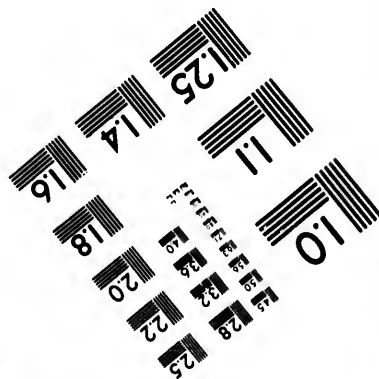
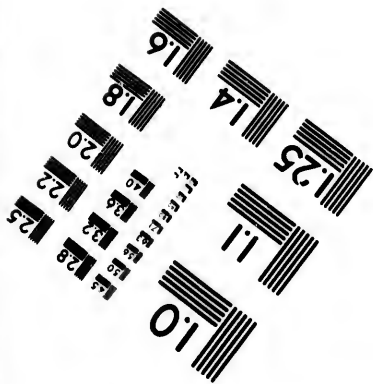
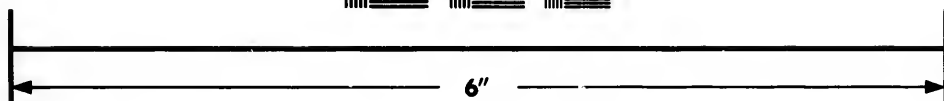
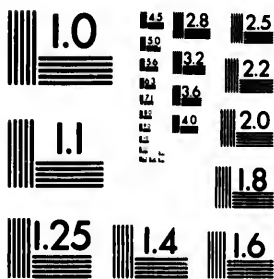


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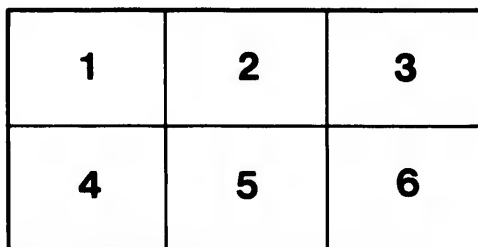
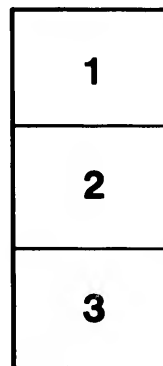
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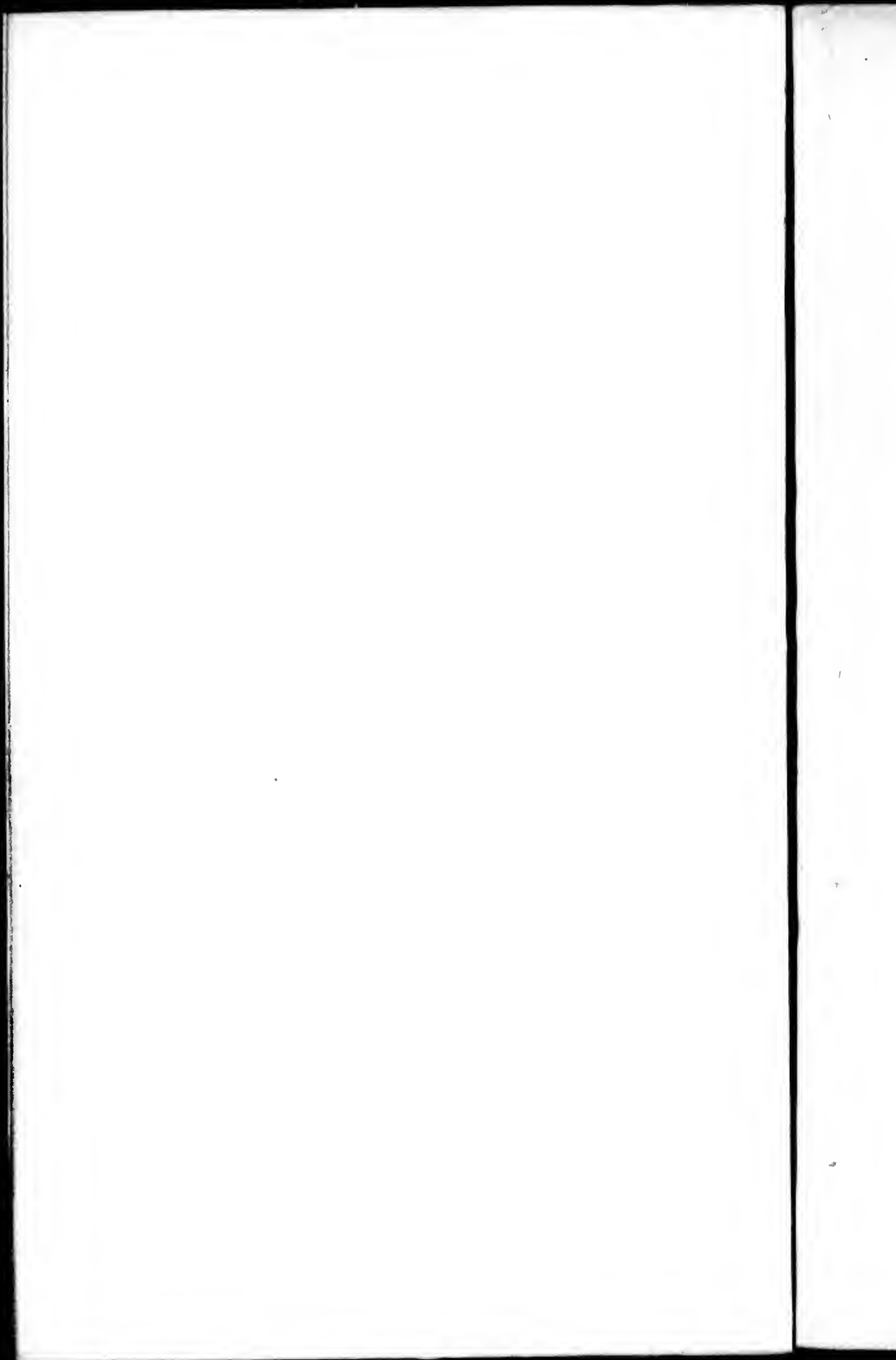
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T O
F O R T F R O N T E N A C .

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

A few Reflections on the Conduct of that
Enterprize, and the Advantages resulting
from its Success.

By a VOLUNTEER on the Expedition.

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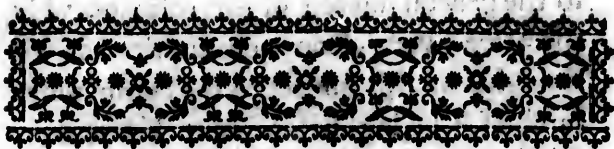
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A N

Impartial Account, &c.

