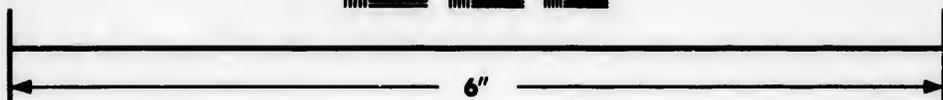
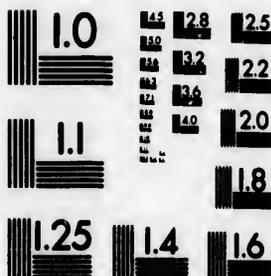


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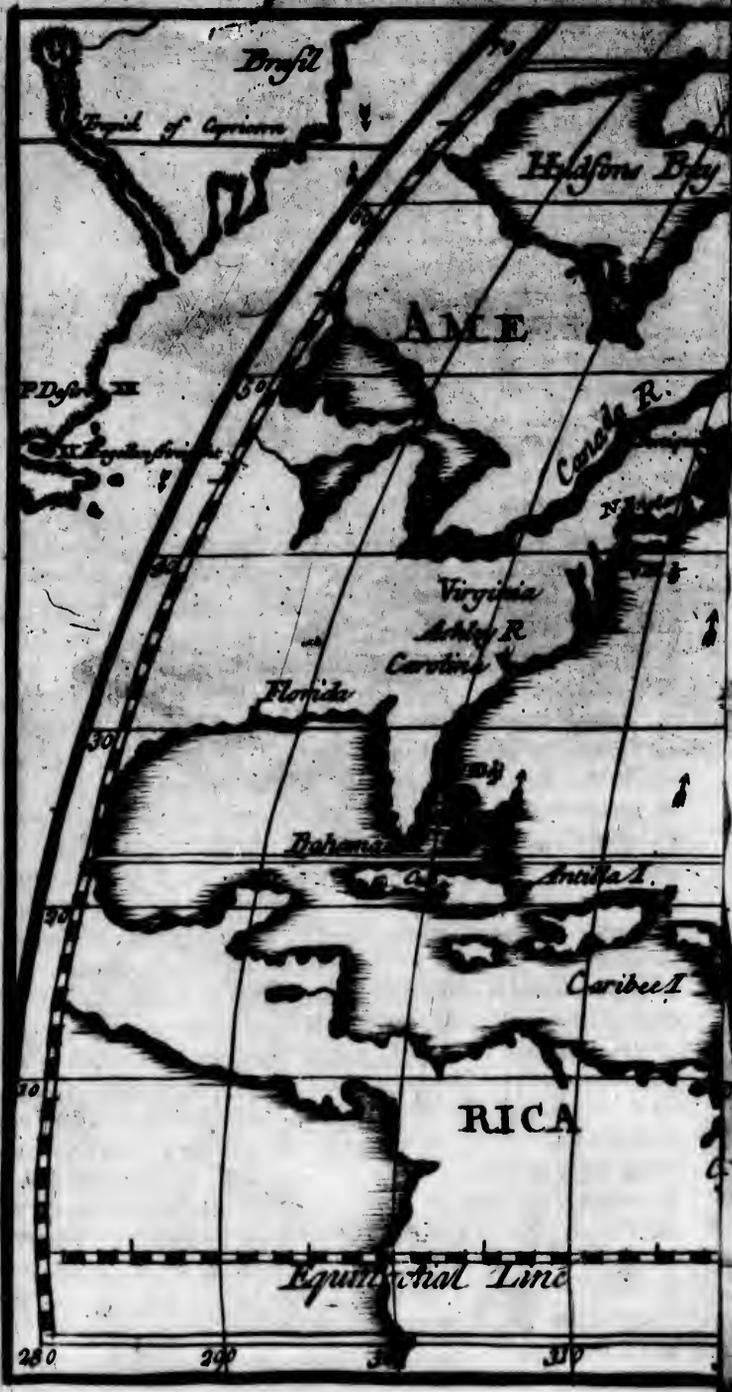
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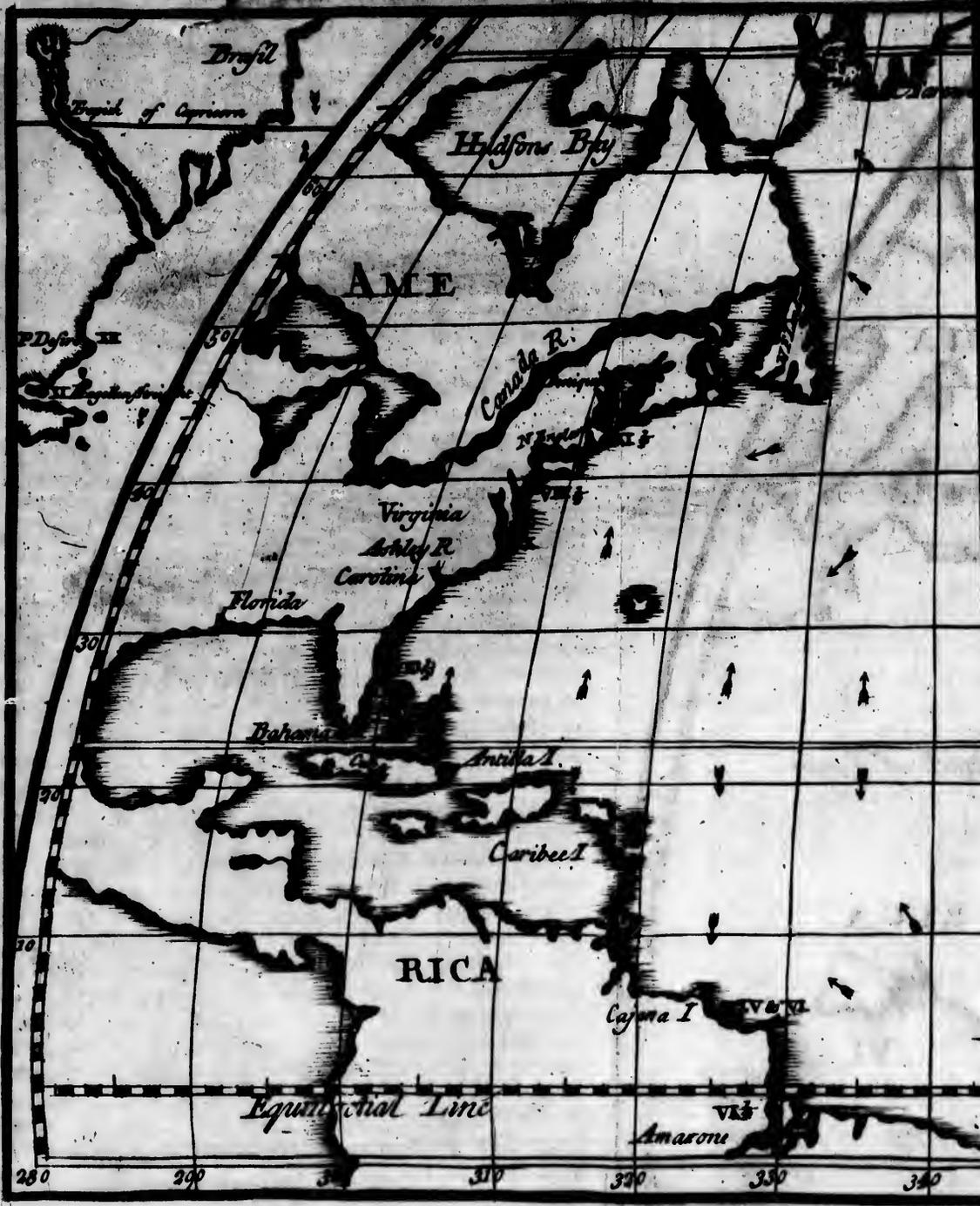
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FRENCH POLICY

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Against the UNITED STATES

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IN

NORTH AMERICA

on the 17th of June 1796

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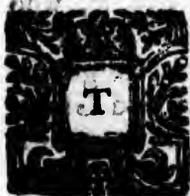
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INTRODUCTION.



H A T the *British* Colonies in *America* are of the greatest Importance to their Mother Country, will not be disputed by those who have the least Knowledge of the Intercourse and Traffick that is carried on between them.

What a vast Increase they add to the Manufactures of this Kingdom, may easily be judged from the Multitude of Ships annually freighted here with *English* Commodities to be expended and consumed in our Plantations. This is a Source of Wealth to this Nation, that is so far from any Danger of being exhausted by its Continuance, that its Basis will be enlarged by Time, and its Foundation strengthened by its Growth in Years; it's a Mine which, the more we labour in it, the richer we shall find it. 'Tis a Fountain whose Golden Streams not only enrich our Merchants, but gives Livelihood and Subsistence to a Multitude of industrious Hands, who perhaps would be begging their Bread, or worse employed, in the Want of it. 'Tis a Jewel in the Crown which makes it shine with the most magnificent Lustre; and by the vast Addition it brings to the Revenue, enables our Government to support itself with Dignity, and defend its Rights and Liberties against all the Attacks of the Enemies and Enviars of its Glory and Happiness.

The *French* are so sensible of the glorious Advantages accruing to *Great Britain* from her Northern Settlements, that they have left no Stone unturned, no Means untry'd, to deprive her of them. They feel a sensible Check given to their aspiring Views,

INTRODUCTION.

Views, and that the Glory of their Grand Monarque no longer shines with that Lustre which glitter'd on the Brows of *Lewis XIV.* They see *Britons* a rich and powerful People, and capable of doing themselves Justice for any Injuries or Insults by whomsoever offer'd.

THESE are Considerations too mortifying to be borne with Patience by that haughty People, who have the Vanity to imagine they are superior to every Nation under Heaven. But to see a Kingdom, their Neighbour, rival them in Riches and Glory, is such an Eye-sore, such an Object of Envy, that if by Arms or Policy it can be removed, it shall not long have the Power to give them any Pain.

IT was their Envy of the flourishing State of our *American Colonies*, and the Assistance they afforded to support the *British Grandeur*, that first induced them to extend their Limits beyond those Bounds that were prescribed them by Treaties, and to advance Pretensions to those Territories to which they had no Right. What Lengths they have run, and in what a treacherous and villainous Manner they have carried on their Enterprizes, and how cruelly and inhumanly they have used our poor unguarded Planters, is the Subject of the ensuing Treatise, wherein their Barbarity, their Haughtiness, their Perfidy, and their innate and hereditary Malice against *Englishmen* are so fully display'd, that whoever reads it must be fill'd with Horror and Resentment to see their Countrymen, without any Provocation, so cruelly treated, by those who pretended to be our Friends and in strict Alliance with us. But it is hoped that the noble Armaments we have already sent Abroad, and those we are still fitting out, will so well discipline these common Disturbers of the public Tranquillity, as to teach them to think a little more humbly of themselves, and let their honest unoffending Neighbours, for the future, sleep in Peace.

GALLICA



GALLICA FIDES: O R, FRENCH POLICY.



THAT the *British* Settlements and Plantations in *America* were at first lawfully acquired, and ever since uninterruptedly possessed, till the late Encroachments of the *French*, will not, I suppose, be disputed by any one who is in the least versed in the *English* History. Our Claim

to them, whether derived from Conquest, Treaty, Grant, or Purchase, is just and indisputable; and they are as much the Property of the *British* Crown as any other of its Dominions. They are all subject to the King of *Great Britain*, who is their Head, Protector, and Defender, and by whose Authority their several Governments are directed and administered. Whoever therefore invades or encroaches upon the Territories of these Colonies might, with equal Justice, invade the Estates and Lands of any of these Three Kingdoms, which are more immediately under his Majesty's Government.

That there is an essential Difference between Right and Wrong, is a Doctrine allowed by all Nations, whether *Christian*, *Heathen*, *Jewish*, or *Mahometan*; it is impressed on the Conscience of every Man; it is a Law given by the God of Nature; and Kingdoms as well as Individuals are subject to it; neither can the Policy of a *Machiavel*, nor the Power of a *Cæsar*, alter the Nature of it. Your mighty Conquerors, who by their Flatterers have been deified for their glorious Atchievements, have been justly deemed, by the rational Part of Mankind, as the greatest Tyrants, Robbers and Murderers, that

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ever plagued the World. And what are your refined Politicians, but the most exquisite Knaves, who rack their Inventions for Pretences to invade the Territories of their peaceable and unthinking Neighbours?

Such is the Difference between the Temper and Conduct of the two Nations, the *French* and *English*. The latter are a People brave, generous and open-hearted; never pick Quarrels with their neighbouring States with a Design to conquer or enslave them; keep religiously to their Treaties, and are so far from revenging an Affront or Injury, that they too often pocket Insults and the grossest Provocations, without offering to do themselves common Justice; an Insensibility which frequently exposes them to the Jest and Ridicule, not only of their Enemies, but of the whole World. But tho' the *British* Lion may be play'd with, yet, if you wound him to the Quick, he will instantly rouse himself to Vengeance, and woe be to them that dare oppose him in his Fury.

The *French*, on the other Hand, are an artful insidious People, who are continually plotting some Mischief against their Neighbours, if they have but the least Prospect of reaping an Advantage by it. By their Finesse and Chicanry in Politicks, they have gained more than ever they did by their Arms; for they never rendered themselves conspicuous, either for their Courage or Bravery. No People in the World are more insolent in Prosperity, or more dejected by Adversity; none more insulting when victorious, or more abject when conquered. They never will be at Peace till they are drubbed into it, and then keep it no longer than a fair Opportunity offers to break it; and if that fails them, they are not long at a Loss for Ways and Means to accomplish their Purposes.

But that the Reader may not imagine that we blacken or distort the Features of our *good Neighbours*, to make them look more ugly and frightful than Nature made them, the following *FRENCH political CREED*, written by JEAN PETIT, 1677, and translated from the *French*, is a sufficient Proof, that we have done them no Injustice.

‘ Violence is but a bare Precaution. Conquerors
 ‘ ought to provide for the future, by destroying whatever
 ‘ may hurt them. There is no Law but the Sword, the
 ‘ Appetite of governing, and the Glory to be obtained
 ‘ by aggrandizing a Nation at the Cost and Ruin of its
 ‘ Neighbours. ‘ Pity

FRENCH POLICY. 5

- ‘ Pity is a cowardly Virtue, which overthrows a
- ‘ Crown, whose best Support is Fear; and Impiety its
- ‘ Foundation.
- ‘ Arms inspire Reverence among Men, and Troops
- ‘ are the admirable Advocates, which plead a Cause
- ‘ best. The Proclamation of Cannon is above all other
- ‘ Titles.
- ‘ Justice is a Phantom; Reason a Chimera; Marriage
- ‘ a Trifle; Faith of Treaties an Illusion; Peace but a
- ‘ Bait to deceive a People into a State of dangerous
- ‘ Security; their Conferences ensnaring, and their Oaths
- ‘ but Sport for Children, a Trap to catch a Cully, and a
- ‘ Charm for Fools.
- ‘ They further believe and say, that they may attempt
- ‘ and do any Thing to disturb their Neighbours, and to
- ‘ sow Divisions among them; even when they profess the
- ‘ greatest Regard and Friendship for them. That Per-
- ‘ jury is just, and that Ill may be done, wherever they
- ‘ can reap any Advantage from it. That Sincerity ruins
- ‘ them; Perfidiousness is profitable; Imposture of much
- ‘ Benefit; Infidelity is the Charter of a Prince; Faith a
- ‘ foolish Maxim; keeping their Word but a mean Com-
- ‘ pliance; and Violence the proper Hinge to move upon.
- ‘ Therefore they neither regard Sighs nor Tears; they
- ‘ speak one Thing and do another, make great Promises,
- ‘ and never perform any; their Mouth flatters, while
- ‘ their Hearts betray; they never shew any Friendship
- ‘ without some private End; Vengeance is sweet to them;
- ‘ their Protection is heavy, they embrace with one Arm,
- ‘ and smother with the other. *France* is the *Proteus* of
- ‘ the Age, and can put on a thousand Faces. She enters
- ‘ like a Lamb, transforms herself into a Fox, and becomes,
- ‘ as Occasion serves, a devouring Wolf. They never
- ‘ pardon, are never surprized, and their Ways are past
- ‘ finding out; carrying on all their Schemes with a dou-
- ‘ ble Face, a charming Voice, and a studied Behaviour;
- ‘ and never ceasing till they can enslave or drive the
- ‘ People to Despair.
- ‘ Hence *Queen Elizabeth* was wont to say, *France* may
- ‘ be espoused as a Friend, but never approved as a Neigh-
- ‘ bour.’
- ‘ This being the known Character of the *French*, we
- ‘ can never be too much on our Guard, nor too vigilant
- in

n watching their Motions. Had our *American* Colonists kept a sharper Look-out than they did, and vigorously opposed the first Encroachments of their perfidious Neighbours, they would have prevented all future Complaints of that Kind, nor would the Planters, on the Back of our Settlements, met with that cruel Treatment from the *Indians*, they have done since they have been spirited on by the *French*.

The *English* however excuse themselves by saying, that they were fearful of giving Offence, and unwilling to afford the *French* the least Handle or Pretence of affirming that we were the Aggressors. They took Heart, from our Forbearance and Inactivity, to form their Plots, and ripen their Schemes for the Ruin of our Trade, and the Extirpation of all our Settlements in that Part of the World; which would soon have so weakened the Sinews of this Kingdom, as to render it an easy Prey to a powerful Invader.

The first Settlement the *French* had in *America*, was at *Canada*, in 1612, where they brought great Numbers of Vagabonds, and the very Refuse and Scum of their People, with some regular Troops to defend them from the *Indians*. However, in Time, by the Encouragements given by the *French* King, the Colony was greatly increased, and by Means of the Jesuits, who intermixed themselves with the *Indians*, very much extended their Trade and Influence among them. But the *Iroquois*, or Six Nations, as they are called, were in Alliance with the *English*, which very much retarded the Progress of their ambitious Views, and hindered their trafficking with those Tribes that lay to the Southward and Westward of them. To remove this Difficulty, King *Charles II.* at their Request, ordered his Governor of *New York*, to persuade the Six Nations to make Peace with the *French*. The Governor, however, did not obey his Majesty's Orders, yet found himself restrained from acting openly against the *French*; who, taking Advantage of his Inaction, extended their Lines, built Forts to the Southward, particularly the Forts *Fontenac* and *Niagara*, which have very much incommoded these Nations ever since; and tho' the *Indians* demolished those Forts, yet the *French* rebuilt them, and several more, to serve as a Retreat to their own *Indians*, when they attacked the *Iroquois*. Many
of

There was indeed a Treaty set on Foot for evacuating these Islands; but the *French* shewed how little they were in earnest, by artfully contriving to have the Treaty managed by Commissioners sent to *Paris*, where, by mixing the Concerns of the Islands with those of the Continent, they found Means to delay the Evacuation of *St. Lucia, Tobago, &c.*

Another Thing the *French* had in View by the Treaty was, that in Case they should agree with the *English* to divide the Continent between them, to include the *Indians* in our Alliance within their Bounds or Limits; and as many of the *Indians* to the West of the *Apalachian* or *Blue Mountains* have acknowledged themselves subject to the Crown of *Great Britain*, it would be throwing them into the Arms of *France* to leave them in the *French Territories*, besides ruining our Settlements, and putting an entire Stop to the Trade and Commerce which have been hitherto carried on with these *Indians*, and perhaps in Time compel them to make War upon us. But what Benefit or Advantage such a Division would afford the *English*, is not easy to conceive.

But farther; were such Limits to be fixed, those of our Planters who settle on our Frontiers, would be no more secured in their Lives and Fortunes than they were before; for the *French*, agreeable to their constant Policy, would be exciting their allied *Indians* to disturb our Settlers on the Frontiers, and afterwards disclaim their having any Concern in it.

The *French* are so sensible of the Benefit arising to their Navigation from their *American Settlements*, that they neglect no Opportunity of improving and extending them to the utmost. It is on this Account that they try all Methods to obstruct the *British Commerce* in all Parts of the World, as thereby their Power and Influence will be increased, and ours diminished in Proportion; which if not timely checked, will give them such an Advantage over us, as to gain that Superiority in the Councils of *Europe*, which will always enable the Prince that has it to turn the Balance which Way he pleases; and altho' we have happily preserved that Power hitherto, of which all *Europe* has felt the benign Effects, yet should we be obliged to fight in Defence of our Trade and Settlements,

lements, it is to be feared we shall find but small Assistance from our Allies.

Some have surmised, that the Encroachments which the *French* have formerly and are still making upon our Settlements in *America*, is without the Order or even the Knowledge of the Court of *France*. But this is a Mistake: For there is not a Step taken by their Colonists, but what is either directed or approved by the Court. They have a Fund appropriated to that very Use, of which the Council of Commerce has the Direction, by whom every Thing relating to their Colonies is examined, and every Proposal approved before it can be carried into Execution.

That the *French* Court approves of all the Violences and Outrages that their Colonists and their *Indian* Allies have committed upon our Planters in *America*, is evident from hence, that the Remonstrances and repeated Complaints that our Ambassadors have made to that Court on this Account, have been so far from being favourably received, or obtaining so much as a Promise of Redress, that their Ministers justified these illegal Proceedings, and insisted that neither their Colonists, nor the *Indians* their Allies, had been guilty of any Infractions of the Peace subsisting between the two Nations, nor exceeded the Limits prohibited by the Articles of the Peace of *Utrecht*. For which Purpose they produce Maps and Charts, in which they pretend to shew the several Countries and Districts which they lay Claim to, and which they affirm are included within those Boundaries, which were settled by the Commissioners appointed for that Purpose by the Makers of that famous Treaty: Though all the World knows, that when the *French* take a Fancy to any of their Neighbours Territories, to prove their Right, immediately set their Geographers to work, whom they keep in constant Pay, who soon draw a Map according to the Instructions of their Masters, and this is produced as a Proof of their prior Right to the Lands in Question. And it is thus they justify their Pretensions to those Lands and Districts which our Colonies have occupied Time immemorial, and long before the *French* had any Possessions in *America* worth Notice.

It has been before observed, that the *French* began very early to manifest their ambitious Views, and we have seen the Methods they took to enlarge their own Borders by encroaching upon the *Brittish* Settlements; in which they had made a considerable Progress under the Reign, and by the Countenance and Encouragement of *Lewis XIV.* But by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, concluded in the Year 1713, they were obliged to restore to the Crown of *Great Britain* the Bay and Streights of *Hudson*, with all the Lands, Seas, Sea-Coasts, Rivers, and Places, situate on the said Bay and Streights (which include all *New Britain*, and *British Canada*) and it was agreed that Commissioners on the Part of *Great Britain* and *France* should determine within the Space of a Year, the Limits between the Dominions of *Great Britain* and *France* on that Side; which Limits the Subjects of *Great Britain* and *France* were not to pass over to each other by Sea or Land.

Commissioners did afterwards actually settle and ascertain those Limits, by an imaginary Line, drawn from a Point or Promontory, in the *Atlantic Ocean*, 58 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, and running from thence South-west to the *Lake Miscosink*, or *Mistassin*, and from thence South-west indefinitely to the Latitude of 49; all the Countries North of that Line, being yielded to *Great Britain*; and all South of that Line, as far as the River of *St. Lawrence*, was assigned to *France*.

By the 12th Article of the same Treaty, *Nova Scotia*, with the Fortres of *Annapolis*, and all the Lands and Dependencies thereunto belonging, were yielded to *Great Britain*, and the Subjects of *France* were excluded from all Kinds of Fisheries in the Seas of *Nova Scotia*, especially those which lie towards the East, and within thirty Leagues thereof, beginning at the Island of *Cape Sable*, and extending from thence to the North-east.

Before we proceed to the main Business here intended, it will not be amiss to give the Reader a short Geographical Description of the *British* Dominions in *America*, so far as relates to their Concerns with the *French*, which will enable him the more perfectly to understand what we have farther to relate concerning them. The first we begin with is



NOVA SCOTIA.

Nova Scotia is situate between 62 and 72 Degrees West Longitude, in Length 500 Miles. Between 43 and 51 Degrees North Latitude, in Breadth 400 Miles. It is bounded by the River of *St. Lawrence* on the North, and the *Atlantic Ocean*, East; by the same Ocean, and *New England*, South; and by the River of *St. Lawrence*, which divides it from *French Canada*, on the West. The only Towns in it at present are, *Annapolis*, *Chebueto*, *Canso*, and *Hallifax* lately built. The Seas belonging to it are, the Bay of *St. Lawrence*, the *Atlantic*, and *Fundy Bay*. The Rivers are, 1. The South Shore of the River *St. Lawrence*. 2. The River of *St. John*, which runs from the North-West to the South-East, and falls into *Fundy Bay*. 3. The River *St. Croix*; and, 4. *Vet*, which runs almost parallel to that of *St. John*. There are some *French Families* settled in the Villages, but no *English*, except the Garrisons of *Annapolis* and *Canso*, till the Arrival of the Colony, sent thither by his present Majesty, *May 16, 1749*, when three thousand *English Families*, under the Care of their Governor *Cornwallis*, landed in that Country and settled there.

The Soil is good, producing the best *Wheat* in *America*, and proper for all Manner of *European Grain* and Plants; *Fish*, *Fowl*, and *Game* they have in Abundance; and the *French* introduced *Oxen*, *Sheep*, and other *European Animals*, to supply their neighbouring Settlements, and make their own Cloathing with the *Wool* of their *Sheep*; there is plenty of *Timber* for *Ship-building*; and the *English* have now so well cultivated the Lands, that they produce *Hemp*, *Pitch*, *Tar*, and all Manner of *Naval Stores*. *Beaver*, and other valuable *Furs* and *Skins* also abound here.

NEW ENGLAND,

Is situated between 67 and 73 Degrees West Longitude. Length 300 Miles. Between 41 and 45 Degrees North Latitude. Breadth 200 Miles. Bounded by *New Scotland*, on the North; by the *Atlantic Ocean*, on the East and South; and by *New York* on the West.

New England is divided into four Governments, viz.
1. *New Hampshire*, or *Piscataway*. 2. The *Massachusetts*'s Colony.

Colony. 3. The Colony of *Rhode Island*, and *Providence* Plantation; and, 4. *Connecticut* Colony.

Divisions.	Provinces.	Chief Towns.
The North,	<i>New Hampshire,</i>	<i>Portsmouth,</i>
The Middle,	<i>Massachuset's Colony,</i>	<i>Boston,</i>
The South,	<i>Rhode Island, &c.</i>	<i>Newport,</i>
The West.	<i>Connecticut.</i>	<i>London.</i>

The Land next the Sea in *New England*, is generally low, but, farther up into the Country, it rises into Hills; and on the North-East it is rocky and mountainous. The Winters here are much severer than in *Old England*, tho' they lie 9 or 10 Degrees more South; but they have usually a brighter Heaven and more settled Weather, both in Winter and Summer, than in *Old England*; and, tho' their Summers are shorter, the Weather is a great deal better while it lasts. The Winds are very boisterous in the Winter Season, and the North-west Wind, blowing over a long Tract of frozen Country, is excessive cold; their Rivers are sometimes frozen over in a Night's Time. The Climate, however, is generally healthful, and agreeable to *English* Constitutions.

Their Rivers are; 1. *Connecticut*; 2. *Thames*; 3. *Pattuxet*; 4. *Mezimack*; 5. *Piscataway*; 6. *Saco*; and 7. *Casco*.

The Animals, which seem almost peculiar to *New England*, and the rest of *North America*, are the Moose-Deer, and the Beaver.

The Spermaceti-Whale is also found upon this Coast, of which and other Whales the *New England* People take great Numbers, and send several Ships every Year to *Greenland* to fish for Whales; and hence it is we receive all the Whale-bone and Whale-oil we import, except what we purchase of the *Dutch* and *Hamburgers*. They have likewise a very fine Cod-fishery on their Coasts, and in *Fundy Bay*.

The Fruits of *Old England* come to great Perfection here, particularly Peaches, which are all Standard Trees; 7 or 800 Peaches have been seen upon one of these Trees at the same Time; and a single Apple-tree has made seven Barrels of Cyder.

