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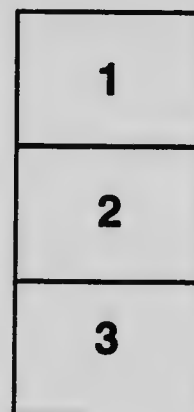
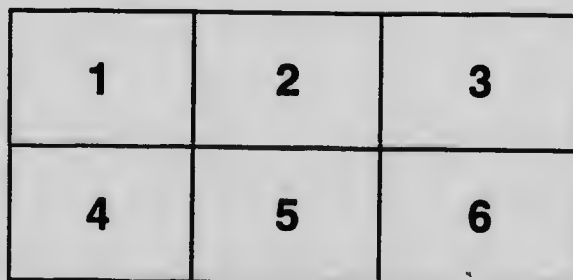
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The  
"Glorious Enterprise"



The Plan of Campaign

For the Conquest of New France;  
Its Origin, History and Connection  
with the Invasions of Canada. \*\*\*\*

.. By ..

W. D. Schuyler-Lighthall, M. A., F. R. S. L.,

Vice-President of the Numismatic & Antiquarian  
Society of Montreal, &c.



E. H. Marchand

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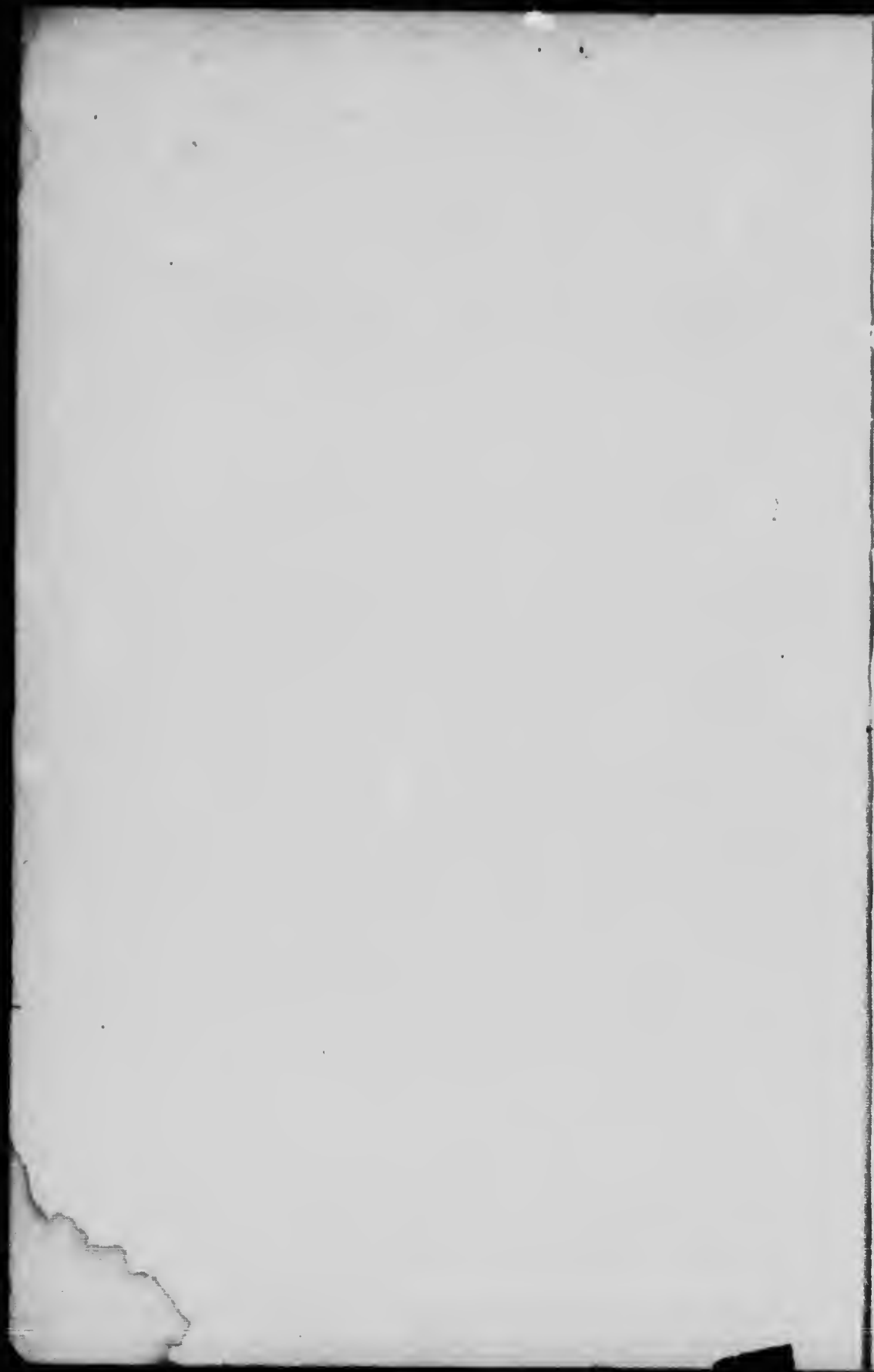


