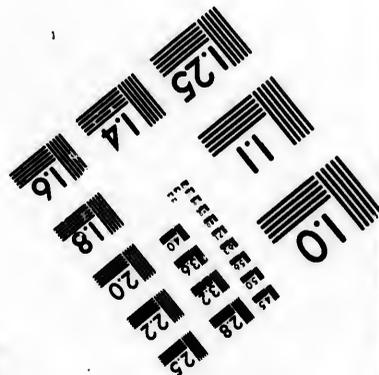
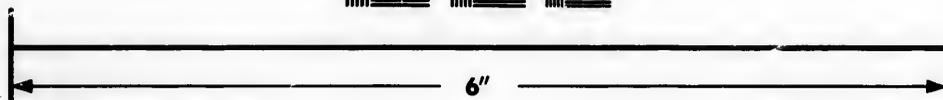
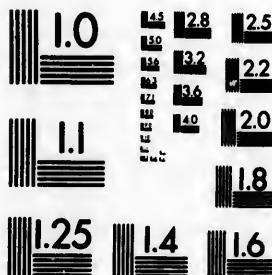


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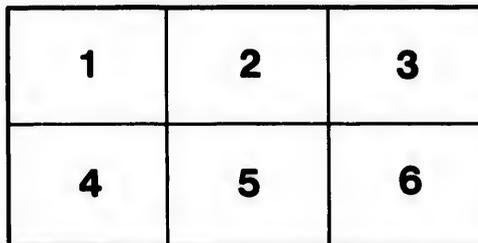
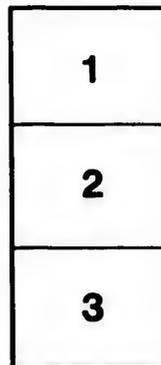
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HISTORY
OF THE
INDIAN WARS
AND
WAR OF THE REVOLUTION
OF THE
UNITED STATES.

BY
JOHN LEWIS THOMSON.

With Additions and Corrections.

ILLUSTRATED WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS, FROM DESIGNS BY
W. CROOME AND OTHER ARTISTS.

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Our country is still young; but her wars have been numerous, and, some of them, bloody. Our foes have been of various degrees in strength and skill, from the brave and cunning savage up to the disciplined soldier of Britain; and against all have we maintained ourselves with honour; nay, the end of every contest has been attended with a large increase of our dominion. The fiercest efforts of mighty powers have proved insufficient to check the progression of the republic. The cords upon the limbs of Samson were burst asunder as burnt flax.

Wars are popularly considered the most interesting portions of a nation's history. A peaceful advance in the arts and the gradual perfection of institutions are highly approved, of course; but the narrative of such progression can never possess the thrilling attractions pertaining to accounts of the "pomp and circumstance
(iii)

Lippincott

Lorne Pierce

234530

of glorious war." The moralist and the philosopher may condemn the taste as vicious and perverted; but the majority still prefer the stirring blast of the bugle to the soothing sweetness of the flute. The grand national displays of patriotic pride; the achievements of courage, activity, and skill; the developement of the heroic part of human nature, all of which are characteristic of war, fairly glow upon the page of history, and can kindle the heart of the farmer at his fireside, when all other reading would fail to win his attention. Inquire, and he will acknowledge that war has a horrible display of some brutal passions and is attended and followed by an immense amount of misery, but he dares not deny the charms of its history.

The soil of the republic is thickly dotted with battle-fields. The North has her Breed's Hill—her Bennington—her Saratoga, and her Trenton—the South has her Eutaw—her King's Mountain—her Cowpens, and her Yorktown—places fertilized by the blood of the revolutionary patriots—whither Americans may make pilgrimages to freshen their love of liberty. The records of those fields should not only be in the hands, but in the memory of the patriotic. The great West also has her battle-fields, where whites of iron nerve engaged in bloody strife with Indians, who claimed the soil as the land of their fathers, and where the dominion of the Anglo-Saxon was established.

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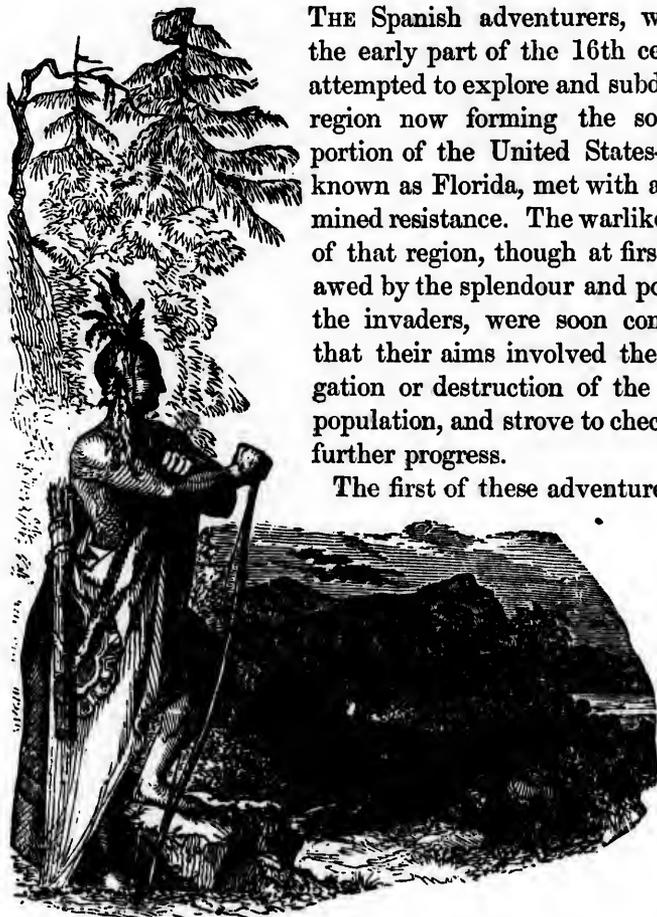
WARS OF THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

WARS BETWEEN THE EARLY SPANISH ADVENTURERS AND THE INDIANS.

THE Spanish adventurers, who, in the early part of the 16th century, attempted to explore and subdue the region now forming the southern portion of the United States—then known as Florida, met with a determined resistance. The warlike tribes of that region, though at first overawed by the splendour and power of the invaders, were soon convinced that their aims involved the subjugation or destruction of the native population, and strove to check their further progress.

The first of these adventurers was



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PONCE DE LEON.

Juan Ponce de Leon, a famous warrior. This man had imbibed the belief that there existed, upon an island somewhere to the northward, a fountain, endowed with such miraculous virtue, that any person, however worn with age, who should have ever dipped himself in its waters, would rise restored to the full bloom and vigour of youth. While sailing about in the vain search for this wonderful fountain, he came unexpectedly, on the 27th of March, 1512, in sight of an extensive and beautiful country:

Magnificent forests, intermingled with flowering shrubs, exhibited so gay an aspect, that he named it Florida. He landed on the 8th of April, near the present site of St. Augustine; and, notwithstanding the dangers of navigation amid the violent currents produced by the gulf-stream running among the islands, he spent a considerable time in tracing its outline, and finally rounded the southern point. Thus, though still supposing it to be an island, he ascertained that it must be both large and important. This great discovery seems to have weaned the mind of the Spanish chief from his engrossing chimera. He repaired to Porto Rico, and thence to Spain, laid before the king the particulars of the new country, and obtained permission to conquer

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and rule it under the pompous title of adelantado. A considerable time, however, was consumed in preparations; and while thus busied, he was obliged to engage in suppressing an insurrection among the Caribs. This contest was attended with reverses, by which he lost much of his reputation; and nine years elapsed before he could conduct two ships to his promised dominion. While planning a site for a colony, he was surprised by a large



PONCE DE LEON MORTALLY WOUNDED IN FLORIDA.

body of Indians; his men were completely routed and himself severely wounded by an arrow. As these people were never able afterwards to cope in the field with Spanish troops, this disaster may lead us to suspect that he really had lost his former military talent. Having regained the ship, he sailed to Cuba, where he soon after died of his wound.

The fate of Ponce de Leon discouraged all such adventurers for a considerable time. The next expedition of importance was undertaken for the cruel purpose of enslaving the Indians and taking them to the West India islands. It was commanded by Lucas and Vasquez de Ayllon. By treachery, a large number of Indians were secured and carried away. To such infu-



NARVAEZ' MARCH FROM APPALACHEE.

mous acts as this we may trace the determined hostility of some of the Florida tribes. Pamphilo de Narvaez, the unfortunate rival of Cortes, was the next adventurer. He met with a series of disasters in his march from Appalachee, and finally perished in a storm, with all but four of his men.

The next expedition was the most memorable of all. Fernando de Soto, who had acquired fame and fortune by participation in the conquest of Peru, now sought to win much greater glory by subduing Florida, for which he received full authority from Charles V., of Spain.

On the 6th of April, 1538, Soto embarked his troops in ten vessels, and sailed for Cuba, which was even placed under his command, that he might draw from it every needful resource. There he spent a year in preparation, and Vasco Porcalho, a veteran, who, like himself, had gained by the sword an immense fortune, and was living in splendid retirement, was so delighted with the noble appointment and bold spirit of the expedition, that he joined it with a train of followers and large supplies. He was created lieutenant-general.

On the 18th of May, 1539, the adelantado sailed with nine vessels from the Havana; on the 25th, he saw the coast of Florida; and, on the 30th, landed in the bay of Spiritu Santo, which appears to be not very far from the point chosen by Narvaez.

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CHARLES V.

Had Florida, like Mexico, been under one great government, Soto, with his brave band, would have beaten the army, entered the capital, and been master of the country. But he struggled helplessly against a multitude of fierce petty tribes. They offered no point at which a blow could be struck, and never left him master of more than the spot on which his army stood.

He continued, however, to advance, and after many battles with the natives, and a tedious march through what are now the states of Alabama and Mississippi, he discovered the Mississippi river, and having constructed barges, crossed it, and marched with his army to the north-west till he entered Missouri, always hoping to find gold.

Learning that there lay a mountainous region to the north-west, which seems to be that at the head of the White River, he proceeded thither, in the vain hope that the rocks might contain gold. Disappointed once more, he bent his course southwards in search of a productive soil, which he found at Cayas, amid the hot and saline springs on the Upper Washita. Descending that river, he arrived at Autiamque (Utianangue), where he resolved to pass his fourth dreary winter. After this long and unfortunate march, and with his troops so miserably reduced, he determined at last upon the measure, from which his mind had so strongly revolted, of returning to the coast,



SOTO DISCOVERING THE MISSISSIPPI.

and seeking reinforcements from Cuba or Mexico. He therefore hastily descended the Washita to its junction with the Red River, and the latter stream to its confluence with the Mississippi, where he found himself in the territory of Guachoya, filled with a brave and numerous population. His men being now reduced to fewer than five hundred, and his horses, which had formed his chief strength, to forty, he could no longer hope to vanquish in the field, a brave though barbarous foe. He was obliged to employ art, and act on their superstitious impressions by stating that he was the child of the sun; and availing himself of their astonishment at seeing themselves in a mirror, pretended that in that glass he could see whatever they did at any distance, and thus detect any plot which might be formed against him. He was much concerned to learn that the sea



was yet far off, and the road thither greatly obstructed by streams and entangled woods. Amid these anxieties and distresses, he was seized with fever, which, not being treated with due attention, closed in a few days his earthly career.

Soto did not merit quite so hard a destiny, though he was one of that bold bad race who, inflamed by the lust of gold, trampled on prostrate America. The unjust and tyrannical principles sanctioned by false views of loyalty and religion, which impelled to these enormities, were in him tempered at once by much prudence and discretion, and also by more than the usual degree of humanity. Had not his aims been frustrated by the nature of the country and the fierce valour of the people, he might have founded a dominion on a better basis than any of the other Spanish conquerors.

The troops, on the death of their commander, were struck with deep alarm. Moscoso, his successor, endeavoured to conceal the event from the Indians, pretending that the general had merely gone up on a visit to heaven, whence he would quickly return. Lest his grave should lead to other conclusions, the body was carried out at midnight into the centre of the great river, and, with a weight attached, sunk to the bottom.

The cacique, however, politely intimated his consciousness of the true state of the case by presenting two handsome youths, in order that, their heads being cut off, they might serve the chief in the land of souls. Moscoso, declining this gift, endeavoured still to gain belief for his first statement, though probably with little success. The party, meanwhile, felt themselves seriously called upon to consider their future plans. To reach a Spanish settlement by water, without vessels, pilots, or charts, appearing quite desperate, they determined rather to attempt a march to Mexico, not without a faint hope of discovering some golden region which might compensate all their toils. They pushed, accordingly, about three hundred miles westward, when, after passing a great river, the Colorado de Texas, or the Rio del Norte, the country became almost a desert, and they could not make themselves understood by the inhabitants. They gave up all hope, and determined, at whatever cost, to return and descend the Mississippi. On regaining its banks, they had, like Narvaez's party, to perform the tedious task of constructing seven brigantines. But they fortunately had among their number a sawyer, four or five carpenters, a caulker, and a cooper, and these instructed the rest. The jealousy of the Indians, however, led to a confederacy which might have been fatal, had it not been disclosed by the female captives. The rising of the river enabled them to avoid the danger by immediately setting sail; though a numerous fleet of canoes pursued, cut off a detachment, and harassed them during a great part of the voyage. In fifty-two days they arrived, reduced to the number of three hundred and eleven, at the port of Panuco in Mexico, where they were kindly received both by the governor and people. They had marched in four years upwards of five thousand miles, through a savage and hostile region. They had achieved nothing; not having left even a vestige of their route, except the track of blood by which it had been too often stained.

These dreadful reverses damped the zeal of Spain to conquer or colonize Florida; but Cancellor, a Dominican missionary, who undertook to visit the country with a view to conversion, received ample encouragement from the government. The sinister impression, however, attached to his nation, being ex

terded to every individual of it, he and his companions were put to death. The Spaniards, notwithstanding, continued to claim Florida, and even the whole extent of North America; yet there was not a spot in that vast territory on which one of them dared to set his foot.





CAPT. JOHN SMITH.

CHAPTER II.

WARS BETWEEN THE EARLY SETTLERS OF VIRGINIA AND THE INDIANS.



THOSE who attempted to colonize Virginia, under the auspices of Sir Walter Raleigh, were baffled by the weakness and inefficiency of their leaders, and the hostility of the Indians. In spite of several treaties, the red men displayed a determination to prevent the whites from settling in the country.

The efforts of the London Company were more successful. On the 29th of April, 1607, a hundred and ten emigrants arrived on the coast of Virginia, at a point, which, in honour of the Prince of Wales, they named Cape Henry. They afterwards formed a settlement on James river, called Jamestown.

But however well chosen the situation might be, the members of the colony were far from availing themselves of its advantages. Violent animosities had broken out among some of their leaders, during their voyage to Virginia. These did not subside on their arrival there. The first deed of the council, which assumed the government in virtue of a commission brought from England under the seal of the company, and opened on the day after they landed, was an act of injustice. Capt. Smith, who had been appointed a member of the council, was excluded from his seat at the board by the mean jealousy of his colleagues, and not only reduced to the condition of a private man, but of one suspected and watched by his superiors. This diminution of his influence, and restraint on his activity, was an essential injury to the colony, which at that juncture stood in need of the aid of both. For soon after they began to settle, the English were involved in a war with the natives, partly by their own indiscretion, and partly by the suspicion and ferocity of those barbarians. And although the Indians, scattered over the countries adjacent to James river, were divided into independent tribes, so extremely feeble that hardly one of them could muster above two hundred warriors, they teased and annoyed an infant colony by their incessant hostilities. To this was added a calamity still more dreadful; the stock of provisions left for their subsistence, on the departure of their ships for England, was so scanty and of such bad quality, that a scarcity, approaching almost to absolute famine, soon followed. Such poor unwholesome fare soon brought on diseases, the violence of which was so much increased by the sultry heat of the climate, and the moisture of a country covered with wood, that before the beginning of September one-half of their number died, and most of the survivors were sickly and dejected. In such trying extremities the comparative powers of every individual are discovered and called forth, and each naturally takes that station and assumes that ascendant, to which he is entitled by his talents and force of mind. Every eye was now turned towards Smith, and all willingly devolved on him that authority of which they had formerly deprived him. His undaunted temper, deeply tinctured with the wild romantic spirit characteristic of military adventurers in that age, was peculiarly

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suitied to such a situation. The vigour of his constitution continued fortunately still unimpaired by disease, and his mind was never appalled by danger. He instantly adopted the only plan that could save them from destruction. He began by surrounding Jamestown with such rude fortifications as were a sufficient defence against the assaults of savages. He then marched at the head of a small detachment in quest of their enemies. Some tribes he gained by caresses and presents, and procured from them a supply of provisions. Others he attacked with open force; and defeating them on every occasion, whatever their superiority in numbers might be, compelled them to impart to him some portion of their winter stores. As the recompense of all his toils and dangers, he saw abundance and contentment re-established in the colony, and hoped that he should be able to maintain them in that happy state, until the arrival of ships from England in the spring: but in one of his excursions he was surprised by a numerous body of Indians, and in making his escape from them, after a gallant defence, he sunk to the neck in a swamp, and was obliged to surrender. Though he knew well what a dreadful fate awaits the prisoners of savages, his presence of mind did not forsake him. He showed those who had taken him captive a mariner's compass, and amused them with so many wonderful accounts of its virtues, as filled them with astonishment and veneration, which began to operate very powerfully in his favour. They led him, however, in triumph through various parts of the country, and conducted him at last to Powhatan, the most considerable sachem in that part of Virginia. There the doom of death being pronounced, he was led to the place of execution, and his head already bowed down to receive the fatal blow, when that fond attachment of the American women to their European invaders, the beneficial effects of which the Spaniards often experienced, interposed in his behalf. The favourite daughter of Powhatan rushed in between him and the executioner, and by her entreaties and tears prevailed on her father to spare his life. The beneficence of his deliverer, whom the early English writers dignify with the title of the princess Pocahontas, did not terminate here; she soon after procured his liberty, and sent him from time to time seasonable presents of provisions. Smith,

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POCAHONTAS SAVING THE LIFE OF CAPTAIN SMITH.

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on his return to Jamestown, found the colony reduced to thirty-eight persons, who in despair were preparing to abandon a country which did not seem destined to be the habitation of Englishmen. He employed caresses, threats, and even violence, in order to prevent them from executing this fatal resolution. With difficulty he prevailed on them to defer it so long, that the succour anxiously expected from England arrived. Plenty was instantly restored; a hundred new planters were added to their number; and an ample stock of whatever was requisite for clearing and sowing the ground was delivered to them.

As long as the bold and prudent Smith remained in the colony, it was prosperous. But when an accident compelled him to return to England, everything tended towards anarchy and ruin. The Indians not only withheld supplies, but renewed hostilities and harassed the colonists continually. At length, when the number of settlers was reduced from 500 to 60, Gates and Summers arrived, with a reinforcement and supplies. Still the English were about to return to their native land, when they were met by Lord Delaware with three ships, a large quantity of provisions, the means of defence and cultivation, and a number of new colonists. Under Lord Delaware's orders the settlement was founded on a stronger basis, and it flourished. Mr. Percy and Sir Thomas Dale, who succeeded him in office, were successful in maintaining order. The marriage of the famous Pocahontas with Mr. Rolfe, secured the friendship of Powhatan, and during the life of that powerful prince, the Indians remained on peaceful terms with the whites. The colony increased in numbers and wealth under the influence of industry and a free government.

But while the colony continued to increase so fast, that settlements were scattered not only along the banks of James and York rivers, but began to extend to the Rappahannock, and even to the Potomac, the English, relying on their own numbers, and deceived by this appearance of prosperity, lived in full security. They neither attended to the movements of the Indians, nor suspected their machinations; and though surrounded by a people whom they might have known from experience to be both artful and vindictive, they neglected every precaution for their own safety that was requisite in such a

situation. Like the peaceful inhabitants of a society completely established, they were no longer soldiers but citizens, and were so intent on what was subservient to the comfort or embellishment of civil life, that every martial exercise began to be laid aside as unnecessary. The Indians, whom they commonly employed as hunters, were furnished with fire-arms, and taught to use them with dexterity. They were permitted to frequent the habitations of the English at all hours, and received as innocent visitants whom there was no reason to dread. This inconsiderate security enabled the Indians to prepare for the execution of that plan of vengeance, which they meditated with all the deliberate forethought which is agreeable to their temper. Nor did they want a leader capable of conducting their schemes with address. On the death of Powhatan, in the year 1618, Opechancanough succeeded him, not only as wirowance, or chief of his own tribe, but in that extensive influence over all the Indian nations of Virginia, which induced the English writers to distinguish him by the name of Emperor. According to the Indian tradition he was not a native of Virginia, but came from a distant country to the southwest, possibly from some province of the Mexican empire. But as he was conspicuous for all the qualities of highest estimation among savages, a fearless courage, great strength and agility of body, and crafty policy, he quickly rose to eminence and power. Soon after his elevation to the supreme command, a general massacre of the English seems to have been resolved upon; and during four years the means of perpetrating it with the greatest facility and success were concerted with amazing secrecy. All the tribes contiguous to the English settlements were successively gained, except those on the eastern shore, from whom, on account of their peculiar attachment to their new neighbours, every circumstance that might discover what they intended was carefully concealed. To each tribe its station was allotted, and the part it was to act prescribed. On the morning of the day consecrated to vengeance, each was at the place of rendezvous appointed, while the English were so little aware of the impending destruction, that they received with unsuspecting hospitality several persons sent by Opechancanough, under pretext of delivering presents of venison and fruits, but in reality to observe

their motions. Finding them perfectly secure, at mid-day, the moment that was previously fixed for this deed of horror, the Indians rushed at once upon them in all their different settlements, and murdered men, women, and children, with undistinguishing rage, and that rancorous cruelty with which savages treat their enemies. In one hour nearly a fourth part of the whole colony was cut off, almost without knowing by whose hands they fell. The slaughter would have been universal, if compassion or a sense of duty had not moved a converted Indian,



THE CHRISTIAN INDIAN DISCLOSING THE INTENDED MASSACRE.

to whom the secret was communicated the night before the massacre, to reveal it to his master in such time as to save Jamestown and some adjacent settlements; and if the English in other districts had not run to their arms with resolution prompted by despair, and defended themselves so bravely as to repulse their assailants, who, in the execution of their plan, did not discover courage equal to the sagacity and art with which they had concerted it.

But though the blow was thus prevented from descending with its full effect, it proved very grievous to an infant colony. In some settlements not a single Englishman escaped. Many persons of prime note in the colony, and, among these, several



THE GREAT MASSACRE.

members of the council, were slain. The survivors, overwhelmed with grief, astonishment, and terror, abandoned all their remote settlements, and crowding together for safety to Jamestown, did not occupy a territory of greater extent than had been planted soon after the arrival of their countrymen in Virginia. Confined within those narrow boundaries, they were less intent on schemes of industry than on thoughts of revenge. Every man took arms. A bloody war against the Indians commenced; and, bent on exterminating the whole race, neither old nor young were spared. The conduct of the Spaniards in the southern regions of America was openly proposed as the most proper model to imitate; and regardless, like them, of those principles of faith, honour, and humanity, which regulate hostility among civilized nations and set bounds to its rage, the English deemed everything allowable that tended to accomplish their design. They hunted the Indians like wild beasts rather than enemies; and as the pursuit of them to their places of retreat in the woods, which covered the country, was both difficult and dangerous, they endeavoured to allure them from their inaccessible fastnesses by offers of peace and promises of oblivion, made with such an artful appearance of sincerity as deceived

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their crafty leader, and induced them to return to their former settlements, and resume their usual peaceful occupations. The behaviour of the two people seemed now to be perfectly reversed. The Indians, like men acquainted with the principles of integrity and good faith, on which the intercourse between nations is founded, confided in the reconciliation, and lived in absolute security without suspicion of danger; while the English, with perfidious craft, were preparing to imitate savages in their revenge and cruelty. On the approach of harvest, when they knew a hostile attack would be most formidable and fatal, they fell suddenly upon all the Indian plantations, murdered every person on whom they could lay hold, and drove the rest to the woods, where so many perished with hunger, that some of the tribes nearest to the English were totally extirpated. This atrocious deed, which the perpetrators laboured to represent as a necessary act of retaliation, was followed by some happy effects. It delivered the colony so entirely from any dread of the Indians, that its settlements began again to extend, and its industry to revive.

The colony continued to enjoy the blessings of peace until after the restoration, when Sir William Berkeley was governor. The aged Opechancanough then planned another massacre, which was carried into effect on the 18th of April, 1644, when, as by a stroke of lightning, five hundred whites were slain. The English immediately took up arms, and after a short conflict, almost annihilated the power of the Indians. Opechancanough was made prisoner, and after being treated with great indignity, was killed by a soldier. The colony enjoyed peace until "Bacon's rebellion," when the Indians becoming again hostile, they were completely crushed.





CHAPTER III.

THE PEQUOD WAR.



THE contest between the English and the Pequod Indians was the first in which the whites and the red men were brought in collision in New England. The tribes of Indians around Massachusetts bay were feeble and unwarlike; yet from regard to justice, as well as motives of prudence, the first colonists were studious to obtain the consent of the natives before they ventured to occupy any of their lands; and though in such transactions the consideration given was often very inadequate to the value of the territory acquired, it was sufficient to satisfy the demands of the proprietors. The English took quiet possession of the lands thus conveyed to them, and no open hostility broke out between them and the ancient possessors. But the colonies of Providence and Connecticut soon found that they were surrounded by more powerful and martial nations.

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Among these the most considerable were the Narragansets and Pequods; the former seated on the bay which bears their name, and the latter occupying the territory which stretches from the river Pequod along the banks of the Connecticut. The Pequods were a formidable people, who could bring into the field a thousand warriors not inferior in courage to any in the New World. They foresaw, not only that the extermination of the Indian race must be the consequence of permitting the English to spread over the continent of America, but that, if measures were not speedily concerted to prevent it, the calamity would be unavoidable. With this view they applied to the Narragansets, requesting them to forget ancient animosities for a moment, and to co-operate with them in expelling a common enemy who threatened both with destruction. They represented that, when those strangers first landed, the object of their visit was not suspected, and no proper precautions were taken to check their progress; that now, by sending out colonies in one year towards three different quarters, their intentions were manifest, and the people of America must abandon their native seats to make way for unjust intruders.

But the Narragansets and Pequods, like most of the contiguous tribes in America, were rivals, and there subsisted between them an hereditary and implacable enmity. Revenge is the darling passion of savages; in order to secure the indulgence of which there is no present advantage that they will not sacrifice, and no future consequence which they do not totally disregard. The Narragansets, instead of closing with the prudent proposal of their neighbours, discovered their hostile intentions to the governor of Massachusetts Bay; and, eager to lay hold on such a favourable opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on their ancient foes, entered into an alliance with the English against them. The Pequods, more exasperated than discouraged by the imprudence and treachery of their countrymen, took the field, and carried on the war in the usual mode of Indians. They surprised stragglers, and scalped them: they plundered and burnt remote settlements; they attacked Fort Say Brook without success, though garrisoned only by twenty men; and when the English began to act offensively, they retired to fastnesses which they deemed inaccessible. The different colonies

had agreed to unite against the common enemy, each furnishing a quota of men in proportion to its numbers. The troops of Connecticut, which lay most exposed to danger, were soon assembled. The march of those from Massachusetts, which formed the most considerable body, was retarded by the most singular cause that ever influenced the operations of a military force. When they were mustered previous to their departure, it was found that some of the officers, as well as of the private soldiers, were still under a covenant of works; and that the blessing of God could not be implored or expected to crown the arms of such unhallowed men with success. The alarm was general, and many arrangements necessary in order to cast out the unclean, and to render this little band sufficiently pure to fight the battles of a people who entertained high ideas of their own sanctity.

Meanwhile the Connecticut troops, reinforced by a small detachment from Say Brook, found it necessary to advance towards the enemy. The latter were posted on a rising ground, in the middle of a swamp towards the head of the river Mistick, which they had surrounded with palisadoes, the best defence that their slender skill in the art of fortification had discovered. Though they knew that the English were in motion, yet, with the usual improvidence and security of savages, they took no measures either to observe their progress, or to guard against being surprised themselves. The enemy, unperceived, reached the palisadoes; and if a dog had not given the alarm by barking, the Indians must have been massacred without resistance. In a moment, however, they started to arms, and, raising the war-cry, prepared to repel the assailants. But at that early period of their intercourse with the Europeans, the Indians were little acquainted with the use of gunpowder, and dreaded its effects extremely. While some of the English galled them with an incessant fire through the intervals between the palisadoes, others forced their way by the entries into the fort, filled only with branches of trees; and setting fire to the huts, which were covered with reeds, the confusion and terror quickly became general. Many of the women and children perished in the flames; and the warriors, in endeavouring to escape, were either slain by the English, or, falling into the hands of their Indian

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DESTRUCTION OF THE PEQUODS.

allies, who surrounded the fort at a distance, were reserved for a more cruel fate. After the junction of the troops from Massachusetts, the English resolved to pursue their victory; and hunting the Indians from one place of retreat to another, some subsequent encounters were hardly less fatal to them than the action on the Mistick. In less than three months the tribe of Pequods was extirpated; a few miserable fugitives, who took refuge among the neighbouring Indians, being incorporated by them, lost their name as a distinct people. In this first essay of their arms the colonists of New England seem to have been conducted by skilful and enterprising officers, and displayed both courage and perseverance as soldiers. But they stained their laurels by the use which they made of victory. Instead of treating the Pequods as an independent people, who made a gallant effort to defend the property, the rights, and the freedom of their nation, they retaliated upon them all the barbarities of Indian war. Some they massacred in cold blood, others they gave up to be tortured by their Indian allies, a considerable number they sold as slaves in Bermudas, the

rest were reduced to servitude among themselves. But reprehensible as this conduct of the English must be deemed, their vigorous efforts in this decisive campaign filled all the surrounding tribes of Indians with such a high opinion of their valour, as secured a long tranquillity to all their settlements.





TREATY WITH MASSASOIT.

CHAPTER IV.

KING PHILIP'S WAR.



AFTER the Pequod War, the colonists of New England and the Indians in their vicinity, maintained peaceful relations—though there was an occasional exhibition of jealousy—for many years. The tribes nearest to the Plymouth settlers were the Wampanoags or Pokanokets, the Narragansets, and the Mohegans. Between the Mohegans and the Narragansets a constant feud existed, which the English had much trouble to keep from breaking out in open war. Massasoit, the chief of the Wampanoags, remained the friend of the English until his

death. He left two sons, who were called Alexander and Philip. These renewed the treaty with the English. Alexander, being the elder, assumed power on the death of his father. The English, suspecting him of plotting with the Narragansets for the extermination of the colonists, sent for him to answer the charges of the court at Plymouth. It is said that he was there rather roughly treated, and being of a proud spirit, he became so exasperated that he fell into a fever, and died before he could reach home. This was about 1657.

The daring, yet wily Philip, succeeded to his brother's authority. He treated with the colonists, and professed friendship, to lull them into a feeling of security while he matured a grand scheme for their extermination. He desired to form a union of all the New England tribes, and for this great purpose he used all the arts of an able politician. Determination, eloquence, and deep knowledge of human nature, were conspicuous features of his character. The English were watchful, and prevented the great chief from proceeding very rapidly towards the consummation of his scheme.

In 1671, he made a loud complaint that some of the English injured his land, which, in the end, proved to be false. A meeting was held at Taunton not long after, in consequence of the hostile appearance of Philip's men, by Gov. Prince, of Plymouth, and deputies from Massachusetts. Philip was sent for to give reasons for such warlike appearances. He discovered extreme shyness, and, for some time, would not come to the town; and when he did it was with a large band of warriors. He would not consent to go into the meeting-house, where the delegates were, until it was agreed that his men should be on one side of the house, and the English on the other. On being questioned, he denied having any ill designs upon the English, and said that he came with his men armed to prevent any attacks from the Narragansets; but this falsehood was at once detected, and it was evident that they were united in their operations. It was also proved before him, that he had meditated an attack on Taunton, which he confessed. These steps so confounded him that he consented to deliver all his arms into the hands of the English as an indemnity for past damages. All of the guns which he brought with him, about 70, were delivered, and the

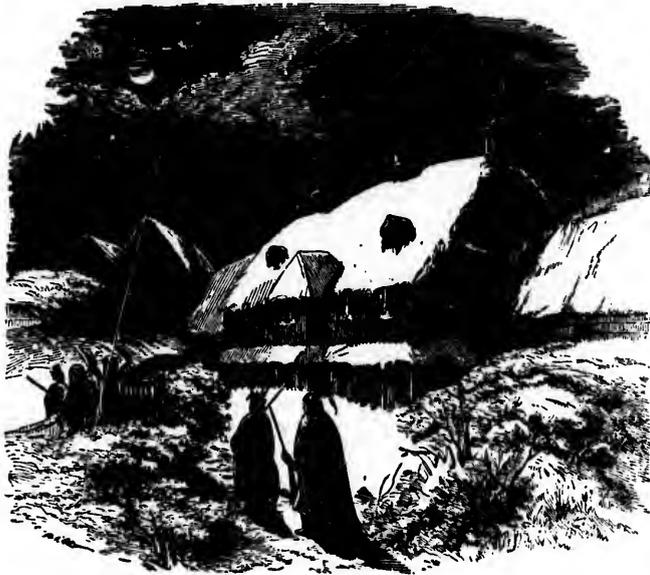
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rest were to be sent in, but were not. This prevented immediate war, and it required several years to repair their loss. Philip was industrious to do this, and, at the same time, used his endeavours to cause other tribes to engage in his cause. He was not ready when the war did begin, to which, in some measure, we may attribute his failure.

In March, 1675, John Sassamon, an Indian, who had been Philip's chief counsellor, and who had kept the English informed of the plans of the Wampanoag chief, was found murdered, and Philip was charged with having instigated the deed. Three of his men were tried for the commission of the crime, and convicted. Two of them persisted in declaring their innocence to the end, and the third denied that he had any hand in the murder, but said, that he saw others commit it. The three Indians were executed. Philip had now no resource but open war. He was determined never to fall alive into the hands of the English, for whom his hate was inextinguishable. He could bring between three and four thousand warriors into the field, but they were not supplied with fire-arms, and were therefore unfit to contend with the English. The colonists of New England at this period numbered 120,000, and their number of fighting men was about 16,000.

Philip began the war by killing the cattle and rifling the houses of the English settlers. One of these sufferers shot an Indian. The Indians retaliated, by killing all the English that were in their power. Eight or nine were slain in one day, at Swanzey, and its vicinity. Skirmishes followed, with various success. The Indians retreated into a swamp, from which they fired, and killed several of the English. The former retired deeper into the swamp. The latter, finding that they attacked the Indians in the swamps under great disadvantages, resolved to starve them; but the Indians found means to escape.

Captain Hutchinson, with twenty horsemen, while pursuing the Indians fell into an ambuscade, and lost almost all his men. A few escaped; but were closely pursued by the Indians, who assaulted the town, to which the vanquished had fled. The pursuing savages set fire to every house, excepting one, to which all the inhabitants had gathered, for security. When they had nearly succeeded in firing that also, Major Willard arrived, with



ATTACK ON DEERFIELD.

forty-eight dragoons, and dispersed them. The Hadley Indians were attacked, at a place called Sugarloaf Hill; and about twenty-six of them were slain, as were also about half of the assailants. These Indians rallied, and, obtaining new associates, fell upon Deerfield, killed one man, and laid most of the town in ashes. On the same day, Hadley was alarmed by the Indians, in the time of public worship, and the people thrown into the utmost confusion; but the enemy were repulsed, by the valour and good conduct of an aged, venerable man, who, suddenly appearing in the midst of the affrighted inhabitants, put himself at their head, led them to the onset, and instantly dispersed the enemy. This deliverer of Hadley, supposed by some to be an angel, was General Goffe, one of the Judges of Charles the first, who was at that time concealed in the town.

The Springfield Indians, though previously friendly to the English, perfidiously concurred with Philip's Indians, to burn the town of Springfield, and actually succeeded so far, as to burn thirty-two houses; but the remainder of the town was saved. The confederation of the New England colonies was now

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found of great service. The war on the part of the Indians was conducted with so much ability, vigour, and perseverance, as to require the united effort of the confederated colonies. They severally furnished their quotas, and proceeded, with combined forces and counsels, to attack their common foe. The Indians, apprised of an armament intended against them, had fortified themselves very strongly, within the swamp. The English, without waiting to draw up in order of battle, marched forward, in quest of the enemy's camp. Some Indians, appearing at the edge of the swamp, were no sooner fired upon by the English, than they returned the fire, and fled. The whole army now entered the swamp, and followed the Indians to their fortress. It stood on a rising ground, in the midst of the swamp, and was composed of palisades, which were encompassed by a thick hedge. It had but one practicable entrance, which was over a log, four or five feet from the ground; and that aperture was guarded by a block-house. The English captains entered it, at the head of their companies. The two first, Johnson and Davenport, with many of their men, were shot dead at the entrance. Four other captains, Gardner, Gallop, Siely, and Marshal, were also killed. When the troops had effected an entrance, they attacked the Indians, who fought desperately, and beat the English out of the fort. After a hard-fought battle, of three hours, the English became masters of the place, and set fire to the wigwams. In the conflagration, many Indian women and children perished. The surviving Indian men fled into a cedar swamp, at a small distance; and the English retired to their quarters. Of the English, there were killed and wounded about two hundred and thirty. Of the Indians, one thousand were supposed to have perished.

On the 10th of February, 1676, several hundreds of the Indians fell upon Lancaster; plundered and burned the greatest part of the town; and killed or captured forty persons. Two or three hundred of the Narraganset, and other Indians, not long afterwards, surprised Medfield, and burned nearly one half of the town. On the 25th of February, the Indians assaulted Weymouth, and burned seven or eight houses and barns. On the 13th of March, they burned the whole town of Groton, excepting four garrisoned houses; and on the 17th, they entirely

burned Warwick, with the exception of one house. On the 26th of March, they laid most of the town of Marlborough in ashes. On the same day, Captain Pierce, of Scituate, who had been sent out by the governor and council of Plymouth colony, with about fifty white men, and twenty friendly Indians, of Cape Cod, was cut off by the enemy, with most of his party. Two days afterwards, the Indians fell upon Rehoboth, and burned forty dwelling-houses, and about thirty barns; and the day after, about thirty houses in Providence.

Early in April, they did much mischief at Chelmsford, Andover, and in the vicinity of those places. Having, on the 17th of the same month, burned the few deserted houses, at Marlborough, they, immediately afterwards, violently attacked Sudbury, burned several houses and barns, and killed ten or twelve of the English, who had come from Concord, to the assistance of their neighbours. Captain Wadsworth, who had been sent at this juncture from Boston, with about fifty men, to relieve Marlborough, learning that the enemy had gone through the woods, towards Sudbury, turned immediately back, in pursuit of them. When the troops were within a mile of the town, they spied, at no great distance, a party of Indians, apparently about one hundred, who, by retreating, as if through fear, drew the English above a mile into the woods; when a large body of the enemy, supposed to be about five hundred, suddenly surrounded them, and precluded the possibility of their escape. The gallant leader and his brave soldiers fought with desperate valour; but were completely defeated. The few, who were taken alive, were destined to tortures unknown to their companions, who had the happier lot to die in the field of battle.

About the same time, the Indians burned nineteen houses and barns, at Scituate; but they were bravely encountered, and repulsed by the inhabitants. On the 8th of May, they burned and destroyed seventeen houses and five barns; and, two days afterwards, they burned seven houses and two barns, in that town, and the remaining houses in Namasket.

Several large bodies of Indians having assembled on Connecticut river, in the vicinity of Deerfield, the inhabitants of Hadley, Hatfield, and Northampton, combined to attack them. One hundred and sixty men marched silently twenty miles, in the

dead of night, and, a little before the break of day, surprised the Indians, whom they found asleep, and without guards. The first notice that they gave of their approach was, by a discharge of their guns into the wigwams. Some of the Indians, in their consternation, ran directly into the river and were drowned. Others betook themselves to their bark canoes, and, having in their hurry forgotten their paddles, were hurried down the falls, and dashed against the rocks. Many of them, endeavouring to secrete themselves under the banks of the river, were discovered and slain. In this action, distinguished by the name of the Fall Fight, the Indians lost three hundred men, women, and children; but recovering from their surprise, and attacking the rear of the English on their return, they killed Captain Turner, commander of the expedition, and thirty-eight of his men.

On the 30th of May, a great body of Indians, supposed to be six or seven hundred, appeared before Hatfield. Having burned twelve houses and barns without the fortification, they attacked the houses in the centre of the town, that were surrounded with palisadoes; but twenty-five resolute young men of Hadley adventuring over the river, and boldly charging the Indians, they instantly fled from the town, with the loss of twenty-five of their men.

Though Massachusetts was the chief theatre of the war, Connecticut, her sister colony, was active in the suppression of the common enemy. Volunteer companies had been formed, early in the year, principally from New London, Norwich, and Stonington, which associated with them a number of the Mohegan, Pequod, and Narraganset tribes. These companies ranged the Narraganset country, and harassed the hostile Indians. Between the spring and the succeeding autumn, the volunteer captains, with their flying parties, made ten or twelve expeditions, in which they killed and captured two hundred and thirty of the enemy, took fifty muskets, and brought in one hundred and sixty bushels of their corn. They drove all the Narraganset Indians, excepting those of Ninnigret, out of their country.

The Assembly of Connecticut raised three hundred and fifty men, who were to be a standing army, to defend the country.

and harass the enemy. Major John Talcot was appointed to the chief command. Early in June, he marched from Norwich, with two hundred and fifty soldiers, and two hundred Mohegan and Pequod Indians, into the Wabaquasset country; but found it entirely deserted. On the 5th of June, the army under his command marched to Chanagongum, in the Nipmuck country, where they killed nineteen Indians, and took thirty-three prisoners; and thence marched by Quabaog to Northampton. On the 12th of June, four days after their arrival at Northampton, about seven hundred Indians made a furious attack upon Hadley; but Major Talcot, with his gallant soldiers, soon appeared for the relief of the garrison, and drove off the enemy.

On the 3d of July, the same troops, on their march towards Narraganset, surprised the main body of the enemy, by the side of a large cedar swamp, and attacked them so suddenly, that a considerable number of them were killed and taken on the spot. Others escaped to the swamp, and were immediately surrounded by the English, who, after an action of two or three hours, killed and took one hundred and seventy of the enemy. Shortly afterwards, they killed and captured sixty-seven, near Providence and Warwick. About the 5th of July, they returned to Connecticut, and, on their way, took sixty prisoners.

The enemy, thus pursued, and hunted from one lurking place to another, straitened for provisions, and debilitated by hunger and disease, became divided, scattered, and disheartened. In July and August, they began to come in, and to surrender themselves to the mercy of their conquerors. Philip, who had fled to the Mohawks, having provoked that warlike nation, had been obliged to abandon their country, and was now, with a large body of Indians, lurking about Mount Hope. The Massachusetts and Plymouth soldiers were vigilant and intrepid, in pursuit of him; and, on the 2d of August, Captain Church, with about thirty English soldiers, and twenty friendly Indians, surprised him in his quarters; killed about one hundred and thirty of his men; and took his wife and son prisoners: but Philip escaped.

About ten days after this surprise, an Indian deserter brought information to Captain Church, that Philip was at Mount Hope Neck, and offered to guide him to the place, and help to kill

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him. Church instantly set out, in pursuit of him, with a small company of English and Indians. On his arrival at the swamp, he made a disposition of his men, at proper stations, so as to form an ambuscade, putting an Englishman and an Indian together, behind coverts. These commenced a fire on the enemy's shelter, which was on the margin of the swamp. It was open, in the Indian manner, on the side next to the swamp, to favour a sudden flight. Philip, at the instant of the fire from the English, seizing his gun, fled towards the thickets; but ran in a direction towards an English soldier and an Indian, who were at the station assigned them by Captain Church. The Englishman snapped his gun; but it missed fire. He then bade the Indian fire; and he instantly shot him dead.

The death of Philip was the signal of complete victory. The Indians, in all the neighbouring country, now generally submitted to the English, or fled, and incorporated themselves with distant and strange nations. In this short but tremendous war, about six hundred of the inhabitants of New England were either killed in battle, or murdered by the Indians. Twelve or thirteen towns were entirely destroyed, and about six hundred buildings, chiefly dwelling-houses, were burnt. In addition to these calamities, the colonies contracted an enormous debt, while, by the loss of their substance, from the ravages of the enemy, their resources were essentially diminished.

The fall of Philip was then considered as the extinction of a virulent and implacable enemy. It is now viewed as the fall of a great warrior and a penetrating statesman. It then excited universal joy and congratulation, as a prelude to the close of a merciless war. It now awakens sober reflections, on the instability of empire, the peculiar destiny of the aboriginal race, and the inscrutable decrees of Heaven. The patriotism of the man was then overlooked, in the cruelty of the savage; and little allowance was made for the natural jealousy of the sovereign, on account of the barbarities of the warrior. Philip, in the progress of the English settlements, foresaw the loss of his territory, and the extinction of his tribe; and made one mighty effort to prevent these calamities. He fell; and his fall contributed to the rise of the United States. Joy for this event should be blended with regret for his misfortunes, and respect for his patriotism and talents.



CHAPTER V.

THE TUSCARORA AND YEMASSEE WARS.



THE settlers of the Carolinas and Georgia were exposed to the hostility of powerful tribes of Indians, who were not quieted without much difficulty and great loss of life. In the year 1712, after Governor Craven had assumed the management of the colony of the Carolinas, a dangerous conspiracy was formed by the Indians of North Carolina against the poor settlers in that quarter. The cause of the quarrel we have not been able clearly to find out; probably they were offended at the encroachments made on their hunting lands. The powerful tribe of Indians called Tuscaroras, and several more, united, and determined to murder or expel the European invaders. As usual, they carried on their bloody design with amazing cunning and profound secrecy. Their chief town they had, in the first place, surrounded with a wooden breast-work, for the security of their own families. Here the different tribes met

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together to the number of 1200 bowmen, and formed their horrid plot. From this place of rendezvous they sent out small parties, who entered the settlements, under the mask of friendship, by different roads. At the change of the full moon all of them had agreed to begin their murderous operations, on the same night. When that night came, they entered the planters' houses, demanded provisions, and murdered men, women, and children, without mercy or distinction. To prevent the alarm spreading through the settlement, they ran from house to house, sending slaughter among the scattered families wherever they went. None of the colonists, during the fatal night, knew what had befallen their neighbours, until the barbarians had reached their own doors. About Roanoke 137 settlers fell a sacrifice to their savage fury the first night; among whom were a Swiss baron, and almost all the poor Palatines who had lately come into the country. Some, however, who had hid themselves in the woods, having escaped, next morning gave the alarm to their neighbours, and prevented the total destruction of that colony. Every family had orders speedily to assemble at one place, and the militia, under arms, kept watch day and night around them, until the news of the sad disaster reached the province of South Carolina.

Happy was it for the distressed North Carolinians that Governor Craven lost no time in collecting and despatching a force to their assistance and relief. The Assembly voted 4000*l*. for the service of the war. A body of militia, consisting of 600 men, under the command of Colonel Barnwell, marched against the savages. Two hundred and eighteen Cherokees, under the command of Captains Harford and Turstons; 79 Creeks, under Captain Hastings; 41 Catabaws, under Captain Cantey; and 28 Yemassees, under Captain Pierce, being furnished with arms, joined the Carolinians in this expedition. The way was dreadful, at this time, in the wilderness through which Colonel Barnwell had to march. It was not possible for his men to carry a sufficient quantity of provisions, together with arms and ammunition, along with them, or to have these things provided at different stages by the way. There was no road through the woods upon which either horses or carriages could conveniently pass; and his little army had every kind of hardship

and danger to encounter. In spite of every difficulty, Barnwell, however, advanced against them, employing his Indian allies to hunt provisions for his men by the way. At length, having come up with the savages, he attacked them, and being much better supplied with arms and ammunition than his enemy, he did great execution among them. In the first battle he killed 300 Indians, and took about 100 prisoners. After which the Tuscaroras retreated to their town, within a wooden breast-work; there Barnwell surrounded them, and having killed a considerable number, forced the remainder to sue for peace: some of his men being wounded, and others having suffered much by constant watching, and much hunger and fatigue, the savages the more easily obtained their request. In this expedition it was computed that Barnwell killed, wounded, and captured near 1000 Tuscaroras. The remainder, who escaped, soon after this heavy chastisement, abandoned their country, and joined a northern tribe of Indians on the Ohio river. Of Barnwell's party five Carolinians were killed, and several wounded: of his Indians, 36 were killed, and between 60 and 70 wounded. In justice to this officer it must be owned, never had any expedition against the savages in Carolina been attended with such hazards and difficulties, nor had the conquest of any tribe of them ever been more general and complete.

In the year 1715, another Indian confederacy threatened to exterminate the colonists of Carolina. The numerous and powerful tribe of Indians called Yemassee, probably at the instigation of the Spaniards at Augustine, were the most active in promoting this conspiracy against the settlement, though every tribe around was more or less concerned in it. The Yemassee possessed a large territory lying backward from Port-royal island, on the north-east side of Savannah river, which is called Indian Land. By the Carolinians this tribe had long been esteemed as friends and allies, who had admitted a number of traders into their towns, and several times assisted the settlers in their warlike enterprises. Of all other Indians they were believed to harbour in their minds the most irreconcilable enmity to Spaniards. For many years they had been accustomed to make incursions into the Spanish territories, and to wage war with the Indians within their bounds. In their return

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from these southern expeditions, it had been a common practice with them to lurk in the woods round Augustine, until they surprised some Spanish prisoners, on whom they exercised the most wanton barbarities; sometimes cutting them to pieces slowly, joint by joint, with knives and tomahawks; at other times burying them up to the neck under ground, then standing at a distance, and marking at their heads with their pointed arrows; and, at other times, binding them to a tree, and piercing the tenderest parts of their bodies with sharp-pointed sticks of burning wood, which last, because the most painful and excruciating method of torture, was the most common among them.

To prevent such barbarities, the legislature of Carolina passed a law, offering a reward of 5*l*. for every Spanish prisoner these Indians should bring alive to Charleston; which law, though it evidently proceeded from motives of humanity, yet, in the event, it proved very inconsistent with good policy: for, in consequence of this act, the Yemassee brought several Spaniards, at different times, to Charleston, where they claimed the reward for their prisoners, and delivered them up to the governor. Charles Craven, who was no less distinguished for humanity than valour, used to send back such prisoners to Augustine, charging the Spanish government with the expenses of their passage, and the reward to the Yemassee.

For twelve months before the war broke out, the traders among the Yemassee observed that their chief warriors went frequently to Augustine, and returned loaded with presents; but were not apprehensive of any ill consequence from such generosity. John Fraser, an honest Scotch Highlander, who lived among the Yemassee and traded with them, had often heard these warriors tell with what kindness they had been treated at Augustine. One had received a hat, another a jacket, and a third a coat, all trimmed with silver lace. Some got hatchets, others great knives, and almost all of them guns and ammunition, to prepare them for striking some great and important blow. These warriors told Fraser, that they had dined with the governor at Augustine, and washed his face (a ceremony used by Indians as a token of friendship), and that now the Spanish governor was their king, and not the governor of

Carolina. Still, however, the Carolinians remained secure, and, having such confidence in the Indians, dreaded no ill consequences from this new intercourse. They knew the antipathy of the Yemasseees to the Spaniards, and their fondness for presents, but suspected no plot against the settlement by their allies.

While the time drew nigh in which this plot was to be put in execution, Captain Nairn, agent for Indians affairs, and many traders, resided at Pocotaligo, the largest town belonging to the Yemasseees. Fraser, probably either discrediting what he had heard, or from the hurry and confusion which the alarm occasioned, unfortunately had not taken time to communicate the intelligence he had received to his friends, who remained in a state of false security in the midst of their enemies. The case of the scattered settlers on the frontiers was equally lamentable, who were living under no suspicions of danger. However, on the day before the Yemasseees began their bloody operations, Captain Nairn and some of the traders observing an unusual gloom on their savage countenances, and apparently great agitations of spirit, which to them prognosticated approaching mischief, went to their chief men, begging to know the cause of their uneasiness, and promising, if any injury had been done them, to give them satisfaction. The chiefs replied, they had no complaints to make against any one, but intended to go hunting, early the next morning. Captain Nairn accordingly went to sleep, and the traders retired to their huts, and passed the night in seeming friendship and tranquillity. But next morning, about the break of day, being the 15th day of April, 1715, all were alarmed with the cries of war. The leaders were all out under arms, calling upon their followers, and proclaiming aloud designs of vengeance. The young men flew to their arms, and, in a few hours, massacred above 90 persons in Pocotaligo town and the neighbouring plantations; and many more must have fallen a sacrifice on Port-royal Island, had they not been warned of their danger. Mr. Burrows, a captain of the militia, after receiving two wounds, by swimming one mile and running ten, escaped to Port-royal and alarmed the town. A vessel happening fortunately to be in the harbour, the inhabitants in great hurry repaired on board, and sailed for Charleston; only a few families

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of planters on that island, not having timely notice, fell into their hands, some of whom they murdered, and others they made prisoners of war.

While the Yemassee, with whom the Creeks and Apalachians had joined, were advancing against the southern frontiers, and spreading desolation and slaughter through the province; the Indians on the northern borders also came down among the settlements in formidable parties. The Carolinians had foolishly entertained hopes of the friendship of the Congarees, the Catawbas, and Cherokees; but they soon found that they had also joined in the conspiracy, and declared for war. It was computed that the southern division of the enemy consisted of above 6000 bowmen, and the northern of between 600 and 1000. Indeed every Indian tribe, from Florida to Cape Fear river, had joined in this confederacy for the destruction of the settlement. The planters scattered here and there had no time to gather together in a body, sufficiently strong to withstand such numbers; but each consulting his safety, in great hurry and consternation fled to the capital. Every one who came in brought the governor different accounts of the number and strength of the savages, insomuch that even the inhabitants of Charleston were doubtful of their safety, and entertained the most discouraging apprehensions of their inability to repel a force so great and formidable. In the muster-roll there were no more than 1200 men fit to bear arms, but as the town had several forts into which the inhabitants might retreat, the governor, with this small force, resolved to march into the woods against the enemy. He proclaimed martial law, and laid an embargo on all ships, to prevent either men or provisions from leaving the country. He obtained an act of Assembly, empowering him to impress men, and seize arms, ammunition, and stores, wherever they were to be found, to arm such trusty negroes as might be serviceable at a juncture so critical, and to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. Agents were sent to Virginia and England to solicit assistance; bills were stamped for the payment of the army, and other necessary expenses; Robert Daniel was appointed deputy-governor in town, and Charles Craven, at the head of the militia, marched to the country against the largest body of savages.

In the mean time, the Indians on the northern quarter had made an inroad as far as a plantation belonging to John Hearne, about 50 miles from town, and entered his house in a seemingly peaceable and friendly manner; but afterwards pretending to be displeased with the provisions given them, murdered him and every person in it. Thomas Barker, a captain of militia, having intelligence of the approach of these Indians, collected a party, consisting of 90 horsemen, and advanced against them; but by the treachery of an Indian, whom he unluckily trusted, he was led into a dangerous ambuscade in a thicket, where a large party of Indians lay concealed on the ground. Barker having advanced into the middle of them before he was aware of his danger, the Indians sprung from their concealments, and fired upon his men on every side. The captain and several more fell at the first onset, and the remainder in confusion were obliged to retreat. After this advantage, a party of 400 Indians came down as far as Goose Creek. Every family there had fled to town, except in one place, where 70 white men and 40 negroes had surrounded themselves with a breast-work, and resolved to remain and defend themselves in the best manner they could. When the Indians attacked them they were discouraged, and rashly agreed to terms of peace; and, having admitted the enemy within their works, this poor garrison were barbarously butchered: after which the Indians advanced still nigher to town; but at length meeting with Captain Chicken and the whole Goose Creek militia, they were repulsed, and obliged to retreat into the wilderness.

By this time the Yemassees, with their confederates, had spread destruction through the parish of St. Bartholomew, and advancing downwards as far as Stono, they burned the church at that place, together with every house on the plantations by the way. John Cochran, his wife, and four children; Mr. Bray, his wife, and two children; and six more men and women, having found some friends among them, were spared for some days; but, while attempting to make their escape from them, they were retaken and put to death. Such as had no friends among them were tortured in the most shocking manner, the Indians seeming to neglect their progress towards conquest on purpose to assist in tormenting their enemies. We forbear to

mention the various tortures inflicted on such as fell into their merciless fangs: none can be pleased with the relation of such horrid cruelties, but the man who, with a smile of satisfaction, can be the spectator of a Spanish *auto de fe*, or such savage hearts as are steeled against every emotion of humanity and compassion.

By this time Governor Craven, being no stranger to the ferocious temper of his enemies, and their horrid cruelty to prisoners, was advancing against them by slow and cautious steps, always keeping the strictest guard round his army. He knew well under what advantages they fought among their native thickets, and the various wiles and stratagems they made use of in conducting their wars; and therefore was watchful above all things against sudden surprises, which might throw his followers into disorder, and defeat the end of his enterprise. The fate of the whole province depended on the success of his arms, and his men had no other alternative left but to conquer or die a painful death. As he advanced the straggling parties fled before him, until he reached Saltcatchers, where they had pitched their great camp. Here a sharp and bloody battle ensued from behind trees and bushes, the Indians hooping, hallooing, and giving way one while, and then again and again returning with double fury to the charge. But the governor, notwithstanding their superior number, drove them before him like a flock of wolves. He expelled them from their settlement at Indian-land, pursued them over Savannah river, and rid the province entirely of this formidable tribe of savages. What number of his army he lost, or of the enemy he killed, we have not been able particularly to learn; but in this Indian war near 400 innocent inhabitants of Carolina were murdered by these wild barbarians.



KING WILLIAM III.



CHAPTER VI.

KING WILLIAM'S WAR.

THE contest usually called King William's War was the result of various causes, but sprung chiefly from the base treatment of the Baron de St. Castine by Sir Edmund Andross. The lands from Penobscot to Nova Scotia had been ceded to the French, by the treaty of Breda, in exchange for the island of St. Christopher. On these lands the Baron de St. Castine had for many years resided, and carried on a large trade with the Indians, with whom he was intimately connected; having several of their women, beside a daughter of the sachem Madokawando, for his wives. The lands which had been granted by the crown of England to the Duke of York (at that time King James the Second) interfered with Castine's plantation, as the

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duke claimed to the river St. Croix. A fort had been built by his order at Pemaquid, and a garrison stationed there to prevent any intrusion on his property. In 1686, a ship, belonging to Pascataqua landed some wines at Penobscot, supposing it to be within the French territory. Palmer and West, the duke's agents at Pemaquid, went and seized the wines; but by the influence of the French ambassador in England, an order was obtained for the restoration of them. Hereupon a new line was run, which took Castine's plantation into the duke's territory. In the spring of 1688, Andross went in the Rose frigate, and plundered Castine's house and fort, leaving only the ornaments of his chapel to console him for the loss of his arms and goods. This base action provoked Castine to excite the Indians to a new war, pretences for which were not wanting on their part. They complained that the tribute of corn which had been promised by the treaty of 1678 had been withheld; that the fishery of the river Saco had been obstructed by seines; that their standing corn had been devoured by cattle belonging to the English; that their lands at Pemaquid had been patented without their consent; and that they had been fraudulently dealt with in trade. Some of these complaints were doubtless well grounded; but none of them were ever inquired into or redressed.

They began to make reprisals at North Yarmouth by killing cattle. Justice Blackman ordered sixteen of them to be seized and kept under guard at Falmouth; but others continued to rob and capture the inhabitants. Andross, who pretended to treat the Indians with mildness, commanded those whom Blackman had seized to be set at liberty. But this mildness had not the desired effect; the Indians kept their prisoners, and murdered some of them in their barbarous sports. Andross then changed his measures, and thought to frighten them with an army of 700 men, which he led into their country in the month of November. The rigour of the season proved fatal to some of his men; but he never saw an Indian in his whole march. The enemy were quiet during the winter.

After the revolution in England, the gentlemen who assumed the government strove to prevent the renewal of hostilities. They sent messengers and presents to several

tribes of Indians, who answered them with fair promises; but their prejudice against the English was too inveterate to be allayed by such means as these. (1689.)

Thirteen years had almost elapsed since the seizure of the 400 Indians, at Cochecho, by Major Waldron; during all which time an inextinguishable thirst of revenge had been cherished among them, which never till now found opportunity for gratification. Wonolanset, one of the sachems of Penacook, who was dismissed with his people at the time of the seizure, always observed his father's dying charge, not to quarrel with the English; but Hagkins, another sachem, who had been treated with neglect by Cranfield, was more ready to listen to the seducing invitations of Castine's emissaries. Some of those Indians, who were then seized and sold into slavery abroad, had found their way home, and could not rest till they had their revenge. Accordingly a confederacy being formed between the tribes of Penacook and Pigwacket, and the strange Indians (as they were called) who were incorporated with them, it was determined to surprise the major and his neighbours, among whom they had all this time been peaceably conversant.

In that part of the town of Dover which lies about the first falls in the river Cochecho, were five garrisoned houses; three on the north side, called respectively, Waldron, Otis, and Heard; and two on the south side, Peter Coffin's and his son's. These houses were surrounded with timber walls, the gates of which, as well as the house doors, were secured with bolts and bars. The neighbouring families retired to these houses by night; but by an unaccountable negligence, no watch was kept. The Indians, who were daily passing through the town, visiting and trading with the inhabitants, as usual in time of peace, viewed their situation with an attentive eye. Some hints of a mischievous design had been given out by their squaws; but in such dark and ambiguous terms, that no one could comprehend their meaning. Some of the people were uneasy; but Waldron, who, from a long course of experience, was intimately acquainted with the Indians, and on other occasions had been ready enough to suspect them, was now so thoroughly secure, that when some of the people hinted their fears to him, he merely bad them to go and plant their pumpkins, saying that he would tell them

when the Indians would break out. The very evening before the mischief was done, being told by a young man that the town was full of Indians, and the people were much concerned; he answered that he knew the Indians very well, and there was no danger.

The plan which the Indians had preconcerted was, that two squaws should go to each of the garrisoned houses in the evening, and ask leave to lodge by the fire; that in the night when the people were asleep they should open the doors and gates, and give the signal by a whistle, upon which the strange Indians, who were to be within hearing, should rush in, and take their long-meditated revenge. This plan being ripe for execution, on the evening of Thursday the 27th of June, two squaws applied to each of the garrisons for lodging, as they frequently did in time of peace. They were admitted into all but the younger Coffin's, and the people, at their request, showed them how to open the doors, in case they should have occasion to go out in the night. Mesandowit, one of their chiefs, went to Waldron's garrison, and was kindly entertained, as he had often been before. The squaws told the major, that a number of Indians were coming to trade with him the next day, and Mesandowit, while at supper, with his usual familiarity, said, "Brother Waldron, what would you do if the strange Indians should come?" The major carelessly answered, that he could assemble 100 men, by lifting up his finger. In this unsuspected confidence the family retired to rest.

When all was quiet, the gates were opened and the signal given. The Indians entered, set a guard at the door, and rushed into the major's apartment, which was an inner room. Awakened by the noise, he jumped out of bed, and though now advanced in life to the age of eighty years, he retained so much vigour as to drive them with his sword through two or three doors, but as he was returning for his other arms, they came behind him, stunned him with a hatchet, and drew him into his hall, where they mutilated and killed him. They also killed his son-in-law, Abraham Lee; but took his daughter, Lee, with several others, and having pillaged the house, left it on fire. Otis's garrison, which was next to the major's, met with the same fate; he was killed, with several others, and his wife and

child were captured. Heard's was saved by the barking of a dog just as the Indians were entering: Elder Wentworth, who was awakened by the noise, pushed them out, and falling on his back, set his feet against the gate and held it till he had alarmed the people; two balls were fired through it, but both missed him. Coffin's house was surprised, but as the Indians had no particular enmity to him, they spared his life, and the lives of his family, and contented themselves with pillaging the house. Finding a bag of money, they made him throw it by handfuls on the floor, while they amused themselves in scrambling for it. They then went to the house of his son, who would not admit the squaws in the evening, and summoned him to surrender, promising him quarter: he declined their offer, and determined to defend his house, till they brought out his father and threatened to kill him before his eyes; filial affection then overcame his resolution, and he surrendered. They put both families together into a deserted house, intending to reserve them for prisoners; but while the Indians were busy in plundering, they all escaped. Twenty-three people were killed in this surprisal, and twenty-nine were captured; five or six houses with the mills were burned; and so expeditious were the Indians in the execution of their plot, that before the people could be collected from the other parts of the town to oppose them, they fled with their prisoners and booty. As they passed by Heard's garrison in their retreat, they fired upon it, but the people being prepared and resolved to defend it, and the enemy being in haste, it was preserved.

The same day, after the mischief was done, a letter from Secretary Addington, written by order of the government, directed to Major Waldron, giving him notice of the intention of the Indians to surprise him under pretence of trade, fell into the hands of his son. This design was communicated to Governor Bradstreet by Major Henschman, of Chelmsford, who had learned it of the Indians. The letter was despatched from Boston, the day before, by Mr. Weare; but some delay which he met with at Newbury ferry, prevented its arrival in season. The prisoners taken at this time were mostly carried to Canada, and sold to the French; and these, so far as can be learned, were the first that ever were carried thither.

The necessity of vigorous measures was now so pressing, that parties were immediately despatched, one under Captain Noyes, to Penacook, where they destroyed the corn, but the Indians escaped; another from Pascataqua, under Captain Wincal, to Winnipiseogee, whither the Indians had retired, as John Church, who had been taken at Cochecho, and escaped from them, reported: one or two Indians were killed there, and their corn cut down. But these excursions proved of small service, as the Indians had little to lose, and could find a home wherever they could find game and fish.

In the month of August, Major Swaine, with seven or eight companies raised by the Massachusetts government, marched to the eastward; and Major Church, with another party, consisting of English and Indians, from the Colony of Plymouth, soon followed them. While these forces were on their march, the Indians, who lay in the woods about Oyster river, observed how many men belonged to Hucking's garrison; and seeing them all go out one morning to work, nimbly ran between them and the house, and killed them all, being in number eighteen, except one who had passed the brook. They then attacked the house, in which were only two boys, one of whom was lame, with some women and children. The boys kept them off for some time, and wounded several of them. At length the Indians set the house on fire, and even then the boys would not surrender till they had promised them to spare their lives. They perfidiously murdered three or four of the children; one of them was set on a sharp stake, in the view of its distressed mother, who, with the other women and the boys, were carried captive. One of the boys escaped the next day. Captain Garner, with his company, pursued the enemy, but did not come up with them.

The Massachusetts and Plymouth companies proceeded to the eastward, settled garrisons in convenient places, and had some skirmishes with the enemy at Casco and Blue Point. On their return, Major Swaine sent a party of the Indian auxiliaries under Lieutenant Flagg toward Winnipiseogee to make discoveries. These Indians held a consultation in their own language; and having persuaded their lieutenant, with two men, to return, nineteen of them tarried out eleven days longer;

in which time they found the enemy, stayed with them two nights, and informed them of everything which they desired to know; upon which the enemy retired to their inaccessible deserts, and the forces returned without finding them, and in November were disbanded.

Nothing was more welcome to the distressed inhabitants of the frontiers than the approach of winter, as they then expected a respite from their sufferings. The deep snows and cold weather were commonly a good security against an attack from the Indians; but when resolutely set on mischief, and instigated by popish enthusiasm, no obstacles could prevent the execution of their purposes.

(1690.) The Count of Frontenac, now governor of Canada, was fond of distinguishing himself by enterprises against the American subjects of King William, with whom his master was at war in Europe. For this purpose he detached three parties of French and Indians from Canada in the winter, who were to take three different routes into the English territories. One of these parties marched from Montreal, and destroyed Schenectada, a Dutch village, on the Mohawk river, in the province of New York. This action, which happened at an unusual time of the year, in the month of February, alarmed the whole country. On the 18th day of March, another party, which came from Trois Rivieres, under the command of the Sieur Hertel, an officer of great repute in Canada, found their way to Salmon Falls, a settlement on the river which divides New Hampshire from the province of Maine. This party consisted of fifty-two men, of whom twenty-five were Indians under Hoophood, a noted warrior. They began the attack at day-break, in three different places. The people were surprised; but flew to arms, and defended themselves in the garrisoned houses, with a bravery which the enemy themselves applauded. But as, in all such onsets, the assailants have the greatest advantage, so they here proved too strong for the defendants; about thirty of the bravest were killed, and the rest surrendered at discretion, to the number of fifty-four, of whom the greater part were women and children. After plundering, the enemy burned the houses, mills, and barns, with the cattle, which were within doors, and then retreated into the woods,

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whither they were pursued by about one hundred and forty men, suddenly collected from the neighbouring towns, who came up with them in the afternoon, at a narrow bridge or Wooster's river. Hertel, expecting a pursuit, had posted his men advantageously on the opposite bank. The pursuers advanced with great intrepidity, and a warm engagement ensued, which lasted till night, when they retired with the loss of four or five killed; the enemy, by their own account, lost two, one of whom was Hertel's nephew; his son was wounded in the knee; another Frenchman was taken prisoner, who was so tenderly treated that he embraced the protestant faith and remained in the country. Hertel, on his way homeward, met with a third party who had marched from Quebec, and joining his company to them, attacked and destroyed the fort and settlement at Casco, the next May. Thus the three expeditions planned by Count Frontenac proved successful; but the glory of them was much tarnished by acts of cruelty, which Christians should be ashamed to countenance, though perpetrated by savages.

After the destruction of Casco the eastern settlements were all deserted, and the people retired to the fort of Wells. The Indians then came up westward, and a party of them under Hoophood some time in May made an assault on Fox Point, in Newington, where they burned several houses, killed about fourteen people, and carried away six. They were pursued by the Captains Floyd and Greenleaf, who came up with them and recovered some of the captives and spoil, after a skirmish in which Hoophood was wounded and lost his gun. This fellow was soon after killed by a party of Canada Indians, who mistook him for one of the Iroquois, with whom they were at war. On the 4th day of July, eight persons were killed as they were mowing in a field near Lamprey river, and a lad was captured. The next day they attacked Captain Hilton's garrison at Exeter, which was relieved by Lieutenant Bancroft with the loss of a few of his men; one of them, Simon Stone, received nine wounds with shot, and two strokes of a hatchet; when his friends came to bury him, they perceived life in him, and by the application of cordials he revived, to the amazement of all.

