounders, six 3 pounders, and eight cohorns. 1755.

THE council, upon this representation, were unanimously of opinion, in answer to the several questions proposed, that the force intended for the Niagara expedition was sufficient: but with respect to Oswego, some imagined it would not be defensible: the majority, however, were of contrary sentiments. All agreed, that a feint upon Frontenac, while his excellency was gone to Niagara, was by no means adviseable. They universally concurred in opinion, that a fort ought to be erected on the west side of the old fort: and that it would be for his Majesty's service to prepare materials for building one or more vessels, larger than any of those already upon the lake, capable of mounting ten 6 pounders, besides swivels, two more row-gallies, and 100 good whale-boats.

IN consequence of this advice, 600 Preparations regulars were draughted, the artillery ons to proceed on and ordnance-stores shipped on board the sloop Ontario, part of the provisions the Niagara expedition. on board the sloop Oswego, and the re- dition.

1755. fidue was ready for the row-gallies, whale-boats, and battoes. While these preparations were making, the weather was extremely wet and tempestuous. The rains began to fall so heavily on the 18th of the month, that on the best chosen ground the tents of the soldiers were overwhelmed. As 400 of the troops must have gone in open battoes, it was impossible to pass the lake with any safety, till the storm abated; which was on the 26th of the month, when orders were immediately issued for the embarkation of the troops: but these could not be carried into execution. Tho'

Which the rains ceased for a short space of time, the western winds began to blow with redoubled fury; and were again succeeded by continual rains for thirteen days together. During this boisterous weather, numbers fell sick, whose tents were an insufficient shelter: and the Indians, well acquainted with the climate, went off, declaring the season too far advanced to admit of an expedition upon the lake.

Another council of war held, in which the general represents the unfavourable circumstances of affairs. IN the midst of these difficulties another council, consisting of the same members who composed the last, was called on the 27th of September. The general acquainted them with the untoward state of affairs, and some of his latest

latest advices. He observed as follows ^{1755.}
 —That the preceding day, eight battoes were arrived, with 48 barrels of flour, and 13 of bread; so that there was then 14 days full allowance of those species of provisions for 2000, being the number then in his camp—That he thought it necessary to take with him 21,000 weight of bread and flour, which for 700 men, forty days, amounted only to three-fourths of the usual allowance—that, in such case, there would be left with the garrison only 8000 weight of bread and flour, at half allowance for only 12 days: but, by advices received from the Carrying-Place and Mohawk River, he had the greatest reason to expect such a quantity of provisions, in a few days, as would be a full supply for some months—that a party of men, with two officers, in whale-boats, sent seven days before to Frontenac to discover the enemy's motions, were returned, with the following report.—That they went into the harbour, and saw the fort, which appeared to be a regular square faced with stone, having four embrasures in the front—that the encampment consisted of above 100 tents—that two brigantines of about 40 tons each, and a small sloop lying then at anchor, were rigged, and the sails of one of them bent, and

1755. a number of battoes lay near the walls of the fort. He communicated to them also a copy of the orders and instructions given to the French regulars sent thither, which were taken from baron Dieskau, in the action at Lake George: whence it appeared, that ten companies of the Queen's battalion marched from Montreal to Cadaracqui, in two divisions, upon the first and second of August, together with 250 Canadians, exclusive of Indians: the number of men therefore at Frontenac, including the garrison, might amount to 1000 effectives, originally designed, as appeared from those papers, for an attack upon Oswego. He farther took notice of the departure of some of our Indians, and their unanimous opinion, that the attempt against Niagara could not succeed this season: on which account the remainder were resolved to return to their respective castles; giving nevertheless the highest assurances of their willingness to join us in much greater numbers the ensuing spring—that the Albany traders were of the same opinion, that the battoes, tho' well adapted for the navigation of small rivers, could not live on the lake in such tempestuous weather as had continued for a fortnight past—that Lieut. Holland, who had resided there

there above three years, declared it was commonly windy and wet, with few fair days intervening, during the fall.—That it was besides now impracticable for the vessels and battoes to sail in concert: and as the vessels and whale-boats would not contain all the supplies, there was the utmost danger of spoiling that part of the provisions and ammunition, which must be conveyed in the battoes; in consequence of which many of them might be cut off; it being more than probable, from the weakness of their fort, the enemy would attack them on the lake—that from the returns of the director and surgeons of the hospital, the number of the sick amounted to about 300, exclusive of officers; which they imputed to the excessive rains, and want of barracks. His excellency informed them, he proposed the erection of barracks, and a strong redoubt on the hill, west of the old fort, before the winter was too far advanced.

THESE matters, my Lord, were attentively considered: and the council of war prayed leave to add to the general's representation—That Major Bradstreet, since his residence there, was persuaded 1650 Canadians had passed by from Cadaracqui to Niagara, for the Ohio; a great part of whom, thro' scarcity

1755.

Their opinion, and advice to lay aside the expedition, and strengthen Oswego.

1755. city of provisions, he conceived must then be upon their return to Canada; and that a considerable number of French traders go annually from Canada to Detroit, and other French settlements to the westward, who, at this season, are generally upon their return:—that their passage home is by the way of Niagara, where, it is very probable, they and all the French will tarry, as long as their provisions admit, for the defence of so important a post. That there were then but few proper battoe-men at Oswego: nor could they be provided with a sufficient number, as those who understood the management of battoes were chiefly employed in the transportation of provisions from Schenectady to Oswego, and from Albany to Lake George; and that the soldiers were unable to conduct them to Niagara, the lake being turbulent generally five days in six.

THE advice of the council, my Lord, was unanimously to this effect—That the arrival of the battoes with provisions, tho' hourly expected, was by no means to be depended upon, there being scalping-parties in the neighbourhood; one of which, since the last council of war, had actually killed three, and captivated two of the workmen employed in building the new fort on the east side
of

of the river; and the cutting off the battoes was the more to be apprehended, as the Indians in our alliance were now returning to their castles. Nor did they think it adviseable to risk the troops in battoes upon the lake, at so advanced a season of the year. They approved his excellency's intention of raising barracks for the soldiers without delay, and thought the fort on the east side of the Onondaga River ought to be compleated as soon as possible; and again advised the erection of a work for mounting cannon on the eminence west of the old fort—all which, in their opinion, could not be effected before the winter was too far set in, without employing the whole strength then at the place. They were also unanimously and clearly of opinion, that his excellency ought to defer any attempt on Niagara or Frontenac, till the next spring; when they had great reason to expect the junction of a large body of the Six Nations, and some of the French allies, who had taken up the hatchet against the English, and were concerned on the banks of the Monongahela. Besides, he might, in the ensuing campaign, have a greater number of troops, whaleboats instead of battoes, and a more powerful naval force, which they conceived

1755. conceived ought to be provided against the next spring.

Which
was car-
ried into
execution.

THIS advice, my Lord, the general proceeded immediately to carry into execution. Compleating the fort on the east side of the river, was a matter of principal attention, because situated on a high point of land, at 100 yards distance from the lake, commanding the ground round about it—the old fort at 450 yards distance—and the entrance of the harbour. Its circumference was 800 feet, being built of logs from 20 to 30 inches diameter, and the outer wall 14 feet high. Round it was to be a ditch 14 feet broad and 10 deep. Within, a square log-house to overlook the walls, and barracks for 300 men.—This fort, called Ontario, was to mount 16 pieces of cannon. Another, called Oswego, was immediately begun, upon an eminence 450 yards west of the old fort. It was a square of 170 feet, with bastions, and a rampart of earth and masonry; which, besides the parapet, was to be 20 feet thick, 12 in height, with a ditch 14 feet broad and 10 deep. The barracks within were to contain 200 men. This was to mount eight pieces of cannon; being made the more defensible, as it commanded a good landing,

ing, distant 150 yards on the edge from the lake. 1755.

WHILE these works were carrying on, the general employed himself in a necessary attention to Indian affairs. He laboured to establish some of the principal Onondagas, who were thro' negligence become wavering; and dispatched messengers to those who were gone from us, and settled at Oswegatie, and to the Messafagues and Chippawees on the north side of the Lake Ontario. Others were sent to foment the disaffection of the Outawawas, disgusted at the French partition of the plunder, on Braddock's defeat. With the Senecas, the remotest from our settlements of all the five cantons, and therefore the most debauched by the French, he succeeded so well, that they now dismissed Joncaire, one of their emissaries, whose father had been long suffered to reside among them, in spite of our repeated remonstrances; and was the chief preserver of the fort at Niagara. They also engaged to meet him, the next campaign, with 100 of their warriors, and promised for the future to refuse the assistance they had formerly given the French, in transporting their furs, with horses and sleds, across the Niagara Carrying-Place—as necessary there, as at any of our portages between

The general labours to establish the Indians in our interest.

1755. } between Schenectady and Oswego. When nothing further could be prosecuted, the general retired from Oswego the 24th of October, leaving 700 men in garrison, under the command of Lieut. Col. Mercer; with orders to continue the works projected for its defence.

And re-
turns to
Albany.

French
designed
to cut off
Oswego,
had the
general
proceeded
to Niaga-
ra.

HAVING, my Lord, taken up too much of your time in a circumstantial relation of the proceedings in this quarter, I shall not trouble you with any reflections upon them. Your Lordship has seen the insurmountable difficulties attending this western expedition; and will doubtless approve our not hazarding the loss of Oswego. That such would have been the event, had Mr. Shirley left the place about the beginning of October, was wisely foreseen, from the advices he had received: and baron Dieskau, just after the action at Lake George, assured a gentleman of distinction in the army, he questioned not the English general would make himself master of Niagara; but that the French had half the forces he brought with him from Brest, with a number of Canadians and Indians, at Frontenac, ready, immediately on his departure, to invest Oswego, and cut off his retreat.

WHILE

WHILE the general was at Albany, 1755. after his return from the lake, forwarding the supplies for the garrison at Oswego; preparing for the operations of the next campaign, and examining into the state of the troops arrived there under Col. Dunbar; the city was alarmed by expresses from General Johnson, informing, that 8 or 9000 of the enemy were advancing towards him. Sir Charles Hardy, then at Albany, called in the militia: and a detachment of the regular troops, with a train of artillery, held themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning. But another express gave reason to believe those apprehensions were ill-grounded, and General Johnson's fears in some measure abated. It seems a few Indian scouts had discovered the tracks of a large army; but Capt. Rogers, the brave officer before-mentioned, came into the camp soon after them, and declared, the enemy were employed, as the general had predicted in his letter to Mr. Johnson of the 19th of September, in throwing up works at Tinonderoge. Upon which, the militia were dismissed to their respective habitations.

OF the malignity of the New York faction against the general, I have already acquainted your Lordship: permit

1755. mit me to present you with another instance of the same spirit. A mercenary scribbler, of whom I shall soon take more particular notice, is pleased to inform the public, that " Col. Dunbar
 " with his forces, were obliged six
 " weeks to lie encamped at Albany,
 " in the rain and snow, till barracks
 " were built for them. That they were
 " entirely obliged to Sir Charles Hardy,
 " that they got a stick of wood to burn.
 " So (says he) were our forces disposed
 " of."

ALBANY, my Lord, is an old compact city, consisting of 3 or 400 well-built houses: and at about 16 miles N. W. from it, is the town of Schenectady, consisting of about 150 houses. The inhabitants are far from being indigent: the adjacent country abounds with provisions; and in such quarters, your Lordship is sensible, his Majesty's troops *will* not want necessaries; especially *fuel*, in a country covered with timber. Where then the probability, that the forces, which consisted of 1200, would suffer in a post like this? As to the affair of barracks, my Lord, there was a council held at New York, on the first of August, when the news arrived of Col. Dunbar's retiring into winter-quarters, after Braddock's defeat.

feat. It was composed of Mr. De Lancey the Lieut. Governor, Mess. Alexander, Kennedy, Murray, Holland, Chambers, and Smith; and the opinion of that board then was, "That not only the King's forces to the southward, but also those that could be spared from Nova Scotia, should quarter near Albany, for any future operations." This resolve Mr. De Lancey transmitted to the general at Oswego; and as Dunbar's troops were ordered to Albany, for the defence of that country, and particularly to make a stand, in case the provincials were defeated; they had, methinks, the highest reason to expect favour from the inhabitants, and the special countenance of the government, even had they been quartered upon them as usual; and which at present is actually the case, by express orders of my Lord Loudon. The general, I say, had no reason to expect, upon this head, any opposition from the civil magistrate. But Sir Charles Hardy, on his arrival at Albany, about the 26th of September, signified to him by letter, his apprehensions of uneasiness arising among the inhabitants, should the soldiers be quartered upon private families; and wished to have his excellency's orders for building

1755.

ing

1755. ing barracks, both there and at Schenectady; lest his assembly should not chuse to put the province to that charge. He also expressed his hopes, if such an expence was saved them, of their greater readiness to raise more men, should the service require it, the next campaign. The general's answer to this letter, equally demonstrated his integrity to the crown, and concern for the troops. He intimated his fears, that the construction of barracks would be thought an extraordinary expence; but it being necessary for the service, that Dunbar's, and the regiment of the late Sir Peter Halket, should winter in Albany and Schenectady, he complied with Sir Charles's request; and desired him to provide barracks for those regiments with all possible diligence, that the troops, on their arrival in his government, might not find themselves destitute of quarters.—To relieve the crown in the expence, he farther took notice to Sir Charles, of the request made by his own government for drawing these troops to Albany—that they would in a special manner cover the frontier of New York—be of service to Oswego in the ensuing spring—and that the inhabitants would draw very large sums

sums from their residence amongst them. 1755.

Nor did he forget to recommend an imitation of the Massachusetts Bay; who thought it reasonable to erect barracks for his own regiment, tho' they knew their continuance among them would be short, destined as they were for the western expedition. But that there might be no delay in building the barracks, arising from any doubt of the expence being paid by the province of New York, Mr. Shirley informed Sir Charles, that if they would not, after these considerations, take that expence on themselves, he would defray it out of the contingent-money in the hands of the deputy pay-master. Thus, my Lord, if any ground for complaint of the want of barracks, Mr. Shirley 'tis clear was intirely unexcusable: and if the troops, as this libeller informs us, did suffer in their tents,—I submit it to your Lordship, whose province it was to have found them better quarters? But the fact is, that the barracks were finished, and the troops quartered in them before the first of December, fuel provided for them sufficient for the winter, and all at the expence of the crown.

THE winter now approaching, commissioners

1755. } missioners were appointed by the governments concerned in the Crown Point expedition, to ascertain their respective quotas for garrifoning the forts *Edward* and *William-Henry*, and disbanding the rest of the army. After this was completed, the general and Sir Charles Hardy returned to New York, where the former convened a grand congress of governors and field officers, to deliberate on a plan for the operations of the succeeding campaign. But before I enter upon their transactions, I shall briefly lay before your Lordship those between Sir Charles Hardy and his assembly, which was opened on the second, and continued sitting till the 23d of December.

Transac-
tions in
New York
between
Sir Charles
Hardy and
his assem-
bly.

I HAVE already observed, that the ministry, from the time of Mr. Clinton's departure in 1753, had been solicitous about procuring the consent of our assembly to a law establishing a permanent provision for the governor and other necessary officers. When Sir Danvers Osborne arrived, he brought with him an instruction for that purpose; from the terms of which it was apparent that the ministry had it much at heart; and Sir Danvers, before he left England, was made to believe that Mr. De Lancey, by means of his great popularity, would

would enable him to carry it into execution. This I had from a gentleman, 1755.
to whom Sir Danvers opened himself, and whom he consulted before his embarkation for his government. The gentleman is a person of the first figure in these colonies; and being acquainted with the system of politicks in New York, he informed Sir Danvers, that those promises were by no means to be depended upon: that Mr. De Lancey was inexpressibly jealous of his ascendancy over the assembly, who were utterly disinclined to a perpetual support: that he would join in no measures that might weaken the confidence they reposed in him: that as long as he maintained his influence in their councils, he would virtually be the governor of the province; and therefore upon the whole, his interest and ambition would infallibly lead him to keep every governor in a state of dependence upon him. Sir Danvers disliked so disagreeable a prediction; and many are of opinion, that its accomplishment hastened his unhappy fate. Excuse me, my Lord, for troubling you with a relation of facts, a little out of the strict order of time. There is an anecdote of Sir Danvers, of which I would not have your Lordship uninformed. He Anecdote
of Sir Dan-
vers Of-
borne.
arrived

1755. arrived here on the 7th of October,
 1753, under very discouraging apprehensions of the people; and indeed not without reason, the opposition against Mr. Clinton having been carried beyond all decorum. Governor Osborn's commission, thro' Mr. Clinton's absence, remained unpublished till the third day after his arrival. This is usually done, first privately in the council-chamber; and immediately after, in the most public manner at the city-hall. To wait on his excellency thither, Mr. Clinton came abroad; an astonishing crowd being assembled at the Fort Gate, to attend the procession. Mr. Clinton's enemies were very assiduous in exciting the popular acclamations; and the huzzas of the mob were scarce intermitted for a moment. There appeared, in short, such a profusion of joy, accompanied with some indecent expressions respecting himself, as gave Mr. Clinton just reason to suspect more open indignities. He therefore soon took his leave of Sir Danvers, who expressed his displeasure at the conduct of his enemies. This, my Lord, proved a day of general festivity, and Bacchanalian frolic. In the evening, the city was illuminated: The common
 blazed

blazed with bonfires: great was the consumption of Madeira; and every company rung with maledictions against the late commander in chief, who was charged as the sole procurer of the new instruction; an account of which could only have transpired from some of the council. Sir Danvers alone appeared unaffected with our intemperate revels; and on his countenance sat a melancholy gloom. He convened the council on Thursday the eleventh of the month; and prayed their sentiments on the probability of obtaining a permanent support, according to his instructions. That the point was unattainable, they all delivered as their unanimous opinion. He then required the solution of the same question from each member severally; and still from each received the same reply. Upon this, he turned himself about in apparent distress, uttered a deep Sigh, and reclining his head against a window, in a desponding accent said, "What then am I come hither for?" The next morning --- But I desist. This instruction, as your Lordship will be pleased to recollect, remained unrevoked all the time of his successor: and 'tis natural to expect, that the people of this province were very inquisitive whether it was

1755.

1754. continued to Governor Hardy --- They were so. But Sir Charles did not follow the example of Mr. De Lancey, in laying his instructions before the assembly. The article, relative to the support, has undergone, as I am credibly informed, very few alterations, and those only in the preamble. That it was in substance the same, is evident from his speech to the House, on the 3d of December, at the opening of that session. His words are these: " I

Sir Charles Hardy's speech to his assembly.

" am commanded by his Majesty to
 " recommend in his name without de-
 " lay, to consider of a proper law to be
 " passed, for settling a permanent re-
 " venue upon a solid foundation; for
 " defraying the necessary and establish-
 " ed charges of government; taking
 " care that such law be indefinite,
 " without limitation of time; and that
 " provision be made therein for a com-
 " petent salary to the captain general
 " and governor in chief of this his
 " Majesty's province; and likewise for
 " competent salaries to all judges, jus-
 " tices, and other necessary and usual
 " officers and ministers of government:
 " and also for a certain permanent
 " fund, for repairing and maintaining
 " the fortifications, for making annual
 " presents to the Indians, and for the
 " other

“ other continent expences attending 1755.
 “ that service: and in general, for all
 “ such other charges of government,
 “ as may be fixed or ascertained.”

The assembly in their address, after a Their an-
 justly merited compliment, for his acti-
 swer.
 vity in proceeding to Albany, and their
 approbation of the measures for garrisoning the frontiers, subjoin this emollient paragraph: “ We wish we could,
 “ with equal satisfaction, reconcile to
 “ ourselves your excellency’s recom-
 “ mendation of an indefinite support:
 “ but humbly beg leave to inform
 “ your excellency, that we have no
 “ permanent funds, on which to estab-
 “ lish such a revenue; nor do any occur
 “ to us, without very apparent incon-
 “ veniencies to our constituents. We
 “ therefore most humbly hope we shall
 “ stand acquitted in the eyes of our
 “ most gracious Sovereign, if we de-
 “ cline a measure so directly opposite to
 “ the sentiments of almost every indi-
 “ vidual of the colony. We cannot
 “ leave this subject, without disclosing
 “ to your excellency the concern it
 “ gives us, that this his Majesty’s loyal
 “ colony, which, tho’ small in numbers,
 “ has chearfully bore very heavy ex-
 “ pences, and particularly supported its
 “ governors, and other officers of go-
 “ vernment,

1755. "vernment, in a more liberal manner
 "than most others on the continent,
 "should be requested to pursue mea-
 "sures hitherto unknown to it, whilst
 "the rest, almost without exception,
 "are left to practise the very measures
 "denied to us."

Their be-
 haviour
 different
 from what
 it was in
 Clinton's
 time, and
 the reason.

MR. CLINTON, my Lord, asked of this same assembly only a support for five years; and it was refused with indignation and virulence. Sir Charles here demands much more; and we see, that he is answered with the most commendable decency. To help your Lordship in accounting for this contradictory behaviour --- Mr. De Lancey was bent upon expelling that governor from the province; and to gain his point, continually fomented the quarrel he himself excited. But Sir Charles was to be treated in a different manner, and measures more lenient were to be pursued. An ascendancy over him would ensure to his lieutenant many advantages; and enable him to procure the governor's assent to a bill, for paying him a large sum, now due for his salary and other perquisites, while he had the chief command. He might indeed, but durst not pass such a bill himself, and therefore it was not offered. Accordingly, the house, at their very next meeting,
 sent

sent up a bill to the council, on the 4th of February, 1756, for paying the debts of the government; in which he was a creditor for near 4000 l. But of this I shall have occasion to take more particular notice. Thus, my Lord, I will forfeit my honour, if, upon a faithful perusal of the journals of the assembly, your Lordship doth not find --- the conduct of the house, and the interest of Mr. Delancey, for ten or fifteen years past, perfectly to tally.

LET us now take a view of the transactions in the grand council of war, which the general had convened at New York, for settling a plan of the future operations. It was opened on the 12th of December, and continued sitting for the space of two days. Tho' the invitation to the governors was universal, it consisted only of these members:

Grand council of war convened at New-York for settling the operations for 1756.

His Excellency General Shirley, commander in chief of all his Majesty's forces in North America:

His Excellency Sir Charles Hardy, Knight, governor and commander in chief of the province of New York:

The Honourable Horatio Sharpe, lieut. governor and commander in chief of the province of Maryland:

1755. The Honourable Robert Hunter Morris, lieut. governor and commander in chief of the province of Pennsylvania :

The Honourable Thomas Fitch, governor and commander in chief of the colony of Connecticut.

Col. Thomas Dunbar :

Col. Peter Schuyler :

Major Charles Craven :

Sir John St. Clair, deputy quartermaster general :

Major John Rutherford.

After adjusting several points of rank, the members took their seats in the order mentioned ; and the general opened the conference, by laying before the council the King's instructions to General

The general delivers his sentiments to the council ;

Braddock. He then delivered his sentiments to the board, to the following purpose : “ That our only entrance into Lake Ontario, was thro' the Onondaga River to Oswego. No other harbour had his Majesty upon that lake, capable of receiving vessels of force : That Oswego was situate in the country of the Onondagas, the centre canton of the Six Nations, and famous for the furr trade : no other mart could we boast, for commerce or correspondence with those numerous tribes of savages inhabiting the western country, on the banks

“ banks of the great lakes Erie, Huron, 1755.
 “ Michigan, and the many rivers which
 “ roll into them : That the Lake On-
 “ tario was only accessible to the Cana-
 “ dians, thro’ the river Cadaracqui,
 “ formerly called by the French Fleuve
 “ Iroquois ; but in their late maps, cal-
 “ culated to countenance their exorbi-
 “ tant claims, distinguished by the
 “ name of St. Laurence. At the head
 “ of that river was their entrance into
 “ that lake ; and near Fort Frontenac,
 “ situated on its north eastern edge,
 “ about 50 miles from, and nearly op-
 “ posite to, our fort at Oswego : That
 “ while the Enemy kept possession of
 “ Frontenac, with the harbour at Fron-
 “ to, and a free passage thro’ the Iro-
 “ quois River, they would always be
 “ able to build and maintain vessels of
 “ force upon the lake : That his Ma-
 “ jesty would therefore be necessitated
 “ to support a naval armament there,
 “ at least equal to that of the French.
 “ Without this, they might annoy any
 “ forts we could erect at the north-
 “ east end of the pass at Niagara ; and
 “ Oswego itself be lost. The inevita-
 “ ble consequence of which would be,
 “ the defection of the Six Nations, the
 “ loss of the whole country for near
 “ 300 miles from Oswego to Sche-

1755. “nectady, and perhaps the reduction
 “of Albany itself.” The general added,
 “That all the French forts at Niagara,
 “upon the lake Erie, and the river
 “Ohio, those also upon the lake Hu-
 “ron, at the Streights of Missilima-
 “kinac, and the Lake Michigan still
 “more westerly, received all their sup-
 “plies by water-carriage from Mont-
 “real, thro’ the River Iroquois, and
 “the Lake Ontario: That the French
 “settlements at the mouth of the Mis-
 “sissippi furnished these northern gar-
 “risons neither with provisions nor
 “stores; being not only at 2000 miles
 “distance from any of them, but em-
 “barassed with insuperable difficul-
 “ties, by a laborious navigation against
 “a rapid stream.” Hence his excel-
 “lency concluded, “That could the
 “French be dislodged from Frontenac
 “and the little fort at Fronto, and their
 “entrance into Lake Ontario obstruct-
 “ed, all their other forts and settle-
 “ments on the Ohio, and the western
 “lakes, were deprived of their sup-
 “port from Canada, and must ere long
 “be evacuated.”

and pro- IMPRESSED, my Lord, with these
 poses his views, the general proposed, as a plan
 plan of o- of operations for the next year --- That
 perations: 5000 men should be very early assem-
 bled

bled at Oswego, and 4000 of them ^{1755.} sent to attack Frontenac and La Gallette; which being reduced, an attempt should be made upon the forts at Niagara, Presque Isle, Riviere au Beuf, Detroit, and Missilimakinac: and that in the mean time, 3000 provincial troops should march from Will's Creek, for the reduction of Fort Du Quesne: That a body of 1000 should proceed to Crown Point, build a fort there, and launch one or more vessels into Lake Champlain: And that the force of Canada might be farther divided, he proposed, that 2000 men should carry fire and sword up Kennebec River, fall upon the settlements adjoining to the River Chandiere, and proceed to its mouth, three miles distant from Quebec; and by dividing themselves in small parties along the banks of the river St. Lawrence, and destroying the scattered settlements there, keep that part of Canada in continual alarms.

He then observed, that if the several attempts upon Crown Point, the forts upon the lakes, and the Ohio, were not prosecuted at the same time, very perilous might be the consequences: That if in particular, while Frontenac and Niagara were attacked, no attempt was made against Crown Point, the whole force of Canada would march

1755. to oppose us; which would defeat the design, and require so large a body of troops as to render the transportation of necessaries to Oswego impracticable. So numerous an army might also march against Albany, as effectually to cut off the retreat of our forces, or at least totally obstruct their supplies: That should, on the contrary, our whole strength be destined for Crown Point, and the western operations neglected; Oswego, the grand object of the French, was in the utmost danger of falling into their hands. A loss irreparable and beyond estimation — The loss of the whole country down to Albany, with that of the Six confederate Nations; and to the French the acquisition of an absolute dominion on the lakes, and the whole southern country.