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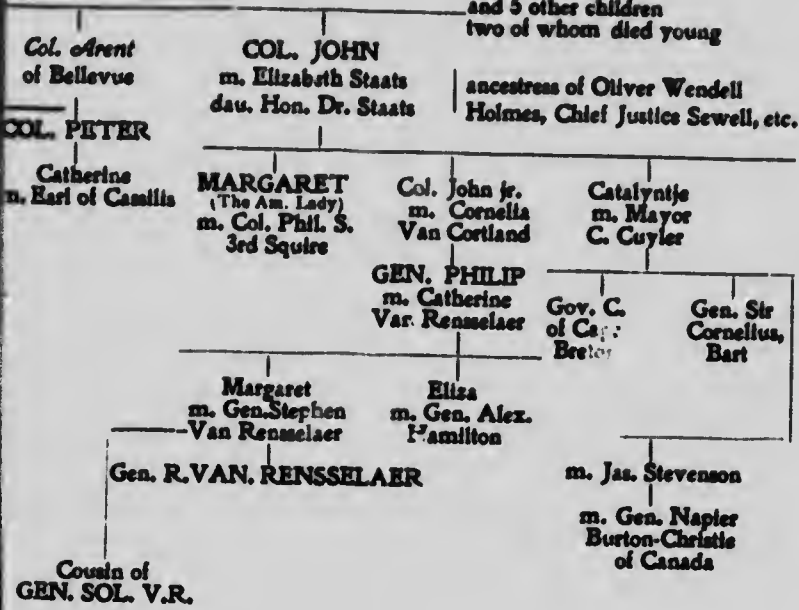
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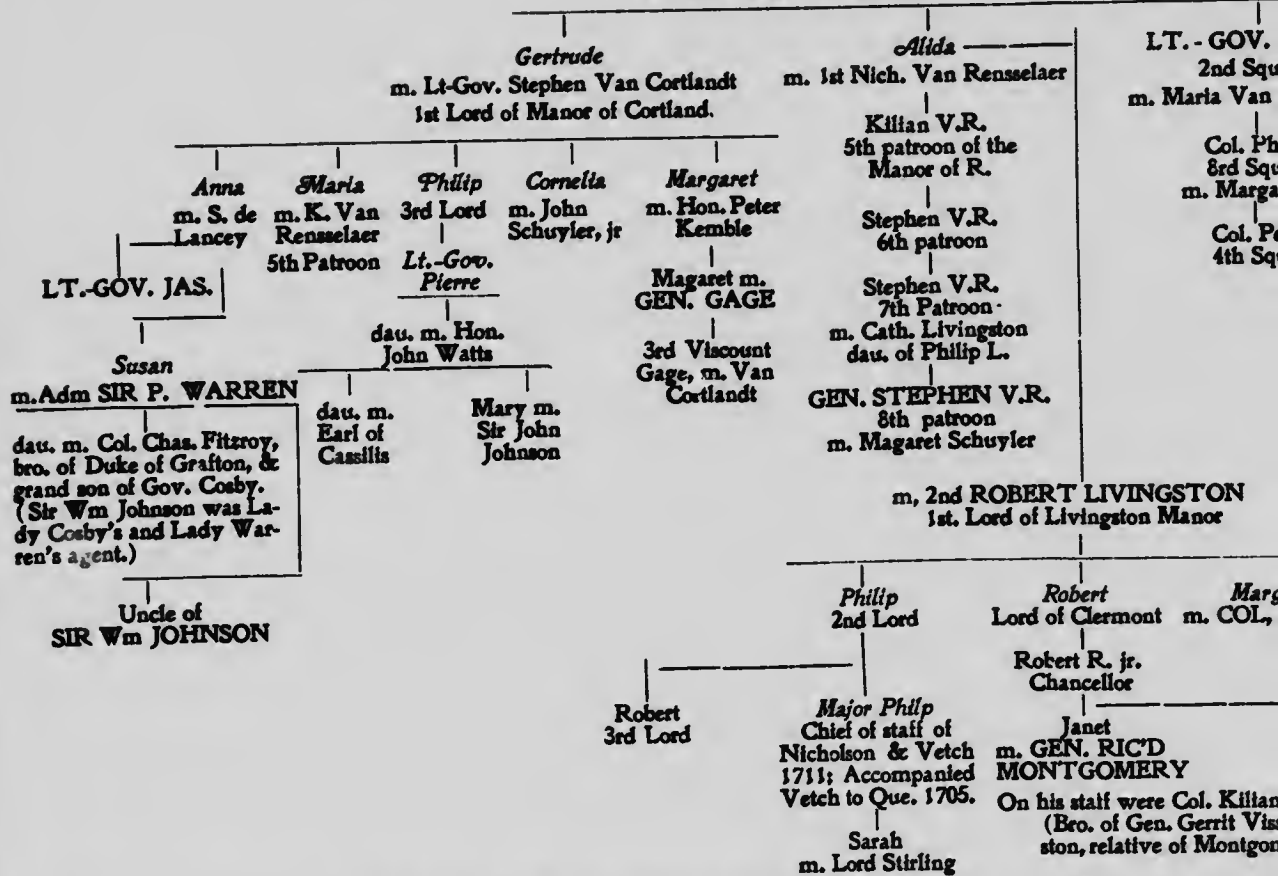
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**SIONS OF CANADA**

**Col. PHILIP PIETERSEN**

*1st SQUIRE OF THE*

in 1650 married **MARGARITA VAN SLICHTENHORST**



*Memo :* **ARENT VAN CORLEAR**, founder of the alliance with the Six Nations, was cousin of K. Van Rensselaer, 1

**TABLE SHOWING RELATIONSHIPS OF NEW**

# RENSELAER VAN SCHUYLER

## OF THE FLATTS.

THORST, daughter of Barent Van S. director Rensselaer Manr.

and 5 other children  
two of whom died young

GOV. PETER  
2nd Squire,  
Maria Van Rensselaer

Brant  
m. Cornelia Van Cortland

Col. Arent  
of Bellevue

COL. JOHN  
m. Elizabeth Staats  
dau. Hon. Dr. Staats

ancestress of Oliver Wendell  
Holmes, Chief Justice Sewell, etc.

Col. Philip  
8rd Squire  
m. Margaret S.

Col. Peter  
4th Squire

Two other Sons  
m. daughters of  
K. Van Rensselaer  
5 Patroon

COL. PETER  
Catherine  
m. Earl of Casillis

MARGARET  
(The Am. Lady)  
m. Col. Phil. S.  
3rd Squire

Col. John jr.  
m. Cornelia  
Van Cortland

Catalyntje  
m. Mayor  
C. Cuyler

GEN. PHILIP  
m. Catherine  
Van Rensselaer

Gov. C.  
of Cape  
Breton

Gen. Sir  
Cornelius,  
Bart

Margaret  
m. Gen. Stephen  
Van Rensselaer

Eliza  
m. Gen. Alex.  
Hamilton

Gen. R. VAN. RENSSELAER

m. Jas. Stevenson  
m. Gen. Napier  
Burton-Christie  
of Canada

Cousin of  
GEN. SOL. V.R.

STON  
manor

Margaret  
m. COL. S. VETCH

m. William Smith, jr.  
Historian and Chief Justice } Son of Chief Justice WM. SMITH, Sen.

Col. Kilian Van Rensselaer, and Col. J. Visscher of Claverack,  
Gerrit Visscher of British Gren. Guards) and Col. Jas. Living-  
Montgomery's wife, commanded a Regt.

rensselaer, 1st patroon.

## NEW YORK DEVISERS OF INVASIONS OF CANADA

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THE  
" GLORIOUS ENTERPRISE "



THE PLAN OF CAMPAIGN

FOR THE CONQUEST OF NEW FRANCE; ITS ORIGIN,  
HISTORY AND CONNECTION WITH THE IN-  
VASIONS OF CANADA

BY W. D. SCHUYLER-LIGHTHALL, M. A., F. R. S. L.

*Vice-President of the Numismatic & Antiquarian  
Society of Montreal.*

I. THE QUESTION AT ISSUE

**T**HE greatest event in the history of the New World, (except its discovery by Columbus) in the opinion of the writer, was the conquest of Canada, for that event decided the fate of North America, as respects the dominance of races and institutions. The Revolution, it is true, was a momentous occurrence but it was in essence a development rather than a fundamental displacement. The conquest of Canada was the result of that long historical struggle between England and France for the control of this

continent, the " Seventy Years War " in which so many noble spirits had taken part on both sides and such remarkable deeds of enterprise and daring had been done.

We are apt to look at its decisive incident, the taking of Quebec, by itself and unthinkingly to attribute the entire credit of the long process to the dying hero James Wolfe, and to the British forces under his command. The process however was much larger than the finale, and the toilsome footsteps of not one but many actors are imprinted on the long path of the movement, and contributed to its result. It is true that authorities such as Parkman and Kingsford, have perceived part of the proposition, and describe the taking of Quebec as the culmination of two generations of scattered and ineffective strife arising out of the inevitable conflict of two expanding populations. But even by them the strife is regarded as disconnected and void of unity of purpose.