Two companies under the Captains Floyd and Wiswal were now scouting, and on the 6th day of July discovered an Indian track, which they pursued till they came up with the enemy at Wheelwright's Pond (in Lee), where a bloody engagement ensued for some hours, in which Wiswal, his lieutenant, Flagg, and Sergeant Walker, with twelve more, were killed, and several wounded. It was not known how many of the enemy fell, as they always carried off their dead. Floyd maintained the fight after Wiswal's death, till his men, fatigued and wounded, drew off, which obliged him to follow. The enemy retreated at the same time; for when Captain Convers went to look after the wounded, he found seven alive, whom he brought in by sunrise the next morning, and then returned to bury the dead. The enemy then went westward, and in the course of one week killed, between Lamprey river and Almsbury, not less than forty people.

The cruelties exercised upon the captives in this war exceeded, both in number and degree, any in former times. The most healthy and vigorous of them were sold in Canada, the weaker were sacrificed and scalped; and for every scalp they had a premium. Two instances only are remembered of their releasing any without a ransom: one was a woman taken from Fox Point, who obtained her liberty by procuring them some of the necessaries of life; the other was at York, where, after they had taken many of the people, they restored two aged women and five children, in return for a generous action of Major Church, who had spared the lives of as many women and children when they fell into his hands at Amarisagoggin.

The people of New England now looked on Canada as the source of their troubles, and formed a design to reduce it to subjection to the crown of England. The enterprise was bold and hazardous; but had their ability been equal to the ardour of their patriotism, it might probably have been accomplished. Straining every nerve, they equipped an armament in some degree equal to the service. What was wanting in military and naval discipline, was made up in resolution; and the command was given to Sir William Phipps, an honest man, and a friend to his country, but by no means qualified for such an enterprise. Unavoidable accidents retarded the expedition, so



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that the fleet did not arrive before Quebec till October, when it was more than time to return. It being impossible to continue there to any purpose, and the troops growing sickly and discouraged, after some ineffectual parade, they abandoned the enterprise.

This disappointment was severely felt. The equipment of the fleet and army required a supply of money which could not readily be collected, and occasioned a paper currency, which has often been drawn into precedent on like occasions, and has proved a fatal source of the most complicated and extensive mischief. The people were almost dispirited with the prospect of poverty and ruin. In this melancholy state of the country, it was a happy circumstance that the Indians voluntarily came in with a flag of truce, and desired a cessation of hostilities. (1691.) A conference being held at Sagadahock, they brought in ten captives, and settled a truce till the 1st day of May, which they observed till the 9th of June, when they attacked Storer's garrison, at Wells, but were bravely repulsed. About the same time they killed two men at Exeter, and on the 29th of September, a party of them came from the eastward in canoes to Sandy Beach, Rye, where they killed and captured twenty-one persons. Captain Sherburne, of Portsmouth, a worthy officer, was this year killed at Macquoit.

The next winter, 1692, the country being alarmed with the destruction of York, some new regulations were made for the general defence. Major Elisha Hutchinson was appointed commander in chief of the militia, by whose prudent conduct the frontiers were well guarded, and so constant a communication was kept up, by ranging parties, from one post to another, that it became impossible for the enemy to attack in their usual way, by surprise. The good effect of this regulation was presently seen. A young man being in the woods near Cochecho, was fired at by some Indians. Lieutenant Wilson immediately went out with eighteen men; and finding the Indians, killed or wounded the whole party excepting one. This struck them with terror, and kept them quiet the remainder of the winter and spring. But on the 10th day of June, an army of French and Indians made a furious attack on Storer's garrison at Wells, where Captain Convers commanded; who after a brave and

resolute defence, was so happy as to drive them off with great loss.

Sir William Phipps, being now governor of Massachusetts, continued the same method of defence, keeping out continual scouts under brave and experienced officers. This kept the Indians so quiet, that except one poor family which they took at Oyster river, and some small mischief at Quaboag, there is no mention of any destruction made by them during the year 1693. Their animosity against New England was not quelled; but they needed time to recruit; some of their principal men were in captivity, and they could not hope to redeem them without a peace. To obtain it, they came into the Fort at Pemaquid; and there entered into a solemn covenant, wherein they acknowledged subjection to the crown of England; engaged to abandon the French interest; promised perpetual peace; to forbear private revenge; to restore all captives, and even went so far as to deliver hostages for the due performance of their engagements. This peace, or rather truce, gave both sides a respite, which both earnestly desired.

The people of New Hampshire were much reduced, their lumber trade and husbandry being greatly impeded by the war. Frequent complaints were made of the burden of the war, the scarcity of provisions, and the dispiritedness of the people. Once, it is said, in the council minutes, that they were even ready to quit the province. The governor was obliged to impress men to guard the outposts: they were sometimes dismissed for want of provisions, and then the garrison officers called to account and severely punished: yet all this time the public debt did not exceed 400*l*. In this situation they were obliged to apply to their neighbours for assistance; but this was granted with a sparing hand. The people of Massachusetts were much divided and at variance among themselves, both on account of the new charter which they had received from King William, and the pretended witchcrafts which have made so loud a noise in the world.

(1694.) The engagements made by the Indians in the treaty of Pemaquid, might have been performed if they had been left to their own choice. But the French missionaries had been for some years very assiduous in propagating their tenets among

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them, one of which was, "that to break faith with heretics was no sin." The *Sieur de Villieu*, who had distinguished himself in the defence of Quebec when Phipps was before it, and had contracted a strong antipathy to the New Englanders, being now in command of Penobscot, he, with *M. Thury*, the missionary, diverted *Madokawando* and the other sachems from complying with their engagements; so that pretences were found for detaining the English captives, who were more in number, and of more consequence, than the hostages whom the Indians had given. Influenced by the same pernicious councils, they kept a watchful eye on the frontier towns, to see what place was most secure and might be attacked to the greatest advantage. The settlement at Oyster river, within the town of Dover, was pitched upon as the most likely place; and it is said that the design of surprising it was publicly talked of at Quebec two months before it was put in execution. Rumours of Indians lurking in the woods thereabout, made some of the people apprehend danger; but no mischief being attempted, they imagined them to be hunting parties, and returned to their security. At length, the necessary preparations being made, *Villieu*, with a body of 250 Indians, collected from the tribes of *St. John*, *Penobscot*, and *Norridgwog*, attended by a French priest, marched for the devoted place.

Oyster river is a stream which runs into the western branch of *Pascataqua*; the settlements were on both sides of it, and the houses chiefly near the water. Here were twelve garrisoned houses, sufficient for the defence of the inhabitants; but apprehending no danger, some families remained at their own unfortified houses, and those who were in the garrisons were but indifferently provided for defence, some being even destitute of powder. The enemy approached the place undiscovered, and halted near the falls on Tuesday evening, the 17th of July. Here they formed into two divisions, one of which was to go on each side of the river and plant themselves in ambush, in small parties, near every house, so as to be ready for the attack at the rising of the sun, the first gun to be the signal. *John Dean*, whose house stood by the saw-mill at the falls, intending to go from home very early, arose before the dawn of day, and was shot as he came out of his door. This disconcerted their

plan: several parties who had some distance to go, had not then arrived at their stations: the people in general were immediately alarmed: some of them had time to make their escape, and others to prepare for their defence. The signal being given, the attack began in all parts where the enemy was ready.

Of the twelve garrisoned houses five were destroyed, viz. Adams's, Drew's, Edgerly's, Medar's, and Beard's. They entered Adams's without resistance, where they killed fourteen persons. The grave is still to be seen in which they were all buried. Drew surrendered his garrison on the promise of security, but was murdered when he fell into their hands; one of his children, a boy of nine years old, was made to run through a lane of Indians as a mark for them to throw their hatchet at, till they had despatched him. Edgerly's was evacuated; the people took to their boat, and one of them was mortally wounded before they got out of reach of the enemy's shot. Beard's and Medar's were also evacuated, and the people escaped. The defenceless houses were nearly all set on fire, the inhabitants being either killed or taken in them, or else in endeavouring to fly to the garrisons. Some escaped by hiding in the bushes and other secret places.

The other seven garrisons, viz. Burnham's, Bickford's, Smith's, Bunker's, Davids's, Jones's, and Woodman's, were resolutely and successfully defended. At Burnham's the gate was left open: the Indians, ten in number, who were appointed to surprise it, were asleep under the bank of the river, at the time that the alarm was given. A man within, who had been kept awake by the toothache, hearing the first gun, roused the people and secured the gate, just as the Indians who were awakened by the same noise were entering. Finding themselves disappointed, they ran to Pitman's defenceless house, and forced the door at the moment that he had burst a way through that end of the house which was next to the garrison, to which he and his family, taking advantage of the shade of some trees, it being moonlight, happily escaped. Still defeated, they attacked the house of John Davis, which after some resistance he surrendered on terms; but the terms were violated, and the whole family either killed or made captives. Thomas

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Bickford preserved his house in a singular manner. It was situated near the river, and surrounded with a palisade. Being alarmed before the enemy had reached the house, he sent off his family in a boat, and then shutting his gate, be'ook himself alone to the defence of his fortress. Despising alike the promises and threats by which the Indians would have persuaded him to surrender, he kept up a constant fire at them, changing his dress as often as he could, showing himself with a different cap, hat, or coat, and sometimes without either, and giving directions aloud as if he had a number of men with him. Finding their attempt vain, the enemy withdrew, and left him sole master of the house which he had defended with such admirable address.

Those parties of the enemy who were on the south side of the river, having completed their destructive work, collected in a field adjoining Burnham's garrison, where they insultingly showed their prisoners, and derided the people, thinking themselves out of reach of their shot. A young man from the sentry-box fired at one who was making some indecent signs of defiance, and wounded him in the heel. Both divisions then met at the Falls, where they had parted the evening before, and proceeded together to Captain Woodman's garrison. The ground being uneven, they approached without danger, and from behind a hill kept up a long and severe fire at the hats and caps which the people within held up on sticks above the walls, without any other damage than galling the roof of the house. At length, apprehending that it was time for the people in the neighbouring settlements to be collected in pursuit of them, they finally withdrew; having killed and captured between ninety and a hundred persons, and burned about twenty houses, of which five were garrisons. The main body of them retreated over Winnipiseogee lake, where they divided their prisoners, separating those in particular who were most intimately connected, in which they often took a pleasure suited to their savage nature.

About forty of the enemy, under Toxus, a Norridgwog chiet, resolving on farther mischief, went westward and did execution as far as Groton. A smaller party having crossed the river Pascataqua, came to a farm where Ursula Cutts, widow of the

deceased president, resided, who, imagining the enemy had done what mischief they intended for that time, could not be persuaded to remove into town till her haymaking should be finished. As she was in the field with her labourers, the enemy fired from an ambush and killed her, with three others. Colonel Richard Waldron and his wife with her infant son (afterward secretary), had almost shared the same fate; they were taking boat to go and dine with this lady, when they were stopped by the arrival of some friends at their house; while at dinner they were informed of her death. She lived about two miles above the town of Portsmouth, and had laid out her farm with much elegance. The scalps taken in this whole expedition were carried to Canada by Madokawando, and presented to Count Frontenac, from whom he received the reward of his treacherous adventure.

There is no mention of any more mischief by the Indians within this province till the next year, 1695, when, in the month of July, two men were killed at Exeter. The following year, 1696, on the 7th of May, John Church, who had been taken and escaped from them seven years before, was killed and scalped at Cochecho, near his own house. On the 26th of June, an attack was made at Portsmouth plains, about two miles from the town. The enemy came from York-nubble to Sandy-beach in canoes, which they hid there among the bushes near the shore. Some suspicion was formed the day before by reason of the cattle running out of the woods at Little-harbour; but false alarms were frequent, and this was not much regarded. Early in the morning the attack was made at five houses at once; fourteen persons were killed on the spot, one was scalped and left for dead, but recovered, and four were taken. The enemy having plundered the houses of what they could carry, set them on fire, and made a precipitate retreat through the great swamp. A company of militia under Captain Shackford and Lieutenant Libbey pursued, and discovered them cooking their breakfast, at a place ever since called Breakfast-hill. The Indians were on the farther side, having placed their captives between themselves and the top of the hill, that in case of an attack they might first receive the fire. The lieutenant urged to go round the hill, and come upon them below to cut off their

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retreat; but the captain, fearing in that case, that they would, according to their custom, kill the prisoners, rushed upon them from the top of the hill, by which means they retook the captives and plunder, but the Indians rolling down the hill escaped into the swamp and got to their canoes. Another party, under another commander, was then sent out in shallops to intercept them as they should cross over to the eastward by night. The captain ranged his boats in a line, and ordered his men to reserve their fire till he gave the watchword. It being a calm night, the Indians were heard as they advanced; but the captain, unhappily giving the word before they had come within gun-shot, they tacked about to the southward, and going round the Isles of Shoals, by the favour of their light canoes escaped. The watchword was Crambo, which the captain ever after bore as an appendage to his title. On the 26th day of July, the people of Dover were waylaid as they were returning from public worship, when three were killed, three wounded, and three carried to Penobscot, from whence they soon found their way home.

The next year, 1697, on the 10th of June, the town of Exeter was remarkably preserved from destruction. A body of the enemy had placed themselves near the town, intending to make an assault in the morning of the next day. A number of women and children, contrary to the advice of their friends, went into the fields, without a guard, to gather strawberries. When they were gone, some persons, to frighten them, fired an alarm; which quickly spread through the town, and brought the people together in arms. The Indians, supposing that they were discovered, and quickened by fear, after killing one, wounding another, and taking a child, made a hasty retreat, and were seen no more there. But on the 4th day of July they waylaid and killed the worthy Major Frost at Kittery.

The same year an invasion of the country was projected by the French. A fleet was to sail from France to Newfoundland, and thence to Penobscot, where, being joined by an army from Canada, an attempt was to be made on Boston, and the sea coast ravaged from thence to Pascataqua. The plan was too extensive and complicated to be executed in one summer. The fleet came no further than Newfoundland; when the advanced sea-

son, and scantiness of provisions, obliged them to give over the design. The people of New England were apprised of the danger, and made the best preparations in their power. They strengthened their fortifications on the coast, and raised a body of men to defend the frontiers against the Indians, who were expected to co-operate with the French. Some mischief was done by lurking parties at the eastward; but New Hampshire was unmolested by them during the remainder of this and the whole of the following year.

After the peace of Ryswick, 1698, Count Frontenac informed the Indians that he could not any longer support them in a war with the English, with whom his nation was now at peace. He therefore advised them to bury the hatchet, and restore their captives. Having suffered much by famine, and being divided in their opinions about prosecuting the war, after a long time they were brought to a treaty, 1699, at Casco, where they ratified their former engagements; acknowledged subjection to the crown of England; lamented their former perfidy, and promised future peace and good behaviour in such terms as the commissioners dictated, and with as much sincerity as could be expected. At the same time they restored those captives who were able to travel from the places of their detention to Casco in that unfavourable season of the year; giving assurance for the return of the others in the spring; but many of the younger sort, both males and females, were detained; who, mingling with the Indians, contributed to a succession of enemies in future wars against their own country.



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CHAPTER VII.

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR.

THE peace which followed the treaty of Ryswick, was but of short duration, for the seeds of war were ready sown both in Europe and America. Louis had proclaimed the pretender king of England, and his governor, Villebon, had orders to extend his province of Acadia to the river Kennebeck, though the English court understood St. Croix to be the boundary between their territories and those of the French. The fishery was interrupted by French men of war, and by the orders of Villebon, who suffered no English vessels to fish on the banks of Nova Scotia. A French mission was established, and a chapel erected at Norridgewog, on the upper part of Kennebeck, which served to extend the influence of the French among the Indians. The governor of Canada, assuming the character of their father

and protector, instigated them to prevent the settlement of the English to the east of Kennebeck, and found some among them ready to listen to his advice. The people in those parts were apprehensive of danger and meditating a removal, and those who had entertained thoughts of settling there were restrained.

Things were in this posture when Dudley entered on his government. He had particular orders from England to rebuild the fort at Pemaquid; but could not prevail on the Massachusetts Assembly to bear the expense of it. However, he determined on a visit to the eastern country, and having notified his intention to the Indians, took with him a number of gentlemen of both provinces, 1703, and held a conference at Casco with delegates from the tribes of Norridgewog, Penobscot, Pigwacket, Penacook, and Amariscoggin, who assured him that "as high as the sun was above the earth, so far distant was their design of making the least breach of the peace." They presented him a belt of wampum in token of their sincerity, and both parties went to two heaps of stones, which had formerly been pitched, and called the "two brothers," where the friendship was further ratified by the addition of other stones. They also declared, that although the French emissaries among them had been endeavouring to break the union, yet it was "firm as a mountain, and should continue as long as the sun and moon." Notwithstanding these fair appearances, it was observed that when the Indians fired a salute, their guns were charged with shot; and it was suspected that they had then formed a design to seize the governor and his attendants, if a party which they expected from Canada, and which arrived two or three days after, had come in proper season to their assistance. However this might be, it is certain that in the space of six weeks, a body of French and Indians, 500 in number, having divided themselves into several parties, attacked all the settlements from Casco to Wells, and killed and took 130 people, burning and destroying all before them.

The next week, August 17th, a party of thirty Indians, under Captain Tom, killed five people at Hampton village; among whom was a widow Mussy, a noted speaker among the Friends, and much lamented by them; they also plundered two houses, but the people being alarmed, and pursuing them, they fled.

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The country was now in terror and confusion. The women and children retired to the garrisons. The men went armed to their work, and posted sentinels in the fields. Troops of horse were quartered at Portsmouth and in the province of Maine. A scout of 360 men marched toward Pigwacket, and another to the Ossapy Pond, but made no discoveries. Alarms were frequent, and the whole frontier country, from Deerfield on the west, to Casco on the east, was kept in continual terror by small parties of the enemy.

In the fall, Colonel March, of Casco, made a visit to Pigwacket, where he killed six of the enemy and took six more; this encouraged the government to offer a bounty of 40*l.* for scalps.

As the winter came on, the frontier towns were ordered to provide a large number of snow shoes; and an expedition was planned in New Hampshire against the head quarters of the Indians. Major Winthrop Hilton and Captain John Gilman, of Exeter, Captain Chesley and Captain Davis, of Oyster river, marched with their companies on snow shoes into the woods, but returned without success. This is called in the council books, "an honourable service." Hilton received a gratuity of 12*l.*, and each of the captains 5*l.*

(1704.) With the return of spring there was a return of hostilities; for, notwithstanding the posting a few southern Indians in the garrison at Berwick, the enemy appeared at Oyster river, and shot Nathaniel Medar near his own field, and the next day killed Edward Taylor near Lamprey river, and captured his wife and son. These instances of mischief gave colour to a false alarm at Cochecho, where it was said they lay in wait for Colonel Waldron a whole day, but missing him by reason of his absence from home, took his servant maid as she went to a spring for water; and having examined her as to the state of the garrison, stunned her with a hatchet, but did not scalp her.

In May, Colonel Church, by Governor Dudley's order, having planned an expedition to the eastern shore, sailed from Boston with a number of transports, furnished with whaleboats for going up rivers. In his way he stopped at Pascataqua, where he was joined by a body of men under Major Hilton, who was

of eminent service to him in this expedition, which lasted the whole summer, and in which they destroyed the towns of Minas and Chiegnecto, and did considerable damage to the French and Indians at Penobscot and Passamaquoddy, and even insulted Port Royal. While they were at Mount Desart, Church learned from nine of his prisoners, that a body of 600 Indians were preparing for an attack on Casco and the head of Pascataqua river, and sent an express to Portsmouth, which obliged the people to be vigilant. No such great force as this appeared, but small parties kept hovering on the outskirts. At Oyster river they wounded William Tasker; and at Dover they laid in ambush for the people on their return from public worship, but happily missed their aim. They afterwards mortally wounded Mark Gyles at that place, and soon after killed several people in a field at Oyster river, whose names are not mentioned.

In the former wars, New Hampshire had received much assistance from their brethren of Massachusetts; but these now remonstrated to the governor that his other province did not bear their proportion of the charge for the common defence. The representatives of New Hampshire urged, in reply, the different circumstances of the two provinces, "most of the towns in Massachusetts being out of the reach of the enemy, and no otherwise affected by the war, than in the payment of their part of the expense, while this province was wholly a frontier by sea and land, and in equal danger with the county of York, in which four companies were stationed, and the inhabitants were abated their proportion of the public charges." They begged that twenty of the friendly Indians might be sent to scout on their borders, which request the governor complied with.

In the winter of 1705, Colonel Hilton with 270 men, including the 20 Indians, were sent to Norridgewog on snow shoes. They had a favourable season for their march, the snow being four feet deep. When they arrived there, finding no enemy to contend with, they burned the deserted wigwams and the chapel. The officers who went on this expedition complained that they had only the pay of private soldiers.

The late repairs of Fort William and Mary at Newcastle were always complained of as burdensome to the people, and a

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representation thereof had been made to the queen, who instructed Dudley to press the assembly of Massachusetts to contribute to the expense; as the river belonged equally to both provinces. They urged in excuse that the fort was built at first at the sole charge of New Hampshire, to whom it properly belonged; that the whole expense of the repairs did not amount to what several of their towns singly paid towards the support of the war for one year; that all the trade and navigation of the river, on both sides, paid a duty toward maintaining that fortress; and that they had been at a great expense in protecting the frontiers of New Hampshire, and the parties who were employed in getting timber and masts for her majesty's service; while New Hampshire had never contributed anything to the support of the garrisons, forces, and guards by sea, which were of equal benefit to them as to Massachusetts. One thing which made New Hampshire more in favour with the queen was, that they had settled a salary on her governor, which the others never could be persuaded to do. The repairs of the fort, however, went on without their assistance, under the direction of Colonel Romer; and when they were completed, a petition was sent home for a supply of cannon, ammunition, and stores.

The next summer was chiefly spent in negotiating an exchange of prisoners; and Dudley had the address to protract the negotiation, under pretence of consulting with the other governments about a neutrality proposed by the governor of Canada, by which means the frontiers in general were kept tolerably quiet, although the enemy appeared once or twice in the town of Kittery. The line of pickets which enclosed the town of Portsmouth was repaired, and a nightly patrol established on the sea-shore, from Rendezvous Point to the bounds of Hampton, to prevent any surprise by sea; the coast being at this time infested by the enemy's privateers.

During this truce, the inhabitants of Kingston, who had left the place, were encouraged to petition for leave to return to their lands; which the court granted, on condition that they should build a fort in the centre of the town, lay out a parsonage, and settle a minister within three years. This last condition was rendered impracticable by the renewal of hostilities.

The governor of Canada had encouraged the Indians who inhabited the borders of New England to remove to Canada, where, being incorporated with the tribe of St. Francis, they have ever since remained. By this policy they became more firmly attached to the interests of the French, and were more easily despatched on their bloody business to the frontiers of New England, with which they were well acquainted. Dudley, who was generally apprised of their movements, and kept a vigilant eye upon them, apprehended a rupture in the winter; and gave orders, (1706,) for a circular scouting march, once a month, round the head of the towns from Kingston to Salmon falls; but the enemy did not appear till April; when a small party of them attacked the house of John Drew, at Oyster river, where they killed eight and wounded two. The garrison was near, but not a man in it; the women, however, seeing but death before them, fired an alarm, and then putting on hats, and loosening their hair, that they might appear like men, they fired so briskly, that the enemy, apprehending the people were alarmed, fled without burning or even plundering the house which they had attacked. John Wheeler, meeting this party, and mistaking them for friendly Indians, unhappily fell into their hands, and was killed, with his wife and two children. Four of his sons took refuge in a cave by the bank of the Little Bay, and though pursued by the Indians, escaped unhurt.

In July, Colonel Schuyler, from Albany, gave notice to Dudley that 270 of the enemy were on their march toward Pascatqua, of which he immediately informed the people, and ordered them to close garrison, and one half of the militia to be ready at a minute's warning. The first appearance of this body of the enemy was at Dunstable; from whence they proceeded to Amesbury and Kingston, where they killed some cattle. Hilton, with sixty-four men, marched from Exeter; but was obliged to return without meeting the enemy. The reason he gave to the council for returning so soon was the want of provision, there being none in readiness at the garrisons, notwithstanding a law lately enacted, enjoining every town to have stores ready, and deposited in the hands of their captains. For the same reason he had been obliged to discontinue a small

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scout which he had for some time kept up. Hilton was so brave and active an officer that the enemy had marked him for destruction; and for this purpose a party of them kept lurking about his house, where they observed ten men to go out one morning with their scythes, and lay aside their arms to mow; they then crept between the men and their guns, and suddenly rushing on them, killed four, wounded one, and took three; two only of the whole number escaped. They missed the major for this time, and two of the prisoners escaped; but suffered much in their return, having nothing to subsist on for three weeks but lily roots and rinds of trees. After this they killed William Pearl, and took Nathaniel Tibbets at Dover. It was observed during this war that the enemy did more damage in small bodies than in larger, and by scattering along the frontiers kept the people in continual apprehension and alarm; and so very few of them were taken prisoners, that in computing the expense of the war it was judged that every Indian killed or taken cost the country a thousand pounds.

In the following winter, 1707, Hilton made another excursion to the eastward, and a shallop was sent to Casco with stores and provisions for his party, consisting of two hundred and twenty men. The winter being mild, and the weather unsettled, prevented their marching so far as they intended: cold dry weather, and deep snow, being most favourable to winter expeditions. However, they came on an Indian track near Black Point, and pursuing it, killed four, and took a squaw, who conducted them to a party of eighteen, whom they surprised as they lay asleep on a neck of land at break of day, and of whom they killed seventeen, and took the other. This was matter of triumph, considering the difficulty of finding their haunts. It is asserted, that on the very morning this affair happened, it was reported, with but little variation from the truth, at Portsmouth, though at the distance of sixty miles.

When Church went to Nova Scotia, he very earnestly solicited leave to make an attempt on Port Royal; but Dudley would not consent, and the reason he gave was, that he had written to the ministry in England, and expected orders and naval help to reduce the place. His enemies however assigned another reason for his refusal; which was that a clandestine

trade was carried on by his connivance, and to his emolument, with the French there. This report gained credit, and occasioned a loud call for justice. Those who were directly concerned in the illegal traffic, were prosecuted and fined; and the governor suffered much in his reputation. To wipe off these aspersions, he now determined to make an attack in earnest on Port Royal, even though no assistance should come from England. It was intended that an armament should be sent to America, and the commander was appointed; but the state of affairs in Europe prevented their coming.

Early in the spring the governor applied to the Assemblies of both his provinces, and to the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut, requesting them to raise one thousand men for the expedition. Connecticut declined; but the other three raised the whole number, who were disposed into two regiments, of which Colonel Wainwright commanded the one, and Colonel Hilton the other. They embarked at Nantasket in twenty-three transports, furnished with whaleboats, under convoy of the Deptford man-of-war, Captain Stuckley, and the province galley, Captain Southack. The chief command was given to Colonel March, who had behaved well in several scouts and rencounters with the Indians, but had never been tried in such service as this. They arrived before Port Royal in a few days, and after burning some houses, killing some cattle round the fort, and making some ineffectual attempts to bombard it, a jealousy and disagreement among the officers, and a misapprehension of the state of the fort and garrison, caused the army to break up and reembark in a disorderly manner. Some of the officers went to Boston for orders, some of the transports put in at Casco; a sloop, with Captain Chesley's company of 60 men, arrived at Portsmouth: Chesley suffered his men to disperse, but ordered them to return at the beat of the drum: being called to account for this conduct, he alleged that "general orders were given at Port Royal for every man to make the best of his way home." The governor, highly chagrined, and very angry, sent orders from Boston that if any more vessels arrived, the men should not be permitted to come on shore "on pain of death." After a while he ordered Chesley's company to be collected and reembarked, offering a pardon to those who

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voluntarily returned, the rest to be severely punished. By the latter end of July they got on board, and with the rest of the army, returned to the place of action. At the landing, an ambuscade of Indians from among the sedge on the top of a sea-wall, greatly annoyed the troops. Major Walton, and Captain Chesley, being then on shore with the New Hampshire companies, pushed their men up the beach, flanked the enemy, and after an obstinate struggle, put them to flight. The command was now given to Wainwright, and the army put under the direction of three supervisors; but no means could inspire that union, firmness, and skill, which were necessary. By the last of August the whole affair was at an end, and the army returned sickly, fatigued, disheartened, and ashamed; but with no greater loss than sixteen killed, and as many wounded.

While this unfortunate expedition was in hand, the frontiers were kept in continual alarm. Two men were taken from Oyster river, and two more killed as they were driving a team between that place and Dover. Captain Sumersby pursued with his troop and recovered the contents of the cart. Stephen and Jacob Gilman, brothers, were ambushed between Exeter and Kingston; their horses were killed, but both of them escaped to the garrison. Kingston, being a new plantation, was much exposed, and was this summer weakened by the desertion of eight men. The remaining inhabitants complained to government, who ordered the captains of Exeter and Hampton to take them up as deserters, and oblige them to return to the defence of their settlements, or do duty at the fort during the governor's pleasure. They were afterwards bound over to the sessions for contempt of orders. The state of the country at this time was truly distressing; a large quota of their best men were abroad, the rest harassed by the enemy at home, obliged to continual duty in garrisons and in scouts, and subject to severe discipline for neglects. They earned their bread at the continual hazard of their lives, never daring to stir abroad unarmed; they could till no lands but what were within call of the garrisoned houses into which their families were crowded: their husbandry, lumber-trade, and fishery were declining, their taxes increasing, their apprehensions both from the force of the enemy and the failure of the Port Royal expedition were ex

ceedingly dismal, and there was no prospect of an end of the war, in which they were now advanced to the fifth summer. Yet under all these distresses and discouragements, they resolutely kept their ground and maintained their garrisons—not one of which was cut off during the whole of this war, within the limits of New Hampshire.

In September, one man was killed at Exeter, and two days after Henry Elkins at Kingston. But the severest blow on the frontiers happened at Oyster river, a place which suffered more than all the rest. A party of French Mohawks, painted red, attacked with a hideous yell a company who were in the woods, some hewing timber and others driving a team, under the direction of Captain Chesley, who was just returned the second time from Port Royal. At the first fire they killed seven and mortally wounded another. Chesley, with the few who were left, fired on the enemy with great vigour, and for some time checked their ardour; but being overpowered, he at length fell. He was much lamented, being a brave officer. Three of the scalps taken at this time were soon after recovered at Berwick.

The next year, 1708, a large army from Canada was destined against the frontiers of New England. Dudley received information of it in the usual route from Albany, and immediately ordered guards in the most exposed places of both his provinces. A troop under Captain Robert Coffin patrolled from Kingston to Cocheche and scouts were kept out continually. Spy-boats were also kept out at sea between Pascataqua and Winter harbours. Four hundred Massachusetts soldiers were posted in this province. The towns were ordered to provide ammunition, and all things were in as good a state of preparation as could be expected. At length the storm fell on Haverhill; but the enemy's force having been diminished by various accidents, they proceeded no farther, and every part of New Hampshire was quiet. Hilton made another winter march to Pigwacket with 170 men, but made no discovery.

The next spring, 1709, William Moody, Samuel Stevens, and two sons of Jeremy Gilman, were taken at Pickpocket-mill in Exeter, and soon after Bartholomew Stevenson was killed at Oyster river. Colonel Hilton and Captain Davis performed their usual tour of duty in scouting, and the people this summer

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kept close in garrison, on a report that two hundred Indians had marched against them from Montreal. But the principal object now in view was a desire of wiping off the disgrace of a former year, by an attempt, not on Port Royal, but on Canada itself. For this purpose solicitations had been made in England by Francis Nicholson, Esq., who had been Lieutenant-governor of Virginia, and Captain Samuel Vetch, a trader to Nova Scotia, who was well acquainted with the French settlements there, and made a full representation of the state of things in America to the British ministry. An expedition being determined upon, they came over early in the spring with the queen's command to the governors of the several provinces to raise men for the service. Vetch was appointed a colonel, and Nicholson, by nomination of the Governor of New York, and consent of the other governments, was made commander in chief. The people of New Hampshire were so much exhausted, and their men had been so ill paid before, that it was with great difficulty, and not without the dissolution of one assembly and the calling of another, that they could raise money to levy 100 men, and procure two transports for conveying them. After the utmost exertions had been made by the several governments, and Nicholson with part of the troops had marched to Wood creek, and the rest with the transports had lain at Nantasket three months waiting for a fleet, news arrived that the armament promised from England was diverted to another quarter. Upon which the commander of the frigates on the Boston station refused to convoy the troops, the whole army was disbanded, and the expense the colonies had been at was fruitless. A congress of governors and delegates from the assemblies met late in the year at Rhode Island, who recommended the sending home agents to assist Colonel Nicholson in representing the state of the country, and soliciting an expedition against Canada the next spring. The ministry at first seemed to listen to this proposal, but afterward (1710) changed their minds, and resolved only on the reduction of Port Royal. For this purpose Nicholson went over in July with five frigates and a bomb ketch; the colonies then had to raise their quotas; the New Hampshire assembly ordered 100 men, who were got ready as soon as possible, and put under the command of Colonel Shad-

rach Walton. The whole armament sailed from Boston the 18th of September, and on the 24th arrived at the place. The force now being equal to its reduction, Suberease, the governor, waited only the compliment of a few shot and shells as a decent pretence for a surrender; which was completed on the 5th of October, and Vetch was appointed governor of the place, which in honour of the queen was called Annapolis.

While this expedition was in hand, and before the appointment of the commanders, New Hampshire sustained a heavy loss in the death of Col. Winthrop Hilton. This worthy officer being concerned in the masting business, and having several large trees felled about fourteen miles from home, went out with a party to peel the bark that the wood might not be injured by worms. While engaged in this business they were ambushed by a party of Indians, who at the first fire killed Hilton with two more, and took two; the rest being terrified, and their guns being wet, made no opposition, but escaped. The next day 100 men marched in pursuit, but discovered only the mangled bodies of the dead. The enemy in their barbarous triumph had struck their hatchets into the colonel's brains, and left a lance in his heart. He was a gentleman "of good temper, courage, and conduct, respected and lamented by all that knew him," and was buried with the honours due to his rank and character.

Flushed with this success, they insolently appeared in the open road at Exeter, and took four children who were at their play. They also took John Wedgwood, and killed John Magoon near his brother's barn, a place which for three days he had visited with a melancholy apprehension arising from a dream that he should there be murdered.

The same day that Hilton was killed, a company of Indians who had pretended friendship, and the year before had been peaceably conversant with the inhabitants of Kingston, and seemed to be thirsting after the blood of the enemy, came into the town, and ambushing the road, killed Samuel Winslow and Samuel Huntoon; they also took Philip Huntoon and Jacob Gilman, and carried them to Canada, where, after some time, they purchased their own redemption by building a saw-mill for the governor after the English mode.

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The last that fell this summer was Jacob Garland, who was killed at Cochecho on his return from the public worship. As the winter approached, Colonel Walton, with 170 men, traversed the eastern shores, which the Indians usually visited at this season for the purpose of gathering clams. On an island where the party was encamped, several Indians, decoyed by their smoke, and mistaking them for some of their own tribe, came among them and were made prisoners. One of them was a sachem of Norridgwoog, active, bold, and sullen; when he found himself in the hands of enemies he would answer none of their questions, and laughed with scorn at their threatening him with death. His wife being an eye-witness of the execution of the threatening, was so intimidated as to make the discoveries which the captors had in vain desired of the sachem; in consequence of which, three were taken at the place of which she informed, and two more at Saco river, where also five were killed. This success, inconsiderable as it may appear, kept up the spirits of the people, and added to the loss of the enemy, who were daily diminishing by sickness and famine.

In the spring, 1711, they renewed their ravages on the frontiers in small parties. Thomas Downs, John Church, and three more were killed at Cochecho; and on a sabbath-day several of the people there fell into an ambush as they were returning from public worship. John Horn was wounded, and Humphrey Foss was taken; but by the determined bravery of Lieutenant Heard, he was recovered out of the hands of the enemy. Walton with two companies marched to the ponds about the fishing season, but the Indians had withdrawn, and nothing was to be seen but their deserted wigwams.

After the reduction of Port Royal, Nicholson went to England to solicit an expedition against Canada. The tory ministry of Queen Anne, to the surprise of all the Whigs in England and America, fell in with the proposal; and on the 8th of June, Nicholson came to Boston with orders for the northern colonies to get ready their quotas of men and provision by the arrival of the fleet and army from Europe, which happened within sixteen days, and while the several governors were holding a consultation on the subject of their orders. A compliance with them in so short a time was impossible, yet, everything

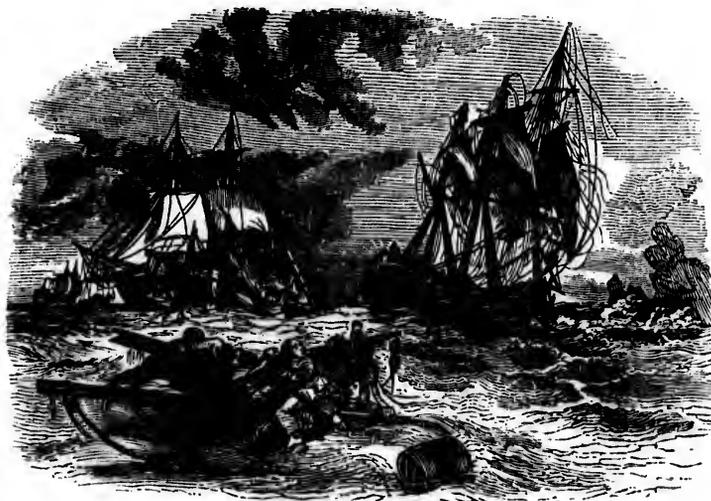
that could be done was done; the nature of the service conspiring with the wishes of the people, made the governments exert themselves to the utmost. New Hampshire raised 100 men, which was more than they could well spare; one-half of the militia being continually employed in guarding the frontiers. They also voted them subsistence for 126 days, besides providing for them on shore before their embarkation. Two transports were taken up at 8s. per month per ton, and artillery stores were issued from the fort. The colony forces formed two regiments, under the command of Vetch and Walton. The army which came from England were seven veteran regiments of the Duke of Marlborough's army, and a battalion of marines under the command of Brigadier-General Hill, which, joined with the New England troops, made a body of about 6500 men, provided with a fine train of artillery. The fleet consisted of fifteen ships of war from eighty to thirty-six guns, with forty transports and six store-ships, under the command of Admiral Walker,—a force fully equal to the reduction of Quebec.

The fleet sailed from Boston on the 30th of July; and a fast was ordered by Dudley to be kept on the last Thursday of that, and each succeeding month, till the enterprise should be finished. This was an imitation of the conduct of the Long Parliament, during the civil wars in the previous century. But the sanguine hopes of success which had been entertained by the nation and the colonies, were all blasted in one fatal night; for, the fleet having advanced ten leagues into the river St. Lawrence, in the night of the 23d of August, the weather being thick and dark, eight transports were wrecked on Egg Island near the north shore, and 1000 people perished; of whom there was but one man who belonged to New England. The next day the fleet put back, and were eight days beating down the river against an easterly wind, which would in two days have carried them to Quebec. After collecting together at Spanish river in the island of Cape Breton, and holding a fruitless consultation about annoying the French at Placentia, the expedition was broken up; the fleet returned to England, and the New England troops to their homes. Loud complaints and heavy charges were made on this occasion; the ignorance of the pilots—the obstinacy of the admiral—the detention of



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WRECK OF THE ENGLISH FLEET.

the fleet at Boston,—its late arrival there—the want of reasonable orders—and the secret intentions of the ministry, were all subjects of bitter altercation; but the miscarriage was never regularly inquired into, and the disasters of the voyage were finally completed by the blowing up of the admiral's ship, with most of his papers, and 400 seamen, at Spithead.

The failure of this expedition encouraged the Indians to harass the frontiers as soon as the season would permit. In April one Cunningham was killed at Exeter, Ensign Tuttle at Dover, and Jeremy Crommet at Oyster river; on one of the upper branches of this stream the enemy burned a saw-mill with a large quantity of boards. A scouting party who went up the river Merrimack, had the good fortune to surprise and kill eight Indians, and recover a considerable quantity of plunder, without the loss of a man. The frontiers were well guarded; one-half of the militia did duty at the garrisons, and were ready to march at a minute's warning; a scout of forty men kept ranging on the heads of the towns, and the like care was taken by sea—spy-boats being employed in coasting from Cape Neddock to the Great Boar's-head. Notwithstanding this vigilance, small parties of the enemy were frequently seen. Stephen

Gilman and Ebenezer Stevens were wounded at Kingston—the former was taken and put to death. In July, an ambush was discovered at Dover, but the enemy escaped; and while a party was gone in pursuit of them, two children of John Waldron were taken, and for want of time to scalp them, their heads were cut off. There being no man at that time in Heard's garrison, a woman, named Esther Jones, mounted guard, and with a commanding voice called so loudly and resolutely, as made the enemy think there was help at hand, and prevented farther mischief.

In autumn the news of the peace of Utrecht arrived in America; and on the 29th of October, the suspension of arms was proclaimed at Portsmouth. The Indians, being informed of this event, came in with a flag of truce to Captain Moody at Casco, and desired a treaty; which the governor, with the council of each province, 1713, held at Portsmouth, where the chiefs and deputies of the several belligerent tribes, by a formal writing under hand and seal, acknowledged their perfidy, promised fidelity, renewed their allegiance, submitted to the laws, and begged the queen's pardon for their former miscarriages. The frequent repetition of such engagements, and as frequent violations of them, had by this time much abated the sense of obligation on the one part, and of confidence on the other. But it being for the interest of both parties to be at peace, the event was peculiarly welcome.

To preserve the dependence of the Indians, and to prevent all occasions of complaint, private traffic with them was forbidden, and truck-houses established at the public expense; and the next summer, 1714, a ship was fitted out by both provinces, and sent to Quebec, where an exchange of prisoners was effected.



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INDIAN SCOUT.

CHAPTER VIII.

LOVEWELL'S WAR.



THE fourth Indian war in which the people of New England were engaged, became generally known as "Lovewell's War," Captain John Lovewell being the chief actor in it upon the side of the whites. The French Jesuits had planted themselves among the eastern tribes, and had obtained great influence over them. They had one church at Penobscot, and another at Norridgewog, where Sebastian Ralle, a French Jesuit, resided. He was a man of good sense, learning, and address, and by a compliance with their mode of life, and a gentle, condescending deportment, had gained their affections so as to manage them at his pleasure. Knowing the power of superstition over the savage mind, he took advantage of this, and of their prejudice against the English, to promote the cause, and strengthen the interest of the French among them. He even made the offices of devotion serve as incentives to their ferocity, and kept a flag, in which

was depicted a cross, surrounded by bows and arrows, which he used to hoist on a pole, at the door of his church, when he gave them absolution, previously to their engaging in any war-like enterprise.

With this Jesuit, the governor of Canada held a close correspondence; and by him was informed of everything transacted among the Indians. By this means, their discontent with the English, on account of the settlements made at the eastward, was heightened and inflamed; and they received every encouragement, to assert their title to the lands in question, and molest the settlers, by killing their cattle, burning their stacks of hay, robbing and insulting them. These insolencies discouraged the people, and caused many of them to remove. (1720.) The garrisons were then reinforced; and scouting parties were ordered into the eastern quarter, under the command of Colonel Shadrach Walton. By this appearance of force, the Indians, who dreaded the power of the English, were restrained from open hostilities. They had frequent parleys with the commanders of forts, and with commissioners who visited them occasionally; and though at first they seemed to be resolute in demanding the removal of the English, declaring that "they had fought for the land three times, and would fight for it again;" yet when they were told that there was no alternative but perfect peace or open war, and that if they chose peace they must forbear every kind of insult, they seemed to prefer peace; and either pretended ignorance of what had been done, or promised to make inquiry into it; and as an evidence of their good intentions, offered a tribute of skins, and delivered up four of their young men as hostages. This proceeding was highly disrelished by the governor of Canada, who renewed his efforts to keep up the quarrel, and secretly promised to supply the Indians with arms and ammunition; though as it was a time of peace between the two crowns, he could not openly assist them.

The New England governments, though highly incensed, were not easily persuaded to consent to a war. The dispute was between the Indians and the proprietors of the eastern lands, in which the public were not directly interested. No blood had as yet been shed. Canseau had been surprised and plun-

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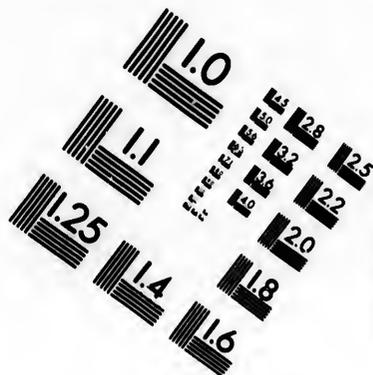
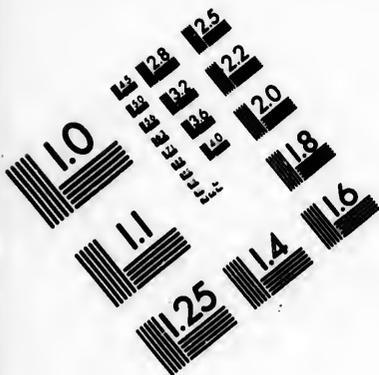
dered, and some people killed there; but that was in the government of Nova Scotia. Ralle was regarded as the principal instigator of the Indians; and it was thought, that if he could be taken off, they would be quiet. It was once proposed to send the sheriff of York county, with a posse of 150 men, to seize and bring him to Boston; but this was not agreed to. The next summer, 1721, Ralle, in company with Castine, from Penobscot, and Croisil, from Canada, appeared among the Indians, at a conference held on Arrowsic island, with Captain Penhallow, the commander of the garrison, and brought a letter, written in the name of the several tribes of Indians, directed to Governor Shute; in which it was declared, "that if the English did not remove in three weeks, they would kill them and their cattle, and burn their houses." An additional guard was sent down; but the government, loath to come to a rupture, and desirous, if possible, to treat with the Indians separately from the French emissaries, invited them to another conference, which they treated with neglect.

In the succeeding winter, a party under Colonel Thomas Westbrook was ordered to Norridgewog to seize Ralle. They arrived at the village undiscovered, but before they could surround his house, he escaped into the woods, leaving his papers in his strong box, which they brought off without doing any other damage. Among these papers were his letters of correspondence with the governor of Canada, by which it clearly appeared, that he was deeply engaged in exciting the Indians to a rupture, and had promised to assist them.

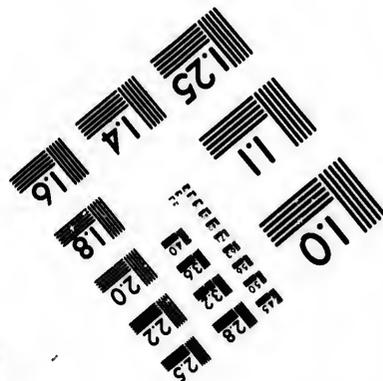
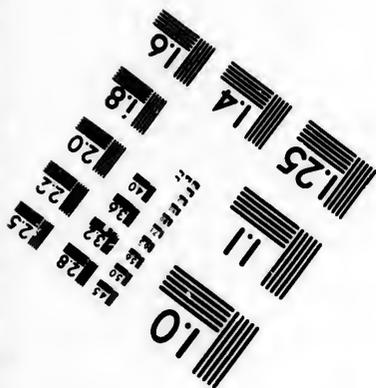
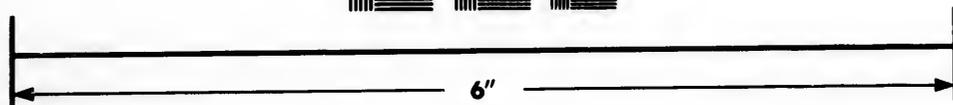
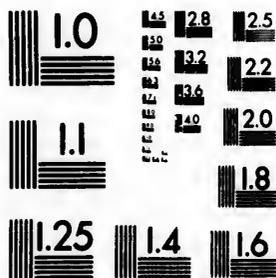
This attempt to seize their spiritual father, could not long be unrevenged. The next summer, 1722, they took nine families from Merrymeeting bay, and after dismissing some of the prisoners, retained enough to secure the redemption of their hostages, and sent them to Canada. About the same time they made an attempt on the Fort of St. George's; but were repulsed with considerable loss. They also surprised some fishing vessels in the eastern harbours; and at length made a furious attack on the town of Brunswick, which they destroyed. This action determined the government to issue a declaration of war against them, which was published in form at Boston and Portsmouth.

New Hampshire being seated in the bosom of Massachusetts,





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had the same interest to serve, and bore a proportionable share of all these transactions and the expenses attending them. Walton, who first commanded the forces sent into the eastern parts, and Westbrooke, who succeeded him, as well as Penhallow, the commander of the Fort at Arrowsic, were New Hampshire men; the two former were of the council. A declaration of war being made, the enemy were expected on every part of the frontiers; and the Assembly were obliged to concert measures for their security, after an interval of peace for about ten years.

(1723.) The first appearance of the enemy in New Hampshire was at Dover, where they surprised and killed Joseph Ham, and took three of his children; the rest of the family escaped to the garrison. Soon after they waylaid the road, and killed Tristram Heard. Their next onset was at Lamprey river, where they killed Aaron Rawlins and one of his children, taking his wife and two children captive. This Aaron Rawlins (whose wife was a daughter of Edward Taylor, who was killed by the Indians in 1704) lived upon the plantation left by Taylor, about half a mile west from Lamprey river landing, at the lower Falls on Piscasick river.

The next spring, 1724, the Indians killed James Nock, one of the elders of the church, as he was returning on horseback from setting his beaver traps in the woods. Soon after they appeared at Kingston, where they took Peter Colcord and Ephraim Stevens, and two children of Ebenezer Stevens. They were pursued by scouts from Kingston and Londonderry, but in vain. Colcord made his escape in about six months, and received a gratuity of ten pounds from the Assembly, for his "courage and ingenuity, and for the account he gave of the proceedings of the enemy."

On a sabbath day they ambushed the road at Oyster river, and killed George Chesley, and mortally wounded Elizabeth Burnham, as they were returning together from public worship. In a few days more, five Indians took Thomas Smith and John Carr, at Chester, and after carrying them about thirty miles, bound them and lay down to sleep; the captives escaped, and in three days arrived safe at a garrison in Londonderry.

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company of volunteers under the command of Abraham Benwick, who went out on the encouragement offered by the government for scalps, were about marching to make discoveries. It happened that Moses Davis, and his son of the same name, being at work in their cornfield, went to a brook to drink, where they discovered three Indian packs. They immediately gave notice of this discovery to the volunteer company, and went before to guide them to the spot. The Indians had placed themselves in ambush; and the unhappy father and son were both killed. The company then fired, killed one, and wounded two others, who made their escape, though they were pursued and tracked by their blood to a considerable distance.

Within the town of Dover were many families of Quakers; who, scrupling the lawfulness of war, could not be persuaded to use any means for their defence, though equally exposed with their neighbours to an enemy who made no distinction between them. One of these people, Ebenezer Downs, was taken by the Indians, and was grossly insulted and abused by them, because he refused to dance as the other prisoners did, for the diversion of their savage captors. Another of them, John Hanson, who lived on the outside of the town in a remote situation, could not be persuaded to remove to a garrison, though he had a large family of children. A party of thirteen Indians, called French Mohawks, had marked his house for their prey; and lay several days in ambush, waiting for an opportunity to assault it. While Hanson with his eldest daughter were gone to attend the weekly meeting of Friends, and his two eldest sons were at work in a meadow at some distance, the Indians entered the house, killed and scalped two small children, and took his wife, with her infant of fourteen days old, her nurse, two daughters and a son, and after rifling the house carried them off. This was done so suddenly and secretly, that the first person who discovered it was the eldest daughter at her return from the meeting before her father. Seeing the two children dead at the door, she gave a shriek of distress, which was distinctly heard by her mother, then in the hands of the enemy among the bushes, and by her brothers in the meadow. The people being alarmed, went in pursuit; but the Indians, cautiously avoiding all paths, went off with their

captives undiscovered. They were all sold to the French in Canada. Hanson went the next spring and redeemed his wife, the three younger children and the nurse, but he could not obtain the elder daughter of seventeen years old, though he saw and conversed with her. He also redeemed Ebenezer Downs. He made a second attempt in 1727, but died at Crown-point on his way to Canada. The girl was married to a Frenchman, and never returned.

These and other insolencies of the enemy being daily perpetrated on the frontiers, caused the governments to resolve on an expedition to Norridgewog. The Captains Moulton and Harman, both of York, each at the head of a company of 100 men, executed their orders with great address. They completely invested and surprised that village—killed the obnoxious Jesuit, with about eighty of his Indians—recovered three captives—destroyed the chapel, and brought away the plate and furniture of the altar, and the devotional flag, as trophies of their victory. Ralle was then in the 68th year of his age, and had resided in his mission at Norridgewog 26 years, having before spent 6 years in travelling among the Indian nations, in the interior parts of America.

The parties of Indians who were abroad, continued to ravage the frontiers. Two men being missing from Dunstable, a scout of eleven went in quest of them; they were fired upon by thirty of the enemy, and nine of them were killed: the other two made their escape, though one of them was badly wounded. Afterwards another company fell into their ambush and engaged them, but the enemy being superior in number overpowered them, killed one and wounded four, the rest retreating. At Kingston, Jabez Colman, and his son Joseph, were killed as they were at work in their field. The success of the forces at Norridgewog, and the large premium offered for scalps, having induced several volunteer companies to go out, they visited one after another of the Indian villages, but found them deserted. The fate of Norridgewog had struck such terror into them, that they did not think themselves safe at any of their former places of abode, and occupied them as resting places only, when they were scouting or hunting.

One of these volunteer companies, under the command of

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Captain John Lovewell, of Dunstable, was greatly distinguished, first by their success and afterwards by their misfortunes. This company consisted of thirty: at their first excursion to the northward of Winipiseogee lake, they discovered an Indian wigwam, in which there were a man and a boy. They killed and scalped the man, and brought the boy alive to Boston, where they received the reward promised by law, and a handsome gratuity besides.

By this success his company was augmented to seventy. They marched again, and visiting the place where they had killed the Indian, found his body as they had left it two months before. (1725.) Their provision falling short, thirty of them were dismissed by lot and returned. The remaining forty continued their march till they discovered a track, which they followed till they saw a smoke just before sunset, by which they judged that the enemy were encamped for the night. They kept themselves concealed till after midnight, when they silently advanced, and discovered ten Indians asleep round a fire by the side of a frozen pond. Lovewell now determined to make sure work, and placing his men conveniently, ordered part of them to fire, five at once, as quick after each other as possible, and another part to reserve their fire: he gave the signal by firing his own gun, which killed two of them; the men firing according to order, killed five more on the spot; the other three starting up from their sleep, two of them were immediately shot dead by the reserve; the other, though wounded, attempted to escape by crossing the pond, but was seized by a dog and held fast till they killed him. Thus in a few minutes the whole company was destroyed, and some attempt against the frontiers of New Hampshire prevented; for these Indians were marching from Canada, well furnished with new guns and plenty of ammunition; they had also a number of spare blankets, moccasins, and snow shoes for the accommodation of the prisoners, whom they expected to take, and were within two days' march of the frontiers. The pond where this exploit was performed is at the head of a branch of Salmonfall river, in the township of Wakefield, and has ever since borne the name of Lovewell's pond. The action was spoken of by elderly people, at a distance of time, with an air of exultation; and

considering the extreme difficulty of finding and attacking Indians in the woods, and the judicious manner in which they were so completely surprised, it was a capital exploit.

The brave company, with the ten scalps stretched on hoops, and elevated on poles, entered Dover in triumph, and proceeded thence to Boston; where they received the bounty of one hundred pounds for each, out of the public treasury.

Encouraged by this success, Lovewell marched a third time; intending to attack the villages of Pigwacket, on the upper part of the river Saco, which had been the residence of a formidable tribe, and which they still occasionally inhabited. His company at this time consisted of forty-six, including a chaplain and surgeon: two of them proving lame, returned: another falling sick, they halted, and built a stockade fort on the west side of great Ossapy pond; partly for the accommodation of the sick man, and partly for a place of retreat in case of any misfortune. Here the surgeon was left with the sick man, and eight of the company for a guard. The number was now reduced to thirty-four. Pursuing their march to the northward, they came to a pond, about twenty-two miles distant, in a line from the fort, and encamped by the side of it. Early the next morning, while at their devotions, they heard the report of a gun, and discovered a single Indian, standing on a point of land which runs into the pond, more than a mile distant. They had been alarmed the preceding night by noises round their camp, which they imagined were made by Indians, and this opinion was now strengthened. They suspected that the Indian was placed there to decoy them, and that a body of the enemy was in their front. A consultation being held, they determined to march forward, and by encompassing the pond, to gain the place where the Indian stood; and that they might be ready for action, they disencumbered themselves of their packs, and left them, without a guard, at the north-east end of the pond, in a pitch pine plain, where the trees were thin and the brakes, at that time of the year, small. It happened that Lovewell's march had crossed a carrying-place, by which two parties of Indians, consisting of forty-one men, commanded by Paugus and Wahwa, who had been scouting down Saco river, were returning to the lower village of Pigwacket, distant about

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a mile and a half from this pond. Having fallen on Lovewell's track, they followed it till they came to the packs, which they removed; and counting them, found the number of his men to be less than their own: they therefore placed themselves in ambush, to attack them on their return. The Indian, who had stood on the point, and was returning to the village by another path, met our party, and received their fire, which he returned, and wounded Lovewell and another with small shot. Lieutenant Wyman, firing again, killed him, and they took his scalp. Seeing no other enemy, they returned to the place where they had left their packs, and while they were looking for them, the Indians rose, and ran toward them with a horrid yelling. A smart firing commenced on both sides, it being now about ten of the clock. Captain Lovewell and eight more were killed on the spot. Lieutenant Farwell, and two others, were wounded; several of the Indians fell; but, being superior in number, they endeavoured to surround the party, who, perceiving their intention, retreated—hoping to be sheltered by a point of rock which ran into the pond, and a few large pine trees standing on a sandy beach. In this forlorn place they took their station. On their right was the mouth of a brook, at that time unfordable; on their left was the rocky point; their front was partly covered by a deep bog, and partly uncovered, and the pond was in their rear. The enemy galled them in front and flank, and had them so completely in their power, that had they made a prudent use of their advantage, the whole company must either have been killed, or obliged to surrender at discretion—being destitute of a mouthful of sustenance, and an escape being impracticable. Under the conduct of Lieutenant Wyman they kept up their fire, and showed a resolute countenance, all the remainder of the day; during which their chaplain, Jonathan Frie, Ensign Robbins, and one more, were mortally wounded. The Indians invited them to surrender, by holding up ropes to them, and endeavoured to intimidate them by their hideous yells; but they determined to die rather than yield; and by their well-directed fire, the number of the savages was thinned, and their cries became fainter, till, just before night, they quitted their advantageous ground, carrying off their killed and wounded, and leaving the dead bodies of Love-

well and his men unscalped. The shattered remnant of this brave company, collecting themselves together, found three of their number unable to move from the spot, eleven wounded, but able to march, and nine who had received no hurt. It was melancholy to leave their dying companions behind, but there was no possibility of removing them. One of them, Ensign Robins, desired them to lay his gun by him charged, that if the Indians should return before his death, he might be able to kill one more. After the rising of the moon, they quitted the fatal spot, and directed their march toward the fort where the surgeon and guard had been left. To their great surprise they found it deserted. In the beginning of the action, one man (whose name has not been thought worthy to be transmitted to posterity) quitted the field, and fled to the fort; where, in the style of Job's messengers, he informed them of Lovewell's death, and the defeat of the whole company; upon which they made the best of their way home; leaving a quantity of bread and pork, which was a seasonable relief to the retreating survivors. From this place they endeavoured to get home. Lieutenant Farwell, the chaplain (who had the journal of the march in his pocket), and one more, perished in the woods, for want of dressing for their wounds. The others, after enduring the most severe hardships, came in one after another, and were not only received with joy, but were recompensed for their valour and sufferings; and a generous provision was made for the widows and children of the slain.

A party from the frontiers of New Hampshire were ordered out to bury the dead; but, by some mistake, did not reach the place of action. Colonel Tyng, with a company from Dunstable, went to the spot, and having found the bodies of twelve, buried them, and carved their names on the trees where the battle was fought. At a little distance he found three Indian graves, which he opened; one of the bodies was known to be their warrior Paugus. He also observed tracks of blood on the ground, to a great distance from the scene of action. It was remarked, that a week before this engagement happened, it had been reported in Portsmouth at the distance of eighty miles, with but little variation from the truth. Such incidents were not uncommon, and could scarcely deserve notice, if they did

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not indicate that a taste for the marvellous was not extinguished in the minds of the most sober and rational.

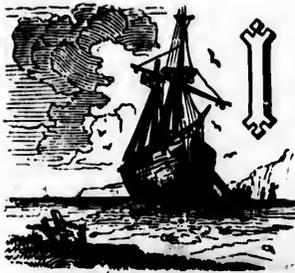
This was one of the most fierce and obstinate battles which had been fought with the Indians. They had not only the advantage of numbers, but of placing themselves in ambush, and waiting with deliberation the moment of attack. These circumstances gave them a degree of ardour and impetuosity. Lovewell and his men, though disappointed of meeting the enemy in their front, expected, and determined, to fight. The fall of their commander, and more than one quarter of their number, in the first onset, was greatly discouraging; but they knew that the situation to which they were reduced, and their distance from the frontiers, cut off all hope of safety from flight. In these circumstances, prudence as well as valour dictated a continuance of the engagement, and a refusal to surrender, until the enemy, awed by their brave resistance, and weakened by their own loss, yielded them the honour of the field. After this encounter the Indians resided no more at Pigwacket till the peace, which was concluded after long negotiations.





CHAPTER IX.

THE FRENCH WAR OF 1745 TO 1748.



It was the misfortune of the colonies, that, when the mother country became involved in war with the European powers, they were exposed to the attacks of active enemies, and yet were left to provide for their own defence. In 1744, a war which had been waged between Great Britain and Spain was extended to France, and of course, the contest brought the French and English colonies into conflict. An Indian war was a necessary consequence of a war with France. The scene of the opening of both was in Nova Scotia.

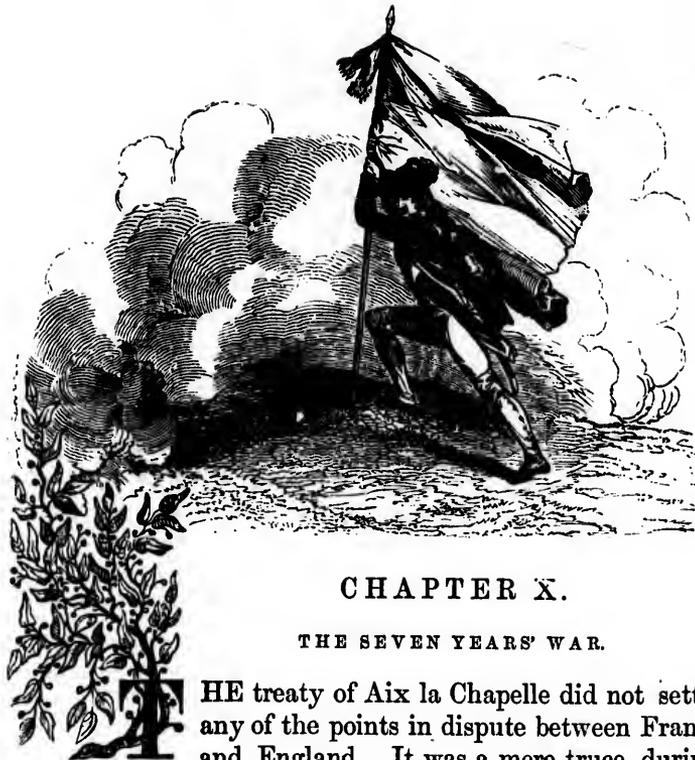
In the year 1745, a daring enterprise was projected against Louisbourg, a strong fortress belonging to the French, on the island of Cape Breton. This was proposed by Shirley, governor of Massachusetts, and approved of by the general court of that province. Louisbourg was the Dunkirk of North America. Five millions of dollars had been employed in its fortifications. It was of great importance to France, and also to England, me-



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ditating, as both did, the extension of their American possessions. Upwards of five thousand men were raised in the New England colonies, and put under the command of William Pepperell, a respectable merchant in Massachusetts. This force arrived at Canso, early in April, 1745. A British marine force, from the West Indies, commanded by Commodore Warren, acted in concert with these land forces. The siege was conducted with such spirit and address, that on the 17th of June the fortress capitulated. The reduction of Louisbourg, by colonial troops, gave to European powers, enlarged ideas of the value of American possessions. The war henceforward became more important. Great projects occupied the attention of the belligerent powers. The recovery of Louisbourg, the reduction of Nova Scotia, the total devastation of the sea coast, and even the complete conquest of New England, were contemplated by France. With this view, a powerful fleet, and an army of three thousand men, under the command of Duke d'Anville, sailed, in 1746, for the American coast. There was no British fleet at hand, to resist this force. The distress of the colonies was great. Their apprehensions of danger were excited to a high pitch; when Providence wrought their deliverance. The French ships were visited by such an awful sickness, that thirteen hundred of their crews died at sea. Their whole fleet was dispersed by a violent tempest. Some of the ships were lost. Those which escaped returned singly to France. The whole expedition was defeated, without the firing of a single gun. Great Britain, not less sanguine, counted on the expulsion of the French from the continent of America; and that Canada, with the adjacent French possessions, would soon be British provinces. Preparations were made for executing these gigantic projects; but they came to nothing. No further important transaction took place in America, till the war ended, by the peace of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748. By this, it was stipulated, that all conquests, made during the war, should be restored. The British colonists had the mortification to see Louisbourg returned to its former owners, the French.



CHAPTER X.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

THE treaty of Aix la Chapelle did not settle any of the points in dispute between France and England. It was a mere truce, during which each party gathered new strength for a more persevering contest. The boundaries of the British empire in North America, and the disputed property of Tobago and other islands in the West Indies, were left to be settled by the negotiation of commissaries,—a procedure in which it is easy for either party, by cunning and chicanery, to perplex the discussion, and indefinitely to protract its issue. This policy the French were fully prepared to pursue; and in unison with it, they pushed with redoubled vigour their system of territorial encroachment. Even previous to the appointment of commissaries on either side, and very soon after the conclusion of the peace, they attempted to make an establishment in Tobago; but, warned by the

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violent expression of indignation which was provoked from the merchants of Britain by this measure, they receded from a pretension which seemed likely too soon to precipitate matters to an extremity, and, on the first complaint of the British government, consented to abandon the undertaking. Their conduct on this occasion, which admits of no cavil or disguise, justifies a presumption very unfavourable to their good faith in the other contemporary collisions and disputes, of which the merits, whether by artifice or accident, have been involved in greater doubt and obscurity. Eagerly resuming possession of Cape Breton, restored to them by the treaty of peace, the French speedily perceived that some of the advantages which they might hope to derive from this possession were likely to be counteracted by the establishment of the colonists despatched from Britain under Cornwallis to Nova Scotia; and though they had no pretence for disputing the legitimacy of this enterprise, they employed the most active endeavours to render it ineffectual. Their Indian allies attacked the English settlements in Nova Scotia; and, in the commencement of the year 1750, a band of two thousand five hundred French troops, detached by the governor of Canada, and reinforced by Indian auxiliaries, took possession of the whole tract of country from Chignecto, along the north side of the Bay of Fundy, to Kennebec river, which they declared to be still the property of the Most Christian King, and to which they invited all the French Neutrals, as they were called, to repair from the district confessedly ceded to Britain. Various skirmishes ensued between the forces of Cornwallis and the French and Indians; a number of forts were built, and some were taken and destroyed on both sides; but the French continued to maintain their position and fortify their interest. Cornwallis urgently solicited assistance from the government of Massachusetts, and would probably have obtained it, but for the absence of the popular and enterprising Shirley, who had repaired to Europe in order to act as one of the commissaries of Britain in the approaching discussions with France. Spencer Phipps, the lieutenant-governor, whose influence was not proportioned to his merit, recommended an expedition to Nova Scotia; but the Assembly declared that their own province was likely to need all its forces for its own protection

They had just received intelligence of an encroachment on the territory of Massachusetts, by a settlement which the French were reported to have commenced on the river Lechock, about five leagues eastward of Penobscot; and Clinton, the governor of New York, had communicated to them the alarming tidings, that the French authorities in Canada were diligently endeavouring to seduce the Six Nations from the British interest, and had urged the New England governments to unite their counsels with his, in opposition to these dangerous intrigues. Thus, before the peace announced by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was fully established, the French engaged in measures which plainly tended to a renewal of the war.

New and more important subjects of dispute now arose. The extension of the Virginian settlements to the banks of the river Ohio, and especially the occupation of a part of this region by the English Ohio Company, were calculated to bring to a decisive test the long prevalent suspicion of the purpose of the French to render the line of forts which they had been erecting from Canada to Louisiana, subservient not merely to the communication between their own colonies, but to the confinement of the British settlements, and the obstruction of their advances into the interior of the country. Nor did the French hesitate a moment to afford unequivocal proof of their entire purpose, and to resist the first attempt of their rivals to overleap the boundaries within which they were resolved to enclose them. A menace of the governor of Canada, that he would treat as enemies any of the subjects of Britain who should settle near the Ohio, or presume even to trade with the Indian inhabitants of this region, having been disregarded, was promptly enforced by the seizure of a number of British traders, who were carried as prisoners to a fort which the French were erecting at Presque Isle, on Lake Erie. Other British traders, and servants of the Ohio Company, retreated in alarm from the stations which they had begun to occupy; and the French, perceiving that the critical juncture was come, when their ambitious system of policy, now plainly disclosed, must be either defended by force or completely abandoned, proceeded with augmented diligence to supply whatever was yet defective in its subsidiary arrangements and preparations. A fort was build at Niagara, within



ENGLISH TRADING WITH THE INDIANS.

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the dominions of the Indian allies of Britain; and, in addition to the fort on Lake Erie, two others were built at commanding positions on the banks of the Ohio. Thus, at length, the French succeeded in completing their long-projected communication between the mouth of the Mississippi and the river St. Lawrence.