EARLY in the spring of the year
E 1758, when the plan of opera-
rations for the then ensuing cam-
paign, was the subject of deliberation in
our military councils; Lieutenant Col.
Bradstreet, from a knowledge of the
strength and situation of the enemy's fort
at Cadaraqui, and their usual military oe-
conomy, judg'd an attempt upon Fort
Frontenac (whilst the whole force of Ca-
nada was employ'd in opposing our incur-
sion into their country on the side of
Lake George) to be attended with the ut-
most probability of success. The reduc-
tion of which, in its consequences, would
undoubtedly be of the highest importance

B

to

to the general interest of the colonies. He therefore very soon communicated his thoughts on this subject to the commander in chief,* laying before him his reasons for the practicability of the undertaking. Many objections were started, and many difficulties rais'd against it, as an unfeasible plan. However, the deceas'd Lord Howe, who excell'd in penetration and judgment, highly approv'd of the scheme ; remov'd every objection, and obtained the assent of the general, to its being carried into execution, as soon as our army had made an establishment on the north side of Lake George : at the same time General Abercrombie was prevailed upon to have a fort built on the Oneida Carrying Place ; a disposition was made accordingly, and a number of batteaus built and prepared at Schenectady.

Our army having assembled at Lake George, and made an unsuccessful attempt on the enemy's post at Ticonderoga, re-

* Major General Abercrombie.

turn'd

turn'd to Fort William-Henry on the ninth of July.

Col. Bradstreet continuing immovably fix'd in his former opinion, of the practicability of reducing Cadaraqui, destroying the enemy's shipping, and depriving them of the dominion of the lakes; now renewed his applications for the necessary troops, artillery, &c. to prosecute the plan before concluded at Albany. From the ruling gentlemen in power, he was again oppos'd, and depriv'd of the aids of my Lord Howe, (who, unfortunate for these colonies, fell in the skirmish on the sixth of July) he was in the greatest dilemma, lest the influence of his opponents might occasion a rejection of his plan; he however desired a council of war, before whom he laid open his scheme, subjoining the strongest reasonings on the probability of success. Many after the warmest opposition, reluctantly approv'd, and finally, by a majority it was carried in the affirmative, and a report drawn up in favour of the scheme.

On the 13th of July, the general gave orders, that the New York regiment; the New Jersey regiment; the Rhode Island regiment; Col. Dotey's regiment of Massachusetts-Bay Troops, and a detachment from the train of artillery should repair to Schenectady, there to observe such orders and directions, as they should receive from the commanding officer at that post.

The New York regiment left Fort William-Henry on the 14th of July, and was followed in regular succession, by the other Troops on the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th Instant. And on the 24th Instant, the whole assembled at Schenectady.

A few days preceding our arrival at Schenectady, Major Arbuthnot, of Col. Williams's regiment, of Boston Troops, who were posted here, had been order'd with a command of 300 men to Fort Harkemer, to join the troops at that post, under the command of Lieutenant Col. Clinton, of the New York regiment, who
was

was order'd to march with two companies of the said regiment, two independant companies, the company of rangers, and the reinforcement of Col. Williams's regiment, to the Oneida Carrying Place, and to take possession of that post, which he accordingly did, and on his arrival immediately repaired the ruins of Fort Craven.†

On the 25th of July, Brigadier Gen. Stanwix ordered; “ That Lieutenant
 “ Mills, of the independants, march with
 “ the regulars under his command, by
 “ break of day on the 26th. And that
 “ Col. Williams, with the remainder of
 “ his regiment, proceed at the same time,
 “ for the Oneida Carrying Place. That
 “ the Rhode Island and Jersey regiments,
 “ march at the dawn of day on the
 “ 27th. The New York regiment on

† This fort, which was built of logs, was set on fire and abandoned by Major General Webb, on the loss of Oswego in August 1756.

“ the

“ the 28th: And Col. Doughtey’s regi-
 “ ment with the train, on the 29th
 “ Batteaus were furnished the different
 “ corps by the quarter master, and loaded
 “ with provisions, each carrying fourteen
 “ barrels.”

On the 10th of August, the rear of the army arrived at the great Carrying Place, where they encamp’d. The waggons which had been brought from the settlements on the Mohocks river, were immediately employ’d in transporting batteaus, whale boats, provisions, &c. from the landing at Fort Craven, to Fort Newport, where a guard was ordered for their security.

On the 11th of August, General Stanwix issued the following order at Fort Craven on the Oneida Carrying Place:

“ That the several corps hereafter men-
 “ tioned, furnish of able bodied men and
 “ officers in their proper proportion, and
 “ of

“ of such as are most accustomed to water.

“ As follows :

Regulars	—	155
Rangers	—	60
New Yorkers	—	1112
Williams's	—	432
Doughtey's	—	248
Rhode Islanders	—	318
Jersey's	— —	412
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“ The whole to be under the command
 “ of Col. Bradstreet, and to be ready
 “ with every thing compleat, and six days
 “ provifion, to-morrow evening:

To these troops may be added, two hundred and feventy batteau men, and forty two Indians; of the latter, there were affembled at the Oneida ftation, about one hundred and fifty fighting men from the different nations; with these Col. Bradstreet had a conference, in which he inform'd them of his defign, and invited them

them to a participation of the honor and booty which must attend the conquest he expected to make ; his solicitations were without effect on the majority, who by every discouraging argument, earnestly dissuaded him from the prosecution of his intended enterprize. In this savage congregation, Col. Bradstreet found his friend Red Head, an Onondaga chief : a man of high reputation and distinguished abilities (among the Indians) both in the cabinet and the field ; a great warrior in the universal estimation of the five nations. This chief had been formerly in the enemy's interest, but taking a disgust at some treatment received from the commanding officer at La Galette, in the year 1755, he came to Oswego, where finding Col. then Capt. Bradstreet, he made a tender of his services to him ; being courteously received and caress'd by Mr. Bradstreet ; at whose instance, Mr. Shirley made him several considerable presents, he became remarkably attach'd to our interest, and as inveterate against the enemy ; from him Col. Bradstreet received the most accurate intelligence relative to the state of Fort Frontenac,

Frontenac, and the condition of the shipping; notwithstanding the aversion which numbers had declared against Col. Bradstreet's proceeding, Red Head appeared a public advocate for the execution of the meditated scheme; and by a pathetic and animating harangue, influenced a party from each nation, to grasp the hatchet, and join Col. Bradstreet's army: neither his eloquence, nor his personal influence, both which he exerted on this occasion, could, however, prevail on more than forty two heartily to join in the cause; many others declared their readiness, but afterwards, on various pretences, privately withdrew to their respective castles: they were conscious of their engagements to the enemy, and sensible of the universal disgust, their avowing and publickly joining our forces, in an attempt to deprive the French of this post, would give the Indian nations in their alliance, who entirely depended on the magazines of Cadaraqui, for their subsistence; for these reasons, they artfully evaded being accessary to the reduction of Fort Frontenac, under the specious pretext, of the impracticability of succeeding. A

glaring proof this, of their general disaffection to our interest!