The object of the present paper is to show, and I believe for the first time definitely, a remarkable and significant family and social connection between the personnel of the chief actors on the British side during the successive stages; to trace the course of a pertinacious adherence by them to one coherent plan of conquest from first to last, a plan which in substance was the one that finally attained the result; and to indicate a connection of associated events of historical importance before and after these seventy years of war forming a preface and sequel to them,



which cover a much longer period comprising in all nearly three centuries—from about 1560 to 1838.

Though an inheritor of the history of these persons, I have sought to set forth their claims and the facts as impartially as I could, and to adduce the proofs.

## II. CAUSES OF THE INVASIONS

The war against New France derived its origin from the fall of Hochelaga, an aboriginal event which took place about 1550-60. Somewhere about 1400, the Hochelagans, a Huron-Iroquois people, had established themselves on the Island of Montreal and in the surrounding country, having broken off from the Huron race, then or soon afterwards centred on the eastern shore of Lake Huron. They had forgotten their ancestry, were established on good terms with the surrounding Algonkin peoples and were visited by Jacques Cartier in 1535 at their palisaded town the site of which is opposite the present McGill University grounds. About 1550-60 trouble arose with the Algonkins, who seem to have called in the Hurons to their aid. The latter, coming from the west, besieged and burnt the town of Hochelaga with the result of driving out the Hochelagans altogether from the valley of the St. Lawrence towards Lake Champlain (1).

Thus was kindled the strife which was the beginning of the terrible Iroquois wars of New France.

(1) See Hochelagans and Mohawks, by the writer in the proceedings of the Royal society of Canada. Vol. IV, Second series.

The Hochelagans, next known under the name of Carleugas, Agniers or Mohawks were driven into an alliance with the other tribes thereafter known with them under the names of the Five Nations or Iroquois, and Champlain on his arrival took up the quarrel of the Hurons and Algonkins with them thus launching the French upon their lasting feud with the Five Nations, which finally brought about the wars with the British Colonies.

One invasion stands entirely apart from the others to which this paper refers, namely that by Kertk, of 1629, the cause of which was the conflict for the control of the fisheries on the shores of the Gulf and Newfoundland.

### III. THE INVASION OF 1690-1

The commencement of active trouble between the colonies arose in 1689 when Frontenac, incensed at the British for protecting the Iroquois and allowing their traders to sell them firearms and ammunition, organized three expeditions: — the first against Albany or Orange, starting from Montreal, the leaders of which were LeMoyne de Ste. Hélène and D'Ailleboust de Manteth; the second against some point between Boston and New York, and which struck a blow at Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, its starting point being Three Rivers; the third against the New England coast, with Quebec for starting point. The whole idea was apparently a form of Callieres' proposal of 1689 to the king for the taking of Albany and conquest of all New York.

The result of the first enterprise of the three was the sacking and midnight massacre of Schenectady, then a small hamlet 12 miles from Albany, in which sixty-three inhabitants were slain on the 9th. of February 1690, and a number of others were carried off to Canada.

Blows of a similar kind were struck by the other two expeditions and the whole proceeding aroused, enraged and fused in a common sentiment the British colonies, hitherto self-centred under their separate governments.

It was the blow against Albany which produced by far the most decisive consequence. That place was then, and remained long afterwards, a post of comparative importance, though the population of the town and county would now seem insignificant. Callières (1), estimated that the city in 1689 contained 150 houses and about three hundred men bearing arms. The white population of the city and county *were* estimated at 1014. (2)

A few years afterwards the city and county of Albany had come to contain nearly as many persons as and in 1756 more than the city and county of New York, so that its relative importance was considerable. Its strategic importance certainly was great. The colony of New Netherland had been founded by the Dutch nation in 1609. Its chief object at first was trade with the Indians. The Dutch claimed as included in it a large area comprising roughly

(1) Doc. Hist., N. Y., I, p. 288.

(2) Doc. p. 690 at 1014.

the present states of New York, Vermont, New Jersey, Delaware, and parts of Connecticut and Pennsylvania. In 1630 (1), the settlement of Albany had been undertaken by Killian Van Rensselaer, a wealthy Dutch *noble* who named it Rensselaerswyck. The boundaries of his possession, which he himself never saw, were twenty-four miles square and included the territory of the present cities of Albany, Troy and other large neighbouring towns. Being at the head of the navigation of the Hudson, and on the borders of the Five Nation country, the settlement was well situated for the fur trade with the savages of the West. In 1664 New Netherland became English, and was granted by King Charles II, to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany, after whom the province was styled New York, and after whose second title Rensselaerswyck was thenceforth named Albany. When James became king, New York was attached as a permanent appanage of the crown, and being styled "The Royal Province," was ever afterwards more directly controlled by the Crown than any of the other colonies. English manorial law was introduced and the creation of large manors and estates became a characteristic of New York policy, until the Revolution. It was said, about the middle of the 18th century, that in passing from Albany to New York (a distance of about one hundred and sixty miles) the traveller crossed the land of only thirteen proprietors. Parkman puts the matter as it stood at about the same period as follows.

(1) N. Y., Doc. I, 85.

" In New York, the old Dutch feudality still held  
" sway, and the manors of the Van Rensselaers,  
" Van Cortlandts and Livingstons, and the great  
" estates and numerous tenantry of the Schuylers  
" and other leading families, formed the basis of an  
" aristocracy, some of the members of which had  
" rendered good service to the State and were des-  
" tined to render more. Pennsylvania was feudal  
" in form but not in spirit ; Virginia, in spirit but  
" not in form, New England in neither and  
" New York in both (1)." The existence of a  
powerful aristocracy in New York had a great in-  
fluence on the military history of the invasions of  
Canada. The results were already in evidence at  
Albany, in 1689, at the period of the massacre of  
Schenectady. At that time the ancient social dis-  
tinction between the *gentry* and the people which  
had been imported unbroken from Europe during the  
period of the Dutch patroonships, and was confirmed  
by English customs, was in full force, and the un-  
questioning respect shewn to persons of gentle class  
placed them in a position of natural leadership and  
gave scope to the hereditary qualities which no doubt  
distinguished some of them. The institution of  
noblesse or gentry produced some of the same cha-  
racteristics as in New France ;—an active, far-  
sighted spirit of military enterprise, and at the same  
time a repellent force to the progress of immigration.

Albany had received a city charter from the crown  
in 1686, and its first mayor was Peter Schuyler.

(1) Montcalm and Wolfe, Vol. II.

The usual indications of coat-armor, marriage, education, and repute show that Schuyler's father belonged to the petty noblesse of Holland, and his archaic falconer escutcheon indicated that the line was ancient. He had come out to Rensselaerswyck in 1650, was well received, and married the daughter of the Director of the Colony the same year, and soon occupied some of the most important positions of the place, being commander of the militia of the district and a commissaris or magistrate. His wife Margarita was of a markedly proud and even warlike disposition. Of their eleven children two died young and the others — *nurtured* in plain, hardy, truthful fashion, — married members of the principal manorial and military families of the Province. Through their descendants the plans for the conquest of Canada were originated, were perpetuated and finally carried out. He possessed large tracts of land and particularly an estate a few miles north of Albany, then and afterwards known as "The Flatts," one of the many extensive landed possessions which afterwards were held by his family and which in time became of large value. Peter, the Mayor of Albany, was the eldest of his sons.