HIS EXCELLENCY finished, with informing the council of his late intelligence — That the French were building three large vessels, of superior force to ours, in the harbour of Frontenac: and upon the whole prayed their advice.

Which was approved, with some little alterations. A PLAN so well digested, and so clearly stated, required but little consideration; and accordingly it was in the main unanimously approved. The council advised the general, to give orders

ders for building three or more vessels at Oswego. They were of opinion, that 10,000 men were necessary for the Crown Point expedition, and 6000 for that on Lake Ontario. The attempt against Fort Du Quesne, by the western governments, 'twas thought would answer very good purposes, especially in securing the fidelity of the western Indians. The feint against Quebec was approved, if it interfered not with the other expeditions. The operations on Lake Ontario, they conceived, ought to begin with the attack on Frontenac — and upon the whole, were of opinion — that an additional number of regular troops would be necessary for effectually recovering and securing his Majesty's rights and dominions on the continent.

THE council having finished their business, the governors soon after returned to their respective provinces. But the general continued his head quarters at New York, till the 21st of January, to prosecute an expedition against Ticonderoge, this winter: and as the French garrison was left very weak, it had doubtless succeeded, had not the want of frost and snow prevented the transportation of the stores. Before he left New York, he had a fresh instance of the unwearied and ill-natured industry

1755.

Design against Ticonderoge in the winter defeated.

1755. try of his opposers ; of which, because
 The cabal against the general strength- ened, and by what causes. important in its consequences, I shall give your Lordship an ample detail. The principal agents were Mess. De Lancey and Pownal, who now formed a kind of duumvirate, to perplex the service, in order to ruin the general.

Without question, my Lord, you are as much surprized, after what has already been said concerning these gentlemen, to find Mr. Pownal among the general's enemies, as you would have been had I told you that Mr. De Lancey was not. I am sensible, that a person of your Lordship's high sense of honour, will recollect Mr. Shirley's favours to him at Boston ; and think it incredible to find him in the catalogue of those combined against his benefactor. But it is a shining remark of Tacitus *, " That
 " benefits are only so far acceptable,
 " as it seems possible to discharge them ;
 " and that when they have exceeded
 " all retaliation, hatred is returned for
 " gratitude. Mr. Pownal, who was ambitious of recommending himself to a certain noble Lord in England, by furnishing him with American intelli-

* Beneficia eo usque læta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse : ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur.

gence, could by no means brook his being absent from the congress at Alexandria, in the spring of the present year. He earnestly sought an introduction to General Braddock; and Mr. Shirley did the office with great politeness. He was then just informed of his appointment to be lieut. governor of New Jersey, and on that account pressed for an admission into the council. Mr. Shirley, in a very genteel manner, declined a task, which might give offence to the general, and, if any resolution transpired, draw himself into a snare. But Mr. Pownal, being a stranger to that diffidence and modesty, so suitable to his years and inexperience, became from this moment disgusted, and was seldom after seen amongst that gentleman's friends. He tarried at Philadelphia, till General Braddock's defeat, and towards autumn returned to New York. This change of temper recommended him to Mr. De Lancey, who failed not to exasperate the rising resentment: and now his opposition became open and unreserved. Just at this juncture, arrived Sir Charles Hardy; and Mr. Shirley being then at Oswego, your Lordship sees how seasonable their opportunity, for sowing the seeds of prejudice in the breast of the new governor.

1755. vernor. I will not take upon me to speak of their success; but doubtless no misrepresentations were wanting to strengthen the cabal. Yet no sooner did the general arrive from Oswego at Albany, where Mess. Pownal and De Lancey attended upon Sir Charles, than the former, dissembling his enmity, laboured to procure his confidence, that he might pry into his secrets: but from previous intimations of his present disposition, in a letter to a gentleman then near the general, he failed in that insidious design. He could now no longer suppress his malevolence, or conceal his recent connections; and therefore openly traduced the very man, to whom he was indebted for all his significance amongst the provinces. My Lord, it is with reluctance I utter these things. But your Lordship is as determined to know every transaction which concerns the operations in America, as I am to discharge the office of a faithful historian. Truth is too sacred to be violated either out of fear or favour; and whatever your Lordship may think of this gentleman, such was his conduct. I knew him an avowed enemy to Mr. De Lancey, and to Mr. Shirley as sanguine a friend. I have since known him to calumniate the latter, and applaud

plaud the former. With a change of residence, or rather of interest, he changes sides; and on this account, no man perhaps ever multiplied so many adversaries in so short a time. He aims at two governments, without the least prospect of peace, if either of them should fall under his command. I can assure your Lordship, that even in the province of New Jersey he is so little esteemed, and that principally for intriguing the disbandment of the regiment under Col. Schuyler, to disoblige Mr. Shirley, that upon his return to England in February 1756, he was unable to procure a vote of assembly, desiring his assistance of their agent at the Court of Great Britain; tho' he pushed it with an earnestness that would have cost most men a blush of confusion.

DETERMINED to embarrass the general, nothing could have been more agreeable to Mr. Pownal and the lieutenant-governor of New York, than an admission into the late council of war. To a seat at that board neither of them had the least pretension; and yet both were highly displeased at not being invited. Mr. Pownal, who has often distinguished himself for pushing a bold point, repaired to New Jersey, and importuned Governor Belcher, unable,
on

1755. on account of his age, to attend the
 congress in person, to depute him in
 Mr. Pownal's beha- his stead. His excellency very wisely
 viour to answered, that the invitation he had
 the gover- received from the general, was merely
 nor of a personal compliment; nor could he,
 New Jer- with the least decency, insist upon an
 sey. appearance by proxy. His lieutenant,
 impatient of a denial, called in a me-
 nacing tone for pen, ink, and paper,
 thinking to operate on the infirmities
 of age by commination and outrage.
 The council were astonished at this in-
 decent attack upon an antient and faith-
 ful servant of the Crown, and withheld
 their advice. But the governor, con-
 scious of the propriety of his refusal,
 firmly adhered to his first resolution;
 and Mr. Pownal abruptly quitting the
 board, returned with disappointment to
 New York.

He pro- THIS gentleman, my Lord, became
 cures one acquainted at Philadelphia with one
 Evans to Evans, who, for a * valuable confide-
 publish in- ration,
 vections a-
 gainst the
 general.

* Among other gentlemen of distinction
 in the colonies, Mr. Pownal became acquaint-
 ed with Mr. Alexander, of New York; a
 person of a friendly disposition and easy ac-
 cess. Mr. Alexander had now the surveyor
 general's office of New Jersey: and Mr.
 Pownal, to procure the fullsome dedication
 from

ration, dedicated to him his map of the middle British colonies, with an encomium, that he esteemed him *the best judge of it in America*. This man having, in the public streets of Philadelphia, not only presumed to accuse Governor Morris of high treason, but to asperse two of his Majesty's ministers as pensioners to France, fled from justice there, and took sanctuary in New

1755.

from Evans, promised him that office, upon his accession to the government. This, Evans frequently declared in his last illness to one of his most intimate friends; who concealed it till after his death. Such an anecdote will scarcely be credited by those unacquainted with Mr. Pownal's insatiable ambition to rise in America. There was another instance of his conduct equally surprising. While this gentleman was at New York, discharging his embassy from Boston in the spring 1755, he had the loan of a map of the country from Crown Point to Montreal; which was composed by William Alexander, Esq; a gentleman well skilled in the geography of America. Mr. Pownal, who had occasion to lay this chart before the assembly of New York, having erased the name of its author, very modestly inserted his own. And tho' his plagiarism was detected at the time, he neglected to return it; and afterwards produced the same map before the ministry, claiming to himself the honour due to Mr. Alexander alone.

York.

1755. York. Mr. Morris however commenced an action against him in this province, more for his own vindication, than a reparation of damages; which the poor fellow would never have been able to make. Upon this he was committed to Gaol, till Mr. Oliver De Lancey so far befriended him, as to become his security. These were his circumstances, when he published a pamphlet full of invectives against General Shirley. I will not affirm, that he wrote it at the instance of the cabal in New York. I leave your Lordship to judge how far they were concerned in it, after adding, that it contained their repeated remarks; that Mr. Pownal was frequently at his lodgings about the time of its publication; and did actually accompany him to a printer, to hasten the impression, before he sailed for * En-

* Upon the news of the loss of Oswego, part of it was republished in the New York Gazette, to lead the populace to impute this calamity to General Shirley. It was appealed to, as an indisputable authority, by the very persons to whom poor Evans was indebted for his materials; and without whose dictating, it would never have seen the light. To write a book in another's name, and then to quote it as an authority, is a species of proof, with which Euclid appears to have been utterly unacquainted.

gland.

gland. I shall not trouble your Lordship with any particular observations upon this libel. If ever it should fall into your Lordship's hands, this letter will assist you in detecting its falsehoods, and forming a proper judgment both of its author and his abettors. 1755.

Thus, my Lord, was every opportunity embraced by the cabal to prejudice the general in the opinion of the people: and happy for the colonies, had their misrepresentations been confined to this side the Atlantic! Bent on Mr. Shirley's removal, all imaginable pains were taken to defame his character. Here, they questioned his integrity. But in England, they endeavoured to create a suspicion of his judgment. General Johnson was set up as his competitor; and to his renown were blown all the trumpets of fame. Shirley's deep sense of the importance of Oswego, was made the object of buffoonry and ridicule. The reduction of Crown Point represented as a matter of superior moment. Three hundred men Mr. De Lancey often declared to be a sufficient garrison for Oswego. The general was therefore charged with squandering the King's money, in making it the main object of his attention: and out of mere opposition, a scheme was

Great pains taken to prejudice Mr. Shirley both in England and America.

1755. was recommended for turning our whole force toward Crown Point. Upon this errand, my Lord, Mr. Pownal went home in February 1756. I need not inform your Lordship of the success of the faction. The sequel will shew with what consequences it was attended. Thus ended the year 1755. A year never to be forgotten in America. It opened with the fairest prospects to these distant dispersions of the British Empire. Four armies were on foot, to remove the encroachments of a perfidious neighbour; and our coasts honoured with a fleet for their security, under the command of the brave and vigilant Boscawen. We had every thing to expect — nothing to fear. The enemy was despised; and we only desired a proclamation of war, for the final destruction of the whole country of New France. But, my Lord, how unlooked for was the event! General Winslow indeed succeeded in Nova Scotia: but Braddock was defeated — Niagara and Crown Point remained unreduced — the Barbarians were let loose from the wilderness — many thousand farms abandoned — the King's subjects inhumanly butchered, or reduced to beggary

Reflecti-
 ons on the
 fruitless o-
 perations
 of 1755.

beggary—one of the * provinces rent ^{1755.} by intestine broils—in another, a potent faction laying the foundation for new disasters, in the course of the ensuing year.

THE New England colonies, my Lord, take the lead in all military matters. Your Lordship is too well acquainted with history, not to know, they chiefly owed their origin to the disputes which involved the nation in all the calamities of a civil war. The first planters encountered innumerable difficulties, and were long engaged in repeated wars with the Indian natives. Their descendants retain the martial prowess and spirit of their ancestors: and for wisdom, loyalty, and an enterprising genius, are a people of renown. In these governments lies the main strength of the British interest upon this continent. Besides their above advantageous character, they are very considerable for their numbers. The Massachusetts Bay contains about 40,000 capable of arms. The militia of Connecticut is about 27,000. Rhode Island and New Hampshire are not so populous. His Majesty's service there-fore rendered it necessary for the gene-

The im-
portance
of the
New Eng-
land colo-
nies in mi-
litary mat-
ters.

Shirley
obliged to
visit his
own go-
vernment;

* Pennsylvania.

ral,

ral, according to the plan of operations, to visit his own government, in order to solicit the succours; without which the expedition proposed against Crown Point must inevitably have failed.

1756. For this purpose he set out from New York on the 21st of January: and, but for his presence and solicitations at Boston, no provincial troops would this year have entered the field.—That colony was so extremely disobliged at the conduct of General Johnson, in neglecting to pursue his advantages, after the memorable rout of the French at Lake George, as to be in general averse to a new campaign: and with the utmost difficulty did the general procure their concurrence in another expensive attempt.—There let us at present leave him, promoting the public service of the colonies: and returning again to New York—suffer me, at this inactive season of the year, to entertain your Lordship with one or two instances of Lieut. Governor De Lancey's more private political feats.

And with difficulty obtains their concurrence in another expedition.

NEVER was any man more impolitic than Governor Clinton. Had he kept the chief justice dependent on his favour, he would have governed his province with ease and tranquillity: but by granting him a new commission for his office,

office, *during good behaviour*, he set him ^{1756.} at liberty to act at pleasure: and in consequence of this fatal error, the province was thrown into violent convulsions. Nothing therefore, my Lord, could be more desirable to his successor, than to hold that gentleman under proper restraint. Sir Charles Hardy had this advantage: his office of chief justice, I am informed, became extinguished the moment the government devolved upon him by the death of Sir Danvers Osborne. From the time of Sir Charles ^{Lieut} Hardy's arrival, Mr. De Lancey had ^{Gov. De} impatiently expected a new commission: but the governor neglecting the ^{Lancey} offer, to the astonishment of most in ^{resumes} the province, he notwithstanding ven- ^{his seat on} tured to resume his seat on the bench ^{the bench,} in January term, when two felons were ^{tho' his} arraigned before him. This bold ^{office of} stroke at the prerogative, most men ^{chief jus-} imagined would have drawn down the ^{tice was} resentment of the new governor: and ^{become} why it was passed by without observa- ^{extinct.} tion, I must leave to your Lordship's conjectures. That De Lancey had, in reality, no right to the exercise of that office, has been strongly insisted upon by gentlemen of the law, tho' in an extrajudicial manner. I pretend not myself

1756. myself to any knowlege in that intricate science, but beg leave to present your Lordship with an opinion, relating to the point, contained in the following letter from a gentleman of the profession, to his friend in this city; with a copy of which I have been favoured—

Philad. 21 Oct. 1755.

“ S I R,

The opi-
nion of a
gentleman
of the law
with re-
spect to it.

“ You say you’re informed, that your
“ lieut. governor designs to exercise his
“ former office, in virtue of the com-
“ mission issued by your late governor
“ Clinton. I can’t think your infor-
“ mation well grounded; because I am
“ clearly of opinion, that office was
“ extinguished by his acceptance of
“ the lieut. governor’s commission:
“ and I conceive Mr. De Lancey will
“ hardly venture to dispute the matter
“ with the crown. The main reason
“ I go upon, is, that those two offices
“ are incompatible. To make this
“ plain to you, you must understand—
“ that to every office there are duties
“ annexed. The same person cannot
“ exercise two offices, inconsistent with
“ one another. One of them must
“ therefore be lost; because as every
“ office

“ office is, *pro bono publico*, its use lies 1756.
 “ in the exercise of it: and the infe-
 “ rior office is that which is lost; be-
 “ cause it is most for the public good,
 “ that the officer should hold the supe-
 “ rior office; as the law presumes e-
 “ very man capable of the office, which
 “ the King, who is the fountain of
 “ offices and honour, is pleased to con-
 “ fer upon him. Agreeable to this,
 “ we find many resolutions in our
 “ books: I’ll mention one or two—
 “ A man cannot be forester and judge
 “ *eo instanti*. Rolls Rep. 452, &c.—
 “ Nor judge of the Com. and King’s
 “ Bench *simul & semel*. Dyer’s Case.
 “ 4 & 5 Phil. & Mar. The first patent
 “ *is determined*, tho’ the second was
 “ granted *pro illa vice*, and surrendered
 “ the next day. Br. N C. 5 Mar. Br.
 “ Commissions pl. 25.

“ NOTHING now remains but to
 “ shew, that the office of chief justice
 “ and governor of your province are
 “ inconsistent. To explain this I must
 “ inform you, that your supreme court
 “ is a court of general jurisdiction,
 “ established by an ordinance of gover-
 “ nor and council; claiming the like
 “ power here in all pleas civil and cri-
 “ minal, as fully as they are taken
 “ cognizance of by the King’s Bench
 G “ and

1756. “ and Common Pleas in England.
 “ Superior to this, is the Court of Go-
 “ verner and Council—a court, insti-
 “ tuted by one of his Majesty’s instruc-
 “ tions to your governor. In virtue of
 “ this instruction, writs of error are
 “ returned from the supreme court,
 “ before the governor and council.
 “ The inconsistency then of the two
 “ offices becomes very apparent. By
 “ the instruction, the governor in the
 “ court above, is a *sine quo non*; and
 “ to suppose him at the same time judge
 “ in the court below, you must disre-
 “ gard the absurdity of the governor’s
 “ sending a writ to command himself;
 “ and of his justifying his judgment as
 “ chief justice to himself in council as
 “ governor, and yet be excluded from
 “ a voice in the judgment above;
 “ which nevertheless cannot be given
 “ without him. You see then the in-
 “ compatibility is much stronger, than
 “ if a man should be judge both of
 “ the King’s and Common Bench in
 “ England. There the other judges
 “ of B. R. might correct the error in
 “ the Common Pleas—but here the
 “ course of public justice might be in-
 “ tirely stopped.

“ If it should be said, his power was
 “ only suspended, while in the chair of
 “ government;

“ government; I answer with the ob- 1756.
 “ servation before—that an office is a
 “ *duty*, as the very word itself implies:
 “ and I know of no sleeping and not-
 “ to-be-exercised office. Every office
 “ is instituted for the public good:
 “ the officer is therefore obliged to ex-
 “ ercise his duty; for, without that,
 “ he cannot serve the public---and to
 “ be *obliged to act*, and at the same
 “ time *obliged not to act*, is nonsense.
 “ It would be more specious to say, the
 “ instruction is no law, as your assem-
 “ blies have often said in other cases;
 “ but then, Sir, Mr. De Lancey, in
 “ obedience to it, has declined acting
 “ as judge, ever since the death of Sir
 “ D. Osborne: and why has he (as I
 “ have been informed) rejected a writ
 “ of error, because, according to this
 “ very instruction, the damages in de-
 “ mand did not exceed 300l. sterling?
 “ Besides this court of Governor and
 “ council, I am told, has long exerci-
 “ sed its power, under this and former
 “ instructions to your governors, of
 “ the like tenor, without the least op-
 “ position.

“ The offices will further appear to
 “ be inconsistent, if you reflect—that
 “ as governor he is also chancellor.
 “ The Court of Chancery often re-

1756. “ strains the power of the law courts :
 “ and it is the spirit of every court to
 “ enlarge its own jurisdiction. Upon
 “ both these accounts, the two offices
 “ must inevitably clash. I know that
 “ Knevet was formerly chief justice
 “ and chancellor: but the propriety
 “ of that double investiture was never
 “ solemnly considered. It was long a-
 “ go, in the time of Edw. III. There
 “ has been no instance of the like in
 “ later times ; nor do I believe it would
 “ be suffered. But the case is much
 “ stronger here---and I can’t conceive,
 “ for the reasons above, that your lieut.
 “ governor will attempt to sit as judge,
 “ by virtue of his old commission. It
 “ is more probable, he will prevail
 “ on your governor, lately arrived, to
 “ grant him a new patent.

I am,” &c.

PERHAPS, my Lord, no higher evi-
 dence can be assigned of a man’s influ-
 ence, than such a bold invasion of his
 Majesty’s prerogative. Mr. De Lancey
 was determined not to lose an office,
 which he knew to be the grand source
 of his popularity, and the main prop
 of his power. For, whoever is chief
 justice of the province, unless a very
 novice,

novice, must be the second man in the government. Governor Hardy made no opposition to this large stride of ambition: and the other not long after, by his wonderful artifice, subjected him to his absolute dominion. It was effected in the following manner---Your Lord-DeLancey ship will be pleased to recollect, that Mr. De Lancey had the address to prevail upon the assembly to send up a bill to the council, on the 4th of February, intituled, "An Act for the Payment of the Debts due from this Colony; and other Purposes therein mentioned." By this, payments were to be made to many creditors of the government, *for services done this colony*, without specifying what those services were. The lieut. governor was to receive 3787 l. 16s. and several other sums were payable to his brother. It was in reality a bill for discharging the arrears due to the ordinary officers of the government. To render it the more palatable to the governor, provision was made for paying him also large sums for presents to the Indians, and the expences of his voyage to Albany, after the French repulse at Lake George. When it came up to the council, it obtained a majority only by one voice: and of these, my Lord, two

1756.

obliges the
governor
to pass
two acts of
assembly.

1756. gentlemen, besides lieut. gov. De Lancey, were themselves interested in the bill. They were the puisne judges of the supreme court, Mess. Horsmanden and Chambers, whose arrears of salary were now by the act to be discharged. Mess. Colden, Alexander, and Smith looked upon it, as a mean evasion of the King's instructions, which, until they resigned their seats at the council board, they were bound in honour to regard with sacred punctuality.---It was besides evidently partial; no provision being made for other creditors, whose demands were indisputable. They also conceived it derogatory to the dignity of that board, to pass an act, excluding themselves from any knowlege of those services, for which the respective sums were made payable. For these reasons, among others, they opposed the bill; and prayed their dissent might be entered, as a vindication of themselves to his Majesty. The governor, to whom it was sent up, detained it for farther consideration; tho' he passed several other bills on the 19th of the month. This circumstance, my Lord, could not but chagrin his lieutenant, who had the bill much at heart; not only on account of the large
 large

large sums thereby payable to himself and brother, but because the passing it into a law, would be the fullest evidence of his ascendancy over the governor; and if he could bring him into disgrace with the ministry, by leading him into a breach of instructions, it was plain he would have nothing to rely upon, but his own popularity. This was an important card, and to be skilfully played off. So indeed it was, and when I finish the story, I am persuaded your Lordship will entertain no very mean opinion of American politicians.—The spring was now advancing; and it became necessary to pass a law for levying forces, not only to join the eastern colonies, on a new expedition against the French forts at Crown Point, but for the protection of our western frontiers, in conjunction with Pennsylvania and New Jersey, which were become fields of blood, by the daily ravages of inhuman barbarians. The bill for this purpose originated with the assembly, and Mr. De Lancey, who was now closeting the members, was its principal constructor. When it came before the council on the 28th of March, that board immediately objected to it, according to his expectations: and the governor de-

1756. clared, that if the council approved, he should himself give it a negative. According to the tenor of this bill, the forces, designed for the western expedition, were to serve but forty days, when the province of New Jersey had ordained their quota, to be disbanded by Mr. Belcher; and Sir Charles Hardy insisted, that the like confidence ought to be reposed in his judgment. The two houses now engaged themselves in a dispute, at a time when, of all others, every contention should have been avoided. Mr. Oliver De Lancey, appointed by the house to provide the supplies for the regiment designed as our quota towards the Crown Point expedition, now gave orders to stop all farther preparations, an open rupture between the governor and assembly, being daily expected. The members began freely to speak against him. The council laboured to procure an alteration of the bill—but all to no purpose. The principal thing aimed at, was the passing of the debt-bill: and a leading member in the house, plainly intimated their designs to the governor. Doubtless your Lordship will wonder he did not dissolve them with indignation. Believe me, my Lord, it would have been a step, at this time, extremely

extremely unadvisable. Forty days ^{1756.} intermission between the test and return of the writ of summons for the election of representatives, being required by law, the public exigencies were too pressing to admit of any delay. Mr. De Lancey knew all his advantages; and that Sir Charles Hardy might be at no loss to conjecture that the house was now acting at his beck, nor himself under the necessity of joining with the council against the bill, absented himself from the consultations of that board. The neighbouring colonies in the mean time were urging the dispatch of our preparations for opening the campaign. Reduced at length by these perplexities, he was obliged to send for his lieutenant, and give him his promise to pass the favourite bill for payment of the public debts. The house then privately took back the quota-bill; and after a few alterations, the council passed it on the 31st of March. To both of them Sir Charles gave his assent the following day, and they were enrolled among our laws. I leave this affair to your Lordship's own reflections, observing only, that from this period, the lieutenant governor's influence became more apparent than

1756. before—and that as it always was, so it will ever continue to be, his ruling passion, and the grand engine of his politics, to crush or controul the King's governors in this province.

Intelligence
from Eng-
land,

THE plan of operations, concerted at New York in December, was a few days after transmitted to Sir Thomas Robinson, to be laid before his Majesty, for the royal approbation*. Upon the arrival of the first vessels from Europe in April following, we were surpris'd with these remarkable articles of intelligence:—That the action at Lake George had been magnified in England into an almost decisive victory—that Mr. Johnson was advanced to the dignity of a baronet, and 5000 l. sterling voted by the commons, as a farther reward for his great services—that Eyres, his engineer, was rais'd to a majority—and Wraxal, his secretary, to the command of a company. To crown, in fine, the utmost wishes of his adversaries—that Mr. Shirley's conduct having been

* Mr. Pownal importuned Mr. Shirley to be made the bearer of these dispatches. The general very civilly thanked him for the offer of his service; but chose rather to confide in Major Rutherford and Capt. Staats Morris. Mr. Pownal followed soon after them to England.

intirely

intirely disapproved, his Majesty had ^{1756.} been pleased to remove him from the command, and appoint the right hon. the Earl of Loudon general of all his forces in North America. Than these particulars, nothing could have been more pleasing to the New York cabal; as they were shortly to reap the fruits of all those calumnies of which they had been the original authors. A change of the general at once gratified their revenge and ambition, and facilitated the execution of an affair earnestly solicited, and greatly advancive of their interest.

I WILL not assert, that Mr. Shirley, had yet received his Majesty's orders with respect to the late plan of operations. I believe he had not—because on the 7th of May he arrived at Albany, and continued his preparations for carrying that plan into execution, until the 25th of the month, when a council of war was there held, consisting of the following members :

His Excellency the GENERAL.

Lieut. Col. Gage, Lieut. Col. Burton, Major Chapman, Major Sparks, Sir John St. Clair, John Montreser, Esq; chief engineer.

Mr. Shirley laid before them the minutes of the congress in December, and acquainted them with the state of affairs. With

and acquaints them with the situation of affairs.

1756. With respect to the western expedition the naval force upon the lake consisted, he observed, of two vessels of ten carriage-guns each; two row-gallies, each of ten swivels; and that he had three months before issued orders for building three other vessels, one of eighteen, another of sixteen, and a third of twelve carriage-guns. Besides which, there would be 250 whale-boats upon the lake, each of them capable of containing 16 men. The land forces then at Oswego, and on their march for preserving a free communication between that place and Albany, were his own and Pepperell's regiments, with that raised and supported by the province of New Jersey, and the four independent companies of New York. As there was a magazine of provisions and stores at the Canajohary Falls, about 35 miles from Schenectady, his excellency proposed posting there 100 men out of those forces: as many more at the German Flats, to secure another magazine, guard the portage, and convoy the provisions thro' the Wood Creek: and as the fall near Oswego occasioned another small portage, a fort was there also to be erected, for a garrison of fifty men at least. It was, my Lord, of the greatest moment to keep open the communication between

tween Albany and our fort on the lake; 1756. his excellency was therefore intent upon raising four companies of sixty privates each, to be employed in scouting along the passage, and harassing the French settlements between Frontenac and Montreal.

THE general gave them also an account of the strength of Oswego, when he left it the last fall—adding, that he had sent up Mr. M'Keller, the engineer in second, and Mr. Sewer, a practitioner engineer, with orders to make such additional works, as they should think necessary for the security of that important post. And your Lordship will be pleased to take notice, that these orders were issued very early in March, before the Mohawk river was open; and that the engineers actually arrived at Oswego in April. At these several garrisons were to be deposited six months provisions for 7000; and he observed to the council, that for that purpose, 200 whale-boats and 500 battoes had been dispatched since the first of April from Schenectady. The remaining quantity would have been transported by the middle of July, had his designs been carried into execution.