In pursuance of the general's orders, detachments were made, and the different corps review'd by Col. Bradstreet, and on the 12th, in the afternoon, Capt. Ogilvie, with the regulars, march'd to fort Newport at the head of Wood Creek, about a mile from Fort Craven, and on the 13th, he advanced to Fort Eagle, commonly call'd Bull's Fort, about three miles farther. As there was not a sufficient quantity of provisions carried to Fort Newport, to load all the batteaus; the detachment of Provincial troops, did not move from their encampment, until the 14th, in the morning, when the whole march'd to that post and loaded their batteaus, and six companies of the New York regiment proceeded to Bull's Fort, the remainder of the troops continued at Fort Newport.

This fort, is only the ruined remains of a square pallisadoe enclosure, situate at the source of Wood Creek, built in 1756,
by

by direction of Col. Bradstreet, to cover the provisions that were brought there, in order to be transported to Oswego ; till that time, the portage from the landing at Fort Craven, had always been about three miles farther, that is, to Bull's Fort. The intermediate part of Wood Creek, between Fort Newport and Bull's Fort, never having been explored, nor esteemed navigable ; indeed in its natural state, it can only with propriety be call'd a brook or rivulet, as it has not sufficient depth of water to float even an empty batteau ; but the grounds, from whence it is supplied, being low and marshy, abounding with springs, and surrounded with small eminences ; a dam was thrown across, by which a body of water is collected ; the boats being put into the creek and loaded, are kept in readiness, and whenever a sufficient quantity of water is gather'd, the sluice is open'd, which conveys them to the next dam. Thus whenever the pond at the head has emptied itself, and that water is again discharged through the different dams below it, the boats are obliged to lay still, until they can be again floated,

by a new collection of water, at the head of the first dam. The want of water in Wood creek, detained our boats all night, between Fort Newport and Bull's Fort; but a plentiful rain falling towards day, on the 15th they were brought down to us. In the afternoon, many proceeded, and with the regulars, mov'd on, to where Canada Creek discharges itself into Wood Creek, about four miles beyond Bull's Fort.

This fort, which is commonly distinguish'd by the name of Bull's Fort, is, however, properly Fort Eagle. The portage, as I have before observed, till the year 1756, extended to this post. In 1755, Mr. Shirley order'd a small pallisadoe work to be thrown up, for the cover of the provisions, &c. which were brought hither, to be transported to Oswego; Lieutenant Bull, with a party of his majesty's troops, was posted at this station. This unfortunate gentleman, who gave Name to this fort, was surpris'd by a party of about 500 French and Indians, who inhumanely massacred both himself, and

and his little garison, and burnt the fort.

In the succeeding year, Colonel Bradstreet caused another pallisadoe fort to be erected, which he call'd Fort Eagle. It is scituate on the banks of the Wood Creek, its form, a regular square, with four bastions; each exteriour side, about sixty yards in length; it was surrounded by a wide ditch, communicating with the creek; a cross which, a very fine strong dam was made, by which means, the ditch, surrounding the fort, was kept full of water; for a work of its kind, 'tis the best constructed of any in our possession: On the surrender of Oswego to the enemy, this, together with all our other posts, beyond the German Flats, was demolished by order of the Earl of London.

On the 16th, in the morning, the troops from Fort Newport, join'd those at Fort Eagle, from whence, the whole march'd to Canada Creek, where they embark'd on board

board their respective batteaus, eighteen men in each. The whale-boats were mann'd by the batteau men, and detachments from the different corps of Provincials; they proceeded in front, the regulars next, and the provincials followed, in the order in which they were loaded. In this manner we advanced to the Spack Bergh, about four miles from Canada Creek; which with the greatest difficulty we reach'd by sun-set, meeting with the utmost obstruction from the trees, which had fallen a-crofs the creek, and in many places entirely block'd up its passage; these we were oblig'd to cut away, to make an opening for our boats: by the addition of the waters from Canada Creek, this part of the Wood Creek has a considerable depth; its navigation will, however, always be attended with difficulties, arising from its not being above fifty yards wide, and the trees falling a-crofs from each side; unless all the woods on its banks should be cleared off; and even then, from its extream serpentine course, and the rapidity of the current, it will ever remain an unpleasant navigation:

The

The lands on each side are low and very rich, cover'd with large timber; they likewise abound with poisonous shrubs and woods of various kinds: the falling of whose leaves, impregnate the ponds and rivulets with their unwholesome qualities; hence, these waters are not to be drank without manifest bad effects; indeed I observed, that most of the men employed to bring down the batteaus from fort Newport, who were obliged to be continually in the water, had the skin entirely taken from their feet, in which a very high inflammation was rais'd: if such was the effect on the external parts, how much more injurious must its efficacy have been, on the stomach and bowels, as they were under the necessity of making it their common drink whilst in their passage.

The very extraordinary sickness, which afterwards prevailed among our troops, was probably, in a great measure, owing to the bad quality of the waters they drank and cook'd with; it is true Col. Bradstreet had obtain'd a plentiful supply
of

of rum, which was dealt to the men with a liberal hand; but this, altho' it might lessen or abate its malignant effects in some measure, was still far from rendering it wholesome.

The Indian traders who frequented this Creek, on their route to Oswego, &c. usually took a keg of water in each of their batteaus, at the springs rising from the high grounds near the head of it, which they used with such oeconomy, as to make it last, till they reach'd the Oneida river, where fresh supplies could be had.

But to proceed: from the Spack Bergh, we embark'd at sun rise on the 17th; and after encountering the difficulties of the preceding day, without making a single halt, arrived in the evening, at the mouth of Wood Creek, at the Oneida Lake. The distance of this days march, being by estimation twenty miles; about half a mile from the Lake, a creek call'd the Fish Kill empties itself into Wood Creek. It is by the route of this creek, the Indians

dians from Oswegatchie come to Oneida, and from thence, make incursions and commit ravages on the inhabitants of the Mohocks country. According to the best information I could obtain, their journey to the mouth of this creek, is usually perform'd in three days ; and its distance from Oswegatchie about a hundred miles.