The Mayors were appointed by the Crown; and there were included in Peter Schuyler's powers those of Chairman of the Indian Commissioners; Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and commander of the militia of the District — posts including altogether the principal administrative military and judicial powers over an enormous extent of country. The importance of the

Five Nation Indians, (later the Six Nations) with their host of some 2,800 active warriors, made the post of Chairman of the Indian Commissioners in some degree the most essential part of his duties. In those days of small numbers and vast opportunities, this chairmanship constituted practically the control of an alliance of the separate military powers controlling the heart of the continent.

On receipt of the news of the massacre of Schenectady, consternation was the first feeling at Albany. William of Orange had just come to the throne of Great Britain after a sanguinary struggle; no Governor of his appointment had as yet reached the Province. The City of New York and with it the lower region of the Province were under the power of the usurper Jacob Leisler, who had been elected Lieutenant-Governor by a fanatical mob, and the authorities at Albany were unable to act upon their own initiative. Their portion of the Province was being managed by a simple convention of the Albany officials and in their weakness and distress following the massacre this convention felt obliged to call upon the other colonies for help. It was then that Peter Schuyler, refusing to listen to the many who were for deserting the town, pursued and attacked the invaders and devised that fundamental scheme for the conquest of Canada which was the basis of all the plans leading to final success, and departure from the lines of which was ever followed by failure and defeat. Its features were: — first, co-operation of all the British colonies; second, a fleet attacking Quebec;

third, an army making a supporting attack on Montreal by way of Lake Champlain; and fourth, the assistance of the Five Nation Indians. Simple through it appears, subsequent events have proved its depth of calculation.

Let us inquire into its origin. (1) Parkman says: "The plan of the combined attack on Canada" seems to have been first proposed by the Iroquois," and it is true that Schuyler in his appeal to Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey and Pennsylvania quotes a remark of the Five Nation chiefs which will be given below as to the necessity of unity and the sending of ships to Quebec, but it is evident that any suggestion of this kind could scarcely originate with an inland savage people, but rather that they had approved of plans to that effect which had been represented to them by their British friends as possible. Such subjects had doubtless been discussed many times between the Indian Commissioners and the various councils of the Five Nations. The position of Schuyler in these joint councils was not alone that of Chief of the Whites, but what appealed far more to their sentiment and customs was that they looked up to him as the great white *Warrior* their ally. For immediately after the massacre of Schenectady he had taken up their cause against the French; had gone at the head of two hundred militia and Indians, fought the enemy and taken fifteen prisoners. Ever after this tangible proof of comradeship with them he was considered one of themselves and affec-

(1) Frontenac, p. 255.



tionately referred to by the Five Nations as "our brother Quider." (1)

Again and again he is addressed in the formal addresses at their meetings with the New York Governors, and his name was regarded by them as of more importance than that of the nominal administrators. On one occasion they strenuously demand that "Quider" be sent to them and refuse to be pacified except by their brother who "never told a lie and never spoke without thinking."

This position of influence with the Six Nations he possessed in a kind of succession from the "great white chief," Arent van Corlaer who had been the first Director of the colony of Rensselaerwyck and afterwards founded Schenectady. Van Corlaer was a restless adventurous gentleman, a cousin of Killian van Rensselaer, the first Patroon and was thus of the same family circle as Schuyler, two of whose sisters married Van Rensselaers. Being a man of fearless, generous nature and athletic presence, he was very highly thought of by the Indians and also by the French. As practically Governor of Upper New Netherland he had accepted an invitation to visit the Marquis de Tracy, Governor of Canada, when he perished on the way in a storm. The Governors of New York were always known in after times by his name and the same title slightly corrupted (Kora) continues to the present day to be that given by all Iroquois to the sovereigns of Great Britain. Van Corlear

(1) The name was formed by their attempt to pronounce his name Peter, there being no letter P in the Iroquois vocabulary.

was the true founder of the long Anglo-Iroquois alliance.

To return from our digression, the letters to Massachusetts sent on the part of the Albany Convention were signed by Schuyler and by two others, — Wessels, the Recorder, and Killian van Rensselaer the second, representing the manor, but Parkman rightly attributes the terms of the message to Schuyler alone, as subsequent events proved. These letters were in the same terms to the various colonies. That to Massachusetts was dated 15 February 1690, six days after the Schenectady attack, and in its course relates the remark of the Mohawk chiefs to which I have referred :

*“ Write to all them that are in covenant with us, namely New England, Virginia and the English Planters of America, to make all readiness to master Canada early in the Spring, with great ships, else you cannot live in peace. Now gentlemen, “ (the letter proceeds) ” the Indians speak well, yet we are satisfied by all their actions that they will side with the strongest and the Indians that are amongst the French are all of our Indian relations, and it cannot be imagined that they will destroy one another, therefore, if their Majesties’ subjects do not rise like one man against the French, their Majesties’ interests in these parts will be destroyed, and they once being rooted out, all your evils which spring from them as a fountain will be quashed. The longer we stay the worse it will be, for we must do it at last. Make all*

“readiness in the Spring to invade Canada by water.  
“We beg an answer with all speed.”

Half a year previously on the 23rd. of July 1689, Colonel Nicholas Bayard, having fled from Leisler at New York “to the protection of the great care, conduct and prudence of Peter Schuyler, Mayor” of Albany, (1) writes to Captain Nicholson, afterwards the nominal commander against Canada in 1711. “I find the inhabitants of Albany *still* inclined for some exploit; and if a war with France, they would not be wanting to contribute verry much towards the subduing of that Government.”

A few days later, on the 5th. of August, he explains their project exactly to Nicholson: (2)

“It is therefore most certain that these English Colonies will never be at rest or safe till those ill designs of the French be stifled, *by the subduing and invading of Canada, which easily might be accomplished with some small assistance from England, by water from New York and by land from hence, in which we may have a sufficient number of Indians for assistance,*”.... we have various reports, (3) that the war is proclaimed between England and France, which if so I humbly conceive it would be the only time to make that attempt *this very next Spring*, yet leave the consideration thereof to better Councill.”

(1) N. S. Doc. III, 675.

(2) Colonel N. Bayard to Capt. Nicholson, from Albany, 5 Aug. 1689. III, 611.

(3) In April 1869.

The proposition of the Iroquois proposed by them to Governor Dongan in Feb. 1688, (1) was only to remove the French from Niagara, Cataraqui and Ticonderoga, not a general plan of conquest.

Nor was the plan that of the loyal and able Dongan, as he freely avows himself while a true and active Briton " a better friend to the French King's subjects than he thinks I am ", and his view of their relations was simply that each nation should keep to its own proper territory.

Twenty years previously, the conquest of Canada had been thought of and dismissed.

By letter of Gov. John Winthrop to Secretary Arlington it appears that royal letters of 22 Feb. 1666 to the Governments of Massachusetts, Nova Scotia and Connecticut ordered the conquest of Canada, but it was " the unanimous apprehension of us all that at present there could be nothing done by these Colonies in reducing those places at or about Canada."