As to the provincial expedition, he informed them—that the troops voted by

1756. by the several colonies amounted to 8800 men, including the officers and garrisons at the forts Edward and William-Henry. One, or perhaps two hundred Indians might be expected to join them, besides a company which his excellency had raised, to harass the enemy upon Lake Champlain, and procure intelligence of their motions in Canada; and three more, for the like service, were intended to be chosen out of the whole force destined for Crown Point.

Capt. Rogers, an active officer, gains intelligence; of which the general informs the council.

ABOUT this time one Rogers, of New Hampshire, capt. of a ranging company, gave repeated demonstrations of his activity in the neighbourhood of Crown Point. He made many incursions upon the enemy, fell on their scattered parties, and scarce ever returned to Fort William-Henry without scalps and prisoners. The general took a particular notice of him, and he became singularly serviceable in procuring intelligence. By a cadet, whom he took on the 20th of May, we were informed, that the whole number of men at Fort St. Frederic, Tinonderoge, and at an advanced post, were 1100, composed of the regiments of Languedoc, the Queen's regiment, two companies of the colony troops, and the militia. Besides these, there were Indians, but their numbers uncertain :

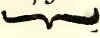
uncertain: that at Tinonderoge the French had twelve pieces of ordnance mounted, and carriages preparing for an additional number; but that the retrenchment at the advanced post was without any cannon. These troops wintered at Montreal and Chambly; and arrived at the south end of the lake about the middle of April, being plentifully supplied with provisions and military stores.—These intelligences the general laid before his council; and then observed, that the 50th and 51st regiments, the four independent companies, and the regiment of New Jersey, were scarce a third part of the number of troops designed by the general plan, for the operations upon Lake Ontario: that the provincials were also not only deficient of the complement thought necessary at the congress, but even of the number voted by the provinces concerned in the enterprize against Crown Point; and that it was impracticable, even with the junction of the 44th and 48th regiments, then at Albany, to carry on both the northern and western expeditions at the same time: that he had no dependance upon the Indians of the Six Nations; Sir William Johnson being unable to procure scouting parties; and

1756.

1756. and that upon this account he proposed raising four companies for that service.

Their opinion and advice.

YOUR Lordship may hence observe, what reason the congress in December had for their opinion, that more troops were necessary for his Majesty's service in America. No reinforcements being yet arrived from England, for carrying the general plan into execution, the council were of unanimous opinion—that 1300 ought to be posted at Oswego, 50 at the Falls, 200 at the Oneida Carrying-Place, 150 at the German Flats, and as many more at the Conejohary Falls. They advised therefore,—That the 50th and 51st, and the New Jersey regiments, the independents, and the North Carolina provincials (all which amounted to about 2000 men) should be employed in that service. The 44th and 48th regiments, with the colony troops, were thought sufficient to reduce Crown Point. Accordingly, they recommended their junction; advising, however, that the regulars should continue for a time in their encampment at Albany.—The ranging companies, proposed by the general, were highly approved; and the raising of others strongly recommended. They also concurred with him in sentiment—that a road ought to be made from the German
man

man Flats to Oswego: and declared, 1756. 
 it appeared to them very necessary to strengthen Fort Edward, and erect another at the South Bay. The former was a deposite for stores, and at the concurrence of all the routes from Crown Point to Albany. The latter would command the route taken by baron Dieskau for his designed attack upon Fort Edward—a route thro' which incursions were frequently made upon our northern frontier. A fort at the South Bay was conceived requisite, to cover our convoys of provisions for the northern expedition from the insults of the enemy, who in flying parties infested the passage from Albany to * William-Henry. The propriety of this advice, my Lord, must be evident to every man of a tolerable acquaintance with the country; and these were the very sentiments which the general repeatedly communicated to Sir William Johnson, in his letters, after the action at Lake George; which were then slight-

* For the building of a fort at South Bay preparations were making when Mr. Shirley resigned the command of the army: but the work has since been neglected; and the passage from Fort Edward to our camp at William-Henry, infested all this summer, and many of our people cut off, as was foreseen by this council.

1756. ed by the cabal, who studiously opposed him in all his measures.

Thus I have shewn your Lordship the reasons why the general plan continued to be unexecuted, till the sitting of this last council of war. Mr. Shirley, however, in hopes of the arrival of the expected reinforcements, and loth to be diverted from his favourite designs upon Lake Ontario, continued to throw large quantities of provisions and stores into Schenectady, and all the magazines between that place and Oswego. This, it was supposed, was done to induce his successor, from these ample supplies, to act upon this quarter; it being universally imagined, that Crown Point was now become the main object of the ministry. Till the arrival of General Webb on the 7th of June, this was only conjecture, and general report. The effects of the misrepresentations of American affairs in England, then became evident to all; for the stores laid in at Schenectady were now reconveyed to Albany for the northern expedition, and fresh clamours excited against Mr. Shirley, for his supplies towards the western operations. On the 15th of June, Major General Abercrombie landed at New York; and ten days after at Albany; where he immediately took upon himself the command

Major
General
Aber-
crombie
takes the
command
of the ar-
my.

mand of the army. Shirley continued there no longer than to deliver over to the new general the proper returns, and communicate such information as appeared necessary, with respect to the present situation of affairs. 1756.

THE whole force, of which General Abercrombie now took the command, consisted of the 44th, 48th, 50th, and 51st regiments, four independent companies, the New Jersey regiment, four companies raised by the province of North Carolina, Otway's, and the Highland regiments*, and the provincial forces destined against Crown Point.

INSTRUCTIONS had been given to Sir William Johnson, to procure a large body of the Six Nations, to join in any attempt that might be made upon the Lake Ontario; and to engage 100 more, for the assistance of the provincial army. Sir William Johnson holds a conference at Onondaga.

To effect which, he was then holding a conference with the deputies of the Six Cantons at Onondaga; from whence he was to proceed immediately to Oswego. Mr. Shirley had, besides, raised a company of Indians from Stockbridge, to be employed in ranging the woods between Fort William-Henry and Montreal: and that his Majesty's service upon

* These two regiments arrived with him, and consisted of about 900 men.

Lake

1756. Lake Ontario might be free from the
 obstructions, by which it had been the
 year before greatly embarrassed, he had
 inlisted 40 companies of battoemen, each
 of 50 men, a captain and an assistant,
 for transporting stores and provisions to
 Oswego. These were put under the
 direction of Capt. Bradstreet, an active
 vigilant officer, inured to the hardships
 to which that service inevitably exposed
 him. This, tho' one of the most judi-
 cious measures that could have been
 taken, was made the subject of low in-
 vective. The faction at New York la-
 boured to represent it as a project to in-
 volve the Crown in a needless expence:
 but time has given the fullest evidence
 of the propriety of this step; and *proper*
 it will appear to your Lordship, before
 the conclusion of this letter. General
 Shirley wisely foresaw, that the Indians
 of the Six Nations, whatever influence
 over them Sir William Johnson might
 pretend, could not be engaged even to
 protect the King's troops in the passage
 thro' their own country; and that unless
 the communication was kept open to
 Oswego, nothing could be effected up-
 on the Lake, nor the garrison itself pre-
 served from falling into the hands of the
 enemy. Accordingly, no sooner did the
 spring open, than a little blockaded post,
 with

A small
 post cut off
 in the In-
 dian coun-
 try.

with 25 men, at the Carrying-Place, in the very center of the Oneida country, was cut off; the Oneidas themselves being unquestionably concerned in the massacre. Nothing could square us against the repetition of these insults, but passing through the country with large squadrons of battoes: and to facilitate the transportation, Mr. Shirley, who canvassed every expedient for the preservation of Oswego, employed a working party of 80 men, under a director, to remove the obstructions in the Wood Creek; by this means, the portage from the Mohawks River, across the great Carrying-Place, was reduced from eight miles to one. Nor did he omit observing to his successor, that an attempt upon Niagara was of the last importance; the loss or preservation of our Indians depending upon the success of the operations on Lake Ontario.

RELATIVE to the Crown Point expedition, he recommended the march of part of the army, in a new discovered route, on the west side of Lake George, to the enemy's advanced works, five miles short of Tinonderoge. Which being carried, the heavy artillery and stores might be there landed, and transported thro' a road to Tinonderoge and Fort Frederic: and after the reduction
of

1756. of those fortresses, he advised General Abercrombie immediately to construct armed vessels, to secure the command of Lake Champlain.

Governor Sharpe's designed attempt on Fort Du Quesne fails.

YOUR LORDSHIP may remember, that an attempt was proposed, at the congress in December, against Fort Du Quesne, with an army of 3000 provincials. Gov. Sharpe was to have commanded in that enterprize; but there remained now no hopes of its prosecution. Virginia chose to be intirely upon the defensive—Maryland was wholly inactive; her frontier being covered by the adjoining provinces—and as to Pennsylvania, she raised indeed 1500 men, but only with a view to protect her out-farms; nor probably would thus far have consulted her own safety, but for the daily murders and horrid cruelties perpetrated upon her borders.

Circumstances of Indian affairs to the northward.

WITH respect to the circumstances of Indian affairs to the northward—While Mr. Shirley was at Oswego, and upon his return, as I before observed to your Lordship, he proposed to the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, and Oneidas, the erection of small forts for the protection of their respective castles. The two last tribes consented, desiring also, that the forts might be mounted with cannon: and the Tuscoraras afterwards sent deputies

puties to him, with the like request: 1756.
 —the Senecas and Cayugas had also
 lately signified their acquiescence to Sir
 William Johnson; and the general
 transmitted him the plan of a fort, di-
 recting the prosecution of the work with
 all possible dispatch, as a most effectual
 means to secure the Indian country to his
 Majesty.

BEFORE Mr. Shirley left Oswego the
 last year, he proposed to the Six Nations,
 their convening this summer, in a grand
 council there, the Indians on the north
 side of Lake Ontario, and round Lake
 Erie, to consult their common interest,
 and maintain a correspondence by an-
 nual councils at Oswego. And to draw
 off the latter from their attachment to
 the French, recommended to the Six
 Nations their concurrence, in opening a
 free trade with the foreign Indians, at
 the entrance of the Onondaga river,
 upon terms more advantageous to all the
 Indians, than any hitherto pursued.
 This spring Sir William Johnson in-
 formed his excellency, that the Six Na-
 tions were extremely well pleased with
 the projects relating both to the trade
 at Oswego, and the construction of forts
 in their cantons. To accelerate the lat-
 ter, the general supplied him with 5000l.
 sterling, in addition to 5000l. advanced
 to

1756. to him by General Braddock: and yet, my Lord, he was constrained to confess, in a subsequent * letter, that unless his excellency could engage several companies of rangers, he despaired of the preservation even of a free passage thro' their country: and whether he has to this day built a single fort, as the general proposed, I have not been able, after much inquiry, to discover.

Situation of our affairs with the southern Indians,

EQUALLY unpromising was the situation of our affairs with the southern Indians. Some hopes indeed were entertained of the fidelity of the Cherokees—a people warlike and powerful; in whose territories the Virginians were erecting a fortress. The Shawanese nevertheless continued their irruptions into that province: and Governor Dinwiddie was obliged to draft the militia, to oppose their progress, and preserve the town of Winchester. These Indians also, with the Sasquehanas and Delawares, committed frequent hostilities upon the Pennsylvanians. Governor Morris, for the protection of the country, carried a line of forts on the west side of the Kittatiny mountains, all along the extended frontier of that colony, from Delaware to the river Potowmac. The government of New Jersey proceeded even to declare war against the Delaware Indians; and

* 10 May, 1756.

would

would have penetrated into their settlements, had not assurances been sent by Sir William Johnson from the council at Onondaga, that the Delawares and Shawanese, in obedience to the Six Nations, were under renewed and positive engagements, to refrain from any farther outrages upon the southern frontiers. If any such promises were really made, 'tis certain they were immediately broken, many of our inhabitants having since been murdered and captivated by the savages of those very tribes. Whence we may fairly conclude, that either the Six Nations connived at these infractions of their commands; or that their antient sovereignty is become the contempt of their tributaries. In fact, my Lord, the matter is still worse. Too much reason is there to believe the truth of both these alternatives.

I INFORMED your Lordship, that Sir William Johnson was ordered to proceed from Onondaga to Oswego, with as many Indians as could be persuaded to march with him; not only for the more effectual preservation of that post, but to execute the plan which Gen. Shirley had concerted, for the establishment of an annual council there, with those Indians who had been long in the

H

French

1756.

1756. French interest, and seemed ready to listen to proposals for an alliance with us: it was expedient, my Lord, that he should have complied with these instructions, nay it was his duty. But no sooner was he acquainted with Mr. Shirley's resignation of the command of the army, than he returned from Onondaga to Albany, at the head of about 60 Indians; leaving Capt. Patten with his company of grenadiers, to wander thro' a forlorn wilderness, in search of Oswego. Whether this instance of his conduct was not intended to raise his reputation with the new general, as a leading man among the Indians, I leave to your Lordship's conjecture. By arts like these, he acquired his Indian fame: and the influence of the faction at New York so powerfully sustained it, that few persons doubted his ability to procure several hundred warriors for our assistance, tho' every day exhibited fresh proofs of their melancholy defection. Besides the destruction of our post in the very country of the Oneidas mentioned before, the enemy infested the parts about Oswego, and the whole passage thither, without the least opposition from the Six Nations. Alarms indeed were frequently given of the approach of their flying parties; and it was

was observable, that Sir William John-^{1756.}son, on those occasions, as Colonel of the county, raised the militia of Albany, and proceeded to the spot; tho' every man acquainted with Indians well knows, that of all places these are the most unlikely for finding the enemy. By such sham expeditions have our northern inhabitants been impoverished and distressed: nor could they answer any other end, than to raise a bruit thro' the colonies, and with parade and ostentation set the gazetteers upon sounding his applause.—Even in these wild romantic excursions, but few Indians attended him: and yet if we credit our news writers, hundreds were in his train.

MR. SHIRLEY had scarce resigned the command to Major General Abercrombie, when the good effect of the battoe service became so irresistibly evident, that his very enemies recollected their ungrounded calumnies with shame and confusion.—I allude, my Lord, to the action between the French and our bat-^{Account of a gal-}toe men, on the 3d of July. Sensible ^{lant action}of the importance of Oswego, the ene- ^{of our bat-}my collected themselves about the latter ^{toe men}end of May in a large body, not many ^{under}miles to the eastward of that garrison; ^{Capt.}from whence detachments were perpetually sent out to fall upon our work- ^{Bradstreet.}men,

1756. men, and infest the passage thro' the Onondaga River. Capt. Bradstreet, who had the direction of the battoes, was apprized that small parties lay in ambush, waiting a favourable opportunity to attack him. Accordingly when he left Oswego, he ordered the several divisions to proceed as near each other as possible: but so numerous and irregular a body could not without difficulty be kept to any tolerable order. He was at the head of about 300 battoe-men, in the first division, upon his return to Schenectady; and about nine miles from Oswego, when the enemy, who were 700 strong, rose from their ambuscade, and fired upon his front. Near the place of attack, was a small island, by which the enemy might easily have forded the river. Bradstreet in an instant landed upon the island, to prevent being inclosed between two fires; and with six men maintained his possession, bravely repelling twenty of the enemy, who attempted to seize that advantageous post. He was then reinforced with six others; and even compelled a second party of 40 French to give way. Enraged at this shameful disappointment, the enemy, to the number of 70 men, thought proper to make a third attempt; but the battoe-men, who

who did not exceed 20, with redoubled ^{1756.} bravery still kept their ground, and again forced their adversaries to retire. During these skirmishes, which lasted near an hour, the battoe-men in the rear landed, without loss or confusion, upon the south side of the river. Four hundred of the enemy now advanced up the north side of the stream, intending to ford it about a mile higher, and surround us. Bradstreet, aware of the design, left the island, and with 200 men marched on the other side to oppose them. But they had actually forded over, before he came up, and posted themselves in a swamp. Dr. Kirkland, with the second division of battoes, was now advancing to his assistance; but Bradstreet ordered him, and Capt. Butler, who commanded the third division, to keep their posts, and cover the battoes in the rear. Being arrived at the swamp, an engagement ensued in the Indian manner of fighting, and continued above an hour with dubious success. Bradstreet, at length animating his men, rushed into the thicket thro' twice his number, and gallantly pushed them into the river, where many of them perished. Another attempt was made, in the mean time, to ford the river a little

1756. higher; but those being also repulsed, the whole party was intirely routed and dispersed.

Just after the defeat, Capt. Patten, with his grenadiers from Onondaga, fell in with our battoes; and the next morning a reinforcement of 200 men came up from the garrison: and but for the excessive rains, which began soon after the action, and continued all the next day, these brave battoemen would probably have cut off the whole party. Had Sir William Johnson, as was expected, accompanied Capt. Patten to Oswego, with the Indians from Onondaga, Bradstreet might have made immediate pursuit, and many of the enemy must have been overtaken: but this pacific plenipotentiary was then hastening to Albany (a safer situation) with the important minutes of his late conference. A conference full of affectionate Indian speeches, and large promises of their assistance; when scarce a man of them could be prevailed upon to turn out of his hut for the defence of the common cause. Bradstreet had but three Indians of the Six Nations with him at this attack. Of these, one took to his heels; a second fought bravely; but the third went over to the enemy, and assisted in pointing out our officers.

officers. In these several actions we had about 30 men killed and wounded. 1756.
 How many of the French were slain, is not certainly known; tho' it is generally said, they lost about 120. Eighty arms were brought to Schenectady; and about 70 men found in the woods, and carried to Oswego. The French fled in the utmost disorder: and some of their regular soldiers, being strangers to the country, got bewildered in the desert, and perished for want of sustenance.

BRADSTREET arrived at Schenectady on the 11th of July; and the next day acquainted General Abercrombie at Albany of the state of Oswego.—
 That he learnt from his prisoners, the French were preparing to attack it, having 1200 men for that purpose encamped not far from the easternmost fort. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, orders were issued to Major General Webb, to hold himself in readiness to march for its defence with the 44th regiment. My Lord, Mr. Shirley had, several days before *, advised General Abercrombie to reinforce that gar-

Bradstreet gives intelligence of the enemy's design to attack Oswego.

* On the 26th of June, the day after he was superseded.

1756. rison with † two battalions at least : and they might have marched immediately, as Bradstreet was ready to convoy the troops, and every magazine, along the passage, plentifully supplied with provisions. But not to anticipate my story :

Lord Loudon arrives

MR. SHIRLEY arrived at New York on the 4th of July, and waited the arrival of my Lord Loudon, who landed there on the 23d of that month, with Mr. Pownal in his train : but in what character the latter returned a second time from England, was a subject of doubtful conjecture. — His Lordship, regardless of his ease, and the fatigues of a tedious voyage, tarried there but three days ; and on the 29th of July reached his head quarters at Albany, when he took upon himself the command of the army.

Our present force, and that of the French.

THE garrison of Oswego consisted now of 1400 men, and about 300 workmen and sailors. Four hundred

† Such a reinforcement could easily have been spared for that purpose, Otway's and the Highland regiment being now landed at Albany. And that this necessary step might not be obstructed, General Shirley had, before their arrival, dispatched an express to Oswego, ordering Bradstreet to quicken his return to Schenectady.

and

and eighty-five were posted, in small parties, between that place and Burnet's Field, to maintain an open passage thro' the country of the Six Nations. The 44th and 48th regiments at Albany and Schenectady, with the British troops just arrived, consisted now of 2600 men; and the provincials, under the command of General Winflow, were about 7000, and ready to march from Fort William-Henry. — Of the naval force of Oswego, I have already given your Lordship an account: and as to the strength of the enemy at Tinonderoge and Crown Point, according to the latest intelligence obtained by Capt. Rogers, they did not then exceed 3000 men.

FROM his Lordship's known abilities for war, the colonies were in great hopes, that notwithstanding the delay of the British reinforcements, some coup d' eclat would very speedily be struck at Crown Point. But alas! while we were intent upon this favourite design, the enemy were bending their main force, not to oppose us at Tinonderoge, but to secure what was to them a matter of much more importance, I mean the exclusive dominion of the great Lakes — Accordingly, they

1756. laid siege to Oswego; and after two or three days contest, obliged the garrison, on the 14th of August, to surrender themselves prisoners of war. This melancholy account was first brought to Albany by several soldiers, some of whom had formerly deserted the French service; and remained many days unconfirmed, till the arrival of two sailors, who made their escape after the reduction of the forts. An universal shock was now given to the whole continent: and to increase our distress, the Indians reported, that the whole garrison was put to the sword, and the dead bodies of our countrymen denied even the sacred rite of sepulture. But this, by subsequent advices, was contradicted: and the spies, dispatched for observation, inform us, that the works are intirely demolished, and the enemy departed. In what manner, and by what numbers, it was taken, or upon what terms surrendered, I cannot give your Lordship any satisfactory account. How many were killed on either side is also unknown; tho' certain it is that Lieut. Col. Mercer, the commanding officer, is among the slain.

Oswego taken by the French and the garrison made prisoners of war.

Circumstances of the siege unknown.

It is much to be wished, my Lord, that Mr. Shirley's advice to General Abercrombie

Abercrombie had been followed : and ^{1756.} equally to be regretted, that Sir William Johnson returned with such precipitation from Onondaga to Albany. Nor ought the discharge of 400 battoe-men, after Bradstreet's return, to pass without some remark. They arrived at Schenectady, as I observed before, on the 11th of July ; and methinks the recent proofs of their courage, and the account they gave of the strength and designs of the enemy, might have been a sufficient antidote against the poison of that council for their discharge ; which was unquestionably designed by Mr. Shirley's enemies for throwing an odium on his measures. To the same influence, my Lord, it was undoubtedly owing, that General Webb's march, with the 44th regiment from Schenectady, was delayed till the 12th of August, but two days before the garrison was actually surrendered. He had proceeded no farther than Burnet's Field, with his regiment of 900 men, and the remaining 800 battoe men, when the deserters brought him the news of the siege. Upon the receipt of which, he made a forced march to the Oneida Carrying-Place ; where he immediately felled trees

Battoe-men imprudently discharged.

General Webb's march delayed.

1756. trees into the Wood Creek, to prevent the approach of the * enemy.

THESE, my Lord, were great oversights: but the loss of Oswego must principally be ascribed to a more distant cause — to a junctō, who have all along embarrassed every part of his Majesty's service on the Lake Ontario. By their misrepresentations, the public has been drawn into a dependence upon the Six Nations, merely to exalt Sir William Johnson: and that nothing might be wanting to procure a change in the command of the army, and destroy all confidence in Shirley's judgment, Oswego, the great object of his attention, has been slighted as an unessential post; and the reduction of St. Frederic represented as a point of far superior moment.

* The French were equally apprehensive of his advancing towards them, or of our attempting to rebuild Oswego: and very prudently improving the present advantage, began where General Webb left off, and continued the obstruction quite down to the entrance into the Oneida Lake; which renders it impossible to pass thro' the Wood Creek, 40 miles in length. General Webb not long after abandoned the Carrying-Place, after burning down the forts, much to the dissatisfaction of the Indians.

MY LORD, by these intrigues our country bleeds — Oswego is lost — lost perhaps for ever, — with the naval armament — above 60 pieces of ordnance, and a rich supply of stores and provisions, laid in at a vast expence, for several thousand men, during the whole campaign. — Would to God this was all, and we had nothing worse to apprehend! — Our furr trade, which has long been the principal object of the national attention, and the support of our frontier city of Albany, is at an end. The French can now with the utmost facility secure the inland country, and confine us to the very brinks of the ocean — a free communication is opened between Canada and Louifiana; and all our intercourse with the Indians totally rescinded. The enemy, on the other hand, may, without opposition or restraint, render these innumerable tribes of savages their allies and dependants. The Six Nations are more wavering than ever: and should they no longer think it expedient to preserve their neutrality, the whole continent must inevitably become a field of blood. Whatever may be thought of these colonies, which of late have been magnified for their numbers and opulence, I do assure your Lordship,

1756.
 Unhappy consequences of the loss of this important post.
 The colonies not so powerful as imagined.

that

1756. that a short war will effectually exhaust them. Their settlements are scattered; their frontiers extensive; the inhabitants but few, generally in very moderate circumstances, and still luxurious, and without resources. The irruption of a few Indians into Pennsylvania, had already occasioned the loss of several hundred souls, and the desolation of near two thousand farms. The frontiers of the neighbouring colonies are equally defenceless: and the power of the native savages, at present in the French interest, is of itself sufficient, by slow but inevitable means, to reduce us to extreme beggary and distress.

General
Reflections
upon
the whole.

THUS, my Lord, I have finished the relation of what has hitherto been transacted in America. I have not only presented you with a series of the most interesting events, but brought your Lordship acquainted with the characters and designs of the principal agents in our political affairs. If I have erred, I am persuaded it is not in any article of importance, nor purposely in the minutest. — Every line of this letter hath been penned with the most sacred veneration for truth, and a mind equally unbiassed by resentment or affection. For obtaining an intimate acquaintance with the matters rehearsed, few in the colonies

nies have had superior advantages; nor in collecting proper materials, has any one been more assiduous. Add to this, that I had no other interest in the public measures, than the interest of every man on the continent. I am unconnected with all parties; neither enjoying any post myself, nor standing in the least relation to a single officer in the army. The love of my country was the sole spring of my curiosity; and so far, indeed, I was not an unconcerned spectator of the public transactions. If I have made honourable mention of General Shirley, it was owing to my approbation of his schemes, as conducive to the commonweal of the British plantations: and if my judgment was in this regard erroneous, I have the pleasure to find myself in very respectable company. Except New York, or rather a prevailing faction there, all the colonies hold him in very high esteem. Some have made public declarations of their sense of his great merit; and that too, at a time when he appeared descending from his meridian of glory. But he needed no other than the testimonials of his own province; for he, my Lord, whose conduct is approved by the people of the Massachusetts Bay, must be distinguished both for his abilities

1756. lities and his virtue. They are too numerous and wise to be deceived, too free and independent to be driven. An undue influence can never be obtained by the governor of a colony, who has neither power nor places to bestow. — Their assemblies are annual — the members elected by ballot, in number near 200. — The council, or middle estate, chosen yearly by the assembly : — and as all the offices are elective, not a man in the province is dependent on the smiles or the frowns of the King's representative : — and yet so wise, free, and loyal a people have approved his judgment ; confided in his integrity ; testified in his favour ; and publickly lamented his departure from the continent. I would by no means, my Lord ; be understood, by these favourable sentiments of Shirley, to disparage his noble Successor in the command. He yet has not, at least he deserves not to have, a single enemy amongst us : and I hope it will serve the purposes of no man to be his enemy. I could only have wished, that at this critical juncture, a gentleman so thoroughly versed in American affairs, had been continued in America for his Lordship's assistance. We have to contend with a subtle enterprising foe — a foe, rapacious,

ous, martial, and bloody, committing murders, rather than waging war. } 1756.
 Tho' the French colony contains perhaps not 30,000 men capable to bear arms; yet these are all under the despotic command and sole direction of their governor-general; and experience teaches us, that in spite of our navy, they may be annually reinforced. The strength of our colonies, on the other hand, is divided; and the concurrence of all necessaries both for supplies of men and money. Jealous are they of each other — some ill-constituted — others shaken with intestine divisions — and, if I may be allowed the expression, parsimonious even to prodigality. Our assemblies are diffident of their governors — governors despise their assemblies, and both mutually misrepresent each other to the Court of Great Britain. Military measures demand secrecy and dispatch: but while the colonies remain undivided, and nothing can be transacted but with their universal assent, 'tis impossible to maintain the one, or proceed with the other. Without a general constitution for warlike operations, we can neither plan nor execute. We have a common interest, and must have a common council, *one head, and one purse.* — The French

1756. French service is unexposed to these
 embarrasments; and hence they project without discovery, and we scarce collect their designs, till we are attacked and defeated. Hitherto they have prosecuted the war with superior advantage; and yet the militia of the province of the Massachusetts Bay alone, undoubtedly exceeds, by some thousands, all the troops of Canada. Since the commencement of the present hostilities, his Majesty has lost above 3000 loyal subjects: and as all the Indians are at the devotion of the French, and Oswego is now lost, many thousand farms before the opening of the next spring, will probably be abandoned; and the interior settlements deluged with the innocent blood of all ages and sexes. Indeed, my Lord, 'tis not beneath the most elevated station, to indulge the benevolent feelings of humanity; nor, retiring awhile from the pomp and gaiety that surrounds you, to shed a pitying tear over families inhumanly bereft of their substance, or more inhumanly slaughtered in their beds.---It is a celebrated saying, and does honour to human nature, “*Ho-
 “ mo sum, et nihil humanum a me a-
 “ lienum puto.*”

WHAT

WHAT the present or the next campaign will bring forth, is known only ^{1756.} to the Omniscient Governor of the universe. The colonies are nearly exhausted, and their funds already anticipated by expensive unexecuted projects: and whether they will still continue their efforts, or resign to a listless despair, is uncertain. I fear the worst—and yet you know, my Lord, I am not of a melancholy cast. There is too much reason for general concern: and I venture to predict, what every judicious person foresees, that unless some successful blow is struck—and speedily struck, at the power of France, Britain must inevitably lose her possessions in America. An event, my Lord, of the most tremendous consequence to us—to you—to the Protestant religion—to the peace of Europe—yes—and to the peace and happiness of all mankind.