In the morning of the 18th, we embark'd on the Oneida Lake. This lake is about thirty-two miles in length, and eight in breadth ; it affords a most delightful prospect, the lands which surround it, are low and well timber'd ; it abounds with a variety of fish, its salmon, perch and trout are excellent, and remarkably large. For about half a mile from the shore, it is shallow, and the bottom cover'd with redish stone, though farther distant it is very deep. The Indians who inhabit its banks, are the Tuscarocoes, and the nation from whom it derives its name.

The Oneida Castle, lies about three miles south, from the mouth of the Wood
D Creek.

Creek. The rivers or creeks, which empty themselves into this lake, are the Tuscororoe river and Oneida Creek on the south; the Swarte Kill* on the north, and Wood Creek on the east. In the spring, its waters are tolerably good, though in the summer generally covered with a scum, when they are very unwholesome. On the south side, lies a large tract of marsh, which abounds with wild fowl of various kinds. At the north west end of the lake, are several islands, about four miles from the Oneida river; These we pass'd at five o'clock, and proceeded down the river about six miles, where we made our first halt; having advanced this day thirty eight miles.

The river call'd the Oneida River, is the same stream that is called the Onondaga river, at its discharge into Lake Ontario. But as the Senecas River runs into it, at about twenty miles distant from the Oneida Lake; the intermediate part be-

* Black Creek.

tween this river and the lake, is call'd the Oneida river; and that part where the Senecas River runs into it, is call'd the Three Rivers, tho' in fact, there are but two rivers. At the entrance of the Oneida River, is a rift of rocks, and a fishing ware extending a-crofs the channel.

Here we found an Indian encampment, and a party catching fish and eels; of the latter, they take prodigious quantities annually, which they dry, and lay up for winter use. They inform'd us, a party of seven Oswegatchie Indians, had been with them the preceding day, who were gone forwards to Cadaraqui, but we could not learn, they had any intelligence of our approach. We were in pain for a scouting party, which Col. Bradstreet had sent forwards from Bull's Fort, to reconnoitre the country as far as Oswego.

In the morning of the 19th, we embark'd, and at ten o'clock reached the Three Rivers, which, as before described, is the confluence of the Oneida, the Seneca and Onondaga rivers. Here some of

our advanced whale-boats returned with the intelligence, that they had discovered two men scalp'd, on an island, two miles on this side of the Oswego Falls. On our arrival there, we found the scalp'd people to be servants to the officers, who commanded the scouting party sent from Bull's Fort.

They had left their whale boat and all their stores at this island, under the care of two lads, and were gone on foot to Oswego. The servants, very imprudently, made a large fire ; which, in all probability, was the means of their being discovered by the enemy, who were suppos'd to be the Indians, lately gone from the Oneida fishing place ; it appear'd that they had been in extream haste, as they never stripped the people, nor took away any of the stores. From hence, we soon proceeded to Oswego Falls, where we arrived about four o'clock. The distance of this days march, is estimated twenty six miles.

The

The river, from the Onocida Lake, is about 250 or 300 yards wide; its course in some places rapid, in others gentle, according to the depth of water, which is various. The lands on each side are very rich and level, covered with hickery, butternut and Linwood, they appear to be annually overflowed, which must add to their fertility. The usual landing place is very near the falls, where is a small cove, into which the batteaus are brought, in order to be drawn over the carrying place, which is about fifty yards across.

However, to cover and secure our landing, and bringing in our batteaus, we were order'd to halt about half a mile on this side the Falls, where the whole body, except four men in each boat landed, form'd and march'd to the grounds opposite the Falls. A detachment of 100 men, advanced about a mile along the river, whilst others were order'd to scour the woods; but on discovering no traces, or appearances of any enemy, they return'd

turn'd and join'd their respective corps. This evening the whole army encamp'd on the grounds opposite the Falls, on the north side of the river.

This cataract is about twelve miles from Oswego; it extends across the river, and is impossible to be pass'd with any degree of safety, by any boats whatever; several attempts have formerly been made, but they all prov'd fatal to the adventurers. The perpendicular fall, is in some places eight or ten feet, in others not so great. The river below is full of rocks, and a succession of rifts for near a mile in length, which makes the navigation both difficult and hazardous; the batteaus and whale boats are here drawn by hand across the neck of land, opposite the falls, that is, from a few yards above the falls, to where the force of water, which descends the precipice, is somewhat abated. Here they are again launch'd into the river, and by four men convey'd down the rifts, to a cove, where the water is still and smooth, about a mile distant. Those who are so fortunate as to keep the channel, and avoid

void touching the rocks, are generally about three minutes passing this distance, which is a proof of the great rapidity of the current. Thro' the want of experienced navigators, several batteaus were driven against the rocks, some fill'd with water instantly, others by the violence of the force, were split asunder and sunk, and with difficulty their crews reach'd the shore.

On the 20th at day break, we began to draw over our boats, which we never unloaded: one of the batteaus with a piece of cannon and a mortar, in its passage down the rifts, stove on the rocks; an empty boat was sent up immediately, and with great labour the artillery was raised out of the water and put on board, which arrived safe at the landing place. The greatest part of our boats, were this day, brought over the Carrying Place and down the rifts.

On the 21st, the few remaining batteaus were brought down; the whole morning was taken up in unloading some of the
boats

boats which were leaky, and in repairing and caulking them. In the afternoon, they were again loaded, and the army embark'd and proceeded to Oswego. These twelve miles we passed in about an hour and an half, and encamp'd on the level grounds, near the old Fort.

I took a survey of the ruins; the walls of the old Trading House were standing; as were those of the several outhouses, which had been the residence of the traders; but there was scarce the appearance, of there ever having been a fort, or any place of defence; indeed, on the spot where the old Fort had stood, it was impossible to build any defensible works, as the ground was commanded by eminences on every side. On the opposite shore, the land is much higher and more advantageously situated.

Here the enemy had erected a large wooden cross, which some of our Indians cut down, and burnt immediately after our arrival. The view of Lake Ontario is extremely pleasant, from the grounds about
it.

it. The lands near Oswego, and bordering on the north east banks of it, are but ordinary in quality, that is, for cultivation; they are, however, well cover'd with pine timber; a few miles south westward, the soil is very different. There the barren sands, give place to a strong black mould; and instead of pines, tall oaks, hickory and chesnut, rear their tops, and extend their branches.

But farther westward (as the Indian traders have inform'd me) about an hundred miles from Oswego, at a place call'd Irondequot, which is the mouth of a river, near two hundred miles in extent; the source of which is near the Ohio, taking its course northerly, thro' the countries called by the Indians, Chenesee and Canadaga. The lands are, by the description they gave me, as fertile, rich and luxuriant, as perhaps any in the universe; this country, and that of the Seneca's and Cayuga's, which borders on it, they tell me, abound with rich plains, some of them many miles in extent, equal in quality to the best lands on the Mohocks

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river,

river: The climate is so mild, that there would be no necessity of laying up any fodder for cattle, during the winter season.