The English had established a trading-post upon the Miami, in the country of the tribe called Twightwees. Early in 1752, a party of French soldiers, who had been sent to guard the Ohio, hearing of this trading-post, came to the Twightwees and demanded the traders as unauthorized intruders upon French lands. The Indians refused to surrender their friends. The French then obtained the aid of the Ottawas and Chippewas, and attacked the station. After a severe conflict, in which fourteen of the natives were killed and others wounded, the post was carried and destroyed, and the traders taken to Canada as prisoners. Such was the fate of the first British settlement upon the Ohio, of which we have any record.

Blood had now been shed, and both parties became more determined to maintain their respective claims. On the 9th of June, 1752, a conference was held at Logstown, about 17 miles below Pittsburgh, upon the north side of the Ohio, between commissioners from Virginia and the Indians, for the settlement of all difficulties concerning the sale of the western lands. After some negotiation, the commissioners obtained the consent of the red men to a treaty very advantageous to the English. But the French knew how to manage the Indians, so as render the treaty a mere farce.

Having no satisfactory information in regard to the numbers and movements of the French forces upon the frontier, Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, determined to send a messenger to procure the desired knowledge. He selected Major George Washington (afterwards so illustrious), then twenty-one years of age, but distinguished for courage, fortitude, and discretion, and inured to the hardships of the wilderness. With Christopher Gist for his guide, Washington left Wills' Creek, where Cumberland now is, on the 15th of November, 1753, and on the 22d of the same month, reached the Monongahela, about ten miles above the fork. Thence he went to Logstown and

held a conference with the Indian chiefs of that neighbourhood. Finding that nothing could be done with these people, Washington left Logstown on the 30th of November, and travelling amid the severities of the season, reached Venango, an old Indian town at the mouth of French creek, on the 4th of the next month. Here he had an interview with the French, and in consequence of their arts, nearly lost those Indians who had accompanied him. Leaving Venango, the young messenger proceeded to the Fort at the head of French creek. Here he delivered Governor Dinwiddie's letter, received an answer, made accurate observations, and on the 16th, set out upon his return, having much difficulty in persuading his Indians to accompany him. From Venango, Washington and Gist went on foot, leaving their Indian friends with the French. During this return journey, the messenger and his guide had to contend with great difficulties and endure extreme hardships, in consequence of the character of the route, the uncertain disposition of the Indians, and the severity of the winter. In crossing the Alleghany



WASHINGTON CROSSING THE ALLEGHANY.

upon a raft, they were thrown into the water by the rushing of the loose ice, and made a narrow escape from drowning and from being frozen to death. In spite of all, however, they reached Will's creek on the 6th of January, safe and sound.*

* Perkins' Annals of the West.

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A journal, in which Washington recorded the particulars of his journey and the fruits of his observation, was published soon after, and impressed his countrymen with a high respect for the solidity of his judgment, and the calm, determined fortitude of his character.

Governor Dinwiddie, finding that nothing was to be gained by amicable negotiation, projected the construction of forts at various places which had been surveyed and selected by Washington; and the Assembly agreeing to defray the expense of these operations, materials were procured and the works commenced without delay. Unfortunately, no means were taken to gain the consent of the natives to this measure, which accordingly served only to increase the jealousy and malevolence with which they had begun to regard the English. A regiment was raised at the same time by the Virginian government, and Washington, who was its lieutenant-colonel, marched with two companies, in advance of the main body, to the Great Meadows, situated within the disputed territory. [April, 1754.] Here he learned from some friendly Indians, that the French, with a force of six hundred men and eighteen pieces of cannon, having attacked and destroyed a fort which the Virginians had been erecting, were themselves engaged in completing another fort at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela, one of the spots which was especially recommended in his own journal to the occupation of his countrymen; and that a detachment of French troops from this place was then on its march towards the Great Meadows, and had encamped for the night in the bosom of a retired valley at a short distance. Convinced that this was a hostile movement, Washington availed himself of the proffered guidance of the Indians, and, advancing with his troops on a dark and rainy night, effectually surprised the French encampment. The Virginians, rousing the enemy by a sudden discharge of firearms, completely disconcerted them by rushing forward to close attack, and compelled them instantly to surrender.

Washington, after this success, erected at the Great Meadows a small stockade fort, which received the name of Fort Necessity, and then advanced with his troops, which, by the accession of two companies, one from New York and the other from

North Carolina, now amounted to four hundred men, towards the new French fort, called Duquesne, with the intention of dislodging the enemy. But learning on his march that the French had been reinforced and were approaching with a great body of Indian auxiliaries to attack him, he retreated to Fort Necessity, and endeavoured to strengthen its defences by the construction of a ditch around the stockade. Before his operation was completed, the fort was attacked, on the 4th of July, by a very superior force, under the command of De Villiers. The garrison made a vigorous defence from ten in the morning till a late hour at night, when De Villiers having sounded a parley and tendered a capitulation, they at first refused, but finally consented, to surrender, or, more properly speaking, to evacuate the fort, on condition that they should be allowed to march out with the honours of war, to retain their arms and baggage, and to retire without molestation into the inhabited parts of Virginia, —and that the French themselves, instead of advancing farther at present, or even retaining the evacuated fort, should retreat to their previous station at Monongahela. Fifty-eight of the Virginians, and two hundred of the French, were killed and wounded in the encounter. Such a capitulation was by no means calculated either to damp the spirit of the Virginians or to depress the reputation of their commander. It was violated, however, with unscrupulous barbarity by the Indians who were united to the forces of De Villiers, and who, hovering round the Virginians during the whole of their retreat, harassed them with frequent attacks, and killed and wounded a considerable number of them. At the close of this unsuccessful expedition, the Virginian Assembly, with equal justice and magnanimity, expressed by a vote of thanks its approbation of the conduct of Washington and his troops.

Early in the spring of this year, and before the expedition from Virginia to the Great Meadows, the British ministers signified to the provincial governments the desire of the king that they should oppose the French encroachments by force of arms; together with a recommendation from his Majesty that they should send delegates to a general convention at Albany, both in order to form a league with the Six Nations, and to concert among themselves a plan of united operations

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and defence against the common enemy. Seven of the colonies, consisting of Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania, and the New England States, agreed to comply with this recommendation; and the Assembly of Massachusetts at the same time (April 10, 1754) presented an address to Governor Shirley, desiring him "to pray his Majesty that affairs which relate to the Six Nations and their allies may be put under such general direction as his Majesty shall judge proper; and that the several governments may be *obliged* to bear their proportions of defending his Majesty's territories against the encroachments of the French and the ravages and incursions of the Indians." Shirley, sensible probably of the jealousy which any measure founded on this suggestion would provoke among the colonists in general, unless it originated with themselves, proposed to the governors of the several colonies, that the delegates elected to the convention should be authorized by their constituents to deliberate on a plan of united operation of all the States for their common safety and defence. Instructions to this effect were accordingly communicated to the delegates, who, assembling at Albany in the month of June, were met by a numerous deputation from the tribes of the Six Nations. After an explanatory and pacific treaty with the Indians, who very willingly accepted the presents that were tendered to them, but yet plainly betrayed by their negligent demeanour the success with which the French had intrigued to weaken their regard for the English,—the convention undertook the more important subject which was committed to its deliberations; and it was unanimously resolved that a union of the colonies was essential to the general safety, and ought to be forthwith accomplished. But here the unanimity of the delegates ended.

The British ministers, on receiving intelligence of the defeat of Washington, and of the establishment of French posts on the Ohio, perceived plainly that a war between France and England had begun. Even with a view to the speedy restoration of peace, it was expedient that they should exert more vigour and promptitude of hostility, and demonstrate more active and determined concern for the dignity of the British empire and the safety of its colonial adjuncts or dependencies. Finding that their complaints to the court of Versailles were answered only

by a repetition of former evasions, and learning that the French were making active preparation for the enlargement of their naval and military force in America, they determined to send a detachment of the standing army maintained in England, to the defence of the British possessions and pretensions in the same quarter. In conformity with this determination, and early in the following year (January, 1755), General Braddock was despatched from Ireland with two regiments of infantry commanded by Halket and Dunbar, which were destined to the service of America, and especially to the protection of the Virginian frontier. On the arrival of this armament at its destination, the provinces seemed to forget alike their disputes with each other and their jealousies of the parent state, and a vigorous offensive campaign against the French was projected. A convention of the provincial governors, at the request of the British commander, assembled at Annapolis, in Maryland, to settle the plan of military operations, and resolved that three simultaneous expeditions should be undertaken. The first, directed against Fort Duquesne, was to be conducted by Braddock with his British troops; the second, which was to attempt the reduction of the French fort at Niagara, was committed to the American regulars and Indians, commanded by Governor Shirley, who now received the rank of a British general from the king; and the third, an expedition against Crown Point, was to be undertaken by militia drawn from the northern colonies.

The French court, apprised of Braddock's departure for America, now made one more attempt to prolong the inactivity of the British government, by reiterating assurances of its pacific purposes and earnest desire of accommodation. But when the Marquis de Mirepoix, the ambassador of France at London, a truly honourable man, tendered these assurances, in full reliance on their truth, to the British ministers, they exhibited to him such incontestable proofs of the insincerity of his court, that he was struck with astonishment and mortification, and, repairing to Versailles, upbraided the ministers of Louis the Fifteenth with the indignity to which they had exposed him as the tool of their dissimulation. By them he was referred to the king, who commanded him to return to London with fresh

protestations of his royal intention to preserve peace; but the conduct of this monarch corresponded so ill with his professions, that his ambassador had scarcely obtained an audience to communicate them, when indubitable assurance was received that a powerful squadron was ready to sail for America from Brest and Rochefort. In effect, it sailed soon after, and transported a great quantity of military stores, and four thousand regular troops, commanded by the Baron Dieskau. Roused by this intelligence, the British government despatched a small fleet, under the command of Admiral Boscawen, and afterwards, on learning the superior strength of the enemy, a few more vessels under Admiral Holborne, to watch the motions of the French squadron. But no additional land forces were sent by Britain to America; nor yet did she think fit to declare war against France. The French monarch was still more bent on avoiding or at least postponing this extremity; and although a part of the fleet which he had despatched to America was attacked off Newfoundland and captured by Admiral Boscawen, he still refrained from any nearer approach to a declaration of war than the recall of his ambassador from England. (April 25, 1755.) The British king, in his speech to parliament, asserted the sincerity of his wishes and endeavours, and still expressed a hope of his ability, to preserve peace; but withal declared that he would not purchase even this blessing at the expense of submitting to encroachments upon his dominions. An act of parliament was passed, extending the provisions of the British *Mutiny Act* to North America; and declaring that all troops, raised by any of the colonial governors or assemblies, should, whenever they acted in conjunction with the British soldiers, be subject to the same system of martial law and discipline which obtained in the British army. A communication, addressed some time before to the provincial governments, signified the king's commands, that officers commissioned by his majesty, or by his commander-in-chief in North America, should take precedence of all those whose commissions were derived from the provincial governors or assemblies; "and that the general and field officers of the provincial troops should have no rank, when serving with the general and field officers commissioned by the crown." This regulation proved exceedingly unpalatable

to the Americans. Washington, in particular, resenting it as injurious to the merit of his countrymen and calculated to depress their spirit and character, resigned his commission. Happily, however, for his own fame and his country's interest, he was persuaded to accept the appointment of aid-de-camp to General Braddock.

While preparations were making for the prosecution of those military schemes devised by the convention of Annapolis, the New England colonies despatched a force against the forts and settlements established by the French in Nova Scotia. Three thousand men were raised, and placed under the command of Colonel Winslow. On arriving at the British settlement in Nova Scotia, May 25, 1755, the New England forces were joined by three hundred regular troops and a train of artillery, and the command of the whole was assumed by Colonel Monckton, an English officer. This expedition was crowned with entire success. Beau Sejour, the principal French fort at Chignecto, sustained a hot siege of a few days, and then surrendered. The victors gave it the name of Fort Cumberland. The garrison was sent to Louisbourg. The other fortresses of the French in this quarter, surrendered soon after upon the same honourable terms. Nova Scotia was thus reduced to the dominion of Britain, the loss of the conquerors being only 20 killed and as many wounded. A large number of the inhabitants, being inimical to the British rule, were forced to quit the country.

But little doubt was entertained that the expedition under Braddock, against Fort Duquesne, would be successful. After various difficulties with the colonial authorities, General Braddock was prepared to move forward. He commenced his march from Wills' Creek, on the 10th of June, at the head of two thousand two hundred men. The advance of the army, unavoidably retarded by the natural impediments of the region it had to traverse, was additionally and unnecessarily obstructed by the stubborn adherence of Braddock, amidst the boundless woods and tangled thickets of America, to the system of military movements adapted to the open and extensive plains of Europe. He was roused at length to greater vigour and activity by the intelligence that the French at Fort Duquesne expected a reinforcement of five hundred regular troops; whereupon, at the

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GENERAL BRADDOCK.

head of twelve hundred men whom he selected from the different corps, and with ten pieces of cannon and the necessary ammunition and provisions, he resolved to press forward to the point of destination,—leaving the residue of the army, under the command of Colonel Dunbar, to follow, with all the heavy baggage, by easy and leisurely marches. After a laborious progress, which was still unnecessarily retarded, and yet unaccompanied by the precaution of reconnoitring the woods, Braddock arrived at the Monongahela on the 8th of July, and encamped within ten miles of Fort Duquesne. Though Dunbar was now forty miles behind him, and the proximity of the enemy increased the danger of instantaneous attack, he prepared to advance the next day in his usual style of march, and expected to invest the French fortress without opposition. Sir Peter Halket and others of his officers now vainly entreated him to proceed with greater caution, to convert the column of march into an order of battle, and to employ the friendly Indians, who attended him, as an advanced guard, to explore and anticipate

the probabilities of ambuscade. Not less vainly did Washington represent that the profound silence and apparent solitude of the gloomy scenes around them afforded no security in American warfare against deadly and imminent danger, and offer with the provincial troops to scour and occupy the woods in the front and on the flanks of the main body. Braddock treated with equal contempt the idea of aid and of hostility from Indian savages; and disdainfully rejecting the proposition of Washington, ordered the provincials to form the rearguard of the British force.

On the following day, this infatuated commander resumed his march (July 9, 1755), without having made the slightest attempt to gain intelligence of the situation or dispositions of the enemy. Three hundred British regulars, conducted by Colonel Gage, composed his van; and Braddock himself followed at some distance with the artillery and main body of the army divided into small columns. Thus incautiously advancing, and having arrived about noon within seven miles of Fort Duquesne,—in an open wood undergrown thickly with high grass, his troops were suddenly startled by the appalling sound of the Indian war-cry; and in the same moment a rattling shower of musketry was poured on their front and left flank from an enemy so artfully concealed that not a man of them could be descried. The vanguard, staggered and daunted, fell back upon the main body; and the firing being repeated with redoubled fury and without yet disclosing either the numbers or the position of the assailants, terror and confusion began to spread among the British troops; and many of them sought safety in flight, notwithstanding all the efforts of their officers, some of whom behaved very gallantly, to recall and rally them. Braddock himself, if he ever possessed any of the higher qualities of a soldier, was in this emergency deserted of them all, and exhibited only an obstinate and unavailing bravery. Instead of raking the thickets and bushes whence the fire was poured with grape-shot from the ten pieces of cannon which he had with him, or pushing forward flanking parties of his Indians against the enemy, he confined his attention exclusively to the regular infantry. To them the only command which he should have addressed was either an instant retreat, or a rapid charge with-

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out regard to methodical order and regularity. He adopted neither of these expedients; but, remaining on the ground where he was first attacked, under an incessant and galling fire, he directed the brave officers and men who continued with him, to form in regular line and advance. Meanwhile his troops fell fast beneath the iron tempest that hissed around them, and almost all his officers were singled out one after another and killed or wounded; for the Indians, who always take deliberate and particular aim when they fire, and aim preferably at the officers, easily distinguished them by their dress. After an action of three hours, Braddock, under whom three horses were killed, and whose obstinacy seemed to increase with the danger, received a shot through the right arm and the lungs, and was carried off the field by Colonel Gage. All the officers on horseback, except Colonel Washington, were now killed or wounded, and the residue of the troops by whom the conflict had been maintained, abandoned it in dismay and disorder. The provincials, who were among the last to leave the field, were rallied after the action by the skill and presence of mind of Washington, and covered the retreat of the regulars. The defeat was complete.

About seven hundred of the British were killed or wounded, including a considerable proportion of the Virginian troops, and sixty-four out of eighty-five officers. Sir Peter Halket fell by the first fire at the head of his regiment; and the general's secretary, son to Governor Shirley, was killed soon after. The artillery, ammunition, and baggage were abandoned to the enemy; and the defeated army fled precipitately to the camp of Dunbar, where Braddock expired of his wounds. Although no pursuit was attempted by the French, who afterwards gave out that their numbers, including Indian auxiliaries, had amounted only to four hundred men, and, with greater probability, that their loss in the action was perfectly insignificant, Dunbar, struck with astonishment and alarm, and finding that his troops were infected with the panic and disarray of the fugitives, hastily reconducted them to Wills' Creek. Here letters were brought to him from the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, beseeching him to assist in defending the frontiers of these provinces, while they would endeavour

to raise from the inhabitants reinforcements that might enable him yet to resume the enterprise against Fort Duquesne. But, diffident of his safety, he declined to accede to their desire; and abandoning his position at Wills' Creek, pursued a hasty retreat to Philadelphia. Since their arrival in America, and especially during this retreat, the conduct of the British soldiers towards the American colonists was marked by licentious rapine and insolence; and it was generally declared of them that they were much more formidable to the people whom they had been commissioned to defend, than to the enemy whom they had undertaken to conquer.

The consequences of Braddock's defeat were soon felt by the frontier settlers. The tomahawk and scalping-knife were unceasingly employed, and all the horrors of savage warfare were experienced. The measures of the Virginia Assembly were inadequate to protect the people of that colony. The skilful and unwearied exertions of Washington proved unavailing to stem the furious and destructive incursions of the French and Indians, who, dividing into small parties, spread themselves over the frontier.

The proposed expedition against Niagara failed from various causes. By Braddock's death, Shirley became commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America. The troops he was to lead against Niagara, were to assemble at Albany. Various causes combined to delay his march; and while he was advancing to Oswego, the tidings of Braddock's defeat overtook him, and spread consternation through his army. Many of the boatmen and sledgemen who were hired to transport the stores and provisions, deserted, and the Indians displayed a desire to follow them. On the 21st of August, 1755, he arrived at Oswego. The forces were so much reduced by desertion, and the fidelity of the Indians was so precarious, that farther delay could not be avoided; and though Shirley finally endeavoured to press forward to Niagara, he was compelled to abandon his design. Leaving Colonel Mercer at Oswego, with a garrison of seven hundred men, and instructions to build two additional forts for the security of the place, the commander-in-chief returned with his main force to Albany.

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sembled at Albany. They consisted of militia regiments, supplied by the New England States and New York, and amounting to between five and six thousand men. The command was intrusted to Gen. William Johnson, a man without military experience, but energetic and enterprising. He possessed much influence over the Indians of the Six Nations, and persuaded Hendrick, a brave and sagacious Mohawk chief, with about three hundred warriors, to join him.

While Johnson was collecting his artillery and military stores, General Lyman, the second in command, advanced with the troops to the *carrying-place* between Hudson's River and Lake George, about sixty miles from Albany, and began to build a fortress, which received the name of Fort Edward, on the east side of the Hudson. Having joined his army, Johnson left a part of it as a garrison to Fort Edward, and towards the end of August proceeded with the main body to the southern extremity of Lake George. Here he learned from his Indian scouts, that a party of French and Indians had established a fort at Ticonderoga, which is situated on the isthmus between the north end of Lake George and the southern shore of Lake Champlain, about fifteen miles from Crown Point. As the fortifications at Ticonderoga were reported to be incomplete, Johnson, deeming that the conquest of the place would be attended with little difficulty, and regarding it as a key to the main object of his enterprise, was preparing to advance against it, when he was suddenly reduced to act on the defensive by the motions of the enemy, and the unexpected tidings that reached him of the force which they possessed.

Baron Dieskau, an able and experienced officer, had now arrived in Canada with a strong reinforcement of troops from France; and having collected a considerable army both of French and Indians, was advancing against the British settlements with the purpose of striking an important blow. Johnson hastened to transmit this alarming intelligence to the provinces whose troops he commanded, and especially to the government of Massachusetts,—together with an urgent request for further assistance, which he reckoned indispensable to the success of his enterprise and even to the safety of his army. The issue of this application affords another instance of that unconquer-

able spirit which distinguished the people of New England. Massachusetts had supplied the greatest part of the force which Johnson already commanded, and by her various military exertions, incurred an expense disproportioned to her resources, and of which she anxiously solicited a reimbursement from the parent state. The reputation of Dieskau, and the advantage which he possessed in commanding disciplined troops, contrasted with the inexperience of Johnson and the American militia, gave rise to apprehensions, which, combining with the depression occasioned by Braddock's defeat, produced a general despair of the success of the expedition against Crown Point. But this was a favourite enterprise with the people of New England, and they were determined to persist in it as long as possible, and to support to the utmost of their power the brave men who were engaged in conducting it. A large subsidiary force was raised in Massachusetts, and despatched with the hope of at least extricating Johnson and his army from the danger of being compelled to surrender to the superior power of the enemy. But the danger was over before this reinforcement reached the scene of action. Dieskau had been ordered to direct his first effort to the reduction of the British post at Oswego, of the importance of which the French government was fully aware; and he had already commenced his march for this purpose, when the tidings of Johnson's expedition induced him to reserve his force for the defence of Crown Point. Finding that Johnson's army, which was inferior both in number and experience, did not venture to approach, he determined to advance against it; and expecting an easy victory and the consequent fall of Fort Edward, proposed, as an ulterior measure, to invade Albany, to ravage the neighbouring settlements, and deprive the British of all communication with Oswego. His purpose would have succeeded, if the fate of the two armies had depended on the comparative skill of their commanders. But victory, though commonly, is not indefeasibly, the prize of either the skilful or the strong.

Johnson was apprised of Dieskau's approach, but ignorant both of his position and of his force; for the Indians, who were his scouts, had no words or signs for expressing any large number, and customarily pointed to the hair of their heads, or to

the stars in the firmament, when they meant to denote any quantity which exceeded their reckoning. It was impossible to collect from their reports whether the French fell short of a thousand, or exceeded ten thousand in number. Yet, notwithstanding this uncertainty, Johnson, who had fortified his camp at Lake George, committed the rashness of detaching a thousand men, under the command of a brave officer, Colonel Ephraim Williams, together with Hendrick and the Indian auxiliaries, to attack the enemy. (September 6, 1755.) This detachment had hardly advanced three miles beyond the camp, when it found itself almost entirely surrounded by the French army, and, after a gallant but hopeless conflict, was defeated with some loss and put to flight. Williams fell in this encounter; and Hendrick, with several of his Indians, who fought with heroic bravery, were also among the slain. The French, whose loss was not inferior, pursued the fugitives to their camp, and, had they made an instantaneous attack, they would probably have carried it; but, fortunately for its defenders, a pause took place, which, though short, gave time for their panic and confusion to subside. Dieskau had learned a few days before that Johnson had no cannon in his camp; and he was not aware, that, in the interim, a number of these engines had been seasonably transported to it from Fort Edward. Dismayed by the unexpected fire of this artillery, the Canadian militia and their Indian auxiliaries fled into the woods, whence the discharges of their musketry against a fortified camp produced little effect. The French regulars, however, maintained their ground, and with them, Dieskau, in an engagement which was prolonged for several hours, conducted a vigorous assault upon Johnson's position. Johnson displayed a firm and intrepid spirit during his brief participation in the commencement of the action; but having soon received a painful wound, he was compelled to retire to his tent and abandon the command to Lyman. Under the conduct of this American officer, his countrymen defended their camp with such resolution and success, that the French were finally repulsed with the loss of nearly a thousand men. Dieskau was mortally wounded and taken prisoner; and his discomfited forces, assembling at some distance and preparing to refresh themselves with food, were suddenly



DIESKAU WOUNDED AND CAPTURED.

attacked by a small party of New York and New Hampshire militia commanded by Captains Folsom and M'Ginnes, and, flying in confusion, left the whole of their baggage and ammunition a prey to the victors. In the various conflicts by which this important day was signalized, there were killed or mortally wounded about a hundred and thirty of the British provincials, and among others Captain M'Ginnes, by whom the success was completed, and Colonel Titcomb, of Massachusetts, who had previously gained the praise of distinguished bravery at the siege of Louisbourg.

Now was the time for the British to improve the advantage they had won, and reap the full fruit of their victory by a vigorous pursuit of the flying enemy and by investing Crown Point, which, from the smallness of its garrison, and the impression produced by the defeat of Dieskau, would have probably afforded them an easy conquest. But Johnson was less desirous of extending the public advantage than of reaping and securing his own personal share in it; and sensible of the claim he had acquired on royal favour, he was averse to expose it, while yet unrewarded, to the hazard of diminution. He directed his troops to strengthen the fortifications of his camp, in utter disregard of the spirited counsel of Shirley, who pressed him to

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resume active operations, and at least to dislodge the French from Ticonderoga before they had time to fortify this post and recover from their surprise and consternation. Whether from negligence or from a politic deference to the sentiments of the British court, he maintained scarcely any communication with the New England governments, and sent the French general and the other prisoners to New York,—although Massachusetts had claimed the distinction of receiving them, as due to the preponderance of her interest in the army by which they were taken. With the additional troops lately raised in this province, and which were now united to Johnson's original and victorious army, it was not doubted that he would still attempt some farther enterprise before the close of the year. But he suffered the opportunity to pass by, and consumed the time in lingering and irresolute deliberation, till, by the advice of a council of war, the attack of Crown Point, and all other active operations, were abandoned for the present season. (October, 1755.) His army was then disbanded, with the exception of six hundred men, who were appointed to garrison Fort Edward, and another strong fort which was erected at the southern extremity of Lake George, and received the name of Fort William Henry.

As the victory of the English was not followed up, it was of little service, except in the way of raising their spirits, so depressed by Braddock's defeat. In his reports of the action, Johnson assumed all the credit of the triumph; and he was rewarded with the dignity of a baronet, the office of royal superintendent of Indian affairs, and the sum of five thousand pounds. The services of General Lyman and other meritorious Americans were unnoticed and unrewarded.

On the 12th of December, 1755, General Shirley convoked a council of war at New York, which was attended by the governors of New York, Connecticut, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. Here an extensive plan of operations for the next campaign was arranged. It was proposed to raise ten thousand men for an expedition against Crown Point; six thousand for an attempt upon Niagara, and three thousand for an attack on Fort Duquesne. To divert the attention of the enemy, it was proposed to send two thousand men to Canada by way of the Kennebec

Lord Loudoun soon after arrived, and assumed the functions of commander-in-chief, as well as those of governor of Virginia. (July, 1756.) A difficulty concerning precedence, which existed between the British and colonial officers, was amicably adjusted as the colonists desired. Bright hopes were entertained that the campaign would have a glorious result, when all the arrangements were disconcerted by the news of an important advantage gained by the French.

Baron Dieskau, the French commander-in-chief in America, had been succeeded by the Marquis de Montcalm, a bold, skilful, and enterprising general. In August, 1756, Montcalm led an army of 5000 regulars, Canadian militia, and Indians, by a rapid march to Oswego, and invested two of the British forts. The scanty stock of ammunition with which the garrison had been supplied, was soon exhausted; and Colonel Mercer, the commander, thereupon spiked his guns, and, evacuating the place, carried his troops without the loss of a single man into the other fort. Upon this stronghold a heavy fire was speedily poured by the enemy from the deserted post, of which they assumed possession; and Mercer having been killed by a cannon-ball, the garrison, dismayed by his loss, and disappointed in an attempt to procure aid from Fort George, situated about four miles and a half up the river, where Colonel Schuyler was posted, demanded a capitulation and surrendered as prisoners of war. The garrison consisted of the regiments of Shirley and Pepperell, and amounted to one thousand four hundred men. The conditions of surrender were, that the prisoners should be exempted from plunder, conducted to Montreal, and treated with humanity. But these conditions were violated in a manner disgraceful to the warfare of the French. It was the duty of Montcalm to guard his engagements from the danger of infringement by his savage allies; and yet he instantly delivered up twenty of his prisoners to the Indians who accompanied him, as victims to their vengeance for an equal number of their own race who perished in the siege. Nor was the remainder of the captive garrison protected from the cruelty and indignity with which these savages customarily embittered the fate of the vanquished. Almost all of them were plundered; many were scalped; and some were assassinated. In the two

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forts, the victors obtained possession of one hundred and twenty-one pieces of artillery, fourteen mortars, and a great quantity of military stores and provisions. A number of sloops and boats at the same time fell into their hands. No sooner was Montcalm in possession of the forts, than, with judicious policy, he demolished them both in presence of the Indians of the Six Nations, within whose territory they were erected, and whose jealousy they had not a little awakened.

In consequence of this severe blow, the English were driven to defensive operations. The old forts were strengthened, and new ones were built. Lord Loudoun exerted himself to the best of his ability to prepare forces and supplies for a campaign in the next spring; but he was unfit for his station, and by an imperious and yet undignified course of action, rendered himself obnoxious to the colonists, so that they had but little hope of effecting anything of importance while he was in the chief command. When New York and New England needed protection, Lord Loudoun withdrew the forces and projected an expedition against Louisbourg. In July, 1757, the armament sailed against that strong post, and it was found to be so powerfully garrisoned, that an attempt upon it would have been attended with utter defeat. His lordship then returned to New York, there to learn the consequences of his want of skill.

Montcalm, the French commander, availing himself of the unskillful movement by which Lord Loudoun withdrew so large a portion of the British force from New York to Halifax, advanced with an army of nine thousand men and laid siege to Fort William Henry, which was garrisoned by nearly three thousand troops, partly English and partly American, commanded by a brave English officer, Colonel Monroe. The security of this important post was supposed to be still farther promoted by the proximity of Fort Edward, which was scarcely fourteen miles from it, and where the English general, Webb, was stationed with a force of four thousand men. Had Webb done his duty, the besiegers might have been repulsed, and Fort William Henry preserved; but though he received timely notice of the approach of the enemy, yet, with strange indolence or timidity, he neither summoned the American governments to aid the place with their militia, nor despatched a single

company of his own soldiers to its succour. Nay, whether or not he desired, so far was he from hoping to avert, its capture, that the only communication he made to Monroe, during the siege, was a letter conveying the faint-hearted counsel to surrender without delay. (August 9, 1757.) Montcalm, on the other hand, who was endowed with a high degree of military genius, pressed the assault on Fort William Henry with the utmost vigour and skill. He had inspired his own daring ardour into the French soldiers, and roused the enthusiasm of his Indian auxiliaries by promising plunder as the reward of their conquest. After a sharp resistance, which, however, endured only for six days, Monroe, finding that his ammunition was exhausted, and that hopes of relief were desperate, was compelled to surrender the place by a capitulation, of which the terms were far more honourable to the vanquished than the fulfilment of them was to the victors. It was conditioned that the garrison should not serve against the French for eighteen months; that they should march out with the honours of war; and, retaining their private baggage, be escorted to Fort Edward by French troops, as a security against the lawless ferocity of the Indians. But these savages were incensed at the terms which Montcalm (whether swayed by generous respect for a gallant foe, or apprehensive that Webb might be roused at length from his supine indifference) conceded to the garrison; and seeing no reason why the French general should postpone the interest of his allies to that of his enemies, were determined, that, if he broke his word with either party, it should not be with *them*. Of the scene of cruelty and bloodshed which ensued, the accounts which have been transmitted are not less uniform and authentic than horrid and disgusting. The only point wrapped in obscurity is *how far* the French general and his troops were voluntarily or unavoidably spectators of the violation of the treaty they stood pledged to fulfil. According to some accounts, no escort whatever was furnished to the British garrison. According to others, the escort was a mere mockery, both in respect of the numbers of the French guards, and of their willingness to defend their civilized enemies against their savage friends. It is certain that the escort, if there was any, proved totally ineffectual. No sooner had the garrison



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MASSACRE OF THE PRISONERS AT FORT WILLIAM HENRY.

marched out, and surrendered their arms, in reliance upon the pledge of the French general, than a furious and irresistible attack was made upon them by the Indians, who stripped them both of their baggage and their clothes, and murdered or made prisoners of all who attempted resistance. About fifteen hundred persons were thus slaughtered or carried into captivity. Such was the lot of eighty men belonging to a New Hampshire regiment, of which the complement was no more than two hundred. A number of Indian allies of the English, and who had formed part of the garrison, fared still more miserably. They were seized without scruple by their savage enemies, and perished in lingering and barbarous torture. Of the garrison of Fort William Henry scarcely a half were enabled to gain the shelter of Fort Edward in a straggling and wretched condition.

This terrible blow filled the colonists with alarm; yet excited a strong desire for vengeance upon their savage enemies. General Webb, roused at length from his censurable lethargy, invoked the aid of the New England colonies. The militia of Massachusetts and Connecticut were despatched at once to check the progress of the victorious enemy. Montcalm, however, did not even invest Fort Edward, as he was without information concerning the forces the English had at command. The only

additional operation of the French during the season was a predatory enterprise, in concert with their Indian allies, against the flourishing settlements of German Flats, in the province of New York, and along the Mohawk river, which they utterly wasted with fire and sword. Thus ended a campaign which covered the British with disgrace, and threw much lustre upon the French arms. Lord Loudoun concluded his term of service by quarrelling with the colonial authorities, displaying much more vigour in this contest than he had against the common enemy. Early in the winter of 1758, he was superseded, and the chief command in America was given to General Abercrombie.

The star of France was in the ascendant in America. But a change was coming. By the irresistible will of the English nation, the energetic statesman and powerful orator, William Pitt, was placed at the head of the ministry. He superseded Lord Loudoun, because, he said, he never could ascertain what that commander was doing; and resolved to make America the chief scene of the contest, instead of the continent of Europe. The colonies responded enthusiastically to the calls for new forces and new supplies. A powerful British fleet, under Admiral Boscawen, was sent to Halifax. General Amherst, with 12,000 regular troops, joined the colonial forces, and Abercrombie found himself at the head of about 50,000 men, the largest army yet assembled in the colonies. But the British commander-in-chief had little energy and very slender abilities, and he made small use of his extensive means.

The conquest of Canada was the object to which the most ardent wishes of the British colonists were directed; but they quickly perceived that the gratification of this hope, if ever realized, must be deferred at least till the succeeding year; as the cabinet of England had determined, for the protection of the English commerce against the cruisers and privateers of France, to employ a considerable part of the assembled forces in an attack upon Louisbourg, and to commence its new system of operations by the reduction of that place. Three expeditions were proposed for the present year (1758): the first, against Louisbourg, the second, against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and the third, against Fort Duquesne. In prosecution of the

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first of these enterprises, Admiral Boscawen, sailing from Halifax (May 28) with a fleet of twenty ships of the line and eighteen frigates, conveying an army of fourteen thousand men conducted by Amherst, of which but a small proportion were provincial troops, arrived before Louisbourg on the 2d of June. The garrison of this place, commanded by the Chevalier de Drucourt, an intrepid and experienced officer, was composed of two thousand five hundred regulars, aided by six hundred militia. The condition of the harbour, secured by five ships of the line, one fifty-gun ship, and five frigates, three of which were sunk across the mouth of the basin, rendered it necessary for the invaders to land at some distance from the town. From the defensive precautions which the enemy had adopted, this operation was attended with considerable difficulty; but, by the heroic resolution and resistless intrepidity of General Wolfe, it was accomplished with success, and little loss; and the troops having been landed at the creek of Cormoran (June 8), and the artillery stores brought on shore, Wolfe was detached with two thousand men to seize a post which was occupied by the enemy at the Lighthouse Point, and was calculated to afford advantage to the besiegers by enabling them to annoy the ships in the harbour and the fortifications of the town. On the appearance of Wolfe, the post was abandoned; and there the British soon erected a formidable battery. (June 12.) Approaches were also made on the opposite side of the town; and the siege was pressed with a resolute activity characteristic of the English commanders, and yet with a severe and guarded caution, inspired by the strength of the place and the reputation of its governor and garrison, who fully supported the high idea that was entertained of them, by the skilful and obstinate valour they exerted in its defence. In all the operations of the siege, the dauntless courage and indefatigable energy of Wolfe were signally pre-eminent. A heavy cannonade having been maintained against the town and harbour, a bomb, exploding, set fire to one of the large ships, which soon blew up; and the flames were communicated to two others, which shared the same fate. The English admiral, in consequence of this success, despatched boats, manned with six hundred men, into the harbour, to make an attempt during the night on the two ships of



GENERAL WOLFE.

the line which still remained to the enemy. In spite of a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, the assailants successfully performed this perilous feat; and one of the ships, which happened to be aground, was destroyed, while the other was towed off in triumph. By this gallant exploit the English gained complete possession of the harbour; and already more than one practicable breach in the works was produced by their batteries. The governor now judged the place no longer defensible, and offered to capitulate; but his propositions were refused; and it was required that the garrison should surrender at discretion, or abide the issue of an assault by sea and land. These severe terms, though at first rejected, were finally embraced; and in accordance with them, Louisbourg, with all its

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artillery, provisions, and military stores, together with Isle Royale, St. John's, and their dependencies, was surrendered on the 26th of July to the English, who without farther difficulty, took entire possession of the island of Cape Breton. Four hundred of the besiegers and fifteen hundred of the garrison were killed or wounded during the siege; and the town of Louisbourg was reduced to nearly a heap of ruins. In this town the conquerors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, eighteen mortars, and a vast quantity of stores and ammunition. The inhabitants of Cape Breton were transported to France in English ships; but the French garrison and their naval auxiliaries were carried prisoners of war to England, where the unwonted tidings of victory and conquest were hailed with demonstrations of the liveliest triumph and joy. The French colours, taken at Louisbourg, were carried in grand procession from Kensington Palace to the Cathedral of St. Paul's; and a form of thanksgiving was appointed to be used on the occasion in all the churches of England. The sentiments of the parent state were re-echoed in America; where the people of New England, more especially, partook of the warmth of an exultation that revived the glory of their own previous achievement in the first conquest of Cape Breton.

Before this conquest was completed, the expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point occurred to chequer the new and victorious career of the British arms in America. This enterprise was conducted by General Abercrombie, who, on the 5th of July, embarked his troops on Lake George in a hundred and twenty-five whaleboats and nine hundred batteaux. His army consisted of sixteen thousand effective men, of whom nine thousand were provincials, and was attended by a formidable train of artillery. Among other officers, he was accompanied by Lord Howe, a young English nobleman, who exhibited the most promising military talents, and whose valour, virtue, courtesy, and good sense, had greatly endeared him both to the English and the provincial troops. The mass of mankind are always prone to regard with veneration those titular distinctions, which, having no real substance, afford unbounded scope to the exercise of fancy; and almost universal suffrage is won, when the possessor of such lofty, though unsolid, pretensions appears to jus-



ABERCROMBIE'S ARMY CROSSING LAKE GEORGE.

tify them by merit and mitigate them by generosity, instead of arrogating them with stern insolence or reposing on them with indolent pride. Lord Howe seemed to regard his titular distinction less as a proof of noble nature than an incentive to noble action, and as facilitating the indulgence of an amiable politeness by exempting him from all suspicion of mean, obsequious servility. From the day of his arrival in America, he conformed himself, and caused his regiment to conform, to the style of service which the country required. He was the first to encounter the danger to which he conducted others, and to set the example of every sacrifice he required them to incur. While the strict discipline he maintained commanded respect, the kind and graceful benevolence of his manners conciliated affection. He was the idol and soul of the army.

The first operations of Abercrombie were directed against Ticonderoga. Having disembarked at the landing-place in a cove on the western side of the lake, the troops were formed into four columns, of which the centre was occupied by the British, and the flanks by the provincials. In this order they marched against the advanced guard of the French, which, consisting of one battalion only, destroyed its encampment and made a precipitate retreat. Proceeding from the abandoned post against Ticonderoga, the British columns, bewildered by

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tangled thickets, and misled by unskilful guides, were thrown into confusion and commingled in a disorderly manner. At this juncture, Lord Howe, advancing at the head of the right centre column, unexpectedly encountered the fugitive battalion of the French, who had lost their way in the woods, and now stumbled upon the enemy from whom they were endeavouring to escape. They consisted of regulars and a few Indians; and, notwithstanding their surprise and inferiority of numbers, displayed a promptitude of action and courage, that had nearly reproduced the catastrophe of Braddock. With audacious temerity, which in war is easily mistaken for deliberate confidence, and frequently prevails over superior strength, they attacked their pursuers; and at the first fire Lord Howe with a number of his soldiers fell. (July 6.) The suddenness of the assault, the terror inspired by the Indian yell, and the grief and astonishment created by the death of Lord Howe, excited a general panic among the British regulars; but the provincials, who flanked them, and who were better acquainted with the mode of fighting practised by the enemy, stood their ground and soon defeated their opponents, with a slaughter, compared to which, the loss of the British in point of numbers was inconsiderable. But the death of Lord Howe had depressed the spirit, and enfeebled the councils of the army; and to this circumstance its subsequent misfortunes were mainly ascribed. The loss of that brave and accomplished officer was generally deplored in America; and the Assembly of Massachusetts, not long after, caused a monument to be erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

The British forces, without farther opposition, took possession of a post situated within two miles of Ticonderoga (July 7), previously occupied by an advanced guard commanded by Colonel Bradstreet, a provincial officer distinguished by his valour, intelligence, and activity. The general, understanding that the garrison at Ticonderoga consisted of about six thousand men (French, Canadians, and Indians), and that a reinforcement of three thousand more was daily expected, resolved on an immediate assault of the place. He directed his engineer to reconnoitre the position and intrenchments of the enemy; and, trusting to a hasty survey and a rash report of their weakness.

embraced the dangerous purpose of forcing them without the assistance of cannon. The troops, having received orders to march up briskly, to rush upon the enemy's fire, and to reserve their own until they had passed a breastwork which was represented as easily superable, advanced to the attack with the highest intrepidity. (July 8.) But unlooked-for impediments resisted their progress. The breastwork proved much more formidable than had been reported, and in front of it, to a considerable distance, trees were felled with their branches protruding outward and sharpened to a point; by which obstruction the assailants were not only retarded in their advance, but, becoming entangled among the boughs, were exposed in helpless embarrassment and disorder to a galling and destructive fire. The provincials, who were posted behind the regulars, inflamed with impatience, and not sufficiently restrained by discipline, could not be prevented from firing; and, notwithstanding their expertness as marksmen, their fire was supposed to have proved more fatal to their friends than their enemies. This sanguinary conflict was protracted during four hours. Of the assailants there were killed and wounded about two thousand men, including four hundred of the provincials. One half of a Highland regiment commanded by Lord John Murray, with twenty-five of its officers, were either killed or desperately wounded. The loss of the enemy, covered as they were from danger, was comparatively trifling. At length Abercrombie gave the signal to desist from the desperate enterprise; and to an ill-concerted assault succeeded a retreat no less precipitate and injudicious. The British army, still amounting to nearly fourteen thousand men, greatly outnumbered the enemy; and, if the artillery had been brought up to their assistance, might have overpowered with little difficulty the French forces and their defences at Ticonderoga. But Abercrombie, dismayed by his disastrous repulse, and heedless of the remonstrances of the provincial officers, carried the army back by a hasty march to the southern extremity of Lake George. Next to the defeat of Braddock, this was the most disgraceful catastrophe that had befallen the arms of Britain in America.

As Abercrombie showed himself destitute of the vigour that was requisite to repair his misfortune, Colonel Bradstreet con-

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ceived the idea of at least counterbalancing it by an effort in a different quarter, and, with this view, suggested to the general a substitutional expedition which he offered to conduct against Fort Frontignac. Approving the proposal, and willingly relinquishing his designs against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Abercrombie despatched Bradstreet at the head of three thousand men, of whom all but the trifling handful of a hundred and fifty-five were provincials, together with eight pieces of cannon and three mortars, to attempt the reduction of Fort Frontignac. Bradstreet marched to Oswego, embarked on Lake Ontario, and, on the evening of the 25th of August, landed within a mile of the fort. Before the lapse of two days, his batteries were opened at so short a distance, that almost every shot took effect; and the French commandant, finding his force overpowered, was compelled to surrender at discretion. (August 27.) The Indian auxiliaries of the French having previously deserted, the prisoners were but a hundred and ten. But the captors found in the fort sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, together with a prodigious collection of military stores, provisions, and merchandise. Nine armed vessels also fell into their hands. Bradstreet, after destroying the fort and vessels, and such stores as he could not carry away, returned to exhilarate the main army with this ray of success.

The reduction of Fort Frontignac facilitated the enterprise against Fort Duquesne, of which the garrison awaited, from the post thus unexpectedly subdued, a large reinforcement of stores and ammunition. General Forbes, to whom the expedition against Fort Duquesne was intrusted, marched with his troops early in July from Philadelphia; but his progress was so much retarded by various obstructions, that it was not until two months after, that the Virginian forces, commanded by Washington, were summoned to join the British army at Raystown. Among other provincial troops which participated in this expedition was a detachment of the militia of North Carolina, conducted by Major Waddell, a brave and active officer and highly respected inhabitant of that State, and accompanied by a body of Indian auxiliaries. Before the combined army advanced from Raystown, Major Grant, an English officer, was detached with eight hundred men, partly British and partly

provincials, to reconnoitre the condition of Fort Duquesne and of the adjacent country. Rashly inviting an attack from the French garrison, this detachment was surrounded by the enemy, and, after a gallant but ineffectual defence, in which three hundred men were killed and wounded, Major Grant and nineteen other officers were taken prisoners. It was with the utmost difficulty that the French were able to rescue these officers from the sanguinary ferocity of their own Indian auxiliaries, who butchered the greatest part of the wounded and the prisoners. The whole residue of the detachment would have shared the same fate, if Captain Bullet, a provincial officer, with the aid of a small troop of Virginians, had not, partly by stratagem, and partly by the most desperate efforts of valour, checked the advance of the pursuing Indians, and finally conducted the fugitives to the main army, by a skilful, but protracted and laborious retreat. General Forbes, with his army, amounting to at least eight thousand men, at length advanced against Fort Duquesne; but, in spite of the most strenuous exertions, was not able to reach it till near the close of November. Enfeebled by their toilsome march, the British now approached the scene of Braddock's defeat, and beheld the field on which the mouldering corpses of Grant's troops still lay unburied. Anxious to know the condition of the fort and the position of the enemy's troops, Forbes offered a reward of forty pounds to any man who would make prisoner of a hostile Indian. This service was performed by a sergeant in the North Carolina militia; when the intelligence that was obtained from the captive showed Forbes that his labours were already crowned with unexpected success. The approach of the British force, which was attended with all those precautions of which the neglect proved so fatal to Braddock, had struck the Indians with such terror, that they withdrew from the assistance of the garrison of Fort Duquesne, declaring, that the Great Spirit had evidently withdrawn his favour from the French and his protection from their fortress; and the French themselves, infected with the fears and weakened by the desertion of their allies, as well as disappointed of the stores which they had expected to obtain from Fort Frontignac, judged their post untenable, and, abandoning it on the evening before the arrival of Forbes's army, made their

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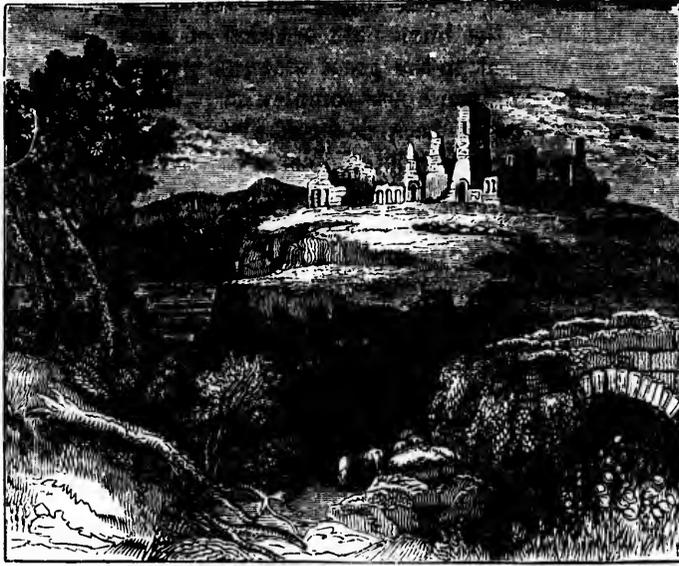
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escape in boats down the Ohio. The British now took unresisted possession of this important fortress, (November 25), which had been the immediate occasion of the existing war; and, in compliment to the great statesman whose administration had already given a new complexion to the fortune of their country and brought back departed victory to her side, they bestowed upon it the name of Fort Pitt. No sooner was the British flag hoisted on its walls, than deputations arrived from the numerous tribes of the Ohio Indians, tendering their adherence and submission to the victors. With the assistance of some of these Indians, a party of British soldiers were sent to explore the thickets where Braddock was attacked, and to bestow the rites of sepulture on the bones of their countrymen which yet strewed the ground. Forbes, having concluded treaties of friendship with the Indians, left a garrison of provincials in the fort, and was reconducting his troops to Philadelphia, when he died, worn out by the ceaseless and overwhelming fatigues he had undergone.

The last important event of this indecisive campaign was the repulse of the French and Indians in an attack upon a settlement on the frontier of New England. These attempts to ravage the country were defeated by the exertions of Governor Pownall. The campaign was not, upon the whole, satisfactory to the British. More might have been done with the means at command. But the capture of two of the principal French posts and the consequent establishment of peace with the tribes in their vicinity, were important gains, which had an animating effect on the colonists.

The plan for the campaign of 1759 was now concerted. It was arranged that three powerful armies should enter Canada by different routes, and attack, at about the same time, nearly all the strongholds of the French. At the head of one division of the army, consisting principally of English troops, and aided by an English fleet, General Wolfe, who had gained so much distinction at the recent siege of Louisbourg, was to ascend the river St. Lawrence, as soon as its navigation should cease to be obstructed by ice, and attempt the siege of Quebec, the capital of Canada. General Amherst, the commander-in-chief, was to march against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and after reducing



RUINS OF FORT TICONDEROGA.

these places, and establishing a naval force on Lake Champlain, was to penetrate, by the way of Richelieu river and the St. Lawrence, to Quebec, in order to form a junction with the forces of Wolfe. The third army, conducted by General Prideaux, and consisting chiefly of provincials, reinforced by a strong body of friendly Indians, assembled by the influence and placed under the special command of Sir William Johnson, was to attack the French fort near the Falls of Niagara, which commanded, in a manner, all the interior parts of North America, and was a key to the whole continent. As soon as this fort should be carried, Prideaux was to embark on Lake Ontario, descend the river St. Lawrence, make himself master of Montreal, and then unite his forces with those of Wolfe and Amherst. General Stanwix commanded a smaller detachment of troops, which was employed in reducing the French forts on the Ohio, and scouring the banks of Lake Ontario. It was expected, that, if Prideaux's operations, in addition to their own immediate object, should not facilitate either of the two other

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capital undertakings, it would probably (as Niagara was the most important post which the enemy possessed in this quarter of America) induce the French to draw together all their troops which were stationed on the borders of the lakes in order to attempt its relief, which would leave the forts on these lakes exposed; and this effect was actually produced.

Early in the spring, Amherst transferred his head-quarters from New York to Albany, where his troops, amounting to twelve thousand men, were assembled in the end of May; yet the summer was far advanced before the state of his preparations enabled him to cross Lake George; and it was not till the close of July, that he reached Ticonderoga. At first the enemy seemed determined to defend this fortress, and Colonel Townsend, a brave and accomplished English officer, who advanced to reconnoitre it, was killed by a cannon-ball. But perceiving the determined yet cautious resolution, and the overwhelming force, with which Amherst was preparing to undertake the siege, and having received strict orders to retreat from post to post towards the centre of operations at Quebec, rather than incur the risk of being made prisoners, the garrison, a few days after, dismantled a part of the fortifications, and, evacuating Ticonderoga during the night, retired to Crown Point. Amherst, directly occupying the important post thus abandoned, which effectually covered the frontiers of New York and secured himself a safe retreat, caused the works to be repaired, and allotted a strong garrison for its defence. Thence advancing to Crown Point, with a cautious and guarded circumspection which the event showed to have been unnecessary, but which he was induced to observe by remembering how fatal a confident security had proved to other British commanders in this quarter of the world, he took possession of this fortress with the same facility which attended his first acquisition, in consequence of a farther retrogression of the enemy, who retired from his approach and intrenched themselves in a fort at Isle-aux-Noix, on the northern extremity of Lake Champlain. At this place the French, as he was informed, had collected three thousand five hundred men, with a numerous train of artillery, and possessed the additional resource of four large armed vessels on the lake. Amherst exerted the utmost activity to create a naval force.

without which it was impossible for him to attack the enemy's position; and with a sloop and a radeau, which were built with great despatch, he succeeded in destroying two of their vessels,—an achievement, in which the bold, adventurous spirit of Putnam was conspicuously displayed; but a succession of storms, and the advanced season of the year, compelled him reluctantly to postpone the farther prosecution of his scheme of operations. He established his troops in winter quarters at Crown Point, in the end of October, and confined his attention to strengthening the works of this fortress and of Ticonderoga. Thus the first of the three simultaneous expeditions embraced in the plan of this year's campaign, though attended with successful and important consequences, failed to produce the full result which had been anticipated by its projectors. Amherst, so far from being able to penetrate into Canada and form a junction with Wolfe, was unable to maintain the slightest communication with him; and only by a letter from Montcalm, in relation to an exchange of prisoners, obtained information that Wolfe was besieging Quebec. With the army which undertook the siege of Niagara, indeed, his communication was uninterrupted; and intelligence of its success had reached him before he advanced from Ticonderoga against Crown Point.

While Amherst's army was thus employed, General Prideaux, with his European, American, and Indian troops, embarking on Lake Ontario, advanced without loss or opposition to the fortress at Niagara, which he reached about the middle of July, and promptly invested on all sides. He was conducting his approaches with great vigour, when, on the twentieth of the month, during a visit he made to the trenches, he lost his life by the unfortunate bursting of a cohorn. Amherst was no sooner informed of this accident, than he detached General Gage from Ticonderoga to assume the command of Prideaux's army; but it devolved, in the mean time, upon Sir William Johnson, who exercised it with a success that added a new laurel to the honours which already adorned his name. The enemy, alarmed with the apprehension of losing a post of such importance, resolved to make an effort for its relief. From their forts of Detroit, Venango, and Presque Isle, they drew together a force of twelve hundred men, which, with a troop of Indian auxilia-

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ries, were detached under the command of an officer named D'Aubry, with the purpose of raising the siege or reinforcing the garrison of Niagara. Johnson, who had been pushing the siege even more vigorously than his predecessor, learning the design of the French to relieve the garrison, made instant preparation to intercept it. As they approached, he ordered his light infantry, supported by a body of grenadiers and other regulars, to occupy the road from Niagara Falls to the fortress, by which the enemy were advancing, and covered his flanks with numerous troops of his Indian allies. At the same time, he posted a strong detachment of men in his trenches, to prevent any sally from the garrison during the approaching engagement. About nine in the morning (July 24), the two armies being in sight of each other, the Indians attached to the English, advancing, proposed a conference with their countrymen, who served under the French banners; but the proposition was declined. The French Indians having raised the fierce, wild yell called the war-whoop, which by this time had lost its appalling effect on the British soldiers, the action began by an impetuous attack on the enemy; and while the neighbouring cataract of Niagara pealed forth to inattentive ears its everlasting *voice of many waters*, the roar of artillery, the shrieks of the Indians, and all the martial clang and dreadful revelry of a field of battle, mingled in wild chorus with the majestic music of nature. The French conducted their attack with the utmost courage and spirit, but were encountered with such firm, deliberate valour in front by the British regulars and provincials, and so severely galled on their flanks by the Indians, that in less than an hour their army was completely routed, their general with all his officers taken prisoners, and the fugitives from the field pursued with great slaughter for many miles through the woods. This was the second victory gained in the course of the present war by Sir William Johnson, a man who had received no military education, and whose fitness for command was derived solely from natural courage and sagacity. Both his victories were signalized by the capture of the enemy's commanders. On the morning after the battle, Johnson sent an officer to communicate the result of it to the commandant of the garrison of Fort Niagara, and recommend an immediate

surrender before more blood was shed, and while it was yet in his power to restrain the barbarity of the Indians; and the commandant, having ascertained the truth of the tidings, capitulated without farther delay. The garrison, consisting of between six and seven hundred effective men, marched out with the honours of war, and were conveyed prisoners to New York. They were allowed to retain their baggage, and, by proper escort, were protected from the ferocity and rapacity of the Indians. Though eleven hundred of these savages (chiefly of the confederacy of the Six Nations) followed Johnson to Niagara, so effectually did he restrain them, that not an incident occurred to rival or retaliate the scenes at Oswego and Fort William Henry. The women, of whom a considerable number were found at Fort Niagara, were sent, at their own request, with their children to Montreal; and the sick and wounded, who could not sustain the fatigue of removal, were treated with humane attention. Although the army by which this success was achieved, whether from ignorance of the result of Wolfe's enterprise, or from some other cause more easily conjectured than ascertained, made no attempt to pursue the ulterior objects which had been assigned to its sphere of operation, and so far failed to fulfil its expected share of the campaign; yet the actual result of its exertions was gratifying and important in no ordinary degree. The reduction of Niagara effectually interrupted the communication, so much dreaded by the English, between Canada and Louisiana; and by this blow, one of the grand designs of the French, which had long threatened to produce war, and which finally contributed to provoke the present contest, was completely defeated.

General Wolfe, meanwhile, was engaged in that capital enterprise of the campaign which aimed at the reduction of Quebec. The army which he conducted, amounting to eight thousand men, having embarked at Louisbourg, under convoy of an English squadron commanded by Admiral Saunders and Holmes, after a successful voyage, disembarked, in the end of June, on the Isle of Orleans, a large, fertile island, surrounded by the waters of the St. Lawrence, situated a little below Quebec, well cultivated, producing plenty of grain, and abounding with inhabitants, villages, and plantations. Soon after his

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landing, Wolfe distributed a manifesto among the French colonists, acquainting them that the king, his master, justly exasperated against the French monarch, had equipped a powerful armament in order to humble his pride, and was determined to reduce the most considerable settlements of France in America. He declared that it was not against industrious peasants and their families, nor against the ministers of religion, that he desired or intended to make war; on the contrary, he lamented the misfortunes to which they were exposed by the quarrel; he offered them his protection, and promised to maintain them in their temporal possessions, as well as in the free exercise of their religion, provided they would remain quiet, and abstain from participation in the controversy between the two crowns. The English, he proclaimed, were masters of the river St. Lawrence, and could thus intercept all succours from France; and they had besides the prospect of a speedy reinforcement from the army which General Amherst was conducting to form a junction with them. The line of conduct which the Canadians ought to pursue, he affirmed, was neither difficult nor doubtful; since the utmost exertion of their valour must be useless, and could serve only to deprive them of the advantages which they might reap from their neutrality. He protested that the cruelties already exercised by the French upon the subjects of Great Britain in America, would sanction the most severe reprisals; but that Britons were too generous to follow such barbarous example. While he tendered to the Canadians the blessings of peace amidst the horrors of war, and left them by their own conduct to determine their own fate, he expressed his hope that the world would do him justice, and acquit him of blame, should the objects of his solicitude, by rejecting these favourable terms, oblige him to have recourse to measures of violence and severity. Having expatiated on the strength and power of Britain, whose indignation they might provoke, he urged them to recognise the generosity with which she now held forth the hand of humanity, and tendered to them forbearance and protection, at the very time when France, by her weakness, was compelled to abandon them. This proclamation produced no immediate effect; nor, indeed, did the Canadians place much dependence on the assurances of a people whom

their priests industriously represented to them as the fiercest and most faithless enemy upon earth. Possessed with these notions, they disregarded the offered protection of Wolfe, and, abandoning their habitations, joined the scalping parties of the Indians who skulked among the woods, and butchered with the most inhuman barbarity all the English stragglers they could surprise. Wolfe, in a letter to Montcalm, remonstrated against these atrocities as contrary to the rules of war between civilized nations, and dishonourable to the service of France. But either the authority of Montcalm was not sufficient, or it was not exerted with sufficient energy, to bridle the ferocity of the savages; who continued to scalp and butcher with such increase of appetite for blood and revenge, that Wolfe, in the hope of intimidating the enemy into a cessation of this style of hostility, judged it expedient to connive at some retaliatory outrages, from which the nobleness of his disposition would otherwise have revolted with abhorrence.

From his position in the Isle of Orleans, the English commander had a distinct view of the danger and difficulty by which his enterprise was obstructed. Quebec is chiefly built on a steep rock on the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, and additionally defended by the river St. Charles, which, flowing past it on the east, unites with the St. Lawrence immediately below the town, and consequently encloses it in a peninsular locality. Besides its natural barriers, the city was tolerably fortified by art, secured with a numerous garrison, and plentifully supplied with provisions and ammunition. In the St. Charles, whose channel is rough, and whose borders are intersected with ravines, there were several armed vessels and floating batteries; and a boom was drawn across its mouth. On the eastern bank of this stream, a formidable body of French troops, strongly intrenched, extended their encampment along the shore of Beauport to the falls of the river Montmorency, having their rear covered by an impenetrable forest. At the head of this army was the skilful, experienced, and intrepid Montcalm, the ablest commander that France had employed in America since the death of Count Frontignac, and who, though possessed of forces superior in number to the invaders, prudently determined to stand on the defensive, and mainly depend on the natural

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strength of the country, which, indeed, appeared almost insurmountable. He had lately reinforced his troops with five battalions embodied from the flower of the colonial population; he had trained to arms all the neighbouring inhabitants, and collected around him a numerous band of the most ancient and attached Indian allies of France. To undertake the siege of Quebec, against such opposing force, was not only a deviation from the established maxims of war, but a rash and romantic enterprise. But great actions are commonly transgressions of ordinary rules; and Wolfe, though fully awake to the hazard and difficulty of the achievement, was not to be deterred from attempting it.

Resolved to attempt whatever was practicable for the reduction of Quebec, Wolfe took possession, after a successful skirmish, of Point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and there erected batteries against the town; but his fire from this position, though it destroyed many houses, made little impression upon the works, which were too strong and too remote to be essentially affected by it, and, at the same time, too elevated to be reached by a cannonade from the ships of war. Perceiving that his artillery could not be efficiently exerted except from batteries constructed on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence, Wolfe soon decided on more daring and impetuous measures. The northern shore of the St. Lawrence, to a considerable extent above Quebec, is so rocky and precipitous, as to render a landing, in the face of an enemy, impracticable. An offensive attempt below the town, though less imprudent, was confronted by formidable obstructions. Even if the river Montmorency were passed, and the French driven from their intrenchments, the St. Charles must still present a new and less superable barrier against the assailants. Wolfe, acquainted with every obstacle, but heroically observing that "a victorious army finds no difficulties," resolved to pass the Montmorency and bring Montcalm to an engagement. For this purpose, thirteen companies of English grenadiers and a part of the second battalion of royal Americans were landed at the mouth of that river, while two divisions under Generals Townsend and Murray, prepared to cross it by a ford which was discovered farther up the stream. Wolfe's plan was to attack, in the first instance.

a redoubt close to the water's edge, and apparently beyond reach of shot from the enemy's intrenchments, in the hope that the French, by attempting to support that fortification, would enable him to bring on a general engagement; or that, if they should submit to the loss of the redoubt, he could thence take an accurate survey of their position, and regulate with advantage his subsequent operations. On the approach of the British troops, the redoubt was evacuated; and Wolfe, observing some confusion in the French camp, instantly changed his original plan, and determined to attack the hostile intrenchments without farther delay. Townsend and Murray were now commanded to hold their divisions in readiness for fording the river, and the grenadiers and royal Americans were directed to form on the beach, and await there the reinforcement which was requisite to sustain their exertions; but, flushed with ardour and negligent of support, these troops made a precipitate charge upon the enemy's intrenchments, where they were received with so steady and sharp a fire from the French musketry, that they were presently thrown into disorder, and compelled to take refuge in the abandoned redoubt. Here it proved, unexpectedly, that they were still exposed to an effective fire from the enemy, and several brave officers, exposing their persons in attempting to reform and rally the troops, were killed. A thunder-storm, which now broke out, contributed to baffle the efforts of the British, without depressing the spirit of the French, who continued to fire, not only upon the troops in the redoubt, but on those who were lying wounded and disabled on the field, near their own intrenchments. The English general, finding that his plan of attack was completely disconcerted, ordered his troops to repass the river and return to the Isle of Orleans. Besides the mortifying check which he had received, he lost, in this rash, ill-considered attempt, nearly five hundred of the bravest men in his army.

Some experience, however, though dearly bought, had been gained; and Wolfe—now assured of the impracticability of approaching Quebec on the side of the Montmorency, while Montcalm retained his station, which he seemed determined to do, till, from the advance of the season, the elements should lend their aid in destroying the invaders—detached General Murray,

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with twelve hundred men in transports, to co-operate with Admiral Holnes above the town in an attempt upon the French shipping, and to distract the enemy by descents on the banks of the river. (August 25.) After twice endeavouring without success to land on the northern shore, Murray, by a sudden descent which he accomplished at Chamboud, gained the opportunity of destroying a valuable magazine, filled with clothing, arms, ammunition, and provisions; but the French ships were secured in such a manner as to defy the approach either of the fleet or the army. On his return to the British camp, he brought the consolatory intelligence, obtained from his prisoners, that Fort Niagara was taken; that Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been occupied without resistance; and that General Amherst was making preparations to attack the enemy at Isle-aux-Noix. The camp of the Isle of Orleans was abandoned; and the whole army having embarked on board the fleet, a part of it was landed at Point Levi, and a part at a spot farther up the river. Admiral Holmes, meanwhile, for several days successively, manœuvred with his fleet in a manner calculated to engage the attention of the enemy on the northern shore, and draw their observation as far as possible from the city. These movements had no other effect than to induce Montcalm to detach fifteen hundred men, under the command of Bougainville, one of his officers, from the main camp, to watch the motions of the English fleet and army, and prevent a landing from being accomplished.

Wolfe was now confined to bed by a severe fit of the disease under which he laboured, aggravated by incessant fatigue and by the anxiety inseparable from a combination of difficulties sufficient to have appalled the stoutest courage and perplexed the most resolute and intelligent commander. In this situation, his three brigadier-generals, whom he invited to concert some plan of operations, projected and proposed to him a daring enterprise, of which the immediate object was to gain possession of the lofty eminences beyond Quebec, where the enemy's fortifications were comparatively slight. It was proposed to land the troops by night under the *Heights of Abraham*, at a small distance from the city, and to scale the summit of these heights before daybreak. This attempt manifestly involved extreme

difficulty and hazard. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the bank of the river lined with French sentinels, the landing-place so narrow as easily to be missed in the dark, and the cliff which must afterwards be surmounted so steep that it was difficult to ascend it even in open day and without opposition. Should the design be promulgated by a spy or deserter, or suspected by the enemy; should the disembarkation be disordered, through the darkness of the night, or the obstructions of the shore; the landing-place be mistaken, or but one sentinel alarmed,—the Heights of Abraham would instantly be covered with such numbers of troops as would render the attempt abortive and defeat inevitable.

The necessary orders having been communicated, and the preparatory arrangements completed, the whole fleet, upon the 12th of September, moved up the river several leagues above the spot allotted for the assault, and at various intervening places made demonstrations of an intention of landing the troops; as if the movement had been merely experimental, and no decisive purpose of attack were yet entertained. But, an hour after midnight, the troops were embarked in flat-bottomed boats, which, aided by the tide and the stream, drifted with all possible caution down the river towards the intended place of disembarkation. They were obliged to keep close to the northern shore, in order to diminish the danger of passing the landing place (which, nevertheless, very nearly happened) in the dark; and yet escaped the challenge of all the French sentinels except one or two, whose vigilance, however, was baffled by the presence of mind and ingenuity with which a Scotch officer replied to the call, and described the force to which he belonged as a part of Bougainville's troops employed in exploring the state of the river and motions of the English. Silence was commanded under pain of death, which was, indeed, doubly menaced; and a death-like stillness was preserved in every boat. A detachment of Scotch Highlanders and of light infantry, commanded by Colonel Howe (brother of the nobleman who perished at Ticonderoga) led the way up the dangerous cliff, which was ascended by the aid of the rugged projection of the rocks and the branches of some bushes and plants that protruded from their crevices. The rest of the troops, emulating

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WOLFE'S ARMY ASCENDING THE HEIGHTS OF ABRAHAM.

this gallant and skilful example, followed their comrades up the narrow path; and by break of day, the whole army reached the summit. (September 13.)

When Montcalm received intelligence that the British force, which he supposing wandering on the river, had sprung up like a mine on the summit of the Heights of Abraham, he could not at first credit the full import of the tidings. Accounting it impossible that a whole army had ascended such a rugged and abrupt precipice, he concluded that the demonstration was merely a feint, undertaken by a small detachment, in order to induce him to abandon the position he had hitherto maintained. Convinced, however, by farther observation, of his mistake, he conceived that an engagement could no longer be avoided; and

instantly quitting his camp at Montmorency, crossed the river St. Charles, with the purpose of attacking the English army. In thus consenting to give battle, Montcalm was rather confounded by the genius and daring than overruled by the actual success and position of his adversary. Had he retired into Quebec, he might, especially at such an advanced period of the year, and with so numerous a garrison, have securely defied a siege. Wolfe, observing the movement of the enemy, began to form his own line, which consisted of six battalions and the Louisburg grenadiers. The right wing was commanded by Monckton; the left by Murray; the right flank was covered by the Louisburg grenadiers; and the rear and left by Howe's light infantry, which had shortly before achieved the easy conquest of a four-gun battery. As the form in which the French advanced indicated the purpose of outflanking the left of the English army, Townsend was sent to this part of the line, with the regiment of Amherst and the two battalions of royal Americans, which were formed in such disposition as to present a double front to the enemy. One regiment, drawn up in eight divisions, with large intervals, formed the English body of reserve. Montcalm's dispositions for the attack were not less skilful and judicious. The right and left wings of his army were composed almost equally of European and of colonial troops; the centre consisted of a column formed of two battalions of regulars. Fifteen hundred Indians and Canadians, expert and deadly marksmen, advancing in front, and screened by adjoining thickets, began the battle. Their irregular fire proved fatal to many officers, whom they preferably aimed at; but it was soon silenced by the steady fire of the British. Both armies were destitute of artillery; except two small pieces on the side of the French, and a single gun which the English seamen contrived to hoist up from the landing place, and which they employed during the action with considerable effect.