HITHERTO we have wasted our strength in lopping off branches, when the axe should have been laid to the root of the tree. Canada, my Lord, Canada must be demolished—Delenda est Carthago—or we are undone. Strength sufficient have we left, with proper assistance, for a decisive struggle: but a lingering consumption will infallibly

1756. libly enervate and destroy. France has been, ever can, and will be annually, throwing over fresh troops into her colony, in defiance of our great maritime force: and should peace ensue, even before our ruin is compleated, what will be the state of these provinces upon the next rupture between the two crowns, when the inland country is filled with our enemies?---As you therefore value, my noble Lord, the cause of liberty; the glory of the British name; the honour and dignity of the best of Kings; and the preservation of these colonies from bloody carnage and total ruin; exert, I beseech you, exert your influence, to extirpate this brood of French savages from the face of the continent. In a scheme so decisive, and in no other, will the provinces heartily unite; and if well concerted, and our unfortified sea-coasts at the same time sufficiently protected; it will doubtless succeed—humble the pride of France—and close the present war with a lasting and honourable peace. I am,

MY LORD,

New York, with the profoundest respect,
 Sept. 20, Your Lordship's most obliged
 1756. and obedient servant.

A P P E N D I X.

N U M B E R I.

Major Washington's Journal.

THE 31st of March I received a commission from his excellency the governor * dated the 15th, appointing me to be lieutenant colonel of the regiment of Virginia, of which Joshua Fry, esq; is colonel, with directions to take the troops, then quartered at Alexandria, under my command, and to lead them on to the Ohio, in order to assist captain Trent in erecting forts; and defending the possessions of his Majesty, against the encroachments and hostilities of the French.

2d April. Every thing being got ready agreeable to our orders, we began our march with the companies of foot commanded by captain Peter Hog, and captain lieutenant Jacob Vembraan, five subaltern officers, two serjeants, six corporals, a drummer, and an hundred and twenty soldiers; a serjeant-major, a Swedish gentleman voluntier, two waggons, guarded by a lieutenant, a serjeant, a corporal, and twenty-five men.

We set out from the town on Tuesday at noon, and we encamped about four miles from Cameron, after having marched six miles.

From the 3d of April till the 19th of the same month, this journal contains only the march of the troops, and the junction of a detachment brought by capt. Stephens.

The 19th we met an express, who was charged with letters from capt. Trent on the Ohio, requiring that a reinforcement might be sent him with all the expedition possible, he having had notice that a body of eight

* M. Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia.

hundred French was hourly expected. I waited at Job Pearfal's for the troops, which came up the next day. On receiving the exprefs above-mentioned, I difpatched a courier to colonel Fry, in order to give him notice thereof.

The 20th I went down to colonel Crefan's, where I difpofed the detachment in a proper order; and in my way I was informed of the fort's being taken by the French. This news was confirmed, two days after, by captain Trent's enſign, M. Wart, who was obliged to furrender himſelf to a body of above a thouſand French, under the command of captain Contrecœur, who was come from Venango (in French the Freſq iſle) with ſixty battoes, three hundred canoes, and eighteen pieces of artillery, which were erected into a battery facing the fort, and then ſummoned him to withdraw.

M. Wart informed me likewise, that the ſavages perſiſted on their firm attachment to our intereſts. He had brought with him two young men of the Mingo nation, that they might have the ſatiſfaction to ſee that we were marching with troops to their aſſiſtance.

He alſo delivered me the following meſſage, which was ſent me by the Half-King *. *April 18, 1754, at the fort of the Ohio.*

The Half-King's ſpeech. A belt for the governor of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

BROTHERS, the Engliſh, the bearer will let you know how we have been uſed by the French. We expected a long while they would come and ſtrike us; we now ſee how they propoſe to behave towards us; we are ready to ſtrike them even this moment; and we wait only for your aſſiſtance. Take courage and come as ſoon as 'tis poſſible, and you will find us as well diſpoſed to ſtrike them as you are yourſelves.

We have ſent theſe two young men in order to ſee if you are ready to come; and in that caſe they will return

* This is an Indian chief, on whom the Engliſh had conferred this title of Half King.

to us, and we will give notice where you are ; that we may have it in our power to join you, we could wish, if possible, that the troops of the two provinces met at the fort on the road. If you don't come to our assistance now, we are utterly undone: and I believe we shall never more be able to come together. I speak it in the deepest concern of my heart.

A string of Wampum.

The Half-King addressed this speech to me in person.

I am ready, if you think it proper to go with these two young men to the two governors ; for I can no longer rely on those who have so long been gone and are not returned, nor have sent any message.

A string.

April 23. A council was held at Will's Creek, in order to concert measures relative to the news brought by M. Wart.

Examination being made of the news brought by ensign Wart, and the summons sent by captain Contre-cœur, commander of the French troops: the messages of the Half-King, and the other chiefs of the six nations, being perused, it appears, that M. Wart was compelled to give up the aforesaid fort the 17th instant to the French, whose number amounted to above a thousand men, with eighteen pieces of artillery, some of which were nine pounders, which was the less to be wondered at, as the detachment of the Virginia regiment, amounting to a hundred and fifty men, commanded by colonel Washington, had orders to reinforce captain Trent ; and that thus the garrison of the said fort consisted but of thirty-three effective men.

It was found impracticable to march towards the fort without sufficient forces, and being very warmly pressed by the messages of the savages, and especially those of the Half-King, the president proposed this as a subject of deliberation, viz. whether it was not proper to advance as far as Redstone Creek, called by the French, Creek de la roche rouge, upon Mononghela, in French, Malengueulee, about thirty seven miles from the fort on this side ; and there to fortify ourselves, while our people were clearing up the roads, so as to admit the transporting

transporting our artillery and baggage : or to wait there for new orders.

It was resolved in the affirmative, for this reason : that the mouth of Redstone river is the first convenient place on Mononghela river ; that the magazines designed for the company's stores are ready to receive our stores and provisions ; and that occasionally, the heavy artillery may be transported by water, in case we shall think it convenient to attack the fort. Moreover, this will guard our people against the evil consequences of inaction, and may be an encouragement to the Indians our allies, to adhere to our interests. Upon this I determined on sending M. Wart to the governor * with one of the young savages, and an interpreter. I thought it also incumbent upon me to inform the governors of Maryland and Pennsylvania of this news. I sent back the other Indian to the Half-King, with the speech inserted in the following letter.

To the honourable Robert Dinwiddie, Esq; Governor, General, &c.

SIR,
M. Wart, ensign in captain Trent's company, is this day arrived from Mononghela, and has brought the melancholy news of the surrender of the fort the 17th instant on the summons made them by captain Contrecoeur, at the head of a body of French troops, consisting of above a thousand men : in his way from Venango, with eighteen pieces of cannon, sixty battoes, and three hundred canoes : and they have given leave to all our people to retire, with all the working tools ; which was done the same day.

Being thus informed of this news, I called a council of war in order to consider of the most proper measures to be taken in these circumstances. I send you a copy of the particulars, and resolutions of this council, and have charged the same express with it, for your more particular information.

* The governor of Virginia.

M. Wart is the bearer of the summons and the messages of the Half-King, in which I have included the strings of *Wampum*; he is attended by one of the savages, of whom mention is made in these speeches, who has been sent to view our forces, and to know the time they might expect our coming. I sent back the other savage with speeches.

I hope you will be sensible of the absolute necessity of sending us our forces as soon as they shall be raised; with a sufficient number of canoes, of which some must be large; and some mortars for grenades, in order to be enabled to *attack the French* with an equal force. Perhaps it might be proper to invite the Cherokees, Calibales, and the Chicachas, to come to our assistance, as we are informed, that the Iroquois and the Outawas are coming down Scioto Creek, in order to join the French, who are to assemble on the Ohio. In that case I beg you will cause them to be conducted here in good order, that we may be able to prevail on them to make peace with the six nations; for I am informed from several parts, that there is no good understanding amongst them, and that if they should be the first at the Ohio, it might occasion a good deal of disorder, and end to our disadvantage.

We are sensible of the great advantage of a water carriage; therefore I would beg the favour of you to provide a number of canoes for that purpose.

Captain Trent's people are arrived this day. They have been enlisted, by your orders, as militia men. The officers had imprudently promised them twenty-four pence a day: they will not serve at present for less. M. Wart will receive your orders on this subject.

To his Excellency Horatio Sharp, Esq; governor of Maryland.

SIR,

I Arrived here with a detachment of an hundred and fifty men; colonel Fry, with the remaining part of the regiment and the artillery is daily expected; in the mean time we will cross the mountains by easy marches,

and cut ourselves roads as we advance, so as to render the transporting of our cannon practicable. We propose going to the mouth of Redstone river, which falls into the Mononghela, about thirty-seven miles on this side of the fort which has been taken by the French, it being navigable to the Ohio.

There is a magazine built at that place by the Ohio company, which hereafter may contain our stores and provisions.

Besides the French forces above-mentioned, there is reason to believe from the reports which we have received, that another party is coming to the Ohio. We have also advice, that six hundred Indians, Chippoways and Olloways are coming down the river Scioto in order to rejoin them.

This is my answer to the speeches of the Half-King.

To the Half-King, to the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations, chevannons and wolves, our friends and our brothers.

I Have received your speech by brother Bucks, who came to us with the two young men in six days after they had left you. We return you our most sincere thanks, with hearts burning with affection for you, for your constant attachment, your gracious speech, and your wise counsels.

This young man will acquaint you with the place where he has met a small part of our army drawing towards your forts; being employed in clearing up the roads for a great number of our warriors, who are ready to follow us with our heavy artillery, our ammunition and provisions.

I cannot postpone making our hearts known to you. I therefore send the young man with this speech in order to acquaint you therewith, having sent the other to the governor of Virginia with your speech, and your belt; that he may be an eye-witness of the preparations which we are making, in order to come speedily to the assistance of those, whose interests are as dear to us as our lives. We acknowledge the character of the *treacherous*

French

French ; and our conduct will evidently shew how much we have that at heart.

I shall not be satisfied unless I see you, before all our forces are assembled at the fort, which is on the way. 'Tis for this reason that I earnestly wish that you, belt and string of Wampum, or at least one of you, would meet us on the road, as soon as possible, to assist us in counsel. I present you these strings to enforce my speech, that you may call to mind how much I am your brother and friend.

Signed Washington
or, Conotocarious. *

April 28. Received some artillery which were sent up to the mouth of Paterfon's river.

From April 29, till May 11, this Journal contains nothing but marches, and other matters not very interesting.

THE 11th of May; made a detachment of a party of twenty-five men under the command of captain Stephens, and ensign la Peyronie. They were directed to go to Mr. Gift's, and make exact enquiries where la Force † and his party lay; and in case he was in the neighbourhood, they were to go no farther, but to secure themselves. I ordered them likewise to search carefully the surrounding woods, and to endeavour to nab some straggling Frenchman, and to bring him, that we may get some intelligence; also, to endeavour to find out whether 'tis possible to go down the river; and to look out for some convenient place about the mouth of Redstone river to build a fort on; to pay a visit to the Half-King, and to send him here with a small escort. They were likewise to get what information they could, relative to the French and their

* This probably is an Indian name assumed by M. Washington.

† M. de la Force, is one of those French who attended M. de Jumonville. He had been about the beginning of May, detached with three other French, and some Indians, in pursuit of some deserters: and M. Washington had been informed of this by means of the savages.

schemes; what they had been doing, and what they further designed to do: in short, to gather whatever might tend to give us any information.

12. We struck our tents and ascended an eminence, where we halted in order to dry ourselves; having been obliged to cross a rapid river, where the smallest of our men had water up to their arm-pits.

An express arrived with letters acquainting us, that colonel Fry was with a detachment of upwards of an hundred men at Winchester, and that in a few days he would set out in order to rejoin us; likewise that colonel Jnnis was on his march with three hundred and fifty men, raised in Carolina: That it was expected Maryland would raise ten thousand pounds (equal to fifty thousand and five hundred livres) to pay the soldiers of the other colonies, by way of amends for its furnishing no men; and that governor Shirley had sent six hundred men to harass the French in Canada.

I hope this will give them some employment; and will damp that spirit with which they send parties to the river Ohio.

16. We met two traders, who told us they had retired through fear of the French, of whom, parties were often seen towards M. Gift's habitation. These traders are of opinion, with many others, that it is not possible to open a road for loaded carriages, from here to Redstone river.

17. This evening arrived M. Wart with the young Indian from Williamsbourg: he delivers a letter, in which the governor is kind enough to approve of my measures, and expresses his dissatisfaction of captain Trent, whom he has ordered to be tried, for having, without orders, deserted his men on the Ohio. At the same time the governor informed me that captain Roy, with an independent company of a hundred men, exclusive of the officers, was arrived; that we might expect them immediately, and that those of New-york would join us in less than ten days.

This evening likewise, arrived from the Ohio two Indians. They came from the French fort, from whence they set out, about five days ago: they bring
word

word that the French employ all their forces in building their fort, which is raised already elbow high, and two fathoms in breadth; the middle space being filled up with earth, stone, &c.

All the neighbouring trees have been cut down and burned, and corn has been sown in their room. By their own account they are but eight hundred men; the Indians are of opinion they were but six hundred. A greater number is expected in a little time. They reckon they will then form a body of one thousand six hundred men; with which they say they will be able to bid defiance to the English.

18. The waters being still high, I could not proceed with my people and my baggage; which made me resolve on putting myself in a posture of defence against any immediate attack of the enemy; and to go myself down to make my observation on the river.

19. I dispatched to the Half-King, the young Indian returned with M. Wart, with the following speech.

To the Half-King, &c.

BROTHERS, I am rejoiced to hear of your being on your march to assist me with your counsels. Come on, brothers; march hastily towards your brother the Englishman; for he is going to receive new supplies, which will protect you against your treacherous enemy the Frenchman. I must send my friends to you, that you may be informed of the agreeable speech which was sent you by the governor of Virginia; he is much grieved at the ill treatment which you have met with. The waters are so swelled, we cannot repair hastily to you; therefore I send this young man to invite you to come to us: he can inform you of a great many things which he has seen at Virginia, and the good usage he met with from the most considerable of the people. They have not behaved to him, as the French do to your people who visit them at their fort; they deny them victuals: this young man has had all his heart could wish for. As a confirmation of the truth of all this, I give you a string of Wampum.

20. I embarked on a canoe along with lieutenant West, three soldiers and an Indian; and having gone the space of half a mile, we were obliged to land: where I met with Peter Suver, a trader, who seemed to discourage me from pursuing my search after a passage by water. This made me alter my intention of building canoes. I gave orders to march, the waters being low enough to pass over; notwithstanding, I still continued going down along the banks of the river, and finding our canoes not sufficient to contain six men, we stopt and built a boat, by the means of which, and our other canoes, we got to the Turkey-foot (in French, *pie de Diude*). About eight or ten miles forwards, we met with several little impediments, which are of no consequence, unless the waters should still happen to fall. We passed several places fit for canoes.

21. We spent some time in examining the place, which we found to be a very fit situation for a fort, being at the confluence of the three branches, and meeting in most places, with a good soft gravel-stone foundation. The plan as it stands here, is as good as I could draw it, without the help of instruments.

We went about two miles to view the course of the river, which is narrow, has many currents, is full of rocks, and rapid; we cross'd it notwithstanding the water was pretty high: from which I am apt to think, that it would not be difficult to make it navigable for canoes; though it would be attended with some trouble

Besides this, we met with other rapid streams; but the water being less deep, and the current more quiet, we passed them with ease. After this, we found few or no bottoms; the mountains lie close to both banks of the river. We went about ten miles lower down; when we found ourselves stopped by a strong current, which obliged us to land.

[From the 22d to the 24th, the Journal contains nothing but a description of the country.]

24. This morning arrived an Indian, accompanied by the young Indian whom I had sent to the Half-King, from whom he brought the following letter.

To the first of his Majesty's Officers whom this may concern.

“ **A**S it is given out that the French army is on its
 “ march, to meet M. George Washington; I
 “ recommend to you, brothers, to be on your guard
 “ against them; for they propose to themselves to
 “ strike the first English they shall see: they have been
 “ two days on their march already, I cannot say in
 “ what number. The Half-King, and the rest of the
 “ chiefs, will join you in five days to hold a council.
 “ I shall say no more at present; but desire my com-
 “ pliments to my brothers the English.”

Signed

The Half - King.

I endeavoured to get as much information as I could from these two young Indians, as to circumstances; but received not much satisfaction from them.

They tell me there are parties frequently out; but they know of no considerable ones coming this way. The French go on raising their fort. What is towards the land, is well inclosed, but the part towards the water-side, is much neglected, or at least has no defence: they have but nine pieces of cannon, and some of these very small. There is none of them mounted: two of them are on the rock, and the others at some distance from the fort on the land side.

They report likewise, that they have several sick among them, and that they cannot find savages to guide their small parties towards our camp, these Indians having given them a denial.

The same day we arrived at the meadows, where we met a trader; who told us he was just come from Mr. Gift's, where he had seen two Frenchmen last night, and that he knew there was a strong detachment on its march. This confirmed the advices of the Half-King; I therefore caused the troops to retire be-

hind two intrenchments which were made by nature, and made also the waggons to go into the same place.

The 25th I sent a scouting party on horse-back along the roads, and several other small ones to beat up the woods. I gave directions to the horsemen to search the country well, and to endeavour at getting some intelligence of the French, their forces, and their motions, &c. At night all these parties returned without making any discovery, although they had been far enough the way, from which this party is said to be coming.

26. Arrived William Jenkins, express from colonel Fry; and a letter from colonel Fairfax, who writes me word that the governor himself, colonels Corbin and Ludruelt, were arrived at Winchester, and desired to see the Half-King at that place: on which I address'd him some speeches.

27. Mr. Gift arrived early with an account, that M. la Force with fifty men, whose tracks he had discovered at five miles from this place, went yesterday to his habitation; and that they would have killed a cow, and demolished every thing at his dwelling, had they not been hindred by two Indians to whom he had left the care of his house. I sent away on the spot, a detachment of sixty-five men under the command of captain Hogg, lieutenant Mercer, and ensign la Peronie, three serjeants, and three corporals with instructions.

The French had been making great enquiries at Mr. Gift's about the Half-King, I did not fail giving notice thereof to some young Indians who were in our camp, which had the effect I desired. I gave them to understand that the French meant to kill the Half-King: they offered to go, on the spot, in pursuit of the French with our people; and in case they had insulted or killed him, one of them was immediately to repair with the news to the village of Mingo, and raise the warriors to strike. One of these young men was detached towards Mr. Gift's settlement, and in case he did not meet with the Half-King at that place, he was to send him a speech by a Delaware. *

* This is the name of an Indian nation.

About eight in the evening I received an express from the Half-king, acquainting me that as he was coming along to join us, they had discovered along the roads the tracks two of men, who descended into a dark bottom: that he imagined the whole party was concealed in the same place. That moment I sent out a party of forty men. I ordered my stores to be hid, lest this might be a stratagem of the French to attack our camp. I left a guard for their defence; and with the remainder I set out myself in the midst of a very heavy rain; the night being as dark as pitch, and along a path scarce large enough for one man: we often went astray, and were fifteen or twenty minutes, before we could find out the road again; and we often knocked our heads together without seeing each other. We continued our march the whole night; and the 28th about sun-rise, we arrived at the camp of the Indians; where after we had held a council with the Half-King, we agreed to strike together. In consequence of this, he sent a couple of scouts to see whereabouts they were, and in what posture, and to reconnoitre the neighbouring grounds. After this we made our disposition in order to surround them and we began our march in the Indian manner, one after another. We had advanced pretty near them according to our system, when they discovered us. I then gave orders to my troop to fire. Mine was supported by that of M. Wager, and my troop and his received all that of the French, during the best part of the engagement; which held but a quarter of an hour, before the enemy was routed.

We killed M. de Jumonville the commander of this party, with nine others: we wounded one, and made twenty-one prisoners, among whom were M. de la Force, M. Drouillon, and two Cadets. The Indians scalped the dead, and took most of their arms. After this we marched with the prisoners and their guard, to the camp of the Indians; where I again held a council with the Half-King. Here I acquainted him that the governor desired to see him, and expected him at Winchester. His answer was; that was impossible for the present; his people being in too imminent a danger from the

French, whom they had just struck. That it was necessary he should send couriers to all the allied nations, to invite them to take up the Hatchet ; which he did : and added thereto a French scalp which he sent to the Delawares by one of their young people. This man desired to have a part of the presents which were designed for them ; and that the rest might be kept for another occasion. He proposed to himself to return to his family, in order to conduct them and several others towards M. Gift's settlement, where I was to send some horses and men to assist their coming to the camp. After this I set out with the prisoners ; they informed me that they had been sent with a warning to cause me to withdraw. This was a specious pretext trumped up in order to discover our camp and take a view of our forces, and our situation. Their design of reconnoitring us was so evident, that I could not help admiring their assurance, in declaring to me they were come with an embassy. Their instructions were, to take a view of the roads, rivers, and the country all the way to Potomack : instead of coming like ambassadors, in a public and open manner, they come with the greatest secrecy, and seek the most hidden places of retirement, and much more suitable for deserters than ambassadors ; they encamp in these places ; they remain there whole days concealed, though but within five miles of us ; they send out spies to reconnoitre our camp ; the whole troop goes two miles back ; two couriers, of whom mention is made in the instructions, are sent to advise M. Contreœur of the place where we were, and our disposition ; that he may be enabled to send his detachments in order to reform the summons as soon as it should be made.

Besides this, the attendance was indeed such as might have become an ambassador, whereas, it was but a little simple French officer : what need had an Ambassador, whose character is always sacred, of spies ? when their designs were so good, how came they to remain two days within five miles of us, without communicating to me the summons, or any thing that had a relation to this embassy ? This alone would be sufficient to
give

give the strongest suspicions ; and it is but doing them justice to say, that their design being to conceal themselves, they could not have pitched upon a better place.

The summons is so insolent, and favours so much of gasconade, that if two men came and brought it openly, it were excessive indulgence to suffer them to go back.

The Half-King's sentiment on this occasion is, that they had bad designs and that it was a mere pretext ; that they never designed to come to us but as enemies, and that had we been fools enough to let them go, they never would have assisted us more in taking Frenchmen.

They pretend they no sooner saw us, than they called out to us ; which is absolutely false ; for I was at the head of the body that marched towards them, and I can affirm, that they no sooner had spied us than they ran to their arms, without calling out to us ; which I must have heard had they done it.

The 29th I dispatched ensign Latour to the Half-King, with about twenty-five men and almost an equal number of horses ; and as I expected that some other French parties would follow the one that was defeated, I sent away an express to colonel Fry in order to have a reinforcement.

After this the French wanted to speak with me, and desired to know upon what footing I considered them, whether as being attendants on an ambassador, or prisoners of war. I told them it was in this latter capacity ; and gave them my reasons as above.

The 30th I detached Mr. Wart and M. Spindorph, in order to conduct the prisoners to Winchester under an escort of twenty men.

Being apprehensive that the news of this defeat would no sooner reach the French, than we should be attacked with considerable forces, I began to erect a fort with a small pallisade.

June 1, arrived a trader with the Half-King : they say that at the same time M. de Jumonville had been sent here, another party was sent down the river in order to take and kill all the English they should meet.

We finish our fort.

Towards

Towards the evening arrives M. Touvers, ensign, with the Half-King, the Queen Alguipa (*a*) and about five and twenty or thirty families, amounting to about eighty or an hundred persons women and children included. The old king (*b*) being invited to our tents, tells me he has sent Monokatoocha to Logstown with a string, and four French scalps, which were to be sent to the six nations, to the Owendo's, &c. in order to give them notice, that he had struck the French, and desire their assistance in the support of the first blow.

He gave me also to understand he had something to offer to the council, but that he would postpone what he had to say till the arrival of the Chavanons, whom we expected the next day.

The 2d arrived two or three families of the Shawanons and Wolves. Prayers were read in the fort.

The 3d the Half King calls a council, and informs me of his having received, some time since, a speech from the Great Kettle, in answer to that he had sent him.

The 5th, arrived an Indian from the Ohio, who had gone lately to the French fort: he brings confirmation of the news of the taking of two traders by the French, and their being sent to Canada: he says they have stuck their pallisades in the ground, and shut up the avenues of their fort by means of very large trees.

Eight Indian families from this side the river are coming to join us; he has met one of the French, who had made his escape from M. de Jumonville's engagement. He was without shoes, stockings, and almost unable to walk; but he let him pass, as he was ignorant of their having been struck.

The 6th M. Gift returned; he acquaints me with the death of poor colonel Fry, and that the French prisoners are arrived all safe at Winchester, which gave the governor great satisfaction.

I am also informed, that M. Montour is coming with a commission to command two hundred Indians.

(*a*) The wife of a savage, created queen by the English.

(*b*) Another savage chief.

M. Gift met a French deserter, who assured him they were but five hundred strong, when they took M. Wart's fort, and that their number was now decreased, having dispatched fifteen men to Canada, to acquaint the governor with their success; that there were still two hundred soldiers, who waited only a favourable opportunity to come away and join us.

The 9th the last division of the Virginia regiment arrived under the command of colonel Must. We are informed that the independent company of Carolina is arrived at Will's Creek.

The 10th I received the regiment; and towards the evening I had notice that some French were coming towards us: on this I sent some Indians to beat up the grounds towards *Gift's* habitation, in hopes of discovering them, and finding out their number. In the beginning of the night we had an alarm, but it proved a false one.