In 1687 we find the situation being considered. Peter Schuyler writes to Dongan, 7 Sept. 1687: *The various reports that come daily makes us consider in what posture our place is off for defence, we know now what design the french may have, and it is certain this place must be the general Rendez-vous of the county.*" (2)

The Albany Convention acted independently of the usurper Leisler. They at the same time stirred

(1) P. 536.

(2) P. 482.

up the Six Nations; and then sent as envoy to Connecticut and Massachusetts Schuyler's brother-in-law Robert Livingston who was urged to go on account of his readiness in the English tongue. Though two others were with him, he was really the agent. (1)

His memorial to Massachusetts contains the following: (2)

"8thly, to come to the main business, which is the  
 "subduing of Canada; this is not so difficult as is re-  
 "presented to people here. We conceive it of that  
 "importance that all true Protestant subjects ought  
 "to join together, . . . and understanding your  
 "Honors are equipping of vessels and sending of men  
 "to annoy our enemies at Port Royal . . . *We are*  
 "*of opinion that such an expedition will not obtain*  
 "*our aim, and therefore if it can possibly be effected*  
 "*the only way is to strike at the head by taking*  
 "*Quebec, and then all the rest must follow . . .*  
 "*We, by making a good appearance of Christians*  
 "*and Indians by land will draw the principal force*  
 "*up to Montreal and so facilitate the taking of*  
 "Quebec." They were also to blockade the St.-Lawrence, shutting out all succour from France.

The characteristic answer of Massachusetts was  
 "that they were fitting out an expedition under Sir  
 "William Phipps against Port Royal, the object of  
 "which was to clear *their own* coasts." In the end  
 however the combination was formed. By the ad-

(1) N. Y., vol. 3, p. 699.

(2) N. Y., Doc. 3, p. 697.

vice of Connecticut, a peace was patched up with Leisler and all joined in the enterprise, Winthrop of Connecticut being agreed upon as general. New York was to furnish four hundred men; Massachusetts one hundred and sixty; Connecticut one hundred and thirty-five; Plymouth sixty; and Maryland one hundred. In thanking Connecticut, Livingston said: "I hope your honors do not look upon Albany as Albany but the frontier of your honor's Colony and of all their Majesties' countries." In the operations Schuyler undertook specially the management of the Six Nations and he visited them, and afterwards went to Wood Creek, which led northward to the foot of Lake Champlain. At the creek he made canoes and other preparations for the little army. Small-pox and a bad commissariat broke up the expedition that year—1690. But in order that an impression should not be lost, the Colonel's brother Captain John Schuyler, then aged twenty-two, volunteered to lead any who would join him, in a raid upon Canada. About forty British and one hundred Iroquois (1) volunteered, at the head of whom he penetrated the wilderness to La-prairie opposite Montreal. The place was surrounded by miles of open meadow land, and he could not get his Indians to attack in the open. They however destroyed the crops, killed six French, and carried off nineteen prisoners.

The raid very naturally appears in French annals as an Iroquois incursion. It was in reality the first

(1) Journal of John Schuyler, N. Y., Doc.

attack upon Canada by land. John's brother Arent Schuyler had previously in May of the same year led a scouting party of eight Mohawks along the same route.

During the season Massachusetts captured Port Royal, (which was however afterwards returned to France by Great Britain). The next year the colonies carried out the enterprise in a manner more approaching completeness. Sir William Phipps made his celebrated attack upon Quebec and in combination with him Peter Schuyler invaded Canada by land, following the same route as John and striking a severe blow at Laprairie, which is described by Charlevoix, by the French Engineer officer Gédéon de Catalogne, by Frontenac, and also by Schuyler himself in his Journal, in the New York documents. His force, carefully counted by each man putting down a small stick, consisted of two hundred and sixty-six men, of whom one hundred and twenty were whites. The failure of Phipps rendered his movement unavailing except in its effects upon the Five Nations, whom during the subsequent years he several times inspirited by energetic movements of a similar character. For many years also his brothers, Colonels John and Arent Schuyler were actively engaged in the British service on the frontier.

#### IV. THE INVASION OF 1709-11

The Plan remained dormant until early in the next century, when a man of immense energy took it up anew. This was Colonel Samuel Vetch, who

born in 1668 in Scotland had fought bravely in several European battles and had taken part in the ill-fated colonization scheme of the Isthmus of Darien. After the failure of the latter he went to New York. In 1700 soon after arriving he spent some months in Albany, and there married the daughter of Robert Livingston and niece of Peter Schuyler, being thus drawn into the family group in question, with all its activities, recollections and access to archives of the past war. In 1702 his name appears at a meeting of the Governor and Indian Commissioners with the chiefs of the Five Nations at Albany. He engaged in the wholesale fur trade into Canada from Albany, and traded by ship to Quebec from Boston. Being experienced in military matters and daring enterprises he took up again the scheme of 1690 for the conquest of Canada, and in pursuit of it examined carefully the approaches to that country both by Quebec and Montreal. He gathered all particulars about the previous expedition with a view to its renewal. In 1708 he went to England with the scheme; obtained favor at court for his plans and in 1709 was despatched to New York with instructions to several Governors of Provinces to take part in what he terms "this glorious enterprise." The phrase was a repetition of the "Soe glorious an enterprise" used by the Albany agents in their Memorial to Massachusetts of the 20th. of March 1689 which he must have read among the archives kept by his father-in-law (1) and was repeated at a

(1) N. Y., Doc. III, 697.



later day by Pownall in relation to the final and successful form of the Plan described hereafter. He had obtained the valuable adherence of Colonel Francis Nicholson, former Governor of New York, and now of Massachusetts, the same to whom Bayard had described the idea in 1689, who was to assist in the attack, with forces to start from Albany to consist of 1500 men contributed by the united colonies while provisions for three months were to be previously deposited at Wood Creek. Vetch, with rank of colonel, was to accompany the fleet to Quebec, and it was specially stipulated that Colonel Peter Schuyler was to be secured and given the practical command of the land expedition; as Nicholson was no soldier. The fleet failed to arrive that year, so in 1710 (1) Schuyler proceeded to England at his own expense and took with him to the court of Queen Anne five of the principal Five Nation chiefs in order both to strengthen their allegiance and especially to arouse interest in Britain for he held and expressed the firm conviction that, through their predominance over all other tribes, they held "the balance of power in North America." He was completely successful. References to the "Indian Kings" and "Mohawks" in the *Spectator*, show the popularity of the visit, and it had substantial results in military aid. Queen Anne became personally very friendly to him, presented him with his portrait, a set of silver plate, and one of diamonds for his wife, and repeatedly urged him to accept knighthood, which however

(1) Smith's Hist. of N. Y. See post.

he refused, for various quaint reasons. First he said that he had brothers not so well off as himself who would feel humble by comparison. Afterwards his reply was that the honor might make the ladies of his family vain ! Probably he was not without some humor.