English Wheat indeed does not thrive here; they eat Maize of *Indian* Corn chiefly, one Grain whereof commonly

monly produces 1200, and sometimes 2000. The Corn is of three several Colours, viz. blue, white, and yellow. Besides the Forest Trees of *Old England*, they have Cedar, Cypress, Pine, and Fir-trees. Their Fir-trees are of a prodigious Bulk, and furnish the Royal Navy of *England* with Masts and Yards; and they draw from these and other Trees Pitch, Tar, Rosin, Turpentine, Gum and Balm; and the Soil is proper for Hemp and Flax, so that a Ship may be built and rigg'd out with the Produce of the Soil; and Ship-building is a considerable Employment in this Country.

They manufacture coarse Linen and Woollen Cloth for their own Wear; as well as Iron Tools and Utensils; likewise Hats and Paper, from which *Old England* would divert them, as being prejudicial to their Mother Country.

They have a good Trade by Sea to the *British* Sugar Colonies, and with the *Dutch* at *Surinam* and *Curassau* near *Terra Firma*, whither they send Horses, Salt Provisions, and Lumber, that is, Deal-boards, Pipe-staves, Hoops, and Shingles; they send their Ships also to the Bay of *Honduras* for Logwood, which they transport to *Europe*; as they do also Sugar from the *West Indies*, and Fish from *Newfoundland*.

NEW YORK with the *Ferseys*.

Situated between 72 and 76 Degrees West Longitude, Length 200 Miles. Between 41 and 44 Degrees North Latitude, Breadth 100 Miles.

Bounded by *Canada*, on the North; by *New England*, East; by the *American* Sea, South; and by *De la War* River, which divides it from *Pensylvania*, on the West.

Divisions.	Provinces.	Chief Towns.
East,	<i>New York</i> ,	{ <i>New York</i> , <i>Albany</i> ,
West,	The <i>Ferseys</i> ,	{ <i>Burlington</i> , <i>Elizabeth</i> ,
South,	{ <i>Long Island</i> , and the rest of the Islands } near <i>Hudson's</i> River,	<i>Southampton</i> .

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The *Ferseys*, and the South Part of *New York*, are low flat Countries, but ascending 20 or 30 Miles up *Hudson's* River to the North, the Country is rocky and mountainous, and covered with Woods, except where it has been cleared by the Planters.

There are several excellent Harbours at the Mouth of *Hudson's* River; and in *De la War* River, which have their Course from North to South; one in the East, and the other in the West Confines of these Provinces.

On the North-west there are several extensive Lakes, viz. of *Champlain*, *Ontario*, and *Erie*. The *Iroquois*, or Five Nations, lie upon the Lakes of *Ontario* and *Erie*; and are in Alliance with *Great Britain* against the *French*, and their *Indians* of *Canada*.

Besides the Rivers of *Hudson* and *De la War*, the principal are, the *Mohawk* River, *Ohandago*, *Ravitan*, and *Maurice* Rivers.

The Air and Seasons differ little or nothing from *New England*.

The Inhabitants of the North-west Part of this Country are the *Iroquois*; a People no less famous for their intrepid Bravery in War, than for the Gentleness and Humility of their Behaviour and Temper; they are constant Enemies to the *French*, who therefore represent them as the most barbarous Savages. Under all the Disadvantages of Ignorance in Literature and Want of Education, they discover a noble and surprizing Genius. Never did the old *Romans* express a greater Love for their Country, or a more generous Contempt of Death in the Cause of Liberty, than these People have shewn upon all interesting Occasions; to which we may add their Hospitality and courteous Behaviour to Strangers.

Every Nation of the *Iroquois* makes a distinct Republick, which, in Time of Peace, is governed by their Sachems or Civil Magistrates, and, in War, by their Captains or Warriors; but nothing of Importance is resolved on or executed, without a Consultation with the Heads of the Tribes.

As to the Religion of the *Iroquois*, they acknowledge a supreme Being, whom they call the Preserver of the Universe, and believe a future State of Rewards and Punishments; but their Notions of it are very obscure, as that

that the Rewards of the Good will consist in the Enjoyment of the Pleasures they most affect in this Life.

The *French* Priests have been extremely diligent in converting these People to Christianity; and indeed have met with too much Success, owing to the Negligence of our own People, and to the Zeal of the Missionaries in gaining Converts to Popery, having drawn off great Part of the *Mohawk* Nation from their Alliance with the *English*, and even persuaded them to leave their native Country, and settle in *French Canada*, where they have built them a stately Church. Those who remain firm in the Interest of the *English*, are occasionally instructed by the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers, as they come to trade, and have always shewn a ready Disposition to embrace the Gospel.

Those of them who live at *Albany* are all brought up to the Profession of Christianity, and the Generality of them are baptized. As most of them are Persons of good Sense and Understanding, they readily apprehend the Instructions that are given them, and are so well satisfied of the Truth of the Doctrines taught them, that they have earnestly desired to have a Christian Minister settled among them. Accordingly the Society for propogating the Gospel, to encourage this good Disposition, sent them a Catechist, a Native of *America*, who has resided among them, and, being Master of their Language, has met with very great Success.

The Produce of *New York* and the *Ferseys* consists in Cattle, a good Breed of Horses, and Plenty of Wheat and other Grain, as well as Fish. The Sugar Colonies are supplied from hence with Flour, Salt, Beef, Pork, and Salt Fish; with Timber, Plank, and Pipe Staves; and large Quantities of salted and dried Fish, which they bring from *Newfoundland*, are exported from hence to *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, and other Countries of *Europe*. They likewise traffick with the Logwood-Cutters in the Bay of *Honduras*, and with the *Spanish* Settlements, and exchange the Manufactures of *Europe* for Treasure, which they send to *England* as Merchandize; they send to us likewise Whale-oil and Bone, and in Return have the Manufactures of *Great Britain*.

P E N S Y L V A N I A.

Situated between 74 and 78 Degrees West Longitude, Length 200 Miles. Between 39 and 42 Degrees North Latitude, Breadth 200 Miles.

Bounded by the Country of the *Iroquois*, or Five Nations, on the North; by the River *De la War*, which divides it from the *Ferseys*, on the East; and by *Maryland*, on the South-West.

Divisions.	Counties.	Chief Towns.
North,	{ <i>Buckingham,</i> <i>Philadelphia,</i> <i>Cheshire,</i>	<i>Bristol,</i> <i>Philadelphia,</i> <i>Cheshire.</i>
South,	{ <i>Newcastle,</i> <i>Kent,</i> <i>Suffex,</i>	<i>Newcastle,</i> <i>Dover,</i> <i>Lewes.</i>

Their Rivers are, 1. The *De la War*; 2. *Sasquabanna*; and 3. *Skoolkil*. It is bordered by a flat Coast near the Sea, like the neighbouring Colonies, and rises gradually, having the *Apulachian* Mountains on the West.

As this Country is contiguous to the *Ferseys* and *New York*, already described, the Air and Seasons are much the same as in them.

The Produce and Merchandize of *Pensylvania* consist in Horses, Pipe Staves, Pork, Beef, and Fish, salted and barrell'd up; skins and Furs; Grain of all Sorts; Potashes, Wax, &c. which they send to the *Caribbee* Islands, and other Places, and make their Returns in Rum, Sugar, Molasses, Silver, Negroes, Salt, and Wine; and from *England* Household Goods, and Cloathing of all Kinds; Hardware, Tools or Toys.

They have likewise a little Rice, and some Tobacco, but of the worst Sort. The Soil here, as well as in the *Ferseys* and *New York*, are very proper for the Production of Hemp and Flax, as appears from the Grounds that have been cultivated for that Purpose: Their Articles of Trade with the *Indians* are but few, consisting for the most Part in the Skins and Furs of wild Beasts, for which they give them Cloathing, Arms, Ammunition, Rum, and other Spirits in Return.

This and the rest of the Northern Colonies carry on a clandestine Trade with the *Spaniards* upon *Terra Firma*, furnish them with *European* Goods and Merchandize, and receive, chiefly, Pieces of Eight in Return; they trade likewise to the Bay of *Honduras* for Logwood, by Connivance, as the *Spaniards* say, but the *English* insist they have a Right to that Trade. They carry on a Trade likewise with the *French* and *Dutch* Islands, though greatly to the Prejudice of our Sugar Colonies; for from these Foreigners they take Rum, Molasses, and other Spirits, with a great many *European* Goods, and carry them Horses, Provisions, and Lumber in Return, without which the *French* could not carry on their Manufacture of Sugar to that Advantage they now do.

MARYLAND.

Situated between 74 and 78 Degrees West Longitude, Length 140 Miles. Between 38 and 40 Degrees North Latitude. Breadth 135 Miles.

Bounded by *Pennsylvania*, on the North; by another Part of *Pennsylvania*, and the *Atlantic Ocean*, East; by *Virginia*, South; and by the *Apalachian Mountains*, West.

Maryland is divided into two Parts by the Bay of *Chesepack*, viz. 1. The Eastern. 2. The Western.

Divisions.	Counties.	Chief Towns.
The Eastern,	{ <i>Somerset</i> , <i>Dorchester</i> , <i>Talbot</i> , <i>Cecil</i> ,	<i>Somerset</i> , <i>Dorchester</i> , <i>Oxford</i> .
The Western,	{ <i>St. Mary</i> , <i>Charles</i> , <i>Prince George</i> , <i>Calvert</i> , <i>Anne Arundel</i> , <i>Baltimore</i> ,	<i>St. Mary</i> , <i>Bristol</i> , <i>Masterkout</i> , <i>Abingdon</i> , <i>Annapolis</i> , <i>Baltimore</i> .

Maryland had its Name given it by King *Charles I.* in Honour of his Queen *Henrietta Maria*, when he granted it by Patent to *George Calvert*, Lord *Baltimore*, Anno 1631.

It is separated from *Virginia*, on the South, by the River *Patowmack*.

This Country, as well as *Virginia*, may be divided, into, 1. The low Sands next the Sea; 2. The hilly Country

Country towards the Heads of the Rivers; and, 3. The *Apalachian* Mountains, which are exceeding high.

Like *Virginia* too, it is watered with a vast Number of Springs, which form a great many Rivers, the chief are,
 1. *Patowmack*. 2. *Pacomoac*. 3. *Pataxent*. 4. *Severn*.
 5. *Cheptonk*. 6. *Sassafras*. 7. *Wicomoa*. 8. *St. George*.

Besides these there are other Rivers navigable by large Ships, which with the numerous Bays and Creeks that indent the Land on every Side, make it easy for the Seamen to bring their Vessels up to the Planters Doors to receive their Freights of Tobacco, &c.

The Air of this Country, in some Parts of the Summer, is excessive hot, and as extremely cold in Winter, when the North-west Wind blows.

Their Winters seldom exceed three or four Months, in which they rarely have one Month of bad Weather; for the rest of the Year, they are happy in a clear Air, a bright Sun, and scarce ever troubled with Fogs.

When *Maryland* was first settled, it was inhabited by several Nations of *Indians*, governed by petty Kings; but now there are not 500 fighting Men of them in the Province, and the greatest Part of these are on the Eastern Shore. Here they have two or three little Towns; some of them go over to the West, in the Winter, to hunt fat Deer, in which they are commonly employed by the *English*. This is their chief Employment, and it is rare that any of them will take to any other Kind of Business. Their Numbers have not been diminished with any Wars with the *English*, but from the frequent Quarrels and Broils among themselves, to which may be added their Drinking and other Vices, which they learnt from the *English*. They have admirable Capacities, which, if properly directed, might be made very serviceable to Religion and the Government under which they live: But what can they learn from the debauched Lives and wicked Practices of the Christians they live among, but to be much worse than they were in their original State of Nature.

The principal Produce of this Country is Tobacco, which is here planted and cultivated with as much Application as in *Virginia*, which they likewise send to *England*: Besides which, the Country produces most of the Grain and Fruits of *Europe* and *America*. The Planters live in

Farms dispersed all over the Country, or on the Sea Coast. They do not chuse to confine themselves in Towns, either here or in *Virginia*, because that would not be so convenient for the Management of their Plantations.

VIRGINIA.

Situated between 74 and 80 Degrees West Longitude, Length 240 Miles. Between 36 and 39 Degrees North Latitude, Breadth 200 Miles.

Bounded by the River *Patomack*, which divides it from *Maryland*, on the North-East; by the *Atlantic Ocean*, on the East; by *Carolina*, on the South; and by the *Apulachian Mountains*, on the West.

It may be divided into four Parts, viz. 1. The North. 2. The Middle. 3. The South. 4. The East.

Divisions.	Counties.	Parishes.
The North,	<i>Northumberland,</i>	<i>Wicomea,</i>
	<i>Lancashire,</i>	<i>Christ Church,</i>
	<i>Westmorland,</i>	<i>Farnham,</i>
	<i>Richmond,</i>	<i>St. Paul.</i>
The Middle,	<i>Stafford,</i>	<i>Farnham,</i>
	<i>Essex,</i>	<i>Christ Church,</i>
	<i>Middlesex,</i>	<i>Abington,</i>
	<i>Gloucester,</i>	<i>Stratton,</i>
	<i>King and Queen,</i>	<i>St. John,</i>
	<i>King William,</i>	<i>St. Peter,</i>
	<i>New Kent,</i>	<i>Elizabeth,</i>
	<i>Elizabeth,</i>	<i>Denby,</i>
	<i>Warwick,</i>	<i>York,</i>
	<i>York,</i>	<i>Lyn Haven.</i>
The South,	<i>Princess Anne,</i>	<i>Elizabeth,</i>
	<i>Norfolk,</i>	<i>Chukatuk,</i>
	<i>Nansamund,</i>	<i>Newport,</i>
	<i>Isle of Wight,</i>	<i>Southwark,</i>
	<i>Surrey,</i>	<i>Wyanotre,</i>
	<i>Prince George,</i>	<i>Westover,</i>
	<i>Charles,</i>	<i>Bristol,</i>
	<i>Henrico,</i>	<i>James Town,</i>
<i>James,</i>	<i>Williamsburg.</i>	
Eastern, between Chesep- peak Bay and the Ocean.	<i>Acomac,</i>	<i>Acomac,</i>
	<i>Northumberland,</i>	<i>Hungers.</i>
		<i>Virginia,</i>

Virginia, from the Ocean, appears to be a low Land; and so indeed it is, for there is scarce a Hill or a Stone to be met with for an hundred Miles up in the Country; which, before it was planted, was either Forests, or Bogs and Morasses, which they call Swamps, and such is the greatest Part of it at this Time. Their Trees are exceeding lofty, but no Underwood or Bushes grow beneath. 'Tis pleasant travelling thro' these Forests, for you have always a Shade to defend you from the Heat of the Sun.

The great Bay of *Chesapeake* runs thro' *Virginia* and *Maryland*, upwards of 300 Miles, almost due North, and is navigable most Part of the Way for large Ships. The Entrance of this Bay is between two Promontories, called *Cape Charles* and *Cape Henry*.

Four great Rivers, which rise in the *Apulachian* Mountains, fall into this Bay, in their Course from the North-west to the South-east; of these, the most southerly is *James River*, its *Indian* Name was *Powhatan*, being generally about two Miles over, and navigable 80 Miles at least. *York River*, called by the *Indians* *Pamunty*, is a little to the Northward of *James River*; North of *York River*, is the River of *Patowmack*, which is navigable near 200 Miles, and is nine Miles broad in some Places, but generally about seven.

The Air and Seasons are governed chiefly by the Wind; the North and North-west Winds are very nitrous and piercing cold, and clear, or stormy; the South-east and South, hazy and sultry hot; in Winter they enjoy a fine clear Air, and dry, which make it very pleasant; their Frosts are short, but sometimes so severe, that it freezes the Rivers over three Miles broad.

Snow sometimes falls in pretty large Quantities, but seldom continues above a Day or two; Spring there is about a Month earlier than in *England*; in *April* they have frequent Rains; in *May* and *June*, the Heat being increased, it is much like our Summer, and is refresh'd with gentle Breezes, that rise about nine o' Clock, and increase or decline, as the Sun rises and falls.

In *July* and *August* these Breezes cease, and the Air becomes stagnant and sultry hot, with considerable Rains, which occasion Fluxes, and various other Distempers.

In

In *Virginia* it is computed there are upwards of a hundred thousand Souls, exclusive of Servants and Slaves, which are above three Times that Number.

The *Indians* of this Country are born tolerably white, but darken their Complexions by smearing themselves with Grease, and lying in the Sun; they paint their Faces, Breasts, and Shoulders, of various Colours, but generally red. They have good Features, especially the Women; their Limbs are clean and streight; and a crooked or deformed Person is scarce ever seen among them.

Their Chiefs adorn themselves with a Coronet of Feathers, and sometimes stuff and dry the Skin of a Fowl, and wear it on their Heads; their Ornaments are Earrings of Copper, Chains, Shells, Feathers and Beads about their Necks, and Bracelets of the same round their Arms.

Their only Cloathing is a Piece of Skin about their Waists, which reaches down to their Knees; those of a higher Rank have the Skin of a Deer, or some other Beast, thrown over them for a Mantle; their Shoes and Buskins are likewise made of Skins.

The *Indians* in general have good Understanding, are quick of Apprehension, sudden in Dispatch, subtle in their Dealings, and very industrious. There are no better Marksmen in the World with Bow and Arrow than they; for they will kill Birds flying, Fishes swimming, and Beasts running; and shoot their Arrows with such prodigious Force, that one of them shot an *Englishman* quite through, and nail'd both his Arms to his Body with an Arrow.

They did not know the Use of Iron till the *English* taught them, and the Copper they had served only for Ornaments; their edged Tools were sharp Stones, or Shells set in Wood; their Method of felling Timber was by burning it down.

Their usual Food is *Indian* Corn boil'd to a Pulp, which they call Hommony, and is not much unlike our butter'd Wheat; they feed likewise upon Venison, Fish and Fowl; and they employ greatest Part of their Time in hunting Beasts and Fowls, and catching them, for they have no tame Fools.

The principal Product of the Country is Tobacco, the best in the World; and yet the Land is generally sandy,
and

and of a shallow Mould ; so that after they have cleared a fresh Piece of Ground out of the Woods, they have not above two or three Crops of Tobacco, unless it be cow-penned or well dunged.

There are a great Variety of spontaneous Flowers ; particularly, the finest Crown Imperial in the World ; the Cardinal Flower, so much admired for scarlet Colour ; and the Plains and Vallies almost all the Year round, are beautified with Flowers of one kind or other. Also the Tulip-bearing Laurel-tree, which has the pleasantest Smell in the World, and keeps bloffoming and feeding for several Months successively.

In many Places the Silk-grass grows spontaneously ; of which great Advantages might be made, as its Fibres are as fine as Flax, and much stronger than Hemp.

Great Variety of Incense and sweet Gums distil from several Kinds of Trees in the Woods.

Here likewise may be produced all sorts of naval Stores, as Pitch, Tar, Rosin, Turpentine, Plank-timber, Masts and Yards, also Sails, Cordage and Iron ; all which may be transported at an easy Freightage to *Great Britain*.

The Discovery of the North-east Part of the Continent of *America* was first made by *Sebastian Cabot*, a Native of *Bristol* ; who was employed by King *Henry VII.* in the Year 1497, to find out a North-west Passage to *China* : But altho' *Cabot* could not accomplish this, yet he discovered all the North-east Coast of *America* from *Cape Florida*, in 25 Degrees of North Latitude, to 67 and half ; from whence *England* claimed a Right to that Country, prior to the *Spaniards*; or any other *European* Power : And the Reason why no Attempt was made to plant or settle Colonies in *North America* for a considerable Time, *Cabot* himself informs us, was the Wars that happened immediately after.

CAROLINA, North and South, and GEORGIA.

Situated between 75 and 86 Degrees West Longitude, Length 500 Miles. Between 30 and 36 Degrees North Latitude, Breadth uncertain.

Carolina, if extended to the Westward, as far as the Charters would justify, or as far as the *Cherikee Indians*, our Allies, extends, we might make the River *Mississippi* the Western Boundary, which falls into the Gulph of *Mexico*,

Mexico, in 95 Degrees of Western Longitude; but if we confine ourselves to the Lands that are actually planted by the *English*, we must not extend it above 200 Miles West of the *Atlantic Ocean*. The *French* are but late Intruders, and made their Settlements since the Year 1720, for all on the East of that River belongs to the *English*; and all to the West, to the *Spaniards*, who actually destroy'd some of the Forts erected by the *French* on the west Side of that River: But since the Union of the two Kingdoms, of *France* and *Spain*, the *Spaniards* wink at the *French* Encroachments: And if the *English* should allow them to possess the East Side of *Mississippi*, and raise Forts there, our Colonies in *Carolina* will be in a precarious Situation. *Georgia*, which borders the southern Limits of this Country, is in a very unsettled Condition; for the *Spaniards* claim that Country as a Part of *Spanish Florida*; but the *English* insist, that *Carolina* extends as far as the River of *St. John*, in 30 Degrees of North Latitude; but how the Commissaries appointed to settle this Matter will agree, is hard to say. However, to give *Carolina* the Bounds which of Right it ought to have against both *French* and *Spanish Florida*, will be to bound *Carolina* by *Virginia* on the North; by the *Atlantic Ocean* on the West; by the River of *St. John* on the South; and the River *Mississippi* on the West; and throw it into three Divisions, viz. 1. *North Carolina*. 2. *South Carolina*; and 3. *Georgia*.

Divisions.	Counties.	Parishes.
<i>North Carolina</i> ,	{ <i>Albemarle</i> , <i>Bath County</i> , <i>Clarendon Part</i> ,	{ Divided into Pa- rishes, but has no Towns.
<i>South Carolina</i> , or Middle Division,	{ <i>Clarendon in Part</i> , <i>Craven</i> , <i>Berkley</i> , <i>Colliton</i> , <i>Granville</i> ,	{ Towns. <i>St. James</i> , <i>Christ Church</i> , <i>Charles Town</i> , <i>Port Royal</i> .
<i>South Division</i> contains only <i>Georgia</i> ,	{ <i>Savannah</i> , <i>Frederica</i> , <i>Purifburg</i> .	

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FRENCH POLICY. 25

The principal Rivers are, 1. *Albemarle*. 2. *Pentague*. 3. *Nense*. 4. *Cape Fear*, or *Clarendon River*. 5. *Waterree*. 6. *Cambabee*. 7. *Ashley*. 8. *Cooper*. 9. *Colliton*. 10. *Santee*. 11. *Savannah*. 12. *Alatamah*; and 13. The noble River of *St. John*, which divides *Georgia* from *Spanish Florida*: All these Rivers have their Source in the *Apulachian Mountains*, running East, till they fall into the *Atlantic Ocean*. There are also the Rivers *Flint*, *Catochee*, *Ocechee*, and even the River *Mississippi*, which run from the North-east to the South-west, and fall into the Gulph of *Mexico*, and pass, as Mr. *Oglethorpe* assures us, thro' Part of *Carolina*.

The *Indians* inhabiting this Country are a manly well-shaped People, the Men tall, and the Women little. They make their Skins of a dark Brown, by anointing their Bodies with Oil, and exposing them to the Sun; the Men paint themselves of various Colours, red, yellow, black and blue; they generally wear a Girdle, with a Piece of Cloth drawn thro' their Legs, turned over the Girdle both before and behind, something resembling Breeches. The Women wear a kind of Petticoat reaching to their Knees; in the Winter, both Sexes wear Mantles two Yards square; which they wrap round their Bodies, as the *Romans* did their *Toga*, but generally with their Arms bare.

They are a generous, good-natured, hospitable People; patient of Want and Pain; not easily provoked; but when thoroughly incensed implacable; quick of Apprehension, and gay of Temper; in their publick Conferences and Treaties they discover excellent Capacities, and have a natural Eloquence.

Every Family makes the Manufacture it has occasion for, but none to sell; they despise working for Hire, and spend their Time chiefly in Hunting and War, but plant Corn enough for their own Use, and for Strangers who visit them. For Bread, they make their *Indian* Corn into Hommony, as before-mentioned; they boil their Venison, and make Broth of it; and eat all manner of Flesh. They make their Salt of Wood-ashes; Long-pepper, which grows in their Gardens, and Bay-leaves, serve them for Spice.

This Country is situated between the Extremes of
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Heat and Cold; but the Heat in Summer is more troublesome than the Cold in Winter.

The Natives are generally healthful, and have but few Diseases, except the Small-pox, and those occasioned by drinking Rum. Old *Brim*, Emperor of the *Creeks*, who died but a few Years ago, lived to one hundred and thirty Years; and he was neither blind, nor bed-rid, till some few Months before his Death. Sometimes indeed they have Pleurifies and Fevers, but no chronical Distempers; and have several physical Herbs of great Virtue, particularly for the Cure of venomous Bites and Wounds.

Among their native Animals are the *Urus* and *Zorax*, described by *Cæsar*, and by the *English* improperly called a *Buffaloe*.

The Soil produces all manner of Vegetables, and many thrive there which cannot stand our Winter. Silk, Wine and Oil are likewise the Produce of this Country, if properly cultivated; Mulberry-trees and Vines grow spontaneously, and the Soil is extremely proper for Olives. We have had Samples brought over of Silk, equal to any that is purchased of Foreigners. Indigo has likewise of late been manufactured in *South Carolina* to great Perfection, of which large Quantities have been sent to *England*.

Rice, Skin, Pitch and Tar are the chief Produce of *South Carolina*; 'tis said, that from *Charles Town* alone 200 Ship-loads of Rice are annually exported. The Inhabitants of *North Carolina* apply themselves chiefly to the planting and cultivating of Tobacco.

Georgia is not a fruitful Country; but the Banks of the several fine Rivers which run thro' it have been fertilized, and make a very good Barrier for the *Carolina's*, which before were exposed to the Ravages of the *Spaniards* and *French*, and their *Indian Allies*.

But to return to our Narrative. The Peace being concluded in 1748, the *French* seemed pretty quiet for some Time, that is, they did not openly attack or molest any of our Settlements; yet it was not long before they shewed the little Regard they had to the Articles of that Treaty, as appeared from their refusing to evacuate the neutral Islands. And tho' they did not for a Year or two commit any Violences or Outrages upon our Colonies in *America*, yet were they exceeding busy all the while in seducing

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seducing the *Indians*, our Allies, into their Interest; and the prodigious Progress their perfidious underhand Dealings met with, is apparent from the following Letters, dated at *Stockbridge*, August 31, 1751.

The Contents of the first Letter are to this Effect: "We have had credible Information from the *Mohawks*, that the *French* are now gone from *Canada* with an Army of 600 Men, 400 *French* and 200 *Indians* (intending to augment their Army to 1000 as they go along) into the South-western Parts of *North America*, in order to strengthen their own Interest, and ruin ours in these Parts; particularly to destroy the Nation of the *Toowechtoowees*, that are very friendly to the *English*; and to kill a certain *Virginia* Trader, who, by his honest Dealings with the *Indians*, has lately gained the Affections of many, and greatly drawn their Trade that Way; and that *J. C.* having had Intelligence of this, by a *Frenchman* who deserted from the Army, and various other Ways, had sent a Belt of Wampum to all the six Nations, to give them Notice of it, and to excite them to oppose the Designs of this Army."

The other Letter runs in these Terms: "God in his Providence seems now to be opening the Door for introducing the Light of the Gospel among the Nations (*i. e.* the six *Mohawk* Nations) wider than ever. And if we, the *English*, don't fail of doing our Part, there is a Prospect of great Things being done; and it looks as if the present Season was now or never. 'Tis evident the *French* are now exerting themselves in an extraordinary manner, to draw all these Nations over to them, and engage them in their Interest. The King of *France* has lately made extraordinary Provisions for them, that very large and liberal Presents may be made them in *Canada*. And they are indefatigable in the Endeavours they use, in the Labours of their Emisseries, and all Ways they can devise. They are building Forts in all the Parts of *America* to the West of us, in the Carrying-places between the Lakes and the Rivers, and in all the most important Places, where they have the greatest Advantage to bring the *Indians* into Dependence, and to draw their Trade. Colonel *Johnson* and Major *Lydius* (who probably are best acquainted with the State of these *Indians*, of all the Subjects of the *British* Crown) said in the Time of the

Treaty of *Albany*, ' That it was a gone Case, and that
' it was a Thing beyond all Doubt or Dispute what was
' never like to be done, these Nations were lost to the
' *British* Interest.'