The 12th two of the scouts whom we had sent out yesterday returned, having spied a small party of French; the others went on to *Stuart's*. Upon hearing this I judged it adviseable to set out with the major part of the regiment, in order to fall in with these ninety men, whom we had notice of; in consequence of this resolution I gave colonel Must orders to remove all our baggage and military stores, to lodge them in the fort, and to post a strong guard on them till such time as I returned. I set out myself at the head of an hundred and thirty men, and about thirty savages; but at the distance of about half a mile I met with the other Indians, who told me this party consisted only of nine deserters; then I sent M. Montour with some Indians, in order to conduct them safe. I ordered them cloaths, and they confirmed our conjecture, as to the design of the party commanded by M. de Jumonville, and that there are above one hundred soldiers who wait only for a favourable opportunity to come and join us. That M. de Contrecoeur expected a reinforcement of four hundred men: and that these four hundred should have arrived some time before the blow given to la Force. That the fort was complete; that the gates and the front thereof were screened from

any

any artillery; that on the water side there were double pallisadoes; that they have but eight small pieces of cannon, and that they know our number.

They also informed us, that the Delawares and the Shawanons, have taken up the hatchet against us: on which it was resolved to invite these two nations to a conference at M. Gift's. Sent for that purpose messengers and Belts.

The 13th I persuaded these deserters to write to their comrades, who are disposed to desert, the following letter.

This letter is not in the journal.

15. Ordered the people to work at the roads.

16. We set out for the red river, and we were under great embarrassments; our waggons having broke down several times.

17. I dispatched an expres to the Half-King, to desire he would send to the *Wolves*; which he has done as I expected.

18. Arrived eight Mingos from Logs-town, who immediately on their arrival talk to me of a commission which they are entrusted with, and say that a council must be called. Being met, they said in a few words, that they had often wished to see their brothers in the field with their forces, and begged we would not think ill of them, for that being among the French, they conformed with some of their customs: that they were naturally inclined to strike the French, and several other things to that purpose: after this they told us, they had brought a speech, and that they must set about it immediately: That, with something else, gave us some suspicion of their being ill disposed towards us; and it was for this reason I postponed giving them audience, until the arrival of the Half-King. I desired also the Delawares to have patience until the same time, as I waited only for their arrival to call a council, and that I reckoned on their arriving that very day. After the eight Mingos had withdrawn from their council, they sent me some strings of wampum, to desire I would excuse their being in such haste to deliver their speech; but that they were sensible it was just to wait the arrival of the Half King.

The

The Half-King being arrived, I consented to give them audience. A council was held to that purpose in the camp; at which were present the Half-King, and several Iroquois, Wolves, Shawanons, to the number of forty.

The speech-maker of the six nations addressed this speech to the governor of Virginia.

“ BROTHERS,

We, your brothers of the Six nations, are now come to meet you, and acquaint you that we have heard you threaten to destroy, entirely, all your brothers, the Indians, who would not come and join you on the road. Wherefore it is, that we, who remain in our villages, expect every day to be cut into pieces by you. We would fain know the truth of this news from yourselves; and we hope you will not take it amiss that we are come to inform ourselves thereof; since you know very well, bad news makes a far greater impression on us than good. That by your answer we may be fully informed of the truth, we present you with this string.

We know the French on our return will ask us, In what number are our brothers whom we have been to visit? We therefore by this string desire you would tell us; as likewise the number of those you expect; against what time, and when you propose to attack the French; that we may advise our village thereof, and also know what we may say to the French.”

A N S W E R.

Brothers, we are glad to see you, and very sorry you should be disturbed by any reports tending to make you believe the English design doing any harm to any of you or your allies. This news, we see, has been forged by the French man, who is a traitor, and ready to affirm the greatest falsehoods, whenever he thinks it can be of service to him. He has a fine tongue, promises the finest things, but all this is from the lips only; while his heart contains nothing but corruption, and the poison of the serpent. You have been their children, and they would have done, to be sure, every thing for you; but they no sooner fancied themselves strong enough, than they
have

have naturally re-assumed their haughty airs, have driven you out of your own country, and declared you had nothing on the Ohio. The English, who are your true brothers, have too much generosity to think the six nations, their faithful allies, should ever be treated in this manner. After you had been with the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania, they have at your repeated requests, *sent an army to support your rights*, to put you in possession of your lands, to guard your women and children, to dispossess the French, maintain your rights, and secure you all this country: this is the business in which the arms of the English are now employed: 'tis for the safety of your women and children that we fight; as that is the true motive of our conduct, we cannot reasonably doubt but the rest of your forces will join us to fight the common enemy. Those who will not come in, will be responsible for the consequences. We only wish that our brothers may embrace the party that shall appear to them most proper.

The six nations are those that are principally concerned in this war; for them it is we fight; and I should never forgive myself if I did them the least harm. 'Tis to assist you, and to protect you, that we fight; our arms are open to receive you, and our hands are ready to feed your families during the course of the war. The governor of Virginia has several times desired they should be sent him, that he might behold them with his own eyes, fed and cloathed to their mind; but as you cannot prevail on yourselves to send them to him, we are ready to share with you in a friendly manner, our provisions; and we shall take proper measures, and give orders, that a sufficient quantity be brought wherewithal to maintain and clothe your women and children. From this conduct it is evident, how much greater is the esteem which the English bear their faithful allies the Six nations, than that which the French bear them. As we have drawn the sword in your defence, and for your cause, delay not a moment longer to put your women and children under our protection; there they will find abundance of provisions. At the same time let your young men and warriors set about whetting their hatchets

in order to join us, and unite themselves to us vigorously in our battles. Brothers, the present which I offer you, is not so considerable as I could naturally wish; but I expect in a little time to receive a great quantity of merchandise, which I shall have at my disposal, to reward those who will give proofs of their valour and activity on this occasion. For the rest I will reward them in the most generous manner.

Take courage, brothers, rescue your country, and secure it for your children, lay your hearts open to me on this occasion; that I may be enabled to give an account of your sentiments to your great friend and brother the governor of Virginia. As an assurance of my sincerity and esteem, I present you this belt of wampum.

The 20th, another council.

The Delawares no sooner found that they were suspected of favouring the French interests, than they desired to know the reason of their having been sent for, and what was necessary for them to say on their return.

I answered, it was to acquaint them, that it was in compliance with their repeated solicitations we had come with an armed force to their assistance; that our design was to reinstate them in the possession of the lands which the Frenchman had taken away from them.

That as they had often claimed our assistance, in the quality of antient and faithful allies, I invited them to come and put themselves under our protection, with their women and children.

Upon this the speech-bearer stretched his quilt on the floor, and on this quilt he placed several belts and strings of wampum in the order he had received them in from the French.

Here are repeated the speeches of Mr. Contrecoeur; after which the Delawar speaker addressed me in the following speeches.

* Major Washington does not mention in his journal what these speeches of the French were.

“ Brothers,

“ Brothers,

The governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania, we your brothers the Delawares recollect perfectly the treaty of Logstown, where you and your uncles the six nations, taking into consideration the bad situation we were in on account of our wanting a man to be at our head to conduct us, gave us a king, and told us he would transact in all public matters between you and us. You recommended to us not to give ear to all the idle rumours which should be spread, but to consult our own interests well, and do what would seem to us right: we can assure you, we have not given credit to all these reports; nor shall we ever give any credit to such; but that we will be led by you, our brothers, and by our uncles the six nations, and do on every occasion, what shall be just, and what you shall advise us to do. As an assurance of our disposition to fulfil our engagements with you, we present you this belt.”

After this, they made the following speech to the six nations.

“ Uncles,

’Tis thirteen days since we have received from the council of Onondago this belt; we doubt not but you have been apprised of it. He exhorted us to recollect the old time when he covered us with a robe that descended to our heels: He afterwards desired we would tuck it up to our knees, and tie it well, and meet them at the source of the Susquehanna, where he has prepared a place for us to live at, and that he has sent his speech to those of our nation, who live on the side of the Minisinties; inviting them to the place which he had pitched on to live along with us. He has also sent us a speech to acquaint us that the Englishman and the Frenchman were on the point of coming to blows on the river Ohio; and he exhorted us to do nothing in this conjuncture but what was reasonable, and will himself tell us; lastly, he recommended to us to keep fast hold of the chain of friendship, which has been a long while, subsisting

subsisting between us, him, and our brothers the English.”
A Belt.

After this the Delawares spoke to the Chevanons as follows.

“ Grand children, by this string we take you in our arms, and we withdraw you from the place you are now at on the Ohio, and we carry you along with us to live where we live, and where you and we may live in peace and tranquillity.”

After this the council adjourned to the next day in the morning.

The 21st we met very early, when I immediately spoke to the Delawares in the following manner.

Brothers, by your open and generous conduct on this occasion, you have become dearer to us than ever: we thank you for not going to Venango upon the first invitation of the Frenchman; and his childish treatment of you, has raised in us a just and warm resentment: he calls you his children and talks to you in reality, as if you were children, and had no more sense than children. Weigh well, brothers, and compare all their speeches together, you will find that every thing they contain may be reduced to this; I am going to clear your eyes, open your ears, and such like futilities; such as are made use of to amuse children withal. You will likewise observe, brothers, that if they give their word or make a promise, and confirm it with a belt, they think themselves no longer obligated thereby, than they esteem it their interest to keep it. They have given an instance of this, which I am willing to observe to you, in the leap which, they say, they have taken over the barrier which you had opposed to them: this ought, brothers, to inspire you with the most just indignation, and induce you to lay hold on the favourable opportunity which we offer to you, being come, at your request, to assist you; by which means you have it in your power to make them leap back again, much quicker than they had come forwards.

A String

A String of Wampum.

The French are constantly desiring you not to listen to the ill reports which will be spread of them who are your fathers. If they were not sensible in their own minds how much they deserve it by their unjust procedure towards you ; why should they suspect that they are impeached ? why should they take so much care to prevent you from giving credit to what will be said against them ? As to what they will tell you to our prejudice, our conduct alone will be our answer.

Enquire yourselves into the truth ; you know the roads which lead to our settlements ; you have lived among us ; you can speak our language. . But in order to confute what might be said, and give assurances of our brotherly friendship ; we invite anew your old men, your women and your children, to take refuge under our protection, and between our arms, where you will be plentifully maintained ; while your warriors and your young people will unite with ours, and espouse the common cause.

A String.

We return you our hearty thanks, brothers, for your declaration ; that you are in a determined resolution to fulfill the engagements you have entered into, by the treaty of Logstown. And we cannot help applauding your generous conduct towards your grand-children the Shawanese. It gives us infinite pleasure.

We are greatly obliged to Onondago for the advice he has given, to keep fast hold of the chain of friendship which ties us. I dare say, if he had known how nearly this war concerns you ; or that it was for your sakes, and at your request that we have taken up arms, he would have commanded you to declare yourselves, and to proceed without delay to action, against the common enemy of the Six-nations.

To convince you of my affection, and as a confirmation of the truth of what I have told you ; I present you this belt.

Gave two large Strings.

After

After this the council broke up: and these treacherous devils who had been sent by the French in order to make observations, returned back; not being however unprovided with some discourses prepared on purpose to amuse the French, and to favour the success of our own schemes.

As they had spoke to me of sixteen hundred French, and seven hundred Indians, who, they said, were on their march to reinforce those at the fort; I prevailed on the Half-King, to send three of his people in order to be informed of the truth of the matter; notwithstanding I was of opinion this news had no other foundation, than the talk of the common soldiers. These Indians were dispatched privately, before the council broke up, with orders to repair to the fort, and get information of all the Indians they should meet there: and if they should learn any thing worth while; one of them was to return while the two others were to proceed on their journey to Venango, and round the lake, in order to be fully informed of the whole.

I prevailed also on King Schingués to keep scouts out on the river, in order to give us news in case of the approach of any French. I gave him a letter which he was to send me by his Runners, to prevent being imposed on, or receiving false alarms. Although we had not succeeded in persuading King Schingués, and the other ancient Delawares, to take shelter in our camp with their families, because they stood in great awe of the council of Onondago; yet they gave us the strongest assurances of assistance, and pointed out to us the means by which I was to go about attaining our ends; which was to have in readiness a great War-belt, in order to invite those who were willing to receive it, and act independently of their king and the council. King Schingués promised to use, underhand, the most subtle means to bring this matter to bear; though he durst not appear in it openly.

The very day the council broke up, I prevailed on Raquehuston a Delaware, on whom I could depend, to carry to the fort a letter which the French deserters had writ to their fellow-soldiers; and I gave him instructions

ons relative to the manner he was to conduct himself, in his observations on several articles which I mentioned to him. And indeed, I am thoroughly satisfied of the possibility of surprising the fort; in as much as the French encamp outside of it, and that the duty cannot be performed exactly, on account of the works which they are employed in.

I also employed George, another trusty Delaware, to visit the fort in a little time after Raquehuston; and furnished him with proper instructions; recommending to him at the same time in a special manner, to return quickly; that we might be supplied with fresh news.

The council was no sooner broke up, and the Delawares, as also the Half-King, and all the other Indians, notwithstanding all that M. Montour could say to dissuade them from it, returned back to the great meadow. In order to make amends for the loss of these Indians, I was obliged to keep scouts out constantly of our own people, to guard against all kinds of surprise.

Having been told that if I sent a string of Wampum and a speech, the Half-King and his young men might be prevailed on to come back. I sent the following speech by M. Croghon.

“ It is now some little time since you and we have been met. We have sent by your brother the governor of Virginia, at your own request, repeated several times, in order to assist you and fight your cause. It is therefore for that reason that I must request of you, brothers, that you and your young men do come to join us, and encamp with us; to the end that we may hold ourselves in readiness to receive our brother Monacotoca, whom I expect every day. That this request may be attended with the desired effect, and make the proper impression on your minds, I present you this string of Wampum.

As these Indians who were spies for the French, appeared very curious; and used to ask several questions, in order to know by what road we proposed to march to the fort; and when we expected to arrive there, I made the people give over working on the road, and ceased to carry it on any farther. I told them after this,

we intended to go on with it through the woods, as far as the fort, by cutting down the trees, &c. and that here we waited for the reinforcement, which was coming to us; together with our artillery and our Waggon, in order to take them along with us: but no sooner were these people gone, than I ordered the road to be opened, and carried towards Redstone

25. Towards the evening arrived from the Great-meadows three men; among whom is the son of queen Aliguipa. He brings me a letter from Mr. Croghon, acquainting me of the difficulties he meets with in finding any Indian that is disposed to come: that indeed, the Half-King was disposed and preparing to come and join us; but that he was prevented from it by a blow which he received. I thought it proper therefore to dispatch M. Montour to the fort of necessity, in order to try whether it was not possible to prevail on the Indians to come to us.

26. Arrives an Indian, who brings word that Monacathoca has burned his village (Logstown;) and has set out by water, for Redstone, with his people; where he may be expected to arrive in two days. This Indian has passed by the fort, and assures us the French have received no reinforcement, except a small number of Indians, who, he says, have killed two or three Delawares. I failed not to relate this piece of news, and to represent it in its properest colours to the Indians; and particularly to two Delawares, who are here.

27. I detached captain Lewis, lieutenant Wagghener, and ensign Mercer; two serjeants, two corporals, a drum and sixty men, to endeavour to carry on the road to the place where Redstone-river discharges itself into the Mononghela.

N U M B E R II.

Journal of the Campaign of M. Villiers.

I Arrived at fort du Quesne the 26th of June, about eight o'clock in the morning, with the several nations, of which the general had given me the command.

I was

I was informed on my arrival, that M. de Contre-cœur had made a detachment of five hundred French, and eleven Savages of the different nations of the Fair river; the command of which he had intrusted to M. le Mercier; who was to set out the next day.

As I was this officer's senior; that I commanded the Six-nations; and that my * brother had been assassinated: M. de Contre-cœur honoured me with this command; and M. le Mercier, though deprived of it, gave me to understand, it would give him great pleasure to serve the campaign under my orders.

M. de Contre-cœur, called Mess. le Mercier, Longevil, and myself together, in order to deliberate on what was proper to be done during the campaign; taking into consideration the situation, the strength of the enemy, the assassination which they had committed on us, and the peace which it was our design to maintain between the two crowns.

28. I received my orders from M. Contre-cœur: the provisions were given out; every one embarked; and we set out from the fort about ten in the morning.

From this moment I began to employ Indian runners by land, to prevent being in any way surpris'd.

I went to spend the night about six or eight acres above the first fork of the river Mononghela; though I had no intention to make this my way. I called the Savages together and desired their advice. It was determined, though a longer way, to proceed by the river Mononghela.

29. Mass was said at the camp; after which we set out on our march, with the usual precautions.

30. We came to the Stock-house † which was built by laying pieces of timber one over the other, well joined together: the building was about thirty feet in length, by twenty two in breadth. As it was late, and that I would do nothing without consulting the Savages, I encamped about two gun shots from this place.

I called the leaders together that evening, and we deliberated about the precautions which were proper for

* M. de Jumonville.

† This Stock-house had been built by the English.

us to take for the security of our wheel-carriages, the provisions which we intended to leave in reserve, and the people who were to guard them.

July 1. We went and put our wheel-carriages in a secure place. We disposed in order our effects, and whatever else we could dispense with in the Stock-house. I left to guard them a good serjeant and twenty men, and a few sick Savages. Some ammunition was shared out, and on we marched. About eleven o'clock we spied some human tracks, which gave us a suspicion of our being discovered.

About three in the afternoon, having had no account of our scouts, I sent out some others, who fell in with the first. They mistook each other, and were just going to fire at one another; but luckily they found out their mistake. They came to us, and declared, that they had been as far as the road which the English were making; that they had seen no body there; and that it was apparent no body had been there for about three days: we no longer doubted but the English were apprised of our steps.

2. At break of day, we set out on our march, without waiting the arrival of the scouts. After I had marched for some time, I stopped and determined not to proceed farther, till such time as I received some positive account. I dispatched some scouts towards the road: in the interim arrived some of the Savages whom I had left behind at the Stock-house. They had made a prisoner who said he was a deserter; I examined him, and threatened him with hanging, if he attempted to impose upon me. I was informed the English had deserted their post, in order to draw near their fort; and that they took with them likewise their cannon.

Some of our people discovered the camp which had been abandoned by the English; and thither we went. I sent out scouts, and took care to have every place searched. A great many instruments and other utensils were found concealed, which I ordered to be taken away. It being late I caused my detachment to encamp at this place.

I again set about asking the Englishman more questions, continuing to frighten him and likewise to flatter

him, with the hopes of being rewarded. I communicated to the Savages whatever discoveries I made, and my resolution not to expose them rashly. It rained the whole night.

3. At day-break I prepared to march. I invited the Savages to supply me with scouts. The weather inclined to be rainy; but I foresaw the necessity of preventing the enemy, before they had raised the works which they might resolve on.

We marched the whole day through the rain, and I sent out scout after scout: I stopped at the place where my brother had been assassinated; and here I saw some human carcases still remaining.

Being now about three quarters of a league from the English fort, I made each officer to march in a column at his respective division, in order to have it in my power to dispose of them as the exigency should require.

I sent scouts who were to go close to the camp, and twenty more to support them; and I advanced my self in order; when some of my people returned to tell me that we were discovered; and that the English approached in order of battle to attack us: as it was said they were just close to me I put my troops in order of battle, and in a manner agreeable to the wood-fighting. It was not long before I perceived that my scouts had led me wrong; and I gave orders to my troops to advance towards that side from whence I apprehended an attack.

As we were not acquainted with the ground, we presented our flank to the fort from whence they began to cannonade us: I perceived almost at the same time, to the right, the English coming towards us in order of battle. The Savages, and we also, set up the cry, and advanced to meet them: but they gave us not time to make our discharge: they filed off, and withdrew into an intrenchment which lay contiguous to their fort. We then sent ourselves about investing the fort: it was advantageously enough situated in a meadow, the wood of which was within musket shot of it. We came as close to them as it was possible, to the end that his Majesty's subjects might not be exposed without necessity: the fire was pretty brisk on both sides, and I repaired to the
place

place which appeared most to favour a sally. We succeeded in silencing the fire of their cannon, I may say, with our small arms.

The enemy's fire began again at six o'Clock, with more fury than ever, and lasted till eight o'Clock. We returned it briskly. We took the proper measures for securing our posts, and keeping the English close in their fort during the night. When we had put ourselves into the best position possible, we caused it to be cried out, that if the English were desirous to speak to us, we would cease firing: they accepted the proposal, and there came a captain to that part of the attack where I was. I detached M. le Mercier to receive him, and I went myself into the meadow; here we told them, that as we were not in war, we were willing to deliver them from the cruelties to which a more obstinate resistance would expose them from the savages; that this very night we would take away from them all hopes of slipping away from us. That we now condescended to shew them mercy, as we were come only with a view to take revenge for the murder which they committed on my brother, in violation of the most sacred laws; and to oblige them to quit the King's territories; and we agreed with them to grant them the capitulation, of which a copy is annexed. (*See p. 15.*)

We considered, that nothing could be more advantageous to the nation than this capitulation; it not being natural, that we should make prisoners of war in time of peace. We made the English agree to give it us under their hands, that they had committed an assassination on us, in the camp of my brother. We had hostages as sureties for the French whom they had in their power: we compelled them to evacuate the country belonging to the King. We obliged them to leave us their cannon which consisted of nine pieces. We had already destroyed all their horses and black cattle; and we made them still give us under their hands, that the favour we shewed them, was only to prove to them, how greatly we desire to treat them as friends.

That very evening the articles of capitulation were signed: and I had in my camp the hostages I required:

The 4th, at peep of day, I sent a detachment to take possession of the fort; the garrison fled off, and the number of their dead and wounded raised compassion in me, notwithstanding my resentment of the manner in which they had made away with my brother.

The savages, who had in every respect, complied with my desires, had laid claim to the pillage. I opposed it, but the consternation of the English was so great, that they ran away, and left behind them even their flag, and a pair of their colours. I demolished their fort, and M. le Mercier caused their cannon to be destroyed, together with the one which had been granted them by their capitulation, the English not being able to take it away.

I hastened away, after having first destroyed the casks of liquor, in order to obviate the disorders which they must have infallibly occasioned: one of my savages took ten English and brought them to me: I sent them away by another.

I lost in this attack only two French and one Pany (*a*), I had seventeen wounded, of whom were two savages; exclusive of several wounds so slight as not to require the surgeon's assistance.

I marched this day about two leagues, and caused our chief sick to be carried on litters by detachments.

The 5th I arrived about nine o'clock at the camp, which had been abandoned by the English. I ordered the intrenchments to be demolished, and the houses to be burnt to ashes. This done, I marched on, after having detached M. de la Chavignerie to burn all the houses in the neighbourhood. I encamped at three leagues distance.

The 6th I set out early in the morning to the place where we left our waggons, and arrived there about ten o'clock: we put our wheel-carriages in order, distributed provisions to the detachment, carried off the rest, and found some things concealed. After which we burned the *bangard*. I embarked and went on till six o'clock in the afternoon; when I was obliged to encamp upon account of very heavy rains.

(*a*) The name of a savage habitation.

The 7th I continued to march, after having detached M. de la Chavignerie to inform M. de Contrecoeur of the success of our campaign. I burned as I went along all the settlements I met with, and I made a surrender about four o'clock, of my detachment to M. Contrecoeur.

N U M B E R III.

Instructions given to General Braddock by his Britannick Majesty.

GEORGE R.

INstructions for our trusty and well-beloved Edward Braddock, Esq; major-general of our armies, whom we have appointed general and commander of all and every of our troops and forces, which are actually in North America, or which may hereafter be sent thither, or therein raised; to vindicate our just rights and our possessions in these parts. Given at our palace of St. James's, the 25th of November 1754, and of our reign the 28th.

Whereas, by our commission dated the 24th of September last, we have appointed you general and commander of all and every our forces which are, or hereafter shall be in North America: In order that you may be the better enabled to answer the confidence of which we have given you that testimony, we have thought proper to give you the instructions that follow.

1. We, having given our most serious attention to the representations of our subjects of North America, and to the present state of our colonies; to the end that our just rights and possessions may be guarded against all encroachments, and the trade of our subjects secured; have given directions, that two of our regiments of foot, which are now in Ireland, commanded by Sir Peter Halket and colonel Dunbar, be immediately sent over to America, with a suitable train of artillery, transports, and provisions, under the convoy of a certain number of our ships of war.

2. Upon receiving our present instructions, you shall embark on board one of our ships of war, and you

shall make sail for North America, where you will take upon you the command of our forces; and whereas we have appointed Augustus Keppel to command the squadron of our ships of war in the American seas, we require and enjoin you to maintain a perfect understanding and correspondence with him, so long as you shall be employed in the service you are now in; and we have given the same orders to the said commander of our squadron, with regard to the conduct and the correspondence which he is to hold with you.

3. And whereas a number of men shall be wanting to compleat our said regiments, which are to be composed of between five and seven hundred men each; and our intention being; that there be forthwith raised two other regiments of infantry, composed of a thousand men each, to be commanded by governor Shirley and Sir William Pepperel, whom we have appointed to be colonels thereof, in our provinces and colonies of America; we have given our orders that the rendezvous of the regiment under the command of the former shall be at Boston, and that under the command of the latter at New York and Philadelphia; and that our several governors shall take beforehand the measures necessary to contribute to their utmost, so as to have about three thousand men in readines to be enlisted for this purpose, who are in proportion to the number that shall be raised to be put under your command, and are there to be subject to the distribution which you shall make of them in the above-mentioned corps.

And whereas we have thought proper to detach Sir John Saint-Clair our quarter master general, and James Petcher, Esq; our commissary for musters and reviews in America, to the end that they may make all necessary preparations against the arrival of the two regiments from Europe, and for the raising of the forces above-mentioned; you shall inform yourself immediately upon your arrival, of the governors who shall be the nearest at hand, and in time and place of all the governors, and likewise of the quarter-master-general, and the muster-master-general, what progress they shall have respectively made

made in the execution of our above orders, to the end that you may be able to act in consequence.

4. It having been represented to us, that the forces of Cork, which are to go over under your command, may want provisions on their arrival in America, we have caused to be shipped, &c.

5. Whereas we have given orders to our said governors, to provide a quantity of fresh provisions for the use of the troops on their arrival; and whereas they are equally obliged to supply our officers with what they shall stand in need of, whenever they shall be obliged to go from place to place, and every thing that shall be necessary for travelling upon land when they cannot go by sea; likewise, to observe and obey all such orders as shall be by you given them, or by those whom you shall, from time to time, appoint to quarter the troops, hasten the transports, provide every thing necessary for such number of troops as shall arrive, or shall be raised in America: and whereas these several services are to be executed at the charges of the governments where they shall take place; It is our will and pleasure, that in order to the execution of all these parts, you do apply to our abovesaid governors, or to some one of them, according to the exigency of the several cases.

6. And whereas we have moreover commanded our said governors, to use all their efforts, in order to prevail on the respective assemblies of their provinces, to raise speedily as considerable a sum as they shall be able to obtain, by way of contributing to a common fund, to be provisionally employed in America for the general service, and in particular, to defray the expence of raising the troops which are to be employed in compleating the regiments above-mentioned: It is our will, that you give them all the advice and assistance you can towards advancing these advantageous projects, by settling such a common fund as may be fully adequate to the *project of service* which we propose to you; but you are to take special care to hinder the giving any money to the troops which are to be under your command; such payments excepted, as shall be made in consequence of the supplies of effective men which shall be made.