About nine in the morning, the main body of the French advanced vigorously to the charge, and the conflict soon became general. Montcalm having chosen for his own station the left of the French army, and Wolfe, for his, the right of the English, the two commanders directly confronted each other in the quarter where arose the hottest encounter of this memorable day.

The English troops reserved their fire till the French were within forty yards of their line; and then, by a terrible discharge, spread havoc among the adverse ranks. Their fire was continued with a vigour and deliberation which effectually checked the advance and visibly abated the audacity of the French. Wolfe, who, early in the action, was wounded in the wrist, betraying no symptom of pain, wrapped a handkerchief round his arm, and continued to direct and animate his troops. Soon after, he received a shot in the groin; but, concealing the wound, he was leading his grenadiers to the charge, when a third ball pierced his breast, and brought him to the ground. His troops, incensed rather than disconcerted by the fall of their general, continued the action, with unabated vigour, under Monckton, on whom the command now devolved, but who was soon obliged, by a dangerous wound, to resign it to Townsend. Montcalm, about the same time, while animating the fight, in front of his battalion, was pierced with a mortal wound; and General Senezergus also, the second in command on the same side, shortly after fell. While the fall of Wolfe seemed to impart a higher temper to the courage of the English, and infused a spirit in their ranks that rendered them superior to almost any opposing force, the loss of Montcalm produced a contrary and depressing effect on the French. The British right wing now pressed on with fixed bayonets, determined on vengeance and victory. General Murray, at the same critical instant, advancing swiftly with the troops under his direction, broke the centre of the French army; and their confusion was completed by a charge of the Highlanders, who, drawing their broadswords, rushed upon them with resistless fury, and drove them, with great slaughter, partly into Quebec, and partly over the St. Charles. On the left of the British position, the combat was less violent and sanguinary; but here, also, the attack of the French was repulsed, and their attempt to outflank the British defeated. At this juncture, Bougainville, with a body of two thousand fresh troops, approached the rear of the victorious English; but, observing the complete rout and dispersion of Montcalm's forces, he did not venture to attempt a renewal of the action. The victory was decisive. About a thousand of the French were made prisoners, and nearly an equal number



DEATH OF WOLFE.

fell in the battle and the pursuit; of the remainder, the greater number, unable to gain the shelter of Quebec, retired first to Point-au-Tremble, and afterwards to Trois Rivieres and Montreal. The loss of the English, both in killed and wounded, was less than six hundred men.

But the fate of Wolfe was deeply and universally deplored. After his last wound, finding himself unable to stand, he leaned upon the shoulder of a lieutenant, who sat down in order to support him. This officer, seeing the French give way, exclaimed, "They run! they run!" "Who run?" cried Wolfe, with eagerness; for his glazing eye could no longer discern the fortune of the day. Being informed that it was the enemy, he replied with animation, "Then I die happy!"—and almost instantly after expired, *in the blaze of his fame*. Intensely studious, and yet promptly and vigorously active; heroically brave and determined, adventurous and persevering; of a

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temper lively and even impetuous, yet never reproached as violent or irascible; generous, indulgent, courteous, and humane,—Wolfe was the pattern of his officers and the idol of his soldiers. The force and compass of his genius enabled him practically to distinguish, what inferior minds never discover at all, the difference between great difficulties and impossibilities; and being undiscouraged by what was merely, however mightily difficult, he undertook and achieved what others would have accounted and found to be impossible. His life (as was said of Sir Phillip Sidney) was, indeed, *poetry in action*. He was, for a time, the favourite hero of England as well as of America; and monumental statues, erected at the public expense, attested his glory, both in the Old World and the New. A marble statue, in particular, was decreed to his memory by the Assembly of Massachusetts. His rival, Montcalm, survived him but a few hours, and met his fate with the most undaunted courage. When he was informed that his wound was mortal, his reply was, "I am glad to hear it;" and when the near approach of death was announced to him, he added, "So much the better:—I shall not, then, live to see the surrender of Quebec." He was buried, by his own direction, in an excavation that had been produced by the explosion of a bomb. Unfortunately for his fame, the extent to which he is justly responsible for the treacherous cruelties of the Indian allies of his countrymen, on various occasions, still remains doubtful. It is pretended by some English writers, that Amherst had declared his purpose of treating Montcalm, if he should happen to take him alive, not as an honourable warrior, but as a bandit or robber. But if such sentiments were ever entertained, they were erased from the minds of victorious enemies by the heroic circumstances of Montcalm's death, and the remembrance of his talent and intrepidity,—merits, which a wise regard to his own fame, and even more generous sentiment, must ever prompt a conqueror to recognise, and perhaps exaggerate, in a vanquished foe; and when, some time after, the French government desired leave to erect a monument to his memory in Canada, the request was granted by the English minister, Pitt, in terms expressive of a high admiration of Montcalm's character. Monckton recovered of his wound at New York.

General Townsend, who now commanded the army of Wolfe, proceeded to fortify his camp, and to construct lines and take other necessary measures for the investment of Quebec; but his operations, which might otherwise have been greatly protracted, if not entirely defeated, were happily abridged by a proposition of the garrison within five days of the late victory to surrender the place to the English forces. (September 17.) The discomfiture of Montcalm's plan of defence, and the loss of this commander, whose active genius and despotic authority had rendered him not merely the leader of the French, but the main spring of all their counsels and conduct, seemed to have confounded the spirit and paralyzed the vigour of the garrison, whose early surrender excited general surprise, and was equally grateful to their enemies and mortifying to their countrymen. The terms of the capitulation were the more favourable for the besieged, as the enemy was assembling a large force in the rear of the British army; as the season had become wet, cold, and stormy, threatening the troops with sickness and the fleet with danger; and as a considerable advantage was to be gained from taking possession of the town while the walls were yet in a defensible condition. It was stipulated, that the inhabitants, during the war, should be protected in the free exercise of their religion; their future political destiny was left to be decided at the return of peace. This treaty occurred very seasonably for the British, who learned immediately after that the enemy's army had rallied and been reinforced beyond Cape Rouge by two regular battalions which General de Levi had conducted to their aid from Montreal; and that Bougainville, with eight hundred men and a convoy of provisions, was prepared to throw himself into the town on the very day of its surrender. (September 18.) The capitulation was no sooner ratified, than the British forces took possession of Quebec, which, besides its garrison, contained a population of ten thousand persons. Next day, about a thousand prisoners were embarked on board of transports to be conveyed to Europe.

The capital of New France, thus reduced to the dominion of Great Britain, received a garrison of five thousand troops commanded by General Murray, whose security was farther promoted by the conduct which the French colonists in the neigh-

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hourhood now thought proper to adopt; for they repaired in great numbers to Quebec, and, delivering up their arms, pledged themselves by oath to observe a strictly passive neutrality during the continuance of the war. The British fleet, shortly after, took its departure from the St. Lawrence, carrying with it General Townsend, who returned to England.

The operations which had been intrusted to General Stanwix were attended with complete success. By his conduct and prudence, the British interest and empire were established so firmly, to all appearance, on the banks of the Ohio, that the emigrants from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania were very soon after enabled securely to resume and advantageously to extent the settlements in this quarter, from which the French had expelled them in the commencement of the war.

The inhabitants of North America eagerly indulged the hope that the reduction of Quebec not only betokened, but actually imported, the entire conquest of Canada; but they were speedily undeceived; and, aroused by the spirited and nearly successful attempt of the French to retrieve this loss, they consented the more willingly to a renewed exertion of their resources for the purpose of securing and improving the victorious posture of their affairs. The New England levies this year (1760) were as numerous as they had ever been during the war; the Virginian levies (augmented by the emergency of a war with the Cherokees) amounted to two thousand men.

No sooner had the English fleet retired from the St. Lawrence, than Levi, who succeeded to Montcalm's command, resolved to attempt the recovery of Quebec. The land forces he possessed were more numerous than the army of Wolfe, by which the conquest of the place had been achieved, and he enjoyed the co-operation of some frigates, which afforded him the entire command of the river, as the English had imprudently withdrawn every one of their vessels, on the supposition that they could not be useful in winter. He had hoped that a sudden attack might enable him to take Quebec by surprise, during the winter; but, after some preparatory approaches which were repulsed, and a survey which convinced him that the outposts were better secured and the governor more active and alert

than he had expected, he was induced to postpone his enterprise till the arrival of the spring. In the month of April, when the St. Lawrence afforded a navigation freed from ice, the artillery, military stores, and heavy baggage of the French were embarked at Montreal, and carried down the river under the protection of six frigates; and Levi himself, after a march of ten days, arrived with his army at Point-au-Tremble, within a few miles of Quebec. General Murray, to whom the preservation of the English conquest was intrusted, took prompt and skilful measures for its security; but his troops had suffered so much from the extreme cold of the winter and the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, that instead of five thousand, the original number of his garrison, he could now count on the services of no more than three thousand men. Impelled by overboiling courage, rather than guided by sound judgment, and relying more, perhaps, on the reputation than the strength of his army, he determined, with this once victorious and still valiant, though diminished force, to meet the enemy in the field, although their numbers amounted to more than twelve thousand; and, accordingly, marching out to the Heights of Abraham, he attempted to render this scene once more tributary to the glory of Britain, by an impetuous assault on the neighbouring position of the French at Sillery. (April 28, 1760.) But his attack was firmly sustained by the enemy, and after a sharp encounter, finding himself outflanked, and in danger of being surrounded by superior numbers, he withdrew his troops from the action and retired into the city. In this conflict the British lost the greater part of their artillery and nearly a thousand men. The French, though their loss in killed and wounded was more than double that number, had nevertheless gained the victory, which their general lost no time in improving. On the evening of the day on which the battle took place, Levi opened trenches against the town; yet, in spite of all his efforts, it was not till the 11th of May that his batteries were so far advanced as to commence an effectual fire upon the garrison. But Murray had now, by indefatigable exertion, in which he was assisted with alacrity by his soldiers, completed some outworks, and planted so powerful an artillery on the ramparts, that his fire was far superior to that of the

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besiegers, and nearly silenced their batteries. Quebec, notwithstanding, would most probably have reverted to its former masters, if an armament which was despatched from France had not been outsailed by a British squadron, which succeeded in first gaining the entrance and the command of the St. Lawrence. The French frigates, which had descended from Montreal, were now attacked by the British ships, and, part of them having been destroyed, the rest betook themselves to a hasty retreat up the river. Levi instantly raised the siege, and, retiring with a precipitation that obliged him to abandon the greater part of his baggage and artillery, reconducted his forces (with the exception of a party of Canadians and Indians who became disheartened and deserted him by the way) to Montreal. Here the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, had fixed his head-quarters, and determined to make his last stand in defence of the French colonial empire,—thus reduced, from the attitude of preponderance and conquest which it presented two years before, to the necessity of a defensive and desperate effort for its own preservation. For this purpose Vaudreuil called in all his detachments and collected around him the whole force of the colony. Though little chance of success remained to him, he preserved an intrepid countenance, and in all his dispositions displayed the firmness and foresight of an accomplished commander. To support the drooping courage of the Canadians and their Indian allies, he had even recourse to the artifice of circulating among them feigned intelligence of the successes of France in other quarters of the world, and of her approaching succour.

Amherst, in the mean time, was diligently engaged in concerting and prosecuting measures for the entire conquest of Canada. During the winter, he had made arrangements for bringing all the British forces from Quebec, Lake Champlain, and Lake Ontario, to join in a combined attack upon Montreal. Colonel Haviland, by his direction, sailing with a detachment from Crown Point, took possession of Isle-aux-Noix, which he found abandoned by the enemy, and thence proceeded towards Montreal; while Amherst, with his own division, consisting of about ten thousand regulars and provincials, left the frontiers of New York, and advanced to Oswego, where his force received

the addition of a thousand Indians of the Six Nations, marching under the command of Sir William Johnson. Embarking with his entire army on Lake Ontario; he reduced the fort of Isle Royale, one of the most important posts which the French possessed on the river St. Lawrence; and thence, after a difficult and dangerous passage, conducted his troops to Montreal, where, on the very day of their arrival (September 6, 1760), they were met by the forces commanded by General Murray. In his progress up the river, Murray distributed proclamations among the Canadians inhabiting its southern shore, which produced such an effect that almost all the parishes in this quarter, as far as the river Sorel, declared their submission to Britain, and took the oath of neutrality; and Lord Rollo, meanwhile, advancing along the northern shore, disarmed all the inhabitants as far as Trois Rivieres, which, though the capital of a large district, being merely an open village, was taken without resistance. By a happy concert in the execution of a well digested plan, the armies of Amherst and Murray, on the day after their own simultaneous arrival (September 7), were joined by the detachment confided to Colonel Haviland. Amherst had already made preparation for investing Montreal; but Vaudreuil, perceiving, from the strength of the combined armies, and the skilful dispositions of their commanders, that resistance must be ineffectual, hastened to demand a capitulation; and on the following day (September 8), Montreal, Detroit, and all the other places of strength within the government of Canada were surrendered to the British crown. After the capitulation, General Gage was appointed governor of Montreal, with a garrison of two thousand men; and Murray returned to Quebec, where his garrison was augmented to four thousand.

Thus fell the colonial empire of France on the continent of North America,—the victim of overweening ambition, and of the rage of a rival state, transported by insult and injury beyond the usual channel of its policy and the limits of the system it had hitherto pursued. On the south of the Mississippi, the French still possessed the infant colony of Louisiana; but this settlement, far from being powerful or formidable, was so thinly peopled and so ill-conditioned, that it could scarcely have pre-

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served its existence, without the provisions of food and other supplies it obtained by a contraband trade with the British provinces. The downfall of the French dominion was completed by the fate of the armament, which was despatched this year from France for the assistance of Canada. The commander of this force, consisting of one frigate of thirty guns, two large store-ships, and nineteen smaller vessels, having ascertained before his arrival on the coast that a British squadron had already sailed up the St. Lawrence, took refuge in the Bay of Chaleurs, on the coast of Nova Scotia. Captain Byron, who commanded the British vessels, stationed at Louisbourg, receiving intelligence of the enemy's position, instantly sailed with five ships of war to the Bay of Chaleurs, and easily succeeded in destroying the hostile armament, as well as in dismantling two batteries which the French had erected on shore.

In the mean time, the Carolinas were suffering from Indian hostility, instigated by the French garrison, that had retreated from Fort Duquesne. In the different expeditions against Fort Duquesne, the Cherokees, agreeable to treaty, had sent considerable parties of warriors to the assistance of the British army. As the horses in those parts run wild in the woods, it was customary, both among Indians and white people on the frontiers, to lay hold of them and appropriate them to their own purposes; but while the savages were returning home through the back parts of Virginia, many of them having lost their horses, laid hold of such as came in their way, never imagining that they belonged to any individual in the province. The Virginians, however, instead of asserting their right in a legal way, resented the injury by force of arms, and killed twelve or fourteen of the unsuspecting warriors, and took several more prisoners. The Cherokees, with reason, were highly provoked at such ungrateful usage from allies, whose frontiers they had helped to change from a field of blood into peaceful habitations, and when they came home told what had happened to their nation. The flame soon spread through the upper towns, and those who had lost their friends and relations were implacable, and breathed nothing but fury and vengeance against such perfidious friends. In vain did the chieftains interpose their authority; nothing could restrain the furious

spirits of the young men, who were determined to take satisfaction for the loss of their relations. The emissaries of France among them instigated them to bloodshed, and for that purpose furnished them with arms and ammunition; and the scattered families on the frontiers of Carolina lay much exposed to scalping parties of these savages.

The garrison of Fort Loudon, consisting of about two hundred men, under the command of Captains Demere and Stuart, first discovered the ill-humour in which the Cherokee warriors returned from the northern expedition. The soldiers, as usual, making excursions into the woods to hunt for fresh provisions, were attacked by them, and some of them were killed. From this time such dangers threatened the garrison, that every one was confined within the small boundaries of the fort; and all communication with the distant settlement from which they received supplies being cut off, and the soldiers being but poorly provided, had no other prospects left but those of famine or death. Parties of young Indians took the field, and rushing down among the settlements, murdered and scalped a number of people on the frontiers.

The commanding officer at Fort Prince George having received intelligence of these acts of hostility, despatched a messenger to Charleston to inform Governor Lyttleton that the Cherokees had commenced hostilities. In consequence of which, parties of the independent companies were brought to Charleston; and the militia of the country had orders to rendezvous at Congarees, where the governor, with such a force as he could procure from the lower parts, resolved to join them, and march to the relief of the frontier settlements.

No sooner had the Cherokees heard of these warlike preparations at Charleston, than 32 of their chiefs set out for that place, in order to settle all differences, and prevent, if possible, a war; but the governor, notwithstanding, determined that nothing should prevent his military expedition, although Lieutenant-Governor Bull urged the danger of a war at that time.

A few days after holding this conference with the chieftains, the governor set out for Congarees, the place of general rendezvous for the militia, and about 140 miles distant from Charleston, where he mustered in all about 1400 men. To this

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place the Cherokees marched along with the army, and were to all appearance contented, but in reality burning with resentment. When the army moved from the Congarees, the chieftains, very unexpectedly, were all made prisoners; and to prevent their escape to the nation, a captain's guard was mounted over them, and in this manner they were obliged to march to Fort Prince George. And these thirty-two Indians, upon the arrival of the army at Fort Prince George, were all shut up in a hut, scarcely sufficient for the accommodation of six soldiers, where they very naturally concerted plots for obtaining their liberty.

Governor Lyttleton's little army being not only ill armed and disciplined, but also discontented and mutinous, he judged it dangerous to proceed further into the enemy's country. Having beforehand sent for Attakullakulla, who was esteemed both the wisest man of the Creek nation and the most steady friend of the English, to meet him at Fort Prince George, this warrior hastened to his camp from an excursion against the French, in which he had taken some prisoners, one of whom he presented to the governor. Mr. Lyttleton knew that for obtaining a re-establishment of peace there was not a man in the whole nation better disposed to assist him than this old warrior, though it was observed that he cautiously avoided making any offer of satisfaction. But so small was his influence among the Cherokees at this time, that they considered him as no better than an old woman, on account of his attachment to their English enemies, and his aversion from going to war against them.

About the 18th of December, 1759, the governor held a congress with this warrior, and ultimately agreed to a treaty of peace, drawn up and signed by the governor and six of the head men; in which it was agreed, that the 32 chieftains of the Cherokees (who had been taken prisoners) should be kept as hostages confined in the fort, until the same number of Indians, guilty of murder, should be delivered up to the commander-in-chief of the province; that trade should be opened and carried on as usual; that the Cherokees should kill, or take every Frenchman prisoner, who should presume to come into their nation during the continuance of the war; and that they should hold no intercourse with the enemies of Great Britain, but should

apprehend every person, white or red, found among them, that might be endeavouring to set the English and Cherokees at variance, and interrupt the friendship and peace established between them.

Scarcely had Governor Lyttleton concluded the treaty of Fort Prince George, when the small-pox, which was raging in an adjacent Indian town, broke out in his camp; and as few of his little army had ever gone through that distemper, and as the surgeons were totally unprovided for such an accident, his men were struck with terror, and in great haste returned to the settlements, cautiously avoiding all intercourse one with another, and suffering much from hunger and fatigue by the way. The governor followed them, and arrived in Charleston about the beginning of the year 1760. Though not a drop of blood had been spilt during the expedition, he was received like a conqueror, with the greatest demonstrations of joy; and the most flattering addresses were presented to him by the different societies and professions, and bonfires and illuminations testified the high sense the inhabitants entertained of his merit and services, and the happy consequences which they believed would result from his expedition.

However, those rejoicings on account of the peace were scarcely over, when the news arrived that fresh hostilities had been committed, and the governor was informed that the Cherokees had killed fourteen men within a mile of Fort Prince George. The Indians had contracted an invincible antipathy to Captain Coytmore, the officer whom Mr. Lyttleton had left commander of that fort; and the treatment they had received at Charleston, but especially the imprisonment of their chiefs, had now converted their former desire of peace into the bitterest rage for war. Oconostota, a chieftain of great influence, had become a most implacable and vindictive enemy to Carolina, and determined to repay treachery with treachery. Having gathered a strong party of Cherokees, he surrounded Fort Prince George, and compelled the garrison to keep within their works; but finding that he could make no impression on the fort, nor oblige the commander to surrender, he contrived the following stratagem for the relief of his countrymen confined in it.

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As that country was everywhere covered with woods, he placed a party of savages in a dark thicket by the river side, and then sent an Indian woman, whom he knew to be always welcome at the fort, to inform the commander that he had something of consequence to communicate to him, and would be glad to speak with him at the river side. Captain Coytmore imprudently consented, and without any suspicion of danger walked down towards the river, accompanied by Lieutenants Bell and Foster; when Oconostota, appearing on the opposite side, told him he was going to Charleston to procure a release of the prisoners, and would be glad of a white man to accompany him as a safeguard; and the better to cover his dark design, had a bridle in his hand, and added, he would go and hunt for a horse for him. The Captain replied, that he should have a guard, and wished he might find a horse, as the journey was very long. Upon which the Indian, turning quickly about, swung the bridle thrice round his head, as a signal to the savages placed in ambush, who instantly fired on the officers, shot the captain dead on the spot, and wounded the other two. In consequence of which, orders were given to put the hostages in irons, to prevent any further danger from them; but while the soldiers were attempting to execute their orders, the Indians stabbed the first man who laid hold of them with a knife, and wounded two more; upon which the garrison, exasperated to the highest degree, fell on the unfortunate hostages and butchered them in a manner too shocking to relate.

There were few men in the Cherokee nation that did not lose a friend or a relation by this massacre, and therefore with one voice all immediately declared for war. The leaders in every town seized the hatchet, telling their followers that the spirits of their murdered brothers were flying around them, and calling for vengeance. From the different towns large parties of warriors took the field, painted in the most formidable manner, and singing the war song, rushed down among the defenceless families on the frontiers of Carolina, where men, women, and children, without distinction, fell a sacrifice to their merciless fury. Such as fled to the woods, and escaped the scalping-knife, perished with hunger; and those whom they made prisoners were carried into the wilderness, where they suffered

inexpressible hardships; and every day brought fresh accounts to the capital of their ravages, murders, and desolations. But while the back settlers impatiently looked to their governor for relief, the small-pox raged to such a degree in town, that few of the militia could be prevailed on to leave their distressed families to serve the public. In this extremity an express was sent to General Amherst, the commander-in-chief in America, acquainting him with the deplorable situation of the province, and imploring his assistance in the most pressing terms. Accordingly a battalion of Highlanders, and four companies of the Royal Scots, under the command of Colonel Montgomery, afterwards Earl of Eglinton, were ordered immediately to embark, and sail for the relief of Carolina.

In the mean time William Lyttleton being transferred to the government of Jamaica, the charge of the province devolved on William Bull, a man of great integrity and erudition. Application was made to the inhabitants of North Carolina and Virginia for relief, and seven troops of rangers were raised to patrol the frontiers, and prevent the savages from penetrating further down among the settlements. A considerable sum was voted for presents to such of the Creeks, Chickesaws, and Catawbas as should join the province, and go to war against the Cherokees; and provisions were sent to the families that had escaped to Augusta and Fort Moore, and the best preparations possible made for chastising their enemy, so soon as the regulars coming from New York should arrive in the province.

Before the end of April, 1760, Colonel Montgomery landed in Carolina, and encamped at Monk's Corner; but as the conquest of Canada was the grand object of this year's campaign in America, he had orders to strike a sudden blow for the relief of Carolina, and return to head-quarters at Albany without loss of time. Nothing was therefore omitted that was judged necessary to forward the expedition. Several gentlemen of fortune, excited by a laudable zeal, formed themselves into a company of volunteers, and joined the army. The whole force of the province was collected, and ordered to rendezvous at Congaree; and wagons, carts, and horses were impressed.

A few weeks after his arrival, Colonel Montgomery marched to the Congaree, where he was joined by the internal strength

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of the province, and immediately set out for the Cherokee country. He was provided with a half-blooded Indian, for a guide, who was well acquainted with the roads through the woods, and the passages through the rivers. Having little time allowed him, his march was spirited and expeditious. After reaching a place called Twelvemile River, he encamped on an advantageous ground, and marched with a party of his men in the night to surprise Estatoc, an Indian town about 20 miles from his camp. The first noise he heard by the way was the barking of a dog before his men, where he was informed there was an Indian town called Little Keowee, which he ordered the light infantry to surround, and, except women and children, to put every Indian in it to the sword. He next proceeded to Estatoc, which he found abandoned by all the savages, excepting a few who had not had time to make their escape; and this town, which consisted of at least 200 houses, and was well provided with corn, hogs, poultry, and ammunition, he reduced to ashes; and Sugar Town, and every other settlement in the lower nation, afterwards shared the same fate. In these lower towns about 60 Indians were killed and 40 made prisoners, and the rest were driven to seek for shelter among the mountains. He then marched to the relief of Fort Prince George, which had been for some time invested by savages, in-somuch that no soldier durst venture beyond the bounds of the fort, and where the garrison was in distress, not for the want of provisions, but of fuel to prepare them.

While the army rested at Fort Prince George, Edmund Atkin, agent for Indian affairs, despatched two Indian chiefs to the middle settlements, to inform the Cherokees that by suing for peace they might obtain it, as the former friends and allies of Britain; and at the same time he sent a messenger to Fort Loudon, requesting Captains Demere and Stuart, the commanding officers at that place, to use their best endeavours for obtaining peace with the Cherokees in the upper towns. Colonel Montgomery finding that the savages were as yet disposed to listen to no terms of accommodation, determined to carry the chastisement a little further. While he was piercing through the thick forest he had numberless difficulties to surmount, particularly from rivers fordable only at one place, and over-

looked by high banks on each side, where an enemy might attack him with advantage, and retreat with safety. When he had advanced within five miles of Etchoe, the nearest town in the middle settlements, he found there a low valley, covered so thickly with bushes that the soldiers could scarcely see three yards before them, and in the middle of which there was a muddy river, with steep clay banks. Through this dark place, where it was impossible for any number of men to act together, the army must necessarily march; and therefore Captain Morrison, who commanded a company of rangers well acquainted with the woods, had orders to advance and scour the thicket. He had scarcely entered it, when a number of savages sprung from their lurking den, and firing on them, killed the captain and wounded several of his party. Upon which the light-infantry and grenadiers were ordered to advance and charge the enemy, which they did with great courage and alacrity. A heavy fire then began on both sides, and during some time the soldiers could only discover the places where the savages were hid by the report of their guns. Colonel Montgomery finding that the number of Indians that guarded this place was great, and that they were determined obstinately to dispute it, ordered the Royal Scots, who were in the rear, to advance between the savages and a rising ground on the right, while the Highlanders marched towards the left to sustain the light-infantry and grenadiers. The woods now resounded with the horrible shouts and yells of the savages, but these, instead of intimidating the troops, seemed rather to inspire them with double firmness and resolution. At length the savages gave way, and in their retreat falling in with the Royal Scots, suffered considerably before they got out of their reach. By this time the Royals being in the front and the Highlanders in the rear, the enemy stretched away and took possession of a hill, seemingly disposed to keep at a distance, and always retreating as the army advanced; and Colonel Montgomery perceiving that they kept aloof, gave orders to the line to face about, and march directly for the town of Etchoe; but the enemy no sooner observed this movement, than they got behind the hill, and ran to alarm their wives and children. During the action, which lasted above an hour, Colonel Mont-

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gomery, who made several narrow escapes, had 20 men killed, and 76 wounded. What number the enemy lost is uncertain, but some places were discovered into which they had thrown several of their slain, from which it was conjectured that they must have lost a great number, as it is a custom among them to carry their dead off the field. Upon viewing the ground, all were astonished to see with what judgment and skill they had chosen it; for the most experienced European officer could not have fixed upon a spot more advantageous for waylaying and attacking an enemy, according to the method of fighting practised among the Indian nations.

This action, though it terminated much in favour of the British troops, had nevertheless reduced them to such a situation as made it very imprudent, if not altogether impracticable, to penetrate further into those woods. The repulse was far from being decisive, for the enemy had only retired from one to another advantageous situation in order to renew their attack when the army should again advance. Humanity would not suffer the commander to leave so many wounded men exposed to the vengeance of savages, without any stronghold in which he might lodge them, or some detachment, which he could not spare, to protect them; and should he proceed further, he saw plainly that he must expect frequent skirmishes, which would increase the number, and the burning of so many Indian towns would be a poor compensation for the great risk, and perhaps wanton sacrifice of so many valuable lives. To furnish horses for the men already wounded obliged him to throw many bags of flour into the river, and what remained was no more than sufficient for his army during their return to Fort Prince George. Orders were therefore given for a retreat, which was made with great regularity, although the enemy continued hovering around them, and annoying them to the utmost of their power. A large train of wounded men was brought above 60 miles through a hazardous country in safety, for which no small share of honour and praise was due to the officer that conducted the retreat.

After Colonel Montgomery had returned to the settlements, and was preparing to embark for New York, agreeable to his orders from General Amherst, the Carlinians were again thrown

under the most dreadful apprehensions from the dangers which still hung over the province; and prevailed on the colonel to leave four companies of the royal regiment, under the command of Major Frederick Hamilton, for covering the frontiers, while he embarked with the battalion of Highlanders, and sailed for New York.

In the mean time the distant garrison of Fort Loudon, consisting of 200 men, was reduced to the dreadful alternative of perishing by hunger or submitting to the mercy of the enraged Cherokees. The governor having information that the Virginians had undertaken to relieve it, for a while seemed satisfied, and anxiously waited to hear the news of that happy event, but the Virginians were equally ill qualified with their neighbours of Carolina to send them any assistance. So remote was the fort from every settlement, and so difficult was it to march an army through the barren wilderness, where the various thickets were lined with enemies, and to carry at the same time sufficient supplies along with them, that the Virginians had dropped all thoughts of the attempt. Provisions being entirely exhausted at Fort Loudon, the garrison was reduced to the most deplorable situation; and for a whole month they had no other subsistence but the flesh of lean horses and dogs, and a small supply of Indian beans, which some friendly Cherokee women procured for them by stealth. Long had the officers endeavoured to animate and encourage the men with the hopes of relief; but now being blockaded night and day by the enemy, and having no resource left, they threatened to leave the fort, and die at once by the hands of savages, rather than perish slowly by famine. In this extremity the commander was obliged to call a council of war, to consider what was proper to be done; when the officers were all of opinion, that it was impossible to hold out any longer, and therefore agreed to surrender the fort to the Cherokees on the best terms that could be obtained from them. For this purpose, Captain Stuart, an officer of great sagacity and address, and much beloved by all the Indians that remained in the British interest, procured leave to go to Chotè, one of the principal towns in the neighbourhood, where he obtained the following terms of capitulation, which were signed by the commanding officer, and two of the

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Cherokee chiefs. "That the garrison of Fort Loudon march out with their arms and drums, each soldier having as much powder and ball as their officer shall think necessary for their march, and all the baggage they may choose to carry : that the garrison be permitted to march to Virginia, or Fort Prince George, as the commanding officer shall think proper, unmolested ; and that a number of Indians be appointed to escort them, and hunt for provisions during their march ; that such soldiers as are lame, or by sickness disabled from marching, be received into the Indian towns, and kindly used until they recover, and then allowed to return to Fort Prince George ; that the Indians do provide for the garrison as many horses as they conveniently can for their march, agreeing with the officers and soldiers for payment ; that the fort, great guns, powder, ball, and spare arms, be delivered to the Indians without fraud or further delay, on the day appointed for the march of the troops."

On these terms the garrison delivered up the fort, and marched out with their arms, accompanied by Oeconostota, Judd's friend, the Chief of Chotè, and several other Indians, and that day went fifteen miles on their way to Fort Prince George. At night they encamped on a plain about two miles from Taliquo, an Indian town, when all their attendants, upon one pretence or another, left them ; which the officers considered as no good sign, and therefore placed a strict guard round their camp. During the night they remained unmolested, but next morning, about break of day, a soldier from an out-post came running in, and informed them that he saw a vast number of Indians, armed, and painted in the most dreadful manner, creeping among the bushes, and advancing in order to surround them. Scarcely had the officer time to order his men to stand to their arms, when the savages poured in upon them a heavy fire from different quarters, accompanied with the most hideous yells, which struck a panic into the soldiers, who were so much enfeebled and dispirited that they were incapable of making any effectual resistance. Captain Demere, with three other officers, and about twenty-six private men, fell at the first onset. Some fled into the woods, and were afterwards taken prisoners and confined among the towns in the valley. Captain

Stuart, and those that remained, were seized, pinioned, and brought back to Fort Loudon. No sooner had Attakullakulla heard that his friend Mr. Stuart had escaped, than he hastened to the fort, and purchased him from the Indian that took him, giving him his rifle, clothes, and all he could command, by way of ransom. He then took possession of Captain Demere's house, where he kept his prisoner as one of his family, and freely shared with him the little provisions his table afforded, until a fair opportunity should offer for rescuing him from their hands; but the poor soldiers were kept in a miserable state of captivity for some time, and then redeemed by the province at a great expense.

During the time these prisoners were confined at Fort Loudon, Oeconostota formed a design of attacking Fort Prince George, and for this purpose despatched a messenger to the settlements in the valley, requesting all the warriors there to join him at Stickoey old town. By accident a discovery was made of ten bags of powder, and ball in proportion, which the officers had secretly buried in the fort, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. This discovery had nearly proved fatal to Captain Stuart, and would certainly have cost him his life, had not the interpreter had so much presence of mind as to assure the enemy that these warlike stores had been concealed without his knowledge or consent. The Indians having now abundance of ammunition for the siege, a council was called at Chotè, to which the captain was brought, and put in mind of the obligations he lay under to them for sparing his life; and as they had resolved to carry six cannon and two cohorns with them against Fort Prince George, to be managed by men under his command, they told him he must go and write such letters to the commandant as they should dictate to him. They informed him at the same time, that if that officer should refuse to surrender, they were determined to burn the prisoners one after another before his face, and try if he could be so obstinate as to hold out while he saw his friends expiring in the flames. Captain Stuart was much alarmed at his situation, and from that moment resolved to make his escape, or perish in the attempt. His design he privately communicated to Attakullakulla, and told him how uneasy he was at the

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thoughts of being compelled to bear arms against his countrymen. He acknowledged that he had always been a brother, and hoped he would assist him to get out of his present perilous circumstances. The old warrior, taking him by the hand, told him he was his friend, he had already given one proof of his regard, and intended to give another so soon as his brother should return and help him to concert the measure. He said he was well apprised of the ill designs of his countrymen, and should he go and persuade the garrison of Fort Prince George to do as he had done, what could he expect but that they should share the same dismal fate. Strong and uncultivated minds carry their friendship, as well as their enmity, to an astonishing pitch. Among savages family friendship is a national virtue, and civilized men may blush when they consider how much barbarians have often surpassed them in the practice of it.

Attakullakulla claimed Captain Stuart as his prisoner, and had resolved to deliver him from danger, and for this purpose there was no time to be lost. Accordingly he gave out among his countrymen that he intended to hunt for a few days, and carry his prisoner along with him to eat venison, of which he declared he was exceedingly fond. At the same time the captain went among his soldiers, telling them that they could never expect to be ransomed by the province, if they gave the smallest assistance to the Indians against Fort Prince George. Having settled all matters, they set out on their journey, accompanied by the warrior's wife, his brother, and two soldiers, who were the only persons in the garrison that knew how to convey great guns through the woods. For provisions they depended on what they might kill by the way; but the distance to the frontier settlements was great, and the utmost expedition was necessary to prevent any surprise from Indians pursuing them. Nine days and nights did they travel through a dreary wilderness, shaping their course by the sun and moon towards Virginia, and traversing many hills, valleys, and paths, that had never been crossed before but by savages and wild beasts. On the tenth they arrived at the banks of Holston's river, where they fortunately fell in with a party of 300 men, sent out by Colonel Bird for the relief of such soldiers as might make their

escape that way from Fort Loudon. On the fourteenth day the Captain reached Colonel Bird's camp on the frontiers of Virginia, where having loaded his faithful friend with presents and provisions, he sent him back to protect the unhappy prisoners till they should be ransomed, and to exert his influence among the Cherokees for the restoration of peace.

No sooner had Captain Stuart made his escape from the hands of the savages, than he immediately began to concert ways and means for the relief of his garrison. An express was despatched to Lieutenant-governor Bull, informing him of the disaster that had happened to the garrison of Fort Loudon, and of the designs of the enemy against Fort Prince George. In consequence of which orders were given to Major Thomson, who commanded the militia on the frontiers, to throw in provisions for ten weeks into that fort, and warn the commanding officer of his danger. At the same time a messenger was sent to Attakullakulla, desiring him to inform the Cherokees that Fort George was impregnable, having vast quantities of powder buried under ground everywhere around it, to blow up all enemies that should attempt to come near it. Presents of considerable value were sent to redeem the prisoners at Fort Loudon, a few of whom had by this time made their escape; and afterwards not only those that were confined among the towns in the valley, but also all that had survived the hardships of hunger, disease, and captivity in the upper towns were released, and delivered up to the commanding officer at Fort Prince George.

It might now have been expected that the vindictive spirit of the savages would be satisfied, and that they would be disposed to listen to some terms of accommodation. This treacherous conduct to the soldiers at Fort Loudon, they intended as a satisfaction for the harsh treatment their relations had met with at Fort Prince George; and dearly had the province paid for the base imprisonment and massacre of the chiefs at that place. Still, however, a great majority of the nation spurned at every offer of peace. The lower towns had all been destroyed by Colonel Montgomery; the warriors in the middle settlements had lost many friends and relations; and several Frenchmen had crept in among the upper towns, and helped to foment

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their ill humour against Carolina. Lewis Latinac, a French officer, was among them, and proved an indefatigable instigator to mischief. He persuaded the Indians that the English had nothing less in view than to exterminate them from the face of the earth; and, furnishing them with arms and ammunition, urged them on to war. At a great meeting of the nation he pulled out his hatchet, and striking it into a log of wood, called out, Who is the man that will take this up for the king of France? Saloue, the young warrior of Estatoe, instantly laid hold of it, and cried out, "I am for war. The spirits of our brothers who have been slain still call upon us to avenge their death. He is no better than a woman that refuses to follow me." Many others seized the tomahawk, yet dyed in British blood, and burned with impatience for the field.

Under the flattering appearance of a calm were these clouds again gathering; however, Lieutenant-governor Bull, who well knew how little Indians were to be trusted on any occasion, kept the Royal Scots and militia on the frontiers in a posture of defence. But finding the province still under the most dreadful apprehensions from their savage neighbours, who continued insolent and vindictive, and ready to renew their ravages and murders, he made application a second time to General Amherst for assistance. Canada being now reduced, the commander-in-chief could the more easily spare a force adequate to the purpose intended; and Colonel Montgomery, who conducted the former expedition, having by this time embarked for England, the command of the Highlanders devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel James Grant, who received orders to return to the relief of Carolina. Early in the year 1761 he landed at Charleston, where he took up his winter quarters, until the proper season should approach for taking the field; but, unfortunately, during this time many of the soldiers, by drinking brackish water, were taken sick, which afforded the inhabitants an opportunity of showing their kindness and humanity. They considered themselves under the strongest obligations to treat men with tenderness, who came to protect them against their enemies, and therefore they brought the sick soldiers into their houses, and nursed them with the greatest care and attention.

In this campaign the province determined to exert itself to

the utmost, that, in conjunction with the regular forces, a severe correction might be given to those troublesome savages. For this purpose a provincial regiment was raised, and the command of it given to Colonel Middleton. Presents were provided for the Indian allies, and several of the Chickesaws and Catawbias engaged to assist them against the Cherokees. But the Creeks, whose help was also strongly solicited, played an artful game between the English and the French, and gave the one or the other encouragement, according to the advantages they reaped from them. All possible preparations were made for supplying the army with provisions at different stages, and with such carts and horses as were thought necessary to the expedition.

As all white men in the province, of the military age, were soldiers as well as citizens, and trained in some measure to the use of arms, it was no difficult matter to complete the provincial regiment. Their names being registered in the list of militia, on every emergency they were obliged to be ready for defence, not only against the incursions of Indians, but also against the insurrection of negroes; and although the same prompt obedience to orders could not be expected from them that is necessary in a regular army, yet the provincials had other advantages which compensated for that defect. They were better acquainted than strangers with the woods, and the nature of that country in which their military service was required. They were seasoned to the climate, and had learned from experience what clothes, meat, and drink were most proper to enable them to do their duty. In common occasions, when the militia was called out, the men received no pay, but when employed, as in this Cherokee war, for the public defence, they were allowed the same pay with the king's forces.

As soon as the Highlanders had recovered from their sickness, and were in a condition to take the field, Colonel Grant began his march for the Cherokee territories; and after being joined by the provincial regiment and Indian allies, he mustered in all about 2600 men. Having served some years in America, and been in several engagements with the Indians, he was now no stranger to their methods of making war.

On the 27th of May, 1761, Colonel Grant arrived at Fort

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Prince George, and Attakullakulla having got information that he was advancing against his nation with a formidable army, hastened to his camp to signify his earnest desire of peace. He told the colonel that he always had been, and ever would continue to be, a firm friend to the English; that the outrages of his countrymen covered him with shame, and filled his heart with grief; yet nevertheless he would gladly interpose in their behalf, in order to bring about an accommodation. Often, he said, had he been called an old woman by the mad young men of his nation, who delighted in war, and despised his counsels. Often had he endeavoured to get the hatchet buried, and the former good correspondence with the Carolinians established; but now he was determined to set out for the Cherokee towns, to persuade them to consult their safety, and speedily agree to terms of peace, and again and again begged the colonel to proceed no further until he returned.

Colonel Grant, however, gave him no encouragement to expect that his request could be granted; but, on the 7th of June, began his march from Fort Prince George, carrying with him provisions for the army for 30 days. A party of 90 Indians, and 30 woodmen, painted like Indians, under the command of Captain Quintine Kennedy, had orders to march in front and scour the woods. After them the light infantry, and about 50 rangers, consisting in all of about 200 men, followed, by whose vigilance and activity the commander imagined that the main body of the army might be kept tolerably quiet and secure. For three days he made forced marches, in order to get over two narrow and dangerous defiles, which he accomplished without a shot from the enemy, but which might have cost him dear, had they been properly guarded and warmly disputed. On the day following he found suspicious ground on all hands, and therefore orders were given for the first time to load and prepare for action, and the guards to march slowly forward, doubling their vigilance and circumspection. As they frequently spied Indians around them, all were convinced that they should that day have an engagement. At length, having advanced near to the place where Colonel Montgomery was attacked the year before, the Indian allies in the van-guard, about eight in the morning, observed a large body of Cherokees

posted upon a hill on the right flank of the army, and gave the alarm. Immediately the savages, rushing down, began to fire on the advanced guard, which being supported, the enemy were repulsed, and recovered their heights. Under this hill the line was obliged to march a considerable way. On the left there was a river, from the opposite bank of which a large party of Indians fired briskly on the troops as they advanced. Colonel Grant ordered a party to march up the hill, and drive the enemy from the heights, while the line faced about, and gave their whole charge to the Indians who annoyed them from the side of the river. The engagement became general, and the savages seemed determined obstinately to dispute the lower grounds, while those on the hill were dislodged only to return with redoubled ardour to the charge. The situation of the troops was in several respects deplorable; fatigued by a tedious march, in rainy weather, surrounded with woods, so that they could not discern the enemy, galled by the scattered fire of savages, who when pressed always kept aloof, but rallied again and again, and returned to the ground. No sooner did the army gain an advantage over them in one quarter, than they appeared in another. While the attention of the commander was occupied in driving the enemy from their lurking-place on the river's side, the rear was attacked, and so vigorous an effort made for the flour and cattle, that he was obliged to order a party back for the relief of the rear-guard. From eight o'clock in the morning until eleven the savages continued to keep up an irregular and incessant fire, sometimes from one place, and sometimes from another, while the woods resounded with hideous shouts and yells, to intimidate the troops. At length the Cherokees gave way, and being pursued for some time, random shots continued till two o'clock, when they disappeared. What loss the enemy sustained in this action we have not yet been able to learn, but of Colonel Grant's army there were between 50 and 60 men killed and wounded; and it is probable the loss of the savages could not be much greater, and perhaps not so great, owing to their manner of fighting. Orders were given not to bury the slain, but to sink them in the river, to prevent their being dug up from their graves and scalped. To provide horses for those,

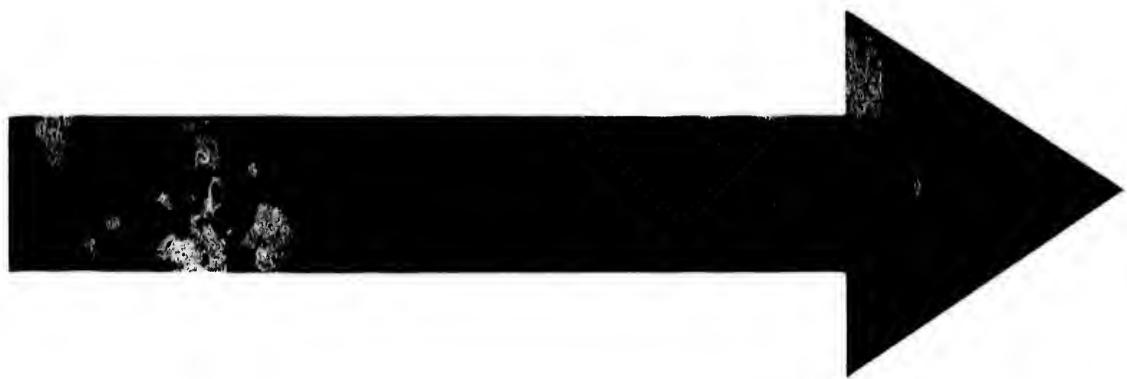
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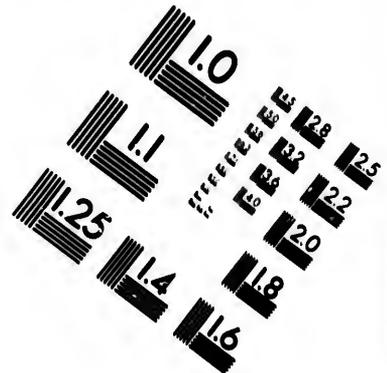
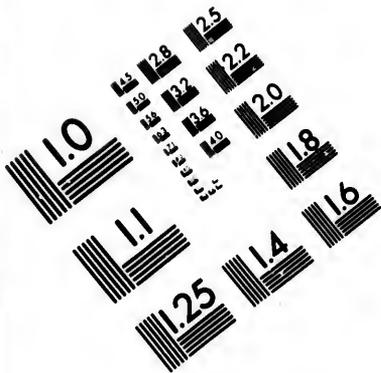
that were wounded, several bags of flour were thrown into the river. After which they proceeded to Etchoe, a pretty large Indian town, which they reached about midnight, and next day reduced to ashes. Every other town in the middle settlements, fourteen in number, shared the same fate; and their magazines and corn fields were likewise destroyed, and those miserable savages, with their families, were driven to seek for shelter and provisions among the lower mountains.

Colonel Grant continued 30 days in the heart of the Cherokee territories, and, upon his return to Fort Prince George, the feet and legs of many of his army were so torn and bruised, and their strength and spirits so much exhausted, that they were utterly unable to march further. He resolved therefore to encamp at that place, both to refresh his men, and wait the resolutions of the Cherokees, in consequence of the heavy chastisement which they had received. Besides the numberless advantages their country afforded for defence, it was supposed that some French officers had been among them, and given them all the assistance in their power. It is true the savages supported their attack for some hours with considerable spirit; but being driven from their advantageous posts and thickets, they were wholly disconcerted, and though the repulse was far from being decisive, yet after this engagement they returned no more to the attack.

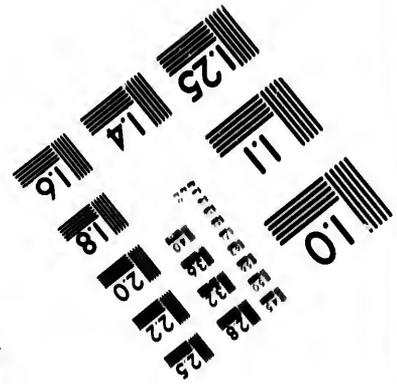
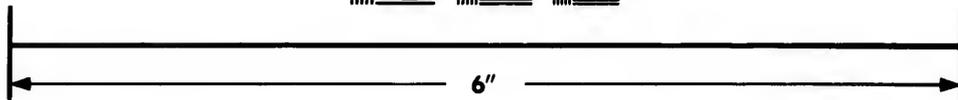
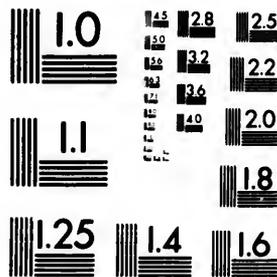
Such engagements in Europe would be considered as trifling skirmishes, scarcely worthy of relation, but in America a great deal is often determined by them. It is no easy matter to describe the distress to which the savages were reduced by this severe correction; even in time of peace they are in a great measure destitute of that foresight which provides for future events; but in time of war, when their villages are destroyed, and their fields laid desolate, they are reduced to extreme want. Being driven to the barren mountains, the hunters furnished with ammunition might indeed make some small provision for themselves; but women, children, and old men must perish, being deprived of the means of subsistence.

A few days after Colonel Grant's arrival at Fort Prince George, Attakullakulla, attended by several chieftains, came to his camp, and expressed a desire of peace. Severely had





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they suffered for breaking the alliance with Britain; and convinced at last of the weakness and perfidy of the French, who were neither able to assist them in time of war, nor supply their wants in time of peace, they resolved to renounce all connexion with them for ever. Accordingly terms of peace were drawn up and proposed, which were no less honourable to Colonel Grant than advantageous to the province. The different articles being read and interpreted, Attakullakulla agreed to them all excepting one, by which it was demanded, "That four Cherokee Indians be delivered up to Colonel Grant at Fort Prince George, to be put to death in the front of his camp; or four green scalps be brought to him in the space of twelve nights." The warrior having no authority from his nation, declared he could not agree to this article, and therefore the Colonel sent him to Charleston, to see whether the lieutenant-governor would consent to mitigate the rigour of it.

Accordingly Attakullakulla, and the other chieftains, being furnished with a safeguard, set out for Charleston, to hold a conference with Mr. Bull, and a peace was formally ratified and confirmed by both parties.

Thus ended the Cherokee war, which was among the last humbling strokes given to the expiring power of France in North America, and Colonel Grant returned to Charleston.

A treaty of peace was concluded at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763. By this treaty, the French monarch renounced all claim to Nova Scotia, and ceded Canada and its dependencies, together with Cape Breton and all the islands and coasts adjoining the river St. Lawrence, to the British crown.



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COLONEL BOUQUET.

CHAPTER XI.

PONTIAC'S WAR.



PEACE was scarcely concluded between France and England, when the north-western frontier of the colonies was visited with the horrors of Indian warfare. (1763.) When the English had taken possession of the French posts in Canada, Detroit also fell into their hands. The tribes in the vicinity of this post were under the government of Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, of great sagacity, bravery, and determination. Though he affected to be the friend of the English, he preferred the French, and quietly, but effectually entered into measures, the object of which was to drive the former from his country.

Pontiac now proceeded in his great work of forming the north-western tribes into a vast confederacy, and proved himself an able diplomatist. His eloquence and representations prevailed, and he found himself at the head of a mighty body of warriors. The plan of attack was next concerted. All the posts held by the English from Fort Pitt to Michilimackinac were to be attacked simultaneously upon a certain day. Until that day arrived, every precaution was taken to lull the English into a feeling of security, yet bands of the various tribes united in the confederacy gathered about Michilimackinac, Detroit, the Mouree post, Presque Isle, Niagara, Pitt, Ligonier, and other stations. At length, the appointed day arrived. The traders everywhere were seized, their goods taken from them, and more than one hundred of them put to death. Nine British forts yielded instantly, and over the whole north-western frontier, the work of horror and desolation was actively pursued. In Western Virginia, more than 20,000 people were driven from their homes. The burning of houses, the wasting of fields, and the capturing and butchering of settlers and traders, occupied every hour. Fort Michilimackinac was taken by a stratagem, which is thus narrated by Henry, a contemporary :

"The next day, being the fourth of June, was the king's birth-day. The morning was sultry. A Chippeway came to tell me that his nation was going to play at *baggatiway*, with the Sacs or Saakies, another Indian nation, for a high wager. He invited me to witness the sport, adding that the commandant was to be there, and would bet on the side of the Chippeways. In consequence of this information, I went to the commandant, and expostulated with him a little, representing that the Indians might possibly have some sinister end in view; but the commandant only smiled at my suspicions.

"*Baggatiway*, called by the Canadians *le jeu de la crosse*, is played with a bat and ball. The bat is about four feet in length, curved, and terminating in a sort of racket. Two posts are planted in the ground, at a considerable distance from each other, as a mile or more. Each party has its post, and the game consists in throwing the ball up to the post of the adversary. The ball at the beginning is placed in the middle

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of the course, and each party endeavours as well to throw the ball out of the direction of its own post, as into that of the adversary's.

"I did not go myself to see the match which was now to be played without the fort, because, there being a canoe prepared to depart, on the following day, for Montreal, I employed myself in writing letters to my friends; and even when a fellow-trader, Mr. Tracy, happened to call upon me, saying that another canoe had just arrived from Detroit, and proposing that I should go with him to the beach, to inquire the news, it so happened that I still remained, to finish my letters; promising to follow Mr. Tracy in the course of a few minutes. Mr. Tracy had not gone more than twenty paces from the door, when I heard an Indian war-cry, and a noise of general confusion. Going instantly to my window, I saw a crowd of Indians, within the fort, furiously cutting down and scalping every Englishman they found. In particular, I witnessed the fate of Lieutenant Jemette.

"The game of baggatiway, as from the description above will have been perceived, is necessarily attended with much violence and noise. In the ardour of contest, the ball, as has been suggested, if it cannot be thrown to the goal desired, is struck in any direction by which it can be diverted from that designed by the adversary. At such a moment, therefore, nothing could be less liable to excite premature alarm, than that the ball should be tossed over the pickets of the fort, nor that, having fallen there, it should be followed on the instant by all engaged in the game, as well the one party as the other, all eager, all struggling, all shouting, all in the unrestrained pursuit of a rude athletic exercise. Nothing could be less fitted to excite premature alarm; nothing, therefore, could be more happily devised, under the circumstances, than a stratagem like this; and this was, in fact, the stratagem which the Indians had employed, by which they had obtained possession of the fort, and by which they had been enabled to slaughter and subdue its garrison, and such of its other inhabitants as they pleased. To be still more certain of success, they had prevailed upon as many as they could, by a pretext the least liable to suspicion,

to come voluntarily without the pickets; and particularly the commandant and garrison themselves."

At Detroit, where Pontiac commanded, treachery prevented success; of this we give the account by Captain Carver:—

"As every appearance of war was at an end, and the Indians seemed to be on a friendly footing, Pontiac approached Detroit without exciting any suspicions in the breast of the governor, or the inhabitants. He encamped at a little distance from it, and let the commandant know that he was come to trade; and being desirous of brightening the chain of peace between the English and his nation, desired that he and his chiefs might be admitted to hold a council with him. The governor, still unsuspecting, and not in the least doubting the sincerity of the Indians, granted their general's request, and fixed on the next morning for their reception.

"On the evening of that day, an Indian woman who had been appointed by Major Gladwin to make a pair of Indian shoes, out of a curious elkskin, brought them home. The major was so pleased with them, that, intending these as a present for a friend, he ordered her to take the remainder back, and make it into others for himself. He then directed his servant to pay her for those she had done, and dismissed her. The woman went to the door that led to the street, but no further; she there loitered about as if she had not finished the business on which she came. A servant at length observed her, and asked her why she stayed there? She, gave him, however, no answer.

"Some short time after, the governor himself saw her, and inquired of his servant what occasioned her stay. Not being able to get a satisfactory answer, he ordered the woman to be called in. When she came into his presence, he desired to know what was the reason of her loitering about, and not hastening home before the gates were shut, that she might complete in due time the work he had given her to do. She told him, after much hesitation, that as he had always behaved with great goodness towards her, she was unwilling to take away the remainder of the skin, because he put so great a value upon it; and yet had not been able to prevail upon herself to tell him so. He then asked her why she was more reluctant to do so

now than she had been when she made the former pair. With increased reluctance she answered, that she should never be able to bring them back.

“His curiosity was now excited, he insisted on her disclosing the secret that seemed to be struggling in her bosom for utterance. At last, on receiving a promise that the intelligence she was about to give him should not turn to her prejudice; and that if it appeared to be beneficial, she should be rewarded for it, she informed him, that at the council to be held with the Indians the following day, Pontiac and his chiefs intended to murder him; and, after having massacred the garrison and inhabitants, to plunder the town. That for this purpose, all the chiefs who were to be admitted into the council room had cut their guns short, so that they could conceal them under their blankets; with which on a signal given by their general, on delivering the belt, they were all to rise up and instantly to fire on him and his attendants. Having effected this, they were immediately to rush into the town, where they would find themselves supported by a great number of their warriors, that were to come into it during the sitting of the council under the pretence of trading, but privately armed in the same manner. Having gained from the woman every necessary particular relative to the plot, and also the means by which she acquired a knowledge of them, he dismissed her with injunctions of secrecy, and a promise of fulfilling on his part with punctuality the engagements he had entered into.

“The intelligence the governor had just received gave him great uneasiness; and he immediately consulted the officer who was next him in command on the subject. But this gentleman, considering the information as a story invented for some artful purpose, advised him to pay no attention to it. This conclusion, however, had happily, no weight with him. He thought it prudent to conclude it to be true, till he was convinced that it was not so; and therefore, without revealing his suspicions to any other person, he took every needful precaution that the time would admit of. He walked around the fort for the whole night, and saw himself, that every sentinel was upon duty, and every weapon of defence in proper order.

“As he traversed the ramparts that lay nearest to the Indian

camp, he heard them in high festivity, and little imagining that their plot was discovered, probably pleasing themselves with the anticipation of their success. As soon as the morning dawned, he ordered all the garrison under arms, and then imparting his apprehensions to a few of the principal officers, gave them such directions as he thought necessary. At the same time he sent round to all the traders, to inform them, that as it was expected a great number of Indians would enter the town that day, who might be inclined to plunder, he desired they would have their arms ready, and repel any attempt of that kind.

“About ten o'clock, Pontiac and his chiefs arrived, and were conducted to the council chamber, where the governor and his principal officers, each with pistols in his belt, awaited his arrival. As the Indians passed on, they could not help observing that a greater number of troops than usual were drawn up on the parade, or marching about. No sooner were they entered and seated on the skins prepared for them, than Pontiac asked the governor, on what occasion his young men, meaning the soldiers, were thus drawn up and parading the streets? He received for answer that it was only intended to keep them perfect in their exercise.

“The Indian chief warrior now began his speech, which contained the strongest professions of friendship and good will towards the English: and when he came to the delivery of the belt of wampum, the particular mode of which, according to the woman's information, was to be the signal for the chiefs to fire, the governor and all his attendants drew their swords half way out of their scabbards; and the soldiers at the same time made a clattering with their arms before the door, which had been purposely left open. Pontiac, though one of the bravest men, immediately turned pale and trembled; and instead of giving the belt in the manner proposed, delivered it according to the usual way. His chiefs, who had impatiently expected the signal, looked at each other with astonishment, but continued quiet, waiting the result.

“The governor, in his turn, made a speech, but instead of thanking the great warrior for the professions of friendship he had just uttered, he accused him of being a traitor. He told

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him that the English, who knew everything, were convinced of his treachery and villanous designs; and as a proof that they were acquainted with his most secret thoughts and intentions, he stepped towards an Indian chief that sat nearest to him, and drawing aside the blanket, discovered the shortened firelock. This entirely disconcerted the Indians, and frustrated their design.

“He then continued to tell them, that as he had given his word at the time they had desired an audience, that their persons should be safe, he would hold his promise inviolable, though they so little deserved it. However, he desired them to make the best of their way out of the fort, lest his young men, on being acquainted with their treacherous purposes, should cut every one of them to pieces.

“Pontiac endeavoured to contradict the accusation, and to make excuses for his suspicious conduct; but the governor, satisfied of the falsity of his protestations, would not listen to him. The Indians immediately left the fort; but instead of being sensible of the governor's generous behaviour, they threw off the mask, and the next day made a regular attack upon it.”

Thus foiled, Pontiac laid formal siege to the fortress, and for many months that siege was continued in a manner, and with a perseverance, unexampled by the Indians. Even a regular commissariat department was organized, and bills of credit drawn out upon bark, were issued, and what is rarer, punctually paid.

Fort Pitt was besieged and reduced to great straits. Niagara remained in the possession of the British. Sir Jeffrey Amherst, who now commanded in America, determined to make an effort to relieve and strengthen Pitt, Detroit, and Niagara. The troops, destined to relieve Detroit, were commanded by Captain Dalyell. He arrived at that post on the 30th of July. Before his arrival, Pontiac had summoned Major Gladwin to surrender the fort to the French king. To force the Indians to abandon their present design, Captain Dalyell sallied out early on the morning of the 31st, with 250 men. At Bloody Bridge, he was attacked by the Indians. Learning their immense superiority, he was about to retreat, when he was killed.



PONTIAC.

Captain Grant now assumed the command, brought his men to the fort in good order, and acquired great honour by the able manner in which he conducted the retreat. Besides Captain Dalyell, the English lost one sergeant and eighteen rank and file killed; and Captain Grey, Lieutenants Duke and Brown, one drummer, and thirty-eight rank and file wounded.

Colonel Bouquet, with two regiments of regulars, in a shattered condition, was ordered to march to the relief of Fort Pitt, with a quantity of military stores.

Early orders had been given to prepare a convoy of provisions on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, but such was the universal terror and consternation of the inhabitants, that when Colonel Bouquet arrived at Carlisle, nothing had yet been done. A great

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number of the plantations had been plundered and burnt by the savages; many of the mills were destroyed, and the full ripe crops stood waving in the field, ready for the sickle, but the reapers were not to be found. The greatest part of the county of Cumberland, through which the army had to pass, was deserted, and the roads were covered with distressed families, flying from their settlements, 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 eighteen days after his arrival at Carlisle, by the prudent measures which he pursued, joined to his knowledge of the country, and the diligence of the persons he employed, the convoy 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 dejected 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.

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 stockade 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.

The preservation of that post was of the utmost 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 importance, every risk was to be run; and the Colonel determined to send through the woods, with proper guides, a party of thirty men to join that garrison. They succeeded by forced marches in that hazardous attempt, not having been discovered by the enemy till they came within sight of the fort, into which they threw themselves, after receiving some running shot.

Previous to that reinforcement of regulars, twenty volunteers, all good woodsmen, had been sent to Fort Ligonier by Captain Ourry, who commanded at Fort Bedford, another very considerable magazine of provisions and military stores, the principal and central post between Carlisle and Fort Pitt, being about one hundred miles distant from each. This fort was also in a ruinous condition, and very weakly garrisoned, although the two small intermediate posts, at the crossing of the Juniata and Stony creek, had been abandoned to strengthen it. Here the distressed families, scattered for twelve or fifteen miles around, fled 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 enemy's fire arrows. He armed all the fighting men, who formed two companies of volunteers, and did duty with the garrison till the arrival of 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 number, positions, or motions of the enemy. Not even at Fort Bedford, where he arrived with his whole convoy on the 25th of July, for though the Indians did not attempt to attack the fort, they had by this time killed, scalped, and taken eighteen prisoners in that neighbourhood, and their skulking parties were so spread, that at last no express could escape them. This want of intelligence, was a very embarrassing circumstance in the conduct of a campaign in America. The Indians had better intelligence, and no sooner were they informed of the march of the army, than they broke up the siege of Fort Pitt, and took a route by which they knew

the enemy was to proceed, resolved to take advantageous opportunity of an attack on the march.

In this uncertainty of intelligence under which the Colonel laboured, he marched from Fort Bedford, the 28th of July, and as soon as he reached Fort Ligonier, he determined, prudently, to leave his wagons at that post, and to proceed only with pack-horses. Thus disburdened, the army continued their route. Before them lay a dangerous defile at Turtle creek, several miles in length, bounded the whole way by high 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 they came *within half a mile of that place*, about one in the afternoon, August 5th, 1763, after a harassing 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 beaten off, and even pursued to a considerable distance.

But the flight of these barbarians must often be considered as a part of the engagement, rather than an abandonment 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 upon the troops with a resolution equal to that of their companions, galled them with a most obstinate fire.

It was necessary to make a general charge with the *whole line, to dislodge them from the 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.

This manœuvre enabled the main body to fall back in order to protect it. The action, which grew every moment hotter, now became general. Our troops were attacked 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 nature of this service, in the end prevailed; they repulsed the enemy, and drove them from all the posts with fixed bayonets. The engagement ended only with the day, having continued from one o'clock without intermission.

The ground on which the action ended, was not altogether inconvenient for an encampment. 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 observe the strictest vigilance by an enterprising enemy, who had surrounded them.

At the first dawn of light the savages began to show themselves all about the camp, at the distance of about five hundred yards; and by shouting and yelling in the most horrid manner, quite around the extensive circumference, endeavoured to strike terror by an ostentation of their numbers and their ferocity.

After this alarming preparation, they attacked the 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. The troops, continually victorious, were constantly 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 last degree by a total want of water, much more intolerable than the evening'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 drivers, stupified by their fears, hid themselves in 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 impressions 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 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 everything depended upon bringing the savages to a close engagement, and to stand their ground when attacked. Their audaciousness, which was 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 the preceding night, which order they still retained. Colonel Bouquet gave directions that two companies of 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 an ambuscade, to support the two first companies of grenadiers, who moved on the feigned retreat, and were intended to begin the real attack. The dispositions were well made, and the plan executed without the least confusion.

The savages were led completely into the snare. The thin line of troops which took possession of the ground which the two companies of light troops had left, being brought nearer to the centre of the circle, the barbarians mistook those motions for a retreat, abandoned the wood which covered them, hurried headlong on,—advancing with the most daring intrepidity, and galled the English troops with their heavy fire. But at the moment when, certain of success, they thought themselves masters of the camp, the two first companies made a sudden turn, and sallying 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 recollection, and resolutely returned the fire which they had received. Then it was the superiority of combined strength and discipline appeared. On

the second charge they could no longer sustain the irresistible shock of regular troops, who rushing upon them, killed many, and put the rest to flight.

At the instant when the savages betook themselves to flight, the other two companies, which had been ordered to support the first, rose from the ambushade, marched to the enemy, and gave them their full fire. This accomplished their defeat. The four companies now united, did not give the enemy time to look behind them, but pursued them 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 manœuvre, rescued the party from the most immediate danger. The victory secured the field, and cleared all the adjacent woods. But still the march was so difficult, and the army had suffered so much, and so many horses were lost, that before they were able to proceed, they were reluctantly obliged to destroy such part of their convoy of provisions as they could not carry with them, for want of horses. Being lightened by this sacrifice, they proceeded to Bushy Run, where finding water, they encamped.

The enemy lost about sixty men on this occasion, some of them their chief warriors; which they reputed a very severe stroke. They likewise had many wounded in the pursuit. The English lost about fifty men, and had about sixty wounded. 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.*

During this time, Detroit continued to be blockaded, and the garrison suffered extremely from fatigue and want of provisions; but a schooner detached from Niagara, with twelve whites and

* History of Western Pennsylvania.

six Mohawks, with supplies, arrived, on the 3d of September, at the river Detroit. While at anchor, the vessel was attacked by about 350 Indians in boats; but by the skill and bravery of the crew, they were dispersed. Two of the crew were killed and four wounded. The others carried the vessel to Detroit, and thus saved the garrison. The officers of the fort presented each of them with a silver medal, descriptive of the action.

The Indians were now satisfied with the triumphs they had obtained, and Pontiac could not keep them in the field. The chief had displayed great ability in conducting the war; but his people were not disposed to sustain him any further, and he saw them leave him to treat for peace. In June, 1764, a treaty was concluded at Niagara, as a preliminary to definitive negotiations at Detroit on the 21st of August. Bouquet led a strong force to the Upper Muskingum, concluded a treaty with the Delawares and Shawanese, received 206 whites, who had been in captivity, and took hostages for the deliverance of others. (November, 1764.) By May, 1765, peace was completely restored.

Pontiac, the master spirit of the Indians, despairing of saving his country and race from the encroachments of the English, left his tribe and went into the West, where he endeavoured to unite other tribes, but failed. He was assassinated by a Kaskaskia Indian. In nobility of spirit, and force of genius, he was much superior to any Indian chief of whom we have any account, except, perhaps, Tecumseh. His plan of extermination was masterly, and treachery alone prevented it from being completely successful.





LOGAN.

CHAPTER XII.

DUNMORE'S WAR.



THE settlements of Virginia spread westward very rapidly in spite of the hostility of the Indians. The calamities of savage warfare might have been warded off, if the pioneers had possessed a certain degree of prudence and discretion; but on several occasions, it was demonstrated that the whites regarded the Indians as inferiors, and did not consider them entitled to be treated as civilized men. The red men then determined that if they could not be received as friends and equals, they should be felt as foes. The murder

of the old chief, Bald Eagle, and other Indians, exasperated the north-western tribes, till they thought they would be women to remain quiet any longer.

In 1772, there was an Indian town on the little *Kenhawa*, called Bulltown, inhabited by families, who were in habits of social and friendly intercourse with the whites on Buchanan and Hacker's creeks. There was likewise residing on Gauley river, the family of a German by the name of Strond. In the summer of that year, Mr. Strond being from home, his family were all murdered, his house plundered, and his cattle driven off. The trail made by these, leading in the direction of Bulltown, induced the supposition that the Indians of that village had been the authors of the outrage, and caused several to resolve on avenging it upon them.

A party of five men (two of whom were William White and William Hacker, who had been concerned in previous murders) expressed a determination to proceed immediately to Bulltown. The remonstrance of the settlement generally, could not operate to effect a change in that determination. They went; and on their return, circumstances justified the belief that the pre-apprehension of those who knew the temper and feelings of White and Hacker, had been well founded; and that there had been some fighting between them and the Indians. And notwithstanding that they denied ever having seen an Indian in their absence, yet it was the prevailing opinion, that they had destroyed all the men, women, and children at Bulltown, and threw their bodies into the river. Indeed, one of the party is said to have, inadvertently, used expressions confirmatory of this opinion; and to have then justified the deed, by saying that the clothes and other things known to have belonged to Strond's family, were found in the possession of the Indians. The village was soon after visited, and found to be entirely desolated, and nothing being ever after heard of its former inhabitants, there can remain no doubt but that the murder of Strond's family was requited on them.