By various Accounts it is abundantly confirmed, that about one half of the *Onohtauguas* have actually left their old Habitations, and are gone to live in *Canada*, the *French* having provided Lands for them; and many others of the far Nations are resorting to settle there. An eminent *Mohawk* told me, that the *Quinquals*, the *Onohtauguas*, and the *Chountoowaunces*, or *Seneca's*, are generally in the *French* Interest. He says, they come indeed to *Albany* and treat with the *English* as Friends; but then go directly to the Governor of *Canada*, and tell him all that has pass'd: They speak, says he, smooth Words, pleasant Words to the *English*; but their Hearts are with the *French*. He said concerning the *Seneca's*, who are vastly the biggest of the six Nations, that the Governor of *Canada* was always there, meaning by his Emisseries. Four *Indians* have lately been here from among the *Caugnawaugaus* in *Canada*, who were related either in Blood or Marriage to some of the *English*. Two of these especially appeared to be uncommonly intelligent. They told me, that the *Indians* that formerly used to be on our Side, are continually flocking in great Multitudes to *Canada* to dwell there. They said, that all the Nations about the Lakes that used to be our Friends, had lately left us, and entered into an Alliance with the *French*.

Thus indefatigable are that Nation, who understand their own Interest so well, in their Endeavours to gain all the *Indian* Nations in *North America*, and to establish them in their Interest, and alienate them from the *English*. I was credibly informed, while at *Albany*, that the *Indians* gave that for one Reason why they left the *English* and joined themselves to the *French*, that they could not live with the *English*, they gave them so much Rum, which they found by Experience had wasted them exceedingly.

Now it is remarkable, that in this Situation of Things, the only remaining Means left in our Power to regain and secure the *Indians* in the *English* Interest, is this very Thing, *viz.* to our utmost to prosecute the Design of thoroughly instructing them in the true Protestant Religion, and educating their Children in useful Knowledge.

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Col. *Johnson* owns this; and says, he knows it will be for the *British* Interest, for them to prosecute what they have begun at *Stockbridge*. This Opportunity may easily be lost thro' Negligence; for some of the *Mohawks* themselves are watching for an Opportunity to possess the Minds of those *Indians* that are inclined to Religion, with an Opinion of the Treachery of the *English*, and to insult those that seem now disposed to trust us, on our disappointing them. A principal *Mohawk* himself, in his Prudence and Zeal, is afraid of the Consequence of any Disappointment from the *English*, and seems deeply concerned about it."

In the first of the above-mentioned Letters we are told, that the *French* were marched with an Army from *Canada*, to the South-west Part of *North America*, and with what Views: A Letter which has been since received from *Stockbridge*, gives an Account of the Success of that Expedition, and how the five Nations in general stood affected both to the *English* and *French*. The Letter is dated *Sept. 25, 1751*, and runs thus:

"Some of the *Mohawks* are come this Day to *Stockbridge* from their own Country, and bring an Account of their Brethren at Home, that they continue in a Disposition and Design to bring their Children hither to be instructed. A Number of the Far Nations are come to treat with the Five Nations, with a very great Belt of Wampum; which is a Sign of great and important Business: And they say, that the Army that lately went to extirpate the Nation of the *Toowechoowees*, are returned without Success; their Design being discovered by that Nation before they came: And that the Army in their Return stopped at a Place a little above *Oswego*, and had sent to the Chiefs of all the Five Nations to come to him; and particularly, that the Governor General of the Army had sent very earnestly for *Hendrick* to come, but that he utterly refused, and that none of his Tribe should stir. And, if the Account these Men give be true, the other Nations decline this proposed Interview with the *French* General, and say, if he has any Business with them, he must come to them."

Before we proceed to mention any farther Particulars of the Encroachments and Inroads made by the *French* and their *Indian* Allies upon our *American* Territories on

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the *Ohio*, it may not be improper to give some Account of the new Colony sent to *Nova Scotia* in 1749.

The whole Compass of *Nova Scotia* was ceded to *Great Britain* by the Treaty of *Utrecht*; in Consequence of which we garrison'd *Annapolis* and *Canto*, the Fortresses that were then in the Country, and kept Possession of them ever since; but never sent a regular Colony to plant and inhabit it till the Year 1749: When it being represented to his Majesty, that the Country was naturally fertile, and capable of very great Improvements; and it being at a Time when a great Number of Officers and Soldiers were at a Loss to know how to get their Bread, being lately disbanded upon the Conclusion of the Peace; it was judged proper to give Permission to such, and to as many other poor, honest, and industrious People as desired it, to transplant themselves to *Nova Scotia* at the Expence of the Government. Accordingly Transports were prepared, on which three thousand Families embarked, with their Governor Col. *Cornwallis*, and safely arrived there the 28th of *June*, 1749. The following Letter from one of the Settlers, dated *Chebueto* Harbour, *July* 28, 1749, gives an Account of their Passage, and a good Description of the Country, well deserving the Reader's Perusal.

On the 28th of *June*, after a short and pleasant Passage of between five and six Weeks, we arrived here. I have not heard that any one Person died in the Passage, or since our Arrival; on the contrary, many that were sick at our Departure from *Portsmouth*, are perfectly recovered. We have already baptized ten or twelve Children; and about as many Women are ready to lie-in.

Our Health and Preservation have been in a great Measure, under Almighty God, owing to the prudent Measures taken by those who had the Direction of this good Work, in having Ventulators and Air-pipes in all the Ships, and furnishing Rice and fresh Provisions for the Use of the Sick as well as the lying-in Women and young Children. Examples which I hope will be followed in all future Embarkations.

On our Arrival, we found the *Sphinx*, of twenty Guns, which had come into Harbour a few Days before us, having his Excellency, Col. *Cornwallis*, our Governor, on Board; who being informed of the Arrival of the
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French at *Louisburgh*, immediately gave Orders for transporting the *English* Garrison from *Cape Breton* to this Place; and while I am writing, I have the Pleasure to acquaint you, that the Transports are now entering the Harbour, with two Regiments of *Hopson* and *Warburton* on Board. The Assistance, as well as Security, that we shall receive from these Regiments, will greatly forward our Settlement; the Officers having brought all their Furniture with them, and a great Number of Milch Cows, and other Stock, besides military Stores and Ammunition of all Sorts. There is also a company of Rangers arrived from *Annapolis*, commanded by *Capt. Goreham*, who are encamped near us, and from whom likewise we have received great Assistance, and every Thing has answered our most sanguine Wishes and Expectations.

The Harbour of *Chebutto* may justly be called the finest in the World, and has Conveniencies and Advantages for a Fishery, superior, as I am told, by Persons of Knowledge, to any other Place they ever saw, and we have great Reason to believe, it will soon become the most flourishing Fishery in these Parts, a great Number of *New England* Fishermen having already signified their Intention of settling here next Year.

The Entrance into the Harbour is from the South, with a large Island of an irregular Form, which we have named *Cornwallis* Island, lying on the North-east Side; between this Island and the opposite Shore, on the South-west, is a Channel, wide and deep enough for the largest Ships. This Island, as well as a smaller one up the Harbour, which we named *George's* Island, is commodiously situated for a Fishery, and has Conveniencies of all Sorts, proper for drying and curing the Fish. About two Miles up the Harbour, on the South-west Side, is a River, with a small Harbour at its Entrance, for the Reception of Shallops, and other small Vessels; we call it *Sandwich* River; it is at the Mouth about as wide as the *Thames* at *London Bridge*, and as deep, though Salt Water, for about four or five Miles up, where it terminates at the Fall of a fresh-water Rivulet, which runs into it from the North.

From the Mouth of the *Sandwich* to the opposite Side of the Harbour is about two Miles, with good anchoring Ground for the largest Ships in any Part of it, and a fine watering

watering Place on the North-east Side; the Land on both Sides is every where pretty high, and exceeding rich and fertile, but covered with Wood, as indeed is the whole Country round it.

About four or five Miles North from the above-mentioned River, is a narrow Entrance of half a Mile, into a large Bay of ten or twelve Miles Circumference; which we named *Bedford Bay*, and it has several small Creeks, abounding with the finest Salmon in the greatest Plenty I ever saw. There are also several Islands in it, and a great Quantity of Pines, fit for Masts, grow on the Western Side of it. This Bay, with the Harbour, and *Sandwich River*, forms a Peninsula, containing about 3000 Acres of Land, upon which we are at present settled, and are preparing to found a Town.

There is an amazing Quantity of Fish of the best Sorts caught in the Harbour; and the Woods abound with a Variety of Game, especially Partridges, which perch upon Trees, and suffer themselves to be shot at as often as you will. I think they are better than those we have in *England*. There are also Wood-pigeons; I have seen some Flights of Ducks and Geese. The Weather is fairer and more serene than any I ever saw; and our Evenings are pleasant beyond Description.

The first Care of the Governor was to pitch upon a proper Spot for our first Settlement; and as the aforementioned Peninsula appeared to be the best Place, as well on Account of its commodious Situation, as the Fertility of its Soil, which is a red Clay. The Wood being chiefly Oak, Ash, Beach, Birch, &c. the able-bodied Men on Board each Ship were employed in clearing Ground for a Town at the South Point of the Peninsula, and at the Entrance of *Sandwich River*, which at first appeared to be the best Spot, being defensible, and having the Advantage of the River being navigable a great Way up; but, upon Examination, the strongest Objections were found against this Place; a Shoal off the Point, which made it very convenient for a Fort, was, however, apprehended to be dangerous so near a Town, being so shallow, that, at a Cable's Length from the Shore, small Boats strike upon the Rock; besides, it was evident from the Beach, that a prodigious Sea must come in at Winter; and the Soil too proved bad, stony near the Shore, and
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swampy behind. Another Spot therefore was chosen by the Governor, about a Mile and a half North of it on the Harbour Side; 'tis upon the Slope of a rising Ground, that commands the whole Peninsula, and will shelter the Town from the North-west Winds. The Beach is a fine Gravel, convenient for small Boats; the Anchorage is every where good, within Gun-shot of the Town, for large Ships, and there are several Rivulets of fresh and wholesome Water about it.

We have already cleared about twenty Acres of Land, and every one has a Hut by his Tent. Our Work goes on briskly, and the Method of employing the People in Ship's Companies has had a very good Effect, in creating an Emulation amongst us, every one striving who shall do most; and as the Governor is preparing to lay out the Lots of Land, we shall soon have a very convenient and pleasant Town built, which is to be called *Hallifax*, in Honour of the great and noble Lord, to whom this Settlement owes its Beginning, and whose indefatigable Zeal for the Honour and Interest of his Country is well known; so that we hope in Time to become a flourishing Colony.

There are already several Wharfs built, and one Gentleman is preparing to erect a Saw-mill. Publick Store-houses are also building, and Grains of various Sorts have been sown. We have received constant Supplies of Plank and Timber for building our Houses, also fresh Stock, and Rum in great Quantities, twenty Schooners frequently coming in one Day. We have also had a hundred Beeves, and some Sheep, brought down to us by Land from the *French* Settlement at *Minas*, which is about 30 Miles from the Bottom of *Bedford* Bay, and to which we purpose to cut a Road, the *French* Deputies, who came to make their Submission, having promised to send us fifty Men for that Purpose, and to assist us as far as they are able. We have likewise received the like Promise of Friendship and Assistance from the *Indians*, their Chiefs having been with our Governor for that Purpose: In short, every Thing is in a very prosperous Way. But I should be equally unjust and ungrateful, was I to conclude my Letter without paying that Tribute, which is justly due to our Governor, whose indefatigable Zeal and prudent Conduct, in the difficult Task he is to go through with, can never be sufficiently admired. He seems to have

nothing in View but the Interest and Happiness of all; and his Commands are mixed with so much Humany and Goodness, that it is impossible not to love and obey him at the same Time."

This was the Situation of the new Colony about a Year after its first Settlement; a more particular Description of the Country here follows.

Nova Scotia is the most northerly and easterly Province of the *English* Range on the Continent, and consequently the nearest to *Europe*. It was called *Nova Scotia* by Sir *William Alexander*, Secretary of State for *Scotland*, under King *James I.* and afterwards created Earl of *Stirling*. By Means of Sir *Ferdinando George*, President of the *New England* or *Plymouth* Company, he obtained a Royal Grant for this Tract in 1621.

As to the Climate, it is not, indeed, so agreeable as the Southern Parts of *France*, tho' situate in the same Degrees of Latitude, because it is subject to severe Colds, and thick Fogs; but it will be much better and better every Day, in Proportion as the Woods are cut down, and the Country cleared and improved; and when the Country to the North of it comes to be a little cleared and inhabited, it may, perhaps, become one of the pleasantest Spots upon the Globe, for according to *Charlevoix's* Account, there is not a Country in the World of its Extent where we meet with fewer natural Harbours, or which more abundantly produces all the Conveniencies of Life. In Confirmation of which he says, that, near the Harbour of *La Haive*, one single Grain of Wheat produced 150 pretty Ears of Corn, and each of them so loaded with Grain, that they were forced to inclose all the Ears in a Ring of Iron, and support them by a Pole; and that near the same Place there was a Field of Wheat, where every Grain of the Seed, even those that produced least, put forth eight Stalks, every one of which had an Ear of at least half a Foot long.

The River of *St. John*, ten Leagues distant from the Gut of *Annapolis*, a very useful River, of long Course, and has a considerable Tribe of the *Anaqui* Indians settled upon it; but they are at present, from the Neglect of the *Nova Scotia* Government, in the Interest of the *Canadian French*. There are prodigious Falls of Tide in this River, near its Mouth, of not less than 30 Fathoms; not

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not properly Cataracts, occasioned by a Course of Rocks, but the Effect of a great Head of Water above, the Channel being pent up between two Mountains. By this River, and the Help of some Land Carriage, there is a Communication with the River of *St. Lawrence*, and across that, with *Quebec* the Metropolis of *Canada*.

More northerly, is *Cape Dore*, or *Gilt Cape*, about 30 Leagues from *Annapolis*. Here is plenty of Mineral Coal for Firing, which must be reckoned a very great natural Advantage. Some Years ago a Company was set on Foot in *New England*, to work the Mines: But tho' that Project was soon dropped with Loss, a better Use will, doubtless, be made of this Treasure, when *Nova Scotia* itself comes to be inhabited. About the same Cape are some slender Veins of Copper Ore, some thin Laminæ of Virgin Copper, and a Gold Sulphur Marcasite.

Upon the easterly Shore, or Gulph of *St. Lawrence*, after we have passed the Point, is the Gut of *Canso*, it is a short and safe Passage from the *British* Settlements to *Canada* River, and to all the other Parts of *Nova Scotia* upon this Gulph. This Gulph is six Leagues long, and only one League broad; the Navigation of it is very good, as appears from the Journal of Captain *Gayton*, who passed it in 1746, on a Cruise to *Green Bay*.

Twenty-five Leagues beyond the Gut, is *Tatamaganabon*, a considerable District or Settlement for the *Nova Scotians*, and a good Road for Vessels. *Green Bay*, or *Bay Verte*, lies 14 Leagues further, and is shallow Water. This is the Landing-place from *Canada*, where Disturbances from the *French* is chiefly to be apprehended, and ought peculiarly to be guarded against in the Settlement of *Nova Scotia*. There are four Miles Land Carriage from this Bay to *Chignecto* River, which runs by a *French* Town of the same Name into the opposite Bay, dividing the *Isthmus* in the narrowest Part. It is proper here to take Notice, that on the Side of *Chignecto* Bay, the Tide flows eleven Fathoms: But on the Gulph of *St. Lawrence* or *Green Bay* Side, the Swell is not above four or five Feet.

Farther upwards, before we reach *Isle Bonaventure*, and *Isle Peace*, where the *French*, by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, have a Right to cure and dry Codfish, we come to *Mi-*

rachi Port, at the Mouth of a long River of the same Name, where I do not find any Settlement. There are some other small Bays, betwixt this and that of *Chaleurs* (so called by the *French*) which runs a great Way into the Land, and has a small Island at the Bottom of it, beside several others near the Entrance. Then proceeding towards the River *St. Lawrence*, below the South Entrance of that River, lies the Bay of *Gaspee*, which is a deep and good Harbour. Here the *French*, contrary to Treaty, have continued to carry on their Fishery, and pretend to assume to themselves a Right over the Country behind it, which they distinguished in their modern Maps by the Name of *Gaspefee*. This Name indeed they do sometimes extend so far, as to take off the greatest Part of *Nova Scotia*, and leave us little, if any Thing, more under the Title of *Acadia*, than the Peninsula. Such a Paper-encroachment, if not well attended to, may in Time be construed into a Sort of Claim by Prescription. But as this Province is now thought worthy the Regard of the Administration, it is to be hoped the true and ancient Limits of it will be properly asserted: For tho' we may not suddenly settle more of it than the Peninsula, yet an Indulgence to our Rivals, in the other Parts, will be a great Check to the Industry of our Colonies.

Nova Scotia is at present divided into ten or twelve Districts, each District annually chuses one Deputy, to be approved by the Commander and Council at *Annapolis*. He is a sort of Agent for his Countrymen, the *French*, in that District, and reports the State of it from Time to Time; but in what Manner, we need not be at a Loss to determine. There is, in Fact, no civil Power, either legislative or executive. The *French* Missionaries, who are not only sent by the Bishop of *Quebec*, but absolutely under his Directions in their several Districts and Villages, act as sole Magistrates or Justices of the Peace: But all Complaints may, if the Parties think proper, be brought before the Commander in Chief and Council of *Annapolis*; a Liberty, which, if we consider the State of this People, their Prejudices to the *English*, we may be certain, is not often made use of. But the numerous Settlements at *Hallifax*, which may soon be reputed the Metropolis of *Nova Scotia*, and the continual Accession

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of Planters and Cultivation of Lands, will naturally produce a more regular System of Government.

But we must leave this Colony at present industriously pursuing their Scheme, planning out their Grounds, and erecting Towns and Habitations, in Hopes of a full, quiet, and undisturbed Possession for many Years to come; but we shall soon have Occasion to shew, how greatly they were deceived in their Expectations. In the mean while, let us again visit the Parts where we left the *French* and their *Indians* attempting to kill and destroy the Friends and Allies of the *English*.

By a Letter received at *Williamsburg* in *Virginia*, from a Gentleman in the back Part of the Country, *Oct. 20, 1752*, it was advis'd, That several of the *Indian* Traders were come in, and confirmed the Account they had before received of the *Indian* Wars, with some additional Circumstances of Horror. A Party of *French* *Indians* call'd *Tawaws*, assisted by some *French*, laid Siege to the *Twightwee* Town, when most of the fighting Men were out hunting, and scarce any left but the Women, old Men, and a few Traders; notwithstanding which the Town made a brave Resistance, and killed 36 of the *French* and *Tawaws*, but were at last overpowered by Numbers, and all, who were so unfortunate as to fall into the Enemy's Hands, put to Death in a most cruel manner. Among the rest was an old Chief of the *Twightwees*, who, from his great Friendship to the *English*, was used to be called the *Old Briton*. Him, and one of the *Shannoal* Kings, they eat. They ripped up some of the white Mens Bellies, and eat their Hearts and Livers, with many other shocking Acts of Barbarity. These six Nations are so exasperated with this inhuman Treatment of their Allies, that they and all the *Ohio* *Indians* have declared War against the *French*, and laid themselves under a solemn Oath, to eat every *Frenchman* they can lay their Hands on, and not to leave Man, Woman, or Child of the *Tawaw* Nation alive. The *Twightwees* have sent to the Westward to assemble their numerous Tribes. Tomahawks and black Wampum are continually passing from one Town to another, and nothing but Revenge and Blood is to be heard of among the *Indians*.

The Governor of *Philadelphia*, having represented to the Assembly, that the *French* *Indians*, raised by the Governor

vernor of *Canada*, were marching to attack the *Indians* of the six Nations on the River *Ohio*, on the Borders of that Province and *Virginia*, they (the Assembly) on the 30th of *May*, 1752, voted 600 *l.* to be laid out for the Support of the said *Indians* in Alliance with the *English*; and at the same Time voted 300 *l.* as a Present of Condolance to the *Twightwee Indians*, who suffer'd by the *French* in Manner above-mentioned.

Nov. 24, 1752, the Great and General Court of Assembly met at *Boston*, when Lieutenant Governor *Phips*, in a Speech to them, among other Things, said, ' You will find by the Journal of the Commissioners I sent to treat with the Eastern Nations, that we have succeeded as well as we could expect, and I hope the Conference will have a good Tendency to prevent any further Molestation to our Frontiers. You are sensible how great an Influence the *French* have over those *Indians*; and to that must be imputed the Refusal of the *St. Francois* Tribes, as we commonly distinguish them, to appear with the *Ponohscots*, and such of the *Norridgewock* as joined with them.'

About the same Time, Mr. *Alexander McGentry*, an *Indian* Trader from *Albany*, arrived at *New York*, and informed, that he, in Company with several others, were taken on the South Side of *Algeny* River by upwards of 100 *French Indians*; that two Days after one *James Lawry* made his Escape, and since perish'd in the Woods, the rest after a long March, arrived at *Montreal*. They often solicited the *French* to be released from the *Indians*; who told them, they were not their Prisoners, but the *Indians*, and that they had no Orders from them to molest any *Englishman*, tho' the *Indians* affirmed the contrary. Mr. *McGentry* got his Freedom for a valuable Ransom, and left at *Montreal* two of his Companions, who were to be sent to *Quebec*, in order to be transported to *Old France*.

There were many of the *Indians*, however, honest enough to despise the Bribes offered them by the *French* to break their Engagements with the *English*, particularly the *Fantee*; as appears from the following Copy of a Treaty concluded at *Cape Coast Castle* between *England* and the *Fantee* Nation, on the 6th of *February*, 1753.

We the Braffoe and Curranteers, the Priests and People of *Fantee* do declare, that our Fathers, under the Conduct of their Braffoe *Imorah*, were brought by the *English* from the Country now *Arkania*, and by them furnished with Arms, Ammunition and Money, not only to take Possession of this Land inhabited by us, but likewise to conquer all those States around us at present subject to our Dominion.

And whereas we are certainly informed that within these ten Years past, several Subjects of the *French* King have been endeavouring by Bribes of various Kinds, not only to dissolve that close Connection between the *English* and *Fantee* Nation, which we look upon as our greatest Security, but likewise to procure to themselves some of the Ground which was conquered at the *English* Expence; which, besides the natural Injustice of the Thing, can have no other Tendency, than to introduce jarring Interests and Divisions among us, and thereby deliver us up as an easy Prey to our Enemies.

For these Reasons, and to recognize, the Rights of the *English* Nation in the most solemn and authentic Manner, and to cut off all Claims and Pretensions of any other Nation whatsoever; we the whole People of *Fantee*, did, on the 26th of *October* last, assemble at *Munnin*, and then unanimously passed the following Law to be Constitutional; and publickly, according to the wonted Form of our Ancestors, denounce a Curse upon ourselves, or any of our Posterity, who shall attempt, either directly or indirectly, to break thro' it.

‘ Be it known to all the People of *Fantee*, and to all under their Obedience, that we the Braffoe and Curranteers, the Priests and People of *Fantee*, do enact and ordain, That no Subject of the *French* King shall ever be permitted to settle any where, either by building Forts, or otherwise, between *Queen Anne's Point* and *Jame's Fort, Aura*: And that whoever attempts to harbour them in his House shall, on the Proof of the Fact, be adjudged guilty of Treason against his Country, and punished accordingly.’

And as a farther Proof of the Reality of our Intentions, and to secure, as far as in us lies, the *English* Interest in this Country, and to engage them, by our candid Behaviour, to continue to us that Protection which
by

by long Experience we have found so beneficial, we the aforesaid Braffoe and Curranteers, the Priests and People of *Fantee*, have judg'd it proper and necessary, to send the following Persons, *Imorah* the Son of *Adnafer*, &c. &c. Duly and fully authorized, to *Cape Coast Castle*, and there, in Presence of the President and Council, to swear Allegiance and Fealty to the *English* Nation, and to deliver the following Hostages, viz. *Cudjae Annooma*; Sister's Son to the Braffoe of *Fantee*, from the said Braffoe and Curranteers; likewise *Quabino Sabi*, *Quacoo* and *Coffee* into their Hands, to remain as Pledges of our punctual Observance of the above Law.

We the aforesaid Persons, Deputies from the Braffoe and Curranteers, the Priests and People of *Fantee*, being duly and fully authorized, having, according to the Custom of our Country, and the Form prescribed by our Religion, as likewise according to the Custom of the *English* and the Form prescribed by their Religion, sworn to the due Performance of the aforesaid Law, and have in Consequence set out Marks to two Originals of this Recognition, being first read and interpreted to us, in the Presence of the said President and Council, on the 6th of *February*, 1753, according to the white Mens Manner of Computation in *Europe*.

The above Recognition was executed at *Cape Coast Castle*, by the Parties therein mentioned, the Day and Year above written.

John Cockburn, Captain of of his Majesty's Ship the *Glory*. *Thomas Melvin*, Governor. *Joseph Harmer*, Accomptant. *Mathew Machaell*, Surgeon. *Christ. Whittels*, Secretary. *John Williams*, Lieutenant of the *Glory*. *William Lille*, Surgeon.

Let our most Christian Neighbours read this, and blush, if they can, when they see these poor unchristian Heathen *Africans* so punctual to their Engagements, so grateful in remembering the good Offices formerly done them, and so anxious to remove the least Ground of Suspicion, of their falling off to the Enemies of the *English* their Allies.

About the same Time, the Chiefs of the *Creeks* and *Cheerokee Indians*, were at *South Carolina*, and confirmed in the Governor's Presence, the Peace lately made between them, and gave the strongest Assurances to observe it

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it. These two Nations have been frequently set at Variance by the Artifices of the *French*, and much weakened thereby; but they still make up a Number of between 5 and 6000 Gun-men.

Another Instance of the *Malice* wherewith the *French* have inspired their *Indians* against the *English*, appears by a Letter dated at *Boston*, *May 28*, that a Vessel from *Providence* in *New England* bound for *Louisburgh*, was lately cast away on the *Cape Sable* Shore; the Men were saved and taken up by Captain *Peunetter*, in a Schooner belonging to *Annapolis Royal*, who put into *St. Peter* on *Cape Breton*; but while he was there he was boarded by a Number of *Indians*, who killed the Captain and all the People except the Pilot, who was a *Frenchman*, afterwards carried the Scalps in Triumph to *Louisburgh*.

It was not long before the *French* changed their Notes, and gave the Governor to understand, how little Confidence he ought to put in their pretended Friendship; as appears from the following Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in *Nova Scotia* to a Merchant in *London*.

“ When the Fleet arrived here last Summer, it was reported that the *French* Governor of *Canada* had posted a Detachment, consisting of 60 regular Troops, on *St. John's* River, on the North Side of the Bay of *Fundy*, and in the Heart of this Province. This was the more easily credited, as the Ramparts of an old Fort there, with a very little Expence, might have been repaired into a defensible Fort. Upon a seeming Confirmation of this Report, Captain *Rous*, in the *Albany* Sloop of War, was sent thither to know the Truth of it; and with Orders, as is supposed, to dispossess them. On his Return we found that the *French* had attempted nothing near the Mouth of the River; but that they were about to secure themselves at some considerable Distance from it, at a Place which the *French* Governor claimed as a Southern Boundary of *Canada* or *New France*. This being in a Country inhabited by *Indians*, and the Navigation of the River being unknown to most of the *English*, nothing further could then be done.

In *September* or *October* following, *Monf. Le Corne*, an experienced *French* Officer, at the Head of 70 regular Troops, and a Party of *Canada* Irregulars, was sent to take Post at the Isthmus of *Chignecto*, being about 40

Leagues Eastward of that River, and the Extent of a Line they claim, from the Lake *Champlain* to the Westward on the Back of *New England* to the Gulph of *St. Lawrence*. To this Place the *Indians* resorted to the Number of 300; who having here their head Quarters, made several Incurfions upon the Peninsula since, but have seldom done any Mischief.

