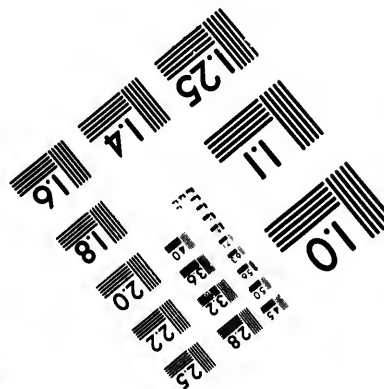
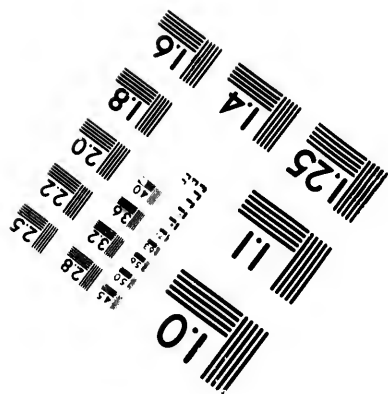
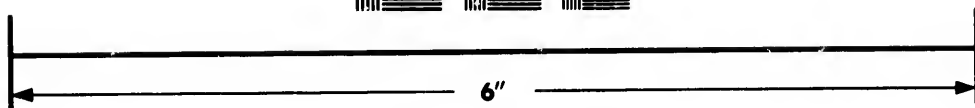
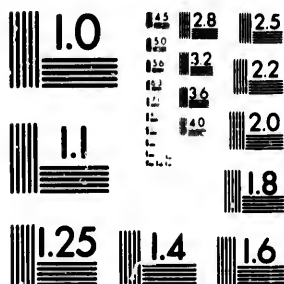


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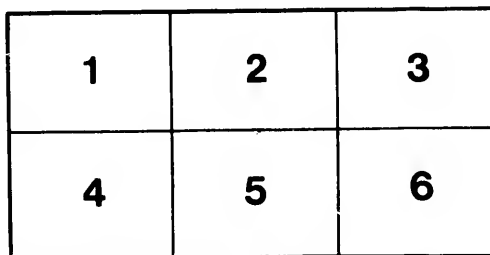
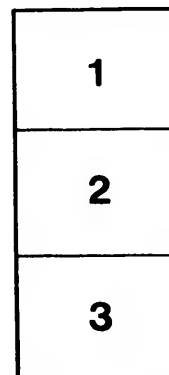
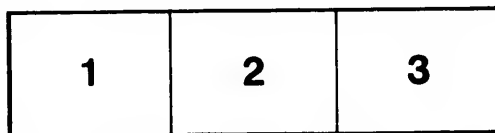
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ROGERS (*Major Robert*) Journals of, containing an account of the several excursions he made under the Generals who commanded upon the Continent of North America during the late war. From which may be collected the most material circumstances of every campaign upon that Continent from the commencement to the conclusion of the War. *Dublin*, R. Acheson for J. Sheppard & J. Milliken, 1769. 12° £2 15s (16594)

☞ In the same volume is "An historical account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians in the year 1764 under the command of Henry Bouquet, Esq. *Dublin*, 1769." This copy of Rogers appears to differ from the title as given by Sabin, No. 72726, as it bears no reference on the title as to the "Historical Account" being appended.

Memorial containing a summary view of facts. Philadelphia, James Chattin, 1771. was translated and reprinted.

LOUISIANA. Voyage à la Louisiane, et le Continent de l'Amérique Septentrionale fait dans les Années 1794 à 1798 par L*** (i. e., Louis Norrisse Baudry Lozières). *Paris*, 1802. *Map, nice copy, calf* 8° £1 15s (28)

☞ Includes Texas, and contains vocabularies of the Chippeway and Dacotah Indians; or a tour in the Canadas. *London*, 1856. 2 vols., plates, cloth 8° 8s 6d (28)

HAWTHORNE (Nathaniel). Passages of The American note books of N. Hawthorne. *London*, 1868. 2 vols., nice clean copy, 8° 8s 6d (28)

180, see second page.

☞ A statement, by which the said Company was established in June, 1695, till November, 1700. Printed in the year 1700. *Calf, extremely rare* 8° £3 10s (28)

☞ Relates entirely to the Scots Settlers at Darien.

NORTH WEST COAST. Varieties of literature from foreign literary journals. original MSS. now first published. *London*, 1795. 2 vols., fine copy, boards, uncut 8° £1 5s (28)

☞ Contains the Journal of the voyage of Gregory Shalekhof, a Russian merchant.

Major Rogers originally entered the military service in the French and Indian War, for which he raised and commanded "Rogers' Rangers," a company that acquired a reputation for activity and daring, particularly in the region of Lake George. His name is perpetuated there by the precipice that is known as "Rogers' Slide," near which he escaped from the Indians, who, believing that he had slid down the steep defile of the mountain under the protection of the Great Spirit, made no attempt at further pursuit. On March 13th, 1758, with 170 men, he fought 100 French and 600 Indians and after losing 100 men and killing 150, he retreated. In 1759 he was sent by Sir Jeffrey Amherst from Crown Point to destroy the Indian village of St. Francis near the St. Lawrence River, which service he performed, killing 200 Indians. In 1760 he captured Detroit and other western posts, which were subsequently ceded to the British by the French.

t) Journals of, containing several excursions of generals who commanded North America during which may be collected instances of every kind from the conclusion of the war for J. Sheppard, 8° £3 15s (16594) is "An historical account against the Ohio Indians in 1764 under the command of, Esq. Dublin, which appears to differ from Sabin, No. 72726, on the title as to which being appended.

at containing a summary view of Philadelphia, James Chattin, 1750 translated and reprinted.

ANA. Voyage à la Louisiane, et à l'embouchure de l'Amérique Septentrionale pendant les Années 1794 à 1798 par Baudry de L'Isle, Louis Norriese Baudry de L'Isle, Paris, 1802. Map, nice copy, 8° £1 15s (2862)

cludes Texas, and contains vocabulary of the Chippeway and Dacotah Indians (W. H. G.). Western Wanderer or a tour in the Canadas. London, 2 vols., plates, cloth 8° 8s 6d (2863)

HORNE (Nathaniel). Passages from American note books of N. Hawthorne, 1868. 2 vols., nice clean copy, 8° 8s 6d (2864)

second page. Supplement, by which the said Company was established in June, 1695, till November, 1700. Printed in the year 1700. Extremely rare 8° £3 10s (2865) relates entirely to the Scots Settlements in America.

WEST COAST. Varieties of literature from foreign literary journals MSS. now first published. London, 2 vols., fine copy, boards, uncut 8° £1 5s (2866) contains the Journal of the voyage of Shalekhof, a Russian merchant.

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ROGERS (Major Robert). Journals of Major Robert Rogers containing an account of the several excursions he made under the generals who commanded upon the Continent of North America during the late war. To which is added AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT of the expedition against the Ohio Indians in the year 1764, under the command of Henry Bouquet, including his transactions with the Indians, &c. With an introductory account of the preceding campaign, and battle at Bushey Run. Dublin, 1769. Half morocco, very rare, pp. x + 218; An Historical Account, pp. xx, 99

12° £5 10s (21432)
Pages 47-80 of the second part contain "Reflections on the War with the Savages of North America," followed by Appendix I. Construction of Forts against Indians. App. II. Account of the French Forts ceded to Great Britain in Louisiana. App. III. Rout from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt. App. IV. Number of Indian Towns situated on or near the Ohio River. App. V. Names of different Indian Nations in N. America with the numbers of their fighting men. This copy corresponds with the one mentioned in the note to Sabin No. 72726 (Rogers), having in the imprint, Horace's Head instead of Horace's Head.

MAJOR ROGERS' JOURNALS, 1755.

751 FRENCH-INDIAN Wars. Journals of Major Robert Rogers; containing an account of the several excursions he made under the Generals who commanded upon the Continent of North America during the late War, from which may be collected the most material circumstances of every Campaign upon that Continent, from the Commencement to the conclusion of the War. To which is added an historical account of the Expedition against Ohio Indians in the year 1764 under the Command of Henry Bouquet, Brigadier-General in America, including his transactions with the Indians, relative to the delivery of the Prisoners and the preliminaries of Peace. With an introductory account of the preceding Campaign and Battle of Bushy Run. 12° half calf.

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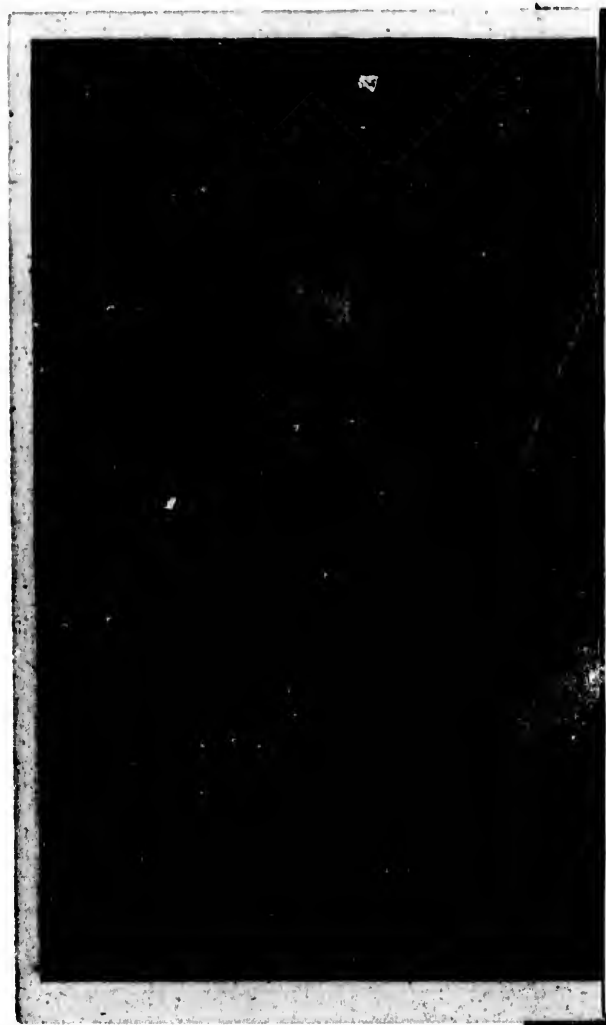
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JOURNALS

OF

Major ROBERT ROGERS:

CONTAINING

An Account of the several Excursions he made under the Generals who commanded upon the Continent of NORTH AMERICA, during the late War.

FROM WHICH MAY BE COLLECTED

The most material Circumstances of every Campaign upon that Continent, from the Commencement to the Conclusion of the War.

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INTRODUCTION.

T would be offering an affront to the public, should I pretend to have no private views in publishing the following JOURNALS; but they will excuse me if I leave them to conjecture what my particular views are, and claim the merit of impartially relating matters of fact, without disguise or equivocation. Most of those which relate to myself can at present be attested by living witnesses.

And should the troubles in America be renewed, and the savages repeat those scenes of barba-

rity they so often have acted on the British subjects, which there is great reason to believe will happen, I flatter myself, that such as are immediately concerned may reap some advantage from these pages.

Should any one take offence at what they may here meet with, before they venture upon exhibiting a charge, they are desired, in favour to themselves, to consider, that I am in a situation where they cannot attack me to their own advantage; that it is the soldier, not the scholar, that writes; and that many things here were wrote, not with silence and leisure, but in desarts and rocks and mountains, amidst the hurries, disorders, and noise of war, and under that depression of spirits, which is the natural

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tural consequence of exhausting fa-
tigue. This was my situation when
the following Journals or Accounts
were transmitted to the generals
and commanders I acted under,
which I am not now at liberty to
correct, except in some very gross
and palpable errors.

It would perhaps gratify the cu-
rious to have a particular account
of my life, preceding the war; but
though I could easily indulge them
herein, without any dishonour to
myself, yet I beg they will be con-
tent with my relating only such
circumstances and occurrences as
led me to a knowledge of many
parts of the country, and tended in
some measure to qualify me for the
service I have since been employed
in. Such, in particular, was the

A 3 situation

situation of the place in which I received my early education, a frontier town in the province of New Hampshire, where I could hardly avoid obtaining some knowledge of the manners, customs, and language of the Indians, as many of them resided in the neighbourhood, and daily conversed and dealt with the English.

Between the years 1743 and 1755 my manner of life was such as led me to a general acquaintance both with the British and French settlements in North America, and especially with the uncultivated desert, the mountains, valleys, rivers, lakes, and several passes that lay between and contiguous to the said settlements. Nor did I content myself with the accounts

counts received from Indians, or the information of hunters, but travelled over large tracts of the country myself, which tended not more to gratify my curiosity, than to inure me to hardships, and, without vanity, I may say, to qualify me for the very service I have since been employed in.

About this time the proceedings of the French in America, were such as excited the jealousy of the English, especially in New-York and New-England; and as Crown-Point was the place from which, for many years, the Indians in the French interest had been fitted out against our settlements on the frontiers, a design was formed in the beginning of 1755 to dispossess them of that post; pursuant to

A 4 which

which, troops were levied in the several provinces of New England, New York, and New Jersey. The general rendezvous was appointed at Albany in the province of New York, and the troops put under the command of Major General (since Sir William) Johnson, I had the honour of commanding a company in the troops furnished by the province of New Hampshire, with which I made several excursions, pursuant to special orders from the governor of that province, on the northern and western frontiers, with a view to deter the French and Indians from making inroads upon us that way. In this manner I was employed till the month of July, when I received orders to repair to Albany,

] levied in the New England, Jersey. The was appointed Prince of New ps put under Major General Johnson, I command- ne troops sur- ince of New hich I made pursuant to the governor n the north- ntiers, with a nch and Indi- roads upon us manner I was month of July, ers to repair to Albany,

[ix]

Albany, at which place I tarried till August 26th, and was then ordered with 100 men to escort the provision-waggons from thence to the Carrying-Place, then so called, since Fort-Edward. Here I waited upon the General, to whom I was recommended as a person well acquainted with the haunts and passes of the enemy, and the Indian method of fighting, and was by him dispatched with small parties on several tours towards the French posts, and was on one of these up Hudson's River on the 8th of September, when Baron Dieskau was made prisoner; and the French and Indians, under his command defeated, at the south-end of Lake George.

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The 24th of September I received orders from the General to proceed with four men to Crown Point, and, if practicable, to bring a prisoner from thence; and with an account of the manner in which I executed these orders, I shall begin my JOURNALS.

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W. H. W. S.

S^r WILLIAM JOHNSON .

[1]



A.

JOURNAL, &c.

September 24, 1755.

IN PURSUANT to orders of this date
from Major-General Johnson, Com-
mander in chief of the Provincial For-
ces, raised for the reduction of Crown-
Point, I embarked with four men up-
on Lake George, to reconnoitre the strength of
the enemy, and proceeding down the Lake twenty
five miles, I landed on the west side, leaving two
men in charge of the boat, while I marched with
the

JOHNSON.

the other two 'till the 29th, when I had a fair view of the fort at Crown-Point, and discovered a large body of Indians round the Fort, and from their repeated irregular firing, supposed they were shooting at marks, (a diversion much in use among the savages). At night I crept through the enemy's guard into a small village lying south of the fort, and passing their centres to an eminence south-west of it, from whence I discovered they were building a battery, and had already thrown up an entrenchment on that side of the fort. The next day, from an eminence at a small distance from the former, I discovered an encampment, which extended from the fort south-east to a wind-mill, at about 30 yards distance; as near as I could judge, their number amounted to about 500 men: but finding no opportunity to procure a captive, and that our small party was discovered, I judged it proper to begin a retreat homeward the 1st of October. I took my route within two miles of Ticonderoga, from whence I observed a large smok to arise, and heard the explosion of a number of small arms; but our provision being expended, we could not tarry to ascertain the number of the enemy there. On the 2d we arrived at the place where we left our boat in the charge of two men, but to our great mortification found they were gone, and no provisions left. This circumstance hastened us to the encampment with all possible speed, where we arrived the

4th, not a little fatigued and distressed with hunger and cold.

October 7, 1755, I received orders of this date from General Johnson, to reconnoitre the French troops at Ticonderoga. Accordingly I proceeded at night to a point of land on the west side of the lake, where we landed, hid our canoe, and left two men in charge of it. The next day, with the other three, I marched to the point at Ticonderoga, where we arrived about noon. I here observed a body of men, which I judged to be about 200 in number, who had thrown up an entrenchment, and prepared large quantities of hewn timber in the adjacent woods. We remained here the second night, and the next morning saw them lay the foundation of a fort, on the point which commands the pass from Lake George, to Lake Champlain, and the entrance of South Bay, or Wood Creek. Having made what discoveries we could, we began our return, in which we found that the enemy had a large advanced guard at the north end of Lake George, where the river issues out of it into Lake Champlain. While we were viewing these, I perceived a bark-canoe, with nine Indians and a Frenchman in it, going up the Lake. We kept sight of them 'till they passed the point of land, where our canoe and men were left, where, when we arrived, we had information from our people, that the above Indians and Frenchman had landed

landed on an island six miles to the south of us, near the middle of the lake. In a short time after, we saw them put off from the island, and steer directly towards us; upon which we put ourselves in readiness to receive them in the best manner we could, and gave them a salute at about 100 yards distance, which reduced their number to four. We then took boat and pursued them down the lake, till they were relieved by two canoes, which obliged us to retreat towards our encampment at Lake George, where we arrived the 10th of October.

October 15, 1755. Agreeable to orders of this date from General Johnson, I embarked with forty men in five boats. Our design was to discover the strength of the enemy's advanced guard, and, if possible, to decoy the whole, or part of them, into an ambush; but tho' we were indefatigable in our endeavours for several days, yet all our attempts of this kind proved abortive; and, as an account of our several movements during this scout would little gratify the reader, I shall omit giving a particular detail of them. We returned safe to our encampment at Lake George on the 19th.

October 21, 1755. I had orders from General Johnson of this date, to embark for Crown Point, with a party of four men, in quest of a prisoner. At night we landed on the west-side of Lake George. twenty.

twenty-five miles from the English camp. The remainder of the way we marched by land, and the 26th came in sight of the fort. In the evening we approached nearer, and next morning found ourselves within about 300 yards of it. My men lay concealed in a thicket of willows, while I crept something nearer, to a large pine-log, where I concealed myself, by holding bushes in my hand. Soon after sun-rise the soldiers issued out in such numbers, that my men and I could not possibly join each other without a discovery. About 10 o'clock a single man marched out directly towards our ambush. When I perceived him within ten yards of me, I sprung over the log, and met him, and offered him quarters, which he refused, and made a pass at me with a dirk, which I avoided, and presented my fuses to his breast; but notwithstanding, he still pushed on with resolution, and obliged me to dispatch him. This gave an alarm to the enemy, and made it necessary for us to hasten to the mountain. I arrived safe at our camp the 30th, with all my party.

November 4, 1755. Agreeable to orders from General Johnson this day, I embarked for the enemy's advanced guard before mentioned, with a party of thirty men, in four battoes, mounted with two wall-pieces each. The next morning, a little before day-light, we arrived within half a mile of them,

them, where we landed, and concealed our boats; I then sent out four men as spies, who returned the next evening, and informed me, that the enemy had no works round them, but lay entirely open to an assault; which advice I dispatched immediately to the General, desiring a sufficient force to attack them, which, notwithstanding the General's earnestness and activity in the affair, did not arrive till we were obliged to retreat. On our return, however, we were met by a reinforcement, sent by the General, whereupon I returned again towards the enemy, and the next evening sent two men to see if the enemy's sentries were alert, who approached so near as to be discovered and fired at by them, and were so closely pursued in their retreat, that unhappily our whole party was discovered. The first notice I had of this being the case, was from two canoes with thirty men in them, which I concluded came out with another party by land, in order to force us between two fires; to prevent which, I with Lieutenant M^cCurdy, and fourteen men, embarked in two boats, leaving the remainder of the party on shore, under the command of Captain Putnam.—In order to decoy the enemy within the reach of our wall-pieces, we steered as if we intended to pass by them, which luckily answered our expectations; for they boldly headed us till within about an hundred yards, when we discharged the before mentioned pieces, which killed several of them.

them, and put the rest to flight, in which we drove them so near where our land-party lay, that they were again galled by them; several of the enemy were tumbled into the water, and their canoes rendered very leaky. At this time I discovered their party by land, and gave our people notice of it, who thereupon embarked likewise, without receiving any considerable injury from the enemy's fire, notwithstanding it was for some time very brisk upon them. We warmly pursued the enemy, and again got an opportunity to discharge our wall-pieces upon them, which confused them much, and obliged them to disperse.—We pursued them down the lake to their landing, where they were received and covered by 100 men, upon whom we again discharged our wall-pieces, and obliged them to retire; but finding their number vastly superior to ours, we judged it most prudent to return to our encampment at Lake George, where we safely arrived on the 8th of November.

Nov. 10, 1755. Pursuant to orders I received this day from Gen. Johnson, in order to discover the enemy's strength and situation at Ticonderago, I proceeded on the scout with a party of ten men on the 12th instant, and on the 14th arrived within view of the fort at that place, and found they had erected three new barracks and four store-houses in the fort, between which and the water they had

eighty

*Marie Antoinette queen of France
was born 12. Nov 1755*

eighty battoes hauled upon the beach, and about fifty tents near the fort; they appeared to be very busy at work. Having by these discoveries answered the design of our march, we returned, and arrived at our encampment the 19th of November.

December 19, 1755. Having had a month's repose, I proceeded, agreeable to orders from General Johnson, with two men, once more to reconnoitre the French at Ticonderoga. In our way we discovered a fire upon an island adjacent to the route we took, which, as we supposed, had been kindled by some of the enemy who were there. This obliged us to lie by and act like fishermen, the better to deceive them till night came on, when we proceeded and retired to the west-side of the lake 15 miles north of our fort. Here concealing our boat, the 20th we pursued our march by land, and on the 21st, at noon, were in sight of the French fort, where we found their people still deeply engaged at work, and discovered four pieces of cannon mounted on the south-east bastion, two at the north-east towards the woods, and two on the south. By what I judged, the number of their troops were about 500. I made several attempts to take a prisoner, by way-laying their paths; but they always passed in numbers vastly superior to mine, and thereby disappointed me. We approached very near their fort by night, and were driven by the cold (which now

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was very severe) to take shelter in one of their evacuated huts; before day, there was a fall of snow, which obliged us with all possible speed to march homeward, lest the enemy should perceive our tracks, and pursue us.

We found our boat in safety, and had the good fortune (after being almost exhausted with hunger, cold, and fatigue) to kill two deer, with which being refreshed, on the 24th we returned to Fort William Henry (a fortress erected in this year's campaign) at the south end of Lake George. About this time General Johnson retired to Albany, to which place commissioners were sent from the several governments whose troops had been under his command (New Hampshire only excepted). These commissioners were empowered by their respective constituents with the assent of a council of war, to garrison Fort William Henry and Fort Edward, for the winter, with part of the troops that had served the preceding year. Accordingly a regiment was formed, to which Boston government furnished a Colonel—Connecticut a Lieutenant-Colonel—and New York a Major: after which it was adjudged, both by Gen. Johnson and these Commissioners, that it would be of great use to leave one company of woodsmen or rangers under my command, to make excursions towards the enemy's forts during the winter; I accordingly remained, and did duty.

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the whole winter, until called upon by General Shirley.

January 14, 1756. I this day marched with a party of seventeen men, to reconnoitre the French forts; we proceeded down the lake, on the ice, upon skaits, and halted for refreshment near the fall out of Lake George into Lake Champlain.—At night we renewed our march, and, by day-break on the 16th, formed an ambush on a point of land on the east shore of Lake Champlain, within gunshot of the path in which the enemy passed from one fort to the other. About sun-rise, two sledges laden with fresh beef were presented to our view, we intercepted the drivers, destroying their loading, and afterwards returned to Fort William Henry, where I arrived with my prisoners and party in good health the 17th.

January 26, 1756. Pursuant to orders of this date, from Colonel Glasier, I marched from Lake George with a party of fifty men, with a design to discover the strength and works of the enemy at Crown Point.

On the 2d of February, we arrived within a mile of that fortress, where we climbed a very steep mountain, from which we had a clear and full prospect of the fort, and an opportunity of taking
a plan.

a plan of the enemy's works there. In the evening we retired to a small village, half a mile from the fort, and formed an ambuscade on each side of the road leading from the fort to the village. Next morning a Frenchman fell into our hands; soon after we discovered two more, but they unluckily got sight of us before they were in our power, and hastily retired to the fort. Finding ourselves discovered by the enemy by this accident, we employed ourselves while we dared stay in setting fire to the houses and barns of the village, with which were consumed large quantities of wheat, and other grain; we also killed about fifty cattle, and then retired, leaving the whole village in flames, and arrived safe at our fort, with our prisoner, the 6th of February.

February 29, 1756. Agreeable to orders from Colonel Glasier, I this day marched with a party of fifty-six men down the west-side of Lake George. We continued our route north-ward till the 5th of March, and then steered east to Lake Champlain, about six miles north of Crown Point, where, by the intelligence we had from the Indians, we expected to find some inhabited villages.—We then attempted to cross the lake, but found the ice too weak. The 17th we returned and marched round the bay to the west of Crown Point, and at night got into the cleared land among their houses and barns;

berns; here we formed an ambush, expecting their labourers out to tend their cattle, and clean their grain, of which there were several barns full; we continued there that and the next day till dark, when discovering none of the enemy, we set fire to the houses and barns, and marched off. In our return I took a fresh view of Ticonderoga, and reconnoitred the ground between that fort and the advanced guard on Lake George, approaching so near as to see their centres on the ramparts, and obtained all the knowledge of their works, strength, and situation, that I desired.

The 14th of March, we returned safe to Fort William-Henry.

The next day, after my return from this scout, I received a letter, dated February 24, 1756, from Mr. William Alexander of New-York, who was secretary to Mr. Shirley, Commander in chief of the troops at Oswego the preceding year, and who now, upon the decease of General Braddock, succeeded to the chief command of all his Majesty's forces in North-America, and was now at Boston, preparing for the ensuing campaign, being previously recommended to this gentleman by General Johnson. I was directed by the above-mentioned letter to wait on him at Boston; of which I informed the commanding officer at the fort, and, with
his

his approbation, I set out on the 17th of March, leaving the command of my company to Mr. Noah Johnson, my Fnsign; my brother Richard Rogers, who was my Lieutenant, being sent to Boston by the commanding officer on some dispatches previous to this.

On the 23d, I waited on the General, and met with a very friendly reception; he soon intimated his design of giving me the command of an independent company of rangers, and the very next morning I received the commission, with a set of instructions.

According to the General's orders, my company was to consist of sixty privates, at 3s. New York currency per day, three serjents at 4s. an Ensign at 5s. a Lieutenant at 7s. and my own pay was fixed at 10s. per day. Ten Spanish dollars were allowed to each man towards providing cloaths, arms, and blankets. My orders were to raise this company as soon as possible, to enlist none but such as were used to travelling and hunting, and in whose courage and fidelity I could confide; they were, moreover to be subject to military discipline, and the articles of war.

Our rendezvous was appointed at Albany, from thence to proceed in four whale-boats to lake George,

George, and, " from time to time, to use my best
endeavours to distress the French and their allies,
by sacking, burning, and destroying their houses,
barns, barracks, canoes, battoes, &c. and by kill-
ing their cattle of every kind; and at all times to
endeavour to way lay, attack and destroy their
convoys of provisions by land and water, in any
part of the country where I could find them."

With these instructions, I received letters to the
commanding officers at Fort William-Henry and
Fort Edward directing them to forward the service,
with which I was now particularly charged.

When my company was completed, a part
marched under the command of Lieutenant Rog-
ers to Albany; with the remainder, I was order-
ed to march through the woods to No. 4, then a
frontier town greatly exposed to the enemy;
where,

April 28, 1756, I received orders to march from
thence to Crown Point, in pursuance of which we
travelled through desarts and mountains. The se-
cond day of our march, my second Lieutenant,
Mr. John Stark was taken sick, and obliged to re-
turn, with whom I sent six men to guard him to
Fort Edward.

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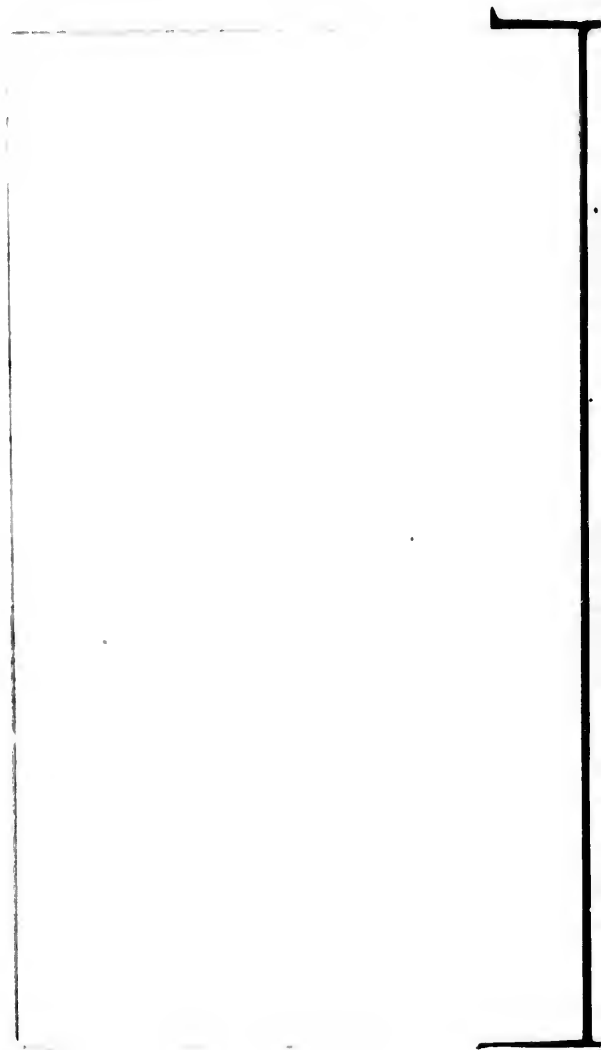
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John Stark



We continued our march till the 5th of May, when I arrived with nine men at Lake Champlain, four miles south of Crown Point. Here we concealed our packs, and marched up to a village on the east-side, about two miles distant from Crown Point, but found no inhabitant there. We lay in wait the whole day following, opposite to Crown Point, expecting some party to cross the lake; but nothing appeared except about four or five hundred men in canoes and battoes, coming up the lake from St. John's to Crown Point. We kept our stations till next day, ten o'clock A. M. to observe the motions of the enemy, but finding no opportunity to trapan any of them, we killed twenty-three head of cattle, the tongues of which were a very great refreshment to us on our journey. We at this time discovered eleven canoes manned with a considerable number of French and Indians crossing the lake directly towards us, upon which we retired; and the better to escape our pursuers we dispersed, each man taking a different route. We afterwards assembled at the place where we concealed our packs, and on a raft crossed over to the west-side of the lake. In our way we had a view of the French and Indians, encamped at the old Indian carrying-place, near Ticonderoga, and the 11th of May arrived safe at Fort William-Henry. Mr. Spack, with his party, arrived at Fort-Edward three days before. In their way they discovered a scout-

ing party of three or four hundred Indians. Lieutenant Rogers with his party had arrived some days before this, and was at this time out upon a scout.

May 20, 1756. Agreeable to orders from the General, I set out with a party of eleven men to reconnoitre the French advanced guards. The next day, from the top of a mountain, we had a view of them, and judged their number to be about 3000; they were busy in fortifying themselves with palisades. From the other side of the mountain we had a prospect of Ticonderoga fort, and from the ground their encampment took up, I judged it to consist of 1000 men. This night we lodged on the mountain, and next morning marched to the Indian carrying-path, that leads from lake George to Lake Champlain, and formed an ambuscade between the French guard and Ticonderoga fort. About six o'clock 118 Frenchmen passed by without discovering us; in a few minutes after, twenty-two more came the same road, upon whom we fired, killed six, and took one a prisoner; but the large party returning, obliged us to retire in haste, and we arrived safe with our prisoner, at Fort William-Henry the 23d.

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The prisoner we had taken reported, "that a party of 220 French and Indians were preparing to invest the out-parties at Fort Edward," which occasioned my marching the next morning with a party of 78 men, to join a detachment of Col. Bayley's regiment, to scour the woods as far as South Bay, if possible to intercept the enemy; but we could not discover them.

June 13, 1756. Agreeable to orders this evening, I embarked with a party of 26 men in battoes upon Lake George, to revisit the French advanced guard; excessive thunder and lightning obliged us to land at about ten miles distance from our fort, where we spent the night. The next morning about sun-rise, we heard the explosion of upwards of twenty small arms, on the opposite side of the lake, which we supposed to be a party of French and Indians, cleaning their guns after the rain. In the evening we embarked again, and early in the morning of the 16th drew up our battoes about four miles distant from the advanced guard, and afterwards lay in ambush by a path leading from thence to a mountain, in order to surprize the enemy, who went there daily in parties, to take a view of the lake; but finding they were not at that place, we marched to the spot where the enemy had posted their advanced guard, but they had retired and demolished all their works there;

we then continued our march towards Ticonderoga, near which place we ascended an eminence, and had a clear view of their works. I judged that their garrison and encampment consisted of about 3000 men: We then set out on our return, and arrived at Fort William-Henry the 18th instant, except one man, who strayed from us, and who did not get in till the 23d, then almost famished for want of sustenance.

About this time the General augmented my company to seventy men, and sent me six light whale-boats from Albany, with order to proceed immediately to Lake Champlain, to cut off, if possible, the provisions and flying parties of the enemy. Accordingly,

June 28, 1756. I embarked with fifty men in five whale-boats, and proceeded to an island in Lake George. The next day, at about five miles distance from this island we landed our boats, and carried them about six miles over a mountain to South Bay, where we arrived the 3d of July. The following evening we embarked again, and went down the bay to within six miles of the French fort, where we concealed our boats till the evening. We then embarked again, and passed by Ticonderoga undiscovered, tho' we were so near the enemy as to hear their contry's watch-word. We judged from
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the number of their fires, that they had a body of
about 2000 men, and the lake in this place to be
near 400 yards wide. About five miles further
down, we again concealed our boats, and lay by all
day. We saw several battoes going and coming
upon the lake. At night we put off again, with a
design to pass by Crown Point, but afterwards
judged it imprudent by reason of the clearness of
the night, so lay concealed again the next day, when
near a hundred boats passed by us, seven of which
came very near the point w^here we were, and would
have landed there; but the officer insisted, in our
hearing, upon going about 150 yards further, where
they landed, and dined in our view. About nine
o'clock we re-embarked, and passed the fort at
Crown Point, and again concealed our boats at al-
most 10 miles distance from it. This day, being
July 7th, 30 boats, and a schooner of about 30 or
40 tons, passed by us towards Canada. We set out
again in the evening, and landed about fifteen miles
further down, from which place I sent a party for
further discovery, who brought intelligence of a
schooner at anchor, about a mile from us; we imme-
diately lightened our boats, and prepared to board
her; but were prevented by two lighters coming
up the lake, who, we found intended to land where
we were posted; these we fired upon, then hailed
them, and offered them quarters, if they would
come ashore; but they hastily pushed towards the

opposite shore, where we pursued and intercepted them: we found their number to be twelve, three of which were killed by our fire, and two wounded, one of them in such a manner that he soon died. We sunk and destroyed their vessels and cargoes, which consisted chiefly of wheat and flour, wine and brandy; some few casks of the latter we carefully concealed. The prisoners informed us, that they were a part of 500 men, the remainder of which were not far behind on their passage, which induced us to hasten our return to our garrison, where, with our prisoners, we safely arrived the 13th of July. These prisoners, upon examination, reported, " That a great number of regular troops and militia were assembling at Chamblee, and destined for Carillon, or Ticonderoga *: that great quantities of provisions were transporting there, and a new General † with two regiments lately arrived from France: that there was no talk of any design upon our Forts on this side; but that a party of 300 French, and 20 Indians, had already set out to intercept our convoys of provisions between Albany and Lake George: that 60 livres was the reward for an

* The former is the French, the latter the Indian name, signifying the meeting or confluence of three waters.

† The Marquis de Montcalm, who commanded in the reduction of Oswego this year, and of Fort William-Henry, the year following.

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an English scalp, and that the prisoners were sold
 in Canada for 50 crowns each : that their prospect
 of an harvest was very encouraging, but that the
 small-pox made great havock amongst the inhabi-
 tants." About the time of my setting out upon
 this scout, Major General Shirley was superseded
 in his command by Major General Abercrombie,
 who arrived at the head-quarters in Albany on the
 25th of June, and brought with him two regiments
 of regular troops from England. I therefore, upon
 my return, wrote to his Excellency, desiring leave
 to lay before him the minutes of my last scout, and
 to recommend to his consideration an augmentation
 of the rangers. The General permitted me, with
 my brother Richard Rogers, to wait upon him at
 Albany. In this interview we discoursed on the sub-
 ject of my letter, in consequence of which he im-
 mediately ordered a new company of rangers to
 be raised, and gave the command of it to my bro-
 ther *, appointed Noah Johnson, my former En-
 sign, his First Lieutenant, Nathaniel Abbot his
 Second Lieutenant, and Caleb Page his Ensign.
 John Stark, formerly my Second Lieutenant, was
 appointed my First, John M'Curdy succeeded to
 his place, and Jonathan Burbank was appointed
 my Ensign. August

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* He completed his company in 28 days, and by the Ge-
 neral's orders, went up Mohawke-river, to serve as a scouting
 party for the troops that way.

August 2, 1756. Agreeable to orders received of General Abercrombie at Albany, the 23d of July, I embarked this day at Fort William-Henry, on board one of the lighters built there this summer, with twenty-five of my company, in order to reconnoitre the enemy at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and sixty men under Capt. Larnard of the provincials, who had General Winslow's || orders to proceed with his men to the French advanced guard; but he not being acquainted with the way thither, put himself under my command. We landed this morning about fifteen miles down Lake George, and proceeded with the party till the 4th in the evening, and encamped about a mile from the advanced guard. The 5th in the morning we mustered the whole party, and got to the summit of a hill, west of the advanced guard, where we discovered two advanced posts, which I then imagined was the whole of the guard, one of them on the west-side, half a mile southward of Lake Champlain, the other on the east-side of the Lake, opposite the former, at the old Indian carrying-place. We judged there were about 400 men on the east, and 200 on the west. After deliberating with Capt. Larnard upon the strength and disposition of the enemy,

|| General Winslow commanded the provincial troops this year by virtue of a commission from the several provinces, who were concerned in 1755, in the same expedition, and was now with the greatest part of the provincial troops at Lake George.

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enemy, and the report of our advanced party we,
concluded it unadvisable to continue there any
longer. He returned towards Fort William-Henry,
and I went on with my own party till we came
within view of Ticonderoga Fort, where, from an
eminence, I discovered the situation, but could not
ascertain the strength of it to my satisfaction.

August 6, I went down towards Crown Point,
by the west-side of Lake Champlain, and discovered
several battoes passing from that place to Ticonde-
roga with troops on board. We then proceeded
to the place where we burnt the village, as men-
tioned before, and there encamped; and perceived
a party sallying out, driving a number of horses to
feed.

The 7th we lay in ambush by the road, with a
design to intercept such as might come out to drive
in the cattle; but no one appearing for that pur-
pose, we approached nearer, to within half a mile
of the fort, where we were discovered by two
Frenchmen, before they were in our power. This
accident obliged us to make a retreat, in which we
killed upwards of forty cattle. We arrived at Fort
William-Henry, August 10.

A company of Stockbridge Indians was this year
employed in his Majesty's service, commanded by

B 5, Indian

Indian officers, properly commissioned by General Shirley, before he was superseded in his command: General Abercrombie was somewhat at a loss how to dispose of this company, and applied to Sir William Johnson, who advised, that a part *, viz. thirty privates and a Lieutenant, should scout and scour the woods under my direction, which party had arrived while I was out upon my last scout, and Lieutenant Stark had strengthened their party with some of our people, and sent them out with particular directions what route to take, the day before I arrived.

About this time his Excellency the Earl of Loudoun arrived at Albany, and had taken upon him the command of the army, to whom I applied as I had done before to Gen. Abercrombie, transmitting to him an account of the Indian scout above-mentioned (who returned the 13th with two French scalps, agreeable to their barbarous custom) and desiring that with them I might attempt to penetrate into Canada, and distress the inhabitants, by burning their harvest (now nearly ripe) and destroying their cattle.

Accordingly, August 16, we embarked in whale-boats in two departments, the one commanded by
Lieutenant

* The remainder of this Indian company, with their Captain, were sent to Saratoga, to be under the direction of Colonel Burton.

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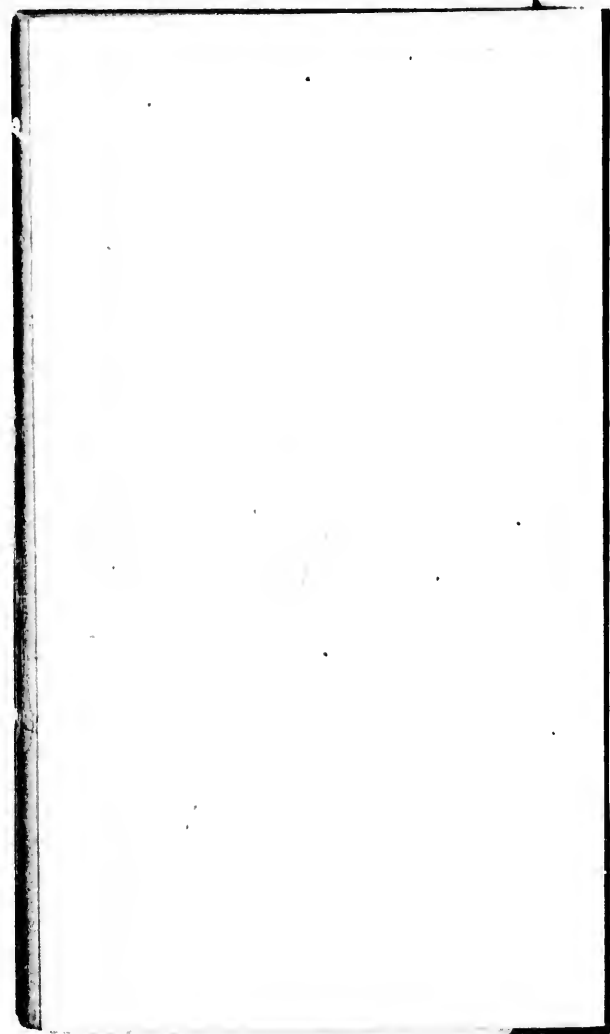
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LORD LOUDOUN.



Lieutenant Stark, the other by myself.—The next morning we joined each other, at which time also fell in with us a party of eight Mohocks, who had marched out from Fort William-Henry the day before. We then marched directly to the place where we left our whale-boats the 7th of July, proceeding about twenty-five miles northward of Crown Point fort, on the west-side of Lake Champlain, where we all (excepting one man who strayed from us and returned) arrived safe the 24th. We embarked again in our boats, and steered down the lake toward St. John's. The 25th we proceeded twenty miles further, and about midnight discovered a schooner standing up the lake with a fair wind towards Crown Point; they passed us so swiftly that we could not possibly board her, as we intended.

The 26th we landed; and the Mohocks left us to join another party of theirs then out on a scout.

The 27th we got on a point, with a design to intercept the enemy's battoes, that might pass up and down the lake; but not discovering any, and our provisions growing short, we returned up the lake, and landed eight miles north of the fort at Crown Point, on the east-side of the lake.

The 29th in the morning we marched to a village lying east of the fort, and in our way took prisoners.

soners, a man, his wife, and daughter, (a girl about fourteen years of age); with these prisoners we returned, and arrived safe at Fort William-Henry, Sept. 22, 1756.

The man-prisoner, above-mentioned, upon examination, reported, " That he was born at Vaisac, " in the province of Guienne in France: that he " had been in Canada about fifteen years, and in " the colonies service about six, and two years at " Crown Point: that there were only 300 men at " Crown Point, and those chiefly inhabitants of " the adjacent villages; that there were 4000 men " at Ticonderoga or Carillon, 1500 of which were " regular troops, who had a sufficiency of all kinds " of provisions: that he never was at Ticonderoga " or at the advance guard, but heard there were " only fifteen men at the latter: that the French " had 600 Indians at Ticonderoga, and expected " 600 more: that 1200 were arrived at Quebec " for Carillon, which last 1800 were under the " command of Mons. Scipio de la Masure: that " they had a great quantity of cannon, mortars, " shells, &c. at Ticonderoga, but he did not know " the number or quantity: that they expected the " above re-inforcement in two or three days at " Ticonderoga, having sent boats to Montreal to " fetch them: that they understood by a letter that " Ofwego had fallen into their hands, but the news " was

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" was not confirmed: that they had heard we in-
" tended to invest Carillon, but did not know what
" movements were intended on their side should
" we neglect it: that they had 150 battoes on Lake
" Champlain, which were kept at Carillon, thirty-
" five of which constantly plied between Montreal
" and that fortress: that Monf. Montcalm com-
" manded at Frontinac with 5000 men, but did
" not know whether these troops were regulars or
" provincials: that a great number of vessels had
" arrived at Canada with provisions and military
" stores: that they heard we had several ships in
" the river St. Lawrence: that Monf. le Conte
" de Levi commanded at Carillon, and came last
" May from France; and that, since the two last
" shallops or lighters (before-mentioned) were
" taken, they had augmented the number of men
" on board the large schooner in Lake Champlain
" from twelve to thirty."

Upon my return to the fort, I received orders
from my Lord Loudoun to wait upon Col. Burton,
of the 48th regiment, for instructions, he being then
posted at Saratoga. By him I was ordered to re-
turn to my company at Fort William-Henry, and
march them to the South Bay, thence east to the
Wood Creek, then to cross it southerly, opposite
to Saratoga, and return and make my report to him.

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In this tour we apprehended four deserters from Otway's regiment, who were going to the enemy, and whom I sent back to Fort Edward, with a part of my detachment, under the command of Lieutenant Stark, and proceeded with the remainder to compleat my orders, after which I returned to Saratoga to make my report.

There I met my brother Capt. Richard Rogers with his company, he being ordered back from Mohock river, to join me with the remainder of the Stockbridge Indians; and I marched both companies to Fort Edward, where I was ordered to form an encampment. A part of the Indian company were sent out to the east-side of Lake Champlain to alarm the enemy at Ticonderoga, whilst I, with a detachment of my own, and Capt. Richard Rogers's company, was ordered on another party down Lake George, in whale-boats, and the remainder of the companies were employed in reconnoitering round the encampment, and also served as flankers to the parties that guarded provisions to Lake George. Capt. Jacob, who commanded the Indian party before-mentioned, returned two days before me with four French scalps, which they took opposite to Ticonderoga on the east-side.

Sept. 7, 1756. Agreeable to orders, I this day embarked on Lake George, with a party of fourteen

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able to orders, I this day
ge, with a party of four-
teen.

teen men in a whale-boat, which we landed, and
concealed the evening following, on the east shore,
about four miles south of the French advance guard.
Here I divided my party, taking seven men with me
leaving the remainder in charge of Mr. Chalmer (a
volunteer sent me by Sir John Sinclair) with orders,
upon his discovering the enemy's boats going up the
lake, &c. to make the best of his way with the in-
telligence to Fort William-Henry.

I was the 9th current within half a mile of Ti-
conderoga fort, where I endeavoured to reconnoi-
tre the enemy's works and strength. They were
engaged in raising the walls of the fort, and had
erected a large block-house near the south-east
corner of the fort, with ports in it for cannon. East
from the block-house was a battery, which I ima-
gined commanded the lake. I discovered five hou-
ses south of the fort close to the water-side, and 160
tents south-west of the fort, and twenty-seven bat-
toes hauled upon the beach.

Next morning, with one private, I went to view
the falls betwixt Lake Champlain and Lake George
(where I had heard the explosion of several guns
the evening before and had at that time sent Serjeant
Henry to discover the reason of it) leaving the re-
mainder of my party in charge of Mr. Gibbs, ano-
ther volunteer, to wait our return. Serjeant Henry
followed

followed soon after me, and reported, " that the
" French were building a small fort at the head of
" the falls on the east-side of the lake; that he also
" discovered their guard to the westward, and ima-
" gined both consisted of 500 men." I returned,
after finding the French were engaged in building
a saw-mill at the lower end of the falls, and found
my boats with provisions left, as I suppose, by Mr.
Chalmer and his party, whom I waited for till
seven o'clock next day; but he not returning, and
I judging from their tracks that they were returned
to Fort William-Henry, we likewise began our
return, and arrived safe the 11th of September,
where I found Mr. Chalmer and the party left
with him, he having punctually obeyed the orders
given him above. Upon my return, I communi-
cated my observations upon the Lakes George and
Champlain to my Lord Loudoun, giving him as just
a description as I could of their situation.

September 24, General Abercrombie issued out
orders, that three commissioned officers of the
rangers, with 20 privates each, should reconnoitre
the Wood Creek, South Bay and Ticonderoga;
and these were alternately sent out, so that a conti-
nual scout was kept up for a considerable time.

October 22, 1756. The greatest part of the
army was now at Fort-Edward, under the com-
mand

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mand of General Abercrombie, and Lord Loudoun arriving about this time with the remainder, it was generally expected that the army would cross the lake, and endeavour to reduce the French forts, notwithstanding the season was so far advanced; but his Lordship taking into consideration the probability that those lakes would freeze (which they generally do in the month of December) in which case no supplies could be had from, nor any communication kept up with Fort William-Henry; he determined to desist from this design, and contented himself with keeping the field till Monf. Moreau retired to winter-quarters, and accordingly sought all opportunities to learn his situation and movements.

Agreeable to orders from his Lordship, I this day embarked in two whale-boats, with a party of twenty men, upon Lake George, with an intent to bring a prisoner from Ticonderoga. We passed the Narrows twenty miles from our embarkation, when Capt. Shephard (who was made a captive in August last and carried to Canada) hailed our boat; I knew his voice, and took him on board with three other men, one of whom was taken with him. He reported, that he left Canada fifteen days before. I went on my course till the 27th, towards Carillon, and landed that night on the west-side of the lake, concealed our boats, and travelled by land to within

within a mile of the fort. I kept spies out the day after to improve any opportunity that might offer, and the next day sent them still nearer, but to no good purpose: I at length discovered two men centries to the piquet guard of the French army, one of which was posted on the road that leads from the fort to the woods: I took five of my party, and marched directly down the road in the middle of the day, till we were challenged by the centry. I answered in French, signifying that we were friends; the centinel was thereby deceived, till I came close to him, when perceiving his mistake, in great surprize he called, *Qui etes vous?* I answered Rogers, and led him from his post in great haste, cutting his breeches and coat from him, that he might march with the greater ease and expedition. With this prisoner we arrived at Fort William-Henry, Oct. 31, 1756. Upon examination, he reported, " That he belonged to the regi-
 " ment of Languedoc: that he left Brest last A-
 " pril was a twelve-month, and had served since
 " at Lake Champlain, Crown Point, and Carillon,
 " was last year with General Dieskaw in the battle
 " at Fort William-Henry: that they lost in that en-
 " gagement of regulars, Canadians, and Indians, a
 " great number: that at Carillon were at this time
 " mounted thirty-six pieces of cannon, viz. twelve
 " eighteen pounders, fifteen twelve pounders, and
 " nine eight pounders, that at Crown Point were
 " eighteen.