These countries were formerly the seats of numerous tribes of Indians, but are now abandoned to herds of deer, elks and buffaloes, which with a variety of other wild beasts, are here caught in great numbers. To return to Oswego: the harbour is very commodious, form'd by a point of land, projecting from each shore, at the mouth of the river. Here vessels may lie in the greatest safety; tho' by a sand bar, which extends a-cross the harbour's mouth, no large shipping can be admitted; vessels drawing about ten or eleven feet water, are the largest which can cross it. At the mouth of the river, and on the north east shore, we found plenty of fish, which were an excellent repast.

On the 22d in the morning, reviewed our arms, drew ammunition, cook'd three days provisions, and at eleven o'clock embark'd. The order of march was this,
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the Indians and rangers in whale boats advanc'd ; then the batteau men and detachments from the different corps of Provincials in whale boats, forming the front of the main body ; the Regulars in batteaus next, then the New York regiment and the Jersey troops, the train of artillery in the center, the Massachusetts and Rhode Islanders in the rear of the main body, and the rear guard in whale boats.

Thus we embark'd on the Lake ; our fleet consisted of 123 batteaus, and 95 whale boats, which made a formidable appearance. The weather being calm and favourable, the opportunity of advancing, as far as possible, was not to be neglected ; for on the least rise of wind, the swell is very great ; this obliged us to keep along shore, that we might land, and draw up our boats, whenever the wind heighten'd. We continued rowing, till about two o'clock in the morning, and then came too in a fine bay.

On the 23d, at eight in the morning, embark'd, but the wind and sea rising,

we were obliged very soon to put a-shore again. At three in the afternoon, embark'd again, and at ten o'clock halted. This afternoon, some of our advanc'd boats, discover'd five Indian canoes near the land, which they pursued, and fired upon, but the Indians by putting into the creek made their escape.

On the 24th, at two in the morning, the report of four discharges of cannon, at Cadaraqui, were distinctly heard, our distance from thence being about fifteen miles. Some of the Indians, who escaped us yesterday (we afterwards heard) had reach'd the fort, and given information of our approach; upon which the cannon was fired to alarm the adjacent Indians.

The wind continued very high all this day, till about four in the afternoon, when we embark'd, and in the evening, landed on the south side of an island, which lies in the mouth of St. Lawrence, fronting Cadaraqui, about six miles distant.

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On the 25th, at day light, embark'd again, and at about eight o'clock, came in sight of fort Frontenac, and landed on a small island, about three miles distant from it. The water in the bay being very rough, prevented our crossing it at this time. We were now in full view of the fort, which, with the houses about it, made the appearance of a tolerable settlement; we observ'd two vessels near it, equip'd for their voyage, and several masts beyond it. An experiment was tried with a haubitzer, to discover whether the batteads would sustain the shock of a discharge, which they did extremely well.

At five o'clock it was thought practicable to land, and a disposition order'd accordingly: the whole immediately embark'd, and at six in the evening, landed without the least opposition. The Indians, Rangers, and a party from the whale boats, were order'd to scour the adjoining woods, and reconnoitre the grounds about the fort; whilst the whole army was form'd in the front of their boats. Our parties return-

ing,

ing, and having discovered no enemy without the fort, the guards were mounted, and the remainder of the troops, ordered to lie on their arms. This night, the enemy discharged about fifty rounds of cannon shot at us, but we were out of their reach, cover'd by a rising ground, between us and the fort.

On the 26th, at an hour before day, the whole stood to their arms; at day light, all the boats were moved to a bay nearer the fort, it being a more secure harbour. The artillery was now landed; this being done, three companies of the New York regiment, were ordered to possess themselves of the high grounds on the west side of the fort, which they did without any opposition; the major part of the army, were now immediately ordered to make fascines and gabions.

This morning, Col. Bradstreet reconnoitred the grounds surrounding the fort, and in the afternoon, the commanding officers of corps, were order'd to appear at his tent; on their assembling, he inform'd them,

them, that the design of his calling them together, was, to acquaint the he had been furnished with only seventy rounds of ammunition for each piece of cannon, and in the supplies of intrenching tools, had been limited to the scanty allowance, of forty spades, and the like number of pickaxes and shovels; that therefore he could not think of making any approaches at a great distance; that he had thoroughly reconnoitred the grounds surrounding the fort, and on the west side, discovered a spot very advantageously situated, at about one hundred and fifty yards distant; this he purposed to possess himself of, under cover of the night; first taking possession of the enemies old breastwork, which was about 250 yards south from the fort, and thereby drawing their attention on that quarter, where the men might be in the greatest security.

Through the breast-work, he purposed cutting embrasures for two pieces of cannon, and three haubitzers. That on the post, to the west of the fort, he intended to erect a small facine battery, throwing up a
trench

trench to the right and left, for the cover of the men. He observ'd, that these were the measures, which his situation suggested to him, to be the most likely to succeed.

And added, that he would lead them with bravery and prudence, but could not fight for them ; that if the troops behaved only with common resolution, he would insure them success. The commanding officers of the different corps, approv'd of his proposals, as the only measures to be pursued in these circumstances.

This whole afternoon the enemy kept a continual firing from their cannon, on the investing party, and all others who made their appearance in sight of the fort ; but without effect. Our cannon were carried to a rising ground, about five hundred yards from the fort ; here all the fascines were brought, and towards evening, 1200 men were paraded, a captain and two subalterns to every fifty men ; a strong guard was mounted on the batteaus, and
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on the sound, which being a very indifferent direction, they wounded only one man on our march.

Col. Bradstreet having laid out the works, and seen them in some degree of forwardness; after giving the necessary directions for the perfecting them, * went in person with about 100 men, to

* On Col. Bradstreet's leaving this post, Mr. George Coventry had the direction and superintendance of the works. This gentleman, a lieutenant in the 55th regiment, was recommended to Colonel Bradstreet, by the late Lord Howe, as a proper person for an assistant deputy quarter master; and more particularly, as capable of being greatly serviceable on this expedition. I should do him much injustice, if I did not declare, he has done honour to his lordship's recommendation; his vigilance, activity, zeal for the service, indefatigable industry, and distinguished bravery; all conspired to render him the idol of the officers, and the admiration of the troops. And certainly, if there is any merit in the reduction of Cadaraqui, Mr. Coventry, must indisputably be admitted to have the greatest, by far the greatest share in it, of any man on that expedition, Col. Bradstreet excepted. He has since succeeded capt. Christe, of the 48th regiment, in his department of assistant deputy quarter master general; which office he executes with integrity, and universal applause.