The commission of these outrages in the time of professed peace, was of itself sufficient to cause a revival of hostilities; yet not until crimes still of a deeper dye were perpetrated, was there any attempt at retaliation.

In the spring of 1774, it appears there were some horses stolen by the Indians from a party of land-jobbers on the Ohio, below Wheeling, which was looked upon as a signal for the commencement of a war against the frontiers. And consequently those that delighted in a renewal of open hostilities, were ready to be avenged of the depredators, however small the offence.

The land-jobbers shortly afterwards being collected at Wheeling, heard of a couple of Indians and some traders coming down the river, then but a short distance above. It was immediately proposed by Captain Cresap, the commandant of the station, that he would go up with a small party and kill the Indians. The project was opposed by Colonel Zane, but the party left, and on their return being asked respecting the Indians, they evasively answered that they had fallen overboard into the river; however, allowing it to be understood that they had been killed by them and thrown into the river.

On the evening of the same day, news reached them that a party of Indians were encamped at the mouth of Grave creek, a few miles below; when they forthwith proceeded down the river, and falling upon them, killed several and put the rest to flight. In the skirmish one of Cresap's men was severely wounded, which was the only injury received.

The Indians thus appearing in the neighbourhood in parties, was looked upon as undeniable evidence of their intention to fall upon the whites; and attacks were hourly expected.

A short time after the skirmish at Grave creek, it was known that a number of Indians were encamped at the mouth of Yellow creek, some distance above Wheeling. And on account of some settlers living in that neighbourhood, fears were expressed for their safety, and it was proposed that a party should be sent from Wheeling for the purpose of routing the Indians. Thirty-two men were accordingly raised, and immediately marched under the command of Daniel Greathouse, who had been a terrible enemy to the savages, in time of war or peace. Secretly reaching the vicinity of a cabin of a settler on the opposite side of the river from the Indians, the party concealed themselves, while Greathouse, with a show of friendship, went over to the Indian encampment to ascertain their strength.

While there he was privately admonished by an Indian woman to leave, for the warriors, she said, were on a frolic, and being displeas'd on account of the murder of their people at Grave creek, might do him harm.

On the return of Greathouse to the party, he reported that the enemy was too strong for an open attack, and that some stratagem must be resorted to.

The liquor they were using they had obtained from the settlers, and were frequently crossing back and forwards for it. Greathouse went to the cabin and advised that they should be given freely, as much as they wanted; and an endeavour made, not only to detain such as came over, but invitations be sent for others to come, that they might be separated considerably, when an attack should be suddenly commenced upon them.

The plan succeeded well. Several, after a time, were gathered into the cabin, and soon became quite intoxicated; when they were fallen upon by the party rushing in, and all killed but a young Indian girl.

Those across the river at the encampment hearing the firing, immediately sent some over in canoes to ascertain the cause, who were permitted to land, but no sooner on the shore than they were fallen upon and killed. The party not returning, another was detached from the encampment to their aid, for they began to correctly apprehend the whole disturbance. Before these had reached the shore, a fire was opened upon them, and the most of them killed, while the survivors retreated back to the other shore. An attack was now made by the Indians from the other side of the river, but without effect.

The family of the celebrated Logan, the Mingo chief, and former friend of the white man, was principally murdered at this place and at Grave creek, which called forth a fearful revenge upon the frontiers.

On the 12th of July, 1774, Logan, at the head of a small party of only eight warriors, struck a blow on some inhabitants upon the Muskingum, where no one expected it. He had left the settlements in the Ohio undisturbed, which every one supposed would be the first attacked, in case of war, and hence the reason of his great successes. His first attack was upon three

men who were pulling flax in a field. One was shot down, and the two others taken. These were marched into the wilderness, and, as they approached the Indian town, Logan gave the scalp halloo, and they were met by the inhabitants, who conducted them in. Running the gauntlet was next to be performed. Logan took no delight in tortures, and he in the most friendly manner instructed one of the captives how to proceed to escape the severities of the gauntlet. This same captive, whose name was Robinson, was afterwards sentenced to be burned; but Logan, though not able to rescue him by his eloquence, with his own hand cut the cords that bound him to the stake, and caused him to be adopted into an Indian family. He became afterwards Logan's scribe.

The Virginia Legislature was in session, when the Indians began their depredations. That body immediately resolved to raise an army of about three thousand men, and march into the heart of the Indian country. One-half of the required number of men were to be drawn from Virginia, and the command was given to General Andrew Lewis, a man of cool, determined temper, and possessed of considerable military skill. The remainder of the troops were to be raised in Pennsylvania, and were to be under Governor Dunmore's immediate orders. Dunmore directed General Lewis to proceed to the mouth of the Kenhawa, where the two divisions would unite.

By the 11th of September, Lewis's division was ready to march. A competent guide was secured, and in nineteen days, the troops arrived at the appointed rendezvous. On the next morning, the 1st of October, two men were out some distance from the camp, in pursuit of deer, and were fired upon by a large body of Indians; one was killed, and the other, with difficulty, retreated to the camp, to which he immediately communicated the alarm.

General Lewis was a remarkably cool and considerate man; and upon being informed of this, "after deliberately lighting his pipe," gave orders that the regiment under his brother Colonel Charles Lewis, and another under Colonel Fleming, should march and reconnoitre the enemy, while he would place the remainder of the troops in order for battle. The two regiments marched without delay, and had not proceeded more

than four hundred yards when they were met by the Indians, approaching for the same purpose. A skirmish immediately ensued, and before the contest had continued long, the colonels of the two regiments fell mortally wounded, when a disorder in the ranks followed, and the troops began a precipitate retreat; but almost at this moment another regiment under Colonel Field arriving to their aid, and coming up with great firmness to the attack, effectually checked the savages in the pursuit, and obliged them in turn to give way till they had retired behind a breastwork of logs and brush which they had partially constructed.

Lewis, on his arrival at the place, had encamped quite on the point of land between the Ohio and Kenhawa, and having moved but a short distance out to the attack, the distance across from river to river was still but short. The Indians soon extending their ranks entirely across, had the Virginians completely hemmed in, and in the event of getting the better of them, had them at their disposal, as there could have been no chance for escape.

Never was ground maintained with more obstinacy; for it was slowly, and with no precipitancy, that the Indians retired to their breastwork. The division under Lewis was first broken, although that under Fleming was nearly at the same moment attacked. This heroic officer first received two balls through his left wrist, but continued to exercise his command with the greatest coolness and presence of mind. His voice was continually heard, "Don't lose an inch of ground. Advance, outflank the enemy, and get between them and the river." But his men were about to be outflanked by the body that had just defeated Lewis; meanwhile the arrival of Colonel Field turned the fortune of the day, but not without a severe loss; Colonel Fleming was again wounded, by a shot through the lungs; yet he would not retire, and Colonel Field was killed as he was leading on his men. The whole line of the breastwork now became as a blaze of fire, which lasted nearly till the close of the day. Here the Indians under Logan, Cornstock, Elenipsico, Red-Eagle, and other mighty chiefs of the tribes of the Shawnees, Delawares, Mingos, Wyandots, and Cayugas, amounting, as was supposed, to fifteen hundred warriors, fought, as men

will ever do for their country's wrongs, with a bravery which could only be equalled. The voice of the great Cornstock was often heard during the day, above the din of strife, shouting: "Be strong! Be strong!" And when by the repeated charges of the whites, some of his warriors began to waver, he is said to have sunk his tomakawk into the head of one, who was cowardly endeavouring to desert. General Lewis, finding at length that every charge upon the lines of the Indians lessened the number of his forces to an alarming degree, and rightly judging that if the Indians were not routed before it was dark, a day of more doubt might follow, he resolved to throw a body, if possible, into their rear. As the good fortune of the Virginians turned, the bank of the river favoured this project, and forthwith three companies were detached upon the enterprise, under the three captains, Isaac Shelby, (after renowned in the revolution, and since in the war with Canada), George Matthews, and John Stewart. These companies got unobserved to their place of destination upon Crooked Creek, which runs into the Kenhawa. From the high weeds upon the banks of this little stream, they rushed upon the backs of the Indians with such fury, as to drive them from their works with precipitation. The day was now decided. The Indians, thus beset from a quarter they did not expect, were ready to conclude that a reinforcement had arrived. It was about sunset when they fled across the Ohio, and immediately took up their march for their towns on the Sciota.

Of the loss of both Indians and whites in this engagement, various statements have been given. A number amounting to seventy-five killed, and one hundred and forty wounded of the whites, has been rendered; with a loss on the part of the Indians not so great, but not correctly known.*

Governor Dunmore, having collected his troops at Fort Pitt, descended the Ohio to Wheeling, and thence to the mouth of the Hockhocking. On arriving at that point, he sent two scouts, one of whom was the famous Simon Girty, to General Lewis, to march to the Shawnee towns, where a junction should take place. The Governor then proceeded towards the Piqua plains. Before he had reached that place, the Indians

* History of the Backwoods.



SIMON GIRTY.

sent messengers to meet him, suing for peace. After some deliberation, Dunmore determined to comply, and sent an express to General Lewis, ordering him to retreat. Lewis supposed the Governor was ignorant of the victory at Point Pleasant, and continued his march until he was met by Dunmore in person, when a retreat, in compliance with his orders, was commenced with great reluctance.

An encampment being made by the governor, a council was opened on the ensuing day.

Cornstock, the Shawnee chief, opened the meeting with a warm and animated speech, in which he boldly attributed the occasion of the war to the murder of their people above and below Wheeling.

He displayed the skill of a statesman, joined to powers of oratory, rarely, if ever surpassed. With the most patriotic devotion to his country, and in a strain of most commanding

eloquence, he recapitulated the accumulated wrongs which had oppressed their fathers, and which were oppressing them. Sketching in lively colours the once happy and powerful condition of the Indians, he placed in striking contrast their present fallen fortunes and unhappy destiny. He is said to have been opposed to the war from its commencement; and to have proposed on the eve of the battle at Point Pleasant, to send in a flag, and make overtures for peace; but this proposal was overruled by the general voice of the chiefs. When a council was first held after the defeat of the Indians, Cornstock reminding them of their late ill-success, and that the Long Knives were still pressing on them, asked what should be then done. But no one answered. Rising again, he proposed that the women and children should all be killed; and that the warriors should go out and fight until they too were slain. Still no one answered. Then, said he, striking his tomahawk into the council-post, "I will go and make peace." Peace was accordingly sued for, and the treaty held.

Logan would not meet the whites in council, but remained in his cabin in sullen silence, until a messenger was sent to him to know whether he would accede to the proposals it contained. What the distance was from the treaty-ground to Logan's cabin we are not told; but of such importance was his name considered, that he was waited on by a messenger from Lord Dunmore, who requested his assent to the articles of the treaty. Logan had too much at heart the wrongs lately done him to accede without giving the messenger to understand fully the grounds upon which he acceded; he therefore invited him into an adjacent wood, where they sat down together. Here he related the events of butchery which had deprived him of all his connexions; and here he pronounced his memorable speech:

"I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him no meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not.

"During the course of the last long bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, 'Logan is the friend of the white man.'"



CORNSTALK.

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"I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan; not even sparing my women and children.

"There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan?—Not one!"

The treaty of peace was not satisfactory to the people of Virginia, and they boldly asserted that Governor Dunmore had made the war for the purpose of breaking the proud spirit of the provincials. But the Governor could not have obtained terms more advantageous to the whites without wronging the Indians.

The noble chiefs, Logan and Cornstock, were both murdered. They were the friends of the whites up to the time of their death. The murder of Cornstock was an act of the most detestable barbarity. In the spring of 1777, he went with his son, Ellinipsico, to the Fort at Point Pleasant, and was on intimate terms with the officers of the garrison. While the chiefs were in the fort, one of the rangers, named Gilmore, was killed by Indians of a hostile tribe. His friends immediately came to the fort, and, in revenge, shot Cornstock and his son dead upon the spot. The officers dared not attempt to prevent the murder or punish the murderers. Cornstock met his fate with heroic resignation. The Shawnees immediately took up arms for the British cause, and took a dreadful vengeance for the slaughter of their mighty chief.

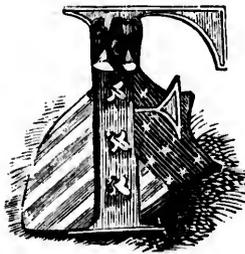




THE MINUTE MAN.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE REVOLUTION.



FROM the time of the first settlement of Virginia and Massachusetts, the colonists had displayed an unquenchable love of free institutions. In general, they had their representative assemblies, and the assent of those bodies was necessary to the effective operations of the government. All assertions of an extensive royal prerogative met with a determined resistance. Quarrels between the governors, appointed by the sovereigns of Great Britain, and the colonists, were frequent, and it is to be observed, that the people generally came out of those contests triumphant. During the wars with the Indians and French, the provinces did not receive that amount of assistance to which they thought themselves entitled, and were forced to depend upon their own exertions and resources. This necessity developed their strength and gave them confidence; so that after the destruction of the French

power in America, we find them making bolder assertions of their rights. Unfortunately for the British government, its ministers, instead of yielding something to this rising spirit, sought to heap additional burdens upon the colonists, and that, too, without allowing them, what all British subjects had a constitutional right to demand, a representation in parliament. This course provoked resistance; and bold, determined, and eloquent men were found to lead the friends of civil liberty. In Massachusetts, James Otis, Joseph Warren, Samuel Adams, and John Adams were prominent upon the patriotic side. In Virginia, the thunders of Patrick Henry sounded the alarm.

In 1764, Mr. Grenville, in the British parliament, proposed a measure, the avowed object of which was to raise a revenue in America, the entire produce of which was to go into the exchequer of Great Britain. Early in this year, the minister proposed several resolutions, as a sort of prelude to this grand scheme; laying additional duties upon imports into the colonies from foreign countries; on clayed sugar, indigo, coffee, &c. These resolutions were passed by parliament, without much debate or notice; and though they awakened some fears among the reflecting politicians of America, they were quietly acquiesced in, as a commercial regulation of Great Britain.

Among the resolutions reported by Mr. Grenville, was one imposing "certain stamp duties on the colonies;" but he declared to the house, his desire that it should not be acted upon until the next session of parliament. It was foreseen that the law would be disregarded, if extraordinary measures were not adopted to enforce it; and provision made that penalties for violating it, and all other revenue laws, might be recovered in the admiralty courts. The judges of these courts were dependent solely on the king, and decided the causes brought before them without the intervention of a jury.

The colonial agents in London sent copies of the resolutions to their respective colonies. As soon as the intelligence of these proceedings reached America, they were considered as the commencement of a system of oppression, which, if not vigorously resisted, would eventually deprive them of the liberty of British subjects. The General Court of Massachusetts, at their session in June, took this law into consideration. The house of Repre-

sentatives sent instructions to their agent in England, in which they denied the right of parliament to impose duties and taxes upon those who were not represented in the house of Commons ; and directed him to remonstrate against the duties imposed, and the stamp act in contemplation. They acquainted the other colonies with the instructions they had given to their agent, and desired their concurrence. When their communication was received in the house of Burgesses in Virginia, a committee was immediately appointed to prepare an address to the king and two houses of parliament, expressing their sense of the consequences of such a measure to the colonies. Every argument which ingenuity could furnish, or interest could enforce, was employed, in order to prevent the passage of the obnoxious statutes ; but all without effect. Associations were formed in all the provinces, in order to diminish the use of British manufactures ; a step which, besides its immediate effects, rendered the merchants of England a party against the ministry, and increased the opposition with which those in power were obliged to contend.

In March 1765, Mr. Grenville, not deterred by an opposition which he had expected, brought into parliament a bill for imposing duties in America. The friends of the administration employed much able reasoning in support of the bill. Among those who distinguished themselves by the ability and eloquence with which they advocated the cause of the colonies, was Colonel Barré. He stated with a manly freedom, that the same spirit which had actuated the people at first, still continued with them. He insinuated, in a way that could not be mistaken, what would be the effect of the measure which England was about to adopt. He declared that he spoke from a particular acquaintance with the character of the Americans, and expressed his belief, that while they were jealous of their rights, they were loyal to their king ; and finally, he entreated the ministry to pause before they ordained that the privileges of Englishmen were to be invaded or destroyed.

Eloquence and argument, however, availed nothing. The bill almost unanimously passed in parliament ; and received the sanction of the crown. The night after its passage, Dr. Franklin, then in England as agent for Pennsylvania, wrote to Charles



COLONEL BARRE.

Thompson, his friend, in America—"The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candles of industry and economy." "Be assured," said Mr. Thompson in reply, "we shall light up torches of quite another sort;"—thus predicting the commotions which followed. The act provided that all contracts and legal processes should be written on stamped paper, which was to be furnished by agents of the British government, at exorbitant prices.

On the arrival of the news of the stamp act in America, a general indignation spread throughout the colonies; and spirited resolutions were passed. In these resolutions Virginia led the way. On the meeting of the house of Burgesses, Patrick Henry proposed five resolutions; the four first asserted the various rights and privileges claimed by the colonists; and the fifth boldly and explicitly denied the right of parliament to tax America. These he defended by strong reasoning and irresistible eloquence, and they were adopted by a majority of one. The next day, in his absence, the fifth was rescinded; but this with the rest had gone forth to the world. They formed the first public opposition to the stamp act, and to the schemes of taxing America by the British parliament. Nearly at the same time, and be-



PATRICK HENRY.

fore the proceedings of Virginia were known in Massachusetts, her General Court had also adopted measures to produce a combined opposition. Letters were addressed to the other Assemblies, proposing a congress of deputies from each colony, to consult on the common interest. The knowledge of what had been done in Virginia aroused the most violent feelings. The resolutions, which at first were circulated cautiously, were at length openly published in newspapers; and one general feeling of indignation pervaded all classes of society.

On the first Tuesday of October, 1765, the day appointed for the meeting of the proposed congress, the delegates assembled at New York, where were present members from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina. A committee from six of the provinces drew up a declaration of their rights and grievances. They declared themselves entitled to all the rights and liberties of natural born subjects of Great Britain: among the most essential of which, were the exclusive right to tax themselves, and the privilege of trial by jury. The first of these they regarded as infringed by the stamp act; the last, by the extension of the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty.

The congress also agreed upon a petition to the king, and a memorial to both houses of parliament. The colonies not represented, forwarded to England similar petitions.

The 1st of November, the important day when the stamp act was to take effect, at length approached. Combinations were everywhere formed to prevent its execution. The violence of the populace could with difficulty be restrained. In some places the day was ushered in with the tolling of bells, as for a funeral procession. The act which was the object of their aversion, was hawked in the streets with a death's head attached to it. It was styled the "Folly of England, and the ruin of America." The stamps were destroyed wherever they could be found by the enraged multitude; who, with all the intemperance of popular agitation, burned and plundered the houses of such as supported the act. So general was the opposition to the law, that the stamp officers in all the colonies were obliged to resign. Opposition became general, systematic, and alarming. Confederacies were everywhere forming. It was universally agreed that no articles of British manufacture should be imported, and that those which were prepared in the colonies, though both dearer and of worse quality, should be employed in all the settlements. The women, animated with a similar spirit, cheerfully relinquished every species of ornament which was manufactured in England. The proceedings in the courts of justices were suspended, that no stamps might be used; and the colonists were earnestly and frequently exhorted by those who took the lead on this occasion, to terminate their disputes by reference.

In the mean time an entire change had taken place in the British cabinet: the Marquis of Rockingham became first lord of the treasury; and it was perceived that they must either repeal the obnoxious statutes, or oblige the Americans to submit to them by force of arms. Each of these measures had its advocates. Among the foremost to vindicate the colonies, in the house of Peers, was Lord Camden. "My position," said he, "is this; I repeat it, I will maintain it to my last hour—taxation and representation are inseparable. This position is founded on the laws of nature; it is more—it is itself an eternal law of nature; for whatever is a man's own is absolutely his

own; no man has a right to take it from him without his consent. Whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury; whoever does it, commits a robbery."

In the house of commons, Lord Chatham entered into the views of the colonists; and maintained with all the eloquence for which he was conspicuous, that taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power, but that taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone: and concluded his speech with a motion, "that the stamp act be repealed, absolutely, totally, and immediately."

About this time (1766) Dr. Franklin was examined before the house of commons, and gave it as his opinion, that the tax was unprofitable and ruinous. He asserted that it had alienated the affections of the colonists from the mother-country, and made them regard the people of England as conspiring against their liberties, and its parliament as desirous to oppress rather than to protect them. A petition was received from the Congress at New York; and some change having taken place in the cabinet, the existing administration agreed with Lord Chatham, and the stamp act was repealed. But accompanying the repeal of the stamp act, was published another act, declaring, "that parliament have, and of right ought to have, power to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." This assertion diminished the joy which the repeal of the stamp act would otherwise have occasioned. It was considered by the Americans as a foundation on which any future ministry might oppress them, under the sanction of parliamentary authority; and it had no other effect than that of rendering them more suspicious of arbitrary designs, and more solicitous to mark with a jealous eye the first encroachments of power.

An opportunity for the exercise of this spirit was not long wanting. Immediately after the ratification of the treaty of peace at Paris, the intention of the ministers to quarter troops in America, and oblige the colonies to support them, was announced in the English papers. The maintaining of a standing army was connected with the system of taxation, but the ministry well knew it would be opposed, and they calculated that an army sent under pretence of protecting the colonies, afforded a plausible pretext for taxing them, while it would awe them

into submission to the mandates of the British government. An act had been passed by the Rockingham administration, for providing the soldiers, who had been quartered in the colonies, with the necessaries and accommodations which their circumstances might require, at the expense of the colony in which they were stationed. The Assembly of New York refused obedience to this law, considering it an indirect mode of taxing them without their consent. The Assembly at Boston not only followed the example of that of New York, but proceeded still further; and resolved, that the conduct of the governor, in issuing money from the treasury in order to furnish the artillery with provisions, was unconstitutional and unjust; and that it disabled them from granting cheerfully to the king the aids which his service demanded. These resolutions were not approved in England, even by many who had heretofore espoused the interests of the colonies. The consequence of this change of sentiment was perceptible by a change of measures in parliament. A bill was introduced by Mr. Townsend, the chancellor of the exchequer, imposing a duty on all tea, glass, paper, and painters' colours. It passed both houses without much opposition, and was the next year sent to the colonies.

(1767.) The act for imposing the new taxes was received with greater aversion than the stamp act itself. Letters were sent from Massachusetts to all the other colonies, inveighing against the injustice and tyranny of the British legislature. Circulars were sent to most of the colonial assemblies, suggesting the expediency of acting in concert in all endeavours to obtain redress. These proceedings incensed and alarmed the ministry. They feared that a union of the colonies would give them strength and confidence; and determined if possible to prevent it. They instructed Sir John Bernard, then governor of Massachusetts, to require the General Court to rescind the vote directing the circular to be sent; and in case of refusal, to dissolve it. The governor communicated these instructions to the house of Representatives; which, by a vote of ninety-two to seventeen, refused to rescind, and was accordingly dissolved.

This measure, like all the others which the British government at this period pursued, with the intention of intimidating the colonies, did but exasperate and arouse them. Frequent

meetings of the people were held at Boston, and the different provinces; a petition was made to the governor, in which he was desired to remove the ships of war from the neighbourhood of the town; a request with which he was neither able nor willing to comply.

At the opening of the year 1768, everything appeared to indicate a rupture between the colonies and the parent state. The agent of the province was refused admission to the presence of the king. A report was circulated that the troops had been ordered to march into Boston, a dreadful alarm took place, and all ranks of men joined in beseeching the governor that a general assembly might be convoked. The answer of Governor Bernard was, that by his last instructions from England, he was prevented from complying with this wish of the people.

On this refusal, the selectmen of Boston proposed to the several towns in the colony to hold a convention, which was accordingly holden in that town on the 22d of September. In this convention it was resolved that they would defend their violated rights at the peril of their lives and fortunes, and that the people who had no arms, should furnish themselves. At the same time, they thought it proper to assure the government of their pacific intentions, and requested again that an assembly might be called; but after transmitting to England an account of their proceedings, and the reasons which had induced them to assemble, they were again refused, and stigmatized with the appellation of rebels.

The refractory spirit of the people of Boston had been so often displayed, that General Gage, who was commander-in-chief of the troops in the colonies, was ordered to station a regiment in that town, not only to overawe the citizens, but to protect the officers of the revenue in the discharge of their duty. Before the order was executed, the seizure of a sloop belonging to Mr. Hancock, an eminent merchant, and a popular leader, occasioned a riot, in which those officers were insulted and beaten.

On the 28th of September, two regiments, escorted by seven armed vessels, arrived at Boston from Halifax. The landing of the troops was protected by the fleet, which was drawn up with the broadsides of the vessels opposite the town. In con-



JOHN HANCOCK.

sequence of their formidable appearance, they marched into Boston without any resistance on the part of the inhabitants. The selectmen of the town having refused to provide them with quarters, the governor commanded the state house to be opened for their reception. The presence of the soldiers had great influence in restraining the excesses of the population; but the hatred of the colonies towards England was much increased by this highly offensive measure.

Early in 1769, news reached the colonies that both houses of parliament, in a joint address to his majesty, had recommended vigorous measures in order to enforce their obedience; and had even gone so far as to beseech the king to direct the governor of Massachusetts Bay to make strict inquiries as to all treasons committed in that province since the year 1767, in order that the persons most active in committing them might be sent to England for trial. This proposal gave great offence to the colonists.

The Legislature of Massachusetts was not in session when the news of this address reached America; but the house of Burgesses in Virginia, which met a few days afterwards, were not tardy in expressing their sense of it. They passed several

spirited resolutions, declaring their exclusive right to tax themselves, and denying the right of his majesty to remove an offender out of the colony for trial. An address to his majesty was also agreed on, which stated, in a style of loyalty and real attachment to the crown, the deep conviction of the house of Burgesses of Virginia, that the complaints of the colonists were well founded. When the intelligence of these proceedings reached the governor, he suddenly dissolved the Assembly. But the current of opposition was too strong to be stayed. The members assembled at a private house, elected their speaker, Peyton Randolph, Esq., moderator; and proceeded to pass resolutions against importing British goods. Their example was followed by other colonies; and non-importation agreements, which had before been entered into by Boston, Salem, the city of New York, and the colony of Connecticut, now became general.

On the 5th of March, 1770, an affray took place at Boston between the military and some of the inhabitants, who insulted them while under arms, in which four persons were killed. The bells were instantly rung; the people rushed from the country to the aid of the citizens; and the soldiers were obliged to retire to Castle William, in order to avoid the fury of the enraged multitude. A trial was instituted: the soldiers engaged in the affray were all acquitted, except two, who were found guilty of manslaughter. The moderation of the jury, and the ability with which the soldiers were defended by two of the leading opposers of British aggression, John Adams and Josiah Quincy, were honourable to the individuals and to their country. This event, however, increased the detestation in which the soldiers stationed among the people were held.

In the mean time the parliament of Great Britain showed, that it had neither sufficient vigour to compel the Americans to submit, nor sufficient liberality to yield to their remonstrances. The ministry agreed to take off all the duties which had lately been imposed, except that on tea; but it was predicted by the opposition that their indulgence would have no good effect, while any duty remained which was imposed upon the Americans without their consent. What was predicted by the opposition, was in the end found to be true. It was resolved



DESTRUCTION OF THE TEA.

that the tea should not be landed, but sent back to Europe in the same vessels that had brought it; for it was obvious to all, that it would be extremely difficult to hinder the sale, if the commodity should once be received on shore. The people assembled in great numbers at Boston, and forced those to whom it had been consigned to give up their appointments, and to swear that they would abandon them for ever. Such as refused to engage in this opposition were denounced as the enemies of their country. This disposition was not confined to Massachusetts alone; but the same spirit appeared in all the colonies.

Such was the situation of affairs, when three ships laden with tea arrived at the port of Boston. The captains of these vessels, alarmed at the menaces of the people, offered to return with their cargoes to England, provided they could obtain the necessary discharges from the merchants, to whom the teas had been consigned; and likewise from the governor, and the officers of the custom-house. But though afraid to issue orders for landing the tea, the merchants and officers, in conjunction with the governor, refused to grant the discharges, and the ships were obliged to remain in the harbour. The people,

however, apprehensive that the obnoxious commodity would be landed in small quantities, if the vessels should continue in the neighbourhood of the town, resolved to destroy it at once. For this purpose, several persons disguised themselves as Indians, boarded the ships during the night, and threw their cargoes into the water, without making any further disturbance. No fewer than 142 chests were thus broken open, and their contents emptied into the sea.

At Philadelphia, the pilots were enjoined not to conduct the ships into the river: and at New York, though the governor ordered some of the tea to be landed under the protection of a man-of-war, he was obliged to deliver it into the custody of the people, who took care that none of it should be sold.

The parliament of England resolved not to change their measures, but to punish the inhabitants of Boston in a exemplary manner, by imposing a fine upon them, equal to the value of the tea which had been destroyed. The port of Boston was shut by an armed force until this should be accomplished, and their refractory spirit subdued.

An act was also passed, giving to the crown the appointment of counsellors; whereas, it had resided with the court. The custom-house was to be removed to Salem; and General Gage was made governor in the place of Hutchinson.

Gage removed the Assembly from Boston, in Massachusetts, to Salem. Having met at that place, they declared it necessary that a congress of delegates from all the provinces should assemble, to take the affairs of the colonies into their most serious consideration. And they nominated James Bowdoin, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, men celebrated for their talents and opposition to England, as the representatives to such a congress, from Massachusetts. They recommended to the whole province to abandon the use of tea; and urged the necessity of giving all the encouragement in their power to the manufactures of America.

In the mean time, the governor having learned their proceedings, sent an officer to dissolve the assembly in the king's name; but he finding the door shut and entrance denied him, was compelled to read the order of dissolution aloud on the staircase.



SAMUEL ADAMS.

The inhabitants of Salem, which had now become the metropolis of the country, appear to have adopted the same spirit with those of Boston. They published a declaration in favour of the latter; in which they asserted, that nature, in forming their harbour, had prevented their becoming rivals in trade; and that even if that were otherwise, they would regard themselves lost to every idea of justice and all feelings of humanity, could they indulge one thought of seizing upon the wealth of their neighbours, or raising their fortunes upon the ruins of their countrymen.

The cause of Boston was espoused by the rest of the colonies. The 1st of June, the day on which the city was to be blockaded by the king's ships, was observed in Virginia as a day of fasting and humiliation; and a public intercession in behalf of the American people, was enjoined throughout the province. The style of prayer was, "That God would give them one heart and mind, firmly to oppose every invasion of American rights." Virginia united with Massachusetts in recommending a General Congress. They declared if any one of the colonies was taxed without its consent, the rights of the whole were violated; and that in the present case, they regarded the injury done to the inhabitants of Boston as done to themselves.

The proposal for a General Congress had now been discussed, and was approved, and eleven of the colonies had elected their delegates. Georgia had not determined to unite her fate with that of New England; and North Carolina was later than the others in acceding to the measure.

At length, on the 4th of September, 1774, the first Congress of the American States assembled at Philadelphia. This was the most important deliberative body which had ever met in America. Peyton Randolph, Esq., of Virginia, was chosen president by the unanimous suffrage of the delegates. To this august body of citizens, who were met for the highest purposes which can affect the temporal interests of men, the eyes of the people of America were turned with anxious concern. The officers and dependants of the crown looked also to their measures with the deepest interest, and, alarmed at the calm determined spirit which they manifested, dreaded the consequences of their deliberations.

These delegates, having resolved that each colony should have only one vote, and that their deliberations should take place without the admission of strangers, proceeded to the high duty which their countrymen had imposed on them.

They first expressed their approbation of what had been done by the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay; warmly exhorted them to perseverance in the cause of freedom; and voted that contributions should be made for them in all the provinces, and continued so long, and in such a manner, as their circumstances might require.

They next addressed a letter to General Gage, in which they informed him of their unalterable resolution to oppose every attempt to carry the British acts of parliament into effect; and entreated him to desist from military operations, lest a difference, altogether irreconcilable, should take place between the colonies and parent state. The next step was a declaration of their rights, addressed to the people in the shape of resolutions. This instrument is commonly quoted by the title of the bill of rights.

A committee was next appointed, who drew a petition to the king, stating the grievances under which they had laboured; —grievances, which they said were the more intolerable, as the

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colonies were born the heirs of freedom, and had long enjoyed it under the auspices of former sovereigns; and stating also, that they had wished for no diminution of the prerogative, and no privileges or immunities, except those which were their rightful inheritance as the subjects of Great Britain;—concluding the whole with an earnest prayer, that his majesty, as the father of his people, would not permit the ties of blood, of law, and of loyalty to be broken, in expectation of consequences, which, if they ever took place, would never compensate for the suffering to which they must give rise.

The committee who brought in this address, were Mr. Lee, Mr. John Adams, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Henry, and Mr. Rutledge. The original composition has been generally attributed to Mr. Lee.

The petition to the king was followed by an address to the people of England, conceived with great vigour, and expressed in the most energetic language.

This address was followed by a memorial to their constituents. They applauded them for the spirit which they had shown in defence of their rights; enjoined them to persevere in abstaining from the use of everything manufactured or prepared in England; and hinted at the necessity of looking forward to melancholy events, and being ready for any contingency that might take place.

The inclinations of the people were in exact accordance with the decision of the Congress. The inhabitants of Boston were supplied by contributions from all quarters. Even those, who by their station seemed likely to derive advantage from the cessation of their trade, were most forward to relieve them in their distress. The people of Marblehead, a town at no great distance, generously offered them the use of their harbour, their wharfs, and warehouses, free of all expense. Every one who could procure arms was diligent in learning their use.

Complete unanimity, however, did not exist. Some of the late emigrants, on whom England had bestowed offices, and many who feared her power, clung to her authority, and declared themselves her adherents. Whigs and Tories were the distinguishing names of the parties. The former favoured the cause of the colonists; the latter that of Great Britain.

In the mean time, many British troops having assembled at Boston, General Gage thought it prudent to fortify the neck of land that joins that city to the continent. He also seized the magazines of gunpowder, ammunition, and military stores at Cambridge and Charlestown.

An Assembly was called, and its sitting immediately countermanded; but the representatives met at Salem, notwithstanding the proclamation of the governor; and after waiting a day for his arrival, they voted themselves "a Provincial Congress," and adjourned to Concord. Mr. Hancock was chosen president; and the delegates resolved, that for the defence of the province, a military force, to consist of one-fourth of the militia, should be organized, and stand ready to march at a minute's warning; and that money should be raised to purchase military stores. They appointed a committee of safety to sit during the recess.

The more southern provinces, particularly Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, displayed the same determination to resist, and passed resolutions designed to animate those who, in Massachusetts, stood in the post of danger.

General Gage had hitherto, probably under instructions from home, avoided every movement which could bring on a collision, and lead to a commencement of actual war. Yet, remaining almost besieged at Boston, he began to experience scarcity of provisions; and an impression was felt, that something must be done to check these extensive preparations, and seize the military stores now collected all over the country. He formed the injudicious plan of sending out secretly small detachments to capture them by surprise. Even if successful, which was not very probable, the adoption of such a scheme must have lowered the impression of British power. If the troops were to march into the country, it should have been in such large bodies as would overpower, and even deter resistance. A small party sent towards Salem were induced to return, owing to the mere obstacles raised by the country people against their march.

The governor, having learned that a considerable magazine of stores had been formed at Concord, determined on an attempt to seize them. He employed a larger force, but trusted still to

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BATTLE OF LEXINGTON.

secrecy and surprise. On the night of the 19th of April, 1775, Colonel Smith began his march, seeking to conceal it by sending forward some horsemen to arrest all travellers on the road. Dr. Warren, from Boston, however, having contrived to transmit previous notice, they had not advanced far when the firing of guns and the ringing of bells were heard, summoning the people to arms. They pushed forward nearly fifteen miles, and at five in the morning reached Lexington, where about a hundred militia were exercising on a green. The events which followed, and form the fatal crisis of this great contest, are involved in a cloud of controversy which will never perhaps be fully cleared away. According to the statement of the Americans, supported even by affidavits, Major Pitcairn, who led the van, galloped up, calling, "Disperse, rebels! throw down your arms and disperse." The soldiers then ran up, huzzaing; some muskets were fired, followed by a general discharge. The English asserted that the summons to disperse was slowly and reluctantly obeyed, and that, mean time, some shots were fired from behind walls, which being returned, the contest soon became general.



RETREAT FROM CONCORD.

The troops, who drove the militia before them, proceeding about four miles farther, arrived at Concord; and while the main body were destroying the stores, a detachment was sent forward to occupy two bridges beyond. It was surrounded by the colonists in great numbers, and in a threatening attitude; a firing was commenced, but returned with such vigour, that the party were obliged to fall back upon the main body. The whole then began a retrograde movement to Boston; but the Americans, in increasing numbers, attacked them incessantly on their rear and flanks, firing from houses, trees, and behind walls. The British, accordingly, when they arrived at Lexington, found themselves in a most exhausted state; and it is alleged, that they would have been totally destroyed, but for a timely succour. General Gage had sent forward Lord Percy with sixteen companies and two pieces of cannon, who drove back the provincials, and forming a square, protected their countrymen while they lay down to recruit their strength. All together then proceeded to Boston; while the assailants, without attempting to obstruct their march, kept up an incessant fire, both in front and rear, from behind stone fences, which are there very numerous. On their arrival, they found that they had lost sixty-five killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-seven missing; while the Americans, who fought

mostly from under cover, acknowledged only fifty killed and thirty-eight wounded.

The intelligence of this event excited the utmost enthusiasm throughout Massachusetts, and the whole country was soon arrayed in a warlike form. The people were studiously assured that a wanton attack had been made; while the degree of success gained by their undisciplined force against regular troops, inspired the most sanguine hopes and military ardour. The provincial Congress immediately passed a vote for raising thirteen thousand six hundred men, and called upon the other New England colonies for their respective quotas, making in all thirty thousand. Measures were also taken to obtain a loan of £100,000. The provincials crowded to the standard in numbers greater than could be maintained in the field; and the levies were placed under the command of Ward and other officers, who had acquired experience in the last war, and were now raised from the rank of colonel to that of general. The fortifications of Boston were considered sufficiently strong to preclude the hazard of any attack; but a line of thirty miles was formed around the peninsula, entirely cutting off its connexion with the surrounding country.

Meantime, an adventurous scheme was formed by two determined leaders, the colonels Arnold and Allen. Having collected a small body of troops in Connecticut, they proceeded against the strong fortresses of Crown Point and Ticonderoga,—the keys of Canada. Traversing undiscovered the immense tracts, then almost desert, that lay to the north of New England, they completely surprised and captured, without resistance, both these important places, each containing a valuable supply of military stores. Arnold was equally successful against a sloop of war lying at St. John's, and thus obtained the command of Lake Champlain.

Meantime Congress, having met on the 10th of May, received a report of these transactions, which called for their most earnest consideration. Some it is said were unprepared for so serious a result; but the general resolution was to follow it up, and place all the colonies in a posture of military defence. Still, before adopting any active measures, they determined, though with some dissentient voices, to make fresh appeals to the king

and people of Great Britain. To his majesty they professed as strongly as ever their devotion to his person, family, and government; their deep regret at any event which could weaken their connexion with his crown, and their ardent desire for the restoration of harmony. To the people they strenuously repelled the charge of aiming at independence, which none of their actions were said to justify. They had never made overtures to any foreign power, nor availed themselves of the weak state of the cities, to become masters of them. The late hostilities had been merely the repulse of a wanton attack; they had lamented the wounds they were obliged to give, and had not yet learned to rejoice at a victory over Englishmen. The armies were said to be raised with objects purely defensive, and the fortresses seized merely as a preventive against invasion from Canada. Complaining, however, that the clemency of their sovereign was diverted, that their petitions were treated with indignity, and that their prayers were answered by insults, they dreaded that the nation wanted either the will or the power to assist them. In that case, they expressed a firm determination that, "while we revere the memory of our gallant and virtuous ancestors, we never can surrender those glorious privileges, for which they fought, bled, and conquered;—your fleets and armies can destroy our towns and ravage our coasts; these are inconsiderable objects,—things of no moment to men whose bosoms glow with the ardour of liberty. We can retire beyond the reach of your navy, and, without any sensible diminution of the necessaries of life, enjoy a luxury, which from that period you will want,—the luxury of being free."

Having emitted these declarations, Congress proceeded to make military arrangements which should comprehend the whole range of the colonies. All the troops within their limits were to be now called the Continental Army; committees were appointed to devise ways and means for supporting and supplying it with arms and stores, and preparing regulations for its government. An issue of paper-money was voted to the amount of three millions of dollars. The first object was considered to be the choice of a commander, and in this respect they were singularly fortunate. There had at this time sprung up among them an uncommon number of men of distinguished

abilities; but it was generally agreed that the fittest person was George Washington. Next day the choice was announced to him, when, in a plain, modest reply, he expressed his high sense of the honour, not concealing the pain which arose from a consciousness that his abilities and military experience might not be equal to so mighty a trust. Yet he assured them, he would enter on the momentous duty, and exert every power he possessed in so great a cause. Five hundred dollars monthly had been voted for his pay and expenses; but being possessed of an ample fortune, he declined anything beyond the reimbursement of his actual outlay.

It was at this crisis—certainly not auspicious—that Lord North's conciliatory propositions arrived. The propositions, being communicated to Congress on the 30th of May, were ordered to lie on the table; and notwithstanding the dissatisfaction excited, were afterwards referred to a committee, composed of Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, and Lee; whose report, decidedly unfavourable, was adopted on the 31st of July.

Before Washington had reached New England, the tragic character of the great drama had been more fully developed. On the 25th of May, large reinforcements arrived from England, commanded by Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, officers of high reputation, and chosen seemingly without any favour or political bias. General Gage, before commencing active operations, issued a proclamation calling upon the people to lay down their arms, and offering a free pardon to all, excepting Adams and Hancock. Far, however, from thinking to take advantage of this offer, they were busily planning the most active operations. A channel divides the peninsula of Boston from that of Charlestown, on which last rises Bunker's Hill, the fire from which in some degree commands the capital. On the evening of the 16th of June, General Prescott, with one thousand men, having crossed unperceived the isthmus or neck, took possession of that eminence; and such activity did the Americans employ during the night in intrenching it, that by morning they had completed a redoubt and breastwork, flanked by a small river, and forming a very strong position. At day-break they were discovered, and a cannonade immediately opened from the ships, but without producing much effect, or

even interrupting the prosecution of the works. Gage, considering it extremely inexpedient that they should be allowed to retain this position, immediately prepared a strong detachment to expel them. It was not ready till noon, when General Howe, being appointed to command, sailed across, but found the adverse party so strongly posted, that it appeared necessary to wait for a reinforcement; the Americans at the same time receiving one under Dr. Warren. Either from accident, or to secure the English position, the village of Charlestown was burned. Howe at length began to ascend the hill, while, from the heights around Boston, numerous spectators, agitated by intense and opposite emotions, witnessed the eventful scene. The provincials reserved their fire till the advancing party was within sixty or seventy yards, when they commenced a sudden and general discharge of musketry and rifles, which they used with peculiar skill. So deadly was the effect, that the British troops fell back in confusion; they were rallied, but a second time repulsed; and General Howe is said to have been left at one time almost alone, having every officer around him either killed or wounded. To have suffered a final repulse, however, would have been most disastrous. Clinton, seeing the exigency, hastened across with a fresh detachment; when the British, being led afresh to the charge, rushed upon the intrenchment, and carried it at the point of the bayonet, after a fierce struggle, the ammunition of the Americans being exhausted. The Americans slowly retreated, with little molestation except from a straggling fire by the vessels. The loss on the part of the English was most severe, being stated officially at two hundred and twenty-six killed, and eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded. The other party reported only one hundred and forty-five slain, with three hundred and four wounded; and though they had lost the field, almost all the glory and advantage was felt to be on their side. The vigorous stand made by their raw levies, and the severe loss inflicted on veteran troops, elevated their courage; while it appalled not a little the power which had undertaken to bring them into subjection.

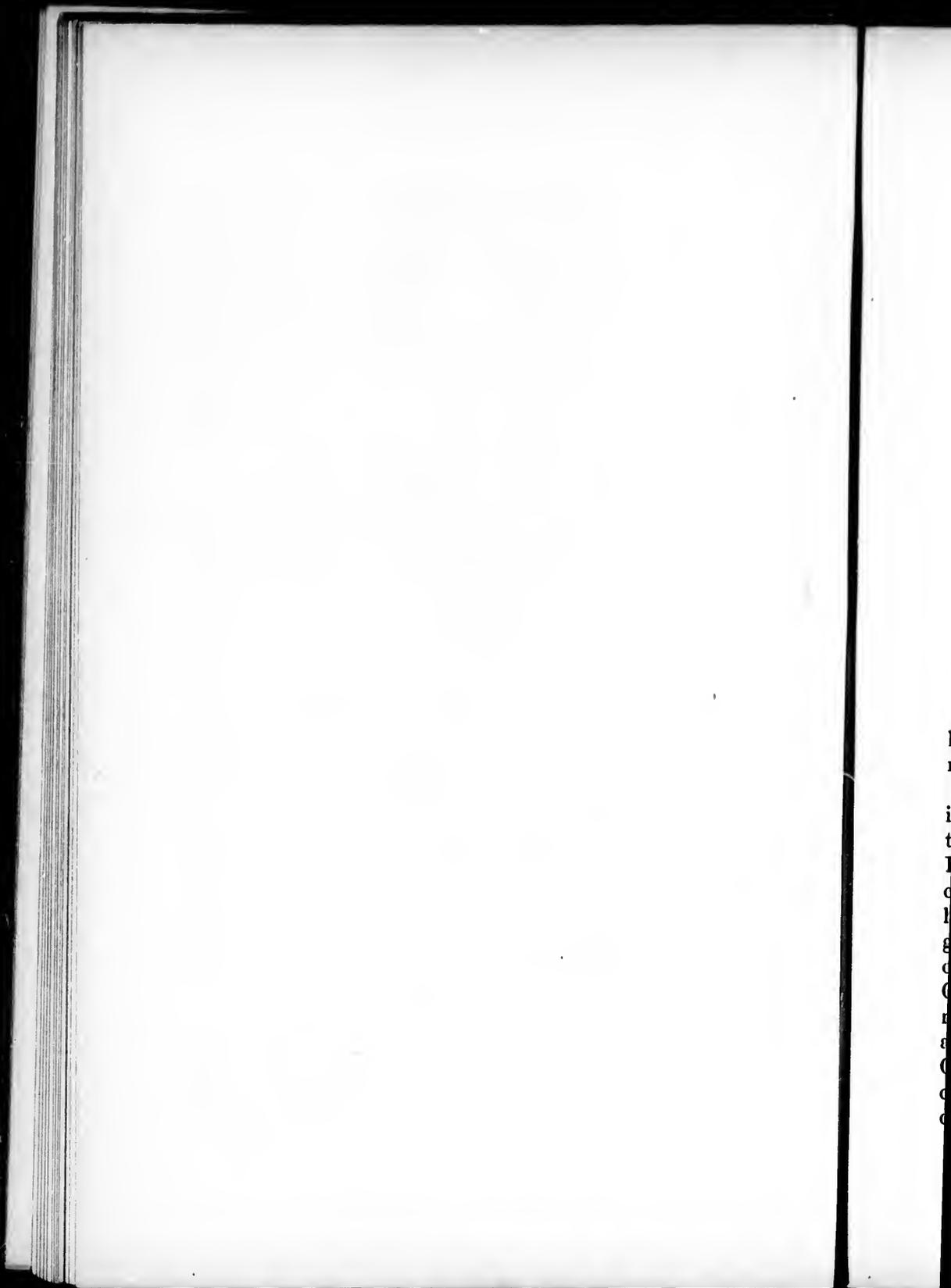
The death of the gallant Warren, who was killed while striving to cover the retreat of the provincials, was a severe

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BATTLE OF BREED'S HILL.



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GENERAL JOSEPH WARREN.

loss to the patriots. His great zeal and splendid abilities had raised him very high in the general estimation.

Though the centre of the movement was in New England, it extended to other colonies. In Virginia, Lord Dunmore, the royal governor, was compelled to retire from the colony. In North Carolina, Governor Martin was involved in similar controversies with the provincial convention, which also led to his retirement on board a ship of war. Lord William Campbell, governor of South Carolina, was equally obliged to seek security on ship-board, and joined Martin in the vicinity of Cape Fear. Governor Tryon, also, at New York, betook himself to a similar refuge, but still retained command of the harbour, and preserved an intercourse with the numerous loyalists in that quarter. Governors Eden and Franklin, in Maryland and New Jersey, contrived to maintain their place, but not to exercise any jurisdiction.

The colonists had thus experienced an almost uninterrupted



SIEGE OF BOSTON.

career of success, and, with the exception of Boston, England had not a spot left in the whole range of their territory. Yet reflecting men easily saw, that they had prevailed only against an advanced guard and scattered detachments, and that the struggle had not yet commenced with the main force of the British empire. Washington, meantime, on proceeding to the army, was received in the most cordial manner, and without the smallest symptom of jealousy; the provincial Congress sending a committee to meet him at Springfield on the frontier, and escort him to Boston. He there found fourteen thousand five hundred men, able-bodied, zealous in the cause, and personally courageous, but destitute of almost every element of military organization. A great proportion wanted bayonets, and the alarming discovery was soon made, that they had not above nine rounds of gunpowder. There were no tents, and clothes extremely deficient; there was neither commissary nor quartermaster-general. No combination existed between the troops drawn from different colonies; and the officers, mostly chosen by the men, could exercise scarcely any authority. These evils were the more difficult to remedy, as the army, en-

listed only for a short period, would disband in a few months, and be replaced by one composed of raw recruits. In these circumstances, he anxiously desired to make an attack upon Boston, and dislodge the troops before the large expected reinforcements should arrive, when the prospects could not but become gloomy. Yet a council of officers decided, seemingly on good grounds, that such an attempt could have no chance of success; and he was obliged, very reluctantly, to await the turn which events might take.

The intelligence of these proceedings excited in England that spirit which former examples might lead us to expect. The ministry determined upon the most vigorous measures to put down a movement which had now assumed the character of open insurrection. The nation poured in addresses, which appear to have expressed decided assurances of public support. Penn, the hereditary governor of Pennsylvania, came over with the address from Congress to the king, and endeavoured to second it, declaring his positive belief that the sentiments expressed in it were sincere. It was rejected, however, as coming from an illegal body, and consisting only of a series of empty professions. The royal speech at the opening of parliament, on the 26th of October, 1775, lamented that a desperate faction, by gross misrepresentations, had inflamed the minds of the people, overawed the well-affected, and, amid protestations of loyalty and attachment to the parent state, openly raised the standard of rebellion. It was added that these persons now obviously aimed at total independence, and hence clemency, as well as prudence, called for decisive exertions speedily to put down such disorders; that those of the misled multitude, who should repent of their error, would experience the utmost lenity, and be received into favour, as if they had never revolted; and that individuals on the spot would be invested with discretionary power to grant immediate pardon and indemnity to any province or colony which should return to its allegiance. Offers of aid had been received from several foreign powers; and there was no reason to apprehend hostility or impediment in any quarter.

The determination being formed to employ force, the requisite means were to be provided. In the estimates, the number of

seamen was fixed at twenty-eight thousand, of land forces at fifty-five thousand; but the difficulty lay in making up this latter number. The troops at Boston, amounting to seven thousand four hundred, were manifestly inadequate; while in Britain there was merely the small peace establishment considered necessary for the security of the country. The levying of a new army by voluntary enlistment was difficult and tedious; while an additional time would be required for its training. In this exigency, ministers saw no expedient except that of having recourse to several German princes, who, on former occasions, had been induced, partly by alliance, but more by pecuniary motives, to hire out their soldiers for temporary service. In the beginning, therefore, of 1776, treaties were concluded with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel for twelve thousand one hundred and four men, the Duke of Brunswick for four thousand and eighty-four, the Prince of Hesse for six hundred and sixty-eight, and the Prince of Waldeck for six hundred and seventy; in all, seventeen thousand five hundred and twenty-six. These rulers, keeping in view the extreme necessity of the British government, extorted very advantageous terms. The sum of £7. 4s. 4d., was to be paid for each man; and besides being relieved from the whole burden of their maintenance, they were to receive compensation for all extraordinary losses, in addition to certain stipends, amounting in all to about £135,000, not only during the whole period of their engagement, but considerably longer. Besides this heavy charge, the employment of foreign mercenaries, subjects of despotic princes, aggravated much the odium of the undertaking.

We must now return across the Atlantic, where the contest was actively carried on. In the autumn of 1775, the Americans formed a plan for invading Canada, knowing that country to be very slightly defended, and believing the inhabitants well affected to the popular cause. A force of about three thousand men, levied in Connecticut, was placed under the command, first of Schuyler, and then of Montgomery. The latter officer, proceeding along Lake Champlain, speedily reduced Fort Chambly, and after considerable difficulty, obliged that of St. John also to surrender. Colonel Ethan Allen had already attempted Montreal, but was defeated and taken prisoner.

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GENERAL MONTGOMERY.

Montgomery, however, with his whole force, marched upon that city, and compelled Carleton to retreat precipitately upon Quebec. Meantime Arnold, a daring officer, had, at his own request, been despatched, with eleven hundred men, to penetrate to that capital by way of the Kennebec and the Chaudiere, hoping thus to take it by surprise. The route was then nearly desert, intersected by dense forests and swamps. The troops were compelled to endure the greatest hardships, and one portion of the army, under Colonel Enos, returned to Massachusetts. Arnold pressed on, and when his men were on the point of starvation, reached Canada, to the utter astonishment of the people of that province. On the 9th of November, he arrived at Point Levi, opposite Quebec. But want of conveyance detained him there several days, during which the active exertions of Colonel McLean placed the town in such a state of defence, that the American chief was obliged to await the arrival of Montgomery. This officer, who took the command on the 1st

of December, soon saw that a regular siege, amid the rigours of a Canadian winter, would involve such sufferings and privations as his raw levies could scarcely endure. He, therefore, determined on a night assault, which was made with the greatest intrepidity, but completely baffled. His troops were repulsed at every point, and he himself fell, deeply and generally lamented. Arnold, wounded in the assault, retreated up the river; and, though he stood his ground some time, was ultimately obliged to evacuate Canada. This first reverse sustained by the cause was severe, yet the signal displays of gallantry on the part of the provincial officers prevented its influence from being on the whole very depressing.

Washington, meantime, laboured under accumulated difficulties in prosecuting the blockade of Boston. The scarcity of ammunition, notwithstanding every effort of Congress, continued almost unabated; while the want of money, as well as of necessary equipments, was deeply felt on the advance of the rigorous season.

Meantime, General Gage remained inactive at Boston; a course generally condemned by historians as at once unaccountable and shameful. In the beginning of October he was recalled, without any expression of displeasure, yet probably under the impression of the disasters which the cause had sustained in his hands, and the hope that it might be more fortunate in those of another. The command then devolved upon Howe, who concurred with his predecessor as to the inexpediency of advancing into the interior of New England. He submitted to the cabinet another plan, by which Boston should be held only till the close of the winter, and the troops there, with all those expected from the mother-country, be then concentrated at New York, and the main attack made from that quarter. The inhabitants were more friendly, and by striking at the heart of the Union, he would separate the northern and southern states, and then, according to circumstances, carry on operations against either. This plan was approved by Lord Dartmouth.

Washington, meantime, was very slowly recruiting his army, which, at the beginning of February, did not reach quite nine thousand men. Being at that period permitted to offer a

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LORD PERCY.

bounty, he had in a month collected above fourteen thousand, reinforced by six thousand Massachusetts militia. He considered this force sufficient to attack the city; but a council of officers decided, probably with reason, that such an attempt offered no chance of success. They proposed, rather, to seize and fortify the peninsular point, named Dorchester Neck, whence the harbour would be in a great degree commanded, and the place, it was hoped, rendered untenable. To this he consented, and the execution of the movement was intrusted to Ward. The British were amused two days by an incessant cannonade and bombardment; till at nightfall of the 4th of March, General Thomas, with a working body of twelve hundred, a covering force of eight hundred, and three hundred carts of materials, marched undiscovered, and took possession of the most elevated part of the heights. The Americans, being chiefly practical farmers, were extremely skilful in intrenching, and laboured with such diligence, that, in the morning, the English with astonishment beheld them in a strongly fortified position. The admiral then gave notice to Howe, that the harbour could not be deemed secure as long as this post was held by the Americans. Lord Percy, with three thousand men, was employed to dislodge them; but a violent storm rendered the operation impossible, and before it dispersed, the works were

considered beyond the reach of assault. Washington had prepared a select corps to attack the town, while its main force should be directed against the heights; but this project, never very feasible, was now of course given up. The British commander then prepared to evacuate the place, and indeed its maintenance was of little importance, since its early relinquishment formed part of the plan of the campaign; yet the triumph thus afforded to the opposite party was a circumstance which should have been vigilantly guarded against. Besides, as no arrangements were yet made for landing at New York, it became necessary to proceed first to Halifax, involving a great loss of time. About a fortnight was employed in preparing for the embarkation, a hazardous movement in the face of a superior army; but though Washington watched the opportunity of attacking, he found no means of attempting it with any advantage. On the 17th, the whole force was on board, and after remaining a few days in Nantasket roads, sailed towards Halifax. General Putnam immediately entered Boston, which was found strongly fortified, and quite uninjured. Washington entertained great apprehension that the city would be destroyed. Some cannon and stores, which could not be carried away, became available to him.

The American general had for some time suspected the intended direction of the invading force against New York. This was the more dreaded, as the feeling in favour of the royal cause was there very strong, especially in the city; while Captain Parker still commanded the harbour, and Queen's County, in Long Island, had refused to send deputies to the provincial convention. The Congress had ordered a party of troops to enter that district, and seize the arms of all the royalists; but this injunction was afterwards withdrawn, a step much disapproved by Washington. He thought proper to sanction the proposal of General Charles Lee, one of the most distinguished of the provincial leaders, who hastily raised a body of troops in Connecticut, advanced by forced marches upon New York, where there were many disaffected inhabitants, occupied the city, and began to erect fortifications on its different sides. After the evacuation of Boston, the commander-in-chief left it defended by a comparatively small

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GENERAL CHARLES LEE.

force, under Ward, and proceeded with the main army to New York, where he arrived on the 13th of April.

As some months would still elapse before the British could assemble their troops and open the general campaign, they determined to send an expedition immediately against the southern states, where the climate would oppose no obstacle, and a decisive blow might be struck with a smaller army. A chimerical hope was cherished, that Clinton, the commander, might pursue a victorious career northwards, till he should join Howe at New York; at all events, he was instructed to be there before the opening of the campaign. After touching at New York, he joined Governor Martin, near Cape Fear; but the main force was to consist of seven regiments from England by Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis. Various contingencies delayed its arrival till the beginning of May; and June came before the expedition reached Charleston, its destination. Its movements, and an intercepted letter, had, by that time, betrayed the design. The most active preparations were made, the principal inhabitants labouring in concert with the lower classes, aided by a numerous body of slaves. The defences were greatly strengthened, and a new fort, named in honour of its commander, Moultrie, erected on Sullivan's Island, sepa-



SIR HENRY CLINTON.

rated by a narrow creek from a larger one named Long Island, commanded the entrance. Between five and six thousand men were assembled, nearly half of them regulars, and the chief command was taken by General Lee.

The expedition arrived on the 4th of June, and the troops were landed on Long Island; yet from various obstacles, the attack was not made till the 28th. The fleet comprised two ships of fifty guns, and six bearing from twenty to thirty; but three of the latter, through the unskilfulness of the pilot, were entangled in shoals, and could not be brought into action. The others, stationed before the fort, opened a tremendous fire, which was kept up with the greatest energy and spirit. The defenders maintained their post with equal firmness; and the walls, though low, were composed of a firm spongy palmetto wood, in which the balls sunk without shattering them. The garrison returned a cool, steady, and remarkably well-directed fire, which did terrible execution; the ships were rendered almost unmanageable, several of the chief officers fell, and the commodore was at one time left alone on his own deck. Clinton, from the land side, did not co-operate, having unexpectedly found the creek impassable. He offered, by conveying over

two battalions, to effect a diversion in favour of the naval commander: but the latter, he complains, returned no answer, being too confident, and ambitious of doing the whole himself. The fleet finally moved off in a most shattered state, having lost about two hundred men, including Lord William Campbell and other officers of rank; while the Americans had thirty-five killed and wounded. The whole affair was most fortunate, adding another to the series of successes gained by the new levies, and inspiring them with fresh courage.

During the course of this winter, a momentous design was in active progress, which had a very important issue. Several leading men, particularly in New England, had, from the beginning, extended their views to the entire dissolution of their connexion with Britain.

In spring, 1776, news was received that the petition of Congress had been rejected; that they had been declared rebels; that large armies were preparing to subdue them; and that their whole commerce was utterly prohibited. Thenceforth a large majority of the leading men formed the determined purpose of asserting independence. The Union, it appeared to them, could never be then restored on any footing, but that of complete subjugation. A general desire, accordingly, was now felt to carry out this measure in a decided form, before the expected military force, or the conciliatory commission, should arrive from Great Britain. The essay named *Common Sense*, by Thomas Paine, from its rough and homely shrewdness, was considered to have produced a very powerful effect on the multitude. As a preparative, Congress authorized the immediate suppression of royal jurisdiction in all the colonies, and the formation of governments emanating from the people; while they met the prohibition against their trade by throwing it open to the whole world except Britain.

On the 22d of April, the convention of North Carolina empowered their delegates to concur with the others in the establishment of independence. That of Virginia went farther, instructing theirs to propose it. Boston was now somewhat less forward, merely intimating, if Congress should think it necessary, their willing concurrence. Thus supported, Mr. Lee, a Virginia delegate, on the 7th of June, 1776, submitted a

resolution for dissolving all connexion with Great Britain, and constituting the united colonies free and independent states. It was warmly debated from the 8th to the 10th, when it was carried by a majority of one. As this was not a footing on which so mighty a change could be placed, the final decision was postponed till the 1st of July. On the 4th of July, vote from all the colonies were procured in favour of the measure.

The declaration of independence, which had been carefully prepared by Jefferson, Adams, and Franklin, was forthwith emitted. In this instrument Congress solemnly published and declared, that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES," and entitled, as such, to carry on war, make peace, form alliances, regulate commerce, and discharge all other sovereign functions. This momentous deed was signed on the 2d of August, 1776, by all the members then present.

In the decisive posture which affairs had now assumed, Washington was actively endeavouring to organize the means of maintaining the hazardous contest upon which he had entered, as well as of resisting the attack that immediately impended. His most urgent representations to Congress upon the necessity of forming a permanent army had been disregarded; and he found himself at the head of a motley group, in which soldiers, enlisted only for a year half elapsed, were mixed with militia whose services were to be still more temporary. In these circumstances, the restraints of discipline extended little beyond the general orders. The different states, having hitherto been almost entirely separated, viewed each other with jealous and even hostile feelings, which were shared by their respective troops, who would, it is said, more cheerfully have fought with their neighbours than with the common enemy. Their leader was soon painfully convinced, that though bodies of people may be inspired with bursts of patriotism, self-interest soon becomes among them the ruling principle. Availing themselves of the possession of arms, they indulged in predatory practices of the most scandalous nature. The inferior officers were chosen by the men, who endeavoured in various ways to turn this privilege to account. A previous stipulation, it appears, was often made, that the surplus of the officers' pay above that of the privates

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GENERAL HOWE.

should be thrown into a common stock, and equally shared. In general, however, they were willing to fight, and had shown themselves capable both of forming and defending intrenchments. Washington made it a rule never to spare the spade; many were well skilled in the desultory use of the rifle, yet ill fitted for a field campaign with a large body of regular troops. Even of these ineffective soldiers there were, at the beginning of July, 1776, only seventeen thousand; and though they were raised in a few weeks to twenty-seven thousand, it was mostly by militia, numbers of whom were soon on the sick list.

Meantime, General Howe was engaged in conveying his army to the scene of action. The abrupt departure from Boston had considerably deranged his plans, as all the supplies were directed toward that city, and some thus fell into the hands of the Americans. In June, however, the armament set sail; and he himself landed at Sandy Hook, a long promontory forming the northern extremity of New Jersey. He preferred, however, to land the troops on Staten, an island, south of Long Island, much smaller, and separated by a narrow channel. On the 3d of July, he disembarked there without opposition, being greeted with assurances of welcome and support from the adjacent territories. On the 12th, he was joined by his brother, Lord Howe, who had been appointed commander of the fleet, and

also joint commissioner to treat of pacification, while the ships, with the large reinforcements from Britain, began arriving in successive detachments. As operations were delayed till the whole were assembled, his lordship circulated a proclamation, offering full pardon to all who should return to their duty, and to any port or colony so acting, peace, protection, and free trade. No concession being mentioned as to the original grounds of dispute, Congress considered it so unsatisfactory that they circulated it among the people, to many of whom, however, it seems to have been more acceptable than they expected. Lord Howe then attempted to open communication with Washington. He addressed several letters to the American commander-in-chief, without acknowledging his official character. Washington would not reply until properly addressed, and by this dignified course won much applause. Nothing of importance resulted from the communication between the two commanders.

The British designs had been well concealed, and the American commander remained long in anxious doubt whether the inroad was not to be made on the side of Canada. Considering New York, however, as the most probable and dangerous point, he had been diligently strengthening all its approaches. Having determined also to make a stand for the defence of Long Island, he formed strong lines at Brooklyn, nearly opposite to the city, stationing the flower of his troops along a range of strongly fortified heights in front of the British quarters on Staten Island. Howe, meantime, on pretty solid grounds, and with his characteristic caution, waited till his whole force was mustered, when he could follow up without interruption any success he might obtain. He complained particularly of a deficiency in camp equipage. About the middle of August, he had been joined by nearly all the reinforcements from Britain, and also by those from the south under Clinton and Cornwallis, which augmented his force to about thirty thousand men. He still, however, waited a few days on account of the intense heat, which, he dreaded, would injure the health of the troops.

At length, on the 22d of August, the British army crossed the channel, and, covered by the guns of the fleet, landed on Long Island, taking post opposite to the range of heights

occupied by the Americans. Washington, in the immediate view of this grand contest, issued repeated addresses, strenuously encouraging his men, and seeking to inspire confidence. Howe, on viewing the American's position, considered it too strong to be carried in front, but formed a plan for turning it. Before day on the 27th, General Grant, with the Hessian troops under De Heister, attacked the American right wing, which, being connected with Brooklyn, was considered the most important, and which the Americans directed all their efforts to reinforce. These officers, in conjunction with the fleet, kept up a brisk and continued fire, tending to confirm this impression, yet avoiding to make any material advance. Meantime, during the night, a strong detachment of the English army, under Clinton and Cornwallis, made a wide circuit through a pass in the hills round the extreme American left. This had been insufficiently guarded by a mere party of observation, which was surprised and captured; so that Clinton reached almost unresisted the level plain behind the American's position. About half-past eight, he appeared in their rear, while Grant and De Heister began pushing forward with their utmost vigour. No choice was then left but for the whole army to regain the intrenched camp at Brooklyn, in reaching which they fell into the utmost confusion, and were pursued on both flanks with dreadful slaughter. Lord Stirling attempted to cover the retreat by an attack with a chosen corps upon Lord Cornwallis, but was surrounded and taken prisoner with all his detachment. The entire loss is stated at upwards of three thousand, including eleven hundred prisoners, among whom was General Sullivan. That of the British was only three hundred and sixty-seven killed, wounded, and taken. Washington, from Brooklyn, witnessed with deep anguish the overthrow of his army, while Howe, from the other side, saw that his forces had gained a decided advantage over the patriots. The British commander had the fault of being over cautious. Instead of following up his advantage, and endeavouring to strike a fatal blow, for which he certainly possessed the means, he remained quiet. On the 29th, Washington, with a degree of military skill, which alone would establish his claim to be considered a great general, succeeded in conducting the retreat of his whole army,



RETREAT FROM LONG ISLAND.

with its artillery, to New York. This was achieved in the face of a greatly superior force.

The commissioners, who certainly showed an anxious desire for pacification, chose this occasion to send Sullivan, the captured general, to Congress, stating that they could not indeed as yet acknowledge its political character, but inviting some of its members to a conference. A deputation was sent, consisting of Adams, Franklin, and Rutledge,—strenuous votaries of independence. Lord Howe received them with great politeness; but his offers included merely, as usual, a general amnesty, and a promise to reconsider the obnoxious acts; while they declared a treaty inadmissible on any basis, except that of the states being acknowledged independent. On these terms there could not be the least approximation between the two parties.

General Howe now proceeded with measures for driving the patriots out of New York, which, as usual, he sought to effect rather by circuitous manœuvre than by direct assault. He prepared expeditions to ascend the opposite branches of the Hudson, which enclose New York Island, and by landing above

the city, oblige the Americans either to evacuate or be completely shut up within it. Washington, viewing with alarm these movements, called a council of officers, and recommended the immediate withdrawal of the troops; but strong objections being expressed, it was determined rather to leave there five thousand men, while the main body occupied a strong post at Kingsbridge, connecting the northern point of the island with the continent. As the British operations advanced, the perils attending this detached position became evident, so that by general consent, the evacuation was determined upon, and the utmost activity employed in removing the artillery and stores. On the 15th of September, Clinton landed at Kipp's Bay, a position strongly fortified, and defended by eight regiments; but, dispirited by late disasters, they fled without attempting resistance, and Washington in vain strove to rally them. It was then necessary with the utmost haste to withdraw the troops, which was effected with the loss of only about three hundred prisoners; but they left behind them a large quantity of artillery, stores, and camp equipage, the want of which was most sensibly felt.

The British army now entered on the peaceable occupation of New York; yet it was disturbed by a distressing occurrence. On the night of the 20th or morning of the 21st of September, a fire broke out which continued to rage till a third of the city was consumed. Gordon says that, amid the rejoicings and revelry of the troops on their entry, the flames broke out in an obscure tavern, in the most crowded quarter; while from the same circumstances they for some time spread undiscovered, and were with the utmost difficulty extinguished.