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 " eighteen.

" eighteen pieces, the largest of which were eigh-
 " teen pounders : that *Monf. Montcalm's* forces
 " this year at Carillon were 3000 regulars, and 2000
 " Canadians and Indians : that *Montcalm* himself
 " was drawn off with one batallion, and that the for-
 " ces then in that neighbourhood consisted of five ba-
 " tallions and about 800 Canadians : that the Indi-
 " ans were all gone off, 200 of whom talked
 " of returning to spend the winter at Carillon: that
 " the advanced guard on the west-side above the
 " falls were all drawn in, and that on the east con-
 " sisted of 600 men, who were to decamp the 1st
 " of November : that they had a camp of five bat-
 " allions and sixty Canadians, about half a league
 " from Carillon, and that the rest of the army
 " were under the fort : that they had barracks suffi-
 " cient for 500 men, which he understood were
 " to quarter there: that they had one schooner and
 " 200 battoes on on Lake Champlain, and but five
 " or six on Lake George : that *Monf. the Chevalier*
 " *de Levi* commanded in *Monf. Montcalm's* ab-
 " sence, and that the Canadians were commanded
 " by *Messieurs Le. Corn* and *Columbie* : that when
 " *Monf. Montcalm* went off, he said he had done
 " enough for this year, and would take Fort Will-
 " liam Henry early in the spring; that the French
 " had taken four of *Captain Rogers's* whale-boats
 " in lake Champlain: that when he was taken pri-
 " soner, he imagined himself to be about a gun-shot
 " and

“ and half from the fort, and that the French camp
“ was pretty healthy.”

From this time we were constantly employed in patrolling the woods about Fort Edward till the 19th of November 1756, when I had his Lordship's orders to take another excursion down the Lake. Captain Abercrombie, Aid-de-camp and nephew to General Abercrombie, did me the honour to accompany me ; but nothing material being in our power to effect, except taking a view of the fort and works of the enemy at Ticonderoga, we returned safe to Fort Edward the 25th in the evening.

About this time his Lordship drew off the main body of the troops from Fort Edward to be quartered at Albany and New York.

Both armies being now retired to winter-quarters, nothing material happened to the end of this year. The rangers were stationed at the Forts William-Henry and Edward, to which also two new companies of rangers were sent this fall, commanded by Captain Spikeman and Captain Hobbs, in one of which my brother James Rogers was appointed an Ensign.

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These two companies were stationed at Fort William-Henry, mine and my brother Richard's at Fort Edward.

Captain Richard Rogers had leave go into New England for recruits to complete our two companies. He this winter waited upon the government of Boston, to obtain pay for our services the winter 1755 before-mentioned, but could obtain none, notwithstanding Lord Loudoun, who was then at Boston, generously supported and enforced our solicitations with his interest.

January 15, 1757. Agreeable to orders from the commanding officer at Fort Edward, I this day marched with my own Lieutenant Mr. Stark, Ensign Page of Captain Richard Rogers's company, and fifty privates of said companies, to Fort William-Henry, where we were employed in providing provisions, snow-shoes, &c. till the 17th, when being joined by Captain Spikeman, Lieutenant Kennedy and Ensign Brewer of his company, and fourteen of their men, together with Ensign James Rogers, and fourteen men of Captain Hobbs's company, and Mr. Baker, a volunteer of the 44th regiment of foot, we began our march on the ice down Lake George, and at night encamped on the east-side of the First Narrows. The next morning, finding that some of the detachment had hurt themselves

themselves in the march the day before, as many were dismissed to return to the fort, as reduced our party to seventy-four men, officers included.

The 18th we marched twelve miles down the lake, and encamped on the west-side of it.

The 19th we marched three miles from our encampment further down the lake, and then took the land, and, upon snow-shoes, travelled north-west about eight miles from our landing, and three from the lake, where we encamped.

The 20th we marched north-by-east the whole day, and at night encamped on the western side, opposite to, and about three miles distant from lake Champlain.

The 21st we marched east, till we came to the lake, about mid-way between Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and immediately discovered a sled going from the latter to the former. I ordered Lieutenant Stark, with twenty men to head the sled, while I, with a party, marched the other way to prevent its retreating back again, leaving Captain Spikeman in the center with the remainder. I soon discovered eight or ten sleds more following down the lake, and endeavoured to give Mr. Stark intelligence of it before he fallied on the lake
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and discovered himself to them, but could not.
They all hastily returned towards Ticonderoga.
We pursued them, and took seven prisoners, three
sleds, and six horses; the remainder made their
escape. We examined the captives separately,
who reported, " That 200 Canadians and 45 Indians
" were just arrived at Ticonderoga, and were to
" be reinforced that evening, or next morning,
" by fifty Indians more from Crown Point: that
" there were 600 regular troops at that fortress,
" and 350 at Ticonderoga, where they soon
" expected a large number of troops, who in the
" spring were to besiege our forts: that they had
" large magazines of provisions in their forts,
" and that the above-mentioned party were well
" equipped, and in a condition to march upon a-
" ny emergency at the least notice, and were de-
" signed soon to way-lay and distress our convoys
" between the forts."

From this account of things, and knowing that
those who escaped would give early notice of us at
Ticonderoga, I concluded it best to return; and
ordered the party, with the utmost expedition, to
march to the fires we had kindled the night before,
and prepare for a battle, if it should be offered, by
drying our guns, it being a rainy day, which we ef-
fected; and then marched in a single file, myself
and Lieutenant Kennedy in the front, Lieutenant
Stark

Stark in the rear, and Captain Spikeman in the center, Ensigns Page and Rogers were between the front and center, and Ensign Brewer between the center and rear, Serjeant Walker having the command of a rear-guard. In this manner we advanced half a mile, or thereabouts, over broken ground, when passing a valley of about fifteen rods breadth, the front having reached the summit of a hill on the west-side of it; the enemy, who had here drawn up in the form of a half-moon, with a design, as we supposed, to surround us, saluted us with a volley of about 200 shot, at the distance of about five yards from the nearest or front, and thirty from the rear of their party. This fire was about two o'clock in the afternoon, and proved fatal to Lieutenant Kennedy, and Mr Gardner, a volunteer in my company, and wounded me and several others; myself, however, but slightly in the head. We immediately returned their fire. I then ordered my men to the opposite hill, where I supposed Lieutenant Stark and Ensign Brewer had made a stand with forty men to cover us, in case we were obliged to retreat. We were closely pursued, and Capt. Spikeman, with several of the party, were killed, and others made prisoners. My people, however, beat them back by a brisk fire from the hill, which gave us an opportunity to ascend, and post ourselves to advantage. After which I ordered Lieutenant Stark and

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and Mr. Baker in the center, with Ensign Rogers;
Serjeants Walter and Phillips, with a party, being
a reserve, to prevent our being flanked, and watch
the motions of the enemy. Soon after we had thus
formed ourselves for battle, the enemy attempted
to flank us on the right, but the above reserve
bravely attacked them, and giving them the first
fire very briskly, it stopped several from retreating
to the main body. The enemy then pushed us
closely in the front; but having the advantage of
the ground, and being sheltered by large trees, we
maintained a continual fire upon them, which
killed several, and obliged the rest to retire to
their main body. They then attempted to flank
us again, but were again met by our reserved party,
and repulsed. Mr. Baker about this time was killed.
We maintained a pretty constant fire on both
sides, till the darkness prevented our seeing each
other, and about sun-set I received a ball thro' my
hand and wrist, which disabled me from loading my
gun. I however found means to keep my people
from being intimidated by this accident; they gal-
lantly kept their advantageous situation, till the
fire ceased on both sides. The enemy, during the
action, used many arts and stratagems to induce
us to submit, sometimes threatening us with seve-
rity if we refused, assuring us that they every mo-
ment expected a large reinforcement, which should
cut us to pieces without mercy: at other times
C flatterring

flattering and cajoling us, declaring it was a pity so many brave men should be lost; that we should, upon our surrender, be treated with the greatest compassion and kindness; calling me by name: they gave me the strongest assurances of their esteem and friendship that words could do; but no one being dismayed by their menaces, or flattered by fair promises, we told them our numbers were sufficient, and that we were determined to keep our ground as long as there were two left to stand by each other.

After the action, in which we had a great number so severely wounded that they could not travel without assistance, and our ammunition being nearly expended, and considering that we were near to Ticonderoga, from whence the enemy might easily make a descent, and overpower us by numbers, I thought it expedient to take the advantage of the night to retreat, and gave orders accordingly; and the next morning arrived at Lake George, about six miles south of the French advanced guard, from whence I dispatched Lieutenant Stark with two men to Fort William Henry, to procure conveyances for our wounded men thither; and the next morning we were met by a party of fifteen men and a sled, under the command of Lieutenant Buckley, of Hobbs's company of Rangers, at the first narrows at Lake George.

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Our whole party, which now consisted of only forty-eight effective, and six wounded men, arrived at Fort William Henry the same evening, being the 23d of January 1757.

The nearest computation we could make of the number which attacked us, was, that it consisted of about 250 French and Indians; and we afterwards had an account from the enemy, that their loss in this action, of those killed, and who afterwards died of their wounds, amounted to 116 men.

Both the officers and soldiers I had the honour to command, who survived the first onset, behaved with the most undaunted bravery and resolution, and seemed to vie with each other in their respective stations who should excel.

C 2

The

company, and also to fill up the vacancies in the others; as I am certain you have the good of the service at heart, your recommendation will be paid great regard to. I yesterday received your's of the 30th of January. You cannot imagine how all ranks of people here are pleased with your conduct, and your mens behaviour; for my part, it is no more than I expected: I was so pleased with their appearance when I was out with them, that I took it for granted they would behave well whenever they met the enemy. When I returned I reported them as such, and am glad they have answered my expectation.

“ I am heartily sorry for Spikeman and Kennedy, who I imagined would have turned out well, as likewise for the men you have lost; but it is impossible to play at bowls without meeting with rubs. We must try to revenge the loss of them. There is few people that will believe it; but upon honour, I could be glad to have been with you, that I might have learned the manner of fighting in this country. The chance of being shot is all stuff, and King William's opinion and principle is much the best for a soldier, viz. “that every bullet has its billet,” and that “it is allotted how every man shall die;” so that I am certain that every one will agree, that it is better to die with the reputation of a brave man, fighting for his country in a good cause, than either shamefully running away to preserve
one's

one's life, or lingering out an old age, and dying in one's bed, without having done his country or his King any service.

"The histories of this country, particularly, are full of the unheard-of cruelties committed by the French, and the Indians, by their instigation, which I think every brave man ought to do his utmost to humble that haughty nation, or reduce their bounds of conquest in this country to a narrow limit. As soon as General Abercrombie receives my Lord's instructions in regard to the Rangers, I shall send you notice of it, in the interim, I hope you'll get the better of your wound. If I can be of any service to you or your men as long as they continue to behave so well, you may command

Your most humble servant,

To Capt.
Robert Rogers.

James Abercrombie,
Aid de Camp."

My wound growing worse, I was obliged to repair to Albany for better assistance, and there received the following instructions from General Abercrombie, viz.

Instructions for Capt. ROBERT ROGERS.

"His Excellency the Earl of Loudoun having given authority to me to augment the company of Rangers under your command, to 100 men each, viz.

C 4

One

One Captain,
Two Lieutenants, } upon an English pay ;
One Ensign,

Four Serjeants at 4s. each. New York currency ;
100 private men, at 2s. and 6d. each ditto per day ;
“ And whereas there are some private men of your
company serving at present upon higher pay than
the above establishment, you are at liberty to dis-
charge them, in case they refuse to serve at the said
establishment, as soon as you have other men to re-
place them. If your men agree to remain with
you and serve upon the above establishment, you
may assure them they will be taken notice of, and be
first provided for ; each man to be allowed ten dol-
lars bounty-money, and to find their own cloaths,
arms, and blankets, and to sign a paper subjecting
themselves to the rules and articles of war, and to
serve during the war. You are to enlist no vagrants,
but such as you and your officers are acquainted
with, and who are every way qualified for the duty
of Rangers ; and you and your officers are to use
your best endeavours to complete your companies
as soon as possible, and bring them to Fort Edward.

James Abercrombie,
Major General.”

About this time I again wrote to his Lordship,
earnestly soliciting his friendly interposition and as-
sistance,

upon an English pay ;

h. New York currency ;
and 6d. each ditto per day ;
some private men of your
ent upon higher pay than
you are at liberty to dis-
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James Abercrombie,
Major General."

in wrote to his Lordship,
endly interposition and as-
sistance,

sistance, to obtain from the government here, an
order for payment of what was due to me and my
men, for our respective services during the winter
1755 ; but if that could not be obtained, that he
would be pleased to direct me what method to take
for the recovery thereof. Whereto his Lordship
replied, that as these services were antecedent to
his command here, it was not in his power to re-
ward them. General Amherst, afterwards, on a like
application, gave me much the same answer.

These applications not being attended with any
success, and suits of law being afterwards commen-
ced against me, by, and on the behalf of those who
served under me in that campaign, and verdicts ob-
tained in their favour, I was not only obliged to
answer their several demands, to the amount of
£. 828 : 3 : 3 sterling, which I paid out of my pri-
vate fortune, but also a considerable sum for law-
charges, exclusive of what I ought to have receiv-
ed for my own services during that severe season.
But for all which I have not at any time since re-
ceived one shilling consideration.

In the same letter I likewise informed his Lord-
ship of the death of Capt. Hobbs of the Rangers
who died a few days before, and recommended
Lieutenant Bulkley of the same company, as a pro-
per person to succeed him in that command.

March 5, I was taken ill with the small-pox, and not able to leave my room till the 15th of April following, during which time my officers were recruiting, agreeable to his Lordship's instructions. Not long after I received the following letter from Capt. Abercrombie.

Sir,

New York, April 22, 1757.

“ As there is another ranging company sent up to Albany, with orders to proceed to the forts, you will acquaint Colonel Gage, that it is my Lord Loudoun's orders, that the two companies at Fort William-Henry, and your own from Fort Edward, come down immediately to Albany, to be ready to embark for this place. Shew this letter to Colonel Gage, that he may acquaint Colonel Monro of his Lordship's orders, and that quarters may be provided for your companies in the houses about Albany. You will take particular care that the companies have provided themselves with all necessaries, and see that they are complete and good men. Since his Lordship has put it in your charge, I hope you will be very diligent in executing the trust, for, upon a review of the men, if any are found insufficient for the service, the blame will be laid upon you. If the officers of this ranging company that is gone up, are not acquainted with the woods about Fort William-Henry, your brother must send some

ill with the small-pox,
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which time my officers
to his Lordship's instruc-
ved the following letter

ew York, April 22, 1757.

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some officers and men of his company along with
them, to let them know the different scouts.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

To Capt.
Robert Rogers,
at Albany.

James Abercrombie,
Aid de Camp."

Capt. Richard Rogers, with his own, and the
new company of Rangers before-mentioned, which
was raised in the Jerseys, and commanded by Capt.
Burgin, being left at Fort William-Henry, my own
company from Fort-Edward, and Capt. Stark's
and Capt. Bulkeley's from Fort William-Henry,
agreeable to the above instructions, marched down
to Albany, and from thence embarked for New
York, where we were joined by another new-raised
company of Rangers, under the command of Capt.
Shepherd from New Hampshire, and after some
small stay there, re-embarked on board a transport,
and left Sandy Hook on the 20th of June, with a
fleet of near an hundred sail, bound to Halifax,
where we soon arrived, and, according to orders,
I encamped on the Dartmouth side of the harbour,
while the army lay encamped on the Halifax-side.
The Rangers were here employed in various ser-
vices.

On

On July 3d, by orders, I commanded a party to Lawrence Town, and from thence to Schitzcook; some were left there to cut and make up hay in the meadows, for the horses intended to be used in an expedition to Louisburg; others covered the hay-makers, and others were dispatched on scouts, to make discoveries; in one of which two deserters from the 45th regiment were seized and brought in.

About the latter end of this month forty Rangers were sent across the isthmus of Nova Scotia, to the settlements on the Bay of Fundy, and a party down to the north-west arm, to scour the woods for deserters, &c. and brought in several, both from the army and navy.

About this time Admiral Holbourn arrived with a fleet from England, with several regiments of regular troops on board, which were landed, and likewise encamped at Halifax, upon which all scouting parties were called in; but certain intelligence being received that a French fleet of superior force had actually arrived at Louisburg, the intended expedition against that place was laid aside, and thereupon the Rangers were remanded back to the western frontiers.

Great numbers of the Rangers having been carried off this summer by the small-pox, I sent several
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of my officers by his Lordship's command, to re-
cruit in New Hampshire, and the Massachuset's
provinces, with orders to join me at Albany. I
afterwards embarked with the Rangers under my
command, on board the fleet which carried the reg-
ular troops to New York, and from thence pro-
ceeded in small vessels up Hudson's River to Albany,
where I was soon after joined by the new-raised
recruits.

I then proceeded to Fort Edward, which was the
only remaining cover to the northern frontiers of
New York, and the more eastern provinces, Fort
William-Henry * having been taken by the French,
under the command of Mons. Montcalm, the August
before. General Webb was then commanding offi-
cer at Fort Edward, and by his orders we were
continually employed in patrolling the woods be-
tween this fort and Ticonderoga. In one of these
parties, my Lord Howe did us the honour to ac-
pany us, being soon, as he expressed himself, to
learn our method of marching, ambushing, retreat-
ing,

* My brother Captain Richard Rogers died with the Small-
pox a few days before this fort was besieged; but such was the
cruelty and rage of the enemy after their conquest, that they
dug him up out of his grave, and scalped him. In consequence
of the articles of capitulation at the surrender of this fort, the
two companies of Rangers there were disbanded, and dismissed
the Service.

ing, &c. and, upon our return, expressed his good opinion of us very generously.

About this time Lord Loudoun sent the following volunteers in the regular troops, to be trained to the ranging, or wood-service, under my command and inspection; with particular orders to me to instruct them to the utmost of my power in the ranging-discipline, our methods of marching, retreating, ambushing, fighting, &c. that they might be the better qualified for any future services against the enemy we had to contend with, desiring me to take particular notice of each one's behaviour, and to recommend them according to their deserts, viz.

Walter Crofton	}	of the 4th regiment of
Mr. Lyshat		foot.
Mr. Roberts		

Charles Humbles	}	of the 22d ditto.
Richard Edlington		
Andrew Crawley		
Thomas-Millet		

John Wilcox	}	of the 27th ditto.
John Wrightson		
Michael Kent		
Mr. Monfel		
Francis Creed		

Alexander

Alexander Robertson
 William Frazier
 John Graham
 Andrew Rofs
 William Frazier, jun.
 Archibald Campbell
 Arch. Campbell, jun.
 Auguf. Campbell
 Charles Menzies
 John Robertson.

} of the 42d ditto.

Will. Ervin, or Irwin
 Thomas Drought
 William Drought
 Francis Carruthers
 John Clarke

} of the 44th ditto.

Walter Paterfon
 Mr. Nicholfon
 Richard Boyce
 Charles Perry.

} of the 48th ditto.

Mr. Christopher
 Mr. Still
 Mr. Hamilton
 Mr. Young.

} of the 55th ditto.

Allen

Alexander

Allen Grant
Jonathan M'Dougal
Mr. Frisborough } of the second battalion
of Royal Americans.

Nicholas Ward
James Hill } of the 3d ditto.

John Schlofer
George Wardoman
Francis Barnard
Engelbertus Horst
Ericke Reinhault
Andrew Wackerberg
Luhainfab, Dekeslar
Donald M'Bean
Henry Ven Bebbler
John Boujour } of the 4th ditto.

Edward Crafton
James Pottinger
Simon Stephens
Archibald M'Donald
Hugh Sterling
Mr. Bridge } Rangers.

These volunteers I formed into a company by themselves, and took the more immediate command and management of them to myself; and for their benefit and instruction reduced into writing

ting the following rules or plan of discipline, which, on various occasions, I had found by experience to be necessary and advantageous, viz.

I. All Rangers are to be subject to the rules and articles of war; to appear at roll-call every evening on their own parade, equipped, each with a firelock, sixty rounds of powder and ball, and a hatchet, at which time an officer from each company is to inspect the same, to see they are in order, so as to be ready on any emergency to march at a minute's warning; and before they are dismissed, the necessary guards are to be draughted, and scouts for the next day appointed.

II. Whenever you are ordered out to the enemies forts or frontiers for discoveries, if your number be small, march in a single file, keeping at such a distance from each other as to prevent one shot from killing two men, sending one man, or more, forward, and the like on each side, at the distance of twenty yards from the main body, if the ground you march over will admit of it, to give the signal to the officer of the approach of an enemy, and of their number, &c

III. If you march over marshes or soft ground, change your position, and march abreast of each other to prevent the enemy from tracking you

of the second battalion
of Royal Americans.

of the 3d ditto.

of the 4th ditto.

Rangers.

med into a company by
more immediate com-
of them to myself; and
tion reduced into writ-
ting

you (as they would do if you marched in a single file) till you get over such ground, and then resume your former order, and march till it is quite dark before you encamp, which do, if possible, on a piece of ground that may afford your centries the advantage of seeing or hearing the enemy some considerable distance, keeping one half of your whole party awake alternately through the night.

IV. Some time before you come to the place you would reconnoitre, make a stand, and send one or two men in whom you can confide, to look out the best ground for making your observations.

V. If you have the good fortune to take any prisoners, keep them separate, till they are examined, and in your return take a different route from that in which you went out, that you may the better discover any party in your rear, and have an opportunity, if their strength be superior to yours, to alter your course, or disperse, as circumstances may require.

VI. If you march in a large body of three or four hundred, with a design to attack the enemy, divide your party into three columns, each headed by a proper officer, and let those columns march in single files, the columns to the right and left keeping at twenty yards distance or more from that

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that of the center, if the ground will admit, and
 let proper guards be kept in the front and rear, and
 suitable flanking parties at a due distance as before
 directed, with orders to halt on all eminences, to
 take a view of the surrounding ground, to pre-
 vent your being ambuscaded, and to notify the
 approach or retreat of the enemy, that proper dis-
 positions may be made for attacking, defending,
 &c. And if the enemy approach in your front
 on level ground, form a front of your three co-
 lumns or main body with the advanced guard,
 keeping out your flanking parties, as if you were
 marching under the command of trusty officers,
 to prevent the enemy from pressing hard on either
 of your wings, or surrounding you, which is the
 usual method of the savages, if their number will
 admit of it, and be careful likewise to support and
 strengthen your rear-guard.

VII. If you are obliged to receive the enemy's
 fire, fall, or squat down, till it is over, then rise and
 discharge them. If their main body is equal to
 yours, extend yourselves occasionally; but if supe-
 rior, be careful to support and strengthen your
 flanking parties, to make them equal to theirs,
 that if possible you may repulse them to their
 main body, in which case push upon them with
 the greatest resolution with equal force in each flank
 and in the center, observing to keep at a due dis-
 tance

ance from each other, and advance from tree to tree, with one half of the party before the other ten or twelve yards. If the enemy push upon you, let your front fire and fall down, and then let your rear advance thro' them and do the like, by which time those who before were in front will be ready to discharge again, and repeat the same alternately, as occasion shall require; by this means you will keep up such a constant fire, that the enemy will not be able easily to break your order, or gain your ground.

VIII. If you oblige the enemy to retreat, be careful, in your pursuit of them, to keep out your flanking parties, and prevent them from gaining eminences, or rising grounds, in which case they would perhaps be able to rally and repulse you in their turn.

IX. If you are obliged to retreat, let the front of your whole party fire and fall back, till the rear hath done the same, making for the best ground you can; by this means you will oblige the enemy to pursue you, if they do it at all, in the face of a constant fire.

X. If the enemy is so superior that you are in danger of being surrounded by them, let the whole body disperse, and every one take a different road to

advance from tree to tree before the other party push upon you, fall down, and then let them pass, and do the like, by which means you will be in front will be repeated, and repeat the same order, and repeat the same order; by this means constant fire, that the enemy will be obliged to break your order,

the enemy to retreat, be obliged to keep out your fire, and prevent them from gaining ground, in which case they will rally and repulse you in

ordered to retreat, let the fire and fall back, till the enemy is obliged to make for the best ground you will oblige the enemy to retreat, at all, in the face of a

superior that you are in, by them, let the whole party take a different road to

to the place of rendezvous appointed for that evening, which must every morning be fixed for the evening ensuing, in order that the whole party, or as many of them as you please, may be together, after any separation that may happen in the day; but if you should happen to be actually surrounded, form yourselves into a square, or if in the woods, a circle is best, and, if possible, make a stand till the darkness of the night favours your escape.

XI. If your rear is attacked, the main body and flankers must face about to the right and left, as occasion shall require, and form themselves to oppose the enemy, as before directed; and the same method must be observed, if attacked in either of your flanks, by which means you will always make a rear of one of your flank-guards.

XII. If you determine to rally after a retreat, in order to make a fresh stand against the enemy, by all means endeavour to do it on the most rising ground you come at, which will give you greatly the advantage in point of situation, and enable you to repulse superior numbers.

XIII. In general, when pushed upon by the enemy, reserve your fire till they approach very near, which will then put them into the greatest surprize

surprize and consternation, and give you an opportunity of rushing upon them with your hatchets and cutlasses to the better advantage.

XIV. When you encamp at night, fix your centres in such a manner as not to be relieved from the main body till morning, profound secrecy and silence being often of the last importance in these cases. Each centry therefore should consist of six men, two of whom must be constantly alert, and when relieved by their fellows, it should be done without noise; and in case those on duty see or hear any thing, which alarms them, they are not to speak, but one of them is silently to retreat, and acquaint the commanding officer thereof, that proper dispositions may be made; and all occasional centres should be fixed in like manner.

XV. At the first dawn of day, awake your whole detachment; that being the time when the savages chuse to fall upon their enemies, you should by all means be in readiness to receive them.

XVI. If the enemy should be discovered by your detachments in the morning, and their numbers are superior to yours, and a victory doubtful, you should not attack them till the evening, as then they will not know your numbers, and if you are

and give you an opportunity with your hatchet advantage.

At night, fix your centre not to be relieved from sleep, profound secrecy and the utmost importance in these things should consist of fix your posts constantly alert, and in the watches, it should be done so that those on duty see or hear them, they are not to retreat, and the officer thereof, that proceeds; and all occasional like manner.

In the morning of day, awake your men being the time when their enemies, you should be ready to receive them.

Should be discovered by the morning, and their numbers, and a victory doubtful, until the evening, as to your numbers, and if you are

are repulsed, your retreat will be favoured by the darkness of the night.

XVII. Before you leave your encampment, send out small parties to scout round it, to see if there be any appearance or track of an enemy that might have been near you during the night.

XVIII. When you stop for refreshment, chuse some spring or rivulet if you can, and dispose your party so as not to be surpris'd, posting proper guards and sentries at a due distance, and let a small party waylay the path you came in, lest the enemy should be pursuing.

XIX. If, in your return, you have to cross rivers, avoid the usual fords as much as possible, lest the enemy should have discovered, and be there expecting you.

XX. If you have to pass by lakes, keep at some distance from the edge of the water, lest, in case of an ambuscade or an attack from the enemy, when in that situation, your retreat should be cut off.

XXI. If the enemy pursue your rear, take a circle till you come to your own tracks, and there form an ambush to receive them, and give them the first fire.

XXII.

XXII. When you return from a scout, and come near our forts, avoid the usual roads, and avenues thereto, lest the enemy should have headed you, and lay in ambush to receive you, when almost exhausted with fatigues.

XXIII. When you pursue any party that has been near our forts or encampments, follow not directly in their tracks, lest they should be discovered by their rear-guards, who, at such a time, would be most alert; but endeavour, by a different route, to head and meet them in some narrow pass, or lay in ambush to receive them when and where they least expect it.

XXIV. If you are to embark in canoes, battoes, or otherwise, by water, chuse the evening for the time of your embarkation, as you will then have the whole night before you, to pass undiscovered by any parties of the enemy, on hills, or other places, which command a prospect of the lake or river you are upon.

XXV. In paddling or rowing, give orders that the boat or canoe next the sternmost, wait for her, and the third for the second, and the fourth for the third, and so on, to prevent separation, and that you may be ready to assist each other on any emergency.

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XXVI

XXVI. Appoint one man in each boat to look out for fires, on the adjacent shores, from the numbers and size of which you may form some judgment of the number that kindled them, and whether you are able to attack them or not.

XXVII. If you find the enemy encamped near the banks of a river or lake, which you imagine they will attempt to cross for their security upon being attacked, leave a detachment of your party on the opposite shore to receive them, while, with the remainder, you surprize them, having them between you and the lake or river.

XXVIII. If you cannot satisfy yourself as to the enemy's number and strength, from their fire, &c. conceal your boats at some distance, and ascertain their number by a reconnoitring party, when they embark, or march, in the morning, marking the course they steer, &c. when you may pursue, ambush, and attack them; or let them pass, as prudence shall direct you. In general, however, that you may not be discovered by the enemy on the lakes and rivers at a great distance, it is safest to lay by, with your boats and party concealed all day, without noise or shew, and to pursue your intended route by night; and whether you go by land or water, give out parole and countersigns, in order to know one another in the
D
dark,

dark, and likewise appoint a station for every man to repair to, in case of any accident that may separate you."

Such in general are the rules to be observed in the Ranging service; there are, however, a thousand occurrences and circumstances which may happen, that will make it necessary, in some measure, to depart from them, and to put other arts and stratagems in practice; in which cases every man's reason and judgment must be his guide, according to the particular situation and nature of things; and that he may do this to advantage, he should keep in mind a maxim never to be departed from by a commander, viz. to preserve a firmness and presence of mind on every occasion.

My Lord Loudoun about this time made a visit to Fort Edward, and after giving directions for quartering the army the approaching winter, left a strong garrison there under the command of Colonel Haviland, and returned to Albany. The Rangers * with the before-mentioned volunteers,

were
 * Several of them were dismissed with an allowance of thirteen days pay to carry them home, being rendered unfit for immediate service by their past fatigues, and several officers were sent recruiting in order to have the companies complete by the opening of the spring.

were encamped and quartered in huts on an adjacent island in Hudson's River, and were sent out on various scouts, in which my ill state of health at this time would not permit me to accompany them, till December 17, 1757, when, pursuant to orders from Lieutenant Colonel Haviland, commanding officer at Fort Edward, I marched from thence with a party of 150 men to reconnoitre Carillon, alias Ticonderoga, and if possible to take a prisoner. We marched six miles and encamped, the snow being then about three inches deep; and before morning it was fifteen: we however pursued our route.

On the 18th in the morning, eight of my party being tired, returned to the fort; with the remainder I marched nine miles further, and encamped on the east-side of Lake-George, near the place where Mons. Montcalm landed his troops when he besieged and took Fort William-Henry, where I found some cannon-ball and shells, which had been hid by the French, and made a mark by which I might find them again.

The 19th we continued our march on the west-side of the lake nine miles further, near the head of the north-west bay.

This day, so many of my party tired and returned

ed as reduced our number to 123 officers included, with whom I proceeded ten miles further, and encamped at night, ordering each man to leave a day's provisions there till our return.

The next day we marched ten miles further, and encamped near the great brook that runs into Lake George, eight miles from the French advanced guard.

The 23d we marched eight miles, and the 24th six more, and then halted within 600 yards of Carillon fort. Near the mills we discovered five Indian's tracks, that had marched that way the day before as we supposed, on a hunting party. On my march this day between the advanced guard and the fort, I appointed three places of rendezvous to repair to in case of being broke in an action, and acquainted every officer and soldier that I should rally the party at the nearest post to the fort, and if broke there to retreat to the second; and at the third to make a stand till the darkness of the night would give us an opportunity to get off. Soon after I halted I formed an ambush on a road leading from the fort to the woods, with an advanced party of twenty men, and a rear-guard of fifteen. About eleven o'clock a serjeant of marines came from the fort up the road to my advanced party, who let him pass to the main body, where I made him prisoner.

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I made him prisoner.
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Upon examination, he reported, " that there were
" in the garrison 350 regulars, about fifty work-
" men, and but five Indians: that they had plen-
" ty of provisions, &c. and that twelve masons were
" constantly employed in blowing up rocks in the
" entrenchment, and a number of soldiers to assist
" them: that at Crown Point there were 50 sol-
" diers and fourteen Indians: that M^{on}s. Mont-
" calm was at Montreal: that 500 Ottawawas In-
" dians wintered in Canada, and that 500 Rangers
" were lately raised in Canada, each man having a
" double-barrelled fuzee, and put under an expe-
" rienced officer, well acquainted with the coun-
" try: that he did not know whether the French
" intended to attack any of the English forts this
" winter or not; but that they expected a great
" number of Indians as soon as the ice would bear
" them, in order to go down to the English forts;
" and that all the bakers in Carillon were employ-
" ed in baking biscuit for the scouts above-menti-
" oned."

About noon, a Frenchman, who had been hunt-
ing, came near my party in his return, when I or-
dered a party to pursue him to the edge of the clear-
ed ground, and take him prisoner, with this caution,
to shoot off a gun or two, and then retreat to the
main-body, in order to intice the enemy from their
fort;

fort ; which orders were punctually obeyed, but not one of them ventured out.

The last prisoner, on examination, gave much the same account as the other, but with this addition, " that he had heard the English intended to attack Ticonderoga, as soon as the lake was froze so as to bear them."

When I found the French would not come out of the fort, we went about killing their cattle, and destroyed seventeen head, and set fire to the wood, which they had collected for the use of the garrison, and consumed five large piles ; the French shot off some cannon at the fires, but did us no harm. At eight o'clock at night I began my march homewards, and arrived at Fort Edward with my prisoners the 27th. In my return, I found at the north-end of Lake George, where the French had hid the boats they had taken at Fort William Henry, with a great number of cannon-balls ; but as the boats were under water we could not destroy them. Upon my return to Fort Edward, I received a letter from Captain Abercrombie, informing me that the Earl of Loudoun, who was then at New York, had thoughts of augmenting the Rangers, and had desired General Abercrombie to command me down to receive his directions. I accordingly prepared for my journey, and upon my arrival was received
by

by his Lordship in a very friendly manner; and, after much conversation upon the subject, he was pleased to inform me of his intentions of levying five additional companies of Rangers, desiring me to name the persons whom I thought fit for officers, and such as might be depended upon, to levy the men his Lordship desired; which I accordingly did, and then received from him the following instructions.

“ By his Excellency John Earl of Loudoun, Lord Mashline and Tairenseen &c. &c. &c. one of the sixteen peers of Scotland, Governor and Captain General of Virginia, and Vice Admiral of the same, Colonel of the 13th Regiment of foot, Colonel in chief of the Royal American regiment, Major General and Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's forces, raised or to be raised in North-America :

“ Whereas I have this day thought proper to augment the Rangers with five additional companies, that is, four New England and one Indian company, to be forthwith raised and employed in his Majesty's service; and whereas I have an entire confidence in your skill and knowledge, of the men most fit for that service; I do therefore by these presents appoint you to raise such a number of non-commission officers and private men as will be necessary

necessary to compleat the said five companies, upon the following establishment, viz. each company to consist of one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Ensign, four Serjeants and 100 privates. The officers to have British pay, that is, the same as an officer of the like rank in his Majesty's regular forces; the Serjeants 4s. New York currency per day, and the private men 2s. 6d. currency per day. And the better to enable you to make this levy of men, you shall have one month's pay for each of the said five companies advanced to you; upon these conditions, that, out of the first warrants that shall hereafter be granted for the subsistence of these companies, shall be deducted the said month's pay now advanced. Your men to find their own arms, which must be such as upon examination, shall be found fit, and be approved of. They are likewise to provide themselves with good warm cloathing, which must be uniform in every company, and likewise with good warm blankets. And the company of Indians to be dressed in all respects in the true Indian fashion, and they are all to be subject to the rules and articles of war. You will forthwith acquaint the officers appointed to these companies, that they are immediately to set out on the recruiting service, and you will not fail to instruct them that they are not to enlist any man for a less term than one year, nor any but what are able-bodied, well acquainted with the woods, used to hunting,
and

and every way qualified for the Ranging &c. You are also to observe that the number of men requisite to compleat the said five companies, are all to be at Fort Edward on or before the 15th day of March next ensuing, and those that shall come by the way of Albany are to be mustered there by the officer commanding, as shall those who go strait to Fort Edward by the officer commanding there. Given under my hand, at New York, the 11th day of January 1758.

LOUDBOURN.

By his Excellency's command,
To Capt. J. APPY.
Robert Rogers.

In pursuance of the above instructions I immediately sent officers into the New England provinces, where, by the assistance of my friends, the requested augmentation of Rangers was quickly compleated, the whole five companies being ready for service by the 4th of March.

Four of these companies were sent to Louisburg to join General Amherst, and one joined the corps under my command; and tho' I was at the whole expence of raising the five companies, I never got the least allowance for it, and one of the captains dying, to whom I had delivered a thousand dollars as advance pay for his company, which, agreeable to the

the instructions I received, had a right to do, yet was I obliged to account with the government for this money, and entirely lost every penny of it. It has already been mentioned, that the garrison at Fort Edward, was this winter under the command of Lieut. Col. Haviland. This gentleman, about the 28th of February, ordered out a scout under the direction of one Putnam, Captain of a company of one of the Connecticut provincial regiments, with some of my men, given out publickly at the same time, that, upon Putnam's return, I should be sent to the French forts with a strong party of 400 Rangers.

This was known not only to all the officers, but soldiers also, at Fort Edward before Putnam's departure.

While this party was out, a servant of Mr. Best, a sutler to the Rangers, was captivated by a flying party of the enemy from Ticonderoga; unfortunately too, one of Putnam's men had left him at Lake George, and deserted to the enemy. Upon Captain Putnam's return, we were informed he had ventured within eight miles of the French fort at Ticonderoga, and that a party he had sent to make discoveries had reported to him, that there were near 600 Indians not far from the enemy's quarters.

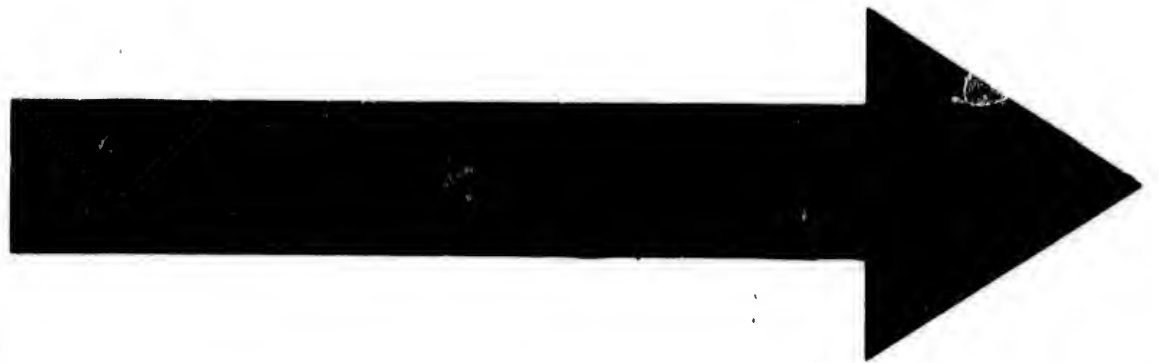
March 10, 1758. Soon after the said Captain Putnam's return, in consequence of positive orders from Col. Haviland, I this day began a march from Fort

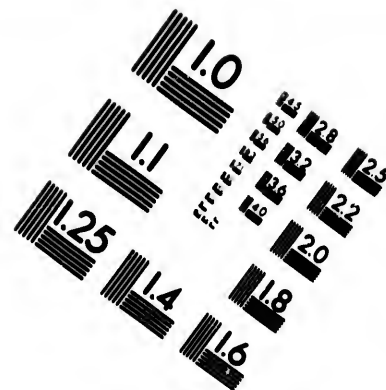
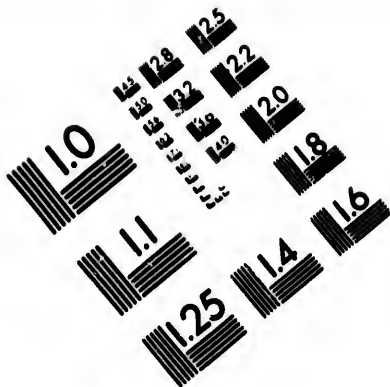
] had a right to do; yet was
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party of 400 Rangers.

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ward before Putnam's de-

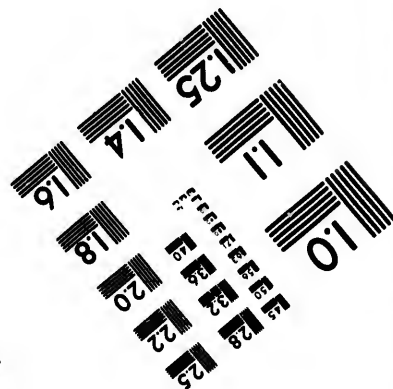
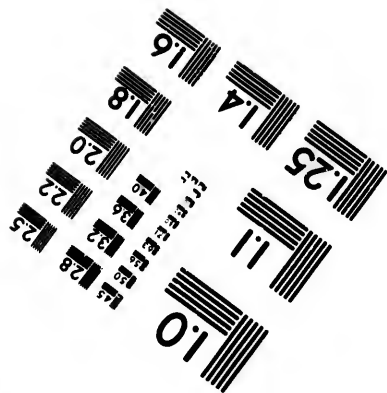
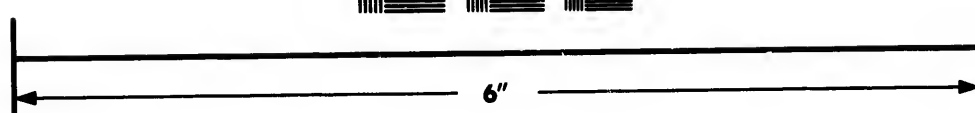
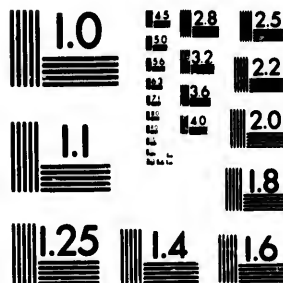
t, a servant of Mr. Best, a
captivated by a flying par-
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had left him at Lake
the enemy. Upon Captain
e informed he had ventu-
the French fort at Ticon-
he had sent to make disco-
, that there were near 600
enemy's quarters.

fter the said Captain Put-
quence of positive orders
is day began a march from
Fort





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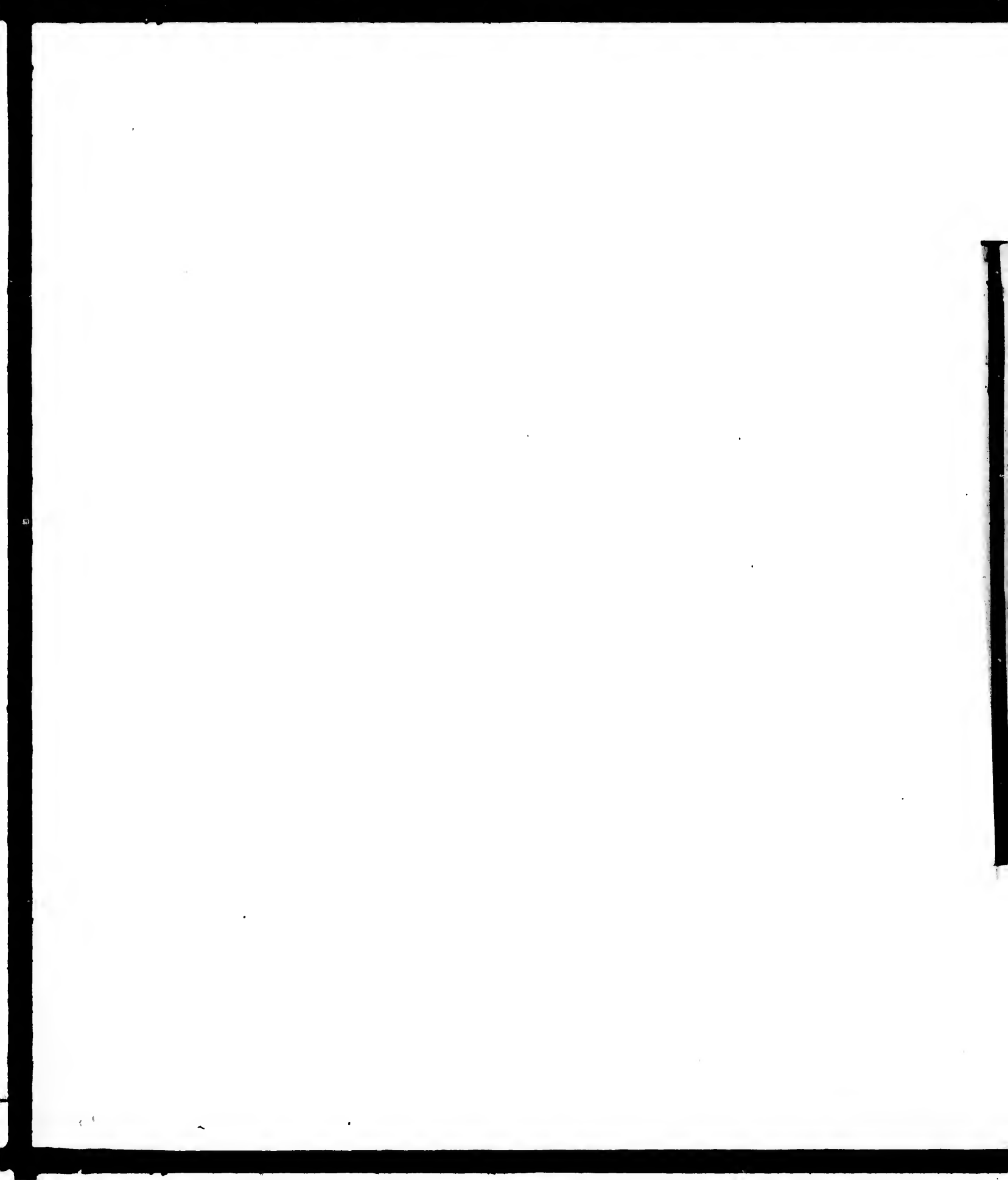
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Fort Edward for the neighbourhood of Carillon, not with a party of 400 men, as at first given out, but of 180 men only, officers included, one Captain, one Lieutenant, and one Ensign, and three volunteers, viz. Mess. Creed, Kent and Wrightson, one serjeant, and one private, all of the 27th regiment; and a detachment from the four companies of Rangers, quartered on the island near Fort Edward, viz. Capt Buckley, Lieutenants Phillips, Moore, Crafton, Campbell, and Pottinger; Ensigns Ross, Wait, M'Donald, and White, and 162 private men. I acknowledge I entered upon this service, and viewed this small detachment of brave men march out, with no little concern and uneasiness of mind; for as there was the greatest reason to suspect, that the French were, by the prisoner and deserter above mentioned, fully informed of the design of sending me out upon Putnam's return: what could I think to see my party, instead of being strengthened and augmented, reduced to less than one half the number at first proposed. I must confess it appeared to me (ignorant and unskilled as I then was in politicks and the art of war) incomprehensible; *but my commander doubtless had his reasons; and is able to vindicate his own conduct.* We marched to the half-way brook, in the road leading to Lake George, and there encamped the first night.

The 17th we proceeded as far as the first Narrows on Lake George, and encamped that evening

ing on the east-side of the lake; and after dark, I sent a party three miles further down, to see if the enemy might be coming towards our forts, but they returned without discovering any. We were however on our guard, and kept parties walking on the lake all night, besides centries at all necessary places on the land.

The 12th we marched from our encampment at sun-rise, and having distanced it about three miles, I saw a dog running across the lake, whereupon I sent a detachment to reconnoitre the island, thinking the Indians might have laid in ambush there for us; but no such could be discovered; upon which I thought it expedient to put to shore and lay by till night, to prevent any party from decrying us on the lake, from hills, or otherwise. We halted at a place called Sabbath-day Point, on the west-side of the lake, and sent our parties to look down the lake with perspective glasses, which we had for that purpose. As soon as it was dark we proceeded down the lake. I sent Lieutenant Phillips with fifteen men, as an advanced guard, some of whom went before him on scates, while Ensign Kofs flanked us on the left under the west-shore, near which we kept the main body, marching as close as possible, to prevent separation, it being a very dark night. In this manner we continued our march till within eight miles of the shore.

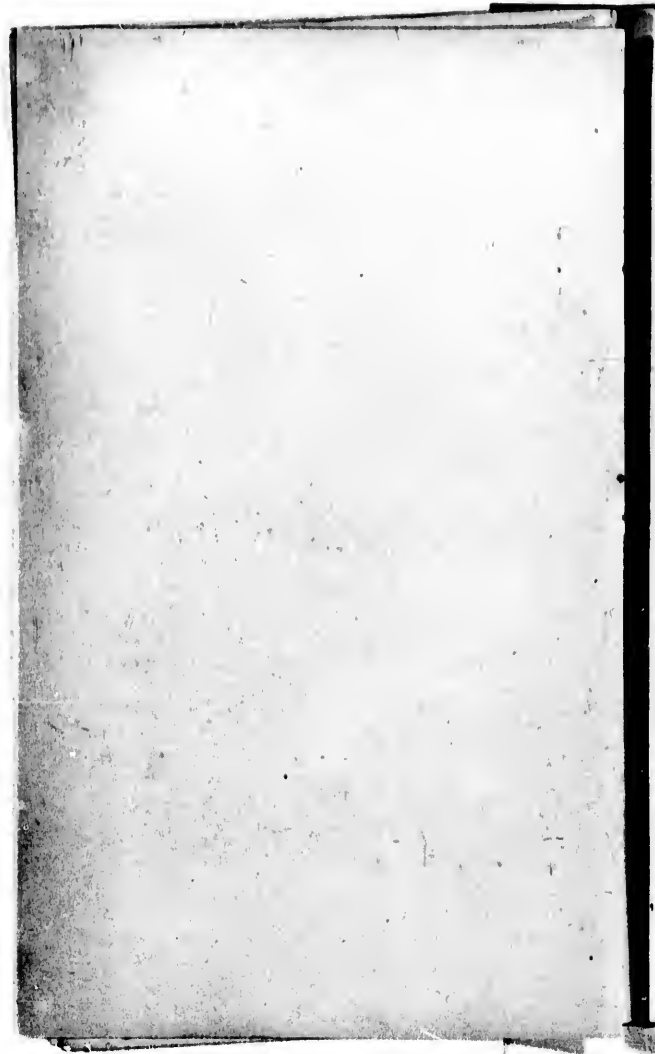
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Printed by the Government Printer, Ottawa, 1880.