As the *Nova Scotia French* in that Part of the Province are the most disaffected of any, and have always behaved with Contempt to the *British Government*, tho' possessed of a very fine Country, Governor *Cornwallis*, who had indulged them with a long Term of Deliberation in regard to the taking the Oaths to his Majesty, to no Purpose, sent a strong Party, consisting of near 500 Troops and Rangers (to take Possession of *Chignecto*, and to break up the Rendezvous of the *French Indians*) commanded by Major *Lawrence of Warburton's Regiment*.

The *Albany Sloop*, and several Sloops and Schooners, were sent round to *Minas*, where the Forces embarked the 20th of *April*, and arriving safe, landed at *Chignecto* the 23d. On their Approach to the Town, which consisted of about 140 Houses, and two Churches, the *Indians*, probably induced by the *French Commandant*, reduced the whole to Ashes in a few Hours, and the Inhabitants, crossing the River, threw themselves under his Protection, on what they call the *French Side* of the Line. The Reason assigned for burning the Town is, that it stood on Ground they pleased at present to call *English*.

As many of the Inhabitants had taken Arms, making their united Force consist, as they say, of near 1500 armed Men, the Major sent a Flag of Truce (they having hoisted a *French Flag*) to know the Reason of their acting in this hostile Manner, and afterwards had an Interview with *M. Le Corne*; upon which our Forces re-embarked, and are safely returned to *Minas*.

What passed at this Interview is not made publick, but it is probable the Enemy were too well secured, and had too great a Superiority, to make an Attempt practicable.

We left the new Colonists in *Nova Scotia* very busy in planting, building and laying out their Works for making a commodious Settlement. We likewise took Notice, that the *French Indians* behaved to them in a very friendly

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friendly Manner. But this good Correspondent did not continue long; for the *French* soon grew jealous of the flourishing State of the Colony; and fearing it would in Time grow too strong for them, and so obstruct their ambitious Projects that they were then carrying on in that Part of the World, were so far from assisting the *English* in Provisions or Necessaries for their Works, that they took every Occasion to molest, disturb, and interrupt them, and stirred up their *Indians* to commit all Manner of Outrages upon them. These Proceedings made Governor *Cornwallis* very uneasy; however, the Town of *Hallifax* was built under his Inspection, Plantations were laid out, Lands cultivated, and the Settlement put into as thriving a Situation as possible under his Management. He then took his Leave, and returned to *England*; and *Peregrine Thomas Hopson*, Esq; was appointed Captain General, and Governor in Chief in his Room.

It should have been before observed, that Governor *Cornwallis* had entered into Treaties, and concluded a Peace with some of the *Indian Tribes*, tho' the Articles were but ill observed on their Side. However, Governor *Hopson* did all he could to cultivate an amicable Correspondence between them, and at last prevailed with them to sign and conclude a Peace on the following Articles.

I. It is agreed, That Articles of Submission and Agreement, made at *Boston* in *New England*, by the Delegates of *Ponobscot* and *Norridgewock*, and *St. John's Indians*, in the Year 1725, ratified and confirmed by all the *Nova Scotia Tribes*, at *Annapolis Royal*, in the Month of *June*, 1726, and lately renewed by the Governor *Cornwallis* at *Hallifax*, and ratified at *St. John's River*, now read over, explained, and interpreted, shall be, and are hereby, from this Time forward, renewed, reiterated, and for ever confirmed, by them and their Tribes; and the said *Indians* for themselves, and their Tribe (of *Mickmack*, inhabiting the Eastern Coast of the said Province) and their Heirs aforesaid, do make and renew the same solemn Submissions and Promises, for the strict Observance of all the Articles therein contained, as at any Time heretofore hath been done.

II. That all Transactions during the late War, shall on both Sides, be buried in Oblivion, with the Hatchet, and that the said *Indians* shall have all Favour, Friendship

ship and Protection shewn them from this his Majesty's Government.

III. That the said Tribe shall use their utmost Endeavours, with the other *Indians* to renew and ratify this Peace, and shall discover and make known any Attempts or Designs of any other *Indians*, or any Enemy whatever, against his Majesty's Subjects within this Province so soon as they shall know thereof; and shall also hinder and obstruct the same to the utmost of their Power: And on the other Hand, if any of the *Indians* refusing to ratify this Peace, shall make War, they shall, upon Application, have such an Aid and Assistance from the Government, for their Defence, as the Case may require.

IV. It is agreed that the said Tribe of *Indians* shall not be hindered from, but have free Liberty of Hunting and Fishing as usual: And if they think a Truck-House needful at the River *Chibenaccadie*, or any other Place of their Resort, they shall have the same built, and proper Merchandize lodged therein, to be exchanged for what the *Indians* shall have to dispose of; and in the mean Time the said *Indians* shall have free Liberty to bring for Sale to *Hallifax*, or any other Settlement within this Province, Skins, Feathers, Fish, Fowl, or any other Thing they shall have to sell, where they shall have Liberty to dispose thereof to the best Advantage.

V. That a Quantity of Bread, Flour, and such other Provisions as can be procured, necessary for their Families, and proportionable to the Number of the said *Indians*, shall be given them half-yearly for the Time to come, and the same Regard shall be had to the other Tribes that shall hereafter agree to renew and ratify the Peace upon the Terms and Conditions now stipulated.

VI. That to cherish a good Harmony and mutual Correspondence between the said *Indians* and this Government, his Excellence *Perigrine Thomas Hopson*, Esq; Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over his Majesty's Province of *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadie*, Vice Admiral of the same, and Colonel of one of his Majesty's Regiments of Foot, hereby promises on the Part of his Majesty, the said *Indians* shall upon the first Day of *October*, yearly, so long as they shall continue in Friendship, receive Presents of Blankets, Tobacco, some Powder and Shot; the said *Indians* promise every Year, upon

the

the said first of *October*, to come by themselves, or Delegates, and receive the said Presents, and renew their Friendship and Submission.

VII. That the *Indians* shall use their best Endeavours to save the Lives and Goods of any People shipwrecked on the Coast, where they resort, and shall conduct the People saved to *Hallifax*, with their Goods, and a Reward adequate to the Salvage shall be given them.

VIII. That all Disputes whatsoever that may happen to arise between the *Indians* now at Peace, and other his Majesty's Subjects in this Province, shall be tried in his Majesty's Courts of Civil Judicature, where the *Indians* shall have the same Benefits.

IN FAITH and Testimony whereof the great Seal of the said Province is hereunto appended, and the Parties to these Presents have interchangeably, set their Hands, in the Council Chamber at *Hallifax*, this 22d Day of *November* 1752, in the twenty-sixth Year of his Majesty's Reign.

This Peace, thus solemnly ratified and confirmed, being made known, so exasperated the *French*, that they spirited up their *Indians* against those that had made the Peace; as appears by an Express sent by Governor *Hopson* to *England*, with the following Advices; that the *French* at *Louisburgh* had sent down a Party of their *Indians*, in order to distress the Colony, and to fall upon the friendly *Indians* that have lately made Peace with us. In their Way towards *Hallifax*, they met with a Schooner, which had put into one of the Islands near *Canso*, and the Men going ashore, were surrounded by the *French Indians*, and taken. Two of the four Men they put to Death, and scalped them; the other two they carried over to the Continent, and promised to save their Lives if they would behave well. Two or three Days afterwards, a Party of the *Indians* went to *Louisburgh*, in order to shew what they had done, and left the two Men with four *Indians*, and one *India* Woman and Child. The four *Indians* going on Board the Schooner several Times, put a Thought into the Heads of the two Prisoners, how to make their Escape, which they effected as follows: Whilst the *Indians* were plundering the Vessel, they killed the *Indian* Woman and Child; by which Means they got at some Fire-arms, and when the *Indians* were

were coming ashore, they lay in wait for them, and just as they were landing, fired, killed one, and wounded another; then ran into the Water, and with the But-end of their Muskets, killed the remaining two, and scalped them all. The Schooner being half full of Water, they could not get her off; upon which they got into the *Indian* Canoe, and came thirty Leagues by Sea to *Hallifax*. From hence we may see what we are to hope from our Back-Friends the *French*.

In another Letter from *Hallifax*, dated July 3, the Writer says, "Some Time ago Governor *Hopson* sent out a small Sloop to a Place called *Sedore*, in order to bring up the *Indians* with their Squaws according to Treaty; but these inhuman Wretches barbarously murdered Mr. *Cleveland*, Part-owner of the Sloop, and five others, and afterwards scalped them: Mr. *Castile* (the Interpreter) who declared himself a *Frenchman*, being the only Person of the whole Crew they saved alive, who arrived here last Night from *Cape Breton*, and acquaints us with this terrible Disaster. The *Indians* burnt the Sloop, and the Articles of Peace before Mr. *Castile's* Face, and desired him to inform his Governor of the whole Affair upon his Arrival at *Hallifax*. Major *John Baptist Cope* was their Chief, with whom I have often conversed, and always found him firmly attached to the *English* Interest. All this is owing (adds the Writer) to the Perfidiousness of our Neighbours the *French*, whose Priests tell the *Indians*, that our Saviour was born in *France*, and crucified in *England*; and that the *English* are all Hereticks, and it is doing God good Service to kill them. The *French*, both of *Louisburgh* and *Canada*, take all imaginable Pains to distress us, because they know the great Consequence the Settling this Colony will be to them in Case of a War."

Some Time after this, some *Indians* came to a House near *Dartmouth*, the People, except one young Man, being absent, whom they seized, and then set Fire to the House, and burnt it to the Ground, and afterwards carried off their Prisoner, who, being left to the Care of an *Indian* while the others were asleep, found Means to escape, and got safe back to *Dartmouth*.

The *French* seemed determined to carry their ambitious Schemes into Execution, but perceiving, that by all the

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the Assistance the *Indians* could afford them, they were not a Match for the Power of the *English* in *America*; thought it necessary to send for Recruits from *France*. Accordingly eight thousand Troops with their Wives and Children were sent from *France* to *America* in 1752; viz. 2500 for *Canada*, 3500 for *Mississippi*, and 2000 to *St. Domingo*.

On receiving these Reinforcements they soon put themselves in Action. They had Intelligence, that the *English* were building Forts, and raising Plantations along the River *Ohio*, which they apprehended to be too near their own Settlements to be disregarded. Some Merchants in *London*, with others of *Virginia*, had obtained a Grant from his Majesty of that River, to make such Settlements in the Meadows and Places adjacent, as they should judge convenient for a Plantation, and the carrying on their intended Trade. But the *French* were determined, at all Events to frustrate the Design; and in order thereto, set up a prior Claim, and insisted that all that Coast belonged to the Crown of *France*. Accordingly they took all possible Measures to disturb the new Settlers, and to erect Forts of their own on the Banks of the said River. Upon which *Robert Dinwiddie*, Esq; Governor of *Virginia*, wrote a Letter to the Commandant of the *French* Forces on the *Ohio*, to demand the Reason of such Proceedings, and sent it by Major *Washington*. The Governor's Letter was wrote in the following Terms.

‘ Sir, The Lands upon the River *Ohio*, in the Western Parts of *Virginia*, are so notoriously known to be the Property of the Crown of *Great Britain*, that it is a Matter of equal Concern and Surprize to me, that a Body of *French* Forces are erecting Fortresses, and making Settlements upon that River, within his Majesty's Dominions.

‘ The many and repeated Complaints of these repeated Acts of Hostility, lay me under the Necessity of sending, in the Name of the King my Master, the Bearer hereof, *George Washington*, Esq; the Adjutant General of the Forces of this Dominion, to complain to you of the Encroachments thus made, and of the Injuries done to the Subjects of *Great Britain*, in open
‘ Violation

‘ Violation of the Law of Nations, and the Treaties now subsisting between the two Crowns.

‘ If these Acts are true, and you shall think fit to justify your Proceedings, I must desire you to acquaint me, by what Authority and Instruction you have lately marched from *Canada*, with an armed Force, and invaded the King of *Great Britain's* Territories, in the Manner complained of; that according to the Purport and Resolution of your Answer, I may act agreeable to the Commission I am honoured with from the King my Master.

‘ However, Sir, in Obedience to my Instructions, it becomes my Duty to require your peaceable Departure, and that you would forbear prosecuting a Purpose so interruptive of the Harmony and good Understanding, which his Majesty is desirous to continue and cultivate with the most Christian King.

‘ I persuade myself you will receive and entertain Major *Washington* with that Candour and Politeness natural to your Nation; and it will give me the greatest Satisfaction, if you return him with an Answer suitable to my Wishes, for a very long and lasting Peace between us. I have the Honour to subscribe myself,

‘ S I R,

‘ Your most obedient humble Servant,

Williamsburgh,
Oct. 31, 1753.

‘ ROBERT DINWIDDIE.’

The Governor of *Virginia* likewise dispatched Messengers to the Governors of the several *British* Colonies, representing the present dangerous Situation of Affairs, and requesting them to raise Forces, and join in an Expedition against the common Enemy; and at the same Time summoned the Assembly of the Province of *Virginia*; who being met, he demanded their Advice and Assistance upon this Emergency. Upon which the Assembly presented him with the following Address.

“ Sir,

We his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Council of *Virginia*, now met in General Assembly, return your Honour our most sincere and hearty Thanks for

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for your Speech at the Opening of this Session. As we are very deeply affected with your Honour's earnest and most expressive Representation of the present Exigency; and no less sensible of the real Concern which your Honour had fully manifested for the Prosperity, Happiness, and Safety of this Dominion, we beg Leave to present you, Sir, with such unfeigned and zealous Acknowledgments, as ought to be the Result, and must necessarily flow from the most grateful Sense of such vigilant and beneficent Care of our dearest Interests. The ambitious Views of the *French*, their open Contempt and Violation of Treaties, and their unjust Invasions of his Majesty's Territories, make our Hearts burn with Resentment; and we assure your Honour, that we look upon ourselves as bound by every Tie of Loyalty, Gratitude, and Humanity, cheerfully to concur in every Measure that will most effectually conduce to support the Dignity of the Crown, secure the Lives and Properties of our Fellow Subjects, and render the Force of those perfidious People the Enemies of Mankind. Inspired by these Thoughts, our Counsels at this perilous Time shall be directed with all the Unanimity, Deliberation and Dispatch, which is due to the Importance of the Subject, due to the best of Kings, and true Patriotism for the Defence of our Country. Your Honour's Journey to *Winchester*, which was undertaken with a view to cultivate the Friendship of the *Indians*, and thereby to strengthen our Western Frontiers, could not but be attended with much Fatigue and Trouble: We therefore beg Leave to return your Honour our Thanks for this Instance of your unwearied Diligence in promoting the true Interest and Prosperity of the Colony. We cannot but conclude with adding our most fervent Prayers to the Almighty Author of Peace and War, that he would direct your Honour's Consultations, prosper your Endeavours, give Peace and Prosperity to this Dominion, and, in order to that, long to continue your Honour an Ornament, and a Happiness to us."

This Address is penn'd with such apparent Zeal and Concern for the Interest of their Country, and such warm Expressions of Respect to their Governor, that one would think nothing could rise to interrupt their Regard for the one, or lessen their Esteem for the other: But we shall

quickly see the Reverse of all this: For tho' they granted 20,000 *l.* for the Expedition, to be levied by a Poll-tax of 5 *s.* each tythable; yet the Governor's refusing to pass it with a Clause tack'd to it for 500 *l.* which they agreed to give the Attorney for going to *England*, to solicit the Lords of the Council to annul an Order made by the Governor, which they apprehended was an Infringement of their Properties; they would not give one Farthing; and thus having put the Country to about 1400 *l.* Expence, did nothing towards rescuing it from its present Danger.

Upon which, the 5th of *September*, 1753, the Governor went to the House, and made the following Speech.

Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses.

The impending Danger from the violent Incurfions of the *French*, their Threats and Depredations, were the only Motives of calling you together at this Time. And the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of your Constituents being in such imminent Hazard, I did not in the least doubt, but that you would, before this, have strengthened my Hands with a proper Supply, to frustrate their malicious Intentions; especially when I received from you such strong and repeated Assurances, 'that you were determined on your Parts, to withstand the impending Danger, and to pursue every Measure in your Power, to defeat these pernicious Designs of your Enemies.' I thought I might reasonably admit the pleasing Hopes, 'that you would effectually provide for your Country's Preservation, and convince the World, that you had nothing more at Heart than a zealous Discharge of your Duty to the best of Kings, and the sincerest Regard for your Country's Welfare.'

How great then, Gentlemen, must be my Surprize, and with what Amazement must that Country, and the World, see such high Expectations cast down so low! see you called upon in the Day of your Country's Distress; hearing you declare the Knowledge of her Danger, and professing the most ardent Zeal for her Service; yet find these Declarations only an unavailing Flourish of Words; and that, inconsistent with them, and the Purpose of your Meeting, you withhold your Aid, and thereby

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thereby leave the Enemy at full Liberty to perpetrate their destructive and unjust Design!

The independent Companies, order'd by his Majesty, cloathed and paid by him, and now employed in your immediate Defence, you absolutely, by your Resolve to me, deny Subsistence to, is a Thing unprecedented in any of his Majesty's Dominions, where they have been employed in their Defence from Incurfions, and threatened Invasions.

I have my Master's Service, and the Safety and Honour of *Virginia*, so much and so truly at Heart, that I cannot but be deeply affected at a Conduct so contrary to her Interest; and not altogether unconcerned for you, Gentlemen of the House of Burgeffes, that you should appear in so bad a Light to his Majesty, and give such ill Impressions to the neighbouring Colonies.

However, as I find you are determined not to do what is your Duty to his Majesty, and the present obvious Danger indispensably requires; I think it proper to avoid aggravating unnecessary Expences, particularly inconvenient at this Time; and therefore, to put an End to your Continuance here, I do prorogue you to the 17th of *October* next; and you are accordingly prorogued to that Time.

At the Day appointed the Assembly met, and having taken into serious Consideration the Reasons which the Governor gave for his refusing to pass the Bill for raising 20,000 *l.* for the Protection of his Majesty's Subjects in that Colony, against the Insults and Encroachments of the *French*, did agree to raise the said Sum for the publick Service, without any Clog whatever tacked to it. Upon which a perfect Harmony was restored between the Governor and the several Members of the Assembly, and they were perfectly united in the Defence of their Country.

The *French* and their *Indians* continuing their Hostilities, and raising Forts on our Territories, and this without any formal Declaration of War, or giving any Reasons for their Proceedings, Governor *Dinwiddie* thought it high Time to come to an Ecclaircissement. For which Purpose he wrote a Letter to the *French* Commandant on the *Ohio*.

Major *Washington* having received the Governor's Letter, set out the same Day; and as his Journey was attended

with some singular and extraordinary Incidents, the Reader will undoubtedly be pleased with a Recital of the Particulars, as follow.

Major *Washington* set out the 31st of *October*, 1753, and reached *Will's Creek* the 14th of *November*; from whence he proceeded the next Day with *Mr. Gist*, a Person whom he had engaged as a Guide, and a *French* Interpreter, two *Indian* Traders, and some other Attendants and Servants, with Horses, and proper Accommodations for the Journey.

At a small Distance from the Fort on the River *Ohio*, after 25 Days travel, he called upon *Shengist*, King of the *Delaware Indians*, who went with him to *Logg's Town*, where he intended to assemble the Chiefs of the Six Nations, in order to engage them in his Interest, and induce them to renounce all Commerce with the *French*.

One of the Chiefs called the *Half King*, who had lately been a Journey to the *French* Commander, was absent at his hunting Cabin, but a Messenger being immediately dispatched to him, he came the next Day. *Mr. Washington* took him aside, with his *Indian* Interpreter, and enquired the View of his Expedition, and how he had succeeded.

The Chief told him that he remonstrated against their Encroachments on a Territory that belonged neither to them nor the *English*, declaring that he would keep both at Arms Length, and would join in Unity with that Side only which withdrew into those Bounds that had originally been prescribed: That he was answer'd by the *Frenchman* with great Haughtiness, and said, that he feared not *Musqueta* Flies, for such he took the *Indians* to be; that they might be used with Kindness if they submitted to his Will, and if not, he would tread them under his Feet.

On the 26th of *November* *Mr. Washington* met the Chiefs in Council, when they agreed that the Wampum, (a String of *Indian* Money, which is given as a Mark of Amity and Retification of Treaties) delivered by the *French* to them, should be returned, as a Symbol of abolishing all Agreement between them; that some of them should attend *Mr. Washington* with a sufficient Guard for his Defence, and some of their best Hunters to furnish him with Provisions during his Journey.

After a Delay of some Days he set out with three of their Chiefs, the said *Half King*, *White Thunder*, *Jiska Kake*,

Kake, and one of their best Hunters; it having been determined, after mature Consideration, that a greater Number might alarm the *French*, and cause them to be rudely treated.

On the 4th of *December* they arrived at *Venango*, about 60 Miles from *Logg's Town*, where they found the *French* Colours hoisted upon a House from which they had driven *John Frazier*, an *English* Subject; to this House *Mr. Washington* immediately repaired, and enquired for the Commandant; he was soon introduced to three Officers, one of whom, Captain *Foncaire*, informed him that he had the Command of the *Ohio*, but that there was a general Officer at the next Fort, to whom it would be best to apply, for an Answer. The Gentleman treated *Mr. Washington* with great Complaisance, and invited him to Supper; the Invitation was accepted, and the Wine having soon put an End to the Caution of his Company; they no longer concealed their Designs. They told him they were determined to take Possession of the *Ohio*, to which they pretended a Right from a Discovery by one *La Salle* sixty Years ago; that their View was to prevent the *English* from making any Settlements on it, which they knew they should accomplish, for tho' the *English* could raise two Men for their one, yet their Motions were too slow to prevent any Undertaking of theirs,

Mr. Washington had not introduced his *Indian* Associates to these Gentlemen, because *Foncaire* understood the Language, and he feared they might be seduced from their Purpose; however the Rain that fell on the week Day, having rendered it impossible to proceed to the next Fort, *Foncaire* heard where they had been left, and sent for them.

When they came in he received them with Expressions of the utmost Joy, gently upbraided them with being so near, and yet neglecting to visit him, gave each of them some trifling Presents, and at length made them drunk.

It was now impossible to get them away; they said that all the Affairs between their Nation and the *French*, were left to *Mr. Foncaire*, and with him they would transact them. Accordingly a kind of Council was held, and the Chiefs were present; they continued firm to their Resolution, and offered *Foncaire* the Wampum, which they

they had determined to return. This however he artfully refused to receive, and desired that it might be delivered to the Commandant of the Fort.

To the Fort, however, he had no Mind they should go, for having eluded the Act by which all Treaties were vacated, he laboured by every Artifice in his Power to detain the Chiefs, till Mr. *Washington* returned from his Expedition, on which he would then have been obliged to proceed alone.

But the *Indian* Interpreter having received Instructions to be always with them, and Mr. *Gist* being sent on purpose to fetch them, they were, with much Difficulty, brought away, and on the 7th of *December*, about Eleven in the Forenoon, the whole Company set out for the Fort, which was distant about 60 Miles.

This Journey cost them four Days, as it rained and snowed incessantly, and great Part of the Way was Mire and Swamp. They arrived on the 11th, and on the 12th waited on the Governor, to whom Mr. *Washington* offered his Commission and Letter, which he was desired to keep till the Arrival of M. *Riparti* from the next Fort, upon whom the principal Command was just devolved, upon the Death of the late General.

This Gentleman, who is a Knight of the Order of *St. Lewis*, and named *Leguerdeur de St. Pierre*, when he had received the Letter from Mr. *Washington*, immediately withdrew into a private Apartment, where the Captain translated it, and Mr. *Washington* was then desired to bring his Interpreter to peruse and correct his Translation.

On the 13th a Council was held to consider what Answer Mr. *Washington* should carry back, which however he did not receive till the Evening of the next Day: In the mean Time he perceived that every possible Art was practised upon the *Indians*, to prevent their returning with him. He therefore pressed them to execute their Design without Delay; upon their Application they were admitted to an Audience the same Night, when the *Half King* offered the Wampum to the Commandant, but he declined to take it, as *Foncaire* had done at *Venango*. He said he desired to live at Peace, and trade amicably with them, as a Proof of which he would immediately send some Goods for them to *Logg's Town*; he found Means to keep them all the 15th by promising them a Present of

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of Guns in the Morning, and laboured hard to keep them that Day also; but Mr. *Washington* urging their Promise not to leave him, nor delay his Journey beyond that Time, they embarked with him the 16th in a Canoe, which had been well provided with Liquor and Provision, Mr. *Washington* having sent the Horses unloaded to *Venango*, as he perceived them to grow weaker and weaker every Day, and the Snow increased very fast.

As the Creek is extremely crooked, the Distance by Water from the Fort to *Venango* is 130 Miles, so that they did not arrive there till the 20th. As they found the Horses waiting at this Place, all Things were got ready to pursue their Journey by Land, on the next Day, and the *Half King* was asked, whether he would go with them or by Water; he answered that *White Thunder* had hurt himself very much, and was unable to walk, so that he should be obliged to carry him down in a Canoe. Mr. *Washington* easily discovered, that he intended to stay some Days at *Venango*, and knew that *Joncaire* would repeat his Stratagems to set him against the *English*. He therefore admonished him to be upon his Guard, and not suffer his Resolution to be shaken by Flattery and fair Speeches. The King replied, that he knew the *French* too well to be the Dupe of any Artifice they could practice, and that altho' he could not accompany his Friend, yet he would meet him at the Fort; and pronounce a Speech for him to carry to the Governor.

The Horses were now so feeble, and the Baggage so heavy, that it was doubtful whether they would be able to perform the Journey. Mr. *Washington* and Mr. *Gist* gave up their Horses to assist in carrying the Baggage. And the Major having put himself into an *Indian* walking Dress proceeded on Foot. The Horses however being every Day less able to travel, he found if he walked with them he should be greatly delay'd, that the Cold increased very fast, and that the Roads were made worse every Hour, by a deep Snow continually freezing; he therefore, being impatient to report his Proceedings, determined to prosecute his Journey the nearest Way thro' the Woods. Accordingly the 26th he left his Attendants in the Charge of the Baggage, with Money, and Directions to provide Necessaries for themselves from Place to Place; and having wrapped himself in a Watch-coat,

coat, he set out with a Gun in his Hand, and a Pack containing his Papers and Provisions, at his Back, accompanied only by Mr. *Gist*, who was equipped in the same Manner.

The Day following, just as they had passed a Place called the *Murdering Town*, they fell in with a Party of *French Indians*, who had laid in wait for them, one of whom fired at them, but fortunately missed his Mark, tho' he was not distant more then fifteen Paces. As soon as the Report of the Piece had put the Travellers upon their Guard, the *Indians* made off, except the Fellow that fired, whom they seized and kept in Custody till 9 at Night; when they suffered him to escape, and continued walking all the remaining Part of the Night, without making any Stop, that they might the next Day be out of the Reach of Pursuit, knowing that they should be tracked as soon as it was light.

The next Day also they continued travelling till it was quite dark, and reached the River about two Miles above *Shannapins*, a Town on the Fort. They expected to have found it frozen quite over, but the Ice extended only about 50 Yards from the Shore, on each Side, and great Quantities of Ice were driving in the Middle. There was therefore no other Way to pass it but on a Raft, which they set about, tho' they had but one Hatchet between them, and after the incessant Labour of a whole Day; they compleated it just at Sun-set. Upon this Raft, having with much Difficulty launched it, they embarked, but before they were got half Way over, they found themselves fast among the Ice, and expected every Moment that the Raft wou'd be sunk under it, and leave them to inevitable Destruction. In this Distress the Major put out his setting Pole, that if possible, the Ice might pass clear of his Raft; but the Rapidity of the Stream drove it with such Violence against the Pole, that, being unwilling to quit it, he was jerked into ten Foot Water: He fortunately saved himself by catching hold of one of the Raft Logs; but with all their Efforts they could not get the Raft to either Shore, and were therefore obliged to quit it at whatever Hazard, and make to a neighbouring Island; upon this Island they continued all Night, and the Cold to which they were exposed was so severe, that Mr. *Gist* had all his Fingers frozen, and

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some of his Toes ; in the Morning they found the Water shut up, and without Difficulty walk'd from the Island over the Ice to the next Settlement. On the first of *January* they left this Place, and on the 2d arrived at *Mr. Giff's* where the Major provided himself with a Horse, and reach'd *Williamsburgh* on the 16th.