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the place where the cannon were left, and sent us two twelve pounders, with Mr. Wilson, an officer of the train; these were safely conducted: Col. Bradstreet then visited the breastwork, where he continued the remainder of the night, judging his presence more necessary in that quarter.

Captain Stevens, of the train, from his station to the eastward, threw a number of shells into the fort, with great success; they did considerable damage to the inner part; one burst near the magazine, and fired a quantity of gun-powder, which scorch'd some of the Indians almost to death, and greatly intimidated the garrison. The enemy after discovering our situation to the west, by the assistance of the moon, which rose about four o'clock, kept an incessant fire on us, both from their small arms and cannon, though with very bad success; since notwithstanding our near approach, they only wounded eleven persons the whole night. After day light, Mr. Wilson began to cannonade the fort; in the management of his artillery, he dis-

cover'd great judgment and skill, every ball doing execution.

Between seven and eight in the morning, they hoisted a red flag, and beat a parley, and then the firing on all sides was stopp'd; on the appearance of an officer advancing towards us, Mr. Sowers the engineer, was sent to meet him, and by that officer, was conducted into the fort. He was order'd by Col. Bradstreet, to let the commandant know, that if he would instantly surrender, the garrison might keep their money and cloathing, and should be carried prisoners of war to Albany, from thence to be exchange'd for an equal number of English as soon as possible, and that he would only wait ten minutes for an answer. The commandant readily accepted of these terms, which were put in form, and sign'd by the parties.

Capt. Ogilvie immediately march'd in and took possession; Col. Bradstreet considering the difficulty of carrying the garrison, with a number of women and children,

dren, such a vast distance thro' the depth of the wilderness; and for many other reasons, thought it proper to give them leave to depart immediately for Canada, on condition of their returning Col. Schuyler in the room of the commandant, and an equal number of men, women and children, of the like rank, for the rest:

The garrison consisted of 110 men, exclusive of about forty, who were on board the vessels; these made their escape, for attempting to run off with the vessels, which they found impracticable, the wind being unfavourable, and captain Stevens keeping a constant firing upon them, and hulling them several times, they thought proper to run 'em both a-ground, on the island opposite to the fort, and made off in their boats, as did eight Indians who had been in the fort; three of whom, were burnt almost to death by the bursting of a shell.

Immediately after the surrender of the fort, our Indians (who had all, except five or six) kept at a mile's distance during the attack, came running from the woods,
where

where they had been conceal'd; like ravenous beasts, full of the expectations, of satiating their blood-thirsty fury on the captives; but were stopp'd by Col. Bradstreet, who charg'd them in the strictest manner, not to injure or molest any one of the prisoners; they heard his injunction with the most evident marks of concern, and entreated him only to close his eyes, and turn his back upon them, agreeable to the practice of the French: but he, with some warmth, positively denied them, insisting on their strictly observing his orders; and to divert their attention to another object, he told them, they now had it in their power, to enrich themselves by plunder, which they were at full liberty, to take as much of as they pleas'd; adding, that he hop'd they would make good use of their time, as he was determined to set every thing on fire very soon. The search for valuable goods, became then their entire pursuit; they applied themselves with the utmost industry in loading their boats; and by that means were diverted from the thoughts of scalping. In the mean time, the garrison were furnished with batteaus,
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on board of which, they carried their effects.

About noon, we began to destroy the provisions, by setting them on fire; we likewise set fire to the vessels, which lay near the wharfs.

About this time Mons. Noyen, with his garrison, embark'd under the greatest apparent affliction, for the melancholy destruction they beheld; tears flowed universally from their eyes; but in the midst of their grief, they could not refrain professing the highest sense of gratitude, for the humane and generous treatment, they had met with from Col. Bradstreet; the commandant in particular, made the warmest acknowledgments, confessing the usage they had received, was both unexpected and undeserv'd. Indeed, they were all astonished, at the extraordinary subordination of our Indians, from whom they had been under the most dreadful apprehensions.

Among the various intelligences we received from the garrison, we were inform'd, that an army of four thousand Canadians, and a thousand Indians, were actually on their march from Montreal, in order to make an incursion into this province, on the side of the Mohocks river; and that they were to be join'd by all the Indians of the five nations, some of which, the Onondagas in particular, had already received presents, on the strength of their engagements;* and as a corroborative proof, we found the garrison had been employed in baking bread for this army, upwards of a fortnight.

As Col. Bradstreet was not inclineable to risque a battle with such a superior force, the troops under his command being already greatly harrass'd; he very readily bethought himself of an artifice, which might retard the approach of this

* On our arrival at Oswego, we found a number of new empty cases and chests, from whence the goods had been taken, which had been distributed to these Indians.

army, and thereby give us an opportunity of securing our return, as far as the Oswego falls, before they could possibly come up with us. This stratagem was as follows : On M. Noyen's embarkation, he went towards him in some apparent hurry, and told him, he had forgot to give him, and the prisoners a pass, which might possibly occasion their being stopped at Oswegatchie, as he had sent Col. Potter with 1500 men a cross the country, to reduce that post ; who might, perhaps, detain him until he could produce evidence of his having left fort Frontenac with his leave ; Noyen, very thankfully waited, till the Colonel had drawn a pass for him, and his party.

In all probability, had M. Noyen met the army, said to be on its march to Cadaraqui, it would have stopp'd their proceeding further than Oswegatchie ; least by advancing, they might have put themselves between two fires. It is said, that on M. Noyen's shewing the commanding officer at La Gallette, the pass directed to Lieutenant Colonel Potter, he imme-

evacuated that post, and with the garrison, which consisted of but twenty five men, went down to Montreal with Noyen ; and that the officer was afterwards depriv'd of his commission, for abandoning his post, before attacked by an enemy ; this is related by several prisoners, since arrived from Canada.

After the departure of the garrison, the remainder of the afternoon was employ'd in destroying the provisions, the stores without the fort, and in putting on board our batteaus some of the effects. In the evening, a body of men were ordered to demolish the fort walls, and the houses in and about it.