SAINT-JAY POINT, LAKE GEORGE.



French advanced guards, when Lieutenant Phillips sent a man on skates back to me, to desire me to halt; upon which I ordered my men to squat down upon the ice. Mr. Phillips soon came to me himself, leaving his party to look out, and said, he imagined he had discovered a fire on the east-shore, but was not certain; upon which I sent with him Ensign White, to make further discovery. In about an hour they returned, fully persuaded that a party of the enemy was encamped there. I then called in the advanced guard, and flanking party, and marched on to the west-shore, where, in a thicket, we hid our sleds and packs, leaving a small guard with them, and with the remainder I marched to attack the enemy's encampment, if there was any; but when we came near the place, no fires were to be seen, which made us conclude that we had mistaken some bleach-patches of snow, or pieces of rotten wood, for fire (which in the night, at a distance resembles it) whereupon we returned to our packs, and there lay the remainder of the night without fire.

The 13th, in the morning, I deliberated with the officers how to proceed, who were unanimously of opinion, that it was best to go by land in snow-shoes, lest the enemy should discover us on the lake; we accordingly.

A small party of the French, as we have since heard, had a fire here at this time; but, discovering my advanced party, extinguished their fire, and carried the news of our approach to the French fort.

cordingly continued our march on the west-side, keeping on the back of the mountains that overlooked the French advanced guard. At twelve of the clock we halted two miles west of those guards, and there refreshed ourselves till three, that the day-scout from the fort might be returned home before we advanced; intending at night to ambuscade some of their roads, in order to trepan them in the morning. We then marched in two divisions, the one headed by Captain Buckley, the other by myself; Ensign White and Wait had the rear-guard, the other officers were posted properly in each division, having a rivulet at a small distance on our left, and a steep mountain on our right. We kept close to the mountain, that the advanced guard might better observe the rivulet, on the ice of which I imagined they would travel it out, as the snow was four feet deep, and very bad traveling on snow-shoes.

In this manner we marched a mile and an half, when our advanced guard informed me of the enemy being in their view; and soon after, that they had ascertained their number to be ninety-six, chiefly Indians.

We immediately laid down our packs, and prepared for battle, supposing these to be the whole number or main body of the enemy, who were marching on our left up the rivulet, upon the ice. I ordered Ensign McDonald to the command of the advanced guard, which, as we faced to the left, made

made a flanking party to our right. We marched to within a few yards of the bank, which was higher than the ground we occupied; and observing the ground gradually to descend from the bank of the rivulet to the foot of the mountain, we extended our party along the bank, far enough to command the whole of the enemy's at once; we waited till their front was nearly opposite to our left wing, when I fired a gun, as a signal for a general discharge upon them, whereupon we gave them the first fire, which killed above forty Indians; they retreated, and were pursued by about one half of our people. I now imagined the enemy totally defeated, and ordered Ensign McDonald to head the flying remains of them, that none might escape; but we soon found our mistake, and that the party we had attacked were only their advanced guard, their main body coming up, consisting of 600 more, Canadians and Indians; upon which I ordered our people to retreat to their own ground, which we gained at the expence of fifty men killed; the remainder I rallied, and drew up in pretty good order, where they fought with such intrepidity and bravery as obliged the enemy (tho' seven to one in number) to retreat a second time; but w^{as} not being in a condition to pursue them, they rallied again, and recovered their ground, and warmly pushed us in front and both wings, while the mountain defended our rear; but they were so warmly received, that their flanking parties soon retreated to their

their main body with considerable loss. This threw the whole again into disorder, and they retreated a third time; but our number being now too far reduced to take advantage of their disorder, they rallied again, and made a fresh attack upon us. About this time we discovered 200 Indians going up the mountain on our right, as we supposed, to get possession of the rising ground, and attack our rear; to prevent which I sent Lieutenant Phillips, with eighteen men, to gain the first possession, and beat them back; which he did, and being suspicious that the enemy would go round on our left, and take possession of the other part of the hill, I sent Lieutenant Crafton, with fifteen men, to prevent them there; and soon after desired two Gentlemen, who were there volunteers in the party, with a few men, to go and support him, which they did with great bravery.

The enemy pushed us so close in front, that the
 I had before this desired these gentlemen to retire, offering them
 a Sergeant to conduct them; that as they were not used to foot-
 shoes, and were unacquainted with the woods, they would have
 no chance of escaping the enemy, in case we should be broken and
 go to flight, which I very much suspected. They at first seemed
 to accept the offer, and began to retire; but seeing us so closely
 beset, they undoesedly returned to our assistance. What befel
 them after the fight, may be seen by a letter from one of the
 Gentlemen to the commanding officer, which I have inserted next
 to this account of our fight.

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which have informed me.

parties were not more than twenty yards asunder
in general, and sometimes intermixed with each o-
ther. The fire continued almost constant for an
hour and a half from the beginning of the attack, in
which time we lost eight officers, and more than
100 private men killed on the spot. We were at
last obliged to break, and I with about twenty men
ran up the hill to Phillips and Craiton, where we
stopped and fired on the Indians who were eagerly
pushing us, with numbers that we could not with-
stand. Lieutenant Phillips being surrounded by 300
Indians, was at this time capitulating for himself
and party, on the other part of the hill. He spoke
to me, and said if the enemy would give them good
quarters, he thought it best to surrender, other-
wise that he would fight while he had one man left
to fire a gun †.

I now thought it most prudent to retreat, and
bring off with me as many of my party as I possibly
could, which I immediately did; the Indians close-
ly pursuing us at the same time, took several pri-
soners. We came to Lake George in the evening,
where we found several wounded men, whom we
took

† This unfortunate officer, and his whole party, after they
surrendered, upon the strongest assurances of good treatment
from the enemy, were inhumanly tied up to trees, and hewn to
pieces, in a most barbarous and shocking manner.

took with us to the place where we had left our sleds, from whence I sent an express to Fort Edward, desiring Mr. Haviland to send a party to meet us, and assist us in bringing in the wounded; with the remainder I tarried there the whole night, without fire or blankets, and in the morning we proceeded up the lake, and met with Captain Stark at Hoop Island, six miles north from Fort William-Henry, and encamped there that night; the next day being the 15th, in the evening, we arrived at Fort Edward.

The number of the enemy was about 700, 600 of which were Indians. By the best accounts we could get, we killed 150 of them, and wounded as many more. I will not pretend to determine what we should have done had we been 400 or more strong; but this I am obliged to say of those brave men who attended me (most of whom are now no more) both officers and soldiers in their respective stations behaved with uncommon resolution and courage; nor do I know an instance during the whole action in which I can justly impeach the prudence or good conduct of any one of them.

The following is a LIST of the Killed, Missing, &c.

The Captain and Lieutenant of his Majesty's regular troops, volunteers in this party, were taken

ken prisoners; the Ensign, another volunteer of the same corps, was killed, as were two volunteers, and a Serjeant of the said corps, and one private.

Of Capt. Rogers's Company,

Lieut. Moore — Killed.

Serjeant Parnell — Ditto.

Thirty-six privates — Ditto.

Of Capt. Shepherd's Company,

Two Serjeants

Sixteen privates

Of Capt. James Rogers's Company,

Ensign M'Donald — Killed.

Of Capt. John Starks's Company,

Two Serjeants — Killed.

Fourteen privates — Ditto.

Of Capt. Bulkley's Company,

Capt. Bulkley — Killed.

Lieut. Pottinger — Ditto.

Ensign White — Ditto.

Forty-seven privates — K. and Miss.

Of Capt. William Starks's Company,

Ensign Rose — Killed.

Of Capt. Brewster's Company,

Lieut. Campoell — Killed.

A Gentleman of the army, who was a volunteer

on this party, and who with another fell into the hands of the French, wrote the following letter, some time after, to the officer commanding the regiment they belonged to at Fort Edward.

Canillo, March 12, 1758.

" Dear Sir,

As a flag of truce is daily expected here with an answer to Monsieur Vaudreull, I sit down to write the moment I am able, in order to have a letter ready, as no doubt you and our friends at Fort Edward are anxious to be informed about Mr. — and me, whom probably you have reckoned among the slain in our unfortunate rencounter of the 13th, concerning which at present I shall not be particular; only to do this justice to those who lost their lives there, and to those who have escaped, to assure you, Sir, that such dispositions were taken by the enemy (who discovered us long enough before) it was impossible for a party so weak as ours to hope for even a retreat. Towards the conclusion of the affair, it was cried from a rising ground on our right, to retire there; where, after scrambling with difficulty, as I was unaccustomed to snow-shoes, I found Capt. Rogers had told him that I saw to retire further was impossible, therefore earnestly begged we might collect all the men left, and make a stand there. Mr. — who was with him, was of my opinion, and Capt. Rogers also;

another fell into the
e following letter,
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Edward.

March 28, 1757.

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Mr. —, who was
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also; who therefore desired me to maintain one side
of the hill, which he defended the other. Our
parties did not exceed above ten or twelve in each,
and mine was shifting towards the mountain, leav-
ing me unable to defend my post, or to labour
with them up the hill. In the mean time, Capt.
Rogers with his party came to me, and said (as did
all those with them) that a large body of Indians
had descended to our right; he likewise added, what
was true, that the combat was very unequal, that
I should retire, and he would give Mr. — and me
a Serjeant to conduct us thro' the mountain. No
doubt: prudence required us to accept his offer;
but the steepness of the snow slope being untrod, I
knew myself unable to march so fast as was require-
d to avoid becoming a sacrifice to an enemy we
could no longer oppose; I therefore begged of him
to proceed, and then leant against a rock in the
path, determined to submit to a fall: I thought un-
avoidable. Unfortunately for Mr. — his horse
had more loosened its girth, which obliged him to
descend to the bottom, and to labour in a slighter
way, both unequal to. Every Indian we expected
to fight; but what induced them to quit this
post, in which we actually sat down, we are igno-
rant of, unless they exchanged it for a shorter, to in-
crease their own bad fall: I judge, that their quality
and quantity of fire, we imagined they had got the
rest of the Rogers' party. This thought, with
the

1757

the approach of night; gave us the first hopes of retiring; and when the moon arose, we marched to the southward along the mountain, about three hours; which brought us to ice; and gave us reason to hope our difficulties were almost past; but we knew not we had enemies yet to combat with more cruel than the savages we had escaped. We marched all night; and on the morning of the 14th found ourselves entirely unacquainted with the ice. Here we saw a man, who came towards us; he was the servant of Capt. Rogers, with whom he had been oftentimes all over the country, and, without the least hesitation whatsoever, he informed us we were upon South Bay; that Wood-Creek was just before us; that he knew the way to Fort Anah extremely well; and would take us to Fort Edward the next day. Notwithstanding we were disappointed in our hopes of being upon Lake George; we thought ourselves fortunate in meeting such a guide, to whom we gave entire confidence; and which he in fact fulfilled, by bringing us to a creek, where he showed the tracks of Indians and the path he said they had taken to Fort Anah. After struggling thro' the snow (some hours) we were obliged to halt, to make our shoes, as Mr. _____ and the guide had left theirs at stopping upon the ice. Here we remained all night without any blankets; we could not get any; but a single waist coat, which had been sent out of regard to Mr. _____ who had his side the

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green jacket in the field, as I did likewise my furred
 cap, which became a mark to the enemy, and prob-
 ably was the cause of a slight wound in my face;
 so that I had but a silk handkerchief on my head,
 and our fire could not be large, as we had nothing
 to cut wood with. Before morning we contrived
 with forked sticks and strings of leather, a sort of
 snow-shoes, to prevent sinking entirely; and, on the
 15th, followed our guide west all day, but he did
 not fulfil his promise; however the next day it was
 impossible to fail, but even then, the 16th, he was
 unsuccessful; yet still we were patient, because he
 seemed well acquainted with the way, for he gave
 every mountain a name, and shewed us several places,
 where he said his master had either killed
 deer or encamped. The ground, or rather the
 want of sun-shine, made us incline to the south-
 ward, from whence by accident we saw ice, at se-
 veral miles distance, to the south-east. I was very
 certain, that after marching two days west of South
 Bay, Lake George could not be south-east from us,
 and therefore concluded this to be the upper end of
 the bay we had left. For this reason, together with
 the assurances of our guide, I advised continuing our
 course to the west, which must shortly strike Fort
 Anne, or some other place that we knew. But
 he wished to be upon the ice at day's rate; he
 was unable to continue in the snow, for the diffi-
 culties of our march had overcome him. And se-
 ally,

ally, Sir, was I to be misstruck in those we had: en-
raged already and afterwards, they would almost
be as tireless to you as rats, as they were to us
to suffer, so little and still a hundred I might
million and more of our blood with the

Our snow-shoes breaking, and sinking to our
middle every fifty paces, the scrambling up moun-
tains and across fallen timber, our nights without
sleep or covering, and but little fire, gathered with
great fatigue, our sustenance mostly water, and the
bark and berries of trees, for all our provisions
from the beginning was only a small Bologna sau-
sage, and a little ginger, I happened to have, and
which soon now was very much decreased, so that
I knew not how to oppose Mr. ———'s insinuation;
but as our guide still persisted Fort Anne was near,
we concluded to search a little longer, and if we
made no discovery to proceed next day towards the
ice; but we sought in vain, as did our guide the
next morning, tho' he returned, confidently assert-
ing he had discovered fresh proofs, that the fort
could not be far off. I confess I was still inclin'd
to follow him, for I was almost certain the belt we
could hope for descending upon this ice to our left
was to throw ourselves into the hands of the French,
and perhaps not be able to effect even that; but from
the circumstance I have mentioned, it was a point
I must yield to, which I did with great reluctancy.
The whole day of the 19th we march'd a doubtful
road,

those we had engaged they would almost as they were to us
and sinking to our scrambling up mountains
our nights without sleep, gathered with mostly water, and the for all our provisions
a small Bologna, happened to have, and much decreased, so that
Fort Anas was near, little longer, and if we
next day towards the as did our guides the
and considerably more proofs, that the fort
was still in the hands of the French,
but from this point with great difficulty
we marched a difficult road,

and between the mountains, with but one good
flow. The early the other of our own making, being
ing almost useless. The snow brought us to the
to which who were longed to arrive, yet I still
desires, this is the place, and with reason, for the
first night fortified us, it was the very place we had
let it to day before. Here I saw some my restful
his mind, as he said, terrible fatigue, cold, hunger,
destroyed the prospect of anything in the woods, as
reasons, I am not, and with great anxiety
recovered, but to think we were into the enemy's
hand, as a child, we had nothing to eat, our slender
stock had almost entirely failed through in time, and
we were not to be seen, as we were to be either dead or
left to starve. When our first thoughts were
the calm, we conceived hopes, that if we appeared
before the French fort, with a white flag, the com-
manding officer would relieve and return us to Fort
Howard. This served to pass our hearts
position to despair, and determined a resolution, which
in fact, we had no choice. I knew Captain Hall
as an officer, and by Saint Bay, therefore we were
cluded to him during the evening, and march to the
night, that we might approach it in the morning.
Before the wind struck us in a two, we instead
of its falling it increased, together with a freezing
rain, this increased our misery with ice, and ob-
liged us to remain until morning, the 19th, when we
E
fortunately

fortunately got some juniper berries, which revived,
 gave us spirits, and I thought strength. We were
 both so firmly of that opinion, that we purposed ta-
 king the advantage of its being a dark snowy day, to
 approach Carillon, to pass it in the night, and get
 upon Lake George. With difficulty we persuaded
 the guide to be of our opinion, we promised large re-
 ward in vain, until I offered him of provisions laid
 upon the lake; but we little considered how much
 nature was exhausted, and how unequal we were
 to the task: however, a few miles conveyed us, we
 were soon midway up our legs in the new-fallen
 snow; it drove full in our faces, and was as dark as
 the fog upon the banks of Newfoundland. Our
 strength and our hopes sunk together, nay, even
 those of reaching Carillon were doubtful, but we
 must proceed or perish. As it cleared up a little,
 we laboured to see the fort, which at every turn we
 expected, until we came to where the ice was gone,
 and the water narrow. This did not then agree
 with my idea of South Bay, but it was no time for
 reflection, we quitted the ice to the left, and after
 marching two miles, our guide assured us we ought
 to be on the other side of the water. This was a ve-
 ry distressing circumstance, yet we returned to the
 line and passed to the right, where, after struggling
 through the snow, about four miles, and breathing
 in every second step, as we had no snow shoes, we
 were stopped by a large water fall. Here I was a-
 gain

gain ahead with appearance, but nothing now was to be thought of only reaching the fort before night; yet to pass this place seemed impracticable; however, I attempted to ford it a little higher, and had almost gained the opposite shore, where the depth of the water, which was up to my breast, and the rapidity of the stream, hurried me off the slippery rocks, and plunged me entirely into the water. I was obliged to quit my gun, and with great difficulty escaped being carried down the fall. Mr. _____, who followed me, and the guide, though they held one another, suffered the same fate; but the hope of soon reaching a fire made us think lightly of this: as night approached we laboured excessively through the snow; we were certain the fort was not far from us, but our guide confessed, for the first time, that he was at a loss. Here we plainly observed that his brain was affected: he saw Indians all around him, and though we have since learned we had every thing at sea from them, yet it was a danger we did not now attend to; only we shouted aloud several times to give information we were there; but we could neither hear nor see anybody to lead us right, or more likely to destroy us, had it we had a minute we became pillars of ice, so that we were beset, as it froze so hard, to make a fire, although the danger was apparent. Fortunately we had one dry cartridge, and in trying with my pistol if it would strike a little of the powder,

der, but unfortunately held the strings too
 close, by which it took fire, blew up in our faces,
 almost blinded him, and gave excessive pain. This
 indeed promised to be the last stroke of fortune, as
 hopes of a fire were no more; but although we
 were not anxious about life, we knew it was more
 than probable that I should yield to this last misfor-
 tune. We made a path round a tree, and gave
 interval all the night, through the body of the
 fire, or rather such other ways as we could find,
 notwithstanding repeated shouts, struggled from
 where we lay down and died immediately. On the
 morning of the 20th, we saw the fire, which we
 approached with a great noise, and which we
 clearly towards us, and showed us a danger we
 did not think of. Some of our men were informed,
 that if the Indians, who were close upon them,
 had been in the way, it would have been in
 the power of the Spaniards to have prevented our
 escape, and we might have been obliged to
 the post, we might not have been able to reach
 them. We were indeed in a great measure
 assisted, which we were not, and we followed in our
 way, from all these difficulties; but though I have
 mentioned many, yet I do not think I have
 forgotten any, and I do not think I have
 omitted any, but the relation is so
 fully described, which determines in all respects,
 which

which appeared only one degree preferable to perishing in the woods.

"I shall make no comments upon these distresses, the malicious perhaps will say, which is very true, we brought them upon ourselves; but let them not wantonly add, we deserved them, because we were unsuccessful. They must allow we could not be led abroad, as such a foolish of fear, and less for amusement, or by an idle curiosity. I give you Sir, my reasons for asking leave, which you were pleased to approve, and I hope will defend them; and the same would make me again, in a voluntary enterprise, the chance of war to operate, had I an opportunity. These are Mr. ...'s sentiments as well as mine; and we both know you, Sir, too well to harbor the least doubts of receiving justice with regard to our conduct in the affair of our promotion in the regiment; the goodness of not leaving them so soon as our General ourself has desired our spirits in the least degree, so that we earnestly beg you will be so obliging with the General to have us restored as soon as possible, or at least to prevent our being sent to France, and separated from you, perhaps, during the war."

I have but one thing more to add, which we learned here, and which perhaps you have already observed from what I have said, that we were upon
E. 3.

no other ice than that of Lake George; but by the day overtaking us, the morning of the 14th, in the very place we had, in coming, marched during the night, we were entirely unacquainted with it, and obliged to put a confidence in this guide, whose head must have been astray from the beginning, or he could not so grossly have mistaken a place where he had so often been. This information but added to our distress, until we reflected that our not being entirely lost was the more wonderful. That we had parted from South Bay on the 14th, was a point with us beyond all doubt, and about which we never once hesitated, so that we acted entirely contrary to what we had established as a truth; for if, according to that, we had continued our course to the west, we must inevitably have perished; but the hand of Providence led us the contrary to our judgment; and though even then, and often afterwards, we thought it severe, yet in the end it saved us, and obliged us to reflect that we contrived many things unfortunate, which tended to our preservation. I am, &c.

Upon my return from the late unfortunate scout, I was ordered to Albany to recruit my companions, where I met with a very friendly reception from my Lord How, who advanced me cash to recruit the Rangers, and gave me leave to wait upon General Abercrombie at New York, who had now succeeded

succeeded my Lord Loudoun in the chief command, my Lord being at this time about to embark for England. I here received a commission from the General, of which the following is a copy.

“ By his Excellency James Abercrombie, Esq; Colonel of his Majesty's 44th Regiment of Foot, Colonel in Chief of the 60th or Royal American Regiment, Major General and Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's Forces raised or to be raised in North America, &c.

“ Whereas it may be of great use to his Majesty's service in the operations now carrying on for recovering his rights in America, to have a number of men employed in obtaining intelligence of the strength, situation, and motions of the enemy, as well as other services, for which Rangers, or men acquainted with the woods, only are fit: Having the greatest confidence in your loyalty, courage and skill in this kind of service, I do, by virtue of the power and authority to me given by his Majesty, hereby constitute and appoint you to be Major of the Rangers in his Majesty's service, and likewise Captain of a company of said Rangers. You are therefore to take the said Rangers as Major, and the said Company as Captain, into your care.

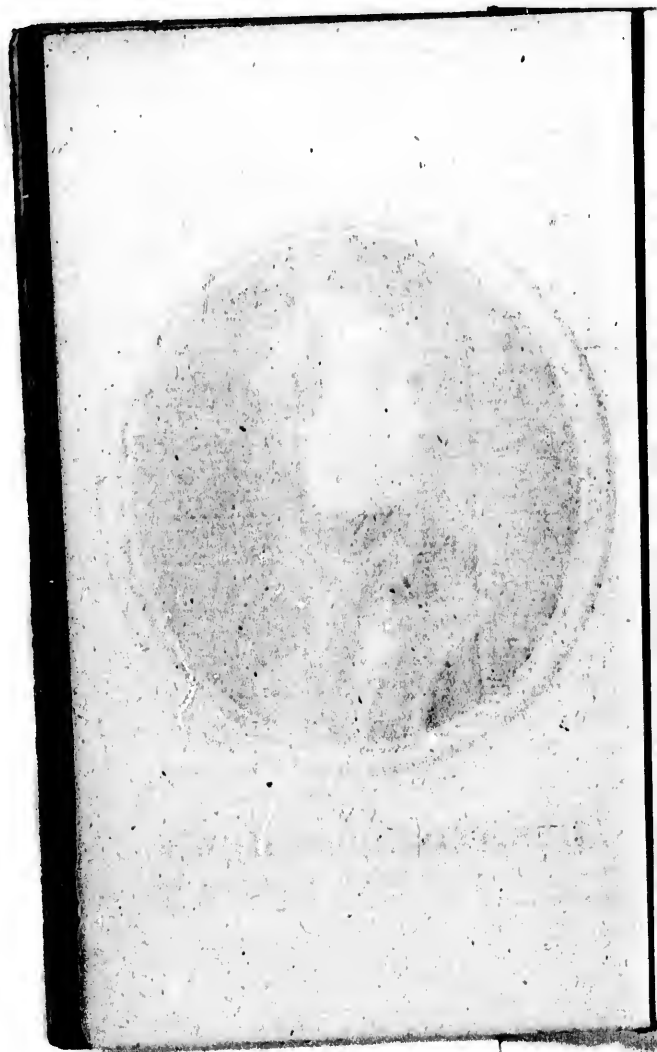
care and charge, and duly exercise and instruct, as well the officers as the soldiers thereof, in arms, and to use your best endeavours to keep them in good order, and discipline, and I do hereby command them to obey you as their Major and Captain respectively, and you are to follow and observe such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from His Majesty, myself, or any other superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war.

Given at New York, this 6th Day of April 1758, in the thirty-first Year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. By his Excellency's command, *James Oglethorpe*.
I left New York April 2, and according to orders accepted Lord Howe at Albany for his direction on the 12th, with whom I had a most agreeable interview, and a long conversation concerning the method of defending the army, and prosecuting the war with vigour the ensuing campaign. I parted with him, having the strongest assurances of his friendship and influence in my behalf, as well upon Colonel Grant, commanding officer

Exercise and instruct, as
 officers thereof, in arms,
 you are to keep them in
 and; I do hereby com-
 their Major and Cap-
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 according to the rules
 his Majesty, myself, or
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LORD VISCOUNT HOWE.



officer at Fort Edward, to assist him in conducting the Rangers, and scouting parties, in such a manner as might best serve the common cause, having a letter from my Lord to him. Capt. Stark was immediately dispatched to Ticonderoga on the west-side of Lake George. Capt. Jacob, whose Indian name was *Nawnawapetocahs*, on the east-side, and Capt. Shepherd betwixt the lakes, with directions to take if possible some prisoners near Carillon. About the same time I marched myself with eighteen men for Crown Point. Capt. Burbank was likewise dispatched in quest of prisoners. These scouts being often relieved, were kept out pretty constantly, in order to discover any parties of the enemy that might fall out towards our forts or frontiers, and to reconnoitre their situation and motions from time to time. The success of my own scout was as follows.

April 29, 1758, I marched from Fort Edward with a party of eighteen men, up the road that leads to Fort William Henry four miles, then north four miles, and encamped at Schoon Creek, it having been a very rainy day.

On the 30th we marched north-and-by-east all day, and encamped near South Bay.

The 1st of May we continued the same course, and

and at night encamped near the narrows, north of South Bay.

The 2d, in the morning, made a raft, and crossed the bay over to the east-side, and having distanced the lake about four miles we encamped.

The 3d we steered our course north, and lay at night about three miles from Carillon.

The 4th we marched north-by-east all day, and encamped at night three miles from Crown Point Fort.

The 5th we killed one Frenchman, and took three prisoners.

The 6th, in the morning, began our return homeward, and arrived with our prisoners at Fort Edward the 9th.

One of the prisoners, who appeared to be the most intelligible, reported, "that he was born at
 " Lorrain in France; that he had been in Canada eight years, viz. two at Quebec, one at
 " Montreal, and five at Crown Point; that
 " at the latter were but 200 soldiers, of which
 " Monf. le Janong was commander in chief; that
 " at Ticonderoga there were 400 of the Queen's
 " regiment, 150 marines 200 Canadians, and about
 " 700.

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" 700 Indians; and that they daily expected 300
" Indians more; that they did not intend to attack
" our forts this summer, but were preparing to re-
" ceive us at Ticonderoga; that they had heard
" that I, with most of my party, was killed in the
" conflict last March; but afterwards by some
" prisoners which a small party of their Indians
" had taken from Dutch Hoosyk, they were in-
" formed that Rogers was yet alive, and was go-
" ing to attack them again, being fully resolved to
" revenge the inhumanity and barbarity with
" which they had used his men, in particular Lieut.
" Philips and his party, who were butchered by
" them, after they had promised them quarters;
" that this was talked of among the Indians, who
" greatly blamed the French for encouraging them
" so to do."

Captains Stark and Jacob returned the day be-
fore me; the former brought in with him six pri-
soners, four of which he took near Ticonderoga;
they having escaped from New York and Albany,
were in their flight to the French forts. The lat-
ter, who had but one white man with him, and
eighteen Indians, took ten prisoners, and seven
scalps, out of a party of fifty French. An account
of these scouts, and the intelligence thereby gained,
was transmitted to my Lord How, and by him to
the General.

About

About the middle of May, a flag of truce was sent to Ticonderoga, on Col. Schyler's account, which put a stop to all offensive scouts, till its return.

May 28, 1758, I received positive orders from the General, to order all officers and men, belonging to the Rangers, and the two Indian companies, who were on furlow, or recruiting parties, to join their respective companies as soon as possible, and that every man of the corps under my command should be at his post at or before the 10th of next month. These orders were obeyed, and parties kept out on various scouts till the 8th of June, when my Lord Howe arrived at Fort Edward with the half of the army.

His Lordship immediately ordered me out with fifty men in whale-boats, which were carried over by wigwags to Lake George, and directed me at all events to take a plan of the landing-place at the mouth of the river with all possible accuracy, and also of the ground from the landing-place to the French fort at Carillon, and of Lake Champlain for three miles beyond it, and to discover the enemy's number to the quarter. Agreeable to these orders, on the 23rd in the morning, I marched with a party of fifty men, and encamped in the evening at the place where Fort William-Henry stood.

On the 30th we proceeded down the lake in five whale-boats to the first narrows, and so on to the west end of the lake, where I took the plan his Lordship desired. Part of my party then proceeded to reconnoitre Ticonderoga, and discovered a large encampment there, and a great number of Indians.

While I was, with two or three others, taking a plan of the fort, encampment &c. I left the remainder of my party at some considerable distance; when I was returning to them, at the distance of about 300 yards, they were fallen upon by a superior number of the enemy who had got between me and them. Capt. Jacobs, with the Mohagon Indians, run off at the first onset, calling to our people to run likewise; but they stood their ground, and discharged their pieces several times, at last broke through the enemy, by whom they were surrounded on all sides except their rear, where a river divided them: they killed three of the enemy, but lost eight of their own party in this skirmish. My party rallied at the boats, where I joined them, and having collected all but the slain together, we returned homeward. On the 20th at Half Way brook, we met my Lord How, advanced with three thousand men, to whom I gave an account of my observations, together with a plan of the landing-place, the fort at Carillon, and the situation of the lakes.

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I obtained leave of my Lord to go to Fort Edward, where his Excellency Major General Abercrombie was then posted, who ordered me to join my Lord How the next day with all the Rangers, being 600, in order to proceed with his Lordship to the lake.

On the 22d his Lordship encamped at the lake where formerly stood Fort William-Henry, and ordered the Rangers to advance 400 yards on the west-side, and encamp there; from which place, by his Lordship's orders, I sent off next morning three small parties of Rangers, viz. one to the narrows of South Bay, another to the west-side of Lake George, and a third to Ticonderoga Fort, all three parties by land. Another party, consisting of two Lieutenants and seventeen men, proceeded down the lake for discoveries, and were all made prisoners by about 300 French and Indians. This party embarked in whale-boats.

About the 28th of June, his Excellency Major General Abercrombie arrived at the lake with the remainder of the army, where he tarried till the morning of the 5th of July, and then the whole army, consisting of near 16,000, embarked in battoes for Ticonderoga.

The

The order of march was a most agreeable sight, the regular troops in the center, provincials on each wing, the light infantry on the right of the advanced guard, the Rangers on the left, with Colonel Broadstreet's battos-men in the center. In this manner we proceeded, till dusk, down Lake George to Sabbath Day Point, where the army halted and refreshed. About ten o'clock the army moved again, when my Lord How went in the front with his whale-boat, Lieutenant Col. Broadstreet's and mine, with Lieutenant Holmes, in another, whom he sent forward to go near the landing-place, and observe if any enemy was posted there.

Holmes returned about day-break, met the army near the Blue Mountains within four miles of the landing place, and reported that there was a party of the enemy at the landing-place, which he discovered by their fires.

As soon as it was light his Lordship, with Col. Broadstreet and myself, went down to observe the landing-place before the army, and when within about a quarter of a mile, plainly discerned that it was but a small detachment of the enemy that was there; whereupon his Lordship said he would return to the General, that the army might land and march to Ticonderoga. About twelve o'clock the whole army landed; the Rangers on the left wing.

I imme-

I immediately sent an officer to wait upon the General for his orders, and received directions from Capt. Abercrombie, one of his Aids de Camp, to gain the top of a mountain that bore north about a mile from the landing-place, and from thence to steer east to the river that runs by the falls between the landing and the saw-mill, to take possession of some rising ground on the enemy's side, and there to wait the army's coming. I immediately marched, ascended to the top of the hill, and from thence marched to the place I was ordered, where I arrived in about an hour, and posted my party to as good advantage as I could, being within one quarter of a mile of where Mons. Montcalm was posted with 1900 Men, which I had discovered by some small reconnoitring parties sent out for that purpose. About twelve o'clock Colours Lyman and Fitch of the provincials came to my rear, whom I informed of the enemy's being so very near, and inquiring concerning the army, they told me they were coming along. While this conversation passed, a sharp fire began in the rear of Col. Lyman's regiment, on which he said he would make his front immediately, and desired me to fall on their left flank, which I accordingly did, having first ordered Capt. Butcher with 150 men to remain at the place where I was posted, to observe the motions of the French at the saw-mill, and wait until the remainder of the Rangers on the left flank of the enemy.

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enemy, the river being on their right, and killed se-
 veral. By this time my Lord Howe, with a de-
 tachment from his front, had broke the enemy, and
 hemmed them in on every side, but advancing him-
 self with great eagerness and intrepidity upon them,
 was unfortunately shot and died immediately.
 There were taken prisoners of the enemy in this
 action, five officers, two volunteers, and one
 hundred and sixty men, who were sent to the lan-
 ding place. Nothing more material was done this
 day. The next morning, at six o'clock, I was
 ordered to march to the river that runs into the
 falls, a place where I was the day before, and
 there to halt on the west side till further orders,
 with four hundred Rangers, while Capt. Stark,
 with the remainder of the Rangers, marched with
 Capt. Abercrombie and Mr. Clerk the Engineer, to
 observe the position of the enemy at the fort, from
 whence they returned again that evening. The
 whole army lay the ensuing night under arms. By
 sun rise next morning, Sir William Johnson joined
 the army with four hundred and forty Indians. At
 seven o'clock I received orders to march with my
 Rangers. A Lieutenant of Captain Stark's led the
 advanced guard. I was within about three hun-
 dred

This note will have often being universally believed by both
 sides, and it is not to be wondered at, that his fall was not only
 a great loss to the army, but served to produce a almost general
 stagnation and languor through the whole.

ered yards of the breast-work, when my advanced guard was ambushed and fired upon by about 200 Frenchmen. I immediately formed a front, and marched up to the advanced guard, who maintained their ground, and the enemy immediately retreated, soon after the battoo-men formed on my left and light infantry on my right. This fire of the enemy did not kill a single man. Soon after three regiments of provincials came up and formed in my rear, at two hundred yards distance. While the army was thus forming, a scattering fire kept up between our flying parties and those of the enemy without the breast-work. About half an hour past ten, the greatest part of the enemy being drawn up, a smart fire began on the left wing, where Col. De Lancey's, (the New Yorkers,) and the battoo-men were posted, upon which I was ordered forward to endeavour to bear the enemy within the breast-work, and then to fall down, that the pickets and grenadiers might march through. The enemy soon retired within their works; Major Proby marched through with his pickets within a few yards of the breast-work, where he unhappily fell, and the enemy keeping up a heavy fire, the soldiers hastened to the right about, when Col. Haldiman came up with the grenadiers to support them, being followed by the battalions in brigades for their support. Col. Haldiman advanced very near the breast-work, which

was at least eight feet high; some of the provincials with the Mohocks came up also.

We toiled with repeated attacks for four hours, being greatly embarrassed by trees that were felled by the enemy without their breast-work, when the General thought proper to order a retreat, directing me to bring up the rear which I did in the dusk of the evening. On the ninth in the evening, we arrived at our encampment at the south-end of Lake George, where the army received the thanks of the General for their good behaviour, and were ordered to entrench themselves; the wounded were sent to Fort Edward and Albany. Our loss both in the regular and provincial troops, was somewhat considerable. The enemy's loss was about five hundred, besides those who were taken prisoners.

July 8, 1758. By order of the General, I this day began a scout to South Bay, from which I returned the 16th, having effected nothing considerable, except discovering a large party of the enemy, supposed to be near a thousand, on the east side of the lake. This party the next day, viz. the 17th,

* This attack was begun before the General intended it should be, and so it were by accident, from the fire of the New Yorkers in the left wing; upon which Col. Haviland being in or near the center, ordered the troops to advance.

fell upon a detachment of Col. Nichol's regiment at the half-way brook, killed three captains, and upwards of twenty private men.

The 27th another party of the enemy fell upon a convey of waggons between Fort Edward and Half-Way Brook, and killed 216 men, sixteen of which were Rangers. In pursuit of this party, with a design to intercept their retreat, I was ordered to embark the 15th with 700 men; the enemy however escaped me, and in my return home on the 31st, I was met by an express from the General, with orders to march with 700 men to South and East Bay, and return by way of Fort Edward, in the prosecution of which orders nothing very material happened till the 2th of August; in our return, early in the morning of which day, we decamped from the place where Fort Anne stood, and began our march, Major Putnam with a party of Provincials marching in the front, my Rangers in the rear, Capt. Daryell with the regulars in the center, the other officers suitably disposed among the men, being in number 530, exclusive of officers (a number having by leave returned home the day before.) After marching about three-quarters of a mile, a fire began with five hundred of the enemy in the front; I brought my people into as good order as possible, Capt Daryell in the center, and the Rangers on the right, with
Col.

Nichols's regiment
three captains, and
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Col. Partridge's light infantry; on the left was
Capt. Gidding's of the Boston troops with his peo-
ple, and Major Putnam being in the front of his
men when the fire began, the enemy rushing in,
took him, one Lieutenant, and two others, prison-
ers, and considerably disordered others of the party,
who afterwards rallied and did good service, parti-
cularly Lieutenant Durfee, who notwithstanding
two wounds, one in his thigh, the other in his
wrist, kept in the action the whole time, encourag-
ing his men with great earnestness and resolution.
Capt. Daryell with Gage's light infantry, and Lieut.
Eyers of the 4th regiment, behaved with great
bravery, they being in the center, where was at
first the hottest fire, which afterwards fell to the
right where the Rangers were, and where the ene-
my made four different attacks; in short, officers
and soldiers throughout the detachment behaved
with such vigour and resolution, as in one hour's
time broke the enemy and obliged them to retreat,
which they did with such precipitation, that following
parties, being on an great opportunity to distress
them by a pursuit, we kept the fire and desired our
dead. When the action was over, we had missing
fifty-four men, twenty-one of whom afterwards
came in, being separated from us while the action
continued. The enemy's loss was 199 killed on

to them with... the

the spot, several of which were Indians. We arrived at Fort Edward on the 9th, being met at some distance from it by Col. Provost, with a party of 100, and refreshments for the wounded, which I had desired by an express sent before.

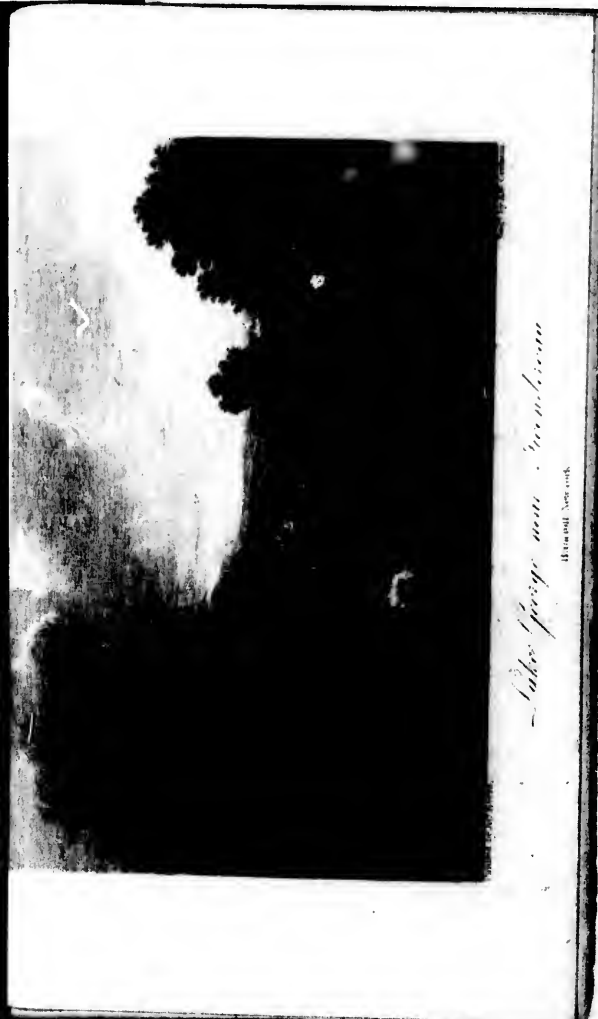
I remained at Fort Edward till the 11th of the month, when I received orders from Col. Provost, who was ranked as Brigadier, and commanded at Fort Edward, to march and pursue the tracks of a large party of Indians, of which he had received intelligence, down the east-side of Hudson's River, in order to secure our convoys from them; and intercept their retreat; but this report which the Colonel had been acting groundless, my scout was ineffectual in returning to Fort Edward on the 14th, and went with a detachment directly to the encampment at Lake George.

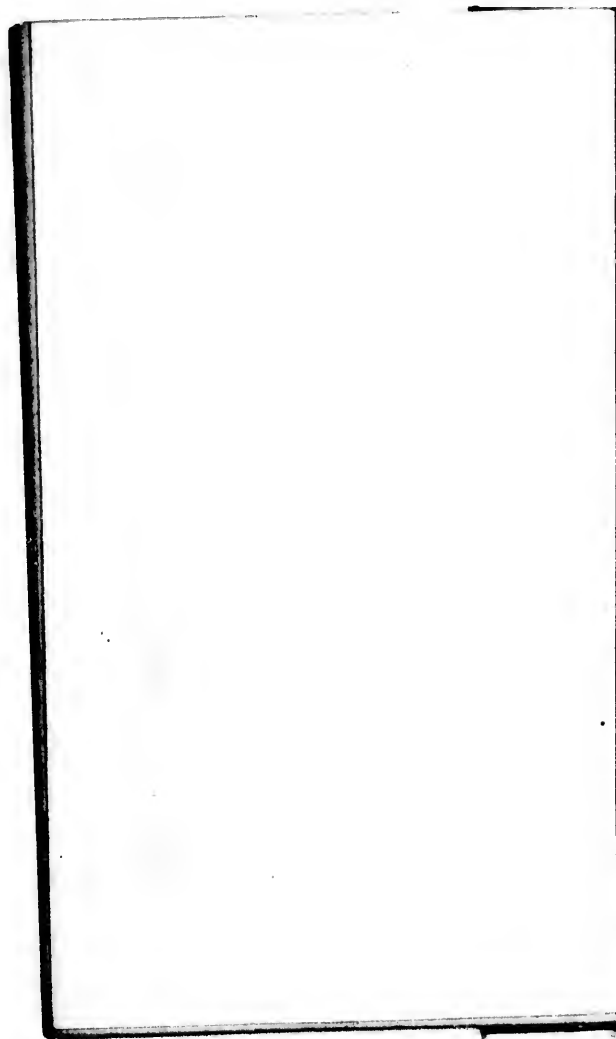
By orders from the General I embarked with a party in a whale-boat, to visit an Indian settlement, in which expedition I obtained several articles of intelligence concerning the enemy, their situation and numbers at different posts, and returned the 24th to the same place at Lake George, in most beneficial manner.

By a detachment that went out afterwards, fifty more of the enemy were found dead near the place of action.

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I was employed in various other excursions towards the enemy's forts and frontiers, and in pursuit of their flying parties till the campaign for this year ended, and our army retired to winter-quarters.

Notwithstanding little was effected by our late campaign to Ticonderoga; yet the British army in America were not every where unsuccessful: for Col. Broadstreet, with a detachment of 2000 men, reduced the French fort at Cataragus, called Fort Frontenac*, and General Amherst, who commanded the British troops at Cape Breton, had succeeded in the reduction of that important fortress, and now returned from his conquest, with a part of the troops that had been employed there, and was appointed commander in chief of his Majesty's forces in North America (General Abercrombie embarking for England). The head quarters were now fixed at New York, and I had now new commanders

This fort was square faced, had four bastions built with stone, and was near three-quarters of a mile in circumference. Its situation was very beautiful, the banks of the river presenting on every side an agreeable landscape, with a fine prospect of the Lake Ontario, which was distant about a league, interspersed with many islands that were well wooded, and seemingly fruitful. The French had formerly a great trade at this fort with the Indians, it being erected on purpose to prevent their trading with the English; but it is now totally destroyed.

manders to obey, new companions to converse with, and, as it were, a new apprenticeship to serve. From Albany where I was settling some accounts with the Paymaster, I began my acquaintance by the following letter to Col. Townshend, Deputy Adjutant General to his Excellency.

Albany, Jan. 28, 1759.

I have the honor to receive your letter of the 17th inst. and am glad you should be so well satisfied with the situation of the Rangers at Fort Edward, and that you should be so well satisfied with the conduct of the officers, and that you should be so well satisfied with the situation of the Rangers in the frontier parts of New-England, which have lately visited me, and that you should be so well satisfied with the situation of the Rangers at Fort Edward, and that you should be so well satisfied that the enemy will soon send their Indians, to endeavour to intercept our convoys between here and Fort Edward.

To be seasonably strong to prevent their playing their old tricks, I would humbly propose, were it consistent with the service, and agreeable to General Amherst, my leaving out for New-England a detachment of such Rangers as we have with us, and sending them to Fort Edward, or otherwise to his Excellency's direction. If it should be agreeable to the General that I should go to New-England, I should be glad it might be by way of

of New York, that I might have an opportunity to wait upon the General myself, and represent to him the necessity of an augmentation of the Rangers now at Fort Edward, and the desire of the Stockbridge Indians to re-enter the service.

"The arms of the Rangers are in the hands of Mr. Cunningham at New York, which will be soon wanted at Fort Edward; I should therefore be glad they might be forwarded as soon as may be. I have wrote to Mr Cunningham, to make application to you for convenient carriages for the same, which I should be glad you would furnish him with. And till the time I have an opportunity of paying you my respects in person, I beg leave to subscribe myself, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Robert Rogers."

"P. S. General Stanwix informs me, that a subaltern officer, and about twenty Rangers, are to be stationed at No 4; the officer I would recommend for that post, is Lieut. Stephens, who is well acquainted with the country thereabout. He is now recruiting."

To Col. Townsend.

Soon after this I returned to Fort Edward, where I received the Colonel's answer, as follows.

" Sir,

Feb. 5, 1759.

" I received your letter, with the inclosed return. The General commands me to inform you he can by no means approve of your leaving Fort Edward.

" Your recruiting officers are all ordered to send up their recruits to Fort Edward. They are not only wrote to, but an advertisement is put in all the papers; which was the only method the General had of conveying his intentions to them, as you had not sent me any return of the officers names, and places where they were to recruit at. In obedience to that order, the recruits will be up sooner than if they waited your coming down. I have likewise repeated the order to every officer, according to your return, by this post, and if you are complete by the returns they make, I shall order up every individual officer to their posts.

" Any proposals for the augmentation of the Rangers, or proposals from the Stockbridge Indians, you

you would chuse to offer to the General, he desires
may be immediately sent down to him.

The arms for the Rangers, which you mention
are in the hands of Mr. Cunningham, shall be
sent up to you immediately.

I have wrote to Lieut. Samuel Stephens, to
acquaint him with the General's intentions of leaving
him at No 4.

If the enemy send out any scouting parties
this year to pick up intelligence, or attack our con-
voys, the season of the year is now coming on that
we may expect them; you therefore must see the
necessity of your remaining at Fort Edward.
Your officers and men should join you as fast as
possible. The General would at another time
comply with your request.

Your obedient humble servant,

R. Townsend, D. A. G.

Feb. 15, 1759.

To Major Rogers.

I wrote to the Colonel, proposing an addition
of two new companies of Rangers upon the same
footing

footing as those already in the service, and the raising of three companies of Indians, to serve the ensuing campaign; and lest the Indians should be gone out on their hunting parties, and so be prevented from joining us, I wrote to three of their Sachems, or chiefs; one of which to King Uncas, head Sachem of the Mohegan Indians (which in substance is like the others) I will here insert, as a specimen of the method, in which we are obliged to address these savages.

“ Brother Uncas,

“ As it is for the advantage of his Majesty King George, to have a large body of Rangers employed in his service the ensuing campaign, and as I am well convinced of the sincere attachment you have to him, I therefore carefully obey General Amherst's orders to me, to engage your assistance here early in the spring.

“ I hope you'll continue to shew that ardent zeal you have all along expressed for the English, ever since you have been allied to them, by raising a company of your men with the utmost expedition.

“ Should you chuse to come out a Captain, General Amherst will readily give you the commission.

mission for it; if not, I shall expect Doquipe and Nunnipad. I leave to you the choice of an Ensign and two serjeants; but I hope you'll engage the fittest men for their stations. I would have the company consist of fifty private men, or more, if you can get them; and if those men that deserted from Capt. Brewer will join you, the General will pardon them. You may employ a Clerk for the company, to whom General Amherst will allow the usual pay.

"I heartily wish you success in raising your men, and shall be exceeding glad that you join me with all the expedition you possibly can. I am,

Brother Uncus,

Your most obedient humble servant,

To King Uncus.

Robert Rogers."

With this letter, or any other wrote to them, in order to give it any credit or influence, must go a belt of wampum, suitable to the matter and occasion of it, and upon which the bearer, after having read the letter, interprets it, and then delivers both to the Sachem, or person they are directed to.

The latter end of February, about fifty Mohocks, commanded by Captain Lotridge, came from Sir William Johnson to join me, and proceed to Ticonderoga on a scout.

March 3, 1759, I received the following orders from Col. Haldiman: "An officer being chosen by the General to make observations upon the enemy's situation, and the strength of their forts upon Lake Champlain, you are ordered to march with your Rangers, and the Mohock Indians, under the command of Capt. Lotridge, and take all the measures and precautions possible, that he may execute his intentions, and perform the service, which the General has much at heart; and to effect this with more security, a body of regulars is likewise ordered to join with you, and you are to have the command of the whole. Lieut. Bismarck is to communicate his orders to you; and the service being performed, you will endeavour to take a prisoner, or prisoners, or strike such a stroke on the enemy, and try to bring us intelligence.

He recommends it in the strongest manner, that if some of the enemy should fall into your hands to prevent the Indians from exercising their

cruelty upon them, as he desires prisoners may be treated with humanity.

Fort Edward,
March 3, 1759.

Frd. Haldiman,
Commander at
Fort Edward."