The Answer which *Mr. Washington* brought to the Governor's Letter was as follows.

‘ S I R,

‘ As I have the Honour of commanding here in Chief, *Mr. Washington* delivered me the Letter you writ to the Commandant of the *French Troops*.

‘ I should have been glad that you had given him Orders, or that he had been inclined to proceed to *Cana- nada*, to see our General, to whom it better belongs than to me, to set forth the Evidence and Reality of the Rights of the King my Master, upon the Lands situate along the River *Ohio*, and to contest the Pre- tensions of the King of *Great Britain* thereto.

‘ I shall transmit your Letter to the Marquis *Deguisne* ; his Answer will be a Law to me, and if he shall order me to communicate it to you, Sir, you may be assured I shall not fail to dispatch it to you forthwith.

‘ As to the Summons you send me to retire, I do not think myself obliged to obey it ; whatever are your Instructions, I am here by Virtue of the Order of my General ; and I entreat you, Sir, not to doubt one Moment, but I am determin'd to conform myself to them, with all the Exactness and Resolution which can be expected from the best Officer.

‘ I don't know that in the Progress of this Campaign any Thing has passed which can be reputed an Act of Hostility, or that is contrary to the Treaties which subsist between the two Crowns, the Continuation whereof as much interests, and is as pleasing to us, as the *Eng- lish*. Had you been pleas'd, Sir, to have descended to particularize the Facts which occasioned your Com- plaint, I should have had the Honour of answering you in the fullest, and, I am perswaded, the most satis- factory Manner.

‘ I made it my particular Care to receive *Mr. Wash- ington*, with a Distinction suitable to your Dignity, and

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his Quality and great Merit. I flatter myself he will do me this Justice before you, Sir, and that he will signify to you, as well as I, the profound Respect with which I am,

SIR,

Your most humble and

From the Fort on
the River Beuf,
Dec 15, 1753.

most obedient Servant,

LEGARDEUR DE St. PIERRE.

This Answer was sufficient to convince the Governor, had there been no other Proof, that the *French* were determined to carry their projected Scheme into Execution. Their Scheme is to extend their Territories in *North America* at the Back of our Settlements from *New England* to *Virginia*; and their Attempt at the *Ohio* is to facilitate their Approach nearer and nearer to the Sea; which, if not checked in Time, must cut us off from a most valuable Branch of Traffick, and make all the *Indian* Nations our Enemies, the Generality of whom, as they do not act upon Principles of Honour or Gratitude, forget past Services, and side with those from whom they expect the greatest Advantages at present.

The Governor therefore, finding that the most vigorous Resolutions were necessary in order to put a Stop to the Progress of the *French*, levied Troops and wrote to the neighbouring Governments to send their respective Quotas of Men or Money, with all possible Expedition, to his Assistance. Accordingly the Troops he raised, marched the first of *April* from *Alexandria*, a Town about fourteen Miles below the Falls of *Patowmack*, towards the River *Ohio*, to protect a Fort which the Company had built on it. About the same Time the Assembly at *South Carolina* gave 3000 *l.* Sterling, to be applied to the Defence of his Majesty's Limits; and *North Carolina* passed an Act for raising 700 Men, who were to join the Troops of *Virginia* immediately.

Governor *Glen* in his Speech to the general Assembly of *South Carolina*, *January* 16, informs them how the allied *Indians* stood affected to the *English* at that Junction.

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‘ The Friendship of the *Indian* Nations round us, said he, is of the greatest Importance, and therefore to be cultivated with the greatest Care; as I can assure you that the Attention given by the Governor and Council to all the *Indian* Affairs in general, is equal to the Importance of them.

‘ The *Cherokee* Indians have, for many Years past, earnestly prayed to have Forts built in their Country, and the Governor, in the Presence, and at the Desire of both Houses of Assembly, promised that a Fort should be built there; but the *Indians* have as publickly accused us of Breach of Promise; and therefore to wipe away this Reproach, and also to preserve that Nation in the *British* Interest, the Council unanimously advised me (in Consequence of the Resolution of the Assembly) to give Directions for building such Forts. I found that my own Presence would be absolutely necessary, and therefore I undertook the long Journey, which was attended with some Toil and Fatigue; but I have now the Pleasure to acquaint you, that the Fort is fully finished: It seems to give great Satisfaction to the *Indians*, and, I hope, may contribute to the Safety of our Back Settlements, and the Security of the *British* Trade—The Accounts I have from all our other *Indians* is very agreeable, and breathe nothing but Peace and Friendship.’

While Col. *Washington* was getting his Troops together, he received the following Letters from Mess. *Trent* and *Gist*, giving him an Account of their Situation near the *Ohio*. The first Letter is dated Feb. 19, at *Yaughyaughany-big-Bottom*. “ The 17th Mr. *Trent* arrived at the Forts of *Manongohela* (from the Mouth of the *Red-Stone* Creek, (where he has built a strong Storehouse) and met Mr. *Gist* and several others. In two or three Days they expected down all the People, and as soon as they came, were to lay the Foundation of a Fort, expecting to make out for that Purpose about 70 or 80 Men: The *Indians* were to join them and make them strong. They requested him (Col. *Washington*) to march out to them with all possible Expedition. They acquainted him that *Monf. La Force* had made a Speech to some of the *Indians*, and told them, that neither they nor the *English* there, would see the Sun above twenty Days longer; thirteen of the

Days being then to come. By what Mr. Croghan could learn from an *Indian* in the *French* Interest, they might expect 400 *French* down in that Time. A Messenger sent from the *French* Fort had Letters from the Commander of the Forts, to march immediately and join them, in order to cut off our *Indians* and Whites, and some *French Indians* were likewise expected to join them. When *La Force* had made his Speech to the *Indians*, they sent a String of Wampum to Mr. Croghan, to desire him to hurry the *English* to come, for that they expected soon to be attacked, and pressed him hard to come and join them, for they wanted Necessaries and Assistance, and then would strike. They farther write, that 600 *French* and *Indians* were gone against the lower *Shawanese* Town, to cut off the *Shawanese*; 200 *Ottaways* and *Chilpawas* came to *Mullingum*, and demanded the White People there, and shewed them the *French* Hatchet; the *Wayondotts*, tho' not above 30 Men, refused to let them kill them in their Town; but they expected every Day to hear they had cut off the Whites, and likewise the *Wayondotts*."

The other Letter is dated at *Monongahela*, February 23. Mr. Gist writes, "An *Indian* who was taken Prisoner from the *Chickasaws*, by the Six Nations some Years ago, has been this Year to see his Friends there. In his Passage up the *Ohio* he fell in with a Body of near 400 *French* coming up the River; he parted with them below the Falls, and then came in Company with ten of them that were sent up to treat with the *Shawanese* at the lower Town. On their Arrival there, the *English* Traders had agreed to make them Prisoners, but the *French* getting a Hint from some *Indians*, they fled away in the Night without discovering their Business. We have also News of 600 *French* and *Indians* being gone down to fall on the *Shawanese*, if they will not admit the lower Army to pass up the River to join that above,"

Advices from *Annapolis*, March 21st, inform, that 400 *French* were come down from the Lake, 100 of which stay'd about *Mullingum*, and the other 300 went down to the lower *Shanoah* Town, and demanded the *English* Traders that were there (about twenty in Number) to be delivered up to them, which the *Shanowese* refused to do, and have sent up for the *Catawas*, to come to their Assistance,

sistance. These 400 *French* expect to be joined by 400 more, as soon as they can come down from the Lakes. There were 22 *French* in the *Logg's Town*, who about five Weeks ago held a Council with the *Indians* in which they told them, ' That as they had determined not to make their Fire with them, but had done it with their Brothers the *English*, they might expect to be struck, and that their Brothers the *English* should not see the Sun, but 20 Days, and that they would destroy all the *Indians*.' Upon which *Manocatoocha* took his *Tommahawk* out of his Bosom, and said, ' You have often deceived us, but now you will strike our Brethren the *English*; we believe you speak the Truth; come on, we are ready for you, and will stand by, and join our Brothers the *English*.'

The Writer of a Letter, dated at *Port Royal* in *Virginia*, May 29, says, " We have sent 300 Men under the Command of Col. Fry, *George Washington* next in Command, and *George Muse* Major; *North Carolina* has sent out 300 under the Command of Col. *Innes*; *South Carolina* and *New York*, regular Forces, two Companies each. The Assembly of *Maryland* was then sitting, and would probably raise some Men, and all this to oppose the *French* upon our Frontiers, who claim the Lands as the Property of their Master, who are building Forts, and our Men are to do the same, though not to act offensively unless attacked. In the mean Time the *French* (before our Men got out) have taken Possession of our Fort upon the River *Monongahela*, where we had a Company of Men under Capt. *Giff's* Command.

The Governor Yesterday was at *Frederiksburgh*, in his Way to *Winchester*, to hold a Conference with the Chiefs of the Six Nations, who are in our Interest."

But tho' it is said above, that the two *Carolinas* and *New York* had sent out their Forces, they were not however joined, nor did they come together soon enough to prevent Col. *Washington's* Misfortune, which we shall soon relate.

The *French* it seems had erected five Forts, and garrison'd them with 1500 regular Troops, on that Part of the *British* Territory at the Back of *Virginia*, which is nearest *Quebec*, contrary to Treaties; which if they are suffered to maintain, that and the rest of our Colonies, must soon be at their Mercy. The

The *French* growing every Day stronger on the Back of *Virginia*, the Governor thought it necessary to build a small Fort on the Forks of the River *Monongahelab*, and sent Ensign *Ward* with a Company to garrison it; but he was soon compelled to surrender it to the *French*: An Account of which was given in a Letter dated at *Williamsburgh*, May 9, as follows:

“ On Saturday last arrived in Town from *Ohio*, Ensign *Edward Ward*, of Captain *Trent*'s Company, with an *Indian* Messenger from the *Half King*. Mr. *Ward*, informs us that on the 17th of last Month, the *French*, consisting of about 1000 Men, under the Command of *Monf. De Contrecoeur*, came from *Venango* in 300 Canoes and 60 Battoes, with 18 Pieces of Cannon, to the Forts of *Monongahelab*, where he, with 33 Soldiers, were in Garrison; that as soon as they landed, they advanced in regular Order within a Musket-shot of the Fort, and demanded an immediate Surrender, threatening on his Refusal, to take it by Force. The great Superiority of the *French* obliged him to give it up, obtaining Liberty to march out with every Thing they had in the Fort. The next Day he set out with his Company to meet the Forces, ordered from *Alexandria* to reinforce him, and at *Will's Creek* he met Lieutenant Col. *Washington*, with a Detachment of 150 Men under his Command. *Washington*, on hearing this Account, thought it unadvised to proceed to the Forts with so small a Force, but determined to march to *Redstone Creek*, about 37 Miles from the Fort, and there intrench himself, till he should be joined by Col. *Fry*.

The Speech brought by the *Indian* from the *Half King*, is full of the Warmest Expressions of Friendship and Attachment to the *English* Interest. The Governor sent him back on *Tuesday*, with a firm Assurance of a vigorous Assistance.

When all the Forces, now ordered to the *Ohio* from this and the neighbouring Governments, are arrived, they will make up about 1100 Men, beside the Assistance we expect from *Pensylvania*, *Maryland*, *South Carolina*, &c. and a great Number of *Indians* that are ready to join us.”

Col. *Washington* having increased his Forces to about 350 Men, went and encamp'd at one of our Forts on the

the *Ohio*; expecting there to be join'd by Col. *Fry*, Col. *Innes*, and the Troops that were coming from the other Colonies. The *French* had soon an Eye upon him, and having got Intelligence that four or five Waggon were on the Road with Provisions for his Camp, sent out a Party of 35 Men to intercept them; of which Col. *Washington* being inform'd, took a Detachment of 45 Men, went in Search of the Enemy, and on the 28th of *May*, met and engaged them. Of which Action Col. *Washington* gives the following Account, in a Letter dated from the Camp in the *Great Meadows*, *May 31, 1754*.

“ Since my last we arrived at this Place, where three Days ago we had an Engagement with the *French*, that is, a Party of our Men with one of theirs. Most of our Men were out upon other Detachments, so that I had scarce 40 Men under my Command, and about 10 or 12 *Indians*; nevertheless we obtained a most signal Victory. The Battle lasted about 10 or 13 Minutes, with sharp firing on each Side, till the *French* gave Ground and ran, but to no great Purpose. There were 12 of the *French* killed; among whom was *Monf. Jamonsett*, their Commander, and 21 taken Prisoners, among whom are *Mess. La Force* and *Druellong*, together with two Cadets. I have sent them to his Honour the Governor at *Winchester*, under a Guard of 20 Men, conducted by Lieutenant *West*. We had but one Man killed, and two or three wounded. Among the Wounded on our Side was Lieutenant *Waggoner*, but no Danger, 'tis hoped, will ensue. We expect every Hour to be attacked by a superior Force; but if they forbear one Day longer we shall be prepared for them. We have already got In-trenchments, and are about a Pallisado, which I hope will be finished To-day. The *Ningo's* have struck the *French*, and, I hope, will give a good Blow before they have done. I expect forty-odd of them here To-night, which, with our Fort, and some Reinforcements from Col. *Fry*, will enable us to exert our noble Courage with Spirit.”

As this was the first Skirmish we had with the *French*, it was a lucky Stroke, and encouraged the *Indians* to continue faithful in their Alliance with us. The *French*, however, not long after, had their Revenge in the Engagement we had with them in the Meadows of *Ohio*;
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of which the following Account was given in a Letter written by an Officer, who was an Eye-witness of the whole.

“ July 3, at Break of Day, we were alarmed by two Men coming up to one of our Centries placed in the Wood, who shot him in the Heel, and fled off, but were so nigh, that the Wadding was left in his Heel. We were immediately under Arms, and immediately sent out a small Party to search round the Camp, but they saw nobody. About an Hour after, four of our *Indians* who had been sent out the Day before, came in a prodigious Hurry, and informed us, that they had tracked a great Number of the Enemy into the Bushes about 14 Miles from us; and had gone so nigh them that they heard them talk. Upon this News we began to throw up Trenches round a Fort which we had in the Meadows, and sent out the *Indians* again, to see if the *French* were nigh. They returned in an Hour, running very fast, and told us the Enemy was within half a Mile, marching down the Woods quite naked; which made us imagine they were all *Indian*. We were drawn up in order of Battle immediately, reserving only a Number to work at the Trenches, which we had got almost Breast high all round when the Enemy enter'd the Meadows. Our Centry, whom we had placed there, fir'd at them, killed three, and retired to the Fort, the *Enemy* firing at him all the Way from the Woods, which they betook themselves to as soon as they came. We marched up to take Possession of the Wood opposite the Fort, but one of our Officers, who is now going to resign, and had always shewn a good deal of Fear in any Danger, called out that the *Enemy* would take Possession of the Fort, and immediately order'd the Men to the Right about, which they did directly, and fled to the Fort; the *French* firing at them all the Time, and wounded a great many before they got thither. We immediately got our Trenches filled with Men, and began to fire from the Fort and Trenches, with three Huzzas, which the *Enemy* returned with the *Indian* Halloo. The Engagement began at half an Hour after Ten in the Morning, and continued till Seven at Night without Intermission, the *Enemy* firing close at us from behind the Trees, and we from our Fort and Trenches. We had our Cannon fired once round,

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round, which did great Execution among the Enemy; but our Gunner did not think it safe to stand another Round, but went into the Fort, and could not be persuaded to fire at them again the whole Day. At Seven o'Clock the Enemy called a Parley, and offered us Terms of Capitulation; upon which we held a Council of War, and after considering our Circumstances, that we had not Provisions for two Days, that none of our Arms were fit for Service, as it had rained so excessively all Day, and having a great Number of our Men killed and wounded, we thought proper to accept of honourable Terms, and sent Capt. *Van Braam* to have Articles drawn at the *French* Camp, which were these, *viz.* That we were to deliver up the Fort by Day-break, and to be allowed to march out with our Drums beating and Colours flying, with our Arms and all our Stores, except the Cannon; that we were not to build any more, or take up Arms against his most Christian Majesty for the Space of a Year. These Articles were signed by Col. *Washington* and Capt. *Mackay*. Mr. *La Force* was likewise to be delivered up in two Months and a half with all his People; for the Performance of which Hostages were demanded and granted, *viz.* Capt. *Stobo* and *Van Braam*. We marched out in the Morning with all our Stores, but the *Indians* soon took every Thing from us. We had 86 killed and wounded, and the *French*; by the truest Accounts I could get, 117. They were far superior to us in Number; they were 700, besides 200 *Indians*, and we were only 350, and above two Thirds of these would not engage. Among our killed was Lieutenant *Merchier*, of Capt. *Mackay's* Company; we had about 26 killed; the wounded were Capt. *Lewis*, Mr. *Peronee*, Lieut. *Towers*, and Mr. *Lloyd*, a Cadet of *Mackay's* Company."

These were the real Articles agreed upon, and no other mentioned; notwithstanding which, not long after there appeared in the *Pensylvania Journal*, a Capitulation said to be granted by M. *De Villier*, Captain and Commander of the Infantry and Troops of his most Christian Majesty, to those *English* Troops actually in the *Fort of Necessity*, which was built on the Lands of the King's Dominions, *July 3*, at Eight o'Clock at Night, 1754, *viz.*

Article I. We grant the *English* Commander to retire with all his Garrison, and to retire peaceably into his own Country, and promise to hinder his receiving any Insult from us *French*, and to restrain as much as shall be in our Power, the Savages that are with us.

II. It shall be permitted him to go out and carry with him all that belongs to them except the Artillery, which we keep.

III. That we will allow them the Honours of War, that they march out with Drum-beating, with a Swivel Gun, being willing to shew them that we treat them as Friends.

IV. That as soon as the Articles are signed by the one Part and the other, they strike the *English* Colours.

V. That To-morrow, at Break of Day, a Detachment of *French* shall go to make the Garrison file off, and take Possession of the Fort.

VI. And as the *English* have few Oxen or Horses, they are free to hide their Effects, and come and search for them when they have met with their Horses; and they may, for this End, have Guardians in what Number they please, upon Condition that they will give their Word of Honour not to work upon any Building in this Place, or any Part this Side of this Mountain, during a Year, to be accounted from this Day.

VII. And as the *English* have in their Power an Officer, two Cadets, and most of the Prisoners made in the Assassination of the Sieur *De Jamonville*, that they promise to send them back with Safeguard to the Fort *De Guerne*, situated on the *Fine River*. And for Surety of this Article, as well as the Treaty, Mr. *Jacob Vambram*, and *Robert Stobo*, both Captains, shall be put as Hostages till the Arrival of the *Canadians* and *French* above-mentioned.

We oblige ourselves on our Side to give an Escort to return in Safety these two Officers, we promise our *French* in two Months and a half at farthest. A Duplicate being made upon one of the Posts of our Blockade the Day above.

CON. VELLIER.

This Capitulation was cooked up by Mons. *Vellier* after the Treaty was signed; for 'tis certain that several Things therein mentioned, particularly about the Assassination, was never so much as hinted, in the Articles
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sent to Col. *Washington*; for if it had, he would not have signed it, because in so doing he would have acknowledged that the *Sieur Jamonville* was assassinated; whereas the Truth is, he was slain in fair Battle in open Opposition to the *English*, when he attempted to take their Convoy; as could be attested by all the Officers and Soldiers that were in that Action.

But to put this Matter beyond Dispute, we shall give the Copy of a Letter from Capt. *Steven* to his Friend, wherein he gives a very ingenuous Account of this whole Transaction, and throws a new Light upon the whole Affair at the *Ohio*.

S I R,

July 29, we received certain Intelligence, that the *French* were reinforced with 300 White Men, and the same Number of *Indians*, and that they intended to march immediately to attack us. Whereupon Colonel *Washington* called a Council of War, wherein it was resolved to send an Express to hasten the Independents to join us, and that in the mean Time we should set about fortifying ourselves as well as the Time would permit, and there wait the Arrival of Capt. *Lewis* and Mr. *Poulson* who were out on Detachments, and to whom Orders were sent to join us with the utmost Expedition. Capt. *Mackay* arrived at our Camp at *Gist's* House, in the Night, and we were joined by our Detachment next Forenoon; when a Council of War was again called, wherein it was resolved to retreat immediately, carrying all the publick Stores with us; and as we had but two very indifferent Teams and few Horses, the Officers loaded their own Horses with Ammunition, and left Part of their Baggage behind; Col. *Washington* setting them an Example, by ordering his Horse to be loaded first, and giving four Pistoles to some Soldiers to carry his necessary Baggage. We had nine Swivels which were drawn by the Soldiers of the *Virginian* Regiment twelve Miles, on the roughest and most hilly Road of any on the *Ailecamp* Mountains. The Independents refused to lend a Hand to draw the Guns, or help off with the Ammunition, nor would they do Duty as Pioneers, which had an unhappy Effect on our Men, who ne sooner learned that it was not the proper Duty of Soldiers

diers to perform those Services, but they became as backward as the Independents: This was one great Reason why we had not compleated our Works before the Attack.

July 1, we arrived very much fatigued at the Meadows, and had continued our Retreat, but for Want of Horses and other Conveniencies to carry off our Ammunition. Our Men had been eight Days without Bread, and instead of a large Convoy, which we had long expected, there arrived only a few Bags of Flour; they were so harrassed at working on the Fortifications at *Giff's*, and with marching, that they were no longer able to draw the Swivels. This being the Case, and having certain Intelligence that the *New Yorkers* had arrived at *Alexandria* about twenty Days before, a fatal Stay! and a flying Report, that they were got to *Wills's* Creek on their March to join us, it was thought most adviseable to fortify ourselves in the best Manner possible, and wait our Convoys and Reinforcements which we daily expected.

In the mean Time an Express was sent to inform them of our Situation, and hasten them to our Assistance. We set about clearing the Woods nearest to us, and carrying in the Logs, to raise a Breast-work, and enlarge the Fort. July 3, we were alarmed by one of the Centries, who was shot in the Leg by the Enemy; and about nine we received Intelligence, by some of our advanced Parties, that the Enemy were within four Miles of us, that they were a very numerous Body, and all naked. We continued to fortify, and prepare ourselves for their Reception. They came up with us before 11 o' Clock, and by their furious Attacks, and superior Numbers, we expected they would have stormed us directly, and therefore answered only with Musket-shot now and then, as we could make sure of an active Fellow. The keeping our Fire made the Enemy more secure, and expose themselves the more, which was a principal Reason of their losing so many Men on that Occasion. At Night they called to a Parley, and we suspecting Deceit took but little Notice of it, until they repeated the same frequently, and then Mr. *Van Braam* was sent to speak with them, who soon returned to assure us that they were in earnest. This was no disagreeable News to us, who had received no Intelligence of our Convoys or Reinforcements, and who had only a Couple of Bags of Flour and a little Ba-

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con left for the Support of 300 Men. We intended to have killed our milch Cows, which were our greatest Dependence before the Engagement, but had no Salt to preserve them, and they soon became the Property of a superior Enemy. By the continued Rains, and Water in the Trenches, the most of our Arms were out of Order, and we had only a Couple of Screws in our whole Regiment to clear them. But what was still worse, it was no sooner dark, than half of our Men got drunk. Under these disadvantageous Circumstances we agreed to a Capitulation, which no doubt you must have seen, with the Difference which I shall remark, and which I think very material. Mr. *Pyronce* was dangerously wounded, and we much regretted the Loss of his Services on that Occasion.

When Mr. *Van Braam* returned with the *French* Proposals, we were obliged to take the Sense of them by Word of Mouth; it rained so heavily, that he could not give us a written Translation of them; we could scarcely keep the Candle alight to read them; they were wrote in a bad Hand, on wet and blotted Paper, so that no Person could read them but *Van Braam*, who had heard them from the Mouth of the *French* Officer. Every Officer then present is willing to declare, that there was no such Word as *Assassination* mentioned. The Terms expressed to us were, 'the Death of *Jumonville*.' If it had been mentioned, we could have got it alter'd, as the *French* seem'd very condescending, and willing to bring Things to a Conclusion, during the whole Course of the Interview. Upon our insisting on it, they alter'd what was much more material to them, the Article relating to Ammunition, which they wanted much to detain, and that of the Cannon, which they agreed to have destroy'd, instead of being reserved for their own Use.

Another Article which appears to our Disadvantage, is that whereby we oblige ourselves not to attempt an Establishment beyond the Mountains: This was translated to us, "Not attempt Buildings or Improvements on the Lands of his most Christian Majesty." This we never intended; but denied that he had any Lands there, and therefore thought it needless to dispute that Point.

The Article which relates to the Hostages, is quite different from the Translation of it given to us; they are mentioned

mentioned for the Security of the Performance of the Treaty, as well as for the Return of the Prisoners; there was never such Intention on our Side, nor Mention made of it on theirs by our Interpreter. Thus by the evil Intention or Negligence of ——— our Conduct is blamed by a busy World, fond of finding Fault without considering Circumstances, or giving just Attention to Reasons which might be offered to obviate their Clamours. Let any of these brave Gentlemen, who fight so many successful Engagements over a Bottle, imagine himself at the Head of 300 Men, and labouring under the Disadvantages above-mentioned, and would he not accept of worse Terms than Col. *Washington* agreed to? Which were all the Honours of War, without Mention of Assassination, or any other Expression objected to in the above-mentioned Articles. It appears to me, that if he did not, he might justly be said to be accessary to the Destruction of so many Men, which would be the inevitable Consequence of his mistaken Courage or Obstinacy. You have no Reason to doubt but the whole Affair was well conducted, when the *French*, who had strict Orders to give no Quarter, and to pay the *Indians* with our Scalps and Spoils, were the first who discovered an Inclination to treat. That they had such Orders, and intended no Quarter, is certain, from the Mouth of one of their own Officers. The Story of our first Engagement I will give you in my next, and let the *French* term it an Assassination, or what they please, I am ready to embrace the first Opportunity of being concerned in such another.

Yours, &c.

ADAM STEPHEN.

After these two Engagements, it may not be amiss to note the Reflections made by the *Virginians* themselves upon these very different Occurrences. As to the first, the Defeat of a Handful of the *French* by Col. *Washington*, hear what the Writer of a Letter dated at *Virginia* says on the Occasion: "We and the neighbouring Colonies are all in the greatest Hurry imaginable, raising Men for driving the *French* from the *Ohio*, and securing our *Indian* Allies from Encroachments from those good Friends for the future. The small Advantage gained by Col. *Washington*

ington gives our People high Spirits, and encourages them to enlist, so that in a short Time you may expect some News. When the Forces raising in the other Colonies shall have joined us, we shall out-number the Enemy, and hope in one Battle to put an End to their high-blown Hopes. Of all the *Quixote* Schemes, surely theirs is the most romantic; to march Troops so far from *Quebec*, where it is impossible to support them, if they meet with the least Misfortune: For from our principal Settlements to the *Ohio* is little more than an hundred Miles; from theirs a great many Hundreds; and our Colonies, which they have surrounded with such an Handful of Men, can each of them, when pushed, out-number them. The Troops from some of the neighbouring Colonies are just arrived, so that we shall be in Motion in a few Days."