7. Having also commanded our said governors to correspond and confer with you on all matters, which may tend towards accelerating the said levies in their respective governments, we require you to aid and assist them in the execution of our instructions; you are therefore not only to keep up a constant and frequent correspondence with them by letters, but you are also to visit the said provinces, or some of them, if you think it for the advantage of our service; and you shall put our said governors frequently in mind of using all possible diligence; so as the execution of our projects may not be obstructed by the slowness of the levies, which are to take place in their respective provinces, or by the want of transports, provisions, or such other things as shall be necessary, in whatever time or place you shall think convenient to assign for their general rendezvous.

You shall also assemble a council of war, which we have thought proper to appoint, and which shall consist and be composed of yourself, the commander in chief of our ships, of such governors of our colonies and provinces, such colonels and other land officers as shall be found to be within a convenient distance of our said general and commander of our forces; and it shall be with their advices, or of the plurality of them, that you will determine on all the operations which are to be executed by our said troops under your command, and all the other important points which shall have a reference thereto: in the manner that shall be judged most effectual for attaining the ends for which the said troops are designed, and for corresponding faithfully with the trust which we have reposed in you.

8. You are not only to keep up the most entire harmony and friendship possible with the several governors of our colonies and provinces, but even with the chiefs of these Indian nations. You are to endeavour to find out some person that is fit and agreeable to the Indian nations in the southern parts, in order to send him to them for this purpose; in the same manner as we have directed colonel Johnson, to repair to the northern nations, as being the person, whom it is believed, they will

will receive with the greatest pleasure ; to the end that they may be prevailed on to share and act with our forces, in the operations which you shall deem the most advantageous and expedient to undertake.

9. You shall from time to time, inform yourself of the nature and value of the presents which shall be granted by the assemblies of our different colonies and provinces, according to custom, in order to invite and engage the Indian nations to our interests and alliance ; and you shall be very attentive that a just and faithful distribution be made thereof, by such persons as shall be charged to make it ; and you shall assist these persons with your best advice towards the said distribution : you are to be also particularly attentive that these presents be disposed of prudently, in all the occasions in which they shall be made ; and in those exigencies against which, lieutenant governor Dinwiddie might have made a provision, with regard to the Indians, in consequence of the sums of money which have been already granted in his towns, or elsewhere.

10. It having been represented to us, that the French and the inhabitants of our different colonies, hold a correspondence, and carry on an illicit trade together ; you are to take speedily all the measures necessary to prevent the continuance of such dangerous practices ; and in particular that no sort of provisions be supplied, under any pretext whatsoever, to the French, &c.

11. Whereas we have thought that on the present occasion, it was fit to settle and ascertain the rank which is to be observed between the officers bearing our immediate commissions, and those who serve under the commissions of our governors, &c.

12. You will receive, here-to annexed, a copy of the orders which we sent, the 28th of August 1753, to our several governors, wherein we enjoin them, and exhort our colonies and our provinces of North America, to unite together for their common and mutual defence ; and you will see by our directions of the 5th of July (of which likewise a copy is herewith delivered to you) our repeated commands for the enforcing our orders of the 28th of August 1753 ; and that we were

pleas'd to direct that the sum of ten thousand pounds might be remitted in specie to governor Dinwiddie, and to give leave to our said lieutenant-governor to draw for another sum of ten thousand pounds, on the conditions mentioned in our order of the 3d of July last, which was sent to the said lieutenant-governor the 27th of September following; the said sum to be employed towards the general service and protection of North-America. The several other letters of the 25th and 26th of October and 4th of November, to our governors, to Sir William Pepperel and to colonel Shirley (copies of which will be delivered to you, together with the present) will make you thoroughly acquainted with our orders and instructions, which have been made known on this occasion to our officers and governors; and will enable you to inform yourself of their execution, and the advantages which shall have resulted therefrom.

13. You are not to fail sending us, by the first and all opportunities which may offer, a clear and particular account of your steps, and of every thing that is essential to our service, by letters to one of our principal ministers and secretaries of state, from whom you will receive from time to time, such orders, of a more ample nature, as shall be necessary for your conduct.

N U M B E R I V.

Letter from Col. Robert Napier, written to M. Braddock, by order of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.

London, Nov. 25, 1754.

S I R,

HIS Royal Highness the Duke, in the many audiences which he gave you, has entered into all the particular details of the service which you are going upon; and on Saturday, communicated to you his notions as a *better* rule for the execution of the different articles of his majesty's instructions: and as you were desirous that nothing of what pass'd then, should escape your memory; he has commanded me to set down every thing in writing. His royal highness has this ser-
vice

vice very much at heart; it being of the utmost consequence to the territories in the obedience of his majesty in America, and the honour of the troops which he employs in the said countries. As you are particularly concerned in this affair, his royal highness takes the greater share therein, as he has made interest with his majesty to procure you this command.

It is the opinion of his royal highness, that immediately after your landing, you consider what kind of artillery and other implements of war it will be necessary to transport to Wills-creek, for your first operation on the Ohio; and this, in such quantity as that it may not be wanting in the service; likewise that you form a second field train, with good officers and soldiers, who are to be sent to Albany, and be in thorough readiness to march for the second operation at Niagara. You are to take under your command what number you shall think necessary, from the two companies of artillery which are at Nova-Scotia and Newfoundland, as soon as the season will permit you; being however mindful to leave a force sufficient for the defence of the Island. Capt. Ord, a very experienced officer, and of whom his royal highness has a great opinion, will join you as soon as he possibly can.

When the regiments of Shirley and Pepperel shall be increased to a number sufficiently considerable; it is the opinion of his royal highness that you cause them to encamp, not only for the speedier disciplining them, but also to attract the attention of the French, and throw them into a suspense with regard to the place you purpose to attack. His royal highness makes no doubt, but all the officers and captains of these corps will answer his expectation, in modelling and disciplining their respective troops.

The most exact and the strictest discipline is always necessary: but it can never be too much insisted on in the service now under consideration. His royal highness therefore recommends to you the enforcing it among your troops in the most uniform manner. You are also to guard against all panic terrors in the presence of the Indians, with whom they are not yet acquainted; and

and whom the French will not fail making use of, in order to terrify them. His royal highness recommends to you the visiting your posts night and day; that both the colonels and other officers of the army be exact in doing the same; and that you yourself set frequent examples thereof; and to give your troops to understand, that no excuse will be admitted for any surprize whatever.

If the expedition of the Ohio, should take up more time than has been imagined; and if, while it is carrying on, Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments should be found sufficient to undertake the reduction of Niagara; it is the opinion of his royal highness, that you consider whether you can repair thither in person, leaving the command of the troops on the Ohio to an officer, on whom you safely rely; or whether it may not be more conducive to the service, to send to these troops some person whom you might have had in view for the command of the Ohio? This is an extreme nice case, and demands great attention on your part; inasmuch as colonel Shirley is next to you in command. Therefore if you do send such an officer, he must conduct himself in such a manner, as to appear only in the capacity of a friend and counsellor, with regard to colonel Shirley; who should be wrote to accordingly he not being versed in military affairs: and his royal highness thinks, that this officer ought not to produce, or make mention of the commission which he should have from you, to take the command of him, excepting in the case of absolute necessity.

The above arrangements may serve as a foundation to proceed upon, in case the expedition of Crown-point* may take place, whilst the reduction of Niagara is laboured at.

If it should be necessary for you, after the Ohio expedition, to repair to Niagara with all your forces; his royal highness advises you to examine with the greatest attention, whether it may not be possible to go from the Ohio to Niagara by a shorter Way than that of the lakes;

* This is Fort Frederic: In English, Crown-point.

which you ought not to undertake under any pretext whatsoever, without a moral certainty that provisions will not be wanting, &c.

As to the design which you have to make yourself master of Niagara, which is of the utmost consequence; his royal highness recommends it to you to leave nothing to chance, in the pursuit of that enterprize.

As to the reduction of Crown-point, people are persuaded that the provincial troops will be of much more service; being better acquainted with the country; and his royal highness recommends to you, after the taking the fort, to consult with the governors of the neighbouring provinces about a proper place to build a fortification on, which hereafter may screen both the fortresses and provinces.

As to what relates to the forts which you shall think necessary to erect, which they perhaps are but too fond of in that country; his royal highness recommends it to you to observe, that they may be contrived in such a manner as not to require a strong garrison; and he is of opinion, that you should not build forts that are considerable, and of stone, without having previously sent plans and estimates of the said forts to England, in order to be approved of by the government. His royal highness thinks that forts of earth, with pointed stakes and pallisadoed with good ditches, * capable of containing two hundred men, and in case of need, four hundred will be sufficient for the present.

As lieutenant colonel Lawrence who commands at Nova-Scotia, has for some time past formed a plan of making himself master of Beausejour; his royal highness is of opinion, and advises you thereto, that you consult him about this point, both as to the time and manner of executing this project. His royal highness foresees that his majesty's ship's will be of great use in this expedition; not only in transporting the troops, stores, and warlike implements, but also in intercepting the stores and other succours which the French may receive either

* Stockaded Forts.

by Bay-Francoise or from Cape-Breton, to Baye-Verte, on the other side of the Isthmus.

As to your winter-quarters, your operations being over, his royal highness recommends to you, to examine whether the French may not be for making some attempts the next season; and what place they will more probably fix on. In this case, it would be more expedient to cantoon your troops on that side, and at such distance from one another, as that you may easily reunite them for the general defence. But you will be able to determine yourself with regard to this, upon the appearance of things, and from the intelligence which has been recommended to you, to procure by all sort of means, immediately on your arrival. It is needless mentioning to you, how attentive you ought to be, not to suffer yourself to be surprized. His royal highness thinks, that the greatest difficulty you shall meet with in your errand, will arise from the supplies of provisions for your troops. He therefore recommends to you to be very careful in this respect, and to take for this purpose as soon as possible, certain measures with the governors, your quarter-master-general, and your commissaries. I hope the extraordinary supplies which are carried you by the fleet, and the thousand barrels of beef designed for your subsistence, will facilitate and ensure the supplying your troops.

I believe to have omitted above, none of all the points on which you desire to have some eclaircissement. If so, you may expose them now, or hereafter. If you will be so good as to communicate to me, such points as may embarrass you, I shall take it upon me to lay them before his royal highness; and to acquaint you with his manner of thinking on the subject. I heartily wish you much success; and as this success will greatly rejoice all your friends, I earnestly desire, that you will be persuaded, nobody will take greater pleasure in being informed thereof, than he who is, &c.

Signed

Robert Napier.

N U M B.

NUMB. V.

Translation of a Register of Letters written by M. Braddock, to several Ministers and English Noblemen.

LETTER I.

To Henry Fox, Esq; Secretary at War.

SIR, Williamsburgh, Febr. 24, 1755.

AFTER a passage of seven weeks in which I had very bad weather, I arrived here, where I found every thing in great confusion as I expected it: much money has been already expended here, though very little has been done as yet. Sir John St-Clair is just arrived here, and I refer you to his letters to be informed of the bad condition of the independent companies of New-York: the time since my arrival has been too short, to be able to give you an account of them myself. The governor here is of opinion, that the people of this province, are well persuaded of the necessity of giving all the assistance in their power towards forwarding an affair that concerns them so nearly. Governor Dobbs is well enough satisfied with those of his province, and hopes to be more so hereafter.

Pennsylvania will do nothing, and supplies the French with every thing they want. I shall execute your orders punctually as soon as I shall have it in my power: I have been under a necessity of appointing a commissary for about fifteen days. I shall have occasion to write to you, and shall acquaint you with all such particulars as I shall think most interesting. I am with a profound respect sir, &c.

LETTER II.

To Colonel Napier, Adjutant-General.

SIR, Williamsburgh, Feb. 24, 1755.

AFTER having gone through all the hazards of the sea from which I got safe, I arrived here the

20th of this month. The governor has given me hopes that the people will grow more tractable: and that they see the necessity of supplying me with all the succours they can, in an undertaking which concerns them personally. So little order has subsisted hitherto, that much has been spent in doing very little. Sir John St-Clair arrives at this instant, and you will see by his letters (to which I refer you) what is now done. This man is indefatigable, and has done all that man is capable of doing. You will see, by his letters, the condition of the troops in this country; particularly that of the infamous free companies of New-York. The province of Pennsylvania the most numerous, and the richest of these provinces will do nothing, and supplies the French. The Six-Nations have now declared for the French. I have as yet but four twelve pounders, which will not be attended with any great effect if I am obliged to make a breach, but I cannot help that. I shall endeavour to get some from the men of war. We have yet nothing in readiness to transport them. My most humble duty to his royal highness. I am, my dear colonel, your most humble, &c.

LETTER III.

To Sir Thomas Robinson, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State.

SIR,

Williamsburgh, March 18, 1755.

I Arrived here the 20th of February: the Gibraltar having failed two days after, it was not possible for me to send you by her, an account of the preparations which have been made in the provinces for the service of our expedition; nor of the measures which I must take to make it succeed.

Immediately after my arrival, I forwarded with all speed, letters to the different governors of this continent, in order to prevail on them to exert themselves in their respective governments towards obtaining supplies of men and money, pursuant to the orders they had received from his majesty; recommending to them, to
lock

lock up their ports in such a manner, as to render it impossible for the enemy to draw any provisions from us; which has been executed here by governor Dinwiddie. I have likewise, agreeable to his majesty's instructions, recommended to them the establishing a common fund out of the money granted by the several colonies; which will serve as a provisional capital towards defraying the expence of the general service of our expedition, and might be at my disposal; offering to make myself accountable to each of them for the employment that shall be made of it. Though this is the best step that can be taken towards promoting the service I am engaged in, and the surest road to success; yet the jealousy of the people, and the disunion of many colonies, as well between them in general, as between each of them in particular, are such, that I almost despair of succeeding. I am indeed very sorry to tell you, that in all appearance, I shall meet with great difficulties in obtaining of these colonies, the supplies which his majesty expects from them; and which the general interest requires. The different governors of the provinces of this continent will, I think, inform you of what each of these provinces has already done in favour of this undertaking, and what they are to do hereafter: All I can inform you of for the present, is, that governor Dinwiddie has already obtained from his province, twenty thousand pounds currency: and that he hopes to obtain of the assembly, which he has appointed to meet for this purpose, the first of May next, a larger sum. North-Carolina has granted eight thousand pounds; that of Maryland, six thousand pounds; each the current coin of their respective governments.

Though Pennsylvania is, without contradiction, the richest and the most concerned in the event of this expedition, yet it has supplied nothing hitherto. I have therefore wrote to the governor a very full letter; which he is to lay before the assembly of that province, if he judges it necessary, to make them sensible of their duty: I send you a copy thereof.

I make no doubt but governor Shirley has acquainted you with the progress made in the raising of the American

can regiments: I take his to be as good as complete, from the accounts that have been given me. As to that of sir William Pepperel, I cannot give you any account. I have taken measures with Mr. Keppel, that these regiments may have, with all the expedition possible, the arms and cloathing destined for each of them. All the transports are arrived, excepting the Severn, which has on board a company of sir Peter Halkett's regiment, which is expected from day to day: I have had no sick as yet. Instead of cantoning my troops, as I at first proposed, according to the account sent to England by sir John Sinclair, I have ordered the transports to sail up the river Potomack, and to fall down to Alexandria, and land them where I design to encamp; the wind being favourable, and apprehending no risk.

All the new raised troops of Virginia and Maryland, are likewise to join me at Alexandria; I shall take the picked men to complete the English regiments to seven hundred men each, and shall employ the others in the following manner, as has been agreed on with Governor Dinwiddie; viz. to form two companies of carpenters, composed each of a captain, two subalterns, two serjeants, and thirty men. The first of these will be absolutely necessary to make roads and boats, repair the carriages, &c. and I shall make use of the remainder of these supplies to cover the main body, and guard it against all surprizes. These companies will be paid by the provinces, and on the same footing with those of Old England, allowing for the difference of currency, which is about 25 per cent. I have also raised a company of guides, composed of a captain, two aids, and ten men: I have established posts from the head quarters to Philadelphia, Annapolis in Maryland, and Williamsburgh; in order to keep up the correspondence which is necessary for me, with all the governors of these provinces.

As soon as I can possibly assemble my troops, collect forage, provisions, and other things necessary for a march, I shall proceed; and set about reducing the French forts on the Ohio. It is a great doubt whether
I shall

I shall meet with any grafs on the other side of the Allegany mountains before the end of April, which is the soonest I can get there. I have it not now in my power to give you a just account of the number of troops I shall have with me. Supposing I compleat the English regiments to four thousand four hundred men, the companies of carpenters and scouts to the number above-mentioned, with the independent companies of New York, which fall very short of their complement, as do those of Carolina; I believe the whole will not exceed two thousand three hundred men. I proposed to have augmented them, by means of the provincials, to the number of three thousand. But as I thought it necessary to have an interview with governor Shirley, and that accordingly I ordered him to meet me at Annapolis in Maryland, I have put off giving the necessary directions for this augmentation till after the said interview.

I expect governor Shirley at Annapolis in less than three weeks. Governor Dinwiddie offers to attend me thither, and I have writ to those of York and Pennsylvania to meet me there, if the affairs of their provinces do permit it. In this interview, at which commodore Keppel is also to be present, I intend settling the operations, which we shall determine to be carried on towards the northern parts, and entering into an examination of the means, which we may make use of with advantage, to recover the frontiers of the Indians, that are contiguous to several colonies, and secure them for his majesty; and I shall endeavour at the same time to excite the governors to the exertion of all their influence, towards promoting the King's service, in an affair of this importance. I shall lay hold, on the first opportunity to acquaint you with what shall be agreed upon. I cannot tell you justly what forces the French have on the Ohio; but if the various accounts which we have from thence may be depended upon, they exceed three thousand, the major part of which is composed of Indians. It is a general opinion that the Iroquois are in the French King's interest, excepting the
Mohawks

Mohawks *. Governor Dinwiddie flatters himself greatly, that these last will unite themselves with us, as also the Catawbias, a warlike nation, though small in number, and some Cherokees. All the other southern nations appear now to be linked to the French; but as their attachment ought *to be ascribed* to the success which they have *lately obtained over us*, it may be hoped that the appearance of our army, or the least advantage which we shall gain over them, will be productive of a great alteration in their dispositions.

I send you enclosed, the extract of a letter from the officer who commands at Chowaguen, written to governor Dinwiddie, which proves the monstrous and absurd falsehoods, which the French make use of, to impose on the savages, and gain them over to their interests.

M. de Lancey, lieutenant-governor of New York, proposes to me in his letters, to employ the money which is to be raised in his government, and is destined for the present expedition, in building forts for the particular defence of that province; as this proposal appears to me to be now quite out of season, I wrote him word, that all the assistance could not be better employed, than in forwarding the present expedition.

Governor Dinwiddie writes me word, that M. de Lancey has agreed to a neutrality, between the inhabitants of Albany, and the neighbouring Indians in alliance with the French. I do not see what reason he has had to suffer a thing of so extraordinary a nature, but as I think it may be attended with great inconveniences, I intend giving him my opinion of it in the strongest terms. I esteem myself very happy in being associated in his majesty's service with an officer, of M. Keppel's abilities and good dispositions; which appears by his readiness to enter into every measure that may be conducive to the success of this undertaking. As but four pieces of twelve pounds were given me with the train, and that a greater number appeared necessary to me, I applied to him to have four more from his

* These are the Anies.

ships, with the necessary ammunition, which he has granted me with the greatest readiness possible; as also a deal of other things which I stood in need of: he has likewise let me have thirty seamen, with the officers necessary to conduct them, to attend on the army in its march; I make use of them with advantage in building battoes, in order to assist us in transporting our artillery and heavy baggage; and for their subsistence I fixed it, with the commodore, to three shillings and sixpence a day, for the officers, and sixpence for the sailors; which I shall be obliged to take out of the quotas furnished by the provinces. As I do not find that the provisions which have been made by the colonies for the subsistence of our troops, are sufficient, I shall be obliged, in order to supply the deficiency, to take a thousand barrels of beef, and ten tons of butter, out of the provisional supply sent from England.

The justice which I must do governor Dinwiddie, will not allow me to conclude this letter without acquainting you, with the zeal which he has shewn, and the pains which he has taken in all shapes, for the good of the service on this occasion; when I consider the faction which has prevailed over him in his government, I find he has succeeded in a manner beyond all hopes.

I have his Majesty's orders to deliver all the French *who shall be taken in this expedition to Commodore Keppel in order to be carried to France*; but as M. Keppel, has had no directions from the admiralty, in this respect, and that *this affair appears to him of too nice a nature*, to act in it without order, I must beg orders from his Majesty of a more ample nature in regard to this affair, and that as soon as possible. The Severn is just arrived.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER

LETTER IV.

To the Governor of Pennsylvania.

Alexandria, in Virginia April 15, 1755.

S I R,

I Am informed, that there are in your province, a great number of Indians from the river Ohio, who have been expelled from thence by the French. I desire you will let them know that I march, with a body of the King's troops, to wrest from the French the encroachments which they have made on that river, in order to re-establish the Indians, our allies, and to defend them therein against their enemy. As these Indians must be perfectly acquainted with that country, and that they may be of great use to me, in the course of my expedition, I beg you will prevail on them to come and join me at Will's Creek, with their choice men; and to assure them, that they shall be well used, and shall not want any thing necessary to them. I beg you will acquaint me with what you have done in this affair, as also, what Indians I may expect from your province. I hope the states of your government will take care of the subsistence of the women and children, until the return of those people: as they would be very troublesome to me if they came to the camp.

LETTER V.

To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Robinson, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Alexandria, April 19, 1755.

S I R,

I Had the honour to write to you from Williamsburgh the 18th of last March, by a vessel which was to sail in eight days after.

The

The 13th of this month, Governor Shirley, accompanied by the other Governors, of whom I made mention in my last, as also Colonel Johnson met me here.

In this interview, M. Shirley has communicated to me a plan, formed by him and Governor Lawrence, of which he told me he had given you an account of, for attacking the French forts in Acadia; as I entirely approved of it, I sent immediately my orders to Colonel Monckton, to take upon himself this command, and to set about this expedition, without delay.

I have also settled with him the plan, for the reduction of Crown-Point, which is to be undertaken, only by provincial troops, raised in the northern colonies, to the number of about four thousand four hundred, under the command of Colonel Johnson, a person recommended by his great influence over the six Indian nations, and by the reputation which he enjoys throughout all the northern colonies.

As the most important of all our enterprises is that of Niagara, I proposed to M. Shirley, that he would charge himself with this commission, which he has done readily. I have accordingly given him my orders for taking his own regiment along with him, which ought to be complete: and Pepperel's, such as it is, in order to go upon this expedition, with all the diligence possible. I have heretofore given my orders for the reinforcing the garrison of Chouaguen, with two companies of Pepperel's, and the two independent companies of New York; which I looked upon as a necessary step, in order that the works might be put in such a situation, as may hereafter preserve the garrison, and secure our troops a retreat.

As M. Shirley, is the officer who is next to me in command, and that I have the highest opinion of his integrity, and his zeal for his majesty's service, I have authorized him, in case no treasurer was named in the northern parts, to draw upon his Majesty's treasurer to the amount of what will be expended towards the service of his province.

I wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, to prove in this manner the necessity of acting, on account of the distance

distance we are at, and the impossibility of conferring together on this subject.

(He writes, that Governor Shirley proposed to him, to treat the two new raised regiments as those of old England.)

The inclosed copy will inform you of the different subjects that have been canvassed in the council, and which I brought on the carpet at the interview which I had with the Governors. As his Majesty has entrusted to me the care of employing such proper persons as I should find most fitting to gain over, the Indian nations to his interests; this, in the council appeared to me of much greater consequence than I had imagined, and to require the greater attention, as their conduct towards us for some years past, is an indication of the six nations being dissatisfied with us, and that a great want of confidence appears on their side, in the arms of his majesty. I proposed Colonel Johnson as the properest man for this errand, on account of the great credit which he enjoys among them; my choice has been unanimously approved of by the council, and I accordingly sent him a speech which he is to make in my name, together with the most extensive powers to treat with them. He is singly entrusted with the conduct of this negotiation: for this purpose I advanced him the sum of two thousand pounds, of which eight hundred are to be immediately given them in presents, and to be repayed by the colonies, the remainder is for future presents, and in order to pay what it may cost to make them move. I have likewise given him power to draw on Governor Shirley for larger sums, in cases of absolute necessity, without any other condition than that of keeping an exact account of the employment which he shall make of it; the exigency of the service, and the necessity of my relying upon him, engage me to shew him this confidence, and the instances of probity which he has given on every occasion, are to me assurances that he will make no bad use of it.

You will be sufficiently informed, by the minutes of the council which I address to you, of the impossibility of obtaining from many colonies the establishing a general

ral fund agreeable to the instructions of his majesty, and the circular letters which you have address'd to me for the several governors. Since the last accounts which I have given you of this, very little has been supplied either in men or money by all these provinces. The sum of twenty thousand pounds currency has been expended in Virginia, altho' the money has not been yet paid: the provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland persist still in their refusal to contribute, the province of York has rais'd the sum of five thousand pound currency for the troops of that province, which I have destin'd for the particular service of the garrison of Chouaguen; the sum of four thousand pounds has been moreover rais'd in this province for the fortifications of this government, and above all the metropolis; I have desir'd M. De Lancey to get it to pass for the general service of the expedition, but I am much afraid it will not be granted.

Governor Shirley will acquaint you, with the expence New England has been at in the prodigious levy of men, which has been made in that government for the *enterprizes towards the north*, the other governments have done little or nothing. I cannot help taking the liberty to lay before you the necessity there appears to be of imposing a tax on all his majesty's dominions in America, agreeable to the result of the council, to repay the large sums which must be advanced for his service, and the interest of these colonies in this important crisis.

I am oblig'd to acquaint you, that the expence which relates to the service of America, will exceed the contingent of each province much beyond what I had persuad'd myself it would, and even beyond what the government has imagin'd. Among other innumerable causes which may be mention'd of the considerable augmentation of the expence attending the service of my province, I shall mention the number of horses, waggons, and battoes, necessary for the transporting the artillery, baggage, &c. the couriers and the excessive price of the day labourers. Though I am fully bent upon proceeding with the greatest œconomy, whether it be repaid by the provinces or not, I shall be blam'd by his majesty if by mistaken savings, considering the situ-

ation of affairs, it should occasion the miscarriage of the intended operations.

You will give me leave, sir, to refer you to the minutes of the council in regard to the propositions which I had made to these provinces, to which no answer has been made, particularly, in what relates to the battoes, which ought to be built on the lakes: the building of those which are to be on lake Ontario, is to belong to governor Shirley's province, and the expence of these battoes is to be paid by commodore Keppel.

Since my departure from Williamsburgh, I have had the honour to receive one of your letters, with his majesty's directions to augment all the regiments of this continent to a thousand men each; I have accordingly employed towards the southern parts such officers as appeared to me most fitting for the purpose of recruiting; and I dispatched a courier to M. Lawrence, in order that he might execute these his Majesty's orders relative to the regiments of his province, with all the expedition possible.

I have his Majesty's orders to create no new officers in these regiments; but this augmentation of troops, together with the many small detachments which I must make, has already obliged me to name a number of second subalterns, out of those who have been recommended to me from home, to serve without pay, till there are vacancies. There must be an officer to each of these detachments, who is to take care of the provisions and the chest, as likewise to mark out the camps, which as there are no villages; must be done every night, and which are the more necessary in this country, as the woods are very thick; the officer by this means is nearer at hand to have his troop under his eye, and has it more in his power to prevent all surprise from the Indians, who are always greatly to be apprehended, whatever precaution is taken; for this and many other reasons which I could recite, I cannot express to you the many difficulties I fear I shall meet in the service which I have been entrusted with, towards the northern parts of America, if the number of officers be not augmented in proportion to that of the troops.