Pursuant to the above orders, I marched the same day with a party of 358 men, officers included, and encamped the first night at Half-Way-Brook. One Indian, being hurt by accident, returned to Fort Edward. The 4th marched to within one mile and a half of Lake George, and halted till evening, that we might the better pass undiscovered by the enemy, if any were on the hill reconnoitering. We continued our march till two o'clock in the morning, and halted at the first narrows. It being excessive cold, and several of our party being frost-bitten, I sent back twenty-three, under the charge of a careful sergeant, to Fort Edward. We continued here till the evening of the 5th, then marched to Sabbath-day Point, where we arrived about eleven o'clock, almost overcome with the cold. At two o'clock we continued our march, and reached the landing place about eight. I sent out a small party to observe if any of the enemies parties went out. They returned and reported, that none were to be seen on the west-side of the lake, but on the east were two working parties. It now ap-

proved to be a suitable time for the engineer to make his observations. I left Capt. Williams to remain at this place with the Regulars, and thirty Rangers, while I, with the engineer, forty-nine Rangers, and Capt. Lotridge, with forty-five Indians, went to the isthmus that overlooks the fort, where he made his observations. We returned to our party, leaving five Indians and one Ranger to observe what number crossed the lake in the evening from the east-side to the fort, that I might know the better how to attack them next morning. At dark the engineer went again, with Lieut. Tute, and a guard of ten men, to the entrenchments, and returned at midnight without opposition, having done his business to his satisfaction. On which I ordered Capt. Williams with the Regulars back to Sabbath-day Point; the party being extremely distressed with the cold, it appeared to me imprudent to march his men any farther, especially as they had no snow-shoes. I sent with him Lieut. Tute and thirty Rangers, with directions to kindle fires on the aforesaid point. At three o'clock I marched with three Lieutenants and forty Rangers, one Regular, and Capt. Lotridge with forty-six Indians, in order to be ready to attack the enemy's working parties on the east-side of the lake early in the morning. We crossed South-Bay about eight miles south

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south of this fort*; from thence, it being about six
 o'clock, bore down right opposite the fort, and
 within half a mile of where the French parties agree-
 able to our expectations, were cutting of wood.
 Here I halted, and sent two Indians and two Rangers
 to observe their situation. They returned in a few
 minutes, and brought intelligence that the working
 parties were close to the banks of the lake, and op-
 posite the fort, and were about forty in number;
 upon which we stripped off our blankets, and ran
 down upon them, took several prisoners, and des-
 troyed most of the party as they were retreating to
 the fort, from whence being discovered, about
 eighty Canadians and Indians pursued us closely, be-
 ing backed by about 150 French regulars, and in
 a mile's march they began a fire in our rear; and
 as we marched in a line abreast, our front was easi-
 ly made; I halted on a rising ground, resolving to
 make a stand against the enemy, who appeared
 at first very resolute; but we repulsed them before
 their reinforcement came up, and began our march
 again in a line abreast; having advanced about half
 a mile further, they came in sight again. As soon
 as we could obtain an advantageous post, which
 was a long ridge, we again made a stand on the side
 opposite the enemy. The Canadians and Indians
 came very close, but were soon stopped by a warm
 fire

* Here we found that a party of Indians had gone up the
 bay towards our forts.

fire from the Rangers and Mohocks. They broke immediately, and the Mohocks with some Rangers pursued, and entirely routed them before their Regulars could come up. After this we marched without any opposition. In these several skirmishes we had two Rangers and one Regular killed, and one Indian wounded, and killed about thirty of the enemy. We continued our march till 12 o'clock at night, and came to Capt. Williams at Sabbath-day Point (fifty miles distant from the place we set out from in the morning.) The Captain received us with good fires, than which scarce any thing could be more acceptable to my party, several of which had their feet froze, it being excessive cold, and the snow four feet deep. Next morning marched the whole detachment as far as Long-Island in Lake George, and there encamped that night. On our march from Sabbath-day Point to this Island, I gave leave to some of the Rangers and Indians to hunt near the side of the lake, who brought us in great plenty of venison for our refreshment.

I sent Lieut. Tute, with the following letter, to Col. Haldiman, fearing lest a party of Indians we had some notice of might have gone up South-Bay, and get an opportunity of doing mischief before I could reach Fort Edward with the whole detachment.

Camp

*Camp at Sabbath-day Point, Friday, eight
o'clock in the morning.*

" S I R,

" I send this to let you know that sixty Indians, in two parties, are gone towards Fort Edward and Saratoga, and I fear will strike some blow before this reaches you. Mr. Brheem is satisfied he has done his business agreeable to his orders; since which I have taken some prisoners from Ticonderoga and destroyed others of the enemy, of the particulars of which the bearer will inform you.

The Mobocks behaved with great bravery; some having been within pistol-shot of the French fort.

" Two-thirds of my detachment have froze their feet (the weather being so severe that it is almost impossible to describe it) some of which we are obliged to carry. I am, &c.

R. ROGERS."

Fort Edward, March 10, 1759.

" Dear Sir,
" I congratulate you heartily on your good success, and send you twenty-two sleds to transport your sick. You will by this opportunity, take as many boards as you can conveniently*. My best

* Boards left at the place where Fort William Henry stood, and now wanted at Fort Edward.

compliments

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our refreshment.
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a party of Indians we
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doing mischief before I
with the whole detach-
Camp

compliments to Capt. Williams, and to all the gentlemen. I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

FRED. HALDIMAND.

" P. S. I had the signal guns fired to give notice to the different posts. Nothing has appeared as yet."

We were met by the boys, and a detachment of 100 men at Lake George, and all arrived safe at Fort Edward, where I received the following letters upon my arrival.

" SIR,

" I yesterday received your letter by Mr. Stark. The general approves of raising the Indian companies, but as he has not heard the Rangers are complete, he cannot agree to the raising more companies, till the present ones are complete at Fort Edward. My Stark sets out to-morrow for New-England. I have ordered him to hurry up the recruits of your corps, and repeat my orders to the officers, to join their companies if they are complete. Your arms have been tried and proved by

† The explosion of these signal-guns (as we afterwards heard) was heard by the party of the enemy, then near Fort Miller, eight miles below Fort Edward, who thereupon supposing themselves discovered, returned with precipitation.

the artillery; they answer very well, and are ordered to be sent to you as fast as possible: The general has sent to you by Capt. Jacobs. We have chose out one hundred men from each regiment, and pitched upon the officers to act this year as light infantry; they are cloathed and accoutred as light as possible, and, in my opinion, are a kind of troops that has been much wanted in this country. They have what amunition they want, so that I don't doubt but they will be excellent marksmen. You may depend upon general Amherst's intentions to have you; I heard Brigadier Gage mention you to him. From what knowledge I have of the General, I can only say that merit is sure to be rewarded; nor does he favour any recommendation, without the person recommended really deserves his promotion. You will return your companies to me as soon as complete.

Your obedieat humble servant,

New-York, Feb. 26, 1759. R. TOWNSHEND.

To Major Rogers.

" SIR, New-York, Feb. 13, 1759.

" This will be delivered to you by Capt. Jacob Nawnawampeteoank, who last campaign commanded a company of Stockbridge Indians, and who, upon hearing that you had wrote to me concerning him, came to offer me his service for the ensuing campaign:

campaign: But as you have not mentioned to me the terms and conditions on which he was to engage, I have referred him to you to give in his proposals, that you may report to me thereupon, and inform me if you think his service adequate to them; after which I shall give you my answer. I am, Sir,

Your very humble Servant

JEFF. AMHERST.

To Major Rogers.

Before I received this letter from his Excellency, I had wrote to him, recommending several officers to the vacancies in the ranging companies, and inclosed a journal of my late scout; soon after my return from which I went to Albany, to settle my accounts with the government, where I waited upon his Excellency the General, by whom I was very kindly received, and assured that I should have the rank of Major in the army from the date of my commission under General Abercrombie.

I returned to Fort Edward the 15th of May, where I received the melancholy news, that Capt. Burbank, with a party of thirty men, had in my absence been sent out on a scout; and were all cut off. This gave me great uneasiness; as Mr. Burbank was a gentleman I very highly esteemed, and one of the best officers among the Rangers; and more especially as I judged the scout he was sent

out

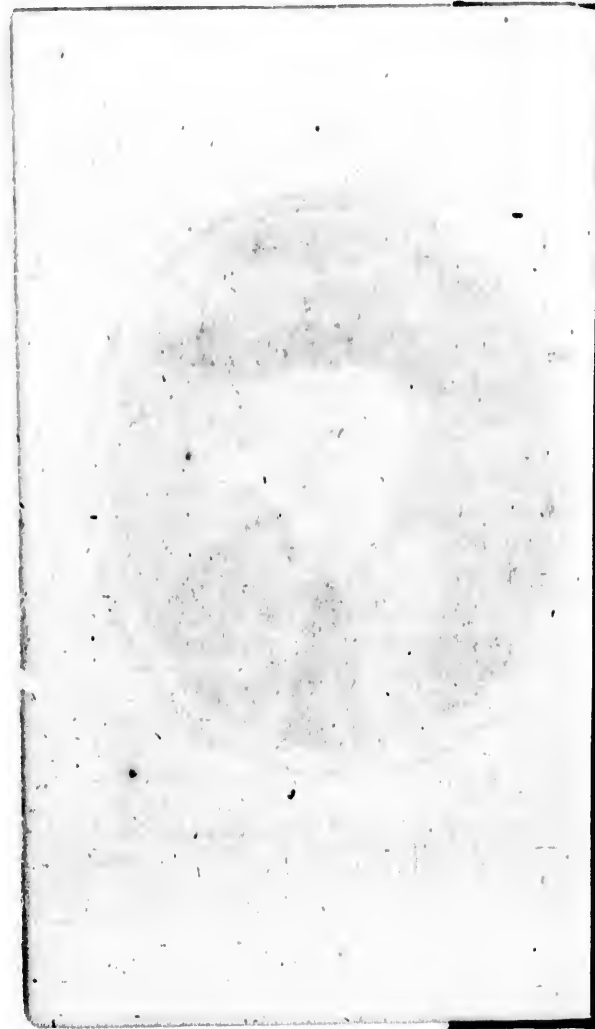
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JEFF. AMHERST.
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out upon by the commanding officer at the fort was needless, and unadvisedly undertaken.

Preparations for the campaign were hastened by his Excellency the General in every quarter; the levies from the several provinces forwarded, the companies of Rangers completed, and disciplined in the best manner I was capable of, and of which the general was pleased greatly to approve.

In the month of June, part of the army marched with General Gage for the lake. I was ordered to send three companies there with Capt. Stark, and to remain with the General myself with the other three companies, till such time as he marched thither. In this interval, pursuant to his Excellency's orders, I sent out several parties to the French forts, who from time to time discovered the situation of the enemy, and brought satisfactory intelligence.

About the 20th of June, the General with the remainder of the army marched to the lake, the Rangers being in the advanced guard; and here his Excellency was pleased to fulfil his promise to me, by declaring in public orders, my rank of Major in the army, from the date of my commission, as Major of the Rangers. We continued here collecting our strength together, and making necessary preparations, and getting what intelligence we could
of

of the strength and situation of the enemy, till July 21, 1759, when the army embarked for Ticonderoga. I was in the front with the Rangers on the right wing, and was the first body that landed on July 22, at the north end of Lake George, followed by the grenadiers and light infantry, which Col. Haviland commanded.

I marched, agreeable to orders from the General, across the mountains in the isthmus; from thence, in a by-way, athwart the woods to the bridge at the Saw-mills; where finding the bridge standing, I immediately crossed it with my Rangers, and took possession of the rising ground on the other side, and beat from thence a party of the enemy, and took several prisoners, killed others, and put the remainder to flight, before Colonel Haviland with his grenadiers and light infantry got over. The army took possession that night of the heights near the Saw-mills, where they lay all this evening.

The enemy kept out a scouting-party, with a body of Canadians and Indians, which killed several of our men, and galled us prodigiously.

July 23. The General, early in the morning, put the army in motion, at the same time ordered me in the front, with directions to proceed across the

the Chestnut Plain, the highest and best way I could, to Lake Champlain, and do my endeavour to strike it near the edge of the cleared ground, between that and the breast-work, where I was to halt till I received further orders. Having pursued my orders, and halted at the lake, I informed the General of my situation, and that nothing extraordinary had happened in our march.

The General by this time had appointed and formed a detachment to attack their main breast-work on the hill, and had got possession of it. I was ordered to send two hundred men to take possession of a small entrenchment next to Lake Champlain, and Captain Brewer, whom I had sent to take possession of this post, happily succeeded.

From the time the army came in sight the enemy kept up a constant fire of cannon from their walls and batteries at our people. The General at this time had left several provincial regiments to bring the cannon and ammunition across the Carrying Place, together with provisions, which they did with great expedition.

July

* About this time some of the Provincial regiments were sent to Oswego, to assist in building a fort there.

July 24. All this day the engineers were employed in raising batteries, as was likewise a great part of the army in that work, and in making and fetching fascines, till the 26th at night; all which time I had parties out on Crown Point to watch the motions of the enemy there; by which means the General had not only daily, but hourly intelligence from those posts.

I this day received orders from the General to attempt to cut away a boom which the French had thrown across the lake opposite the fort, which prevented our boats from passing by, and cutting off their retreat. For the completion of this order I had sixty Rangers in one English flat-bottomed boat, and two whale-boats^o, in which, after night came on, I embarked, and passed over to the other side of Lake Champlain, opposite to the Rangers encampment, and from that intended to steer my course along the east-shore, and privately saw off their boom, for which end I had taken saws with me, the boom being made with logs of timber.

About nine o'clock, when I had got about half way

^o These boats were carried across the land from Lake George to Lake Champlain, on which day the brave and worthy Colonel Townshend was killed by a cannon ball from the enemy, whose fall was much lamented by the General.

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way from the place where I had embarked, the
enemy, who had undermined their fort, sprung
their mines, which blew up with a loud explosion,
the enemy being all ready to embark on board
their boats, and make a retreat. This gave me
an opportunity to attack them with such success as
to drive several of them ashore; so that next morn-
ing we took from the east-shore ten boats, with a
considerable quantity of baggage, and upwards of
fifty barrels of powder, and large quantities of ball.
About ten o'clock I returned, and made my report
to the General.

The 27th I was ordered with my party to the
Saw-mills (to wait the flying parties of the enemy,
which were expected that way) where I lay till
the 11th of August*, on which day I received the
following orders from General Amherst.

" Sir,
" You are this night to send a Captain, with a
proper proportion of subalterns, and two hundred
men, to Crown Point, where the officer is to post
himself in such a manner as not to be surprized;
and to seize on the best ground for defending him-
self.

* About this time a party of my people discovered that the
enemy's Post at Crown Point was likewise blown up, and that
they fled.

self; and if he should be attacked by the enemy, he is not to retreat with his party, but keep his ground till he is reinforced from the army.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,

To Major Rogers.

Jeff. Amherst.

Capt. Brewer went with a party, and the General followed the 12th with the whole army, and the same day arrived at Crown Point, where it was found that Captain Brewer had executed his orders extremely well.

This evening I had orders for encamping, and the ground for each corps being laid out, my camp was fixed in the front of the army. Immediately after the General had got the disposition of his camp settled, he began to clear ground, and prepared a place for erecting a new fort, in which service great part of the army was employed. I had orders to send Capt. Stark, with two hundred Rangers, to cut a road to No. 4, which party was immediately sent.

During these transactions I sent out (by the General's approbation) several scouting parties against

the

the enemy *, which brought in prisoners from St. John's Fort, and others penetrated into the back country, the better to learn the nature and situation of it.

Thus were we employed till the 12th of September, when the General, exasperated at the treatment which Capt. Kennedy had met with, who had been sent with a party as a flag of truce to the St. Francis Indians, with proposals of peace to them, and was by them made a prisoner with his whole party; this ungenerous inhumane treatment determined the General to chastize these savages with some severity, and in order to it, I received from him the following orders, viz.

† " You are this night to set out with the detachment as ordered yesterday, viz. of 200 men, which you will take under your command, and proceed to Missisquay Bay, from whence you will march

* Captain Tate, and Lieutenant Fletcher, in two different scouting parties, were taken and carried to Canada.

† That this expedition might be carried on with the utmost secrecy after the plan of it was concerted the day before my march, it was put into public orders, that I was to march a different way, at the same time I had private instructions to proceed directly to St. Francis.

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off obedient,

Jeff. Amherst

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for encamping, and laid out my camp army. Immediately the disposition of his rear ground, and pre- w fort, in which ser- was employed. I had with two hundred

which party was sent out (by the Ge- scouting parties against the

march and attack the enemy's settlements on the south-side of the river St. Lawrence, in such a manner as you shall judge most effectual to disgrace the enemy, and for the success and honour of his Majesty's arms.

Remember the barbarities that have been committed by the enemy's Indian savages on every occasion, where they had an opportunity of showing their inhuman cruelties on the King's subjects, which they have done without mercy. Take your revenge, but don't forget that those villains have dastardly and promiscuously murdered the women and children of all ages, it is my orders that no women or children are killed or hurt.

When you have executed your intended service, you will return with your detachment to camp or to join me wherever the army may be.

Your's, &c.

Camp at Crown Point,

Jeff. Amherst."

Sept. 13, 1759

To Major Rogers

In pursuance of the above orders, I set out the same

same evening with a detachment; and as to the particulars of my proceedings, and the great difficulties we met with in effecting our design, the reader is referred to the letter I wrote to General Amherst upon my return, and the remarks following it.

Copy of my Letter to the General upon my return from St. Francis.

" Sir,

" The twenty-second day after my departure from Crown Point, I came in sight of the Indian town St. Francis in the evening, which I discovered from a tree that I climbed, at about three miles distance. Here I halted my party, which now consisted of 142 men, officers included, being reduced to that number by the unhappy accident which befel Capt Williams*, and several since tiring, whom I was obliged to send back. At eight o'clock this evening I left the detachment, and took with me Lieut. Turner and Ensign Avery, and went to reconnoitre the town, which I did to my satisfaction, and

* Capt. Williams of the Royal Regiment, was, the 5th day of my march, accidentally burnt with gunpowder, and several men hurt, which together with some sick, returned back to Crown Point, to the amount of forty, after which Capt. Williams, who returned with great reluctance.

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Your's, &c.

Jeff. Amherst."

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and found the Indians in a high frolic or dance. I returned to my party at two o'clock, and at three marched it to within five hundred yards of the town, where I lightened the men of their packs, and formed them for the attack.

At half an hour before sun-rise I surprised the town when they were all fast asleep, on the right, left, and center, which was done with so much alacrity by both the officers and men, that the enemy had not time to recover themselves, or take arms for their own defence, till they were chiefly destroyed, except some few of them who took to the water. About forty of my people pursued them, who destroyed such as attempted to make their escape that way, and sunk both them and their boats. A little after sun-rise I set fire to all their houses, except three, in which there was corn, that I reserved for the use of the party.

The fire consumed many of the Indians who had concealed themselves in the cellars and lofts of their houses. About seven o'clock in the morning the affair was completely over, in which time we had killed at least two hundred Indians, and taken twenty of their women and children prisoners, fifteen of whom I let go their own way, and five I brought with me, viz. two Indian boys and three

Indian girls, I likewise retook five English captives, which I also took under my care;

When I had paraded my detachment, I found I had Capt. Ogden badly wounded in his body, but not so as to hinder him from doing his duty. I had also six men slightly wounded, and one Stock-bridge Indian killed.

I ordered my people to take corn out of the reserved houses for their subsistence home, there being no other provision there; and whilst they were loading themselves I examined the prisoners and captives, who gave the following intelligence:

That a party of 200 French, and some Indians, were about four miles down the river, below us; and that our boats were way laid, which I had reason to believe was true, as they told the exact number, and the place where I left them; that a party of 200 French and fifteen Indians, had three days before I attacked the town, gone up the river to Wigwam Martinic, supposing that was the place I intended to attack; whereupon I called the officers together, to consult the safety of our return, who were of opinion there was no other way for us to return with safety, but by going on Connecticut River. I marched the detachment eight days in a body that day, and when provisions grew scarce, near Anpara Magog Lake, I divided the detach-

detachment into small companies, putting proper guides to each, who were to assemble at the mouth of Amonook River, as I expected provisions would be brought there for our relief, not knowing which way I should return.

Two days after we parted, Ensign Avery, of Fitch's, fell in on my track, and followed in my rear; and a party of the enemy came upon them, and took seven of his party prisoners, two of whom that night made their escape, and came in to me next morning. Avery, with the remainder of his party joined mine, and came with me to the Cobase Intervales, where I left them with Lieut. Grant, from which place I, with Capt. Ogden, and one man more, put down the river on a small raft to this place, where I arrived yesterday, and in half an hour after my arrival dispatched provisions up the river to Lieut. Grant in a canoe, which I am pretty certain will reach him this night, and next morning sent two other canoes up the river for the relief.

The Amonook River falls into Connecticut River about thirty miles above No. 4.

An officer upon some intelligence that I had been going out, was sent back to Crown Point from Mistique Bay, to desire that provisions might be conveyed to this place, as I had reason to believe we should be deprived of our boats, and consequently be obliged to return this way.

relief of the other parties, loaded with provisions, to the mouth of Amonook River,

" I shall set off to go up the river myself tomorrow, to seek and bring in as many of our men as I can find, and expect to be back in about eight days, when I shall, with all expedition, return to Crown Point. As to other particulars relative to this scout, which your Excellency may think proper to inquire after, I refer you to Capt. Ogden, who bears this, and has accompanied me all the time I have been out, behaving very well. I am, Sir, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
No. 4. *R. Rogers.*"

Nov. 5, 1759. *To General Amherst.*

I cannot forbear here making some remarks on the difficulties and distresses which attended us, in effecting this enterprize upon St. Francis, which is situated within three miles of the river St. Lawrence, in the middle of Canada, about half way between Montreal and Quebec. It hath already been mentioned, how our party was reduced by the accident which befel Capt. Williams, the fifth day after
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ter our departure, and still farther by numbers tiring and falling sick afterwards. It was extremely difficult while we kept the water (and which retarded our progress very much) to pass undiscovered by the enemy, who were then cruising in great numbers upon the lake, and had prepared certain vessels, on purpose to decoy any party of ours, that might come that way, armed with all manner of machines and implements for their destruction; but we happily escaped their snares of this kind, and landed (as hath been mentioned) the tenth day at Missisquey Bay. Here, that I might with more certainty know whether my boats (with which I left provisions sufficient to carry us back to Crown Point) were discovered by the enemy, I left two trusty Indians to lie at a distance in sight of the boats, and there to stay till I came back, except the enemy found them; in which latter case they were with all possible speed to follow on my track, and give me intelligence. It happened the second day after I left them, that these two Indians came up to me in the evening, and informed me that about 400 French had discovered and taken my boats, and that about one half of them were hotly pursuing on my track. This unhappy circumstance (it may well be supposed) put us into some consternation. Should the enemy overtake us, and we get the better of them in an encounter, yet being so far advanced into their country, where no reinforcement could

could possibly relieve us, and where they could be supported by any numbers they pleased, afforded us little hopes of escaping their hands. Our boats being taken, cut off all hope of a retreat by them; besides the loss of our provisions left with them, of which we knew we should have great need at any rate, in case we survived, was a melancholy consideration. It was, however, resolved to prosecute our design at all adventures, and, when we had accomplished it, to attempt a retreat (the only possible way we could think of) by way of No 4; and that we might not be destroyed by famine in our return, I dispatched Lieut. M^r Mullen by land to Crown Point, to desire of the General to relieve me with provision at Amoslook River, at the end of Cohase Intervales on Connecticut River, that being the way I should return, if at all, and the place appointed being about sixty miles from No. 4. then the most northerly English settlement. This being done, we determined if possible to outmarch our pursuers, and effect our design upon St. Francis before they could overtake us. We marched nine days through wet spongy ground; the water most of the way near a foot deep, it being a spruce bog. When we encamped at night, we had no way to secure ourselves from the water, but by cutting the boughs of trees, and with them erecting a kind of hammocks. We commonly began

our march a little before day, and continued it till after dark at night.

The tenth day after leaving Missisquey Bay, we came to a river about fifteen miles above the town of St. Francis to the South of it; and the town being on the opposite or east side of it, we were obliged to ford it, which was attended with no small difficulty, the water being five feet deep, and the current swift. I put the tallest men up the stream, and then holding by each other, we got over with the loss of several of our guns, some of which were recovered by diving to the bottom for them. We had now good dry ground to march upon, and discovered and destroyed the town as before related, which in all probability would have been effected with the loss of no man but the Indian who was killed in the action, had not my boats been discovered, and our retreat that way cut off.

This nation of Indians was notoriously attached to the French, and had for near a century past harassed the frontiers of New England, killing people of all ages and sexes in a most barbarous manner, at a time when they did not in the least suspect them; and to my own knowledge, in six years time, carried into captivity, and killed, on the before-mentioned frontiers, 400 persons. We found in the town hanging on poles over their doors, 600 scalps, mostly English.

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The circumstances of our return are chiefly relat-
ed in the preceding letter; however it is hardly possi-
ble to describe the grief and consternation of those
of us who came to Cohasset Interples. Upon our
arrival there (after so many days tedious march over
steep rocky mountains, or through wet dirty swamps
with the terrible attendants of fatigue and hunger)
to find that here was no relief for us, where we
had encouraged ourselves that we should find it, and
have our distresses alleviated; for notwithstanding
the officer I dispatched in the general discharged
his trust with great expedition, and in nine days ar-
rived at Crown Point, which was an hundred miles
through the woods, and the General, without del-
ay, sent Lieut. Stephens, to No. 4, with orders to
take provisions up the river to the place where I had
appointed, and there wait as long as there was any
hopes of my returning; yet the officer that was
sent being an indolent fellow, carried at the place
but two days, when he returned, taking all the
provisions back with him, about two hours before
our arrival. Finding a fresh fire burning in his camp,
I fired guns to bring him back, which guns he
heard, but would not return, supposing we were
an enemy. Our

* This Gentleman, for this piece of conduct, was broke by a
general court-martial, and rendered incapable of sustaining any
office in his Majesty's service for the future. A poor reward how-
ever it may seem, yet it is the only one that can be given to
such a man.

Our distress upon this occasion was truly insupportable: our spirits, greatly depressed by the hunger and fatigue we had already suffered, now almost entirely sunk within us, feeling no resource left, nor any reasonable ground to hope that we should escape a most miserable death by famine. At length I came to a resolution to push as fast as possible towards the west, leaving the remains of my party, now unable to march farther, to get such wretched food as might be procured within the woods, which I could get access to, which I engaged to do within ten days. I, with Captain Ogden, one Ranger, and a captive Indian boy, embarked upon a raft we made of dry pine trees. The current carried us down the stream in the middle of the river, where we endeavoured to keep our wretched vessel by such paddles as we had made out of small trees, or spires split and hewed. The second day we reached White River Falls, and very narrowly escaped being carried over them by the current. Our little remains of strength however enabled us to land, and to march by them. At the bottom of a narrow cleft, we found a kind of mushroom, which we used, for the distress and anguish thereby occasioned to so many brave men, some of which it proved fatal, they actually dying with hunger.

This was ground-sage and lily roots, which being cleaned and boiled will serve to preserve life, and the use and method of preparing which I taught to Lieut. Great commander of the party.

these falls, while Capt. Ogden and the Ranger hunted for red squirrels for a refreshment, who had the good fortune likewise to kill a partridge. I attempted forming a new raft for our further conveyance. Being not able to cut down trees, I burnt them down, and then burnt them off at proper lengths. This was our third day's work after leaving our companions. The next day we got our materials together, and completed our raft, and floated with the stream again till we came to Watlock-quoichey Falls, which are about fifty yards in length: here we landed, and by a weath made of hazel bushes, Capt. Ogden held the raft, till I went to the bottom, prepared to swim in and board it when it came down, and if possible paddle it ashore: this being our only resource for life, as we were not able to make a third raft in case we had lost this. I had the good fortune to succeed, and the next morning we embarked and floated down the stream to within a small distance of No. 4, where we found some men cutting of timber, who gave us the first relief, and assisted us to the fort, from whence I dispatched a canoe with provisions, which reached the men at Cohase four days after, which (agreeable to my engagement) was the tenth after I left them.

Two days after my arrival at No. 4 I went with other canoes, loaded with provisions, up the river myself,

myself, for the relief of others of my party that might be coming in that way, having hired some of the inhabitants to assist me in this affair. I likewise sent expresses to Suncook and Pennecook upon Merrimack river, that any that should chance to straggle that way might be assisted; and provisions were sent up said rivers accordingly.

On my return to No. 4, I waited a few days to refresh such of my party as I had been able to collect together, and during my stay there received the following letter from General Amherst, in answer to mine of No. 5.

" SIR, *Crown Point, Nov. 8, 1759.*

" Captain Ogden delivered me your letter of the 5th instant, for which I am not only to thank you, but to assure you of the satisfaction I had on reading it; as every step you informed me you have taken, has been very well judged, and deserves my full approbation. I am sorry Lieut. Stephens judged so ill in coming away with the provisions from the place where I sent him to wait for you. An

" I met several different parties; as Lieut. Cargill, Lieut. Campbell, Lieut. Farrington, and Serjeant Evans, with their respective divisions, and sent canoes farther up for the relief of such as might be still behind, and coming this way. Some I met who escaped from Debar's and Turner's party, who were overtaken (being upwards of twenty in number) and were mostly killed or taken by the enemy.

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" An Indian is come in last night, and said he had
left some of your party at Otter River. I sent for
them; they are come in. This afternoon four In-
dians, two Rangers, a German woman, and three
other prisoners; they quitted four of your party
some days since; and thought they had arrived
here*. I am in hopes all the rest will get in very safe.
I think there is no danger but they will, as you quit-
ted them not till having marched eight days in a bo-
dy; the only risk after that will be meeting hunt-
ing parties. I am, Sir,
Your humble servant,
To Major Rogers,

JEFF. AMHERST

As soon as my party were refreshed, such as were
able I marched to Crown Point, where I arrived
Dec. 1, 1759, and upon examination found; that
since our leaving the ruins of St. Francis, I had lost
three Officers, viz. Lieut. Danbar of Gage's Light
Infantry, Lieut. Turner of the Rangers, and Lieut.
Jenkins of the Provincials, and forty six serjeants
and privates.

The Rangers at that place were all dismissed be-
fore my return, excepting two companies, com-
manded by Captains Johnson and Tute; with whom
I found

Upon our separation, some of the divisions were ordered to
make for Crown Point, that being the best route for hunting

* Capt. Tute who had been taken prisoner, was returned by
a Sagoyew, while I was gone to St. Francis.

I found orders left by the General for me to continue at that garrison during the winter, but had leave, however, to go down the country, and to wait upon his Excellency at New York.

After giving in my return to the General, and what intelligence I could of the enemy's situation, he desired me, when I had leisure, to draw a plan of my march to St. Francis; and then by his order, I returned by the way of Albany; which place I left the 6th of February 1760, with thirteen recruits I had enlisted; and the 13th, on my way between Ticonderoga and Crown Point, from whence I would have pursued them immediately; but Col. Haviland, the commanding officer there, judged it not prudent by reason the garrison at that time was very scarce, I continued at Crown Point the remainder of the winter.

On the 31st of March, Capt. James Tate, with two regular officers and six men, went out scouting, and were all made prisoners; the enemy was not pursued, on account of the sickness of the garrison.

The enemy's own bay was taken with 226l. York currency in cash, besides three and some half barrels of cash of this money belonged to the works, which they afterwards allowed me; the remaining 226l. was my own, which I carried off.

The same day I received from General Amherst the following letter.

" Sir, *New York, March 1, 1760.*

" The command I have received from his Majesty, to pursue the war in this country, has determined me, if possible, to complete the companies of Rangers that were on foot last campaign; and as Captain Wait called upon me yesterday, and represented that he could easily complete the one he commands in the colony of Connecticut and the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, I have furnished him with beating orders for that purpose, as also with a warrant for 800 dollars on account of that service.

" This day I have wrote to Capt. John Stark in New Hampshire, and Capt. David Brewer in the Massachusetts Bay, inclosing to each of them a beating order for the respective provinces; and herewith send you a copy of the instructions that accompany the same, by which you will see they are ordered, as fast as they get any number of men, to send them to Albany. I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

To Major Rogers.

Jeff. Amherst.

My

My answer to the above.

SIR, Crown Point, March 15, 1760.

I received your Excellency's letter, dated the 1st instant, together with a copy of your instructions to Capt. John Stark and Capt. David Brewer, whereby I learn that they are to be at Albany by the 1st of May next with their companies. Since I received intelligence from your Excellency that the Rangers are to be raised again, I have wrote to several of my friends in New England, who will assist them in compleating their companies; and as many of the men belonging to the two companies here were frost-bitten in the winter, and others sick, many of whom I judged would not be fit for service the ensuing campaign, I employed Lieut. McCormack, of Capt. William Stark's company (that was with Major Scott), Lieut. John Fletcher, and one Holmes, and sent them recruiting the 20th of February for my own and Captain Johnson's company, and advanced them 1200 dollars. These three recruiters I do not doubt will bring good men enough to complete us here, so that those who are frost-bitten may be sent to Hospitals, and those unfit for duty discharged, or otherwise disposed of, as your Excellency shall direct.

There.

There being so few Rangers fit for duty here, and those that are much wanted at this place, has prevented me from proposing any tour to the French and Indian settlements in pursuit of a prisoner, which may, I believe, be easily got at any time, if sent for. I am, Sir,

Your Excellency's

most obedient humble servant,

R. Rogers.

To General Amherst.

A letter from General Amherst.

" SIR, New York, 9th March, 1760.

" As I have not heard that either of the Jacobuses, who each commanded a company of Stockbridge Indians the last campaign, are returned from their captivity, I would have you write (if you think Lieut. Solomon capable of and fit for such a command) to him, to know if he chuses to accept of the same; but it must be upon condition of bringing to the field none but good men, that are well inclined, and that are hale and strong. Whatever number he or any of his friends can raise that will answer this description, I will readily employ this

above.

March 15, 1760.

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this summer, and they shall meet with all the encouragement their services shall merit. All others that are too old or too young, I shall reject, nor shall I make them any allowance of payment, altho' they should join the army; so that, in order to prevent his having any difference with these people, it will behove him to engage none but what shall be esteemed fit for the service; he must also observe to be assembled with them at Albany by the 1st of May at furthest, from which day he and they shall be entitled to their pay, that is, for so many as shall be mustered there, and for no more; he must likewise take care that every man comes provided with a good firelock, and that they be always ready to march at a moment's warning, wherever they are ordered to, in default of which they shall forfeit their pay that shall be due to them at that time. All this you will explain to him particularly, and so soon as you receive his answer, inform me thereof. As an encouragement to enter the service upon the foregoing conditions, you may assure him also, that if he conforms to them in every respect, and that he and his men prove useful, they shall be better rewarded than they have yet been.

“ Capt. Ogden having solicited me for a company of Rangers, assured me that he could raise and complete a very good one in the Jerseys; I have given

given him a beating order for that purpose, and instructions similar to those I sent you a copy of in my last for Captains Stark and Brewer, and have also granted him a warrant for four hundred dollars, on account of the bounty-money, to be as usual stopped out of the first warrant for the subsistence of that company. I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

To Major Rogers. *Jeff. Amherst.*

My Letter to the General.

Crown Point, 20th March, 1760.

" Sir, I observe the contents of your Excellency's letter of the 19th, and shall take particular care to let Lieut. Solomon know every circumstance relative to his being employed the next summer, and to advise your Excellency as soon as I hear from him. He has already informed me he would be glad to engage with some Indians.

" Mr. Stuart, the Adjutant of the Rangers, who is at Albany, I have desired to go to Stockbridge, to deliver Solomon his orders, and to explain them properly to him. " I am

" I am heartily glad that your Excellency hath been pleased to give to Capt. Ogden a company of the Rangers, who, from the good character he bears, I doubt not will answer your expectations.

" Inclosed is a sketch of my travels to and from St. Francis. I am, Sir,

Your Excellency's most humble servant,
To General Amherst. R. Rogers."

The General's Letter to me.

" Sir, *New York, 9th April, 1760.*

" I am to own the receipt of your letters of the 13th and 20th ultimo, and to approve what you therein mention to have done for completing your and Capt. Johnson's company; as also your having sent Adjutant Stuart to Stockbridge, to deliver Solomon his orders, and to explain them properly to him. This will avoid all mistakes, and enable you the sooner to inform me of Solomon's intentions, which I shall be glad to know as soon as possible.

" I thank you for your sketch of your travels to and from St. Francis, and am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,
To Major Rogers. J. Amherst."
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Soon after this I had the pleasure of informing the General that the Stockbridge Indians determined to enter the service this year; but as many of them were out a hunting, that they could not be collected at Albany before the 10th of May; and that the recruits of the ranging companies began to assemble at Crown Point.

May 4, 1760. This day Serjeant Beverly, who had been taken prisoner, and made his escape, came in seven days from Montreal to Crown Point. He had lived at the Governor's (Monsieur de Vaudreuil) house, and brought the following intelligence, which I immediately transmitted to the General, viz.

"That about the 10th of April, the enemy withdrew all their troops from Nut Island, excepting 300, which they left there to garrison the place, under the command of Monsieur Bonville: that the enemy also brought from the island one half of the ammunition they had there, and half of the cannon: that the enemy had two frigates, one of 36 guns, the other of 20 guns, that lay all winter in the river St. Lawrence, and some other small vessels, such as row-galleys, &c. that all the troops of France in Canada went down to Jecorty the 20th of April, except those left to garrison their

their fort, which was very slenderly done, together with all the militia that could be spared out of the country, leaving only one man to two females to sow their grain, where they were assembled by Monsieur Levy, their General, with an intent to retake Quebec * : that ninety six men of the enemy were drowned going down to Jecorty : that he saw a man who was taken prisoner the 15th of April, belonging to our troops at Quebec : that this man told him our garrison there was healthy ; and that Brigadier General Murray had 4000 men fit for duty in the city, besides a post of 300 men at Point Levy, which the enemy attempted to take possession of in the month of February last, with a considerable body of troops, and began to fortify a church at or near the Point, but that General Murray sent over a detachment of about 1000 men, which drove the enemy from the post, and took a Captain, with about thirty French soldiers, prisoners, and fortified the church for his own conveniency : that the General has another post on the north-side of the river at Laurat, a little distance from the town, in which he keeps 300 men : that there is a line of block-houses well fortified all round the land-side of the town, under cover of the can-

* This place, the capital of all Canada, had been taken by the English troops last year, under the command of General Wolfe.

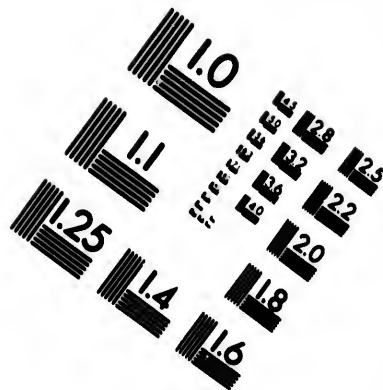
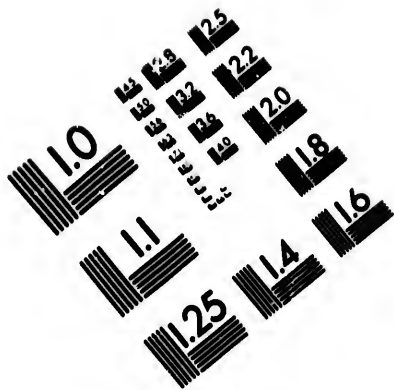
non: that a breast-work of fraizers is extended from one block-house to another, as far as those houses extend: that they heard at Quebec of the enemy's coming, but were not in the least concerned: that a detachment from Quebec surprised two of the enemy's guards, at a place called Point de Treamble, each guard consisting of fifty men, and killed or took the most part of them. One of those guards were all grenadiers."

He moreover reports, "That two more of our frigates had got up the river, and that two more men of war were near the Island of Orleans: that the French told him that there was a fleet of ten sail of men of war seen at Gaspee Bay, with some transports, but put back to sea again on account of the ice: but as they had up different colours, they could not tell whether they were French or English: that the beginning of May the enemy was to draw off 2000 of their men to Nut Island, and as many more to Oswagotchy: he heard that they did not intend to attack Quebec, except the French fleet gets up the river before ours: that 100 Indians were to come this way, and set out about the fifth of May: the remainder of the Indians were at present gone to Jecorty: that General Levy, the Attawawas, and Cold Country Indians, will all be in Canada by the beginning of June, ten Sachems being sent by the French last fall, to call those na-
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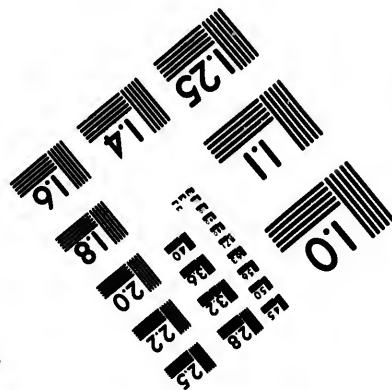
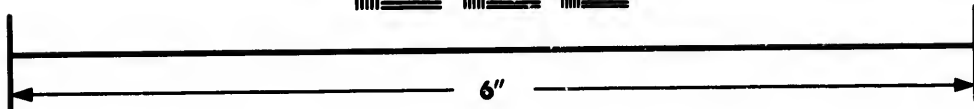
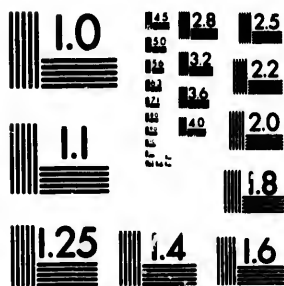
tions to their assistance; that a great number had deserted to the French from the battalion of Royal Americans at Quebec, which the French have engaged in their service; but that they were to be sent off, under the care of Monsieur Boarbier, up to Attawawas River, to the French colony betwixt the lakes and the Mississipi River; that the most part of the enemies Indians are intent on going there; and that a great number of French, especially those who have money, think to save it by carrying it to New Orleans; that he saw at Montreal two Rangers, Reynolds and Hall, that were returned by Col. Haviland deserted last fall; that they were taken prisoners near River-head Block-house, when after cattle; that two more Rangers are to be here in ten days with fresh intelligence from Montreal, if they can possibly make their escape; that Monsieur Longes, the famous partisan, was drowned in the river St. Laurence, a few days after he returned with the party that took Captain Tute; that the Indians have a great eye to No. 4 roads, as they say they can get sheep and oxen coming here from that place; that he heard Gen. Murray had hanged several Canadians lately, that were carrying ammunition out of Quebec to the enemy; that the two Captains Jacobs are still in Canada; the one taken with Capt. Kennedy is on board a vessel in irons, the other ran away last fall, but

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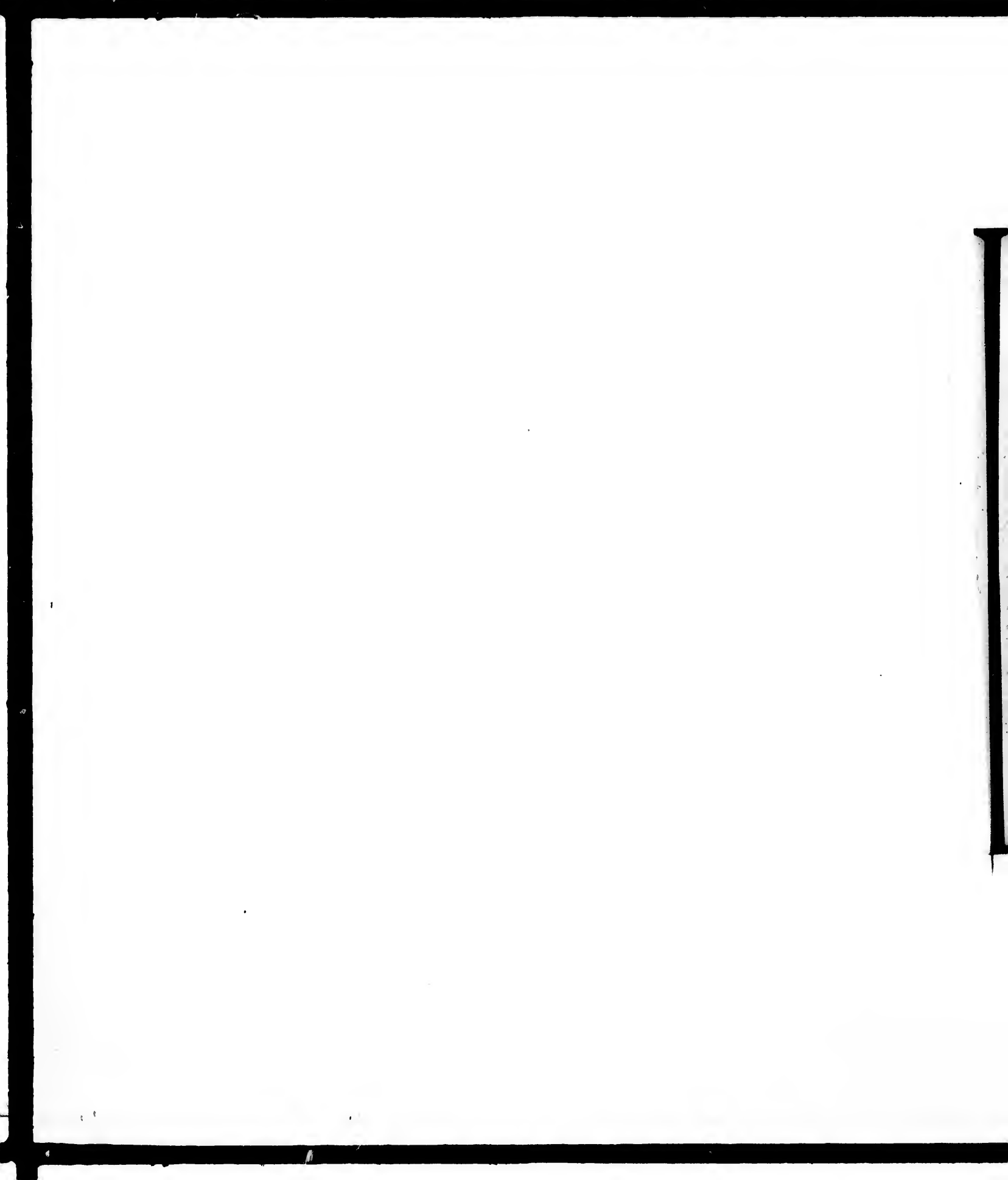
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but returned, having froze his feet, and is at Montreal."

A few days after this, I went down the Lake Champlain, to reconnoitre Nut Island, and the garrison there, the landing places, &c. On my return from that service to Crown Point, I had an order from Gen. Amherst to repair to Albany, the head-quarter, as fast as possible.

I set out, in obedience to this order, the 19th of May, and waited upon the General at Albany the 29d, and gave him all the information I could, in regard to the passage into Canada by the Island de Noir, or Nut Island, and likewise that by Oswego and La Galette.

The General being acquainted by an express, that Quebec was then besieged by the French, informed me of his intentions of sending me with a party into Canada, and if the siege of Quebec was continued, to destroy their country as far as possible, and by constantly marching from one place to another, to draw off the enemy's troops, and prolong the siege till our vessels got up the river. He strongly recommended, and ordered me to govern myself according to the motions of the French army; to retreat if they had raised the siege; and in case of prisoners or captives, I should kill the

the siege still going on, to harass the country, tho' it were at the expence of my party. I had at the same time the following instructions from him in writing.

"Major Rogers, you are to take under your command a party of 300 men, composed of 275 Rangers, with their proper officers, and a subaltern, two serjeants, and twenty-five men of the light Infantry, segments, with which detachment you will proceed down the lake, under cover of the brig, where you will fix upon the best and best place for laying up your boats, which I imagine one of the islands will best answer, while you are executing the following services.

"You will with 50 men land on the west side, in such manner that you may get to St. John's (without the enemy at the Isle au Noir having any intelligence of it) where you will try to surprise the fort, and destroy the vessels, boats, provisions, or whatever else may be there for the use of the troops at the Isle au Noir. You will then march to Point Charley, where you will do the same, and you will do this every day, till you are ordered to the contrary. This will keep the enemy at the Isle au Noir, and you must take care not to be cut off by your

your retreat; for which reason, when you have done all you think practicable on the western-side; I judge your best and safest retreat will be, to cross the river and march back the east-side of Isle au Noix. When you land on the west-side, you will lead each officer with the fifty Rangers, as you think will best answer their intended service, which is, to march for Wigwam Martinique, to destroy what he may find there and on the east-side of the river, and afterwards to join you, or to retreat in such manner as you will direct him. You will take such provisions as you judge necessary with you, and fix with Capt. Grant (who shall have orders to wait for your return) the places where he may look out for you when you come back.

You will take your men as light with you as possible, and give them all the necessary caution for the conduct, and their obedience to their officers; no firing without order, no unnecessary blows, no retreating without an order; they are to stick by one another and nothing can harm them; let every man whose fire-lock will carry it have a bayonet; you are not to suffer the Indians to destroy women or children, no plunder to be taken to load your men, who shall be rewarded at their return as they deserve.

May 25, 1760.

Jess. Amersft.

H

With

With the above instructions the General delivered me a letter directed to General Murray at Quebec, desiring me to convey it to him in such manner as I thought would be quickest and safest.

Having received these instructions I returned to Crown-Point as fast as possible, and about the beginning of June set out from thence with a party of two hundred and fifty men^e down Lake Champlain, having four vessels, on board of which this detachment embarked, putting our boats and provisions into them, that the enemy might have less opportunity of discovering our designs.

The 30, I landed Lieut. Holmes with fifty men in Missisquoi Bay, and gave him proper directions agreeable to my orders from the General, informing him that one of the sloops should cruise for him till his return, which upon signals that were given him would take him on board, upon which he was to join me or wait on board till my return, as the situation of affairs might direct him. Here likewise I sent the letter I had received from the Ge-

^e The Stockbridge Indians who had been undertaken, and now marched from Albany, and who were to be a part of the detachment of 300, agreeable to the General's orders, had not arrived at Crown Point at the time of my embarkation, but were ordered to follow after and join me.

neral to Brigadier Murray, through the woods, and gave the following instructions to the Officer I intrusted with it, viz.

Instructions for Serjeant Beverly of his Majesty's Rangers.

" You are hereby directed to take under your command, these three men, viz. John Shute, Luzford Goodwin, and Joseph Eastman, and march them from Missisquoi Bay, to which place you will be convoyed by Lieut. Holmes with a party I have sent there for a particular purpose; you are to land in the night time, as otherwise you may be discovered by a party from the Isle au Noir; you will steer your course about north-east, and make all the dispatch you possibly can with the letter in your charge to Quebec, or to the English army at or near that place, and deliver it to Brigadier Murray, or to the officer commanding his Majesty's forces in or upon the river St. Lawrence. A sketch of the country will be delivered you with these orders, that you may the better know the considerable rivers you have to cross, betwixt Missisquoi Bay and Quebec. The Distances are marked in the draught, as is the road I travelled in last fall, from Missisquoi Bay to St. Francis; which road you will cross several times, if you will keep the course I before direct. The rivers are so plainly described in the plan

plan, that you will know them when you come to them. The river St. Francis is about half way of your journey, and is very still water, and may be easily rafted where you cross it; but lower down it is so swift and rapid that you must not attempt it. Shedoir River you will likewise be obliged to pass on a raft; it is swift water for some miles from its mouth; you had better examine it well before you attempt to cross it. As soon as you pass this river, bear your course about east, leaving Point Le-ivy on your left hand, and fall in with the river St. Lawrence, near the lower end of the island of Orleans, as it may be possible that General Murray may have encamped the army either at the Isle of Orleans or the Isle of Quodoc; therefore you are not to depend on finding at once the exact place of his encampment; but are positively ordered to look out for the English fleet, and the best line of battle ship you see, you are to venture on board, as I think it not possible the enemy should have any large ships there, and whatever English ship you get on board of, will convey you directly to General Murray, when you will deliver him the verbal message I told you. You may apply to the general for fifty pounds who will pay it to you, and also give you proper directions to join them as soon as you have rested yourself from your march. I wish you a good journey, and am, Sir, your most Obedient Servant, As

To: Surgeon Betensby of the ship *Rodrigo*.