What were the Sentiments of the sensible Men among them, after the unfortunate Action in the *Great Meadows*, may be learnt from the following Extract of a Letter from *Virginia* by an Officer:

"In my last I promised to give you some Account of the Country we are fighting for, intending to set out for the Place of Action in a few Days with the *Caroline* Troops; but that Account must be postponed for some Time. By what fatal Conduct our Scheme of driving the *French* from the *Ohio* was blown up, I don't doubt but before now is publickly talked of in *London*. It is certain the treating the *French* Troops in a manner they never deserve, is the Reason given here for our Miscarriage, and we must wait till the Troops arrive from all our other Colonies before this Mischance can be repaired. I am afraid it will be of little advantage to us, for the Government of *England* to send us great Guns for our Forts, without sending People capable of managing them. That trifling Advantage gained over a Handful of *French* who came to surprize our Convoy by almost double the Number, is, no doubt, the Occasion of our present unhappy Affair. It is a new Scheme of fighting, for three or four hundred Men to go seek an Enemy treble their Number, when only by delaying, like old *Fabius*, and restraining the Impetuosity of their Courage for a few Days, they would have been able to have fought the Enemy even-handed. I hope the Loss we have met with will be of no very bad Consequence, but confirm us all in
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Opinion of uniting with the other Colonies for the general Good, and, for the future instead of being in many single Twigs, which are easily broken, make one Bundle that will be irresistible."

In *Pensylvania* the *French* made no less Progress than in *Virginia*; as appears in a Letter from *Philadelphia*, dated *May 24*.—"Last Night Advice came from the back Parts of this Province, that the *French* had taken the Block-house and Truck-house erected by the *Virginians*, cut off all our Traders but two, and have taken in Goods, Furs, and Skins to the Amount of 20,000 l. Sterling at least. A fatal Stroke to many here; this is on the River *Ohio*, at a Place called *Log's Town*, about 190 Miles from hence due West. How they will be dislodged, Time will shew; but the Skin-trade is entirely put a Stop to by this Enterprize of the *French*. In short, our Trade is bad, and our Expences daily increasing, by aping the unmeaning Follies of our Mother Country."

The Governor of *Maryland* having sent Commissaries to meet and treat with the Chiefs of the Six Nations at *Albany*, *Gatchradodow*, a Sachem of the *Cayuge* Nation, made the following Speech before an Audience of Gentlemen, and the Chiefs of the Six Nations, at an Entertainment the 6th of *July*, 1754.

“Brethren, we are very glad to see you at the Fire now burning at *Albany* by Order of the great King; and we return you our most hearty Thanks for the large Present that you have brought us from our Brethren of *Maryland*, and we shall always retain a grateful Sense of this Kindness of our Brethren, for we are assured that you must have been actuated by a true and sincere Love for us, to come from so distant a Country to this Interview with so large a Testimonial of your Regard for us. You are not known to us by the Name of *Tocarryhogan*, a Name, we hope you and your Posterity, will continue to be known by as long as the Sun and Moon shall endure; by this Name we have admitted you of our Council, and you are become one of us; to confirm which, we present you with this Belt. [Gives a Belt.]

“As you are now become our Brethren, and this is a Time of Danger, by Reason the Country on *Ohio* is made bloody, we hope you will have your Eyes and your

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‘ your Ears open to every Thing that may happen to be
 ‘ done or said in which we may be concerned, and that
 ‘ you will give us early Notice thereof; and we, on
 ‘ our Parts, will not fail to do the same by you; in Com-
 ‘ firmation of which Promise we give you this Belt.
 ‘ [*Gives a Belt.*]

‘ We present you this String as a Token of brotherly
 ‘ Love to *Tocarrybagon* himself; we desire he will not
 ‘ look upon this as a mere Ceremony, but believe that
 ‘ it proceeds from the Bottom of our Hearts.’ [*Gives a
 Belt.*]

The late Defeat of our Forces on the *Ohio* was so far
 from discouraging the People of *Maryland*, that it rather
 animated them to exert themselves with the greater Vi-
 gour at this important Juncture; as we have Reason to
 believe from the following spirited Speech of his Excel-
 lency *Horatio Sharpe*, Esq; Governor of that Province,
 to both Houses of Assembly, *July 17, 1754.*

“ *Gentlemen of the Upper and Lower Houses of Assembly.*

The Cheerfulness with which you have attended every
 Business relative to the common Interest of these his Ma-
 jesty’s Colonies, obviates every Doubt that I might en-
 tertain of any Exception being taken at my calling you
 together so soon. And I flatter myself, that the present
 dangerous Situation of Affairs will not only evince the
 Necessity of it, but engage you, without Hesitation,
 fully to comply with the Directions contained in the Earl
 of *Holderness’s* Letter.

The Designs of the *French* must now be evident to
 every one: They have openly, in Violation of all Trea-
 ties, invaded his Majesty’s Territories, and committed
 the most violent Acts of Hostility, by attacking and en-
 tirely defeating the *Virginia* Commander Col. *Washington*.

In this Emergency, the Hopes and Expectations of our
 Neighbours, whom in Duty, Honour, and Interest, we
 are engaged to support and defend, are fixed upon us for
 Assistance; and what must the World think of our Con-
 duct, or, what Calamities may we not expect, if, from
 an unseasonable Parsimony, we coldly look on while
 they are cut to Pieces? The boundless Ambition of the
 common Enemy, and the cruel Rage of their Savage Al-
 lies, now upon our Borders, flushed with Victory, re-

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quires a vigorous and immediate Exertion of all our Powers to check their Progress.

The *Indians*, who are our Friends, likewise claim our Assistance. While their Warriors are in the Field with our Troops, their Women and Children are sent to us to be protected and supported: This is the greatest Demonstration they can give of the Confidence they place in us. Nor can I doubt, but that at this critical Period, when the *French* are employing every Artifice to alienate their Affections from us, you will embrace so fair an Opportunity of firmly attaching them entirely to our Interest, in taking Care to have their Wives and Children kindly and hospitably treated while they are obliged to stay with us, and implore our Protection.

As our Settlements on the Frontiers must be the first exposed to the Inroads of the Enemy, I have ordered a Supply of Ammunition to *Frederick County*; and, with the Advice of his Lordship's Council of State, issued a Proclamation, for the Militia to be put in the best Posture of Defence, that they may be prepared to act in Case of Necessity: And, by the same Advice, have, at the earnest Request of Col. *Innes*, Commander in Chief of the *Carolina* Forces, granted a Supply of Arms, which, considering the present Urgency of Affairs, could not have been denied.

The Money in the Treasurer's Hands, for the purchasing of Arms and Ammunition, being near exhausted, I must recommend to you, in the strongest Manner, the raising a sufficient Fund for that Purpose, so necessary at this Time for the Defence of the Province: And must likewise observe, that the present State of the Militia, requires your most serious Attention.

Gentlemen,

There never was a Conjunction, in which your Unanimity, Vigour, and Dispatch were more necessary than now: And, as I depend upon the Prudence of your Resolutions, I am persuaded you will make such Provisions adequate to the present Emergency, as will best express your Zeal for his Majesty's Service, the Security and Welfare of this Province, and the Support of the common Cause."

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This animated Speech had such an Effect upon the Assembly, that they immediately granted 6000 *l.* towards the Assistance of the *Virginians*, and for the Relief and Support of the Wives and Children of their *Indian* Allies who shall enter into their Alliance, the whole to be disposed of as his Excellency their Governor shall think proper.

Thus have we given as full a View, as the few Materials we have been furnished with, would enable us, of the hostile Proceedings of the *French*, with their treacherous and perfidious Conduct in regard to our *American* Colonies, and in what Manner the *English* have behaved towards them. It is some Time since we left *New England*; but we must not therefore imagine that the *French* were less vigilant or active in molesting and distressing that Settlement, than they were in extending their Invasions and Encroachments upon the other Colonies. Their Missionaries spread themselves among the *Indians* with the sole View of imbittering their Spirits against the *English*; and their indefatigable Labours were attended but with too much Success. They spirited them up to commit the most horrible cruelties upon Men, Women, and Children, at Times when the People thought they were at perfect Amity with them. But we shall have a pretty distinct View of the Conduct both of the *French* and *English*, if we read with Attention the following Speech of *William Shirley*, Esq; delivered to the great and general Assembly of *Messachusetts Bay* in *New England*, March 25, 1754.

Gentlemen of the Council and House of Representatives.

Having received in Recess of the Courts, some Dispatches which nearly concern the Welfare of the Province; I thought it necessary to require a general Attendance of the Members of both Houses at this Meeting of the Assembly, that the Matters contained in them might have as full and speedy a Consideration, as the Importance of them seems to demand.

By Accounts sent from *Richmond* Fort, and Declarations made before me and his Majesty's Council by two of the Settlers at *Frankfort*, upon the River *Kennebeck*, I am informed, that in the Summer before last, a considerable Number of the *French* settled themselves on a

noted Carrying-place, made use of by the several *Indian Tribes* inhabiting that Part of the County, in their Passage to and from *Canada*, which separates the Head of the aforesaid River from that of the River *Claudiere*, which last falls into the great River *St. Lawrence*, at four Miles and a half above the City of *Quebe*.

And I have received further Intelligence that the *French* are settled very thick for twelve Miles on each Side the said River *Claudiere*, at about thirty Miles Distance above the Mouth of it, and in the Mid-way between the River *St. Lawrence*, and the before-mentioned Carrying-place. And the Captain of *Richmond Fort*, in his Letter, dated 23d of last *January*, informs me, that the *Norridge-wock Indians* had declared to him, "That they had given the new *French* Settlers upon the Carrying-place, Liberty to hunt any where in that Country, as a Recompence for the great Service they will be of to them in a Time of War with the *English*, by supplying them with Provisions and military Stores."

The same Officer farther acquaints me, in another Letter dated *Feb. 11*, That several *Indians* of the *Arressigunticook*, and some of the *Penobscott Tribe*, amounting, together with the *Norridge-wock Indians*, to sixty effective Men, besides Boys capable of bearing Arms, were then lately arrived in the Neighbourhood of the Fort under his Command; and that tho' they assembled there under Pretence of writing a joint Letter to me, as they had done, yet he had Reason to expect, from their haughty insolent Behaviour, the repeated open Threats of some of them, and the private Warnings from others, that as soon as the Rivers should be free from Ice, they would commit Hostilities against the *English* upon that and the neighbouring Rivers; in which they intimate, they are to be assisted by a Number of *French* from *Canada*, disguised like *Indians*. And in another Letter dated the 10th of *March*, he acquaints me, that the *French* Priest, Missionary to the *Indians* of the River *Kennebeck*, appeared to him to be continually using Artifices to excite the *Indians* to prevent our Settlements from being extended higher up, to set them at Variance with the *English*, and dispose them to a War with them this Spring.

Most of these Accounts are confirmed by the Declarations of the before-mentioned Letters at *Frankfort*, with the

the additional Circumstances, that the *French* Priest had been very inquisitive after *Roman* Catholick Families in this Settlement; and used Endeavours to draw off some of the Inhabitants into the Service of the *French*; particularly for building a Chapel and a Dwelling-house for himself upon that River, about three or four Miles above *Cushana*, and at the Distance of twenty-four from *Frankfort*; and been very industrious to persuade them that it was within the *French* Territories. And the *Indians* have further declared, that they have been instigated by the Governor of *Canada* to hinder the *English* from settling upon any Part of the River, which is strongly confirmed by a Deposition of Captain *Lithgow*, made in *August* last.

Upon this Occasion, Gentlemen, I sent as soon as might be, with the Advice of his Majesty's Council, the necessary Reinforcements of Men and Stores to all the eastern Forts, issued Commissions for raising six Independent Companies in the Townships and Districts near adjacent, with Orders for the Officers and Soldiers to hold themselves in constant Readiness to march upon any Alarm, to the Succour of any Fort or Settlement which may be attacked, to cut off the Enemy in their Retreat; and in Case they should find that the *Norridge-wock* *Indians* have committed Hostilities, to break up their Villages and Settlements upon *Kennebeck*, and to kill or captivate all they can meet with of their Tribe. I likewise ordered an Officer, commissioned by me for that Purpose, to proceed by the first Opportunity, to the supposed Place of the new *French* Settlement, in order to discover the Certainty and Circumstances of it; and to require the *French* Commandant to retire and withdraw the People under his Command from that Spot, as being under his Majesty's Dominion, and within the Limits of this Government.

And I doubt not, Gentlemen, from your distinguished Zeal for the Defence of his Majesty's Territories, and the Protection of his Subjects within this Government upon all Occasions, but that upon the Refusal of the *French* to comply with that Requisition, you will make sufficient Provision for enabling me to compel them with the armed Force of the Province to free it from their Encroachments.

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The Concern, Gentlemen, which you express in your Message to me at our Meeting in *December* last, upon your Apprehensions of the imminent Danger the Province was in, upon the *French* having fortified themselves upon the River of *St. John*, close to our Borders, leaves me no Room to doubt of your being sensible of the fatal Consequences in general that must attend Encroachments, which it seems they are now pushing into the Heart of the Province (as the general Court in a Vote passed the 16th of *January*, 1749, justly called the River *Kennebeck*) unless they are timely removed.

But it may not be improper for me to observe to you in particular, that it appears from Extracts, which I have lately caused to be made of some original Letters taken among *Father Rolle's* Papers at breaking up the *Indian* Settlement at *Norridge-wock* in 1724, and which passed between him, *Father Lauverjat*, Priest of the *Penobscott* Tribe, and *Father Le Chasse*, Superior of the *Jesuits* at *Quebec*, during the *Indian* War in 1723 and 1724; that the Head of *Kennebeck* River, near which the *Indians* have declared the *French* have made a new Settlement; was the Center of most of the Tribes then at War with us, and the general Rendezvous of all that came to the eastern Parts; the *Hurons*, the *Iroquois* of the Falls of *St. Lewis*, the Tribe of *St. Francis* (or *Arressigunticooks*) and the *Indians* of the *Seignorie* (as the *French* call them) of *Becancour* on the other Hand, used to assemble with the *Norridge-wocks* here, from their several Settlements, and the *Penobscots* from their River, on the other: Here they held their Consultations, and from hence issued in Parties united or separate, as best suited them, against the *English*; hither they retired after Action, and brought their wounded for Relief; and here, if they met with Provisions, they fared well; if not, they suffered greatly for Want of them.

It appears further from these Letters, that the several *French* Missionaries chiefly conducted and managed this War; that they had the Care of supplying the *Indians* with the necessary Provisions and Stores for carrying it on; were employed to persevere in it, and to push them on to their boldest Enterprizes; that they transmitted Accounts of their Proceedings to the Government of *Canada* thro' the Hands of the Superior of the *Jesuits* at *Quebec*,

Quebec, thro' whom likewise they received their Directions from thence; as the Governor of *Canada* seems to have done his, upon this Occasion, from the Court of *France*.

And I would further observe, that this Route affords the *French* a shorter Passage for making Descents from *Quebec* upon this Province, and destroying the whole Province of *Maine*, with the King's Woods there, and in the Government of *New Hampshire*, than any other from *Canada*.

These Advantages, which the Possession of this River would give the *French* over this Province, make it easy to account for their constant Endeavours ever since the Treaty of *Breda*, at which it was determined, in the most solemn Manner, between the two Crowns, that the River *Pentagoet* or *Pencisquet*, was the Boundary between *New England* and *Acadia* or *Newa Scotia*, to extend the Limits by Claim upon all Occasions (as in Fact they have done) to the eastern Side of the River *Kennebeck*; altho' they never attempted, till within these few Years, to pass over the River *St. Lawrence*, within the Extent of this Province.

I am satisfied it is needless for me, Gentlemen, to urge any Thing more to shew how necessary for the Safety of this Government it is, that we should secure to ourselves the Possession of this important River against the Encroachments of the *French* without Delay: And I think the present Situation of Affairs in that Country must convince you, how vain a Scheme it would be to have your sole Dependance for gaining this Point upon making annual Presents to the *Indians*, who appear to have entered into an Alliance with the *French* against us; and have shewed evident Marks of their Disposition to put the River into their Power.

How different are such Proceedings from those of the *French*? Whilst we have been suing in vain to a few *Indians* for their Permission to settle Lands within the undoubted Limits of this Province, and which themselves cannot deny have been purchased of their Ancestors; and have in Effect promised them a yearly Tribute to restrain them from committing Acts of Hostilities against us; the *French* have marched Armies into distant Countries of numerous and powerful Tribes, which without

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without any Colour of Right they have invaded; they have forbid them to make further Grants of any of their Lands to the *English*, and have built and are still building strong Forts, with an avowed Intent to drive them off from the Lands already granted to them, to exclude them from all Commerce with those *Indians*, whom they have threatened with Destruction, if they shall presume to interfere in their Favour.

It is Time, Gentlemen, for you to desist from having your chief Dependance on temporary Expedients, which seem rather to have exposed the Government to the Contempt of the *Indians*, than to have conciliated their Friendship to it; and take Counsel in Part from the Policy of our Neighbours.

Vigorous Measures against the *French*, in Case they shall refuse to quit his Majesty's Territories within this Government, without being compelled to it by Force; building a strong Fort near the Head of the River *Kennebeck*, above the Settlements of the *Narridge-wock Indians*, and pushing on our Settlements upon it, in a defensible Manner, would effectually rid the Province of the Encroachments of the former, and either hold the latter in a due Dependance upon us, or oblige them to abandon the River.

And further, by making ourselves, thro' this Means, Masters of the Pass, which was the general Place of Rendezvous during the *Indian War* in 1723 and 1724, of all the Tribes engaged in it, both in their Incurfions and Retreats, we should have it in our Power to curb all those *Indians* for the future; and in a great Measure prevent them from attempting to make Depredations in our exposed Settlements.

I must further observe to you, upon this Occasion, Gentlemen, how dangerous Delays to make suitable Preparations for removing the *French* would be.

How practicable was it first to put a Stop to their Proceedings, in building their Fort at *Crown Point*? And you can't but remember what mischievous Effects of the Neglect to do that in the Beginning, were felt by this and the Province of *New York*, in the Ravages which they suffered from thence during the late War.

A short Delay to dislodge them from their Encroachments near the River *Kennebeck*, might give them an Opportunity

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FRENCH POLICY. 81

portunity of making themselves Masters of that River likewise in the End; and in that Case we may expect soon to see another Fort built by them near the Mouth of it, and the *French* in Possession of all the Sea-coast between that and the River St. *John*.

Gentlemen of the Council, and House of Representatives,

I hope you will proceed in the Consideration of these Matters with that Unanimity and Dispatch which his Majesty's Service and the Safety of the Province requires; and that you, Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, will make the necessary Supplies.

*Council Chambers,
March 28, 1754.*

W. SHIRLEY.

May it please your Excellency,

The Council and House of Representatives of this his Majesty's Province, have given very great Attention to the two Speeches which you have been pleased to make to the Chair, on the 20th of *March* and the 2d of *April*. We are sensible they contain Matters of the last Importance, not only to the Inhabitants of this Government, but to every other of his Majesty's Subjects in *America*, to the *British* Interest in general, and to the Interest of all *Europe*.

It now evidently appears, that the *French* are now far advanced in the Execution of a Plan, projected more than fifty Years since, for the extending their Possessions from the Mouth of the *Mississippi* on the South, to *Hudson's Bay* on the North, for securing the vast Body of *Indians* in that Country, and for subjecting this whole Continent to the Crown of *France*: This Plan, agreeable to the Genius and Policy of the *French* Nation, was laid for a future Age, the Operation of it has been gradual, and almost insensible, while the *British* Governments in the Plantations have been consulting temporary Expedients, and they are in Danger of continuing to do so until it be too late to be defeated. And however improbable it may seem that this Scheme should succeed, since the *French* Inhabitants on the Continent, at present, bear but a small Proportion to the *English*; yet there are many other Circumstances which give them a great Advantage

vantage over us, and which, if not attended to, will soon overbalance our Superiority in Numbers.

The *French* pay no Regard to the most solemn Engagements, but immediately after a Peace, take and keep Possession of a Country, which, by Treaty, they had just before expressly ceded, whilst the *English* in the Plantations, afraid of incurring Displeasure, and, of being instrumental of bringing on a War in *Europe*, suffer these Encroachments to be made and continued. The *French* in Time of Peace, are continually exciting the *Indians* settled among them to come upon our Territories to kill and captivate our People, and to carry the Scalps and Prisoners to *Canada*, where, as we have full Evidence, a Reward is given for them, and by this Means we are prevented from extending our Settlements in our Country, while the *English*, from the Principle just now mentioned, scruple to avenge themselves by carrying the War into the *Indian* Settlements, lest they should annoy his Majesty's Allies, with whom our most barbarous Enemies are intermixed, and by whom they are cherished and encouraged. The *French* have under their Influence by far the greatest Number of *Indians* on the Continent, whilst the *English*, by the different Method of the several Governments, are in Danger of losing the small Proportion which are at present attached to them. The *French* have but one Interest, and have but one Point in View; the *English* Governments have different Interests, are disunited, some of them have their Frontiers covered by their neighbouring Governments, and not being immediately affected seem unconcerned. The *French* are supported by the Treasure of *France*, which seems now more and more to have made the Plantations the Object of its Attention; the *English* Governments are obliged to carry on any Scheme at their own Expence, and are not able to support any great Undertaking.

These are some of the Disadvantages which the *English* at present labour under, and they are not likely to be removed without his Majesty's gracious Interposition.

We therefore desire your Excellency to represent to his Majesty the exposed hazardous State of these his Governments, and humbly to pray that he would be pleased to cause the most effectual Measures to be taken for the

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Removal of any *French* Forts or Settlements that are or may be made in any Part of his Territories on the Continent, and in particular, that the Subjects of the *French* King may be compelled to quit the Province of *Nova Scotia*, where, indirect Violation of the most express Agreement to the contrary, they are daily increasing and fortifying themselves; that his Majesty will allow and order, that whensoever the *Indians* who are settled among the *French*, or are under their Direction and Countrol, shall captivate and destroy his *English* Subjects, his respective Governments shall suffer and encourage the *Indians* who are in the *English* Interest, to make Reprisals upon the *French*, there being no other Way to put a Stop to the Incurfions of the *French* *Indians*, or of forwarding the Settlements on our Frontiers; that Affairs which relate to the *Indians* of the Six Nations and their Allies under some general Direction, as his Majesty shall think proper, may be constantly regarded, and that the Interests or Measures of particular Governments or Persons, may not be supposed to interfere with such Directions; that the several Governments may be obliged to bear the Proportion of the Charge of defending his Majesty's Territories against the Encroachments of the *French*, and the Ravages and Incurfions of the *Indians*; and that in Case of any great and heavy Charge, his Majesty would be graciously pleased to afford Relief.

In the mean Time, we assure your Excellency, that we are ready to do every Thing that can be expected from us on the present Emergency. We think ourselves happy that we have a Gentleman at the Head of the Province who is so perfectly acquainted with his Majesty's just Title to the Countries encroached upon by the *French*, who has given such distinguished Proofs of his Zeal for his Majesty's Service, whose Endeavours to defend his Territories, and enlarge his Dominions in Time of War have been attended with such happy Success, and whose Abhorrence of such perfidious Invasions in Time of Peace we are so well acquainted with. We take great Pleasure and Satisfaction in the Measures taken by your Excellency, by the Advice of his Majesty's Council, in the Recets of the Court, and will cheerfully support the Execution of them.

NA GALLICA FIDES: Or,

We look upon it to be of absolute Necessity, that the *French* should, at all Events, be prevented from making any Settlements whatever on the River *Kennebeck*, or the Carrying-place at the Head of it.

As *Richmond* Fort on that River is in a decayed State, we desire your Excellency to order a new Fort to be erected of about 120 Feet Square, as far up the River above *Richmond* Fort as your Excellency shall think fit, and to cause the Garrison, Artillery, and Stores at *Richmond*, to be removed to the new Fort, and the old one to be demolished.

We pray your Excellency likewise to order a sufficient Force up to the Carrying-place, to remove the *French* that may be settled there: But as we apprehend the Success, under Providence, will depend very much on your taking this Affair into your immediate Care and Direction; we therefore pray your Excellency to submit to the Inconveniencies of a Voyage to the Eastern Parts of the Province; and there to give such Orders for the Purpose aforesaid, as you shall find necessary. And that your Excellency's Person may be secure against any Attempts of the *French* and *Indians*, and that you may be enabled to effect the building the Fort aforesaid; and to destroy any *French* Settlements that may be carrying on, we will make Provision for the Pay and Subsistence of 500 Men; which Number, including the six independent Companies already ordered, we desire you to cause to be enlisted as soon as you shall think proper. We will likewise make ample Provision for your Excellency's Voyage, and for an Interview with the *Indians*, if you shall find it expedient.

We hope, by your Excellency's prudent Management, these *Indians* will be convinced that it is their Interest to continue at Peace with us; and we are sincerely desirous that every Thing may be done which may tend to perpetuate the same.

We will readily defray the Charge of supporting and educating a considerable Number of the *Indian* Children, if your Excellency can prevail on their Friends to agree to it.

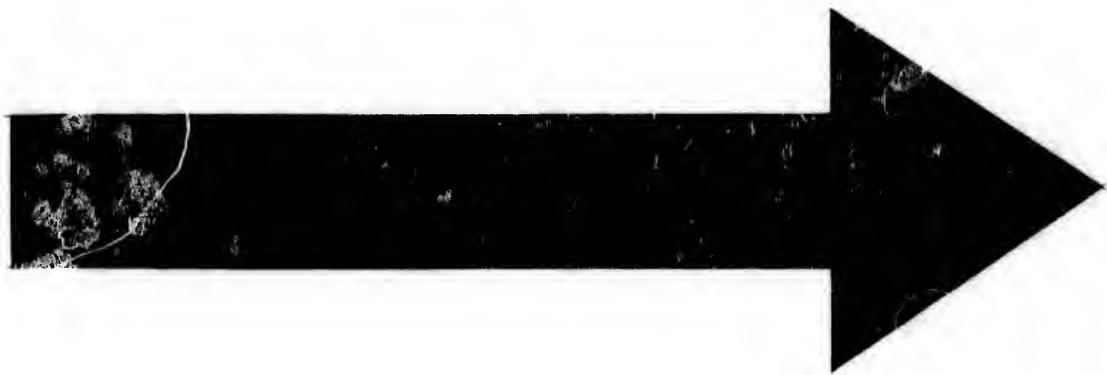
We are situated remote from the Six Nations, and have never had the Benefit of a Trade with them, yet we have frequently joined in the Treaties with them,
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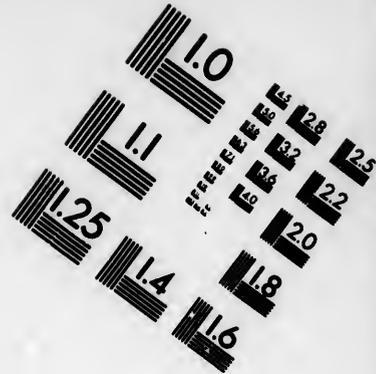
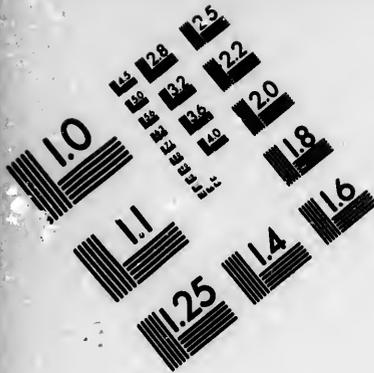
and have contributed largely towards Presents and other Expences attending such Treaties, and are still ready to do all that can be reasonably expected from us, for securing their Attachment to his Majesty's Interest.

Your Excellency must be sensible that an Union of the several Governments for their mutual Defence, and for the Annoyance of the Enemy, has long been desired by this Province, and Proposals made for this Purpose; we are still in the same Sentiments, and shall use our Endeavours to effect it.