The

The little dependence that is to be made on this country, obliging me to draw the provisions requisite for the service of this expedition, from many colonies distant, the one from the other, I have been under the necessity of appointing two assistant commissaries for the victualling, to whom I have assigned four shillings per day : I have also named an assistant quarter-master, with the same pay, owing to the necessity which I lie under of employing sir John St. Clair, at three hundred miles distance from me now, he being taken up with making roads and bridges, and providing us with waggons, horses, &c. for the transporting our stores, provisions, and artillery. I have met with many obstacles in getting carriages, which could not have been surmounted, had it not been for the zeal and activity of the officers, and others employed to this purpose. The want of forage, is an obstacle which I see no remedy for, but letting out the horses to feed on the mountains. I propose setting out to-morrow morning from hence on my way to Frederic, in order to go by the way of Will's-creek, where I should have been before ; but that I have been obliged to wait for the artillery : and I am much afraid the same will delay me still longer. I hope to be on the mountains in the first days of May, and in the course of the month of June to be able to dispatch you an express, who shall inform you of the issue of our operations on the Ohio.

Notwithstanding I have used every method for that purpose, I have not been able to procure more ample intelligence of the number of the French at present on the Ohio ; but I expect to receive more certain accounts of them when I get to Will's-Creek, and I shall take my measures accordingly.

I cannot enough express to you, the satisfaction I feel in being employed in his majesty's service in America, at a time when I have it in my power to form and execute the plan of attacking the French in all their considerable posts, which have been so many invasions on his majesty's lands in North-America ; from the northern side, to that of the south. I see a great appearance of success in each of them ; *but I perceive so close a connection be-*

tween each of these projects, that the success of one, is a sure pledge of that of the other. If I therefore succeed in the first and most important of these projects, I am persuaded, I will succeed in stopping the progress of the French in their new settlements; and that this will be sufficient to raise the drooping spirits of his subjects of this continent; and to rouse them from their indolence, and the neglect of their duty, with which they have been, for some time past, so justly reproached.

I am,

With the greatest respect, &c.

Other Letters of Mr. Braddock's, found in a Book a-part from the above Register.

LETTER VI.

To his Grace the Duke of Newcastle.

Williamsburgh, March 20, 1755.

My Lord,

I Lay hold on this first opportunity of executing your grace's commands by acquainting you with my arrival here, and that of the vessels which have transported the troops under my command. My voyage was attended with great fatigue, but the transports have been better off; there not being one man sick on board of them.

“ I am as yet ignorant, what effect the orders of his majesty (with regard to the present expedition) will have produced on the minds of the generals. I cannot say that they have had, as yet, all the influence which it was reasonable to expect they would have: I labour hard, and shall always labour to excite them to use their utmost to prevail on the provinces to bear the expences of this expedition; it is their duty to do it, in order to shew their attachment to his majesty, and correspond with what they owe to their own interests.

To this purpose I wrote to governor Shirley to meet me at Annapolis in Maryland, and I desired the govern-
 nors

nors of New-York and Pennsylvania to come also; in case the business of their governments allow it.

I shall not enter into a circumstantial detail of all the things which take up my time in the service in which I have engaged myself, having wrote at large upon this subject to the secretary of state; you will please to give me leave to refer your grace to his letter, for your more particular information.

Shirley's regiment is almost completed, if not already so: that of sir William Pepperel is, I believe, in great forwardness. When I see Mr. Shirley, I shall settle with him about the best manner of employing his forces towards the north; and I am to set out on my march with those which I shall have under my command, in order to the reduction of the French forts upon the Ohio; and I flatter myself I shall get, at the end of April, beyond the Allegany mountains.

I have had from commodore Keppel all the assistance possible; and in the governor of this province, I have found a man, who assists in the most handsome manner in supplying the wants of this expedition. By the industry of this governor, this province is now disposed to supply abundantly what it can; which is what I dare not flatter myself with, from the other governments.

As small coin would here be of great utility for paying the troops, I beg your grace would give orders to the contractors, M. Hanbury and M. Thomlinson, to send over, as soon as possible, if they have not done it already, four or five thousand pounds in dollars and half dollars; the pay-master of the troops having nothing now by him but gold.

I am,

With the most profound Respect, &c.

LETTER VII.

To the Earl of Halifax.

(without date.)

My Lord,

THE interest which your lordship takes in every thing that relates to his majesty's dominions in

America, and the share which you have in the administration of their government, call upon me to give you an account of my situation; which I hope will not prove displeasing to you. Your lordship has, without doubt, been informed of the good success that has attended the transports hither; and the measures which I took to succeed, on my arrival, in promoting the service of his majesty, under my direction, and which I hope will tend to his interest, and that of his subjects on this continent.

I have some time since, sent to the secretary of state an account of the supplies which I have received from all the colonies on the present occasion; there is no need of sending you the particulars thereof.

I am sorry to have been under the necessity of saying, that in general the inhabitants of these colonies, have all shewn a great deal of indifference for his majesty's service, and their own interests; however they do not all fall under this censure, and particularly those of the province I am now in, are not to be compared with their neighbours, and may not have deserved reproaches.

I am persuaded the account which your lordship has received of the good disposition of the northern colonies; and in particular that under the command of Mr. Shirley, ought greatly to have enhanced his merit with his majesty.

I cannot sufficiently express my indignation against the provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland, which being quite as much concerned in the event of this expedition as this here, and much more so than any other on this continent, refuse to contribute in any shape, towards the support of this project; and even what they propose, they do it only on such terms as are intirely contrary to the prerogatives of his majesty, and his instructions to his governors.

You will perhaps be glad to hear that I have assembled the governors Shirley, and those of New-York, Pennsylvania and Maryland; and that in this assembly I have settled the plan which is to be pursued in attacking at once, the French in their encroachments on us at Nova-Scotia, at Crown-Point, and at Niagara, and which we are to do with all the vigour possible. (Here he repeats

all that he had written to Sir Thomas Robinson in his letter of the 19th of April 1755, which is the 5th in the above register.)

I have given a full power to Colonel Johnson, to negotiate with the six nations and their allies, and with all the other Indians of the West, as far as he shall find it necessary; and I delivered him words, which he is to present to them in my name; I have likewise given him money to make presents, and have authorised him to draw on M. Shirley, if he finds it necessary, on this occasion.

“ M. Peronal has presented me a contract passed in 1701 by the six nations, by which they make over to his majesty all their hunting grounds: this cession takes in, on the side of the lakes Ontario and Erie, an extent of country of sixty miles in depth. I delivered this contract to Colonel Johnson, with orders to present it to them in my name, and to assure them that I am come here only to retake these countries from the French, and preserve them for their use.”

I shall not pursue word for word what was determined upon in the council, in regard to the building of vessels on lake Ontario; we agreed, the commodore and myself, that the direction of this affair should be entrusted to M. Shirley, and that it was proper he should have the liberty to determine, at his will, the bigness and strength of these vessels.

I propose marching in order to attack, with all possible speed, the fort on the Ohio. I thought I should have been by this time on the mountains, but I have been kept back by a number of difficulties, not only on account of the ill situation of the country, but likewise the great number of horses, waggons, and other implements which have required much time before they could be made use of.

I set out to-morrow for Frederick on my way to fort Cumberland in Will's-Creek; and before the end of June, I am in hopes I shall be able to give some account of the affair of the Ohio.

I hope it will be in my power to execute the plan which I have formed of recovering from the French the

most considerable of the encroachments which they have made on his majesty, on the frontiers of the northern part of America. If I succeed in the most important of these operations, I am persuaded his majesty will easily put a stop to the projects of the French, which daily grow more and more extensive on this continent. I am with respect, &c.

LETTER VIII.

Another letter, which was, it is presumed, written to M. Robinson, though it bears not the name of the person to whom it is addressed.

At fort Cumberland in Will's Creek, June 5, 1755.

S I R,

I Had the honour to write to you from Frederick in the last days of April.

The 10th of May I arrived here, and the 17th the rest of the army came up also here from Alexandria, after a march of seven and twenty days, and having met with great delays and difficulties, not only on account of the bad roads, but also the want of forage, and indeed the want of zeal in the people for the success of our expedition.

I have at last assembled all the troops destined for the attack of fort du Quesne; they amount to two thousand effective men, eleven hundred of whom are supplied by the southern provinces, who have so little courage and good disposition, that scarce any military service can be expected from them, although I have employed the best officers to form them.

My design on my arrival here was to stay but a few days, only to refresh my troops; but the difficulty of getting waggons and horses to cross the mountains has detained me a whole month.

Before I set out from Williamsburgh, the quarter-master-general told me, I might depend on two thousand five hundred horses and on two hundred waggons, as well from Virginia as Maryland; but I had great reason to mistrust it; from the experience which I have had of the

the deceit of all the persons of this country with whom I have had any dealings: wherefore, previous to my departure from Frederick, I desired M. B. Franklin, postmaster of Pennsylvania, who has great credit in the province, to conclude a bargain for an hundred and fifty waggons with the horses necessary, which he has executed with equal quickness and probity; and indeed this is almost the only instance of capacity and honesty that I have seen in all these provinces. All these waggons and horses have joined me, and on them I ground all my hopes, the fine promises of Maryland and Virginia have ended in a supply of twenty waggons and two hundred horses. With this number I shall be able to set out from hence, though I shall meet with infinite difficulties, especially as I shall march with half the quantity of stores which I expected to have had; and having been obliged to send before me a detachment, in order to fix upon a place to lodge our stores in, on the Allegany mountains, which are five days march from hence.

I should never finish, were I to enter into a detail of the innumerable instances which I could give of the want of honesty, which I found both in general, and in particular; and the most absolute contempt of truth, which I have met with in the course of this service. I cannot help adding to what I have already told you, two or three instances.

An agreement was put into my hands, made by the governor of Virginia, for the purchase of eleven hundred bullocks, which were to be delivered in June and in August, for subsisting the troops: this bargain had been concluded on the credit of twenty thousand pounds of the country, granted by the assembly for his majesty's service towards this expedition. I immediately regulated my dispositions accordingly, but in a few days after the person, who had engaged in this agreement, came to tell me, that the states had refused to fulfil the governor's engagements, and consequently the bargain was void. As this was of the utmost consequence, I offered immediately to become myself security for the money, on the terms stipulated in the contract, but the

contractor rejected my offers, and required of me a third over and above what was stipulated in the said agreement, nor would he engage for the forth-coming of the oxen in less than two months, at which time they would be of little or no use.

Another example: the Maryland agent employed to supply the troops with provisions, had got some together, which at first sight were found to be all spoiled, and I saw myself under the necessity of sending an hundred miles in order to buy up others.

This disposition of the people not only delays the schemes of his majesty, but likewise encreases the expences to near double: "these are occasioned by the difficulty of carriage thro' countries hitherto uninhabited," and still unknown and impracticable to the inhabitants themselves, who dwell in the lower parts, meeting every where with a continual chain of mountains, so that the expence surpasses greatly the principal; this has been the cause of my leaving at Alexandria a quantity of stores, which would be very necessary for me here. The conduct of all these governments to me appears unexampled. This negligence is somewhat excusable in the lower sort, because their trouble has not been sufficiently rewarded, and that having been employed in the publick service on former occasions, the payments were neglected. We learn from experience, what the ill consequences are of such proceedings.

As I have his majesty's orders to employ all possible means to fix the Indians in our interests, I have assembled some from the frontiers of Pennsylvania, and especially of the Six-nations, and have had already two or three conferences with them. I have made them some genteel presents: they are now fifty in number, but I hope to draw a far greater number to me. When I arrived in America, they assured me that I might depend on a very great number of the southern Indians; but they have been totally alienated from us by the bad conduct of the government of Virginia: the truth is, that in all the dealings with the Indians, these people have behaved towards them with so little regard, and so much *dishonesty*, that a very large expence would be
 now

now necessary to gain back their confidence, and none is to be had even in those who have embraced our interests.

The situation of the country is such, that the French can have no communication there but by means of the Indians, on whose report there cannot be much reliance; I am informed, that their number is very small at fort Du Quesne, but that they expect a strong reinforcement.

They write me word that two thousand stand of arms are arrived. They were intended for New-England, but shipped off for Nova-Scotia.

The battoes destined to transport the troops which are to form the attack of Niagara and of Crown Point, are getting ready. However, New-York, which is to supply the greatest part of them, does not shew as much zeal for this affair as I could wish.

It having appeared to me, that a road through Pennsylvania would be shorter and more proper for establishing a communication, after the troops have passed the Allegany mountains, I desired the Governor to make one in that province, from Philippsburgh to the river of Yaughy-Aughane. I am just informed, they are working on it constantly, and that it will be completed in a month. This road will be of the greatest importance, both to facilitate the arrival of convoys, and to secure my communication with the northern colonies.

I now wait only for my last convoy to set out on my march, and if no accident intervenes, I am in hopes to begin it in five days by the Allegany mountains. I expect to meet many obstructions, agreeable to the accounts which have been given me. The distance from this place to the fort is one hundred and ten miles: we shall be continually employed in making a road as we proceed, which must be done with infinite labour across mountains and rocks of an excessive height, which are steep, and divided by torrents and rivers.

I will take the first opportunity to acquaint you with my situation, after leaving this place, and am with the profoundest respect, &c.

Letter

Letter from M. Charles Lawrence to General Braddock.

Hallifax, May 10, 1755.

S I R,

I Had the honour to receive your letter, dated from Annapolis in Maryland, April 7. by a vessel arrived two days ago from Philadelphia. You will give me leave to assure you, that nothing could give me greater pain, than that you should have the least idea of my having failed in my duty, and the due deference which I make a point of shewing to those I owe any. 'Till the instant I received your letter, I was neither informed of your arrival in Virginia, nor of the extensiveness of your commission; and no sooner have I been apprized thereof, than I have taken the first opportunity to send you a general state of the situation of affairs in this province, and an account of the forces and troops which his Majesty has here, with remarks on the several particulars: I flatter myself you will have received them, and that they will meet with your approbation. I allow my having communicated to Commodore Keppel, as he has acquainted you; the projected expedition, in order to put a stop to the French encroachments at Beaufejour and the river of St. John, which has been concerted between Governor Shirley and myself. And what gave rise to this, were the primary orders which captain Rous, commander of one of his Majesty's ships, had received from the Admiralty, to take orders from the Commodore, which together with some other advices, made me conclude, that M. Keppel was in Virginia; but I had then no knowledge of your arrival in America, nor even any certainty of your coming there, and I could less still form any certain judgment as to the nature and extent of your commission. Such is the real state of the case: I hope you will do me justice.

Lieutenant-Colonel Moncton, with the troops of the province under his command, is now, I believe, very near, if not before the French fort of Beaufejour; and as I have cut off all the communication by land between this place and the northern parts of the province,

in order to put it out of the power of the French to get any intimation that may be prejudicial to our designs, I cannot acquaint you, with the progress that the Lieutenant-Colonel has made. I shall do myself the honour to inform you of the particulars of our enterprize by the first opportunity.

I shall be particularly attentive to your orders for augmenting to a thousand men each of the regiments that are here, and shall lose no time in doing it. If I was informed of the conditions on which those people are to be raised, and what pay they are to have: but as the particular orders concerning the augmentation, are not yet come to my hands from England, and that no officer is yet arrived, I believe you will judge it impracticable for me to proceed in it, till such time as I shall have the instructions and assistances necessary.

Upon the advices which I received from New England, with regard to the men, raised there for governor Shirley's and Sir William Pepperel's regiments, and the difficulties met with in raising these recruits, I fear greatly that the augmentation of your troops will take up much time, and be at the end but badly composed, if I should be obliged to send there for the number which shall be wanting. But I hope to meet with better success among the provincial levies now at Beaufejour, who, if I am well informed, are composed of good men, and may be enlisted more speedily, and at less expence, than those who may be taken from the continent, after the number of recruits already raised there.

In my letter of the 29th of March, I proposed to governor Shirley to apply ourselves to you, in order that his regiment, or that of sir William Pepperel's, might come here to protect the province, in case I should think it necessary: but observed, that afterwards I did not see any great necessity for a measure of this sort, being on the point of receiving two thousand, and between two or three hundred men who are at Beaufejour; the only passage by land to this place, by which we might have any thing to apprehend from our neighbours the French: I am still of this sentiment, there being, as yet, no real alteration in the face of affairs in America: however,

ever, should a rupture happen with France (an event founded on appearances and reports) it would be extremely necessary for us to keep on our guard. I esteem it my duty to acquaint you that in such case, the three regiments augmented as it is proposed, with the scouts, the militia, and all the forces that we can depend on, will no-ways be in proportion to the number of posts which we must be obliged to defend; especially if it be considered, that even in the heart of the province, we have what they call neutral French; inhabitants well armed, well experienced in the use of arms, and also are connected with the French King; so that upon the least attempt which Canada should make to invade us, I believe it is more than probable that they would immediately join them. As I take this article to be of importance, I thought it my duty to submit it to your reflection.

N U M B E R VI.

Speeches pronounced to the Savages, by order and under the inspection of M. Johnson; and the answers which were made him:

S P E E C H I.

To the Six-Nations, on the part of General Braddock.

Brothers, and Allies of the Six-Nations.

I Have already called you several times together, to treat with you about different affairs, of which I had no knowledge before I came among you; and which are not yet known to your father the great king of England, of which I shall take care to inform him; and to offer to you in his name, the presents that are here before you, which he gives you as a testimony of his paternal affection.

I have delayed you for some time, with your women and children, in hopes of seeing soon your brothers the Delawares, but as their arrival is as yet uncertain, and that I know you do not love to remain inactive; and that

that moreover, the service of the great king your father requires a quick assistance from you, I propose to you to accept the Hatchet; and to the end that you may exert your warlike dispositions; I advise you to send your women and children to Pennsylvania: I have recommended to the king's governor of that province, to take particular and brotherly care of them.

A fine Belt of Wampum;

Brothers and Allies of the Six-Nations.

IT gives me great pain to see how much you suffered yourselves to be ill-used and deceived by your perfidious neighbours the French; and even by some of your brothers the English: The French have insinuated to you that we who are your faithful brothers, designed to turn you out of all your hunting lands, and to seize on them for our own use: You were greatly imposed upon, when you assisted the Frenchman in executing the horrible plan which he lays to our charge, by putting himself in the real possession of those lands which we intended to secure to you for your own use solely, and your particular interest. I declare to you in the presence of your chiefs and your warriors who are here assembled, and agreeably to the instructions I have received from the great king your father; that if you will *heartily give me your assistance; I will re-instate you in the possession of your lands*, of which you have been dispossessed by French fraud; and I will at the same time, secure you an open trade in America, from the rising to the setting of the Sun. It is very well known, that I have no particular views or any other design, than that of serving mutually, the interests of the great king your father, and of the Six-Nations, and their allies; and I promise you to be your *friend* and your *brother* so long as the sun and moon shall endure.

A great Belt of Wampum;

I have been assured that when presents were made you on former occasions, some of our people have been so wicked as to provoke your young men to drink, and got by this means for a very small matter, what had been given you. I have given orders to prevent for the
future

future such proceedings ; by threatening with death, all those who should be convicted of this fault : and I beg you will lay before me your complaints against those who shall act in this manner ; and, as a *friend* and a *brother*, I will do you justice.

I have nothing farther to desire, but to see you accept with pleasure, the presents which lie before you, and see you divide them among you, according to your custom and your native equity. I hope they will prove agreeable to you, and you may from time to time, depend on receiving great rewards for your services. I have given orders that arms, powder and balls, be distributed to such of your warriors as want any.

Brothers, I have been informed of the perfidious conduct of the French, towards our late brother the Half-King ; and to prove to you how sensible I am, as well as yourselves of his ill-usage (and hope that you will join with me to revenge him) I cover his death with this belt.

Brothers Delawares and Chevanons.

You did a wrong thing in following the advice which the French gave you last Autumn, to assassinate a number of your brothers the English, in the habitations of Carolina ; I am persuaded this did not proceed from any inclination that was natural to you, but only that you acted by the instigation of the French : therefore if you acknowledge your fault, and that you will unite yourselves to me frankly and cheerfully ; I am willing to forget this unfortunate transgression, and I will still receive you as brothers. This I confirm to you in the name of, and as authorised by the great king your father, with this string of Wampum.

Signed J O H N S O N.

May 15, 1755.

S P E E C H

S P E E C H II.

The Speech of the Honourable William Johnson Esquire, Superintendent for the affairs of the Indians, to the warriors of the high and low Castle of the Iroquois Indians; in the presence of lieutenant Butler of Rutherford's company, of captain Matthew Ferral, lieutenant John Butler; and of

<i>Daniel Clause</i>	}	<i>Secretaries for</i>
<i>Peter Warpalle</i>		<i>Indian Affairs.</i>
<i>Mess.</i>		
<i>William Printus</i>	}	<i>Interpreters.</i>
<i>Jacob Clement</i>		

Brothers of the two Castles of the Aniés.

I Wipe away all tears from your eyes, and clean down your throats, that you may see and speak without restraint. I am glad to see you, and I salute you heartily.

Gave a firing of Wampum.

I wish you could have conformed to what I desired of you by a letter, which I wrote to you from New York immediately on my return from Virginia; wherein I begged, that all your chiefs and warriors would wait for my return home; in order to hear the news and be informed of the orders which I received from his excellency general Braddock (a great warrior) whom the king, our common father, has sent to this country with a great number of troops, large cannons, and other implements of war; in order to protect you, as well as his subjects of this continent, and screen you from the encroachments, and all insults, on the part of the French.

I have been to meet this great man, with the governors of Boston, New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland: we also found there the governor of Virginia, and another great man, who commands the ships of war belonging to the king in this part of the world. They deliberated in the great council upon many important affairs; among which great attention was paid to

to the advantage and interests of our brothers the Six-Nations and their allies.

Brothers. The tree which you and the rest of the Six-Nations have so often, and so earnestly desired should be replanted, is grown up by so powerful a hand, that its root will penetrate to the bottom of the earth, and its branches will form a refreshing shade, to cover you and your allies withal. I am to acquaint you that, agreeable to the instructions which the great king your father has given to general Braddock, I am appointed to be sole superintendent over all the affairs which relate to you and your allies, in this part of the world. I invite you, and your brothers of the six united nations, and your allies to come and seat yourselves under this tree; where you may freely open your hearts, and heal up your wounds; and at the same time I transport the shadow of the fire which was at Albany, and rekindle the fire of council and friendship in this place: I will make it of such wood as shall make it produce the greatest light and the greatest heat. I hope it will prove advantageous and comfortable to all those who shall come to light their pipes at it, and that its sparks and fiery coals will burn all those who are, or shall be its enemies.

I hope that you and all your brothers, will be pleased to augment the lustre and advantage of this fire, in keeping and holding it always high, by uniting yourselves with that diligence and zeal as may make it a blessing, not only to yourselves but to all your posterity. To attain and secure this salutary end, it is absolutely necessary that you extinguish all fires that have been kindled by fraudulent and unnatural ways; which give light only to deceive you, and at long run, to annihilate you and yours.

A Belt.

Brothers. With this string of Wampum I make clean the chamber of council, and clear it so as nothing offensive remain in it; and I hope you will be pleased to take care that no malignant spirit do creep in among us, and that nothing do interrupt our harmony.

Gave a string of Wampum.
Brothers,

Brothers. It gives me concern to see, now at my return, that many among you of the two villages, have a mind to go to Canada. It would surprize me greatly, should you, who have been our most faithful friends, and our nearest neighbours, betray on any occasion, a desire of being imposed upon by the wicked artifices of the French, who are so well known, and of whom you have had such fatal tryals; especially at a time, when that restless and perfidious nation breaks through the most solemn treaties, and transgresses the most essential duties of honour and justice. It would be the strangest thing in the world! I flatter myself that there is no foundation for what has been told me on this occasion. I request of you, nay, I insist on it, that none of you under any pretext whatsoever, have any correspondence with the Frenchman, or receive any of his emissaries, nor any visit from Canada, without my knowledge and approbation.

On this promise I give you this belt. I propose to call, immediately, your other brothers of the Six nations to this present fire: I hope you will come hither along with them. I shall pronounce a speech of his excellency general Braddock's, it is accompanied with presents for you, which the great king your father, has sent by this warrior.

After a few Instants of Consultation among themselves, Abraham, one of the Chiefs of the Upper Village, got up and spoke for the two.

Brother,

YOU have called us together, to acquaint us with the news which you have brought with you; and we have heard all you have said. We put off entering into a detail of all these affairs, till such time as the Six-nations shall be assembled here.

Gave a string of Wampum.

Brother. We return you thanks for that you have been pleased to wipe the tears off our eyes, and make our throats and this floor clean: We do the same by you with this string of Wampum.

They gave a string of Wampum.

Brother,

Brother. To please you; we have met you at this place, and have with great attention, heard all you have said; we thank you for your friendly intimation; we are rejoiced to see you here once more; and we salute you with this string of Wampum.

They gave a string of Wampum.

Brother. We have often represented to our father, the great king, that the tree might be raised up again. We are thoroughly pleased at our father's yielding to our request, and we thank him for it very sincerely. We have had the greatest satisfaction in hearing all you have said relating to this tree: we sincerely wish it may continue such as you have described it in your speech, and we are very grateful for all you have told us on this subject.

Brother. You have told us that the tree which serves us as a screen, is now replanted at this place. You have caused the shade of it to be brought from Albany; and you have rekindled here, the fire of council and friendship, which ought to be composed of good, and everlasting wood; so as it may be always very clear, and cast a comfortable and beneficial heat on all those that shall approach it as friends; while it burns and sparkles on those which are its common enemies. Our first fathers have kindled this first fire at Onondago, and have thence transported the small coals, in order to light another at Quider*; this fire has never burned clear, and it was going out. We feel great satisfaction at your kindling this fire here.

Brother. You have invited us all, and our brothers of the Six united nations and their allies, to come and seat ourselves under the tree which you have spoke to us of; that we may there smoke our pipes at the fire of council, and labour jointly at preserving it. We make no doubt but they will feel much joy at seeing it planted here; having been all desirous to see it here. But we must postpone answering this article of your speech, till such time as the nations shall be assembled all in a body.

* This is Albany, in the Savage Language.

Brother,

Brother, We thank you for having cleaned out this chamber of council, and removed from hence, all that might prove offensive therein. You may assure yourself we shall do our utmost to correspond with your intentions, and to drive far away whatever might tend to disturb our mutual harmony.

Brother. You have told us that you had been informed, some persons among us were going to see the French; and you put us in mind of their conduct towards our first fathers, which we remember perfectly well, for their bones are still to be seen: we know the Frenchman is false and deceitful; he has given us very fine words, and his letters were soft, but his heart was full of poison for us. You, brother, know our affairs as well as we do ourselves; and you know, the rest of the Six-nations are jealous of us; because we have used the Hatchet in the last war against the Frenchman. Shall we pass now for being false and deceitful? no. You may depend upon it, we shall not go to Canada upon any invitation of the Frenchman; for we are not enough their friends. Therefore you are not, brother, to give credit to all the reports which have been made you on this occasion.

Brother, Once more we thank you heartily for all you have told us. We have already urged the necessity of assembling here the Six-nations, in order to give you a positive answer: we thank you for the invitation you have given us to meet you here with the rest of our brothers. We shall not fail to wait for them.