As soon as I had dispatched the two parties before-mentioned, I, with the remainder, crossed Lake Champlain to the west side, and the 4th in the morning got into my boats, and landed with about 200 men, about twelve miles south of the island Nois, with an intent to put in execution the General's orders to me of May 5th with all speed. Capt. Grant sent the two sloops to attend, which I ordered to cruise further down the lake than where I landed, and nearer to their fort, to command the attention of the enemy till I could get into their country. I lay still all the 5th, there being a heavy rain, and the bushes so wet that both we and our provisions would have been greatly exposed by a march.

In the afternoon of the day, several French boats appeared on the Lake, which were discovered by the two sloops, as well as by my party on the shore. These boats continued as near as they could to our vessels without endangering themselves till after dark. Concluding their boats would cruise the whole night to watch the motions of our sloops, I imagined it would be a prudent step to send the sloops back to Capt. Grant, the commander of these vessels, who lay near Mont Island; accordingly I went to the sloops in a boat after dark, and ordered them to return. The enemy, who kept all night in their boats, having by a strict look-out, discovered where I landed, sent a detachment from the

land next morning to cut off my party. I discovered their intentions by my reconnoitring parties, who counted them as they crossed from the fort in the morning in their boats, to the west-shore, and informed me that they were 350 in number. I had intelligence again when they were about a mile from us. Half after eleven they attacked me very briskly on my left, having on my right a bog, which they did not venture over, thro' which, however, by the edge of the lake, I sent seventy of my party to get round and attack them in the rear. This party was commanded by Lieut. Farrington. As soon as he began his attack, I pushed them in the front, which broke them immediately. I pursued them with the greatest part of my people about a mile, where they retired to a thick cedar swamp, and divided into small parties. By this time it rained again very hard. I called my party immediately together at the boats, where I found that Ensign Wood of the 17th regiment was killed, Capt. Johnson wounded through the body, a second shot thro' his left arm, and a third in his head. I had two men of the Light Infantry, and eight Rangers wounded, and sixteen Rangers killed. We killed forty of the enemy, and recovered about fifty firelocks. Their commanding officer, Monsieur la Force, was mortally hurt, and several of the party were likewise wounded. After the action I got the killed and maimed of my detachment together in battoes

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battoes, returned with them to the Isle a Mot, near
 which the brig lay. I dispatched one of the vessels
 to Crown Point, on board of which was put the
 corpse of Mr. Wood, but Capt. Johnson died on
 his passage thither; this vessel I ordered to bring
 more provisions. I buried the rest of the dead on an
 island, and then began to prepare for a second land-
 ing; being joined about this time by the Stock-
 bridge Indian Company, I was determined at all ad-
 ventures to pursue my orders, settled the plan of
 landing, and left the following instructions with
 Capt. Grant, viz.

“ You will be so good as to fall down the lake
 with your vessels as soon as possible, as far as the
 Wind Mill Point, or near where you lay at anchor
 the last time I was with you, and cruise near it for
 two or three days, which will be the only method
 I can think of that has any appearance of attracting
 the attention of the enemy till I get into their coun-
 try; as soon as I observe or think you pretty near
 the Wind Mill Point, I shall land with my party
 on the west-side opposite to the north-end of the
 Isle a Mot, in the river that runs into the bay
 which forms itself there, and from thence proceed
 to execute the General's orders. If they do not
 attack me in my march till I compleat my design,
 you may be certain I shall come back on the east-
 side, and endeavour to join you near the Wind
 Mill

Mill Point, or betwixt that and the Isle a Mot. When I arrive, the signal that I will make for your discovering me, will be a smock and three guns, at a minute's interval each from the other, and repeated a second time, in half an hour after the first; but if the enemy should attack me on my march before I get to the place I am ordered, which I believe they will do, in case I am worsted I shall be obliged to come back on the west-side, and shall make the before mentioned signal betwixt the Isle a Mot and the place where I had the battle with the enemy the 6th instant. It is uncertain when I shall be at either shore, so that I would recommend it to you not to come back south of the Isle a Mot till my return, as a contrary wind might prevent your getting in with your vessels to relieve me. I send you Serjeant Hacket and ten Rangers, to be with you in my absence, as we this day agreed. If Lieutenant Darcy comes down in-season to go with me, I shall leave Ensign Wilson with you; but if Darcy should not come till after I land, you'll be pleased to take him under your direction, as well as all those that may come with him to join me; tho' I would recommend it not to send any party to the island, to take a prisoner, till the fifth day after my landing, as the loss of a man from us may be of very bad consequence. Lieut. Holmes has appointed between the eleventh and sixteenth day after his landing for his return to Missequy Bay, and from the

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the eleventh to the sixteenth, as before mentioned;
I should be glad the sloop might cruise for him at
the place he appointed to meet her. I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

R. Rogers."

I cannot but observe with pleasure, that Mr. Grant, like an able officer, very diligently did all that could be expected of him for the good of the service, carefully attending with his vessels till my return from this second excursion, on which I embarked with two hundred and twenty men, officers included, and landed the 9th of June, about midnight, on the west shore opposite the Isle a Mot, from thence marched as fast as possible to St. John's, and came to the road that leads from it to Montreal, about two miles from the fort, the evening of the 15th. At eleven o'clock this night, I marched with an intent to surprize the fort, to within four hundred yards of it, where I halted to reconnoitre, which I did, and found they had more men than I expected. The number of the centres within the fort were seventeen, and so well fixed, that I thought it was impossible for me to take the place by surprize, especially as they had seen me, and fired several guns accordingly. I left it at two o'clock, and marched down the river to St. John's.

these; at break of day I reconnoitred this place, and found that the enemy had in it a stockaded fort, defensible against small arms. I observed two large store-houses in the inside, and that the enemy were carting hay into the fort. I waited for an opportunity when the cart had just entered the gate-way, run forward, and got into the fort before they could clear the way for shutting the gate. I had at this time sent different parties to the several houses, about fifteen in number, which were near the fort, and were all surpris'd at the same instant of time, and without firing a single gun. We took in the fort twenty-four soldiers, and in the houses seventy-eight prisoners, women and children included; some young men made their escape to Chamblee. I examin'd the prisoners, and found I could not proceed to Chamblee with any prospect of success; therefore concluded my best way was to burn the fort and village, which I did, together with a considerable magazine of hay, and some provisions, with every battoe and canoe, except eight battoes which I kept to cross the river, and these we afterwards cut to pieces: we also kill'd their cattle, horses &c. destroyed their waggons, and every other thing which we thought could ever be of service to the enemy. When this was done, I sent back the women and children, and gave them a pass to go to Montreal, directed to the several officers of the different detachments under my command.

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mand. I continued my march on the east side of
 Lake Champlain, and when passing by Missisquoi
 Bay, opposite the Ile au Noix, my advance-party,
 and the advance-party of about 800 French, that
 were out after me from their fort, engaged with
 each other; but the body of the enemy, be-
 ing about a mile behind their advance-party,
 retreated, to my great satisfaction. I pursued my
 march with all possible speed: and the same day,
 being the 20th day of June, arrived at the lake op-
 posite where the vessels lay; and as I had sent a
 few men forward to repeat the signals, the boats
 met us at the shore. We directly put on board,
 the enemy soon after appeared on the shore where
 we embarked. I had not at this time any account
 from Lieutenant Holmes, either by prisoners or o-
 therways.

Upon examination the prisoners reported, some
 of them had been at the siege of Quebec: "that
 the French had lost five hundred men there; and
 that they retreated after twelve days bombard-
 ing and cannonading, and came to Jack's quarters,
 where General Levy left five hundred men, being
 composed of a picquet of each battalion of the ar-
 my, and that there were four hundred Canadians
 who staid voluntarily with them; that the rest of
 the army was quartered by two's and three's on
 the inhabitants, from there to St. John's. In
 Montreal there are about a hundred and fifty troops,
 and the inhabitants do duty. That in Chamblee
 Fort.

Fort are about one hundred and fifty men, including workmen, and the remnant of the Queen's regiment are in the village. That there are twelve cannon at St. John's, and about three hundred men, including workmen, who are obliged to take arms on any alarm. That at the Ile au Noix are about eight hundred stationed, besides the scouts between that and Montreal. That there are about a hundred pieces of cannon there. This is the substance of their report, in which they all agree, and which, with an account of my proceedings, I transmitted to the General.

On the 21st I put the twenty-six prisoners on board one of the vessels, with fifty men of my detachment, and ordered her to proceed to Crown Point, and to be joined with the other vessels to cover Mr. Holmes's retreat, who joined us the same evening, without having succeeded in his enterprise, missing the way by following down a river that falls into Sorel, instead of that called Wigwam Harbour, which empties itself into St. Lawrence at Lake St. Pierre. I arrived at Crown Point the day after to-day, and employed my Rangers on the east shore, opposite the fort.

The following letter I received from General Amherst, dated at Canajoharry, June 26, 1759.

Colonel Haviland sent me your letter of June 26th.

21, which I received last night, and saw with pleasure, you was returned without the loss of a man of your party, and that you had done every thing that was prudent for you to attempt with the number of men you had under your command. From the situation the enemy is now in, by being forced back to their former quarters, on Governor Murray's having obliged them to abandon their cannon, and raise the siege of Quebec, I hope Lieutenant Holmes will return with equal success as you have done. I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

To Major Rogers.

Jess. Amherst.

I remained at Crown point with my people without effecting any thing considerable, more than in small parties reconnoitring the country about the fort, while every thing was got in readiness for embarking the army the 10th of August; which was done accordingly, having one brig, three sloops, and four pinnaces, which latter were occupied by the royal train of artillery, commanded by Lieut. Colonel Ord. Our order of march was as follows, viz. Six Hundred Rangers and seventy Indians in whale-boats in the front, commanded by Major Rogers as an advance-guard for the whole army, all

all in a line a-bread, about half a mile a-head of the main body, followed by the light infantry and grenadiers in two columns, two boats a-bread in each column, commanded by Col. Darby. The right wing was composed of Provincials, commanded by Brigadier Ruggles, who was second in command of the whole army. The left was made up of New Hampshire and Boston troops, commanded by Col. Thomas. The seventeenth and twenty-seventh regiments, with some few of the Royals, that formed the center column, were commanded by Major Campbell of the 17th regiment. Col. Haviland was in the front of these divisions, between that and the light infantry, and grenadiers. The royal artillery followed the columns, and was commanded by Colonel Ord, who had for his escort, one Rhode Island regiment of Provincials. The fuzileers, &c. followed the artillery. In this manner we rowed down the lake forty miles the first day, putting ashore where there was good landing on the west-side, and there encamped.

The day following we lay by. The 18th, the wind blowing fresh at south, orders were given for embarking, and the same day reached a place on the west shore, within ten miles of the Isle a Noix, where the army encamped. It having blown a fresh wind most part of the day, some of my boats put

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 orders were given for
 reached a place on
 of the Isle a Mot,
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 of my boats (with

by the violence of the waves, and ten of my Ran-
 gers were thereby drowned.

The 19th we set sail again early in the morning,
 and that night encamped on the north-end of the
 Isle a Mot.

The 20th, before day, the army was under way,
 with intention to land, having but twenty miles
 to go, and having the advantage of a fair wind, we
 soon came in sight of the French fort, and about ten
 in the morning Col. Darby, with the grenadiers and
 Light Infantry, and myself with the Rangers, land-
 ed on the east shore, and marched and took posses-
 sion of the ground opposite the fort on that side,
 without the least opposition. Having done this,
 an officer was sent to acquaint Col. Haviland (who,
 with the remainder of the army, was at the place
 where we landed) that there was not the least dan-
 ger to apprehend from the enemy. The next day
 we began to raise batteries, and soon after to throw
 some shells into the garrison. About the 24th a
 proposal was made for taking the enemy's vessels,
 three of which were at anchor a little below the
 fort, and some of their viduans likewise. It was
 introduced by Col. Darby, who was ordered to
 take the command of the party appointed for this
 service, which consisted of two companies of Reg-
 ulars.

galeis, and four companies of my rangers, with the Indians. We carried with us two haubitzae and one six-pounder, and silently conveying them along thro' the trees, brought them opposite the vessels, and began a brisk fire upon them, before they were in the least apprised of our design and, by good fortune, the first shot from the six-pounder cut the cable of the great rigging, and the wind being with us, blew her to the east-stere, where we were, and the other vessels weighed anchor and made for St. John's, but got off a ground, in turning a point about two miles below the fort. I was, by Col. Darby, ordered down to the east-stere with my Rangers, and crossed a river about three or four wide, which falls into Lake Champlain from the east. I soon got opposite the vessels, and by firing from the shore, gave an opportunity to some of my party to swim on board with their tomahawks, and took one of the vessels; in the mean time Col. Darby had got on board the rigging, and had her hauled, and took the other two; of which success he immediately acquainted Col. (Barkness) who sent down a sufficient number of men to give charge of and man the vessels, and ordered the remainder of the Rangers, Light Infantry and Grenadiers, to join the army this night, which was accordingly done; and about midnight the night following the French troops left the island, and landed

landed safe on the main, so that next morning nothing of them was to be seen but a few sick, and Col. Haviland took possession of the fort.

The second day after the departure of Monsieur Beville and his troops from the island, Mr. Haviland sent me with my Rangers to pursue him as far as St. John's Fort, which was about twenty miles farther down the lake, and at that place I was to wait the coming of the army, but by no means to follow farther than the fort, nor run a risk of advancing farther to Monsieur Beville. I went in the evening and about day-light got to St. John's, and found it just as I expected, and took two prisoners, who reported that Monsieur Beville was to encamp that night about half-way on the road to Monroeb, and that he wrote from St. John's about nine o'clock the night before, but that many of their men were sick, and that they thought some of the troops would not reach the place appointed till the middle of the afternoon. It being now about seven in the morning, I set all hands to work, except proper guards, to fortify the house that stood near the lake side, in order that part of my people might cover the boats, while I, with the remainder, followed Monsieur Beville, and about eight o'clock I got so well fortified, that I ventured our boats and baggage under

der the care of 200 Rangers, and took with me 400, together with the two companies of Indians, and followed after the French army, which consisted of about 1500 men, and about 100 Indians, they had to guard them. I was resolv'd to make his dance a little the more slow, and pursued with such haste, that I overtook his rear-guard about two miles before they got to their encamping ground. I immediately attacked them, who, not being above 200, suddenly broke, and then fled for the main body, which I very eagerly pursued, but in good order, expecting Monsieur Beville would have made a stand, which however he did not chuse, but pushed forward to get to the river, where they were to encamp, and having crossed it, pulled up the bridge, which put a stop to my march, not judging it prudent to cross at a disadvantage, inasmuch as the enemy had a good breast-work on the other side, of which they took possession; in this pursuit, however, we considerably lessened their number, and returned in safety.

In the evening Mr. Haviland came in fight, and landed at St. John's. As soon as he came on shore, I waited upon him, and acquainted him with what I had done, &c. and then I had some witnesses for him; he said it was very well, and ordered his troops there that night, and next day went down the

the river Sorriol, as far as St. d'Etrève, where he encamped, and made a strong breast-work, to defend his people from being surpris'd. I was sent down the river Sorriol, to bring the inhabitants under subjection to his Britannick Majesty, and went into their settled country in the night, took all their priests and militia officers, and sent some of them for the inhabitants. The first day I caus'd all the inhabitants near Chamblos to take the oaths of allegiance, &c. who appear'd glad to have it in their power to take the oaths and keep their possessions, and were all extremely submissive. Having oblig'd them to bring in their arms, and fulfill'd my instructions in the best manner I could, I join'd Col. Derby at Chamblos, who came there to take the fort, and had brought with him some light cannon. It soon surrendered, as the garrison consisted only of about fifty men. This happen'd on the first of September.

On the 2d, our army having nothing to do, and having good intelligence both from Gen. Amherst and Gen. Murray, Mr. Haviland sent me to join the latter, while he march'd with the rest of the army for La Platte. The 3th in the morning I got to Longueville, four miles below Montreal, opposite to where Brigadier Murray lay, and gave him notice

notice of my arrival, but not till the morning of the 26th, by reason of my arrival so late.

By the time I came to Longville the army under the command of Gen. Amherst, had landed about two miles from the town, where they encamped; and early this morning Monsieur de Vau-sail, the governor and commander in chief of all Canada, sent out to capitulate with our General, which put a stop to all our movements, till the 5th of September, when the articles of capitulation were agreed to, and signed, and our troops took possession of the town-gates that night. Next morning the Light Infantry, and Grenadiers of the whole army, under the command of Col. Holdiman, with a company of the royal artillery, with two pieces of cannon, and some Miltizers, entered the town, re-taking the English colours belonging to Pepperell's and Shirley's regiments which had been taken by the French at Oswego.

Thus at length, at the end of the fifth campaign, Montreal and the whole County of Canada was given up, and became subject to the King of Great Britain; a conquest perhaps of the greatest importance that is to be met with in the British annals, whether we consider the prodigious extent of country we are hereby made masters of, the vast addition it must make to trade and navigation, or the security

security it must afford to the northern provinces of America, particularly those flourishing ones of New England and New York the irretrievable loss France sustains hereby, and the importance it must give the British crown among the several states of Europe; all this, I say, duly considered, will, perhaps, in its consequences render the year 1760 more glorious than any preceding.

And to this acquisition, had we, during the late war, either by conquest or treaty, added the fertile and extensive country of Louisiana, we should have been possessed of perhaps the most valuable territory upon the face of the globe, attended with more real advantages than the so-much-boasted mines of Mexico and Peru; and would have for ever deprived the French, those treacherous rivals of Britain's glory, of an opportunity of acting hereafter the same perfidious parts they have already so often repeated.

On the 9th General Amherst informed me of his intention of sending me to Detroit, and on the 10th in the morning, when I waited upon him again, I received the following orders.

By his Excellency Jeffrey Amherst, Esq; Major General and commander in chief of all his Majesty's forces in North America, &c. &c. &c.

To

To Major Rogers, commanding his Majesty's independent companies of Rangers.

" You will upon receipt hereof, with Capt. Wake's and Capt. Hazen's companies of Rangers under your command, proceed in whale-boats from hence to Fort William-Augustus, taking along with you one Joseph Poupao, alias La Fleur, an inhabitant of Detroit, and Lieut. Brehme, Assistant Engineer.

" From Fort William-Augustus you will continue your voyage by the north-shore to Niagara, where you will land your whale-boats, and transport them across the Carrying-place into Lake Erie, applying to Major Walters, or the officer commanding at Niagara, for any assistance you may want on that or any other occasion, requesting of him at the same time to deliver up to you Monsieur Gamelin, who was made prisoner at the reduction of said fort, and has continued there ever since, in order to conduct him, with the above-mentioned Poupao, to their habitations at Detroit, where, upon taking the oath of allegiance to his most sacred Majesty, whose subjects they are become by the capitulation of the 8th instant, they shall be protected in the peaceable and quiet possession of their properties, and so long as they behave as become good and faithful subjects, shall partake of all the other privileges

ending his Majesty's in-
terests of Rangers.

By Capt. hereof, with Capt.
and companies of Rangers
to proceed in whale-boats from
the coast, taking along with
them La Fleur, an Inha-
bitant. Brehme, Assistant

Augustus you will con-
sider the north-shore to Niagara,
whale-boats, and trans-
ferring them into Lake Erie,
where, or the officer com-
manding any assistance you may
require on occasion, requesting of
them to give up to you Monsieur
de la Riviere at the reduction
of the same: ever since, in
all the above-mentioned
places at Detroit, where,
according to his most sacred
Majesty are become by the es-
tablishment; they shall be protected
in the possession of their proper-
ties, and shall behave as good
subjects, and shall partake of all the other
privileges

privileges and immunities granted unto them by the
said capitulation.

“ With these, and the detachment, under your
command, you will proceed in your whale-boats a-
cross Lake Erie to Presque Isle, where, upon your
arrival, you will make known the orders I have gi-
ven to the officer commanding that post; and you
will leave said whale-boats and party, taking only
a small detachment of your party, and marching by
land, to join Brigadier General Monkton, where-
ever he may be

“ Upon your arrival with him, you will deliver
into his hands the dispatches you shall herewith re-
ceive for him, and follow and obey such orders as
he shall give you for the relief of the garrisons of the
French posts at Detroit, Michilimackinac, or any
others in that district, for gathering in the arms of
the inhabitants thereof, and for administering to
them the oath of allegiance already mentioned; and
when you will likewise administer, or see adminis-
tered, the same to the before mentioned Gamelin
and Poupas; and when this is done, and that you
have reconnoitered and explored the country as
much as you can, without losing time unnecessarily
you are to bring away the French troops and arms,
to such a place as you shall be directed by General
Monkton.

“ And

[102]

And when the whole of this service is completed, you will march back to your detachment to Presquise, or Niagara, according to the orders you receive from Brigadier Monkton, where you will embark the whole, and in like manner as before, transport your whale-boats across the Carrying-place into Lake Ontario, where you will deliver over your whale-boats into the care of the commanding officer marching your detachment by land to Albany, or wherever I may be, to receive what further orders I may have to give you.

Given under my hand at the head quarters in the camp Montreal, 12th Sept. 1760.

Jeff. Amherst.

By his Excellency's command

J. Amherst.

An additional order was given, which was to be shown only to the commanding officers of the different posts I might touch at, the expedition being intended to be kept a profound secret for fear the march should be impeded by the enemy Indians through whose country I was obliged to march.

This order was as follows, viz.

Major

Major

Major Walters, or the officer commanding at Niagara, will judge whether or not there is provision sufficient at Presque Isle; and Major Rogers will accordingly take provisions from Niagara. Eight days provision will take him from Montreal to Fort William-Augustus; there he will apply to the commanding officer for a sufficient quantity to proceed to Niagara. Major Rogers knows where he is going, and the provisions he will want; some should be in store likewise at Presque Isle, for the party Brigadier General Monkton will send.

Jeff. Amherst.

Montreal, 12th Sept. 1760.

In pursuance of these orders I embarked at Montreal the 12th Sept. 1760 (with Captain Brewer, Captain Wait, Lieutenant Brême, Assistant Engineer, Lieut. Davis of the royal train of artillery, and two hundred Rangers) about noon, in fifteen whale-boats; and that night we encamped at la Chine; next morning we reached Isle de Peire, and took a view of the two Indian settlements at Coghewaga and Conesadegu.

On the 16th we got up to an island in the Lake of St. Francis, and the next night encamped on the western shore, at the lower end of the upper rift.

We ascended these rifts the day following, and continued

tinued all night on the shore, opposite a number of islands.

In the evening of the 19th we came to the Isle de Gallettes, and spent the 20th in repairing our whale-boats, which had received some damage in ascending the rifts.

This morning I sent off ten sick Rangers to Albany, by the way of Oswego, recommending them to the care of Col. Fitch, commanding at Oswego, who was to give them suitable directions.

We left Isle de Gallettes on the 21st; about twelve o'clock, the wind being unfavourable, we passed Oswegachi, and encamped but three miles above it on the northern shore.

On the 22d we continued our course up the river, the wind blowing fresh at south, and halted in the evening at the narrow passage near the islands; but, upon the wind abating at midnight, we embarked and rowed the remainder of that night, and the whole day following, till we came to the place where formerly stood the old Fort of Frontenac, where we found some Indian hunters from Oswegachi. We were detained here all the next day by the tempestuousness of the weather, which was every windy, attended with snow and rain: we never

ever, improved the time in taking a plan of the old fort, situated at the bottom of a fine safe harbour

There were about five hundred acres of cleared ground about it which, tho' covered with clover seemed bad and rocky, and interspersed with some pine-trees. The Indians here seemed to be well pleased with the news we brought them of the surrender of all Canada, and supplied us with great plenty of venison and wild fowl.

We left this the 25th, about ten in the morning, steering a south-course two miles, then west six miles, which brought us to the mouth of a river thirty feet wide; then south four miles, where we halted to refresh the party.

About four in the afternoon we rowed for the mountain bearing south-west, which we did not come up to till some time in the night, and found it to be a steep rock, about one hundred feet high. It now grew foggy, and mistaking our way about six miles, we rowed all night, and till 8 o'clock next morning, before we put ashore; which we then did on a point, where we breakfasted, and then proceeded on our voyage, rowing till 8 o'clock at night (being about one hundred miles, as we imagined, from Frontinac) we landed. This evening we passed two small islands at the end of

a point extending far into the lake; the darkness and fog prevented us from taking such a survey of them as to be able to give a particular description of them.

The 27th of September, being very windy, we spent the time in deer-hunting, there being great plenty of them there, tho' the land is rocky, the timber bad, chiefly hemlock and pine; and I believe it is generally so on the north-side of Lake Ontario.

We embarked very early on the 28th, steering south-west, leaving a large bay on the right, about twenty miles wide; the western side of which terminates in a point, and a small island; having passed both, about twenty miles on a course west by south we entered the chops of a river, called by the Indians *Grassy Men*; there we encamped, and found about 50 Madisaga Indians fishing for salmon. At our first appearance they ran down, both men and boys, on the edge of the lake, and continued firing their pieces, to express their joy at the sight of the English column, till such time as we had landed.

They presented us with a deer just killed and split in halves, with the skin on, but the horses were not much with them, but a most elegant and well mounted party.

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sent, and significant of the greatest respect. I told
them of the success of their English brethren, a-
gainst their fathers the French; at which they ei-
ther were, or pretended to be, very well pleased.

Some of us fished with them in the evening be-
ing invited by them, and filled a bark-canoe with
salmon in about half an hour. Their method of
catching the fish is very extraordinary. One person
hold a lighted pine-torch, while a second strikes the
fish with a spear. This is the season in which the
salmon spawn on these parts, contrary to what they
do in any other place I ever knew them before.

I found the soil near this river very good and le-
vel. The timber is chiefly oak and maple, or the
ugar-tree.

At seven o'clock the next morning we took our
departure from this river, the wind being a head.
About fifteen miles further, on a west south-west
course, we put into another river, called the Life of
Man. The Messaguas, who were hunting here,
about thirty in number, paid us the same compli-
ments with those we just before received from their
countrymen, and instead of a deer, sprang up a young
bear and presented me with it. Plenty of fish was
caught here also. The land continued good and
level, the soil of blackish colour, and the banks of
the lake were low. I 3 The

The wind being fair the 30th, we embarked at the first dawn of day, and with the assistance of sails and oars, made great way on a south-west course, and in the evening reached the river Toronto, having run seventy miles. Many points extending far into the lake, occasioned a frequent alteration of our course. We passed a bank of twenty miles in length, but the land behind it seemed to be level, well-timbered with large oaks, hickories, maples, and some poplars. No mountain appeared in sight. There was a track of about 300 acres of cleared ground, round the place where formerly the French had a fort, that was called Fort Toronto. The soil here is principally clay. The deer are extremely plenty in this country. Some Indians were hunting at the mouth of the river, who run into the woods at our approach, very much frightened. They came in, however, in the morning and testified their joy at the news of our success against the French. They told us that we could easily accomplish our journey from thence to Detroit in eight days: that when the French traded at that place, the Indians used to come with their peltry from Michlimakana, down the river Toronto; that this portage was but twenty miles from that to a river falling into Lake Huron, which had some falls, but none very considerable: they added, that there was a carrying-place of fifteen miles from some westerly part of Lake Erie, to a river running without any falls thro' several Indian towns into Lake St. Clair.

I think Toronto a most convenient place for a factory, and that from thence we may very easily settle the north-side of Lake Erie.

We left Toronto the 1st of October, steering south, right across the west-end of Lake Ontario. At dark we arrived at the south-shore, five miles west of Fort Niagara, some of our boats being now become exceedingly leaky and dangerous.

This morning, before we set out, I directed the following order of march:

"The boats in a line. If the wind rose high, the red flag hoisted, and the boats to crowd nearer, that they might be ready to give mutual assistance in case of a leak or other accident," by which means we saved the crew and arms of the boat commanded by Lieutenant M' Cormack, which sprung a leak and sunk, losing nothing except their packs.

We halted all the next day, and provided ourselves with blankets, shirts, shoes, magazines, &c.

I received from the commanding officer eighty barrels of provisions, and changed two whale-boats for as many battoes, which proved leaky.

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ake St. Clair.

In the evening some of my party proceeded with the provisions to the falls, and in the morning marched the rest there, and began the portage of the provisions and boats. Mess. Brheme and Davis took a survey of the great cataract of Niagara.

As the winter-season was now advancing very fast in this country, and I had orders to join Brig. Monkton from Presque Isle, wherever he might be, to receive his directions, I set out this evening, the 9th of October, in a bark-cutter, with Lieutenants Brheme and Holmes, and eight Rangers, leaving the command of my party to Capt. Brewer, with instructions to follow to Presque Isle, and encamped eight miles up the stream issuing out of Lake Erie. The had appeared to be good on both sides the river.

Next morning embarked early, and steered a south-west course. About noon opened Lake Erie, and leaving a bay to the left, we arrived by sunset at the southern shore of the lake; we then steered west about a clock at night, and drew up our boats on a sandy beach, forty miles distant from where we embarked in the morning.

The wind was very fresh next day, which prevented our setting out till 11 o'clock; so that we made no further progress than about twenty-eight miles.

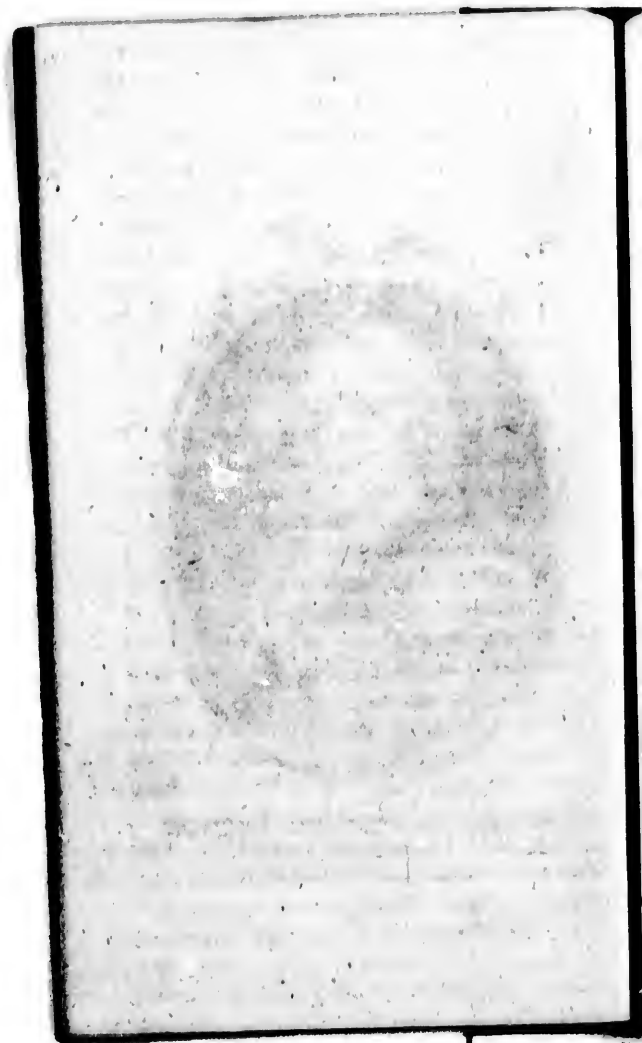
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BRIGADIER GEN. MANCKTON.



miles on a west-south-west course. A little after noon, on the 8th of October, we arrived at Presque Isle, having kept a southerly course all the morning; I tarried there till 3 o'clock, when, having sent back my party to assist Captain Brewer, Mr. Beheme, Lieutenant Holmes, and myself, took leave of Colonel Bouquet, who commanded at Presque Isle, and with three other men, in a bark-canoe, proceeded to French Creek, and at night encamped on the road, half-way to Fort du Bouf. We got to this fort about 10 o'clock next day, and after three hours rest launched our canoe into the river, and paddled down about ten miles below the fort.

On the 10th we encamped at the second crossings of the river, the land on both sides appeared to be good all the way. The 11th we reached the Mingo Cabins, and the night of the 12th we lodged at Venango; from thence went down the River Ohio; and on the morning of the 17th I waited upon Brigadier Monkton at Pittsburgh, and delivered him General Amherst's dispatches, and my own instructions.

I left Pittsburgh the 20th, at the request of General Monkton, who promised to send his orders after me to Presque Isle, by Mr. Croghan, and to forward Capt. Campbell immediately with a com-

pany of the Royal Americans; I got back to Presque Isle the 30th of October, Captain Campbell arrived the day after; Captain Brewer was got there before us, with the Rangers from Niagara, having lost some of the boats, and part of the provisions.

We immediately began to repair the damaged boats; and, as there was an account that a vessel, expected with provisions from Niagara, was lost, I dispatched Capt. Brewer by land to Detroit, with a drove of forty oxen, supplied by Col. Bouquet. Capt. Wait was about the same time sent back to Niagara for more provisions, and ordered to cruise along the north-coast of Lake Erie, and halt about twenty miles to the east of the strait between the Lakes Huron and Erie, till further orders. Brewer had a battoe to ferry his party over the Creeks, two horses, and Capt. Monter with twenty Indians, composed of the Six Nations, Delawares and Shawanese, to protect him from the insults of the enemy Indians.

My order of march over from Presque Isle was as follows:

“ The boats to row two deep; first, Major Rogers's boat, abreast of him Captain Croghan; Captain Campbell follows with his company, the Rangers.

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two deep; first, Major
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Rangers.

Rangers next; and lastly, Lieutenant Holmes,
who commands the rear-guard, with his own boat,
and that of Ensign Wait's, so as to be ready to
assist any boat that may be in distress. Boats in
distress are to fire a gun, when Mr. Holmes with
the other boats under his command are immediat-
ly to go to their relief, take them to the shore, or
give such other assistance as he thinks may be best.
When the wind blows hard, so that the boats can-
not keep their order, a red flag will be hoisted in
the Major's boat; then the boats are not to mind
their order, but put after the flag as fast as possible
to the place of landing, to which the flag-boat
will always be a guide.

It is recommended to the soldiers as well as
officers, not to mind the waves of the lake; but
when the surf is high to stick to their oars, and
the men at helm to keep the boat quartering on
the waves, and briskly follow; then no mischief
will happen by any storm whatever. Ten of the
best steersmen amongst the Rangers are to attend
Captain Campbell and company in his boats. It
is likewise recommended to the officers command-
ing in those boats, to hearken to the steersmen in
a storm or bad weather, in managing their boats.
At evening, (if it is thought necessary to row in
the night time) a blue flag will be hoisted in the
Major's boat, which is the signal for the boats to
drefs,

draw, and then proceed in the following manner: the boat next the hindermost, are to wait for the two in the rear; the two third boats for the second two; and so on to the boat leading a-head, to prevent separation, which in the night would be hazardous.

" Mr. Breme is not to mind the order of march, but to steer as is most convenient for him to make his observations; he is however desired never to go more than a league a-head of the detachment, and is to join them at landing or encamping.

" On landing the Regulars are to encamp in the center, and Lieutenant Holmes's division on the right wing with Mr. Croghan's people, Lieut. McCormick on the left wing with his division; Mr. Jequie to be always ready with his Mohogan Indians, which are the picket of the detachment, part of which are always to encamp in the front of the party; Capt. Campbell will mount a guard consisting of one Subaltern, one Sergeant, and thirty privates, immediately on landing, for the security of his own encampment and battery; Lieutenant Holmes's division to keep a guard of one Sergeant and ten Rangers on the right, and Lieutenant McCormick the like number on the left, and likewise to act as Adjutant to the detachment.

ment, and the orderly drum to attend him, to be at the Serjeant's call. The general to beat when ordered by the Major, at which time the whole party is to prepare for embarking, the troops half an hour after, when all the guards are to be called in, and the party embark immediately after.

"There is to be no firing of guns in this detachment without permission from the commanding officer, except when in distress on the lake. No man to go without the centries, when in camp, unless he has orders so to do; great care to be taken of the arms, and the officers to review them daily. Captain Campbell will order a drum to beat, for the regulation of his company when landed, at any time he thinks proper for parading his men, or reviewing their arms, &c.

"It is not doubted but due attention will be paid to all orders given.

"Mr. Croghan will, at landing always attend the Major for orders, and to give such intelligence as he may have had from the Indians, throughout the day."

We left Presque Isle the 4th of November, kept a westerly course, and by night had advanced twenty miles.

The

The badness of the weather obliged us to lie by all the next day; and as the wind continued very high, we did not advance more than ten or twelve miles the 6th, on a course west-south-west.

We set out very early on the 7th, and came to the mouth of Chogage River; here we met with a party of Attawawa Indians, just arrived from Detroit. We informed them of our success in the total reduction of Canada, and that we were going to bring off the French garrison at Detroit, who were included in the capitulation. I held out a belt, and told them I would take my brothers by the hand, and carry them to Detroit, to see the truth of what I had said. They retired, and held a council, and promised an answer next morning. That evening we smoked the calumet, or pipe of peace, all the Indians smoking by turns out of the same pipe. The peace thus concluded, we went to rest; but kept good guards, a little distrust- ing their sincerity.

The Indians gave their answer early in the morn- ing, and said their young warriors should go with me, while the old ones staid to hunt for their wives and children.

I gave them ammunition at their request, and a string of wampum in testimony of my approbation, and

and charged them to send some of their sachems, or chiefs, with the party who drove the oxen along shore; and they promised to spread the news, and prevent any annoyance from their hunters.

We were detained here by unfavourable weather till the 12th, during which time the Indians held a plentiful market in our camp of venison and turkies.

From this place we steered one mile west, then a mile south, then four miles west, then south-west ten miles, then five miles west-and-by-south, then south-west eight miles, then west-and-by-south seven miles, then four miles west, and then south-west six miles, which brought us to Elk River, as the Indians call it, where we halted two days on account of bad weather and contrary winds.

On the 15th we embarked, and kept the following courses; west-south-west two miles, west-north-west three miles, west-by-north one mile, west two miles; here we passed the mouth of a river, and then steered west one mile, west-by-south two miles, west-by-north four miles, north-west three miles, west-north-west two miles, west-by-north ten miles, where we encamped at the mouth of a river twenty-five yards wide.

The

The weather did not permit us to depart till the 18th, when our course was west-by-south six miles, west-by-north four miles, west two miles; here we found a river about fifteen yards over, then proceeded west half a mile, west-south-west six miles and a half, west two miles and an half, north-west two miles, where we encamped; and discovered a river sixteen yards broad at the entrance.

We left this place the next day, steering north-west four miles, north-north-west six miles, which brought us to Sandusky Lake; we continued the same course two miles, then north-north-east half a mile, north-west a quarter of a mile, north the same distance, north-west half a mile, north-by-east one furlong, north-west-by-north one quarter of a mile, north-west-by-west one mile, west-north-west one mile, then west half a mile, where we encamped near a small river, on the east-side.

From this place I detached Mr. Btheme with a letter to Monsieur Belter, the French commandant at Detroit, in these words:

To Capt. Belter, or the Officer commanding at Detroit.

" Sir,

" That you may not be alarmed at the approach of the English troops under my command, when they come to Detroit, I send forward this by
Lieut.

Lieut. Echene, to acquaint you, that I have Gen. Amherst's orders to take possession of Detroit, and such other posts as are in that district, which, by capitulation, agreed to and signed by the Marquis de Vaudreuil; and his Excellency, Major General Amherst, the 8th of September last, now belong to the King of Great Britain.

I have with me the Marquis de Vaudreuil's letters to you directed, for your guidance on this occasion, which letters I shall deliver you when I arrive at or near your post, and shall decamp the troops I have with me at some distance from the fort, till you have reasonable time to be made acquainted with the Marquis de Vaudreuil's instructions, and the capitulation, a copy of which I have with me likewise. I am,

Sir,

Your humble servant,

Robert Rogers.

The land on the south-side of Lake Erie, from Presque Isle, puts on a very fine appearance; the country level, the timber tall, and of the best sort, such as oak, hickerie and locust; and for game, both

both for plenty and variety, perhaps exceeded by no part of the world.

I followed Mr. Brehme on the 20th, and took a course north-west four miles and an half, south-west two, and west three, to the mouth of a river in breadth 300 feet.

Here we found several Huron sachems, who told me, "that a body of 400 Indian warriors was collected at the entrance into the great strait, in order to obstruct our passage; and that Monsieur Beleter had excited them to defend their country; that they were messengers to know my business, and whether the person I had sent forward had reported the truth that Canada was reduced." I confirmed this account, and that the fort at Detroit was given up by the French Governor. I presented them a large belt, and spoke to this effect:

"Brothers,

"With this belt I take you by the hand. You are to go directly to your brothers assembled at the mouth of the river, and tell them to go to their towns till I arrive at the fort. I shall call you there as soon as Monsieur Beleter is sent away, which shall be in two days after my arrival. We will:

will then settle all matters. You live happily in your own country. Your brothers have long desired to bring this about. Tell your warriors to mind their fathers (the French) no more, for they are all prisoners to your brothers (the English), who pitied them, and left them their houses and goods, on their swearing by the Great One who made the world, to become as Englishmen for ever. They are now your brothers; if you abuse them, you affront me, unless they behave ill. Tell this to your brothers the Indians. What I say is truth. When we meet at Detroit I will convince you it is all true."

These sachems set out in good temper the next morning, being the 21st; but as the wind was very high, we did not move from this place.

On the 22d we encamped on a beach, after having steered that day north-west six miles, north-north-west four, to a river of the breadth of twenty yards, then north-west-by-west two miles, west-north-west one, west four, and west north-west five; it was with great difficulty we could procure any fuel here, the west-side of the Lake Erie abounding with swamps.

We rowed ten miles the next day, on a course north-west and by west, to Point Cedar, and then formed

formed a camp; here we met some of the Indian messengers, to whom we had spoken two days before: they told us, their warriors were gone up to Monsieur Beleter, who, they said, is a strong man, and intends to fight you; a sachem of Attawawas was amongst them. All their Indians set out with us. The 24th we went north-west and by north ten miles, and fourteen miles north-east, to a long point; this night sixty of the Indian party came to our camp, who congratulated us on our arrival in their country, and offered themselves as an escort to Detroit; from whence they came the day before. They informed me, that Mr. Bhreme, and his party were confined; and that Monsieur Beleter had set up a high flag-staff, with a wooden effigy of a man's head on the top, and upon that a crow; that the crow was to represent himself, the man's head mine, and the meaning of the whole, that he would scratch out my brains. This artifice, however, had no effect; for the Indians told him (as they said) that the reverse would be the true explanation of the sign.

After we had proceeded six miles north-east, we halted at the request of the Indians, who desired me to call in the chief Captains of the party at the Straight's mouth. I did so, and spent the 26th at the same place, in conciliating their savage minds to peace and friendship.

The

The morning of the 27th, Monsieur Belater sent me the following letter by Monsieur Babee.

" MONSIEUR,

" J'ai recu la lettre que vous m'avez écrite par un de vos Officiers; comme je n'ai point d'interprete, je ne puis faire la reponse amplement.

L'Officier qui m'a remis la votre, me fait savoir qu'il étoit détaché afin de m'annoncer votre arrivée, pour prendre possession de cette garnison, selon la capitulation fait et Canada, que vous avez conjointement avec un lettre de Monsieur de Vaudreuil à mon adresse. Je vous prie, Monsieur, d'arrêter vos troupes à l'entrance de la rivière, jusques à ce que vous m'envoyez la capitulation & la lettre de Monseigneur le Marquis de Vaudreuil, afin de pouvoir y conformer.

Je suis bien surpris qu'on ne m'a pas envoyé un Officier François avec vous, selon la coutume.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c. &c.

De Belater."

A Monsieur Monsieur Roger, Major, & commandant le detachment Anglois."

In

In English thus.

" Sir,

I received the letter you wrote me by one of your Officers; but as I have no interpreter, cannot fully answer it.

The Officer that delivered me yours, gives me to understand, that he was sent to give me notice of your arrival to take possession of this garrison, according to the capitulation made in Canada; that you have likewise a letter from Monf. Vaudreuil, directed to me. I beg, Sir, you'll halt your troops at the entrance of the river, till you send me the capitulation and the Marquis de Vaudreuil's letter, that I may act in conformity thereto.

I am surpris'd there is no French Officer sent to me along with you, as is the custom on such occasions. I have the honour to be &c. &c.

De Belleville.
To Mr. Rogers, Major and
Commander of the Eng-
lish detachment."

Shortly after a French party, under Captain
Burrager, beat a parley on the west shore; and sent

Mr.

Mr. M^cCormick to know his business, who returned with the Officer and the following letter :

Detroit, le 25me Novembre, 1760.

MONSIEUR,

“ Je vous ai déjà marqué par Monsieur Burrager les raisons pour quoi je ne puis répondre en détail à la lettre qui m'a été remise le 22me de courant, par l'Officier que vous m'avez détaché.

J'ignore les raisons pour quoi il n'a pas voulu retourner auprès de vous. J'ai envoyé mon interprète Huron chez cette nation, que l'on me dit être allé sur le chemin de les contenir, ne sachant positivement si c'est à vous ou à nous qu'ils en veulent, & pour leur dire de ma part, qu'ils aient à se tenir tranquillement ; que je savois ce que je devois à mon General, & que de lorsque l'acte de la capitulation seroit réglé, j'étois obligé d'obéir. Le dit interprète a ordre de vous attendre, & de vous remettre la présente. Ne soyez point surpris, Monsieur, si sur le long de la côte vous trouverez nos habitans sur leur garde ; on leur a annoncé qu'il y avoit beaucoup de nations à votre suite, & que on avoit promis le pillage, & que les dites nations étoient même déterminées à vous le demander. Je leur ai permis de regarder, c'est pour votre conversation & à vous aussi que pour la notre, en cas que les dites nations devenoient

devenoit à faire les infolents, vous seul ne seriez peut-être pas dans les circonstances présentes en état de les require. Je me flatte, Monsieur, que si tôt que la présente vous sera parvenue, vous voudriez bien m'envoyer par quel qu'un de vos Messieurs, & la capitalation la lettre de Monsieur Vaudreuil. J'ai l'honneur d'être,

MONSIEUR,

Votre très-humble & obéissant serviteur,

Sign. de Beliveau.

A Monsieur Monsieur Rogers,
Major, commandant le de-
tachement Anglois au bas de
la rivière.

In English thus:

“ Sir, Detroit, 25th Nov. 1760.

“ I have already by Mr. Burrage acquainted you with the reasons why I could not answer particularly the letter which was delivered me the said instant by the Officer you sent to me.

" I am entirely unacquainted with the reasons of his not returning to you. I sent my Huron interpreter to that nation, and told him to stop them, should they be on the road, not knowing positively whether they were inclined to favour you or us, and to tell them from me they should behave peaceably; that I knew what I owed to my General, and that when the capitulation should be settled I was obliged to obey. The said interpreter has order to wait on you, and deliver you this.

" Do not surpris'd, Sir, if along the coast you find the inhabitants upon their guard; it was told them you had several Indian nations with you, to whom you had promised permission to plunder, nay, that they were even resolv'd to force you to it. I have therefore allowed the said inhabitants to take to their arms, so it is for your safety and preservation as well as ours; for should these Indians become insolent, you may not perhaps in your present situation, be able to subdue them alone.

" I desire myself, Sir, that, as soon as that shall come to hand, you will send me by some of the Gentlemen you have with you, both the capitulation and the reasons of it, that I may be able to deliver you this.

vous seul de seriez
lances presentes en
te, Monsieur, que si
ence, vous voudriez
de vos Messieurs, &
lonsieur Vaudreuil.

obéissant serviteur,

Signe de Beliveau.

Nov. 25th Nov. 1760.

Burrage acquainted
could not answer parti-
cularly as the add-
ress was not to me.

tion and Monsieur Vaudreuil's letter. I have the honour to be,

Sir,
Your very humble and obedient servant,

To Major Rogers.

We encamped the next day five miles up the river, having rowed against the wind, and on the 20th I dispatched Captain Campbell, with Messieurs Burtager and Debee, and their parties, with letters.

I acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, both of which were delivered to me yesterday. Mr. Burtager has not yet returned. The next letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil will inform you of the surrender of all Canada to the King of Great Britain, and of the great indulgence granted to the inhabitants; as also of the terms granted to the troops of his Most Christian Majesty. Captain Campbell, whom I have sent forward with this letter, will shew you the capitulation. I desire you will not detain him, as I am determined, agreeable

letter. I have the
 your humble and obedi-
 ent servant,
 R. Rogers
 five miles up the
 the wind, and on the
 with Michilicott
 had you most
 of your two letters,
 to me yesterday.
 The victor
 Vaudreuil will inform
 Canada to the King of
 great indulgence grant-
 ed to the terms granted
 British Majesty. Cap-
 tive sent forward with
 the capitulation. I desire
 I am determined, a-
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agreeable to my instructions from General Amherst,
 specify to relieve your post. I shall stop the troops
 I have with me at the higher end of the town till
 four o'clock, by which time I expect your answer,
 your inhabitants under arms will not surpris me
 as you have been so long in that position, but
 I am waiting for my orders. I can assure you
 that the inhabitants of Detroit shall not be molest-
 ed, they are your enemy with the capitulation,
 but be protected in the quiet and peaceable posses-
 sion of their estates, neither shall they be pillaged
 by my soldiers, nor by any other troops joined to
 me.
 To Capt. Buletors,
 commanding at Detroit
 I landed at half a mile short of the fort, and
 fringing it, where I drew up my detachment on a
 field of grass. My Lieut. Campbell joined me,
 and with him I sent a French officer to inform me
 that he was under my government. I sent
 I sent Lieutenant Jodiq and M^r Coussick, with
 thirty six Royal Americans, to take possession of
 the fort. The French garrison laid down their
 arms, and the French
 taken.

taken down, at which about 700 Indians gave a shout, merrily exulting in their prediction being verified, that the crow represented the English.

They seemed amazed at the humane disposition of the inhabitants, expressed their indignation at our generosity in not putting them to death, and said they would always for the future fight for a nation thus favoured by him that made the world.

The interval from this time to the 1st of December was spent in preparing to execute some measures that appeared to be necessary to the service we were upon. I put Monsieur Belliere and the other prisoners under the command of Lieut. Malin and Messrs. Remy, so he carried to Philadelphia, and Colonel Grant, Capt. Bell and his company to the fort of the same name, and a detached party of twenty men, consisting of French troops from the forts Mingo and Onondaga. I determined that, if possible, a party should follow at the fort of the same name, and give the city of Quebec.

part of the country, in the country
of the Illinois. I sent Mr. McCarty, with a French
officer for the French, at the Shawnee
town on the Ohio. And as provisions were scarce,
I sent Capt. Brewer to repair with the greatest
part of the Rangers to Niagara, detaching Lieu-
tenant McCormack with thirty-seven more, to go
with me to Michilimackinac.