During the same year Acadia was permanently conquered by Vetch (with Nicholson as nominal leader) and Vetch was made first Governor of Port Royal and of Nova Scotia. The name of the town was changed to Annapolis Royal in honor of the Queen. In 1711, the British fleet, commanded by Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker, came out bearing an army under General " Jack " Hill, a worthless court favorite, and sailed from Boston for Quebec. Vetch had stipulated that in case of success in reducing Canada and Newfoundland he might be left Commander-in-chief of Canada. (1)

The story of the shipwreck on the *Iles aux Oeufs* in the Gulf is familiar. Walker, who was incapable and headstrong, refused to be warned that he was running on the rocks, while Hill, the General, fell into a monstrous fright and retreated. Vetch, plans were thus frustrated, to his intense chagrin. Schuyler meanwhile, as Lieutenant-General, received the levies of the colonies at Albany, arranged for the Indian alliance, and commanded the Albany regiment ; but the land expedition being by its nature auxiliary only, was given up on the failure of the fleet. The connection of this expedition with that of 1691 is

(1) N.-Y. Doc., V. p. 79.

evident in detail ; not only from the circumstances and *personnel*, but from the expressions in the New-York Documents. (1) The close connection of Colonel Schuyler with the land expedition is obvious from the Governor's instructions (2) and from the examination of certain Indians (3) in which the Governor of Quebec tells them that he expected the first blow from Quider. Vetch had told Walker, in remonstrating with him about discontinuing the invasion, that he considered Phipps' voyage in 1691 as being his exemplar for the navigation to Quebec in the one in hand. (4)

While the names to which large military movements were officially attributed were frequently those of governors and commanders from Britain, such as Nicholson and Hill, the true sources of credit were well known in the Province itself. William Smith Jr, the earliest historian of New-York, whose father had been Chief Justice, and whose marriage to a Livingston of the Manor gave him full access to the personal and other information possessed by the ruling group, reflects the general opinion in his history as follows : (5)

"As we had not a man in the Province who had more extensive views of the importance of driving the French out of Canada than Colonel Schuyler, so neither did any person more heartily engage in the

(1) V. 73.

(2) Do. p. 73.

(3) P. 83.

(4) Kingsford, 2., p. 465.

(5) P. 196.

late expedition. To preserve the friendship of the Five Nations, without which it would be impossible to prevent our frontiers from becoming a field of blood, he studied all the arts of insinuating himself into their favor. He gave them all possible encouragement and assistance and very much impaired his own fortune by his liberality to their Chiefs. They never came to Albany but they resorted to his house and even dined at his table; and by this means he obtained an ascendancy over them which was attended with very good consequences to the Province. Impressed with a strong sense of the necessity of some vigorous measures against the French, Colonel Schuyler was extremely discontented at the late disappointment; and resolved to make a voyage to England at his private expense, the better to inculcate on the Ministry the absolute necessity of reducing Canada to the Crown of Great Britain. For that purpose he proposed to carry home with him five Indian Chiefs. The House no sooner heard of his design than they came to the resolution, which, in justice to his distinguished merit, I ought not to suppress. It was this;

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the humble address of the Lieutenant Governor, Council and General Assembly of this Colony, to the Queen, representing the present state of this plantation be committed to his charge and care to be presented by himself to Her Sacred Majesty; he being a person who, not only in the last war, when he commanded the forces of this Colony in Chief at Canada, but

also in the present, has performed faithful services to this and the neighboring Colonies, and behaved himself in the offices, with which he has been entrusted, with good reputation and the general satisfaction of the people of those parts."

Regarding Vetch, Smith refers to his achievements as follows ; (1)

" Colonel Vetch, who had been several years before at Quebec and sounded the River St. Lawrence, was the first projector of this enterprise. The Ministry approved of it and Vetch arrived in Boston and prevailed on the New England Colonies to join the scheme. After that he came to New York and concerted the plan of operations with Francis Nicholson, formerly our Lieutenant-Governor who, at the request of Governor Ingolsby, the Council, the Assembly, Gurdon Saltonstall, the Governor of Connecticut, and Charles Gookin, Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania, accepted the Chief command of the Provincial forces intended to penetrate into Canada by the way of Lake Champlain."

Peter Schuyler at length passed away at his estate of the Flatts, full of years and honors, having been thrice Lieutenant-Governor and for a long time President of the Executive Council of the Province, of which his brother Colonel John Schuyler was also a member. Poor Vetch fell into obscurity and total neglect after the failure of his enterprise, and died in a British prison, incarcerated for debt. In the next generation, the traditions of Peter and John Schuyler

(1) P. 173.

were carefully considered on by Peter's son Philip, the third squire of John Platts and by his remarkable wife Margarita, who was a daughter of John. This person, whose life is given in the celebrated work of Mrs Grant, of Laggan, entitled "Memoirs of an American Lady" is now herself known to historians, as "The American Lady," from the title of the work. The extent to which she and her husband were regarded as depositories of military information affecting Canada is shown in the same book; (1)

Various evidences of the persistence of the enterprise are found among the members of the Council as well as in the chief manor-houses of the Province, among the descendants of Peter Schuyler. New strongholds rose in the way, and new details became necessary. "As a rupture with France seems to us at this distance unavoidable" writes Lieutenant-Governor Clarke to the Duke of Newcastle in 1741, "I humbly beg leave to lay before your Grace my present thoughts" and he proceeds to explain a plan for the conquest of Canada, which he takes for granted to be a current object of Provincial thought. He would subdue the forts of the Upper Lakes, and at Crown Point, take Louisbourg by a fleet from England and then by blockading the Gulf of St. Lawrence against French shipping open the way for a land expedition by Chambly to Quebec. The latter expedition would probably have failed, and with it the whole campaign, for reasons which in the end

(1) Vide pps. 120-1-2-3. 134-215-16-17-33-34, 271-2, 281. Munsell ed.

(2) NY. Doc. VI, 182-3-4.

proved it to be necessary that Quebec should be attacked by a fleet; but the whole was none the less an echo of the original plan. Clarke re-iterated his views in brief to the Lords of Trade, (1) and repeated them at the close of the same year, (2) mentioning the experiences of King William's War and Queen Anne's War "and our unfortunate expedition against Canada." (3)

In 1745, Louisbourg was taken by a New England crusade under Pepperell, with the assistance of a British fleet under Commodore, (afterwards Vice-Admiral) Sir Peter Warren, the original idea having been suggested to Governor Shirley of Massachusetts by one William Vaughan, a fish-trader. (4)

Shirley was so elated (5) that he proposed to attack Canada, a scheme which he pushed energetically during the next year, but which was spoiled through neglect of the Home Government to send the necessary fleet. "As usual in the English attempts against Canada," remarks Parkman (6) "the campaign was to be a double one. The main body of troops, composed of British regulars and New England militia, was to sail up the St. Lawrence and attack Quebec, while the levies of New York and the provinces further south aided, it was hoped, by the warriors of the Iroquois, were to ad-

(1) p. 186.

(2) Do. p. 207.

(3) Vide also ib. 225 & 226—similar letters in 1743.

(4) Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict* II, 83.

(5) Do. p. 167.

(6) Do. p. 169.

vance on Montreal by way of Lake Champlain. The squadron was to be commanded by Warren.