Washington now took post on Harlem Heights, a range which crossed the island, and had been so carefully fortified, that Howe, with his wonted caution, did not venture an attack. His plan was to oblige the Americans to relinquish the post by landing on the eastern shore, thus threatening their rear and communication with New England. As a preliminary, three frigates were sent up the main stream of the Hudson; and, notwithstanding the resistance made by Forts Washington and Lee, and by chevaux-de-frize sunk in the channel, they passed without injury. Before pushing into the interior, the British

commander spent about three weeks, seemingly a needless waste of time, in fortifying New York. On the 12th of October, having placed the flower of his army in flat-bottomed boats, he proceeded up the eastern channel, and through the pass of Hellgate, to the point called Frog's Neck. Finding his advance here much obstructed, he re-embarked and landed higher up at Pell's Point, whence he advanced upon New Rochelle. The American commander, meantime, had called a council of war, which decided that the position on New York Island was no longer secure; and the troops accordingly crossed at Kingsbridge, taking up a position extending thence eastward towards White Plains, which was fortified as well as time would admit. Howe, on coming up and reconnoitring, determined to attack first a detached corps of sixteen hundred men under General M'Dougall, who, after a sharp, but short conflict, were dislodged; but the general position was judged so strong as to make it advisable to wait for some reinforcements. These arrived, and the attack was preparing; when, during the night of the 31st, Washington retired to a range of heights five miles in his rear, which he had been employed in strengthening. To the cautious view of the British commander, this post appeared so formidable, that he determined to change the seat of war to New Jersey, a less defensible territory, whither his antagonist would be obliged to follow him.

As a preliminary, he resolved to attack Fort Washington, a strong post still held by the Americans on New York Island. Howe, with an unusual boldness, determined to attempt the place by storm; and, on the 16th of November, the army, in four divisions, advanced to the assault. In a few hours they had carried all the outworks, in which the chief strength consisted; and Magaw, the governor, felt himself obliged to capitulate, though Washington sent word, that if he could hold out till evening, an attempt would be made to rescue him. The prisoners amounted to two thousand eight hundred and eighteen, rendering the loss nearly as heavy as at the battle on Long Island; while the royal army had eight hundred killed and wounded. Cornwallis immediately landed with a strong force on the Jersey shore, when the Americans found it necessary to evacuate Fort Lee, opposite to Fort Washington. The

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RETREAT THROUGH NEW JERSEY.

garrison was saved, but the cannon, tents, and stores were left behind.

The American army was now pursued through New Jersey, a level country, which afforded no defensible position, and time was not allowed to fortify any. After a retreat of three weeks with the ghost of an army, Washington only secured himself by crossing to the opposite side of the Delaware. The critical period was again approaching, when the terms for which the troops had been enlisted would expire. Exhausted and dispirited, they eagerly availed themselves of the liberty thus afforded, and even anticipated it without any regard to the exigencies of the service. He had been urging in the strongest terms upon Congress the ruinous nature of the temporary system hitherto pursued, warning them that, without a permanent and well organized army, the cause was lost. Seconded by the disastrous state of affairs, he had been empowered to raise, first eighty-eight, and then sixteen more regular battalions; to give higher bounties and pay; and to act in other respects for six months as a military dictator. The men, however, were not yet raised, and present circumstances were little calculated to invite them into the service. In crossing the Delaware, he had with him only three thousand, independent of a detachment left at White Plains, under General Lee. That officer, while reluctantly obeying the order to join the main force, and suspected to be meditating some schemes of his own, was sur-

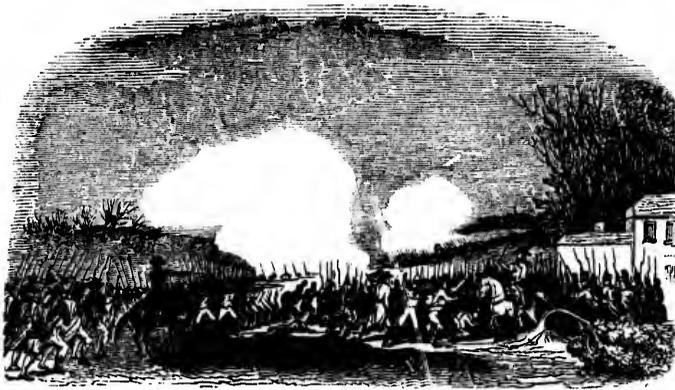
prised and made prisoner,—an event which threw additional gloom over the American prospects.

The course seemed now open before Howe to cross the Delaware with the utmost possible expedition, and advance on Philadelphia. Though probably not aware of the extreme weakness of his antagonist, he could not suppose him to have any force capable of arresting such a movement. The river was unfordable; but vigorous exertion could surely have provided the means of passing, which the ice at all events would soon have rendered easy: Washington entertained no doubt of this being his opponent's intention; and, though its accomplishment "would wound the heart of every virtuous American," declares himself wholly without the means of preventing it. Congress, in consequence, removed their sittings to Baltimore.

Still, though the American cause seemed reduced to the lowest ebb, Congress remained firm, announcing to their countrymen and to the powers of Europe, a determination to adhere immutably to the declaration of independence. Washington felt, with almost exaggerated force, the weight of the evils that pressed upon the cause; yet, with a firm and bold spirit, he watched every opportunity of retrieving it. He had collected about five or six thousand men, and prevailed upon some, whose service had expired, to remain for other six weeks. The English army, covering the Jerseys, was ranged along the Delaware, from Trenton to Burlington, on which line there was reason to believe that no very strict watch would be kept. The bold genius of Washington conceived a plan, which was eagerly adopted. The troops being formed into three detachments, he, with the strongest, amounting to two thousand four hundred, crossed the river on the night of the 25th of December, and from two opposite points attacked Trenton, then occupied by Colonel Rhalle with a strong body of Hessians. That officer, while hastily mustering his men, received a mortal wound; and the whole corps, surprised and surrounded, speedily surrendered. The two other detachments were arrested by severe cold and tempest, otherwise they might, it was hoped, have been equally successful, and a sweep made of the whole range of positions. Washington, however, had good reason to congratulate himself

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BATTLE OF TRENTON.

on carrying off nearly one thousand prisoners, with only ten of his own men killed and wounded,—a most unexpected event, which wonderfully revived the sinking spirits of his countrymen.

Washington now crossed the Delaware, and, with five thousand men, took post at Trenton; but Cornwallis, mustering all his force, advanced upon him; and, on the 2d of January, 1777, the two armies were separated only by a creek. The American general easily saw that, by engaging here a superior army, he ran imminent hazard of being defeated, and driven over the Delaware with great disadvantage and loss. He formed a bold design; breaking up silently in the night, he moved round the British right, and advanced rapidly upon Brunswick, where their chief magazines were lodged. He might, seemingly, have succeeded, had he not encountered at Princeton three regiments coming up to join the main army. The Americans were at first repulsed, and General Mercer killed; but Washington, by extraordinary exertions, restored the action, separated his opponents, and obliged them to retreat in different directions. He then, however, saw advancing against him the van of Cornwallis, who, having received the alarm, hastened to frustrate his scheme; and as he could not hazard a battle without the certainty of defeat, with the risk of having his retreat cut off, he prudently fell back. In this skirmish, the loss on

both sides was nearly equal ; but the having made another bold offensive movement without disadvantage, heightened greatly the favourable impression produced by his former enterprise. The English general then repaired to Brunswick, and limited himself to a defensive line thence to Amboy, merely covering New York. This, in a military sense, was perhaps most eligible, but with a view to moral effect, it would have been better to have resumed, almost at any cost, his former positions, and not allowed his weak and beaten enemy to re-occupy nearly the whole of the Jerseys.

It now behoved the British commander-in-chief to form plans for the approaching campaign ; and the first which he communicated was in accordance with the general views we have observed him to entertain. A detachment being left to cover New Jersey, one expedition was to ascend the Hudson, another to land at Rhode Island, and endeavour thence to push on to Boston. This course seems liable to all the objections already stated, with the additional one of its dividing the active force into two entirely detached portions. It would also have required a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men, which, it appears, was not likely to be forthcoming. On further consideration, he decided in favour of an expedition against Philadelphia, which could be accomplished with a smaller force, and was favoured by the reported disposition of the inhabitants. This was approved by the ministry, and, for reasons above stated, seems the wisest course, though too tardily adopted. A detachment had already been sent, under Clinton, to occupy Rhode Island, —a measure justly censured by Botta, as weakening, for this very subordinate object, the main body, still scarcely adequate to its destination. Lord Howe considered it very important as a naval station ; but he should have considered that it was by land operations only that the campaign was to be decided.

The remainder of the winter was employed by the British in making two expeditions for the destruction of stores collected by the Americans, at Peekskill and Danbury. The first was conducted by Colonel Bird, who landed with about 500 men at Peekskill, on the east side of Hudson river, nearly 50 miles from New York ; but on his approach, General M'Dougal, with the few Americans stationed there as a guard, fired the principal

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store-houses, and retired. The loss of provisions, forage, and other valuable articles, was considerable.

The second enterprise was conducted by Major General Tryon, who with a detachment of 2000 men embarked at New York, and passing through Long Island Sound, landed at Campo, between Fairfield and Norwalk; whence he advanced through the country, almost undisturbed, to Danbury. On his approach, Colonel Huntington, who had occupied the town with 100 militia and continental troops, retired to a neighbouring height, where he waited for reinforcements. The British destroyed 18 houses, 800 barrels of pork and beef, 800 barrels of flour, 2000 bushels of grain, and 1700 tents. Generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman, hastily collecting several hundred of the inhabitants, proceeded that night through a heavy rain to Bethel, about eight miles from Danbury. The next morning they divided their troops; and General Wooster with about 300 men fell on their rear, while Arnold with about 500, by a rapid movement, took post in their front at Ridgefield.

Wooster, coming up with them about eleven in the morning, attacked them with great gallantry. A sharp skirmish ensued, in which he was mortally wounded, and his troops were compelled to give way. The enemy proceeded to Ridgefield, where Arnold, who had barricaded the road, warmly disputed the passage; but, after a skirmish of nearly an hour, being compelled to give way, he retreated to Saugatuck, about three miles east of Norwalk. The British, having remained that night at Ridgefield, set fire to the place, and early next morning resumed their march. Arnold met them again about eleven, and a continued skirmishing was kept up until five in the afternoon, when, on their making a stand at a hill near their ships, the Americans charged them with intrepidity, but were repulsed and broken. The enemy immediately re-embarked for New York. Their killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to about 170; the loss of the Americans was not admitted to exceed 100.

This predatory excursion was not long after retaliated. A quantity of provisions had been deposited at Sagg Harbour, on the eastern end of Long Island, and confided to a schooner with 12 guns and a company of infantry. General Parsons, who commanded a few of the Connecticut recruits at New Haven,

conceiving it practicable to surprise this small post and some others not very distant from it, intrusted the execution of his plan to Lieutenant Colonel Meigs, a very enterprising and gallant officer, who had distinguished himself in the attempt on Quebec. On the 23d of May, he embarked at Guilford with about 170 men, on board 13 whale boats, and proceeded, under convoy of two armed sloops, across the Sound to the north division of the island near Southhold. A small foraging party, against which the expedition was in part directed, having left this place for New York, the boats were immediately conveyed across the land, about 15 miles, into a bay, by which the east end of Long Island is deeply intersected, where the troops re-embarked, and, crossing the bay, landed at two in the morning about four miles from Sagg Harbour. This place they completely surprised, and carried with charged bayonets. A division of the detachment at the same time burned 12 vessels, with the forage which had been collected for the supply of the British army. Six of the enemy were killed, and 90 captured. Colonel Meigs returned to Guilford with his prisoners, without the loss of a single man.

Washington, meantime, was actively employing those dictatorial powers for raising and organizing troops which the exigency of affairs had at length extorted from Congress. Levies, however, went on very slowly, through the discouraging state of the cause and the rigour of the season; so that, at the opening of the campaign, he had not mustered quite eight thousand men. These, however, were in an improved state of discipline, bearing somewhat the aspect and character of a regular army; and during the winter months, he had strongly intrenched them in a position covering the route to Philadelphia. Howe considered it inexpedient to open the campaign till the middle of June, when the forage was green on the ground,—a delay, the necessity of which has been doubted. He then assumed a position in front of the Americans, which he maintained six days; but, after having carefully reconnoitred their camp, considered it too strong for attack, and fell back to his original station. His next manoeuvre was to commence an apparently precipitate retreat; by which Washington was so far deceived, that he engaged in a hasty pursuit, when the royal troops, as

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WASHINGTON.

soon as the Americans were close upon them, wheeled round and made a brisk attack. Lord Cornwallis pursued a detachment under Lord Stirling to a considerable distance; but the American general, on seeing his error, exerted such activity in withdrawing his detachments, that they regained their entrenched position without very serious loss.

The British commander, having thus failed in his attempts to bring the Americans to action, conceived it impossible, in their face, to attempt the passage of so broad a river as the Delaware. There appeared no alternative but to embark his army, and, by a great circuit, land them at the head of the Chesapeake. In fact, the British force was not on board till the 5th of July, and did not reach its destination till the 24th of August, when it was landed without opposition.

Washington had been carefully watching its movements, and recruiting his own force, which he had raised to fourteen thousand, not the most numerous, but the most efficient of any



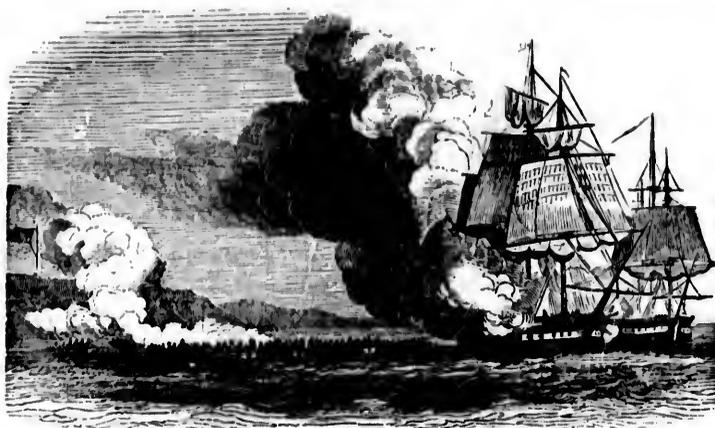
LORD CORNWALLIS.

he had hitherto commanded. He determined, therefore, to risk a battle in defence of Philadelphia, though conscious that its issue must be very doubtful; but otherwise the expectations of the country would be disappointed, and a discouragement ensue worse than defeat. The only considerable stream on the route was the Brandywine, along whose high banks he drew up his army, erecting batteries and intrenchments for the defence of the principal fords. Howe's advance to this point was obstructed only by the skirmishes with his advanced guard; yet proceeding with characteristic deliberation, he did not reach it till the 11th of September. Determining then upon an attack, he made his arrangements with skill and judgment. Knyphausen, with the Hessians, attacked the American front, driving them across the river, with apparently vigorous attempts to follow, yet avoiding any actual advance. Meantime, a strong division under Cornwallis, accompanied by Howe himself, made a circuit of seventeen miles to pass by the upper fords. Washington had received some intimation of this movement, but, distracted by opposite reports, did not sufficiently provide against it. Cornwallis reached the right of the American army before it had time to form, and, by a vigorous attack, he com-

pletely broke and drove them before him. Knyphausen, as soon as he heard this firing, pushed forward with his whole force, when the American centre, already alarmed by the disaster of its right, gave way at every point. After some vain attempts by Greene to cover the retreat, the whole army retreated, losing more than one thousand killed and wounded and prisoners. Howe has been severely blamed for not following up this as other victories; while he and Cornwallis reply, that this was neither practicable nor safe in a country encumbered with immense woods, where the fugitive army easily found shelter, and could have harassed their pursuers with a desultory warfare. But this is not a sufficient justification.

The American general soon re-assembled his defeated army, and, though slowly retreating, did not give up all hopes of saving Philadelphia. He was even about again to engage the enemy, when a violent storm, continued during a whole day and night, prevented the conflict and rendered his ammunition useless. Still it was only by skillful manœuvres that his opponent succeeded in entering the capital, and obliging him to retreat beyond it. Congress, who had returned thither, removed first to Lancaster and then to Yorktown.

Thus established in Philadelphia, Howe pushed forward the main body of his force to Germantown. A large part, however, was employed in reducing a chain of forts and batteries, which the Americans had erected on the Lower Delaware, interrupting the direct communication with the sea, where Admiral Lord Howe, after landing the troops at the head of the Chesapeake, had brought round the fleet. Washington, having received some reinforcements, determined to take advantage of this divided state of the army by a sudden attack on the portion stationed at Germantown. At seven o'clock in the evening of the 3d of October, his troops advanced in four divisions, and, having marched fourteen miles, at daybreak took the British completely by surprise. For some time he carried all before him; but he was arrested by a large stone building, obstinately defended by six companies, and his troops became confused in a heavy fog. On the opposing force being fully drawn forth, he was repulsed at every point, with the loss of upwards of a thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Notwithstanding



BATTLE OF RED BANK.

this unfortunate issue, a favourable impression of his resources was conveyed by his resuming the offensive so soon after the defeat at Brandywine.

The British troops were now employed in reducing the defences of the Delaware. In attacking the fort of Red Bank, commanded by Colonel Christopher Greene, a detachment under Count Donop, a gallant German officer, was repulsed, with the loss of about four hundred men, and the commander mortally wounded. It was afterwards relinquished on the approach of a superior force; but November had nearly closed before the passage for the fleet was completely cleared. Howe, then, on the 4th of December, marched out with the view of again bringing the American general to battle. The latter, having received four thousand additional troops from the north, had taken up a position at Whitemarsh, about fourteen miles from Philadelphia, which he considered so strong, that his letters express a desire of being there attacked; but the English general, upon a careful survey, declined the engagement, and, after some days' skirmishing, fell back upon the capital. The attention of the American commander was then anxiously directed to the choice of winter-quarters. After much hesitation, he fixed upon Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill, a very wild and bare spot, but well fitted for straitening the English

position, and overawing the inhabitants, who were generally disaffected. The troops laboured under a scarcity of provisions, and still more of clothes and shoes; so that their marches were marked by tracks of blood from their wounded feet. The country people were indisposed to supply goods, and set very little value on the paper certificates offered in return; but Washington on one occasion only would agree to a compulsory requisition. The encampment consisted of rude log-huts, erected by the soldiers, in one of which twelve were lodged. Their sufferings during the winter were most intense, and their endurance is highly honourable to their own patriotism, and the persuasive influence of their distinguished commander.

We have already noticed that the American expedition against Canada had been signally disastrous. After being severely repulsed at Quebec, they had, in the course of December, 1776, been compelled entirely to evacuate the province. The plan was then formed to send from that country a strong British force, which, penetrating across the back settlements of New York, might form a junction with Howe, and second his operations. The command was bestowed on Burgoyne, an officer of merit; but his superseding Carleton, who had highly distinguished himself in the defence of Canada, was by no means popular.

About the middle of June, 1777, Burgoyne began his march, with six thousand seven hundred British and Germans, to which he could only add two hundred and fifty Canadians, and four hundred Indians. His first movement was against Crown Point and Ticonderoga, considered the barriers of the Union on that frontier. These forts, which the Americans so fortunately acquired at the beginning of the contest, had been enlarged and strengthened, and were now garrisoned by above three thousand men. When, however, on the 5th of July, the works were nearly invested, General St. Clair called a council of officers, who decided that the force, being mostly militia, was insufficient for their defence. A retreat was therefore effected during the night, the baggage and stores being embarked upon Lake George. As soon as morning betrayed this movement, a vigorous pursuit was commenced, several detachments were cut off, and the flotilla on the lake destroyed; while the American



GENERAL SCHUYLER.

forces, greatly reduced in numbers, retreated to Fort Edward, on the Hudson.

This triumphant opening filled the British with exultation, while it created alarm among the patriots. The former, however, soon encountered great and unforeseen obstacles. The country, wholly intersected with creeks and marshes, required a constant alternation of land and water conveyance, which the Americans, under General Schuyler, rendered more difficult by felling large trees and laying them across the paths. It was necessary to construct forty bridges, one of them two miles in extent, while the bateaux had to be dragged from creek to creek by ten or twelve oxen. The interval between the 30th of July and 15th of August was thus spent in an advance of only eighteen miles. The inhabitants were animated with a strong spirit of independence, and eminently fitted for desultory warfare. The "Green Mountain boys," who roamed and hunted over that lofty branch of the Alleghany, poured down in large bodies, and with rifles all but unerring, proved as formidable in this wild region as the best trained regulars. The Indians



MURDER OF MISS M'CREA.

ward, did not yield services equal to the odium which their employment excited. A party of them attacked a house, and captured two women, one of them a Miss M'Crea. The prisoners were taken in different directions towards the British camp, to avoid the pursuit of the Americans at Fort Edward. According to the story of the two red men who had Miss M'Crea in charge, they were fired upon, and she was wounded; whereupon they killed and scalped her. The British general had offered a reward for scalps, but a greater one for prisoners: and as it was therefore to the interest of the Indians to take their captive alive to the British camp, their story of her death may be believed. A more romantic version of the affair was given at the time, and a feeling of mingled horror and indignation was universal.

Burgoyne, being now hard pressed for provisions, and the means of transport, and learning that there was a large supply at Bennington, Vermont, despatched Colonel Baum, with 600 Germans and Indians, to seize them. The alarm was soon



GENERAL STARK.

sounded. The militia of Vermont and New Hampshire mustered strongly under General John Stark, an officer of experience and determination. Arriving at Walloon Creek, Baum heard of the approach of the Americans, and there halted and intrenched his force. An express was sent to Burgoyne for a reinforcement. Stark, having 1600 men under his command, resolved to attack the enemy. The battle was fought upon the 16th of August, 1777. Having sent Colonel Nichols, with 250 men, to the rear of the enemy's left wing, and Colonel Hendrick, with 300, to the rear of their right, and placed 300 to oppose their front and draw their attention, Stark sent Colonels Hubbard and Stickney with 200 to attack the right wing, and 100 more to reinforce Colonel Nichols. The attack began precisely at three o'clock in the afternoon. The several detachments seconded the onset, and General Stark advanced at the same time with the main body. The engagement lasted



BATTLE OF BENNINGTON.

two hours; but the German troops were at length obliged to abandon their breastworks, and retreat into the woods, leaving their commander mortally wounded on the field of battle. Lieutenant Colonel Breyman, whom Burgoyne had detached with 500 Germans to the assistance of Colonel Baum, coming up just in time to join the fugitives, was vigorously attacked by the Americans, and, after having made a very gallant resistance, and expended all his ammunition, was obliged to retreat. The loss of the British in these two engagements was about 600 men; 1000 stand of arms, and 900 swords, were taken by the Americans.

Another portion of Burgoyne's army was equally unfortunate. It consisted of one thousand five hundred regulars, Canadians, and Indians, under the command of Colonel St. Leger, and was destined to cross Lake Ontario, capture Fort Schuyler, and, ascending the Mohawk, reinforce the main body.



BENEDICT ARNOLD.

But Colonel Gansevoort defended Fort Schuyler with indomitable resolution. On the first approach of the royal army, General Herkimer, who commanded the militia of Tryon county, assembled them in considerable force for the relief of the garrison. St. Leger, receiving information of his approach, sent out a strong detachment of regulars and Indians, who lay in ambuscade on the road, by which he was to march. Into this ambuscade Herkimer fell, and his party was defeated with great slaughter. The loss was estimated at about 400 men. (August 6.)

General Arnold was now despatched with a brigade of troops to attack the besiegers; but their force being greatly superior to his own, recourse was had to stratagem. A man who was the proprietor of a handsome estate in the vicinity, having been taken up as a spy, was employed as a deceptive messenger to spread an alarm, and induce the enemy to retreat; on condition, if he succeeded, that he should be liberated, and his estate secured to him. The stratagem was successful. The Indians instantly determined to quit the ground; and St. Leger, finding himself deserted by 700 or 800 of these important auxiliaries, decamped in the greatest hurry and confusion, and returned to Montreal, leaving his tents, with most of his artillery and stores, in the field.

Burgoyne now felt the difficulties of his situation daily

thickening around him. Gates, a distinguished leader, had been sent to take the command of the Americans, bringing a body of regulars, who, with the numerous volunteers and militia, now formed an army of thirteen thousand men, with habits eminently fitted for this desultory warfare. Considerations purely military would have dictated a return into Canada, while yet possible; but the English general had to consider the dishonour of the British arms by a retreat before this undisciplined foe; the strict injunctions laid upon him to advance on Albany, where he was thought to expect that Howe would be waiting for his junction, while otherwise Gates might wheel round, and augment the force acting against that commander. He had therefore strong motives for his determination to advance at whatever cost. It was necessary, however, to give up his communication with Ticonderoga and the lakes, having no force adequate to maintain the necessary chain of posts. Resolving to push forward and cut his way through the American troops to Albany, he led his army briskly, in several columns, along the roads leading thither, disposing them so as to cover his artillery and baggage. The Americans determined upon resisting this movement by a general attack. They commenced it at Stillwater, about noon of the 19th of September, and maintained the contest very obstinately till dusk, when they retired within their lines. The energy, however, with which they had maintained their ground, and the loss of six hundred men sustained by the already reduced British force, gave it the character of a triumph; while it heightened the gloom which surrounded Burgoyne, who now determined to pause, and fortify himself in his present position. On the 3d of October, fifteen hundred men, sent out to forage and reconnoitre, rashly advanced within half a mile of the American intrenchments, when the daring Arnold instantly sallied out, attacked and drove them back to their camp. The whole American army then followed and commenced a most furious assault on the lines. From the British quarter they were repulsed; but the German intrenchments were carried, two hundred prisoners taken, and Breyman with several leading officers killed or wounded. After this disaster it was judged necessary to fall back upon Saratoga.

As already noticed, Burgoyne had been impelled forward by the belief that Howe with his whole army was waiting for him on the Hudson, and probably at Albany; and having been strangely kept ignorant of that commander's total change of destination, while his attempts at communication were interrupted, he remained still in the dark on this subject. A letter from him, however, reached New York, where Clinton had been left with a force barely sufficient to maintain that position, and without any instructions to co-operate with Burgoyne; so that the intelligence from that general, though so fully to be expected, seems to have fallen upon him like a thunderbolt. Being an energetic and active officer, he assembled three thousand men, and began a brisk movement up the Hudson. The forts of Clinton and Montgomery, which, on opposite banks, defended the navigation, were carried, sixty-seven cannon taken, two frigates, and two galleys burned. Tryon destroyed barracks fitted to accommodate fifteen hundred men; and Vaughan incurred reproach by reducing to ashes the town of Esopus, on the insufficient plea that the troops had been fired at from the houses, and that "it was a nursery for almost every villain (malcontent) in the country." Though Gates observed these movements, he wisely forbore to weaken his army by detachments against this corps, which failed in every attempt even to open a communication with the northern army.

Burgoyne now felt that his affairs had reached a fatal crisis. The Americans held and strongly guarded all the posts in the rear, and had destroyed the flotilla on Lake George; while in front they had an army double his own in number, and in such warfare not much less efficient. An attempted movement in either direction must therefore be followed by a series of incessant and harassing attacks, destroying his army in detail. A council of war was called, and the conclusion formed, that no option was left but the deeply afflicting one of opening a negotiation for surrender. Gates's first demand was, that the whole force should ground their arms and become prisoners of war; but the general, with all his officers, agreed in the determination to brave every extremity rather than submit to such terms. Gates, a prudent man, feeling the importance of time, agreed, after some discussion, to grant the honours of war, and

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GENERAL BURGoyNE.

a free passage to Britain, on condition of their not serving again in North America during the present contest.

As Congress received no intimation that the British government sanctioned the proceedings of this convention, the captured army was not allowed to leave the country. Burgoyne, when complaining of the treatment which his men experienced at Boston, used the rash expression, that he considered the convention as thereby violated; whence it was inferred, that on returning home, he would represent his government as absolved from the engagement against their serving in America. The American authorities demanded lists of the men's names, which seems not very unreasonable, but was considered by Burgoyne as an impeachment on British honour.

This intelligence arrived in England November, 1777, while parliament were sitting; and the effect may be easily conceived. The opposition, justifying the conduct of the commanders, threw the whole blame upon ministers. Chatham declared the expedition a most wild, uncombined, mad project; and Fox said that ten thousand men had been destroyed by the wilful ignorance and incapacity of Lord Germaine. Ministers, on the other hand, contended that everything depending upon them had been done; large armies had been sent, and most amply



LORD NORTH.

supplied; and, before being condemned, they were entitled at least to a full inquiry. Lord North protested, as on former occasions, his willingness to lay down office if he could thereby hope to restore peace; but seeing no prospect of this, he considered himself bound to remain at the helm. Lord Chatham had moved for a cessation of hostilities, which was negatived; but committees were named in each house for an inquiry into the state of the nation, the result of which was to be taken into consideration in the beginning of February, 1778. Ministers proposed and carried, though with considerable opposition, an adjournment till the 20th of January. The warlike spirit of the nation had been gradually subsiding in consequence of the lengthened contest, and the little prospect of any decisive success; so that the first accounts of Burgoyne's catastrophe produced deep despondence, and a general call for peace. In the course of the recess, however, a very decided reaction took place, excited mainly, we imagine, by the prevailing belief, that France was about to join America; for David Hartley warned his friend, Dr. Franklin, that the English would "fight for a straw with their last shilling and their last man," rather than be dictated to by that power. Manchester, Liverpool, Edin-

burgh, and Glasgow, came forward to supply regiments; six battalions were raised in the Scottish Highlands; eleven companies in Wales. The voluntary levies thus effected before the meeting of parliament, amounted to fifteen thousand men. The opposition exclaimed against this raising of troops without consent or knowledge of parliament; but ministers had little dread of this charge, and boasted of the result as decisively expressing the national opinion in their favour. Mr. Fox and the Duke of Richmond made motions that no troops should be sent out of the kingdom, which were negatived, but not by the usual large majorities; the former only by two hundred and fifty-nine to one hundred and sixty-five; the last by ninety-one to thirty-four.

Soon after the meeting of parliament, however, Lord North brought forward a most extensive scheme of conciliation, embracing indeed every demand which had originally been made by the colonists. The right of taxation without their own consent was to be renounced; the violated constitutions were to be restored; every act since 1763 was to be abrogated, excepting such as were manifestly beneficial to the colonies. The intentions of ministers had, he said, been misunderstood; these were the measures they had waited to announce in a hoped-for moment of decisive success, but having been disappointed, there seemed no longer any room for delay. This proposal met with no serious opposition, though among the supporters of the war there were considerable murmurs at the renunciation of all its objects; while among its opponents, a serious schism was soon perceptible.

We must now look to the continent of Europe, where measures of the deepest importance had been secretly in agitation. Congress for some time made a boast of rigorously abstaining from any attempt to seek support by foreign alliances, when they might have done so with every prospect of success. France and Spain, it was well known, deeply humbled by the result of the war ended in 1763, and the extensive territories then wrested from them, were anxiously watching an opportunity to retrieve and avenge these losses. The latter power, indeed, might dread lest the same spirit should spread to her own settlements; but France upon this head had much less to

fear. In the spring of 1776, all the leading men in the colonies, having fixed their minds upon independence, became disposed to avail themselves of the advantages of foreign treaties. Franklin indeed states, as his first opinion, that America, "as a virgin state, should not go about suitoring alliances," but rather wait till she was courted; but he was overruled, and ultimately became the most active agent. On the 29th of November, 1775, a committee had been appointed to open a correspondence with the friends of America in Europe. The first person employed was Silas Deane, a member of Congress, who was instructed to visit Europe in the character of a merchant, and endeavour to open private channels, by which the cabinets might aid America, without openly committing themselves. He arrived about the 1st of July, 1776, and found the French court well disposed to favour his views. Turgot, a minister friendly to peace, had been replaced by Vergennes, who eagerly aspired to regain for France the ground lost in the late contest. A great dread, however, being felt lest the power and perseverance of America should fail, and France be left alone to maintain an unequal contest, the minister intimated that aid could not be openly given, but that no obstruction would be opposed to the shipment of warlike stores and supplies; if any occurred, it need only be stated to be speedily removed.

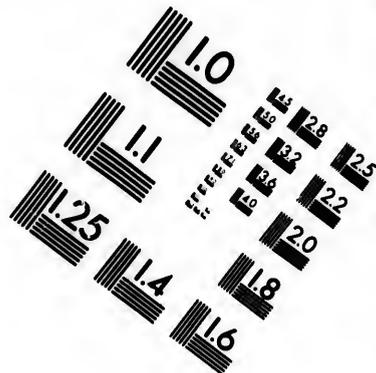
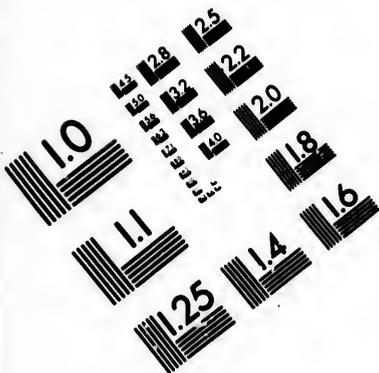
As soon as the declaration of independence had been fully matured, Congress applied itself openly and with increased vigour to the object of foreign alliances. On the 11th of June, a committee was appointed to prepare a plan, which was not however matured and approved till the 17th of September, when Dr. Franklin, Mr. Deane, and Mr. Lee, were appointed commissioners to proceed to France. The former, from his weight of character, sound judgment, and address, had almost the entire direction. On reaching Paris, however, in December, 1776, he found the cabinet by no means prepared openly to espouse the cause of the states, or even to acknowledge their independence. Friendly professions were made, and a continuance of private succours promised; but there was an evident determination against proceeding farther till it should appear whether they could resist the shock of the British armies, the pressure of which was then so severe. The disasters of the

campaign increased the anxiety of Congress upon the subject. They sent commissioners to the courts of Vienna, Spain, Prussia, and Tuscany; and in order to induce France to declare openly in their favour, offered large privileges for commerce and fishery, and even the possession of such West India islands as might be captured during the war. But the same distresses which impelled to these overtures, made the court cautious of accepting them, and continue to watch the train of events. The campaign of 1777, notwithstanding its misfortunes, was considered to afford prospects of making a permanent stand; but the French counsels evidently vacillated with every intelligence and even report which arrived from America. No change took place till the arrival, early in December, of the momentous tidings of Burgoyne's surrender, which at once gave a decisive turn to the views of the cabinet. On the 16th, M. Gerard intimated to the commissioners that, after long deliberation, the king had determined to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and also to afford them support, though thereby involving himself in an expensive war. On the 8th of January, 1778, Louis wrote a letter to his uncle, the king of Spain, referring to Britain as their common and inveterate enemy. During the pending contest, he had afforded to the colonies supplies of money and stores, at which England had taken deep umbrage, and would no doubt seize the first opportunity of avenging herself. The Americans had indeed shown that they were not to be subdued, but Britain might succeed in her present attempts to form a close and friendly alliance with them, and thus turn her arms undivided against her continental enemies; now, therefore, was the time to form such a connexion as might prevent any reunion between them and the mother country.

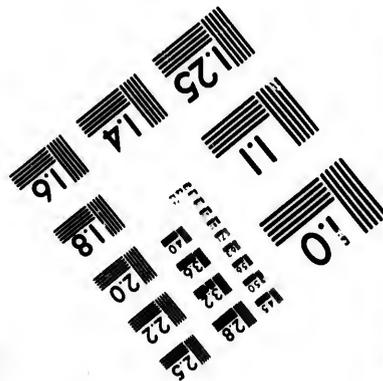
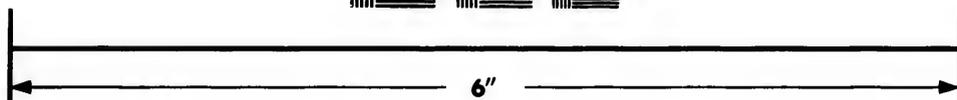
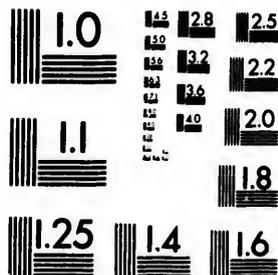
In pursuance of these views, there was concluded, on the 6th of February, a treaty of commerce, accompanied by one of defensive alliance in the well foreseen case of war being the result. The allies were to make common cause with the states, and to maintain their absolute independence. Whatever conquests should be made on the continent were to be secured to them, but those in the West Indies to the crown of France.

The treaty between France and America, though soon gene-





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rally known, was for some time studiously concealed from the British minister. On the 13th of March, however, the French ambassador at London delivered a note, referring to the United States as already in full possession of independence, whence his majesty had concluded with them a treaty of friendship and commerce, and would take effectual measures to prevent its interruption. Professions were made of the king's anxiety to cultivate a good understanding with Britain, and his sincere disposition for peace, of which it was ironically said that new proofs would be found in this communication. On the 17th, this document was laid before Parliament, with a message from the crown, stating that the British ambassador had in consequence been ordered to withdraw from Paris, and expressing trust in the zealous and affectionate support of the people for repelling this unprovoked aggression combined with insult. An address echoing the message was moved in both houses; but the opposition reproached ministers with not having duly foreseen or prepared for this emergency; while a few repelled as now hopeless the idea of holding America under any kind of dependence. It was carried, however, by majorities, in the Commons of two hundred and sixty-three to two hundred and thirteen; in the Lords of sixty-eight to twenty-five. The message for calling out the militia was sanctioned without a division.

In Pennsylvania, meantime, the two armies continued viewing each other without any material warlike movement. The distress suffered by Washington at Valley Forge was extreme, Congress taking no efficient measures to supply the troops with clothes or even provisions. The officers had to complain, not only of irregularity in receiving their pay, but of obtaining no promise of half-pay at the end of the war; this last, however, through the remonstrances of Washington, was at length secured. That great man was further harassed by a combination formed against himself and shared by Gates, whose friends contrasted his brilliant success against Burgoyne with the tardy, and, in many cases, unsuccessful movements of the commander-in-chief. Their representations made for some time a considerable impression upon Congress, and even the public; but as the commander took no notice of this movement, and pursued



AMERICANS AT VALLEY FORGE.

the even and dignified tenor of his way, the cloud dispelled of itself. Although his force in spring was reduced very low, Howe did not venture to attack, but, according to the representations formerly made, considered himself strong enough only for partial and detached expeditions, several of which were undertaken with success. Not being, however, supplied with reinforcements sufficient for any important enterprise, he felt his situation painful, and solicited his recall. Ministers, who probably hoped that a more enterprising commander might achieve some decisive successes, granted it, and named Clinton his successor. His officers, however, manifested their opinion of his merits by a brilliant fete on the occasion of his departure.

In June, the commissioners arrived with new offers of conciliation. They consisted of Governor Johnstone, Lord Carlisle, and Mr. Eden, gentlemen who had hitherto advocated against ministers the cause of America. The terms were more than had been originally asked, amounting in fact to every degree of independence compatible with a union of force against foreign powers, all alliance with whom was expected to be renounced. Smaller concessions would once have saved the colonies; but Congress and the leading men had now taken a position whence they felt wholly disinclined to recede. They do not seem to have ever deliberated, merely appointing a committee to prepare an answer. Its tenor was, that notwithstanding all their wrongs, they were willing to conclude a treaty of peace and commerce, provided Britain should begin by an explicit acknow-



GENERAL GATES.

ledgment of their independence, or by withdrawing her fleets and armies. Indignation was expressed at the manner in which their great and good ally, the king of France, was mentioned, and a full determination intimated of adhering to the connexion. The commissioners wrote an explanatory paper, endeavouring to prove that every object of real importance was included in their offers; but as no new concession was made, it was determined to return no answer. Governor Johnstone had written letters to several members of Congress, in which, besides public motives, private advantages were held out in case of their aiding the cause of reconciliation. The receivers laid them before Congress, who immediately published them, with indignant comments, as attempts to gain their object by bribery.

The commissioners, thus vehemently repulsed by Congress, determined to appeal to the particular states and to the nation at large. A manifesto and proclamation were drawn up, fully explaining all the advantages now offered, including the removal of every grievance hitherto complained of; reminding the

people that to these overtures Congress had refused even to listen, and asking if they were prepared to carry on a ruinous war, with no object but to throw themselves into the arms of a foreign power, so long their inveterate enemy. It was injudiciously added, that in such case warlike measures would be carried on with increased severity, so that if the country was to belong to France, its value might be diminished. Congress published this paper themselves, counteracted by ample comments.

Fearful for the safety of their army, the British ministers had sent orders to Howe to evacuate the city of Philadelphia and the river Delaware, without delay, lest the French fleet, which it was presumed would sail for America in the spring, might entrap him, and cause the loss of both fleet and army.

Accordingly, the royal army crossed the Delaware into New Jersey, on the 18th of June. Washington had previously detached Maxwell's brigade to aid the Jersey militia in checking their march, whilst he should fall on their rear himself with the main body. The Americans crossed the Delaware in pursuit of the British, while six hundred men were detached under Morgan, to reinforce Maxwell. The British marched to Allentown, and there chose the road to Sandy Hook, to avoid crossing the Raritan, which they must have done, if they had marched direct to Amboy. They encamped on the 27th of June, near Freehold Courthouse, in Monmouth county. Washington sent General Wayne, with one thousand men, to reinforce the troops already on their lines. Lafayette was sent to command this division, which amounted to four thousand men, and Lee soon after joined them, with two additional brigades, and took charge of the whole. Morgan hovered on the right flank of the British, with his corps, and Dickinson was on the left, with eight hundred Jersey militia. Washington was three miles in the rear, with the main body. He determined to make an attack upon the British before they should reach the strong grounds about Middletown. Lee was ordered to maintain his dispositions for an attack, and to keep his troops constantly on their arms, so as to take advantage of the first movement of the enemy. Knyphausen led the van, with the baggage; and the best troops were placed in the rear, under Cornwallis.



GENERAL MORGAN.

At break of day, on the 28th of June, the royal army began their march; but the rear waited until eight o'clock in the morning. Lee followed them into the plains; Clinton turned with his whole rear-division, to attack the Americans, and Lee began the engagement. Owing to some misunderstanding, part of the American forces began to retreat, and the rest soon followed in great disorder. Washington now came up, with the main body, and to his great astonishment and mortification, met the advanced division in full retreat, Lee intending to renew the battle on higher ground. Washington rode forward and addressed General Lee in warm terms of disapprobation; yet his indignation could not get the better of his self-command; and he immediately set himself to repair the error which had been committed. He ordered Lee to arrest the progress of the flying soldiers, whilst he brought up the main body to their assistance. Lee executed his orders with his characteristic courage and skill. A sharp conflict ensued, the

Americans were compelled to retreat, and were this time brought off by Lee in good order. The British advanced, and attacked the second line of the Americans, which was strongly posted and made such a vigorous resistance, that the enemy were compelled to give way; and at night Clinton withdrew his troops to a good position, where he remained till midnight, when he resumed his march, carrying most of his wounded along with him.

The Americans lost, in this battle, sixty-nine killed, and one hundred and forty wounded, whilst the British, after burying some of their dead in the night, left on the field of battle, two hundred and forty-seven killed, who were buried by the Americans. They left forty-four wounded, and took many others with them. Clinton continued his retreat unmolested, owing to the bad state of the roads; but on his march through Jersey, a large number of his men, who had married in Philadelphia, deserted, and returned to that city. The British lost Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton, and the Americans, Lieutenant-Colonel Bonner and Major Dickenson, all able officers. Washington moved towards the Hudson, and D'Estaing sailed up the Delaware with twelve ships of the line and three frigates, not ten days after Howe had quitted it; when, finding his enemy gone, he sailed for New York, and blockaded the British fleet in the harbour.

After the battle some embittered correspondence passed between Lee and Washington. Lee was thereupon brought before a court-martial, charged with having made a disorderly retreat, and shown disrespect to his commander. He was found guilty, and suspended from all command for a year, and in fact never again joined the army.

No sooner had France openly declared in favour of the States, than she fitted out and sent to their aid a fleet of twelve sail of the line, under Count D'Estaing; while Britain despatched Commodore Byron with one of equal strength. Both were delayed by contrary winds, and though the French admiral arrived first, he did not reach the Chesapeake till the British fleet and army had passed on the way to New York. Thither he followed, and reconnoitred the entrance of the harbour; but Lord Howe, though with only half his force,



D'ESTAING.

made such judicious dispositions, that D'Estaing judged it imprudent to attack. He was next invited to assist in operations against Rhode Island, still held by a considerable English force. General Sullivan, on the land side, was reinforced by New England militia, and by a detachment from the main army, under Lafayette, making in all ten thousand men. Howe hesitated not to approach; but a violent storm prevented the fleets from engaging, and allowed only a few conflicts between single ships, in which the British had the advantage. D'Estaing complained that his squadron was thus so severely shattered, as rendered it necessary to go and refit at Boston; which he did, without regard to the warmest remonstrances from Greene and Lafayette. Sullivan was thus left in a critical situation; a force came hastily from New York, sufficient to overwhelm him, and he was considered to have great merit in effecting a precipitate retreat, with only the dispersion of a part of his army. Byron soon after arrived, and reinforced Howe, when both fleets were placed under Admiral Gambier; and the English became completely superior at sea. The American press raised loud murmurs at the inefficient support afforded by their powerful ally, from whom so much had been expected. This was an additional trouble to Washington, who dreaded



GENERAL SULLIVAN.

umbrage between the two nations, and made apologies to the French officers for the rash language of his countrymen.

He did not attempt any further offensive movements this campaign; and Clinton took occasion to attack some of the principal privateering stations. On Acusknét River, in Buzard's Bay, General Grey destroyed seventy sail of ships, and numerous store-houses; and from the island named Martha's Vineyard a large supply of sheep and cattle was drawn. At a noted rendezvous, however, named Egg Point, the success was imperfect, a great part of the shipping having escaped. On these occasions, plunder and outrage seem to have been practiced to an unjustifiable extent against known privateers. The Americans, through the report of the French alliance, had obtained the evacuation of Philadelphia; but in every other respect their hopes of this campaign had not been fulfilled. New hopes were excited, however, by the arrival, at Philadelphia, of the French ambassador, Gerard, a highly respected individual, by whose agency, chiefly, the treaty had been concluded.

In the course of this summer, the western country had been the scene of most distressing events; the feuds between the in-



RUINS OF WYOMING.

dependents and loyalists having raged with peculiar violence in this wild region. The latter complained, probably not without reason, that the rigorous laws enacted against them were enforced with severe aggravations, and many sought an asylum beyond the limits of the colonies. There they found themselves among the Indians, a race always bitterly hostile to the white borderers, and easily excited to the most daring enterprises. Unhappily, the passions of the refugees were worked up to such violence, that instead of urging a milder mode of warfare, they stimulated these allies to deeds of more than their wonted barbarity.

The flourishing settlement of Wyoming, upon the Upper Susquehanna, was suddenly attacked by about 1600 Tories and Indians, under Colonel John Butler and Brandt. The militia, under Colonel Zebulon Butler, was completely defeated; the forts captured, and the beautiful valley treated with all the horrors of savage devastation. The settlement at Cherry Valley, in New York, was also attacked, but the Tories and savages were repulsed, after they had killed and captured a number of the inhabitants, and destroyed their dwellings. (October 1778.) From the lateness of the season, only a few partial attempts could be made to retaliate. Next spring, however, General Sullivan was despatched with four thousand men, and joined by General Clinton with another division from the Mohawk river. They entered the territory of the Indians, who, quite unable to resist so large a force, abandoned their homes and fled before them. The villages were then reduced

to ashes, every trace of cultivation obliterated, and the region rendered as much as possible uninhabitable. This rigour is said to have been authorized by Washington, and justified on the ground, that without interposing a desert between the States and this savage race, no security could be enjoyed on the frontier.

An expedition which was to have taken place under Henry Hamilton, lieutenant-governor of Detroit, fortunately for the Virginia back settlers, against whom it was principally directed, fell through, in consequence of the spirited conduct of Colonel Clarke. The object of the expedition was extensive, and many Indians were engaged in it. Hamilton took post at St. Vincennes, in the winter, to have all things in readiness, for invading the American settlements, as soon as the season of the year would permit. Clarke, on hearing that Hamilton had weakened himself, by sending away a considerable part of his Indians, against the frontier settlers, formed the resolution of attacking him, as the best expedient for preventing the mischiefs which were designed against his country. After surmounting many difficulties, he arrived with 130 men, unexpectedly, at St. Vincennes.

The inhabitants of the town immediately surrendered on the 23d February, 1779, to the Americans; and assisted them in taking the fort. The next day, Hamilton, with the garrison, were made prisoners of war, on articles of capitulation. Clarke, on hearing that a convoy of British goods and provisions was on its way from Detroit, detached a party of sixty men, which met them, and made prize of the whole. By this well-conducted and spirited attack on Hamilton, his intended expedition was nipped in the bud. Colonel Clarke transmitted to the Council of Virginia, letters and papers, relating to Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, Philip de Jean, justice of peace for Detroit, and William Lamothe, captain of volunteers, whom he had made prisoners. The board reported, that Hamilton had incited the Indians to perpetrate their accustomed cruelties, on the defenceless inhabitants of the United States; had sent considerable detachments of Indians against the frontiers; had appointed a great council of them, to meet him and concert the operations of the ensuing campaign; had given standing rewards

for scalps; and had treated American prisoners with cruelty. They also reported, that De Jean was the willing and cordial instrument of Hamilton; and that Lamothe was captain of the volunteer scalping parties of Indians and tories, who went out, from time to time, under general orders to spare neither men, women, nor children. They therefore, considering them as fit objects, on whom to begin the work of retaliation, advised the governor to put them in irons; confine them in the dungeon of the public jail; debar them the use of pen, ink, and paper; and exclude them from all converse, except with their keeper.

Colonel Goose Van Shaick, with fifty-five men, marched from Fort Schuyler to the Onondago settlements, and on the 19th of April burned the whole, consisting of about fifty houses, together with a large quantity of provisions. Horses, and stock of every kind, were killed. The arms and ammunition of the Indians were either destroyed or brought off, and their settlements were laid waste. Twelve Indians were killed, and thirty-four made prisoners. This expedition was performed in less than six days, and without the loss of a single man. Another expedition under General Broadhead was equally successful.

The attention of Congress and of the commander was now called to plans for the campaign of 1779. The former, looking to their previous successes, and the powerful co-operation of France, cherished the most brilliant expectations, and had formed schemes truly magnificent. Concluding that the English would be speedily expelled, or would of their own accord depart from America, the chief object was to be the invasion of Canada, from three different points, the French being invited to co-operate. Washington, on learning this vast design, took the utmost pains to prove its futility. He disclosed to them the painful truths, that the English were still so powerful both by land and sea, as to afford no speedy prospect of their complete expulsion; while the exhausted state of the finances, the imperfect organization of the army, and the extreme destitution under which it laboured, furnished no means whatever for carrying on such mighty operations. A committee of Congress, on further consideration, recommended that the project should be deferred; yet the members still clung to it, fondly contem-

plating its execution some time before the season closed, and wishing communications to be opened on that subject with the French court. The general, considering the project, even thus modified, as still quite inadmissible, repaired to Philadelphia, where he urged strongly all his former arguments, and confidentially pointed out to the leading statesmen the danger of admitting France into a country where she had so long ruled, and whose people bore still decided traces of her relationship. It appears, indeed, that, probably from the dread of embarrassment in some future negotiation, that power by no means favoured schemes of American conquest. Washington at last succeeded in convincing Congress, that instead of these grand measures of invasion, they must limit themselves, during the present campaign, to a course strictly defensive.

In fact, both the civil and military strength of the Union was now at a lower ebb than at any time since the struggle commenced. The members of Congress had originally consisted of the ablest men in America, animated by the most ardent zeal, and implicitly obeyed by all the votaries of their cause. After the declaration of independence, however, a new modification of the government was considered necessary. A constitution was drawn up; and, after many delays and difficulties, brought into operation, early in 1779, under which the state legislatures were invested with all the most important powers, resigning only a few which were judged indispensable for united action. Congress still retained the direction of foreign affairs, of the war, and consequently of the naval and military force; but to furnish men and supplies for these services they had no resource, except requisitions addressed to the state legislatures. The latter had the complete option whether they should or should not comply, and had many motives which strongly inclined them to the latter alternative; indeed compliance could only be afforded by measures very unpopular, and which would have much disobliged their constituents. The demands of Congress were thus only partially and unequally fulfilled, and the levies never approached the amount at which they were nominally fixed.

The financial state of the country, too, was embarrassing in the extreme. The colonists, at the beginning of the war, had



SPECIMEN OF CONTINENTAL BILLS.

been very little accustomed to any serious taxation; and having taken arms expressly to resist it, would have ill brooked paying a larger amount for their expenses than Britain had ever demanded. It was not till November, 1777, that Congress ventured to make a requisition of five millions of dollars annually, to which the states but faintly responded. France and Spain gave some assistance, first in gift, and then in loan; but as their own finances grew embarrassed, these contributions became very stinted. The commissioners endeavoured to treat for loans with European capitalists, especially in Holland, and with this view drew a flattering picture of the future prosperity of the new republic, and her ultimate power to repay even the largest advances; but the Dutch were not inclined to be satisfied with such security, and money could be got only in small amount, and on exorbitant terms. One house made a somewhat liberal offer, but on condition of carrying on the whole trade of the Union, and holding all its real and personal property in mortgage. In these circumstances, the States had no resource except paper-money. In 1775, they issued three millions of dollars; and this moderate amount being easily absorbed in the circulation, proved an available resource. They were thus encouraged to pour forth repeated issues, which

at the beginning of 1779 had risen to above a hundred millions, and in the course of the year to double that amount, which they had pledged themselves not to exceed. The necessary consequence was a depreciation of the notes to about a fortieth of their nominal value, and hence a miserable derangement in all mercantile and money transactions. The evil was aggravated, too, by preposterous remedies. The paper at its nominal value was made a legal tender for all debts; and by this iniquitous measure, which Washington deeply regretted, many creditors, both public and private, were defrauded, but no permanent relief could be afforded. As the articles furnished to the army, like all others, rose to an enormous nominal value, they were so impolitic as to fix a maximum, above which they should not be received. The consequence was, that at this inadequate rate none could be got; and the army would have perished had not this regulation been rescinded.

In Europe, however, a transaction took place highly auspicious to the American cause. Spain, after long hesitation, determined to join the confederacy, and on the 12th of April, 1779, concluded for that purpose a secret treaty with France. She had for some time offered and even pressed herself as a mediator, having ultimately proposed a congress of all the contending powers at Madrid, and, during the negotiation, a general suspension of arms; but as it was made a condition that in the mean time the colonies were to remain actually independent, Britain, though without expressing any hostile feeling, declared such terms inadmissible. The other party, however, was not disposed to stop here. On the 16th of June, D'Almadovar, the Spanish ambassador, took his departure, after delivering a note, complaining not only of the rejection of his sovereign's friendly overtures, but of sundry violences committed on his subjects in the course of the war, and for which he was determined to seek redress. This was followed by a long manifesto, in which grievances were enumerated to the number of eighty-six, and the necessity stated of reducing the British maritime power. These documents were soon answered by letters of marque, followed by open war. The American patriots felt considerable exultation, imagining that Britain would never be able to cope with a union of so many powers. She

roused herself, however, mightily to resist this new aggression; voluntary aids were poured in both by individuals and public bodies; and she showed herself able, not only to contend with the united navies of the Bourbons, but even to threaten again the independence of the American States.

Their interior strength, as already observed, by no means corresponded with the splendour of their foreign relations; and Washington had clearly demonstrated to Congress the expediency of confining themselves to a defensive warfare. Clinton, on the other hand, did not attempt to penetrate far into the interior from New York; but engaged in some extensive expeditions for the destruction of stores and shipping. The most important was undertaken in May, by a squadron under Sir George Collier, upon whom the command of the naval force had now devolved, and having on board eighteen hundred men commanded by General Matthews. The object was the naval yard at Gosport on the Chesapeake, with the military stores and shipping at Portsmouth and Norfolk, the two chief seats of commerce in Virginia. The only defence was a fort with one hundred and fifty men, on Elizabeth river near Portsmouth; and this garrison, considering themselves too weak to resist, fled into a morass called the Dismal Swamp. The British took up their head-quarters there; and in the course of a few days made a complete sweep of everything that was to be found on this range of coast, destroying or taking one hundred and twenty-seven vessels, and other property valued at half a million sterling. Clinton, however, did not divide his army by any permanent establishment.

Immediately on their return to New York, the fleet and army were employed in an expedition on the Hudson. King's Ferry, about sixty miles up, and near the entrance of the Highlands, formed the most convenient communication across the river for Washington's army, whose wings occupied both banks. It was defended by two opposite forts, Stony Point and Verplank's Point, which were both attacked. The first, being unfinished, was at once evacuated; and the garrison of the other, after a vain attempt at resistance, was obliged to surrender. Clinton caused the two places to be put in a state of defence; but operations were not pushed farther in this direction.



PUTNAM'S ESCAPE.

The next enterprise was against the coast of Connecticut, which had been a very extensive and successful theatre of privateering operations; and on the 3d of July, two thousand six hundred men sailed under Sir George Collier and General Tryon, governor of New York. New Haven was soon captured, the militia making a vain attempt to resist. There is stated to have been an intention to burn the town, which was laudably changed into the mere seizure of the stores and vessels. At Fairfield and Norwalk, a greater resistance was encountered; and both these places were nearly reduced to ashes. In apology it is said, that the people had fired from the windows, and that they placed an undue confidence in the safety of their property through British forbearance, which it was proper to dispel; but these reasons are far from satisfactory.

About this time, General Putnam, who had been stationed with a respectable command at Reading, in Connecticut, when on a visit to his out-post, at Horse-Neck, was attacked by Governor Tryon, with about 1500 men. General Putnam had only a picquet of 1500 men, and two iron field pieces, without horses or drag-ropes. He, however, planted his cannon on the high ground, near the meeting-house, and by several fires, retarded the advancing enemy, and continued to make opposition, till he perceived the enemy's horse, supported by the infantry, were, about to charge. General Putnam, after ordering the picquet to provide for their safety, by retiring to a swamp inaccessible to horse, plunged down the precipice at the church. This is so steep as to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly one



CAPTURE OF STONY POINT.

Unured stone steps, for the accommodation of foot-passengers. The dragoons stopped short, without venturing down the abrupt declivity; and before they got round the brow of the hill, Putnam was far enough beyond their reach. Of the many balls that were fired at him, all missed except one, which went through his hat. He proceeded to Stamford, and, having strengthened his picquet with some militia, faced about, and pursued Governor Tryon on his return.

A proposed attack on New London was interrupted by a counter project of Washington, who was anxious to do something to efface the impression of so many losses. It being ascertained that the newly captured forts on the Hudson were little apprehensive of an attack, Washington conceived the design of taking Stony Point. The enterprise was committed to the brave and vigilant General Anthony Wayne. After a rapid, but silent march, Wayne reach the rear of the British post, undiscovered, about midnight, on the 15th of July, and after a short struggle with the surprised garrison, carried the works. The garrison, 543 in number, were made prisoners, and treated with a humanity but little expected, as, on several such occasions, the British had shown no mercy. The opposite

fort was also attempted, but without success. As Washington could not spare a number of men, sufficient to garrison Stony Point, the works were partially demolished and abandoned. Clinton, however, soon re-occupied and repaired the post.

An expedition was also sent in June, from Boston, against a station on the river Penobscot, formed by a detachment under Colonel Maclean from Nova Scotia. Above three thousand militia, under General Lovell, effected a landing on the peninsular point occupied by the English; but the works appeared to him too strong to be carried without the aid of regular troops, which were promised by General Gates. Before their arrival, however, Sir George Collier appeared in the river with a squadron from New York, when Lovell re-embarked his troops, and formed with his ships a crescent across the river, making a show of resistance, till, seeing his adversary bearing up with superior force, he took to flight, and having no retreat, his fleet of six frigates and nine smaller vessels was entirely destroyed. The men escaped on shore, but had to penetrate through a long extent of desert, in which many perished. This blow was slightly compensated by the surprise of Powles Hook, a fort immediately opposite to New York. Being far within the British lines, the commander yielded to a feeling of security; from which, about three in the morning of the 18th of August, he was roused by Major Lee, who entered the place without resistance, and made one hundred and fifty-nine prisoners. Circumstances did not allow the captor to retain it, and he found some difficulty in retreating.

More important military operations took place in the southern states, which had not hitherto become a theatre of war. Already, in the close of 1778, Clinton had despatched a force against Georgia, whose inhabitants were reported as favourable to the mother-country. Colonel Campbell, the commander, arrived at Savannah, the capital, about the end of December, and summoned the place. The Americans were commanded by General Howe, whose force had been weakened by an unsuccessful expedition into Florida; nevertheless he drew it up in a strong position, covered by a swamp in front, and with the town in his rear. The British officer, however, received intelligence of a private path unknown to the Americans, and

detached a column under Sir James Baird, which got unperceived into their rear. Being then attacked at once on all sides, they were completely routed, with the loss of their artillery, stores, and nearly five hundred prisoners. They precipitately retreated into South Carolina, leaving all Lower Georgia in the hands of the invaders. The inhabitants were found extremely well disposed; and, being treated in a conciliatory manner, readily formed themselves into corps for the defence of the country. General Prevost then entered from Florida, and without difficulty reduced Sunbury, the only fortress still held by the adverse party. Having assumed the command of the forces from New York, he despatched Campbell to Augusta, capital of the upper territory, the reduction of which completed that of the state.

Congress, meantime, even before this landing, had planned the reduction of East Florida, and hence had recalled Howe, supplying his place by Lincoln, an officer of much higher reputation, who had been second under Gates against Burgoyne. He found everything in the most unprepared state; and before being able to put any force in motion, learned the total defeat of his predecessor, and the conquest of Georgia. He could then aim only at covering South Carolina; and the river Savannah formed so strong a barrier, that the British general did not attempt to cross. Meantime, about seven hundred royalist refugees, who had left their homes and taken shelter among the Indians, attempted to rejoin the king's forces. Being attacked, however, by Colonel Pickens with a body of militia, Colonel Boyd, their commander, was killed, and only three hundred reached their destination. Several of the prisoners were tried and put to death.

Lincoln, encouraged by this success, and being daily reinforced, caused General Ashe with fourteen hundred men to cross the Savannah, and take post at its junction with Brier Creek, a stream unfordable for some miles up, and appearing completely to secure his front. It was thus hoped to exclude the English from Augusta and all the upper territories. Colonel Prevost, however, brother to the general, making a circuit of fifty miles, and crossing at fords fifteen miles above, came unexpectedly on the rear of this body, and totally routed them.



GENERAL LINCOLN.

the regular troops, after attempting resistance, being all either killed or taken. Notwithstanding this disaster, Lincoln, again reinforced, determined to proceed with his main body against Augusta. Prevost, instead of a long and harassing march in that direction, sought to recall him by a movement against Charleston; but intending only a feint, he proceeded with a leisure which he found reason to regret, as it appears had all practicable speed been employed, that capital would have fallen into his hands. The alarm, however, had been given, and such active preparations made, that he did not venture to attack, but distributed his troops in the neighbouring island of St. John. Lincoln, who had hastened down, made an attempt

to beat up his quarters, without success; and the midsummer heat causing a suspension of military operations, the British troops retired unmolested into Georgia.

This state of affairs in the southern colonies called imperiously for the attention of Congress, and Washington found it necessary to detach thither some part even of his reduced army. He solicited more powerful aid from D'Estaing, who then commanded in the West Indies an army sufficiently powerful to crush entirely the English in Georgia. The French admiral received this application just after having fought a hard battle against Commodore Byron without any decisive result, yet such as obliged the latter to go into port to refit. The former being thus for a time master of the sea, determined at once to comply with the request, took on board six thousand land-troops, and steered direct for Savannah, where, arriving quite unexpectedly, he captured by surprise a fifty-gun ship and three frigates. Prevost, too, was very unprepared, having his force broken up into detachments distributed along the frontier; but these being instantly ordered in, obeyed with such promptitude that before the French had landed and formed a junction with Lincoln, nearly all had arrived. On the 16th of September, D'Estaing appeared before the place and summoned it to surrender. Prevost, under pretext of negotiation, obtained a suspension for twenty-four hours, during which Colonel Maitland entered with the last and largest detachment, eluding the Americans by a route supposed impassable; and the full determination to resist was then announced. The allies, on reconnoitring the works, deemed it imprudent to attempt them by storm, and were obliged to wait a few days till the heavy ordnance and stores could be brought from the fleet. They broke ground on the 23d of September; but the defence was conducted with great vigour and skill, under the direction of Major Moncrieff, a very able engineer; so that notwithstanding some progress made by the 1st of October, an interval must still elapse before surrender could be expected. D'Estaing then refused to adventure his fleet longer on this insecure coast, in a tempestuous season, and while liable to attack from the British squadron refitted and reinforced; yet before departing, he offered to concur in an attempt to carry



DEATH OF PULASKI.

the place by storm. This was agreed to; and a hollow way being observed, by which troops could advance to within fifty yards of the wall, four thousand five hundred men, the flower of the combined army, undertook to penetrate it, while the rest amused the garrison by feigned attacks. This party pushed on with great vigour; they had even crossed the ditch, mounted the parapet, and planted their standards on the wall. Being here exposed, however, to a tremendous fire from the works well constructed and completely manned, they soon gave way; Count Pulaski was killed, and a brisk attack by Major Glaziers drove the whole back into the hollow. They then renounced the attack, having sustained the severe loss of seven hundred French and two hundred and thirty-four Americans killed and wounded; while that of the besieged was only fifty five. The French admiral no longer paused in embarking his troops and sailing for the West Indies; thus a second time disappointing sanguine expectations, and leaving the American cause in the same state as before.

Clinton, on learning this success, determined finally to begin operations on a great scale in the southern states. Recent information showed them to be more defenceless, and the inhabitants better inclined to the dominion of the parent state.

than those on the great northern theatre of war; while their reduction might facilitate that of the others, or at all events preserve for Britain an important portion of her American territory. He had recently obtained a reinforcement from home, and had withdrawn the force hitherto stationed with little advantage upon Rhode Island. On the 26th of December, 1779, leaving Knyphausen with troops sufficient to defend New York against the ill-organized army of Washington, he sailed with five thousand men for Savannah. The voyage was most tempestuous, and prolonged till the end of January; some of the vessels were wrecked, and nearly all the horses perished. He exerted himself actively to repair these losses; and by the middle of February had re-embarked and landed on St. John's Island near Charleston. Some time was spent in recruiting and reinforcing his troops and remounting his cavalry; while Lincoln was actively strengthening the garrison, and restoring the works, which, since the memorable attack in May, had fallen into almost complete decay. He succeeded in assembling above two thousand regulars, one thousand militia, and a great body of armed citizens; but the chief hope, which was soon proved to be fallacious, rested on preventing the British from crossing the bar, as the fleet, under a favourable wind and tide, passed with scarcely any opposition. Lincoln then seriously deliberated on evacuating the place and saving his army; but he dreaded popular reproach, and was buoyed up with promises of reinforcements that never arrived. On the 1st of April, Clinton crossed the Ashley, which, with Cooper River, encloses the peninsula of Charleston, and broke ground before the city. On the 9th, the first parallel was completed, and the maritime blockade rendered very close; yet the garrison still communicated with the country by their cavalry at Monk's Corner, about thirty miles up Cooper River. Colonel Tarleton, by a circuitous route, came upon this body so unexpectedly, that though they held their horses bridled and saddled, they were attacked before they had time to mount, routed, and completely dispersed. The British soon after received a reinforcement of three thousand; when Lincoln seriously proposed an attempt to extricate his army; but the principal inhabitants, entreating a dread of ill treatment from the captors, prevailed

upon him only to offer a capitulation on condition of the garrison being still allowed to serve. This proposal was at once rejected; the siege was steadily pushed; all the outward posts successively fell; two detachments of cavalry which had rallied were by the active movements of Tarleton again dissipated and nearly destroyed; and the third parallel being completed, preparations were made for a general assault. Lincoln, then seeing his situation hopeless, submitted to the terms proffered by the victor, that all the military stores should be given up. The regular troops made prisoners of war, while the militia, on giving their parole, might return and remain unmolested at their homes. The prisoners taken were stated by Clinton at five thousand six hundred and eighteen, with one thousand seamen, and three hundred and eleven pieces of ordnance.

This was a very important triumph, and seemed to assure the reunion to Britain of at least a large portion of her revolted colonies. With very small exceptions, the whole of the military force stationed in the southern states, including all its means and implements of war, was at once captured. A number of the inhabitants now testified their satisfaction, and the rest were awed into silence. There was scarcely a soldier in Georgia and South Carolina who was not either a prisoner or in arms for Britain. North Carolina was well known as a decided seat of royalism, and Clinton had secret assurances, as soon as he should reach that province, of powerful support. He now published a proclamation, promising to the people a renewal of all their former privileges, with the addition of not being taxed unless by their own consent. Soon after, he issued another, absolving the militia from their paroles, and calling upon them to join with other citizens in aiding the British cause. This step was much complained of, and with reason, as involving a breach of faith; and the policy seems doubtful of not allowing the enemies of Britain to remain in a state of silent and passive submission.

On the 5th of June, Clinton set sail for New York, leaving Lord Cornwallis with four thousand men to secure, and, if he could, extend his conquests. Detachments had already been sent up the principal rivers, Savannah, Saluda, and Santee. On the last only, a party of four hundred, under Colonel Buford,



TARLETON'S QUARTERS.

was rapidly retreating. Though ten days in advance, they were overtaken by the rapid march of Tarleton, and at Waxhaw's completely routed and dispersed. Tarleton seldom gave quarter. The principal force was then advanced to Camden on the Wateree, near the frontier of North Carolina; but the intense heat, with the difficulty of provisioning the army till the corn was on the ground, rendered a delay necessary. The loyalists in that province were advised to remain quiet till a powerful support could be brought forward; but their ardent zeal could not be restrained, and broke out in several insurrections, which were suppressed and punished with a rigour tending to deter from similar attempts in future.