I made a treaty with the several tribes of Indians
in the western country, and having
had Capt. Weir in arrival from Niagara, to
return again to that immediately, I set out for
Lake Ontario, and on the 12th of the month
arrived at the mouth of the Lake St. Charles,
and the next morning on the west side of the Lake
at the mouth of a considerable river, where
many Indians were living in the greatest Lake
House, the largest being that of the Shawnee,
which was situated at the mouth of the Lake.
I was informed that the whole of the Lake
was in the possession of the Shawnee, the
French being only a few, and that the thirty-
eight miles of the Lake were with small dif-
ficulty. We could not advance all the 16th, a
heavy fog being upon the Lake, so that we
could not see the shore, and we could find
no passage between the hills, so that we
were obliged to return.

about a journey to Michilimackinac across by land, but they declared it impracticable at this season without snow-shoes, and to our great mortification on we were obliged to return to Detroit; the ice obstructing us so much, that, with the greatest diligence and fatigue, we did not arrive there till the 21st.

I delivered the ammunition to Capt. Campbell, and on the 23d set out for Pittsburg, marching along the west end of Lake Erie, till the second of January 1761, when we arrived at Lake Sandusky.

I have a very good picture of the soil from Detroit to the place, it is indeed a paradise, with white and black dale, hickorie, locusts, and maple. We found wild apples along the west end of Lake Erie, some rich swamps of several miles extent, with our a tree, burdock, and other good crops, and food high, which, I think, I have never seen before to the best of my knowledge. The length of Sandusky is about fifteen miles from east to west, and about six miles across it. We came to a town of the Winnet Indians, where we halted to rest.

On January 2d, I set out by land three miles east by south one mile and a half to a small hill through a meadow, crossed a small creek about six yards

yards wide, running east, travelled south-east-by-east one mile, passed thro' Indian houses, south-east three quarters of a mile, and came to a small Indian town of ten houses. There is a remarkable fine spring at this place, rising out of the side of a small hill with such force, that it boils above the ground in a column three feet high. I imagine it discharges ten hog heads of water in a minute. From this town our course was south-south-east three miles, south two miles, crossed a brook about five yards wide, running east south east travelled south one mile, crossed a brook about four yards wide, running east-south-east, travelled south-south-east two miles, crossed a brook about eight yards wide. This day we killed plenty of deer and turtles on our march, and encamped.

On the 4th we travelled south-south-east one mile, and came to a river about twenty-five yards wide, crossed the river, where were two Indian houses, from thence south-by-east one mile, south-south-east one mile and a half, south-east two miles, south-south-east one mile, and came to an Indian house, where there was a family of Winjots hunting. From thence south-by-east a quarter of a mile, south five miles, came to the river we crossed this morning, the course of the river here is west-north-west. This day killed several deer and other game, and encamped.

On

On the 5th travelled south-south-west half a mile, south one mile, south-south-west three quarters of a mile, south half a mile, crossed two small brooks running east, went south-south-west course half a mile, south half a mile, south-east half a mile, south two miles, south-east one mile, south half a mile, crossed a brook running east to north, travelled south by east half a mile, south-south-east two miles, south-east three quarters of a mile, south-south-east one mile, and came to Muskogom Creek, about eight yards wide, crossed the creek, and encamped about 21 1/2 miles from it. This day killed deer and turkeys in our march.

On the 6th we travelled about fourteen or fifteen miles, our general course being about east-south-east, killed plenty of game, and encamped by a very fine spring.

The 7th our general course about south-south-west, travelled about six miles, and crossed Muskogom Creek, running south, about twenty yards wide. There is an Indian town about twenty miles from the creek, on the east side, which is called the Mingo Cabins. There were but two or three Indians in the place, the rest were hunting. These Indians have plenty of corn, horses, hogs, &c.

The 8th, having at this town to mend our magazines, and kill deer, the provisions I brought from Detroit being entirely expended. I went a-hunting with ten of the Rangers, and by ten o'clock got into a station that we had occasion for.

On the 9th travelled about twelve miles, our general course being about south-east, and encamped by the side of a long meadow, where there was a number of Indians hunting.

The 10th, about the same course, we travelled eleven miles, and encamped, having killed in our march this day three bears and two elks.

The 11th, continuing near the same course, we travelled thirteen miles and encamped, where were a number of Winnetoes and Six Nation Indians hunting.

The 12th, travelled six miles, bearing rather more to the east, and encamped. This evening we killed several beavers.

The 13th, travelled about north-east six miles, and came to the Delaware's town, called Beaver Town. This Indian town stands on good land,

on

on the west-side of the Maskongom River; and opposite to the town, on the east-side, is a fine river, which discharges itself into it. The latter is about thirty yards wide, and the Maskongom about forty, so that when they both join, they make a very fine stream, with a swift current, running to the south-west. There are about 3000 acres of cleared ground round this place. The number of warriors in this town about 150. All the way from the Lake Sandusky I found level land, and a good country. No pine-trees of any sort, the timber is white, black, and yellow oak, black and white walnut, cyprus, chestnut, and locust trees. At this town I staid till the 16th in the morning to refresh my party, and procured some corn of the Indians to boil with our venison.

On the 16th we marched nearly an east course about nine miles, and encamped by the side of a small river.

On the 17th kept much the same course, crossing several rivulets and creeks. We travelled about twenty miles, and encamped by the side of a small river.

On the 18th we travelled about sixteen miles
on easterly course, and encamped by a brook.

The 19th, about the same general course, we
crossed two considerable streams of water, and
some large hills timbered with chefnut and oak,
and having travelled about twenty miles, we en-
camped by the side of a small river, at which place
were a number of Delawares hunting.

On the 20th, keeping still an easterly course, and
having much the same travelling as the day before,
we advanced on our journey about nineteen miles,
which brought us to Beaver Creek, where are two
or three Indian houses on the west side of the
creek, and in sight of the Ohio.

Bad weather prevented our journeying on the
21st, but the next day we prosecuted our march.
Having crossed the creek, we travelled twenty
miles, nearly south-east, and encamped with a
party of Indian hunters.

On the 23d we came again to the Ohio, oppo-
site to Fort Pitt, from whence I ordered Lieutenant

M'Cormack

McCormack to march the party across the country to Albany, and, after tarrying there till the 26th, I came the common road to Philadelphia, from whence to New York, where, after this long, fatiguing tour, I arrived February 14, 1761.

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P. ION

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McCormack

by across the country
there till the 26th,
Philadelphia, from
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ry 14, 1791.

On the 26th of the
month of August
1791, the British
fleet of 14 ships
arrived at the
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AN
Historical ACCOUNT
OF THE
EXPEDITION

AGAINST THE
OHIO INDIANS,
IN THE YEAR MDCCLXIV, 1764
UNDER THE COMMAND OF
HENRY BOUQUET, Esq.

Colonel of foot, and now Brigadier General
in America. Including his Transactions with
the Indians, Relative to the Delivery of the
Prisoners, and the Preliminaries of Peace.
With an Introductory Account of the Preced-
ing Campaign, and Battle at Bushy-Run.

To which are annexed

MILITARY PAPERS,

CONTAINING

Reflections on the War with the Savages; a
Method of forming Frontier Settlements; some
Account of the Indian Country; with a List of
Nations, Fighting Men, Towns, Distances, and
different Routes.

Published, from authentic Documents, by
the Lover of his Country. *Smith, William*

DUBLIN.

Printed for JOHN MILLIKEN, at (No 10.)
in Skinner-Row, MDCCLXIX.

AN
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
EXPEDITION

AGAINST THE
OHIO INDIANS
IN THE YEAR 1762
UNDER THE COMMAND OF
HENRY BOUGOT, ESQ.

Colonel of the 22d Regiment of the King's
in America. In which is contained a
true and exact Relation of the
Successes and Losses of the
Army, and a Description of the
Country, and the Manners and
Customs of the Indians.

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COUNTRY, AND THE MANNERS AND
CUSTOMS OF THE INDIANS.

Published from a Manuscript
in the Possession of the
Honourable Board of War.

DUBLIN
Printed by James Smith, at the
Sign of the Gun, in the Strand.

F. B. M. 1721-2

3. B. M. 1921-2

INTRODUCTION.

THE general peace, concluded between Great-Britain, France and Spain, in the year 1762, although viewed in different lights by persons variously affected in the mother country, was nevertheless universally considered as a most happy event in America.

To behold the French, who had so long irritated and supported the Indians, in the most destructive wars and cruel depredations on our frontier settlements at last compelled to cede all Canada, and restricted to the western side of Mississippi, was what we had long wished, but scarcely hoped an accomplishment of in our own days. The precision with which our boundaries were expressed, admitted of no ground for future disputes, and was matter of exultation to every one who understood and regarded the interest of these colonies. We had now the pleasing prospect of "entire security from all molestation of the Indians, since French intrigues could no longer be employed to seduce, or French force to support them."

The several quotations in this introduction are taken from the Annual Register, 1763, which is written with great elegance and truth, so far as the author appears to have been furnished with materials.

iv INTRODUCTION.

“ UNHAPPILY, however, we were disappointed in this expectation. Our danger arose from that very quarter, in which we imagined ourselves in the most perfect security; and just at the time when we concluded the Indians to be entirely awed, and almost subjected by our power, they suddenly fell upon the frontiers of our most valuable settlements, and upon all our out-lying forts, with such unanimity in the design, and with such savage fury in the attack, as we had not experienced, even in the hottest times of any former war.”

SEVERAL reasons have been assigned for this perfidious conduct on their part; such as an omission of the usual presents, and some settlements made on lands not yet purchased from them. But these causes, if true, could only affect a few tribes, and never could have formed so general a combination against us. The true reason seems to have been a jealousy of our growing power, heightened by their seeing the French almost wholly driven out of America, and a number of forts now possessed by us, which commanded the great lakes and rivers communicating with them, and awed the whole Indian country. They probably imagined that they beheld “in every little garrison the germ of a future colony,” and thought it incumbent on them to make one general and timely effort to crush our power in the birth.

By the papers in the Appendix, a general idea may be formed of the strength of the different Indian nations surrounding our settlements, and their situation with respect to each other.

THE Shawanese, Delawares and other Ohio tribes, took the lead in this war, and seem to have

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INTRODUCTION.

have begun it rather too precipitately, before the other tribes in confederacy with them, were ready for action.

THEIR scheme appears to have been projected with much deliberate mischief in the intention, and more than usual skill in the system of execution. They were to make one general and sudden attack upon our frontier settlements in the time of harvest, to destroy our men, corn, cattle, &c. as far as they could penetrate, and to starve our posts, by cutting off their supplies, and all communication with the inhabitants of the Provinces.

In pursuance of this bold and bloody project, they fell suddenly upon our traders whom they had invited into their country, murdered many of them, and made one general plunder of their effects, to an immense value.

THE frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, were immediately over-run with scalping parties, marking their way with blood and devastation wherever they came, and all those examples of savage cruelty, which never fail to accompany an Indian war.

ALL our out-forts, even at the remotest distances, were attacked about the same time; and the following ones fell into the enemies hands—viz. Le Boeuf, Venango, Presqu' Isle, on and near lake Erie; La Bay upon lake Michigan; St. Joseph's, upon the river of that name; Miamis upon the Miamis river; Ouachatanon upon the Ouabachè; Sandusky upon lake Junundat; and Michilimackinac.

BEING but weakly garrisoned, trusting to the security of a general peace so lately established, unable to obtain the least intelligence from the colonies, or from each other, and being sepa-
rately

rately persuaded by their treacherous and savage assailants that they had carried every other place before them, it could not be expected that these small posts could hold out long; and the fate of their garrisons is terrible to relate.

THE news of their surrender, and the continued ravages of the enemy, struck all America with consternation, and depopulated a great part of our frontiers. We now saw most of those posts, suddenly wrested from us, which had been the great object of the late war, and one of the principal advantages acquired by the peace. Only the forts of Niagara, the Detroit and Fort-Pitt, remained in our hands, of all that had been purchased with so much blood and treasure. But these were places of consequence, and we hope it will ever remain an argument of their importance, and of the attention that should be paid to their future support, that they alone continued to awe the whole power of the Indians, and balanced the fate of the war between them and us.

THESE forts, being larger, were better garrisoned and supplied to stand a siege of some length, than the places that fell. Niagara was not attacked, the enemy judging it too strong.

THE officers who commanded the other two deserved the highest honour for the firmness with which they defended them, and the hardships they sustained rather than deliver up places of such importance.

MAJOR GARDNER, in particular, who commanded at the Detroit, had to withstand the united and vigorous attacks of all the nations living upon the Lakes.

THE design of this publication, and the materials in my hands, lead me more immediately

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INTRODUCTION, vii

ly to speak of the defence and relief of Fort Pitt.

THE Indians had early surrounded that place, and cut off all communication from it, even by message. Tho' they had no cannon, nor understood the methods of a regular siege, yet, with incredible boldness, they posted themselves under the banks of both rivers † by the walls of the fort, and continued as it were buried there, from day to day, with astonishing patience, pouring in an incessant storm of musquetry and fire arrows; hoping at length, by famine, by fire, or by harassing out the garrison, to carry their point.

CAPTAIN ROYER, who commanded there, tho' he wanted several necessaries for sustaining a siege, and the fortifications had been greatly damaged by the floods, took all the precautions which art and judgment could suggest for the repair of the place, and repelling the enemy. His garrison, joined by the inhabitants, and surviving traders who had taken refuge there, seconded his efforts with resolution. Their situation was alarming, being remote from all immediate assistance, and having to deal with an enemy from whom they had no mercy to expect.

GENERAL AMHERST, the commander in chief, not being able to provide in time for the safety of the remote posts, bent his chief attention to the relief of the Detroit, Niagara, and Fort-Pitt. The communication with the two former was chiefly by water, from the province of New-York; and it was on that account the

† The Ohio and Monongahela, at the junction of which stands Fort Pitt.

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more easy to throw succours into them. The detachment sent to the Detroit arrived there on the 29th of July, 1763; but Captain D'Arrel, who commanded that detachment, and seventy of his men, lost their lives in a rencounter with the Indians near the fort. Previous to this disaster he had passed thro' Niagara, and left a reinforcement there.

FORT PITT remained all this while in a most critical situation. No account could be obtained from the garrison, nor any relief sent to it, but by a long and tedious land-march of near 200 miles beyond the settlements; and through those dangerous passes where the fate of Braddock and others still rises on the imagination.

COL. BOUQUET was appointed to march to the relief of this fort, with a large quantity of military stores and provisions, escorted by the shattered remainder of the 42d and 77th regiments, lately returned in a dismal condition from the West-Indies, and far from being recovered of their fatigues at the siege of the Havana. General Amherst, having at that time no other troops to spare, was obliged to employ them in a service which would have required men of the strongest constitution and vigour.

EARLY orders had been given to prepare a convoy of provisions on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, but such were the universal terror and consternation of the inhabitants, that when Col. Bouquet arrived at Carlisle, nothing had yet been done. A great number of the plantations had been plundered and burnt by the savages; many of the mills destroyed, and the full-ripe crops stood waving in the field, ready for the sickle, but the reapers were not to be found.

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THE greatest part of the county of Cumberland, thro' which the army had to pass, was deserted, and the roads were covered with distressed families, flying from their settlement and destitute of all the necessaries of life.

IN the midst of that general confusion, the supplies necessary for the expedition became very precarious, nor was it less difficult to procure horses and carriages for the use of the troops.

THE commander found that, instead of expecting such supplies from a miserable people, he himself was called by the voice of humanity to bestow on them some share of his own provisions to relieve their present exigency. However, in 18 days after his arrival at Carlisle, by the prudent and active measures which he pursued, joined to his knowledge of the country, and the diligence of the persons he employed, the conveyance and carriages were procured with the assistance of the interior parts of the country, and the army proceeded.

THEIR march did not abate the fears of the deserted inhabitants. They knew the strength and ferocity of the enemy. They remembered the former defeats even of our best troops, and were full of diffidence and apprehensions on beholding the small number and sickly state of the regulars employed in this expedition. Without the least hopes, therefore, of success, they seemed only to wait for the fatal event, which they dreaded, to abandon all the country beyond the Susquehanna.

IN such despondency of mind, it is not surprising, that tho' their whole was at stake, and depended intirely upon the fate of this little army, none of them offered to assist in the defence of the country, by joining the expedition; in which they

2 INTRODUCTION.

they would have been of infinite service, being in general well acquainted with the woods, and excellent marksmen.

It cannot be contended that the defeat of the regular troops on this occasion, would have left the province of Pennsylvania in particular, exposed to the most imminent danger, from a victorious, daring, and barbarous enemy; for (excepting the frontier people of Cumberland county) the bulk of its industrious inhabitants is composed of merchants, tradesmen and farmers, unaccustomed to arms, and without a militia law.

THE legislature ordered, indeed, 700 men to be raised for the protection of the frontiers during the harvest; but what dependence could be placed in raw troops, newly raised and undisciplined? Under so many discouraging circumstances, the Colonel (deprived of all assistance from the province, and having none to expect from the General, who had sent him the last man that could be removed from the hospitals) had nothing else to trust to, but about 500 soldiers of approved courage and resolution indeed, but infirm, and entire strangers to the woods, and to this new kind of war. A number of them were even so weak, as not to be able to march, and sixty were carried in waggons to reinforce the garrisons of the small posts on the communication.

MEANWHILE Fort-Ligonier situated beyond the Allegheny-Mountains, was in the greatest danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, before the army could reach it. The blockade being very bad, and the garrison extremely weak, they had attacked it vigorously, but had been repulsed by the bravery and good conduct of Lieutenant Blane who commanded there.

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INTRODUCTION. xi

THE preservation of that post was of the ut-
most consequence, on account of its situation and
the quantity of military stores it contained,
which if the enemy could have got possession of,
would have enabled them to continue their attack
upon Fort-Pitt, and reduced the army to the
greatest straits. For an object of that impor-
tance, every risk was to be run; and the Colonel
determined to send through the woods, with pro-
per guides, a party of thirty men to join that
garrison. They succeeded by forced marches in
that hazardous attempt, not having been disco-
vered by the enemy till they came within sight of
the Fort, into which they threw themselves, af-
ter receiving some running shot.

PRIOR to that reinforcement of regulars,
20 volunteers, all good woodsmen, had been sent
to Fort-Ligonier by Capt. Oury, who com-
manded at Fort-Bellord another very considera-
ble magazine of provisions, and military stores,
the principal and central stage between Carlisle
and Fort-Pitt, being about 100 miles distance
from each. This fort was also in a ruinous con-
dition, and very weakly garrisoned, although the
two small intermediate posts, at the crossings of
the Juniata and of Stony Creek, had been aban-
doned to strengthen it.

Here the distressed families, scattered for 12
or 15 miles round, had for protection, leaving
most of their effects a prey to the savages.

ALL the necessary precautions were taken by
the commanding officer, to prevent surprise, and
repel open force, as also to render ineffectual the
enemies' fire-arms. He armed all the fighting
men, who formed two companies of volunteers,
and did duty with the garrison till the arrival of
two

two companies of light infantry, detached as soon as possible from Colonel Bouquet's little army.

THESE two magazines being secured, the Colonel advanced to the remotest verge of our settlements, where he could receive no sort of intelligence of the number, position, or motions of the enemy. Not even at Fort-Belford, where he arrived with his whole convoy on the 25th of July, for tho' the Indians did not attempt to attack the fort, they had by this time killed, scalped, and taken eighteen persons in that neighbourhood, and their sculking parties were so spread, that at last no express could escape them. "This" (want of intelligence) "is often a very embarrassing circumstance in the conduct of a campaign in America. The Indians had better intelligence, and so sooner were they informed of the march of our Army, than they broke up the siege of Fort-Pitt, and took the route by which they knew we were to proceed, resolved to take the first advantageous opportunity of an attack on the march."

In this uncertainty of intelligence under which the Colonel laboured, he marched from Fort-Belford the 28th of July, and as soon as he reached Fort-Ligonier, he determined very prudently to leave his waggons at that post, and to proceed only with the pack horses. Thus disburdened, the army continued their route. Before them lay a dangerous defile at Turtle Creek, several miles in length, commanded the whole way by high and craggy hills. This defile he intended to have passed the ensuing night, by a double or forced march; thereby, if possible, to elude the vigilance of so alert an enemy, proposing only to make a short halt in his way, to refresh the Troops, at Bushy-Run.

WHEN

INTRODUCTION. xii

WHEN they came within half a mile of that place, about one in the afternoon, (August 5th, 1763) after an harrassing march of seventeen miles, and just as they were expecting to relax from their fatigue, they were suddenly attacked by the Indians, on their advanced guard; which being speedily and firmly supported, the enemy was beat off, and even pursued to a considerable distance.

† BUT the flight of these barbarians must often be considered as a part of the engagement, (if we may use the expression) rather than a dereliction of the field. The moment the pursuit ended, they returned with renewed vigour to the attack. Several other parties, who had been in ambush in some high grounds which lay along the flanks of the army, now started up at once, and falling with a resolution equal to that of their companions, galled our troops with a most obstinate fire.

IT was necessary to make a general charge with the whole line to dislodge them from these heights. This charge succeeded; but still the success produced no decisive advantage; for as soon as the savages were driven from one post, they still appeared on another, till by constant reinforcements they were at length able to surround the whole detachment, and attack the convoy which had been left in the rear.

† The above quotation is from the writer already mentioned, and seems so accurately and elegantly drawn up, from the account of this engagement, sent to his Majesty's ministers, that nothing better can be inserted in its room. There are but one or two small mistakes in it, which are here corrected.

THIS

WHEN

xiv INTRODUCTION.

• This manoeuvre obliged the main body to
• fall back in order to protect it. The action,
• which grew every moment hotter and hotter,
• now became general. Our troops were attack-
• ed on every side; the savages supported their
• spirit throughout; but the steady behaviour of
• the English troops, who were not thrown into
• the least confusion by the very discouraging na-
• ture of this service, in the end prevailed; they
• repulsed the enemy, and drove them from all
• their posts with fixed bayonets.

• The engagement ended only with the day,
• having continued from one without any inter-
• mission.

• The ground, on which the action ended,
• was not altogether inconvenient for an encamp-
• ment. The convoy and the wounded were in
• the middle, and the troops, disposed in a circle,
• encompassed the whole. In this manner, and
• with little repose, they passed an anxious night,
• obliged to the strictest vigilance by an enter-
• prizing enemy who had surrounded them.

• Those who have only experienced the se-
• verities and dangers of a campaign in Europe,
• can scarcely form an idea of what is to be done
• and endured in an American war. To act in
• a country cultivated and inhabited, where
• roads are made, magazines are established, and
• hospitals provided; where there are good towns
• to retreat to in case of misfortune; or, at the
• worst, a generous enemy to yield to, from
• whom no consolation, but the honour of vic-
• tory, can be wanting; this may be considered
• as the exercise of a spirited and adventurous
• mind, rather than a rigid contest where all is
• at stake, and mutual destruction the object:
• and as a contention between rivals for glory,
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INTRODUCTION. 29

rather than a real struggle between sanguinary enemies. But in an American campaign every thing is terrible; the face of the country, the climate, the enemy. There is no refreshment for the healthy, nor relief for the sick. A vast inhospitable desert, unsafe and treacherous, surrounds them, where victories are not decisive, but defeats are ruinous; and simple death is the least misfortune which can happen to them. This forms a service truly critical, in which all the firmness of the body and mind is put to the severest trial; and all the exertions of courage and address are called out. If the actions of these rude campaigns are of less dignity, the adventures in them are more interesting to the heart, and more amusing to the imagination, than the events of a regular war.

But to return to the party of English, whom we left in the woods. At the first dawn of light the savages began to declare themselves, all about the camp, at the distance of about 500 yards; and by shouting and yelling in the most horrid manner, quite round that extensive circumference, endeavoured to strike terror by an ostentation of their numbers, and their ferocity.

AFTER this alarming preparative, they attacked our forces; and, under the favour of an incessant fire, made several bold efforts to penetrate into the camp. They were repulsed in every attempt, but by no means discouraged from new ones. Our troops, continually victorious, were continually in danger. They were besides extremely fatigued with a long march, and with the equally long action, of the preceding day; and they were distressed to the

xvi INTRODUCTION.

the last degree by a total want of water, much more intolerable than the enemy's fire.

TIED to their convoy, they could not lose sight of it for a moment, without exposing, not only that interesting object, but their wounded men, to fall a prey to the savages, who pressed them on every side. To move was impracticable. Many of the horses were lost, and many of the divers, stupefied by their fears, hid themselves in the bushes, and were incapable of hearing or obeying orders.

THEIR situation became extremely critical and perplexing, having experienced that the most lively efforts made no impression upon an enemy, who always gave way when pressed; but who, the moment the pursuit was over, returned with as much alacrity as ever to the attack. Besieged rather than engaged, attacked without interruption, and without decision, able neither to advance nor to retreat, they saw before them the most melancholy prospect of crumbling away by degrees, and entirely perishing without revenge or honour, in the midst of those dreadful deserts. The fate of Braddock was every moment before their eyes; but they were more ably conducted.

THE commander was sensible that every thing depended upon bringing the savages to a close engagement, and to stand their ground when attacked. Their audaciousness, which had increased with their success, seemed favourable to this design. He endeavoured, therefore, to increase their confidence as much as possible.

For that purpose he contrived the following stratagem. Our troops were posted on an eminence, and formed a circle round their convoy from

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INTRODUCTION. xvii.

from the preceding night, which order they
 still retained. Col. BOUQUET gave directions,
 that two companies of his troops, who had
 been posted in the most advanced situations,
 should fall within the circle; the troops on the
 right and left immediately opened their files, and
 filled up the vacant space, that they might
 seem to cover their retreat. Another company
 of light infantry, with one of grenadiers, were
 ordered "to lie in ambuscade," to support
 the two first companies of grenadiers, who
 moved on the feigned retreat, and were in-
 tended to begin the real attack. The dispositi-
 ons were well made, and the plan executed
 without the least confusion.
 The savages gave entirely into the snare.
 The thin line of troops, which took possession
 of the ground which the two companies of light
 foot had left, being brought in nearer to the
 center of the circle, the barbarians mistook
 those motions for a retreat, abandoned the
 woods which covered them, hurried headlong
 on, and advancing with the most daring intrep-
 idity, called the English troops with their
 heavy fire. But at the very moment when
 certain of success, they thought themselves
 masters of the camp, the two first companies
 made a sudden turn, and falling out from a
 part of the hill, which could not be observed,
 fell furiously upon their right flank.
 The savages, though they found themselves
 disappointed and exposed, preserved their re-
 collection, and resolutely returned the fire,
 which they had received. Then it was the su-
 periority of combined strength and discipline
 appeared. On the second charge they could
 no longer sustain the irresistible shock of the
 regular

xviii INTRODUCTION.

regular troops, who rushing upon them, killed many, and put the rest to flight. At the instant when the savages broke themselves to flight, the other two companies, which had been ordered to support the first, rose from the ambuscade, marched to the enemy, and gave them their full fire. This accomplished their defeat. The four companies now united, did not give them time to load behind them, but pursued the enemy till they were totally dispersed. The other bodies of the savages attempted nothing. They were kept in awe during the engagement by the rest of the British troops, who were so posted as to be ready to fall on them upon the least motion. Having been witness to the defeat of their companions, without any effort to support or assist them, they at length followed their example and fled. This judicious and successful manoeuvre rescued the party from the most imminent danger. The victory secured the field, and cleared all the adjacent woods. But still the march was difficult, and the army had suffered so much, and so many horses were lost, that before they were able to proceed, they were obliged to destroy such part of their conveyance of provisions as they could not carry with them for want of horses. Being hindered by this sacrifice, they retreated to Sandy Creek, where finding water, they encamped. This enemy lost about fifty men on this occasion, some of them their chief warriors, which they regarded a very severe stroke. They had likewise many wounded in the pursuit. The English lost about fifty men and horses, before they returned.

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THE savages, thus signally defeated in all their attempts to cut off this reinforcement upon its march, began to retreat with the utmost precipitation to their remote settlements, wholly giving up their designs against Fort-Pitt; at which place Col. Bouquet arrived safe with his convoy, four days after the action; receiving no further molestation on the road, except a few scattered shot from a disheartened and flying enemy.

HAD the Colonel been obliged to put an end to the operations of this campaign, not having a sufficient force to pursue the enemy beyond the Ohio and take advantage of the victory obtained over them; nor having any reason to expect a timely reinforcement from the provinces in their distressed situation. He was therefore forced to content himself with supplying Fort-Pitt, and other places on the communication, with provisions, ammunition, and stores; stationing his small army to the best advantage he could, against the approach of winter.

THE transactions of the succeeding campaign, will be the subject of the following work, and we shall conclude this introduction, by showing the sense which his Majesty was pleased to entertain, of the conduct and bravery of the officers and army, on this trying occasion.

HEAD-

xx INTRODUCTION

HEAD-QUARTERS, New-York, Jan. 5, 1764.

ORDERS.

HIS Majesty has been graciously pleased
to signify to the commander in chief,
his royal approbation of the conduct and bra-
very of Col. Bouquet, and the officers and
troops under his command, in the two actions
of the 5th and 6th of August; in which, not-
withstanding the many circumstances of dif-
ficulty and distress they laboured under, and
the unusual spirit and resolution of the Indians,
they repelled and defeated the repeated attacks
of the Savages, and conducted their convoy
safe to Fort-Pitt.

Signed MONTAGU,
Major of Brigade.

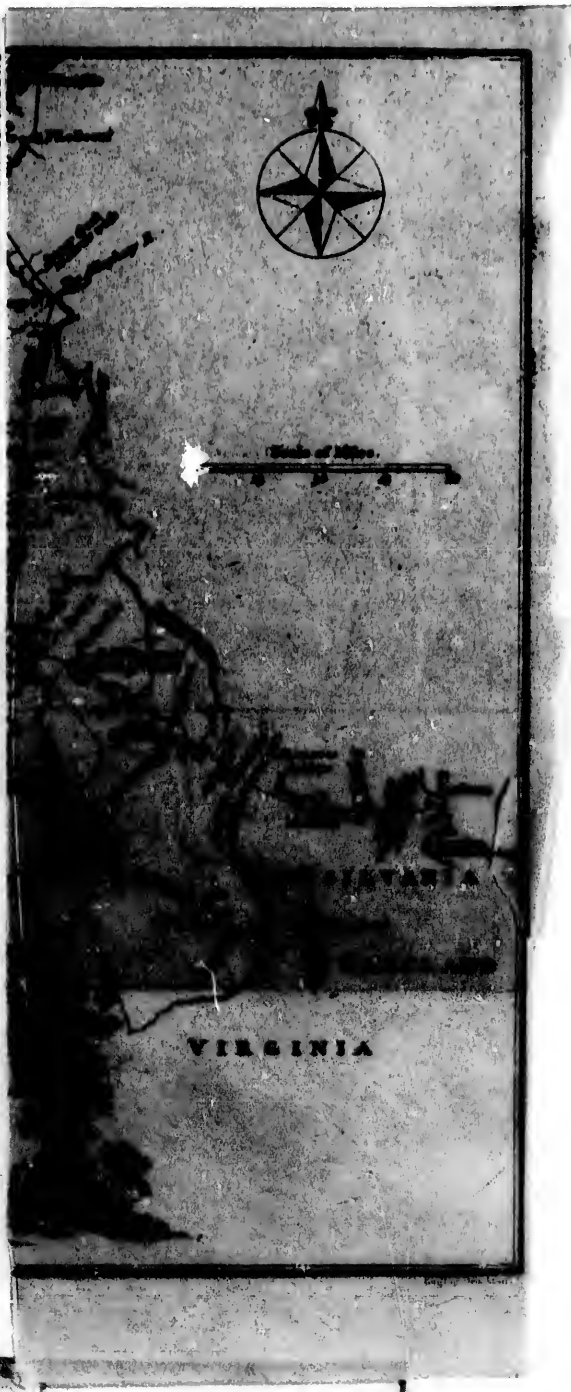
To Colonel Bouquet,
as officer commanding at Fort-Pitt.

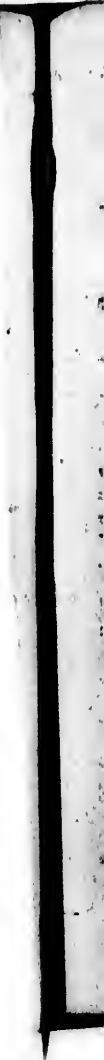
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AN
Historical ACCOUNT

COLONEL BOUQUET'S EXPEDITION

Against the OHIO INDIANS in the Year 1764.

IN the preceding Introduction, some account hath been given of the sudden, treacherous and unprovoked attack, made by the Indians upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, soon after the publication of the general Peace, at a time when we were but just beginning to respire from our former calamities, and looked for an approach of quiet on every side. The principal transactions of the campaign 1763 have likewise been briefly recapitulated, and the reader informed by what means the editor became possessed of the valuable papers, which have enabled him to bring the history of this Indian war to a conclusion, and furnished the materials of the following sheets.

COLONEL BOUQUET, as before mentioned, not having a sufficient number of troops to garrison the different posts, under his command, and at the same time to cross the Ohio and take advantage of the detestation into which he had thrown the enemy, by the defeat at Bushy Run, was ob-

2 Col. BOUQUET 's Expedition

liged to restrain his operations to the supplying the forts with provisions, ammunition and other necessaries.

In the execution of this service, he received no annoyance from the enemy, for they now saw themselves not only forced to give up their designs against FORT-PITT; but, retreating beyond the Ohio, they deserted their former towns, and abandoned all the country between Presque-Isle and Sanduski; not thinking themselves safe till they arrived at Muskingum.

HERE they began to form new settlements, and remained quiet during the winter. But, in the mean time, having supplied themselves with powder, &c. from the French traders, (and now flattered themselves that the great distance of their settlements would render them inaccessible to our troops) the ensuing spring 1764 presented these savage enemies afresh on our frontiers, ravaging and murdering with their usual barbarity.

To chastise them for their perfidy, General Gage resolved to attack them on two different sides, and to force them from our frontiers; by carrying the war into the heart of their own country. With this view, he destined a corps of troops to proceed under Col. Bradstreet, to act against the Wiandotz, Ottawas, Chipwas and other nations, living upon or near the lakes; while another corps, under the command of Col. Bouquet, should attack the Delawares, Shawanese, Mingoes, Mohickons, and other nations, between the Ohio and the lakes.

THREE two corps were to act in concert; and as that of Col. Bradstreet could be ready much sooner than the other, he was to proceed to Detroit, Michilimackinac and other places.

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Expedition

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Against the OHIO INDIANS 1764. 3

On his return, he was to encamp and remain at Sanduski, to awe, by that position, the numerous tribes of western Indians, so as to prevent their sending any assistance to the Ohio Indians, while Colonel Bouquet should execute his plan of attacking them in the heart of their settlements.

Col. Bouquet's expedition was to proceed altogether by land, and was on that account attended with great difficulties. His men were to penetrate through a continued depth of woods, and a savage unexplored country; without roads, without posts, and without a retreat if they failed of success. When once engaged in these deserts, they had no convoy, nor any kind of assistance to expect. Every thing was to be carried with them—their ammunition, baggage, tools, stores, and provisions necessary for the troops during the whole expedition. And besides, they were liable to many embarrassments, and difficulties which no prudence could foresee, scarce any caution prevent; so that, in this account, sundry things, which, in the usual method of conducting military operations, might not be thought worthy of a detail, may nevertheless be found highly serviceable to those who may afterwards be employed in this species of war, which is new to Europeans, who were wont to be instructed in it by experience, and in many articles even by the savages themselves.

PART of the 42d and 60th regiments were ordered on this expedition, and were to be joined by two hundred friendly Indians, and the troops required of Virginia and Pennsylvania. The Indians never came, and the Virginians pleaded their inability to raise men, having already in pay about 700 militia for the defence of their own frontier.

4 Col. BOUQUET'S Expedition

frontier. In Pennsylvania, a bill for raising 1000 men was passed May 30th; but, with the utmost diligence that could be used, the number could not be completed till the beginning of August.

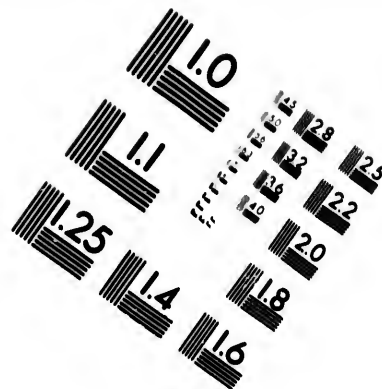
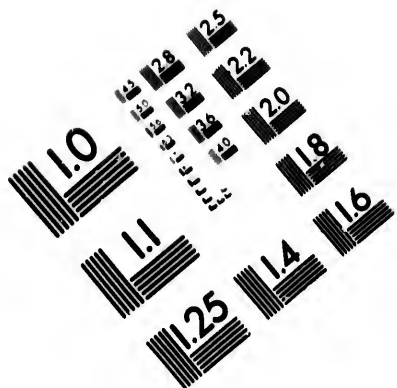
On the 5th of that month, the men being assembled at Carlisle, one hundred and eighteen miles to the westward of Philadelphia, Governor Penn, who had accompanied Col. Bouquet to that place, acquainted the two Pennsylvania battalions with the necessity we were laid under of chastising the Indians, for their repeated and unprovoked barbarities on the inhabitants of the Province; a just resentment of which, added to a remembrance of the loyalty and courage of our provincial troops on former occasions, he did not doubt, would animate them to do honour to their country; and that they could not but hope to be crowned with success, as they were to be joined with the same regular troops, and under the same able commander, who had by themselves, on the very day, the memorable 5th of August in the preceding year, sustained the repeated attacks of the savages, and obtained a complete victory over them. He also reminded them of the exemplary punishments that would be laid on the guilty, in case of desertion; if any of them were capable of forgetting their solemn oath and duty to their king and country, as to be involved in it.

Col. Bouquet then assumed the command of the regular and provincial troops, and the following days were spent in the necessary preparations for their march; the Colonel giving the most express orders to the officers, and men to observe strict discipline, and not to commit the least violation of the civil rights or peace of the inhabitants.

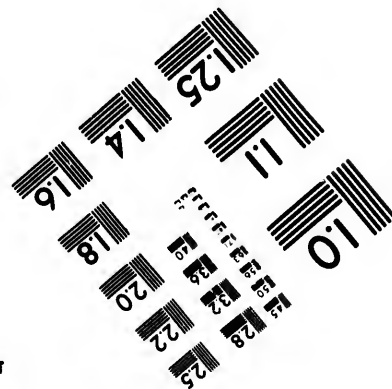
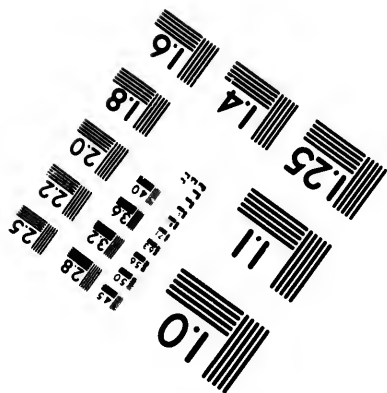
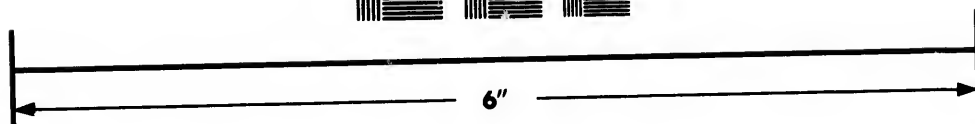
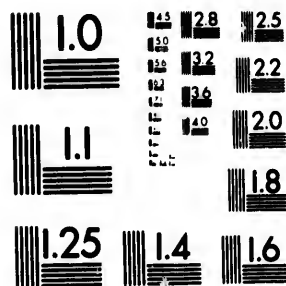
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Against the OHIO INDIANS, 1764. 5

inhabitants.—He, at the same time, made the most prudent regulations for a safe and commodious carriage of the baggage, taking care to rid himself of all unnecessary incumbrances.

THE 13th of August this small army got to Fort Loudoun; but notwithstanding all the precautions taken to prevent desertion, the Pennsylvania troops were now reduced to about 700 men. The Colonel was therefore under a necessity to apply to the government of that province to enable him to complete their number to the full complement; which was generously granted by a resolve of the Governor and Commissioners August 16th; and the army advancing now beyond the settled parts of Pennsylvania, he made application to the colony of Virginia, where (under the countenance of Governor Fauquier the men wanted were soon raised, and joined) the army at Pittsburgh, about the latter end of September.

NOTHING material happened in their march from Fort Loudoun to Fort Pitt, (formerly Fort Du Quesne) on the Ohio, three hundred and twenty miles west from Philadelphia; at which place Col. Bouquet arrived the 17th of September.

DURING this interval, several large convoys were forwarded under strong escorts; and though the enemy continued their ravages all that time on the frontiers, they durst not attack any of those convoys, which all arrived safe at Fort Pitt.

WHILE Col. Bouquet was at Fort Loudoun, he received dispatches by express from Colonel Bradstreet, dated from Presque-Isle August 14th acquainting him that he (Colonel Bradstreet) had concluded a peace with the Delawares and Shawanese.

6 Col. BOUQUET'S Expedition

wanese; but Colonel Bouquet perceiving clearly that they were not sincere in their intentions, as they continued their murders and depredations, he determined to prosecute his plan without remission, till he received further instructions from General Gage; who, upon the same principles, refused to ratify the treaty, and renewed his orders to both armies to attack the enemy.

ANOUR the time of Colonel Bouquet's arrival at Fort Pitt, ten Indians appeared, on the north side of the Ohio, desiring a conference; which stratagem the savages had made use of before, to obtain intelligence of our numbers and intentions. Three of the party consented, though with apparent reluctance, to come over to the Fort; and as they could give no satisfactory reason for their visit, they were detained as spies, and their associates fled back to their towns.

ON the 20th of September Colonel Bouquet sent one of the above three Indians after them with a message, in substance as follows—" I have received an account from Colonel Bradstreet that your nations had begged for peace, which he had consented to grant, upon assurance that you have recalled all your warriors from our frontiers; and in consequence thereof, I would not have proceeded against your towns, if I had not heard that, in open violation of your engagements, you have since murdered several of our people.

As soon as the rest of the army joins me, which I expect immediately, I was therefore determined to have attacked you, as a people whose promises can no more be relied on. But I will put it once more in your power, to save yourselves and your families from total destruction, by giving us satisfaction for the hostilities

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" against us. And first you are to leave the path
" open for my expresses from hence to Detroit;
" and as I am now to send two men with dis-
" patches to Colonel Bradstreet who commands
" on the lakes, I desire to know whether you
" will send two of your people with them to bring
" them safe back with an answer? And if they
" receive any injury either in going or coming,
" or if the letters are taken from them, I will
" immediately put the Indians now in my power
" to death, and will shew no mercy for the fu-
" ture to any of your nations that shall fall into
" my hands. I allow you ten days to have my
" letters delivered at Detroit, and ten days to
" bring me back an answer."

He added " that he had lately had it in his pow-
" er, while they remained on the other side of
" the river, to have put their whole party to
" death, which punishment they had deserved
" by their former treachery; and that if they
" did not improve the clemency now offered to
" them, by returning back as soon as possible
" with all their prisoners, they might expect to
" feel the full weight of a just vengeance and
" resentment."

We have been the more particu'ar in our ac-
count of this first transaction with the Indians;
because the Colonel's firm and determined con-
duct in opening the campaign, had happy effects
in the prosecution of it, and shews by what meth-
ods these faithless savages are to be best reduced
to reason.

On the 1st of October, two of the Six Nation
tribes, an Onondago and Onida Indian, came
to Fort Pitt, and under colour of our ancient
friendship with them, and their pretended regard

8 Col. BOUQUET'S Expedition

to the English, endeavoured to dissuade the Colonel from proceeding with the army. They told him that his force was not sufficient to withstand the power of the numerous nations through whose countries he was to pass, and assured him that if he would wait a little, they would all come and make peace with him; at the same time recommending it particularly to him to send back the two Indians detained as spies. These little arts being clearly made use of to spin out the season till the approach of winter should render it impossible to proceed, they made but little impression. He told them that he could not depend on the promises of the Delawares and Shawanese; and was determined to proceed to Tuscarawas, where, if they had any thing to say, he would hear them.

In the mean time, he was using the utmost diligence to prepare for his march, and was obliged to enforce the severest discipline. One woman belonging to each corps, and two nurses for the general hospital, were all that were permitted to follow the army. The other women in the camp, and those unnecessary in the garrison, were ordered immediately down the country into the settlements. Two soldiers were shot for desertion; an example which became absolutely necessary to suppress a crime which, in such an expedition, would have been attended with fatal consequences, by weakening an army already too small.

COLONEL BOUQUET, having at length, with great difficulty, collected his troops, formed his magazines, and provided for the safety of the posts he was to leave behind him, was ready on the 2d of October to proceed from Fort Pitt, with about 1500

Against the OHIO INDIANS, 1764. 9

1500 men, including drivers and other necessary followers of the army.

THE Colonel, expressing the greatest confidence in the bravery of the troops, told them, "he did not doubt but this war would soon be ended, under God, to their own honor, and the future safety of their country, provided the men were strictly obedient to orders, and guarded against the surprises and sudden attacks of a treacherous enemy; who never dared to face British troops in any open field; that the distance of the enemy's towns, and the clearing roads to them, must necessarily require a considerable time; that the troops in those deserts, had no other supplies to expect but the ammunition and provisions they carried with them; and that therefore the utmost care and frugality would be necessary in the use of them." He published the several penalties against those who should be found guilty of stealing or embezzling any part of them, and ordered his march in the following manner:—

A corps of Virginia * volunteers advanced before the whole; detaching three scouting parties. One of them, furnished with a guide, marched in the center path, which the army was to follow. The other two extended themselves in a line a-breast, on the right and left of the aforesaid party, to reconnoitre the woods.

UNDER cover of this corps, the ax-men, consisting of all the artificers, and two companies of light infantry, followed in three divisions, under the direction of the chief engineer, to clear three

* These were the men raised in Virginia to complete the Pennsylvania troops, and were in the pay of the last mentioned province.

different paths, in which the troops and the convoy followed, viz —

THE front-face of the square, composed of part of the 42d regiment, marched in a column, two deep, in the center path.

THE right face of the square, composed of the remainder of the 42d and of the 60th regiment, marched in a single file in the right-hand path.

THE first battalion of Pennsylvanians composed the left face, marching in like manner in the path to the left of the center.

THE corps de reserve, composed of two platoons of grenadiers, followed the right and left faces of the square.

THE 2d battalion of Pennsylvanians formed the rear face of the square, and followed the corps de reserve, each in a single file on the right and left hand paths; all these troops covering the convoy, which moved in the center path.

A PARTY of light horse-men marched behind the rear-face of the square, followed by another corps of Virginia volunteers, forming the rear-guard.

THE Pennsylvania volunteers, dividing themselves equally, and marching in a single file, at a proper distance, flanked the right and left faces of the square.

THIS was the general order of march. Nor was less attention paid to particular matters of a subordinate nature. The ammunition and tools were placed in the rear of the first column, or front face of the square, followed by the officers' baggage, and tents. The oxen and sheep came after the baggage, in separate droves, properly guarded. The provisions came next to the baggage, in four divisions, or brigades of pack-horses, each conducted by a horse master.

THE

Against the OHIO INDIANS 1764. 11

THE troops were ordered to observe the most profound silence, and the men to march at two yards distance from one another. When the line or any part of it halted, the whole were to face outwards; and if attacked on their march, they were to halt immediately, ready to form the square when ordered. The light horse were then to march into the square, with the cattle, provisions, ammunition and baggage. Proper dispositions were likewise made in case of an attack in the night; and for encampments, guards, communications between the centres, signals, and the like.

THINGS being thus settled, the army decamped from Fort-Pitt on Wednesday October 3d, and marched about one mile and an half over a rich level country, with stately timber, to camp No. 2. a strong piece of ground, pleasantly situated, with plenty of water and food for cattle.

THURSDAY October 4th, having proceeded about two miles, they came to the Ohio, at the beginning of the narrows, and from thence followed the course of the river along a flat gravelly beach; about six miles and a quarter; with islands on their left, the lowermost about six miles long, with a rising ground running across, and gently sloping on both sides to its banks, which are high and upright. At the lower end of this island, the army left the river, marching through good land, broken with small hollows to camp No. 3; this day's march being nine miles and a quarter.—

FRIDAY October 5th. In this day's march the army passed through Logg-towns, situated seventeen miles and an half, fifty seven perches, by the path, from Fort-Pitt. This place was

noted before the last war for the great trade carried on there by the English and French, but its inhabitants, the Shawanese and Delawares, abandoned it in the year 1750. The lower town extended about sixty perches over a rich bottom to the foot of a low steep ridge, on the summit of which, near the declivity, stood the upper town, commanding a most agreeable prospect over the lower, and quite across the Ohio, which is about 500 yards wide here, and by its majestic easy current adds much to the beauty of the place. Proceeding beyond Logg's-town, through a fine country, interspersed with hills and rich valleys, watered by many rivulets, and covered with stately timber, they came to camp No. 4, on a level piece of ground, with a thicket in the rear, a small precipice round the front, with a run of water at the foot, and good food for cattle. This day's march was nine miles, one half, and fifty three perches.

SATURDAY October 6th, at about three miles distance from this camp, they came again to the Ohio, pursuing its course half a mile farther, and then turning off, over a steep ridge, they crossed Big Beaver creek, which is twenty perches wide, the ford stony and pretty deep. It runs through a rich vale, with a pretty strong current, its banks high, the upland adjoining it very good, the timber tall and young. — About a mile below its confluence with the Ohio, stood formerly a large town, on a steep bank, built by the French of square logs, with stone chimneys, for some of the Shawanese, Delaware and Mingo tribes, who abandoned it in the year 1758, when the French deserted Fort Du Queine. Near the fording of Beaver-creek also stood about seven houses, which were deserted and destroyed by the Indians, after their

Expedition

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their defeat at Bushy-run, when they forsook all their remaining settlements in this part of the country, as has been mentioned above.

ABOUT two miles before the army came to Beaver-creek, one of our people who had been made prisoner by six Delawares about a week before, near Fort Bedford, having made his escape from them, came and informed the Colonel that these Indians had the day before fallen in with the army, but kept themselves concealed, being surprised at our numbers. Two miles beyond Beaver-creek, by two small springs, was seen the skull of a child, that had been fixed on a pole by the Indians. The Tracks of 15 Indians were this day discovered. The camp No. 5 is seven miles one quarter and fifty seven perches from big Beaver-creek; the whole march of this day being about twelve miles.