The fort was built of stone, its form a square, with four bastions, each exterior side about one hundred yards in length ; its walls could never be intended to sustain a cannonading, as their base was only three feet thick, and the upper part not above two. The inner part of the fort, was surrounded with houses, some serv'd as stores for dry goods, others for provisions,

sions, and the dwellings of officers and soldiers; on the outside of the fort, were about ten or a dozen houses, chiefly used as stores, but the principal warehouse was on the wharf, which was about two hundred feet in length, and about twenty five in breadth, in this was deposited, in the most regular and neat manner, the sails and rigging of the several vessels which lay near it; these were a snow, a brig, three schooners and two sloops; likewise a great variety of Indian goods and provisions, of the latter a prodigious quantity was on the wharf, piled up against the store house, along the whole length; there was judg'd to be at least ten thousand barrels of the different species: in and about the fort we found sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen mortars, and six brass patterraras, all which were effectually destroyed and render'd unfit for use. The stores were filled with prodigious quantities of Indian goods of various kinds, the prime cost of which, the commandant valued at eight hundred thousand livres;*

* Equal to 35,000*l.* sterling.

the greatest part of which were burnt with the fort, our batteaus being too deep laden with provisions, &c. and too much crowded to admit of any considerable addition to their cargoes, without greatly endangering them on the Ontario.

On the 28th in the morning, after having sufficiently demolished the walls of the fort, we set fire to the houses, the barracks, breastwork, fences, and every thing which would burn; we then took out some part of the loading from the brig and schooner, which were run aground, when they floated and were got off, and proceeded for Oswego. In the afternoon we embark'd, and landed on the little island opposite to the ruins of fort Frontenac, where we continued this night.

On the 29th at day break, embark'd, but the wind coming a-head, and the sea growing too rough to continue on it, we halted at ten o'clock in a very fine bay, about twenty miles distant. At 3 o'clock, sail'd again, and in the evening, came too at an island on which we continued.

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On the 30th, at the dawn of day, embark'd, and at 12 o'clock this night, landed at Oswego, where we found both the vessels which had arrived the preceeding evening, safely moor'd.

On the 31st, we took out of the vessels some of their lading, after which set them on fire, and with the remains of their cargoes, sent them a drift on the lake. At noon, eight men were order'd on board each batteau, the remainder march'd as a flank guard; towards evening, we halted at the six mile creek; our boats, on account of the deep loading, and the great force of the stream against them, could not be carried farther.

On the first of September, we proceeded to the Oswego falls, a mile below which, we encamp'd on a plain formerly an Indian field.

On the 2d and 3d, we were employ'd in bringing the batteaus to the falls, and drawing them over the Carrying Place:

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On the 4th, embark'd twenty three men in each bateau, and advanced fifteen miles.

On the 5th, proceeded to the islands in the Oneida Lake, on one of which we landed, at nine in the evening.

On the 6th, cross'd the Lake, and proceeded about four miles up Wood Creek.

On the 7th in the evening, arriv'd at Canada Creek. And,

On the 8th in the morning, advanc'd to Bull's fort; here a command of 500 men was left, and officers appointed from the different corps, to receive, and make a general division of the plunder, in proportion to the number of men each corps consisted of; an equitable distribution was afterwards made in each corps, in which the officers and soldiers shared equally; the remainder of the troops march'd to the Oneida station, having been absent twenty four days.

Having

Having now regularly pursued the thread of this narrative, from the origin of this enterprize to the return of the army, I shall subjoin an account of the plunder taken at Cadaraqui ; exclusive of what the Indians took, which were of the most valuable kinds ; several of them, on their return to the Mohocks country, I have been told, sold to the amount of three, four, and one to the value of five hundred pounds, in lace, paint, bever, &c.

The goods divided at Bulls fort were as follows :

178 Gold and silver laced hatts
 33 Pieces of gold lace
 16 Pieces of silver lace
 400 Pieces of ribband
 445 Pieces of gartering
 45 Pieces of ferriting
 238 Pieces of napp'd frieze
 3690 Mens shirts
 828 Pair of full'd woollen stockings
 1978 Woollen caps
 1674 Plain coats

375 Cal-

- 375 Callimancoe gowns
- 689 Childrens gowns and frocks
- 1110 Blankets
- 120 Ruggs
- 313 Laced coats
- 85 Pieces of white linnen
- 16 Pieces of striped ditto
- 56 Pieces of cross barr'd stuff
- 662 Childrens shirts
- 270 Bags of vermilion
- 55 Fox skins
- 53 Otter skins
- 4950 Raccoon skins
- 360 Bever skins
- 4007 Deer and elk skins
- 732 Bear skins
- 152 Pieces of Ticklenburgh
- 383 Skains of tent cord
- 147 Fine fuzees
- 400 muskets
- 46 Pair of pistols
- 205 Brass kettles
- 78 Barrels of gun-powder never divided,
but sent to the magazine at fort
Stanwix on the Oneida carying
place.

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These were the goods brought to Bull's fort, which certainly, were not the one fourth part, of what were burnt in the stores and on board the vessels. I should here have made a pause, and come to a conclusion, but as a great deal of pains has been taken by a set of gentlemen, envious of the rising character and fame of Col. Bradstreet, to depreciate from the merits of this conquest; representing it, as "a mad, injudicious scheme, the success of which, was merely owing to chance and accident." I shall endeavour to point out a few particulars, relative to the conduct of this expedition, and the importance it has manifestly been of to these colonies; which I shall consider in a two-fold light.

First, the enterprize, or action itself.

Secondly, the consequences resulting from it.

As to the first point; the principal foundation of a successful enterprize against this

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fort, was laid in the information Colonel Bradstreet had received, concerning the strength of the works, and the garrison posted within them, and in his knowledge of the usual military oeconomy of the French. These matters we may conclude, from the opposition he met with at head quarters, he was better acquainted with, than even the commander in chief, as every circumstance relative to the situation of the garrison, answered his expectations. Indeed, by the instructions Col. Bradstreet received from the general, he was left the sole judge of the probability of succeeding, and whether, if on his arrival at the great carrying place, he should, from the intelligence he might there receive from the Indians, judge it prudent to proceed. As by this instruction, the entire burthen of the event of the expedition, was thrown upon Col. Bradstreet, it made him particularly cautious, of obtaining the fullest, and most circumstantial information, of the force the enemy had at Cadaraqui, 'which being satisfactory, he instantly determined on prosecuting his plan.

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The executive part of which, remains next to be consider'd ; in this we find all those requisites, essentially necessary in the conduct of enterprizes in the American wilds, together with those characteristics, which have ever distinguished the greatest generals.

First, caution and secrecy, in preventing the enemy from discovering the object, against which our preparations were intended.

Secondly, the greatest expedition and dispatch in marching.

Thirdly, judgment in making the attack properly, prudence in doing it without lavishing the lives of men, and intrepidity in conducting it, with that resolution, which carries with it the appearance of a determination to conquer.