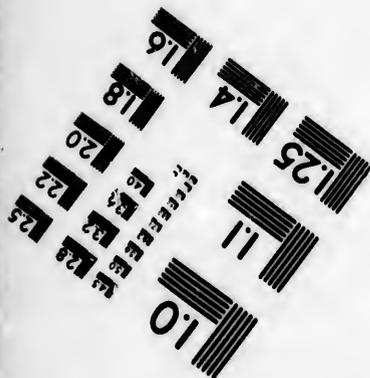
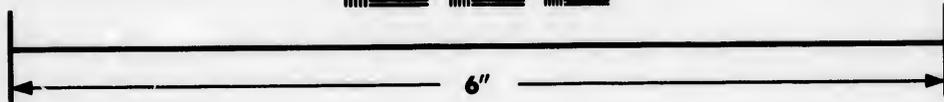
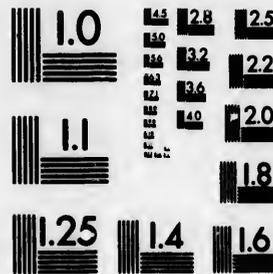
Pursuant to this Message from the Assembly, the Governor soon afterwards set out on his Voyage to execute his Commission, and after an Absence of about six Months, he returned, and having assembled the two Houses, he gave them an Account of his Progress, and the several Transactions he had been engaged in, to the Effect following.

That pursuant to their Request he had raised 800 Men, and embarked with them for *Falmouth* in *Casco Bay*, where he had Conference with the *Norridgewock* and *Penobscot Indians*, with whom he had renewed Alliance. From thence he proceeded with his Forces and Workmen to the River *Kennebeck*, in order to build a new Fort there above that at *Richmond*, and went to the Head of the River, and the Carrying-place between that and the River *Claudiere*, but found no *French* Settlements. The Place he pitched upon for erecting a Fort was, a Fork or Point of Land formed by meeting of the Rivers *Kennebeck* and *Sebastocook*, 37 Miles higher than the Fort at *Richmond*. But as the River *Kennebeck*, is not navigable for Sloops for 18 Miles between *Cushemock* and *Taconnet*, by Reason of Shoals, Rocks, and strong Currents, he had caused a large defensible Storehouse to be built at *Cushemock*, to lodge the Province's Stores at in their Passage to *Taconnet*. The new Fort, called *Hallifax*, was capable of holding 400 Men, and he left a Garrison in it of 100. For the Convenience of directing the Operations at the Fort and elsewhere, he resided the whole Time at *Falmouth*, with some of his Majesty's Council to assist him with their Advice. The Vigilance and Activity of the Officers in doing their Duty was extraordinary. In effecting these Services, he had been as good a Husband for the Province as he could, without hazarding the Success of them. He dismissed the Ship which





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which carried him and other Gentlemen as soon as conveniently he could; and equal Care was taken to dismiss the Transports after the Soldiers were landed at *Cusbe-mock*, no more being retained than what were necessary for receiving the Supplies of Provisions, and other Stores for the Troops, and Materials for building Fort *Hallifax*. The Troops were likewise discharged as soon as ever the Service would admit of it. The Troops, by marching on both Sides the River *Kennebeck* to the Head of it, have probably prevented any future Attempts of the *French*, and gained the Knowledge of a River and Country highly necessary to be known. This Expedition will be of the greatest Advantage, considering what a Spirit the *French* at *Canada* and their Jesuits had raised in the *Indians*, and that it has prevented a general War with the *Indians*. That he had received a Letter from Sir *Thomas Robynson*, one of his Majesty's Secretaries of State, assuring him of his Majesty's Approbation of the Measures that Government had taken. Recommends it to them to provide for the Discharge of the Debts incurred by this Expedition, particularly what had been unavoidably occasioned by the Assaults made by the *Canada Indians* on our Western Frontiers, while he was absent in the Eastern. Lays before them a Journal of the Commissioners of several Provinces and Colonies at a late Convention at *Albany*, containing a Scheme for uniting all the *English* Governments in *North America*; and that the *French* spare no Pains to disengage the Six Nations from the *English*.

We have before mentioned the Nation of *Indians* called the *Twightwees*, in Alliance with the *English*, and who being invaded by the *French*, with a Design to cut them all off, routed and killed almost the whole Party. By Letters from *New York*, dated in *October* last, it was advised, that the *Twightwees* had sent some of their head Men to the lower *Shawana* Town on the River *Ohio*, with the following Message, viz.

“ Brethren, the *Shawanese*,

You know that the *French* have invaded our Country on all Sides;—Why do you sit still?—Will you be Slaves to the *French*, and suffer them to be Masters of all the Land and all the Game?—Rise up; take the Hatchet,

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chet, and follow our Example :—We killed, not long ago, fifty *Frenchmen*, all Warriors in one Day :—Five other Nations have joined us ; and if you and your Grandfathers the *Delawares* will but stir, the *French* will soon be forced to fly."

To which the *Shawanese* answered.

" Brethren, the *Twightwees*,

We are surprized at your Request. The Six united Nations have directed us to sit still and not to mind the *French* ; and that we must keep our Ears and Eyes towards the united Nations ; and so do our Grandfathers the *Delawares*. We desire you would spare us, and leave our Town before the *French* hear of you, and come and kill you here, and plunge us into the War before the Six Nations begin it."

Upon which the *Twightwees* left the *Shawana* much disgusted.

Having traversed over the rest of the Colonies, let us now pay a Visit to our Friends the Quakers in *Pensylvania*, and see in what Manner they exerted themselves on this interesting Occasion.

The Governor summoned the general Assembly, and made the following Speech.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,

As you are now met for the Dispatch of Business, I think it my Duty to remind you of what I said at the Opening of the last Sitting, and to lay before you a Letter which I have since received from Sir *Thomas Robinson*, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, signifying to me, his Majesty's express Commands, ' That I should not only act vigorously in Defence of the Government under my Care, but that I should be aiding and assisting his Majesty's other Colonies, to repel any hostile Attempts made against them.'

At the Time of writing that Letter, on the 5th of *July* last, his Majesty and his Ministers were only informed, that the *French* had drove some of the *Virginia* Troops from a Place on the *Ohio*, at the Mouth of *Mohonongela*, and were erecting a Fort there ; and you will observe they think those Advantages, gained by the *French*, ' might

‘ might have been in a great Measure, if not totally prevented, if every one of his Majesty’s Governments had exerted themselves according to the Directions in the Earl of *Holderness’s* Letter of the 28th of *August*.’

You are sensible many Things have happened since the Retreat from the Forks of *Mohonongela*, that have put our Affairs upon the Frontiers in a very bad Situation, much worse than his Majesty and his Ministry have any Knowledge of, or than they can possibly imagine; as they are well informed of the flourishing State of these Colonies, of the Number of Men they are capable of raising, and had great Reason to expect that in a Matter wherein the Intetest and Safety of the Colonies were so nearly concerned, they would exert themselves with uncommon Vigour.

From the Letters and Intelligence I have ordered to be laid before you, it will appear that the *French* have now, at their Fort of *Mohonongela*, above a thousand regular Troops, besides *Indians*; that they are well supplied with Provisions, and that they have lately received an additional Number of Cannon; that their upper Forts are also well garrisoned and provided, and they are making a Settlement of 300 Families in the Country of the *Twightwees*, at the South-west End of the Lake *Erie*.

From those Papers you will likewise be informed of the Use they have made of this last Year’s Success among the *Indians* of the Six Nations, having prevailed with many of them to remove to *Canada*, who will either be neuter in the present Dispute, or take up Arms against us, while such few of the *Indians* as still retain their Attachment to the *English*, dare not be active for us, till they see a Force in the Field superior to that of the *French*, and if that be not soon, they will certainly give up our Cause, and embrace the tempting Offers made them by the *French*.

Gentlemen, it is now several Years since the *French* undertook this Expedition, and we have long had full Intelligence of their Designs, and of the Steps they have taken to carry them into Execution; their Progress indeed has been very surprizing, owing chiefly to the Inactivity of the *English* Colonies, who, I am sorry to say, have looked with too much Indifference upon an Affair that must end in their Ruin, if not timely prevented.

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When you have maturely considered the Conduct of the *French* upon the present Occasion, and observed the Steadiness with which they have pursued a well-laid Plan, you cannot doubt but very considerable Men have been concerned in the Formation of this Scheme, and that proper Persons are employed in the Execution of it; and as the Circumstances of these Colonies are by no Means unknown to the *French*, they are doubtless prepared to make a vigorous Defence, and will not easily give up what they have taken so much Pains, and been at such Expence to gain; but rather will be induced to attack us, knowing our weak and defenceless State, and that we are, as it were, an open Door for the Conquest of the Provinces: We must therefore resolve to act with Vigour, or not at all; for, in my Opinion, we had better not attempt than be defeated.

These Encroachments of the *French* upon the Crown of *Britain* in *America*, have turned the Eyes of *Europe* to this Quarter of the World, as it is uncertain what Effects they may produce; the Conduct therefore of these Colonies will be more than ever the Object of their Attentions, and ours in particular, who are most immediately concerned. For whether the *French* Forts are within the particular Limits of this Province or not, I look upon to be very immaterial in the present Case, tho' in my Opinion they are clearly so; but be that as it may, our Situation at present is certainly very alarming—The *French* on our Borders are numerous, strongly fortified, well provided, and daily increasing.—The small Body of *English* Troops on the Frontiers, weakened by the Desertion from the Independent Companies, and the Want of Discipline in the new Levies—The Six Nations of the *Indians*, formerly our firm Friends, divide among themselves, many of them gone over to the *French*, and others wavering; and in Doubt whether to follow their Brethren, or continue with us. The neighbouring Provinces (except *Virginia*) tho' nearly interested in the Issue of the present Affair, either contributing nothing towards the common Cause, or sparingly; and tho' *Virginia* has indeed given 30,000 *l.* yet it will avail but little, unless a considerable Body of Troops be sent from this Province; and kept up till the Work is done.

Permit me therefore, Gentlemen, to press this Matter upon you; and exert yourselves upon the present Occasion; dissipate the Cloud that hangs over your Country, and save her from the threatened Destruction. His Majesty, ever anxious for the Welfare of all his Subjects, excites and commands us—The Eyes of a *British* Parliament, of the People of our Mother Country, of the other *American* Colonies, and even of all *Europe*, are upon us. And the Fate of this Country, the Happiness or Misery of your Posterity, very much depend on your Resolutions.

I cannot therefore admit myself to doubt but you will enter seriously upon the Consideration of this important Affair, and, by enabling me to carry the King's Commands into full Execution, convince his Majesty of your Readiness to pay Obedience to his Royal Orders, set a reasonable and noble Example to the other Colonies, and shew your Constituents that you have nothing more at Heart than to secure them, and their Posterity, the Continuance of the many invaluable Blessings they enjoy.

The Assembly took the Governor's Speech immediately into Consideration, and after mature Deliberation, sent him the following Message.

May it please the Governor,

We have deliberately considered the Governor's Speech of the third Instant, with the Letter from Sir *Thomas Robinson*, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and the other Letters and Papers he has been pleased to lay before us. And as we look upon it as our indispensable Duty to do every Thing in our Power to comply with his Majesty's Royal Orders, or that may contribute to the Welfare of the People we represent, we have cheerfully, and almost unanimously resolved to grant twenty thousand Pounds for the King's Use; for the raising and sinking of which Sum, we have prepared a Bill, which will be laid before the Governor, with all possible Dispatch.

Tho' we hope the Numbers of the *French*, and their *Indian* Allies, mentioned in *George Croghan's* Letters, are full large, yet the uncommon Efforts they have made towards obtaining a Possession, on that Part of his Majesty's Dominions, are truly alarming, and dangerous to the

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the *British* Interest in *North America*: And we have good Reason to believe, the Sums granted the King by our late Assembly, had the then Governor been pleased to pass the Bills offered him for that Purpose, "might in a great Measure, if not totally, have prevented the bad Situation of our Affairs at present," and have placed our Duty to the best of Kings, as we desire it should always appear, among his most loving and loyal Subjects; and, for this Reason, it is with Concern, we find by the above-mentioned Letter from the Secretary of State, "That it is with great Surprize the King had observed in our late Governor's Answer to the Earl of *Holderness*, he had been totally silent on that Part of his Majesty's Orders, which relate to a Concert with the other Colonies." But as we have great Confidence in our Governor, that he will at all Times afford us his good Offices and Protection, and be pleased to represent us and our Affairs in a favourable Light, as he may do with Justice: So, on our Part, we shall not fail to contribute every Thing in our Power to answer all reasonable Expectations from so young a Colony, so far as is consistent with our civil and religious Liberties; beyond which under so good a King, we are well assured nothing further will be asked or expected from us. And in Lieu of the Governor's Justice and Protection, it will give us particular Pleasure to make his Administration easy to himself and honourable to all. Dec. 12, signed by Order of the House.

Isaac Norris, Speaker.

A Message from the Governour to the Assembly.

Gentlemen,

I have ordered two Letters, which I received by Express from *Mr. Croghan*, the Person entrusted with the Care of the *Indians* at *Aughwick*, to be laid before you, by which you will be informed of the Proposals made by the *French* to the *Indians* that removed from the *Ohio*, and of their Answer.

These People have been hitherto maintained by this Province, and I believe you will be of Opinion, that it is necessary to continue this Support, at least till the next Spring; and as some of the Chiefs are to set out for the great Council at *Onandago* upon the Return of this Ex-

prefs, it may determine the Resolution of that Council in Favour of the *English*, if I am enabled to assure those Chiefs, before their Departure, that this Government will continue to maintain such of their People as they leave behind them, and will take Measures to secure them against any sudden Attack. As these People have been always firmly attached to the *English* Interest, and, by their Answer to the *French* Message, seem to give up all Thoughts of returning to the *Ohio*, while it remains in their Hands, I must recommend it you to make Provision for their Maintenance, and for setting up some Stockadoes round the Place they fix upon for their Winter Residence.

I have detained the Express till I could know your Resolutions, and therefore hope you will give this Affair the necessary Dispatch.

That Part of Mr. *Croghan's* Letters relating to himself, will, I make no Doubt, be duly considered, and his Services rewarded in such a Manner as to give him perfect Satisfaction.

Dec: 4, 1754.

ROBERT HUNTER NORRIS,

A Message to the Governor from the Assembly.

May it please the Governor,

We have considered the Letters, and Accounts laid before us by the Governor, relating to the *Indians* now at *Aughwick*, and are well satisfied with their Steadiness in our Interest, and the Answer they have given to the Proposals of the *French* to induce them to return to the *Ohio*.

We are confident the Treatment our *Indian* Allies have always received from this Province, has great Weight with them, and that we have a large Share in their Affections, which we are willing to preserve, by continuing to treat them with Justice, Humanity, and Tenderneſs; we therefore, notwithstanding the heavy Charge the Province has been at, and is like to be continued upon us, have unanimously resolved to defray such reasonable Charges as may accrue on the Support of those *Indians* till our next Meeting. As we apprehend the Governor will agree with us in the Necessity of regulating the Expence with all possible Oeconomy; and as *George Croghan* (whose

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(whose Accounts we have allowed) seems resolved to remove from *Aughwick*, and the *Indians*, by that Means, will be left without any proper Person to take the necessary Care of their Subsistence, we recommend it to the Governor's Consideration, whether it might not be more convenient for the *Indians* themselves, and less Expence to the Province, if they were invited to come nearer our back Inhabitants, till by Hunting, or otherwise, they may be able to subsist themselves with Safety.

Signed by order of the House,

Dec, 6, 1754.

ISAAC NORRIS, Speaker.

Thus have I given as distinct a View of the Situation of Affairs in our *American Colonies*, as the Advices successively received from thence have enabled me to do from the Year 1748, when a General Peace was concluded, to *December 1754*: In which the Reader will observe a Variety of strange and uncommon Incidents, and Scenes of Action, in a Manner new to this Part of the World. The *French* had so long practised their Deceptions and Chicanry in *Europe*, that the Commonness of them rendered them stale and useless. FRENCH FAITH is become a Proverb, as much as the *Punic* was of old among the *Romans*, and signifies no more than the Breach of Treaties and the most solemn Engagements. This they are so sensible of, that they thought it high Time to change the Scene, and try what Effects their Politicks would produce among the honest *Indians* in *America*, who were ignorant of the Wiles and deceitful Artifices of our Christian Politicians. Their Notions of Right and Wrong were the Dictates of natural Conscience, and their Dealings and Treaties with one another, and with the *English*, were sincere, sacred, and obligatory; till their Minds were debauched by those Pests of Mankind, the *French* Jesuits and Missionary Priests, sent among them by our most Christian Friend and Ally, for this very Purpose, that is, to excite to and irritate them against the *English*, and break off all Alliance and Friendship with them. Their Success indeed has been surprizing, but would not have been carried to such a Length, had the *Indians* been Masters of as much Artifice and Cunning, as they were of good Sense. They were honest themselves, and knew not how to disguise their Sentiments, and deemed it a most

most horrible Crime to make Promises and Engagements only to impose upon the Credulous, and with a Design to break them; till they were better instructed by those Artificers of all Fraud, the Jesuits. After that, indeed, we find them paying no Regard to their former Engagements, taking every Opportunity to insult the *English*, and imbrue their Hands in their Blood.

Tho' the Views of the *French* were prodigiously extensive, and their Ambition boundless, yet they knew the Strength of our Colonies too well, to believe that they could carry their Projects into Execution, unless they could bring over the *Indians* to their Side. This they have with indefatigable Industry, been practising for many Years, and now we see the Effects of it. Many Nations of the *Indians*, who were our fast Friends, are become our most implacable Enemies, and those who yet retain any Friendship for us, are so over-awed and intimidated by the *French*, that they are forced to stand neuter, and tho' we may have their good Wishes, not the least Assistance can they give us.

A Gentleman who resided many Years in *Canada*, from whence he has not been long arrived, assures us, that the regular Troops there actually consisted of upwards of 11,000, extremely well officered and disciplined, with several very able Engineers, exclusive of a formidable Body of *Indians* always at their Devotion; and their common Talk was, that they intended opening an uninterrupted Communication betwixt *Canada* and the *Mississippi*, by building a strong Chain of Forts upon the Back of our Settlements, and thereby totally exclude us from the Fur Trade, and crushing such of our Colonies as were able to make the least Resistance, into the Sea; which last Piece of Gasconade exactly corresponds with what has been asserted by one of their latest and most esteemed Writers.

I shall conclude this Subject with a Quotation from a Piece wrote by the ingenious Mr. *Kennedy*, entitled, *Serious Considerations on the Affairs of the Northern Colonies*.

“ Their late Encroachments upon his Majesty's Rights and Territories, in the *East* and *West Indies*, in *Africa* and *Hudson's Bay*, with the most provoking Circumstances are, says this Author, so well known, that I believe

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I need not mention them, and now they seem avowedly and with much Assurance to open the same shameful Scene upon this Continent, which indeed they have been long practising under hand.

That vast Sums have been expended upon their Royal Geographers, in order that their Maps and Sea Charts may quadrate with their political System of Encroachments upon the Territories of other Nations, is apparent to the whole World; and thus by establishing their imaginary Rights by Pen and Ink, they are determined to confirm their Accuracy by a forcible Possession. Another Piece of Finesse, or *French Policy*, is that of burying Leaden Plates up and down this Continent, with certain Inscriptions, in order to form new Pretensions; but in this, I am told, they were discovered by some of our *Indians*, who, though not pleased, were diverted with the Whim, as I am confident the World must be with their other Projects, being equally ridiculous. What Figure we are like to make in this Dispute, to whom in a great Measure, all this Impertinence is owing, who by an ill-judged Frugality, meanly neglected the first Intrusions at *Crown-point*, and that important Pass at *Niagara*, and some more of the like Kind, together with a total Neglect of *India* Affairs, I shall not take upon me to determine; nor shall I enter into a Discussion of the Reasons of that Neglect, or to whom owing at this Time: This is not the Time to retrospect, and we must now look forward. Our Case at present is neither more nor less than this, *viz.* That the *French* are now drawing a Line along the Borders of our Settlements in every Province, from the Mouth of *St. Lawrence*, to the Mouth of *Mississippi*, and building Forts to secure the most convenient Passes on the Lakes that form the Communication, by which they will cut off all Intercourse and Traffick between us and the *Indians* inhabiting the inland Countries, and likewise compel those who are Neighbours and Allies, by Reason of the absolute Dependence they must have on the *French* for every Thing that they want, as well as for the Liberty of Hunting and Fishing, to fall under their Subjection, or starve. It therefore behoveth us at this Time to exert our utmost Endeavours, by all the Means in our Power, to prevent so bad a Neighbourhood. It is a Maxim in *England*, to avoid, if possible,

sible, the Neighbourhood of a great Lord; by the same Parity of Reason, what ought we then not to do, to avoid an ambitious, all-grasping Monarch, whose Will, often the Caprice of a Miss, or a Favourite, is the Law? For such is our Pleasure, is their whole *Corpus Juris*. One great Step, if not the greatest, to this grand Monarch's universal System, is that of being possessed of this Northern Continent of *America*, a Territory boundless as his Ambition; in which he has made not a little Progress.

From what is above related, the Reader will observe, that the *French*, for some Years past, have carried on one uniform Design to weaken and distress our *American* Colonies, cut off their Trade with the *Indians*, and seduce those *Indians* who were in Amity and Alliance with us; and that the People of our Colonies suffered their insidious Neighbours daily to make Encroachments on their Settlements, with little or no Opposition, till it was almost out of their Power to help themselves. And had not the *French* precipitated their Designs a little too fast in attacking Major *Washington* near the *Ohio*, and taking the Fort which was acknowledged to be on *English* Ground, they might perhaps have obtained their Ends with very little Interruption. But though *Britons* may be cajol'd out of their Properties and even their Senses, by specious and plausible Pretences and Professions of Friendship, yet if they are attacked with the rough Hand of Violence and open Hostilities, you will quickly see an End of their Patience. This was the Consequence of that first Action on the *Ohio*. The Governors of the several Colonies immediately summoned their General Assemblies together, and made such spirited Speeches on the Occasion as soon roused them out of their Lethargy, and put them upon making the most vigorous Efforts. Advice was immediately transmitted to *England* of the imminent Danger the whole Range of our Settlements were in from the hostile Invasions of their *French* Neighbours. Our Ministry were too well apprized of the Importance of those Settlements to neglect or withhold their Assistance.

In particular, they were advised from *Nova Scotia*, that that Province was in the utmost Danger, upon the first Rupture between the two Crowns, of falling into the Hands of the *French*, who had (according to their usual Practice of gaining more upon their Neighbours in Time of

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of Peace than of War) contrary to the most solemn Treaties, seized upon Bay *Verte*, and built a Fort there, to maintain a Communication by Sea with *Louisburgh* and *Canada*, and that they had built another Fort within Sight of ours to command the Isthmus of the Peninsula, and a Communication with the Bay of *Fundy* and *St. John's* River, and were Masters of all the Fur Trade of that River, which before the late Peace was carried on wholly by the *English*. All which considered, and that there was no Place in the whole Province capable of holding out one Day, except *Annapolis Royal*, against any considerable Force, the Consequence must be fatal, not only to this, but to all the rest of the *British* Colonies in *America*.

Upon these and other Advices received of the dangerous Situation of our Colonies in *America*, the Ministry immediately ordered the two Regiments of *Dunbar* and *Halket*, then in *Ireland*, to embark on Board Transports, prepared for them at *Cork*, and to sail directly for *Virginia* under the Convoy of two Men of War.

Orders were likewise dispatched to *Portsmouth*, *Chatham*, &c. to enter Shipwrights in the Docks; several Men of War were commissioned; and Warrants issued to press Men with all possible Expedition; and to encourage Sailors to enter, a Proclamation was published, offering his Majesty's Royal Bounty of 30s. to every able Seaman who should voluntarily enter on Board any of his Majesty's Ships before the 20th of *February*, and from thence was continued to the 14th of *August*; and the Workmen in *Chatham* Yard were ordered to work two for one. A Proclamation was likewise published for recalling and prohibiting all Masters of Ships, Pilots, Mariners, Shipwrights, &c. his Majesty's natural born Subjects, from serving foreign Princes and States; for giving farther Encouragement to Seamen, by increasing the Bounty from 30s. to 3*l.* to every able Seaman, and from 20s. to 2*l.* to every ordinary Seaman between the Age of 20 and 50, who should voluntarily enter before the 10th of *March*; and for granting a Reward of 2*l.* to any one Person for discovering any able Seaman, and 30s. for discovering any ordinary Seaman, who should secrete themselves, so as they might be taken for his Majesty's Service by any Sea-Officer employed for raising Men.

Our Ministry were the more vigorous in their Measures from certain Informations that the *French* were fitting out a formidable Armament at *Brest*, on Board of which were to be embarked 4000 Land Forces, destin'd for *America*.

Their Vigilance was no less conspicuous in preventing the *French* Fleet from being victualled with Beef and Pork from *Ireland*, where 6000 Barrels, ready to be shipped off, were seized, and an Embargo laid to prevent any from being exported; which was certainly a very prudent Measure, as it retarded the Expedition from *Brest*, and obliged their Victuallers to take the Provisions out of their Merchantmen for the Use of their Men of War.

Here it will be proper to take Notice of their Politic Management through the whole Course of this Affair. Ever since the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, Disputes had subsisted concerning the Limits and Boundaries of the *English* and *French* Territories in *North America*. In order to settle and adjust these Differences Commissaries had been appointed on the Part of *Great Britain* to meet at *Paris* and confer with the *French* Ministry, in order to examine the Pretensions on both Sides and settle Things in an amicable Manner. These Conferences were carried on, at Times, for upwards of two Years, and great Hopes were conceived of a happy Conclusion without coming to Blows. The *French*, however, were far from having any such Design. For at the very Time, and during this long Negotiation, they were constantly sending Supplies to *Canada*, to enable their People there to proceed in and make good their Encroachments upon the *British* Plantations, as they actually did. One Squadron of their Men of War was sent out under Pretence of chastizing the *Algerines*, but in a short Time slipt away for *America*; besides many single Ships that stole away imperceptibly for the same Quarter, full freighted with Provisions and Forces for the same laudable Purpose. Thus while they were amusing us with a Treaty, they were actually extending their Frontiers, and daily encroaching upon our *American* Settlements, and planning Schemes to drive us entirely from that Continent.

At length their Designs were so manifest, that a Man must be stark blind, or shut his Eyes against the plainest Evidence, who could not see through them. The Danger that threatened on all Sides, at last alarmed our Ministry, and put them upon the most vigorous Measures to repel it.

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The *French* perceiving, by our Preparations, that we were really in Earnest, ordered their Ambassador in *England*, to demand the Reason of the vast Armaments we were making, and for what Purpose they were intended? He was answered, that we might with equal Justice require an Eclaircissement of their Conduct for some Time past. The Ambassador represented, that our Proceedings tended to break the good Understanding that so happily subsisted between the two Courts, and would certainly prevent the good Effects of the Conferences at *Paris* for adjusting their Differences. The King answered, with a true *British* Spirit, *That they had amus'd us long enough, and that he would be trifled with no longer.* The Ambassador, in another Conference, declared, that our sending any Ships of Force into *America*, the King his Master would look upon as a Breach of the Peace. He was answered from the same Mouth, *So he might if he pleased.* Thus did the *French* put in Practice all their Arts, either to cajole us by fair and delusive Speeches into a stupid Supineness and Inactivity, or by their haughty and menacing Language to deter us from exerting ourselves in Defence of our *American* Settlements; and the Ambassador had the Mortification to be an Eye-witness to the noble Spirit that animated our Councils, and the Resolution of the Parliament to support his Majesty in maintaining the just Rights of his Crown and Kingdom against all Invaders. For,

March 25, his Majesty was pleased to send a Message to both Houses of Parliament, importing, That his Majesty finding it requisite, from the present Situation of Affairs, to augment his Forces by Sea and Land, and to take such other Measures as may best tend to preserve the general Peace of *Europe*, and to secure the just Rights and Possessions of his Crown in *America*, as well as to repel any Attempts whatever, which may be formed against his Majesty and his Kingdoms, doubts not but that his faithful Parliament will enable him to make such Augmentations as the Emergency of Affairs in this critical Conjunction may require.

Upon this Message both Houses presented very loyal Addresses, expressing their utmost Zeal and Affection to his Majesty's Royal Person, Family and Government, assuring his Majesty of their effectual Support and declaring their Resolution to repel every Attempt that may be made to de-

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prive him of the just Rights and Possessions of his Crown, or disturb the Tranquillity of his Kingdom.

The House of Commons, in Consequence of the above Message and Address, resolved that the Sum of one Million be granted to his Majesty upon Account, towards augmenting the Forces by Sea and Land, and taking such Measures for the Security of his Majesty's Dominions as may be necessary in the present Conjunction.