Extreme alarm was felt by the American government on receiving intelligence of these events; and amid the greatest obstacles, it was necessary to make vigorous efforts to retrieve their affairs. Washington made arrangements for the march of the troops in Maryland and Delaware, and for calling out the militia of Virginia and North Carolina. He placed them under the Baron de Kalb, a veteran German officer; but Congress soon after conferred the chief command on Gates, hoping that the conqueror of Burgoyne might again turn the tide of fortune. Notwithstanding the utmost despatch, the want of



BATTLE OF CAMDEN AND DEATH OF DE KALB.

money, military stores, and provisions, detained him so long, that though the expedition set out in March, it was the beginning of August before he could approach Camden, with about four thousand men, mostly militia. He advanced in the determination to push vigorously offensive operations, hoping to induce Lord Rawdon to fall back upon Charleston. That officer, however, had given notice to Cornwallis, who hastened to the spot, and though the troops, from disease and other causes, had been reduced to little more than two thousand, he resolved without hesitation to attack. He had set out in the night of the 15th, with a view to surprise the Americans, when, by a singular concurrence, he met Gates in full march with the same design against the British. The advanced guard of the British was driven in, when both parties thought it advisable to postpone the general action till daylight. In the American line, De Kalb, with most of the regulars, commanded on the right, while the militia of Carolina formed the centre, and that of Virginia the left. The conflict began with the last, who were attacked by the British infantry, under Colonel Webster, with such impetuosity, that they threw down their arms and

precipitately fled. The whole of the left and centre were very speedily off the field, few having fired a shot, and still fewer carrying away a musket. Gates was borne along by the torrent, and after vain attempts to rally his men, gave up all for lost, and never stopped till he reached Charlotte, eighty miles distant. Meantime, De Kalb, on the right, opposed to Lord Rawdon, long and firmly maintained his ground, gaining ever some advantage; and it was not till the victorious divisions had wheeled round against him, that his corps was broken and dispersed. He himself, covered with wounds, became a captive, and, notwithstanding every care, expired in a few hours. About one thousand prisoners were taken, and the whole army was scattered. Gates seems manifestly to have erred in fighting a pitched battle with an army consisting chiefly of militia, and Tarleton particularly censures him for having composed of them so great a part of his regular line, instead of merely employing them to skirmish on his front and flanks; but, in fact, his veteran force seems to have scarcely sufficed for a duly extended order of battle.

There was still some resistance to overcome. The patriots in South Carolina, recovering from their first panic, had begun to rise at different points. The militia, complaining that the terms granted had not been duly observed, disregarded their engagements to remain passive, and prepared to take the field. A number, after joining the royal banner, went over to the Americans; one Colonel Lisle carried with him a whole battalion. Thus were assembled, under Colonel Sumpter, an active partisan, upwards of six hundred, raised, by a detachment from the main army, to about one thousand. He was repulsed in attacks upon the stations called Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock; but, on the evening before the battle of Camden, succeeded in carrying a strong redoubt on the Wateree, taking above one hundred prisoners. On learning the fatal issue of that day, he instantly began his retreat, and reached with such celerity the fords of the Catawba, that he considered himself safe, and allowed his men to repose during the heat of the day. But nothing could escape the indefatigable ardour of Tarleton, who had been sent in pursuit. His rapidity was such, that the greater part of his corps could



COLONEL SUMPTER.

not follow him from fatigue; but with one hundred and sixty only he came up, and found the Americans completely unprepared, their videttes asleep, and the men lying apart from their arms. Roused from slumber by the attack of this active band, they scarcely attempted resistance; and after a short struggle, about half were captured, the others dispersed. They lost one hundred and fifty killed and wounded, besides three hundred and ten prisoners; all their stores were taken, and the British captives recovered. Cornwallis, having thus become master of a considerable number of prisoners, proceeded against them with vigour; several, who had joined the British militia and then deserted from their ranks, were executed as traitors. The estates, too, of all those who joined the patriots were confiscated. This severity created enemies to Britain among those who before had been disposed to be loyal, and increased the ardour of the friends of freedom.

After a few weeks' delay on account of the heat, the British general advanced to Charlotte Town, in North Carolina. Meantime, a corps of about sixteen hundred loyal militia having been assembled, under Major Ferguson, an active partisan, he was directed to move westward, and clear the territory along the foot of the mountains. He was led farther in this direction by the movements of a hostile party which threatened Augusta.

where he approached and roused into action a class marked as terrible foes to the British cause. The borderers, who roved along the sides of the Alleghany, were, if possible, ruder and bolder than the boys of the Green Mountain. They rode on light fleet horses, carrying only their rifle, a blanket, and knapsack. Food was procured by the gun, or, on its occasional failure, from a small herd of cattle driven before them. At night, the earth was their bed, the sky their canopy. They thus moved with a swiftness which no ordinary troops could rival. Ferguson, having learned that about three thousand of these daring mountaineers had mustered against him, under the command of Colonels Campbell, Shelby, and Williams, began a rapid retreat upon the main body; but being informed that one thousand of the fleetest and boldest had been formed into a select band in chase of him, and seeing the hopelessness of escaping their almost preternatural swiftness, he took post on King's Mountain, and awaited their attack. They came up on the 7th of October, and began to ascend the mountain in three divisions. Ferguson charged the first, and drove it back with the bayonet; and wherever this weapon could be used, he was victorious; but the assailants clustered round on every side, and from beneath the covert of trees and steeps discharged their rifles with almost unerring aim. The British soon began to fall in great numbers, and when their commander himself received a mortal wound, the whole party were routed, three hundred killed and wounded, the rest completely dispersed. In retaliation of Cornwallis's proceedings at Camden, ten of the principal captives were hanged on the spot.

Cornwallis, meanwhile, had pushed on to Salisbury, approaching Virginia; and in expectation of his reaching that state, a reinforcement destined for him, under General Leslie, was ordered to enter the Chesapeake. Learning, however, this dreadful catastrophe, and fearing that so numerous a band might overrun and spread insurrection in South Carolina, he judged it necessary to fall back upon that colony; and Leslie was instructed to join by the circuitous route of Charleston. The alarm leading to this retrograde movement proved, in a great measure, unfounded. That tumultuary mass, roused by a local impulse, having accomplished their immediate object,



GENERAL MARION.

could not be prevented from dispersing, and the partisan warfare was continued by only two small bodies. Marion, though holding together only from fifty to two hundred men, severely harassed the British, keeping himself so well covered by woods and marshes, that even Tarleton could not hunt him down. Sumpter, too, after being entirely routed by that officer, had again assembled a considerable corps of mounted militia, and threatened some important posts. His former enemy not being at hand, Major Wemyss was employed, and soon came up with him; but being early wounded, and his troops vigorously attacked by the patriots, he suffered a severe repulse. It was then necessary to have recourse to Tarleton, and give him a considerable force. Using his accustomed despatch, he had nearly got in the rear of his adversary, who, as soon as he learned to whom he was opposed, hurried by rapid marches to the Tyger, whose rapid stream once passed, would secure his retreat. Tarleton, seeing that with his whole force he could not be in time to prevent this movement, adopted his former plan of pushing forward with two hundred and fifty cavalry and mounted infantry. He found his opponent strongly posted on the bank of the river, and with his wonted promptitude rushed



GENERAL GREENE.

forward to the attack. The conflict, however, was obstinate and bloody, and he was finally obliged, with considerable loss, to fall back on his infantry. Sumpter then crossed the river; but his men had been so severely handled, that they lost courage and dispersed; so that his opponent reaped all the fruits of victory.

Gates, meantime, used diligent exertions to collect and reorganize the remains of his defeated army; and Congress, amid every difficulty, forwarded to him reinforcements. He incurred, however, the reproach to which the unfortunate are usually exposed, Washington being called upon to institute an inquiry into his conduct, and to nominate another commander. Greene was named, with the assurance that a commander had been furnished, provided troops and means could be supplied. This announcement was amply fulfilled; yet Gates was considered hardly treated, especially as his first intimation was the arrival of his successor to take the command, who bore testimony that,

on this trying occasion, he behaved in a handsome and honourable manner.

When Greene arrived, on the 2d of December, the army had been raised to nearly two thousand men, of whom the larger number were regulars. Determining by some movements to support the cause in South Carolina, he detached Morgan, a very able partisan, to take post on the Broad River, and endeavour to cut off Cornwallis, then at Winnsborough, from the upper country. He had about six hundred men, with the expectation of assembling more in the district. On learning this movement, Tarleton was immediately despatched with one thousand men to resist the inroad. The American at first abandoned his camp, and began a rapid retreat; but finding this difficult, and his forces being nearly equal, he resolved to await the attack at Cowpens, a spot three miles from the boundary of the Carolinas. Avoiding the fault of Gates, he disposed his militia in front, keeping in reserve a chosen body, on whom he could fully depend. On the 17th of January, 1780, Tarleton came up, and immediately rushed to the charge. The first American line was soon broken, and hastily retreated into the rear of the second, which was then attacked, and thrown into some confusion, when Morgan ordered the men to fall back and unite with the reserve. This movement was mistaken for a flight by the assailants, who pushed on exultingly, in somewhat irregular order. Suddenly the Americans, having fully adjusted their line, halted, wheeled round, and commenced a destructive fire on their pursuers, who being seen to falter, a charge was made with the bayonet, and by the cavalry with their drawn swords. After a short contest, the lately victorious British were completely routed, and nearly the whole infantry surrounded and obliged to surrender. The cavalry escaped by flight; but upwards of one hundred were killed, and five hundred made prisoners. Tarleton declares himself quite unable to account for so total a rout. He appears in fact to have attacked in his usual impetuous manner, on the calculation of encountering mostly loose militia levies, whereas a part of the opposing force was veteran; two of the militia companies consisted of regulars recently discharged. The British army suffered thus most severely, having lost all its light infantry, a corps parti-



BATTLE OF THE COWPENS.

cularly useful in such warfare; nor was it a small injury that the fame of the commander as an almost invincible partisan officer was deeply tarnished.

Cornwallis, however, having just received the reinforcement of two thousand six hundred men under Leslie, determined to efface the impression of this disaster by a series of the most active offensive operations. Destroying all his superfluous baggage, he supplied the loss of his light infantry by converting the whole army nearly into a corps of that description. His first hope was to overtake Morgan, and recover all that was lost, which he had so nearly effected that his van reached the Catawba on the 29th of January, only two hours after the patriots had passed; when a torrent of rain swelled the waters and rendered it impossible for him to follow. Greene, who had hastened to take the command, hoped to defend the passage of this river, but it was forced on the 1st of February at a private ford defended by Colonel Davidson, who was defeated and killed. Tarleton then surprised and dispersed a body of militia assembled at a neighbouring inn. The American general, considering himself wholly unable to hazard a battle, retreated before his adversary, who presently began a chase, which was continued incessantly and rapidly across the whole of North

Carolina. On the night of the 2d of February, the two divisions of the American army having effected a junction, crossed the Yadkin, but so closely followed, that their rear skirmished with the van of the enemy, and part of their baggage was taken. By another favourable chance, heavy rain fell during the night, and in the morning rendered the river impassable; so that Cornwallis was obliged to make a circuit to its upper fords, while his opponent continued his retreat. He marched towards the Dan, the chief branch of the Roanoke, which flows nearly along the boundary of Carolina and Virginia. It was a broad unfordable stream, and Greene, if he reached the other side, would be in safety; but the pursuit was continued in the confident hope of his being unable to find vessels sufficient to transport over his troops. This was indeed the case at the ferry immediately before him; but by an able movement he led his army twenty miles downward to two others, sending a detachment to bring the boats from the upper one. He thus collected a sufficient number, and by extraordinary exertions had his army ferried over, his rear reaching the northern bank just as the English van appeared on the southern. This march, or rather hunt, was considered highly creditable to both parties. Greene gained great applause on account of his disadvantageous situation, fleeing before a superior enemy who pursued with such rapidity, yet placing in safety not only his army, but the greater part of his heavy baggage; still it must be owned that he was in several instances singularly favoured by fortune.

Cornwallis now gave up the pursuit, and repaired to Hillsborough, with the view of calling out and organizing the royalist force. His adherents, though here peculiarly strong, did not come forward to the extent expected. The larger portion, as elsewhere, regarded the cause with that passive and inert attachment which we have remarked to be generally prevalent; and even the more zealous, having suffered severely by former premature displays, dreaded lest the republican cause should regain the ascendancy. The view also of the distress and exhaustion of the British troops, after so long a march, was by no means alluring. Yet seven companies were formed, and detachments began to come in from different

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MAJOR HENRY LEE.

quarters. On the other hand, Greene, having obtained a reinforcement of Virginia militia, repassed the Dan, and with his light troops endeavoured to annoy the British army and prevent recruiting. Major Lee surprised a detachment of royalists, who mistook him for Tarleton, and cut them nearly to pieces. On account of the exhausted state of the country at Hillsborough, Cornwallis withdrew to a position on the Allimance Creek, between Haw and Deep Rivers, where he could be better supplied, and support his friends, who were there numerous. Greene, however, by an active use of his cavalry and light troops, severely harassed his opponent; and by changing his own position every night, eluded the attempt to bring him to an engagement.

At length, the American general, having received reinforcements, which raised his army to above four thousand two hundred men, of whom about a third were regulars, determined to offer battle. This was what the other had eagerly sought; yet his own effective force being reduced to somewhat under two thousand, he felt now some hesitation, and probably would have acted more wisely in maintaining the defensive. Even the enterprising Tarleton observes, that in his circumstances defeat would have been total ruin, while any victory he might

expect to gain could yield little fruit. All the habits and views of Cornwallis, however, being directed to an active campaign, he formed his resolution, and on the 15th of March proceeded to the attack. Greene had drawn up his army very judiciously, near Guildford Court-house, mostly on a range of hills covered with trees and brushwood. Adopting still the system of making the militia bear the first brunt, he placed that of Carolina in the front, while the Virginia, considered somewhat better, formed the second line, and he remained in the third with the continental troops, in whom alone he placed full confidence. The British, proceeding with impetuosity, and having driven in the advanced guard of cavalry, attacked the Carolina line, who, scarcely discharging their muskets, fled precipitately after the first hostile fire, and many even before. This front having gone for nothing, the next movement was against the Virginians, who stood their ground with some firmness; but being unable to resist the bayonet, which was soon brought against them, they, too, were put to flight. The assailants then advanced against the third line; but the regiments, having experienced different degrees of resistance, came on impetuously, in an uneven line and some disorder. Greene then felt sanguine hopes that a steady charge from his chosen troops would turn the fortune of the day. He was dismayed to see the second Maryland regiment give way at once, after which he thought only of retiring; but Colonel Gunby, at the head of the first, gained a decided advantage over the corps under Colonel Stewart, and there followed an obstinate and somewhat desultory contest between the different corps, after which the Americans were compelled to a general retreat. Yet a strong body of riflemen, on the left flank, kept up a galling fire, till Tarleton, with the cavalry, drove them off the field. In this hard-fought battle, the Americans had three hundred and twenty-six killed and wounded. The militia dispersed, after having one hundred killed and wounded.

The English victory was dearly earned, the killed and wounded amounting to five hundred and thirty-two, including Colonels Stewart and Webster, two of their best officers, and reducing the effective force below fifteen hundred. This small corps, too, was in a very reduced and exhausted state. In short,

the English general formed the resolution to fall back upon Wilmington, near the mouth of Cape Fear River, which had been occupied by Major Craig, where he could recruit his troops and obtain supplies and reinforcements by sea.

Greene retreated about fifteen miles; taking post behind a small stream named Troublesome Creek, where he expected and determined to await an attack; but was soon agreeably surprised by learning that his antagonist was in full retreat, and had even left eighty wounded recommended to his care. He immediately set out in pursuit, and after overcoming various obstacles, arrived on the 28th of March at Ramsay's Mills, on Deep River, where, having learned the direction which the British were taking, he paused for a few days to recruit, and deliberate on his future plans. At Wilmington, the hostile army would be in communication with the sea, of which they were then masters; so that there no serious impression could be made upon them; and if they received reinforcements, serious danger might be incurred. He formed, therefore, the bold but able resolution of carrying the war into South Carolina, to which he was now nearer than his adversary, and where Lord Rawdon (afterwards Marquis of Hastings) had been left with only the force that appeared necessary to keep down insurrection. Directing his march immediately to this quarter, he had made some progress before the tidings reached Lord Cornwallis, by whom this movement appears to have been quite unexpected. He now, however, considered that it was impossible to reach the American army till the collision had taken place between it and Lord Rawdon; and if the latter should retreat upon Charleston, he himself could reach the scene of action only by a long and difficult march, crossing several broad rivers, and exposed to attack in disadvantageous positions. He resolved, in preference, to advance in the opposite direction upon Virginia, where, uniting himself to considerable forces already assembled, he might make the cause decidedly preponderant. He hoped thus to recall Greene; or, at all events, by conquering that great and important colony, to secure the ultimate subjugation of the southern states.

Greene, without regard to the movements of his opponent, pushed on to his destination. The militia having either deserted,



LORD RAWDON.

or their term of service being expired, his force was reduced to eighteen hundred men; but those, in fact, included all on whom he could ever place much dependence. Approaching Camden, he found it occupied by Rawdon, with about eight hundred men, the other troops being employed upon the defence of detached posts; yet his position was judged so strong as to afford no hope of success in a direct attack. The object aimed at was, by throwing out detachments which might capture the forts, and cut off the supplies in his rear, to compel him gradually to fall back. Lee, for this purpose, was sent with a strong party to co-operate with Marion and Sumpter. The English general, seeing the hostile troops thus reduced to about fifteen hundred, formed the bold resolution of attacking them. Making a large circuit round a swamp, he came upon their left flank quite unexpectedly, while the soldiers were busied in cooking and washing. This first surprise was never wholly recovered; yet they quickly stood to their arms, and formed in order of battle. They had even gained some advantages, when the 1st Maryland regiment, considered the flower of the army, and which had highly distinguished itself both at Cowpens and Guildford, fell into confusion; and when ordered to make a retrograde

movement, converted it into a complete retreat. The other corps, also, beginning to give ground, Greene thought it expedient to cause the whole to retire. The loss on each side was about two hundred and sixty killed and wounded; and the Americans carried off fifty prisoners.

Though compelled to retreat, the Americans reaped all the advantages of this victory. The triumph of the British was nearly as fatal as that of Pyrrhus. Greene could still maintain his position, and support the detachments operating in the rear of his adversary. Lee and Marion proceeded first against Fort Watson on the Santee, which commanded in a great measure the communication with Charleston. Having neither artillery nor besieging tools, they reared a tower above the level of the rampart, whence their rifle fire drove the defenders, and themselves then mounted and compelled the garrison to surrender. They could not, however, prevent Colonel Watson from leading five hundred men to reinforce Lord Rawdon, who then advanced with the intention of bringing Greene again to action, but found him fallen back upon so strong a position, as to afford no reasonable hope of success. His lordship, finding his convoys intercepted, and viewing the generally insecure state of his posts in the lower country, considered himself under at least the temporary necessity of retreating thither. He had first in view the relief of Motte's House on the Congaree; but before reaching it, had the mortification to find that, with the garrison of one hundred and sixty-five, it had fallen into the hands of Marion and Lee. He continued his march to Monk's Corner, where he covered Charleston and the surrounding country. The partisan chiefs rapidly seized this opportunity of attacking the interior posts, and reduced successively Orangeburg, Granby on the Congaree, and Augusta, the key of Upper Georgia. In these five forts they made eleven hundred prisoners. The most important one, however, was that named Ninety-six, on the Saluda, defended by a garrison of five hundred men. Orders had been sent to them to quit and retire downwards; but the messenger was intercepted; and Colonel Cruger, the commander, made the most active preparations for its defence. Greene considered the place of such importance, that he undertook the siege in person, with a thousand regulars. He broke ground

before it on the night of the 23d of May, and though much impeded by a successful sally on the following day, proceeded with such energy, that by the 3d of June, the second parallel was completed, and the garrison summoned, but in vain, to surrender. On the 8th, he was reinforced by Lee, from the capture of Augusta; and though he encountered a most gallant and effective resistance, trusted that the place must in due time fall. Three days after, however, he learned that Rawdon, having received a reinforcement from Ireland, was in full march to relieve it, and had baffled the attempts of Sumpter to impede his progress. The American leader, therefore, feeling himself unable to give battle, saw no prospect of carrying the fortress unless by storm. On the 18th, an attack against the two most commanding outworks was led by Lee and Campbell, the former of whom carried his point; but the latter, though he penetrated into the ditch, and maintained his party there for three-quarters of an hour, found them exposed to so destructive a fire as compelled a general retreat. The siege was immediately raised, and Lord Rawdon, on the 21st, entered the place in triumph. Being again master of the field, he pressed forward in the hope of bringing his antagonist to battle; but the latter rather chose to fall back towards the distant point of Charlotte in Virginia, while Rawdon did not attempt to pursue him beyond the Ennoree.

Notwithstanding this present superiority, his lordship, having failed in his hopes of a decisive victory, and viewing the general aspect of the country, considered it no longer possible to attempt more than covering the lower districts of South Carolina. He therefore fell back to Orangeburg on the Edisto; and though he attempted at first to maintain Cruger with a strong body at Ninety-six, was soon induced to recall him. Greene, being reinforced by one thousand men under Marion and Sumpter, reconnoitred his position, but judged it imprudent to attack; and both armies, exhausted by such a series of active movements, took an interval of repose during the heat of the season.

Lord Rawdon, being at this time obliged by ill health to return home, left the army under Colonel Stuart, who, to cover the lower country, occupied a position at the point where the

Cougaree and Wateree unite in forming the Santec. Greene, having received reinforcements from the north, and collected all his partisan detachments, found himself strong enough to try the chance of battle. His approach with this evident view induced the other party to retire forty miles down the river, to the strong post of Eutaw, whither the American immediately followed by slow and easy marches. On the 8th of September, the latter determined to attack the British camp, placing as usual his militia in front, hoping that the English, in beating and pursuing them, would at least get into confusion; but from this very dread, the latter had been warned to keep their posts till ordered to move. The American front, however, maintained their ground better than usual, and the British, before beating them, became heated, and, forgetful of the warnings given, pushed forward irregularly. They were then charged by the veterans in the second line, and after a very severe struggle, driven off the field. There lay in their way, however, a large brick building and adjacent garden, where Stuart placed a strong corps, who could not be dislodged, and kept up a deadly fire, which checked the victors, enabling the retreating troops to be formed anew. At the same time, Colonel Washington attacked the British flank; but finding it strongly posted among woods, he was repulsed with loss, and himself taken prisoner. The American general, seeing no hope of making any further impression, retreated to his previous position. In this bloody and doubtful battle, both parties claim the victory, though the Americans with most reason, as the general result was greatly to their advantage. It was certainly far from decisive; and the British loss of eighty-five killed and six hundred and eight wounded, was much greater than that of the Americans, who carried off also above two hundred prisoners. The British commander, conceiving himself unable to maintain so advanced a position, began to move on the evening of the 9th, and proceeded down to Monk's Corner, where he merely covered Charleston and its vicinity. To this and to Savannah were now limited British authority, which had lately extended so widely over the southern states.

This great reverse was brought about not only by the resolution and military skill of General Greene, and his gallant sub-

ordinates, but also by the conduct of the British commanders towards the inhabitants of the country. Had they been properly treated, the successes of Greene would scarcely have secured so complete a triumph. But the persecution of many of the chief families, and the cruelty of Tarleton and the tory leaders, alienated the affections of the people, and induced them to render the American general every assistance in their power.

In the belief that it would be satisfactory to the reader to trace this eventful campaign in the south continuously, rather than in fragments intermingled with other subjects, we have thus been led to anticipate the order of time, and must now go back to trace the course of events in the more central parts of the theatre of war.

When Clinton sailed for the south, Knyphausen was left in command at New York, with instructions, while the main theatre of action continued elsewhere, to maintain a merely defensive position. An opportunity was thus afforded, which Washington eagerly desired to seize, and felt the more tempting, as during the intense cold of the succeeding winter all the waters around New York and its adjacent insular posts were frozen, and thus rendered accessible to a land force. He had the mortification to find that, reduced as the adverse force was, it still outnumbered his own, which was besides so destitute of food and clothing, that it was with difficulty kept together, and quite unfit for any laborious movement. The supplies still depended on the states, which furnished them as scantily and precariously as ever; while a new plan adopted of making the requisitions in goods rather than in money, proved still more cumbrous and inefficient. Changes were made in the commissariat, but injudiciously, and without any good effect. At one time, Washington only preserved his army from starving by a requisition on the people of New Jersey, rendered effective by the intimation that the articles, if not forthcoming, would be taken by force. One attack was made by Lord Stirling against a detached post on Staten Island; but he found it too well guarded.

The army for 1780 was fixed at thirty-five thousand two hundred and eleven men, instead of which the actual force



GENERAL WAYNE.

under arms in June, did not exceed five thousand five hundred. Their pay was five months in arrear, and even when received was scarcely of any value, through the depreciation of the currency. A pledge was given that the deficiency from this source should be made good at the end of the war; but the troops complained that this availed little when they were at present without the means of subsistence.

On the 1st of January, 1780, the troops of the Pennsylvania line paraded under arms, and declared their resolution to obtain relief or return home. General Wayne attempted to recall them to their duty, but he was threatened with death, and obliged to yield to the mutinous tide of feeling. A committee of Congress was appointed to confer with the troops, and at length they were induced to return to their camp at



Morristown. Some New England regiments attempted to follow this example of mutiny, but they were quieted by the determination and severity of General Robert Howe. Knyp-hausen was encouraged to make offers to the mutineers; but his agents were delivered over to the American authorities, and, on sending a strong force towards Morristown, he found the army ready to give him battle. His present policy being defensive, he returned to his former quarters.

On the 18th of June, Clinton arrived from South Carolina with about four thousand men,—an event which caused the greatest alarm to General Washington; and, in fact, he made another excursion in this quarter, but from similar motives did not advance farther than Springfield. He did not, indeed, notwithstanding the weakness of the American army, consider himself in a condition for any large offensive operation, stating his whole force at twelve thousand men, of whom nine thousand three hundred were fit for duty; and after garrisoning the posts in and round New York, there remained scarcely a moveable body of five thousand, wholly insufficient for penetrating to any depth in the interior. He now, therefore, demanded a reinforcement of ten thousand, before he could hold out any hope of reducing America by force of arms.

An event, moreover, had by this time been announced, which gave a new turn to the current of affairs. The Marquis de Lafayette had embraced, with the utmost ardour, the cause of the Americans, and on a visit to his native country, had urged it so strongly upon his court, as at length to obtain the promise of a strong fleet and army to co-operate with theirs. These tidings, brought out by himself, were received with the highest exultation by Congress, who, in the preceding January, had promised to the French minister to bring forward twenty-five thousand men and abundant supplies. They roused themselves indeed somewhat from the torpor into which they had sunk, and made urgent requisitions for the states to make good their quotas, representing the disgrace inevitably incurred if the army should be exhibited to their allies in its present reduced state, totally incapable of any effective co-operation. These remonstrances had an effect too similar to those which had preceded; but some individual spirit was kindled. A bank was

formed at Philadelphia, under the auspices of Robert Morris, and £315,000 subscribed, solely to supply provisions to the troops; the ladies in that city and elsewhere made liberal contributions; but these means did not go far in relieving the immense wants under which the army laboured.

On the 13th of July, intelligence was received that the French fleet had been seen off the capes of Virginia, and next day that, according to previous arrangements, they were standing into the harbour of Newport, on Rhode Island. About six thousand men, under the Count de Rochambeau, were escorted by a squadron under the Chevalier Ternay. A second division was at Brest, waiting for transports; but it was afterwards blockaded by an English fleet, and never reached America. This arrival, while it gratified, not a little embarrassed Washington. All the recent efforts had brought only a thousand recruits, and he laboured under extreme uncertainty as to when he might expect more. The whole combined force would not exceed that now strongly fortified in New York; yet he determined to propose a joint attack by sea and land. This arrangement, however, rested upon the naval superiority which Ternay at first possessed; but it was transferred to the other side by the arrival of six sail under Graves. Clinton was even encouraged to make an attempt upon the ships and troops at Newport; but delays in equipping his own vessels retarded the movement till the place was found too strongly secured. Hopes were meantime entertained that Admiral de Guichen, from the West Indies, would re-establish the French superiority; but instead of him, Rodney arrived with a squadron, which gave the enemy the advantage in these seas. Rhode Island, during the rest of the season, was kept closely blockaded.

An occurrence now happened which excited an intense interest throughout the union. General Arnold had been a most conspicuous military character of the Revolution. His campaign in Canada, notwithstanding its misfortunes, had elevated him to the highest reputation. Unluckily, his temper and manners, proud and overbearing, raised up numerous enemies, who became even a majority in Congress. Hence, when an extensive promotion was made, he was passed over, and five officers, junior in the service, and much inferior in reputation, were

placed over his head. Washington deeply deplored this injustice, and remonstrated, though vainly, against it. He did everything possible to soothe the wounded pride of his friend, whose exploits as a volunteer, during several attacks on the coast of New England, were so very splendid, that Congress granted the promotion he so ardently sought. The commander-in-chief then procured for him an appointment in the army sent against Burgoyne, where he greatly augmented his reputation, and being disabled by severe wounds for field service, obtained from the same authority the honourable station of commandant in Philadelphia. Here, however, his haughty bearing brought him into collision with the members of Congress and the provincial council of that city. He made a claim for reimbursement of advances during the Canadian campaign, which was alleged by his enemies to be exorbitant, and even fraudulent. Its amount or nature being nowhere stated, it is difficult to judge; but there is reason to believe that Arnold had, at least, laid himself open to the suspicion of the really patriotic. Congress, alleging the intricacy of the account, delayed the settlement from time to time, and no part was ever actually paid. This was the more harassing, as an extravagant mode of living had involved him in embarrassments, which he sought to relieve by privateering and commercial speculation, not certainly dishonest, yet considered unsuitable to his rank and situation; and being unfortunate, they aggravated his distress. From the observation of these circumstances, his enemies inferred the likelihood of his abusing, for corrupt purposes, the powers attached to his command. Eagerly scanning with this view every particular, the city council presented a series of charges to Congress; but a committee of that body reported that nothing criminal had been proved. Among its members, however, then violently rent by faction, the party hostile to him preponderated. The report of their own committee was rejected, and a new one named, composed partly of the accusing council; yet, as even this was not found to work well, the affair was finally referred to a court-martial. The great difficulty found in making up a plausible accusation, with some military operations, caused a delay of more than a year. At length, on the 26th of

January, 1780, the court pronounced its sentence, finding him guilty of two charges,—that, when at Valley Forge, he had granted protection to a vessel sailing from Philadelphia, when it was somewhat irregular to do so; and that he had once employed public wagons in the conveyance of private property, though paying all the expenses. Neither act, in the opinion of the court, implied any criminal intention; yet, upon these nugatory grounds, he was sentenced to be publicly reprimanded by the commander-in-chief. That great man could not escape the unwelcome task, but executed it in the most delicate possible manner, rendering it, indeed, rather a panegyric than a censure. He recalled Arnold's great actions, and promised fresh opportunities for distinction; but nothing probably could soothe Arnold's wounded feelings at not obtaining that full acquittal to which he thought himself entitled.

Arnold now finally determined to go over to the British cause. The purpose was carried out in a manner which fully justifies the Americans in branding him with the name of traitor. He made, perhaps, too large personal stipulations for himself, especially if they included a sum of money; which, there is reason to believe, was the case. He carried on a long correspondence, and gave information to the British, while he held office, and professed zeal in the American interest; lastly, he took steps now to be narrated, by which no man of honour would seek to support even the best of causes.

His object was to obtain possession of some important post, by delivering over which he might gain high credit with his new employers; and this design was facilitated by the great value set on his talents by the commander-in-chief. He accordingly solicited the command at West Point, the key of all the positions on the Hudson, and by which the two wings of the army mainly communicated. This choice surprised Washington, who had destined him for leader of one of the wings of the army, as likely to be both the most useful and most agreeable to his ardent temper; however, he consented. Arnold could then arrange that, while the place appeared perfectly secure, there might be left an unguarded point by which an enemy could enter. Of this he apprised Major André, with



CAPTURE OF ANDRÉ.

whom he had all along corresponded, at the same time soliciting and pointing out means for a meeting within the American lines. This was effected after some difficulty, and all the necessary arrangements were then made. Circumstances obliged the English officer to return by a circuitous route; but, with an escort and Arnold's passport, he succeeded in passing safely all the hostile guards, and had reached a sort of neutral ground, where he appeared quite safe. Suddenly three men rushed out from a wood, stopped his horse, and one presented a pistol to his breast; when, erroneously supposing them to be British, he rashly betrayed his own character. They then searched his person, and found papers containing all the particulars of the plot, which, along with the prisoner, were carried to Colonel Jameson, the nearest commandant, who, bewildered and unable to see the bearings of the affair, sent expresses at once to Washington and to Arnold himself. The latter received his while at breakfast, and waiting a visit of inspection from the commander. He suppressed his emotion, and having taken a hurried and agonizing leave of his wife, ran down to the river, threw himself into a boat, and by urgency and promises, induced the men to row him down with the utmost rapidity till he got on board a British vessel. Washington was not a little surprised on arriving not to find Arnold, of whom nothing could



MAJOR ANDRÉ.

be learned during the whole forenoon. At four he received Jameson's despatch, when he is said to have displayed the utmost self-possession, only saying to Lafayette, "Whom can we trust now?"

André, thus placed in the power of his enemies, was considered the most rising young officer in the British army. After a few years' service, Clinton had appointed him adjutant-general, and he had every prospect of rising to the highest commands. His brilliant accomplishments, amiable temper, and engaging manners, rendered him the idol of his brother officers. With a noble, though imprudent frankness, he wrote to Washington a statement of all the circumstances, not seemingly dreading that he would be treated otherwise than as a prisoner of war. That commander, however, submitted the case to a council of fourteen general officers, who decided that he ought to be considered as a spy, and as such to suffer death. The justice of the sentence seems indubitable, since the only plea offered, that he came at the desire and under the flag of an American general, appears futile when the well known purpose is considered. Clinton lavished offers of exchange, and Arnold wrote a violent letter, threatening bloody reprisals; but this rather injured the cause. The only overture made was

to take the latter himself in exchange, to which, of course, Clinton would never listen. The captive met his doom with a gentle and heroic fortitude, admired even by those who condemned him.

During the winter, Washington was indefatigable in urging Congress and the states to take measures for rendering the army somewhat efficient. His remonstrances, with the shame of a palpable failure before their great ally, roused them to a certain degree of activity. But their finances were in a more desperate state than ever. Their paper had ceased to bear any value; their credit was entirely exhausted; the taxes which could be levied on the people were of small amount, slow and uncertain in collection. There remained no possible resource unless from foreign courts, to whom they had already made application. Mr. Jay, nevertheless, was sent to Spain, which, having recently joined the confederacy, and professed great friendship for the new republic, was expected to grant some assistance. That gentleman, however, soon warned his employers that the favour of this, as of other courts, rested solely upon interest, or even the whim or caprice of statesmen. Congress, in this extremity, sent over on a special mission to France, Colonel Laurens, who, by presenting, contrary to etiquette, a memorial in person to the king, and even hinting to the minister that America might otherwise be obliged to join Britain, obtained a subsidy of six million livres, with a further sum by way of loan, and guarantee for a Dutch loan of five million guilders. This was intimated to be the very last pecuniary aid that could be granted; but it relieved the present urgency.

Washington had also the satisfaction of prevailing upon Congress to promise half-pay to the officers at the end of the war, and to enlist troops only for its whole duration. The states were also urged to make up the army to the number of thirty-seven thousand by the 1st of January, 1781, and the commander hoped that something approaching to the half of that number might have been assembled. By the 1st of June, whoever, the whole fell short of eight thousand; yet he determined, with the aid of the French, to press forward offensive operations, considering it, in the present state of the Union, of the very last importance that the contest should be brought to



ROCHAMBEAU.

a speedy period. Having, in the beginning of July, been joined by the French army under Rochambeau, he projected an attempt to surprise the posts defending the northern part of New York Island. The approach was made on two different points; but want of concert, and the prepared state of the British, rendered the attempt abortive. The American commander, then, learning that a reinforcement of three thousand Hessians had arrived in New York, gave up all hopes of carrying that capital, and turned his views in another direction.

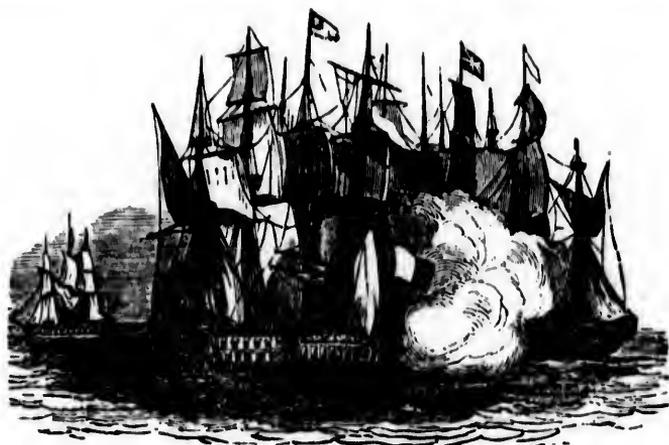
Virginia had insensibly, as it were, become a principal theatre of war. Leslie, as already observed, had been sent thither to reinforce Cornwallis, who, it was hoped, might penetrate through the Carolinas; but after Ferguson's disaster, he was ordered to go round by Charleston. With the view, however, of creating a diversion in favour of the southern army, Clinton, in December, 1780, sent Arnold with sixteen hundred men to the Chesapeake. That officer, displaying all his wonted activity, overran a great extent of country, and captured Rich-

mond, the capital, destroying great quantities of stores. Washington, most anxious to strike a blow against him, prevailed upon Destouches, the French admiral, to proceed thither with a land-force; but the latter was overtaken by Arbuthnot, and endured a hard battle, which, though not admitted to be a defeat, obliged him to return. Clinton, still with the same view, sent another force of two thousand men, under General Phillips, which arrived in the Chesapeake on the 26th of March. This officer, being complete master of the field, overran the country between the James and York rivers, seized the large town of Petersburg, as also Chesterfield courthouse, the militia rendezvous, and other stations, destroying great quantities of shipping and stores, with all the warehoused tobacco. Lafayette being sent against him, added to his force about two thousand militia, and succeeded by good dispositions in securing Richmond. Operations seemed at a stand, when intelligence was received of Cornwallis's march into this territory; and, in spite of every effort of the French general, he, in the end of May, joined Phillips at Petersburg, taking the command of the whole army. Being then decidedly superior, he took possession of Richmond, and began a hot pursuit of Lafayette, who retreated into the upper country so rapidly and so skilfully, that he could not be overtaken. The English general then turned back, and sent a detachment under Colonel Simcoe, who destroyed the chief magazine at the junction of the two branches of James River. Tarleton pushed his cavalry so swiftly upon Charlottesville, where the state assembly was met, that seven members were taken, and the rest very narrowly escaped. Lafayette, however, now returned with a considerable force, and, by his manœuvres, induced the British commander to retire to Williamsburg. He afterwards continued his retreat to Portsmouth, in the course of which the former made an attack, but was repulsed, without, however, sustaining a severe loss.

Under the apprehension inspired by the threatening movements of Washington and the French army against New York, Clinton had ordered a considerable reinforcement from Virginia, but countermanded it on receiving new instructions, along with an additional body of troops. He had formed apparently a

favourite plan. It is nowhere distinctly developed in his letters; but by a passage in one, very active operations were proposed at the head of the Chesapeake, to be combined probably with a movement from New York, and comprehending Philadelphia and Baltimore. Aware that this plan required the maritime command of that great inlet, he inquired if ministers would insure its maintenance; and they made this engagement without duly considering its difficulties. Under these views, he directed Cornwallis to occupy and fortify a naval position at the entrance of the bay, specially recommending Old Point Comfort, at the mouth of James River. This measure did not harmonize with Cornwallis's views: however, he obeyed; but the above position being declared by the engineers indefensible, he recommended, in preference, Yorktown, on the river of that name; which was agreed to, and operations actively commenced.

Washington, meantime, had been meditating movements in Virginia, and had solicited De Grasse, then in the West Indies, to secure for him at least a temporary command of the Chesapeake. After the failure of his efforts and hopes in regard to New York, this became his main object. With the highest satisfaction he received the intimation, that, on the 3d of August, the French admiral, with above twenty-five ships of the line and three thousand two hundred troops, would sail for the Chesapeake, and remain there till the middle of October. No hesitation was then made in commencing a movement upon Virginia with the whole French army and a strong detachment of the American. It was impossible that so great a movement could be concealed; but the utmost pains were taken to lead Clinton into the belief that its object was New York. This was the less difficult, as the American commander's aims and efforts had long been really turned in that direction, and his opponent had felt extremely sensitive on that subject. The crossing of the Hudson, and the march down its right bank, might have been undertaken with either design. Letters were written, and contrived to be intercepted, tending to confirm the deception. It was not till the 31st of August, that the allied force took their direct route to the Chesapeake: they had then an easy march to the head of that estuary, down



BATTLE BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH FLEETS.

which they would be conveyed in transports to Lord Cornwallis's position, which could be reached from New York only amid the uncertainties of a maritime voyage, and the access, it was hoped, blocked up by a superior fleet. In fact, De Grasse, with twenty-eight sail of the line, had entered it in the end of August. Rodney had been opposed to him in the West Indies; but, imagining that a great part of the French fleet must have been sent to protect a convoy going to Europe, he himself took that direction, and sent only fourteen sail, under Admiral Hood, to New York. That officer there came under the command of his senior, Admiral Graves, who, having nineteen vessels, hesitated not to sail for the Chesapeake, to attack the superior force of De Grasse. He found it ranged across the entrance, and an obstinate contest ensued, with various and on the whole indecisive results. Then, however, Barras from Newport brought a reinforcement, which rendered the French force so decidedly superior, that Graves was obliged to return.

Amid all these movements, it was not till the 6th of September that Clinton became fully aware of Washington's destination, and of the extreme danger to which Cornwallis would thus be exposed. He then wrote to that nobleman, pointing out the circumstances, and proposing, as the only mode of re-

lieving him, that he himself should sail from New York, and join him with a reinforcement of four thousand troops. This course implied that the Virginia army should meantime remain on the defensive in its present position.

Cornwallis continued, therefore, in his position at Yorktown, while perils thickened around him. Washington, dreading chiefly the march southward, directed Lafayette to take post at Williamsburg, where he himself arrived on the 14th of September. Colonel Tarleton urged an attack upon this force while still inferior to the British; but this was declined; and indeed it should seem that such able commanders would easily have avoided fighting in a disadvantageous position by retreating behind the broad estuary of James River. The successive divisions, descending the Chesapeake, continued to arrive at Williamsburg, where, on the 25th of September, the last of them landed, raising the army to seven thousand French, five thousand five hundred American regulars, and three thousand five hundred militia. On the 28th, this force broke up and moved towards York, which the British commander had been diligently fortifying, while a smaller post was maintained at Gloucester, on the opposite side of the river. He had formed an outer circuit of intrenched lines; but these, during the evening of the 29th, he abandoned, retiring within the body of the fort. This movement surprised Washington, and is also disapproved by Tarleton, who thinks he might have gained time by maintaining this exterior position. He had just, however, received a letter from Clinton, intimating a full expectation of sailing on the 5th of October, or at most, two or three days later; and judging the works fully sufficient to hold out till his arrival, dreaded loss and peril from encountering, even within lines, so superior an enemy.

The operations of the besieging army were confined to a strict blockade till the 6th of October, when the artillery and military stores arrived in the camp. On the evening of that day the first parallel was begun in silence and caution, and before morning was so far advanced as in a great measure to cover the troops. All being felt to depend upon rapidity, operations were pushed with the utmost ardour, and the two nations were incited to deeds of valour. By the 10th, the fire had become



COLONEL JOHN LAURENS.

most formidable; a number of the batteries were silenced, and a frigate and three transports in the harbour set on fire and consumed. On the night of the 11th, the second parallel was commenced, and had the same success as the first, of being undiscovered till morning. Three days were devoted to its completion; but the British, having with great labour opened several new batteries, then poured in a most destructive fire. That in particular from two redoubts was so terrible, that without carrying them, the siege could not be prosecuted. This grand operation was fixed for the night of the 14th, when one fort was undertaken by the French, under the Baron de Viomenil, the other by the Americans under Lafayette, aided by Colonels Hamilton and Laurens. The latter rushed on with such impetuosity, that, without firing a gun, they soon carried the post, making twenty prisoners, though losing forty killed and wounded. The French encountered a stronger resistance, and suffered the loss of about a hundred, but finally carried their redoubt also.

Cornwallis now perceived that a fatal crisis was rapidly approaching. He endeavoured to retard it by a sally, on the morning of the 16th, of three hundred and fifty men under



SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS.

Colonel Abercrombie, who carried the two most advanced batteries, but could not retain them for a sufficient time to complete their destruction. On the following night, it was determined to cross to the northern bank, and endeavour to force a way by land to New York. The boats were collected with the greatest secrecy, the embarkation completed, and even the landing commenced, when a violent tempest of wind and rain interrupted the movement, and obliged the troops to employ all their efforts in regaining the fortress. On the following day, all the batteries of the second parallel were finished, and began to play with such tremendous effect, that, in the opinion of the officers and engineers, the place was no longer tenable. Cornwallis therefore opened a negotiation for surrender, on the basis of the garrison being sent to Europe and remaining on parole until released or exchanged; but Washington would admit only of unconditional surrender. It was agreed, however, that the officers should be allowed the honours of war, with their arms and baggage; and that the Bonetta sloop of war should be per-

mitted to go unsearched, with the understood view of placing in security those civil officers who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the United States government. On these conditions, the capitulation was signed on the morning of the 19th. The prisoners surrendered were seven thousand and seventy-three, of whom, however, only four thousand and seventeen were fit for duty.

Clinton, meantime, had not been forgetful of his promises; but the fleet had been so much shattered in the late engagement, that some preparation was necessary to fit it for sailing. It was, however, resolved, at a general meeting both of the military and naval commanders, that the 5th of October should be fixed as the period for this movement; and he had therefore a reasonable expectation of fulfilling his promise. On the 28th of September, he addressed a letter to Admiral Graves on this important point, who replied that the fleet could not sail till the 8th; terms which did not indeed imply a positive pledge for that day, yet gave reason to hope that it would not be much exceeded. It did not, however, depart till the 19th, the very day on which the capitulation was signed.

This catastrophe, like that of Burgoyne, was felt less from the actual amount of loss sustained, than from the impression which it made upon the public mind of Europe. In Britain, the popular feeling had been raised above former disasters by indignation against the league of the continental powers, and by the brilliant promises which the successes in the southern colonies seemed to afford. During the session of 1780-1781, indeed, Mr. Fox, who now figured as leader of opposition, predicted that these would be very ephemeral, and repelled any expectation of finally recovering the lost colonies. Ministers, however, were still confident, and generally supported by the nation. In the course of the year 1781, however, the horizon of Europe assumed a different aspect. A commercial treaty and other connexions formed by Holland with the colonies led to a declaration of war against her, involving a consequent collision with almost the whole naval power of the continent. The Empress of Russia, taking advantage of the state of affairs, placed herself at the head of what was termed the armed neutrality, having in view to limit the right of search hitherto



CHARLES JAMES FOX.

exercised by Great Britain; and though this did not lead to any actual hostility, it rendered the situation of the country still more critical.

When, to the severe pressure thus caused, was added the disastrous intelligence from the new continent, there arose in the nation a cry for peace and for the recognition of American independence, as vehement as formerly for war and supremacy.

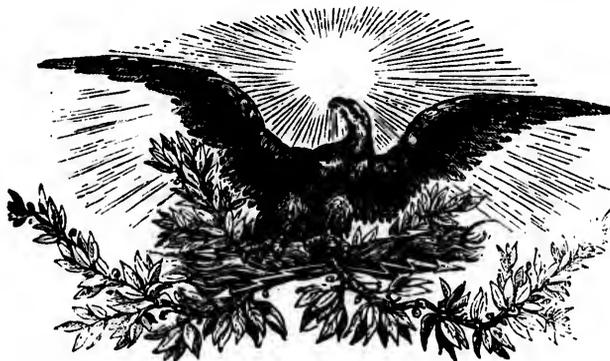
After a short struggle against the popular current, Lord North resigned. A new ministry was formed under the premiership of the Marquis of Rockingham. Russia having offered her mediation, the United States Congress sent Jay, Laurens, and Jefferson, to co-operate with Adams and Franklin in negotiations for peace. They were instructed not to treat, except in conjunction with the French officials, and upon no other basis than the absolute recognition of the independence of the United States. The negotiations were carried on at Paris. Mr. Oswald represented the British government. On the 30th of November, 1782, a treaty was signed by the American commissioners, independent of the French minister, and the joyful news of peace was sent to both the mother country and the states. On the 20th of January, 1783, the preliminary treaty was signed between France, Spain, and Great Britain, and on the 3d of September, the definitive treaties of all the



GENERAL CARLETON.

powers were signed together. That of America was ratified by Congress on the 14th of January, 1784.

Sir Guy Carleton, who had succeeded Sir Henry Clinton in the chief command of the British forces, then superintended the evacuation of the country, by his troops. The American army was disbanded, Washington retired to private life, with true greatness of spirit, and the independence of the States was achieved. The cause for which the patriots had so nobly struggled was triumphant. A new nation had asserted its power to maintain the freedom of its firesides, and now commenced a career of glory.

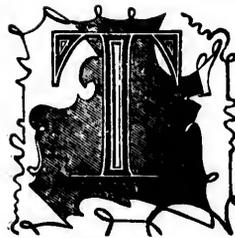




A WESTERN HUNTER.

CHAPTER XIV.

INDIAN WARS OF THE WEST.

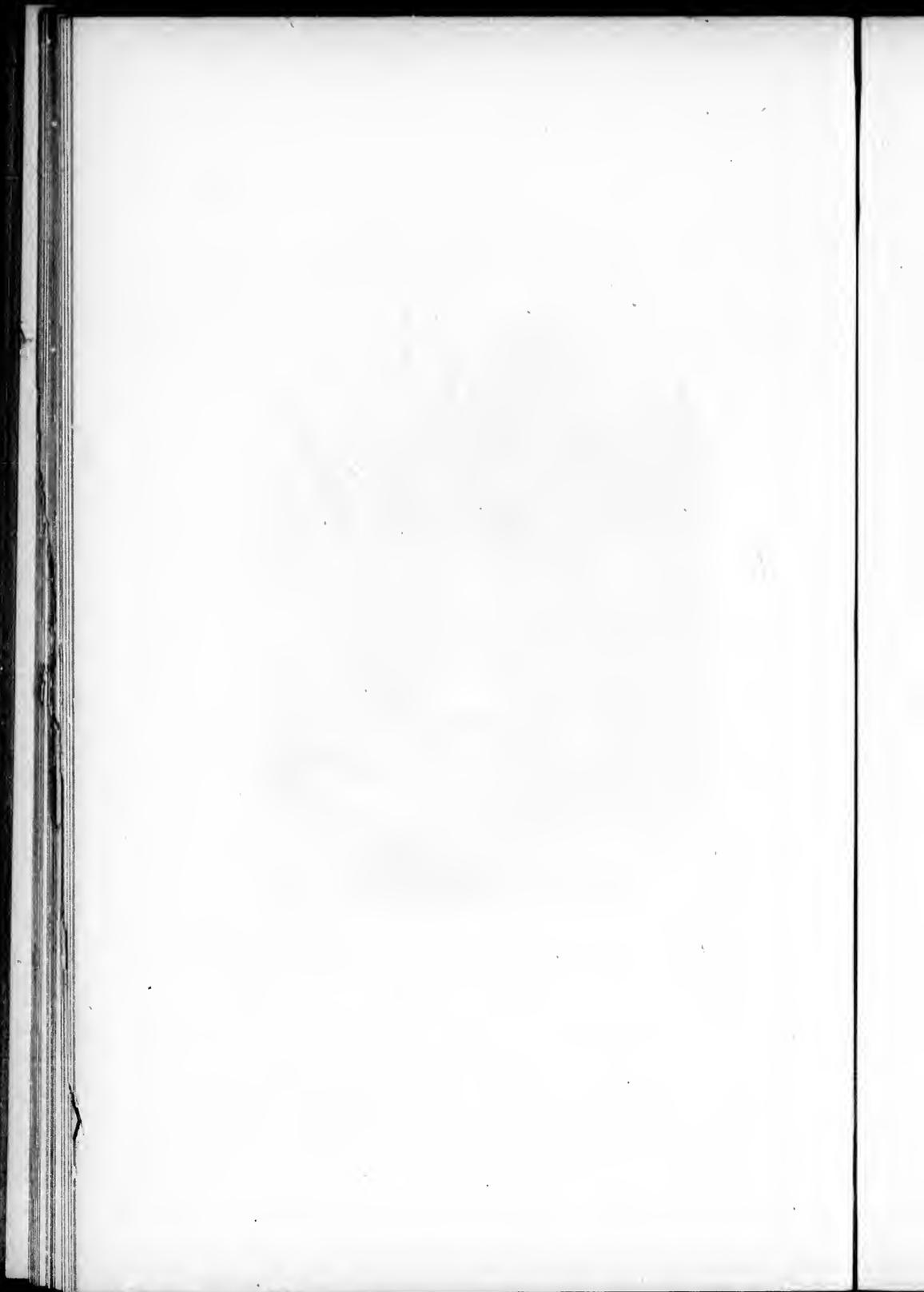


THE causes of the long and bloody wars between the pioneers of the West and the Indians have been variously stated. Hostility to the advance of a people, who deprived the savage tribes of their fair and extensive hunting grounds was, doubtless, the most influential of the motives to take up the hatchet; but the representations and the pay of those who claimed to be civilized, but who were willing to use any means of injuring the republican settlers, were impulses nearly as powerful. It may be true, as is asserted, that the lands of the west were not fairly bought from the Indians, that

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CAPTURE OF BOONE.



they were always compelled to sell, and then did not receive any approach to a consideration; and if this be so, they were surely justified in fighting for the regions where reposed the bones of their ancestors and relatives; such conduct has always been admired by the civilized portion of mankind. In many cases, however, the Indians fought for land they had never occupied, and to which, consequently, they could have no claim. The instigations of renegade white men, and the outrages committed by some of the more reckless borderers, may be added to the causes of Indian hostility in the West.

The early French adventurers in the West may have visited the borders of Kentucky; but we have no evidence of their attempting to explore that wild region. Perhaps the first Englishman who reached it, was Colonel James Smith, who was made prisoner by the Indians. In 1767, John Finley visited Kentucky, and engaged in a trade with the red men. At that time, this region was known as the "Bloody Ground." The forests swarmed with the finest game, and the northern and southern tribes came to hunt here. Fierce contests were frequent, and hence the name of the country. On Finley's return to North Carolina, he represented Kentucky as another Eden. His account of his expedition fired Daniel Boone and others, who resolved to set off for the beautiful wilderness. With five companions, Boone started on the 1st of May, 1769. On the 7th of June, they reached the point to which Finley had journeyed two years before, and there they encamped and engaged in hunting and exploration. At that time, Boone was in the prime of life, possessed of great bodily strength and activity, and skilled in woodcraft.

On the 22d of December, Boone and his friend Stuart were captured by a large party of Indians. They remained in captivity a week, and then contrived to escape. Their four companions had in the mean time returned home. In a short time, Boone's brother and another man joined the adventurers. But the confidence inspired by increased numbers did not continue long. The Indians displayed unquenchable hostility. Stuart was killed by them. The man who had accompanied Squire Boone returned to North Carolina, and the brothers were left alone in the wilderness. When their stock of ammu-

nition was reduced, Squire Boone returned to the settlements for a new supply, and Daniel spent three months alone in Kentucky. In March, 1771, these daring brothers went to North Carolina, and made up a party for a settlement in the wilderness.

The pioneers started from the Yadkin on the 25th of September, 1773. There were six families. At Powell's Valley, forty men joined them. Full of hope and spirit, they pressed on towards the last great mountain barrier; but just as they approached it, on the 10th of October, they were attacked in the rear by a party of Indians, who killed six of the emigrants and wounded a seventh. Among the slain was Boone's son. The Indians were repulsed, but the attack considerably depressed the spirits of the whites, and caused them to retrace their steps, and not to stop until they had placed a double mountain range between them and the western wilds. In the mean time, other parties, under Colonel James Knox and Captain Bullitt, had visited Kentucky, and explored some portions of the country. The Indians acted in a friendly manner towards these adventurers. For a time, the settlement of Kentucky was delayed; for though James Harrod, in the spring of 1774, penetrated the wilderness, and built his cabin where Harrodsburg now stands, he could not long stay there. The Dunmore War forced him to return to the frontier settlements, and aid against the Indians. By the treaty made after the battle of Point Pleasant, the Shawnees agreed not to hunt south of the Ohio nor molest emigrants. Boone, Harrod, and other adventurers then returned to Kentucky. Various settlements were soon formed, Boonesborough, Harrodsburg, and Logan's Station, being the principal.

On the breaking out of the war of independence, British agents were active in enlisting the Indians of the Northwestern territory in their cause. Rewards were offered for scalps. In the summer of 1776, straggling parties of red men so filled the woods of Kentucky, that there was no safety for the settlers outside of their forts. Several skirmishes occurred, in which, however, the whites had the advantage. Colonel George Rogers Clarke, who deserves to be considered the founder of Kentucky, and who ever exerted his great abilities for the benefit of the pioneers, went to Virginia, and procured a large supply of am-



THE KENTUCKY PIONEERS.

munition for the stations, which were all attacked at various times by the Indians, and reduced to extremities. A number of the settlers were surprised by lurking savages and killed. The horses and cattle were driven away; the fields remained uncultivated. The number of the whites became fewer and fewer, and from the older settlements little or no aid was sent until August 1777, when Colonel Bowman came from Virginia with one hundred men. At the close of this year, the three

stations, Logan's, Boone's, and Harrod's, contained all the settlers of Kentucky; their efficient military force being one hundred and ten men.

In defending the stations, many acts of real heroism were performed, worthy of immortal recollection. Benjamin Logan particularly distinguished himself. In May, 1777, the fort at which Logan lived, was surrounded by Indians, more than a hundred in number; and so silently had they made their approach, that the first notice which the garrison had of their presence was a discharge of firearms upon some men who were guarding the women as they milked the cows outside the station. One was killed, a second mortally wounded, and a third, named Harrison, disabled. This poor man, unable to aid himself, lay in sight of the fort, where his wife, who saw his condition, was begging some one to go to his relief. But to attempt such a thing seemed madness; for whoever ventured from either side into the open ground, where Harrison lay writhing and groaning, would instantly become a target for all the sharpshooters of the opposite party. For some moments Logan stood it pretty well; he tried to persuade himself and the poor woman who was pleading to him, that his duty required him to remain within the walls and let the savages complete their bloody work. But such a heart as his was too warm to be long restrained by arguments and judicious expediency; and suddenly turning to his men, he cried, "Come, boys, who's the man to help me in with Harrison?" There were brave men there, but to run into certain death in order to save a man whom, after all, they could not save,—it was asking too much; and all shook their heads, and shrunk back from the mad proposal. "Not one! not one of you help a poor fellow to save his scalp?" "Why, what's the good, Captain? to let the red rascals kill us won't help Harrison?" At last, one, half inspired by Logan's impetuous courage, agreed to go; he could die but once, he said, and was about as ready, then, as he should ever be. The gate was slightly opened, and the two doomed men stepped out; instantly a tempest of rifle balls opened upon them, and Logan's companion, rapidly reasoning himself into the belief that he was not so ready to die as he had believed, bolted back into the station. Not so his noble-

hearted leader. Alone, through that tempest, he sprang forward to where the wounded man lay, and while his hat, hunting-shirt, and hair were cut and torn by the ceaseless shower, he lifted his comrade like a child in his arms, and regained the fort without a scratch.

But this rescue of a fellow-being, though worthy of record in immortal verse, was nothing compared with what this same Benjamin Logan did soon after. The Indians continued their siege; still they made no impression, but the garrison were running short of powder and ball, and none could be procured except by crossing the mountains. To do this, the neighbouring forest must be passed, thronging with Indians, and a journey of some hundred miles accomplished along a path every portion of which might be waylaid, and at last the fort must be re-entered with the articles so much needed. Surely, if ever an enterprise seemed hopeless, it was this one, and yet the thing must be tried. Logan pondered the matter carefully; he calculated the distance, not less than four hundred miles in and back; he estimated the aid from other quarters; and in the silence of night asked wisdom and guidance from God. Nor did he ask in vain; wisdom was given him. At night, with two picked companions, he stole from the station, every breath hushed. The summer leaves were thick above them, and with the profoundest care and skill, Logan guided his followers from tree to tree, from run to run, unseen by the savages, who dreamed not, probably, of so dangerous an undertaking. Quickly but most cautiously pushing eastward, walking forty or fifty miles a day, the three woodsmen passed onward till the Cumberland range was in sight; then, avoiding the Gap, which they supposed would be watched by Indians, over those rugged hills, where man had never climbed before, they forced their way with untiring energy and a rapidity to us, degenerate as we are, inconceivable. The mountains crossed, and the valley of the Holston reached, Logan procured his ammunition, and then turned alone on his homeward track, leaving his two companions, with full directions, to follow him more slowly with the lead and powder. He returned before them, because he wished to revive the hopes of his little garrison in the wilderness, numbering as it did, in his absence, only ten men, and

they without the means of defence. He feared they would yield, if he delayed an hour; so, back, like a chamois, he sped, over those broken and precipitous ranges, and actually reached and re-entered his fort in ten days from the time he left it, safe and full of hope. Such a spirit would have made even women dare and do everything, and by his influence the siege was still resisted till the ammunition came safe to hand. From May till September that little band was thus beset; then Colonel Bowman relieved them.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1777, the settlements in the vicinity of Wheeling were beset by the savages. On the evening of September 26th, 1777, smoke was seen by those near Wheeling, down the river, and was supposed to proceed from the burning of the block-house at Grave Creek. The people of the vicinity, taking the alarm, fled to the fort. Within its walls were forty-two fighting men, of various ages and gifts: these were well supplied with guns, both rifles and muskets, but had only a scant supply of gunpowder, as the event proved. The night of the 26th passed without alarm, but when, very early upon the 27th, two men, who were sent out for horses, in order to alarm the settlements near by, had proceeded some distance from the fort, they met a party of six savages, by whom one of them was shot. The commandant of the post, Colonel Shepherd, learning from the survivor that there were but six of the assailants, sent a party of fifteen men to see to them. These were suffered to march after the six, who seem to have been meant merely for a decoy, until they were within the Indian lines, when, suddenly, in front, behind, and on every side, the painted warriors showed themselves. The little band fought bravely against incalculable odds, but of the fifteen three only escaped, and they by means of the brush and logs, which were in the corn field where the skirmish took place. As soon as the position of the first band was seen at the fort, thirteen others rushed to their assistance, and shared their fate. Then, and it was not yet sunrise, the whole body of Indians, disposed in somewhat martial order, appeared regularly to invest the devoted fort. There were nearly four hundred of them, and of the defenders but twelve men and boys; unless indeed we count women, than whom, as we shall

see, none were braver or calmer within the walls of that little fortress.

The Indians were led by Simon Girty, who was acting as an agent for the British in the attempt to secure the aid of a part, at any rate, of the frontier men, in the revolutionary struggle.

Fort Henry stood immediately upon the bank of the Ohio, about a quarter of a mile above the mouth of Wheeling Creek; between it and the steep river hill which every traveller in the west is acquainted with, were twenty or thirty log huts. When Girty then, as we have said, led his red troops against the fort, he at once took possession of the houses of the village as a safe and ready-made line of attack, and from the window of one of the cabins called upon the little garrison to surrender to King George, and promised absolution to all who would do so. Colonel Shepherd answered at once that they would neither desert nor yield; and when Girty recommenced his eloquence, a shot from some impatient listener suddenly stopped his mouth. Then commenced the siege. It was just sunrise in the quiet valley, through which the quiet autumnal river flowed as peacefully as if war was never known. A calm, warm, bright September day—one of those days most lovely among the many pleasant ones of a year in the Ohio valley—and from sunrise till noon, and from noon till night of that day, the hundreds of besiegers and units of besieged about and within Fort Henry, ceased not to load and discharge musket or rifle till it was too hot to hold. About noon the fire of the attackers slackened, and then as powder was scarce in the fort, and it was remembered that a keg was concealed in the house of Ebenezer Zane, some sixty yards distant,—it was determined to make an effort to obtain it. When the question, "Who will go?" was proposed, however, so many competitors appeared that time was wasted in adjusting claims to what was almost sure death. The rest of the story we must let Mr. Geo. S. McKiernan, from whom we take our whole account nearly,—tell in his own words.

At this crisis, a young lady, the sister of Ebenezer and Silas Zane, came forward and desired that she might be permitted to execute the service. This proposition seemed so extravagant

that it met with a peremptory refusal; but she instantly renewed her petition in terms of redoubled earnestness, and all the remonstrances of the Colonel and her relatives failed to dissuade her from her heroic purpose. It was finally represented to her that either of the young men, on account of his superior fleetness and familiarity with scenes of danger, would be more likely than herself to do the work successfully. She replied, that the danger which would attend the enterprise was the identical reason that induced her to offer her services, for, as the garrison was very weak, no soldier's life should be placed in needless jeopardy, and that, if she were to fall, the loss would not be felt. Her petition was ultimately granted, and the gate opened for her to pass out. The opening of the gate arrested the attention of several Indians who were straggling through the village. It was noticed that their eyes were upon her as she crossed the open space to reach her brother's house; but she seized, perhaps, with a sudden freak of clemency, or believing that a woman's life was not worth a load of gunpowder, or influenced by some other unexplained motive, they permitted her to pass without molestation. When she reappeared with the powder in her arms, the Indians, suspecting, no doubt, the character of her burden, elevated their firelocks and discharged a volley at her as she swiftly glided towards the gate; but the balls all flew wide of the mark, and the fearless girl reached the fort in safety with her prize.

The allies of Britain, finding rifles powerless when used against well-built block-houses and pickets, determined upon trying an extemporary cannon, and having bound a hollow maple with chains, having bored a touch hole, and plugged up one end, they loaded it liberally and levelled it at the gate of the impregnable castle. It was now evening, and the disappointed Wyandots gathered about their artillery, longing to see its loading of stones open to them the door of the American citadel. The match was applied; bursting into a thousand pieces, the cannon of Girty tore, maimed, and killed his copper-coloured kinsfolk, but hurt none else.

During that night many of the assailants withdrew disheartened. On the morning of the 28th, fifteen men came from Cross creek to the aid of Fort Henry, and forty-one from

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GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE.

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Short creek. Of these all entered the fort except Major McColloch, the leader of the Short creek volunteers.

McColloch possessed a great reputation as a borderer, and the Indians were anxious to take him alive. They drove him towards the summit of a steep hill overlooking the site of the present town of Wheeling, where the daring Major made a terrific leap. The Indians thought that he would be dashed to pieces; but he escaped unharmed. McColloch's Leap is a noted event in border history, and certainly was a wonderful exploit. The precipice down which the Major plunged, has a descent, nearly perpendicular, of one hundred and fifty feet.

Finding all attempts to take the fort fruitless, the Indians killed all the stock, including more than three hundred cattle, burned houses and fences, and destroyed every article of furniture. Of the forty-two men who had been in the fort, twenty-five were killed, all outside of the walls. Of the savages one hundred are supposed to have perished.

The next year, Colonel George Rogers Clarke undertook the famous expedition against Kaskaskia and Vincennes. He was completely successful in overcoming difficulties that would have daunted most men, and capturing the British posts, from which the Indians had been supplied with arms. The whole merit of the conception and execution of this enterprise belongs to Colonel Clarke. His daring genius supplied what was wanting in numbers and equipment. He held a council with the Indians at Cahokia, addressed them in a manly and eloquent strain, explaining the causes of the quarrel between Great Britain and the colonies, and succeeded in getting their assent to a treaty of peace. In this council, Clarke displayed more knowledge of the Indian character than had ever before been shown by a white negotiator. The colonel was certainly the greatest character who figured in the early history of the west, and, on another field, might have won a splendid reputation.

While Clarke was fortunate in the far west, misfortune lowered upon other Kentuckians. Daniel Boone and 27 others, while making salt at the Blue Licks, were captured by the Indians, and carried to Detroit. On the way, the Shawnees became very much attached to Boone, and instead of giving him up to Governor Hamilton, with the other prisoners, insisted



CANADIANS AND INDIANS ENCAMPED BEFORE BOONE'S STATION.

upon taking him home with them. Boone was forced to comply. On arriving at Chillicothe, he found a large army of Indians collected for an expedition against the settlements of Kentucky. He then resolved to escape, and succeeded in the attempt. Reaching his station, he found it totally unprepared for defence. The alarm was given, and all the men set to work to repair the fortifications. The escape of Boone delayed the starting of the Indian expedition. The red men had calculated on surprising the settlements, and they now saw their plans frustrated. About the 1st of August, Boone, with nineteen men, set out to reconnoitre, and, if possible, to strike an anticipating blow. After crossing the Ohio, the party suddenly met the advancing army, and was forced to take a circuitous route to get back to Boonesborough in safety.

On the 8th of August, the enemy, five hundred in number,

with British and French flags flying, and led by Captain Duquesne, surrounded Boonesborough. On being summoned to surrender, Boone requested two days for consideration, and these were granted. At the end of that period, he announced his determination to fight. Captain Duquesne then desired to treat. Boone consented, with singular imprudence, which might have proved fatal. The conference was held outside of the fort, but within rifle reach of the garrison. A treaty was concluded; but symptoms of treachery appearing, Boone and his friends fled to the fort, and thus broke off negotiation. Captain Duquesne then opened a fire upon the fort, which was continued for ten days without effect. On the 20th of August, the enemy was forced to retire, having lost 37 men, and wasted a vast amount of ammunition. The capture of Governor Hamilton by Clarke and the expeditions of Sullivan and Brodhead then mitigated the hostility of the Indians for a time, and the frontiers were saved from entire desolation. The failure of an expedition under Colonel Bowman to the Little Miami, however, brought the Indians south of the Ohio again in 1779, and they unexpectedly won a victory over the whites of no slight importance. As Colonel Rogers with a body of riflemen was proceeding along the Ohio, near the Licking, he discovered a few Indians. Supposing himself to be far superior, he ordered seventy of his men to land, intending to surround the savages. In a few moments, however, he was himself surrounded, and after a hard-fought battle, only twenty of the whites escaped. Captain Benham, and another Kentuckian, had a singular escape. Benham was shot through both hips, so as to be powerless in the lower limbs, but contrived to conceal himself till the Indians had retired. His companion had both arms broken, and also concealed himself till the savages had gone. These two men then rendered each other such assistance as they could, lived in this way for six weeks, and were then rescued.