The Mohawk Chief of the Upper Village (Aniés,) having desired a Conference with Colonel Johnson, in the presence of the Secretary for the affairs of the Savages, and the two Interpreters: Abraham, spoke in the name of this Chief and said,

Brother,
WHEN you were at New-York, you sent us word that you wished our chiefs and our warriors would remain on their Matts, and wait for your return here. We have done it; and why should we not, since, at all times, we have shewn ourselves ready
 to

to oblige you? and we are the more disposed to do what you say, as you acquaint us that you are the Tree which has been replanted in order to give us shelter; and we make no doubt but our brothers of the five other nations are all disposed to obey you.

Brother. It is very true we have been always obedient, and always obliging to you; and when you intimated your desire to us, that we should remain in our Cabbins, our young men were ready to go out a hunting; but having been prevented by your order, from going, they now are in want of every thing for their subsistence. They have desired us, *Chiefs*, to lay their wants before you. They stand in need of every thing, as they have not been out, and they beg you would let them have some powder and shot, in order to kill some Game for their subsistence. And as it will be some time before the other five nations do arrive, and therefore, before the presents which the king our father sends us, are delivered to us, all we request is, that you give us, in the mean time, what is barely necessary for us.

Brother, as we foresee that the troublesome times are approaching, we renew to you the requests which we have so often made to the Government, for the building a Fortrefs for the security of our women and children; we hope you will be pleased to execute it at this time.

Colonel Johnson's Answer.

Brothers,

I Am thoroughly convinced of your good dispositions towards me, and your compliance at all times in listening to my word, and doing what I require of you. This is what has induced me to take upon me the detail of your affairs. The fresh testimony which you give me of your friendship, and your regard for me, will enable me to promote your interest much to your advantage, and my own satisfaction.

I am well persuaded I have done you a great prejudice, as well as to your young people, in having detained them at this time, at home. Therefore I grant you readily,

readily, what you ask me; and I will give you some powder and balls.

Before I left New-York I represented to your brother, the governor, the necessity of building a fortress where you might safely retire to with your families; and I, with pleasure acquaint you, that he has given me a full power to do it: and I shall give orders for the setting about it as soon as possible.

Signed

May, 17, 1755.

JOHNSON.

A Letter from M. Johnson to M. Arent Stevens, Interpreter for the Province.

S I R,

IN consequence of the Instructions, which his majesty has given his excellency general Braddock, he has entrusted me with the sole superintendance, and the management of all the affairs that relate to the six United nations and their allies. You are therefore, to be attentive to follow the orders which you shall receive from me, in respect to this business.

I send you this letter by James Clement, with two belts of Wampum, both the one and the other for the five nations above: you are to deliver them in my name; and assure them, that the troops which are in march, and those which may hereafter march for Chouaguen, are destined to reinforce that garrison, and to secure it against the acts of hostility of the Frenchman, who has declared that it belonged neither to us, nor to the Six-nations; and that he would demolish it.

I have sent a message with a string of Wampum immediately upon my arrival; but in case that should not have been sufficient, I at present send this belt. If you find that the Five-nations are uneasy, or alarmed at the march of these troops through their country, whether this should proceed from their jealousy, or the deceitful insinuations of the French emissaries; you are to assure them, in my name, that they are designed for the security and advantage of the Six-nations and their allies.

You

You are to exhort them not to hearken to any lyes which the French may make use of on this occasion; whose desire and intention are to fall upon us and them while we are asleep, in order to cut off both us and them from the face of the earth: and they well know that the easiest way to succeed, is to disturb and destroy the brotherly love and confidence which has so long, and so happily subsisted between us. You will make use of these or other like arguments, as the circumstances may require.

The other belt, which I send you, is to acquaint them with the commission I have from the great king, their father, which has been granted at their repeated instances; and also, that pursuant to general Braddock's orders, by this belt, I invite and call upon the Six United-nations to repair with their allies, to my house; where I have kindled the fire of council and friendship, and replanted the tree which shall cover with its shade both them and all those who will shelter themselves under it; that I have a present to make them in the name of the great king, their father, a great deal of good news to tell them; and am to hold a council upon a great many affairs of the last consequence, and which concern their happiness and welfare. If you find that there are any practises made use of by the French emissaries in order to prevent them from meeting me; you are to employ the best arguments, and those you shall judge most proper, in order to dissipate these impressions: and you are to insist on their obedience, and the condescensions they owe us. If they should say that they are planting their corn, and that should they come now, they must lose their harvest and want provisions; You are to assure them that I shall take care of them, and that I shall indemnify them for the loss which they shall sustain on this occasion: but you are to act prudently in this respect, and be cautious how you promise.

I have had an interview with the two *Aniés* villages concerning these two belts: they have been satisfied, and have promised to join me here when the other nations come down; which is what you are to urge as much as possible.

I have

I have sent you by M. Clement, some goods to make use of, if you should have occasion: and when you have conducted the Indians to the German Flatts, you will find provisions at my house; of which I beg you will keep an account.

Signed

William Johnson.

N U M B E R VII.

A Letter written by Mr. William Johnson, to several Governors, relating to the Expedition against the Fort of Crown-Point.

New-York, May 15, 1755.

B EING appointed commander in chief, of the forces of the colonies for the intended expedition of Crown-Point, I think it incumbent upon me to remove, to the best of my power, all the difficulties which may occur in the service, and obstruct the success of this undertaking. As a train of artillery is essentially necessary, that nothing can be done without it, and as it is to be supplied by the eastern colonies, I make no doubt but you will do your utmost to accelerate every thing relating to this article, in order that our march may not be retarded, and that we may not spend more time than is necessary, at Albany; which might confirm "the enemy's suspicion of an attack, if unfortunately, they should have notice of it." I fear greatly I shall want proper persons to conduct a train of artillery. Therefore if you have in your government any persons that are capable of being made engineers or bombardiers, or any other that is capable of conducting a train of artillery, I beg you will take them into the service, according to your knowledge of their capacity. You must know that we stand in need of a great number of battoes, in order to the transporting our troops; besides those that are necessary for the train of artillery, stores and baggage. Each battoe must carry five hundred men. We have already those which are to be supplied by this government. As I believe the other colonies must cause those which they shall supply, to be built here or at Jersey; I

M

take

take the construction of a sufficient number of them in time, to be impossible, unless they will send workmen to our assistance.

I am, Sir, &c.

Signed

William Johnson.

NUMBER VIII.

Translation of a letter wrote from fort Du Quesne by Robert Stobo, an Englishman, one of the hostages for the security of the capitulation granted to the English troops commanded by M. Washington.

S I R,

A Savage, called Tusquerora John, has brought hither an account, which very much alarms all the savages on this river: He says, that the Half-King, Manaquehiha, and a Chevanon chieftain, &c. to the number of thirty seven, have been taken by the English, and made prisoners. He says also, that John Mainot, alias James Cork, of Montier's company, told him, that these thirty seven savages were to be hanged as soon as they arrived at the English settlements, and advised him to make his escape. This was artfully reported on the eve of a great Council between the Chevanons, French, and the savages their allies. The French made them a long and elegant harangue, assuring them, they came not here to *wage war against any body*, but the English would not suffer them to live at rest; that they hoped the savages, their children, would not suffer their father to be insulted in his old age: that, notwithstanding, if they had a mind to join the English, they might do it; but if they had a mind to think better they would remain in peace. This is all I could learn of this council.

The French seconded these words with two large belts, and two strings of wampum. Their allies did the same. There were also considerable presents: to wit, sixteen fine guns, two barrels of powder, balls in proportion, sixteen fine suits of cloaths, many others of less value, and coverings of cloath. The Chevanons made them no answer, nor did I hear they have as yet.

It

It is assured, that the Half-King and his people were killed, and that their wives and children have been delivered to the barbarity of the Cherokees and Catabocs, who are assembled to the number of three hundred at the new magazine. Whether this be true or not, 'tis certain, that the savages are very much alarmed; and were it not for this news, a number of different nations would have espoused your interest: if this news be true (which I cannot think) you can depend upon no savages in these quarters; which will make our return very hazardous: but this is not to be considered.

The Chevanons, Picko, and (a) Delawago, have held a great Council among them: I know not the result of it. I have engaged some of them to join you, and assured them they would be very well received, and that there were many fine presents for the savages at the new magazine. A present made apropos at this time, might be of great service. If we could engage the Catabocs and Cherokees to conclude a peace, I believe every thing would go well. In the combat of the meadow, near the fort of Necessity, we had no more than six or seven savages, which we call our own. I believe they were of the nation of Mingo, and little esteemed in the nation, particularly one John English: He is of the number of those who are looked upon to be spies: I knew he was to join you with his men, but be on your guard against them. I send you this by the brother-in-law of Manaquetahas, a good subject whom you may trust.

You'll see on the other side the plan of the fort drawn as well in detail as time and circumstances would permit me. The garrison at present is not two hundred strong, all workmen. The rest are gone off, to the number of a thousand, in different detachments. In two days *Mercier*, a good officer, will quit the fort and leave behind him only *Contrecoeur*, and some young officers and cadets. They sent some days ago a lieutenant, with two hundred men for provisions, and wait

(a) Savage nations. The Delawago may be the same that M. Washington calls Delawares.

impatiently for them. At his return, the garrison will consist of four hundred men. They seem here to miss la Force greatly: Since his departure there were no scouts sent out. He is much regreted and desired here, which makes me judge he was not an ordinary man. When we engaged in the service of our country, it was expected it would be at the expence of our lives. Let no one therefore be deceived. Consider the advantage that will accrue from the expedition without the least regard to us. For my part I would die ten thousand deaths to enjoy the pleasure of seeing this fort in the hands of the English. The French are so vain, of their success at the meadows, that I would sooner die, rather than hear them speak of this affair. Attack this autumn as soon as you possibly can; gain over the Indians; persuade them with judgment; in a word, do what you can and you will succeed: an hundred trusty Indians are sufficient to surprize the fort. They have access every day here. They may hide themselves, so as to be able, without much difficulty, to secure the guard with their *Tankanko*: let then the gate be shut, and the fort is our own. Here is never in the night but Contrecoeur and the guard, which never exceeds fifty men, all the rest are lodged without the walls in cabins built all round. For the love of God do not communicate this letter but to a few persons; and let those be such as you can depend on: that they have here notice of every thing, is not to be questioned; if they come to be informed of what I write, the loss of the little liberty which I am allowed, would be the least that could happen me. I should be desirous to hear from you; but let no mention be made of this in your letter. Please to excuse the faults which might have crept into this letter, in which there is no great coherency; and believe me your's.

Signed,

Robert Stobo.

P. S. Be kind to this Indian. Schinga and Deleavy George are come this place.

Copy

NUMBER IX.

*Copy of Major-General Johnson's Letter to the Governors
of the several Colonies.*

Camp at Lake George, Sept. 9, 1755.

GENTLEMEN,

SUNDAY evening the 7th instant I received intelligence from some Indian scouts I had sent out, that they had discovered three large roads about the South Bay, and were confident a very considerable number of the enemy were marched, or on their march towards our encampment at the Carrying-place, where were posted about 250 of the New Hampshire troops, and five companies of the New York regiment. I got one Adams, a waggoner, who voluntarily and bravely consented to ride express with my orders to colonel Blanchard of the New Hampshire regiment, commanding officer there. I acquainted him with my intelligence, and directed him to withdraw all the troops there within the works thrown up. About half an hour, or near an hour after this, I got two Indians and two soldiers to go on foot with another letter to the same purpose.

About twelve o'clock that night the Indians and soldiers returned with a waggoner who had stole from the camp, with about eight others their waggons and forces without orders. This waggoner says they heard and saw the enemy about four miles from this side the Carrying-place. They heard a gun fire, and a man call upon heaven for mercy, which he judged to be Adams. The next morning I called a council of war, who gave it as their opinion, and in which the Indians were extremely urgent, that 1000 men should be detached, and a number of their people would go with them, in order to catch the enemy in their retreat from the other camp, either as victors, or defeated in their design. The 1000 men were detached under the command of colonel Williams, of one of the Boston regiments, with upwards of 200 Indians. They marched between eight and nine o'clock. In about an hour and half afterwards we heard a heavy firing, and all the

marks of a warm engagement, which we judged was about three or four miles from us; we beat to arms, and got our men all in readiness. The fire approached nearer, upon which I judged our people were retreating, and detached lieutenant colonel Cole, with about 300 men, to cover their retreat. About ten o'clock some of our men in the rear, and some Indians of the said party, came running into camp, and acquainted us, that our men were retreating, that the enemy were too strong for them. The whole party that escaped returned to us in large bodies.

As we had thrown up a breast-work of trees round our encampment, and planted some field-pieces to defend the same, we immediately hauled some heavy cannon up there to strengthen our front, took possession of some eminencies on our left flank, and got one field-piece there in a very advantageous situation: The breast-work was manned throughout by our people, and the best disposition made through our whole encampment, which time and circumstances would permit. About half an hour after eleven, the enemy appeared in sight, and marched along the road in very regular order directly upon our centre: They made a small halt about 150 yards from our breast-work, when the regular troops, (whom we judged to be such by their bright and fixed bayonets) made the grand and centre attack. The Canadians and Indians squatted and dispersed on our flanks. The enemy's fire we received first from their regulars in platoons, but it did no great execution, being at too great a distance, and our men defended by the breast-work. Our artillery then began to play on them, and was served, under the direction of captain Eyre, during the whole engagement, in a manner very advantageous to his character, and those concerned in the management of it. The engagement now became general on both sides. The French regulars kept their ground and order for some time with great resolution and good conduct, but the warm and constant fire from our artillery and troops, put them into disorder: Their fire became more scattered and unequal, and the enemy's fire

on our left grew very faint. They moved then to the right of our encampment, and attacked colonel Ruggles, colonel Williams, and colonel Titcomb's regiments, where they maintained a very warm fire for near an hour, still keeping up their fire in the other parts of our line, tho' not very strong. The three regiments on the right supported the attack very resolutely, and kept a constant and strong fire upon the enemy. This attack failing, and the artillery still playing along the line, we found their fire very weak, with considerable intervals: This was about four o'clock, when our men and the Indians jumped over the breast-work, pursued the enemy, slaughtered numbers, and took several prisoners, amongst whom was the baron de Dieskau, the French general of all the regular forces lately arrived from Europe, who was brought to my tent about six o'clock, just as a wound I had received was dressed. The whole engagement and pursuit ended about seven o'clock.

I do not know whether I can get the returns of the slain and wounded on our side to transmit herewith; but more of that by and by.

The greatest loss we have sustained was in the party commanded by colonel Williams in the morning, who was attacked, and the men gave way, before colonel Whiting, who brought up the rear, could come to his assistance. The enemy, who were more numerous, endeavoured to surround them; upon which the officers found they had no way to save the troops but by retreating; which they did as fast as they could. In this engagement we suffered our greatest loss; colonel Williams, major Ashley, captain Ingersal, and captain Puter, of the same regiment; captain Farrell, brother-in-law to the general, who commanded a party of Indians, captain Stoddart, captain M'Ginnes, captain Stevens, all Indian officers, and the Indians say, near forty of their people, who fought like lions, were all slain: Old Hendrick, the great Mohawk Sachem, we fear is killed. We have abundant reason to think we killed a great number of the enemy; amongst whom is Mont. St. Piere, who commanded all the Indians. The exact number

number on either side I cannot obtain; for tho' I sent a party to bury our dead this afternoon, it being a running scattered engagement, we can neither find all our dead, nor give an exact account. As fast as these troops joined us, they formed with the rest in the main battle of the day; so that the killed and wounded in both engagements, officers excepted, must stand upon one return.

About eight o'clock last night, a party of 120 of the New Hampshire regiment, and 90 of the New York regiment, who were detached to our assistance, under the command of captain M'Ginnes, from the camp at the Carrying-place, to reinforce us, were attacked by a party of Indians and Canadians, at the place where colonel Williams was attacked in the morning: Their engagement began between four and five o'clock. This party, who our people say were between 3 and 400, had fled from the engagement here, and gone to scalp our people killed in the morning. Our brave men fought them for near two hours, and made a considerable slaughter amongst them. Of this brave party two were killed, and eleven wounded, and five missing. Captain M'Ginnes, who behaved with the utmost calmness and resolution, was brought on a horse here, and, I fear, his wounds will prove mortal. Ensign Falsam, of the New Hampshire regiment, wounded thro' the shoulder.

I have this morning called a council of war, a copy of the minutes of which I send you herewith.

Monfieur le baron de Dieskau, the French general, is badly wounded in the leg, and thro' both his hips, and the surgeon very much fears his life. He is an elderly gentleman, an experienced officer, and a man of high consideration in France. From his papers, I find he brought under his command to Canada, in the men of war lately arrived at Quebec, 3171 regular troops, who were partly in garrison at Crown-Point, and encamped at Ticonderoro and other advantageous passes, between this and Crown Point. He tells me he had with him yesterday morning 200 grenadiers, 800 Canadians,

dians, and 700 Indians of different nations. His aid de camp says, (they being separately asked) their whole force was about 2000. Several of the prisoners say about 2300. The baron says, his major general was killed, and his aid-de camp says, the greater part of their chief officers also. He thinks by the morning and afternoon actions, they have lost near 1000 men, but I can get no regular accounts. Most of our people think from 5 to 600. We have about 30 prisoners, most of them badly wounded. The Indians scalped of their dead already near 70, and were employed after the battle last night, and all this afternoon, in bringing in scalps; and great numbers of French and Indians yet left unscalped. They carried off numbers of their dead, and secreted them. Our men have suffered so much fatigue for three days past, and are constantly standing upon their arms by day, half the whole upon guard every night, and the rest lay down armed and accoutred, that both officers and men are almost wore out. The enemy may rally, and we judge they have considerable reinforcements near at hand; so that I think it necessary we be upon our guard, and be watchful to maintain the advantages we have gained. For these reasons I do not think it either prudent or safe to be sending out parties in search of the dead.

I do not hear of any officers killed at our camp but colonel Titcomb, and none wounded but myself, and major Nichols of colonel Titcomb's. I cannot yet get certain returns of our dead and wounded; but from the best accounts I can obtain, we have lost about 130 who are killed, about 60 wounded, and several missing from the morning and afternoon's engagement.

I think we may expect very shortly another and more formidable attack, and that the enemy will then come with artillery. The late colonel Williams had the ground cleared for building a stockaded fort. Our men are so harassed, and obliged to be so constantly upon watchful duty, that I think it would be both unreasonable, and I fear in vain, to set them at work upon the designed fort.

I design

I design to order the New Hampshire regiment up here to reinforce us, and I hope some of the designed reinforcements will be with us in a few days. When these fresh troops arrive, I shall immediately set about building a fort.

My wound is in my thigh, it is very painful. The ball is lodged, and cannot be got out, by which means I am, to my mortification, confined to my tent.

10th.

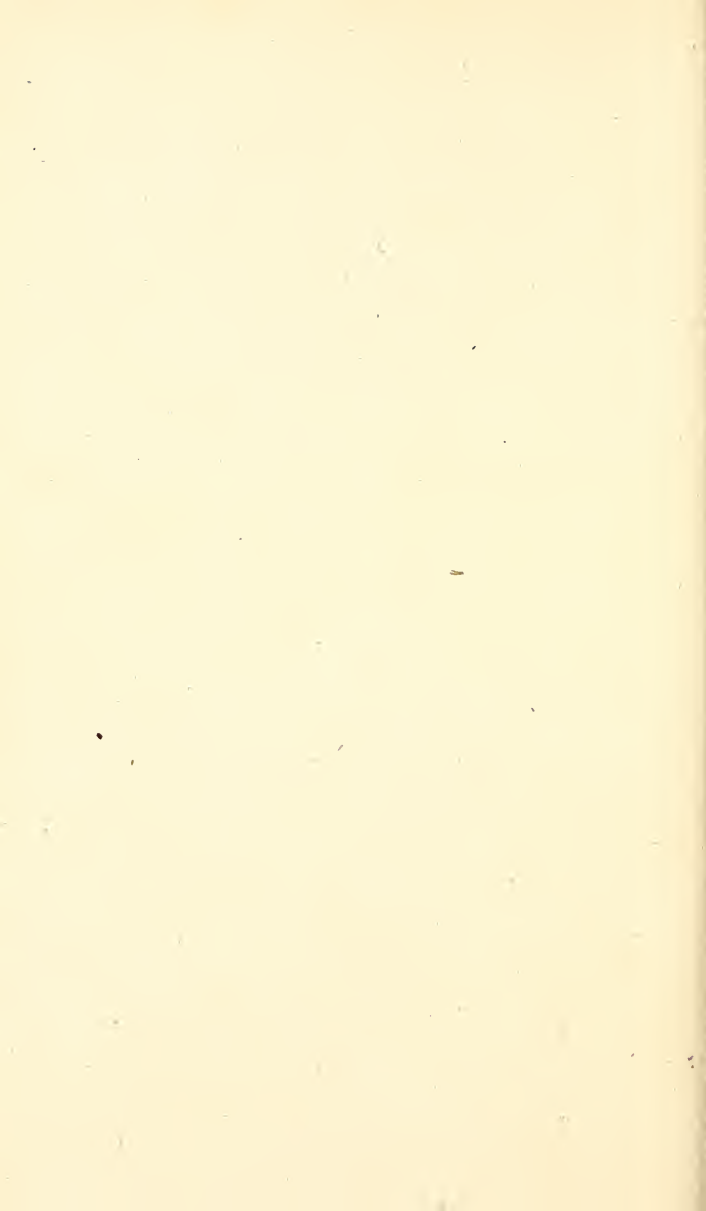
This letter was begun, and should have been dispatched yesterday; but we had two alarms, and neither time nor prudence would permit it. I hope, gentlemen, you will place the incorrectness hereof, to the account of our situation. I am, gentlemen, most respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,

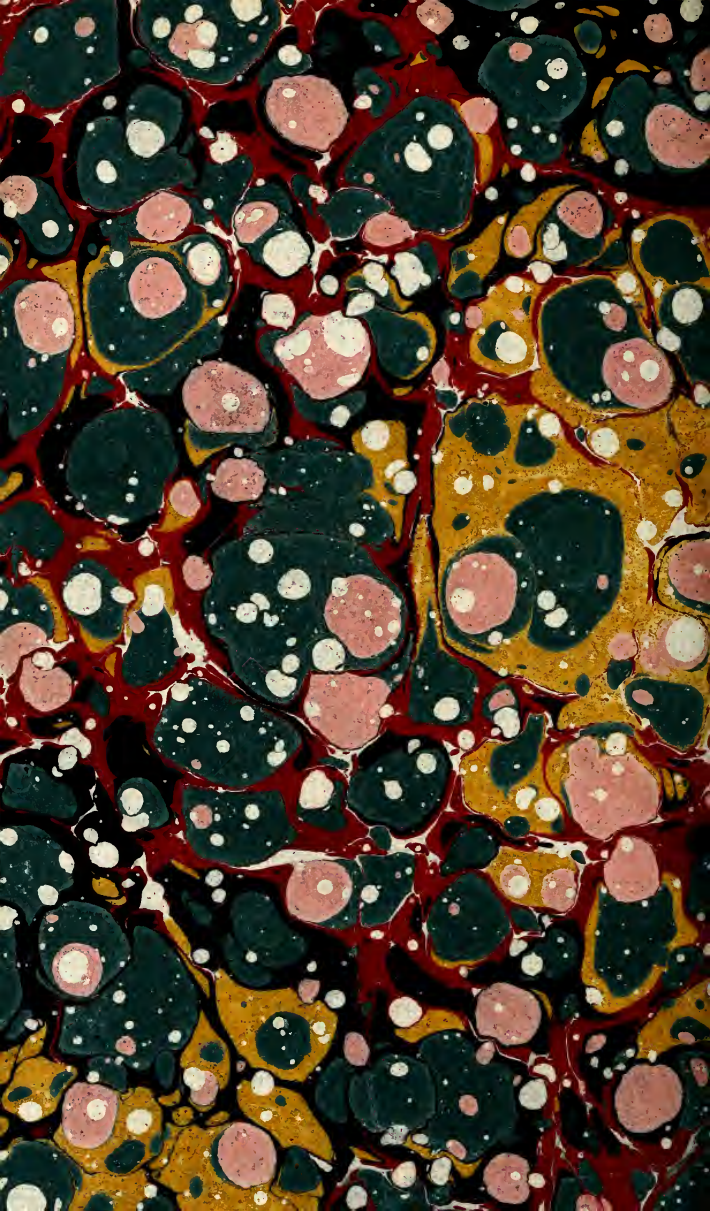
WILLIAM JOHNSON.

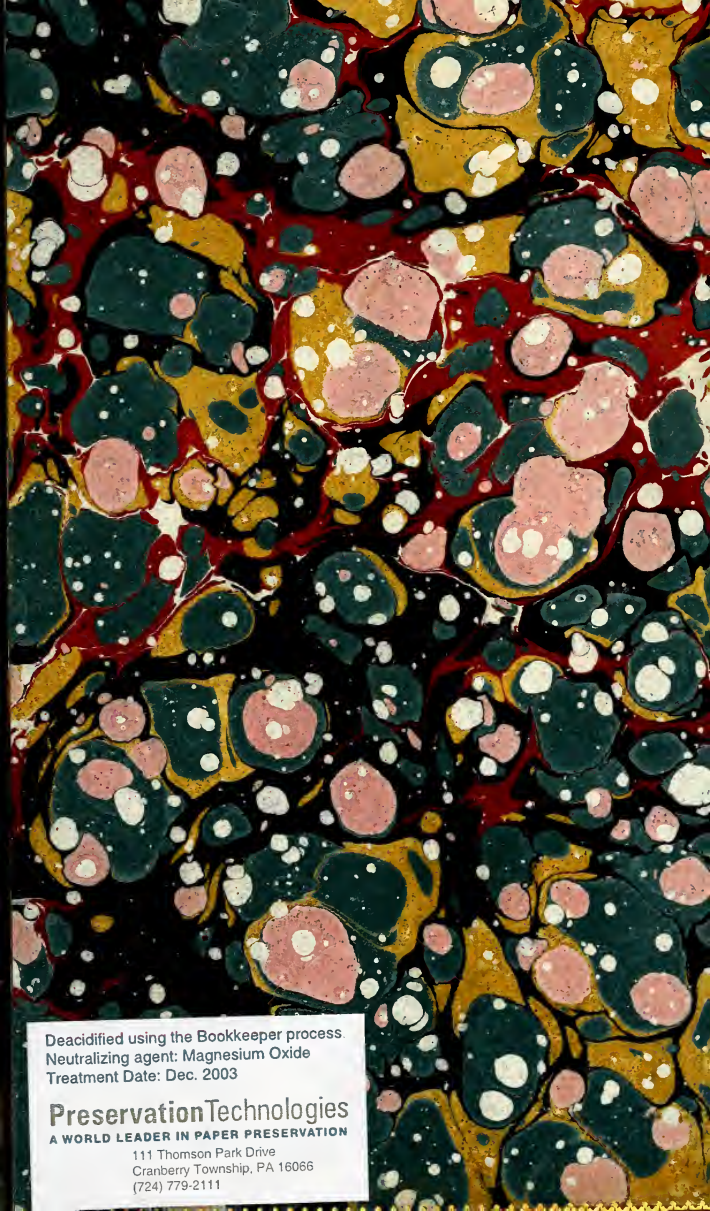
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