Now, whether it was not high Time for the Nation to take Alarm, may be judged from the formidable State of the French Navy at this Juncture: For about the latter End of *March*, it was computed that at *Brest* there were one of 80 Guns, four of 74, three of 70, six of 64, one of 60, one of 50, one of 46, four of 30, and one of 24. At *Toulon*, one of 80, five of 74, three of 64, two of 32, and one of 24 Guns. At *Rochefort*, one of 80, one of 74, three of 64, one of 50, and one of 32 Guns; with a large Number of Land Forces ready to embark on the first Notice; to which might be added those already sailed to *America*, which were not a few.

But however terrible this Fleet might appear in the Eyes of the *French*, it gave but little Uneasiness to the *English*, who, with Pleasure, saw ready to enter upon Action, riding at *Portsmouth*, *Plymouth*, *Chatham* and *Woolwich*, one of 100 Guns, five of 90, four of 74; fifteen of 70, one of 66, nine of 60, three of 50, one of 40, and four of 20 Guns. Besides Sloops, Yatchts, &c. Also, Ships under Orders for fitting, one of 100 Guns, one of 72, five of 70, one of 60, three of 50 Guns. To which may be added, those stationed in the *East* and *West-Indies*, *Africa* and *America*.

Provision was likewise made for an Augmentation of our Forces both by Sea and Land to the Amount of 35,000 Men, that is, 20,000 Sailors, 10,000 Marines, and 5,000 for Land Service.

Mean while, let us for a Moment leave our Officers fully employed in raising Recruits, and exercising and fitting them for Service, and see what is doing in *America*. The Men of War and Transports, with the Troops that lately sailed from *Ireland*, arrived safe at *Virginia*, in *April*. Soon after, all the Governors on the Continent, with General *Braddock* and Commodore *Keppel*, had a Meeting at *Annapolis*, when a Plan of Operations was concerted. They went afterwards to the Camp of *Alexandria*, and reviewed the

the Troops which amounted to about 6000 Men, who immediately after marched to *Wills's Creek*, where they were to wait farther Orders. 26 French Deserters came lately to the Camp, but being allowed too much Liberty, six of them went off again, but were pursued and taken; and an exact Plan of our new Fort and its present Situation, was found in one of their Pockets, upon which he was hung upon the next Tree.

Boston, March 26, Sir *William Pepperel's* and *Shirley's* Regiment of 2000 Men, collected from the neighbouring Governments, are almost completed. This Province has raised 2000 Men more for the Security of *Nova Scotia*, who will be ready to depart about the Middle of *April*. We are also assembling 1200 more; *New Hampshire* 500, *Rhode Island* 400, *Connecticut* 1000: These, with others to be raised at *New-York*, the Southern Colonies, and a good Number of the *Mobaw Indians*; under the Command of Col. *Johnson*, it is said, are intended to attack *Crown-Point*; but as the Plan of Operation was not then published, this was only Conjecture. By this is seen what a Spirit prevails in the four Colonies in *New-England*, to oppose the Designs of the *French*.

By an Act passed the last Sessions of Assembly, the Inhabitants of this Province are forbid holding any Correspondence with the People of *Louisburgh* for four Months, commencing from the 18th of *March* last; and the Master of any Vessel trading thereto in that Time, to have one of his Ears cut off, be publickly whipped 39 Lashes, and rendered incapable of holding any Place of Honour or Profit in this Government; his Vessel and Cargo to be forfeited, and the Owner or Owners to forfeit 500*l*, and be disabled from holding any Place, &c. in the Government.

In *New York* they are wholly employed in repairing Fortifications and raising Men; they are so sure of a War as to begin to build Privateers.

Maryland, April 26. By Measures concerted in the General Council, held last Week at *Annapolis*, in Presence of Gen. *Braddock*, 9 or 10,000 Men are to be employed, 2500 of which, under the General, are on their March towards *Monongebela* River, at the Confluence of which with the *Ohio* stands Fort *Du Quesne*. — *Jersey* will raise 500 Men; *New-York* 800; *Connecticut* 1000; which are to be transported to *Albany* in their Way to *Crown-Point*.

Crown-Point.—*Shirley's* and *Pepperel's* Regiments, with 500 from *Rhode-Island*, and as many from *Hampshire*, and a Part of *Massachuset's* People, are to join them; the rest to proceed to the Falls of *Niagara*, and reduce the *French* Forts there.

New - Jersey. The Assembly has passed an Act to prohibit the Exportation of Provisions, naval or war-like Stores, from that Colony to *Cape Breton*, or to any other the Dominions of the *French* King. Likewise an Act for making Provision for the Subsistence of his Majesty's Forces during their March through this Colony, and for providing Carriages for transporting their Baggage.

Georgia. The Militia of this Province is ordered by the General Assembly to be regulated for the better Security and Defence of the same.

Having taken this View of the Proceedings of the General in Concert with the Governors of the several Colonies in *America* to drive the *French* from their Encroachments on our Territories there, let us once more return to *England*, to behold and admire the noble Spirit that reigns through every Class and whole Body of the People, from the Council-Table to the Plough-tail, in Resentment of the perfidious Dealings of the *French* in regard to this Nation. In vain therefore did the Duke de *Mirepoix*, the *French* Minister, labour with all his Might to bring the *British* Ministry into a more favourable Disposition; he often conferred with them, but found (as he wrote in his Dispatches to his Master,) that he could not come to any definitive Accommodation, because his *Britannic* Majesty was not disposed to relinquish any of his Possessions in *America*.

Mean while such was the Dispatch made in every Part of the Marine, that by the Middle of *April*, we had a noble Fleet riding at *Spithead*, well manned, and ready to put to Sea at an Hour's Warning. Nor did they stay there long; for on the 19th sailed from thence *Edward Boscawen*, Esq; Vice-Admiral, with the Blue Flag at the Fore-top-mast-Head, on Board the *Torbay*; and Rear-Admiral *Moslyn*, with his Blue Flag at the Mizen-top-mast-Head of the *Monarch*, with ten Men of War, compleatly manned, leaving fifteen stout Ships behind them. They sailed directly for *Plymouth* the 27th; but such a strict Secresy was observed, that not a Syllable of their Destination transpired.

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Immediately after their Departure all Hands were incessantly at Work in equipping another Fleet, and a noble Armament soon appeared again at *Spithead*; and Rear-Admiral *West's* Red Flag was hoisted at the Mizzen-top on Board the *Buckingham*.

APRIL, 26, the *Brest* Fleet put to Sea, but by contrary Winds were three Times driven back into that Harbour. However, May 5, they set Sail again and got clear. The *British* Fleet was about five Days a-head of them. When the *French* Fleet were got to a certain Latitude, *Macnamara* the Commandant, returned to *Brest* with nine Ships, leaving the rest, consisting of 16 Sail, with about 6000 Land-Forces on Board, to continue their Course for *America*; and it was given out that a new Fleet of 30 Sail would shortly be assembled.

Soon after the Departure of the *French* Fleet from *Brest*, another Squadron of Ships of the Line, was got ready and put under the Command of Admiral *Holborne*, who likewise took his Route for *America*, in order to join the Fleet of *Boscawen* and *Moslyn*.

After these were gone, the Lords of the Admiralty being informed that the *French* were preparing another Fleet at *Brest*, immediately commissioned a large Number of first, second, and third Rates, which, in a very little Time were full manned, and ready for any Expedition. Their Rendezvous was at *Spithead*, where they soon appeared, and afforded the most agreeable Spectacle to every Well-wisher to the Honour of his Country; Five and twenty or thirty Ships of the Line, all rang'd in beautiful Order, rigged and manned to the full Complement, was a Sight that drew vast Crowds of People daily to behold it. Even the greatest Personages of the Land were prompted by their Curiosity to be Spectators of so glorious a Shew. The Duke of *Cumberland* did not think it beneath his Dignity to gratify his Inclination of seeing so magnificent a Scene of *English* Glory. Accompanied by the Lord *Anson*, and many other Noblemen, he came to *Portsmouth*, where he was received with all possible Demonstrations of Joy, Duty and Affection. The next Day he visited the Fleet; and perhaps the Water-Procession was the grandest that was ever known; the Admirals and Captains, to the Number of thirty, in their Barges, the Crews in white Shirts and Caps; Captain *Harrison*, the oldest Commander, leading

the Van, followed by Rear-Admiral *West*, Sir *Edward Hawk*, Lord *Anson*, his Royal Highness, and then Lord *Duncannon*; the Hon. *Charles Townsend*, and Secretary *Cleveland* in separate Barges and proper Flags. Every Yard, even the Top-gallant-Yard, was as full of Men (standing upright) as they could stow: Three Cheers from every Ship as the Duke came a-breast of her; Drums beating a March, and every Officer in Uniform, ranged along the Gunnels, made a delightful Appearance. His Royal Highness dined on Board the *Prince*, on which the Standard Royal was displayed; upon the Appearance of which, every Ship discharged 21 Guns; the Salute due to his Royal Highness on his coming on Board; and 24 Guns when he passed to the Shore.

Having thus given a general View of the Preparations made in *England* to bring our Enemies to Reason and chastize their Insolence, it may not be amiss to enquire what Reception our Forces were like to meet with on their Arrival in *America* to begin their Operations. Of this we may conceive some Idea from the following Letter from *Louisburgh* in *Cape Breton* to an Officer in *France*, dated *May 26*.

“ A Sloop with a Party of 150 Soldiers, and six Pieces of Artillery, sailed out of this Port a few Days ago, for *Fundy-Bay*; they are to disembark in the River of *St. John*, our Governor having received Advice that the *English* are preparing to deprive us of the Hold we have got in that Part of *Acadia*. A second Sloop is preparing to follow, which is to disembark on the Southward Side of that Bay, in order to assist the *French* Settlers there, in Conjunction with the *Cape Sable Indians*, to repel whatever Attempts may be made to drive us from that Corner of *Nova-Scotia*. We are every Day expecting the Transports from *Europe*, which are to disembark here 1000 Men. *English* Sloops are perpetually plying within Sight of our Harbour, there being no less than three which have been constantly cruising about the Banks for some Weeks past. On this Occasion our Governor dispatched a Frigate to acquaint them, they were to keep their Distance, or he should be necessitated to take such Measures as should oblige them to it. This Menace, however, seems to have had little Effect; so that at present all that passes in or out is known to the *English*, who, we learn, are on the Point of embarking from

from *New-England* on an Expedition which may possibly prove less successful than that a few Years since against this Place, as we are on all Hands well prepared for their Reception."

About the Beginning of *June*, the Admirals *Boscawen* and *Mostyn*, with their Fleet arrived in the *American Seas*; and on the 10th of the same Month, some of their Ships fell in with three of the *French Squadron* which had been separated from the main Body; between whom happened a Rencounter; of which the following Account was published by the *London Gazette*.

By Letters received by the *Gibraltar Man of War*, from Vice-Admiral *Boscawen*, dated off *Louisbourg*, the 22d of *June*, 1755, there is an Account, that on the 10th of that Month, the *Alcide*, a *French Man of War* of 64 Guns and 480 Men, commanded by M. *Hogart*; and the *Lys*, commanded by M. *Lageril*, pierced for 64 Guns, but mounted only 22, and having eight Companies of Land Forces on Board, being separated from the *French Squadron*, commanded by M. *Bois de la Mothe*, fell in with the *English Fleet* off the Banks of *Newfoundland*, and that a Skirmish happened between the said *French Men of War* and his Majesty's Ships the *Dunkirk* and *Defiance*, in which the *Alcide* and *Lys* were taken. The *French Ship* the *Dauphin Royal*, which had been in Company with the two above-mentioned, disappeared in the Fog.

Rear-Admiral *Holborne*, with the Squadron under his Command, joined Admiral *Boscawen* on the 21st, the Day before the Departure of the *Gibraltar* for *England*.

By Accounts given in private Letters of this Action we learn, that the two *French Men of War*, taken as above, were sent to *Halifax* in *Nova-Scotia*; and that had it not been for the Fog, they had been in with the whole *French Fleet*: That Capt. *How*, in the *Dunkirk*, coming up close with the *Alcide*, ordered her to strike, and come into the *Admiral's Fleet*. The Captain of her asked, if it was Peace or War; but not receiving a satisfactory Answer, he repeated the Question, adding, that he should obey no Orders but those of his own Admiral. Upon which Capt. *How*, observing a great Number of Land Officers, generously bid them to withdraw, as it was not their Duty to defend the Ship; which they had no sooner done, but he pour'd in a Broad-side, and being Yard-arm and Yard-

arm, and his Guns double-shotted, did terrible Execution ; and so hot was the Fire, that the *French Officers* found it impossible to keep their Men to their Quarters ; so that in about three Quarters of an Hour she struck. There were about 50 Men killed in the *Alcide*, and about double the Number wounded. In the *Dunkirk* seven were killed, and about 15 or 16 wounded. The *Lys* was taken by the *Defiance* and *Fogoux*, and in both Ships 600 Soldiers with their Officers, and 50,000 Crowns in Money.

This was a happy Prelude (we hope) to farther Successes. And indeed it was not long before the same good Fortune attended our Arms on Land ; as will appear from the following Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant Governor *Lawrence*, to Sir *Thomas Robinson*, dated *Halifax*, June the 28th 1755.

I have the Honour to acquaint you, that the *French Fort* at *Beaufejour* surrendered to Lieut. Col. *Monckton* the 16th Instant, and the next Day a small Fort upon the River *Gaspereau*, running into the Bay *Verte*, where the *French* had their principal Magazine for supplying the *French* Inhabitants and *Indians*. In these Forts was found a great Quantity of Provisions and Stores of all Kinds, of which Col. *Monckton* has not yet had Time to transmit me a particular Account. I inclose you the Terms of Capitulation. Notwithstanding the Fort at *Beaufejour* had 26 Pieces of Cannon mounted, they surrendered, after four Days Bombardment, before we had mounted a single Cannon upon our Batteries. Our Loss upon this Occasion, is very inconsiderable, not above 20 killed, and as many wounded. Major *Preble* of the Irregulars is slightly wounded ; Ensign *Tongue*, of Major Gen. *Warburton's* Regiment, acting as Sub-Engineer, received a Shot in his Thigh, as he was taking a Survey of the Ground for Trenches and Batteries to be raised against the Fort ; and Ensign *Hay*, of Col. *Hopson's*, who had been taken Prisoner by the *Indians*, in going alone from our Fort to the Camp, was killed by one of our Shells in the *French* Fort, which fell through a Sort of Casemate, and also killed three *French* Officers, and wounded two more.

At Col. *Monckton's* first Arrival, the *French* had a large Number of Inhabitants and *Indians*, 450 of which were posted at a Block-house, which they had on their Side of the River *Messaguash*, to defend the Pass of that River.

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Here they had thrown up a strong Breast-work of Timber for covering their Men, and had Cannon mounted on the Block-house. At this they made a Stand for about an Hour, but were forced by our Troops with some Loss, leaving their Block-house, and the Pass of the River clear for our People, who marched, without farther Interruption, to the Ground intended for their Encampment. As we had not Men enough to invest the Fort entirely, several got away; and when the Fort surrendered, there remained 150 Regulars, and about 300 Inhabitants, several of whom, with their Officers, were wounded. We don't yet exactly know the Numbers that were killed in the Fort, but we believe their Loss has not been trifling, as several lay half buried upon the Parade. Col. *Monckton* has now named the Fort, and called it *Fort-Cumberland*. He gives the Troops under his Command great Praise for their good Behaviour, and the Spirit and Resolution with which they acted upon this Occasion.

Col. *Monckton* is proceeding to the Fort at *St. John's* River, which I flatter myself will give him very little Trouble, as their main Strength, which was *Beaufejour*, is gone. He has likewise my Orders to leave a Garrison in that Fort, as it is an infinitely better one than ours, as well for Situation as Strength. The deserted *French* Inhabitants are delivering up their Arms. I have given him Orders to drive them out of the Country at all Events; though if he wants their Assistance in putting the Troops under Cover (as the Barracks in the *French* Fort were demolished) he may first make them do all the Service in their Power. Our Possession of the Isthmus, it is hoped, will bring over the *Mickmack* Indians to our Interest.

I cannot close my Letter to you, Sir, without taking Notice how much I am obliged to Lieut. Col. *Monckton's* Military Skill and good Conduct, for our Success at *Beaufejour*; Capt. *Rous*, who commanded the naval Part of this Expedition, has been of the greatest Service to it; and have Reason to believe our succeeding so soon and with so little Loss, is much owing to the Management of Mr. *Brewse*, who acted there as chief Engineer.

PROPOSALS for the Capitulation of *Beaufejour*.

THE Commander, Officers, Staff-Officers, employed for the King and Garrison of *Beaufejour*, shall march

march out with Arms and Baggage, by Beat of Drum, with lighted Matches.

The Commander shall have at the Head of the Garrison six Pieces of the largest Cannon, one Mortar, and fifty Charges of Powder for every Piece.

They shall be provided with the necessary Carriages to carry them to Bay Verte, from whence the Garrison shall embark in their Vessels to go where they shall think proper.

The Garrison shall carry with them 200 Quarters of Flour, and 100 Quarters of Bacon.

The Garrison shall be allowed the necessary Time to go from this Port to Bay Verte, and from Bay Verte to their Destination.

The *Acadians* shall not be molested on Account of their having taken Arms; and in as much as they were forced to do it on Pain of Death, no Harm shall be done to them.

The *Acadians* shall be permitted to continue in their Religion, they shall be allowed Priests, and no Violence committed against them.

Such of the *Acadians* as are so disposed may withdraw to the Territories of the *French King* with their moveable Effects, and have the Liberty so to do during the Space of one Year, to commence from the Day of the present Capitulation, and the *French* shall be allowed to furnish the *Acadians* with the necessary Ships for that Purpose in the Course of the Year.

With regard to such Articles of this Capitulation as may be expressed in an obscure Manner, they shall be interpreted to the Advantage of the *French*, and executed *Bona Fide*.

Terms of Capitulation granted to the Commander and Garrison of Beaufejour.

THE Commander, Officers, Staff-Officers and others, employed for the King and Garrison of *Beaufejour*, shall march out with their Arms and Baggage, Drums beating.

The Garrison shall be sent directly by Sea to *Louisburgh*, at the Expence of the King of *Great Britain*.

The

The Garrison shall be provided with sufficient Provisions for their Passage to *Louisburgh*.

With regard to the *Acadians*, as they have been forced to take up Arms on Pain of Death; they shall be pardoned for the Part they have been taking.

Lastly, the Garrison shall not bear Arms in *America* for the Space of six Months.

The Terms above-mentioned are granted upon Condition that the Garrison shall be delivered up to the Troops of the King of *Great Britain*, at seven o'Clock 'this Afternoon.

June 16, 1755.

THE following Particulars relating to this Expedition, were transmitted to *England* by an Officer in the Army: That the Troops sent from *Boston* landed at *Annapolis* in *Nova-Scotia*, *May 29*, where being joined by all the Regulars of that Garrison, making in the whole 2450 Men, they marched, *June 4*, and arrived at the Carrying-place, where was a Log-house and a Detachment of *French* Troops, who fired upon them, which was returned, and they driven from their Fort, which they set Fire to, as they did to all the Houses, Barns, &c. they met with in their Retreat, to the Number of about 60, to prevent our receiving any Benefit by them. Our Troops traversed the Ground on their Side, without being fired at; their People being employed in strengthening their Fort by a Glacis and covered Way, as expecting an Assault, Sword in Hand, and that we should storm the Garrison, as they did not apprehend we had any Artillery, except Field-Pieces and some Cohorns. After the Surrender of the Place, we found 24 Cannon, the largest 12 Pounders, one 10 Inch Mortar, plenty of Ammunition, and Provisions enough to have held out a long Siege. The Forts of *Bay Verte* and *Gasperau* also surrendered, and Col. *Winslow* took Possession of them.

Thus have the *French*, in the Space of four or five Days, lost the only Place of Strength they held in *Nova-Scotia*, and to which their *Indians* always retired for Safety and to divide their Plunder, when they had been out upon any murdering and mischievous Expeditions against the *English* Inhabitants or their Allies among the *Indians*. But the Importance of the Service done this Colony by the Reduction
of

of the Garrison of *Beaufejour*, will more evidently appear from the following Address from the Town of *Halifax* in *Nova-Scotia*—To his Excellency *Charles Lawrence*, Esq; Lieut. Governor and Commander in Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of *Nova-Scotia*, &c.

May it please your Excellency,

WE the Merchants, Traders, and other Inhabitants of the Town of *Halifax*, humbly beg Leave to offer our Compliments of Congratulation on the late happy Success of his Majesty's Arms in the Reduction of the *French* Forts at *Chignecto*, which (under God) is entirely owing to the wise and prudent Measures taken by the original planning of this Expedition; the Countenance and Assistance of his Excellency Governor *Shirley*; and the Vigilance, Activity, and Military Accomplishments of the Hon. Col. *Monckton*; and the Bravery and Spirit of the Troops, who generously engaged themselves in that Affair from a just Resentment of the Encroachments made by the *French* on his Majesty's Territories in these Parts.

From this happy Beginning we have the greatest Hopes of the Success of any other Enterprize you may have concerted for obtaining that Peace and Tranquility to us, and the rest of his Majesty's loyal Subjects in this Province, of which we have been long deprived by the Machinations of our envious Neighbours, and their barbarous and blood-thirsty Emissaries, who, by their cruel and unnatural Proceedings after the late general Peace, seem to have shaken off and trampled under Foot all Regard to Laws human and divine.

That all the wicked and pernicious Designs plotted for depriving his Majesty of his just Rights, and his good Subjects of their Lives and Properties, may meet with Disappointments and that your Excellency (whose indefatigable Vigilance and Zeal for his Majesty's Service and the Good of the Public, has so greatly manifested itself upon all Occasions) may long remain at the Helm of this Government, to over-awe our open as well as concealed Enemies, and to render this a happy and flourishing Province, will, we doubt not, be the sincere Wishes of all who have the *British* Interest really at Heart, and who have the Honour

to know your Excellency's Merit; as they are most unfeignedly those of, &c.

To which his Excellency was pleased to make the following Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

YOUR Congratulation upon the Success of his Majesty's Arms, in the Reduction of the *French* Encroachments upon the Isthmus of *Chignecto*, gives me the most sensible Pleasure, both as it is a fresh Mark of your Zeal for the public Welfare, and a Testimony of your Regard for me.

I sincerely hope you will receive every Advantage that can be expected from the Absence of a troublesome and treacherous Neighbour, and that, now so great an Obstacle is removed, the Cultivation, the Fishery, and the Increase of Trade, will soon render you a happy and flourishing People.

Before we leave *America*, I shall just mention two or three Things which deserve our Notice. The first is, a Proclamation issued by the Governor of *Pensilvania* for a Fast, to deprecate the Displeasure of the Almighty which their Sins had justly deserved, and to implore his Mercy.

The next is, a Proclamation issued by *William Shirley*, Esq; Governor of *Massachusetts-Bay* in *New-England*; the Purport of which is, to encourage those who shall form themselves into Societies to penetrate into the *Indian* Country, in order to captivate and kill such of said *Indians* as have been declared Enemies, Rebels and Traytors to his Majesty. The Encouragement promised is, to every Company, of not less than thirty Men, for every Captive 220*l.* and for every Scalp 200*l.* provided such Company have performed a March of at least thirty Days. Likewise to every Inhabitant that shall take a Captive, or kill an *Indian* Enemy, and produce such Captive or Scalp at *Boston*, shall be paid, as a Reward, for every Captive 110*l.* and for every Scalp 100*l.*

Having thus carried the Reader through a Multiplicity of Occurrences and Events that have happened on the Continent

ment of *America* during the Course of the last seven Years; seen the *French* destroying the Inhabitants and extending their Encroachments upon our Colonies there, and at length the *British* Spirit reviving, and the Tables turned upon our Enemies, who seem now in a fair Way of paying dear for their Insolence, let us return again to *England*.

On the Arrival of the Express which brought the Advice of the taking of the two *French* Men of War by our Fleet, the Lords of the Regency held a Grand Council; at the breaking up of which a noble Duke waited on the *French* Ambassador *Mirepoix*, to acquaint him that he must depart the Kingdom in a very few Days; and on *Tuesday*, *July* 22, between twelve and one in the Morning he set out for *France*. A Day or two before his Departure, he waited on the first Lord of the Admiralty, and declared to him, that Admiral *Boscawen's* Proceedings ought to be deemed Acts of Piracy, and the *French* Officers would be justified by the Law of Nations, if they were to hang the Persons guilty of them at the Yard-Arm. To which he was answered with a Smile, *That they might consider of that when they had taken them.*

We will just take a Step to *Portsmouth*, and, with what we find there, conclude our Account.

We had, as before observed, a noble Fleet still riding at *Spithcad*, commanded by the two Admirals *Hawke* and *West*, who sailed, *July* 21, with seventeen of the Line, all stout Ships; but for what particular Service destin'd, is, at present, a profound Secret, and so I suppose will remain, till it is divulged by the Mouths of their Cannon.

We can't dispense with ourselves from making one Observation more, which is, That as soon as the *French* Court heard that two of their Ships were taken by Admiral *Boscawen's* Fleet, they caused it to be inserted in their News, That the King immediately sent an Order to his Ambassadors at *London* and *Hanover*, to come away without taking Leave. And in the next Paragraph say, That the Reports which were spread of a speedy Rupture between *England* and *France* begin to drop, since we are told that the King had received a Letter from Sir *Thomas Robinson* that the Lords Regents disapprove the Conduct of Admiral *Boscawen*, who commanded the Squadron that attacked ours. This News hath

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hath made all the Merchants, and the *English* who are in this Capital (*Paris*) quite easy.

But if the *French* King had received such a Letter, what Reason could he have for ordering his Ministers to return without taking Leave? Or why did the *British* Court require the *French* Ambassador to depart on so short a Notice? Or if the Merchants were made so easy, how came their Stocks to fall so prodigiously as they did at that very Instant? But such are the Methods the *French* Ministers already take to support the Spirits of the People!

Since the above was wrote, with which I thought to have finished this Treatise, I have read the following Extract of a Letter from *Boston*, in *New England*, dated *June 2*, to a Gentleman in *London*; which as it affords a fresh Discovery of the Temper our Countrymen in that Part of the Globe are now in, and of what we may expect from them if properly assisted, I think it's not amiss to insert it here.

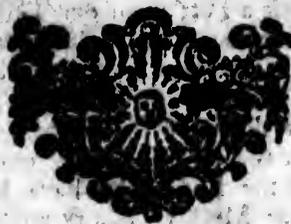
“ Major *Littlehales* arrived here from *Virginia*, about the Time I received your Letters, he is well, and is soon to march to a Place called *Niagara*, upon the Back of the Country, where some other Forces are to join them to prevent any Communication between *Canada* and the *Ohio*, where General *Braddock* is going to reduce a Fort which the *French* have built. Two *New England* Regiments have lately embarked for *Nova Scotia*, and several others are marching to *Crown Point* upon the Back of us, where the *French* have built a Fort upon our Territories; so that unless Matters are accommodated between *England* and *France*, you see, *America* is like to be the Seat of War.

WE in *America* do not desire to hear of an Accommodation between the two Crowns, unless the *French* would vacate all the Forts they have built upon our Territories. If our Mother Country will give the Assistance we expect, and what her own Interest should excite her to do, we doubt not but we shall soon humble the *French* here. The Trade to *America* is the most valuable Branch the *English* have, and I believe more profitable than all the rest; so that Interest as well as Affection will engage you to support us. The Quantity of *English* Manufactures

THE GALLIEN DIES: Or,

manufactures consumed here is almost incredible. The Produce of all the Ships we build, Lumber, Fish, Oil, &c. center in *England* to pay for them, and the Demand for them must increase as the *Country* does: For while Land is easy to be had, as it will here for Ages to come, unless the *French* take it from us, there will be no Manufacture of any Account; Men will apply themselves to Husbandry as the most natural and independent Life.

F I N I S.



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