As to the first point, never was there an expedition undertaken, the destination of which, the individuals who compos'd the

H 2 army,

army, were more profoundly ignorant of; even the commanding officers of corps were uncertain, at leaving the Oneida station, whether they were to be led against Niagara, Oswegatchie or Cadaraqui; by which extraordinary secrecy, the enemy were, beyond doubt, prevented from succouring, or reinforcing the garrison of fort Frontenac. Had the design been made public, the Indians, who have a constant intercourse with those of the enemy, might have given them such information, as would have enabled them, by reinforcing the garrison, to have render'd our attempt abortive.

As to the second point. The expedition and dispatch, with which this enterprize was carried on, is perhaps not exceeded by any recorded in history; for notwithstanding the obstructions we met in Wood Creek, the detention at the Oswego Falls, and our frequent halts on the banks of the Ontario, on account of rough water; we were only ten days on our passage, from Bulls fort to Cadaraqui, the distance being at least two hundred and twenty five miles, which,

which, deducting the time we were obliged to lie still, was pass'd in less than six days. So secret and sudden was our approach, that the enemy never heard of, nor apprehended the advancing of an army against them, till we were within fifteen miles of their gates.

The judgment, prudence and intrepidity with which the attack was conducted, fully appear on considering, that from our scanty supplies of ammunition and intrenching tools, the siege was not to be protracted; and formal approaches at the distance of several hundred yards, agreeable to the custom and practice of modern attacks, would never have given room to hope for success, especially as our quantity of ammunition, would not have been sufficient to hold out above twenty four hours firing; Col. Bradstreet therefore, wisely determined to make his approaches immediately within such a distance, as that every ball might do execution; these approaches he prudently made in the night, for altho' they might have been affected in the day, still it would have cost the lives of
many,

many, which was prevented by attracting the attention of the garrison to a quarter, where the men might lie covered and secure from their fire; as to the bravery of advancing within one hundred and fifty yards of the fort walls, without any covering whatever, open to sallies from the garrison, no body acquainted with the attack of fortified places, can deny, but was as daring, and bold, and still in our situation as necessary a conduct as is to be met with in the records of any military achievements of the most enterprising generals.

Having I think, fully considered the action itself; I shall now proceed to point out the importance of the conquest, by shewing the advantages we have gain'd by it; but as no improvements have yet been made on our part, the advantages are in a great measure to be estimated, from the distress and injury the enemy have suffered by its reduction; in this view, we shall therefore consider it.

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By the demolition of fort Frontenac, the enemy have been depriv'd of their grand magazine, from whence their western territories, garrisons, and Indian allies were supplied with ammunition, provisions, and goods of all kinds. By the destruction of their fleet, the intercourse between Canada and Niagara, has in a great measure been cut off, and the dominion of the lakes wrested from their hands; by which, according to their own confession, they will be obliged to abandon their settlements, forts, and possessions on lake Erie, the streights of lake Huron, and the lake Superior; their trade and interest with the Indians inhabiting those countries, must consequently decay, and if a proper use is made of these advantages, may be utterly taken from them.

The expedition of M. Levy against the settlements on Mohocks river, was by this conquest entirely stopp'd and render'd impracticable, by which we continue in possession of the Oneida carrying place, on which we have erected a strong fort; this
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in all probability, we should not have effected this year, unless the expedition to Cadaraqui, had been projected and carried into execution: As only 2000 men were to have been ordered for this service, who, exclusive of the interruption M. Levy might have given them, would have been undoubtedly disturb'd by the five nations, they being averse to it, and having actually engag'd to take up the hatchet, and declare in favour of the enemy. In consequence of the reduction of fort Frontenac, the Delawares, Shawanese, and other Indians, inhabiting the back parts of these colonies, have been influenced to conclude a peace with us at Easton, in October last; and is there not the highest reason to imagine, the good disposition which General Forbes found the Indians in, on the Ohio, is principally owing to the conquest of Cadaraqui, by which all their supplies of ammunition and provisions were cut off, and they depriv'd of the means of subsisting. If Frontenac had remain'd in possession of the enemy, is there not the greatest probability, they would have sent a reinforcement to

M.

M. de Lignery,* having a fleet to transport, and provisions to subsist them on such an enterprize. This M. Levy might have effected, after having sufficiently alarmed us on the Mohocks river, and drawn a great number of our troops thither from Lake George; indeed it might have been done, even since our troops withdrew from fort William Henry; by which the expedition of General Forbes would have been frustrated.

Thus had it not been for the reduction of fort Frontenac, our situation on the continent would have been the same, as at the opening of the campaign, with the addition of an almost insupportable tax to no purpose. But the taking of Cadaraqui; to sum up the whole in a few words, has depriv'd the enemy of Lake Ontario; has frustrated their scheme of making an incursion into this province; has kept the Five Nations in a state of neutrality; has influenced the Indians on the frontiers of Pensilvania, Jersey and Virginia to a peace;

* This gentleman commanded at Fort du Quesne on the Ohio.

has facilitated the expedition against fort Du Quesne; has broken the chain of attachment and interest, which subsisted between the French and the Indians on the Ohio; and has laid open to us, the easy acquisition and peaceable possession of those immense and valuable tracts, which border on the Ohio, the lakes, and the surrounding country.

These advantages have been gain'd, without putting the crown to a hundred pounds sterling extraordinary charge; of ammunition and intrenching tools, it was out of our power to expend any great quantity. And the troops would have consumed the same provisions, had they past the time in the most supine inactivity at Lake George. The importance of these acquisitions to the general interest of the colonies, is undoubtedly great, and had any one measure been taken by ————— to improve them properly, our advantages might have been multiplied almost beyond imagination; But as Col: Bradstreet was the projector of the enterprize, he was suffered to go in the name of the

the Lord, and to return again as well as he could; but not one step was taken, nor a single disposition ordered to secure his retreat in case of a repulse, or make a proper improvement of the conquest, if success had attended him. Had the former been the case, few, very few of our troops, would have ever return'd to tell the direful tale. This, together with the loss of men the colonies have sustained during the war in America, and in storming the never to be forgotten breastwork at Tichonderoga, would have given them a most severe shock, in this their infant state. If only two thousand Provincial troops, which were kept unemploy'd at Lake George, had been order'd to follow us, and take post at Oswego, we might have thrown up some defensible works, and brought over and preserved all the shipping, artillery, ammunition and provisions fort Frontenac would have amply supplied us with. We might then have had it in our power to have taken Niagara, and secured that important pass, long the object of the nations desire; the immense quantities of Indian goods with which the stores
were

were fill'd, might all have been secur'd.
These, if necessity, and the want of bread,
had not influenced the western Indians to
the offers of a peace, might have purchas'd
them from the enemy's interest; what a
glorious acquisition would this have been?
This, for which Great Britain has ex-
pended millions, might have been acquired
without blood or money.



P T N I S

Wm. Woodcock

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