SUNDAY 7th October, passing a high ridge, they had a fine prospect of an extensive country to the right, which in general appeared level, with abundance of tall timber. The camp No. 6 lies at the foot of a steep descent, in a rich valley, on a strong ground, three sides thereof surrounded by a hollow, and on the fourth side a small hill, which was occupied by a detached guard. This day's march was six miles sixty-five perches.

MONDAY 8th October, the army crossed little Beaver-creek, and one of its branches. This creek is eight perches wide, with a good ford, the country about it interspersed with hills, rivulets and rich valleys, like that described above. Camp No. 7 lies by a small run on the side of a hill, commanding the ground about it, and is distant eleven miles one quarter and forty nine perches from the last encampment.

B 5

TUESDAY

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TUESDAY October 9th. In this day's march, the path divided into two branches, that to the southwest leading to the lower towns upon the Muskingam. In the forks of the path stand several trees painted by the Indians, in a hieroglyphic manner, denoting the number of wars in which they have been engaged, and the particulars of their success in prisoners and scalps. The camp No. 8. lies on a run, and level piece of ground, with Yellow creek close on the left, and a rising ground near the rear of the right face. The path after, the army left the forks was so brushy and entangled, that they were obliged to cut all the way before them, and also to lay several bridges, in order to make it passable for the horses; so that this day they proceeded only five miles, three quarters and seventy perches.

WEDNESDAY 10th. Marched one mile with Yellow creek on the left at a small distance all the way, and crossed it at a good ford fifty feet wide; proceeding through an alternate succession of small hills and rich vales, finely watered with rivulets, to camp No. 9. seven miles and sixty perches in the whole.

THURSDAY 11th. Crossed a branch of Muskingam river about fifty feet wide, the country much the same as that described above, discovering a good deal of free stone. The camp No. 10. had this branch of the river parallel to its left face, and lies ten miles one quarter and forty perches from the former encampment.

FRIDAY 12th. Keeping the aforesaid creek on their left, they marched through much fine land, watered with small rivers and springs; proceeding likewise through several savannahs or cleared spots, which are by nature extremely beautiful; the second which they passed being, in particular, one

Expedition

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one continued plain of near two miles, with a fine rising ground forming a semicircle round the right hand side, and a pleasant stream of water at about a quarter of a mile distant on the left. The camp No. 11. has the above-mentioned branch of Muskingame on the left, and is distant ten miles and three quarters from the last encampment.

SATURDAY 13th. Crossed Nemeshelas creek, about fifty feet wide, a little above where it empties itself into the aforesaid branch of Muskingame, having in their way a pleasant prospect over a large plain, for near two miles on the left. A little further, they came to another small river which they crossed about fifty perches above where it empties into the said branch of Muskingame. Here a high ridge on the right, and the creek close on the left, form a narrow defile about seventy perches long. Passing afterwards over a very rich bottom, they came to the main branch of Muskingame, about seventy yards wide, with a good ford. A little below and above the forks of this river is Tuscarawas, a place exceedingly beautiful by situation, the lands rich on both sides of the river; the country on the north-west side being an entire level plain, upwards of five miles in circumference. From the ruined houses appearing here, the Indians who inhabited the place and are now with the Delawares, are supposed to have had about one hundred and fifty warriors. This camp No. 12. is distant eight miles nineteen perches from the former.

SUNDAY 14th. The army remained in camp; and two men who had been dispatched by Colonel Bouquet from Fort-Pitt, with letters for Colonel Bradstreet, returned and reported:—
“That, within a few miles of this place, they had

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“ had been made prisoners by the Delawares,
“ and carried to one of their towns sixteen miles
“ from hence, where they were kept, till the
“ savages, knowing of the arrival of the army
“ here, set them at liberty, ordering them to
“ acquaint the Colonel that the head men of the
“ Delawares and Shawanese were coming as soon
“ as possible to treat of peace with them.”

MONDAY 15th. The army moved two miles
forty peches further down the Muskingam to
camp No. 13, situated on a very high bank, with
the river at the foot of it, which is upwards of
100 yards wide at this place, with a fine level
country at some distance from its banks, produc-
ing stately timber, free from underwood, and
plenty of food for cattle.

THE day following, six Indians came to inform
the Colonel that all their chiefs were assembled a-
bout eight miles from the camp, and were ready
to treat with him of peace, which they were ear-
nestly desirous of obtaining. He returned for an-
swer that he would meet them the next day in a
bower at some distance from the camp. In the
mean time, he ordered a small stockaded fort to
be built to deposit provisions for the use of the
troops on their return; and to lighten the con-
voy.

As several large bodies of Indians were now
within a few miles of the camp, whose former
instances of treachery, although they now de-
clared they came for peace, made it prudent to
trust nothing to their intentions, the strictest or-
ders were repeated to prevent a surprise.

WEDNESDAY 17th. The Colonel, with
most of the regular troops, Virginia volunteers
and light horse, marched from the camp to the
bower erected for the congress. And soon after the
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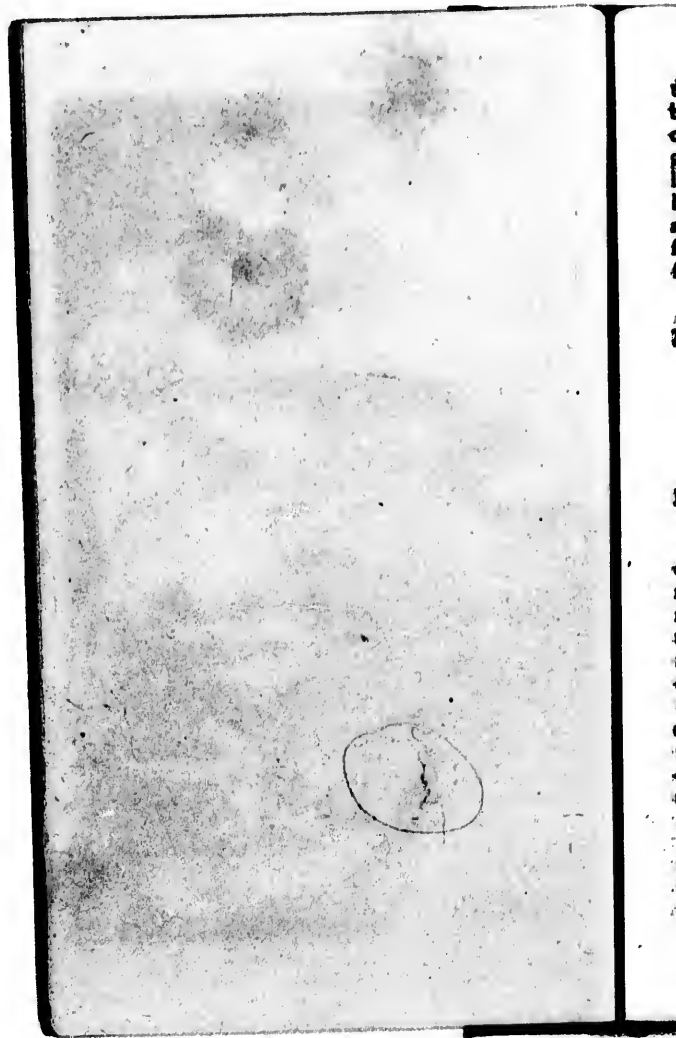
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the troops were stationed, so as to appear to the best advantage, the Indians arrived, and were conducted to the bower. Being seated, they began, in a short time, to smoke their pipe or calumet, agreeable to their custom. This ceremony being over, their speakers laid down their pipes, and opened their pouches, wherein were their strings and belts of wampum. The Indians present were,

SENECAS.	DELAWARES.	SHAWANEE.
Kiyashuta, chief with 15 warriors.	Custaloga, chief of the Wolfe-tribe, Beaver, chief of the Turkey-tribe, with 20 warriors.	Keissinautchtha, a chief, and 6 warriors.

Kiyashuta, Turtle Heart, Custaloga and Beaver, were the speakers.

THE general substance of what they had to offer, consisted in excuses for their late treachery and misconduct, throwing the blame on the rashness of their young men and the nations living to the westward of them, suing for peace in the most abject manner, and promising severally to deliver up all their prisoners. After they had concluded, the Colonel promised to give them an answer the next day, and then dismissed them, the army returning to the camp.—The badness of the weather, however, prevented his meeting them again till the 20th, when he spoke to them in substance as follows, viz.

“ THAT their pretences to palliate their guilt
 “ by throwing the blame on the western nations,
 “ and the rashness of their young men, were
 “ weak and frivolous, as it was in our power to
 “ have

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“ have protected them against all these nations,
“ if they had solicited our assistance, and that
“ it was their own duty to have chastised their
“ young men when they did wrong, and not
“ to suffer themselves to be directed by them.”

He recapitulated to them many instances of
their former perfidy—“ their killing or captivat-
“ ing the traders who had been sent among them
“ at their own request, and plundering their ef-
“ fects; — their attacking Fort-Pitt, which had
“ been built with their express consent; their
“ murdering four men that had been sent on a
“ public message to them, thereby violating the
“ customs held sacred among all nations, how-
“ ever barbarous; — their attacking the King's
“ troops last year in the woods, and after being
“ defeated in that attempt, falling upon our fron-
“ tiers, where they had continued to murder
“ our people to this day, &c.”—

He told them how treacherously they had vio-
lated even their late engagements with Colonel
Bradstreet, to whom they had promised to deliver
up their prisoners by the 10th of September last,
and to recall all their warriors from the frontiers,
which they had been so far from complying with,
that the prisoners still remained in their custody,
and some of their people were even now continu-
ing their depredations; adding, that these things
which, he had mentioned, were only “ a small
“ part of their numberless murders and breaches
“ of faith; and that their conduct had always
“ been equally perfidious.—You have, said he,
“ promised at every former treaty, as you do
“ now, that you would deliver up all your pri-
“ soners, and have received every time, on that
“ account, considerable presents, but have never
“ complied with that or any other engagement.

“ I am,

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Against the OHIO INDIANS, 1764. 19

"I am now to tell you, therefore, that we will
be no longer imposed upon by your promises.
This army shall not leave your country till
you have fully complied with every condition
that is to precede my treaty with you.

"I HAVE brought with me the relations of
the people you have massacred, or taken pri-
soners. They are impatient for revenge; and
it is with great difficulty that I can protect you
against their just resentment, which is only
restrained by the assurances given them, that
no peace shall ever be concluded till you have
given us full satisfaction."

"YOUR former allies, the Ottawas, Chip-
was, Wyandots, and others, have made their
peace with us. The Six Nations have joined
us against you. We now surround you, hav-
ing possession of all the waters of the Ohio,
the Mississippi, the Miamis, and the lakes.
All the French living in those parts are now
subjects to the king of Great-Britain, and dare
no longer assist you. It is therefore in our
power totally to extirpate you from being a
people—But the English are a merciful and
generous nation, averse to shed the blood, even
of their most cruel enemies; and if it was
possible that you could convince us, that you
sincerely repent of your past perfidy, and that
we could depend on your good behaviour for
the future, you might yet hope for mercy and
peace—If I find that you faithfully execute
the following preliminary conditions, I will
not treat you with the severity you deserve.

"I GIVE you twelve days from this date to
deliver into my hands at Wakatamake all the
prisoners in your possession, without any ex-
ception; Englishmen, Frenchmen, women
and

“ and children ; whether adopted in your tribe,
 “ married, or living amongst you under any de-
 “ nomination and pretence whatsoever, together
 “ with all negroes. And you are to furnish the
 “ said prisoners with cloathing, provisions, and
 “ horses, to carry them to Fort Pitt.

“ WHEN you have fully complied with these
 “ conditions, you shall then know on what terms
 “ you may obtain the peace you see for.”—

THIS speech made an impression on the minds
 of the savages, which, it is hoped, will not soon
 be eradicated. The firm and determined spirit
 with which the Colonel delivered himself, their
 consciousness of the aggravated injuries they had
 done us, and the view of the same commander
 and army that had so severely chastised them at
 Bushy-Run the preceding year, now advanced in-
 to the very heart of their remote settlements, af-
 ter penetrating through wildernesses which they
 had deemed impassable by regular troops—all
 these things contributed to bend the haughty
 temper of the savages to the lowest degree of
 abatement ; so that even their speeches seem to
 exhibit but few specimens of that strong and fe-
 rocious eloquence, which their inflexible spirit of
 independency has on former occasions inspired.
 And though it is not to be doubted, if an oppor-
 tunity had offered, but they would have fallen
 upon our army with their usual fierceness, yet
 when they saw the vigilance and spirit of our
 troops were such, that they could neither be at-
 tacked nor surprized with any prospect of success,
 their spirits seemed to revolt from the one ex-
 treme of insolent boldness, to the other of abject
 timidity. And happy will it be for them and for
 us, if the instances of our humanity and mercy,
 which they experienced in that critical situation,
 shall

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shall make as lasting impressions on their savage dispositions, as it is believed the instances of our bravery and power have done; so that they may come to unite, with their fear of the latter, a love of the former; and have their minds gradually opened, by such examples, to the mild dictates of peace and civility.

The reader, it is to be hoped, will readily excuse this digression, if it should be thought one. I now resume our narrative. The two Delaware chiefs, at the close of their speech on the 17th, delivered eighteen white prisoners, and eighty-three small sticks, expressing the number of other prisoners which they had in their possession, and promised to bring in as soon as possible. None of the Shawanese Kings appeared at the congress, and Keimigutchtha their deputy declined speaking until the Colonel had answered the Delawares, and then with a dejected sullenness he promised, in behalf of his nation, that they would submit to the terms prescribed to the other tribes.

The Colonel, however, determined to march farther into their country, knowing that the presence of his army would be the best security for the performance of their promises; and required some of each nation to attend him in his march.

KIVASHUTA addressed the several nations, before their departure, "desiring them to be strong in complying with their engagements, that they might wipe away the reproach of their former breach of faith, and convince their brothers the English that they could speak the truth; adding that he would conduct the army to the place appointed for receiving the prisoners."

MONDAY October 22d. The army attended by the Indian deputies, marched nine miles to camp

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camp No. 14, crossing Margaret's creek about fifty feet wide—The day following, they proceeded sixteen miles one quarter and seventy seven perches farther to camp No. 15, and halted there one day.

THURSDAY 25th. They marched six miles, one half and sixteen perches to camp No. 16, situated within a mile of the Forks of Muskingam; and this place was fixed upon instead of Wakautamike, as the most central and convenient place to receive the prisoners; for the principal Indian towns now lay round them, distant from seven to twenty miles; excepting only the lower Shawanese town situated on Scioto river, which was about eighty miles; so that from this place the army had it in their power to awe all the enemy's settlements and destroy their towns, if they should not punctually fulfil the engagements they had entered into.—Four redoubts were built here opposite to the four angles of the camp; the ground in the front was cleared, a store-house for the provisions erected, and likewise a house to receive, and treat of peace with, the Indians, when they should return. Three houses with separate apartments were also raised for the reception of the captives of the respective provinces, and proper officers appointed to take charge of them, with a matron to attend the women and children; so that with the officers mess houses, ovens, &c. this camp had the appearance of a little town in which the greatest order and regularity were observed.

ON Saturday 27th. A messenger arrived from king Custaloga, informing that he was on his way with his prisoners, and also a messenger from the lower Shawanese towns of the like import. The Colonel however, having no reason to suspect

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the latter nation of backwardness, sent one of
their own people, desiring them—" to be punc-
tual as to the time fixed; to provide a sufficient
quantity of provisions to subsist the prisoners;
to bring the letters wrote to him last winter by
the French commandant at Fort Chartres,
which some of their people had stopped ever
since;" adding that, "as their nation had ex-
pressed some uneasiness at our not shaking
hands with them, they were to know that
the English never took their enemies by the
hand, before peace was finally concluded."

THE day following, the Shawanese messenger
returned, saying that when he had proceeded as
far as Wakautamike, the chief of that town un-
dertook to proceed with the message himself,
and desired the other to return and acquaint the
English that all his prisoners were ready, and he
was going to the lower towns to hasten theirs.

OCTOBER 28th. Peter the Caughnawaga chief,
and twenty Indians of that nation arrived from
Sanduski, with a letter from Colonel Bradstreet,
in answer to one which Colonel Bouquet had sent
to him from Fort-Pitt, by two of the Indians who
first spoke to him in favour of the Shawanese, as
hath been already mentioned. The substance of
Colonel Bradstreet's letter was "that he had set-
tled nothing with the Shawanese and Dela-
wares, nor received any prisoners from them.
—That he had acquainted all the Indian nati-
ons, as far as the Illinois, the bay, &c. with
the instructions he had received from General
Gage, respecting the peace he had lately made;
that he had been in Sanduski-lake and up the
river, as far as navigable for Indian canoes,
for near a month; but that he found it im-
possible to stay longer in these parts; absolute
necessity

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"necessity obliging him to turn off the other way," &c.

COLONEL BRADSTREET, without doubt, did all which circumstances would permit, in his department; but his not being able to remain at Sanduski agreeable to the original plan, till matters were finally settled with the Ohio Indians, would have been an unfavourable incident, if Colonel Bouquet had not now had the chiefs of sundry tribes with him, and was so far advanced into the Indian country, that they thought it advisable to submit to the conditions imposed upon them.

THE Caughnawaga reported that the Indians on the lakes had delivered but few of their prisoners; that the Ottawas had killed a great part of theirs, and the other nations had either done the same, or else kept them.

FROM this time to November 9th, was chiefly spent in sending and receiving messages to and from the Indian towns, relative to the prisoners, who were now coming into the camp one day after another in small parties, as the different nations arrived in whose possession they had been. The Colonel kept so steadfastly to this article of having every prisoner delivered, that when the Delaware King, Beaver and Custaloga, had brought in all theirs except twelve, which they promised to bring in a few days; he refused to shake hands or have the least talk with them; while a single captive remained among them.

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Against the OHIO INDIANS, 1764. 25

By the 9th of November, most of the prisoners were arrived that could be expected this season, amounting to 206 * in the whole; besides about 100 more in possession of the Shawanese, which they promised to deliver the following spring. Mr. Smallman, formerly a major in the Pennsylvania troops, who had been taken last summer near Detroit by the Wyandots, and delivered to the Shawanese, was among the number of those whom they now brought in, and informed the Colonel that the reason of their not bringing the remainder of their prisoners, was that many of their principal men, to whom they belonged, were gone to trade with the French, and would not return for six weeks; but that every one of their nation who were at home, had either brought or sent theirs. He further said that, on the army's first coming into the country, it had been reported among the Shawanese that our intention was to destroy them all, on which they had resolved to kill their prisoners and fight us; that a French trader who was with them, and had many barrels of powder and ball, made them a present of the whole, as soon as they had come to this resolution; but that, happily for the poor captives, just as the Shawanese were preparing to execute this tragedy, they received the Colonel's message, informing them that his intentions were only to receive the prisoners and to make peace with them on the same terms he should give to the Delawares.

* Virginians . . .	Males,	32.
	Females and Children,	58.
Pennsylvanians,	Males,	49
	Females and Children,	67
		—
	In all	206
		Or

On this intelligence they suspended their cruel purpose, and began to collect as many of the prisoners as they had power to deliver; but hearing immediately afterwards that one of our soldiers had been killed near the camp at Muskingham, and that some of their nation were suspected as guilty of the murder, they again imagined they would fall under our resentment, and therefore determined once more to stand out against us. For which purpose, after having brought their prisoners as far as Wakautamika, where they heard this news, they collected them all into a field, and were going to kill them, when a second express providentially arrived from Colonel Bouquet, who assured them that their nation was not even suspected of having any concern in the aforesaid murder; upon which they proceeded to the camp to deliver up the captives, who had thus twice so narrowly escaped becoming the victims of their barbarity.

On Friday, November 9th, the Colonel, attended by most of the principal officers, went to the conference-house. The Senecas and Delawares were first treated with. Kiyashuta and ten warriors represented the former; Custaloga and twenty warriors the latter.

KIYASHUTA spoke—“With this string of wampum, we wipe the tears from your eyes— we deliver you these three prisoners, which are the last of your flesh and blood that remained among the Senecas and Custaloga's tribe of Delawares, we gather together and bury with this belt † all the bones of the people that have been killed during this unhappy war, which

† A belt or string is always delivered when thus mentioned.

Expedition

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Against the OHIO INDIANS, 1764. 27

the Evil Spirit occasioned among us. We cover the bones that have been buried, that they may be never more remembered—We again cover their place with leaves that it may be no more seen.—As we have been long astray, and the path between you and us stopped, we extend this belt that it may be again cleared, and we may travel in peace to see our brethren as our ancestors formerly did. While you hold it fast by one end, and we by the other, we shall always be able to discover any thing that may disturb our friendship.”

THE Colonel answered that “ he had heard them with pleasure; that he received these three last prisoners they had to deliver, and joined in burying the bones of those who had fallen in the war, so that their place might be no more known. The peace you ask for, you shall now have. The king, my master and your father, has appointed me only to make war; but he has other servants who are employed in the work of peace. Sir William Johnson is empowered for that purpose. To him you are to apply; but before I give you leave to go, two things are to be settled.

1. “ As peace cannot be finally concluded here, you will deliver me two hostages for the Senecas, and two for Cattawagus's tribe, to remain in our hands at Fort Pitt, as a security, that you shall commit no further hostilities or violence against any of his majesty's subjects; and when the peace is concluded these hostages shall be delivered safe back to you.

2. “ THE deputies you are to send to Sir William Johnson, must be fully empowered to treat for your tribes, and you shall engage to abide by whatever they stipulate. In that

“ treaty

28 Col. BOUQUET's Expedition

“ treaty, every thing concerning trade and other
“ matters will be settled by Sir William, to ren-
“ der the peace everlasting; and the deputies
“ you are to send to him, as well as the hostages
“ to be delivered to me, are to be named and
“ presented to me for my approbation.”

THE Colonel, after promising to deliver back two of their people, Capt. Pipe, and Capt. John, whom he had detained at Fort Pitt, took the chiefs by the hand for the first time, which gave them great joy.

THE next conference was on November 10th, with the Turkey and Turtle tribes of Delawares, King Beaver their chief and thirty warriors representing the former; and Kelappama brother to their chief with twenty-five warriors the latter. The Senecas and Custaloga's tribe of Delawares were also present. Their speech and the answer given, were much the same as above; excepting that the Colonel insisted on their delivering up an Englishman, who had murdered one of our people on the frontiers and brought the scalp to them; and they should appoint the same number of deputies and deliver the same number of hostages, for each of their tribes, as had been stipulated for Custaloga's tribe.

NOVEMBER 11. King Beaver presented six hostages to remain with Col. Bouquet, and five deputies to treat with Sir William Johnson, who were approved of. This day he acquainted the chiefs present that as he had great reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Nettowhatways, the chief of the Turtle tribe who had not appeared, he therefore deposed him; and that tribe were to

* The Chief of the Turtle tribe, for some reason, chose to absent himself.

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chuse and present another for his approbation. This they did a few days afterwards—Smile not, reader, at this transaction; for though it may not be attended with so many splendid and flattering circumstances to a commander, as the deposing an East Indian Nabob or chief; yet to penetrate into the wildernesses where those stern West Indian Chieftains hold their sway, and to frown them from their throne, though but composed of the unhewn log, will be found to require both resolution and firmness; and their submitting to it, clearly shews to what degree of humiliation they were reduced.

But to proceed: The Shawanese still remained to be treated with, and though this nation saw themselves under the necessity of yielding to the same conditions with the other tribes, yet there had appeared a disaffected and sullen haughtiness in all their conduct, which rendered it very suspicious.

The 12th of November was appointed for the conference with them; which was managed on their part by Keissinatchtha and Nimwha their chiefs, with the Red Hawke, Lavissimo, Ben-sivasa, Ewasunwee, Keigleghque, and forty warriors; the Caughnawaga, Seneca and Delaware chiefs, with about sixty warriors, being also present.

The Red Hawke was their speaker, and as he delivered himself with a strange mixture of fierce pride, and humble submission, I shall add a passage or two from his speech.

“You will listen to us your younger brothers; and as we discover something in your eyes that looks dissatisfied with us, we now
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expedition

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“ wipe away every thing bad between us that
 “ you may clearly see— You have heard many
 “ bad stories of us— We clean your ears that you
 “ may hear— We remove every thing bad from
 “ your heart, that it may be like the heart of
 “ your ancestors, when they thought of nothing
 “ but good.” [Here he gave a string.]

“ BROTHER; when we saw you coming this
 “ road, you advanced towards us with a toma-
 “ hawk in your hand; but we your younger bro-
 “ thers take it out of your hands and throw it up
 “ to God † to dispose of as he pleases; by which
 “ means we hope never to see it more. And
 “ now, brother, we beg leave that you who are
 “ a warrior, will take hold of this chain (giving
 “ a string) of friendship, and receive it from us,
 “ who are also warriors, and let us think no
 “ more of war, in pity to our old men, wo-
 “ men and children.”—Intimating, by this last
 “ expression, that it was mere compassion to them,
 “ and not inability to fight, that made their nation
 “ desire peace.

He then produced a treaty held with the go-
 “ vernment of Pennsylvania 1701, and three messa-
 “ ges or letters from that government of different
 “ dates; and concluded thus—

“ Now, Brother, I beg W^o who are war-
 “ riors may forget our disputes, and renew the
 “ friendship which appears by these papers to

† Their usual figure for making peace is burying
 “ the hatchet; but as such hatchets may be dug up
 “ again, perhaps he thought this new expression of
 “ sending it up to God, or the Good Spirit, a much
 “ stronger emblem of the permanency and steadfastness
 “ of the peace now to be made. “ have

Expedition

between us that have heard many your ears that you thing had from like the heart of thought of nothing a string.]

you coming this us with a toma- your younger bro- and throw it up please, by which ce it more. And e that you who are f this chain (giving receive it from us, d let us think no our old men, wo- mating, by this last compassion to them, made their nation

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Against the OHIO INDIANS, 1764. 31

" have subsisted between our fathers."—He promised, in behalf of the rest of their nation, who were gone to a great distance to hunt, and could not have notice to attend the treaty, that they should certainly come to Fort-Pitt in the spring, and bring the remainder of the prisoners with them.

As the season was far advanced, and the Colonel could not stay long in these remote parts, he was obliged to rest satisfied, with the prisoners the Shawanese had brought, taking hostages, and laying them under the strongest obligations, for the delivery of the rest; knowing that no other effectual method could at present be pursued.

He expostulated with them on account of their past conduct, and told them—" that the speech they had delivered would have been agreeable to him, if their actions had corresponded with their words. You have spoken, said he, much of peace, but have neglected to comply with the only condition, upon which you can obtain it. Keissinautchba, one of your chiefs, met me a month ago, at Tuscarawas, and accepted the same terms of peace for your nation, that were prescribed to the Senecas and Delawares; promising in ten days from that time to meet me here with all your prisoners.—After waiting for you till now, you are come at last, only with a part of them, and propose putting off the delivery of the rest till the spring.—What right have you to expect different terms from those granted to the Delawares, &c. who have given me entire satisfaction by their ready submission to every thing required of them?—But I will cut this matter short with you; and before I explain myself further,

C 2

" I insist

31 Col. BOUQUET's Expedition

I insist on your immediate answer to the following questions—

1st. "Will you forthwith collect and deliver up all the prisoners yet in your possession, and the French living among you, with all the Negroes you have taken from us in this or any other war; and that without any exception or evasion whatsoever?"

2d. "Will you deliver six hostages into my hands as a security for your punctual performance of the above article, and that your nations shall commit no farther hostilities against the persons or property of his majesty's subjects?"

BENEVISSICO replied that they agreed to give the hostages required, and said that he himself would immediately return to their lower towns and collect all our flesh and blood that remained among them, and that we should see them at Fort Pitt † as soon as possible.—

That, as to the French, they had no power over them. They were subjects to the king of England. We might do with them what we pleased; though he believed they were all returned before this time to their own country.—

THEY then delivered their hostages, and the Colonel told them that though he had brought a Tomahawk in his hand, yet as they had now submitted, he would not let it fall on their heads, but let it drop to the ground, no more to be seen. He exhorted them to exercise kindness to the captives, and look upon them

† It will appear, by the postscript to this account, that the Shawanese have fulfilled this engagement.

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" now as brothers and no longer prisoners; add-
 ing, that he intended to send some of their re-
 lations along with the Indians, to see their
 friends collected and brought to Fort-Pitt. He
 promised to give them letters to Sir William
 Johnson, to facilitate a final peace, and desired
 them to be strong in performing every thing
 stipulated."

The Caughnawagas, the Delawares and Se-
 necas, severally addressed the Shawanese, as grand-
 children and nephews, " to perform their pro-
 mises, and to be strong in doing good, that
 this peace might be everlasting."

And here I am to enter on a scene, reserved
 on purpose for this place, that the thread of the
 foregoing narrative might not be interrupted—
 a scene, which language indeed can but weakly
 describe; and to which the Poet or Painter might
 have repaired to enrich their highest colours of
 the variety of human passions; the Philosopher to
 find ample subject for his most serious reflections;
 and the Man to exercise all the tender and sym-
 pathetic feelings of the soul.

THE scene I mean; was the arrival of the pri-
 soners in the camp; where were to be seen fa-
 thers and mothers recognizing and clasping their
 once-lost babes; husbands hanging round the
 necks of their newly-recovered wives; sisters and
 brothers unexpectedly meeting together after long
 separation, scarce able to speak the same language;
 or, for some time, to be sure that they were
 children of the same parents! In all these inter-
 views, joy and rapture inexpressible were seen,
 while feelings of a very different nature were
 painted in the looks of others;—flying from place
 to place in eager enquiries after relatives not
 found!

34 Col. BOUQUET'S Expedition

found trembling to receive an answer to their questions; distracted with doubts, hopes and fears, on obtaining no account of those they sought for; or stiffened into living monuments of horror and woe, on learning their unhappy fate!

THE Indians too, as if wholly forgetting their usual savageness, bore a capital part in heightening this most affecting scene. They delivered up their beloved captives with the utmost reluctance; shed torrents of tears over them, recommending them to the care and protection of the commanding officer. Their regard to them continued all the time they remained in camp. They visited them from day to day; and brought them what corn, skins, horses and other matters, they had bestowed on them, while in their families; accompanied with other presents, and all the marks of the most sincere and tender affection. Nay, they did not stop here, but, when the army marched, some of the Indians solicited and obtained leave to accompany their former captives all the way to Fort-Pitt, and employed themselves in hunting and bringing provisions for them on the road. A young Mingo carried this still further, and gave an instance of love which would make a figure even in romance. A young woman of Virginia was among the captives, to whom he had formed so strong an attachment, as to call her his wife. Against all remonstrances of the imminent danger to which he exposed himself by approaching to the frontiers, he persisted in following her, at the risk of being killed by the surviving relations of many unfortunate persons, who had been captivated or scalped by those of his nation.

THOSE

Expedition

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forgetting their part in heightening they delivered up most reluctance; recommending of the commandant continued all p. They visited sought them what matters, they had their families; and all the marks affection. Nay, when the army solicited and obtained captives all the and themselves in for them on the this still further, which would make young woman of es, to whom he ent, as to call her ances of the imposed himself by persisted in followed by the fortunate persons, helped by those of

THOSE

Against the OHIO INDIANS, 1764. 35

THOSE qualities in savages challenge our just esteem. They should make us charitably consider their barbarities as the effects of wrong education, and false notions of bravery and heroism; while we should look on their virtues as sure marks that nature has made them fit subjects of cultivation as well as us; and that we are called by our superior advantages to yield them all the help we can in this way. Cruel and unmerciful as they are, by habit and long example, in war, yet whenever they come to give way to the native dictates of humanity, they exercise virtues which Christians need not blush to imitate. When they once determine to give life, they give every thing with it, which, in their apprehension, belongs to it. From every enquiry that has been made, it appears—that no woman thus saved is preserved from base motives, or need fear the violation of her honour. No child is otherwise treated by the persons adopting it than the children of their own body. The perpetual slavery of those captivated in war, is a notion which even their barbarity has not yet suggested to them. Every captive whom their affection, their caprice, or whatever else, leads them to save, is soon incorporated with them, and fares alike with themselves.

THESE instances of Indian tenderness and humanity were thought worthy of particular notice. The like instances among our own people will not seem strange; and therefore I shall only mention one, out of a multitude that might be given on this occasion.

AMONG the captives, a woman was brought into the camp at Muskingam, with a babe about three months old at her breast. One of the Virginia-

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ginia-volunteers soon knew her to be his wife, who had been taken by the Indians about six months before. She was immediately delivered to her over-joyed husband. He flew with her to his tent, and clothed her and his child in proper apparel. But their joy, after the first transports, was soon damped by the reflection that another dear child of about two years old, captivated with the mother, and separated from her, was still missing, altho' many children had been brought in.

A few days afterwards, a number of other prisoners were brought to the camp, among whom were several more children. The woman was sent for, and one, supposed to be hers, was produced to her. At first sight, she was uncertain, but viewing the child with great earnestness, she soon recollected its features, and was so overcome with joy, that literally forgetting her sucking child she dropt it from her arms, and catching up the new found child in an ecstasy, pressed it to her breast, and bursting into tears carried it off, unable to speak for joy. The father seized up the babe she had let fall, followed her in no less transport and affection.

AMONG the children who had been carried off young, and had long lived with the Indians, it is not to be expected that any marks of joy would appear on being restored to their parents or relatives. Having been accustomed to look upon the Indians as the only connexions they had, having been tenderly treated by them, and speaking their language, it is no wonder that they considered their new state in the light of a captivity, and parted from the savages with tears.

BUT

Against the OHIO INDIANS, 1764. 37

BUT it must not be denied that there were even some grown persons who shewed an unwillingness to return. The Shawanese were obliged to bind several of their prisoners and force them along to the camp; and some women, who had been delivered up, afterwards found means to escape and run back to the Indian towns. Some, who could not make their escape, clung to their savage acquaintance at parting, and continued many days in bitter lamentations, even refusing sustenance.

For the honour of humanity, we would suppose those persons to have been of the lowest rank, either bred up in ignorance and distressing penury, or who had lived so long with the Indians as to forget all their former connections. For, easy and unconstrained as the savage life is; certainly it could never be put in competition with the blessings of improved life and the light of religion, by any persons who have had the happiness of enjoying, and the capacity of discerning, them.

EVERY thing being now settled with the Indians, the army decamped on Sunday 18th November, and marched for Fort Pitt, where it arrived on the 28th. The regular troops were immediately sent to garrison the different posts on the communication, and the provincial troops, with the captives, to their several provinces. Here ended this expedition, in which it is remarkable that, notwithstanding the many difficulties attending it, the troops were never in want of any necessaries, continuing perfectly healthy during the whole campaign, in which no life was lost, except the man mentioned to have been killed at Muskingum.

In the beginning of January 1765, Colonel Bouquet arrived at Philadelphia, receiving where-

38 Col. BOUQUET's Expedition

ever he came, every possible mark of gratitude and esteem from the people in general, and particularly from the overjoyed relations of the captives, whom he had so happily, and without bloodshed, restored to their country and friends. Nor was the legislative part of the provinces less sensible of his important services. The assembly of Pennsylvania, at their first sitting, unanimously voted him the following address.

In ASSEMBLY, January 15, 1765, A. M.

To the Honourable HENRY BOUQUET, Esq;

Commander in Chief of His MAJESTY's Forces in the Southern Department of AMERICA,

The Address of the Representatives of the Freemen of the Province of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met.

S I R,

THE representatives of the freemen of the province of Pennsylvania, in general assembly met, being informed that you intend shortly to embark for England, and moved with a due sense of the important services you have rendered to his majesty, his northern colonies in general, and to this province in particular, during our late war with the French and barbarous Indians, in the remarkable victory over the savage enemy, united to oppose you, near Bushy-Run, in August 1763, when on your march for the relief of Pittsburgh, owing, under God, to your intrepidity and superior skill in command, together with the bravery of your officers

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Against the OHIO INDIANS 1764. 39

officers and little army; as also in your late
march to the country of the savage nations,
with the troops under your direction; thereby
striking terror through the numerous Indian
tribes around you; laying a foundation for a
lasting as well as honourable peace with them;
and rescuing, from savage captivity, upwards
of two hundred of our christian brethren, pri-
soners among them: these eminent services,
and your constant attention to the civil rights
of his majesty's subjects in this province, de-
mand, Sir, the grateful tribute of thanks from
all good men; and therefore we, the represen-
tatives of the freemen of Pennsylvania, unani-
mously for ourselves, and in behalf of all the
people of this province, do return you our most
sincere and hearty thanks for these your great
services, wishing you a safe and pleasant voy-
age to England, with a kind and gracious re-
ception from his majesty.

Signed, by order of the House,

JOSEPH FOX, SPEAKER.

The

The Colonel's Answer was as follows, viz.

To the honourable the REPRESENTATIVES of
the FREEMEN of the province of Pennsylvania,
in General Assembly met,

GENTLEMEN,

WITH a heart impressed with the most
lively sense of gratitude, I return you
my humble and sincere thanks, for the honour
you have done me in your polite address of the
15th of January, transmitted me to New-York
by your speaker.

NEXT to the approbation of His Sacred Ma-
jesty, and my superior officers, nothing could
afford me higher pleasure than your favourable
opinion of my conduct, in the discharge of those
military commands with which I have been in-
trusted.

GRATITUDE as well as justice demand of
me to acknowledge, that the aids granted by
the legislature of this province, and the con-
stant assistance and support afforded me by the
honourable the Governor and Commissioners in
the late expedition, have enabled me to recover
so many of his Majesty's subjects from a cruel
captivity, and be the happy instrument of re-
storing them to freedom and liberty: To you
therefore, gentlemen, is the greater share of that
merit due, which you are generously pleased
on this occasion to impute to my services.

Yours

Expedition

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REPRESENTATIVES OF
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Yours

Against the OHIO INDIANS, 1764. 41

• YOUR kind testimony of my constant atten-
• tion to the civil rights of his majesty's subjects
• in this Province, does me singular honour, and
• calls for the return of my warmest acknowledg-
• ments.

• PERMIT me to take this public opportunity
• of doing justice to the officers of the regular and
• provincial troops, and the volunteers, who have
• served with me, by declaring that, under Di-
• vine Providence, the repeated successes of his
• Majesty's arms against a savage enemy, are prin-
• cipally to be ascribed to their courage and reso-
• lution, and to their perseverance under the se-
• verest hardships and fatigue.

• I SINCERELY wish prosperity and happiness
• to the province, and have the honour to be,
• with the greatest respect, Gentlemen,

• Your most obedient, and most humble servant,

• HENRY BOUQUET:

February 4, 1765.

Soon afterwards the Colonel received a very
polite and affectionate letter from Governor Fau-
quier, dated 25th of December, inclosing resolves
of the honourable members of his Majesty's Coun-
cil, and of the house of Burgesses, for the colony
and dominion of Virginia.

THOSE

42 Col. BOUQUET'S Expedition

THOSE respectable bodies unanimously returned their thanks to him for the activity, spirit and zeal, with which he had reduced the Indians to terms of peace, and compelled those savages to deliver up so many of his Majesty's subjects whom they had in captivity. They further requested the Governor to recommend him to his Majesty's ministers, as an officer of distinguished merit, in this and every former service in which he had been engaged.

THE Colonel, in his answer, acknowledged the ready assistance and countenance which he had always received from the Governor and colony of Virginia in carrying on the King's service; and mentioned his particular obligations to Col. LEWIS, for his zeal and good conduct during the campaign.

THE honours thus bestowed on him, his own modesty made him desirous of transferring to the officers and army under his command; and indeed the mutual confidence and harmony subsisting between him and them, highly redound to the reputation of both. He has taken every occasion of doing justice to the particular merit of Colonel REID who was second in command; and also to all the officers who served in the expedition, regulars as well as provincials †.

THE reader will observe that the public bodies who presented these addresses to the Colonel, not only wished to express their own gratitude, but likewise to be instrumental in recommending him to the advancement his services merited. And

† The Pennsylvania troops were commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Francis, and Lieutenant Colonel Clayton.

surely

surely it is a happy circumstance to obtain promotion, not only unenvied, but even with the general approbation and good wishes of the public. It ought, however, to be mentioned, that on the first account his Majesty received of this expedition, and long before those testimonies could reach England, he was graciously pleased of his own royal goodness and as a reward of the Colonel's merit, to promote him to the rank of BRIGADIER GENERAL, and to the command of the southern district of America. And as he is rendered as dear, by his private virtues, to those who have the honour of his more intimate acquaintance, as he is by his military services to the public, it is hoped he may long continue among us; where his experienced abilities will enable him, and his love of the English constitution entitle him, to fill any future trust to which his Majesty may be pleased to call him.

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POSTSCRIPT.

IT was mentioned in the 31st page of this account, that the Shawanese brought only a part of their prisoners with them to Col. Bouquet at Mifflingam, in November last; and that, as the season was far advanced, he was obliged to rest satisfied with taking hostages for the delivery of the remainder at Fort-Pitt, in the ensuing spring:

THE escape of those hostages soon-afterwards, as well as the former equivocal conduct of their nation, had given reason to doubt the sincerity of their intentions with respect to the performance of their promises. But we have the satisfaction to find that they actually have fulfilled them. Ten of their chiefs, and about fifty of their warriors, attended with many of their women and children, met GEORGE CROGHAN, Esq; deputy agent to Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON, at Fort-Pitt, the 9th of last May; together with a large body of Delawares, Senecas, Sandusky and Munfy Indians; where they delivered the remainder of their prisoners, brightened the chain of friendship, and gave every assurance of their firm intentions to preserve the peace inviolable for ever.

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POSTSCRIPT. 45

THERE is something remarkable in the appella-
tion they gave to the English on this occasion;
calling them Fathers instead of Brethren.

LAWAUGHQUA, the Shawanese speaker, de-
livered himself in the following terms.—

“ FATHERS, for so we will call you hence-
“ forward; listen to what we are going to say
“ to you.

“ IT gave us great pleasure yesterday to be
“ called the children of the great King of Eng-
“ land; and convinces us your intentions to-
“ wards us are upright, as we know a Father
“ will be tender of his children, and they are
“ more ready to obey him than a Brother. I here-
“ fore we hope our Father will now take better
“ care of his children, than has heretofore been
“ done.—

“ YOU put us in mind of our promise to Col.
“ Bouquet, which was to bring your flesh and
“ blood to be delivered at this place. FATHER,
“ you have not spoke in vain—you see we have
“ brought them with us,—except a few that
“ were out with our hunting parties, which will
“ be brought here as soon as they return.

“ THEY have been all united to us by adop-
“ tion; and altho' we now deliver them up to
“ you, we will always look upon them as our
“ relations, whenever the Great Spirit is pleased
“ that we may visit them.

“ FATHER, We have taken as much care of
“ them, as if they were our own flesh and blood.
“ They are now become unacquainted with your
“ customs and manners; and therefore, we re-
“ quest you will use them tenderly and kindly,
“ which will induce them to live contentedly
“ with you.

“ HERE

“ HERE is a belt with the figure of our Fa-
 “ ther the King of Great-Britain at one end, and
 “ the Chief of our nation at the other. It repre-
 “ sents them holding the chain of friendship; and
 “ we hope neither side will slip their hands from
 “ it, so long as the Sun and Moon give light.”

THE reader will further remember that one of
 the engagements which the different Indian Tribes
 entered into with Colonel Bouquet, was to send
 deputies to conclude a peace with Sir WILLIAM
 JOHNSON. This has also been punctually fulfill-
 ed; and we are assured that Sir WILLIAM “ has
 “ finished his congress greatly to his satisfaction,
 “ and even beyond his expectations.” Thus e-
 very good consequence has ensued from this im-
 portant expedition, which our fondest wishes could
 have induced us to expect from the known valour
 and spirit of the able commander who had the
 conduct of it; and we now have the pleasure once
 more to behold the temple of JANUS shut, in
 this western world!

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REFLECTIONS

ON THE

WAR WITH THE SAVAGES

OF

NORTH-AMERICA.

THE long continued ravages of the Indians on the frontiers of the British colonies in America, and the fatal overthrows which they have sometimes given our best disciplined troops, especially in the beginning of the late war, have rendered them an object of our consideration, even in their military capacity. And as but few officers, who may be employed against them, can have opportunities to observe the true causes of their advantages over European troops. in the woods, it is with the utmost pleasure that I now proceed

REFLEC-

48 REFLECTIONS on the WAR

proceed to lay before the public the following valuable papers, which I mentioned † to have been communicated to me by an officer of great abilities and long experience, in our wars with the Indians.

As scarce any thing has yet been published on a subject now become of the highest importance § to our colonies, these papers will undoubtedly be an acceptable present to the reader, and the remarks contained in them may be more and more improved by the future care and attention of able men, till perhaps a complete system is at length formed for the conduct of this particular species of war.

SECTION I.

OF THE TEMPER AND GENIUS OF THE INDIANS.

THE love of liberty is innate, in the savage, and seems the ruling passion of the state of nature. His desires and wants, being few, are easily gratified, and leave him much time to spare, which he would spend in idleness, if hunger did not force him to hunt. That exercise makes him strong, active and bold, raises his courage, and fits him for war, in which he uses the same stratagems, and cruelty as against the wild beasts; making

† See the introduction.

§ It will appear by the account of Indian tribes and towns annexed to these papers, that the enemies we have to deal with are neither contemptible in numbers or strength.

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With the Savages of NORTH-AMERICA. 49

no scruple to employ treachery and perfidy to van-
quish his enemy.

JEALOUS of his independency and of his pro-
perty, he will not suffer the least encroachment
on either; and upon the slightest suspicion, fired
with resentment, he becomes an implacable ene-
my, and flies to arms to vindicate his right, or
revenge an injury.

THE advantages of these savages over civilized
nations are both natural and acquired. They are
tall and well limbed, remarkable for their activi-
ty, and have a piercing eye and quick ear,
which are of great service to them in the woods.

LACK of beasts of prey, they are patient, and de-
ceitful, and rendered by habit almost insensible
to the common feelings of humanity. Their bar-
barous custom of scalping their enemies, in the
heat of action; the exquisite torments often in-
flicted by them on those reserved for a more de-
liberate fate; their general ferocity of manners,
and the successes wherewith they have often been
blessed, have conspired to render their name ter-
rible, and some times to strike a panic even in-
to our bravest and best disciplined troops.

THEIR acquired advantages are, that they
have been inured to bear the extremes of heat and
cold; and from their infancy, in winter and sum-
mer, to plunge themselves in cold streams, and
to go almost naked, exposed to the scorching sun
or nipping frosts, till they arrive to the state of
manhood. Some of them destroy the sensation of
the skin by scratching it with the short and sharp
teeth of some animal, disposed in the form of a
curry-comb, which makes them regardless of
briars and thorns in running thro' thickets. Ri-
vers are no obstacles to them in their wild excu-
sions.

50 REFLECTIONS on the WAR

sions. They either swim over, or cross them on rafts or canoes, of an easy and ready construction.

In their expeditions they live chiefly by hunting, or on wild fruits and roots with which the woods supply them almost every where.

THEY can bear hunger and thirst for several days, without slackening, on that account, their perseverance in any proposed enterprize.

By constant practice in hunting, they learn to shoot with great skill, either with bows, or fire-arms; and to steal unperceived upon their prey, pursuing the tracks of men and beasts, which would be imperceptible to an European. They can run for a whole day without halting, when flying from an enemy, or when sent on a message. They steer, as if by instinct, thro' trackless woods, and with astonishing patience can lie whole days motionless in ambush to surprize an enemy, esteeming no labour or perseverance too painful to obtain their ends.

THEY besmear their bodies with bear's grease, which defends them against rains and damps, as well as against the stings of Muskitoes and Gnats. It likewise supplees their limbs, and makes them slippery as the ancient gladiators, who could not be held fast when seized in fight.

PLAIN food, constant exercise, and living in the open air, preserve them healthy and vigorous.

THEY are powerfully excited to war by the custom established among them, of paying distinguished honours to warriors.

THEY fight only when they think to have the advantage, but cannot be forced to it, being sure by their speed to elude the most eager pursuit.

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With the Savages of NORTH-AMERICA. 31

THEIR dress consists of the skins of some wild beast, or a blanket, a shirt either of linen, or of dressed skins, a breech clout, leggins, reaching half way up the thigh, and fastened to a belt, with mokawsons on their feet. They use no ligatures that might obstruct the circulation of their blood, or agility of their limbs. They shave their head, reserving only a small tuft of hair on the top; and slit the outer part of the ears, to which, by weights, they give a circular form, extending it down to their shoulders.

THEY adorn themselves with ear and nose rings, bracelets of silver and wampum, and paint their faces with various colours. When they prepare for an engagement they paint themselves black, and fight naked.

THEIR arms are a fusil, or rifle, a powder horn, a shot pouch, a tomahawk, and a scalping knife hanging to their neck.

WHEN they are in want of fire-arms, they supply them by a bow, a spear, or a death hammer, which is a short club made of hard wood.

THEIR usual utensils are a kettle, a spoon, a looking glass, an awl, a steel to strike fire, some paint, a pipe and tobacco-pouch. For want of tobacco, they smoke some particular leaves, or the bark of a willow; which is almost their continual occupation.

THUS lightly equipped do the savages lie in wait to attack, at some difficult pass, the European soldiers, heavily accoutred, harrassed by a tedious march, and encumbered with an unwieldy convoy.

EXPERI-

52 REFLECTIONS on the WAR

EXPERIENCE has convinced us that it is not our interest to be at war with them; but if, after having tried all means to avoid it, they force us to it, (which in all probability will often happen) we should endeavour to fight them upon more equal terms, and regulate our manœuvres upon those of the enemy we are to engage, and the nature of the country we are to act in.

It does not appear from our accounts of Indian wars, that the savages were as brave formerly as we have found them of late; which must be imputed to their unexpected successes against our troops on some occasions, particularly in 1755; and from the little resistance they have since met with from defenceless inhabitants.

It is certain that even at this day, they seldom expose their persons to danger, and depend entirely upon their dexterity in concealing themselves during an engagement, never appearing openly, unless they have struck their enemies with terror, and have thereby rendered them incapable of defence — From whence it may be inferred that, if they were beat two or three times, they would lose that confidence inspired by success, and be less inclined to engage in wars which might end fatally for them. But this cannot reasonably be expected, till we have troops trained to fight them in their own way, with the additional advantage of European courage and discipline.

ANY deviation from our established military system would be needless, if valour, zeal, order and good conduct, were sufficient to subdue this light-footed enemy. These qualities are conspicuous in our troops; but they are too heavy, and indeed too valuable, to be employed alone in a destructive service for which they were never intended.

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With the Savages of NORTH-AMERICA. 53

ed. They require the assistance of lighter corps, whose dress, arms and exercises, should be adapted to this new kind of war.

This opinion is supported by the example of many warlike nations, of which I beg leave to mention the following.

This learned Jesuit † who has obliged the world with a treatise on the military affairs of the ancient Romans, tells us, from Sallust §, that this wise nation, our masters in the art of war, were never hindered even by the pride of empire, from imitating any foreign maxim or institution, provided it was good; and that they carefully adopted into their own practice whatever they found useful in that of their allies or enemies; so that by receiving some thing from one, and some from another, they greatly improved a system even originally excellent.