In New York an order was given in 1746 (1) to Governor Clinton, "touching an expedition for the immediate reduction of Canada," to wit Shirley's expedition. Clinton however, who quarrelled with the militia and prominent men, and Shirley, who, though active, was unpractical, proved incapable of organizing the expedition; (2) and, on the 18th of August 1748, they unite in reporting to the Lords of Trade the "uneasiness" of the Six Nations on account of the disappointments since they entered into the war with Canada after "the assurances we had given them of a much greater force of Regular troops and Ships of war to attack Quebec by sea." The lords of Trade overlooked of course the delinquency of the Home Government in the matter, but rightly held the bad handling of the Six Nations by Clinton to be "very serious" and hence wrote Sir Danvers Osborn—whom they sent to replace Clinton as Governor, and whose secretary was the celebrated Thomas Pownall,—to hold another interview with the Six Nations as soon as possible and that the governors of other interested colonies are to send commissioners; and he, (Osborn) is "to have a regard to such as are best acquainted with the Indians, and not obnoxious to them," (3) so as

(1) *Ib.* p. 310.

(2) *Ib.* ; pp. 399-403.

(3) *Ib.* 800.



to make "one general treaty in His Majesty's name" for all the colonies.

On October 14, 1753, Pownall replied to them from New York, informing them that Sir Danvers Osborn had died suddenly, and that James DeLancey the Lieutenant Governor had entered upon the government. In DeLancey and Pownall we now have a combination of ability to whom the conquest of Canada is really due, for by means of Pownall, DeLancey's ideas, and the inherited store of experiences of the Schuyler group were to receive a most brilliant support and development. It was through Pownall's influence that the expedition against Quebec was finally ordered. Whether he acted as Secretary to DeLancey as he had come out to do for Osborn who was his friend does not appear, but any rate he was welcomed heartily by the Lieutenant-Governor and given a prominent place in the Government counsels; in part for the reason that his brother William Pownall occupied the influential position of Secretary of the Lords of Trade.

Of James DeLancey, hitherto the Chief-Justice, it need only be said, in order to trace the inheritance of his views, that he was a grand-nephew of Peter Schuyler and well acquainted with his plans and campaigns. DeLancey's first move was to turn the trivial idea of a small and ordinary mission to the Six Nations into an event conceived in the spirit of statesmanship and thus he became the author of the great Convention of 1754; "for," he writes to the Lords on November 2nd 1753, "hearing of the above

proposal, I offered another, which was that some person should be sent to Onondaga, (the capital of the Six Nations) to bury the hatchet and prepare them for a meeting early next summer at Albany." During the winter he perfected his arrangements, and on the 19th of the following June the Convention commenced. It was attended by delegates of the first rank from the principal colonies. Benjamin Franklin was there from Pennsylvania and read his celebrated "Plan of Union," the forerunner of the Congress of 1775 ; (1) Sir William Johnson contributed " Suggestions for defeating the designs of the French ; " DeLancey proposed a plan to build two forts on Lake Champlain and three towards Crown Point, which " would make us master (2) of the two great passes by water to Crown Point and thence to Montreal ; " Pownall read " Considerations towards a general plan of measures for the Colonies." (3) There was also a plan for a general co-operation for defence. One of the Commissioners, Sir William Johnson, was specially connected with our narrative.

He had arrived at a particular prominence in the affairs of New York, having acquired an influence amongst the Six Nations which reflected that of Peter Schuyler. He was in fact the successor of Quider in that respect, and was in time appointed the first Superintendent of Indian affairs through the advice of " The American Lady " and her hus-

(1) *Ib.* 889.

(2) *Ib.* 850.

(3) *Ib.* 893.

band. He first went to the Mohawk Valley to manage the estate of his aunt Susan DeLancey, grand-niece of Peter Schuyler, who had married at New York Sir Peter Warren, Johnson's uncle. Lady Warren was sister to Lieutenant-Governor James DeLancey.

Of the five representatives of New York at this Convention, three — DeLancey, Johnson and Chief-Justice Smith, father of the historian of the province, were of the ruling family connection, for Smith's daughter-in-law was a Livingston of the Manor. So largely was this group a custodian of public affairs and traditions that the list of governors and administrators of New York up to the Revolution shows that persons connected with them governed the province no less than fifteen times.

The Schuylers of the Flatts rendered special assistance to the convention in connection with entertaining the Indians and giving their advice. (1)

We now arrive at the attempts to carry out the final conquest.

One of these was Abercrombie's advance of 1757, an expedition regarded with great misgivings by the Schuylers and undertaken contrary to their advice. (2) Abercrombie was not a brilliant commander and the real Chief was Viscount Howe, one of Pitt's discerning appointments. But DeLancey's first suggestion and Pownall's recommendation of it, which I am about to recount, ' ' not yet been put in

(1) *Memoirs of an American Lady.*

(2) *I bid.*

practice. The army advanced up Lake George towards Ticonderoga where Montcalm was fortified at the foot of Lake Champlain.

Lord Howe, who has been called "the earlier Wolfe," was unfortunately killed at Lake George, and Abercrombie suffered defeat in the foolish attack on Ticonderoga, the whole proving the advantage of an attack by way of Quebec. If Howe had lived the result was expected to have been different, but it is evident that the task of reaching Canada through the forests would have been Herculean.

Howe was to a certain extent the military pupil of the "American Lady" who regarded him as a son, and by whose advice he reformed the equipment and tactics of the British army; for instance causing the unwieldy coat-tails to be cut off; the shining rifle-barrels to be deadened: the camp equipment to be vastly simplified; and the provincial troops to be copied in many other respects, changes which had their influence on the sequel.

#### VI. FINAL FORM OF THE PLAN OF INVASION

On the 11th of August 1755 (1) DeLancey, in writing to Secretary Robinson, says, referring back to a letter of October 26th 1754: "There are but three ways to distress the French in Canada. *The first* by a fleet and army up the River St. Lawrence to Quebec, with which I shall not meddle, because a force for that purpose must be sent from Britain, and even then should be assisted by the strength of the

(1) N. Y. Doc. VI, p. 989.

Colonies to make a diversion at Montreal. The second is through this Province, by the way of Crown Point, and thereby open a passage either by land to the River St. Lawrence opposite to Montreal, or by water through the River Sorel quite to Montreal, whenever occasion offers for attacking that place, and till that place be destroyed the Colonies will not enjoy a lasting peace. The third way of distressing the French is by way of Oswego. From Oswego we may take our course North Eastward to the head of the River St. Lawrence and remove the French encroachment at Cataragui or Fort Frontenac, or if occasion offer, proceed down the River St. Lawrence to Montreal, to join a body of troops sent by the way of Crown Point to take that place."

On the 9th of August, he wrote in substantially the same terms to the Lords of Trade. When we consider his words, we see that he places first importance on the old plan of a naval attack on Quebec, assisted by a united Colonial diversion against Montreal, although, while suggesting it, he fears to meddle with what would imply the asking of a fleet from Great Britain a request which past experience connected only with failures. Several authors (1) have regarded Pownall as the creator of this plan, but here we find it previously stated by DeLancey. Pownall's real service was to have directly procured its adoption, which he urged some two years later.

The entire recommendation of DeLancey was in the end assumed by Pitt's government, and General

(1) Hawkins, Dawson, etc.