In the summer of 1780, Kentucky was invaded by a more formidable force than had yet been seen on her soil during the existence of the settlements. A body of six hundred men, Canadians and Indians, commanded by Colonel Byrd, a British officer, and accompanied by either two or six cannon, marched

up the valley of the Licking. It first appeared, on the 22d of June, before Riddle's station on the south fork of that river, and required instant surrender. The demand could not be resisted, as the Kentucky stockades were powerless against cannon. Martin's station on the same stream was next taken; and then, from some unexplained cause, the whole body of invaders,—whose number was double that of all the fighting men east of the Kentucky river,—turned right about face, and hurried out of the country with all speed. The only reasonable explanation of the matter is that the British commander, horror-stricken and terrified at the excesses and cruelties of his savage allies, dared not go forward in the task—by no means a hopeless one—of depopulating the woods of Kentucky.

This incursion by Byrd and his red friends, little as it had effected, was enough to cause Clarke, who had just returned from his labours on Fort Jefferson, and who found at the Falls a letter from the Governor of Virginia, recommending an attack upon the Indian villages north of the Ohio,—to take immediate steps for the chastisement of the savages, and especially for the destruction of the store which furnished goods to the natives. This was situated where the post destroyed by the French in 1752 had been, and was known in latter days as Loramie's store. When, however, in accordance with his determination, Clarke, in July, went to Harrodsburg to enlist recruits, he found the whole population crazy about land entries, Mr. May, the Surveyor, having opened his office but two months previous. The General proposed to him to shut up for a time while the Indians were attended to; the Surveyor in reply expressed a perfect willingness to do so in case General Clarke would order it, but said that otherwise he had no authority to take such a step. The order was accordingly given and public notice spread abroad, accompanied by a full statement of the reasons for the proceeding. The result proved, as usual, Clarke's sagacity; volunteers flocked to his standard, and soon with a thousand men he was at the mouth of the Licking. Silently and swiftly from that point he proceeded to attack the town known as Chillicothe, on the Little Miami, and then the Pikaway towns on Mad river. In both attacks he succeeded; destroying the towns, burning the crops, and above all annihi-

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HUNTING SCOUTS, OR RANGERS.

lating the British store above referred to, with its contents. This expedition, the first efficient one ever undertaken against the Miami nests of enemies, for a time relieved Kentucky from the attack of any body of Indians sufficiently numerous to produce serious alarm.

The Indians converted by Heckewelder and other Moravian missionaries to Christianity, resided upon the Muskingum. They were peaceful and industrious; but both parties were jealous of them, and entertained suspicion of their secret action. These poor Indians were thus exposed to attack from whites and savages.

In the spring of 1781, Colonel Brodhead led a body of troops against some of the hostile Delawares upon the Muskingum. This, a portion of his followers thought, would be an excellent opportunity to destroy the Moravian towns, and it was with difficulty he could withhold them. He sent word to Heckewelder, and tried to prevent any attack upon the members of his flock. In this attempt he appears to have succeeded; but he did not, perhaps could not, prevent the slaughter of the troops taken from the hostile Delawares. First, sixteen were killed, and then nearly twenty. A chief, who came under assurances of safety to Brodhead's camp, was also murdered by a noted partisan, named Martin Wetzel. From that time, the Virginians rested until autumn, when the frontier men, led by Colonel David Williamson, marched out expressly against the towns of the Christian Delawares; but they found that the Hurons had preceded them, and the huts and fields of the friends of peace were deserted.

In the course of this year, the Indians were very active on the frontier, and their outrages so exasperated the borderers, that they were disposed to slay all who had Indian blood in their veins. The details of all the skirmishes and attacks would be monotonous, and we therefore omit them. During the year, the Kentuckians made a more effectual organization of their forces. Clarke was commissioned a brigadier-general; and Boone, Todd, Trigg, Floyd, Logan, and Pope were invested with subordinate commands.

The year 1782 was the most eventful in the early history of Kentucky. The very extraordinary affair known as Estall's

Defeat, and the Battle of the Blue Licks, will ever make it memorable. The first conflict was memorable for a display of military skill on the part of the Indian commander, unparalleled in the warfare of his people.

In the month of May, a party of about twenty-five Wyandots, invested Estill's Station, on the south of the Kentucky river, killed one white man, took a negro prisoner, and, after destroying the cattle, retreated. Soon after the Indians disappeared, Captain Estill raised a company of twenty-five men. With these he pursued the Indians; and on Hinkston's Fork of Licking, two miles below the Little Mountain, came within gunshot of them. They had just crossed the creek, which in that part is small; and were ascending one side, as Estill's party descended the other, of two approaching hills, of moderate elevation. The water-course which lay between, had produced an opening in the timber, and brush, conducing to mutual discovery; while both hills were well set with trees, interspersed with saplings and bushes. Instantly, after discovering the Indians, some of Captain Estill's men fired at them; at first they seemed alarmed, and made a movement like flight: but their chief, although wounded, gave them orders to stand and fight—on which they promptly prepared for battle, by each man taking a tree, and facing his enemy, as nearly in a line as practicable.

In the mean time, Captain Estill, with due attention to what was passing on the opposite site, checked the progress of his men at about sixty yards' distance from the foe, and gave orders to extend their line in front of the Indians, to cover themselves by the means of the trees, and to fire, as the object should be seen, with a sure aim. This order, perfectly adapted to the occasion, was executed with alacrity, as far as circumstances would admit, and the desultory mode of Indian fighting was thought to require. So that both sides were preparing, and ready, at the same time, for the bloody conflict which ensued, and which proved to be singularly obstinate.

The numbers were equal: some have said exactly twenty-five on each side; others have mentioned, that Captain Estill, upon seeing the Indians form for battle, despatched one or two of his men upon the back trail, to hasten forward a small

reinforcement which he expected was following him; and if so, it gave the Indians the superiority of numbers, without producing the desired assistance—for the reinforcement never arrived.

Now were the hostile lines within rifle-shot, and the action became warm and general. Never was battle more like single combat; each man sought his man, and fired only when he saw his mark. Wounds and death were inflicted on either side, neither advancing nor retreating. The firing was deliberate; with caution they looked, but look they would, for the foe; although life itself was often the forfeit. And thus, both sides firmly stood, or bravely fell, for more than one hour; upwards of one-fourth of the combatants had fallen, never more to rise, on either side, and several others were wounded. Never, probably, was the native bravery or collected fortitude of men put to a test more severe. Never was manoeuvring more necessary, or less practicable. Captain Estill had not a man to spare from his line, and deemed unsafe any movement in front, with a view to force the enemy from their ground; because in such a movement he must expose his men, and some of them would inevitably fall before they could reach the adversary. This would increase the relative superiority of the enemy, while they would receive the survivors with the tomahawk in hand; in the use of which they were practised and expert. He clearly perceived that no advantage was to be obtained over the Indians, while the action was continued in their own mode of warfare. For although his men were probably the best *shooters*, the Indians were undoubtedly the most expert *hidiers*; so that victory itself, could it have been purchased with the loss of his last man, would afford but a melancholy consolation for the loss of friends and comrades; but even of victory, without some manoeuvre, he could not assure himself. He determined to detach six of his men, by a valley, to gain the flank or rear of the enemy; while himself, with the residue, maintained his position in front.

The detachment was accordingly made under the command of Lieutenant Miller, to whom the route was shown, and the order given, conformably to the above-mentioned determination; unfortunately, however, it was not executed. The

lieutenant, either mistaking his way, or intentionally betraying his duty, his honour, and his captain, did not proceed with the requisite despatch; and the Indians, attentive to occurrences, finding out the weakened condition of their adversaries, rushed upon them, and compelled a retreat, after Captain Estill and eight of his men were killed. Four others were badly wounded, who, notwithstanding, made their escape; so that only nine fell into the hands of the savages, who scalped and stripped them, of course. It was believed by the survivors of this action, that one half of the Indians were killed; and this idea was corroborated by reports from their towns. There is also a tradition, that Miller, with his detachment, crossed the creek, fell in with the enemy, lost one or two of his men, and had a third or fourth wounded, before he retreated.

In reviewing the incidents of this battle, the conduct of the Indians cannot fail of commanding attention. Their determined bravery; their obstinate perseverance; the promptitude with which they seized on the absence of the detachment, to advance on their enemy; and thus, by a step not less bold than judicious, to insure to themselves a victory of immortal renown: conduct alike bespeaking the possession of skill in war, and a training to command, which could but render them formidable, and even victorious.

The Shawnees, Delawares, and Wyandots, in particular, were terrifying to the exposed stations, as their depredations were frequent. It was thought that they fought with more than usual obstinacy, and were even likely to derive an increased audacity from repeated success. A party of twenty or more, without a formal attack, showed itself at Hoy's Station, and took several persons belonging to it; with these they made off, and were soon afterwards pursued by Captain Holder and seventeen men, for twenty miles or more. The ensuing day the Indians were overtaken, near the upper Blue Licks; a battle ensued; but the captain thinking his force too unequal, retreated, with the loss of four men killed or wounded. The loss on the side of the Indians was not known.

The time now approached, when, in consequence of former arrangements, the several Indian nations surrounding the country were to meet at Old Chilicthe, and thence to proceed

on the great expedition which was to exterminate the Long Knife from Kentucky, and to give the country once more to the red men, its rightful owners.

Even the scouts and patrols were withdrawn to the rendezvous at Chillicothe, and the popular perturbation was succeeded by a calm. The suspense was but short in its continuance. At Chillicothe, the assemblage of Indians was reinforced by a detachment from Detroit, as the quota of his Britannic Majesty. When the whole grand army, consisting of parties from the Cherokees, Wyandots, Atawas, Pottowatomies, Delawares, and several other nations bordering on the Mississippi or the lakes, including the Canadians and the Shawnees, who were considered the principals, were convened, they amounted to about five hundred men, painted and trimmed for war.

Of this formidable armament the people of Kentucky had no certain intelligence at the time. The country was soon alarmed by advanced parties, so disposed as rather to divert the attention from, than direct it to, the object of designed attack, while the inhabitants even flattered themselves that nothing more terrible was yet to come. So prone are husbandmen, who cultivate the soil, to indulge their hope of safety, and their love of peace, even in war.

Hasty was the march of the Indians, nor was there any scout or spy on their route to collect and bring an account of their approach. So remarkably alike appears the conduct of both sides, that each suffers surprise after surprise, without changing its habits of policy. Perhaps, their conditions equally forbid an attempt, which would be rendered on either side ineffectual, for want of means.

Two years before, a similar army had surprised and taken Ruddle's Station—Martin's shared the like fate—and that of Grant had been abandoned. Bryant's Station was thence the frontier on that quarter, approaching nearest to the enemy. It consisted of about thirty or forty cabins, and from forty to fifty men. It had a bastion at either end, composed of strong logs, built in the block-house form, with necessary loop-holes. The cabins were ranged in two or three rows parallel to each other, and connected by strong palisades, where they did not

otherwise join. It had no supply of water within, but a very fine spring ran from the foot of the point, on which it stood, near to the bank of Elkhorn, at that place but a small creek.

On the 15th of August, some few of the men being absent, and others in the adjacent corn-field, but the greater part of them about the station, the Indians suddenly appeared before the place, and without any summons commenced an attack with small arms. Fortunately, they had no cannon; and it was recollected that no station had been taken without. Their numbers were not known, as they were dispersed among the growing corn, or concealed by the fences and the weeds.

The fort gates were immediately manned, and kept, for the reception of those who were out and should desire to enter; others of the garrison ran to the bastions and loop-holes, from which they fired and kept off the assailants. Some of the men belonging to the fort entered from without; others, thinking the attempt too hazardous, or else that it was proper to alarm their neighbours, repaired to Lexington and other places with the news, and a call for help. To render this, the utmost alacrity was everywhere shown. Some volunteers from Lexington, with great speed and gallantry, threw themselves into the place that evening; the next day it was reinforced by detachments from Boone's and Strode's Stations, ten or twelve miles distant. These parties rode through a lane, which led to the place besieged, and were fired on by the Indians, lying behind the fences, without injury.

The Indians had made their camps on both sides of the creek, then in wood above the station, and so near the spring as to render it useless to the garrison, without incurring the most imminent danger in attempting to get the water by day, or even by night, notwithstanding which it was however obtained. The place was closely invested for the two succeeding days, during which time the Indians kept up almost a constant fire, on the one side or the other, from fences, trees, or stumps, whereby they killed four men and wounded three others. They made several attempts to fire the cabins, and for that purpose shot lighted arrows on the roofs, and even approached the walls with torches; but from these they were repulsed, nor had their ignited arrows the desired effect. The

besiegers killed a great number of cattle, some of which they eat, and after killing some, they took away other horses. But having exposed themselves considerably in their various attempts, some of which were bold, and after suffering, as it was believed, the loss of about thirty warriors killed, and many others wounded, they raised the siege the morning of the fourth day. This experiment had proved that they were not likely to take the place in any short time, while they could but apprehend, that if they continued before it, the country would be raised in arms and brought upon their backs. They therefore, after remaining the third night in their camp, about sunrise the next morning left their fires burning, some bits of meat on their roasting sticks, and deliberately took the road made by buffaloes and hunters to the lower Blue Licks, by the way of Ruddle's Station, for the purpose, as it was surmised, of alleviating their present mortification, by viewing in ruins the scene of former triumph. For it was neither the shortest, plainest, nor smoothest way to the Licks. That they could not expect and did not desire to conceal their route, will appear in the sequel.

In the mean time, however, Colonel John Todd, who resided in Lexington, despatched intelligence to Lieutenant Colonel Trigg, living at Harrodsburgh, of the attack on Bryant's Station, leaving it to the latter to give the intelligence to his superior, Colonel Benjamin Logan. Neither Colonel Trigg nor Colonel Boone, who had also been called on, lost any time in collecting the men in their respective neighbourhoods, but with singular promptitude, on the 18th of the month, but after the Indians had left the ground, repaired to Bryant's Station under the command of Todd, as the superior officer from Lexington, where they had rendezvoused their men under their appropriate officers. The majors were M'Gary and Harland, from near Harrodsburgh, and Levi Todd of Lexington.

The enemy having retreated, a council was held in which it was promptly decided to pursue the Indians, without waiting for the arrival of Colonel Logan, who was known to be collecting a strong party, and to be expected on the ground in a few days; but when arrived, would as the superior officer have the command. A circumstance, which it was suspected, both Todd

and Trigg desired to avoid—thinking themselves equal to the command and sanguine of success—as they were emulous of praise, and possessed an idea of mental superiority.

In consequence of the determination of the council, the march was immediately ordered and forthwith commenced, under the command of Colonel Todd, and next to him, Colonel Trigg, on the route of the enemy: whose numbers, as yet, though considerable, were not known. They had not proceeded very far, before Boone and some others, experienced in the manners of the Indians, discovered signs of ostentation and of tardiness on their trail, indicative of their willingness to be pursued, and calculated to point out their route, while apparent caution had been taken to conceal their numbers. The one was effected by chopping the trees on the way, the other by treading in single file a narrow tract; contracting their camp, and using but few fires, where they stopped to eat. No Indian was seen, although it was apparent they were at no great distance in advance, until the pursuers reached the southern bank of Licking at the Licks. The van of the party then discovered a few of them on the opposite side of the river, traversing the hill side, and who, apparently without alarm and leisurely, retired over the hill from their sight. A halt was called, the principal officers being assembled, the information then given, and the question asked: "What shall be done? Whether is it best immediately to cross the river and continue the march, or stand here until the country round about can be reconnoitred by proper parties, and measures ultimately taken according to circumstances, either to attack if the enemy were near, or wait the arrival of Colonel Logan?"

Neither of the superior officers were much skilled in the manner or custom of Indian warfare; they were however willing to be informed, and had actually called upon Colonel Boone for his opinion of the case, and how they should act. This he was detailing with his usual candour and circumspection, by adverting to his own observations on the different appearances on the road, and the fact of the Indians showing themselves on the next hill. As to the number of the enemy, his conjectures varied from three to five hundred, owing to the ambiguous nature of the sign they had made on the road. From the care-

less manner in which the Indians who had been seen conducted themselves, he was of the opinion that the main body was near and prepared for action. He was particularly well acquainted with the situation of the ground about the Licks, and the manner in which the river winds into an irregular ellipsis, embracing the great buffalo road and ridge from the Licks, towards Limestone, as its longest line of bisection, and which is terminated by two ravines heading near together a mile from the Licks, and extending in opposite directions to the river. He had suggested the probability of the Indians having here formed an ambuscade, the advantages to them and the disadvantages to the party of Colonels Todd and Trigg, should this conjecture be realized and the march continued. He proposed that the party should divide; the one half march up Licking on the south side to the mouth of a small creek, now called Elk creek, and there crossing over, proceed on the ridge to the outside of the ravines, while the other half should advance to the high ground on the north of the Licks, and place itself in a situation to co-operate on the enemy in case of attack. He showed that the whole advantage of position might be thus turned against the enemy. And he insisted, as the very least that should be done, if his superiors were determined not to wait for Colonel Logan, was to have the country explored round about, before they marched the main body over the river; for they were yet ignorant whether the Indians had crossed or not; and in either event, if they were near, they meant to take advantage of the measure, which their superiority of number would render decisive. Already had Boone nearly gained the entire approbation of his superiors and of those who heard his counsel—for in fact they only hesitated between his propositions—when Major M'Gary, impatient of delay, rushed his horse forward to the water's edge, and raised the war whoop, next cried out with a loud voice: "Those who are not cowards, follow me, I will show them where the Indians are," spurred his horse into the river. One followed and then another in quick succession, until a motion and agitation was communicated to the whole; the council was broken up; the officers who might have been otherwise inclined were forced along in the crowd and tumult; nothing had been concerted; no distinct

orders were given, or if given not observed; they crossed the river and pursued the road, as the general guide kept by M'Gary in front. On either side of which parties flanked off, as the unevenness and irregularity of the ground would permit; all moving forward with the utmost disorder and precipitation over a surface covered with rocks, laid bare by the trampling of the buffalo and the washing of the rains, for ages past. When the van approached the ridge next within the ravines, which have been mentioned, to the left an Indian or two were observed on it at a distance; these appeared to retreat along the ridge, which led to the point between the ravine and river. One moment of cool reflection might have suggested the idea of decoy, and the next would have shown the propriety of caution. It appears, however, that the determination to find the enemy so engrossed the party, that prudence was, like fear, completely excluded. The party therefore pressed on toward the end of the ridge, where it was covered by a forest of oak trees of middling size, and the ravines with small saplings or brush wood, while the whole extent of the ellipsis had been stripped of all herbage by the herds of buffalo, which were in the habit of resorting to the Licks. Some scattering trees here and there appeared on a pavement of rock, as rude as it was singular, throughout the whole extent of the field. Both Todd and Trigg had deviated from the main road, and, probably with a view of taking their position on the right of the troops, were far from the front, which moved rapidly and rather obliquely, headed by M'Gary, Harland, and M'Bride, and followed by the rest without regular order; the whole, with a few exceptions, being armed with rifles and mounted on horses, formed a broken line corresponding with the ridge and nearly parallel to the ravines, which were filled with Indians.

No sooner had M'Gary entered the forest, than he discovered the enemy waiting for him; here the action immediately began, and soon became warm and bloody; on either side the rifle was pointed, on either side the warrior fell. It was discovered, that the ravines extending the whole length of the line of Kentuckians had concealed the savages who fired, and rushed upon their foes, not half their equal in point of numbers. Todd and Trigg, who were on the right when the

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BATTLE OF THE BLUE LICKS.



line fronted the ravines, were thrown into the rear when its flank was changed, and it moved to the left when the battle began. Already had those fallen; already were the Indians turning the right or rear of this line; already had twenty or more of those brave men who first engaged breathed their last; already was the line everywhere assailed, when a retreat commenced under the uplifted tomahawk. At the beginning of the battle many of the men dismounted, while others did not; in the retreat, some recovered their horses, others fled on foot, over the rocky field already described, which was environed by high and rugged cliffs on either hand, until it declined into a flat, as it approached the salt spring. The ford was narrow, and the water, though shallow on it, was deep, both above and below. Some of the fugitives were overtaken on the way to the river, and fell beneath the stroke of the Indian spear or hatchet, but at the water was a greater havoc—some were slain in the water, some on either shore. Here it was, that a singular phenomenon was exhibited: a man by the name of Netherland, well mounted and among the foremost in the flight, having crossing Licking and gained the farthest bank, thinking himself out of danger, checks his horse, takes a back view, sees the savages preparing to rush into the water, and there to extinguish the remains of many lives, almost exhausted by wounds and the fatigue of flight, cries out with a shrill and commanding voice to those who had made the shore next to him: "Halt! fire on the Indians, and protect the men in the river!" The call had the desired effect on ten or a dozen, who immediately halt, fire on the enemy and check their pursuit, probably by so doing as many lives were saved. This resistance, however, proves but momentary; the Indians gather rapidly on the shore; numbers of them are seen crossing the river, and personal safety suggests a speedy flight.

The fugitives were pursued for miles; nor did they find a place of safety short of Bryant's Station, thirty-six miles from the scene of action. Here, many of those on horseback arrived within six, and others on foot within eight hours, after the battle.

Never had Kentucky experienced so fatal a blow as that at the Blue Licks; of the one hundred and sixty-six brave men,

who repaired to the assistance of Bryant's station, one half, or more, were from Harrodsburgh, and its vicinity. The whole loss on the side of Kentucky, was sixty killed, and seven made prisoners. Of the wounded, but few escaped. The Indians, it was said, lost sixty-four killed, besides a number wounded. Such were the reports from their towns afterwards; and that they massacred four of their prisoners to make the loss equal. The equal loss is doubted.

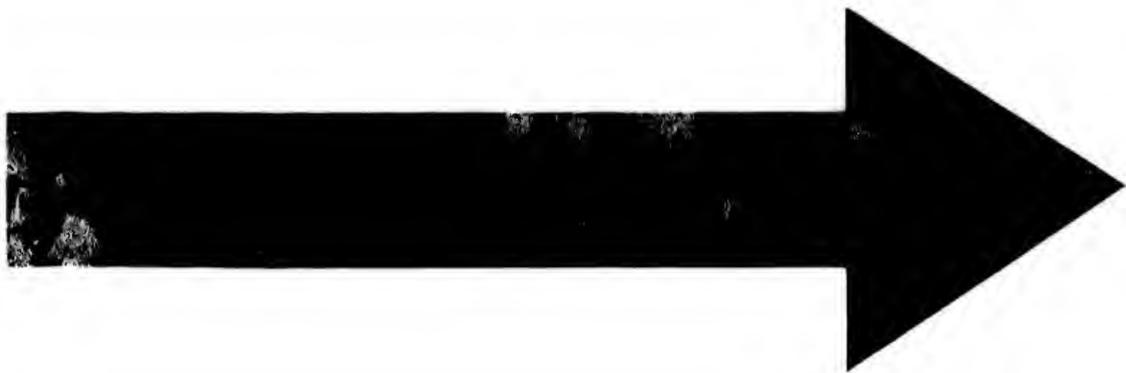
In the midst of these disastrous events, there was yet one consolation; the party with Colonel Logan was considerable, in full march, and unbroken, as undismayed. The van of Logan's command had passed Bryant's Station, on its way to the Blue Licks, when it was met by the fugitives from the field of recent battle; it then returned to Bryant's, where the colonel halted, on receipt of the intelligence, until the rear came up, which was one day, and then, late in the evening, resumed his march, which was continued the greater part of the night, and again, at sunrise next morning, for the Licks; to engage the enemy if there, and if not, to bury the dead. About noon, the *battle ground* was approached, and the dead bodies seen strewed along the field. Some were mangled by savages, some by vultures, some by wild beasts; they were swollen, and rendered quite yellow, by the scorching rays of the sun, upon their naked skins. Each man who had lost a particular friend, or relative, sought for him, that if found, he might receive the solemn rites of burial; if not found, that the hope of his being a prisoner, and that he would return at some future day, might be indulged, to cheer the melancholy impression of the scene. But even this imperfect consolation was denied; for none knew the remains of his friend, when found, so much were the visages of the dead disfigured. No Indian carcase was seen: nor was it known how the enemy had disposed of their killed, for no grave appeared; nor many trails of blood.

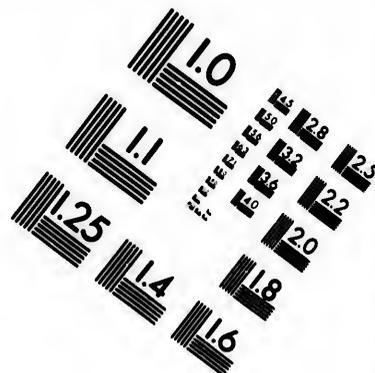
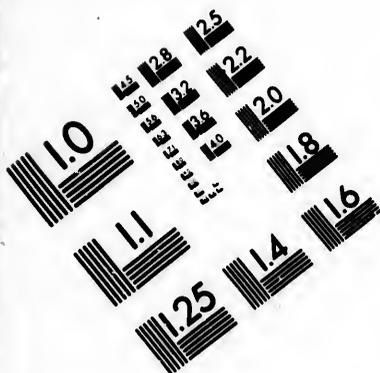
The party with Logan, having performed the last solemn duties of the field, and no *fresh sign* of the Indians being seen, it was marched back to Bryant's, and dismissed, to the number of four hundred and fifty men. A force, which it is believed, under the direction of Logan, had it come up before the battle,

or been waited for by Colonel Todd and his party, would have certainly been successful.

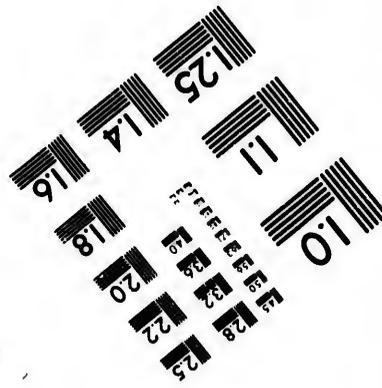
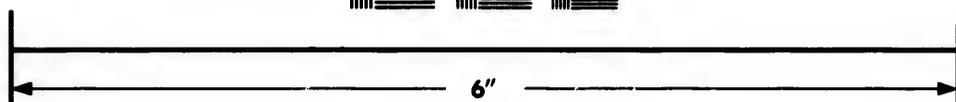
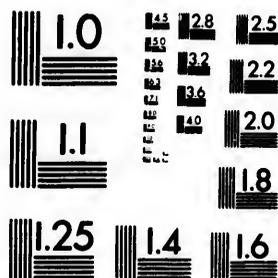
The Indian army consisting, as has been observed, of detachments from different nations, determined, after so great a victory, to return home with the scalps. Those from the north, being the greater portion, gave no further molestation; but the western bands, taking their route through the settlements in Jefferson county, could not forego the temptation which was offered them of increasing their number of scalps and prisoners. Their sign was however seen, before they struck the intended blow. Intelligence of which being promptly conveyed to Colonel Floyd, he forthwith ordered out a party of militia, to scour the country on Salt river, where the savages were suspected to be lurking. Some of this party were from Kincheloe's Station, consisting of six or seven families on Simpson's creek. In their absence, no accident occurred; but on the first of September, the party finding no Indians, dispersed, and those belonging to Kincheloe's returned home in the evening. Thinking all well, and being much fatigued, they resigned themselves and families to sleep, when in the night the enemy fell upon the place by surprise, and were in the houses before the people of them were awake. Thus circumstanced, they killed several persons, men, women, or children, and were proceeding to destroy or capture the rest, when the darkness of the night favoured the escape of a few.

General Clarke, then resident at the falls of Ohio, impressed with the liveliest feelings of sympathy for the distress of the sufferers, and convinced of the necessity of rousing the country from its anguish and despondence, proposed an expedition against the Indians, and invited the superior officers to meet him in council. This invitation was complied with, and the means of calling out the men, and of furnishing them, concerted. A draft was to take place where there was a deficiency of volunteers, and impressments of horses and other supplies might be resorted to, where voluntary contributions failed. Much reliance was nevertheless had on the patriotism and personal exertions of the people generally. Nor was this confidence of the officers in the least disappointed. The intended expedition being announced, and the adopted regulations pro-





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claimed, with a call for assistance, soon was seen the utmost activity of preparation. Both officers and men volunteered; and beeves, packhorses, and other supplies offered by those who could not leave their home. But in every case where property was offered or impressed, it was valued, and a certificate given to the former owner, as evidence of his claim to future compensation, should the government make provision for payment, which at the time was uncertain.

Bryant's Station was appointed the place of rendezvous for the upper part of the country, the falls of Ohio for the lower, and the mouth of Licking for the point of union. There, General Clarke was to take the command: previous to which, the two divisions were commanded by Logan and Floyd respectively. In the last of September, an army of about one thousand mounted militia, armed with rifles, assembled on the bank of the Ohio, and was put in motion by the general for the Indian towns on the Miami and Scioto.

This expedition was conducted with the despatch essential to the quality and equipments of the troops, and for which the commander-in-chief had on former occasions obtained celebrity. He had proceeded without being discovered into the neighbourhood of the first town, and within half a mile of a camp of the rear of the party that had been in Kentucky, when a straggler discovered his approach, and gave the alarm of "a mighty army on its march." The camp was immediately evacuated with precipitation, and the frightful intelligence being spread through the different villages, everywhere produced similar effects, dismay and flight. Empty cabins and deserted fields were only to be found, or here and there a scouting party of savages were seen, who sometimes fired, sometimes not, but always fled.

This scene was repeated in the course of a march of several days through the different Chilicothes, Pickawa, and Willstown. These were severally reduced to ashes, and the fields of corn entirely cut up and destroyed, leaving only ruin and desolation in the country. Among the few prisoners taken—seven in all—there was an old man of distinction in his tribe, who was murdered by Major M'Gary; and although highly disapproved by the general, it was not deemed prudent to cause the subject

to be investigated. There were two other Indians killed, according to the laws of war, which place running and fighting upon an equal footing of offence. The loss of two men killed by the enemy, and an equal number by accident, closes the account of losses on this excursion. And although its success was but a scanty compensation for the defeats of the year, it had nevertheless the good effect of proving both to the Indians and the people of Kentucky that the latter were superior, and that there was no danger of the former ever overrunning the country.

From this time, no formidable party of Indians ever invaded Kentucky, nor was the country for the residue of the year molested by their scouts or marauders. Consequences attributable to the recent expedition, the progress of negotiations for a general peace, the conviction of inadequate force, and the season of the year, for the winter was near, and all the other considerations pressed upon them.

In the mean time, the Moravian Indians were treated with unparalleled barbarity. In the spring of 1782, some of them, who had been almost starved to death during the winter, returned to their old places of abode, to gather what they could of the remainder of their property. About the time they returned for that purpose, parties of Wyandots came down upon the settlements, and slew many. This excited the frontier-men, and believing a connexion to exist between the acts of the Wyandots and the late movement of the Moravians, it was determined to attack and exterminate the latter, or at least to waste their lands and destroy their towns. Eighty or ninety men met for the purpose of effecting the objects just named, and marched in silence and swiftness upon the devoted villages. They reached them; by threats and lies got hold of the gleaners scattered among them, and bound their prisoners, while they deliberated upon their fate. Williamson, the commander of the party, put the question: Shall these men, women, and children be taken to Pittsburgh, or be killed? Of the eighty or ninety men present, sixteen or eighteen only were for granting their lives; and the prisoners were told to prepare for death. They prepared for death, and soon were dead; slaughtered, some say in one way, and some in another;

but thus much is certain, that eighty or ninety American men murdered, in cold blood, about forty men, twenty women, and thirty-four children,—all defenceless and innocent fellow Christians.

It was in March of 1782, that this great murder was committed. And as the tiger, having once tasted blood, longs for blood, so it was with the frontier-men; and another expedition was at once organized, to make a dash at the towns of the Moravian Delawares and Wyandots upon the Sandusky. No Indian was to be spared; friend or foe, every red man was to die. The commander of the expedition was Colonel William Crawford, Washington's old agent in the West. He did not want to go, but found it could not be avoided. The troops, numbering nearly five hundred men, marched in June to the Sandusky uninterrupted. There they found the towns deserted, and the savages on the alert. A battle ensued, and the whites were forced to retreat. In their retreat many left the main body; and nearly all who did so perished. Crawford was captured and burned at the stake, after being subjected to horrible tortures.

The peace between Great Britain and the United States, concluded in 1783, did not lead at once to the cessation of Indian hostilities. The British government determined not to surrender the posts in the northwestern territory until certain claims were adjusted, and there is every reason to believe that British agents were actively employed among the Indians, to render them inimical to the States. Still, the commissioners of the west contrived to get the assent of a number of the tribes to advantageous treaties. The indefinite claim of the Six Nations to the northwestern territory was extinguished by a treaty concluded at Fort Stanwix on the 22d of October, 1783. Arthur Lee, Richard Butler, and Colonel Clark, on the 21st of January, 1785, held a conference with the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippeways, and Ottawas, at Fort M'Intosh, and obtained the grant of a large portion of the northwestern territory, for the settlement of which a company was immediately formed in New England. On the 31st of January, 1786, another treaty was concluded at the mouth of the Miami, between Clark, Butler, and Parsons, and representatives of the

Delawares, Wyandots, and Shawnees. The Wabash Indians refused to attend this council, and evinced a growing hostility. The treaty was only brought to an advantageous conclusion by the politic bearing of Clarke, who, by showing the red men that he was indifferent whether they accepted peace or war, daunted them, and was enabled to dictate terms. Still, in spite of treaties, the Indians continued to make predatory incursions along the frontier.

Upon the 16th of May the Governor of Virginia was forced to write upon the subject to Congress, which at once sent two companies down the Ohio to the Falls, and upon the 30th of June authorized the raising of militia in Kentucky, and the invasion of the country of the mischief-makers, under the command of the leading United States officer. We do not learn that it was nominally under this resolution that General Clarke's expedition of the ensuing fall was undertaken; but at any rate this act on the part of Congress justified offensive measures on the part of the Kentuckians when they became necessary; and it being thought necessary to act upon the Wabash before winter, a body of a thousand men or more gathered at the Falls, and marched thence towards Vincennes, which place they reached some time in September, 1786. Here the army remained inactive during nine days, waiting the arrival of their provisions and ammunition, which had been sent down to the mouth of the Wabash in boats, and were delayed by the low water. This stay, so different from Clarke's old mode of proceeding, was in opposition to his advice, and proved fatal to the expedition. The soldiers became restive, and their confidence in the General being destroyed, by discovering the fact that his clear mind was too commonly confused and darkened by the influence of ardent spirits, they at last refused obedience; a body of three hundred turned their faces homeward, and the rest soon followed in their track. Another expedition conducted by Colonel Logan against the Shawnees, who had resumed hostilities, terminated very differently from that under the conqueror of Illinois; their towns were burned and their crops wasted.

Various attempts were now made to bring the Indians to a definitive treaty of peace, in order to secure the Ohio settlers from



GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

hostile incursions. These efforts were not successful, until January, 1789, when a council was held at Fort Harmar, on the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Muskingum. In the summer of the same year, Marietta, the first settlement in Ohio, was founded under cheering auspices, and other settlements were made soon afterwards. The Indians, however, respected no treaties, and continued their depredations along the frontier. The Wabash tribes threatened to destroy all settlements made north of the Ohio, and west of Pittsburgh. Fort Washington was begun in June of this year, on the site of Cincinnati. The garrison consisted of 140 men, under the command of Major Doughty. Upon the 29th of December, General Harmar, with three hundred additional troops, arrived. General St. Clair was appointed Governor of the territory, north of the Ohio. Soon after, news arrived that the Wabash Indians and other tribes, protesting against the treaty of Fort Harmar as made by unauthorized persons, had taken up arms and had burned an American.

St. Clair and Harmar then concerted a plan for a campaign into the Indian country. Authorized by acts of Congress, St. Clair called upon Virginia for 1000, and upon Pennsylvania for 500 militia. Of these, 300 were to meet at Fort Steuben, to

aid the troops from Fort Knox against the Weas and Kickapoos, of the Wabash; 700 were to gather at Fort Washington, and 500 just below Wheeling; the two latter bodies being intended to march with the regulars from Fort Washington under General Harmar, against the towns at the junction of the St. Mary and the St. Joseph. The Kentucky militia began to come in at Fort Washington about the middle of September, 1790. They were badly equipped, and averse to subordination and camp discipline. On the 20th of September, the various troops designed for the expedition rendezvoused at Fort Washington, and on the following day commenced their march to the Miami villages. The country was rough, swampy, and in many places almost impassable, so that seventeen days were consumed before the main body could come within striking distance of the enemy. In the mean time, the great scarcity of provisions rendered it necessary for the general to sweep the forest with numerous small detachments, and as the woods swarmed with roving bands of Indians, most of these parties were cut off.

At length, the main body, considerably reduced by this petty warfare, came within a few miles of their towns. Here the general ordered Captain Armstrong, at the head of thirty regulars, and Colonel Hardin of Kentucky, with one hundred and fifty militia, to advance and reconnoitre. In the execution of this order they suddenly found themselves in the presence of a superior number of Indians, who suddenly arose from the bushes and opened a heavy fire upon them. The militia instantly gave way, while the regulars, accustomed to more orderly movements, attempted a regular retreat. The enemy rushed upon them tomahawk in hand, and completely surrounded them. The regulars attempted to open a passage with the bayonet, but in vain; they were all destroyed, with the exception of their captain and one lieutenant.

Captain Armstrong was remarkably stout and active, and succeeded in breaking through the enemy's line, although not without receiving several severe wounds. Finding himself hard pressed, he plunged into a deep and miry swamp, where he lay concealed during the whole night within two hundred yards of the Indian camp, and witnessed the dances and joyous

festivity with which they celebrated their victory. The lieutenant (Haitshorn), escaped by accidentally stumbling over a log, and falling into a pit, where he lay concealed by the rank grass which grew around him. The loss of the militia was very trifling. Notwithstanding this severe check, Harmar advanced with the main body upon their villages, which he found deserted and in flames, the Indians having fired them with their own hands. Here he found several hundred acres of corn, which was completely destroyed. He then advanced upon the adjoining villages, which he found deserted and burned as the first had been. Having destroyed all the corn which he found, the army commenced its retreat from the Indian country, supposing the enemy sufficiently intimidated.

After marching about ten miles on the homeward route, General Harmar received information which induced him to suppose that a body of Indians had returned and taken possession of the village which he had just left. He detached, therefore, eighty regular troops under the orders of Major Wyllys, and nearly the whole of his militia under Colonel Hardin, with orders to return to the village and destroy such of the enemy as presented themselves. The detachment accordingly counter-marched and proceeded with all possible despatch to the appointed spot, fearful only that the enemy might hear of their movement and escape before they could come up. The militia in loose order took the advance; the regulars moving in a hollow square brought up the rear. Upon the plain in front of the town, a number of Indians were seen, between whom and the militia a sharp action commenced. After a few rounds, with considerable effect upon both sides, the savages fled in disorder, and were eagerly and impetuously pursued by the militia, who in the ardour of the chase were drawn into the woods to a considerable distance from the regulars.

Suddenly from the opposite quarter several hundred Indians appeared, rushing with loud yells upon the unsupported regulars. Major Wyllys, who was a brave and experienced officer, formed his men in a square, and endeavoured to gain a more favourable spot of ground, but was prevented by the desperate impetuosity with which the enemy assailed him. Unchecked by the murderous fire which was poured upon them

from the different sides of the square, they rushed in masses up to the points of the bayonets, hurled their tomahawks with fatal accuracy, and putting aside the bayonets with their hands, or clogging them with their bodies, they were quickly mingled with the troops, and handled their long knives with destructive effect. In two minutes the bloody struggle was over. Major Wyllys fell, together with seventy-three privates and one lieutenant. One captain, one ensign, and seven privates, three of whom were wounded, were the sole survivors of this short but desperate encounter.

The Indian loss was nearly equal, as they sustained several heavy fires which the closeness of their masses rendered very destructive, and as they rushed upon the bayonets of the troops with the most astonishing disregard to their own safety. Their object was to overwhelm the regulars before the militia could return to their support, and it was as boldly executed as it had been finely conceived. In a short time the militia returned from the pursuit of the flying party which had decoyed them to a distance; but it was now too late to retrieve the fortune of the day. After some sharp skirmishing, they effected their retreat to the main body, with the loss of one hundred and eight killed and twenty-eight wounded. This dreadful slaughter so reduced the strength and spirits of Harmar's army, that he was happy in being permitted to retreat unmolested, having totally failed in accomplishing the objects of the expedition, and by obstinately persevering in the ruinous plan of acting in detachments, having thrown away the lives of more than half of his regular force. This abortive expedition served only to encourage the enemy, and to give additional rancour to their incursions.

The inhabitants of Kentucky now petitioned Congress for permission to fight the Indians in their own way, and upon the 9th of March, 1791, orders were issued to Brigadier General Scott, authorizing him, in conjunction with Harry Innis, John Brown, Benjamin Logan, and Isaac Shelby, to organize an expedition of mounted volunteers against the nations upon the Wabash. On the 23d of May, the detachment took up its line of march from the Ohio. Colonel John Hardin, who burned to retrieve his fame, led the van and directed the scouts



SHELBY.

and rangers. On the 1st of June, the towns of the enemy were discovered. We give General Scott's account of the movements that followed.

"I immediately detached Colonel John Hardin," says he, "with sixty mounted infantry, and a troop of light-horse under Captain M'Coy, to attack the villages to the left, and moved on briskly with my main body in order of battle, towards the town, the smoke of which was discernible. My guides were deceived with respect to the situation of the town: for, instead of standing at the edge of the plain through which I marched, I found it on the low ground bordering on the Wabash: on turning the point of woods, one house presented in my front. Captain Price was ordered to assault that with forty men. He executed the command with great gallantry, and killed two warriors.

"When I gained the summit of the eminence which overlooks the villages on the banks of the Wabash, I discovered the enemy in great confusion, endeavouring to make their escape over the river in canoes. I instantly ordered Lieutenant Colonel-commandant Wilkinson to rush forward with the first battalion. The order was executed with promptitude, and this detachment gained the bank of the river just as the rear

of the enemy had embarked; and, regardless of a brisk fire kept up from a Kickapoo town on the opposite bank, they in a few minutes, by a well directed fire from their rifles, destroyed all the savages with which five canoes were crowded. To my great mortification the Wabash was many feet beyond fording at this place: I therefore detached Colonel Wilkinson to a ford two miles above, which my guides informed me was more practicable. Wilkinson moved the first battalion up to the fording place, found the river impassable, and returned to Ouiaatenon.

"The enemy still kept possession of the Kickapoo town: I determined to dislodge them; and for that purpose ordered Captain King's and Logsdon's companies to march down the river below the town, and cross, under the conduct of Major Barboe. Several of the men swam the river, and others passed in a small canoe. This movement was unobserved; and my men had taken post on the bank before they were discovered by the enemy, who immediately abandoned the village. About this time word was brought to me that Colonel Hardin was encumbered with prisoners, and had discovered a stronger village further to my left than those I had observed, which he was proceeding to attack. I immediately detached Captain Brown, with his company, to support the Colonel: but the distance being six miles, before the Captain arrived the business was done, and Colonel Hardin joined me a little before sunset, having killed six warriors, and taken fifty-two prisoners. Captain Bull, the warrior who discovered me in the morning, had gained the main town, and given the alarm, a short time before me; but the villages to my left were uninformed of my approach, and had no retreat.

"The next morning I determined to detach my Lieutenant Colonel-commandant, with five hundred men, to destroy the important town of Keth-tip-e-ca-nunk, eighteen miles from my camp, on the west side of the Wabash; but on examination, I discovered my men and horses to be so crippled and worn down by a long laborious march, and the active exertions of the preceding day, that three hundred and sixty men only could be found in a capacity to undertake the enterprise, and they prepared to march on foot. Colonel

Wilkinson marched with this detachment at half after five in the evening, and returned to my camp the next day at one o'clock, having marched thirty-six miles in twelve hours, and destroyed the most important settlement of the enemy in that quarter of the federal territory.

"Many of the inhabitants of the village (Ouiatenon) were French, and lived in a state of civilization. By the books, letters, and other documents, found there, it is evident that place was in close connexion with, and dependent on, Detroit. A large quantity of corn, a variety of household goods, peltry, and other articles were burned with this village, which consisted of about seventy houses, many of them well finished."

As the expedition under Scott, although successful, had not reached the higher towns upon the Wabash, Governor St. Clair thought it best to send another (the Secretary of War having authorized such a step), against the villages on Eel river; and Wilkinson was appointed to command. He marched from near Fort Washington, upon the first of August, and on the 7th reached the Wabash just above the mouth of the river he was in search of. While reconnoitring, however, in the hope of surprising the natives, word was brought him that they were alarmed and flying; a general charge was instantly ordered.

"The men," says Wilkinson, "forcing their way over every obstacle, plunged through the river with vast intrepidity. The enemy was unable to make the smallest resistance. Six warriors, and (in the hurry and confusion of the charge) two squaws and a child, were killed, thirty-four prisoners were taken, and an unfortunate captive released, with the loss of two men killed and one wounded.

"I found this town scattered along Eel river for full three miles, on an uneven, scrubby oak barren, intersected alternately by bogs almost impassable, and impervious thickets of plum, hazle, and black jacks. Notwithstanding these difficulties, if I may credit the report of the prisoners, very few who were in town escaped. Expecting a second expedition, their goods were generally packed up and buried. Sixty warriors had crossed the Wabash to watch the paths leading from the Ohio. The head chief, with all the prisoners, and a number of families,

were out digging a root which they substitute in the place of the potato; and about one hour before my arrival, all the warriors, except eight, had mounted their horses, and rode up the river to a French store to purchase ammunition. This ammunition had arrived from the Miami village that very day, and the squaws informed me was stored about two miles from the town. I detached Major Caldwell in quest of it; but he failed to make any discovery, although he scoured the country for seven or eight miles up the river.

"I encamped in the town that night, and the next morning I cut up the corn, scarcely in the milk, burnt the cabins, mounted the young warriors, squaws, and children, in the best manner in my power, and leaving two infirm squaws and a child, with a short talk, I commenced my march for the Kickapoo town in the prairie."

The Kickapoo prairie metropolis was not reached; the horses were too sore, and the bogs too deep; but various cornfields were destroyed, "and a respectable" Kickapoo town given to the flames; for which the General was duly thanked by his country.

In the mean time, preparations were making for an expedition on a greater scale, under the command of General St. Clair. Cincinnati, as usual, was the place of rendezvous. In September, 1791, an army was assembled at that place, greatly superior, in numbers, officers, and equipments, to any which had yet appeared in the west. The regular force was composed of three complete regiments of infantry, two companies of artillery, and one of cavalry. The militia who joined St. Clair at Fort Washington, amounted to upwards of six hundred men, most of whom had long been accustomed to Indian warfare. The General commenced his march from Cincinnati on the 17th of September, and following the route of Harmar, arrived at Fort Jefferson without material loss, although not without having sustained much inconvenience from scarcity of provisions. The Kentucky rangers, amounting to upwards of two hundred men, had encountered several small parties of Indians, but no serious affair had as yet taken place. Shortly after leaving Fort Jefferson, one of the militia regiments, with their usual disregard to discipline, determined that it was inexpedient

to proceed farther, and detaching themselves from the main body, returned rapidly to the fort on their way home. This ill-timed mutiny not only discouraged the remainder, but compelled the General to detach the first regiment in pursuit of them, if not to bring them back, at least to prevent them from injuring the stores, collected at the fort for the use of the army. With the remainder of the troops, amounting in all to about twelve hundred men, he continued his march to the great Miami villages.

On the evening of the 3d of November, he encamped upon a very commanding piece of ground, upon the bank of one of the tributaries of the Wabash, where he determined to throw up some slight works for the purpose of protecting their knapsacks and baggage, having to move upon the Miami villages, supposed to be within twelve miles, as soon as the first regiment should rejoin them. The remainder of the evening was employed in concerting the plan of the proposed work with Major Ferguson of the engineers, and when the centries were posted at night, everything was as quiet as could have been desired. The troops were encamped in two lines, with an interval of seventy yards between them, which was all that the nature of the ground would permit. The battalions of Majors Butler, Clarke, and Patterson, composed the front line, the whole under the orders of Major-General Butler, an officer of high and merited reputation. The front of the line was covered by a creek, its right flank by the river, and its left by a strong corps of infantry. The second line was composed of the battalions of Majors Gaither and Bedinger, and the second regiment under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Darke. This line, like the other, was secured upon one flank by the river, and upon the other by the cavalry and pickets. The night passed away without alarm. The sentinels were vigilant, and the officers upon the alert.

A few hours before day, St. Clair caused the reveille to be beaten, and the troops to be paraded under arms, under the expectation that an attack would probably be made. In this situation, they continued until daylight, when they were dismissed to their tents. Some were endeavouring to snatch a few minutes' sleep, others were preparing for the expected

march, when suddenly the report of a rifle was heard from the militia a few hundred yards in front, which was quickly followed by a sharp irregular volley in the same direction. The drums instantly beat to arms, the officers flew in every direction, and in two minutes the troops were formed in order of battle. Presently the militia rushed into the camp, in the utmost disorder, closely pursued by swarms of Indians, who, in many places, were mingled with them, and were cutting them down with their tomahawks.

Major Butler's battalion received the first shock, and was thrown into disorder by the tumultuous flight of the militia, who, in their eagerness to escape, bore down everything before them. Here Major-General Butler had stationed himself, and here St. Clair directed his attention, in order to remedy the confusion which began to spread rapidly through the whole line. The Indians pressed forward with great audacity, and many of them were mingled with the troops, before their progress could be checked. Major-General Butler was wounded at the first fire, and before his wound could be dressed, an Indian who had penetrated the ranks of the regiment, ran up to the spot where he lay, and tomahawked him before his attendants could interpose. The desperate savage was instantly killed. By great exertions, Butler's battalion was restored to order, and the heavy and sustained fire of the first line compelled the enemy to pause and shelter themselves.

This interval, however, endured but for a moment. An invisible but tremendous fire quickly opened upon the whole front of the encampment, which rapidly extended to the rear, and encompassed the troops on both sides. St. Clair, who at that time was worn down by a fever, and unable to mount his horse, nevertheless, as is universally admitted, exerted himself with a courage and presence of mind worthy of a better fate. He instantly directed his litter to the right of the rear line, where the great weight of fire fell, and where the slaughter, particularly of the officers, was terrible. Here Darke commanded, an officer who had been trained to hard service, during the revolutionary war, and who was now gallantly exerting himself to check the consternation which was evidently beginning to prevail. St. Clair ordered him to make a rapid

charge with the bayonet, and rouse the enemy from their covert.

The order was instantly obeyed, and, at first, apparently with great effect. Swarms of dusky bodies arose from the high grass, and fled before the regiment with every mark of consternation; but as the troops were unable to overtake them, they quickly recovered their courage, and kept up so fatal a retreating fire, that the exhausted regulars were compelled, in their turn, to give way. This charge, however, relieved that particular point for some time; but the weight of the fire was transferred to the centre of the first line, where it threatened to annihilate everything within its range. There, in turn, the unfortunate General was borne by his attendants, and ordered a second appeal to the bayonet. This second charge was made with the same impetuosity as at first, and with the same momentary success. But the attack was instantly shifted to another point, where the same charge was made and the same result followed. The Indians would retire before them, still keeping up a most fatal fire, and the continentals were uniformly compelled to retire in turn. St. Clair brought up the artillery in order to sweep the bushes with grape, but the horses and artillerymen were destroyed by the terrible fire of the enemy, before any effect could be produced. They were instantly manned afresh from the infantry, and again swept of defenders.

The slaughter had now become prodigious. Four-fifths of the officers and one-half of the men were either killed or wounded. The ground was covered with bodies, and the little ravine which led to the river was running with blood. The fire of the enemy had not in the least slackened, and the troops were falling in heaps before it in every part of the camp. To have attempted to maintain his position longer, could only have led to the total destruction of his force, without the possibility of annoying the enemy, who never showed themselves, unless when charged, and whose numbers (to judge from the weight and extent of the fire) must have greatly exceeded his own. The men were evidently much disheartened, but the officers, who were chiefly veterans of the revolution, still maintained a firm countenance, and exerted themselves with un-

availing heroism to the last. Under these circumstances, St Clair determined to save the lives of the survivors if possible, and for that purpose collected the remnants of several battalions into one corps, at the head of which he ordered Lieutenant Colonel Darke to make an impetuous charge upon the enemy, in order to open a passage for the remainder of the army. Darke executed his orders with great spirit, and drove the Indians before him to the distance of a quarter of a mile. The remainder of the army instantly rushed through the opening, in order to gain the road; Major Clarke, with the remnant of his battalion, bringing up the rear, and endeavouring to keep the Indians in check.

The retreat soon degenerated into a total rout. Officers who strove to arrest the panic, only sacrificed themselves. Clarke, the leader of the rear guard, soon fell in this dangerous service, and his corps were totally disorganized. Officers and soldiers were now mingled without the slightest regard to discipline, and "devil take the hindmost," was the order of the day. The pursuit, at first, was keen; but the temptation afforded by the plunder of the camp soon brought them back, and the wearied, wounded, and disheartened fugitives were permitted to retire from the field unmolested. The rout continued as far as Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles from the scene of action. The action lasted more than three hours, during the whole of which time the fire was heavy and incessant.

The loss, in proportion to the number engaged, was enormous, and is unparalleled, except in the affair of Braddock. Sixty-eight officers were killed upon the spot, and twenty-eight wounded. Out of nine hundred privates who went into action, five hundred and fifty were left dead upon the field, and many of the survivors were wounded. General St. Clair was untouched, although eight balls passed through his hat and clothes, and several horses were killed under him. The Indian loss was reported by themselves at fifty-eight killed and wounded, which was probably not underrated, as they were never visible after the first attack, until charged with the bayonet. At Fort Jefferson, the fugitives were joined by the first regiment, who, as noticed above, had been detached in pursuit of the deserters. Here a council of war was called,

which terminated in the unanimous opinion, that the junction with the first regiment did not justify an attempt upon the enemy in the present condition of affairs, and that the army should return to Fort Washington without delay. This was accordingly done, and thus closed the second campaign against the Indians.

The unfortunate General was, as usual, assailed from one end of the country to the other, but particularly in Kentucky, with one loud and merciless outcry of abuse, and even detestation. All the misfortunes of his life (and they were many and bitter) were brought up in array against him. He was reproached with cowardice, treason, imbecility, and a disposition to prolong the war, in order to preserve that authority which it gave him. He was charged with sacrificing the lives of his men and the interests of his country, to his own private ambition. Men, who had never fired a rifle, and never beheld an Indian, criticised severely the plan of his encampment and the order of his battle; and, in short, all the bitter ingredients which compose the cup of the unsuccessful general, were drained to the dregs.

The leader of the Indian army in this bloody engagement was a chief of the Missassago tribe, known by the name of the "Little Turtle." Notwithstanding his name, he was at least six feet high, strong, muscular, and remarkably dignified in his appearance. He was forty years of age, had seen much service, and had accompanied Burgoyne in his disastrous invasion. His aspect was harsh, sour, and forbidding, and his person during the action was arrayed in the very extremity of Indian foppery, having at least twenty dollars' worth of silver depending from his nose and ears. The plan of attack was conceived by him alone, in opposition to the opinion of almost every other chief. Notwithstanding his ability, however, he was said to have been unpopular among the Indians, probably in consequence of those very abilities.

Many veteran officers of inferior rank, who had served with distinction throughout the revolutionary war, were destined to perish in this unhappy action. Among them was the gallant and unrewarded Captain Kirkwood, of the old Delaware line, so often and so honourably mentioned in Lee's Memoirs. The state of Delaware having had but one regiment on the continental

establishment, and that regiment having been reduced to a company at Camden, it was impossible for Kirkwood to be promoted without a violation of the ordinary rules, by which commissions were regulated. He accordingly had the mortification of beholding junior officers daily mounting above him in the scale of rank, while he himself, however meritorious, was compelled to remain in his present condition, on account of the small force which his native state could bring into the field.

Notwithstanding this constant source of mortification, he fought with distinguished gallantry, throughout the war, and was personally engaged in the battles of Camden, Guilford, Hobkirks, Ninety-six, and Eutaw, the hottest and bloodiest which occurred during the revolution. At the peace of 1783, he returned with a broken fortune, but a high reputation for courage, honour, and probity, and upon the re-appearance of war in the north-west, he hastened once more to the scene of action, and submitted, without reluctance, to the command of officers who had been boys while he was fighting those severe battles in the south. He fell in a brave attempt to repel the enemy with the bayonet, and thus closed a career as honourable as it was unrewarded.

Lieutenant-Colonel Darke's escape was almost miraculous. Possessed of a tall, striking figure, in full uniform, and superbly mounted, he headed three desperate charges against the enemy, in each of which he was a conspicuous mark. His clothes were cut in many places, but he escaped with only a slight flesh wound. In the last charge, Ensign Wilson, a youth of seventeen, was shot through the heart, and fell a few paces in the rear of the regiment, which was then rather rapidly returning to their original position. An Indian, attracted by his rich uniform, sprung up from the grass, and rushed forward to scalp him. Darke, who was at that time in the rear of his regiment, suddenly faced about, dashed at the Indian on horseback, and cleft his skull with his broadsword, drawing upon himself by the act a rapid discharge of more than a dozen rifles. He rejoined his regiment, however, in safety, being compelled to leave the body of young Wilson to the enemy. On the evening of the 8th of November, the broken remains of the army arrived at Fort Washington, and were placed in winter quarters.

Washington now informed the unfortunate St. Clair, that he could neither grant him a court of inquiry, nor allow him to retain his position. More vigorous operations to secure peace to the northwestern frontier were determined upon; but, in the mean time, commissioners were sent into the Indian country to see if it was possible to bring about negotiations. Of course, under the circumstances, these attempts to conclude a peace were not successful. After their great triumph, the red men ever cherished hopes of driving the whites beyond the Ohio.

It being determined to raise a more efficient army, Washington began to look about for a general to take the command. Generals Morgan, Scott, Wayne, Lee, and Colonel Darke, were proposed. Washington selected the energetic Wayne—surnamed, for his furious courage in battle, "Mad Anthony." Wayne immediately repaired to Pittsburgh, and proceeded to organize the army. Every exertion was made to fit the men for the peculiar warfare in which they were about to engage. In the mean time, commissioners, under the direction of the general government, continued their fruitless exertions to quiet the Indians without the use of force. Wayne's "Legion" passed the winter of 1792-93 at Legionville, and there remained until the last of April, 1793, when it was taken down the river to Cincinnati, and encamped near Fort Washington. There it continued till October, engaged merely in preparations, the Commander-in-chief having been directed by the executive to issue a proclamation, forbidding all hostile movements north of the Ohio, until the northern commissioners should be heard from. This proclamation was issued, and the country remained tranquil, although preparations were made for action, in case it should finally become needful.

On the 16th of August, 1793, the final messages took place between the American commissioners and the Indians, at the mouth of Detroit river; on the 23d reached Fort Erie, near Niagara; upon the same day they sent three letters to General Wayne, by three distinct channels, advising him of the issue of the negotiation. Wayne, encamped at his "Hobson's choice," and contending with the unwillingness of Kentuckians to volunteer in connexion with regular troops,—with fever, influenza, and desertion,—was struggling hard to bring his army

to such form and consistency as would enable him to meet the enemy with confidence. On the 5th of October, he writes that he cannot hope to have, deducting the sick and those left in garrison, more than 2600 regular troops, 360 mounted volunteers, and 33 guides and spies to go with him beyond Fort Jefferson.

On the 7th the legion left Cincinnati, and upon the 13th, without any accident, encamped upon a strong position beyond Fort Jefferson. Here, upon the 24th of October, he was joined by 1000 mounted Kentucky volunteers under General Scott, to whom he had written pressing requests to hasten forward with all the men he could muster. This request Scott hastened to comply with, and the Governor, upon the 28th of September had ordered, in addition, a draft of militia. The Kentucky troops, however, were soon dismissed again, until spring.

One attack had been made upon the troops previous to the 23d of October, and only one: a body of two commissioned and ninety non-commissioned officers and soldiers, conveying twenty wagons of supplies, was assaulted on the 17th, seven miles beyond Fort St. Clair, and Lieutenant Lowry and Ensign Boyd, with thirteen others, were killed. Although so little opposition had thus far been encountered, however, Wayne determined to stay where he was, for the winter, and having 70,000 rations on hand in October, with the prospect of 120,000 more, while the Indians were sure to be short of provisions, he proceeded to fortify his position; which he named Fort Greenville, and which was situated upon the spot now occupied by the town of that name. This being done, on the 23d or 24th of December, a detachment was sent forward to take possession of the field of St. Clair's defeat. They arrived upon the spot at Christmas day. "Six hundred skulls," says one present, "were gathered up and buried; when we went to lie down in our tents at night, we had to scrape the bones together and carry them out, to make our beds." Here was built Fort Recovery, which was properly garrisoned, and placed under the charge of Captain Alexander Gibson. During the early months of 1794, Wayne was steadily engaged in preparing everything for a sure blow when the time came, and, by means of Captain Gibson and his various spies, kept himself informed of the plans and move-

ments of the savages. All his information showed the faith in British assistance which still animated the doomed race of red-men.

On the 30th of June, 1794, Fort Recovery, the advanced American post, was assaulted by the Little Turtle, at the head of 1000 to 1500 warriors; and although repelled, the assailants rallied and returned to the charge, and kept up the attack through the whole of that day, and a part of the following. Nor was this assailing force entirely composed of natives; General Wayne, in his despatch, says his spies report "a great number of white men with the Indians."

On the 26th of July, Scott, with some 1600 mounted men from Kentucky, joined Wayne at Greenville, and on the 28th the legion moved forward. On the 8th of August, the army was near the junction of the Auglaize and Maumee, at Grand Glaize, and proceeded at once to build Fort Defiance where the rivers meet. The Indians had hastily abandoned their towns upon hearing of the approach of the army from a runaway member of the Quartermaster's corps, who was afterwards taken at Pittsburgh. It had been Wayne's plan to reach the head-quarters of the savages, Grand Glaize, undiscovered; and in order to do this, he had caused two roads to be cut, one towards the foot of the rapids (Roche de Bout), the other to the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph, while he pressed forward between the two: and this stratagem, he thinks would have been successful but for the deserter referred to. While engaged upon Fort Defiance, the American commander received full and accurate accounts of the Indians and the aid they would receive from the volunteers of Detroit and elsewhere; he learned the nature of the ground, and the circumstances favourable and unfavourable; and upon the whole, considering the spirit of his troops, officers and men, regulars and volunteers, he determined to march forward and settle matters at once. But yet, true to the last to the spirit of compromise and peace so forcibly taught by Washington, on the 13th of August he sent Christopher Miller, who had been naturalized among the Shawanees, and had been taken prisoner on the 11th by Wayne's spies, as a special messenger, offering terms of friendship.

Unwilling to waste time, the troops moved forward on the 15th, and on the 16th met Miller returning with the message, that if the Americans would wait ten days at Grand Glaize, they (the Indians) would decide for peace or war; which Wayne replied to only by marching straight on. On the 18th, the Legion had advanced forty-one miles from Grand Glaize, and being near by the long looked for foe, began to throw up some light works, called Fort Deposit, wherein to place the heavy baggage during the expected battle. On that day, five of Wayne's spies, among whom was May, rode into the very camp of the enemy: in attempting to retreat again, May's horse fell, and he was taken. The next day, the day before the battle, he was tied to a tree and shot at as a target. During the 19th, the army still laboured on their works: on the 20th, at 7 or 8 o'clock, all baggage having been left behind, the white forces moved down the north bank of the Maumee;—"the Legion on the right, its flank covered by the Maumee: one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left, under Brigadier General Todd, and the other in the rear, under Brigadier General Barbee. A select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the Legion, commanded by Major Price, who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced, so as to give timely notice for the troops to form in case of action, it being yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or war.

"After advancing about five miles, Major Price's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retreat. The Legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close thick wood, which extended for miles on our left, and for a very considerable distance in front; the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favourable covert for their mode of warfare. The savages were formed in three lines, within supporting distance of each other, and extending for near two miles at right angles with the river. I soon discovered, from the weight of the fire and extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favourite



WAYNE DEFEATING THE INDIANS.

ground, and endeavouring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance and support the first; and directed Major General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers, by a circuitous route; at the same time I ordered the front line to advance and charge with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when up to deliver a close and well directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give them time to load again.

“I also ordered Captain Mis Campbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, and which afforded a favourable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of infantry, that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers were driven from all their coverts in so short a time, that although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the Legion, and by Generals Scott, Todd, and Barbee, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in season to participate in the action; the enemy being driven, in the course of one

hour, more than two miles, through the thick woods, already mentioned, by less than one-half their numbers. From every account the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants. The troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred. This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison, as you will observe by the enclosed correspondence between Major Campbell, the commandant, and myself, upon the occasion."

The broken remains of the Indian army were pursued under the guns of the British fort, and so keen was the ardour of Wayne's men, and so strong their resentment against the English, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could be restrained from storming it upon the spot. As it was, many of the Kentucky troops advanced within gunshot, and insulted the garrison with a select volley of oaths and epithets, which must have given the British commandant a high idea of backwoods gentility. He instantly wrote an indignant letter to General Wayne, complaining of the outrage, and demanding by what authority he trespassed upon the sacred precincts of a British garrison? Now, "Mad Anthony" was the last man in the world to be dragooned into politeness, and he replied in terms but little short of those employed by the Kentuckians, and satisfactorily informed Captain Campbell, the British commandant, that his only chance of safety was silence and civility. After some sharp messages on both sides, the war of the pen ceased, and the destruction of property began. Houses, stores, cornfields, orchards, were soon wrapped in flames or levelled with the earth. The dwelling-house and store of Colonel M'Kee, the Indian Agent, shared the fate of the rest.

All this was performed before the face of Captain Campbell, who was compelled to look on in silence, and without any effort to prevent it. There remains not the least question *now* that the Indians were not only encouraged in their acts of hostility by the English *traders*, but were actually supplied with arms, ammunition, and provisions, by order of the English commandant at Detroit, Colonel England. There remains

a correspondence between this gentleman and M'Kee, in which urgent demands are made for fresh supplies of ammunition, and the approach of "the enemy" (as they called Wayne) is mentioned with great anxiety. After the battle of the Rapids, he writes that the Indians are much discouraged, and that "it will require great efforts to induce them to remain in a body." Had Wayne been positively informed of this circumstance, he would scarcely have restrained his men from a more energetic expression of indignation.

The Indian force being completely dispersed, their cornfields cut up, and their houses destroyed, Wayne drew off from the neighbourhood of the British posts, and, in order to hold the Indians permanently in check, he erected a fort at the junction of the Auglaize and Miami, in the very heart of the Indian country, to which he gave the appropriate name of Defiance. As this was connected with Fort Washington by various intermediate fortifications, it could not fail completely to overawe the enemy, who, in a very short time, urgently and unanimously demanded peace.

No victory could have been better timed than that of Wayne. The various tribes of Indians throughout the whole of the United States, encouraged by the repeated disasters of the armies in the northwest, had become very unsteady, and menacing in their intercourse with the whites. The Creeks and Cherokees, in the south, were already in arms, while the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, &c., in the north, were evidently preparing for hostilities. The shock of the victory at the Rapids, however, was felt in all quarters. The southern Indians instantly demanded peace; the Oneidas, conscious of their evil intentions, and fearful of the consequences, became suddenly affectionate even to servility; and within a few months after the victory, all the frontiers enjoyed the most profound peace. Wayne reported his loss at thirty-three killed and one hundred wounded. The Indian loss could not be ascertained, but was supposed to exceed that of the Americans. This, however, is very doubtful, as they gave way immediately, and were not so much exposed as the continentals.

One circumstance attending their flight is remarkable, and deserves to be inserted. Three Indians being hard pressed by

the cavalry upon one side, and the infantry upon the other, plunged into the river and attempted to swim to the opposite shore. A runaway negro who had attached himself to the American army, was concealed in the bushes upon the opposite bank, and perceiving three Indians approaching nearer than in his opinion was consistent with the security of his hiding-place, he collected courage enough to level his rifle at the foremost, as he was swimming, and shot him through the head. The other two Indians instantly halted in the water, and attempted to drag the body of their dead companion ashore. The negro, in the mean time, reloaded his gun and shot another dead upon the spot. The survivor then seized hold of both bodies, and attempted, with a fidelity which seems astonishing, to bring them both to land. The negro having had leisure to reload a second time, and firing from his covert upon the surviving Indian, wounded him mortally while struggling with the dead bodies. He then ventured to approach them, and from the striking resemblance of their features, as well as their devoted attachment, they were supposed to have been brothers. After scalping them, he permitted their bodies to float down the stream.

The Indians now sued for peace. Preliminaries were settled, and it was determined that a grand conference should be held at Greenville, to form a definitive treaty. During the month of June, 1795, the representatives of the northwestern tribes began to gather at Greenville, and on the 16th of that month Wayne met in council the Delawares, Ottawas, Pottawatamies, and Eel River Indians; and the conferences, which lasted till August 10th, commenced. On the 21st of June, Buckongehelas arrived; on the 23d, the Little Turtle and other Miamies; on the 13th of July, Tarke and other Wyandot Chiefs reached the appointed spot; and upon the 18th, Blue Jacket with thirteen Shawnees, and Masass with twenty Chippeways. Most of these, as it appeared by their statements, had been tampered with by M'Kee, Brant, and other English agents. They had, however, all determined to make a permanent peace with the Thirteen Fires, and although some difficulty as to the ownership of the lands to be ceded, at one time seemed likely to arise, the good sense of Wayne and of the Chiefs prevented it, and upon

the 30th of July the treaty was agreed to which was to bury the hatchet for ever. Between that day and the 3d of August it was engrossed, and having been signed by the various nations upon the day last named, on the 7th was finally acted upon, and the presents from the United States distributed forthwith. While the Council was in session some mischief had been done in Virginia by a band of Shawnees, but on the 9th of September these also came to Greenville, gave up their prisoners, and asked for forgiveness. The basis of the treaty of Greenville was the previous one made at Fort Harmar. Hostilities were to cease; all prisoners were to be restored, a large portion of the north-western territory was ceded to the United States; the Indians were allowed to hunt within the ceded lands; all previous treaties were annulled. From this time until the mighty Tecumseh began to agitate the west, the inhabitants enjoyed peace and security.



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