The defeat of Antony and Crassus by the Parthians, of Curio by the Numidians, and many other instances, convinced the Romans that their legions, who had conquered so many nations, were not fit to engage light-troops, which, harassing them continually, evaded all their endeavours to bring them to a close engagement; and it is probable that if Julius Cæsar had not been assassinated, when he was preparing to march a-

† Vid. Joannis Antonii Valtrini Lib. de re milit. Vet. Rom.

§ Neque enim Romanis superbia unquam obstitit, quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba fuissent, imitarentur; et quod ubique apud socios vel hostes idoneum vitum esset, cum studio domi exsequerentur. — Aliæque ab aliis acceptæ, ipsi longe facere meliora quæ quidem digna statuisent.

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54 REFLECTIONS on the WAR

gainst the same Parthians, to wipe off the reproach of the former defeat, he would have added to his legions a greater number of light troops, formed upon the principles and method of that nation, and have left us useful lessons for the conduct of a war against our savages.

THAT he did not think the attack of irregular troops contemptible, appears clearly in several parts of his commentaries, and particularly in the African war. The various embarrassments he met with from the enemy he had then to deal with, necessarily call to our mind many similar circumstances in the course of our wars with the Indians, and the pains he took to instruct his soldiers to stand and repel the skirmishes of the nimble Africans, may furnish instruction to us in our military operations against the savage Americans.

We are told that while Cæsar was on his march to Scipio's quarters, the enemy's

Labienus, Afraniusque cum omni equitu, levisque armatura, ex insidiis adorti agmini Cæsaris extremo se offerunt, atque ex collibus primis existunt. Primo impetu legionum equitatus, levis armatura hostium nullo negotio loco pulsi et dejecti de cæcis. Quum jam Cæsar emississet hostes pulsis deterritoque sinem lacessendi facturos, et iter coeptum pergere cepisset, iterum celeriter ex proximis collibus erumpunt, atque in Cæsaris legionarios impetum faciunt Numidae, levisque armatura, mirabili velocitate præditi, qui inter equites pugnabant, et una pariterque cum equibus accurrere et refugere consueverant. Hoc læpius facerent, &c.—Cæsaris autem non amplius tres, aut quatuor milites veterani, si se convertissent, ei pila viribus contorta in Numidas infestos coniecissent, amplius duorum nullum numero ad unum terga vertebant; ac rursus ad aciem passim convertis

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With the Savages of NORTH-AMERICA. 55

“ horse and light-armed infantry, rising all at
“ once from an ambuscade, appeared upon the
“ hills, and attacked his rear. His legions form-
“ ing themselves, soon beat the enemy from the
“ higher ground. And now thinking all safe, he
“ begins to pursue his march. But immediately
“ the enemy break forth from the neighbouring
“ hills; and the Numidians, with their light-
“ armed foot, who are wonderfully nimble, al-
“ ways mixing and keeping equal pace with the
“ cavalry in charging or retiring, fall afresh on
“ the Roman foot. Thus they frequently re-
“ newed the charge, and still retired when he
“ endeavoured to bring them to close engage-
“ ment. If but two or three of his veterans
“ faced about and cast their piles with vigour,
“ two thousand of the enemy would fly, then re-
“ turning rally again, making it their business to
“ harass his march, and to press upon his rear,
“ following at some distance, and throwing their
“ darts at the legions.

converso equis, se colligebant, atque in spatio conse-
quebantur, et jacula in Legionarios conjiciebant.

Cæsar cogit ejusmodi hostium genera copias
suas, non ut imperator exercitum veteranum, victo-
remque maxime rebus gestis, sed ut lantha timores
gladiatores condocerent: quo pede sese recipiant
ab hoste, &c.—Mirifico enim hostium levæ armatura
auxilium exercitum ejus atque sollicitum habebat;
quia et equites deterrere prælium inire, propter
equorum interitum, quod eos jaculis intenciebat;
et legionarium millibus desatigabat, propter velocita-
tem. Crævis enim armaturæ miles simul atque ab his
infectus constiterat, in eoque impetui fecerat, iste
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56 REFLECTIONS on the WAR

“CESAR, having so subtil an enemy to deal with, instructed his soldiers, not like a general who had been victorious in the most arduous exploits, but as a fencing-master † would instruct his scholars; teaching them with what pace to retreat from the enemy, and how to return to the charge; how far to advance, and how far to retire; and likewise in what place and manner to cast their pikes. For their light-armed infantry gave him the greatest uneasiness, deterring his troopers from meeting them, by killing their horses with their javelins, and wearying his legions by their swift-ness. For whenever his heavy-armed foot faced about, and endeavoured to return their charge, they quickly avoided the danger by flight.”

BUT without going back to the ancients, we have seen this maxim adopted in our days. Marshal de Saxe finding the French army harrassed by the Hussars and other Austrian-light troops, formed also several corps of them of different kinds; and the king of Prussia in his first war introduced them into his army, and has augmented and employed them ever since with success. We have ourselves made use of them in the two last wars in Europe: But the light troops wanted in America must be trained upon different principles. The enemies we have to deal with, are infinitely more active and dangerous than the Hussars and Pandours; or even the Africans above-mentioned. For the American savages, after their rapid incursions, retreat to their towns, at a great dis-

† Lanista, in Latin, is an instructor of gladiators which in English can only be translated a Fencing-master.

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With the Savages of NORTH-AMERICA. 57

tance from our settlements, through thickety woods almost impenetrable to our heavy and unwieldy corps, composed of soldiers loaded with cloaths, baggage and provisions, who, when fatigued by a long march, must be a very unequal match to engage the nimble savage in woods, which are his native element.

ANOTHER unavoidable incumbrance, in our expeditions, arises from the provisions and baggage of the army, for which a road must be opened, and bridges thrown over rivers and swamps. This creates great labour, retards and weakens the line of march, and keeps the troops tied to a convoy which they cannot lose sight of, without exposing it to become a prey to a vigilant enemy, continually hovering about to seize every advantage.

AN European, to be a proper judge of this kind of war, must have lived some time in the vast forests of America; otherwise he will hardly be able to conceive a continuity of woods without end. In spite of his endeavours, his imagination will betray him into an expectation of open and clear grounds; and he will be apt to calculate his manoeuvres accordingly, too much upon the principles of war in Europe.

LET us suppose a person, who is entirely unacquainted with the nature of this service, to be put at the head of an expedition in America. We will further suppose that he has made the dispositions usual in Europe for a march, or to receive an enemy; and that he is then attacked by the savages. He cannot discover them, tho' from every tree, log or bush, he receives an incessant fire, and observes that few of their shot are lost. He will not hesitate to charge those invisible enemies, but he will charge in vain. For they are

as cautious to avoid a close engagement, as indefatigable in harrassing his troops; and notwithstanding all his endeavours, he will still find himself surrounded by a circle of fire, which, like an artificial horizon, follows him every where.

UNABLE to rid himself of an enemy who never stands his attacks; and flies when pressed, only to return upon him again with equal agility and vigour; he will see the courage of his heavy troops droop, and their strength at last fail them by repeated and ineffectual efforts.

He must therefore think of a retreat, unless he can force his way thro' the enemy. But how is this to be effected? his baggage and provisions are unloaded and scattered, part of his horses and drivers killed, others dispersed by fear, and his wounded to be carried by soldiers already fainting under the fatigue of a long action. The enemy, encouraged by his distress, will not fail to increase the disorder, by pressing upon him on every side, with redoubled fury and savage howlings.

He will probably form a circle or a square, to keep off so daring an enemy, ready at the least opening to fall upon him with the destructive tomahawk: but these dispositions, tho' a tolerable shift for defence, are neither proper for an attack, nor a march thro' the woods:—

THIS is not an imaginary supposition, but the true state of an engagement with the Indians, experienced by the troops who have fought against them. Neither is there any thing new or extraordinary in this way of fighting, which seems to have been common to most Barbarians †.

† Vnl. Cæs. Comm. lib. V. de bello Gallico, et lib. II. de bello civili.

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With the Savages of NORTH-AMERICA. 57

WHAT is then to be done to extricate our little army from impending destruction?

THIS is a problem which I do not pretend to resolve. But as every man would, in similar circumstances, determine himself some way or other, I will propose my own sentiments, founded upon some observations which I believe invariable in all engagements with savages.

THE first, that their general maxim is to surround their enemy:

THE second, that they fight scattered, and never in a compact body.

THE third, that they never stand their ground when attacked, but immediately give way, to return to the charge.

THESE principles being admitted, it follows—
1st. THAT the troops destined to engage Indians, must be lightly clothed, armed, and accoutred:

2^d. THAT having no resistance to encounter in the attack or defence, they are not to be drawn up in close order, which would only expose them without necessity to a greater loss.

AND, lastly, that all their evolutions must be performed with great rapidity; and the men enabled by exercise to pursue the enemy closely, when put to flight, and not give them time to rally.

THESE remarks will explain the reasons of the alterations proposed in the formation of a corps of troops, for the service of the woods. It is not, however, to be expected that this method will remove all obstacles, or that those light troops can equal the savages in patience, and activity; but, with discipline and practice, they may in a great

D 4. measure

60 REFLECTIONS on the WAR

measure supply the want of these advantages, and by keeping the enemy at a distance afford great relief and security to the main body.

SECTION II.

GENERAL IDEA OF AN ESTABLISHMENT OF LIGHT TROOPS, FOR THE SERVICE OF THE WOODS.

I SHALL only venture a few notions suggested by experience upon this subject, chiefly with a view to recommend it to the consideration of persons capable of proposing a proper method of forming such an establishment: and, in order to be better understood, I will suppose a corps of 500 men to be raised and disciplined for the woods, besides two troops of light horse, to which a company of artificers might be added. The fittest men for that service would be the natives of America bred upon the frontiers, and enlisted between the age of 15 and 20 years, to be discharged between 30 and 35.

CLOATHING.

THE cloathing of a soldier for the campaign might consist of a short coat of brown cloth, lapped, and without plaits; a strong tanned shirt, short trowsers, leggins, moccasins or shoe packs, a sailor's hat, a blanket, a knapsack for provisions, and an oiled furtout † against the rain. To this

† The following Watch-coat was contrived by an officer, whose name I do not remember. But instead of

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With the Savages of NORTH-AMERICA. 61
this might be added, in winter quarters or times
of peace, three white shirts and stocks, with a
flannel waistcoat.

D 5 A R M S.

of the oiled linen to be put under the hat, a cap
might perhaps answer better. He writes as follows,
viz.

" As the Indian war will require frequent incur-
sions into a wild country, where a man sick or
wounded, is in several respects more detrimental
to the service than a man killed, every thing that
may contribute to the health of the men is of mo-
ment.

" In this view, I propose a sort of surtout, to pre-
serve men, in a great measure, both from wet and
cold.

" Take a large checked shirt, of about half a
crown sterling per yard, for it should be pretty
fine; cut off the wrist-bands, and continue the
opening of the breast down to the bottom; sew up
the sides from the guffets downwards; rip out the
gathers in the fore parts of the collar as far as the
shoulder straps, and resew it plain to the collar.

" The shirt will then become a sort of watch-
coat like a bed-gown, with very wide sleeves.

" Take a quantity of linseed oil, and boil it gently
till one half is diminished, to which put a small
quantity of litharge of gold, and when it is well
incorporated with the oil, lay it on with a brush
upon the watch-coat, so that it shall be every
where equally wet.

" I suppose the watch-coat, hung in a garret, or
other covered place, and so suspended by crooked
pins and packthreads in the extremities of the
sleeves and edges of the collar, that one part shall
not touch another. In a short time, if the wea-
ther is good, it will be dry; when a second mix-
ture of the same kind should be laid on with a
brush

A R M S.

THEIR arms, the best that could be made, should be short fusils and some rifles, with bayonets in the form of a dirk, to serve for a knife; with powder horns and shot pouches, small hatchets and leathern bottles for water.

brush as before. When the second coat of painting is dry, the greafe will not come off, and the furtout is an effectual preservative from rain; it is very light to carry, and being pretty full on the back, will not only keep the man dry, but also his pack and ammunition.

The sleeves are left long and wide, to receive the butt-end of a firelock (secured) and to cover it below the lock. The coat is double breasted to be lapped over, according to which side the rain drives. A man will be kept dry by one of these furtouts as far as the knees. If, from the vicinity of the enemy, it is improper to make fires at night, he may place his pack on a stone, and, sitting upon it, change his shoes and leggins, and, if he pleases, wrap his blanket round his legs and feet, then drawing the watch-coat close to his body, it will keep him warm, as no air can pass through it, and, leaning against the trunk of a tree, he may pass a tolerable night, both warm and dry.

It would be of service to have a small piece of the same oiled linen to put under the hat or cap to carry the rain down to the watchcoat or furtout, otherwise whatever wet soaks through the hat or cap, will run down the neck, and thereby, in some measure, defeat the design of the watchcoat.

Perhaps it might be useful to mix some dark or greenish colour with the oil of the second coating, to make the watch-coat less remarkable in the woods.

EXER.

EXERCISES.

THE soldiers being raised, cloathed, and formed into companies under proper officers, must, before they are armed, be taught to keep themselves clean, and to dress in a soldier-like manner. This will raise in them a becoming spirit, give them a favourable opinion of their profession, and preserve their health. The first thing they are to learn is to Walk well, afterwards to Run; and, in order to excite emulation, small premiums might from time to time be given to those who distinguish themselves. They must then run in ranks, with open files, and wheel in that order, at first slowly, and by degrees increase their speed: this evolution is difficult, but of the utmost consequence to fall unexpectedly upon the flank of the enemy. They are to disperse and rally at given signals; and particular colours should be given to each company, for them to rally by; the men must be used to leap † over logs and ditches, and to carry burthens proportioned to their strength.

WHAT

† Vegetius gives an account of many similar exercises, which the Romans found necessary to establish among their military. *Miles sylvam cadebat, silvis temporibus, gatabat, ad palum dimicabat, saltabat, currebat.* Exempla hujus exercitationis crebra sunt apud Livium. Sic ille de Scipione Africano, 3 decad. lib. VI. "Primo die legiones in armis IV. millium spatio decurrerunt. Secundo die arma curis, et tergere ante tentoria jussit. Tertio die "sudibus

64 REFLECTIONS on the WAR

WHEN the young soldiers are perfect in these exercises, they may receive their arms, with which they are to perform the former evolutions in all sorts of grounds. They will next be taught to handle their arms with dexterity; and, without losing time upon trifles, to load and fire very quick, standing, kneeling, or lying on the ground. They are to fire at a mark without a rest, and not suffered to be too long in taking aim. Hunting and small premiums will soon make them expert marksmen.

THEY ought to learn to swim, pushing at the same time their cloaths, arms, and ammunition before them, on a small raft; and to make use of snow shoes. They must then be set to work, and be taught to throw up an intrenchment, open a trench, make fascines, clays and gabions; likewise to fall trees, square logs, saw planks, make canoes, carts, ploughs, hand and wheel barrows, shingles and clap-boards, casks, batteaus and bridges, and to build log houses, ovens, &c.

By example and practice, the most ingenious among them will soon become tolerable good carpenters, joiners, wheelwrights, coopers, armourers, smiths, masons, brickmakers, saddlers, taylor, butchers, bakers, shoemakers, curriers, &c.

“ sudibus inter se in modum justæ pugnæ concurrerent, præparatisque missilibus jaculati sunt. “ Quarto die quies data. Quinto iterum in armis decursum est. — Quibus porro modis obviam eatur elephantis. Veget. lib. III. cap. 24.

LIGHT

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LIGHT

LIGHT HORSE and DOGS.

I SAID that, to compleat this establishment, they should have two troops of light horse, supposed of 50 men each, officers included. The men are to perform the same exercises as the foot, and afterwards be taught to ride, and particularly to be very alert at mounting and dismounting with their arms in their hands, to gallop through the woods up and down hills, and leap over logs and ditches.

THE horses ought to be bought up on the frontiers, where they are bred and used to feed in the woods, and are strong and hardy. They are to be thoroughly broke, made to stand fire, to swim over rivers, &c. their saddles and accoutrements very simple, strong and light. The number of horses might be reduced to one half, in time of peace, tho' they would be of little expence, as they might be bred and maintained without charge in the military settlement. This corps should be equipped as the foot, having only a short rifle in lieu of a fusil, and a battle ax with a long handle. the only sort of arms they should make use of in the charge.

EVERY light horse man ought to be provided with a Blood-hound, which would be useful to find out the enemies ambushes, and to follow their tracks; they would seize the naked savages, or at least give time to the horse men to come up with them; they would add to the safety of the camp at night by discovering any attempt to surprize it.

A R T I-

ARTIFICERS.

THE company of artificers should be composed of the most useful tradesmen, and ought to be maintained at all times for the instruction of the soldiers, the use of the settlement, or the service of the army, during the campaign. It will now be time to draw forth this military colony and remove them to the ground laid out for that use in the woods, and at a good distance from the inhabitants. The nature of this settlement will hereafter be more particularly described.

NECESSITY creating industry, our young soldiers will soon provide themselves with the most useful articles, and in a couple of years be able to raise provisions for themselves.

WHILE the greatest part would be employed in clearing the ground; fencing, ploughing, sowing, planting, building and making utensils and household furniture, others might hunt with their officers, and remain a fortnight or a month out of the camp, without other provisions than a little flour, and what they could procure by hunting and fishing: then to be relieved, and the whole trained up in that way.

THE military exercises must still be kept up and practised, and great care taken to inculcate and preserve purity of manners, obedience, order and decency among the men, which will be found much easier in the woods than in the neighbourhood of towns.

IN order to make this military establishment more generally useful; I would propose that the soldiers should only receive a very small part of their

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With the Savages of NORTH-AMERICA. 67
their pay; leaving the remainder in the military
chest.

THEIR accounts should be settled every year,
and when their services should intitle them to their
discharge, I could wish that each of them had
200 acres of land given him, in a district appro-
priated for that purpose; and receiving then the
whole ballance of pay due to them, they would
be enabled to compleat their settlement. This
institucion appears not only practicable, but easy,
if attended to with patience, assiduity and firm-
ness. The plan I would propose is as follows.

Method of forming such SETTLEMENTS upon
the Frontiers, as might support themselves dur-
ing an INDIAN WAR.

LET us suppose a settlement to be formed for
one hundred families, composed of five persons
each, upon an average.

LAY out upon a river, or creek, if it can be
found conveniently, a SQUARE of one thousand
seven hundred and sixty yards, or a mile for each
side.

THAT Square will contain	- -	640 acres
Allowing for streets and public uses	40	} 640 acres
To half an acre for every house	- 50	
To one hundred lots at five and half	- - - - - 550	
acres	- - - - -	

THE four sides of the square measure 7040
yards, which gives to each house about 70 yards
front to stockade, and the ground allowed for
building will be 210 feet front, and about 100
feet deep.

AN acre of ground will produce at least 30
bushels of Indian corn. Therefore, two acres are
sufficient

68 REFLECTIONS on the WAR

sufficient to supply five persons, at the rate of twelve bushels each person. Two other acres will be a pasture for cows and sheep, another acre for hay, to be sown with red clover. The remaining half acre may be laid out for a garden.

ROUND the town are the commons, of three miles square, containing, exclusive of the lots above-mentioned, 5120 acres. On three sides of the town, five other Squares will be laid out of three square miles, containing 5760 acres each, one of which is reserved for wood for the use of the Settlement; the other four to be divided into 25 out-lots or plantations, of about 230 acres each, so that in the four Squares there will be one hundred such plantations, for the 100 families.

ANOTHER township may be laid out joining this, upon the same plan, and as many more as you please upon the same line, without losing any ground.

Thus

With the Savages of NORTH AMERICA. 69

The following is a rough sketch of the whole.

25 lots of 230 acres 1	Wood for the Town A	1	Township A.
	Commons A	1	Township B.
	Commons B	2	Township C.
	Wood for the Town B	2	Township D.
	Wood for the Town C	3	
	Commons C	3	
	Commons D	4	
	Wood for the Town D	4	

the WAR

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70 REFLECTIONS on the WAR

THUS the town, A, has its commons, its woodland, and its 4 squares marked No. 1. each containing 25 plantations of 230 acres, as proposed above. In like manner, the other towns, B, C, D, have their appurtenances respectively marked.

LET us now suppose this plan accomplished, and such corps as these fully settled, trained and disciplined, in the manner above-mentioned; I would ask whether any officer, entrusted with an expedition against the savages, would not chuse to have them in his army? I may safely answer for all those who have been employed in that service, that they would prefer them to double the number of the best European troops. And when they had served the time limited, namely from their 15th to their 35th year, what vast satisfaction would it be to pay over to them their share of savings from the public chest; and, as a reward of their faithful toils, to vest them and their heirs with their several plantations, which they would now be enabled to cultivate as their own? This prospect would engage many people to enter their sons, in such corps; and these veterans, when thus discharged, would not only be the means of forming and animating others by their example, but in case of a war would still bravely maintain the property they had so honourably acquired, and be the greatest security of the frontier where they are settled.

the WAR

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With the Savages of NORTH-AMERICA. 71

PREPARATIONS FOR AN EXPEDITION IN
THE WOODS AGAINST SAVAGES.

It is not practicable to employ large bodies of troops against Indians; the convoys necessary for their support would be too cumbersome, and could neither be moved with ease, nor protected. It would be better to fit out several small expeditions, than one too unwieldy: I will therefore suppose that a corps intended to act offensively shall not exceed the following proportions.

Two regiments of foot	- - - -	900
One battalion of hunters	- - - -	500
Two troops of light horse	- - - -	100
One company of artificers	- - - -	20
Drivers and necessary followers	- - - -	280

In all 1800.

THE first article to provide is the provisions, and next the carriages.

THE daily ration of a soldier in the woods should consist of one pound and a half of meat (which requires no carriage) and one pound of flour, with a gill of salt per week.

UPON that allowance }
1800 men will require for six } 327,600 lb. Flour.
months or 182 days - - - }

ALLOWING one fourth for
accident - - - - - 81,900

For six months 409,500 lb. Flour.

MEAT

72 REFLECTIONS on the WAR:

MEAT for the same time }
 with a fourth part more for } 614,400 lb. Meat.
 accidents, or 2048 beeves }
 at 300 lb. each

Salt for 26 weeks - - - 182 Bushels.
 THE above quantity would serve the whole campaign, but one half would be sufficient to penetrate from the last depofite into the heart of the enemy's country: therefore we shall compute the carriages for this last quantity only.

EVERY horse carries about 150 lb. neat weight, therefore, to carry flour for three months or 204,750 lb. will require 1365 horses.

Horses for flour	- - - -	1365
For 91 bushels of salt	- - - -	40
Ammunition	- - - -	50
Tents	- - - -	50
Tools	- - - -	50
Hospital	- - - -	20
Officers baggage and staff	- - - -	150

1731

To reduce this exorbitant number of horses, and the great expence attending it, I would propose, for such parts of the country as would admit of it, to make use of carts, drawn each by four oxen, and carrying about 1300 lb. or six barrels of flour. The above quantity of 204,750 lb. will then be carried by 100 carts drawn by 640 oxen.

Spare oxen with the army	- - - -	384
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The number of oxen wanted: - 1024

THIS

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With the Savages of NORTH-AMERICA. 73

THIS method would not be as expeditious as the carriage by horses, and would require more time and attention in cutting the road, and bridging the swampy places, &c. but, on the other hand, what an expence would be saved and by killing the oxen in proportion as the flour is used, and abandoning the carts, the convoy is daily reduced, and the grass near the encampment will not be so soon consumed, which is not the case with horses, which must equally be fed though unloaded. This is an object of consequence, particularly near the end of the campaign, when the scarcity of fodder obliges to move the camps every day, and to place them in low and disadvantageous-grounds.

I WOULD therefore incline for the use of carts, and they could be made before hand by the hunters and their artificers.

THE oxen should be bought in the provinces where the farmers make use of them in their works. One or two soldiers would drive the cart and take charge of the four oxen.

THERE are few rivers in North-America deep in summer, and which these carts with high and broad wheels, could not ford; but if the contrary should happen, the carts, provisions and baggage, may be rafted over, or a bridge built. In a country full of timber, and with troops accustomed to work, no river will stop an army for a long time.

By the above method, 3 or 400 horses would be sufficient to carry the baggage, ammunition, tents, tools, &c.

E X P L A N A

74 REFLECTIONS on the WAR

EXPLANATION OF THE FOUR PLANS,
PLATE II.

Representing the different positions of our army
in the woods.

ENCAMPMENT.

THE camp (Fig. 1) forms a parallelogram, of one thousand by six hundred feet. Eight hundred men of the regular troops (1) encamp on the four sides, which gives twenty-four feet to each tent, containing six men. The light-horse (3) encamp within the parallelogram. The reserve (7) in the center.

THE provisions, ammunition, tools and stores (8) and the cattle (9) are placed between the two troops of light horse and the reserve. The hunters (2) encamp on the outside diagonally at the four angles, being covered by redoubts (5) formed with kegs and bags of flour or fascines. Besides these four redoubts, another is placed to the front, one to the rear, and two before each of the long faces of the camp, making in all ten advanced guards of 22 men each, and 7 centries, covered if possible by breast works of fascines or provisions. Before the army lay down their arms, the ground is to be reconnoitred, and the guards posted, who will immediately open a communication from one to the other, to relieve the centries, and facilitate the passage of sounds.

THE centries upon the ammunition, provisions, head quarters, and all others in the inside of

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FOUR PLANS,

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With the Savages of NORTH-AMERICA. 75

the camp are furnished from the reserve. The officers, except the staff and commanders of corps, encamp on the line with their men.

THE fires are made between the guards and camp, and put out in case of an attack in the night.

LINE of MARCH, Plate II. Fig. II.

PART of the hunters (2) in three divisions detaching small parties (5, 6) to their front and to their right and left, to search the woods and discover the enemy.

THE artificers and axe-men (4) to cut a road for the convoy, and two paths on the right and left for the troops.

ONE hundred and fifty of the regular troops (1) in two files, who are to form the front of the square; these march in the center road.

TWO hundred and fifty regulars (1) in one file by the right hand path; and 50 (1) by the left hand path, are to form the long faces.

THESE are followed by 150 regulars (1) in two files, who are to form the rear of the square.

THE reserve (7) composed of 100 regulars in two files.

THE rest of the hunters (2) in two files.

THE light horse (3.)

THE rear guard (5) composed of hunters, follows the convoy at some distance and closes the march. The scouting parties (6) who flank the line of march, are taken from the hunters and light horse, and posted as in plan (Fig. 2) some orderly light horsemen, attend the General and field officers who command the grand divisions,

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to carry their orders. Two guards of light horse take charge of the cattle (9)

THE convoy (8) proceeds in the following order.

THE tools and ammunition following the front column.

THE baggage.

THE cattle.

THE provisions.

THE whole divided into Brigades, and the horses two a breast.

DEFILES.

In case of a defile, the whole halt until the ground is reconnoitred, and the hunters have taken possession of the heights. The center column then enters into the defile, followed by the right face; after them the convoy; then the left and rear face, with the reserve, the light horse, and the rear guard.

THE whole to form again as soon as the ground permits.

DISPOSITION TO RECEIVE THE ENEMY,
Fig. (3).

THE whole halt to form the square or parallelogram, which is done thus. The two first men of the center column stand fast at two yards distance. The two men following them, step forward and post themselves at two yards on the right and left. The others come to the front in the same manner, till the two files have formed a rank, which is the front of the square.

THE

With the Savages of NORTH-AMERICA. 77

THE rear face is formed by the two file-leaders turning to the center road, where having placed themselves at two yards distance, they face outwards, and are followed by their files, each man posting himself on their right or left, and facing towards the enemy the moment he comes to his post.

As soon as the front and rear are extended and formed, the two long faces, who have in the mean time faced outwards, join now the extremities of the two fronts, and close the square †.

TO REDUCE THE SQUARE.

THE right and left of the front, face to the center, where the two center men stand fast. Upon the word "march" these step forward and are replaced by the two next, who follow them, and so on; by which means, that front becomes again a column. The rear goes to the right about, and each of the two center men leads again to the side paths followed by the rest.

WHILE the troops form, the light horse and each division of the convey take the ground assigned to them within the square, as if they were to encamp; and the horses being unloaded, two parallel lines will be formed, with the bags and kegs of provisions, to cover the wounded and the men unfit for action. The hunters take post on the most advantageous ground on the out side, and skirmish with the enemy, till the square is formed; when, upon receiving their orders, they retire within the square, where they take their post as in Fig. (3).

† These evolutions must be performed with celerity.

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78 REFLECTIONS on the WAR

THE small parties of rangers (5) who have flanked the line of march, remain on the outside, to keep on the enemy and observe their motions.

WHEN the firing begins the troops will have orders to fall on their knees, to be less exposed till it is thought proper to attack.

THE four faces, formed by the regular troops, are divided into platoons *chequered*. One half, composed of the best and most active soldiers, is called the first Firing, and the other half the second Firing.

THE eight platoons at the angles are of the second Firing, in order to preserve the form of the square during the attack.

It is evident that, by this disposition, the convoy is well covered, and the light troops, destined for the charge, remain concealed; and as all unexpected events during an engagement are apt to strike terror, and create confusion, among the enemy, it is natural to expect that the savages will be greatly disconcerted at the sudden and unforeseen eruption, that will soon pour upon them from the inside of the square; and that, being vigorously attacked in front and flank at the same time, they will neither be able to resist, nor, when once broke, have time to rally, so as to make another stand. This may be effected in the following manner.

GENERAL ATTACK, Fig. IV.

THE Regulars (1) stand fast.

THE hunters (2) fall out, in four columns, thro' the intervals of the front and rear of the square, followed by the light horse (3) with their bloodhounds. The intervals of the two columns who

the WAR

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With the Savages of NORTH-AMERICA. 79

who attack in the front, and of those who attack in the rear, will be closed by the little parties of rangers (5) posted at the angles of the square, each attack forming in that manner, three sides of a parallelogram. In that order they run to the enemy (X) and having forced their way through their circle, fall upon their flanks; by wheeling to their right and left, and charging with impetuosity. The moment they take the enemy in flank, the First Firing of the regular troops march out briskly and attack the enemy in front. The platoons detached in that manner from the two short faces, proceed only about one hundred yards to their front, where they halt to cover the square, while the rest of the troops who have attacked pursue the enemy, till they are totally dispersed, not giving them time to recover themselves.

THE sick and wounded, unable to march or ride, are transported in litters made of flour bags, through which two long poles are passed, and kept asunder by two sticks, tied across beyond the head and feet to stretch the bag. Each litter is carried by two horses—

THESE remarks might have been extended to many other cases that may occur in the course of a campaign or of an engagement, but it is hoped this sketch will be sufficient to evince the necessity of some alteration in our ordinary method of proceeding in an Indian war.



APPENDIX I.
CONSTRUCTION
OF
FORTS
AGAINST INDIANS.

AS we have not to guard here against cannon, the system of European fortification may be laid aside, as expensive, and not answering the purpose. Forts against Indians, being commonly remote from our settlements, require a great deal of room to lodge a sufficient quantity of stores and provisions, and at the same time ought to be defensible with one half of their compleat garrisons, in case of detachments or convoys.

I AM therefore of opinion that a square or pentagon, with a block-house of brick or stone* at every angle, joined by a wall flanked by the block-houses, would be the best defence against such enemies. A ditch from seven to eight feet deep might be added, with loop holes in the cellars of the block-houses six feet from the ground, to defend the ditch.

ALONG the inside of the curtains the traders might build houses and stores, covered as well as the block-houses with tiles, or slate, to guard against fire arrows. There will remain a spacious area for free air and use, in which as well as in the ditch, gardens might be made and well dug.

THE powder magazines might be placed in the center of the area, keeping only a small quantity of cartridges in each block-house for present use.

THE garrisons of such forts would be free from surprises, even if they had no centres, for nothing can get at them, while the doors are well bolted and barred.

* Experience has demonstrated that fortifications made of wood decay very soon, and are on that account of considerable expense.

SOME

SOME REASONS FOR KEEPING POSSESSION OF OUR LARGE FORTS IN THE INDIAN COUNTRY.

As these forts have been one of the causes of the last war, and are a great eye-sore to the savages, they have bent their chief efforts against them; and therefore, while thus employed, they have been less able to distress our settlements. Our forts keep the Indian towns at a great distance from us. Fort-Pitt has effectually driven them, beyond the Ohio, and made them remove their settlements at least 90 miles further westward. Was it not for these forts, they would settle close on our borders, and in time of war infest us every day in such numbers as would over-power the thin inhabitants scattered on our extensive frontier. The farmer unable to sow or reap would soon fall back on our chief towns, or quit the country for want of bread. In either case, what would be the fate of the large towns burthened with the whole country, and deprived of subsistence and of the materials of trade and export?

The destruction of these forts being, in time of war, the chief aim of the savages, they gather above them to distress the garrisons, and to attack the convoy; thereby giving us an opportunity to fight them in a body, and to strike a heavy blow, which otherwise they would never put in our power, as their advantage lies in surprizes, which are best effected by small numbers. Experience has convinced them that it is not in their power to

break those shackles, and therefore it is not probable that they will continue a check upon them, and save the difficulty and expence of taking post again in their country. Our forts are likewise the proper places for trade, which being closely inspected, it will be easy for us to limit their supplies, to such commodities as they cannot turn against us, and to put a speedy stop to all just causes of complaints, by giving immediate redress.

A FEW forts, with strong garrisons, I should judge to be of more service than a greater number weakly guarded. In the last war we lost all our small posts; but our more considerable ones, Detroit and Fort-Pitt, resisted all the efforts of the savages, by the strength of their garrisons.

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APPENDIX II.

THE following Paper was written by an Officer well acquainted with the places he describes; and is thought worthy of a place here, as every thing is material which can encrease our knowledge of the vast countries ceded to us, and of the various nations that inhabit them.

ACCOUNT of the FRENCH FORTS ceded to GREAT BRITAIN in LOUISIANA.

THE settlement of the Illinois being in 40 degrees of latitude, is 500 leagues from New-Orleans by water and 350 by land.

THE most proper time of the year for going there, is the beginning of February. The waters of the Mississippi are then high, and the country being overflowed, there is less to fear from the savages, who are hunting in that season.

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THE encampments should be on the left of the river, as the enemies are on the right, and cannot have a sufficient number of crafts to cross if their party is large.

THEY generally attack at day-break, or at the time of embarking.

THE inhabitants might bring provisions half way, if they were allowed good pay.

THE Delawares and Shawanese lie near Fort Du Quesne, † which is about 500 leagues from the Illinois. The Wiandots and Ottawas, (who are at the Detroit) are about 250 leagues from the Illinois by land. And the Miami about 200 by land.

NEVERTHELESS as intelligence is carried very fast by the Savages, and as all the nations with whom we are at war, can come by the Ohio, ‡ we must be vigilant to prevent a surprize.

† So the French formerly called what is now Fort Pitt.

‡ Part of the navigation of the Ohio, from Fort-Pitt is described as follows, viz.

That the difficult part of the river is from Fort-Pitt about 50 or 60 miles downwards. There are 52 islands between Fort-Pitt and the lower Shawanese town on Scioto; and none of them difficult to pass in the night, but one at the mouth of Muskingum, occasioned by a number of trees lying in the channel. From the lower Shawanese Town to the falls, there are but 8 or 9 islands. At the falls, the river is very broad, with only one passage on the east side, in which there is water enough at all seasons of the year to pass without difficulty. Below the falls, the navigation is every way clear, down to the Mississippi.

THE

APPENDIX II. 87

THE mouth of the Ohio, in the Mississippi, is 35 leagues from the Illinois.

THIRTEEN leagues from the Mississippi, on the left of the Ohio, is Fort Massiac, or Assumption, built in 1757, a little below the mouth of the river Cherokee †. It is only a stockade, with four bastions and eight pieces of cannon. It may contain 100 men. In four days one may go by land, from this fort to the Illinois.

IT is of consequence for the English to preserve it, as it secures the communication between the Illinois and Fort-Pitt.

FORT Vincennes, which is the last post belonging to Louisiana, is upon the river Ouabache ‡, 60 leagues from its conflux with the Ohio. It is a small stockade fort, in which there may be about 20 soldiers. There are also a few inhabitants. The soil is extremely fertile, and produces plenty of corn and tobacco.

THE distance from this fort to the Illinois, is 155 leagues by water. And it may be travelled by land in six days.

THE nation of savages living at this post is called Pianquicha. It can furnish 60 warriors.

ALTHO' we do not occupy Fort Vincennes at present, yet it would be of the utmost consequence:

† River Cherokee falls into the Ohio about 800 miles below Fort-Pitt. This river is in general wide and shoal up to the south mountain, passable only with bark canoes, after which it grows very small.

‡ Ouabache or Wabash empties itself into the Ohio about 60 miles above the Cherokee river, on the opposite or west side.

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for us to settle it, as there is a communication from it with Canada, by going up the Ouabache.

From this post to the Ouachtanons is 60 leagues, and from thence to the Miamis (still going up the Ouabache) is 60 leagues further; then there is a portage of six leagues to the river Miamis, and you go down that river 24 leagues to Lake Erie.

Mr. DAUBRY went by that rout in 1759 from the Illinois to Venango ¶, with above 400 men, and two hundred thousand weight of flour.

¶ By the above paper the rout is given up the Mississippi, part of the Ohio, and up the Ouabache to Fort Vincennes, and likewise to the Illinois. Again from Vincennes and the Ouachtanons by water, on the westerly communication to the Miamis portage, then by water down that river by the easterly rout into the Lake Erie, proceeding as far as Presqu' Isle, then by the 15 m. portage into Buffalo or Beef river, lately called French creek, then down the same to Venango on the Ohio. In order therefore, to carry this rout still further, we shall continue it from Venango to the mouth of Juniata in Susquehanna, which brings it within the settled parts of Pennsylvania, viz.

From Venango to Licking creek, 10 miles. To Toby's creek, 13. To a small creek, 1. To the parting of the road, 5. To a large run, 3. To Leycaumey-honing, 9. To Pine creek, 7. To Chuckcaughting, 8. To Weeling creek, 4. To the crossing of ditto, 4. To a miry swamp, 8. To the head of Susquehanna, 10. To Meytauning creek, 18. To Clear Field creek, 6. To the top of Allegheny, 1. To the other side, ditto, 6. To Beaver dams, 3. To Franks Town, 5. To the Canoe place, 6. To the mouth of Juniata, 10. Total 239 miles.

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 Franks Town, 5.
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APPENDIX II. 89

THIRTY-FIVE leagues from the mouth of the Ohio, in going up the Mississippi, on the right, is the river Kaskaskias. Two leagues up this river, on the left, is the settlement of the Kaskaskias, which is the most considerable of the Illinois.

THERE is a fort built upon the height on the other side of the river, over against Kaskaskias; which, as the river is narrow, commands and protects the town.

I DON'T know how many guns there may be, nor how many men it may contain. There may be about 400 inhabitants.

THE Illinois Indians, called Kaskaskias, are settled half a league from the town; and are able to turn out 100 warriors. They are very lazy and great drunkards.

Six leagues from Kaskaskias, on the bank of the Mississippi, is Fort Chartres, built of stone, and can contain 300 soldiers. There may be 20 cannon at most, and about 100 inhabitants round Chartres.

THE Illinois Indians at that place, who are called Metchis, can furnish 40 warriors.

BETWEEN the Kaskaskias, and Fort Chartres, is a small village, called *La prairie du Rocher* (the Rock Meadow) containing about 50 white inhabitants; but there is neither fort nor savages.

NEAR Fort Chartres is a little village, in which is about a score of inhabitants. Here are neither savages nor fort.

FIFTEEN leagues from Fort Chartres, going up the Mississippi, is the village of the Casquiars. There is a small stockade fort; I don't know if there is any cannon. There may be about 100 inhabitants.

THIRTY-

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APPENDIX II.

THE Illinois Indians living near this village are called Casquiars, and can turn out 60 warriors.

I COMPUTE there are about 300 Negroes at the Illinois.

THE country of the Illinois is fertile, producing good wheat and corn. All kinds of European fruits succeed there surprizingly well, and they have wild grapes with which they make tolerable wine. Their beer is pretty good.

THERE are mines of lead, and some salt. They make sugar of maple, and there are stone-quarries.

APPEN.

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APPENDIX III.

ROUT from PHILADELPHIA TO FORT-PITT.

	Miles	Qrs.	Per.
to Lancaster	66	0	38
to Carlisle	55	0	00
to Shippensburgh	22	0	00
to Fort Loudoun	24	3	00
to Fort Littleton	17	3	00
to the crossing of the Juniata	18	3	00
to Fort Bedford	14	3	00
to the crossing of Stoney creek	29	0	39
to Fort Ligonier	20	1	43
to Fort Pitt	56	0	00
	324	2	40

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APPENDIX IV.

NUMBER of INDIAN TOWNS, situated on and near the Ohio River, and its branches, with their distances from Fort-Pitt, and the distances of the principal branches from each other at their conflux with the Ohio.

	Distance	Distance
	from one another	from Fort-Pitt.
	Miles	Miles
FIRST ROUT about N. N. W.		
From Fort Pitt to Kuskuskies Town on Big Beaver-Creek		45
up the east branch of Beaver Creek to Shan- ingo	15	60
up ditto to Pematuning to Mohoning on the West branch of Bea- ver Creek	12	72
up the branch to Salt Lick	32	104
to Cayahoga River	10	114
to Ottawas town on Cayahoga	32	146
	10	156

SECOND

APPENDIX. IV. 93

SECOND ROUT W. N. W.		Distance from one another.	Distance from Fort-Pitt.
		Miles	Miles
From Fort Pitt	to the mouth of Big Beaver-Creek		25
	to Tuscarawas	91	116
	to Mohickon John's Town	50	166
	to Junundat or Wyandot town	46	212
	to Fort Sandusky	4	216
	to Junquein Jundeh	24	240

THIRD ROUT about W. S. W.

From Fort Pitt	to the Forks of the Muskingam		128
	to Bullet's Town on Muskingam	6	134
	to Waukatamike	10	144
	to King Beaver's Town on the heads of Hochocking	27	171
	to the lower Shawanese Town on Sioto river	40	211
	to the Salt Lick town on the heads of Sioto	25	236
	to the Miamis fort	190	426

FOURTH



K IV.

situated on and branches, with the distances each other at

Distance from one another	Distance from Fort-Pitt.
Miles	Miles
	45
15	60
12	72
32	104
10	114
32	146
10	156

SECOND

FOURTH ROUT down the Ohio; general course about S. W.	Distance from one another	Distance from Fort-Pitt.
	Miles	Miles
to the mouth of Big Beaver Creek		27
to the mouth of Little Beaver Creek	12	39
to the mouth of Yellow Creek	10	49
to the two Creeks	18	67
to Weeling	6	73
to Pipe Hill	12	85
to the long Reach	30	115
to the foot of the Reach	18	133
to the mouth of Musk- ingam river	30	163
to the little Canhawa river	12	175
to the mouth of Hock- hocking river	13	188
to the mouth of Letort's creek	40	228
to Kiskeminetas	33	261
to the mouth of big Can- hawa or new river	8	269
to the mouth of big Sandy creek	40	309
to the mouth of Sioto river	40	349
to the mouth of big Salt Lick river	30	379
to the Island	20	399

By water from Fort Pitt

APPENDIX IV. 95

	Distance from Fort-Pitt.	Distance	
		from one another	from Fort-Pitt.
By water from Fort Pitt	to the mouth of little Mineamie or Miammee † river	M	Miles 454
	to big Miammee or Rocky river	30	484
	to the Big Bones ‡	20	504
	to Kentucky River	55	559
	to the Falls of the Ohio	50	609
	to the Wabash, or Ouabache	131	740
	to Cherokee River	60	800
	to the Mississippi	40	840

N. B. The places mentioned in the first three Routes are delineated in the foregoing map, by an officer who has an actual knowledge of most of them, and has long served against the Indians. The fourth Route down the Ohio was given by an Indian trader, who has often passed from Fort-Pitt to the Falls; and the distances he gives of the mouths of the several rivers that fall into the Ohio may be pretty certainly depended on. Our maps hitherto published are very erroneous in placing some of these rivers.

† These rivers, called Little and Great Mineamie or Miammee, fall into the Ohio between Soto and the Ouabache, and are different from the Miami river, which runs into the west end of lake Erie, below the Miami's fort.

‡ So called, from Elephant's bones said to be found there.

APPENDIX



APPENDIX V.

NAMES of different INDIAN NATIONS in NORTH-AMERICA, with the Numbers of their Fighting Men; referred to in the Note, page 48.

THE following list was drawn up by a French trader, a person of considerable note, who has resided many years among the Indians, and still continues at Detroit, having taken the oaths of allegiance to the King of Great Britain. His account may be depended on, so far as matters of this kind can be brought near the truth; a great part of it being delivered from his own personal knowledge.

	Warriors
Conawaghrunas, near the falls of St. Louis	200
Aberaquis,	350
Michmacs,	700
• Amalifas,	550
• Chales,	130
Nipifins,	400
Algonquins,	300
Les Tetes de Boule, or Round Heads, near	
the above	2500
	Six

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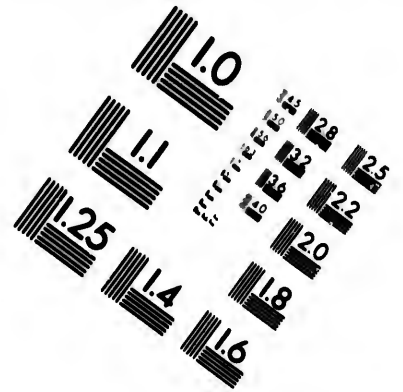
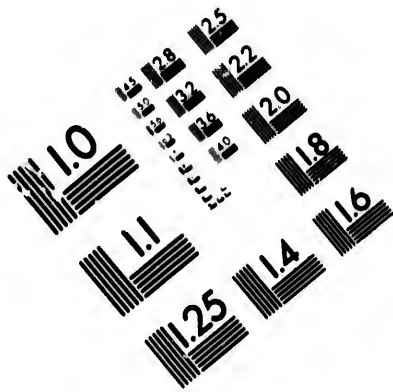
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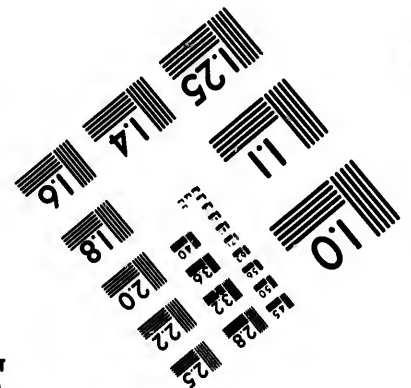
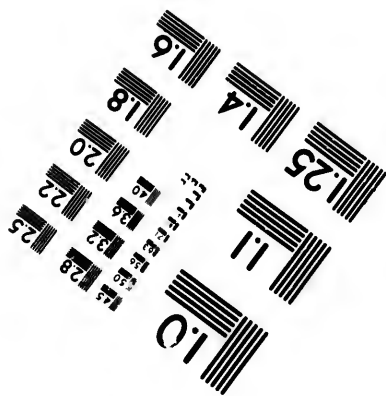
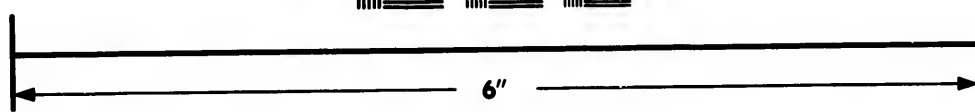
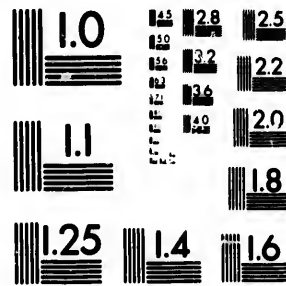
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Warriors	
St. Louis	200
	350
	700
Indians	550
	130
the heads of	400
river	300
Heads, near	2500
	Six





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APPENDIX V. 97

Six Nations, on the frontiers of New-York,		
&c. - - - - -		1550
Wiandots, near lake Erie - - -		300
Chipwas, } near the Lakes Superior and		5000
Ottawas, } Michigan		900
Messeques, or River Indians, being wan-		
dering tribes, on the lakes Huron and Su-		
perior,		2000
Powtewatamis, near S. Joseph's and Detroit		350
Les Puans, } near Puans		700
Folleavoine, or Wild-Oat Indians } bay		350
• Mehecouakis, }		250
Sakis, } South of Puans bay		400
Mascoutens, }		500
Quifcoufins, on a river of that name, fall-		
ing into Mississippi on the east-side		550
Christinaux, } far north, near the lakes		3000
Affinaboes, or } of the same name		1500
Affinipouals }		
Blancs † Barbus, or White Indians with		
Beards		1500
Sioux, of the meadows } towards the heads		2500
Sioux, of the woods } of Mississippi		1800
Missouri, on the river of that name		3000
• Grandes Eaux - - - - -		1000
Osages,		600
Canfes, }		1600
Panis blancs, } south of Missouri		2000
Panis piques, }		1700
Padoucas, }		500
Ajoues, north of the same		1100
Arkansas, on the river that bears their name,		
falling into Mississippi on the west side		2000

† They live to the north-west, and the French, when they first saw them, took them for Spaniards.

Alibamou,

Alibamou, a tribe of the Creeks	600
• Ouanakina	300
• Chiakanessou	} Unknown, unless the author has put them for tribes of the Creeks
• Machecous	
• Coaitas	
• Souikilas	
Miamia, upon the river of that name, falling into Lake Erie	350
Delawares (1st Loops) on the Ohio	600
Shawanele on Sioto	500
Kickapoos	300
Ouschtenons	} on the Ouabache
Peanquichas	
Kaskaskias, or Illinois in general, on the Illinois river	600
• Pianria	800
Catawbas, on the frontiers of North-Carolina	150
Cherokees, behind South-Carolina	2500
Chickasaws	750
Natchez	} Mobile and Mississippi
Chatawa	
	4500
	56,500

THE above list consists chiefly of such Indians as the French were connected with in Canada and Louisiana. Wherever we knew the names, by which the different nations are distinguished, by the English, we have inserted them. But the orthography is yet very unsettled, and the several nations marked with an asterisk are unknown to us, and therefore they are left as they stand in the original list.

So large a number of fighting men may startle us at first sight; but the account seems no where exaggerated, excepting only that the Catawba nation

next

APPENDIX V. 99

nation is now almost extinct. In some nations which we are acquainted with, the account falls even short of their numbers; and some others do not appear to be mentioned at all, or at least not by any name known to us.

SUCH, for instance, are the Lower Creeks, of whom we have a list according to their towns. In this list their warriors or gunsmen are 1180, and their inhabitants about 6000. Thus a comparative judgment may be formed of the nations above-mentioned; the number of whose inhabitants will (in this proportion to their warriors, viz. 5 to 1) be about 283,000.

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