Amherst who was ordered to consult DeLancey (very probably by Pownall's recommendation) adopted and carried out all the three portions of the Lieutenant-Governor's sketch above given. Towards the end of 1756, Pownall, dissatisfied with the poor progress made up to that time, returned to England and wrote a memorable letter to Lord Halifax which revolutionized the conduct of the war. He pointed out "that after the English had been repeatedly disappointed in their attempts to penetrate the country by the way of Crown Point and Lake Champlain, and had lost Oswego and the command of Lake Ontario; considering the reason there was also to expect the defection of the Indians in consequence thereof; there remained *no other alternative, but either to make peace or to change the object of the war*, by making a direct attack up the River St. Lawrence, upon Quebec itself; urged to a radical destruction of Canada." "The writer of these papers;" he says (1) "came over to England in the latter end of the year 1756 to propose and state these reasons, nearly in the same form as afterwards repeated by the paper that follows; particularly the necessity of two fleets and two armies; one army destined for the attack; the other under orders to invest Canada by taking post somewhere between Albany and Montreal so as to cover the English Colonies; one fleet to escort and convoy the army up the River St. Lawrence; and the other to cover and protect the sea line of the Colonies. The object

(1) *Administration of the British Colonies, Appendix IX.*

was adopted. Why nothing was done in the year 1757, and why no more was done in the year 1758, than the taking of Louisbourg, will be explained on a future occasion ; the ideas contained in the following paper lead to the rest :

“IDEA OF THE SERVICE IN AMERICA FOR THE YEAR  
1759. BOSTON DEC. 5th. 1758.

“ If the point disputed between us and the French be determinately and precisely understood, the manner of conducting it may soon be fixed. If we are still, as we were at the first breaking out of the war, disputing about a boundary line, and for the possession of such posts, communications and passes as may be a foundation to our possessing of a future Dominion in America, we are still engaged in a petty, skirmishing war. . . . If we have changed the point and brought it to its true issue, its natural crisis ; whether we, as Province of Great Britain, or Canada as the Province of France, shall be supreme in America, then the service to be done is a general invasion of Canada in conjunction with the European troops and fleet ; then is our natural strength employed and we must be as naturally superior. This being fixed the next point is, where the real attack must be made. The same reasons that show the necessity of such an attack, show *that it will never effectually be carried on over land.* . . . . Experience has now shown that the possession the enemy has of the posts of strength would render the passage to Canada by land the work of a campaign, even with

success, but finally also the success doubtful. (The going to take possession of the country in 1760 after Quebec had been taken in 1759 proved " the work of a campaign.")

" The road to Quebec up the St. Lawrence, was possessed by the superiority of our marine navigation. There is neither danger nor difficulty, nor do I see how there can be any opposition, to hinder the fleet getting up to the Island of Orleans ; and a superior army in possession of that may by proper measures command the rest of the way to Quebec. (1) If our army can once set down before Quebec it must take it ; if Quebec be taken, the capitulation may at least strip Canada of all the regulars ; after which the inhabitants might possibly be induced to surrender. . . .

" But although this attempt on Quebec by way of the St. Lawrence River may be the only real and will be the only effectual attack on Canada, yet one other if not two *false attacks* will be necessary, one by way of Lake Champlain the other by way of Lake Ontario. That by way of Lake Champlain, may, as far as Crown Point, be offensive and should then change into a defensive measure." . . . . As to action on Lake Ontario, an appearance of an attack by that way must greatly alarm the enemy at Montreal" (and serve other purposes.) (2)

Pownall, in claiming to be the first proposer of his measures, evidently refers to being the first *in England* and in official quarters there.

(1) Did not the event literally justify this ?

(2) P. 249.



"The first paper" he says (1) "was written at a time when the subject was entirely new; scarce ever brought forward to consideration here in *England*; and when authentic accounts of the true state of the country, as possessed by the English and French were with great difficulty, if at all, to be obtained; and I may venture to say, utterly unknown to our military."

In his dedication to his papers which he first published in 1764, he freely attributes the source of his ideas to the men of experience whom he met at the Convention of 1754. (2)

"When I had an opportunity of conversing with and knowing the sentiments of, the commissioners of the several Provinces in North America convened at Albany; of learning from their experience and judgment, the actual state of the American business and interest; of hearing amongst them the grounds and reasons of that American union which they had under deliberation, and transmitted the plan of to England; I then conceived the idea and saw the necessity of a general British union. I then first mentioned my sentiment on this subject to several of those commissioners and at the same time first proposed my consideration of a general plan of a British union."

(1) See his appendix No. VII.

(2) Dedication P. XIII of *The Administration of the British Colonies*; By Thomas Pownall, late Governor, Captain-General, Commander in chief and Vice Admiral of His Majesty's Provinces of Massachusetts and South Carolina, and Lieutenant Governor of New Jersey. London, first edition 1764.

Pownall's ultimate proposal we thus see, was the old general movement by fleet from England against Quebec ; and by land from Albany and Lake Ontario. The whole as adopted was now to be committed to the command of Sir Jeffrey Amherst as General, with Wolfe as Major-General under him ; and Gage and Johnson as Brigadiers. In the instructions from Pitt to Amherst the connection of De Lancey is marked by a special order to the General to confer and work with him, particularly in fitting out Wolfe for the conquest of Quebec. (1)

Louisbourg was taken in 1758 as a preliminary step by Amherst and Wolfe. The final outcome is well known. In 1759 Wolfe took Quebec ; Amherst Ticonderoga ; Johnson, Fort Niagara ; while Gage operated against Fort Frontenac. Amherst in 1760 captured Montreal. Of the commanders under Amherst, the Schuyler group were represented by four ; Generals Gage and Johnson ; Colonel Schuyler of Schuyler's (New Jersey) regiment, and Colonel Oliver DeLancey, brother of the Lieutenant Governor. Amherst particularly conferred also with the " American Lady " and was influenced in his details by her advice and opinion. (2) At a somewhat later period she also suggested to him a course of dealing with Pontiac which he did not follow until his neglect to do so resulted in the celebrated conspiracy of Pontiac, following the conquest of Canada.

DeLancey died in 1760. Lady Warren after his

(1) New York Docs., VII, 358, 359.

(2) Mem. Am. Lady.

death exclaimed to Pitt: "I hope Mr. Pitt, you have had reason to be satisfied with the brother I have lost!"—"Madam," was the answer, "had your brother James lived in England, he would have been one of the first men in it." (1)

So at length was carried out the "glorious enterprise." Its history had been a great school of ability and character, and the foundation of many a permanent historic name on both sides; while the kindly personal relations of some of the leading contestants, their consideration for and admiration of the deeds of, each other were well worthy the pen of old Froissart.

It now only remains to examine the genealogical table showing the connection between the personages of the above movements. It speaks for itself. It also shows the personnel of three later invasions, — that of Generals Philip Schuyler and Richard Montgomery in 1775, of Generals Stephen and Solomon Van Rensselaer in 1812; and last and least, of the courageous, if misguided "General" Rensselaer Van Rensselaer of Navy Island in 1838.

These were forms of the same idea, persistent in their connection with the same social institutions, but dwindling to less and less force.

In real greatness none among the chivalry of the long and fateful struggle looms so tall as the figure of brave old Quider, the original author of the "Fall of New France."

(1) Doc. Hist. N. Y. IV. 1053.

